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Japanese at Work

Politeness, Power, and Personae in Japanese Workplace Discourse

Edited by Haruko Minegishi Cook and Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith

Communicating in Professions and Organizations

Series Editor
Jonathan Crichton
University of South Australia
Adelaide, SA, Australia

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Haruko Minegishi Cook
Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith
Editors

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Editors
Haruko Minegishi Cook
University of Hawaii at Manoa
Honolulu, HI, USA

Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith
University of California, Davis
Davis, CA, USA

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Notes on Contributors

Andrew Barke is a Professor of English and Japanese in the Faculty of Foreign Language Studies at Kansai University, Osaka, Japan. He received his PhD in International Cultural Studies from Tohoku University in 2001. His areas of research include pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis and he has published on Japanese language and politeness, gender, honorifics, and terms of address. His latest interests include workplace discourse and the teaching of pragmatics in second-language education.

Haruko Minegishi Cook is a professor in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, USA. Her main research interests include language socialization, discourse analysis, and pragmatics. She has published many articles on the Japanese sentence-final particles and honorifics in edited volumes and major journals.

Cynthia Dickel Dunn is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern Iowa, USA. She has published articles on Japanese honorific use, generic intertextuality in Japanese wedding speeches, and ideologies of politeness in Japanese business etiquette training. Her most recent work focuses on narrative constructions of the self and the use of reported speech and thought in Japanese narratives.

Naomi Geyer is Associate Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA. Her research interests are in pragmatics and Japanese teacher education. Her recent research explores the ways in which social norms are constructed in workplace and in second language. She is the author of *Discourse and politeness:*

Ambivalent face in Japanese, and her articles appear in journals such as *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Language Learning*, *Foreign Language Annals*, and *Japanese Language and Literature*.

Stephen J. Moody is Assistant Professor of Japanese in the Department of Asian and Near Eastern Languages at Brigham Young University, USA. He received an MA in economics from the Ohio State University and an MA and PhD in East Asian Languages and Literatures from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. His research interests are in intercultural interaction, particularly in Japanese institutional settings.

Kazuyo Murata is Professor of the Faculty of Policy Science at Ryukoku University, Kyoto, Japan. She received her PhD in Linguistics from Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, in 2011. Her research interests include workplace communication, citizen participation in social decision-making, and human resource development. She has written articles in English and Japanese in the field of workplace communication and community engagement. She has taught undergraduate and graduate course in sociolinguistics and communication study.

Junko Saito is Assistant Professor at Temple University, Japan Campus. Her research interests include sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and discourse analysis. In particular, she focuses on identity construction, including gender identity, politeness, and speech acts in workplace discourse. Her work has appeared in the *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Pragmatics*, and *Gender and Language*. She has also contributed a chapter (co-authored with Haruko M. Cook) to the *Routledge Handbook of Language in the Workplace*.

Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith is Professor Emerita of Anthropology at the University of California, Davis, USA. Her research focuses on Japanese language, society and culture, with an emphasis on gender. Her publications include *Japanese Women's Language* (Academic Press, 1985), *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology* (co-edited with Shigeko Okamoto, Oxford University Press, 2004), and *The Social Life of the Japanese Language: Cultural Discourses and Situated Practice* (co-authored with Shigeko Okamoto, Cambridge University Press, 2016).

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Introduction

Haruko Minegishi Cook
and Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith

This volume empirically explores how different linguistic resources are used to achieve appropriate workplace role inhabitance and to achieve work-oriented communicative ends in a variety of workplaces in Japan. Appropriate role inhabitance is seen to include considerations of gender and interpersonal familiarity (e.g., time in service), along with speaker orientation to normative structures for marking power and politeness. How linguistic resources are deployed to achieve the "right" workplace persona for specific interactional moments is the underlying focus of all the contributions to this volume.

With a few notable exceptions, including the massive paired studies from the 1990s, *Josee no Kotoba: Shokubahen* 'Women's Speech: In the Workplace' and *Dansee no Kotoba: Shokubahen* 'Men's Speech: In the Workplace' (published as a single volume in Gendai Nihongo Kenkyūkai 2011), Japanese workplace discourse based on naturally occurring data

H. M. Cook (✉)
University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI, USA

J. S. Shibamoto-Smith
University of California, Davis, Davis, CA, USA

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has not been fully investigated. This is, perhaps, in part because the workplace is "a restricted research site" (Mullany 2007), but this has not impeded recent researchers from beginning to find ways to develop workplace discourse projects cross-culturally, as we delineate below. Some follow-up work to the paired 1990s studies has also begun in Japan. Gaps remain, nonetheless, in the literature on Japanese workplace discourse, and this project aims to fill some of those gaps.

Research on workplace discourse in Western scholarship has investigated a wide variety of topics including identity construction and speech acts in different workplaces (e.g., Angouri and Marra 2012; Baxter 2008; Koester 2006; Holmes et al. 1999; Holmes 2006; Marra 2012; Mullany 2007; Rees and Monrouxe 2010). It has analyzed how leadership identities are constructed in a wide range of professional and institutional settings. Leadership identities are often constructed by performing speech acts, such as setting agenda, summarizing decisions, and closing the meeting (e.g., Holmes et al. 1999). A higher status can be indexed by the initiating and closing of teasing sequences and small talk as well (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Mullany 2007; Rees and Monrouxe 2010). For example, Rees and Monrouxe (2010), who studied interactions among a student, patient, and doctor in bedside teaching encounters in a medical workplace in the UK, report that it is usually students who are teased and it is doctors who terminate laughter by resuming non-laughing talk. Those in higher positions, however, do not always assert their power and often minimize status asymmetries by various indirect strategies including negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987). In addition, collaborative talk makes status difference less obvious and creates a more equal relationship (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003).

Some studies especially investigated how professional identities are constructed through gendered language (e.g., Mullany 2007). One of the questions about gendered language in the workplace is whether male and female workers in managerial positions issue directives differently (Holmes 2006; Mullany 2007). The dominant ideology associated with workplace directives assumes that while male workers' directives are direct, contestive, and authoritative, female workers' directives are indirect and less authoritative. Contrary to this assumption, the findings of the studies based on naturally occurring workplace interactions indicate

that male and female workers in managerial positions use a wide range of directives, including ones typically associated with the other gender (Holmes 2006; Mullany 2007). This line of research demonstrates that gender is not a major factor that influences the choice of directives. Rather, choice of directives is generally made according to relative power, status, and role responsibility. However, gender inequality in workplaces still remains, due to male and female professionals' perception of gender ideologies (cf. Mullany 2007).

Other studies examined how disagreement is dealt with in the workplace (Angouri 2012; Holmes and Marra 2004; Marra 2012; McCrae 2009). The research found that direct expression of disagreement in the workplace is generally uncommon. In New Zealand workplaces, disagreements are often expressed implicitly or indirectly among co-workers who are native speakers of English (Holmes and Marra 2004). In intercultural settings, disagreements tend to be reinterpreted as miscommunication or misunderstanding (Marra 2012). In some communities, however, disagreement is considered a "normal" work-related action. In companies in Europe, participants in meetings treat "disagreement" as an inherent part of the problem-solving process and do not perceive disagreement as a face-threatening act or impoliteness (Angouri 2012).

In addition, this line of research in Western settings (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Vine 2004) often touches upon the correlation between power and politeness in workplace interactions, which offers information about how workers not only work to achieve their institutional goals but also to maintain good social relationships in workplaces. Some studies have analyzed directives in the workplace to see whether professionals mitigate their directives to accommodate their co-workers' face needs (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Holmes and Woodhams 2013; Koester 2006; Vine 2004). These studies indicate that in issuing directives, professionals carefully manage the balance between getting things done and keeping a good relationship with their subordinates by taking situational factors into consideration (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Holmes and Woodhams 2013; Koester 2006; Vine 2009). Holmes and Stubbe (2003) show that context and setting, the nature and length of relationships, and/or the nature of the required task affect how managers issue directives to their subordinates. For example, a superior tends to use indirect forms to an

unfamiliar subordinate, but her directives may become more direct once the two become comfortable with one another. Attention to co-workers' feelings is another important consideration in issuing directives (Vine 2009). Directives exchanged between equals are always mitigated, and managers soften their directives to their subordinates. In the workplace, where rapport among co-workers is indispensable (Holmes and Marra 2004), humor and small talk contribute to enhancing rapport and minimizing power differences. Humor can mitigate face-threatening acts such as disagreements and requests. Workers in a subordinate position can deploy humor in order to express resistance or disagreement. In addition, humor works as a "tension release" (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 71) when participants in a meeting face difficult situations. In sum, research on workplace discourse in Western scholarship has demonstrated that (1) professionals discursively construct their identity in workplace interaction; (2) workplace gender inequality persists due to professionals' perception and evaluation of gender ideologies rather than use of gendered language; and (3) professionals carefully balance between power and politeness by paying attention to face-needs of their co-workers.

A few studies on Japanese workplaces (e.g., Miller 1988, 1994; Murata 2014, 2015; Saito 2011, 2012; [Shibamoto] Smith 1992; Takano 2005; Yamada 1992) suggest that Japanese business discourse differs from that of the West. This assessment, too, needs more focused empirical support, requiring empirical studies such as several of the contributions in this volume, which directly address findings from the corresponding empirical work in Western settings. But beyond focused comparisons to findings of interest in other regions, it is of critical importance to offer detailed empirical studies of aspects of the Japanese workplace that complicate the associations of, for example, politeness to power(lessness); gender to particular workplace role asymmetries; and workplace talk to seriousness and formality. For example, with respect to the relation between politeness and power, Takano (2005) reported that politeness is a display of power. Since Takano's research predominantly focuses on female professionals in managerial positions, however, it is vital to investigate how other Japanese workers manipulate power and politeness. Further, we need to know more about exactly how power and politeness are negotiated and strategically balanced in different Japanese workplaces, differently located

on societal scales of prestige. Several of the contributions to the volume address either issues of politeness and power or of differences between workplaces, or both. Moreover, research on Japanese workplace discourse needs to include foreign corporations in Japan. Although foreign-invested companies in Japan would be insightful research sites, to date, there have been only a few studies (e.g., Miller 2000; Moody 2014) that focus on intercultural communication at work. This volume also includes one contribution dealing with this critical area.

Finally, the workplace is the primary site where recent graduates from high school or college are socialized into the new identity, *shakaijin* (mature, contributing adult in society). Nevertheless, despite its critical role in the transition from childhood to adulthood, the workplace socialization process has not been investigated with the exception of Dunn (2011). Two of the chapters included here (Chap. 2 by Dunn and Chap. 3 by Cook) make significant contributions to this area of research, adding to the largely Western research on language socialization in the workplace that starts from an understanding of the workplace as "a site where everyone at some stage is new to the environment and has to be socialized into its particular linguistic and cultural environment" (Roberts 2010: 214). The chapters by Dunn and Cook span the "three aspects of workplace language socialization – corporate, professional, and social or personal" (Roberts 2010: 216)—as they are presented to new employees for their adoption in the construction of desired workplace *personae*. Chap. 4 by Shibamoto-Smith approaches the mediatized messages about appropriate workplace communication available in televisual representations, another, albeit less direct, source of "information" about how workplace verbal interaction "should" proceed.

The remainder of the chapters bring together empirical research that explores how linguistic resources that serve to construct various role-specific *shakaijin* identities, once acquired, are deployed strategically in concrete interactions, focusing on key topics in Japanese discourse studies while making major contributions to the cross-linguistic/cultural study of workplace discourse in the globalized context of the twenty-first century. The chapters focused on the *performance* of workplace speech illuminate the real-life complexities that always, and perhaps necessarily, exceed the norm-based socialization training and modeling available to new company employees.

The various contributors' approaches to their analyses include interactional sociolinguistic, community of practice, and constructionist approaches that link their data and findings closely to work on other, particularly Western, research in this area in compatible ways. This allows the book overall to supplement what we know from the literature on Western business discourse in a way that is essential in contemporary projects of globalization in industry and commerce, effectively nuancing both empirical and theoretical claims about communication styles in workplaces, offering language and workplace research a critical look at new aspects of Japanese workplace discourse in ways that allow for easy comparison with the current trends in Western workplace discourse analysis. It offers as well a contextualized look at culturalist claims about the specificity of Japanese communication styles, language and gender, language and class, and issues of native vs. non-native business communication in ways that add to our understanding of Japanese language practices outside the narrative framing of Japanese exceptionalism.

1 The Structure of the Book

The first three chapters explore ways in which what are considered normative ideals for appropriate workplace behavior are promoted, reproduced, and maintained in the business community in Japan. In Chap. 2, Dunn examines the language ideologies and pedagogical practices promoted in business etiquette training courses offered by five different workforce development companies. Dunn demonstrates that the "technologization of discourse" (Fairclough 1996), a major trend in post-industrial societies, takes Japanese-specific cultural forms in the Japanese business community. For example, business training in Japan aims not only to train for good customer service but also to develop the professional persona called *shakaijin* (mature, contributing adult in society). Manner training courses teach a multi-modal semiotic register, which includes language, voice quality, facial expressions, physical appearance, and bodily movement, that displays deference and demeanor. As the standard of this register is highly aesthetic, what new employees know about everyday behavior through previous implicit socialization may be

rejected as "unrefined" (cf. Giddens 1991). Dunn's chapter provides an overview of the type of training newly employed white-collar workers experience in the process of acquiring the business register.

In Chap. 3, Cook continues discussions on how new employees are trained to become competent *shakaijin*. From the perspective of language socialization (e.g., Duranti et al. 2011; Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1990; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986), this chapter qualitatively examines the process of constructing and promoting *shakaijin* in new employee orientation sessions in a small-scale IT company. While Dunn's chapter is based on data collected by participant-observation in contracted training courses, Cook's chapter uses data that were video-recorded by participants in a single company over a two-month period. This offers a crucial extension of Chap. 2 by showing how various socialization activities are implemented by trainers in situ (that is, in the actual workplace) and provides crucial data on how new employees react to these activities. A variety of activities, such as training in self-reflection, consciousness raising, and honorific lessons, are given in the sessions. The trainers categorize new employees as *shakaijin* and remind them that they are no longer students. Cook's chapter suggests how a boundary between formal education and full-time work is still clearly maintained in Japanese society when such a boundary is disappearing in the West (Roberts 2010).

While Chaps. 2 and 3 discuss explicit socialization, Shibamoto-Smith's work in Chap. 4 concerns implicit socialization. Here, the issue of influences of popular media which disseminate to a mass audience versions of language styles and thus potentially implicitly socialize a mass audience into the normative communication behavior portrayed in the media are addressed. This chapter specifically explores language choices of workplace interaction in two TV business dramas. The language choices examined include naming and address forms, sentence-final particles, addressee honorifics, and directives. By qualitatively analyzing the constructed characters' use of these linguistic forms and practices in the dramas, Shibamoto-Smith finds that gendered language still permeates workplace dramas. The chapter closes by raising questions of how much (or whether) models of speech presented in media shape workplace expectations of male dominance and female subordination and impact real women's and men's work lives.

By qualitatively analyzing naturally occurring data collected from a diverse set of workplaces, small businesses, large corporations, and a school, the next five chapters explore how real workers interact with each other, employing both linguistic and non-linguistic resources in the workplace. In these chapters, we find that the considerations underlying language choices in the workplace continually exceed those normative practices taught (or media-circulated) addressed in Chaps. 2, 3, and 4. While Shibamoto-Smith's chapter demonstrates that in the digitized workplace male workers still use stereotypical male language, for example, Saito's work in Chap. 5 discusses how *sarariiman* 'salarymen' (stereotypical Japanese male personae) construct their masculinity during business meetings in a multinational corporation. She examines the *sarariiman*'s uses of the first person male pronouns (more formal *boku* and vulgar *ore*) and the addressee honorific *desu/masu* form and its non-honorific counterpart, plain form, as well as the content of their talk. Her findings are in part in line with those of Occhi et al. (2010) in that *sarariiman* construct public personae during the on-the-record talk by using addressee honorifics and *boku*. She also finds that *sarariiman* assert their masculinity during the off-the-record talk by problematizing their female colleagues, drawing on a gender ideology of subordinate femininity. As much of the previous research on gendered language in Japanese has studied linguistic forms (e.g., pronouns, sentence-final particles, and honorifics), Saito calls for research on gendered language in Japanese to move beyond the study of only linguistic forms to larger pragmatic and discourse phenomena.

In Chap. 6, Barke takes up another under-researched issue: use of a regional dialect in the workplace. To date, only a few studies have discussed how standard and regional Japanese are actually used in contemporary Japanese society (e.g., Okamoto 2008a, b; Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016), and to our knowledge, no study has examined the use of dialect in the workplace. In this chapter, Barke specifically investigates the nature of the relationship between dialect/standard- style shifts and honorific/non-honorific (*desu*/*masu*/plain) form style shifts by analyzing video-recorded data from the morning meetings of a small metalwork manufacturing company located in the Kansai area of Japan. He finds that while the workers use standard forms (non-dialectal forms)

including *desu/masu* and naked-plain forms to display on-stage performance when they engage in the opening and closing of the meeting, they sometimes mix dialectal and non-naked plain forms to talk about matters related to their families and express their intense emotions.[1] His findings provide further support to the previous work highlighting the fluid and nuanced ways in which regional dialect speakers—here employees in the workplace—use dialectal forms to construct or in response to shifts toward more informal or expressive contexts while choosing more standard forms to construct or respond to formal contexts, or even beyond that, dynamically to express a particular, perhaps momentary, socially appropriate "meaning" from the linguistic resources available to them as simultaneously dialect *and* Standard Japanese speakers (Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016: 119–122; see also Woolard (1998: 3) for an extended discussion of the import of "speakers' simultaneous claims to more than one social identity"). Clearly, there are many understudied resources relevant to the performance of appropriate and effective workplace discourse.

Laughter is another feature of verbal interactions that does not appear in the training courses or other socialization practices for new recruits to the workplace. But the role of humor in the workplace should not be ignored, for it enhances rapport among co-workers, which is central to efficient transactions of work (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003). Murata's work in Chap. 7 looks at humor and laughter in business meetings, based on the data collected from three different companies in the Kansai area. She finds that the right to initiate humor is not evenly distributed among the members of a meeting, at least during the on-stage talk of a meeting. Those in power instigate humor whereas those in lower position do not do so. This practice contrasts with that of New Zealand companies, in which any participant is free to initiate humor any time during meetings (cf. Murata 2015). Murata's chapter suggests that in Japanese companies, different norms apply during on-stage talk and off-stage talk in meetings. As for laughter, Murata reports that many occurrences of laughter are linked to mitigation of face-threatening acts (FTA).

In Chap. 8, Geyer investigates directives occurring in faculty meetings at secondary schools and shows that the teachers skillfully negotiate their positions and views by selecting a particular directive form. Geyer focuses

on three directive forms (*-te kudasai*, directives with non-imperative donatory verbs, and *to iu koto de*). Qualitative analysis of the data reveals different contextual factors associated with these three linguistic forms. The *-te kudasai* format is frequently used when the requested content is already agreed upon, a routine activity, or the request is issued by an outside person or authority. On the other hand, directives with non-imperative donatory verbs are often used when issuers frame their request as their own. The quotative formation *to iu koto de* is often used independently from other directive elements. This chapter supplements the more static (and more systematically gendered and status-marked) media representations of directives addressed in Chap. 4, nicely demonstrating how real, on-the-ground interactional complexities exceed the capacity of social norms to capture actual practice. And, just as research on directives in New Zealand workplaces indicate that direct imperatives are typically used when the imposition level is low and more mitigated indirect directives are preferred when there is a higher level of imposition (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003, Vine 2004, 2009), Geyer's findings indicate that the *-te kudasai* format, which is a prototypical request form in Japanese, has a function similar to that of an English direct imperative in workplace discourse.

The final chapter turns to intercultural communication and some of the attendant complications raised for adherence to the normative patterns of business discourse. Chap. 9 by Moody discusses address terms exchanged between Japanese workers and American interns in Japanese companies based on approximately 50 hours of audio-recording data, interviews, and participant observations. One of the obvious ways to discursively construct one's identity is the use of address and referent terms. How one is addressed constructs one's identity at that moment. Moody finds that address terms are non-reciprocally exchanged: Japanese workers address American interns by first name (FN) and that American interns call Japanese workers by their last name (LN)+*san.* This non-reciprocity could be interpreted as marginalization of American interns. However, given that the unmarked default address term for Japanese workers is LN+*san* and for American workers is FN in their respective workplaces, he argues that the uses of address terms in his data are instances of accommodation. Both Japanese and Americans are trying to conform to what is

expected in each other's respective native language and culture (cf. Okamura 2009). Moody also discusses how address terms can serve as resources for doing identity work in intercultural workplace interaction.

Notes

1. Naked-plain forms are plain forms without an affect key such as a sentence-final particle (e.g., *wakaru* 'understand'), and non-naked-plain forms are those with an affect key (e.g., *wakaru ne* 'understand + *ne*').

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2

Bowing Incorrectly: Aesthetic Labor and Expert Knowledge in Japanese Business Etiquette Training

Cynthia Dickel Dunn

Studies of language socialization in Japan and elsewhere have generally focused on the socialization of young children into and through culturally-appropriate language use in settings such as homes and preschools (Burdelski 2010, 2013; Burdelski and Mitsuhashi 2010; Clancy 1986; Cook 1996, 2008; Hayashi et al. 2009). Yet adults continue to master new styles and registers of their native language throughout their lives as they move into new social settings and roles (Dunn 1999; Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002). Gee (2012) usefully distinguishes between primary discourse socialization, which takes place within the family and the local community, and secondary discourse socialization, which takes place in more public institutions, such as schools, the workplace, and formal society. In contrast to a person's primary discourse, which is acquired informally as part of everyday interactions within familiar relationships, secondary discourses are learned in more public, institutional contexts, and are used in less intimate relationships. Such formal and specialized registers are, in a sense, no one's native language, but are

C. D. Dunn (✉)
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA, USA

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acquired later in institutional settings. Secondary discourse learning frequently combines informal socialization through legitimate peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger 1991) with more formal and explicit metalinguistic training resulting in greater metalinguistic awareness.[1]

This chapter examines courses in *bijinesu manā* 'business manners' for new employees at Japanese companies as one type of secondary discourse training. In Japan, the transition from being students to becoming full-time workers and mature, adult *shakaijin* 'members of society', is expected to involve major shifts in self-presentation and language use. Despite the fact that most college students have engaged in part-time work, they are generally seen as ill-prepared for the behaviors and language use that are expected in the business world. Company executives complain that young people fail to greet others properly, lack motivation, do not express themselves well, do not know how to behave when entertaining clients, and do not know how to use honorific language correctly (Pan Nations Consulting Group 2011). There is also a broad stream of media critique targeting the lack of appropriate language and behavior among young Japanese, particularly young women. This ranges from newspaper editorials and letters to the editor (Okamoto 1995) to public service campaigns for better manners on public transportation (Miller 2011). Corporate manners training is part of a larger corporate, state, and media apparatus which defines and disciplines both language use and behavior (McVeigh 2002). A National Language subdivision within the government Agency for Cultural Affairs periodically issues expert guidance on the current state of honorifics and their correct usage (Bunka Shingikai [Council for Cultural Affairs] 2007; Kokugo Shingikai [Japan National Language Council] 1952, 2000). In addition, the Ministry of Education issues manners training guidance for middle schools (McVeigh 2002), and manners training is also prominent in women's junior colleges (McVeigh 1997). Corporate manners training both reflects and contributes to these larger discourses.

This chapter will examine the language ideologies and pedagogical practices displayed in such training. The focus is on the normative ideals for business behavior that are presented to incoming new employees and on the aspects of their self-presentation which are seen as in need of correction. Although much of the training focuses on polite language use,

these seminars treat politeness as a multimodal semiotic register encompassing not only language but also voice, gesture, movement, facial expression, grooming, and use of space. Everyday actions are transformed into aesthetic performances in which the focus is primarily on correctness of *form*. Through such training, the companies attempt to mold employees' personal demeanor in order to communicate a positive public image for their companies, treating employees' bodies as a type of metonymic representation of the company. In doing so, the training companies promulgate standards for business etiquette that they themselves define and market to their client companies as the standard of decorum expected in the Japanese business world.

1 Aesthetic Labor and the Regimentation of Workplace Communication

Giddens describes the late modern world as characterized by "expert systems" of explicitly codified technical knowledge. Such codification involves a "disembedding" of practices from specific social contexts such that they become defined as transposable "modes of technical knowledge which have validity independent of the practitioners and clients who make use of them" (Giddens 1991, 18). Fairclough (1996) in particular has explored what he calls the "technologisation of discourse," in which experts intervene to shape discourse practices for institutional purposes. This involves the emergence of expert "discourse technologists" and a shift in the policing of discourse practices from the local institutional level to the trans-institutional level, ultimately resulting in increased pressure toward standardization of discourse practices across different institutions or corporations. Such training goes beyond technical registers such as those of medicine or the law, to encompass the reshaping of employees' interactional style and presentation of self. In the process, people's more spontaneous and unreflecting forms of interaction are defined as inadequate or incorrect.

Training in communication and self-presentation can also be understood as a form of *aesthetic labor* in which employees are recruited and trained on the basis of their "embodied capacities and attributes" in order

to provide a style of service encounter which conforms to the company's desired image and organizational aesthetic (Warhurst et al. 2000; Witz et al. 2003). This includes the regulation not only of dress and grooming, but also interaction with customers. In call centers, for example, training involves not so much scripting (standardizing *what* is said), but rather styling, the regulation of *how* things are said in terms of such areas as "prosody and voice quality, the way in which particular speech acts should be performed, the choice of address terms/salutations and the consistent use of certain politeness formulae" (Cameron 2000b, 324). From Scotland (Nickson et al. 2001; Warhurst et al. 2000) to China (Hanser 2008; Otis 2007), high-end retail and hotel companies have increasingly refined the aesthetic dimension of service work and customer interaction. Many employers explicitly recognize the importance of an aesthetics of employee appearance and demeanor in recruitment, training, and management (Callaghan and Thompson 2002; Witz et al. 2003).

Much of the research on aesthetic labor has focused on front-line service workers in the retail and hospitality sectors (Nickson et al. 2001; Otis 2007; Pettinger 2004; Warhurst and Nickson 2009; Warhurst et al. 2000; Witz et al. 2003) as well as call centers (Callaghan and Thompson 2002; Cameron 2000b), although Wellington and Bryson (2001) discuss "image consultants" for well-paid professionals in Britain. In Japan, manners training is provided not only for service workers, such as salespeople (Matsunaga 2000) and elevator operators (Miller 2013), but also for white-collar, managerial employees. These employees are trained to interact, not only with the public, but also with corporate clients. This underlines the fact that the training is not only about good customer service, but about developing a professional persona as an adult *shakaijin*. Indeed, several of the trainers pointed out that the manners learned in the courses would be as useful for speaking to superiors within the company as to customers or clients from outside.

Business etiquette training in Japan builds on a long history of attention to details of form and the aesthetics of everyday activity. During the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868) there developed in Japan a system of artistic training known as the *iemoto* system (Ikegami 2005). In the *iemoto* system, both the art form itself and the instructional techniques follow strictly defined formats such that learning proceeds through a process of

mastering and combining standardized forms known as *kata*. The purpose is not creative self-expression, but rather copying the teacher's model as precisely as possible, and learning proceeds through graded stages marked by the granting of certificates and ranks (DeCoker 1998). Over time, the *iemoto* system expanded to encompass a wide variety of disciplines including performing arts, calligraphy, the tea ceremony, painting, poetry, martial arts, and even areas such as sword smithing, swimming, mathematics, sumo refereeing, and culinary techniques (Smith 1998). The *iemoto* system also included schools of etiquette which taught stylized movements for bowing, eating fish, opening sliding doors, or serving sake using the concept of standardized *kata* (Ikegami 2005, 332–341). Etiquette was thus treated as a type of performing art which shared with other *iemoto* art forms an emphasis on the aesthetics of form and the disciplining of the body as a type of self-cultivation (Ikegami 2005, 324–359). Through a similar focus on correct form and bodily presentation, contemporary manners training reshapes employees' everyday behaviors into an aesthetic performance, in which one's behavior is subject to evaluation not only for *what* one does, but for the *manner* in which it is done (Bauman 1977). Although such aesthetic labor is increasingly common in late modern societies, it is influenced by local concepts of politeness with Japanese manners training emphasizing deference and hierarchy more than the "friendliness" which is targeted in U.S. and British contexts.

2 Overview of the Business Manners Classes

The present analysis is based on participant-observation of business manners courses offered by five training companies in the Tōkyō area during spring 2008. I participated in two of the seminars as a student, paying the course fee and participating along with the other students. For the other three courses, I sat in the back of the room and observed and took notes without participating. Two of the courses were designed specifically for employees of particular companies (a temp agency and a company manufacturing cosmetics and personal hygiene products). The other three were

open seminars, which were attended by employees from a variety of different companies. The majority of the students were white-collar, managerial employees, and the employers included an insurance firm, a wedding hall, hotels, a graphic design company, and several small manufacturing firms. The size of the classes ranged from five to 20 students. I was able to audio-record two of the training sessions in their entirety. I also obtained a copy of the training materials for a sixth course that I was not able to attend. In addition, I interviewed four of the instructors and three students from the courses I attended.

These courses are designed for and attended by native Japanese. It is native speakers of Japanese who are assumed to need guidance on how to bow correctly, use honorifics, exchange business cards, and answer the telephone because their ordinary, everyday ways of doing these things are not appropriate for the workplace. Although the five courses I attended differed somewhat in their sequencing and presentation, much of the basic content was the same in all of them. All of the courses included sections on grooming and movement, as well as polite language and honorific use, including sections on answering the telephone (see Wetzel and Inoue 1999). Students also received instruction in the ritualized details of how to exchange business cards. Another unit gave guidance on rank-based seating arrangements at a conference table, in a taxi, or on a train. Following these separate topics, groups of students typically engaged in a role play of people from one company visiting another which allowed them to put together all of the different linguistic and non-linguistic components. In all cases, the training ended by asking the students to set personal goals for improving their self-presentation and polite behaviors in the workplace.

3 Standardization and the Aesthetics of Form

Japanese manners training constructs business etiquette as a multimodal semiotic register in which signs in a variety of different modalities are subsumed under a single metasemiotic typification as "polite behavior" (Agha 2007, 22–25). The business etiquette classes delineated these

modalities as *midashinami* (grooming), *hyōjō* (facial expression), *aisatsu* (polite greetings), *taido* (manner, attitude), and *kotobazukai* (speech style, word choice). Four of the training classes began with a section on personal grooming with check sheets for hair (clean and neat, appropriate length, natural color), clothing (properly ironed, not dirty or torn, appropriate colors and styles), feet (properly polished shoes, no sport socks), and so forth. Students were critiqued for having their hair in their eyes and told to check the length of their fingernails. Watches and other accessories should not be big and showy, make-up should not be too bright, and hair should be left its natural color without dyes or highlights. This section of the course was termed *midashinami*, literally 'body etiquette', in Japanese. In two of the classes, students were asked the difference between the words *oshare* 'stylish' and *midashinami* 'grooming'. The standard answer is that being *oshare* is something one does for oneself, whereas *midashinami* is something one does for others. In this way, personal dress and appearance are subsumed into the semiotic register of politeness as a form of consideration for others rather than individual self-display.

The courses also gave considerable attention to vocal and facial expression. Instructors repeatedly emphasized that simply using polite linguistic formulas is ineffective if the "tone" is not cheerful and friendly (see Dunn 2011, 2013). Phrases such as "good morning" or "thank you" do not convey politeness unless they are accompanied by the correct posture, voice, and attitude. Students were critiqued for speaking too quietly, mumbling, speaking too quickly, trailing off at the end of sentences, overemphasizing the end of sentences, and speaking in a monotone. Similar instructions on speaking loudly and clearly are given to children preparing for elementary school entrance exams (Backhaus 2013), as part of elementary school literacy instruction (Benjamin 1997, 118), and in public speaking courses for adults (Dunn 2016). Speaking loudly and clearly is associated with being *akarui* 'bright' or 'cheerful', a term that also includes smiling, eye contact, and good posture (Dunn 2016). Such behaviors are understood as displaying an appropriate *taido*, which may be translated as 'attitude,' or 'manner'. Callaghan and Thompson (2002) discuss a similar rhetorical focus on "positive attitude" expressed through smiling, fluency, and verbal tone and pitch in the recruitment and training of call center operatives at a British bank.

One of the characteristics of modernity is that forms of behavior which used to be learned through implicit socialization as part of one's habitus are now subject to expert scrutiny and critique, resulting in an alienation from one's own everyday behavior (Giddens 1991). This process can be observed throughout the manners courses as new employees are trained in such everyday forms of movement as standing, walking, sitting, bowing, and giving and receiving objects. Manners training involves the standardization of behavior in much the same way that Milroy and Milroy define language standardization as the "suppression of optional variability" (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 6). For example, bowing is a ubiquitous form of greeting in Japan, and most Japanese have been bowing since before they could walk. Practice in formal bowing starts as early as preschool (Hayashi and Tobin 2015, 87–101). Nonetheless, every class I observed spent considerable time training new employees how to bow correctly. The manners courses emulate the practices of expert knowledge through the development of explicit codification schemes for this everyday behavior. Instructors distinguished *dōji ree* ('bowing while speaking') from *bunri ree* ('bowing after speaking') and informed the students that they would practice the more polite *bunri ree.* Training materials included diagrams illustrating the correct form and three degrees of bowing (the 15-degree bow, the 30-degree bow, and the 45-degree bow) each to be held for a certain number of seconds. Students practicing the most formal, the 45-degree bow, are taught to stand with their feet together and hands clasped together below the waist, to finish speaking before they bow, to keep their backs in a straight line, and to hold the position for three seconds at the bottom before coming up slowly. This eliminates undesirable features such as speaking to the floor, repeatedly bobbing up and down, or bowing with a curved back. Students who enter the courses bowing with a variety of stances and timing are trained to eliminate these variations, defined as imperfections, in order to conform to a normative standard for how to bow.

In observing the manners training, I was struck above all by the emphasis on the details of *form*. When training students to present their business cards, for example, instructors provide explicit attention to every detail: where to carry one's card case, how to hold the card when presenting it (in both hands, with the print facing toward the recipient), what to

say when receiving a business card, the order in which to exchange them, when to put them away, and so forth. Similar attention to an aesthetic of form is found both in the traditional arts, as discussed above, and in contemporary education. Even as young as preschool, children start to receive instruction and practice in various types of ritual interaction which emphasize the performance of prescribed forms of language and behavior at set times and places (Burdelski forthcoming; Tobin 1992) Children preparing to receive certificates at preschool graduation ceremonies, for instance, are taught exactly how to use their hands to receive the certificates and whether to use the right or left foot to step backward after receiving it (Burdelski forthcoming).

Throughout the training, students were encouraged to engage in various forms of self-monitoring and critique, such as the personal grooming check sheets mentioned above. Videotaping was also used as a tool for self-critique and improvement. In two of the classes, students were videotaped giving a three-minute self-introduction to the class which began and ended with a bow. The videos were then played for the class so that people could see how they appeared to others, and the instructors provided commentary on both positive features and areas for improvement. At the end of each course, students were asked to set personal goals for improving their workplace self-presentation, a practice which draws on self-reflection and goal-setting techniques found in Japanese grade schools (Benjamin 1997, 185–88). In many cases, the employees shared these goals publicly, and in one instance they were required to write down their goals and turn them in to their superiors. Students were thus not only provided with standards for appropriate dress, movement, and vocal skills, but were encouraged to engage in practices of self-scrutiny in relation to these standards.

4 Language and Honorific Use

The concern with aesthetics reaches beyond employees' physical appearance to their language use. Japanese is well known for its elaborate system of honorific verb forms. Young people's alleged inability to use these honorifics correctly is one of the main reasons Japanese employers give for the

necessity of manners training. As with bowing, one sees in the discourse surrounding Japanese language use the expert scrutiny which detaches routine behaviors from their context and subjects them to conscious attention and monitoring in relation to an ideal standard. The methods used to teach honorific language to native speakers resemble the techniques of a foreign language course. Once again, the manners courses began with classification: outlining the grammatical rules for forming addressee honorifics '*teeneego*', respect forms '*sonkeego*', and humble forms '*kenjōgo*', based on the traditional classifications of Japanese grammarians.[2] There are regular rules for forming both respect and humble forms, but some verbs also have separate vocabulary items for the respect and humble forms. For example, the respect form of *iku* 'to go' is *irassharu*, and the humble form is *mairu*. Students were given worksheets listing the regular form of common verbs such as *go*, *come*, *eat*, or *do* and asked to fill in the honorific equivalent for both respect and humble verb forms. After the completion of the worksheets, they were drilled on the correct forms by the instructor or asked to drill each other in pairs.

In some courses, the drills were followed by conversation practice in which students were instructed to speak to each other using humble forms for themselves and respect forms for the addressee. This produced extremely stilted conversations with a good deal of giggling as people tried to remember and use the correct forms. In one case, one student asked another what he had eaten the previous day:[3]

Speaker 1:	*Kinō nani o meshiagar-are-mashi-ta ka.*
	Yesterday what DO eat(H+) -H+-Distal-Past QM
	"What did you eat yesterday?"
Speaker 2:	*Hai. Watashi wa sandoicchi o…* [checking worksheet]
	Yes. I Topic sandwich DO
	itadaki-mashi-ta.
	eat(H-)-Distal-Past
	"Yes. I… [checking worksheet] ate a sandwich."

Speaker 2 responded with "*hai*," an acknowledgment generally given to a teacher or superior after being called on, but which would be unusual as an answer to a wh- question in conversation (and may also allow more

time to think). He then used a formal first-person pronoun in a context in which Japanese allows subject ellipsis, provided the name of the object (a sandwich) and then had to check his worksheet to come up with the humble verb form *itadakimashita*. This example is particularly striking because the present tense of the same verb (*itadakimasu*) is regularly used as a ritualized phrase before eating. The routine use of honorific verbs in formulaic phrases does not guarantee their productive use in conversation.

