A Matrix of Honor: Use of Honorifics and the Human Network in a Japanese Classroom

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要旨：
Martinは*Speech Levels in Japan and Korea*（1964）の中で、話者の敬語選択の指標として、他者性、地位、性別、年令の４つを挙げ、さらにこの４つの優先順位を記した。本論では、実際に行われた対話から（１）これらの４つの要素を使って敬語使用を説明することができるか、又(２)４つの要素間の優先順位に変わりはないのかを考察した。結果として、制約はあるが、Martinの分析は、今日でも有効であり、敬語教育に利用できる可能性があることが示された。

1. Introduction

" *Keigo wa muzukashii.* [(Japanese) honorifics are difficult.]" Regardless of whether they are native or non-native speakers, almost anyone learning Japanese complains about the difficulty of the language's honorific system. In this, it is both the large size of the honorific vocabulary as well as its relativity in usage (Tsujimura, 1992; Kabaya, Kawaguchi and Sakamoto, 1998) that most learners find not only confusing, but intimidating.

The simple rule is that a Japanese speaker should use honorific forms to anyone who is superior to him/her. However, when a boss is younger than his/her subordinates at the office, or when a teacher is younger than the student's parents, who should be honored by the use of honorifics? These are difficult questions even for native speakers of Japanese, and the "experts" on Japanese linguistics are struggling to define the practical usage of Japanese honorifics (Wetzel, 1994, p. 134).

One earlier attempt at this is Martin's paper, "Speech levels in Japan and Korea" (1964), which seems to clearly analyze the complexity of the speaker's choice of honorifics in Japanese. The author also lists factors that trigger the use of Japanese honorifics, and outlines their order of priority. Despite the fact that Martin's paper was written thirty-five years ago and that the analysis was based on his personal experiences, with its clarity and simplicity, it seems to have the potential for being a useful guide for using honorifics properly, both for learners and native speakers.

This paper investigates Martin's framework of Japanese honorifics with today's data. The two questions investigated in this study are: (1) Whether we can explain the usage of the honorific forms with Martin's framework, and (2) Whether the priority orders still work as described in Martin's framework.

2. Martin's Rules of Japanese Honorific Forms

In his paper, "Speech Levels in Japan and Korea" (1964), Martin describes the rules for the usage of Japanese honorific forms and lists four factors that affect the speaker's choice in their use: age difference, sex difference, social position, and "outgroupness." Among these, neither sex difference nor outgroupness is explicitly taught in school or at home as a superiority indicator; they are, however, important indicators that implicitly permeate Japanese society. Japanese speakers learn sex difference unconsciously; for instance, by listening to their parents address each other: traditionally,the husband uses a non-honorific second person pronoun, *omae*, when he addresses his wife, while she uses an honorific second person pronoun, *anata*, to him.

Martin does not define the term "outgroupness" very clearly. He mentions that "'[i]n-group' and 'out-group' are flexible, relative terms", and that intimacy is the key to deciding whether someone is in or out of a group (Martin, 1964, p. 409). In this paper, "groupness" is interpreted as the social networks among people, and the less frequent the interaction a person has with the other members of the network, the more 'out' the person is to the group. Within this definition, outgroupness, like the three other indicators, seems a reasonable factor that affects the use of the honorific forms, as the Japanese usually speak more formally and politely to people they are meeting for the first time.

Martin next orders these four factors. Japanese honorifics are usually classified into three categories: *sonkeigo* (honorific polite forms), *kenjoogo* (humble polite forms), *teineigo* (neutral polite forms), reflecting how the speaker elevates the addressee/referent's position in the utterance (Makino and Tsutsui, 1993). However,in the framework of Martin's discussion, he analyzes Japanese honorifics in two categories only—reference-form honorifics and address-form honorifics. The former are the honorifics used towards a third person(s) mentioned in the utterance other than the addressee, while the latter are the honorifics used towards the addressee of the utterance. The following example should make these distinctions clear.

> *Kinoo Tanaka-sensi wa gakkoo e irasshai mashita ka.* [Did Ms. Tanaka come to school yesterday?]

In the above sentence, the first part of the predicate,*irasshai*, is a polite form of "to come", which is used to exalt the referent, Ms. Tanaka (Tanaka-sensei). On the other hand, the second part of the predicate,*mashita*, is also a past form of a polite auxiliary, which is used to show the speaker's respect for the addressee.