Manners trainers were particularly concerned to eradicate what they defined as "common mistakes" in honorific use. For instance, the first speaker in the example given above was criticized for adding the honorific affix *–are* to the verb stem *meshiagar-* which is already honorific. This doubling of honorific forms in the same verb is considered incorrect, as is mixing humble and respect forms in the same predicate (e.g., *itadaite kudasai* 'please eat' which combines the humble form of 'eat' with the respect form for 'please'). Instructors also critiqued the increasingly widespread tendency to use *ni narimasu* (literally 'it becomes') as a substitution for honorific forms of the copula, as in the phrase *Hanbāgā ni narimasu* which translates literally as 'Here is becoming your hamburger.' By defining commonly used patterns as incorrect, such purist critiques alienate speakers from their native language and contribute to the considerable insecurity that many Japanese feel about using honorific language. Part-time workers at restaurants and convenience stores were inevitably cited as exemplars of incorrect usage, and some instructors used the term *konbini keego* 'convenience store honorifics' as a way of characterizing common mistakes and hypercorrection in honorific use. These are, of course, precisely the types of part-time jobs held by many young people during their college education.

Students in the manners classes displayed varying levels of comfort in using the more elaborate referent honorifics. For example, some students filled in the honorific worksheets very quickly while others hesitated or had trouble remembering certain verbs. One young man told me later that, although he was embarrassed to admit it, the worksheet distinguishing between respect and humble forms was the most valuable part of the entire class for him. When I spoke to Japanese college students, who were preparing for job interviews, their ability to use honorifics smoothly and

correctly without becoming tongue-tied was a major source of anxiety. As one young woman put it, "What if my ordinary way of talking slips out?" The drills and practice may help some workers develop a sense of comfort and fluency in using forms that they have encountered before primarily as passive recipients in service encounters, ceremonial occasions, or the mass media. Yet the issue goes beyond knowledge of the correct forms to a broader insecurity or discomfort with a sustained performance of the correct social persona. During one of the short breaks in the manners classes, for example, I overheard two co-workers in the restroom mocking and exaggerating the honorific language they had been using in class, clearly enacting a sense of distance from the forms they had just been practicing.

As mentioned in Sect. 1, one feature of modern expertise is the "disembedding mechanisms," which detach knowledge from specific contexts and make it transferable across contexts (Giddens 1991, 18). Discourse technologization is characterized by discourse practices which are presented as decontextualized and transposable, often ignoring the contextual embeddedness of discourse (Cameron 2008; Fairclough 1996). This is particularly ironic in the case of honorific use, because it is widely understood that these forms function to index social relationships. Indeed, *wakimae* 'discernment' in selecting the socially appropriate linguistic form for the context and relationship has been argued to be a central and distinguishing feature of Japanese politeness (Ide 1989, 2006). While the manners training provided practice with honorific forms and fluency, no guidance was provided on when to use which politeness level or how to shift between them. Instead, the focus was entirely on mastering the honorific forms viewed as the most formal and least familiar to incoming employees. Similarly, although students were shown diagrams of the three degrees of bowing, they only practiced the lowest. Even when the training moved on to role plays of telephone calls or company visits, the scenarios presented were generic and formulaic. Students were not given practice in handling more challenging interactions such as dealing with an irate customer or asking a favor of a coworker. Empirical research demonstrates that people do indeed shift honorific levels strategically in situations such as sales encounters (Okamoto 1997) or meetings (Geyer 2008). The instructors that I inter-

viewed were cognizant of the need to tailor one's honorific choices to the specific customer or client, yet none of these issues was discussed in the training courses which focused solely on mastering the stereotypically most formal and respectful honorifics.

5 The Indexing of Deference and Demeanor

Given this lack of attention to style shifting, business etiquette training in Japan focuses almost entirely on what sociolinguists have termed *negative politeness*. In negative politeness, the emphasis is on the communication of respect through displays of deference. By contrast, *positive* or *involvement politeness* involves displays of approval, understanding, or solidarity toward the hearer, including behaviors often associated with lower levels of social distance (Bailey 1997; Brown and Levison 1987; Scollon et al. 2013). In British and U.S. contexts, customer service training is often oriented toward involvement politeness and displays of mandated "friendliness," the sincerity of which may be questioned by both employees and customers (Cameron 2000a, 73–85). Fairclough lists as one characteristic of discourse technologization a simulated friendliness using "…meanings and forms which imply and which implicitly claim social relations and identities associated more with domains of private life than with institutional events…" (Fairclough 1996, 74). Perceptions of both server friendliness and the authenticity of that friendliness have been shown to improve customer satisfaction, as long as the server is otherwise competent (Grandey et al. 2005).

Yet this emphasis on friendliness and involvement politeness may not be appropriate in all cultural settings. Behaviors which index intimacy generally do not fit Japanese expectations either for good customer service or appropriate business interaction. Semantic analysis of Japanese politeness words has shown that *teenee* 'polite' actually has a slightly negative correlation with *shitashige* 'friendly' (Ide et al. 1992). Japanese manners training emphasizes deference (negative politeness) over friendliness (positive politeness). Employees are taught how to use the highest honorific levels, not how to shift down. Although the manners classes

certainly discuss presenting a bright, cheerful '*akarui*' appearance, they focus on ritualized behaviors such as bowing, formulaic greetings, and presenting business cards rather than on building rapport. Elements of the training continue to encode traditional hierarchical distinctions such as knowing whom to sit where, how to refer to one's own superior when speaking to someone from outside the company, or who should present business cards first. Thus, the emphasis in Japanese manners training is on mastering linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors which index deference and hierarchy. Japanese employees are taught to say: "We are grateful for your continued patronage" '*Itsumo osewa ni natte orimasu*', rather than "Have a nice day."

This is not to say that Japanese service workers do not, in practice, use less honorific speech styles to create friendliness and rapport. Okamoto (1999) found that relatively low levels of honorific use by marketplace vendors in Kyōto and Ōsaka conveyed a "friendly and lively" atmosphere in contrast to higher levels of honorific use by department store clerks, and that sales people in both contexts sometimes mixed or shifted between honorific levels when talking to customers. Such contextual use and style shifting are neither acknowledged nor prescribed in Japanese business etiquette courses. Thus, the difference is not only in different norms of politeness in different cultures, but in training ideologies which define only one interactional style as "polite" while obscuring the possibility of alternative forms of politeness.

The standardized self-presentation taught in the manners classes involves the display, not only of symbolic *deference* to others, but also of the employees' own *demeanor* as a refined, sophisticated person (cf. Goffman 1956). It is not unusual for Japanese to use honorific language as a way of demonstrating their sophistication and class status (Hendry 1992; Ide 2005), and semantic analysis has found that many Japanese associate words like *teenee* 'polite' and *reegi tadashii* 'correct etiquette' with *jōhin* 'refined' (Pizziconi 2007). Even during the Tokugawa era, when social mobility was prohibited, commoners sought to emulate the arts and etiquette of the samurai class as a means of gaining cultural capital (Ikegami 2005). Ikegami argues that the power of etiquette lies in its ability to "…discipline and regulate people's behavior without causing them to feel compelled or controlled. Those who accept the dictates of

their culture are often voluntarily emulating and accepting what they perceive to be the norms of cultivated behavior" (Ikegami 2005, 324). Certainly the plethora of commercially published etiquette and conduct guides both in the Tokugawa era (Ikegami 2005, 324–362) and in contemporary Japan (Bardsley 2011) are evidence of widespread consumer demand for this type of guidance.

While the use of etiquette for demeanor purposes is certainly not recent, business manners training moves beyond the individual use of etiquette for social mobility to create a socially refined *corporate* image through the aesthetic presentation of employees with a good demeanor. Rather than seeking a specific "look" as part of corporate branding (Pettinger 2004; Witz et al. 2003), Japanese manners training seeks to inculcate what are seen as society-wide standards of appearance and deportment. At one of the companies where I observed manner training, one of the managers told me that they used to do such training in-house but had recently out-sourced it to a professional manners training company. He said that the new employees take the training more seriously if they see it, not as something being imposed by their company, but as a matter of society-wide social standards. The goal, in other words, is to teach people to embody a sense of themselves as a business professional, or in Japanese terms to see themselves as *shakaijin* 'members of society' rather than as *gakusee* 'students' (see also Cook, Chap. 3 in this volume).

6 Conclusion

Japanese business manners training combines discourse technologization involving the expert design and regulation of communication (Fairclough 1996) with aesthetic labor involving a similar regulation of the employee's visual and vocal self-presentation (Warhurst et al. 2000; Witz et al. 2003). The training exemplifies many of the features of contemporary discourse technologization including the emergence of expert discourse technologists, a shift in the policing of discourse practices from local to translocal institutions, the design and projection of context-free discourse techniques, and pressures toward standardization (Fairclough 1996). Yet

if discourse technologization is a key feature of post-industrial societies, it also takes distinctive cultural forms which, in the Japanese case, are grounded in traditional hierarchical etiquette and an aesthetics of standardized forms. From this perspective, deference and correct form, rather than a simulated friendliness, are at the heart of customer service. The regimentation of employees' bodies and behaviors is less a matter of improving the efficiency of customer service than of creating an aesthetic performance. Furthermore, Japanese concerns with aesthetic labor extend beyond the service sector to managerial employees as business manners training attempts to recreate what are viewed as quintessentially Japanese norms of conduct which the younger generation has allegedly failed to acquire.

Manners training, like other discourse technologies, is both predicated upon and reinforces the ideology of standardization. It defines a behavioral standard in the very process of inculcating it. Manners training is thus part of a larger set of technologies, including an enormous variety of etiquette and conduct guides (Bardsley 2011), which promulgate in Japanese society a set of behavioral standards that they themselves define. Students in the manners courses are presented with idealized forms which serve both as a model for their behavior and also as a standard against which to evaluate their own behaviors as well as those of others. The ideology of standardization in turn reinforces the need for expert guidance to correct behaviors learned informally in communities of practice. Thus, native speakers of Japanese can be told that they use certain verb forms incorrectly, and people who have been bowing their entire lives must be taught how to do so correctly. Manners training operates to inculcate an ideology of standardization in which certain linguistic and behavioral forms are defined as correct or incorrect, polite or impolite. Furthermore, such standards are presented as objective and universal, disguising their social construction and positioning.

It is precisely this standard which the manners training companies sell to their corporate clients. They promise to mold employee behavior toward a set of patterns which their training practices define as the socially accepted standard of the Japanese business world. The purpose of manners training is thus the production of employees with a good demeanor, who will communicate a positive corporate image through their embodi-

ment of this socially accepted standard. These attempts to mold employees' language use and presentation of self are rooted in an aesthetics of performance in which the grace of employees' movements and language use function as a semiotic representation of the company and a broader national identity. The business manners training appropriates employees' bodies to create a positive corporate image while reinforcing an ideology of standardization which constructs everyday interactional behaviors as subject to expert knowledge and control.

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Notes

1. Wilce and Fenigsen (2016) make a similar distinction between *emotion socialization* and *emotion pedagogy*, which involves the self-aware, intentional, and metacommunicatively explicit training of emotion discourse and practice in institutional contexts. See Dunn (2016) for a Japanese example.
2. The classification of Japanese honorific forms is a matter of some controversy (see Wetzel (2004) for an English language overview), and at the time of my study in 2008, the Council for Cultural Affairs had recently issued a new five-way classification scheme (Bunka Shingikai [Council for Cultural Affairs] 2007). One instructor mentioned this and provided students with a Wikipedia article on the topic, but then proceeded to teach the traditional tripartite classification.
3. Abbreviations used in glosses: Distal = distal form, DO = direct object marker; H+ = respect form; H- = humble form; Past = past tense; QM = question maker, Topic = topic marker.

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3

Socialization to Acting, Feeling, and Thinking as *Shakaijin*: New Employee Orientations in a Japanese Company

Haruko Minegishi Cook

1 Introduction: Language Socialization in the Workplace

From the perspective of language socialization, this chapter examines ways in which new employees are socialized into the new identity of *shakaijin* 'mature, contributing adult(s) in society' in new employee orientation sessions in a Japanese company. Language socialization research investigates how young children and other novices learn to become competent members of a social group by participating in routines of culturally organized activities (Duranti et al. 2011; Garrett and Baquedano López 2002; Kulick and Schieffelin 2004; Ochs 1988; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, b). Language is not only a symbolic system but also a tool for creating, maintaining, and changing social and psychological realities. In this sense, linguistic and sociocultural knowledge is acquired hand-in-hand. Thus, young children simultaneously acquire language and

H. M. Cook (✉)
University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI, USA

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sociocultural information indexed by language. For example, the expression, "Boys don't cry" may socialize young children into the social reality of gender inequality (cf. Bernstein 1972). The use of addressee honorifics teaches young Japanese children social contexts in which a display of a public self is appropriate (Burdelski 2013; Cook 1997). Language socialization, however, is not limited to early childhood but extends through the life span. Ochs and Schieffelin (2008) state:

> …language socialization transpires whenever there is an asymmetry in knowledge and power and characterizes our human interactions throughout adulthood as we become socialized into novel activities, identities, and objects relevant to work… (Ochs and Schieffelin 2008: 11)

The workplace is an important socializing context, for it is where asymmetry in knowledge and power exist between trainers and subordinates. It is the workplace where adult novices are not only implicitly but also explicitly socialized (or not socialized) into the cultural values and practices of the business/professional community. Although the number of studies on adult language socialization in the business/professional community is still small, partly due to limited access to workplaces and professional schools for data collection, researchers have examined socialization processes in workplaces and professional schools in the West (Duff 2008; Roberts 2010). Some studies have explored how adult novices are trained to be professionals in a professional school or a workplace in different fields, including vocational (Jacobs-Huey 2003, 2007), legal (Mertz 1998, 2007), healthcare (Arakelian 2009; Hobbs 2004), and science (Vickers 2007). For example, Jacobs-Huey (2003, 2007) examined the process by which African American cosmetology students are socialized into specialized hair terminology and professional conduct by textbook reading, personal narrative, and role-play. They learn how to professionally talk about haircare as well as how to talk to complaining customers. Mertz (1998, 2007) studied how first-year American law school students are socialized to a new world of legal communication by participating in Socratic dialogue with professors and a simulated courtroom interaction. Hobbs (2004) discusses physicians' progress reports used in hospitals, which are full of abbreviations. She contends that physicians need to be socialized into the discourse convention of physicians' progress reports in order to

become fully competent as a physician. These studies examined language socialization of adult novices in a professional setting and revealed ways in which novices are transformed into a new identity by acquiring critical skills required by their profession. Other studies focused on a bilingual or multilingual work environment as many workplaces have become multilingual and multicultural in the West (Duff et al. 2000; Li 2000; Parks and Maguire 1999; Roy 2003; Sarangi and Roberts 2002). This body of literature documents the challenges that newcomers encounter in the workplace or professional community where the cultural and linguistic norms differ from those of newcomers. For example, Sarangi and Roberts (2002), who examined the oral membership examinations for the medical profession in the UK, found that foreign candidates tend to fail in the examination due to the fact that they are not socialized into the discourse of gatekeeper interviews. Li (2000) illustrated how a female Chinese immigrant worker is socialized into new sociocultural norms of American business manners through exposure to and participation in interaction with co-workers in an American company. Duff et al. (2000) discussed how adult immigrants who are trained to be long-term resident care aides are socialized into new ways of communicating with different categories of people in the hospital or nursing home facilities.

To date, studies on language socialization in Japanese workplaces are scarce. As I discuss in Sect. 3, one of the major differences between the West and Japan in terms of employment is that getting a full-time job after completing formal education is a major transition in life in Japan. In order to prepare for this transition, companies offer in-house orientations or send their new employees to courses offered by a business manner training company. These orientations place much more emphasis on polite behavior, including polite language, than technical and procedural aspects of a new job. Dunn (2011, 2013, Chap. 2 this volume) investigated such business manner courses offered by business manner training companies. She reports that these courses attempt to transform recent graduates from college into *shakaijin* by providing lessons in self-presentation and use of honorific registers. While Dunn's studies focus on the instructors' lectures and comments, this chapter analyzes interactions between senior employees and new employees in new employee orientations and sheds light on the process of socialization in the Japanese workplace.

2 Data

The research site for this study is a small-scale IT company (18 employees) called Fuji, located in Tōkyō.[1] Because Fuji's business is to provide an IT service to other companies and institutions, the employees work at other companies and institutions on a regular basis. Thus, they are neither directly supervised by their superiors nor do they see each other daily. Due to lack of direct supervision of the employees' work performance, the company provides new employees with a month-long orientation, which consists of two parts, namely, sessions on business skills/management and composition training. This chapter uses as data the business skills/management sessions. As shown in Table 3.1, the business skills/management sessions cover a wide range of topics from how to use honorifics to how to manage time and money. These topics indicate what kinds of acts are considered crucially important for *shakaijin*.

According to Mr. Iino, a senior company employee and the senior instructor of the orientation, the overall goals of the orientation are to improve new employees' communication skills and to ensure that new employees behave properly as Fuji's representatives in the company or institution where they are sent to work. He emphasized that the orientation is particularly important because their new employees are mostly science majors, who are typically poor at social skills. Like other Japanese companies, Fuji hires new college graduates at the beginning of April every year. In 2013, Fuji hired four new college graduates in their early twenties. Data were collected by video-taping the sessions, which took place almost daily from April through early August, 2013.[2] The researcher was not present at the orientation. The participants are two senior employees, Iino and Hata, who serve as trainers, and four new employ-

Table 3.1 Major topics covered in business skills/management development sessions

1	How to make direct eye contact with your interlocutor and smile
2	First impressions (dress cleanly, tone of voice, and use of words)
3	Correct usage of honorifics
4	How to listen
5	How to pay attention to others
6	How to behave proactively
7	Representative of the company
8	Importance of being punctual

ees, Katō, Nishi, Satō, and Waki. Iino is in his late thirties, has worked for the company for ten years and holds a managerial position, and Hata is in his late twenties and has worked for the company for two years as a programmer. Hata is the primary instructor while Iino's responsibility includes supervising Hata's performance as an instructor. All the participants are male except for Satō. Each session lasted for 30 minutes to an hour. The recorded data were transcribed.

To supplement the video-recorded data, I conducted a survey of 30 college students at a private university in Kanagawa Prefecture in 2015.[3] In the written survey, the students were asked to provide answers to the following seven questions concerning differences between students and *shakaijin*: (1) What social roles do students play in society? What social roles do *shakaijin* play in society?; (2) What skills are necessary for students? What skills are necessary for *shakaijin*?; (3) By whom and in what ways are students evaluated? By whom and in what ways are *shakaijin* evaluated?; (4) Who is responsible for students? Who is responsible for *shakaijin*?; (5) Do students have time for themselves? Do *shakaijin* have time for themselves?; (6) Who do students typically associate with? Who do *shakaijin* typically associate with?; and (7) What type of language do students use in their daily life? What type of language do *shakaijin* use in their daily life?

3 Full-Time Employment as a New Life Stage

In the recent trend in most Western societies, the boundaries between formal education and work have become blurred, and it is not unusual for people to move back from work to education (Roberts 2010). However, in Japanese society, for the most part it is still the case that a period of formal education leads to work, and the boundaries between the two are clearly marked by the change of identity from student to *shakaijin*. This boundary is referred to as *shakai ni deru* 'go into the world', meaning getting a full-time job after completing formal education. This is evidenced by the fact that only a handful of universities in Japan accept *shakaijin* applicants.

In Japan, it is customary for most companies to hire full-time employees once a year. To hire full-time employees from recent graduates, companies test and interview applicants (college or high school seniors) during the fall and

winter months prior to their graduation in March of the next year. Newly hired full-time employees are *shinsotsu* 'newly graduated' and start to work at once in April after graduating from college or high school in March. Once new graduates are hired by a company as a full-time worker, they are categorized as *shakaijin* and expected to act as *shakaijin*. The survey of 30 Japanese college students about the status of students and *shakaijin* confirms the different social expectations of the two groups. For example, most of the students surveyed believe that, in contrast to students, *shakaijin* are responsible adults. Thirty three percent of the students responded that while parents and/or teachers are responsible for students, *shakaijin* take their own responsibility, and 30 percent said that the responsibilities of *shakaijin* are heavier than those of students. Eighty percent of the students indicated that whereas students have a lot of free time, *shakaijin* do not. Furthermore, 70 percent of the students think that *shakaijin* must be able to use honorifics or polite language whereas students are allowed to speak informally. The survey clearly indicates that students are well aware that they are expected to acquire a new identity. Thus, shifting from the status of student to that of *shakaijin* is a culturally significant life transition in Japanese society. Once they complete their formal education and start working full-time, Japanese young people are considered to be "adults." This mature "adulthood" is the foremost qualification of a competent member of the business community.

To make this transition smooth and successful, many Japanese companies offer new employee orientations either by using their own in-house staff as instructors or by hiring a company which specializes in business manner training. Or sometimes, employees are sent to a business manner training school (see Dunn, Chap. 2 in this volume).

4 Socialization to Acting, Feeling, and Thinking as *Shakaijin*

The status of *shakaijin* is not attained by prior work experience. Thus, although the new employees in the present data have some experiences of part-time work while they were students, these work experiences do not count toward the status of *shakaijin* (see also Dunn 2013). A new full-time employee, just graduated from college (*shinsotsu*), is positioned as a complete novice in the business world, and he or she is seen as needing to be socialized into a competent *shakaijin*. The ideological construct of *shakaijin* comes

with a range of culturally appropriate acts and affective and epistemic stances. Simply knowing the difference between *shakaijin* and student is not sufficient for new employees. They are required to act, feel and think like *shakaijin*. As indicated in Table 3.1 in Sect. 2, the orientation sessions at Fuji focus on communication skills (how to talk and listen), appearance (how to dress), and (how to pay) attention to others. Besides giving lectures, the orientation trainers use various practices to make the new employees act, feel, and think like *shakaijin* in order for them to become a competent member of the business world. The new employees are sometimes hesitant to embrace the practices prescribed for them. This section discusses socialization processes by qualitatively analyzing interactions between trainers and new employees.

4.1 "You Are No Longer a Student": Contrast Between *Shakaijin* and Student

The identity of *shakaijin* is ideologically contrasted with that of student. The orientation trainers at Fuji often remind the new employees that once they become *shakaijin*, stereotypical behaviors and appearance of students are no longer allowed. In Example (1), Hata gives a lecture on how *shakaijin* should speak.

Example (1) 0430 [Trainer—Hata, New Employees—Satō, Waki]

1	Hata:	*kotobazukai gakusee kotoba de wa nakute*
2		*rironteki de aite ni wakariyasuku kanketsu na hanashikata o (..) kokorogakemashō*
3		*ketsuron kara saki ni hanasu toka (..) yokee na shūshokushi o tsukenai toka*
4		*sō iu tokoro desu ne*

English translation

1	Hata:	How to speak. Do not use student language and
2		Let's try to (..) speak logically, concisely and clearly for the listener.
3		State your conclusion first (..) and don't use unnecessary modifiers.
4		Those are some examples.

Here Hata first tells the new employees not to use student language and then urges them to speak logically, concisely and clearly. In other words, Hata implies that the language that students speak is illogical, not concise and unclear. His negative assessment of student language evokes an image of students as people who are not mature enough to think logically and clearly. Thus, Hata is implying that the new employees should grow up and use the language that adults (*shakaijin*) use. He mitigates his advise by *-mashō* 'let's', a positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987).

The trainers also use stories that depict the contrast between student and *shakaijin*. In Example (2), Iino is making a point that hairdos and clothes acceptable for students are no longer appropriate for *shakaijin* by narrating a story of one of the employees who changed his hair color when he officially started to work. Hata offers his personal experience as well.

Example (2) 0430-1 [Trainers—Hata and Iino, New Employees—Satō, Waki, Katō, and Nishi]

1	Iino:	*kaminoke mo ano ano daigakusee no koro ni bando yattete makkaka toka da to ne*
2	?:	((laugh))
3	Iino:	(..) *naiteesha kenshū no toki wa ka- kami makka datta de nyūsha suru toki*
4		*makkuro ni somete uchi wa kihon kuro dakara tte chanto somete kita n dakedo*
5		*kuro ni somete mo sugu wakaru*
6	Iino:	[((laugh))
7	Satō:	[((laugh))
8	Iino:	[((laugh))
9	Hata:	*hijō ni kuroi*
10	Iino:	*sō sō* ((laugh)) (..)
11	Iino:	( ) *someteta desho tte kanji no kuro na n desu*
12	Hata:	*boku mo afuro de kimashita kara ne*
13	Iino:	*sō sō* ((laugh))
14	Hata:	(..) *hai*
15	Iino:	((laugh)) (..)
16	Hata:	*˚de:su ne˚*

17	Iino:	*ma gakusee no toki wa yurusareru to omou n dakedo shakaijin ni natte kara wa*
18		*nakanaka sono chotto hanashichatta to omou n desu kedo ironna sedai ni*
19		*sukareru kakkō kamigata toka mo fukumete ano ishiki shite moraereba na to*

English translation

1	Iino:	Also hair uh uh when you were a student playing in a band and your hair was, for example, really really red
2	?:	((laugh))
3	Iino:	(..) at the time of the orientation prior to the official starting date, (this person's) hair was really red, and when he officially started working
4		he dyed his hair black as coal. Our company's (guideline) is black hair so he colored his hair
5		but even if he dyed his hair black, it is obvious that he colored his hair.
6	Iino:	[((laugh))
7	Satō:	[((laugh))
8	Iino:	[((laugh))
9	Hata:	(his hair) is really black.
10	Iino:	Right, right ((laugh)) (..)
11	Iino:	( ) it was a kind of black that showed he used hair color.
12	Hata:	I too came (to the orientation prior to the official starting date) with an Afro,
13	Iino:	Right, right ((laugh))
14	Hata:	(..) yeah
15	Iino:	((laugh)) (..)
16	Hata:	didn't I?
17	Iino:	Well, when you are a student, it is allowed, I think, but after you become *shakaijin*
18		uh uh I think as I already told you, I hope you consciously dress in a manner
19		which appeals to different generations, including hair style

Iino starts contrasting appropriate ways of dress for *shakaijin* with clothes and hairdos students enjoy by providing a story of a current Fuji employee who showed up at a *naiteesha kenshū* 'orientation meeting prior to the official date of hire' with his hair really really red.[4] Iino emphasizes the word, *makka* 'really red' by reduplication (*makkaka*) in line 1, which indexes his negative assessment of such a hair color. Every year before April 1, Fuji holds *naiteesha kenshū*, an orientation meeting for students who are hired to work as full-time workers starting in April. Since those who attend this meeting have not begun their work yet, their status is still that of student at the time of this meeting. Iino continues to narrate that this person came to work in April as a new employee covering his red hair with very dark hair dye. Then in line 12, Hata offers his personal story, saying that he too had an Afro hairdo when he attended *naiteesha kenshū*. Iino's laughter in lines 13 and 15 highlights his recollection of Hata's eccentric hair style then. After discussing cases of really, really red hair and Afros seen in past *naiteesha kenshū*, Iino makes a sharp contrast between the status of student and that of *shakaijin* in lines 17–19. He states that such a hair color and style are allowed while one is still a student but then he hesitantly proposes that once one becomes *shakaijin*, he or she must be aware of styles of clothes and hairdos which appeal not only to the young generation but also to other generations. In lines 17 and 19, he hedges his statement by making a reference to his prior mention of this topic (*chotto hanashichatta to omou n desu kedo*), by using a conditional clause (*moraereba*), which makes the statement tentative, and by marking his utterance as a quote with the quotative *to* to indicate that his proposal is his own personal thought. These hedges are negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987) that attempt to minimize the imposition on the new employees.

These two examples show that ideologically the image of students is of youth who are immature and free, whereas that of *shakaijin* is of individuals who are mature and observe social norms even at the expense of individual preferences. The trainers highlight such contrasts between student and *shakaijin*, which helps construct the identity of *shakaijin*. Although status superiors in workplaces have the right to issue directives to subordinates, doing so is still an FTA (face-threatening act) (Brown and Levinson 1987). The status superiors serving as orientation trainers at Fuji skillfully mitigate FTAs by both positive and negative politeness

strategies. They tell the new employees politely but firmly that the new employees must leave behind the student identity.

4.2 Self-Reflection

The trainers sometimes advise the new employees to reflect on their behavior. Self-reflection is another technique the trainers try to instill in the new employees in order to socialize them into their new identity. In Example (3), Hata presses the new employees to self-reflect on their actions.

Example (3) 0410 [Trainer—Hata, New Employees—Katō and Nishi]

1	Hata:	*shakaijin to shite tekisetsu na kōdō hatsugen ga dekite iru ka dō ka::*
2		*jibun de kangaete chekku shite mimashō* ( ) *jiko chekku na n desu kedo*
3		*dareka ga nanka suru toki ni ki ni naru koto tte aru to omou n desu yo*
4		*kore tte ii no kana:: to*
5		*sore wa dōryō demo hoka no kaisha no hito demo senpai demo jōshi demo na n desu kedo*
6		*sō iu koto o jibun wa shite inai no ka o tama ni chekku suru to iu imi desu ne*

English translation

1	Hata:	whether (you) are able to act and speak appropriately as *shakaijin*
2		let's reflect on it. ( ) It is a self-reflection but
3		I think when someone does something (inappropriate), you may feel uneasy about
4		his/her action, wondering if this is OK.
5		It can be your colleagues, people from another company, superiors or a boss,
6		but reflect on your actions sometimes in a sense to check if you are acting in such an (inappropriate) way.

Here Hata not only asks the new employees to reflect on their own behavior but also advises them to learn from bad examples of their colleagues, superiors, bosses, and other people. Hata warns the new employees not to imitate bad examples and urges them to constructively utilize bad examples as a resource for learning.

4.3 Consciousness Raising

One of the socializing activities the trainers conduct is consciousness raising. Consciousness raising is performed often by directly asking questions or giving test questions. The new employees, however, do not always embrace their new identity. In Example (4), the trainer is conducting a consciousness-raising activity so that the new employees will consciously make an effort to take on the new identity.

Example (4) 0429 [Trainer—Hata, New Employees—Satō, Waki, Katō, and Nishi]

1	Hata:	*ee shakaijin ni naru to iu koto mā minasan shakaijin desu* (..)
2		*shakaijin (..) to iu ishiki wa mebaete kimashita?*
3	Satō:	[((laugh))
4	Waki:	[((laugh)) *sō desu ne*
5	Katō:	*yappari jikan ga nakunaru nde*
6	Hata:	*a: jikan nai yo ne shakaijin ne*
7	Katō:	*nai desu*
8	Hata:	*gakusee n toki isogashii to omotta no wa nan darō mitai na*
9	Waki:	[((laugh))
10	Satō:	[*tashika ni*
11	Hata:	*sō desu ne: ee minasan shakaijin to iu koto na node ee jikaku o mochimashō tte koto na n desu*

English translation

1	Hata:	uh to become *shakaijin* well you are all *shakaijin* (..)
2		Has the sense of *shakaijin* grown within you?
3	Satō:	[((laugh))

4	Waki:	[((laugh)) well
5	Katō:	As I expected, I do not have time so.
6	Hata:	Uh, don't have time, *shakaijin*.
7	Katō:	I don't.
8	Hata:	It's like "why did I think that I was busy when I was a student?"
9	Waki:	[((laugh))
10	Satō:	[Certainly.
11	Hata:	That's right. The point is that uh because all of you are *shakaijin*, let's have a self-awareness of it.

Hata categorizes the new employees as *shakaijin* in line 1 and then asks if they have become consciously aware of being so in line 2. Because the new employees are so categorized, it is harder for the new employees to say that they are not aware of their new identity. Instead of providing a negative answer, the new employees avoid directly answering Hata's question. Both Satō and Waki display a hesitant attitude with laughter and/or the expression, *sō desu ne* 'well'. Katō does not directly respond to Hata's question either. Instead, he states that he does not have as much time as he expected and ends his turn with *nde* 'so'. In the next three turns, Katō and Hata co-construct the identity of *shakaijin* as someone who has no time. Aligning with Katō, Hata repeats that *shakaijin* have no time. Hata's use of the particle *yo* here indexes his claim of epistemic primacy (Hayano 2011), but he softens it with his uses of the particle *ne* to elicit Katō's agreement (Morita 2002). Katō aligns with Hata by repeating *nai desu* 'don't' in line 7. In line 8, Hata highlights the busy life of *shakaijin* by contrasting it with that of a student (i.e., a *shakaijin*'s busy life is not comparable to that of a student). Because Hata's question in line 2 was not directly answered, in line 11, Hata again categorizes the new employees as *shakaijin* and urges them to be aware of their status. Despite Hata's categorization of the new employees as *shakaijin*, the new employees show signs of hesitation to accept their new identity. Perhaps they feel that they are not ready to take full responsibility as *shakaijin*.

In order to raise consciousness, the trainers also ask test questions concerning differences between *shakaijin* and students. However, the frame of the activity (consciousness raising) is not shared by the new employees. Example (5) illustrates this.

Example (5) 0429 [Trainer—Hata, New Employees—Satō, Waki, Katō, and Nishi]

1	Hata:	*de gakusee to shakaijin no ōkina chigai wa nan deshō ka?*
2		(0.3)
3	Hata:	*okane ni kanshite*
4	Nishi:	*okane ni kanshite*
5	Waki:	(.) *okane ga moraeru* ((laugh))
6	Hata:	((distribute handouts))
7	Katō:	*okane o* (.) ( ) *kasegi ni iku*
8	Hata:	*hai*
9	Waki:	[((laugh))
10	Satō:	[((laugh))
11	Hata:	*Satō san*
12	Satō:	(.) *n:: to*
13	Hata:	*nan demo ii desu*
14		(0.3)
15	Hata:	*gakkō ni iku ka kaisha ni iku ka demo ii desu*
16	Waki:	[((laugh))
17	Satō:	[((laugh))
18	Katō:	[((laugh))
19	Nishi:	[((laugh))
20	Satō:	*okane ni kanshite desu ka?*
21	Hata:	*hai a sokka okane ni kanshite de shibatta n da*
22	Waki:	[((laugh))
23	Satō:	[((laugh))
24	Katō:	[((laugh))
25	Nishi:	[((laugh))

English translation

1	Hata:	And what is a big difference between student and *shakaijin*?
2		(0.3)
3	Hata:	concerning money
4	Nishi:	concerning money
5	Waki:	(.) (*shakaijin*) receives money. ((laugh))
6	Hata:	((distribute handouts))

7	Katō:	(*shakaijin*) goes to (.) ( ) earn money.
8	Hata:	Yes.
9	Waki:	[((laugh))
10	Satō:	[((laugh))
11	Hata:	Ms. Satō
12	Satō:	(.) Uhm
13	Hata:	Anything is fine.
14		(0.3)
15	Hata:	Whether you go to school or to work is OK.
16	Waki:	[((laugh))
17	Satō:	[((laugh))
18	Katō:	[((laugh))
19	Nishi:	[((laugh))
20	Satō:	Is it concerning money?
21	Hata:	Yes.That's right. (I said) concerning money.
22	Waki:	[((laugh))
23	Satō:	[((laugh))
24	Katō:	[((laugh))
25	Nishi:	[((laugh))

In line 1 Hata asks about the difference between *shakaijin* and students. Because no one immediately answers his question, he narrows the scope of his question to the sphere of money in line 3. In line 4, Nishi displays his understanding of Hata's utterance by repeating it. Waki's laughter accompanying his response in line 5 suggests that he thinks that the answer to Hata's question is obvious. Then Katō rephrases Waki's response, which triggers more laughter on the part of Waki and Satō. Their laughter again implies that they find that an answer to Hata's question is obvious. Then, in line 11, Hata nominates Satō. Her hesitation *n:to* 'well' and her 0.3 second pause indicate that it is difficult for her to come up with any other answer. Hata says that any answer is fine and tries to help Satō by providing a possible answer in line 15. The fact that all four new employees laugh again suggests that they find the possible answer Hata provides is too obvious. Because Hata's comment in line 13 (Any answer is fine) contradicts his earlier question (difference between

shakaijin and student in terms of money), Satō asks for clarification on whether the question is regarding money. When Hata recalls that he restricted the question to the sphere of money, the new employees laugh at Hata's forgetfulness. The fact that Hata forgets the specific formulation of his question implies that a specific form of the question is not important, which suggests that the goal of this test question is to raise the new employees' consciousness of being *shakaijin* rather than to test their specific knowledge about the difference between students and *shakaijin*. This example illustrates that there is a gap between the trainer and the new employees with respect to the understanding of the activity they are engaged in. While the new employees understand Hata's question as testing their specific knowledge about *shakaijin*, the trainer treats this question as a means of consciousness raising.

4.4 Learning the Indexical Associations of the Business World

One of the important steps in socialization to become *shakaijin* is to learn the indexical link between a particular behavior or appearance and a particular disposition, which is mediated by the ideology shared by the members of the business world. For example, non-use of honorific language and unclean, sloppy or excessively fashionable clothes are indexically linked to untrustworthiness. The trainers sometimes check if the new employees' value judgments are in line with the dominant ideology of the business world. In Example (6), Hata discusses the indexical association between sloppy clothes and untrustworthiness. In these sessions, the trainers emphasize that fashionable clothes are not always a good fit in the business world where new employees meet people of older generations, who favor more conservative clothes. Here, Hata points out the importance of cleanliness in appearance and adds that people who look unclean and sloppy give a negative impression and are not trusted. Then he checks the new employees' own judgment, but their responses are rather lukewarm, if not negative.