According to Martin, there is a different order of priority among the four factors for the reference forms and address forms of Japanese honorifics (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Martin's Priority Orders of the Four Indicators for Japanese Honorifics

Reference form	**Address form**
1. position	1. outgroupness
2. age difference	2. position
3. sex difference	3. age difference
4. outgroupness	4. sex difference

Because of the limitations of the data, this paper only discusses the priority order of the address form of honorifics. Furthermore, this paper follows Martin's categorization and focuses on the relationship between the object of honorifics and usage, without considering the differences between *sonkeigo*, *kenjoogo*, and *teineigo*.

3. Methodology

Subjects

I observed a fifth-grade classroom at a part-time Japanese school—*hoshuukoo*—in New England for a day. In the observed classroom, there were thirteen students (six boys and seven girls), the classroom teacher, and two observers. One of the observers was the grandmother of a student (referred to as 'G'), while the other was the researcher (referred to as 'R'). R was not a total stranger to the students or teacher, as this was her third visit to the classroom.

Data Collection and Analysis

In addition to the field notes, the interaction in class was audiotaped and transcribed. Only the data taken in the first two periods of the day (a total of 100 minutes) is used for this paper, because the two observers participated in the classroom interaction during those two periods and various patterns of interaction were observed, as analyzed below. These two periods together comprised the Japanese Language Arts lesson, and from the middle of the second period, the topic coincidentally became Japanese honorifics. This was the students' first formal lesson on honorifics. The honorific forms in the transcribed data were codified according to the four factors—outgroupness, position, age difference, sex difference—and analyzed according to the relationship between the speaker and the person for whom the honorific expression was used.

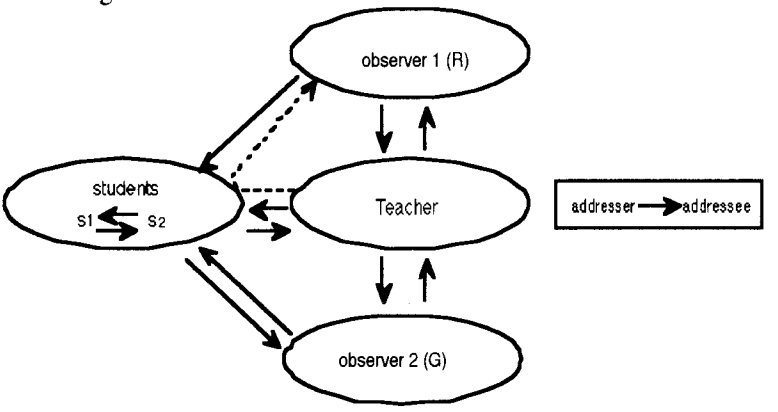
4. Structure of Interaction and Status in the Classroom

Structure of Interaction

Figure 1 shows the patterns of interaction observed in the two periods.

While there were only two patterns of interaction in the third period (between students, and between the students and the teacher), in the first period, the teacher introduced the observers to the class, and in the second period, G interacted with a student for a short time. As a result, four patterns of interaction were observed in the two periods: (1) between students, (2) between the teacher and the student(s), (3) between the teacher and the observers, and (4) between the observers and the students. There was no direct address from a student to R, and the teacher made the students repeat her words as a response to R's greeting (shown as a dotted line in Figure 1). There was no interaction between the two observers.

Figure 1. Patterns of Interaction in the Classroom



During the two periods, an addresser seldom made any reference to a person who was not the addressee; therefore, the reference-form data were not used in the cross-factor analysis.

Structure of Status

We can order the people in the classroom in terms of each of the four factors that affect the use of honorific expression; that is, we can determine who should be given the highest honorific forms (see Table 2). Concerning the outgroupness factor, there was a strong network between the students and the teacher, while the two observers only temporarily participated in the network with the agreement of the other members. Thus, there was a large gap between the two observers and the others. Furthermore, the students had a strong network among themselves outside the classroom, and in that sense, the teacher can be considered slightly more 'out'. I assume that there was a difference in 'outgroupness' between the two observers. R can be considered more 'in'-group in the sense that this was her third visit to the class, while this was G's first visit. On the other hand, G was the grandmother of one of the students, and in that sense, she is more 'in' than R, who has no personal relationship with either the students or the teacher. However, it is impossible to measure the results of these conflicting aspects, and the difference between the two

observers on the outgroupness scale is very small. Thus, these conflicting aspects are considered to be offset, and the two observers are placed on the same rank.