Example (6) 0430-1 [Trainers—Hata and Iino, New Employees—Satō, Waki, Katō, and Nishi]

1	Hata:	*ee seeketsukan no aru fukusō o suru. aite ni ataeru inshō. fukusō ni kansuru mittsu no pointo.*
2		*daiichi inshō no sandai yōso* (..) *to iu jun de*
3		*susumemasu* (..) *de aite ni ataeru inshō na n desu ga* (..) *moshi seeketsukan*
4		*no nai fukusō o shite iru to mawari ni fukaikan o ataemasu.*
5		*jissai kureemu ni tsunagatta koto a aru n deshita kke?* ((looking at Iino))
6	Iino:	*un*
7	Hata:	*hai* (.) *ano genba no hō kara chotto kakkō nantoka shite kudasai mitaina*
8		*kita koto a arimasu to: inshō ga waruku narimasu ne de shinyō sarenai* ((28 turns omitted))[a]
9	Hata:	*shinyō sarenai* (..) *tte iu no wa* (.) *fukusō ga darashinai hito*
10		*shinyō shimasu ka? shimasen ka?* (..) *anmari ishiki shitenai?*
11		(0.3)
12	Waki:	*˚anmari shinyō shinai* (.) *hai˚*
13		(0.4)
14	Satō:	*˚ishiki shitenai desu˚* (..)
15	Hata:	*jibun wa shakaijin ni natte kara* (..) *ki ni suru yō ni narimashite*

English translation

1	Hata:	Uh, wear clean clothes. An impression you give to others. Three points concerning clothes.
2		First, three important elements of first impression. (..)
3		I will proceed in this order. (..) As for an impression you give to others (..)
4		if your appearance is lacking in cleanliness, you give an unpleasant

5		impression to others. In fact, we had a case that triggered a complaint, didn't we? ((looking at Iino))
6	Iino:	Yeah
7	Hata:	Yes (.) uh the company where our employee went to work complained to us saying, "Can you do something about his appearance?"
8		When this happens, he makes a bad impression. So he is not trusted, ((28 turns omitted))
9	Hata:	not trusted (..) that is (.) Do you trust sloppily dressed people
10		or do you not trust such people? (..) Are you unaware (of such a thing)?
11		(0.3)
12	Waki:	˚I do not trust (them) much˚ (.) yeah.
13		(0.4)
14	Satō:	˚I am not aware (of such a thing). ˚ (..)
15	Hata:	After I became *shakaijin*, I became aware (of such a thing) and

[a]The omitted portion is Example (3)

Here, the trainers, Hata and Iino are giving a lecture on how to dress appropriately for business. From line 1 to line 4, Hata initiates a new topic of how to dress for business by reading the manual. In line 5, he begins narrating a story of a certain Fuji employee's sloppy appearance, about which the company where he went to work complained. Hata summarizes in line 8 that when a company complains about the appearance of a person, then he or she has given a bad impression and is unlikely to be trusted. In lines 9 and 10, Hata checks if the new employees themselves can indexically associate sloppy dress with untrustworthiness. Because in lines 7 and 8, Hata already had mentioned that sloppy clothes give a bad impression and lead to mistrust, the answer Hata expects is obvious. After a 0.3 second pause in line 11, Waki whispers that he does not trust such people much. Waki's pause and whispering voice suggest that he is not completely in agreement with the ideology of the appropriate dress code presented to

him by the trainer. Perhaps he realizes that he has to agree with Hata in the orientation session even when he personally disagrees with him. Then after a 0.4 second pause, Satō responds. Satō answers in a whispering voice Hata's second question, "Are you unaware (of such a thing)?" Satō's delayed response in a whispering voice indicates that this is a dispreferred response (Pomerantz 1984). When the answers to Hata's questions are obvious, the new employees' long pause and whispering voice index their resistance to being socialized into the ideology of dress code in the business world. When Satō's response is negative, Hata relates that he himself became aware of the untrustworthy nature of sloppily dressed people only after he became a *shakaijin*. This is an indirect way of telling Satō that as a *shakaijin* she should know that sloppily dressed people are not to be trusted. The telling of Hata's personal experience here highlights what a *shakaijin* is expected to do and urges the new employees to embrace the ideology of dress code in the business world. Here the new employees are learning the beliefs about the connection between sloppy appearance and what such an appearance socially means in the business world.

4.5 Lessons on Honorifics

The Japanese language has two types of honorifics, namely addressee honorifics and referent honorifics (Shibatani 1990). While the addressee honorifics are acquired early around the age of 3 (Burdelski 2013; Cook 1997), the use of referent honorifics is challenging even for young adults. This is partly due to the morphological complexity of the referent honorifics and partly due to the indexical nature of the referent honorifics which categorize the speaker, the hearer, and the third party into the *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group' (Wetzel 1994). Because the make-up of the speaker's in- or out-group changes from context to context, the appropriate use of referent honorifics entails an ability to determine whether the person being referred to is within the speaker's in-group or out-group in relation to others. For instance, when a client calls the section head of a company while he is out of the office, his subordinate should treat him as an in-group member and not use an other-elevating verb to refer to him. Conversely, when the section head's family member calls him while he is out of the office, his subordinate should treat him as an out-group

member and use an other-elevating verb to refer to him. In general, students are allowed to make mistakes in using referent honorifics. Once they enter the business world, however, they are expected to use referent honorifics in an appropriate manner. In other words, one of the qualifications of *shakaijin* is a mastery of referent honorifics. Thus, companies include lessons on honorifics in their new employee orientation. In addition, there are business manner training companies which offer courses on business manners including the use of honorifics (Dunn 2011, Chap. 2 in this volume).

The appropriate use of honorifics is consequential for the social group, especially the company's image and profits (also see Dunn Chap. 2 in this volume). As evidenced in Iino's lecture in Example (7), the appropriate use of honorifics indexes trustworthiness and it is also a tool for smooth communication without making the addressee feel uncomfortable or hurting his or her feelings. Thus, for *shakaijin,* the mastery of this tool is not optional but indispensable in order to succeed in business.

Example (7) 0722 [Trainer—Iino, New Employees—Satō and Waki]

1	Iino:	*keego tte muzukashii n desu kedo ano tekisetsu ni tsukaenai to*
2		*inshō o sagete shimau koto ga aru node*
		((a few lines omitted))
3		*keego wa aite o fuyukai ni shitari kizutsuketari shinai yō ni*
4		*komyunikeeshon o totte aite ni ukeirete morau tame no dōgu no*
5		*hitotsu (.) desu ne*
6		((a few lines omitted))
7		*hai keego ga tsukaeru to ma sakki chotto* (*hanashi ni deta*) *kedo*
8		*ano mā aite ni taishite ii inshō o motte moraeru to iu koto de*
9		*anshinkan o ataeru koto ga dekimasu gyaku ni tsukaenai to*
10		*fukaikan o ataete shinyō saremasen to iu koto desu ne*

English translation

1	Iino:	*Honorifics* are difficult but uh if you can't use them appropriately,
2		you may impress others unfavorably
		((a few lines omitted))

3	*Honorifics* is one of the tools that you use in order to communicate with others
4	without offending and hurting them and
5	in order to be accepted by them.
6	((a few lines omitted))
7	As I just told you, if you can use *honorifics*,
8	you can give others a sense of security by making a good impression
9	On the contrary, if you cannot use *honorifics*
10	you offend others and are not trusted.

At Fuji, lessons on honorifics include not only lectures but also testing of the new employee's knowledge of referent honorifics. In Example (8), the new employees incorrectly use honorific verbs in relation to in- and out-group distinctions. Here by providing a hypothetical situation in which his family member calls Section Head, Mr. Yamada who is currently out of the office, the trainers ask the new employees what they would say in this situation if they were Mr. Yamada's subordinates.

Example (8) [Trainers—Hata and Iino, New Employees—Katō and Nishi]

1		Hata:	*ano miuchi no kata kara denwa dattara dō shimasu?*
2	→	Katō:	*Yamada buchō wa ima gaishutsu shite imasu.*
3		Hata:	*e:: Nishi kun*
4	→	Nishi:	*Yamada san wa ima gaishutsu chū desu.*
5	→	Hata:	*ee* (0.2) *chigaimasu*
6			(0.2)
7	→	Hata:	*kochira wa* (.) *ee keego o tsukawanai to ikenai.*
8		Iino:	*shasen de wa*
9		Hata:	*Yamada buchō wa*
10	→	Nishi:	*˚gaishutsu nasatte* [*imasu.˚*
11		Hata:	[*nasatte imasu ga tadashii desu ne.*
12		Nishi:	*ā*
13		Hata:	*aite gata ga* (.) ((outward hand gesture)) *uchi de wa naku soto*

14		*Yamada buchō wa ai-* (.) *miuchi no kata kara to Yamada buchō-*
15		*miuchi- Yamada buchō ga soto de jibun ga uchi na n de*
16	Nishi:	*hai*
17	Hata:	*soto ni taishite keei harawanakya ikenai*.
18	Nishi:	*ā*

English translation

1	Hata:	Um, what would you say if (Mr. Yamada's) family member calls?
2	Katō:	Section Head Yamada is[Addressee Hon] out of the office now.
3	Hata:	Uh:: Mr. Nishi.
4	Nishi:	Mr. Yamada is [Addressee Hon] out of the office now.
5	Hata:	Uh (those answers) are wrong.
6		(0.2)
7	Hata:	This one uh you have to use honorifics.
8	Iino:	(when you talk) on the company phone.
9	Hata:	Section Head Yamada
10	Nishi:	°is out of the office [Referent Hon] [Addressee Hon] °
11	Hata:	"*nasatte imasu* [Referent Hon] [Addressee Hon] " is correct, isn't it?
12	Nishi:	Ah
13	Hata:	The calling party (.) ((outward hand gesture)) is not (your) in-group but out-group.
14		Section Head Yamada (.) from his family Section Head Yamada
15		family- Section Head Yamada is out-group and you are in-group so
16	Nishi:	Yes.
17	Hata:	You have to show respect to an out-group member.
18	Nishi:	Ah

Example (8) appears in Cook and Burdelski (2017) as Example (4).

In response to Hata's question, Katō and Nishi answer by employing only addressee honorifics in lines 2 and 4, when the use of referent hon-

orifics is expected. Hata states that their answers are wrong and instructs them to use referent honorifics in line 7. Hata and Iino co-construct this as Iino conveys that honorifics must be used when talking on the company's phone. Hata begins to provide a correct expression by saying *Yamada buchō wa* "Section Head Yamada" in line 9. Then Nishi breaks in and starts to complete the sentence using the other-elevating verb (*nasatte* 'do') in a whispering voice in line 10. When Nishi utters the other-elevating verb *nasatte*, Hata completes his sentence by repeating *nasatte*, which confirms that Nishi's use of honorifics is correct. Apparently, the new employees are still struggling to identify who is the in- or out-group member in a given context and the use of referent honorifics. Hata explains that an other-elevating verb is needed here because in this case Mr. Yamada and his family are out-group members from the speaker's point of view, and so they must display *keei* 'respect' to Mr. Yamada.

In the case of the new employees, they initially failed to come up with an other-elevating verb to index out-group membership (of the caller's family member). The exchange in this example, and similar examples in the data, indicate that the orientation trainers provide new employees with metapragmatic comments on honorific usage and give them opportunities to correct their misuse of honorifics. In this way, the explicit socialization of referent honorifics is emphasized later in life, as young people enter the business world.

5 Conclusion

This chapter qualitatively examined the process of socialization into *shakaijin* in new employee orientation sessions in a Japanese company. These sessions are instances of formal and explicit socialization in the workplace. New employees are positioned as complete novices in the business world who need to be explicitly socialized into the norms and practices of the business world. The senior employees serving as orientation trainers teach new employees how to act, feel, and think as *shakaijin* by performing various activities such as self-reflection, consciousness raising, and contrasting *shakaijin* with students. They also explicitly point out an indexical link between sloppy appearance and lack of honorifics

with untrustworthy disposition. To make the new employee a trustworthy member of the business world, a lesson on "correct" honorifics usage is incorporated as an important part of the orientation. The new employees do not always answer the questions correctly concerning referent honorifics and are instructed in the appropriate use of honorifics. This chapter revealed that the new employees display some resistance to taking on the new identity when the trainers categorize them as *shakaijin* and politely urge them to consciously be aware of it and act accordingly. Perhaps the new employees are overwhelmed by the amount of requests the trainers make and not sure to what extent they can be qualified as *shakaijin*.

While the trend of the workplace in the West is a disappearance of the boundary between formal education and work (cf. Roberts 2010), this chapter has demonstrated that in Japanese society a boundary between formal education and full-time work is still clearly marked by the ideological notions of students and *shakaijin*. Despite the world trend toward a globalized economy, Japanese companies' new employee orientations contribute to keeping this boundary intact in Japanese society.

Due to limited access to workplaces for data collection (cf. Mullany 2007; Roberts 2010), the analysis of this chapter is based on the new employee orientation sessions from only one small-scale IT company. Thus, I am not claiming that the findings of this study are generalizable to other Japanese companies. However, these findings are consistent with those (Dunn 2011, 2013, Chap. 2 in this volume) concerning business manner training schools in that the importance of appropriate uses of honorifics and consideration to others is taught. We still do not know how other types of Japanese companies socialize their new employees to *shakaijin* status. Does a new employee orientation in larger companies differ from that presented in this chapter? Also, no research has been done as to how small-scale manufacturing companies and Japanese companies that hire foreign workers provide new employee orientation. These are issues that merit further research.

Transcription Conventions

( )	Unclear utterance
(( ))	Commentary
?	Rising intonation

(.)	Micro-pause
[	Overlap
(1.2)	Silence in second/tenths of a second
° °	Reduced volume

Notes

1. Fuji is a pseudonym.
2. As the two new employees, Satō and Waki, were initially sent to work in another company, they started to attend the orientation sessions about two months after they joined Fuji.
3. Cynthia Dunn kindly provided me with a sample of a survey questions concerning the differences between students and *shakaijin* that she asked students in an English class at a liberal art college in Kyūshū, Japan. The set of seven survey questions used in this study is a modified version of Dunn's survey questions.
4. Japanese companies interview and give graduating students a contract to work a few to several months prior to April when all new employees start to work. *Naiteesha kenshū* is a meeting held in March for those who are hired before the actual starting date of work in April.

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4

Representing the Japanese Workplace: Linguistic Strategies for Getting the Work Done

Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith

1 Introduction

Chap. 1 in this volume deals with explicit training in verbal politeness for newly employed trainees, Chap. 2 with less specifically linguistic but nonetheless explicit socialization into appropriate corporate communication behaviors as *shakaijin*. But hints about normative understandings of how to speak in specific social contexts circulate outside the explicit pedagogical sphere as well: as noted by Pizziconi (2011: 67), "normative prescriptivism is not the [sole] prerogative of public institutions." Indeed, beyond the explicitly pedagogical training in appropriate workplace speaking practice offered by the training programs analyzed by Dunn (Chap. 2 in this volume) and the in-house socialization analyzed by Cook (Chap. 3 in this volume), popular media continually disseminate to a mass audience versions of language styles—"messages" as it were, about how (whether it be successfully or unsuccessfully) to get one's point across in some particular context (Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016).

J. S. Shibamoto-Smith (✉)
University of California, Davis, Davis, CA, USA

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In previous work, I have examined gendered "messages" about who is and who is not suitable to play the lead roles in print and televisual romance texts transmitted through particular deployments of language form (Occhi et al. 2010; Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008; Shibamoto Smith 1999, 2004; Shibamoto Smith and Occhi 2009) and have argued that these "messsages"—delivered through dialogue constructed in the service of forwarding the dramatic narrative rather than in instructing others how best to speak—can be especially powerful forces, precisely because of their implicitness, in shaping audiences' ideas about appropriate and inappropriate ways of speaking.

Moreover, such broadcast messages present to a national audience "certain co-textually and contextually presented *personae* 'available' to the audience for their consumption" (Agha 2010: 311–312). And, despite the fact that these constructed characters and their speaking styles are not necessarily taken by listeners or viewers as aligned with empirically observable speech, they can serve as metapragmatic commentary on different varieties of speech as right (or wrong) for particular contexts, thus serving as a site from which ideas about "good" (or "bad") speech for a given social situation can be absorbed.

This chapter turns to such mediatized messages about workplace speech to explore how men and women in the workplace are portrayed as speaking agents, who can, despite their constructed character, serve as vehicles for modeling certain types of workplace behavior for viewing audiences. The local focus will be on directives given in the workplace. Critically, however, as demonstrated in the materials presented here, we will see that directives—like all other speech acts—are pervasively subsumed within a normatively gendered speaking matrix that underlies the narratives, the characterological constructions, and ultimately, the speaking choices manifested by each 'speaker/character' in the two drama series in question.

On a final note before introducing the data, I note that, although I refer to the various characters in this chapter as "speakers," the dramas that I deal with here do not, in fact, deal with real-life speakers, with all their complexities of personal biographies and individual orientations toward social norms, including gender norms. Indeed, there is a large literature discussing the utilization of *yakuwarigo* 'role language' in popular media not as an implicit guide to appropriate behavior but rather as a shorthand of sorts

that allows not-always-perfectly-attentive viewers to recognize the roles each character is likely to play in the narrative of any given dramatic series (see, e.g., Kinsui 2003, 2011; Kinsui et al. 2014).[1] So claims that serial televisual dramas offer *accurate* replicas of the discourse found in real-life workplaces must be viewed with considerable caution, a point to which I return in the Conclusion to this chapter. Moreover, although I argue that these dramas can serve as something like "implicit conduct books" (Shibamoto Smith 2008: 383–3), it is recognized that in these media sites where ideology addresses individual consumers (here, viewers), their reactions are always open to refusal and/or negotiation (Agha 2011, Cole and Pellicer 2012). They do, nonetheless, offer a potential site of learning something about how to talk in the workplace to those viewers who are new in or are about to enter into the world of the corporate *shakaijin* (see Cook, Chap. 3 in this volume). We turn, then, to what can be learned about workplace discourse through media representations.

2 The Data

Data are drawn from two recent *kigyō dorama* 'business dramas' chosen on the basis of two cross-cutting criteria.[2] First, the dramas chosen for analysis featured a core team consisting of a man and a women; second, this team had substantial interactions both within their corporate workplace and with workers in other corporate workplaces, permitting an examination both of how the internal status (and other) hierarchies manifested themselves in language and of how the in-group/out-group differences covered in language training classes and manuals (see Dunn, Chap. 2 in this volume) were manifested. It was an added bonus that the two dramas had different screenwriters, so that any similarity of pattern found could not be attributed simply to one author's style. The first drama, *Hanasaki Mai ga Damattenai!* 'Hanasaki Mai Speaks Out' (HMD), centers on the workplace investigations of Hanasaki Mai, a former bank teller, and her boss in the home office's *Rintenhan* 'Investigation Unit,' Sōma Ken, a careerist at a seeming dead end with respect to advancement and a strikingly passive approach to his investigative work. They form a two-person team at the Tōkyō Dai-Ichi Ginkō main bank headquarters,

whose work is to investigate any wrongdoings in the bank's branches, and there are many. The 10-episode series, based on novels by Ikeido Jun with screenplays by Matsuda Hiroko, Umeda Miga and Yokota Rie, aired on Wednesday nights at 10:00 on Nihon Terebi in 2014; average ratings were 16.0 percent. The second, *Risuku no Kamisama* 'The God of Risk' (RK) follows the Risk Management Office of Sunrise Corporation, a large general trading company, headed by crisis management expert Saigyōji Satoshi. Because of a scandal during the first episode, Kagari Kaori, a fast-rising female star at Sunrise, is "punished" for someone else's scandal (and cover-up) by being reassigned from the elite Electronics Division to the newly formed and somewhat suspect Risk Management Office. There she joins Saigyōji and two other subordinates. This 10-episode Fuji Terebi series, screenplay by Hashimoto Hiroshi, also aired on Wednesday nights at 10:00, but in 2016, in competition with *Hanasaki Mai ga Damattenai* Season 2; ratings suffered accordingly. Both dramas are set in large enterprises based in Tōkyō. They differ in approach to the serious business of uncovering and correcting improper or illegal business practice(s), but the overall framing of the narratives center, week by week, on a serious lapse in one or another bank branch or one or another of Sunrise Corporation's subsidiaries. The difference in approach is largely one of atmosphere, with Hanasaki and Sōma presented with a lightness reminiscent of the female protagonists of the older workplace dramas (*shokugyō dorama*) that emerged in the 1990s (see Lukács 2010). Lightness is nowhere to be seen in the relentlessly serious portrayals of Saigyōji, Kagari, and the rest of the Risk Management team. Despite these differences in mood, we will see that the characterological formations in the two series, at least as manifested in language, are startlingly similar.

The dramas were chosen from a category of realist productions, that is, productions that generally try to offer realistic situations, especially as they deal with the many issues in society. They do not create characters and situations that are absolutely out of the realm of social possibility, such as the 2011 *manga*-derived Nihon Terebi detective series *Deka Wanko* which featured a young female detective whose goth-loli[ta] fashion sense jarred her dark-suited male detective colleagues and who solved crimes by out-sniffing even the best police dogs. They do, however, use more dramatic story lines and include characters who, while perhaps recognizable as types of

workplace figures, may be presented in exaggerated form. And, even without the possible distractions of dramatic emphasis and slightly over-the-top characters (Tabe 2015), it is known that even in largely social realist dramas fictionalized dialogue is not isomorphic in either form or function to everyday verbal interaction; in a study of the conversations in the U.S. sitcom *Friends* compared to natural conversations, for example, Quaglio (2009: 89, 137) found that the televisual friends were more emotional and more emphatic than real friends and that they included much more narrative in their conversation than real friends. This latter makes sense since real friendly interlocutors can assume a great deal of prior knowledge about each other and their doings, but televisual friendly interlocutors, who have to keep their audiences up to speed on what is going on, cannot be constructed on that assumption. Thus, Quaglio suggests, some of the differences found must be attributed to the constraints of the medium *vis-à-vis* an unknown audience. It is not surprising, then, that similar differences were found in the present data. The need for extended narratives "explaining" what is going on to a co-present character, in particular, was striking in both the dramas series under analysis here.

Directives form the specific local focus of my analysis. The first, third, seventh and final episodes of each drama were fully transcribed and all scenes containing directives extracted for a formal analysis of speaker-addressee gender and relative status, directive type (that is, command, request, etc.), linguistic forms (especially politeness forms) chosen, and response (that is, compliance *v.* resistance). But directives do not occur in a linguistic vacuum; they are relatively salient points where speaker identity and speaker-addressee relationship are particularly marked, but they do not appear in an interaction separately from the larger discursive context. And these two particular drama series are especially useful for highlighting the pervasively gendered nature of that context, in ways outlined in the next section.

3 The Gender Matrix

There is a substantial literature on gendered language in Japan and limitations of space preclude a full review; for our purposes here, it must suffice to say that the stylistic norms for women to be more gentle, refined, and

polite than men have tended to be seen in women's purported use of special naming and pronominal practices, special "feminine" sentence final particles, and a greater use (than counterpart male speakers in a similar context) of honorifics and politeness forms (see, e.g., Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008; Shibamoto Smith 2003). Below, I examine the larger discursive context of the two dramas with respect to these aspects of language choice.

3.1 Naming and Address

To begin with naming and pronouns, the first obvious gender-marked usages appear not in the dramas themselves but in the official websites that the respective stations create for fans. Normal reference and address practice for adults in Japanese is to use the addressee or referent's last name plus an honorific title of some general type (e.g., *-san, -sama, -kun*) or an occupational title (e.g., *shachō* 'president', *sensee* 'professor'). In written descriptions, these titles '*keeshō*' may be omitted, but the use of last names is customary. And the episode descriptions on the dramas' respective websites follow this convention *except* in the case of female characters. See Example (1a, b). Last names are given in bold font, first names are underlined.

Example (1a) HMD Episode 7: References to Hanasaki Mai (f), Sōma Ken (m)[3]

*Tōkyō Darasu wa, Shinagawa Shiten kara 5000man-en no yūshi o ukete ita. Mai wa **Sōma** to tomo ni, wairo o uketotta kōin ga dare na no ka o shiraberu tame, Shinagawa Shiten e mukau... Mai to **Sōma** wa sono jinbutsu o tsukitome, toitsumeta.*

Tōkyō Dallas (a steakhouse) received a ¥50,000,000 loan from the Shinagawa Branch [Bank]. Mai heads to the Shinagawa Branch with **Sōma** to investigate which bank employee was bribed. … Mai and **Sōma** identify the culprit and interrogate him.

(http://www.ntv.co.jp/hanasakimai1/story/07.html, accessed May 12, 2016)

Example (1b) RK Episode 4: References to Saigyōji Satoshi (m), Sakate Mitsuki (m), Yūki Minoru (m), Kagari Kaoru (f)

Sanraizu Bussan no gurūpu kigyō de aru Namioka Jushi no kōgyōyakuhin sōko de kasai ga hassee shita. ***Saigyōji*** *wa, Sanraizu Bussan shachō,* ***Sakate*** *no shiji de, Kaori,* ***Yūki*** *to tomo ni genchi ni mukatta.*

A fire broke out at the industrial chemical warehouse of Namioka Resin, a company in the Sunrise Corporation group. At the direction of [Sunrise] president **Sakate**, **Saigyōji**, with Kaori [and] **Yūki** [another member of the risk management team], head to the site.
(http://www.fujitv.co.jp/risk_no_kamisama/story/index04.html, accessed May 12, 2016)

Here we see clearly that the female characters are positioned differently with respect to naming norms than the male characters. And it is not only with respect to the two central female characters, but even with respect to female characters in other companies, where attention to the rules of out-group deference might be expected. See Example (2).

Example (2) RK Episode 6: Reference to Mochizuki Takako (f), lead scientist, Shindō Eisaku (m), Saigyōji Satoshi (m), Yūki Minoru (m), Kagari Kaori (f); data has been leaked from a research laboratory, and the risk management team is on site.

Shin'yō Yakuhin no ***Shindō*** *shachō wa, … purojekuto riidā no* ***Mochizuki*** *ni chōsa e no kyōryoku o meejiru.* ***Mochizuki*** *no annai de purojekuto rūmu o otozureta* ***Saigyōji****tachi wa, nyūshitsuyō nanbākii ya, seezai kimitsu e akusesu suru tame no pasuwādo o teekiteki ni henkō shite inakatta koto o shiru. Soko de Kaori wa, kimitsu deeta e no akusesu rireki ya purojekuto no zenkiroku o teeshutsu shite hoshii to Takako ni irai shita.*

Shin'yō Pharmaceuticals president **Shindō** orders project leader **Mochizuki** to cooperate with the investigation. **Saigyōji** and his team go with **Mochizuki** to the project room, where they learn that the access keypad number and the [computer] access code to the classified data are not changed regularly. At that point, Kaori asks Takako to provide the access log and project data.

(http://www.fujitv.co.jp/risk_no_kamisama/story/index06.html, accessed May 12, 2016)

Example (2) offers a particularly interesting mixed profile of the pharmaceutical company's scientist. As a worker with enough expertise and status to be appointed a major research project leader, one might expect her to be referred to the way other group leaders are, that is, by her last name. And when interactions with her company's president and with risk management team leader Saigyōji are being depicted, she is. It is only when she interacts with "Kaori" (last name = Kagari) that she becomes "one of the girls" and is referred to by Takako, her first name. The hint at the gendered treatment of the characters seen in the websites is echoed, albeit rarely, in the dialogue, along with other practices that establish women (and especially women-to-women) as a distinct category. See Example (3), which is an interaction between Tachibana Yuka, one of Kagari's female friends at Sunrise Bussan, and a young female star who Tachibana has recruited to make a major commercial for Sunrise.

Example (3) RK Episode 2: Phone call from the young idol to Tachibana

Idol	*Yuka-san, o-negai, tasukete*
Tachibana	*E? Dōshita?*
Idol	*Tomodachi ga chi o haite taoretete*
Tachibana	*Doko ni iru no?*
Idol	Yuka-san, please, help [me]
Tachibana	Huh? What's wrong?
Idol	My friend vomited blood and collapsed
Tachibana	Where are you?

To be sure, this is hardly a *workplace* interaction in the strict, or even quite loose, meaning of the term; it is, indeed, an after-hours plea for a personal rescue. But the relationship between these two women is a work relationship and that this plea for rescue is not unrelated to work is made clear when the young star points out that since Tachibana selected and groomed her for the Sunrise commercial, her ruin, should there be a public scandal, is likely to affect Tachibana's standing at Sunrise as well. And in point of fact, there is a public scandal and Tachibana is negatively affected. But that takes us too far off course.

3.2 Sentence Finals

Sentence Final Particles

Returning to the notion of a pervasive gendered matrix of language norms that will be seen to constrain the deployment of directives, we see in Example (3) that the use of Tachibana's first name is not the only feature of this brief interchange worth noting. We see also the absence of addressee honorific forms (*onegai* not *onegai shimasu* 'please', *dōshita* rather than *dō shimashita* 'what's wrong?', *iru* instead of *imasu* 'to be [somewhere]'), and the presence of one feminine sentence final particle (SFP) in Tachibana's *Doko ni iru* ***no****?*

And it is not only the young female characters who use feminine forms. Although there are no examples of female executives in *Hanasaki Mai ga Damattenai*, two episodes of *Risuku no Kamisama* feature a female director of research and a female company president, respectively. Both make substantial use of feminine sentence final forms when talking either with other women or with their assistants. See Examples (4) and (5). Stereotypically feminine final forms (and the one feminine first-person pronoun *atashitachi*) are bolded.

Example (4) RK Episode 6: Director of Research, Ōtake Mitsuko (f) meets Project Director Moshizuki Takako (f) in office hallway

Ōtaka	*Mita* ***wa yo****:, kono aida no Nikkee Bijinesu.*
Mochizuki	*Wagasha no shinyaku kenkyū gijutsu no shōraisee wa tsutaerareta to omotte imasu.*

Ōtake	*Suggoku yokatta **wa yo**. Ta:da, shashin no fukusō wa chotto onna o dashisugi datta **no ka mo** nee. **Atashitachi** wa tada de sae 'onna no kuse ni' to iwareteru n dakara, ki o tsukete*↘
Mochizuki	*Hai.*
Ōtake	[turns to Harada, a male representative from Sunrise Corp.] *A, Harada-san, Mochizuki wa heesha no eesu desu. Kore kara mo yoroshiku onegai shimasu.*
Ōtake	I saw [the article about you], in *Nikkee Business.*
Mochizuki	I think that the future potential of our research on new medications came through.
Ōtake	It was really great! But…maybe your outfit in the photograph(s) was a little too feminine. We women, our accomplishments are always being shrugged off as 'despite being a woman', so be careful↘
Mochizuki	Yes.
Ōtake	Ah, Mr. Harada. Mochizuki is the 'ace' in our company. Please continue to treat her well.

Example (5) RK Episode 8: Tousen Apparel President Takanaka Kiriko (f) to her CFO Komatsu Shirō (m); meeting in her office concerning Tousen's financial problems

Takanaka	*Akaji wa komaru **wā**. Ginkō ni mo kōchō da to tsutaete aru **no yo~**. Anata, keeri buchō **Ø yo nee.***
Komatsu	*Saizen o tsukushite mimasu.*
Takanaka	Being in the red is a problem. We've already reported to the Bank that things are going well. *You*'re the CFO, right?
Komatsu	I'll do my best.

We see in these examples that women in status superior roles quite readily use feminine language with other women and with subordinates. In light of the body of research showing certain strongly feminine sentence finals (e.g., *wa*↗, *kashira*)—which in other scenes in this series appears in the speech of President

Takanaka as well—being effectively *shigo* 'obsolete' (see, e.g., Mizumoto 2006; Mizumoto et al. 2008), this is hardly realistic. The reasons these figurations appear with such consistency are not known, but as Nakamura (2013: 78–79) points out, when translators and dubbers for popular media were surveyed, they overwhelmingly supported their use of stereotypical *joseego* 'women's language' forms in translating foreign women's speech, on the grounds that readers or audiences would feel discomfort '*iwakan*' if they didn't. It may well be that screenwriters, too, feel it would be unnatural not to deploy these markers of femininity. On the other hand, it may be more promising to view this "unrealistic" deployment of feminine forms as one instance of drawing on the Kinsui group's notion of *yakuwarigo* 'role language' as a shorthand for viewers, so they can quickly grasp what part any particular female character is likely to play in the larger narrative, even though viewers are fully aware that real-life speakers in a context would use language differently. We return to issues of characterological figuration and naturalness in the Conclusion.

Addressee Honorifics

There is one final aspect of the gendered overlay to the dialogue in these dramas series, and that is the gendered prescription for women to be "polite," a prescription that is often construed as constraining women to use more polite language in the same context than men. This aspect is more difficult to address than address and reference practices and sentence final particles, since workplace status and role intertwine with gender in ways that are hard to tease apart with the limited data at hand. There is one set of contexts, however, where the saliency of asymmetric role occupancies is reduced but where the asymmetric use/non-use of addressee honorifics remains intact, suggesting that gendered norms and not merely status norms may be at work.

The two central characters in *Hanasaki Mai ga Damattenai!*, Hanasaki Mai and Sōma Ken, both love to eat. When they travel to branch banks, they carry with them restaurant guides that they check assiduously before and after their branch visits. After hours, they also frequently convene at Hanasaki's father's restaurant, where they talk shop and eat her dad's great food. Example (6) is an early example of how their conversations go. Addressee honorifics are in bold.[4]

Example (6) HMD Episode 1: Leaving a bank branch at lunchtime; Hanasaki is complaining to Sōma about the branch manager

Hanasaki	*Mukattsuku!! Ano kuso shitenchō!*
Sōma	*Iisugi da yo. Aite wa shitenchō da zo.*
Hanasaki	*Dakara nan nan **desu** ka. Madoguchi gyōmu nante dare ni de mo dekiru nante joshi kōin o baka ni shisugi **desu** yo.*
Sōma	*Hanasaki, koe ga dekai.*
Hanasaki	I'm so pissed off! That shitty branch manager!
Sōma	That's going too far. You're talking about a branch manager.
Hanasaki	So what (***desu***)? *He* went too far (***desu***), putting down the female staff [when he said] anyone could do the work of a teller.
Sōma	Hanasaki, you're too loud.

In the first line of Example (6), Hanasaki is effectively talking to herself and addressee honorifics are absent. She's "pissed off," and expresses her anger not with the more age-neutral *hara ga tatsu* 'to be angry', but with the younger speaker-associated *mukatsuku* and that with geminated consonants [c:] and [k:] for emphasis. And that the tone of what is to ensue is not going to be what is expected of workplace conversation with a status superior is further supported by her rough—and arguably unfeminine—characterization of the branch bank manager they have just parted from as *ano **kuso** shitenchō* 'that **shitty** bank manager'. But that a hierarchy of some sort is maintained is evidenced by the consistent use of addressee honorific *desu* 'is' on her part in contrast to Sōma's equally consistent use of plain forms (*da* v. *desu* 'is', *dekai* v. *dekai desu*[5]).

At this point, Hanasaki turns around to see that she and Sōma are in a long line of businessmen waiting to get into a small restaurant for lunch and asks Sōma what they are doing here on the street. From there we follow them into the restaurant for some *agetenmori* 'soba [noodles] with tempura' that Sōma had read about in one of the many magazines and books devoted to introducing *B-kyū gurume* 'B-rank cuisine'. We next find them seated at a table beginning to eat. In Example (7), all addressee honorifics are in bold.

Example (7) HMD Episode : Inside the *agetenmori* restaurant

Hanasaki/ Sōma	[in unison] *Uma?!!!*
Sōma	*Omae to hajimete iken ga atta yō na ki ga suru yo.*
Hanasaki	*Konna oishii o-soba o hajimete* ***tabemashita.***
Sōma	*Ma, ike to iwarerya zenkoku doko no shiten ni mo ikanakya naranai ga, kō yatte kakuchi no umai mono ga kueru to iu no wa rinten no daigomi da na.*
Hanasaki	*Hokkaidō de kani to ka* ***ii desu*** *nee.*
Sōma	*Kani to ieba Kanazawa, iya, Fukui mo sutegatai.*
Hanasaki	*Oishisō.*
Sōma	*Ma, kono chikaku ni wa aji furai no umai mise ya hayashi raisu ga zeppin to iu mise ga aru mitai dakedo na.*
Hanasaki	*A, dattara ashita mo* ***kimasen*** *ka.* [Sōma *N*] *Yappari watashi Nakajima-san ga misu o shita to wa dōshite mo* ***omoenai n desu*** *yo. Sore ni ano shitenchō zettai* ***okashii desu*** *yo.*
Sōma	*Iya, oretachi no shigoto wa kore de owari da. Dakara omae mo yokee na koto iu na, soshite, yaru na. … Nan da, sono fumansō na kao wa.*
Hanasaki	*Iie.*
Hanasaki/ Sōma	[in unison] Delicious!
Sōma	I feel like it's the first time [*hajimete*] we've agreed [on anything].
Hanasaki	It's the first time [*hajimete*] I've **eaten** (***tabemashita***) such great soba.
Sōma	Well, if we're told to go somewhere we have to go to any bank branch in the country, but if—like this [lunch]—you can get great food in every region, that's an Investigative Office perk.
Hanasaki	In Hokkaidō, things like crab **would be** (***desu***) great, yeah.
Sōma	If it's crab, Kanazawa—no!—it's hard to discount Fukui.

Hanasaki	Sounds delicious.
Sōma	Well, right near here there apparently are a restaurant with good fried mackerel and another with excellent hashed beef rice.
Hanasaki	Well, in that case shouldn't we **come here** (***kimasen***) tomorrow? [Sōma: Mm] I really **can't believe** (***omoenai n desu***) that Ms. Nakajima made [all those] errors, after all. And that branch manager is definitely **suspicious** (***okashii desu***).
Sōma	No, our work is done. So don't say too much, and don't do too much. [looks at Hanasaki] What's that dissatisfied face?
Hanasaki	Nothing.

What we see in this series of exchanges is a strict division of addressee honorific labor: Hanasaki uses politeness forms, Sōma does not.[6] As this is in a context where workplace status differences are maximally minimized, it may tentatively be possible to charge some of this difference in speech style to gender.[7] The importance of sequences such as this, where an absolutely consistent asymmetry of the female speaker of a conversational dyad using addressee honorifics while the male conversational partner uses plain forms is that these sorts of exchanges—completely invariant over long stretches of interaction[8]—give implicit support to the common claim in Japanese language and gender research that women's speech is "more polite" (that is, uses more addressee and referent honorifics) than men's. In this way, Hanasaki and Sōma here mirror examples offered in conduct manuals geared at helping women become *kotoba bijin* 'attractive through speech' (Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008). See Example (8), drawn from a 2004 version of one such manual.

Example (8) Model conversation for making a good impression (Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008: 95)

W: *Kinō no sakkā no shiai,* ***mimashita*** *ka?*
M: *Kinō wa zangyō datta kara.*
W: *Sō nan* ***desu*** *ka. Itsu mo o-shigoto wa osoku made* ***nasatte iru n desu*** *ka?*

M: *Getsumatsu dakara, zangyō ni naru koto ga ōi n da.*
W: *Taihen **desu** ne. Demo do, nichi wa o-yasumi **toreru n desho.***
M: *Sō da ne. Wari to shikkari yasunde iru yo.*
W: *Senshū no nichiyōbi, yūjin to hisashiburi ni eega o mi ni **itta no desu** ga, XX tte **goran ni narimashita**?*
M: *Sore sore, mada mite inai n dakedo, ikitai to omotte ita n da yo ne. Dō datta?*

W: Did you **see** yesterday's soccer match?
M: I had to work late yesterday.
W: Oh, really? Do you always **work** late?
M: It's the end of the month, so overtime is pretty common.
W: That**'s** hard on you, isn't it? But you can **take** Saturday and Sunday off, I guess.
M: Yeah, I'm pretty strict about [taking] my days off.
W: Last Sunday, for the first time in a long time, I **went** to see a movie with a friend. Have you **seen** XX?
M: Oh, that one. I haven't seen it yet, but I've been wanting to. How was it?

(Shimodaira 2004: 46)

It is notable that this example does not follow any particular guidelines about how to use language per se, Shimodaira merely advises women to be prepared with a number of topics to raise, so that your (male) interlocutor will be able to find something he'd like to talk about. This ensures, she goes on, that you will be seen as appropriately feminine (that is, in this case, polite because not pushing your own interests on your interlocutor). The language choices made in this and other examples, however, add another, more implicit, piece of advice: to be seen as an *attractive* feminine woman, be deferent through use of addressee (and even the occasional referent) honorific forms. Hanasaki may not be consciously attempting to make herself attractive to Sōma over tempura and soba, but it is certainly not impossible to speculate that she has internalized norms of asymmetric female speaking choices (of deference) from the many implicit messages that circulate broadly through official, scholarly, and popular materials such as Shimodaira's man-

ual. More properly put, it is possible that Hanasaki is constructed as a vehicle for re-cycling and re-circulating this message.

In this section, I have sketched three aspects of gendered language that permeate workplace drama series such as *Risuku no Kamisama* and *Hanasaki Mai ga Damattenai!*: naming and address differences, special "feminine" sentence final particle use, and asymmetries in choices to use or not to use addressee honorifics. These three aspects of the gendered matrix within which workplace conversations take place are, I argue, a necessary backdrop against which different directive styles must be understood. Much more work is needed to elucidate what kind of directive behaviors circulate through televisual media and how they collocate with other speaking patterns, but that must await future research.

4 Dramatic Directives

Unlike real workplaces, where directives appear not to be frequent (Kobayashi 2003: 18), directives are both frequent and often highly salient parts of these drama series. They break down roughly into three groups, or three types of speech acts: commands, requests, and suggestions. These can be arrayed in decreasing order along a scale of direct/indirectness.[9] Below, I offer an inventory of the directive forms found frequently in my data. Additionally there are many hints as to what should be done, especially in the case of the more solemn presentations of scandals and wrongdoings in *Risuku no Kamisama*, where either Saigyōji or—much more rarely—Kagari offers a laundry list of the risks some wrongdoing company president have brought down on their company, followed by the conclusion: *anatatachi ni nokosareta michi wa hitotsu shika arimasen* 'there is only one path left to you' (RK Episode 1) or *anata ga eruba beki sentakushi wa hitotsu desu* 'there is only one option for you to choose' (RK Episode 7). These are excluded from analysis.

Commands (direct orders) include both positive and negative verbal imperatives (*shiro* 'do X', *suru na* 'don't do X'), V + *-tamae* or *–nasai* (*kaketamae* 'sit down', *hairinasai* 'come in'), declaratives (*iku zo* '[we're] going'[10]), and V+ *koto* or *yō* (Kobayashi 2003: 19). Only two of this last type were found in the data and will not be further examined here.

But the other command forms were used, and were central to character identity and narrative development. In order to provide a background for why this is so, it is first important to review the levels of workplace interactions found in these dramas. Each of these dramas involved a team of "insiders" (that is, a team from the corporate headquarters, involved in the hierarchical arrangements within that headquarters itself) being sent to some "outside" entity (a subsidiary company or a bank branch); these "outside" entities had problems but were in principle articulated as out-groups that normatively required respectful treatment (see Cook, Chap. 3 in this volume; Dunn, Chap. 2 in this volume). Then, each of these out-groups had their own interior structure of hierarchized relationships. And finally, when consumers or bank customers are involved in a problem, we find another, more distant group of people with whom both the previous groups interact. There are so few utterances produced by these most distant consumer/customers they will be disregarded here.

To return to the use of bare imperatives, then, we see that they operate in two divergent directions. First, in both dramas, they operate to identify the "bad guys" in each episode. Some representatives of this function are given in Example (9). Imperatives are in bold.

Example (9) Bad managers, bad language

(a) RK 10: Aizawa (m, in-house, senior) to Saigyōji and Kagari (in-house, junior)

Aizawa *Iikagen ni* ***shiro.***
Stop right there.

(b) HMD Episode 3: Branch Manager Suga (m, in-house, senior to assistant Kadowaki (m, in-house, junior)

Suga *Nanka te o* ***kangaero****. Ashita tetteeteki ni* ***tatakitsubuse!***
Think of something. Tomorrow beat her down completely!
Kadowaki *Shōchi itashimashita.*
Acknowledged.

(c) HMD Episode 3: Branch Manager Suga (m, out-group) to Hanasaki (f, in-house)

Suga	*Nani o itteru n da, omae wa.* [shouting] ***Damare!***
	What are you saying, you? Shut up!
Hanasaki	*Damarimasen.*
	I won't be silent.

In Example (9a), speaker Aizawa is the assistant and right-hand man of Sunrise's then president (and bad guy) whose misdeeds Saigyōji and Kagari are beginning to expose; needless to say, this order has no effect and they continue to lay out their case against the president. In Example (9b), bad bank manager Suga is only interested in his personal advancement and given to fits of rage in which he rails at his intimidated employees shouting orders to increase the branch's productivity and accompanying those orders with his favorite catchphrase *munō na yatsu wa kono shiten ni wa hitsuyō nai!* 'there's no room in this branch for the incompetent!' and he is furious at Sōma and Hanasaki's presence in his branch. He is telling his assistant to think of some way to force Hanasaki into making an error at the teller's window. His assistant uses self-lowering honorifics to agree to do so. (And he does, but that is another story.) Example (9c) is one of many times super-teller-turned investigative agent Hanasaki is told to shut up when a bank manager finds himself in her line of fire, and is a key prequel to the end of each episode. In the unrestrained, uncontrolled use of bare imperatives, then we see a clear marker, and thus a quick shorthand for viewers quickly to distinguish the good from the bad employees or managers.

The other use of bare imperative forms, however, is specific to just one of these dramas, *Hanasaki Mai ga Damattenai!* and is central to the representation of the very particular (and slightly unrealistic) relationship between the two central characters, Sōma and Hanasaki. Their relationship, in which the morally upright and fearlessly straightforward female character offers her power-harassed and hesitant male colleague a vision of the freedom that is possible if one only stops fearing the workplace power structure and becomes active in making the workplace a better place for employees, is highly reminiscent of the relationships enabled by the free-wheeling female protagonists of the lighter-weight workplace dramas of the 1990s described by Lukács (2010). And a lot of the initial

phases of developing their relationship centers around Sōma's—Hanasaki's nominal boss (in their two-person office)—to tone down her comments and "excessive" desire to confront any injustice encountered in their branch visits. In this, he spectacularly fails and, in fact, becomes an essential backup to Hanasaki's various crusades. For a glimpse at how Sōma's consistent use of imperatives combined with Hanasaki's persistent failure to accede to them work to establish a particularly close, and in many ways egalitarian, relationship between this pair, see Example (10).

Example (10) HMD Episode 1: Sōma instructs Hanasaki on how to behave during an investigation

Sōma	*Hanasaki. Omae ni hitotsu dake itte oku.*
Hanasaki	*Nan deshō.*
Sōma	*Rintensaki de yokee na koto wa zettai* ***iu na.***
Hanasaki	*E?*
Sōma	*Onaji ginkō de mo yososama no kaisha da to* ***omoe.***
Hanasaki	*Hā.*
Sōma	*Iku zo.*
Hanasaki	*He. A. Chotto matte kudasai.*
Sōma	Hanasaki. I'll say just one thing to you.
Hanasaki	What is it?
Sōma	At the branch bank under investigation, absolutely **don't say** anything uncalled-for.
Hanasaki	Huh?
Sōma	Even if it's the same bank, **think of** [the branch under investigation] as a different company.
Hanasaki	Hmm.
Sōma	We're going.
Hanasaki	A, oh, wait, please.

In response to these direct commands, we see a prefiguration of Hanasaki's reluctance to follow Sōma's lead, which is supplemented with directives about how to keep quiet, including *…tonikaku damatte warattero!* '…anyway, be quiet and laugh!', *iki o sue* 'take a [deep] breath', and

suitchi o ireru na yo 'don't get all agitated (literally, don't turn [your] switch on)'. Hanasaki routinely ignores these adjurations.

Another line of imperative forms are the gendered *-tamae*, associated with masculine speech (Masuda 2012: 39), and *-nasai*, associated with feminine speech, or at least, female speakers (see Kobayashi 2003: 24; [Shibamoto] Smith 1992: 77). Both these forms are used infrequently, and both used predominantly (*-tamae* exclusively) by senior male figures. There are too few examples of either of these forms to do more than speculate on why *-nasai* seems to be deployed in similar ways and by similar stereotyped characters as *-tamae* is, but this mysterious "masculinization" of *-nasai* deserves further investigation both in mediatized representations and, to the extent either of these forms is used, in real workplaces.

Moving very slightly away from the maximally direct directives on the direct/indirect scale, we see the plain declarative statement (of fact). See Example (11) for the most common type of declarative-as-directive.[11]

Example (11) Declarative directives

(a) Saigyōji (m, senior) to Kagari (f, junior)

Kagari-kun, watashi to kabunushi sōkai taisaku ni hairu.
Kagari-kun, [you will] join me in getting started on the strategy for the stockholders' meeting.
[Kagari responds with *hai* 'yes'; the two gather over some documents and begin planning as the scene ends.]

(b) Sōma (m, senior) to Hanasaki (f, junior), on the phone in the evening

Ashita wa Kayabachō shiten da.
Tomorrow [go to] the Kayabachō branch.
[Hanasaki agrees and hangs up; the next scene cuts to them meeting in front of the Kayabachō branch.]

All examples of directives given in this form are for actions that are clearly part of the work at hand and are issued by the person clearly in charge of assigning the work (see Geyer, Chap. 8 in this volume). These are, in the two drama series under consideration, men. Uniformly, these

directions are responded to with an affirmative (*hai* 'yes', *wakarimashita* 'I understand [and will comply]') or with an appropriate action.

This brief review of the directives issued as unmitigated orders in our two dramas shows that imperatives are used, and are used to quite intriguing ends in some cases. It also shows, in terms of the larger gendered speaking landscape of workplace dramas, that the world of issuing commands through the use of Japanese imperative verbal forms is largely a man's world.

Another slide down the direct/indirect scale brings us to a set of directives issued as requests; these range from very direct (V +*-te, -te kure, -te kudasai*)[12] to quite indirect (*-te itadakereba*). Kobayashi (2003) also includes *onegai shimasu* '[I] ask you]' and *tanomu* '[I] ask [you]' among the indirect requests in her studies, and I mention them briefly below.

The first set of request forms, V+ *-te*/*-te kure* 'give me/us'/*-te kudasai* 'give$_{HON}$ me/us' are the most common type of directives found in the drama series. Masuda (2012: 36) characterizes V + *-te* as feminine, but "too strong" for workplace use on the basis of her review of conduct manuals aimed at female vs. male readerships, and we see that, indeed, when a female character used a V + *-te* form, it was in only tangentially work-oriented speech and under conditions of heightened emotionality. Most V + *-te* directives were issued by men, who used these forms freely in the workplace, albeit not in the most formal (e.g., *kaigi* 'meeting') settings. The differences are seen in Example (12a, b).

Example (12) V + *-te*

(a) RK Episode 3: Tachibana (f, in-house, senior) and Hōjō (f, out-group, junior); Hōjō has called Tachibana at night, asking for help in a potentially scandalous situation

Tachibana	*Ato wa atashi ni* ***makasete.***
	Leave the rest to me.

(b) HMD Episode 1: Yajima (m, out-group, senior) to Hanasaki (f, in-house, junior)

Yajima	*Chotto* ***misete****. Yahari kabarai ka?*
	Show me. It was an overpayment after all, was it?

V + *-te kure* requests were made exclusively by men, and exclusively to subordinates, male and female. See Example (13a, b).

Example (13) V + *-te kure*

(a) RK Episode 7: Saigyōji (m, in-house, senior) to Yūki (m, in-house, junior)

Saigyōji	*Yūki-kun wa futari no kankee o shirabete kure.* Yūki-kun, look into the relationship between those two.
Yūki	*Hai.* Yes.

(b) HMD Episode10: Shibasaki (m, in-house,senior)i to Sōma and Hanasaki (m, f, in-house, junior)

Shibasaki	*Ittan kaigishitsu ni itte kure.* For the moment, go to the conference room.
Sōma/ Hanasaki	[in unison] *E?* Huh?
	(Despite their surprise, they get up and leave for the conference room.)

No V + *-te kure* directives were issued by women in these series. In fact, no female characters in these two series use any form of *kureru*, even in requests phrased as questions such as the one a male bank branch manager's assistant directed at Hanasaki (*Hanasaki-kun, ATM e itte kureru?* 'Ms. Hanasaki, would you go to the ATM [area]?').

Women begin to gain a voice when the directive type shifts from *-te kure* to the more formal (aka, more "polite" or more "deferent") V + *-te kudasai* variant. In fact, in *Risuku no Kamisama*, the female character Kagari makes seven requests using *-te kudasai* while all the male characters together only make six such requests.[13] The most notable aspect of V + *-te kudasai* requests is that they can be made to status superiors as well as, and in the case of men issuing directives, more than to subordinates. See Example (14).

Example (14) V + *-te kudasai*

(a) RK Episode 10: Kagari (f, in-house, junior) to Ikushima (m, out-group, senior)

Ikushima Denki to Sanraizu ga 30nen mae ni okonatta torihiki ni kansuru shanai shiryō o ***watashite kudasai.***
Please turn over the company-internal documents related to the transactions 30 years ago between Ikushima Electric and Sunrise.

(b) HMD Episode 1: Sōma (m, in-house, senior) to Nakjima (f, out-group, junior)

Kongo wa kōshita misu no nai yō ***ki o tsukete kudasai.***
Please take care not to make these kinds of errors in future.

It should be noted that although the directive in Example (14b) was immediately agreed to, Kagari's directive to Ikushima in Example (14a) was not. But that this was a genuine directive is underscored by Kagari following up her request by showing him an incriminating picture of him with a woman, after which he rushes off to gather the documents. Sometimes, it seems, threats speak louder than directives.

Polite directives employing the *o- kudasai* form, a more formal variant of V + *-te kudasai*, are used by both women and men; the large majority of these, however, are produced by (female) bank tellers interacting with customers. See Example (15).

Example (15) HMD Episode 3: Tellers to customers

(a) *O-kake ni natte* ***o-machi kudasai.***
Sit down and wait please.

(b) *Mo shōshō* ***o-machi kudasai.***
Please wait a little longer.

Bank tellers are trained in this way of speaking and, although bank tellers are predominantly women, these utterances themselves add little to the gendering of bank workplaces roles and statuses that are visible to

any viewer. More interesting are the other uses of this imperative form. It is infrequently used, to be sure, but both women and men did make use of this way when giving directives to a status superior. See Example (16).

Example (16) RK Episodes 1, 3: Orders to status superiors

(a) Saigyōjii (m, in-house) to [powerful politician] Yabutani (m, out-group, senior)

Yabutani-san,[a] *ima jūdai na kiki ni chokumen shite iru koto o dō ka* ***go-rikai kudasai.***
Mr. Yabutani, please understand that you are face-to-face with a grave risk.

(b) Kagari (f, junior) to Saigyōji (m, senior)

Kubi ni shite kudasai. Satake-shachō ni ***sō o-tsutae kudasai.***
Fire me, please. Tell President Satake so [that is, that you've fired me].

[a]Note that Saigyōji does not use the more normatively correct honorific title *-sensee* in his address to this corrupt politician.

The V + *-te morau* 'receive [from X]' and V + *-te itadaku* 'receive$_{HUM}$ [from X]' forms that I had in 1992 suggested were part of a feminine strategy of authoritative speech ([Shibamoto] Smith 1992: 39) are, strictly speaking, declaratives, and thus might be considered along with other declaratives as higher on the directness scale than *-te kure* or *-te kudasai* directives (see Example (11)). I offer two rationales for considering them as less direct (or more "polite"). First, the use of these donatory verbs, that is, the verbs of receiving *morau/itadaku*, serves to downplay the need for action on the part of the addressee in complying with the request, instead focusing on what I called in 1992, "the impression of passive but assured waiting" on the part of the speaker for the request to be fulfilled ([Shibamoto]Smith ibid.: 78). And as Takano (2005: 642) notes, when "the act of receiving is more focused [rather than the act of complying with a request], … the act sounds more indirect and mitigated." Further, although donatory verbs can be and certainly are used in their declarative

forms, both with and without addressee honorifics, they can also be used in their interrogative potential forms (*-te moraenai darō ka, -te itadakemasu ka*, etc.). Both these features reduce the directness of the speaker's request. Interestingly, despite my earlier association of these forms with authoritative female speech, they are here used largely in the dialogue of male characters.[14] The two variants are, moreover, distributed strictly along status lines, with V + *-te morau* used to direct the actions of status subordinates and V + *-te itadaku* to direct those of status superiors. See Example (17a, b).

Example (17) V + *-te morau,* V + *-te itadaku*

(a) HMD Episode 10: Kodama (m, in-house, senior) to Sakata (m, in-house, junior)

De wa, genzai wakatte iru jijitsu to genjō o eegyō tantōsha kara ***setsumee shite moraimasu.***
Next, we will have the operations person in charge explain the facts we know at this point and the present status.

(b) RK Episode 3: Saigyōji (m, in-house) to an outside organization's reporter (m, out-group)

Seeyakusho desu. Kanojo ni kansuru issai o kiji ni shinai to ***yakusoku shite itadakimasu.***
This is a [confidentiality] agreement. We'll have you promise that you will not write anything about her.

Two additional sub-categories of requests, *onegai shimasu* '[I] ask' and its variants and *tanomu* '[I] ask' are used sparingly and, with one non-workplace exception, only by the male characters.

In sum, with the single exception of V + *-te kudasai* requests, women characters have few opportunities to give orders or make direct requests. And yet, both Kagari and Hanasaki have a lot to say and play critical roles in shaping how the work of their respective offices get done. We are left, then, to ask how this gets done. And that leads us to one final kind of directives: suggestions.

It should be noted at the outset that this category is over-represented by Hanasaki; Kagari plays a different and less forefronted role in her Risk Management Office at Sunrise than Hanasaki does in her Investigative Office at Tōkyō Dai-ichi Bank. So a word about how Kagari gets her interlocutors to go along with her may be in order. Her talents in research and development have given her expertise in putting forward a case for some product or some course of action, which she often did, when the team (or just she and Saigyōji) met with companies' troubled management staff and/or powerful politicians. While short on directives per se, she was frequently in charge of mounting the argument that led up to the directive (which was issued by a male character, typically Saigyōji) or the declarative "you have only one choice" conclusion. What impression that leaves when viewed through a gender lens is unclear, but deserving of further investigation.

Hanasaki, on the other hand, is the talkative member of her team and not at all hesitant at deciding on a desirable course of action and "tell" Sōma about it. Her "directives," however, fall largely into the categories of questions and suggestions and are linguistically presented most often through the volitional verb form (*-mashō*). Example (18) offers an example of each.

Example (18) HMD Episode 1: Hanasaki thinks about what to do next

(a)	Hanasaki	*Ano, bōhan kamera no eezō o* ***mite mimasen ka****?*
		Um, don't you [want to, think we should] try looking at the footage from the security camera?
	Sōma	[no verbal response, but they get up to go look]
(b)	Hanasaki	***Ikimashō****! Zen wa isoge*[a]
		Let's go. The sooner the better.
	Sōma	[No verbal response, but Hanasaki pushes him out the door.]

[a]Readers will, of course, notice this bare imperative; it is, however, part of a proverb and not part of an utterance subject to speaker volition to alter.

5 Conclusion

The primary argument to be made is that, even in the mediatized workplace, authoritative speech in the twenty-first century is neither metapragmatically recognized and thus represented as automatically couched in the powerful forms of on-record direct commands nor is subordinates' response simply a matter of other-elevating compliance, but rather that both can and do stake out various positions within the power-politeness matrix. There are many ways to shape the way things get done.

That said, however, we see in this brief survey of two mediatized workplaces, that a gendered distribution of access to directive forms aligns with the dictates of the more general normatively gendered matrix of female and male character construction discussed in previous sections. Women have fewer and less strong directives to model for a viewing audience just as they offer their utterances in general couched in less assertive and more "polite" (that is, deferent) ways.

At the end of the twentieth century, a study of women in the workplace offered the following thoughts concerning the role of language and gender equality at work:

> The difficulty of male and female language patterns is very real and obvious in Japan because women and men actually have different forms of address, different verb forms, different noun forms, and a different tone of voice. Everyone knows and accepts this, but it can be a problem when men and women are interacting in new and different arenas at work. The dilemma for men has been whether they should talk to women colleagues in the brusque manner they have always used with men at work, or should they use the gentler form reserved for women. Women struggle with whether to use "women's language", which is more deferential and self-effacing, when their jobs call for expertise and sureness. (Renshaw 1999: 147)

As of 1999, the author asserted, no consensus had yet been achieved.

Perhaps progress has been made in real workplaces, but in their fictional counterparts, it seems that there remains much more work to be done. And this is important because, as Kobayashi (2003: 25) notes,

> it is difficult [for average speakers] to know what kind of orders and requests are actually being used in the workplace. We may have developed an image of how such orders and requests [are used in the workplace] solely on the basis of dialogue in novels and on television. It is possible that we have [come to] imagine these 'special' (*tokushu na*) command (*meeree*) forms, which are not used very much except in fights and castigation, as ordinary forms. And it is arguable that this reified image of the *meereekee* user as male reflects a gendered vision.

If these models of speech along with other patterns of behavior circulate persistently, it is worthy of further inquiry into how much (or whether) they do shape workplace expectations of male dominance and female subordination. And if so, we need to ask how much or how little real women's and real men's work lives are impacted by such expectations. The remaining chapters in this volume begin to open the doors to investigation of the contemporary workplace and the language life therein. It is hoped that we will find more updated distributions of verbal and other authority than are offered by televisual and print media models.

Notes

1. *Yakuwarigo* 'role language' refers to highly stereotypified associations between particular linguistic forms and particular social characters; such associations make the deployment of such linguistic forms highly suitable for creating fictional "characters" circulated in print or televisual media (Teshigawara and Kinsui 2011). The relationship between *yakuwarigo* and the similar concept of enregisterment (Agha 2007), perhaps more familiar to English readers, may center around the core mode of transmission stipulated in each case, with Agha claiming transmission through processes of socialization and Kinsui's group claiming contact with media as the primary mode through which these stereotypes circulate (Dodd and Redmond n.d.).
2. The two dramas are here described as they aired; the transcribed data, however, are from the DVD Box sets released and sold subsequent to the series' final episodes (Nihon Terebi 2016; Fuji Terebi/Pony Canyon 2016).
3. Here and throughout, Japanese names are given in standard Japanese order, that is, Last Name + First Name.

4. For the purposes of this analysis, verbs in the plain form plus *desu* and variants thereof are included; in other research, these are termed "semi-polite" (e.g., Hudson 2008). Nuances of difference between these and full addressee honorifics (*desu*/*-masu* forms) are not considered.
5. This is in addition to the choice *dekai* 'big', here, 'loud' itself as a slang term for the more standard *ōkii*, as use of slang terms is associated with male speaking styles. Readers will recall that Hanasaki also uses "masculine" terms, such as *kuso* 'shit[ty]' in this same example; she does not, however, violate the pattern of asymmetric addressee honorific use/non-use evident here and demonstrated at greater length in the next example.
6. Another aspect of Soma's speech that also contributes to the gender asymmetry in this example (and throughout the series) is his use of the masculine, non-deferent 2nd person pronoun *omae* 'you' to address Hanasaki; Hanasaki, on the other hand, addresses Sōma by last name + *-san*, thereby avoiding, as subordinates often do when addressing status superiors, pronominal address of any sort.
7. It should be noted, of course, that not all differences are claimed to be attributable to gender, since the status difference between them remains intact and, indeed, re-emerges at the end of their lunchtime exchange.
8. Invariant, that is, where real conversations between status asymmetric interlocutors are not; for detailed studies of conversation-internal variation in honorific use, see, e.g., Cook (2011), Hudson (2011), and Okamoto (2011).
9. Or, as discussed in Takano (2005), in increasing order of stereotypified (and gendered) "politeness."
10. By far the most common in this data and the most often obeyed by the addressee(s).
11. Except, of course, for Saigyōji's and Sōma's constant use of *Iku zo.*
12. *Kure* is the imperative form of *kureru* 'to give me/us' and *kudasai* is the imperative form of *kudasaru* 'to give$_{HON}$ me/us'. Because *kudasaru* is an honorific form, however, the imperative force of *kudasai* is mitigated. Thus, *-te kure* has a far more direct impact than either *-te*, which lacks the imperative auxiliary entirely, or *-te kudasai*.
13. Of course, this is not the moment to forget that the male characters have the stronger V + *-te* and V + *-te kure* forms at their disposal. It is not at all the case that men issue, per character, fewer directives than women.
14. And the three unusual occurrences in the female characters' dialogue were in the interrogative potential *-te itadakemasu ka* form.

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5

"*Sarariiman*" and the Performance of Masculinities at Work: An Analysis of Interactions at Business Meetings at a Multinational Corporation in Japan

Junko Saito

1 Introduction

Sarariiman 'salaried men' are typically white-collar, university-educated, full-time office workers in large corporations where they can expect lifetime employment, regular promotions, and high salaries (Dasgupta 2013). In the post-World War II era, the *sarariiman* came to represent the central image of Japanese masculinity, although throughout the post-war era and into the twenty-first century, only a limited number of men were actually able to become such stereotypical *sarariiman* (Dasgupta 2013). Nonetheless, even after the collapse of Japan's "bubble" economy and the "Lost Decade" that followed in the 1990s, when the *sarariiman* model met serious challenges, many people still consider the *sarariiman* to be the stereotypical Japanese male image (e.g., Charlebois 2014; Dasgupta 2013).

Connell (1995: 77) defines hegemonic masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken

J. Saito (✉)
Temple University Japan, Tokyo, Japan

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to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women." Dasgupta (2013: 154–155) interprets Connell's definition as referring to "a cultural 'ideal' or 'blueprint', which exerts a powerful influence over the lives of men and women." Given this interpretation, it makes sense that some researchers (e.g., Charlebois 2014; Dasgupta 2013) identify *sarariiman* as the representation of hegemonic masculinity in Japan.

In this chapter, I empirically explore how *sarariiman* perform masculinities during business meetings at a multinational corporation in Japan. First, I demonstrate how Japanese male employees use the first person pronouns *ore* and *boku* to display different types of masculinities. Then, I explore how their marginalization of female colleagues allows the male employees to index masculinity, as well as to establish homosocial relationships. Bearing in mind that there exist multiple masculinities (e.g., Dasgupta 2013; Kiesling 2001, 2007; SturtzSreetharan 2006a, b, 2009), this chapter addresses the following research question: How do *sarariiman* perform masculinities in the course of business meetings? The literature on language and gender has predominantly emphasized women's language use (see Kiesling 2007); the present study contributes to our understanding of language and gender by shedding light on male speakers' linguistic practices in spontaneously occurring interactions, as well as on ways of displaying masculinity in a particular community of practice.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 *Sarariiman*'s Linguistic Practices, Masculinity, and First Person Pronouns

In the scholarship on Japanese language and gender, only a very little empirical research (e.g., Occhi et al. 2010; Saito 2013; SturtzSreetharan 2004a, b, 2006a, b, 2009) has investigated how *sarariiman* present themselves through their language use. Analyzing naturally occurring casual conversations, SturtzSreetharan finds that *sarariiman*'s linguistic practices are relatively polite and gender-neutral. For instance, compared to groups

of male students and retirees, *sarariiman* produce *desu/masu* forms (i.e., addressee honorifics) at high frequencies (SturtzSreetharan 2006b). Likewise, in their analysis of scripted TV drama data, Occhi et al. (2010) observe that *sarariiman* characters are likely to employ gender-neutral speech styles.

How then do *sarariiman* express their masculinity in talk? In Japanese, pronouns are gendered forms that encode femininity or masculinity (Shibamoto Smith 2004; see also SturtzSreetharan 2009). Ideologically, the use of pronouns corresponds to the speaker's sex; men are expected to use stereotypical male pronouns (SturtzSreetharan 2009). Since "masculinity is a quality or set of practices (habitual ways of doing things) that is stereotypically connected with men" (Kiesling 2007: 655), it would be expected that *sarariiman* perform masculinity through their use of pronouns and other linguistic resources.

Japanese allows null anaphora, so pronouns can be omitted if they can be contextually understood (see Tsujimura 1996). When pronouns are not omitted, they may be construed as marked (Shibamoto Smith 2004). For this reason, they may carry certain pragmatic meanings. In this study, male employees only use first person pronouns. In Standard Japanese, both men and women normatively use the gender neutral first person pronouns *watakushi* and *watashi* in formal contexts. In less formal contexts, men often employ the male-speaker-associated first person pronouns *boku* and *ore* (Shibamoto Smith 2004).[1] *Ore* is less formal (SturtzSreetharan 2006a) and more vulgar, rude, and masculine than *boku* (Nakamura 2010; SturtzSreetharan 2009). Miyazaki (2004), who studies junior high school students' use of first person pronouns, finds that in a *gakkyū* 'homeroom class' setting, *ore* expresses powerfulness, strength, coolness, and more masculinity, while *boku* conveys weakness, less masculinity, and powerlessness. Nakamura (2010), who examines men's and women's language in erotic spam emails, demonstrates that *ore*, together with other linguistic features, contributes to the construction of intimacy between a male writer and spam receivers who are presumably men. In addition, when used as *yakuwarigo* 'role language', *boku* is associated with wisdom (Ōta 2011).[2] Analyzing how Olympic medalists Usain Bolt's and Michael Phelps's first person pronouns are translated into Japanese on TV, Ōta demonstrates that Bolt's "I" is translated as *ore* so as to index his strength

and maleness, whereas Phelps's "I" is translated as *boku* to index his wisdom and his identity as someone who makes enormous efforts to win. In research on *sarariiman*'s use of first person pronouns, SturtzSreetharan (2009) documents that they tend to use fewer first and second person pronouns compared to student and retiree groups. Drawing on Maynard's (1997) argument that the avoidance of pronouns is more polite than the use of a formal form, SturtzSreetharan (2009) contends that *sarariiman*'s avoidance of pronouns coincides with their high use of *desu/masu* forms noted in her previous work. When pronouns are used, however, they convey pragmatic meanings, such as masculinity, aggression, or roughness. In another study, SturtzSreetharan (2006a) shows that *ore* serves to index not only *sarariiman*'s masculinity, but also aggression (and thus authority). A male *sarariiman* in this study, for instance, uses *ore* to index his disapproving stance, while mitigating the illocutionary force of his utterance by also using *desu/masu* and *nen*, a gender-neutral sentence-final particle in the Kansai dialect.

The previous studies on first person pronouns have therefore demonstrated that these pronouns not only index a variety of pragmatic meanings, but also are an ideal space in which masculinity can be manifested.

2.2 Japanese Speech Styles: *Desu/Masu* and Plain Forms

Japanese has two morphological verbal forms: *desu/masu* (i.e., addressee honorifics) and plain (i.e., non-honorific). A speaker of Japanese must choose one of these forms in a clause-final position when producing an utterance.

Recent studies on these linguistic forms (e.g., Burdelski 2013; Cook 1996, 2008; Fukuda 2005; Geyer 2008; Saito 2010) have demonstrated that *desu/masu* forms and plain forms index multiple indexical values depending upon situated contexts. In an analysis of middle school faculty meetings, Geyer (2008) explores interpersonal functions of *desu/masu* and plain forms. Geyer construes the core meanings of *desu/masu* forms as showing deference or formality to others, and those of plain forms as showing a lack of formality or deference, or as not displaying the public self. She illustrates how the core properties of these linguistic forms,

working jointly with other contextual features, generate pragmatic effects: A plain form functions as a solidarity marker and a mitigation device, while *desu/masu* forms serve as a deference marker and an impersonalizing device. Cook (1996, 2008), who suggests that style shifts are resources to mark a specific social persona, maintains that *desu/masu* forms index the speaker's presentational mode of self in which the speaker is performing a public role, while the plain form marks the speaker's personal or spontaneous self. Her claim is further confirmed by Burdelski (2013) and Fukuda (2005), who both provide evidence that even preschool children employ *desu/masu* forms to index a public self in role-playing activities. Analyzing academic consultation sessions between professors and students, Cook (2008) demonstrates how a professor performs the role of a "professional" professor through the use of *desu/masu* forms, whereas he displays his personal stance with the plain form. Her notion of speech styles as resources for identity construction is also applicable to this study.

Another significant concept for this study is Geyer's (2008, 2013) categorization of interactional styles in workplace meetings. She classifies interactions in meetings into two types: planned and official talk, and spontaneous and unplanned talk. Planned and official talk is transactional in nature; thus, its content tends to be related to the agenda or minutes of the meeting. Spontaneous and unplanned talk is interactional in nature; therefore, its content is peripheral. Typical examples of planned and official talk are reports and the opening and closing of agenda items, whereas spontaneous and unplanned talk, which tends to express social relations and personal attitudes, includes jokes and soliloquy-like remarks. Drawing on Geyer's (2013) work, in this study, I use the terms "on-the-record talk" and "off-the-record talk" to refer to planned and official talk and spontaneous and unplanned talk, respectively. In addition, Geyer (2008, 2013) demonstrates that *desu/masu* forms are likely to appear in on-the-record talk, whereas the plain form is predominantly employed in off-the-record talk. Cook (2011), who also draws on Geyer's notion of interactional styles in meetings, observes the same phenomena in her data from Japanese business meetings. Although her focus is on the use of referent honorifics, Cook documents how honorific forms, including *desu/masu* forms, contribute to the construction of on-the-record talk and how these forms further index the speaker's institutional identity.

Building on Geyer's and Cook's work, I demonstrate how Japanese male employees use linguistic resources, including the pronouns *boku* and *ore*, as well as speech styles, to manifest different types of masculinities in these interactional styles.

3 Data

The data for this study come from six meetings (two all-male meetings and four mixed-sex meetings) conducted at the Tokyo office of a leading multinational IT company, which has about 230 employees. Each meeting lasted for approximately one hour and consisted of three to four participants. The meetings were audio-recorded by one of the participants. The researcher was not present. Before the first recording, participants were asked to fill out demographic information sheets, which inquired about their age range, the frequency of their face-to-face encounters, and so on. All of the meetings were department- or section-level meetings. The study focuses on four male Japanese employees, whose demographic information is summarized in Table 5.1. E occupies the highest position among the participants; M is the lowest in rank among them. In the department-level meetings, E acted as meeting chair, while in the section-level meetings, T served as the meeting chair. E, G, and T participated in both all-male and mixed-sex meetings, whereas M participated only in all-male meetings.

The participants have all known each other for at least 12 years. While they work in different sections, they all belong to the same department. They meet each other on a daily basis and work closely to keep their projects going. At least once a week, the participants have a department meeting to report and discuss their ongoing projects and other work-related issues. Moreover, they are all in the same age range (45–49 years old).

Table 5.1 Participants

Name	Sex	Age range	Years at this company	Job title
E	Male	45–49	13 years, 4 months	General manager
G	Male	45–49	12 years	Program manager
M	Male	45–49	20 years	Not available
T	Male	45–49	20 years	Manager

Given their workplace relationships in addition to the relatively small number of participants, the meetings were all semi-formal.

4 Analysis

In this study, the participants use two primary strategies to perform their masculinities: (1) choosing one of two first person pronouns, either *ore* or *boku*; and (2) denigrating their female colleagues. I first show instances of the use of first person pronouns.

4.1 Use of First Person Pronouns

In most cases, the male employees in this study used very few first person pronouns in their utterances, a practice also observed in SturtzSreetharan's (2009) study. Simultaneously, we see interesting phenomena related to their occasional use of the pronouns *ore* and *boku*. Across meetings, male employees predominantly use *boku*, including the plural forms *bokura* and *bokutachi*. In fact, their use of *boku* in total (154/203, 75.9 percent) is about three times higher than their use of *ore* (49/203, 24.1 percent), which also includes plural forms *orera* and *oretachi*. SturtzSreetharan (2006a) presents similar findings of *sarariiman*'s preference for *boku* in her analysis of casual conversations among *sarariiman* from Western Japan.

In the present study, *desu*/*masu* forms include the present (*-desu*, *-masu*) and past (*-deshita*, *-mashita*) tense forms of verbs and the copula. The plain form includes the present (*-u*, *-ru*, *-i*) and past (*-ta*, *-da*) tense forms of verbs/*i*-type adjectives, the copula *da* and its past tense form *datta*, and nouns/*na*-type adjectives with the deletion of the copula *da* (see also Cook 2008).