As to the position factor, the teacher had a higher social status than the two observers (a student's family member, and a visitor researching the classroom). Between the two observers, G might be considered to have a slightly higher position than R, because a student's family member can usually have more influence over the teacher than someone without this connection. However, G, who lived in Japan, did not have a post-visit influence on the teacher, while the teacher knew that R was going to write a paper on the classroom observation that would be written by the school principal. Thus, the difference in position between the two observers is obscured, and they are once again ranked the same on the position scale. The students, who are taught and observed, come last on this scale. The age differences among the all participants were clear, though the exact ages of the teacher and G were not. Finally, the sex difference was also clear, though the data might be skewed because all the males were students.

Table 2. Priority Ranks as Honorific Objects
Among the Classroom Participants (based on Martin, 1964)

Priority Order	Outgroupness	Position	Age Difference	Sex Difference
1	G, R	Teacher	G	Male students
2	Teacher	G, R	Teacher	G, R Teacher, Female students
3	Students	Students	R	
4			Students	

5. Findings

Four different types of interaction were observed during observation.

(1) Interaction among the students

The students did not use honorific forms with each other. For instance, a boy (S3) told the class a story about how he had injured his head at the local school, and the other students then asked the boy questions:

Ex. 1. S1 (girl) : *Dooshite kenka shitano*? [Why did you fight?]
S2 (boy) : *Kenka?* [A fight?]
S3 (boy) : *Datte, henna ko ga oshite kite, oshite kite . . .*
['Cause, a weird guy pushed me, pushed . . .]
S4 (boy) : *Nanno kenka*? [What fight?]

No participants in this short interaction used honorific expressions. For example, S1 chose a plain-form predicate, *shitano* ('to do' in the past form)

instead of an honorific form expressing the same meaning, e.g. *nasattandesuka, shitandesuka.*

When the addressee was a girl, the students did not use honorific forms either. Therefore, no sex differences were found among the students in their interactions with each other.

(2) Interactions between the students and the teacher

The students seldom used honorific forms to the teacher. The exceptions were three utterances: in the first period, two girls used honorifics when they answered the teacher's question (Ex. 2); and, after the second period, a boy used honorifics when he spontaneously spoke to the teacher (Ex. 3).

Ex. 2. T: *Hai. jaa, honda-san.* [Yes. Then, Miss Honda.]
S: *Watashi wa ittara, sore ga dooshita notte iwaremashita.*
[When I told (that to her), (I) was told 'So what?']

Ex. 3. T: *Hai, yasumi-jikaan.* [Now, (we're) in the recess.]
S: *Sensei, tisshu arimasuka?* [Teacher, do you have any tissue?]

The underlined word *iwaremashita* is an honorific form of *iwareta* ('was told'), and *arimasu* is an honorific form of *aru* ('exist' or 'have').

Although the students seldom used honorifics to the teacher, they did display an understanding that honorifics should in general be used to teachers. In the second period, the class began studying the Japanese honorific system, and in the beginning, the teacher asked the class what honorifics were. One student answered that honorifics were " *teineina kotoba* [polite forms]", and the class agreed that honorifics should be used for "superiors" like teachers or bosses. Thus, in this particular case, there was a gap between the students' understanding of the usage of honorifics and their use of honorifics in real life.

The teacher, on the other hand, used honorific forms to the students more often (Ex. 4), and she often mixed honorific and non-honorific forms in single utterance (Ex. 5 and 6):

Ex. 4. S: *Ja, ichi doru harau kara ii?*
[Then, if I pay a dollar, (will it be) OK?]
T: *Okane wa irimasen.* [I don't want any money.]

Ex.5. T: *Ja, kyoo, kuwata-kun nicchoku-san onegaishimasu. Ja, hajimeru kara itte choodai.* [Then, today, Mr. Kurata, (you're) on day duty. Then, say (the beginning greeting) so (we) can start.]

Ex. 6. T: *Haai, jaa, 35-fun ni atsumemasu. Oooisogi de yatte.* [Yes. Well, (I'll) collect (the sheets) at 9:35. Hurry up!]