The Use of *Boku* in On-the-Record Talk

Example (1), which is from an all-male meeting, illustrates how *boku* in conjunction with *desu*/*masu* forms contributes to the performance of *sara-*

riiman masculinity in on-the-record talk. Throughout the examples, *desu/masu* forms are indicated in bold. First person pronouns are underlined.

Example (1)

1	E:	*[name of event] fiidobakku tte yū koto de,* ((omit four lines))
2		*nanka kansō toka* ***arimasu*** *ka↑ dō datta toka.*
		"Regarding feedback about (name of event), do you have any impressions? How it [the event] was, for example?"
3	M:	*boku wa:: are, mā,* ***kakimashita*** *kedo,*
		"Well, I have already written it down, but."
4	E:	*hai.*
		"Yes."
5	M:	*etto:: mā, seerusu no hō kara motto:: sono, sensu obu ājenshii ga*
6		*kanjirareru no kana:: to omotta n* ***desu*** *kedo.*
		"Well, I thought we would feel, well, more of a sense of urgency from the sales [department]."

E, as the meeting chair, uses *desu/masu* forms to ask the other meeting participants what they think about an event they recently held (lines 1–2). This is a typical example of the use of *desu/masu* forms in on-the-record talk when bringing up an agenda item (Geyer 2013). In response to E's question, M expresses his negative stance toward the sales department in *desu/masu* forms, although he mitigates his assessment by inserting some hesitation markers, such as *etto* 'well', *mā* 'well', and *sono* 'well', and elongating some words (lines 3, 5, and 6). Enyo (2015) argues that reciprocal exchange of *desu/masu* forms in on-the-record talk indexes the speakers' stance of performing a public role. SturtzSreetharan (2004b: 102) maintains that "[t]he *sarariiman* is a *shakaijin*—a mature adult with responsibilities … He also shows his prowess and fluency by using appropriately neutral and polite speech." Considering Enyo's and SturtzSreetharan's arguments, as well as the content of the utterances, the mutual exchange of *desu/masu* forms in this segment can be interpreted as expressing the speakers' institutional identities. That is, the use of *desu/masu* forms frames E as a meeting chair, while M's use of these forms frames him as a full-fledged

member of the meeting who takes meeting agendas seriously. It should also be noted that M employs *boku* in line 3, despite the fact that first person pronouns are not syntactically required in Japanese. Here, M employs *boku* not only to mark his masculinity, but also to index himself as a person who can properly make an assessment about the event. He could have chosen a more formal first person pronoun (*watashi* or *watakushi*), as he has the lowest rank among the meeting participants. By choosing *boku*, which indexes male speakerhood, over the formal pronoun, M is displaying masculinity. His use of *boku* thus contributes to shaping M's institutional identity in the meeting (see also SturtzSreetharan 2006a); concurrently, it allows M to display masculinity as a *sarariiman*.

Similar examples can be found in Example (2), taken from the other all-male meeting. In this example, E opens an agenda item about a higher level meeting that he is going to attend the next day.

Example (2)

1	E:	*de, [name of the meeting] ashita atte, minasan, materiaru arigatō*
2		***gozaimashita*** *to yū koto na n* ***desu*** *ga, chotto zentai to shite,*
3		*yappari ejukeeshon ejukeeshon to itteru n de, de: boku wa minasan*
4		*kara iroiro itadaita inputto o subete ejukeeshon ni*
5		*musubitsukete* ***yattemasu*** *to. dakara,*
		"And, (name of the meeting) is going to be held tomorrow. Thank you for your materials, everyone. As a whole, [other executives have been saying] 'education, education' after all. Therefore, I have been connecting all input that I received from everyone to education. Therefore,"
6	G:	*kaeshita yo ne*↑
		"I returned it (input), right?"
7	E:	*e*↑
		"What?"
8	G:	*ano, ejukeeshonaru kontentsu mitai ni shite, saigo chorotto ().*
		"Well, I made it like educational contents and in the end, ()."

9 E: *a, honto↑ de::, chotto are o dō tsukau ka wa chotto wakannai n da*
10 *kedo, etto:: sonna kanji de yarō to omotteru. dakara, e:: ima*
11 *made mitai ni dejitaru komyunitii toka sōyū mono o zenmen*
12 *ni dasu n ja nakutte, dejitaru komyunitii tte yū kontekusuto no*
13 *naka de ejukeeshon tte yū sokumen wa dō na no ka tte yū*
14 *koto de, e:: ashita wa* ***hanashimasu****.*
"Oh, really? And, I still don't know how I should use it, but I think I will do it that way. Therefore, instead of highlighting digital communities or something like that, just like it has been, tomorrow I will talk about how an aspect of education works in the context of a digital community."
15 G: *etto boku no yatsu wa saigo no ( ) ga:: waza to ejukeeshonaru*
16 *kontentsu tte yū no ni musubitsukete iru kara.*
"Well, mine is, the last ( ) is purposely linked to educational contents."
17 E *ja:, mō ikkai yatte miru wa.*
"Then, I will try doing it one more time."
18 G: *hai.*
"Yes."
19 E: *nanode, mō ichido ashita wa boku ga zenbu* ***hanashimasu****.*
"Therefore, I will talk about it all one more time tomorrow."

As his opening remark on this agenda item, E first shows gratitude to the meeting participants who have gathered materials and given him input. He then reports what he has been doing with the input in *desu/masu* forms (lines 1–5). Note that E uses a humble form, *itadaita* 'receive', to elevate the meeting participants who provided him with input (line 4). Thus, E's entire utterance here is very formal and indexes an on-the-record context. The content of his utterance implies that E's position differs from that of the other participants, because it describes E's responsibility for the work produced by the others. *Desu/masu* forms in this sequence, along with the content of his "official" talk, therefore foreground E's institutional identity as a general manager (see also Cook 2008; Enyo 2015). It should also be noted that E employs *boku*, which marks male speakerhood, in line 3. E's *boku* also provides a way for him to link himself to the role he describes,

that is, the person who is in charge of connecting the other participants' input to education, accordingly underscoring his public role as a general manager in this sequence. In lines 9–10, E switches to the plain form to personally respond to G, who has initiated an interaction in the plain form (lines 6 and 8). What is interesting is that immediately after the interaction with G, E resumes his report with the use of *dakara* 'therefore', and further presents what he is going to talk about at the next day's meeting in *desu*/*masu* forms (lines 10–14). When G then clarifies his previous utterances, again in the plain form (lines 15–16), E also shifts back to the plain form (line 17). Then, once again switching back to *desu*/*masu* forms, E ends his report, addressing the entire meeting as he explains that he will talk about it all the next day (line 19). His use of *desu*/*masu* forms, in conjunction with the content of his "official" utterance, indicates E's institutional identity as a general manager who is the representative of the entire department who will speak for them all at the next day's meeting. Note that E uses *boku* again here (line 19). With this *boku*, he indexes himself as the agent of the talk, which emphasizes his role as a manager. In Example (2), E switches back and forth between *desu*/*masu* forms and plain forms. When addressing the entire meeting, he employs the *desu*/*masu* forms, but when interacting only with G, he uses the plain form. Because the plain form frames utterances as unofficial and hence peripheral (Geyer 2008), the interaction between E and G can be construed as an unofficial side-sequence.

Examples (1) and (2) demonstrate that in the on-the-record context of meetings, *desu*/*masu* forms, along with the content of the utterances, enable M to construct an institutional identity as a full-fledged member of a meeting and E to construct one as a general manager of a corporation. Their use of *boku* also indexes such identities and contributes to their performance of these public personae. Simultaneously, it indexes their performance of *sarariiman* masculinity in on-the-record talk. Both M and E could employ the other male-speaker-associated pronoun, *ore*, in these interactions; however, rough-sounding *ore* is incompatible with their public personae. In other words, the context of on-the-record talk, the content of the utterances, the *desu*/*masu* forms, and the pronoun *boku* jointly work to display *sarariiman* masculinity.

The Use of *Ore* in Off-the-Record Talk

In off-the-record talk during the meetings, male participants make assessments, give explanations, and engage in monologue-like sequences. Consider Examples (3) and (4), which contain soliloquy-like remarks. Example (3) is derived from a mixed-sex meeting. S is a female employee in her thirties; N is a male employee in his thirties. T, who is S and N's superior, is soon leaving this company for a prefectural office as part of a people-to-people exchange with the prefecture. They have been discussing the company's intention to hire three new recruits at a future time.

Example (3)

1	S:	*[name of the department], san-nin ja nai* ***desu****.*
		"In the (name of the department), it's not three people."
2	N:	*sa, sarainen haitte kuru hito tte koto* ***desu*** *yo ne*↑
		"You mean people who will join the year after next, right?"
3	S:	*a, so so so.*
		"Oh, that's right. That's right. That's right."
4	T:	(Looking at a document) *T-san tte doko kara dete kita n da kore*↑
5		*hajimete kiita zo ore. T-san ja nee daro, koko wa mō. rainen no.*
		"Where did Mr. T come from? I heard [it] for the first time. This shouldn't be Mr. T. Next year's."
6	N:	*sō* ***desu*** *ne.*
		"That's right."

S uses *desu/masu* forms to address T (line 1). N also uses these forms to S (line 2), while S responds to N in the plain form (line 3), perhaps because N is relatively new to this corporation. S and N's use of *desu/masu* forms thus indicates their recognition of status differences between S and T and between N and S, respectively. Then, T makes a soliloquy-like remark, wondering about the continued use of his name in light of the fact that he is leaving the office soon, in the plain form (lines 4–5). The plain form indexes a lack of formality, a lack of deference, and an absence of a display of public self (Geyer 2008). Here, speaking in the plain form allows T to display his innate self (e.g., Cook 1996, 2008; Fukuda 2005). Note that T

uses the particle *zo*, the first person pronoun *ore*, the phonologically reduced form *ja nee* for *ja nai*, and *daro* 'right?' in line 5. These features are all exclusively male or strongly male-associated forms (Okamoto and Sato 1992; see also Shibamoto Smith 2003, for summaries). T can use these forms because he is speaking in this innate mode. In other words, his men's language highlights that T is not expressing an official stance at this moment, and it also foregrounds his spontaneous masculinity.

Example (4) is from an all-male meeting. Before this exchange, E, as meeting chair, introduced an agenda item on the management of employees' schedules.

Example (4)

1	T:	*ima made ekuseru de yatteta kedo.* "Up to now, we have been doing [schedule management] through Excel."
2	E:	*yatteta n dakke*↑ *ore nanka mitsukannakatta na.* "Have we done it [that way]? I couldn't find [the Excel files] for some reason."
3	T:	*yatte nakatta to shitara.* "If we haven't done [through Excel]."

T, speaking informally, mentions that they have been using Excel for scheduling (line 1). E then requests confirmation of T's remark from T (line 2), using *n dakke*↑, which is often used to confirm things that cannot clearly be recalled (Gurūpu Jamashii 1998). E then makes a monologue-like remark in the plain form that he couldn't find the Excel files for the employees' schedules (line 2). Here, E uses *ore* and another male-exclusive particle *na* (see Shibamoto Smith 2003). E's use of these male-associated features in a monologue-like sequence allows him to spontaneously display his masculinity.

Ore also contributes to the establishment of solidarity among male employees. Consider Example (5) from a mixed-sex meeting. In this example, *orera* 'we' is used to create male solidarity. Y, a female employee in her thirties, is discussing the availability of computers in schools. Only Y, G, and E participated in this meeting.

Example (5)

1	Y:	*a:::, watashi wa sono, chūnanbee no shōgakkō no piishii kyōiku ga*
2		*wakaranai nde, nantomo ienai n* ***desu*** *kedo, watashi ga shōgakkō no*
3		*toki ni, jugyō de piishii o kubararete yaru tte yū no wa nakatta n*
4		***desu*** *ne.*
		"Well, I don't know anything about PC education in elementary schools in Central America, so I can't say much about it. But when I was in elementary school, PCs were never distributed to us in class."
5	E:	*nakatta yo ne.*
		"They weren't, right?"
6	Y:	*dakara sore wa sugoi ii to* ***omoimasu****. watashitachi wa toshokan*
7		*ni itte::, nanka sūdai no piishii o minna de kakotte yaru mitai na.*
8		*go-nin ni ichi-dai gurai de::.*
		"Therefore, I think it's great. We went to the library and gathered around a few PCs to operate [them], like one PC per five students."
9	G:	*orera piishii nakatta.*
		"We didn't have PCs."

Y expresses her opinion that giving PCs to students is a great idea, noting that she was not given such an opportunity when she was in elementary school (lines 1–4 and 6–8). The nonreciprocal exchange of Y's *desu/masu* forms and E's and G's plain forms indicates a hierarchical relationship in which Y is both younger and lower status than E and G. Note that G employs *orera* 'we' to refer to his own elementary school days (line 9). By using *orera*, G constructs a context of "we" who did not have PCs in elementary school versus Y, who did. That is, G uses this pronoun to draw a line between people in his and E's generation and Y. Nakamura (2010: 137) notes that in Japan, "masculinity is something which a man has to prove to other men rather than to women." If so, the easiest way for men to display their masculinity to other men is to use male-associated language. G's use of *orera* allows him to present his masculinity to E, as well as to establish solidarity with him.

The previous two sections have analyzed the use of the male-associated first person pronouns, *boku* and *ore*, accompanied by *desu/masu* and plain forms. *Desu/masu* forms, which index "the speaker's 'in-role' stance" (Enyo 2015: 362), and plain forms, which signify the speaker's innate stance, play a significant role in displaying different types of masculinity in the course of the meetings. While *desu/masu* forms contribute to presenting the speaker's *sarariiman* identity, the plain form works to construct the speaker's innate self. *Boku* and *ore* interact with these pragmatic meanings of linguistic forms to project the masculinities that these modes of self perform. While in SturtzSreetharan's (2006a) work, *ore* indexes a "manly man" model of masculinity, this study observes that it is used to express a spontaneous masculinity vis-à-vis the masculinity of a public social persona, the *sarariiman*. The innate masculinity and the *sarariiman* masculinity that male employees perform in business meetings complement each other and may be essential for these employees to balance their masculinity at work. Moreover, in addition to displaying masculinities with *ore* and *boku*, the male employees establish solidarity among themselves with *orera*.

4.2 Putting Female Co-workers Down

The other way that male employees perform their masculinities in this study is through marginalization of their female counterparts. This only occurs in off-the-record talk in all-male meetings, where the plain form that indexes the speaker's stance of spontaneous self is the characteristic form. "Since gender is a relational term, and the minimal requirement for 'being a man' is 'not being a woman'" (Cameron 1998: 281), one way for men to display their masculine identity may be to draw a line between women and themselves, which can be achieved by expressing misogynistic attitudes. Example (6) illustrates how they gossip about a female co-worker, who is not Japanese but a Westerner. Prior to this segment, they have been discussing budgetary matters, and G mentions a healthcare program that his team has been working on. E's suggestion in line 1 is directed to G. All names are pseudonyms. Keywords for putting female co-workers down are double underlined.

Example (6)

1	E:	*sore o dokka de, fiirudo de toraiaru suru tame no nantoka tte ieba,*
2		*sugoku tsukaiyasui n ja nai* ***desu*** *ka*↑ *daremo monku iwanai.*
		"If you say something like, it [the program] is for doing trials in the field or somewhere else, then you could use [the budget] easily, right? No one would complain."
3	G:	*e:: mā, kanrisha ga ne.*
		"Well, a person in charge might."
4	E:	*hhh. dare, dare kanrisha*↑
		"Who, who is the person in charge?"
5	G:	*e*↑
		"What?"
6	E:	*dare*↑ *kanrisha.*
		"Who is the person in charge?"
7	G:	*iya, jotee ga.*
		"Well, an empress is."
8	T:	*jotee*↑
		"An empress?"
9	E:	*kaette kita jotee*↑ *kaette, a, kaette kita jotee ja nakute, a::, a::*
		"An empress who just came back? Not an empress who just came, came back, oh, oh,"
10	T:	*mō ikko no ().*
		"The other ()."
11	E:	*a, Nanshii, Nanshii ne.*
		"Oh, Nancy, Nancy, right?"
12	G:	*un.*
		"Yeah."
13	E:	*hhh. Nanshii.*
		"Nancy."
14	G:	*are ga kanrisha ni natteru kara sa:, a, Suzuki-san sonomono wa betsu*
15		*ni ii n da kedo.*
		"That [Nancy] is the person in charge, so, well, Ms. Suzuki is okay, but."
16	E:	*a, sō na n da.*
		"Oh, is that so?"

In lines 1–2, E uses *desu/masu* forms to formally make a suggestion. In response, G provides a soliloquy-like remark that suggests that the person in charge is problematic (line 3). This invokes off-the-record talk, because the utterance is unrelated to the agenda (Enyo 2015). Upon G's soliloquy-like utterance in line 3, E and T attempt to find out who the person is. Despite the fact that G does not give the person's name (instead saying *jotee* 'empress' in line 7), E and T seem to figure out who she is (lines 9–11). This signifies that the person to whom *jotee* refers is shared knowledge among all the male participants in this segment. They also acknowledge that there is more than one Western *jotee*, as T mentions *mō ikko* 'the other one' in line 10. Furthermore, it is clear from their language use that they do not see Nancy or *jotee* positively. *Mō ikko* 'the other one' (line 10) is a form for referring to an object—a person would be referred to as *mō hitori* 'the other person.' In line 14, G says *are ga* 'that is', which also treats the referent, Nancy, as an object. The term *jotee* 'an empress' also has a negative connotation, referring to a woman who has absolute power and authority over others. It should be noted that G does not denigrate a Japanese female co-worker, Suzuki-san (lines 14–15). The example thus suggests that only Western female co-workers are problematic for these male employees, perhaps because their authority over the men is incompatible with "[Japanese] cultural images of subordinate femininity" (Nemoto 2010: 208). The male employees in this segment may be expressing their implicit expectation that, in Japan, "women workers would engage in subordinate roles in a display of traditional femininity" (ibid.: 221).

Nakamura (2010: 138) argues that "if heterosexuality is a prerequisite of masculinity and masculinity needs to be approved by other men, one typical way to establish male heterosexuality is to talk intimately to other men emphasizing misogyny and/or homophobia." This is exactly what the male employees do in this example. By sarcastically calling Western female co-workers *jotee* and linguistically objectifying them, the male employees display and reinforce misogynistic attitudes toward them. This creates a boundary between the female colleagues and themselves; accordingly the male employees manifest their innate (heterosexual) masculinity. Moreover, expressing misogyny through criticism of female co-workers contributes to establishing homosociality[3] among male employees (e.g.,

Cameron and Kulick 2003; Kiesling 2001; Nakamura 2010; Sedgwick 1992). The male employees' implicitly shared knowledge of who is considered a *jotee* further intensifies their male bonding.

Another example from the all-male meeting data shows a similar phenomenon. In this example, they are discussing a "field trip" in which all the employees in the department go somewhere for fun. Again, E serves as the meeting chair; I is a male employee in his forties.

Example (7)

1	E:	*san-gatsu matsu, san-gatsu matsu gurai de, chotto yarō kana to*
2		*yū fū ni* ***omottemasu****.*
		"I have been thinking of having [a field trip] at the end of March, around the end of March."
		((Omit two turns))
3	E:	*nanka ii basho aru kana.*
		"I wonder if there is a good place [for it]."
4	T:	*un*↑ *nan no*↑
		"Huh? For what?"
5	E:	*umi ikō kana yappari.*
		"I wonder if we should go to the ocean after all."
6	I:	*umi.*
		"The ocean."
7	T:	*san-gatsu no umi samui na.*
		"The ocean in March is cold."
8	E:	*iya ii kanji* ***desu*** *yo. kaze sae nakereba. kaze fuichau to,*
		"No, it is good if the wind doesn't blow. If the wind blows,"
9	T:	*pii pii yū yo. uchi no.*
		"Our [employees] would make a fuss."
10	E:	*e:*↑
		"What?"
11	T:	*uchi no pii pii yū yo. samukattari suru to.*
		"Our [employees] would make a fuss, if it is cold."
12	E:	*a:. dare ga*↑
		"Oh, who?"

13	T:	*e:*↑ "What?"
14	E:	*gyaru*↑ *daijōbu da yo. umi wa ano, fune notte iku kara. hhh.* "Girls? It should be OK. We are going to the ocean by boat."
15	M:	*fune de iku n* ***desu*** *ka*↑ "Are we going there by boat? "
16	E:	*un.* " Yeah. "
17		(1.0)
18	E:	*ichiō kyū wan san-gatsu ni ichi-do, puran,* " [I think that I want to make] a plan in March, Q1 (the first quarter)."
19	T:	*hai.* " Yes. "
20	E:	*shitai to* ***omoimasu****.* " I think I want to. "

E announces that he has been thinking of having a field trip in *desu/masu* forms (lines 1–2). Here, he frames his idea as official, playing the role of a general manager. E then shifts his speech style to the plain form and delivers a monologue-like utterance, which provokes off-the-record talk (Geyer 2013); accordingly, T responds to E in the plain form (line 4). In line 8, E switches back to *desu/masu* forms to challenge T's assessment that the ocean is cold in March. E's use of *desu/masu* forms here parallels a female superior's *desu/masu* form usage in Takano's (2005) study, where Japanese female superiors employ *desu/masu* forms to detach themselves from a group of employees and present their institutional role as superiors. By returning to the *desu/masu* forms, E reconstructs his official role as a general manager so as to legitimize his challenge to T. But, subsequently, T resumes off-the-record talk, providing his assessment of other employees in the plain form (line 9). *Pii pii* evokes a chirping sound; thus, *pii pii yū* 'make a fuss' has a connotation of a person complaining in a high-pitched, squeaky voice. At first, E seems to have no idea whom T is talking about, which makes T insert the interjection *e*↑ (line 13) with rising into-

nation. This interjection indicates that T assumed that E and he shared knowledge of who makes a fuss. In line 14, E finally figures out who that is. It is noteworthy that E calls the female employees *gyaru* 'girls' instead of using a more proper term for female employees, such as *joshi shain* or *josee shain*. The mainstream media in Japan often depict *gyaru* as young women who are self-centered and self-assertive, challenging conventional female gender roles and femininity (Miller 2004). In this example, E may use *gyaru* to downgrade young employees by depicting them as self-centered and rebellious. Here as well, E marginalizes his female colleagues, drawing on a gender ideology in Japan of subordinate femininity (Nemoto 2010). No other participants in the meeting contest E's use of *gyaru*, indicating that they all align with E in terms of this identification of young female co-workers. This segment ends in lines 18 and 20, when E, shifting back to *desu/masu* forms, formally ends his announcement.

Cameron and Kulick (2003: 59) argue that "heterosexual talk (i.e., talk which overtly marks the speaker as heterosexual) may be a means for constructing gender identities and/or homosocial relationships among people of the same gender." Their point is confirmed by the examples in this section. The section illustrates that by using sexist language (i.e., *jotee* and *gyaru*), male employees denigrate female co-workers or express misogyny, and accordingly they display their innate (heterosexual) masculinity and strengthen their homosocial ties. The content of their misogynistic conversations and the off-the-record contexts, where the plain form is the characteristic form, allow the male employees to perform an innate side of their masculinity. Furthermore, as Examples (6) and (7) demonstrate, the male employees' identification of female colleagues as problematic is rooted in a Japanese cultural model of gender relations: "superior men and subordinated women" (Ashikari 2003). A cultural model of gender relations can hence be a resource for the display of (heterosexual) masculinity.

What is also remarkable in these examples is that the male employees who initiate the denigration (G in Example (6) and T in Example (7)) never explicitly state who is a problem. Rather, other employees figure out who the speaker means. Thus, the male employees must call on in-group knowledge of problematic female colleagues, which also constructs homosociality among them. Further, as Cameron and Kulick (2003: 115) assert, "intimacy is often achieved, at least in part, through the

transgression of public taboos"; referring to other employees as objects, as *jotee* 'the empress', or as *gyaru* 'girls' would probably be considered taboo in most workplaces. The interactions of the male employees in this study thus intricately incorporate in-group knowledge, misogynistic cultural models, and the transgression of public taboos to create homosocial relationships with each other.

5 Conclusion

Although *sarariiman* have been identified by scholars as representing hegemonic masculinity, their performance of masculinity while at work is under-investigated. This chapter draws attention to how *sarariiman* perform different types of masculinities in the course of business meetings and confirms the claim made by previous studies that there are multiple and diverse masculinities (e.g., Dasgupta 2013; Kiesling 2001, 2007; SturtzSreetharan 2006a, b, 2009). Previous research has asserted that in contemporary Japan, "the daring, aggressive warrior-like masculinity of the past fades into something gentler, kinder, and even a bit timid" (Occhi et al. 2010: 421). The findings of this study partially coincide with this line of work, since the male employees use a more formal male-associated pronoun, *boku*, in conjunction with *desu/masu* forms to perform their *sarariiman* masculinity. Yet the analysis also demonstrates that contemporary *sarariiman* still embody masculinity by employing stereotypical men's language along with the plain form, including the vulgar, rough-sounding *ore* and exclusively male-associated particles. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that *sarariiman*'s masculinities are not solely realized by men's language. Rather, men's language and other contextual features, such as types of interactional style (i.e., on-the-record and off-the-record talk), particular pragmatic meanings of *desu/masu* and plain forms, the content of utterances, and conversational topics related to gender ideologies, all serve as resources for *sarariiman*'s performance of masculinities. I suggest, therefore, that in order to analyze masculinity in Japanese, it is necessary to look into other co-occurring linguistic resources in addition to men's language forms alone.

Furthermore, the performance of masculinity may contribute to the creation and maintenance of positive interpersonal relationships at work. The male employees in this study, who all work in the same department, seem to establish intimacy among themselves at least in part by establishing homosociality through the display of their innate masculinity. Marginalizing female colleagues is one way for them to do so (see also Cameron 1998; Kiesling 2007). Hence, this chapter also illustrates how the male employees generate homosocial relationships built on their spontaneous masculinity.

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Appendix: Transcription Conventions

(0.0)	Elapsed time in silence by tenths of seconds
:	Prolongation of the immediately prior sound; multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound
.	A falling intonation
,	A continuing intonation
↑	A rising intonation
hhh	Laughter
( )	The transcriber's inability to hear what was said

Notes

1. In my data set, *watakushi* is used only twice, both times by the same male participant in joking contexts. His use of *watakushi* implies that it may create a pragmatic effect of humor, although further research on this topic is necessary.
2. *Yakuwarigo* 'role language' refers to "sets of spoken language features (e.g., vocabulary and grammar) and phonetic characteristics (e.g., intonation

and accent patterns), associated with particular character types" (Teshigawara and Kinsui 2011: 38).

3. "Homosocial" refers to "social bonds between persons of the same sex" (Sedgwick 1992: 1).

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6

Constructing Identity in the Japanese Workplace Through Dialectal and Honorific Shifts

Andrew Barke

1 Introduction

Research on workplace discourse, especially in English-speaking communities, has seen a marked increase over the past two decades (Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2013), yet to date little attention has been paid to workplace discourse in the world's third largest economy, Japan (Tanaka and Sugiyama 2011; Yotsukura 2003). Of the studies that do exist (e.g., Emmett 2003; Kondo 2007; Murata 2014; Saito 2011; Tanaka 1999; Yotsukura 2003), most have focused on the use of 'standard' (Tōkyō-based) Japanese. The situation regarding use of (non-standard) dialect in the workplace is a subject that has yet to be fully explored.

This chapter takes a preliminary step toward filling this gap by analyzing style-shifts that occurred in the discourses of morning meetings (*chōree*) in a company located in the Kansai region of Japan. The shifts involve switches between Kansai dialect (KD) and standard Japanese (SJ), on the one hand, and plain forms and *desu/masu* forms or addressee hon-

A. Barke (✉)
Kansai University, Osaka, Japan

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orifics, on the other. Company meetings are an invaluable source of interactional data as they play a significant role in the day-to-day running of workplaces, and interactions that occur within a meeting context offer important insights into both the underlying values and cultural practices of an organization, as well as interpersonal relationships among workers (Angouri and Marra 2011; Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1997; Murata 2015). They generally involve interactions between multiple parties and the style of language used, especially by those filling an official role within the meeting such as meeting chair, has the potential to shed light on underlying ideals concerning member behavior that contribute to the shaping of the institutional identity of the company.

The study draws on a theoretical framework based on a social constructionist approach in which social contexts are considered emergent as a result of social interaction (Bucholtz 1999; Cook 2008a; Ochs 1993) and speakers are viewed as active participants in discourse that use a variety of linguistic resources to achieve their interactional goals. The framework includes reference to the notion of Community of Practice (CofP) developed by Lave and Wenger (1991), and Wenger (1998) to account for human learning behavior within established social groups, especially those in a workplace environment. A CofP is defined by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations—in short, practices—emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor" (1992, 464). It is a particularly useful tool when analyzing workplace discourse as it "offers a potentially productive means of linking micro-level and macro-level analyses" (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999, 181), a point demonstrated in previous research such as Barke (2010).

In the following sections, I will first consider social meanings that have been associated with dialect and standard language use. I will then provide a brief overview of the kinds of features found in the Kansai dialect (KD), the dialect spoken in the Ōsaka area where the data for this study was recorded, as well as functions that have been associated with the use of *desu/masu* forms and plain forms in Japanese. An explanation of the methodology will be followed by the analysis of the data and discussion of the results. Finally, the main findings of the study will be summarized in the Conclusion.

2 Kansai Dialect, *Desu/Masu* Forms and Plain Forms

2.1 The Social Meanings of Dialect and Standard Language Use

> … a pair of utterances said in the standard language and a regional dialect containing the same propositional content do not mean the same thing in terms of social meaning. (Cook 2008a, 9)

As Cook's statement indicates, while it may be possible to convey the same factual information in two different varieties of a language, the choice of variety itself generates implicatures related to the motivation behind the speaker's choice, which in turn can be inferred by the hearer to hold particular social meanings. Compared to standard language, for example, the use of dialect is often associated with informality, spontaneity, and being closer to the heart and to tradition (de Fina 2007, 72), and shifts into dialect can index a change of persona (ibid, 67) and the expression of affect. Blom and Gumperz (1972) reported two villagers switching between Standard Norwegian and the local dialect when discussing business and family/village matters, respectively. In relation to Javanese, Irvine reports higher, more refined styles are conceived to be more depersonalized and lacking affect, while lower, coarser styles are regarded as the styles used when losing one's temper (2001, 29).

The different social meanings that arise from the contrast between the use of standard language and dialect forms allow speakers to manipulate their use of forms for a variety of interactional purposes, including the construction of self-identities and the identities of others as part of the dynamic, socio-cultural process of persona management (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa 2012). Compared to mono-variety speakers, those who are competent users of a dialect as well as the standard variety in effect have an additional linguistic tool upon which they can draw when managing discursive relations with others. An important point to keep in mind, though, is that speakers vary in their (non-)use of dialect and/or standard language forms in any given context due to personal stylistic preferences and the fact that

some speakers are more socially adaptable than others and more adept at using various levels of language (Kobayashi et al. 2007). Furthermore, the boundaries between dialect and standard language are generally fuzzy as dialect speakers tend to use a mixture of forms in differing proportions depending on the type of interaction (Okamoto 2008, 237). Even when a speaker opts to use standard forms, his/her intonation and/or accent may retain elements that are closer to the patterns of his/her native dialect than that of the 'standard' variety. Bearing this in mind, we will now turn our attention to the non-standard but widely spoken variety of Japanese under consideration in this study—the Kansai dialect (KD).[1]

2.2 Kansai Dialect

Ōsaka is an area renowned for both its vibrant commercial sector and its status as the heartland of KD. While the scope of this chapter does not allow for an exhaustive explanation of features of KD, the following is a sample of some of the commonly quoted differences between KD and SJ[2]:

morphosyntactic differences

Imperatives	e.g., 'look'	(SJ) *miro;* (KD) *mii*
Verb forms	e.g., 'paid'	(SJ) *haratta;* (KD) *harōta*
Adverbial forms	e.g., 'become wide'	(SJ) *hirokunaru;* (KD) *hirōnaru*
Negatives		(SJ) *nai;* (KD) *n*
Copulas		(SJ) *da, darō;* (KD) *ya, yaro*
s-final verbs	e.g., 'dropped'	(SJ) *otoshita;* (KD) *otoita*

lexical differences

'eggplant'	(SJ) *nasu;* (KD) *nasubi*
'exist (animate)'	(SJ) *iru;* (KD) *oru*
'it's no good'	(SJ) *dame*/*ikenai*; (KD) *akan*
'it's no use'	(SJ) *shikata ga nai;* (KD) *shānai*
'move'	(SJ) *ugoku;* (KD) *inoku*
'please'	(SJ) *onegaishimasu;* (KD) *tanomimasu*

'really'	(SJ) *hontō ni;* (KD) *honma*
'salty'	(SJ) *shoppai;* (KD) *shiokarai*
'seventh day'	(SJ) *nanoka;* (KD) *nanuka*
'very'	(SJ) *totemo;* (KD) *metcha*
'why'	(SJ) *dōshite da yo*; (KD) *nande ya nen*
'very'	(SJ) *totemo;* (KD) *metcha*
'say'	(SJ) *iu;* (KD) *yū*

phonological differences

- Vowel devoicing of /*i*/ and /*u*/ sounds more frequent in SJ and less frequent in KD. E.g., 'like' pronounced [*ski*] in SJ, but [*suki*] in KD
- Vowel sounds in single mora words elongated. E.g., 'tooth' ⇨ (SJ) *ha*, (KD) *hā*; 'tree/wood' ⇨ (SJ) *ki,* (KD) *kii*; 'eye' ⇨ SJ *me,* (KD) *mee*
- Pitch accent patterns. E.g., 'chopsticks' ⇨ (SJ) *HA-shi*, (KD) *ha-SHI*; 'bridge' ⇨ (SJ) *ha-SHI*, (KD) *HA-shi*
- SJ /s/ sound often occurs as /h/-sound in KD. E.g., 'wife' ⇨(SJ) *yomesan,* (KD) *yomehan*; negation ⇨ (SJ) *-masen,* (KD) *-mahen*; 'and then' ⇨ (SJ) *soshite*, (KD) *honde*

Unlike many Japanese dialects, KD has for the most part been successful in resisting the drift toward younger speakers abandoning their use of dialect in favor of SJ. In fact, popularization through the media and the association of KD with comedy have resulted in a largely positive view of the dialect not only in the Kansai region, but in other areas of Japan as well, particularly among the young (Chun 2007, 126–7). We might therefore assume that most workplace discourses within the Kansai region would occur exclusively in KD; however, this is often not the case. In the present data, for example, frequent shifts between use of KD[3] and SJ were observed, which appears to support the assertion made by Long that "the trend in Western-Japanese dialects has been toward bi- (or multi-) dialectalism" with speakers switching codes depending on the situation which Long refers to as "situational code-switching" (1996, 122).

Okamoto (2008, 230) points out that the situation is even more complex than Long portrays, as speakers in many contexts employ a mixture of dialect and SJ forms together[4] rather than speaking exclusively in one variety and then switching to another. For this reason, in this study changes in use between KD forms and SJ forms will be referred to as "style-shifts," as will changes between *desu/masu* forms and plain forms, the descriptions of which we now turn to.

2.3 *Desu/Masu* Forms and Plain Forms

Desu/Masu Forms

Desu/masu forms, often referred to as Japanese addressee honorifics, consist of various forms of the copula such as *desu* (non-past), *deshita* (past), and *deshō* (volitional), and verbal endings such as *-masu* (non-past), *-mashita* (past), *-mashite* (gerund) and *-mashō* (volitional). They are commonly referred to as "polite forms/register" (*teenee-go/tai*) (e.g., Iwasaki 2002; Kindaichi 1978; Leech 1983; Masuoka and Takubo 1992; Shibatani 1990; Suzuki 1972) or "formal forms" (e.g., Maynard 1997, 1999; Wetzel 1995). These labels, however, are somewhat misleading in that they imply politeness/formality are inherent semantic properties of the forms. As Cook notes, "… the social meanings of the *desu*/*-masu* form are context dependent and vary from context to context or even from moment to moment" (2008b, 49). Many other linguists have also pointed out that linguistic forms are never intrinsically polite or formal in themselves. Rather, it is the ways in which they are used in specific contexts that trigger inferences of politeness and formality.

Other communicative functions besides the expression of politeness and formality that have been associated with the use of *desu/masu* forms include the expression of deference to others (Geyer 2008, 55) and the marking of speech directed toward others (Kindaichi 1982; Maynard 1993). Maynard, for example, states, "The more the speaking self is aware of 'thou' as a separate and potentially opposing entity, the more elaborate the markers for discourse modality become, one of which is the *desu/masu* ending" (1993, 179).

Hinds (1978) and Ikuta (1983) propose that *desu/masu* forms are indicators of social or psychological distance between interlocutors, while Geyer states the forms can be used to indicate the impersonalization of the speaker's role when making an imposition by emphasizing that the matter at hand is "official" rather than of a "personal" nature (2008, 58, 66) and when used mutually by interactants, the forms can create "a theatrical effect in which both interactants jointly act out their respective roles" (ibid. 67).

Cook also holds the view that use of *desu/masu* forms is related to speaker "performance," claiming, "The *masu* form directly indexes the self-presentational stance" of the speaker, which she defines as, "the self which presents an on-stage display of a positive social role to the addressee" (2008b, 46). Elaborating further, she asserts this affective stance can indirectly index various social identities and activities, including: a person in charge (e.g., parent, teacher); a knowledgeable party (e.g., teacher, other authority figures); a presenter (e.g., newscaster, interviewer); another's voice (e.g., reported speech); a lower-status person in some non-reciprocal exchanges between the *masu* and plain form; and speaking in a professional capacity (e.g., professor and student) (Cook 2008b, 47).

While the accounts of *desu/masu* form use have been numerous and varied, underlying many is the view that their use has the effect of de-emphasizing or "masking" the subjective, personal identity of the speaker and instead, presenting him/her in an impersonal, objective and/or "official" light.