In Ex. 4, while a student used the non-honorific form, *ii*, the teacher answered the question in the honorific form, *irimasen.* In Ex. 5 and 6, the teacher mixed a non-honorific form (*choodai* in Ex. 5, *yatte* in Ex. 6) and an honorific form

(*onegaishimasu* in Ex. 5, *atsumemasu* in Ex. 6) in the same utterance.

The teacher did not address the students, male or female, differently.

(3) Interaction between the teacher and the observers

Both the teacher and the two observers consistently used honorifics to each other. For instance, when the teacher asked an observer a question, she used an honorific suffix, *desu*, and both observers used the same form in their responses:

Ex. 7. T: *Soodesuka?* [Is that right?]
R: *Hai, soodesu.* [Yes, it is.]

On the other hand, when the teacher introduced each observer to the class, she made a distinction between them:

Ex. 8-a. T: (referring to R): *Kokoni iru, daredaro?*
[Who do we have here?]
Ex. 8-b. T: (referring to G): *Moo hitori ushiro ni orareru, dare daro?*
[There is another person in the back, who is she?]

As shown in Ex. 8-a, the teacher used the non-honorific form of a verb, *iru* ['to be/exist'], when she referred to R, but the honorific form of the same verb, *orareru*, to G (Ex. 8-b).

(4) Interaction between the observers and the students

Both observers used honorific forms to the students. Here is a speech from G to the class:

Ex. 9. G: *Mina-san, itsumo shikkari to obenkyoo shite irassharu yoo de ne, ano, takahashi-sensei mo totemo yoku oshiete* ***kudasaru*** *to iu koto o, ano, mago no kazumi kara* ***kiki****mashite tottemo watashi wa ureshii desu. Sorede, kyoo wa, jikan arimashita node, minasan no obenkyoo buri o misete itadakitai to omoimasu. Ganbatte kudasai ne.*
[I heard from my granddaughter that everyone always studies hard, and also (I heard) Mrs. Takahashi teaches (you) very well. I'm very happy (to hear that). I have time today and want to see you studying. Please work hard.]

The underlined words are honorific forms addressed to the students, and G used them without mixing in any non-honorific forms. She also used an honorific expression when referring to the teacher (***kudasaru*** on the second line of the speech), switching to a non-honorific when she referred to her granddaughter: *kiki-* ('to hear') in ***kiki****mashite*, referring to the granddaughter on the third line of the speech, is a non-honorific form, though it could have been a honorific form, *ukagai-*.

When the students addressed an observer, the teacher advised them to use honorifics. At the beginning of the observation, the teacher led the students' response to R and showed a model utterance in honorifics, using honorific words like '*doozo*' ('please') and '*kudasai*' (an honorific predicate):

Ex. 10. T: *Ja minna de, doozo kansatsu shite kudasai tte. Hai!*
[Well, everyone,(say) together,"Please observe (us)." Do it!]
S1: *Issee no, se.* [One, two, three.]
all Ss: (laugh)
T: *Doozo*, ['Please,]
T & all Ss: *Kansatsu shite kudasai*. ['Observe (us).]

In the second period, the teacher also urged a student to use honorific forms in her utterance to G:

Ex. 11. T: *Jaa, dare ga kiku? Daihyoo de, hayasi-san kiite goran.*
[Then, who is going to ask? Miss Hayashi, ask (G).]
H: *E, dooyatte kikeba iino?* [Oh, how can I ask?]
T: *Dooyatte kikuka jibun de kangaenasai. hora, keigo o tsukatteyo. Keigo o tsukatte.* [Think how to ask by yourself. Well, use the honorifics. Use the honorifics.]
H: (to G) *Miru, no keigo wa dooyatte iundesuka.*
[What is the honorific form of *miru* (to see)?]

The student's first utterance," *E, dooyatte kikeba iino?* [Oh, how can I ask?]," seems to imply that she understood that she was required to change her speech level from the non-honorific to the honorific, though she was not sure of the appropriate vocabulary.

6. Discussion

Among the four factors that Martin lists, three of them—outgroupness, position, and age difference—seemed to work as an indicator for the use of honorific forms. Concerning sex difference, no difference was found in the students' or the teacher's addresses to the male or female students, though the male and the female students belonged to the same rank in the other three dimensions—outgroupness, age, and position. On the other hand, in her greeting to the class in the first period, G used non-honorific forms when she referred to her granddaughter (Ex. 10), though she used honorific forms in her reference and address to the students as a whole. This use of non-honorific form, however, can be attributable to the in-groupness of G in relation to her granddaughter as members of the same family. Thus, the sex of the addressees did not affect the speaker's use of honorific forms in this data. Nor were there any differences between the female and male students as speakers or users of honorific forms. This implies that the speaker's sex did not affect their use of honorific forms.

Compared with position and age, outgroupness affected the use of honorific forms most strongly, because even when the other two factors did not indicate the use of honorific forms, the speaker often chose honorific forms according to outgroupness. For example, the two observers used honorific forms to the students who were younger and in a lower position than they (Ex. 9), and the teacher used honorific forms to R, who was younger and in a lower position than she (Ex. 7). Thus, as Martin described, outgroupness seems the strongest factor that influences the use of address-form honorifics.

Outgroupness also has a special characteristic: it works as a two-way indicator of the honorifics. That is, not only do people who are 'in' a group use honorific forms to an outsider, but the outsider also uses honorific forms to the people 'in' the group. The students and the teacher, who were the members of a group (the network of the class), used honorifics to the two observers (outsiders), and the observers used honorific forms to the students and the teacher. The students' addresses to the two observers (Ex. 10 and 11), although influenced by the teacher, indicate that the use of honorifics was an accepted model or an ideal address form in these situations. As implied in a student's spontaneous question in Ex. 11 ("*E, dooyatte kikeba iino?* [Oh, how can I ask?]"), students seemed to sense that honorific forms were appropriate in their utterances to G.

Because of the strength of the outgroupness factor, it is difficult to determine the importance of age difference and position as honorific indicators in this context. We can, however, tell that they play a role in the speaker's choice of honorific forms in some instances. For example, the teacher's distinction in her reference to the two observers (Ex. 8-a and 8-b) suggests that age difference influenced her use of honorifics. As mentioned above, the teacher used an honorific expression with G, but not with R. The two observers were in the same rank in terms of the other three factors, and the only seeming difference between them was age: R was younger than the teacher, while G was older. In this case, therefore, age difference seemed to have been the most important factor influencing the teacher's decision on speech level. Concerning social position, the students' frequent use of the non-honorific forms to the teacher might seem to contradict Martin's findings. However, as mentioned earlier, the students knew that honorifics should be used to people in higher position, including teachers. This indicates that the students understood that social position is also an important factor in their choice of honorifics, and in some cases, students did use honorific forms to addressees who were in a higher position than they. As a result, it seems that age difference and position are weaker indicators than outgroupness, though both of them can affect the choice of speech level.

It is also difficult to determine from the data the priority order between age difference and social position as honorific indicators. The teacher was, for instance, younger than G, but in a higher position than the students; and both the teacher and G used the same level of honorific forms in their addresses to each other. Furthermore, R, who was younger and in a lower position than the teacher, used honorific forms to the teacher. In these cases, it is unclear if

position or age difference played a more important role in the speaker's determination of speech level. The limitation of the data is, of course, one reason for this ambiguity. And yet, the priority order between age difference and position seems ambiguous in today's Japanese society in general, and, as mentioned earlier, can even cause confusion for native speakers. Thus, the teacher's and G's use of honorific forms to each other can be considered one possible solution, when age difference and social position make for a contradictory condition. In other words, both parties can choose to use honorific forms to each other.

Thus, the results of the data indicate some restrictions on Martin's findings. Sex difference did not seem to work as a factor that triggered the speaker's choice of honorific forms. Furthermore, the priority order between position and age difference as an indicator of the addressee-honorific form was not clear in the data. These restrictions seem to be attributable to two reasons. One is the limitation of the data. The other is the tremendous social changes that have taken place in Japan in the thirty-five years since Martin wrote his paper.

First of all, the amount of the data (100-minutes of interaction) is too small to evaluate Martin's hypotheses fully, and the subject population was skewed especially for sex difference. All the male subjects were in this case students, and the collected data do not show whether sex difference influenced the speaker's choice of speech level when the addressee was older or in a higher position than the speaker. If the teacher or one of the observers had been a male, the results might have been different. In addition, the characteristics of the context could influence the results. Two observers participated in the interaction in the classroom in this case, and, as analyzed earlier, the relationship between the teacher and the observers and between the observers themselves contributed to the ambiguity concerning position. This seems one reason why the importance of social position as an indicator of the address-honorific form was not shown clearly in the data. In order to evaluate these, we need to collect data in a context where the position of each subject is more clearly delineated. Interaction at the office might be one possible source for that purpose. Also, the Japanese classroom and school are, in general, sites where the gender gap is not as important as it is in adult society, and this might have influenced the importance of sex-difference in the data. To reconsider the sex-difference factor, interaction in an office would seem a likely setting for collecting interesting data.