Plain Forms

Plain forms, on the other hand, consist of non-honorific forms of the copula, such as *da* (non-past), *datta* (past), *darō* (volitional) as well as bare nominals (e.g., *ryōhō* 'both') that are considered instances of copula deletion, and verbal endings such as *-u/-ru* (non-past), *-ta/-tta/-nda* (past), *-te* (gerund), and *-ō/-yō* (volitional). Use of plain forms has been linked with the expression of friendliness and the creating of a casual lively atmosphere (Okamoto 1998, 153). Makino links their use with utterances that are "speaker-oriented," defining "speaker-orientation" as "the speak-

er's communicative motivation to express some highly subjective and presuppositional information by inwardly looking at himself" (1983, 139). He also notes that in informal situations, the informal (plain) forms are chosen as the norm.

Maynard holds a similar view to Makino, but frames it in terms of the speaker's awareness of 'you':

> "The choice of *da* versus *desu/masu* verb-ending forms when they are mixed is predictable on the basis of the low versus high awareness of <you>… When the speaker is only mildly aware of <you> to the extent that the speaker feels <you> to be extremely intimate and close, the *da* style is chosen. More concretely, a low awareness situation occurs when; (1) the speaker is emotionally excited, (2) the speaker is involved in the event almost as if being right there and then, (3) the speaker expresses internal feelings in an almost self-addressed utterance, (4) the speaker jointly creates utterances, (5) the semantically subordinate information is presented, and (6) the speaker expresses social familiarity and closeness." (2002, 279)

Cook (1996) suggests use of plain forms indexes "interpersonal proximity" as well as "intrapersonal proximity," the latter being the distance between the speaker's innate self and his/her social role or persona. Plain forms, she argues, directly foreground the innate self, a stance that is the spontaneous expression of the speaker.

Now that the four linguistic forms (KD, SJ, *desu/masu* forms, and plain forms) to be considered in relation to style-shifting in the data have been introduced, we will turn our attention to the methodology and data used in this study.

3 Data and Methodology

As was mentioned in the Introduction, the data under analysis in this study comes from the morning meetings of a small metalwork manufacturing company in the Ōsaka area of Japan. The members of this CofP are made up of 17 full-time workers, 16 males and one female. Senior management includes the *kaichō* 'founder of the company', *shachō*

'company president' and eldest son of the *kaichō*, and *senmu* 'senior managing director' and younger son of the *kaichō*.

All workers appeared to take pride in their workplace and its reputation for being a reformed and progressive company. Senior management had introduced several dramatic changes at one point to improve the working environment and the running of the company after facing difficulties due to a downturn in the economy. The changes included such measures as a thorough cleaning and painting of the inside of the factory and the disposal of excess machinery and materials that had accumulated over time. Where a thick layer of dirt and grime had once built-up on the workspace floor, now brightly colored lines painted on a spotlessly clean concrete floor delineate different work areas and safe pathways for staff to follow as they moving about the factory. Tools are neatly stored in portable storage trolleys or on racks around the walls and are promptly returned to their designated spots after use.

The changes implemented in this company CofP have been so effective, they have attracted attention from outsiders as well, with up to 200 groups (both domestic and international) visiting the company each year to learn about their management techniques. For this reason, the company workers are quite used to having outsiders present among them as they work. Nevertheless, to ensure the presence of a researcher would not affect their behavior in any way, a video camera was left with a member of staff to set up and record each meeting. Aside from a few initial comments among workers when the presence of the camera was explained on the first day, the camera was generally ignored.

A total of three meetings were recorded in February, 2013, each being between 12 and 30 minutes in length. The recordings were transcribed and all *desu/masu* and plain forms that occurred at or near the end of subordinate and main clauses were identified and counted.[5] Pragmatic particles *desu ne* 'ah/um' and *dakara/desu kara* 'so' were also included in the count as their use has social meaning even though they add little to the referential content (Cook 2008b, 36). No instances of volitional forms of the copula (i.e., *deshō/darō*) were observed in the data.

Regarding instances of use of dialect in the recordings, morphosyntactic and lexical forms associated with KD were identified by a native speaker of standard (Tōkyō-based) Japanese rather than a KD speaker to

avoid the possibility of regularly used dialect forms being mistaken for standard forms. Phonological forms associated with KD were not taken into consideration due to the previously mentioned possibility of some speakers retaining intonation/accent patterns associated with their native dialect even when employing otherwise "standard" morphosyntactic and lexical forms.[6]

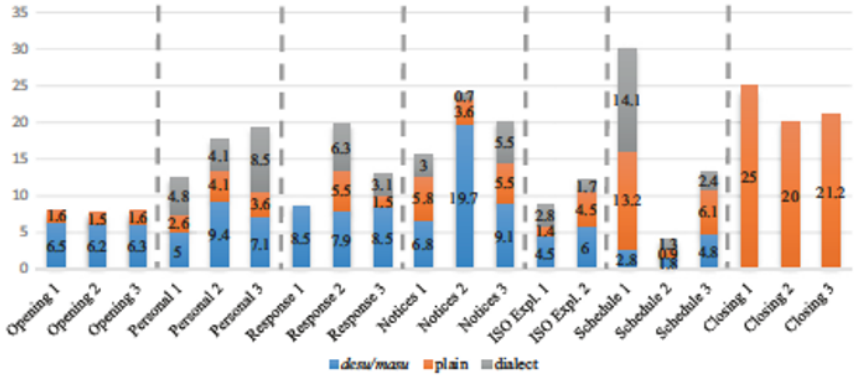
4 Language Use Within the Morning Meetings

In this section, the stylistic features of utterances made in different parts of the three morning meetings are outlined, and speaker motivations behind the use of, and shifts between, different linguistic forms are considered.

According to Murata (2015, 56) formal meetings are distinguishable by means of six criteria: (1) they are referred to using a specific name; (2) they follow a set agenda; (3) they are held in a specific venue; (4) they are routinely held; (5) they have a large number of participants; and (6) they have a "formal chairperson." Based on these six criteria, the morning meetings in this study appear to lie at the higher end of the formality scale as they complied with most if not all of the criteria. That is: (1) the meetings were referred to by a specific name (*chōree*); (2) the meetings followed a set agenda based around a remarkably consistent structure that included most if not all of the following elements:

(a) Opening of the meeting (approx. 1 minute)
(b) A monologue delivered by one member of staff on a topic related to their personal life[7] (approx. 3 minutes)
(c) A response to the personal life monologue offered by a different member of staff (approx. 1 minute)
(d) The reporting of work-related notices (approx. 3 minutes)
(e) An explanation of ISO (International Organization for Standardization) regulations (approx. 3 minutes)
(f) Confirmation of the day's schedule (approx. 3 minutes)
(g) Closing of the meeting (approx. 1 minute)

Table 6.1 Frequencies of *desu/masu*, plain and dialect form use per minute by meeting section



(4) They were also routinely held at the same time each morning (3) in the same location in front of a noticeboard located near the center of the factory work-floor, and (5) were attended by all staff members present in the factory at the time. The sixth criteria, "having a 'formal chairperson'," was also found to be partially fulfilled in that, while no single individual chaired the meetings, the role of chairperson was divided among several pre-designated staff members who led different sections of the meetings.

Table 6.1 offers an overview of the frequencies of use of *desu/masu* forms, plain forms, and dialect forms in the different sections of each of the three meetings. Of particular note is the complete absence of dialect forms in the Opening and Closing sections, and the mostly mixed use of all three types of forms in other sections. Reasons for these patterns of use will now be explored.

4.1 Opening and Closing Sections of the Meetings

The Opening and Closing sections were found to be the most formal and structured parts of the meetings, with participants taking part in standardized routines of behavior in both. Workers stood in a U-shaped configuration around the central noticeboard and recited a predetermined set of formulaic expressions. These sections were always led by the

youngest staff member present and each of the leader's utterances was followed by a response given in chorus by other staff members. Utterances that occurred in these sections were marked with either plain or *desu/masu* forms. In the Opening sections, *desu/masu* forms were used in all but the final utterance, which occurred in the plain form. In the Closing sections, all utterances occurred in the plain form. Interestingly, no dialect forms were used in either of these two sections of the meetings.

In order to explain such consistent patterns of *desu/masu* and plain form use on the one hand, and the total absence of dialect forms on the other, it is necessary to consider the purpose of the two sections and the functions associated with each of the linguistic forms that were used within this particular context.

Opening

The discourse in the Opening of the meetings consisted of recitations of the company's management philosophy and quality policy. The four statements made in relation to the management philosophy were each marked with *desu/masu* forms, while the one quality policy statement was delivered in the plain form, as shown in Example (1).

Example (1) Discourse in the Opening Section of the Morning Meeting

Toshi[a]:	*kabushikigaisha* [company name] *kee'ee rinen*
	'Management philosophy of [company name] Limited.'
All staff:	*watashitachi wa mono-zukuri o tsūjite shakai ni kōken suru bunkakee kigyō o tsukuri**masu***
	'We will create**[DM]**[b] a unique company that contributes to society through manufacturing!'
Toshi:	*kōdō rinen hitotsu*
	'Behavior philosophy, point one!'
All staff:	*kansha no seeshin de hito to hito no tsunagari o taisetsu ni shi kensan o takame jiko jitsugen o nashitoge**masu***
	'With a spirit of gratitude, we will cherish the ties between people, and through increased study, we will achieve**[DM]** self-fulfillment!'

Toshi:	*hitotsu* 'Point two!'
All staff:	*watashitachi ga tsukuridasu mono wa yutaka na shakai-zukuri o ninau mono de ari, sore o hokori to shi**masu*** 'Our products play a part in building a prosperous society, and we will take**[DM]** pride in that!'
Toshi:	*hitotsu* 'Point three!'
All staff:	*kansee o takame jidai no henka ni taiō shi kokyaku no manzoku to shinrai kankee o tsuikyū shitsuzuke**masu*** 'In response to the changing times and through increased sensitivity, we will continue**[DM]** to pursue the satisfaction of our customers and building trust with them!'
Toshi:	*hinshitsu hōshin* 'Quality policy!'
All staff:	*zumen no mukō ni mieru saishū yūzā no manzoku o tsuikyū **suru*** 'Pursue**[PLN]** the satisfaction of the final user [I] imagine waiting beyond the drawing!'

[a]All names shown in the examples are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the participants. Use of a first name (e.g., "Toshi") indicates the participant was usually referred to by his/her first name by co-workers, while a surname indicates the participant was referred to by his/her family name.

[b]Abbreviations used in examples and their meanings are as follows: **[DM]** = [*desu/masu*] form; **[PLN]** = plain form; **[DLCT]** = dialect form.

As mentioned previously, use of *desu/masu* forms has been linked with

- the display of formality or deference to others (Geyer 2008),
- the marking of speech directed toward others (Maynard 1993), and
- the direct indexing of the self-presentational stance, the self which presents an on-stage display of a positive social role to the addressee (Cook 2008b, 46).

In the context of morning meetings in which there is no specific addressee to whom the statements are directed, these explanations appear inadequate to account for the (non-)use of *desu/masu* forms in this example. When we consider the purposes of a company management philosophy, however, a plausible explanation emerges.

One obvious reason for a company CofP having a management policy is to provide workers with a common set of beliefs and values that help reinforce desired norms of behavior and guide managerial decisions within the workplace. An equally important purpose, though, is to provide a representative statement that reflects the attitudes, values, and institutional identity of the company to the general public, evidenced in the customary provision of such statements in company prospectuses and on websites. So, although the company's management philosophy is not directed at a specific addressee as such, it is externally oriented toward non-members of the company CofP as much as it is internally oriented toward its members. Therefore, if we extend the meaning of "others" referred to in the above previous accounts to include "non-present, unspecified, potential others," we can then account for the use of the *desu/masu* forms in the recitation of this company's management philosophy.

A second, related reason for the use of *desu/masu* forms in this context may be linked to their association with a non-personal, detached style of interaction (cf. Cook 2001), which can be used to indicate a statement represents the institutional "voice" of a company rather than the opinions of individual workers within the company.

In contrast to the management philosophy, we saw the recitation of the quality policy statement occurred in the plain form, or more precisely in what Maynard (1993) terms the "naked abrupt form" (plain forms with no additional affect markers such as sentence-final particles). Maynard links the use of such forms with a lack of conscious attention paid to the addressee, and Cook (2008a) adds that their use indexes the orientation of the speaker/writer toward the content of the utterance rather than indicating an informal and personal relationship between two people. These accounts of the use of the plain (naked abrupt) form offer an explanation for its occurrence in the recitation of the company's quality policy statement as they reveal the statement is internally oriented toward the company workers themselves, rather than externally oriented toward non-members of the workplace CofP. Furthermore, the content

of the quality policy statement itself ('the satisfaction of the final user **[I] imagine waiting beyond the drawing**') is presented from the perspective of the workers, which also corroborates this interpretation.

Closing

Example (2) shows the discourse from the Closing section of the meetings.

Example (2) Discourse in the Closing Sections of Meetings 1 and 2

Toshi:	*kamaete* 'Positions!'	
All staff:	*yoshi* 'Check!'	
Toshi:	*anzen tsūro o kakuho shite sagyō* ***shiyō*** 'Let's**[PLN]** ensure the safety corridors are clear as we work,'	*yoshi* check!
All staff:	*anzen tsūro o kakuho shite sagyō* ***shiyō*** 'Let's**[PLN]** ensure the safety corridors are clear as we work,'	*yoshi* check!
All staff:	*anzen tsūro o kakuho shite sagyō* ***shiyō*** 'Let's**[PLN]** ensure the safety corridors are clear as we work,'	*yoshi* check!
All staff:	*anzen tsūro o kakuho shite sagyō* ***shiyō*** 'Let's**[PLN]** ensure the safety corridors are clear as we work,'	*yoshi* check!
Toshi:	*zero sai de* ***ikō*** 'Let's**[PLN]** have no accidents,'	*yoshi* check!
All staff:	*zero sai de* ***ikō*** 'Let's**[PLN]** have no accidents,'	*yoshi* check!

Similar to the quality policy statement, the company's safety slogans recited in the Closing section of the meetings, also occurred in the plain form. The slogans were written on a whiteboard in the plain volitional form to remind workers of the importance of keeping their work environment safe. Workers stood in a semi-circle formation around the white-

board holding one hand on the shoulder of the person in front of them and pointing with the other at the whiteboard as they recited the slogans. Here again, use of the volitional form indicated that the slogans were presented from the perspective of the workers, and this, together with the posture assumed by the workers as they recited the slogans, emphasized the shared values of the group members, the unity of their group identity, and the fact that the slogans were intended to be internally oriented.

Both the Opening and Closing sections of the morning meetings, besides being an opportunity to remind staff of the company's ideologies and standards of behavior, also serve the function of modeling and reaffirming the institutional identity of the company through the style of language used. The absence of dialect forms in these sections of the meetings is therefore not surprising as the association of dialect with affective speech and informal contexts would make its use incongruous with the official, impersonal nature of these sections of the meetings.

Next, we will consider the style of language used in other parts of the meetings.

4.2 Style of Discourse in Main Body of the Meeting

The main body of the morning meetings consisted of most or all of the following five sections: (1) A Personal Life Monologue; (2) A Response to the Personal Life Monologue; (3) The Reporting of Notices; (4) An Explanation of ISO (International Standards Organization) Regulations[8]; and (5) Confirmation of the Day's Work Schedule. In almost all cases, a mixture of use of *desu/masu* forms, plain forms and dialect forms, often within the dialogue of a single speaker, was observed in these sections,[9] which, as we will see below, reflected the moment-by-moment strategic use of forms by speakers for a variety of effects and to fulfill a number of discursive functions.

Indexing Other-Directed and Self-Directed Speech

The following extract is taken from the Personal Life Monologue section of the first meeting, which followed immediately after the Opening section. A pre-nominated staff member is speaking on a topic that is related to some

aspect of his/her personal life outside of the workplace environment. The speaker is free to choose what he/she wants to talk about, but the monologue must be at least 3 minutes in length and is measured by a timer held by the speaker. Forms written in bold and underlined indicate a *desu/masu* form (shown as **[DM]** in the translation below) or plain form (**[PLN]**). Bold forms with no underline indicate a dialect form (**[DLCT]**).

Example (3) Extract from Meeting 1, Personal Life Monologue

Takahashi:	*…hai etto mā mata uchi no chōjo no hanashi nan* ***desu*** *kedomo mā toriaezu ashita ga shiritsu no* ***nani****?* ***nyūshi****? kana un de itsu* ***ya*** *hatsuka-* ***hatsuka*** *kana sokora hen ga kōritsu no mā nyūshi tte iu koto de mā mā shiken ga tatetsuzuke ni kongetsu mā aru n* ***desu*** *kedomo mā sore de mā tō no honnin wa mā ima nani* ***shitennen*** *te iu to mā kinō mo mā* ***yomehan*** *ni jukensee no sugata* ***yanai*** *tte itte okorarete nani* ***shitonno*** *kana* ***omottara*** *heya de manga* ***yondotta*** *tte iu kanji de…* 'So, um, ah, this talk is about my eldest daughter again **[DM]**, and, ah, tomorrow is her private school, what**[PLN]**? entrance exam**[PLN]**? maybe, yeah, and when**[PLN]** **[DLCT]**? on the 20th, the 20th**[PLN]** maybe, around then is the public school, ah, entrance exam and, ah, her exams are coming up quickly, ah, this month**[DM]**, and, ah, what she herself is doing**[DLCT]** now is, ah, again yesterday, ah, she got told off by my wife**[DLCT]** who said she doesn't**[DLCT]** seem like someone who is sitting entrance exams. I wondered**[DLCT]** what she was doing**[DLCT]**, and it was like, she was in her room reading**[DLCT]** manga comics.'

In Example (3), we can see that *desu/masu* forms and plain forms index the function of the utterances in which they are used. For example, when the speaker employs the *desu/masu* form in the phrase, "*hai etto mā mata uchi no chōjo no hanashi nan* ***desu*** *kedomo*" 'So, um, ah, this talk is about

my eldest daughter again', he indexes his assumption of a "self-presentational stance" (Cook 2008b) as he fulfills the official role that has been assigned to him within the meeting context. Simultaneously, he indexes that this part of his utterance, the introduction of the topic he is about to speak on, is addressed to an audience (the other members of the CofP) within the formal setting of a meeting.

Soon after, however, we observe the speaker shifts to use of plain forms, "***nani****?* (2) ***nyūshi****? kana un de itsu* ***ya*** *hatsuka-* ***hatsuka*** *kana*" 'what**[PLN]**? entrance exam**[PLN]**? maybe, yeah, and when**[PLN]** **[DLCT]**? on the 20th, the 20th**[PLN]** maybe', which indexes a change in the speaker's stance. At this point, he temporarily abandons his efforts to portray himself as fulfilling an official role, and reverts to the construction of a personal identity as he self-queries the validity of the information he intends to present to his audience. This change of stance from other-oriented self-presentation to self-oriented, off-stage musing is indexed through his shift from use of *desu/masu* forms to the vernacular, which includes the use of the plain form and the dialect form "*itsu* ***ya***" 'when?'

Referring to *Uchi*

As Takahashi continues to relay his story to his audience, he returns to his "self-presentational stance" with the employment of another *desu/masu* form, but then employs further dialect forms, this time apparently as a direct result of the topic. He uses dialect when talking about his family life, particularly in reference to family members such as his wife, whom he refers to as "***yomehan***," and actions and events that occurred within his *uchi* environment (e.g., "*nani* ***shitonno*** *kana* ***omottara*** *heya de manga* ***yondotta***' 'I wondered**[DLCT]** what she [his daughter] was doing**[DLCT]**, and … she was in her room reading**[DLCT]** manga comics'). Use of dialect, which is integrally associated with the unmarked vernacular style of communication within the home, enables Takahashi to colorfully recreate the scene of his family life for the audience of his narrative. His use of dialect within the formal context of the meeting also emphasizes the difference between the personal nature of his topic and other official business-related topics that arise during the course of the meeting.

Example (4) offers a further example of dialect being used to mark *uchi*-related content, but it occurs in the Explanation of ISO (International Standards Organization) Regulations section of the meeting in which Kiuchi explains the relevance of the ISO regulations in their own workplace. Despite the rather serious nature of the content of his message, Kiuchi shifts to use of dialect when he says, "*kōbai gurūpu tte* ***nanyanen***" 'what is the purchases group?**[DLCT]**', a question he assumes the other workers would be asking themselves. This question could be regarded as a type of (imagined) self-oriented musing, which as we saw above, usually occurs in the vernacular (dialect). At the same time, Kiuchi's use of dialect also appears to be a deliberate attempt to lighten the atmosphere created by the serious nature of his talk by expressing solidarity with his co-workers through humor, implying it would be only natural to have such down-to-earth thoughts.

Example (4) Extract from the Explanation of ISO Regulations Section of the First Morning Meeting

Kiuchi:	*soko no sekininsha tte iu no wa* (*dare da to* ***omou***)
	'Who do [you] think**[PLN]** is the person in charge there?'
Yasuda:	*Yamamoto-san* ***desu***
	'Mr. Yamamoto**[DM]**.'
Kiuchi:	*un yamamoto-shunin ga kōbai gurūpu no sekininsha de e:* ( ) *yoku shitte****masu*** *hai kōbai gurūpu tte* ***nanyanen*** *tte iu no wa e: kōnyū shita buhin toka zairyō toka ato gaichū itakushita seehin*
	'Yeah, Mr Yamamoto is the person in charge of the purchases group, and yeah ( ) knows**[DM]** it well. Well, the role of the purchases group is, what is the purchases group?**[DLCT]** It is ah things like purchased parts and materials, and also outsourced products…'

As these examples illustrate, dialect forms are a useful linguistic tool available to speakers of non-standard varieties of a language that can assist with the tracking of referents and the indexing of changes in topic, or changes in orientation to a topic, within a discourse. This is particularly useful in high context languages such as Japanese in which ellipsis of subjects and referents is the norm rather than the exception. In this

respect, the contrast between dialect forms and standard forms can be used by speakers to indirectly designate non-specified subjects/referents in a somewhat similar way to the use of the contrast between plain forms and *desu/masu* forms.

Such shifts that occur within the utterance of a single speaker are hard to account for under traditional approaches that attempt to link stylistic variation in Japanese to changes in external contextual conditions. However, under a constructionist approach in which spoken discourse is viewed as a dynamic process involving interactants creatively and strategically using linguistic forms to fulfill specific discursive goals, an explanation is possible.

Expressing Emotion

If we again refer to Table 6.1 in which the ratios of all use of *desu/masu* forms, plain forms, and dialect forms are represented, we see the highest level of dialect forms occurred in the Confirmation of the Day's Work Schedule section of the first meeting. This apparent anomaly is the result of a lengthy complaint made by the *kaichō* (the founding president of the company) about the disappearance of raw material that he knew was previously in stock. A short section of his monologue is shown in Example (5).

Example (5) Extract from Meeting 1, Schedule Section

Kaichō:	*…ima made hiraochi suru kata atta n* ***desu*** *yo. nde: kinō mitara* ***arehen yakara*** *mō sute- suteta ka nanka* ***yaro*** *n de mata chūmon shita* ***wake*** *yo* [name of supplier] *ni ne…* '…the type that sits flat was in stock**[DM]**, and when I looked for it yesterday, it wasn't there**[DLCT]**. So**[DLCT]** it must have been thrown out or something**[DLCT]** and you see**[PLN]** I reordered it from [name of supplier]…'

It is obvious from the *kaichō*'s tone of voice and length of complaint that he is very irate about having to reorder something he knew had been purchased previously, but had since gone missing. His choice of linguistic forms further emphasizes his depth of frustration. After marking the

beginning his utterance with a single *desu/masu* form, he then shifts to use of plain and dialect forms, his vernacular "off-stage" style of speech. This style shift helps emphasize the *kaichō*'s intensity of emotion by indexing an absence of emotional restraint and a lack of regard for the face wants of others present in the formal meeting context.

Indexing Interaction Between Individuals

The final pattern of behavior involving the use of dialect forms we will look at was observed in certain contexts within the meeting discourse when the interaction shifted from being publicly oriented (i.e., addressed to all the staff members at the meeting) to being oriented toward a particular individual or individuals, as in Example (6).

Example (6) Extract from Meeting 1, Notices Section

Shōsuke:	*san dan ni hirogeteru tochū ni san dan no hen wara- ano ware- warete (to iu no kana) tonde shimatta tte iu no de mā shiyō mae tenken tte koto de shikkari chūi shite yatte iki**masu** hai ijō **desu***
	'They said, as it was being spread out at level 3, around level 3 it cra- ah cra- cracked (if you call it that) it flew off so, well, it was the pre-use inspection so we intend to continue**[DM]** working on it with a lot of care. Okay, that is all**[DM]**.'
Kaichō :	*ano rōden wa dotchi ga **warukatta** **n ya**? sesshoku ga **warukatta** **n**?*
	'Ah, so regarding the short-circuit, which was at fault**[DLCT][PLN]**? Was it the contact that was at fault**[DLCT][PLN]**?'
Shōsuke:	*ha ( ) **ryōhō*** **[PLN]**
	'Ah ( ) both.'
Shachō:	*ryōhō nanka **ariehen ariehen***
	'There's no way**[DLCT][PLN]** it could be both, no way**[DLCT][PLN]**.'

In this example, Shōsuke is reporting to the other workers at the meeting on an incident that happened in the workshop. He utilizes *desu/masu* forms to index the official, on-record, nature of his report and ends with the expression "*hai ijō* ***desu***" 'Okay, that is all'. At that point, the *kaichō* (the founder of the company) addresses Shōsuke directly using dialect and plain forms as he asks for more information about the incident. Shōsuke replies, also in the plain form. The shift from *desu/masu* forms to use of dialect and plain forms indexes a change in the type of discourse taking place, from an "impersonal," "official" meeting report to interaction that is "off-stage" and more personal, between two individuals.

5 Conclusion

Despite the scope of the data analyzed in this study being limited to the discourses of three morning meetings in a single company in the Kansai region, the examples of stylistic variation presented above demonstrate that speakers of KD use dialect forms and standard forms, *desu/masu* and plain forms, in many creative and complex ways in order to fulfill a wide range of communicative functions.

The results of the study revealed that associations of dialect with informality, spontaneity, closeness to the heart, expressions of affect, and *uchi*-related contexts led speakers to use dialect forms in some parts of the meetings, while refraining from their use in others. In the more formal and structured Opening and Closing sections, we saw the use of dialect forms was avoided due to the purpose of these sections being the reaffirmation of the institutional identity of the company and the setting of the standards of behavior for its members. In other parts of the meetings, however, speakers shifted between use of dialect and standard forms, on the one hand, and plain and *desu/masu* forms, on the other, as they indexed changes in stance, with use of dialect and plain forms indexing "off-stage," personalized speech directed at the self or another individual, as well as serving to intensify expressions of emotion. These forms were also found to be used by the speaker to recreate *uchi*-related scenes in narratives delivered to an audience. *desu/masu* and standard forms, on the other hand, were found to be used to index "on-stage," depersonalized speech directed at an audience.

Finally, it is hoped that the results of this preliminary research will encourage further investigation into language use in other workplace communities of practice in which non-standard varieties of the Japanese language are spoken.

Notes

1. While finer distinctions can be made between different varieties of Japanese spoken within the Kansai region such as Ōsaka dialect, Kyōto dialect, etc., for the purposes of this study the generic term "Kansai dialect" will be used to refer to the variety of Japanese spoken in the workplace data.
2. For more detailed accounts of Kansai/Ōsaka dialects, see, for example, Palter and Slotsve (1995), Peng and Long (1993), Sanada (1996), Shibatani (1990), and Tsujimura (2014).
3. In this study, the discussion of KD forms is restricted to lexical forms that are widely recognized as being features of the Kansai dialect. It does not include consideration of pitch-accent and intonation patterns associated with KD speakers for the reasons pointed out above, that is, because dialect speakers often retain the accent and intonation patterns of their native dialect even when employing standard variety forms.
4. Sanada (1996, 2000) refers to this phenomenon as *neo-hōgen*, or 'neo-dialect.'
5. *Desu/masu* forms and plain forms occurred at the end of both subordinate and main clauses and were often followed by conjunctions such as *nde* 'because' and *kedo* 'but' as well as sentence-final particles such as *yo* and *ne* in the case of main clauses.
6. The exclusion of phonological forms from the analysis should not be considered a reflection of their (lack of) importance in any way. The author's decision was based solely on practical considerations due to space limitations.
7. The sections of the meetings that involved workers talking about their personal lives outside of work, and responding to such talks, were introduced with several aims in mind according to the *shachō* 'company president'. One aim was to help workers improve their oral communicative abilities and to gain confidence speaking in front of others, regardless of whether they were new recruits straight out of high school or employees who had been working for the company for many years. Another aim was

to develop and strengthen the bonds between workers within the company.

8. The ISO Explanation section did not take place in the second meeting.
9. There was one exception in the data in which a speaker giving a Response to Personal Life Monologue employed only *desu/masu* forms, and no plain or dialectic forms.

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7

Humor and Laughter in Japanese Business Meetings

Kazuyo Murata

1 Introduction

In workplace discourse, transactional or work-related talk is highly valued because it is obviously relevant to workplace objectives. However, at the same time, relational or social talk plays an equally significant role by enhancing rapport among co-workers and thus contributing to positive workplace relations (Holmes and Stubbe 2003). Humor is a typical example of this type of talk, and it not only serves to amuse or entertain. It helps to create team spirit by expressing solidarity or a sense of group belonging (e.g., Fletcher 1999). It manages power relationships among team members by de-emphasizing power differences (e.g., Brown and Keegan 1999), and it often contributes to characterizing a distinctive workplace culture (e.g., Holmes and Marra 2002a).

Most previous research in this area, however, has been conducted in English-speaking societies, and there is little research on humor in

K. Murata (✉)
Ryūkoku University, Kyōto, Japan

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Japanese workplace discourse. The present study addresses this gap in empirical research on humor in authentic Japanese business meetings. Since it is generally recognized that humor and laughter are associated, this study explores laughter as well as humor in the same meetings.

In this chapter, previous research on workplace humor and laughter is first reviewed, then the methodology, including the conceptual framework for analysis, is described, and the data is introduced. Finally, the data analysis is provided.

2 Previous Studies

In this section, previous studies on workplace humor and laughter are briefly reviewed.

2.1 Workplace Humor

Over the past 20 years, research on workplace humor has been conducted in disciplines such as business management, social psychology, and communication. In recent years, a focus has been the analysis of humor in authentic workplace discourse (Westwood and Rhodes 2007). Though workplace humor is context-bound and often cannot easily be understood by non-group members (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Schnurr 2005), researchers on workplace discourse have provided various definitions of (workplace) humor (e.g., Holmes 2000; Mullany 2004; Schnurr 2005).

Because her definition is based on a significant amount of authentic workplace interaction, I have chosen to employ the definition by Holmes (2000). Holmes (2000: 163) defines humor as "utterances […] which are identified by the analyst, on the basis of paralinguistic, prosodic, and discoursal clues, as intended by the speaker(s) to be amusing and perceived to be amusing by at least some participants." In Holmes' definition, the analyst takes account of a variety of interactional clues such as "the speaker's tone of voice and the audience's auditory and discoursal response" (Holmes 2000: 163), which play important roles.

As mentioned in the introduction, workplace humor enhances workplace relationships, helping to create team spirit by expressing solidarity or a sense of belonging to a group (e.g., Fletcher 1999). Shared humor in particular reinforces common ground and norms. In workplace discourse, which is "seldom neutral in terms of power" (Holmes et al. 1999: 354), humor can also be used to manage power relationships among team members by de-emphasizing power differences (e.g., Brown and Keegan 1999; Holmes 2000; Pizzini 1991). For example, when relaying unwelcome messages or performing face-threatening acts, such as criticism and directives from superiors to subordinates, humor can serve as a softener or hedge. It expresses concern for maintaining good workplace relationships by those who are in positions of power and can attenuate the power difference (Holmes 2000; Holmes and Stubbe 2003). On the other hand, humor can be employed by subordinates to challenge power differences when expressing disapproval and resistance. Humor is often considered an acceptable means of expressing subversive attitudes or aggressive feelings (Holmes 2000; Holmes and Marra 2002b). That is, humor "constructs participants as equals, emphasising what they have in common and playing down power differences" (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 109–110).

In addition, Mullany (2007), Schnurr (2009a, b), and Holmes et al. (2011) have analyzed humor in authentic workplace interaction in terms of identity work. They agree that humor contributes to the construction of various social identities, including leader, manager, and gender.

In terms of distribution, most workplace humor researchers argue that humor frequently occurs at the boundaries of interaction. The opening and closing phases of meetings are favorite sites for humor (Holmes and Stubbe 2003). Humor also occurs within meetings, often during transitional phases such as around topic transition points and just after decisions have been reached (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Schnurr 2005). These characteristics of the distribution of workplace humor suggest that humor is considered to be typically peripheral in workplace discourse where transactional talk is highly valued.

It is generally agreed that not only the use of humor but also the perception of humor is affected by socio-cultural factors (e.g., Apte 1985; Hayakawa 2003). Based on the analysis of authentic workplace

interaction, the manifestation of workplace humor varies according to each workplace (e.g., Holmes 2006; Holmes and Marra 2002a; Holmes and Stubbe 2003). Holmes and Marra (2002a) found that dimensions of humor such as the amount, type (single utterance or extended sequence), and construction (collaborative vs. competitive) help to characterize a distinctive workplace culture.

The above research is entirely from Western and/or English-speaking societies. There is much less research on workplace humor in Asian societies. Schnurr and Chan (2009) conducted an empirical cross-cultural study on workplace humor in New Zealand and Hong Kong and found that the manifestation of humor is influenced by expectations of "'several layers of culture', from the micro-level (i.e., workplace) to the macro-level (the wider society where the workplace belongs, ethnicity and/or nation)" (Schnurr and Chan 2009: 152). Researchers such as Backhaus (2009), Geyer (2010), and Saito (2011) analyze some aspects of humor in Japanese workplace data, but they do not attempt to identify every type of humor in their data.

Murata (2015) is the only comprehensive cross-cultural study on humor in business meetings in English and Japanese, focusing on its instigator, type, and function. The data consists of video/sound-recorded business meetings from a New Zealand company (approx. 370 min.), and a Japanese company (approx. 710 min.). It was found that the way in which humor is manifested in the data demonstrates both similarities and differences between the two data sets. The data also suggests that the features of humor found in the business discourse of the New Zealanders and the Japanese participants may reflect cultural differences.

In Murata's (2015) analysis of features of humor in authentic business meetings, the first salient difference was *who contributes* to the humor. In the New Zealand meetings, all participants were free to contribute to the humor, while in the Japanese meeting data, higher status participants or the individual in charge of the interaction contributed most of the humor. This difference was also reflected in the types of humor. In the New Zealand data, meeting participants cooperatively constructed humor, while in the Japanese data, those who are in charge of the interaction or the meeting, or who are in positions of authority, initiated the humor,

and other members added to it with humorous utterances and/or responded with laughter. Another salient difference was *when* humor occurs. In the New Zealand data, humor often occurred in situations where there would be tension or anxiety. The data analysis showed that humor served to defuse tension. In the Japanese meeting data, on the other hand, there were very few occurrences of such humor. Though the findings are important, the data was limited to one New Zealand and one Japanese workplace respectively. The present study expands on previous research.

2.2 Laughter

Given that laughter is one of the major ways of responding to humor, in this section, previous research on laughter in authentic interactions is reviewed. There are two interesting pieces of research on laughter from a relational perspective: one is Glenn (2003) and the other is Hayakawa (2003).

Glenn (2003) focuses on the production and interpretation of laughter in everyday talk in English. He uses a conversation analysis framework to analyze laughter in natural English-conversational data. He approaches laughter as "intentional social action" (Glenn 2003: 32) and his focus is "on what people display to each other and accomplish in and through their laughter" (Glenn 2003: 33).

He identifies two categories of laughter: The major kind of laughter is called shared laughter, or *laughing with*, which proves important socially as a means of showing affiliation with others. The second kind of laughter is called *laughing at*, which may not be shared among the conversants. Glenn suggests that *laughing at* may be used to indicate disaffiliation. Showing that the shift from *laughing with* to *laughing at* and vice versa often occurs dynamically in interaction, he emphasizes that it is important to analyze laughter discursively.

Hayakawa (2003) analyzes laughter in Japanese natural conversational data, and suggests that laughter displays speakers' cooperative orientations toward the conversation-in-progress and contributes to its smooth development. She categorizes laughter into three kinds: (1) joyful laugh-

ter indicating identification with the in-group (laughter for promoting conversation); (2) balancing laughter; and (3) laughter as a cover-up. Though there are different functions in each category of laughter, Hayakawa (2003) concludes that, "In all cases the goal is to strengthen the unity within a group of participants" (P. 327).

Glenn (2003) and Hayakawa (2003) agree that laughter plays an important role in the creation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships. However, differences are apparent in their focuses on types of laughter as well as the interpretation of the social meaning of the laughter in their data analysis. Glenn's (2003) main focus is laughter associated with things that are laughable or funny, while Hayakawa's (2003) main focus is laughter that does not indicate amusement or humor.

In earlier research (Murata 2005; Murata and Hori 2007), I analyzed intercultural conversations conducted in English between American and Japanese participants at their first encounter. The results indicated interesting differences. While the Americans laughed only at comments that were obviously intended to be funny, the Japanese not only laughed at humorous comments but also at more general and neutral comments. The Americans did not seem to know how to interpret the Japanese laughter following utterances not intended to be funny, and this caused misunderstanding between the Americans and Japanese interlocutors. Based on this analysis, it appears that Japanese laughter does not always reflect amusement or enjoyment. In other words, it occurs without accompanying humor.

It can be argued that laughter is not only a response to humor, or a constituent of a conversational sequence, but also an independent component of conversants' communicative behaviors, serving particular discourse functions in interaction, especially in Japanese interaction.

Murata (2009) compared laughter in business meetings in Japan and New Zealand and found that laughter not associated with amusement is salient only in Japanese business meetings. Since Murata (2009) dealt with business meetings of only one company from Japan, this study expands the data and explores how humor and laughter are associated from a relational perspective in Japanese meetings.