On the other hand, classroom interaction has some special characteristics. First, most of the interaction took the form of direct address between teacher and students—i.e., the teacher's initial question, and a student's response—and as a result, there were not enough utterances referring to a third party to evaluate the priority order of factors for the reference-form honorifics. Second, the observers' utterances in the data were scarce. Third, O'Connor and Michaels (1996) point out that a teacher often manipulates classroom interaction for a special purpose, and in that sense, classroom interaction is different from everyday interaction. Every interaction, however,

has some specific characteristicsand, at the same time, it functions on the basis of the common rules of communication in that particular language. In this sense, we can assume that the classroom interaction in this data reflects some common characteristicsof the usage of Japanese honorifics, and it seems worth verifying Martin's hypotheses with this data, as general rules should be applicableto a particularincident.

Reviewing the data from this perspective, the limitations on Martin's findings indicated in this data seem to reflect two important aspects of the usage of Japanese honorifics. That is: Japanese honorifics are used as a means to adjust social relationships in interaction (Oono and Shibata, 1992, p. v); and Japanese honorifics "reflect the social organization of each period rather clearly" (Shibatani, 1990, p. 123). Therefore, the importance of the factors that influence a speaker's use of honorific forms and the priority order among the factors reflect changes in Japanese society. The decline of sex difference as an honorific indicator and the ambiguity in the priority order of position and age difference may reflect changes in the Japanese society which have occurred since Martin wrote "Speech levels in Japan and Korea" in 1964. Martin himself mentions in his paper that the relative importance of the four factors had been changing with the society: "[a]ge and sex differences were undoubtedly more important factors in the past than they are today . . . Outgroupness and position seem far more important in Standard Japanese and Korean today" (p. 411).

At some points, the data of classroom interactionobserved here coincide with Martin's analysis of the long-term changes of honorific indicators. First, the outgroupness factor, which became more important in the 1960s, seems to have continued this trend and to be the most important and strongest factor in today's data. Secondly, the sex difference factor, which became less important as an honorific factor in the 1960s, has continued to decline as a factor. On the other hand, the ambiguity of the priority order between social position and age difference implies that there has been some change in their tendencies.

The priority order analyzed by Martin reflects the social situation in the 1960s in Japan. At that time, the Japanese economy was growing rapidly, and the values in the society were changing. Women, empowered with higher education, entered the work force and began to perform what had been "men's work". Furthermore, a worker's skill and ability, regardless of their sex, increased in importance, with a concomitant decrease in traditional respect for age and seniority. In the 1990s, some of these social changes are continuing, while others have either ceased or have reversed. In this, women's active enrollment in the labor market has continued, though age difference is still is important, though less so than in previous times. Another characteristic of the1990s is the diversificationof social values, and a reduction in the formerly overwhelming status of office work. The ambiguous order between position and age difference in the data would seem to coincide with these social changes.

The interaction between the teacher and the students needs further analysis. First of all, the interaction between the teacher and the students at the

beginning of the Japanese Language Arts lesson in the second period indicates that Japanese fifth-graders already have a basic knowledge of Japanese honorifics before formal, explicit classroom instruction begins. Although they have not yet developed the full honorifics vocabulary, they are familiar with the basic concept, words, and usage, as indicated by the student's question in Ex. 11 ("*Miru, no keigo wa dooyatte iundesuka*.[What is the honorific form of *miru* (to see)?"]. This indicates that native speakers of Japanese develop a basic knowledge of honorifics without formal instruction, but they need explicit instruction and conscious learning to acquire a full command of the honorifics in interaction.