3 Conceptual Framework

Since this study explores relational aspects of workplace discourse, Relational Practice and Community of Practice are employed.

Relational Practice is a specialized concept of politeness focusing on workplace discourse. Researchers on workplace discourse (Holmes 2006; Holmes and Marra 2004; Holmes and Schnurr 2005) emphasize the value of Relational Practice when considering relational aspects of workplace interaction and outline the three criteria described below:

1. Relational Practice is oriented to the (positive and negative) face needs of others.
2. Relational Practice serves to advance the primary objectives of the workplace.
3. Relational Practice at work is regarded as dispensable, irrelevant, or peripheral. (Holmes and Marra 2004: 378; Holmes and Schnurr 2005: 125)

Relational Practice is not only oriented to the face needs of others, or "other-oriented behavior at work" (Holmes and Schnurr 2005: 124), but also has a recognizable transactional function. Moreover, despite the seemingly positive message of point 2 above, which suggests a centrality of relevance to workplace objectives, Relational Practice has in fact typically been regarded as peripheral to, and in some cases even distracting from, the main objectives of the workplace and thus has often been overlooked (Holmes and Marra 2004: 379). In fact, Holmes and Marra illustrate that this off-record (thus peripheral) status of Relational Practice is signaled by the use of discourse markers indicating that Relational Practice offerings are peripheral, including "get back to the point" or "anyway" as well as by silent pauses, verbal hesitations, and so on. In workplace discourse, speakers attempt to adopt diverse strategies in order to achieve transactional goals primarily, and also maintain relational objectives. Relational Practice is backstage, serving to advance the primary objectives of the workplace. Typical Relational Practice strategies include humor, small talk, and narratives (Holmes and Marra 2004; Holmes and Schnurr 2005).

The other key analytical concept is Community of Practice (CofP), which is drawn on when considering what constitutes a workplace, particularly the ways in which participants demonstrate their group membership. Following Wenger (1998), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999: 186) define a CofP as "an aggregate of people who, united by a common enterprise, develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, and values-in short, practice." According to Wenger (1998), the crucial criteria defining a CofP are "mutual engagement," "joint enterprise," and "shared repertoire," criteria met by the Japanese business meeting groups in the data set. Applying these three dimensions to the workplace, not only a whole organization but also a particular working team, for example, can form a CofP. A CofP approach focuses on the discourse that people use to construct their membership in a group.

Recent researchers on workplace discourse (e.g. Angouri and Marra 2012; Mullany 2007; Schnurr 2009b) adopt this framework in their analysis of each particular working group. Their analyses have revealed that manifestations of verbal behaviors or linguistic strategies differ from one CofP to another, as well as in different specific workplace contexts and interactions within a CofP. The popularity of CofP among workplace discourse researchers can be attributed to the way this framework allows them to observe practical similarities and differences within and across workplaces (Mullany 2007). This concept is thus highly compatible with the analytical framework used in this study.

4 Data

The data analyzed in this study consists of video and audio recordings of three different companies, Company A (for more about which, see Murata 2015), Company B, and Company C, all in the Kansai region of Japan. See Table 7.1 for a summary of the three companies' basic information and the data collected from them for this study.

Both Company A and B are IT-related companies, which are both Kansai-based and have a Tōkyō branch. Company C is an electronics-related company and has a head office and factories in the Kansai region.

Table 7.1 Summary of data set

	Company A	Company B	Company C
Company's information	IT company Kansai head office · Tōkyō branch	IT company Kansai head office · Tōkyō branch	Electronics company Kansai head office · Kansai factories
Number of employees	100	180	80
Meeting type	Report type	Report type	Report type
Number of participants	16	20	15
Recording time (approx.)	200 min	250 min	180 min (60 min × 3)

The CEOs of Companies A and C are both owners of their companies and in their sixties. Company A's CEO is friendly and outgoing, while Company C's CEO is quiet and not outgoing. Company B's CEO became CEO in his forties and is friendly, unassuming and modest especially toward those who are older than he is. In all three companies, human relationships are more or less explicitly hierarchical. Especially in Companies A and C, the status of the CEO, who owns the company, is very clear and he is very influential.

In order to match as closely as possible the meetings in terms of components such as size, purpose, and frequency, I recorded management meetings from all the companies, which are all report-type meetings. In all three meetings, participants gave reports about the progress of sales or projects. I selected one meeting each from Company A (approximately 200 min) and Company B (approximately 250 min including break time). Regarding Company C, because each meeting was short, possibly because of being held in the early morning, I analyzed three meetings in order to match the total recording time with the other two companies.

As indicated in the previous section, this study takes the concept of Communities of Practice (CoP) as an analytic framework. The crucial dimensions of a CofP are "mutual engagement" (i.e., ongoing regular interaction), "joint enterprise" (i.e., the shared objectives of the team or group), and "shared repertoire" (i.e., a set of linguistic resources common

and understood among group members) (Wenger 1998: 73). While all the members of each meeting do not belong to the same sections or even work in the same office, they regularly meet, share objectives such as promoting sales, and have a common a set of linguistic resources such as technical terms related to their company's products. Thus, all three CofP dimensions are applicable to the business meeting groups from the three companies and I consider each as constituting a workplace CofP.

The present study analyzes humor and laughter from a relational perspective qualitatively, examining: (1) how different/similar the manifestations of humor and laughter are in each organization/across organisations; and (2) how humor and laughter contribute to building good relationships among meeting members.

5 Analysis

In this section, analysis of humor and then laughter is presented, by illustrating prominent examples in each workplace.

5.1 Humor

Examples (1) and (2) are from a meeting of Company A. In Example (1), Ueki, a development staff member, is talking about a code for a client at the end of his report. He is reporting that the client found a strange number on a note, which was written in *kana* (a Japanese syllabary).

Example (1) [Company A: Ueki—Development Staff Member, Komeda—CEO, Manabe—Outside Director, Tanimoto—Business Consultant]

1.	Manabe:	*kana no tegata nambā* 'The note's number, written in *kana*.'
2.	Ueki:	*ee tegata ni tsuiteru bangō jishin ga futsū wa eesūji de kimasu yo ne* 'Yes, on the note, the number usually is written in the English alphabet and Arabic numerals'

3.		*furidashi ginkō kara* 'from a selling bank.'
4.	Tanimoto:	*un un kana de* 'Uh-huh, *kana.*'
5.	Ueki:	*kana desu* '*Kana.*'
6.	Manabe:	*mita koto aru yō na ki ga shimasu ne kogitte toka tegata de* 'I think I've seen it before on things like checks and notes,
7.		*katakana no shi te mitai na mono ga furūi mono* something like *katakana 'shi'* or *'te'* on very old notes.'
8.	Komeda:	*Meeji jidai?* 'The *Meeji* era?'
9.		[laughter]
10.	Ueki:	*konkai tamatama atta no wa* 'The note I happened to see'
11.		*ano ABC* ((a bank name)) *no Nagoya shiten no hō no hakkōbun datta n de* 'is from that ABC's ((a bank name)) Nagoya branch,'
12.		*sochira ni toiawase o shite mita n desu ne* 'and I asked the branch.'
13.		*sō suru to sono sono bangō kanri jishin wa* 'When I did, how to manage the numbering of notes'
14.		*ano shiten de dokuji de yararete sareteru rashii n desu ne* 'is left up to each branch, it seems.'
15.		*desukara ano jissai ni wa okoriuru mitai nan desu kedo* 'So, actually, this apparently can happen.'
16.		… ((about 20 seconds deleted))
17.	Komeda:	*Sore wa nani chigin ka nanka?* 'Is this a local bank or something?'
18.	Ueki:	*ie ABC* [laughs] 'No, ABC.' [laughs]

19.	Komeda:	*ABC ka* [laughs] *Jibun toko no kaisha wa ABC tte iuteru kuse ni na* 'ABC, huh? [laughs] Even though their own name is ABC [that is, written in the English alphabet], then.'
20.		[general laughter]

Manabe, another meeting participant, says that he thinks he has seen *kana* on an old note in line 6. Following Manabe's turn, in line 8, CEO Komeda asks an intentionally foolish question: 'The Meeji era?' and general laughter occurs. The Meeji era finished more than 100 years ago and nobody knows the notes made in those days. Ueki explains later that the note is from a nationwide, popular bank in Japan. CEO Komeda makes another comical remark in line 19. His utterance means the letters on the note from their branch are written in *kana* that looks very old-fashioned and strange while the bank's name is in English and looks modern and fashionable. This mismatch (the modern and fashionable bank name and the old-fashioned letters on the note from the bank) is the source of the intended humor, and it succeeds in making the participants laugh. It is interesting to observe that Komeda in line 19 uses the colloquial Kansai dialect (*jibuntoko* and *iuteru kuse ni na*). This shift could be regarded as functioning to frame the sequence as humorous. There are similar examples where the CEO makes humorous comments at the closing of the meeting members' report. Numerous other humorous offerings similar to Example (1) occurring at the boundary of reports in Company A and B meetings were also found in the data.

Example (2) is also from a Company A meeting. It is a scene where Sumiyoshi, a new sales staff member, has succeeded in making a contract with a client for the first time and is reporting his success.

Example (2) [Company A: Ashizawa—Chair, Sumiyoshi—Sales Staff Member]

1.	Ashizawa:	*hai Ōtori* 'Now, our last presenter.'

2.	Sumiyoshi:	*hai, ee,* Sakura ((client company's name)) *san desu ne* 'OK, as for Sakura ((client company's name)),'
3.		*ee, anō, saishūteki ni, anō, mazu hajime ni, anō* 'um, well, finally, well, first of all, you know,'
4.		*adobaizarii sābisu no tokoro de, ee, chūmonsho o itadakimashite* 'regarding the advisory service, um, I got the order,'
5.		*de, ee, de kyō nan desu kedo-* 'and, well, today…'
6.	Ashizawa:	*Un.* 'Uh-huh.'
7.	Sumiyoshi:	*hai, todokimashita.* 'Yes, it has arrived.'
8.	Ashizawa:	*yokatta /yan* 'That's good news, /isn't it\?'
9.	XM:	*/ooo* '/Wow\.'
10.		[everyone claps]
11.		[general laughter]

When introducing sales staff, Ashizawa, the chair, always uses their family names, but in this example, he calls on Sumiyoshi using *Ōtori* in a humorous tone in line 1. *Ōtori* refers to the last and most important performer in an event. Ashizawa expresses his warm welcome to the new sales staff member by using *Ōtori*, which suggests that he is a very important person. After Sumiyoshi reports his success, in line 7, Ashizawa says, 'That's good news' in an exaggerated, humorous, and loud voice, which elicits another participant's 'Wow' and is followed by applause and general laughter. As observed in this example as well, there is a shift in register in lines 8–9. Ashizawa in line 8 ends with a colloquial Kansai dialect sentence final particle *yan* and *ooo* expresses the speaker's joy (excitement) in a colloquial manner. These shifts could be regarded as a framing device, closing the sequence begun by Ashizawa's introduction of Sumiyoshi as *Ōtori*, as humorous.

In this example, Ashizawa actively expresses his wish to share the joy of the success with Sumiyoshi and encourage him as a new junior team

member while simultaneously making the atmosphere of the meeting friendly and supportive. In other words, Ashizawa's identity as Sumiyoshi's immediate supervisor, as well as his being the chair of the meeting, are discursively constructed in ongoing interaction, and his use of humor here functions effectively and positively to enhance team spirit and to encourage rapport and solidarity among the meeting members. It also functions effectively as a Relational Practice that enhances the objective of the workplace (i.e., selling products) because being encouraged by one's supervisors can be seen as motivating the sales staff.

As Examples (1) and (2) show, a typical pattern of humor in Company A's meeting is that the CEO or the meeting chair instigates the humor and other members respond with laughter.

Practices differ somewhat at Company B. Example (3) is from Company B. The following is a scene from the beginning of a meeting.

Example (3) [Company B: Asada—Chair, Takagi—Director, Uchida—CEO]

1.	Asada:	*ii desu ka ne.* 'Are you ready?'
2.		*ee, jū gatsu no ikkaime no maneejimento kaigi o hajimetai to omoimasu.* 'Well, I think I'd like to begin the first management meeting in October.'
3.		*ima wa kisho desu node anmari hōkoku jikō wa nai ka mo shiremasen keredomo* 'It's [just] the beginning of the second half of the fiscal year so you may not have much to report, but…'
4.		*eetto, kyō chotto shingi jikō de kaihatsuanken ga tsuika ni natteru bun mo aru nde* 'Well, today, regarding a topic to discuss, a development project has been added, so'

5.		*mā, jikan ga areba saigo made ikitai to omoimasu.* 'Well, if we have time, I think I would like to finish this matter.'
6.		*de, ee, ma, rokuji han kara RU* ((client name)) *kikku ofu no konshinkai o mōshikondemasu nde* 'And, uh, well, we've booked [a restaurant] for a kick-off party for RU ((client name))'s project at six thirty, so'
7.		*roku-ji goro made ni wa owaritai to omoimasu nde kyōryoku o onegai itashimasu* 'I'd like to finish this meeting around six, so I ask for your cooperation.'
8.	Takagi:	*roku-ji ja osoi n ja nai no* ? [laughs] 'Six o'clock is too late, isn't it?' [laughs]
9.		[general laughter]
10.	Uchida:	*sanjuppun gurai de ike tte ka* [laughs] 'He (Asada) is saying, 'Get there in 30 minutes', right?' [laughs]
11.		[general laughter]

Asada, the moderator, starts the meeting. He asks the meeting participants to cooperate in finishing around six o'clock, because he has booked a restaurant for a kick-off party for a client at six thirty. Following his remark, Takagi, the director, asked with a level of exaggerated care, suggesting irony or sarcasm, whether six o'clock is too late (because it actually takes more than thirty minutes to reach the restaurant). Then laughter occurs. Following Takagi's comment, Uchida, the CEO, also humorously comments in an imperative form (*ike* 'get there') and a quotation marker (*tte*). In this form, he supports what Takagi wanted to say and adds more levity. It is interesting to find that in this CofP's meeting, director Takagi often initiated humor during the meeting talk, that is, "on-stage" talk (Cook 2008). On the other hand, CEO Uchida often initiated humor during the break, that is, in "off-stage" or unofficial talk. Director Takagi is older than CEO Uchida. In this

CofP, age difference might be more influential than corporate hierarchy in the allocation of rights to initiate humor. In terms of the distribution, humor was found not only at the opening but also closing.

Example (4) is from Company C. The following is a scene before the meeting starts. Both Egami and Ueda are factory staff and of equal status.

Example (4) [Company C: Egami—Factory Staff Member, Ueda—Factory Staff Member]

1.	Egami:	*ikkai kyō kaigi tte wasureteta*
		'Once I forgot that there was a meeting that day.'
2.		[general laughter]
3.	Ueda:	*aru* [laughs]
		'I've also had such an experience.' [laughs]

Company C's meetings are very serious and quiet. At most of the meetings, only necessary information is presented. The CEO's comments follow after each participant's report, and there were few questions or comments from other meeting participants except the CEO. No instances of humor occurred during the meeting (the "on-stage") phase, but I did find one instance in the "off-stage" phase before the meeting started.

The analysis found that those who are in authority and/or have power instigated humor in Company A and B, while no one instigated humor in Company C, where the CEO did not use humor at all. It was found in the data from Companies A and B that humor plays an important relational role in creating a friendly atmosphere and enhancing team spirit, and that humor occurred at topic transitional points and/or at the "off-stage" phase, i.e. interactions peripheral to the meeting.

5.2 Laughter

My previous research found that in English-language meetings in New Zealand, humor was often invoked at tense or potentially anxiety-

provoking points, whereas in the Japanese meeting data, there were very few instances of humor at such junctures (Murata 2015). Consistent with this finding, there was no such humor in the meeting data for the current study. On the other hand, there are many occurrences of *laughter* across the three CofPs where tension occurred. In this section, laughter serving to reduce tension is presented.

Example (5) is from Company A. Salesperson Kuno is reporting his sales results.

Example (5) [Company A: Kuno—Sales Staff Member, Nomura—Sales Staff Member]

1.	Kuno:	*mō kondo akaji ( ) bumon datta onrain jigyō wa tettai to iu tokoro de purasu no mikomeru ee komyuniti saito no un'ee kikaku to ato wa jūtaku kaihatsu to iu tokoro ni shibotte yatte iku to iu tokoro na no de mā konki nantoka purasu ni mochinaoshitai to iu yō na jōkyō no kaisha de ee de arimasu* [laughs] 'They are going to give up their online business, which was in the red, and focus on planning and managing the community website, and beyond that, on developing products by out-sourcing them, so, well, this is a company at a stage where we want to see them somehow turn things around this quarter.' [laughs]
2.	Nomura:	[laughs]
3.		[general laughter]

Kuno's client company has a deficit problem and cannot afford to buy the company's product. Here he reports that the client is unlikely to buy the product even if he strongly advises him to do so, and adds laughter. His laughter is echoed by one other participant.

In terms of Relational Practice, one could argue that because the workplace imperative is to achieve transactional objectives, in this case, to sell the company's products, reporting bad sales results is

inconsistent with this objective and appears to makes the reporter feel uncomfortable. This may then account for the fact that the reporter employs laughter to reduce the tension. The reporter also employs hedges such as *ee/mā* 'well' to soften his admission. Following the reporter's laughter, in line 2, Nomura echoes it, too. Both participants' laughter reduces the potential for tension that might be expected when reporting adverse results that are contrary to the company's primary business objectives, and we thus see that the laughter in Example (5) also serves a relational role.

Example (6) is also from Company A. Salesperson Noda is talking to Mr. Tanimoto, a business consultant for Company A, about his client company's request to create an environmental accounting system. Just before Example (6), Tanimoto says that the concept of "environmental accounting" has a very broad range of applications and thus he is not sure exactly what to incorporate in the client's request. In Example (6), Mr. Tanimoto is asking Mr. Noda to obtain more detailed information.

Example (6) [Company A: Tanimoto—Business Consultant, Noda—Development Staff Member]

1.	Tanimoto:	*…ma sore de gyaku ni ano otetsudai tte iu ka nani o shitai n ka to iu koto to sono kankyō kaikee no dono bubun o orikonde kure tte iu hanashi o kikasete itadakereba…* 'Well, on the other hand, well, if you could let me know what the client wants our help with or what they want to do, and what aspect of environment accounting they are asking us to include…'
2.	Noda:	(2.0) [taking memo] *hai* 'Yes.'
3.	Tanimoto:	*sukoshi ano kangaeru koto mo kanō ka to omoimasu.* 'I think it would be possible to, well, think a bit [about advice for your client].'

4.	Noda:	*hai soko o pointo ni jikai apointo o toretara hiaringu o /yaritai\ to omoimasu* 'OK. I'll ask [my client] about those points when I make an appointment [with them] next time.'
5.	Tanimoto:	/*hai*\ '/Yes\.'
6.	Noda:	*etto mata gosōdan sasete itadaku to omoimasu nde* /[laughs]\ *yoroshiku onegai itashimasu.* 'Well, I think I will ask you about it again, /[laughs]\ if it's all right with you.'
7.	Tanimoto:	/[laughs]*hai chotto ojikan kudasai. kore wa sokutō nakanaka…* / [laughs]\'Yes, well, give me a little time, please. I can't really respond about this on the spot…'

In line 1, the company's business consultant Tanimoto is asking Noda to let him know more about those aspects of environmental accounting that the client wants to incorporate into their company before selling the company's product. Noda is not familiar with accounting and is asking Tanimoto for his advice about the client. When making his request to Tanimoto, Noda adds laughter in the middle of his utterance (line 6). Tanimoto responds with laughter by overlapping Noda's laughter in his utterance (line 7).

Requesting is a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987) and it is clear that there is tension between speakers and listeners when making requests, especially to those who are higher in some relevant social hierarchy. Here, the relevant hierarchy is the corporate hierarchy. Noda employs hedges like *etto* 'well' and *omoimasu n de* 'I think, so…' to mitigate the effect of the face-threatening act of asking Tanimoto for his advice. It is reasonable to think that adding laughter also serves to ease the tension. Tanimoto expresses his hesitation in accepting Noda's request by saying *kore wa sokutō nakanaka* 'I'm afraid I can't answer quickly.' Rejecting or deferring a request from a corporate status superior is likely to be uncomfortable for both requester and other meeting participants. Tanimoto shows consideration toward Noda by responding with laugh-

ter in his utterance and laughter here seems to function to mitigate the tension. It can be argued that the motivation behind mitigating the tension between speakers and interlocutors is to maintain or enhance good relationships between/among them. Thus, in this example, laughter discursively serves as a Relational Practice.

Example (7) is from Company B. The following is a scene from the beginning of salesperson Hara's report.

Example (7) [Company B: Uchida—CEO, Hara—Sales Staff Member]

1.	Uchida:	*kekka no hanashi wa mō kantan de ee yo.* 'It's okay to present the results briefly.'
2.	Hara:	*mō ne kekka mo sō nan desu kedo jā shimoki tte iwaretara anmari* [laughs] *mada /hanasu koto ga nain\desu* [laughs] 'Well, you know, the results too, if I'm [being] asked about the second half [laughs], /I don't have much to talk about\.' [laughs]
3.	Uchida:	/[laughs]*sore wa akan yo.* [laughs] *sotchi no hō ga chūshin de hanashite hoshikatta n ya kedo.* /[laughs]\ 'Oh, no. [laughs] But I wanted you to focus on that.'

Before Hara's report, the previous participant has reported his sales results in the first half of this fiscal year at length, although he had been expected to talk about his plan for the last half of the year. Thus, CEO Uchida tells Hara just to report his results as briefly as possible. Following that remark, in turn 2, Hara hesitates to say that he does not have anything to say not only about the result of the first half but also his plan for the last half, and this turn is punctuated with laughter. Uchida overlaps Hara's utterance with loud laughter, but then, criticizes him by remarking sharply that it was precisely the plan for the second half that he had wanted Hara to talk about. I argue that laughter of this sort is deployed in Japanese meetings to soften reports of a speaker's own failure to produce

positive contributions, here as well as in the two previous examples. This kind of laughter preceding a serious rebuke occurred in all three CofPs in this study.

My analysis reveals that there were cases of laughter not associated with amusement across the three CofPs meetings. It is seen that this kind of laughter occurs when making requests, criticizing, and showing reluctance to accept/agree, and disagreeing, that is, when doing FTAs (face-threatening acts). Moreover, laughter also occurred when reporting something that was not good for business goals. Though this is not directly associated with doing FTAs, it can be interpreted as a Relational Practice. While humor plays an important role in defusing tension in Western/English-speaking society (e.g., Murata 2015), laughter alone (without amusement) plays an important relational role in easing tension and restoring balance among meeting participants in the Japanese meeting data.

6 Conclusion

The present study has explored the manifestations of humor and laughter in business meetings from three different CofPs in Japan. The key findings of the analysis of humor are summarized as follows: Regarding the instigator of humor: (1) during on-stage talk (during the meeting), where participants are acting based on their meeting roles, those in authority or those who are in charge of the meeting initiated the humor and other members responded to it with laughter; and (2) during off-stage talk (during the break and/or before the meeting), those who are not in authority were also able to instigate humor. In terms of the distribution, humor generally occurred at the boundaries of meetings, including topic transitional phases and the opening/closing sections.

Consistent with previous research, creating team spirit is the major function of humor in the current study, and ways of embodying this function differ according to the shared expectations of the community. Those who are in authority function as atmosphere-makers or initiators of the sense of group belonging. By supporting their humor, other participants, especially those who are not in positions of power, also contribute to team building. However, those who are allowed to insti-

gate humor could differ in each CofP. The results indicate that by employing humor or various responses to humor, a range of aspects of identity and related issues of power are constructed discursively and dynamically. In other words, the meeting participants are enacting politeness and power through humor in ways that meet underlying expectations of the CofP.

In terms of laughter, across the three CofPs, there are many occurrences of laughter that are not associated with humor. Such laughter occurred when doing FTAs and can be called laughter for defusing tension. This laughter also serves as an important Relational Practice and is essential in Japanese interactions.

This study demonstrates that although transactional or work-related discourse is highly valued in the workplace because of its obvious relevance to workplace objectives, relational or social aspects of interaction play an equally valuable role by contributing to good workplace relations. This indicates that the relational aspects of business interaction should be taken into account in business education and doing so will contribute to successful intercultural business.

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Appendix: Transcription Conventions

[ ]	Paralinguistic features in square brackets
+	Pause of up to one second
(3.0)	Pause of specific number of seconds (above two)
xx/xxxxx\xx	Simultaneous speech
(hello)	Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
( )	Unintelligible word or phrase
?	Rising or question intonation
…	Section of transcript omitted
XM/XF	Unidentified Male/Female
((comments))	Editorial comments including information to assist in understanding the meaning of the English translation in Japanese data

All names used in examples are pseudonyms.

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8

Directives in Japanese Workplace Discourse

Naomi Geyer

1 Introduction

This chapter explores several different forms speaker use when issuing directives in Japanese workplace discourse. Directives are "utterances designed to get someone to do something" (Goodwin 2006, 517), including actions such as requests, suggestions, proposals, and so on. Such utterances are ubiquitous in workplace discourse as well as in daily conversations. As such, they are one of the most studied speech acts in the fields of pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics.

1.1 Politeness, Power, and Community

Researchers have adopted several different approaches to directives touching upon various concepts such as politeness, power, social setting, indirectness, entitlement, and contingency. Among them, a prevalent line of

N. Geyer (✉)
Department of Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI, USA

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research on directives and requests is linguistic politeness theory, as represented by Brown and Levinson's (1987) proposal. Brown and Levinson claim that politeness, a manifestation of respect for the interlocutor's "face (the public self-image)," can be found in various languages, that it supports the orderliness of social interaction, and that it is consequently one of the essential foundations of human social life. A directive, within this framework, is considered a face-threatening act due to the fact that it imposes on the recipient. Researchers have focused on the range of politeness strategies, or special linguistic devices, used to mitigate face threats caused by requests and directives (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1987; Clark and Schunk 1980; Craig et al. 1986; Francik and Clark 1985; Gagne 2010; Rinnert and Kobayashi 1999).

According to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, the seriousness of the face threat caused by a certain action depends on: (1) the speaker's assessment of social distance between speaker and hearer, (2) the hierarchical relationship between them; and (3) the absolute ranking of impositions a certain act causes in a particular culture. Depending on the degree of the face threat, the speaker chooses the appropriate degree of politeness. Recently, this approach to politeness research has been criticized for neglecting the interactional context in which an utterance is produced. In contrast to these studies, which tend to claim the relative politeness of an utterance based on intuitive judgments about a particular form of expression, several current politeness studies conceptualize politeness as interactionally constructed face work and explore discourse data (e.g., Cook 2011; Dunn 2011; Geyer 2008; Hudson 2011; Mills 2003; Okamoto 2011; Shibamoto-Smith 2011; Watts 2003).

Studies on directives in workplace discourse often consider politeness as an underlying motivation that influences the use of various linguistic forms to issue directives. For instance, analyzing directives used in a dance group meeting, Jones (1992) claims that, among Brown and Levinson's social factors, social distance is more important than status difference. She also demonstrated that threat to the conversation and conversational involvement are the most influential to the use of directives and thus stress the importance to look at such discourse factors.

Holmes and Stubbe (2003) discuss how power and politeness are inextricably intertwined in workplace interactions observed in varied organiza-

tions (factories, government departments, small businesses, etc.). They demonstrated many different strategies people use for getting things done at work, depending on varying social and discursive contexts in which directives are issued. For instance, they demonstrated that direct imperatives tend to be used when the tasks are very familiar and routine and the power relationships between the interlocutors clear and uncontested (i.e., from superiors to subordinates). On the other hand, they show that mitigated and indirect directives are typically found in interactions between status equals or new colleagues, or in transactions where a subordinate is trying to persuade a superior to do something. Aside from the status differences, they claim that factors such as the length of time the interlocutors have been working together, the setting of their discussion, and the speaker's assessment of the likelihood of compliance are also relevant.

Vine (2004, 2009) also studied directives observed in workplace discourse. Vine (2009), for instance, examined directives issued by three managers working in government departments and showed that aspects of social context, such as purpose of interaction and participant status and social distance, affect both directive frequency and expression. She also stresses that discourse contexts affect the use of directives claiming that overt directives such as imperatives are used (1) at the end of a long discussion; (2) when there are multiple tasks; (3) when the directive is elicited; and (4) when referring to an immediate task (i.e., NOW directives), while more mitigated forms are observed when the directive is isolated or when there is a high level of imposition.

From the point of view of Communities of Practice, a social theory of learning introduced by Lave and Wenger (1991) theorizing it as a social process of increasing participation to communities, Holmes and Woodhams (2013) explore how becoming a builder in a New Zealand building site involves developing proficiency in both transactional and relational dimensions of the appropriate discourse. They observed that a more experienced apprentice has the ability to interpret and respond appropriately to implicit and indirect directives, while a newcomer needs very clear and explicit instructions, often with physical demonstrations.

The studies introduced in this section examine how people issue directives at workplaces. They found that a number of contextual factors influence how directives are issued, such as discourse setting, the nature

of the relationship between interlocutors, the nature of the task (e.g., routine or non-routine), and how far the directive addressee is integrated into the Community of Practice at hand.

1.2 Entitlement and Contingency

Another approach to requests and directives concerns the notions of "entitlement" and "contingency." Within the framework of Conversation Analysis, researchers claim that the ways in which people issue requests may differ depending on the degree of certainty regarding who is allowed to make a request (entitlement), and on whether the recipient of the request would be able to satisfy the issued request (contingency). These studies explore how the issuer and the recipients of a directive orient to and negotiate their entitlement and how they orient to contingencies associated with their directives in workplace discourse (Asmuß 2007; Asmuß and Oshima 2012; Heinemann 2006). For instance, Heinemann (2006) and Asmuß (2007) explore the issue of entitlement in workplace interactions. Analyzing the request sequence between care recipients and caregivers at a home help service, Heinemann (2006) states that care recipients display different degrees of entitlement through the use of positive and negative interrogative requests. Participants use negative interrogatives to mark the speaker's strong entitlement, while positive interrogatives mark the speaker's low entitlement. Similarly, Asmuß (2007) examines request sequences in public service encounters and claims that clients frame their requests in various ways to mark their expectation regarding public services and various grades of entitlement. For instance, requests with pure statements mark the speaker's low entitlement, whereas those with negative interrogatives mark his or her high entitlement.

Similar to these studies on requests, Asmuß and Oshima (2012) investigated proposal sequences in a strategy meeting between a Chief Executive Officer and a Human Resources Manager editing a company's strategy document. The authors claim that both participants (CEO and HRM) orient to questions of entitlement and proposal acceptance (or rejection) in proposal sequences. The cited studies on requests and

proposals show that entitlement is not a predefined category, but that it is negotiated in interaction through various linguistic means.

The two concepts, entitlement and contingency, are discussed in Conversation Analytic studies, but they are not necessarily detached from the studies on politeness. For instance, Holmes and Stubbe (2003, 41) state that "attention to politeness concerns tends to increase as the 'right' of one person to give directives to another decreases," indicating the strong tie between politeness and entitlement. Similarly, contingency is closely related to the impingement a directive causes in that if a task involved in the directive is an easy one (low contingency), the impingement the directive causes tends to be small.

1.3 Directives in Japanese Discourse

Directive Formations

The studies reviewed in the previous section examine directives in English and other European languages. The Japanese language also possesses a number of forms that can be used in directives such as *-te kudasai* 'Please do …', *-te kuremasen ka* 'Would you …?', and the *te*-form of a verb (e.g., *mite* 'look'). It is also possible to issue a request by just naming an object (e.g., *ocha* '[give me] tea'), or by using forms such as *-tara dō* 'Why don't you …?' and *-ta hō ga ii* 'You'd better …' when issuing suggestions. Directives are much-studied actions and are one of the core speech functions covered in language textbooks as well.

Grammatically, *kudasai* in the *-te kudasai* form of request is the "imperative form of *kudasaru*, the other-elevating honorific version of *kureru* 'give,' and is used as an auxiliary verb with the *te*-form of the verbs" (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, 210). *Kure*, the imperative form of non-honorific *kureru* 'give', can also be used to issue a request as in *-te kure*, but its usage may be traditionally associated with "informal male speech" (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, 210). *-Te* (without any auxiliary verb) functions as an informal request as well (e.g., *mite* 'look') and is frequently used in casual conversation among friends and family members.[1]

Other request forms make use of non-imperative donatory verbs (e.g., *kureru* 'give' or *morau* 'receive') as an auxiliary verb attached to the *te*-form of a verb. Thus, *-te kuremasen ka* and *-te moraemasen ka* take the form of a negative question and literally mean 'won't you give me the favor of doing …?' and 'couldn't I receive the favor of your doing …?', respectively. Honorific donatory verbs (*kudasaru*, the other-elevating honorific version of *kureru*, and *itadaku*, the self-lowering honorific version of *morau*) can also be used to form a request in the same manner (i.e., *-te kudasaimasen ka* and *-te itadakemasen ka*). In addition, one can issue a request by using the question form with an affirmative donatory verb (e.g., *-te kuremasu ka*) and by using the informal register (e.g., *-te kurenai*). The combination of all these elements allows for a number of possible variants (e.g., Niyekawa 1991).

Traditionally, the differences among these variants are marked by the use and non-use of addressee honorifics (i.e., whether to use the *masu*-form ending) and referent honorifics (i.e., whether to use a honorific auxiliary verb). For instance, some variants of *-te kuremasen ka* make use of the honorific form *kudasaru* 'a person of higher standing gives me something or a favor' instead of the non-honorific *kureru* 'give', and some variants of *-te moraemasen ka* make use of the honorific verb *itadaku* 'to receive something or a favor from a person of higher standing'.

Directives in Japanese Workplace Discourse

Several studies on Japanese directives examine the linguistic practice of those in a superior position at workplace (e.g., Cook forthcoming; Okada 2008; Saito 2011; [Shibamoto] Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005). Among them, [Shibamoto] Smith (1992), Sunaoshi (1994) and Takano (2005) observed directives issued by Japanese women who are in positions of authority in various contexts. Exploring the relationships between the concept of politeness, the leaders' gender identity, and the linguistic forms they use in issuing requests, these studies illustrate the ways in which Japanese women in power resolve conflicts by using so-called polite linguistic devices. Yet depending on context, the "polite directives" used by women in such situations can serve as quite powerful linguistic devices.

In some cases, female superiors use masculine language. Through a microanalysis of a Japanese female boxing coach's use of so-called "masculine" bold imperatives and other directive expressions during training sessions, Okada (2008) claims that this coach varies the directive expressions depending on various factors such as the timing of the current or next action that the directive indicates.

While the above-mentioned studies on directives in workplace discourse all examine women in leadership positions, Saito (2011) looked at male superiors' use of directives. The male superiors in her study adopt linguistic resources that are associated with both stereotypical masculine and feminine interactional styles. Saito concludes that various contextual parameters influence the speaker's choice of language in a given context.

Cook (forthcoming) examined the instances in which superiors issue directives in a company's orientation sessions for new employees. The author adopted Jones' (1992) distinction between procedural and non-procedural directives: procedural directives are "directives that focused on what individuals or the group should do within the context of the meeting" (Jones 1992, 433). Cook states that fewer linguistic forms (*-te kudasai*, name of the recipient, and name + *onegai shimasu*) are used routinely with higher frequency when directives are procedural and low in imposition, whereas a wider range of strategies is used when the directives are non-procedural and high in imposition.

Due to the hierarchical structure inherent in the workplace, typically people with institutional authority are given the right to issue directives to their subordinates. Thus, most of the studies cited in this section examine directives issued by someone with institutional authority, using conversational data including contextual meanings and moment-by-moment examinations in their analysis. However, directives in workplace discourse are not always issued by people of superior standing. In the speech setting of this study—grade-level faculty meetings in Japanese secondary schools, where status differences among participants are not as salient as in cooperate settings—participants quite frequently issue directives to their peers. Through the analysis of such a lesser-studied speech setting, the present study attempts to widen our understanding of Japanese directives in workplace discourse.

2 The Meeting

This study examines discourse data from four faculty meetings at Japanese secondary schools, and explores how participants issue directives.

The faculty meeting data were collected from audio recordings of four faculty meetings at three different secondary schools in Tōkyō, Japan. The participants are teachers who teach the same body of students (i.e., teachers assigned to the same grade-level). Six or seven teachers participated in each of the faculty meetings. There were almost an equal number of male and female participants in all of the recorded faculty groups, and their ages ranged from early twenties to late fifties. The degree of teaching expertise varied. In this setting, despite the obvious variations in age and teaching experience, differences in hierarchical status among participants are not as pronounced as in the cited studies examining institutional discourse in corporate settings. The length of the audio recordings ranges from 20 to 45 minutes.

As mentioned above, the Japanese language has various expressions that can be used in directives. Numerous gradations of politeness and indirectness can be achieved by using distinct registers and honorific verbs, adding auxiliary and/or grammatical particles (e.g., the final particle *ne*), and through other situational accomplishments. Therefore, it is rather difficult to define a clear set of sub-categories. I identified directives as turns at talk in which a speaker gets the recipient to do something. In this data set, the most salient directive formulations were *-te kudasai* '…, please', directives with non-imperative donatory verbs, and *-te koto de* (often accompanied by the explicit request formula *yoroshiku onegai shimasu,* whose literal translation is 'I humbly wish it to be done well'.[2] The quotative expression *to iu koto de* is the combination of the quotation marker *to iu* (or its casual variant, *-tte*), *koto* 'thing' and the conjunctive form of the copula. When it is combined with *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* to form *to iu koto de yoroshiku onegai shimasu*, it can be literally translated as 'I humbly wish … to be done well'. A first glance at the data reveals that participants are evidently using varied formats to issue requests to the same group members. This observation suggests that such variations cannot be explained by referring to static social identity categories such as the speaker's age or status. In the next section, I will

discuss the use of the three target forms: (1) *-te kudasai*; (2) directive with non-imperative donatory verbs; and (3) *to iu koto de*, separately.