At the same time, it seems difficult to explain the speaker's choice of speech level in interaction between the teacher and the students only using Martin's four-factor analysis. Both the students and the teacher used honorific and non-honorific forms to each other. Using Martin's four factors, a possible explanation for this is that although the teacher was a little out of the classroom network, the difference between these two parties in their outgroupness is so small, compared to the gap between them and the two observers, that they mixed honorific and non-honorific forms to indicate both the homogeneity and the differences between them. This does not seem to work very well: considering the age and position differences, the students should have used more honorific forms than the teacher, but the result was the opposite. Also, their usages were different: no student mixed honorific and non-honorific forms in a single utterance, while the teacher switched between the two.

However, Cook (1996a, b) studied third- and fourth-grade classroom interactions in Japan and found out that Japanese students tended to use plain forms in their utterances to their teachers in the classroom. This implies that it is not uncommon for Japanese students to use non-honorific forms when they speak to their teachers. In addition, Cook (1996a, b) indicates that the Japanese students use plain forms to their teachers and switch to honorific forms when they address the whole class, and that teachers use plain forms in their addresses to individual students but honorific forms when they speak to the class. Cook (1996a) suggests that both Japanese students and teachers put themselves into the *public self* mode and use honorific forms when they address the whole class, while the *innate self* mode and non-honorific forms are chosen when they address individual students. It is difficult to tell whether this concept can be applied in this study to the students' use of honorifics in their utterances to the class. For example, a boy used an honorific form in an utterance that was clearly addressed only to the teacher after class (Ex. 3: S: *Sensei, tissu arimasuka*. [Teacher, do you have any tissue?]). However, the use of an honorific form by another student in Ex. 2 (S: *Watashi wa ittara, sore ga dooshita notte iwaremashita*. [When I told (that to her), (I) was told 'So what?']) — a reply to the teacher's question in class — could be considered a reflection of the public feature of utterance.

While Cook's concept of public and innate selves may account for the teacher's distinction in speech levels between her address to the whole class and to individual students, it does not explain the shift within an utterance to the

same addressees. In Ex. 5, "*Ja, kyoo, kuwata-kun nicchoku-san onegaishimasu. Ja, hajimeru kara itte choodai,*" the first part in which the teacher used an honorific form, was a statement to the class; the second part, in which a non-honorific was used, was addressed to a particular student. Clearly, the teacher was making a distinction between the public announcement to the class and the individualized address to a particular student, by using a different speech level. On the other hand, the teacher's speech level also shifted in her utterance to the same addressee. For example, in Ex. 6, "*Haai, jaa, 35-fun ni atsumemasu. Ooisogi de yatte.* [Yes. Well, (I'll) collect (the sheets) at 9:35. Hurry up.]", she used both the honorific form, *atsumemasu*, and the non-honorific form, *yatte*, to the whole class in a single utterance. In this case, Ikuta's explanation that the speaker's speech-level shift reflects the change of the speaker's empathy level to the addressee seems to be more appropriate (1983). The first part of the utterance was the official direction, while in the second part, the teacher asked the students to cooperate with her and to hurry up to finish the planned activity, thus lowering her position to the students' level by using a non-honorific form.

Finally, concerning the student subjects of this research, we have to remember that they are Japanese children who were living in the US. Although most of them were brought up in Japan and were newcomers to the US, their opportunities for being exposed to authentic Japanese language have been limited since the moment they left Japan. This also means that their opportunities for learning and practicing the Japanese honorific system have been limited. This might have affected their shift of speech levels in the data, though it did not affect the data fatally because all of them showed a strong command of Japanese.

7. Conclusion

Despite the changes that transformed Japanese society in the thirty-five years since the paper was written, this study found that Martin's four-factor analysis does show the general tendency of a speaker's choice of Japanese speech levels. Based on this general tendency, a speaker makes a decision to use honorific forms or not in a particular utterance, taking into account other situational factors, as analyzed by Cook (1996a, b) and Ikuta (1983).

Although further data will be essential to discern the priority order between age and social position, and to determine whether sex difference is still an effective indicator of honorifics, the results seem to indicate that Martin's four-factor analysis can be a valuable resource for teaching the Japanese honorific system. For advanced learners, practice role playing different characters who vary in the four factors (e.g., a 49 year-old male businessman, and his 35 year-old female doctor) could provide valuable practice regarding when and to whom honorifics should be used. It is the Japanese language teacher's responsibility to offer understandable principles of the Japanese honorific system. In this, Martin's four-factor schema can be an effective guide for Japanese speakers who need to constantly make adjustments in the usage of

honorific forms that reflect subtle and ever-changing shifts in the social environment.

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