3 Analysis

3.1 *-Te Kudasai*

The *-te kudasai* form is often perceived as an equivalent to the English '*please*$_{\text{IMPERATIVE}}$' and considered less polite and more direct than other request forms (e.g., *-te kuremasen ka*). In the faculty meeting data, there are several instances in which *-te kudasai* is used in issuing directives. For instance, the chairperson frequently confirms and reiterates previously approved proposals and requests, using the *-te kudasai* form in the process (as seen in Example (1)). Before the onset of this example, meeting members discussed the assignments during the upcoming vacation and decided that the teacher representing each subject would consider giving an assignment. Mukai, the female chairperson in her forties, issues a confirmatory request.

Example (1)

1	Mukai:	*ja kadai ni tsuite wa ii desu ne?*
2		*kaku kyōka kara dasu tte koto de,*[3] …
3		*hitsuyō nara ireru tte koto de,*
4		*ja to iu koto de,*
5		*shukudai ni tsuite wa* ***kangaete oite kudasai.***
6		*amari futan ni naranai yō ni tte koto desu yo ne?*
7		*kore wa,*
(1)		"Then, you are OK with the assignments, right?
(2)		That (the one responsible for) each subject put forward (the assignment),
(3)		that you include (the assignment) if you think it is necessary,
(4)		then, that's what it is,
(5)		**please think** in advance about the assignment
(6)		(we are aiming at) not overburdening (our students)

(7)		by this (the assignment), right?"
8		(1.5)
9	Mukai:	*hai jā konaida horyū ni natteta hoshū ni tsuite wa …*
(9)		"OK, then, as for the extra lessons that we didn't discuss last time …"

Mukai summarizes the details of the discussed plan (that the instructors responsible for each subject should put forward the assignment if it is necessary) in lines 2 and 3, and issues a confirmatory request with the *-te kudasai* form in line 5. She then asks for confirmation in lines 6 and 7, stating that the amount of assignment should be monitored so that it would not overburden students. The confirmatory request issued in line 5 uses the *-te kudasai* form without any mitigating elements. This type of exchange (the chairperson summarizes the previous discussion and issues a confirmatory request) happens routinely throughout the meetings. Because of its regularity, and because of the fact that the content of the request is already agreed upon by the recipients, it is non-contingent and the level of imposition caused by the request is rather low.

This type of *-te kudasai* usage is similar to the use of English imperatives discussed by Holmes and Stubbe (2003) and Vine (2004, 2009). They discovered that imperatives tend to be used at the end of a long discussion when the action to be taken is agreed upon by the interlocutors. Cook (forthcoming) also claims that the *-te kudasai* in her data is found in directives which do not impinge upon recipients.

The *-te kudasai* format is not only used by the chairperson but also by other participants in cases where they issue rather non-controversial requests. For example in Example (2), Fujii, a male teacher in his forties, uses the *-te kudasai* format several times in his request. In line 1 of the example, Arai, the chairperson in his forties, frames Fujii's ensuing talk as "*renraku de sumu koto* 'things that can be dealt with as reports'." This statement indicates that all that will follow (including Fujii's request) is of a non-controversial nature. The linguistic element *-de sumu* (literally meaning '[some thing, event, action and so on] would suffice') is often used when the speaker expresses his or her assessment of an event or an action as small or trivial. After Arai's solicitation, Fujii asks other teachers

to sign up for patrol duty during the local Bon dance festival (a Japanese Buddhist festival featuring folk dances to honor the spirits of one's ancestors). The festival will last for nine days, and since the grade consists of eight teachers, Fujii proposes that everyone volunteer at least once (lines 5–8). In this portion, Fujii uses *-te kudasai* in lines 6 and 8. He ends his request with the explicit request marker *onegai shimasu* 'I'm asking you' (line 9).

Example (2)

1	Arai:	*jā sakini renraku de sumu koto kara (.) eee (.)*
2		*jā fujii sensee kara,*
(1)		"Then, let's deal with the reports first,
(2)		then, from Mr. Fujii …'
3	Fujii:	*eee boku kankee wa (.)bon-odori no hō wa*
4		*kokuban ni hattokimasu nde (.) eeto*
5		*hitori ikkai teedo o mokuhyō ni (.) ano (.)*
6		***kaite kudasai*** *kyūko desu kara (.) uchi no*
7		*gakunen wa hitotsu amarimasu kedo (..)*
8		*ee (.)* ***kaite kudasai*** *(.) seekatsu shidō no hō kara wa*
9		*konshūchū tte koto nan de (.) onegai shimasu.*
(3)		"Well, concerning me, as for the Bon dance,
(4)		I'll put (a calendar) on the blackboard, so, well,
(5)		everyone should sign up at least once.
(6)		**please write down** (your name). there are nine slots, so
(7)		for this grade there will be one left, but …
(8)		well, **please write down** (your name). the Student Life Division said
(9)		(that it is due) by the end of this week, so I'm asking you."

In lines 8 and 9, Fujii reveals that the sign-up deadline is set by the Student Life Division (SLD), a unit of teachers responsible for a number of school-wide events and for preventing instances of severe student delinquency. By highlighting the SLD's involvement in the request, Fujii claims two ambivalent stances. First, he frames the request not as a personal one but as one issued by the SLD, and by doing so he disclaims

responsibility for the impingement the request might cause. At the same time, Fujii affirms his knowledge regarding the deadline set by the SLD, thereby indicating his connection to the SLD. The participants' knowledge of the fact that Fujii is issuing the request on behalf of the SLD, and that the patrol is a duty already agreed upon and decided by the SLD enhances the non-contingent nature of the request.

Let us now turn to another example in which Doi, a male teacher in his thirties, asks members to perform a similar task as the one Fujii requested in Example (2), namely to write down their names on a sign-up sheet for a duty called *nitchoku*: one teacher has to stay at school until 5:00 p.m. during the exam period. After members agreed to sign up, Doi issues several follow-up requests targeted at individual teachers in lines 1–4. His request contains multiple instances of the *-te kudasai* format, as shown in Example (3).

Example (3)

1	Doi:	*jā ikkai naishi nikai tte koto de (.) ee (.) haga sensee wa*
2		*mō kakanai **de kudasai** (.) seki sensee to takada sensee mo*
3		*kanō da to iu hi o mō ichido kai**te kudasai** (.)*
4		*ato no kata wa nikai o mokuhyō ni kai**te kudasai**.*
5		*onegai shimasu.*
(1)		"Then, it will be once or twice, well, Mr. Haga,
(2)		**please don't write** any more. Ms. Seki and Mr. Takada,
(3)		**please write** another day that you can (perform the day duty), and
(4)		the rest of you, **please write** twice if you can.
(5)		Thank you in advance."

Different from the previous examples, the request in this segment is issued solely by the speaker. In other words, the speaker is not reiterating someone else's previous request (as in Example (1)), nor is there an outside organization involved in the request (as in Example (2)). Nevertheless, the fact that the recipients had already reached an agreement to sign up prior to Example (3) makes Doi's follow-up requests in the *-te kudasai* format a reiteration or specification of his previous request.

3.2 Directives with Donatory Verbs

Another frequently used form of request observed in the present data set makes use of non-imperative donatory verbs (*kureru* 'give', *kudasaru*, its honorific version, *morau* 'receive', and *itadaku*, its honorific version)[4] as an auxiliary verb attached to the *te*-form of a verb. As stated earlier, the combination of different elements—such as use and non-use of honorifics, register, and positive/negative forms—allows for a range of possible variants. Among them, the *-te itadaketara to omou* 'I'm wondering if you could …' (literally, 'I'm wondering if I could humbly receive the favor of your doing …' format) and its variants are frequently used in the recorded data. It combines the if-clause containing the auxiliary verb *itadaku* 'to receive something or a favor from a person of higher standing' attached to a main verb expressing the requested action with the quotation marker *to* and the verb *omou* 'think'. This format is traditionally considered less direct and forceful than the *-te kudasai* format.

Let us go back to the request regarding *nitchoku* 'day duty' sign-up we examined in Example (3), to examine what happens before the onset of Example (3), when Doi initiates his request. In Example (4), Arai, the chairperson, urges Doi to speak in line 1. When Doi initiates his request, he uses several hesitation markers and his request is offered not in the *-te kudasai* format but in the *-te itadaketara to omou* format.

Example (4)

1	Arai:	*hai jā shiken no nitchoku no hanashi o,*
(1)		"Yes, then, next (we'll talk about) the day duty during the exams."
2	Doi:	*hai ano sumimasen. shiken no nitchoku to iimasu ka*
3		*ano mā teeji made de ii n desu kedo ano*
4		*nokotte itadakeru kata tte iu koto de (.) ano (.)*
5		*gensokuteki ni wa sono ba sono ba de kimete*
6		*iku n desu kedo (.) dotanba de kimete mo are desu node (.)*
7		*ichiō zanteeteki ni warifutte oite (.) de (.) nanka ato de*
8		*futsugō ga attara ano mā irekaete itadaku to iu koto DEE*
9		*ano suimasen ima zanteiteki ni warifut**te itadaketara***

10	***to omoimashite,***
(2)	"Yes, well, excuse me, but about the day duty during the exams,
(3)	to decide who will stay
(4)	until the designated time (5:00 p.m.).
(5)	as a general rule, we (usually) decide on the spot
(6)	but it may not be good to decide at the last moment, so
(7)	you could tentatively decide, and later
(8)	if there are any inconveniences you could change, and so
(9)	well, excuse me, **I'm wondering if you could** tentatively
(10)	**decide** (who will be on duty when) now …"

As we saw in the discussion of Example (3), Doi asks other members to sign up for *nitchoku* 'day duty' on future exam dates. His turn starts with a hesitation marker (*ano* 'well') and an apology (*sumimasen* 'excuse me'). He then acknowledges that his proposal diverges from the usual procedure (lines 5 and 6) and states that the sign-up schedule will be tentative (lines 7 and 9) and subject to change in the future (line 8). The fact that it is different from their usual practice (i.e., not a routine) may make his request less acceptable to the other participants. Doi's request includes another apology (*sumimasen* 'excuse me' in line 9). The hesitation marker *ano* 'well', the apology (*sumimasen* 'excuse me'), and the expressed emphasis on the tentative nature of the resulting schedule can function as mitigations of the imposition the request may cause. The request format observed at the end of this sequence is *-te itadaketara to omoimashite* (roughly translated as 'I wonder if you could …'). These observations are similar to previous studies on English directives (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Vine 2004, 2009) in which more mitigated forms are used with directives when there is a high level of imposition.

After members discuss the sign-up modalities (Doi will attach a sign-up sheet to the blackboard), Doi issues a related request in Example (5).

Example (5)

1	Arai:	*jā kokuban ni hattoite moratte kakuji (.) ne,*
(1)		"Then (you will) put it up on the blackboard, and each of us (sign up), right?"
2	Doi:	*tada ano kimatsu wa mō asatte na node (.) sashiatatte*
3		*dare ga nokoru ka na toka desu nee (.) sono hen wa (.)*
4		*konkai no mono ni tsuite wa desu nee (.)*
5		*dekireba ima yatte oite* ***kurereba to omou n desu ga.***
(2)		"Since the next exam is already the day after tomorrow,
(3)		so concerning who is going to remain at school,
(4)		about the upcoming one (exam period),
(5)		if possible, **I wonder if you could** do (decide) it now."

Doi's second request is to ask the members to decide who is to cover the upcoming exam dates. He presents the proximity of the exam dates as reason for his request in line 2, and issues the request in line 5 with the qualification *dekireba* 'if possible' in the *-te kurereba to omou n desu ga* format. In this instance, Doi uses the regular (i.e., non-honorific) donatory verb *kureru* 'give', while all other elements are the same as in the requests observed in Example (4).

After Example (5), several members volunteer for day duty on the upcoming midterm exam days. This leads to Doi's next turn (in Example (3), as discussed earlier), which employs the *-te kudasai* format to specify how many times members are supposed to sign up.

The difference between Doi's request formulations in Example (3), on the one hand, and in Examples (4) and (5), on the other, cannot be explained by static social variables such as age or status, since Doi addresses the same group of participants in all three examples. What is different is the status of each request. Doi's requests in Example (3), to sign up for day duty during the exam period and to decide who would cover the upcoming exam dates immediately, have already been approved before the onset of Example (3). This makes Doi's request specifying further details of the sign-up less contingent and more acceptable.

Other features observed in Examples (2)–(4) are the questions whether the issuer of the request frames it as his or her own (Example (4)) or as coming from another source inside or outside of the group (e.g., the SLD), and whether the content of the request is considered as being in agreement (Examples (1) and (2)) or in disagreement (Example (4)) with regular practices. For instance, in Example (4), Doi states that the content of his request deviates from standard practice and that he himself has formulated it. The request is issued with the expression *-te itadaketara to omoimashite* and several mitigating elements (e.g., apology). This is not the only directive observed in the meeting data that is framed as the requester's own. Example (6) is one such example.

In this example, Satō, a male chairperson in his forties, states that he has to write a report about *futōkō* or "non-attendance" (a student's absence from school for a longer period of time) and asks the other members to write a draft memo (about non-attending students in their class) for him.

Example (6)

1	Satō:	*ato ikken(.) ano (.) futōkō no chōsa wa (.) ano,*
2		*watashi ga kaku koto ni natteru n desu kedo,*
3		*jōkyō ga wakaranai nde,*
4		*kantan na memo de ii nde,*
5		*kantan na mono* ***kaite itadakereba tte***
6		***omou n desu kedo*** *(.) yoroshii desu ka?*
(1)		"Another thing, well, as for the report on non-attendance,
(2)		I am supposed to do the write up, but
(3)		(I) don't know the situations (of the cases of non-attendance), so
(4)		a brief memo would suffice, so
(5)		**it would be (great) if you could write** a short one
(6)		(that's what) **I'm thinking**, but is it OK?"
7		(1)
8	Haga:	*etto (.) sore itsu goro gurai made,*
(8)		"Well, until about when (should we write) that?"
9	Satō:	*un (.) jā raishū chū gurai de,*
(9)		"Well, then, until the end of the next week."

10	?	> *hai*<
(10)		"OK."
11	Satō:	*ja (.) yoroshiku onegai shimasu.*
(11)		"Then, thank you in advance."

Satō first assumes responsibility for the composition of the report (it is his duty to write it) in lines 1 and 2. He then provides the reason for his request (that he does not know the situation of each case) in line 3, followed by the qualification of the weight of his imposition (he only needs a brief memo from other teachers) in line 4. In the following line, he repeats the qualifying element *kantan na* 'brief'. The request itself is issued with *-te itadakereba tte omou n desu kedo* (roughly translated as 'I wonder if you could …') in lines 5–6. It includes the auxiliary verb *itadaku* 'to receive something or a favor from a person of higher standing', which we have already encountered in Doi's request in Example (3).

3.3 *To iu Koto de*

In this section, we will examine the format *to iu koto de* and its variants. This quotative expression is a combination of the quotation marker *to iu* (or its casual variant *-tte*), *koto* 'thing' and the conjunctive form of copula. In the phrase *X to iu N,* X indicates the concrete content of the categorical noun N as in *Tarō ga Nihon ni iku to iu uwasa* 'the rumor that Tarō will go to Japan'. Grammatically, *de* in *to iu koto de* can either be a case particle indicating a causal relationship or a conjunctive form of the copula. When *to iu koto de* is used in directives, *de* often functions as a conjunctive form of the copula, and it is sometimes combined with the explicit request formula *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* to form *to iu koto de yoroshiku onegai shimasu*, as we will examine in the following Example (7). Prior to the transcribed segment, all participants agreed to think of some type of career-related assignment by the end of the month, which are to be assigned to the entire student body. Abe, a male chairperson in his forties, summarizes the details of the agreed-upon proposal.

Example (7)

1	Abe:	*ja kadai ni tsuite wa (.)*
2		*kongetsu matsu made ni aidea dasu* ***tte koto de****,*
3		*zenin taishō* ***tte koto de*** *(1)*
4		*ja (.)* ***to iu koto de****,*
5		*shinro kankee no kadai ni tsuite wa*
6		***yoroshiku onegai shimasu****.*
(1)		"Then, as for the assignments
(2)		we should put forward our ideas by the end of this month ***tte koto de***,
(3)		(assignments) to all of the students ***tte koto de***,
(4)		then, ***to iu koto de***,
(5)		about the career-related assignment
(6)		***yoroshiku onegai shimasu***"

In this example, Abe uses the *to iu koto de* format three times in his presentation of the specific points agreed upon by all members—that the teachers will put forward their ideas by the end of the month (line 2), and that the assignments can be assigned to everyone (line 3). After a second pause, Abe repeats the quotative expression *to iu koto de* again in line 4 and wraps up his confirmatory request with the explicit request marker *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* in line 6.

In this example, the multiple use of *to iu koto de* forms confirmatory requests in conjunction with the explicit request marker *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*. Specifically, *to iu koto de* functions to mark the details of the agreed-upon content one by one.

Let us look at another example in which the *to iu koto de* format appears with the request marker *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*. Prior to the onset of Example (8), teachers were discussing students' behavioral issues (some students show signs of delinquency). Andō, a male chairperson in his thirties, asks other teachers to tell their students to come earlier to school and be seated at the beginning of the morning assembly at 8:30.

Example (8)

1	Andō:	*ato ashita tabun seekatsushidōbu kara*
2		*dete kuru to omou n desu kedo,*
3		*tannin no hō kara koe o kakete*
4		*hayame ni ganbatte koyō tte koto TO::*
5		*chikoku no are ga aimai ni natteru nde,*
6		*sono hen kakunin shite,*
7		*sanjuppun niwa seki ni tsuku tte koto o*
8		*ashita ano asa demo kakunin shite kudasai* ***tte koto de***
9		*sō iu koto ni natte masu nde.*
10		***yoroshiku onegai shimasu.*** *(.)*
11		*de (.) ato (.) natsuyasumi no koto de …*
(1)		"and the Student Life Division will probably
(2)		talk about this tomorrow, I think, but
(3)		homeroom teachers should tell (the students)
(4)		that they should try to come early and
(5)		(the rules) concerning being late have become rather lenient, so
(6)		about that we should confirm that
(7)		they should sit in their seats by (eight) thirty.
(8)		Please confirm that tomorrow morning' ***tte koto de***
(9)		it has been decided that way, so
(10)		***yoroshiku onegai shimasu.***
(11)		and, about summer vacation …"

In lines 1–2, Andō clarifies the background of his ensuing request, that the SLD will issue the same request the following day, thereby framing the request as the SLD's rather than his own. Subsequently (in lines 3–8), Andō requests that homeroom teachers should inform their students to come to school early and to be seated by 8:30. In line 8, the first request stated with *-te kudasai* is embedded as a quoted speech ending in *-tte koto de*. After adding *sō iu koto ni nattemasu* to convey that the content of the request has already been decided by the SLD (line 9),

he ends the request with the explicit request marker *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* (line 10).

In this example, the phrase *-tte koto de* seems to fulfill multiple functions. First, it specifies the details of the request (that teachers should inform their students the following morning). In addition, *-tte koto de* frames the *-te kudasai* request as a quotation. Were the *-te kudasai* in fact issued by the SLD and not simply constructed by Andō as such, the act of presenting it as a quotation serves to foreground the speaker's entitlement to issue the request on their behalf. If the *-te kudasai* request had, instead, been Andō's own, the *-tte koto de* phrase would have a created a mitigating effect (e.g., Tsutsui 2016) by presenting his own request as a quoted one emanating from some other agency and/or as something already agreed upon.

The *to iu koto de* format sometimes co-occurs with other less forceful predicates such as *ii desu ka* or *kamawanai deshō ka* (both can be translated as 'is it all right?'). Before the onset of Example (9.1), Mutō, a female teacher in her forties, reports that a high school representative wants to have a meeting with members of the junior high school to discuss the recruitment of students. High school teachers in Japan routinely visit junior high schools in the same general area to introduce their school and to recruit prospective students. Since the teachers participating in the recorded faculty meeting teach 9th graders (the last grade of junior high), it is considered their duty to meet with high school representatives. In the following example, Mutō proposes the date and time of the meeting.

Example (9.1)

1	Mutō:	*achira no tsugō mo aru nde,*
2		*hi ga wari to seeyaku saretete,*
3		*nijūsannichi getsuyōbi yoji* ***to iu koto de****,*
4		*ano (.) kamawanai deshō ka (.)*
5		*zen'in sanka to iu koto ja naku,*
6		*nanka (unintel.) to omou n desu kedo,*
7		*nijūsannichi getsuyōbi yoji* ***to iu koto de***
8		*mondai nakereba* ***sō iu koto de****,*

(1)	"Because they also have their own schedule,
(2)	so the possible dates are not so many,
(3)	Monday, 23rd at 4 o'clock **to iu koto de**
(4)	well, is it all right with you?
(5)	not everyone has to be there
(6)	and I think … (unintelligible).
(7)	Monday, 23rd at 4 o'clock **to iu koto de**
(8)	if you don't have problems, **sō iu koto de"**

Mutō first states the difficulty of setting the date of the meeting (lines 1–2). She then specifies the date and time of the meeting in the *to iu koto de* format followed by *kamawanai deshō ka* 'is it all right?'. This portion of Mutō's talk can be considered as an inquiry concerning the members' schedule or as an indirect request. Her inquiry/request is supplemented by the qualification that the meeting does not require everyone's attendance (line 5). She then repeats the date and time with *-to iu koto de* (line 7), and ends her turn with another more general quotative expression, *sō* 'so' *iu koto de* (line 8). The chairperson treats her turn as a directive, even though there is no explicit request marker such as *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*. In Example (9.2), Seki, the female chairperson in her forties, issues confirmatory requests specifying the details of Mutō's request.

Example (9.2) (Continuation of 9.1)

9	Seki	*jā ichiō nijūsannichi yoji* ***to iu koto de*** *(.)*
10		*dereru sensee dake deru* ***to iu koto de****,*
(9)		"Then, Monday, 23rd at 4 o'clock **to iu koto de**
(10)		only those who can attend will attend **to iu koto de**"
11	Mutō	*hai jūroku jūshichi atari to mo omotta ndesu ga …*
(11)		"Yes, I was also thinking of 16th or 17th, but …"

Seki specifies the date and time of the meeting with *to iu koto de* in line 9 and presents another specification—only those who can attend are expected to attend—again followed by *to iu koto de* in line 10. As we have seen, the *to iu koto de* format appeared toward the end of Mutō's turn as

well. The instances in Seki's turn fulfill a similar function to those observed in Examples (7) and (8), even though they are not followed by explicit request markers such as *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*. In other words, they are able to function by themselves as confirmatory request markers specifying the details of a previously proffered directive.

4 Discussion and Conclusion

This study investigated directive sequences observed in faculty meetings at Japanese secondary schools. By focusing on three directive formulations, *-te kudasai,* directives with non-imperative donatory verbs, and *to iu koto de*, it has shown that participants' linguistic choices in issuing directives are shaped by several interrelated factors: whether the requested action is considered routine, whether the directive is previously agreed upon, who issues the directive in what capacity, and so on.

The study first examined the use of the *-te kudasai* format. This format was frequently observed (1) in directives whose content had already been agreed upon by the meeting participants; (2) in directives whose content concerned a routine activity; and (3) in directives that were originally issued by some outside person or authority. This type of directives was offered without mitigating elements such as apologies or hesitation markers.

On the other hand, directives with non-imperative donatory verbs (e.g., *-te itadaketara to omoimasu*) were more often observed when issuers framed their request as their own, when they initiated a new request, or when the requested action diverged from routine practices. This type of directives tends to co-occur with mitigation elements such as qualifications of the requested action or apologies. These results concur with the previous studies on English directives in workplace discourse. Holmes and Stubbe (2003) also found that a directive is less polite when the involved task is routine, while it becomes more polite when the task involved is non-routine.

Finally, we examined the use of the quotative formation *to iu koto de.* While it often occurred in conjunction with other directive formats such

as *yoroshiku onegai shimasu*, we also encountered instances in which the format was used independently from other directive elements. In both cases, details of previously approved requests were often reiterated and itemized within this formation.

The diverse linguistic formats observed in directive sequences have been discussed in conjunction with various concepts such as politeness, indirectness, entitlement and contingency. As stated earlier, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that the speaker chooses the appropriate degree of politeness to avoid threatening the hearer's face, and that the seriousness of the face threat depends on the speaker's assessment of social distance and hierarchical relationship between speaker and hearer and on the absolute ranking of impositions a certain act causes in a particular culture. Rather than focusing on static social contexts unidirectionally affecting language use and on variations of the absolute ranking of impositions across different cultures, we think that it is necessary to observe how the notions such as contingency and entitlement concern moment-by-moment negotiations in the course of discourse. Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 41) also state that "attention to politeness concerns tends to increase as the 'right' of one person to give directives to another decreases."

By adopting a discursive approach, the analysis presented in this study aims to contribute to the body of research that treats directives as a discursive phenomenon. Questions such as whether the requested action is considered routine or whether the request (or a part of it) was preapproved can affect the contingency and the level of imposition of an issued directive (as something changing in a moment-by-moment manner). Moreover, the question who issues the directive in what capacity concerns the relationship between the issuer of the request and its recipients (not conceptualized as a static social relationship but as a discursively negotiated relationship) and their degree of entitlement.

Employing a discursive perspective, this study explored the varied linguistic practices involved in issuing directives in an institutional setting. Since only one speech setting (grade level faculty meetings) was examined, additional data from a broader spectrum of institutional settings are

needed to gain a more comprehensive view of directives in Japanese workplace discourse.

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

[	The point where overlap begins
]	The point where overlap ends
=	Latched utterance
(0)	Intervals within and between utterances
(.)	A short untimed pause within an utterance
.	A stopping fall in tone
,	A continuing intonation
?	A rising intonation
-	A halting or an abrupt cutoff of sound
underline	An emphatic stress
CAPS	Spoken louder
:	Lengthened vowel sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)
° °	Spoken softly
Hhh	Aspirations
·hhh	Inhalations
(( ))	Comments on quality of speech and context
> <	Spoken quickly
(segment)	Uncertain transcription
( )	Transcription impossible

Adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984)

Notes

1. Researchers (e.g., Martin 1975; Rinnert and Kobayashi 1999) consider the expression of the speaker's desire (e.g., *-te hoshii n desu kedo* 'I want you to do…') and other non-conventionally indirect expressions as part of Japanese request repertoire.
2. Ohashi (2003, 257) translates this expression as "I make a request and I hope things go well" and analyzes its various pragmatic meanings.
3. See Sect. 3.3 for further discussion on *–tte koto de*.
4. *Kudasaru* is an other-elevating honorifics form of *kureru* 'give', while *itadaku* is a self-lowering honorifics form of *morau* 'receive'.

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9

Terms of Address and Identity in American-Japanese Workplace Interaction

Stephen J. Moody

1 Introduction

Personal address lies at the core of how individuals discursively present the many dynamic aspects of interpersonal relationships. The choice of linguistic form to use in reference to an interlocutor helps to make personal and professional identities relevant in social interaction. For example, calling someone by a nickname could suggest an intimate relationship while using a job title highlights institutional roles, even if the referent is the same individual. Variation in address terms, therefore, is a means of foregrounding the identities and relationships relevant to a given interactional setting.

In the workplace, terms of address also locate individuals within organizational structures. This, in turn, influences how people relate to one another while collaboratively doing work-related tasks (Kitayama 2013; Warren 2011). In the modern and rapidly globalizing professional world, the situation is rather complex. Workers from different linguistic and

S. J. Moody (✉)
Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, USA

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cultural backgrounds must not only learn target language equivalents of institutionally important address terms but must also adjust to new sociopragmatic systems for selecting appropriate terms in the first place (e.g., Belz and Kinginger 2003). In intercultural workplace interaction, institutional and sociocultural identities thus become entangled when choosing appropriate forms of address.

Though a fundamental and unavoidable communicative practice, naturally occurring data on the use of address terms in intercultural professional settings are difficult to obtain. As a practical matter, most studies have relied on surveys, scripted dialogues, interviews, and other similar sources (e.g., Braun 1988; Kitayama 2013; Maeda 2002; Okamura 2009). While informative for identifying overall trends in forms of address, these studies are unable to reveal specific interactional patterns in the choice of address terms. In response, the present study uses data from ethnographically grounded observations of American student interns employed in several large companies in Japan to examine the use of address terms in situated intercultural interactions. The study has two aims: (1) to describe the interactional deployment of the most common forms of address used in American-Japanese workplace interaction, and (2) to analyze the function of strategic deviations from typical patterns in managing personal and professional identities. The concluding discussion is concerned with issues of how terms of address might be a resource for identity work in intercultural professional interaction.

2 Terms of Address in the Interactional Construction of Identities

Here, I use Braun's (1988) definition for terms of address: A term of address is any pronoun, noun, or verbal form that designates or otherwise refers to the collocutor (i.e., the hearer of a speaker/hearer pair). Thus, an address is any linguistic form that makes reference to the same person to whom a speaker is directing an utterance. This definition encompasses vocatives (e.g., *Mrs. Smith*, do you have a second?), second-person references (e.g., How are *you* today?), and may include forms such as names, titles, pronouns, and so on. When appropriate, the present analysis will

also include comparison to third-person references that use similar linguistic forms (e.g., What is *John* doing right now?).

Most theories of address begin with the pioneering work of Gilman and Brown (1958) on the second-person French pronouns *tu* and *vous*. In their model, addressing others is seen as involving a binary choice between "T" forms which index low status and/or intimacy and "V" forms which index high status and/or social distance. These ideas of relative power and intimacy have been broadly influential, informing general sociolinguistic theories of politeness (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1978) and analyses of Japanese honorifics (e.g., Ide 1982). However, in Braun's in-depth investigation into cross-linguistic address forms, an examination of survey responses and interview data from speakers of a number of languages leads to the conclusion that "There is reason to doubt that the more abstract dimensions of power and solidarity suffice to account for the numerous different address variants with their different functions" (Braun 1988: 306). For example, he finds that in many languages distant V forms are used from parent to child and even toward animals, though a power/intimacy model would predict T forms in such situations. Thus, in actual use, there is far more variation and creativity than a binary T/V divide predicts. This leads to the suggestion that, cross-culturally, the use of address terms is strategic and tailored to fit a given social and interactional context. Individuals select address terms to create context as much as they do to conform with it and the choice of term projects the speaker's own identity as much as it positions the hearer or referent (see Norrby and Wide 2015).

Interactional perspectives shed light on a number of practices in which forms of address are used to construct relationships in complex social situations. For example, Keshavarz (1988) documents how egalitarian forms of address are used in Iranian Persian to reflect post-revolutionary social change away from more rigid class structures in Iran. Ilie (2010) shows that Members of Parliament in the U.K. and Sweden intentionally misuse terms of address to challenge political authority and undermine opponents. On a more intimate level, Jorgenson (1994) shows that address behavior plays a key role in framing the relationship between young married couples and their respective in-laws by balancing competing factors of respect, intimacy, as well as defining family

boundaries. Likewise, Wood and Kroger (1993) illustrate how address terms maintain self-integrity as people grow older by strategically re-conceptualizing the status of aging individuals. Thus, address terms are critical resources that do more than simply mark relationships according to status and intimacy, but work to construct and renegotiate those relationships to coordinate both social and interactional demands.

Interactional perspectives further reveal that address terms are not always used reciprocally. Such a pattern might be understood as a signal of status differences. However, in a study of address terms in Japanese electronic communication, Matsuda (2002) contends that while non-reciprocal use often does preserve vertical hierarchical structures, it also opens a space for them to be negotiated. In this view, as in other interactional studies of address terms, while the use of different forms at different times and in different spaces may reflect ideological social structures, it also provides a forum for them to be challenged and reinterpreted.

In intercultural settings, because patterns of address can differ greatly across languages and cultures, it follows that when people from different linguistic backgrounds interact, there is often uncertainty, miscommunication, and other difficulties in negotiating proper forms of address (Okamura 2005). In such situations the creative power of address terms is especially relevant. Working to establish local norms for addressing others requires intercultural interlocutors to negotiate not only institutional and interpersonal positions, but also sociocultural identities. The present study explores this issue.

3 The Use of Address Terms in Japanese and English

American and Japanese systems of address are quite different and reflect broad patterns of address in Western cultures, where first names are predominant, and Eastern cultures, where family names are more common (Hua 2010; Zimmerman 2007). Here, I briefly review a few important aspects of typical patterns of address in Japanese, particularly in both professional and intercultural settings.

3.1 Forms of Japanese Address

Examples of common Japanese forms of address are given in Table 9.1 (see Mogi 2002; Niyekawa 1991; Okamura 2009). Of these, the most common feature is the use of last names. In contrast to many Western societies where first names dominate, last names prevail in Japanese society. They are the most common way to refer to someone outside of family circles, including those with whom the speaker is familiar. They are even used by elementary school teachers toward their students or among the children themselves.

It is also typical to attach a suffix when using a person's name. The most common of these is *-san*, an unmarked form used across many social contexts. Outside of the family, *-san* is a generally respectful way to refer to people regardless of age, gender, social position, and so on (Kitayama 2013; Thompson 2006). Attaching *-san* to last names (LN+*san*) is thus something of a default and is used in such situations as meeting someone for the first time, when referring to people in professional settings, or when the speaker may be unsure or uncomfortable using more intimate terms. This leads scholars like Kitayama (2013) to describe *-san* as "polite," "formal," but most importantly, "standard." It is pervasive and can also be appended to personal references beyond last names, including first names, job titles, familial relationships, and so on (see Table 9.1). Indeed, Thompson (2006) and Okamura (2009) describe *-san* as egalitarian, noting that because it can be used in many varied situations, it specifically indexes none of them. LN+*san* thus tends to background the social

Table 9.1 Examples of common address terms in Japanese

Address term	Examples
Last name + suffix	*Tanaka-san, Miyagawa-kun, Saitō-buchō*
First name + suffix	*Kaori-chan, Hideki-san, Jirō-kun*
Title	*sensee* 'teacher', *buchō* 'manager', *shachō* 'company president'
Title + suffix	*oisha-san* 'doctor', *omawari-san* 'police officer'
Familial relationship	*okā-san* 'mother', *onii-san* 'older brother', *oneesan* 'older sister'
Second-person pronouns	*anata, kimi, omae*

distinctions that other more marked forms of address tend to highlight. As such, it is the safe, go-to form when other terms are indeterminate, inappropriate, or unnecessary.

Nevertheless, as Thompson (2006, 189) notes, it is precisely an egalitarian undertone that suggests "*san* in Japanese is more likely to be used for out-group reference and address, where rank and status cannot be so easily determined." As a result, *-san* is not free from ideological influences. This is illustrated in Okamoto's (1999) relating of an exchange that occurred in the opinion column of a newspaper. An older gentleman wrote to criticize teachers who, in recent years, use *-san* in reference to their students much less than before, claiming this modern practice is disrespectful. In response, a younger female student wrote that when *-san* is dropped, she felt it was easier to relate to the teachers and see them as friendly and caring. This anecdote suggests that because *-san* is a default, egalitarian form, it has become ideologically tied to respect and/or deference toward others and thus its use may contribute to the perception of distance between individuals.

Forms of address which deviate from the standard, unmarked LN+*san* are more likely to foreground some particular aspect of the relationship between interlocutors. For example, in relatively friendly or otherwise informal settings *-san* can be replaced with more familiar-sounding suffixes. One such suffix is *-kun* which is typically used in reference to male addressees who are equal or lower in social status, age, or institutional hierarchy, and tends to contextualize more friendly and/or intimate relationships. In elementary school settings, for example, female students are commonly called by LN+*san* and male students by LN+*kun*, thus the use of *-kun* is somewhat more marked with respect to gender. The use of first names is also marked, indicating inner circles of family, relatives, or others with whom one has a particularly intimate relationship. Outside of the family, variants of last name reference (such as LN+*san* or LN+*kun*) are among the most common forms of address.

Addressing others without a suffix is also possible and is referred to in Japanese as *yobisute* (a word derived from *yobu* 'to call or refer to someone' and *suteru* 'to throw away'). *Yobisute* is often associated with impoliteness when used in professional or institutional settings to address colleagues. However, when referring to an inside member (e.g., a member of one's

own company) while talking to an outside member (e.g., a client) *yobisute* also has the effect of showing deference to the outsider (Nishimura 2010). *Yobisute* involving bare LN forms are thus used in marked social contexts, particularly when male superiors address male subordinates or when referring to a member of one's own company to someone outside of the company. *Yobisute* involving bare FN forms occur most often in family settings, for example, when a father addresses his son or when referring to a younger family member to someone outside of the family.

Deviations from LN+*san* that index familiar relationships (e.g., LN+*kun*) or involve *yobisute* evoke comparisons to T forms of address in the T/V model. In contrast, other forms of address may be compared to V forms, such as last name plus the suffix *-sama*. While rather uncommon in face-to-face interactions between workplace colleagues, this form appears in service encounters when addressing customers or when an addressee occupies an especially high status. Interestingly, *-sama* has also been found in references to popular media personalities as a means of showing infatuation rather than respect per se, illustrating the creative power of strategic use of address terms (Jung 2006). In these ways, the use of forms other than LN+*san* reflects particular aspects of identities and relationships, depending on the specific form and the context in which it is deployed.

3.2 Addressing Others at Work in America and Japan

Addressing others in the workplace intersects with two competing factors: a desire for egalitarian relationships and appropriate conformity to relevant institutional structures. Generally, American workplaces are thought to favor egalitarian forms of address, with most typical interactions featuring first names even when the status or power relationship is non-reciprocal. First names are also frequently used between people who do not know each other well or just met for the first time in a job interview (Cotton et al. 2008). As first names are ostensibly a friendly and personal way to refer to someone, as opposed to, say, job titles or last names, many conclude that American workplaces put more emphasis on solidarity than power or status (Okamura 2009).

Japanese, on the other hand, tend to use LN+*san* or official job titles (Kitayama 2013; Yui 2009). This holds even among workers who have known each other for a long time and is one reason that some argue that, in contrast to American workplaces, Japanese workplaces value power over solidarity (Okamura 2009). However, a study by Kitayama (2013) which quantifies the distribution of vocatives across contexts of "subordinate to boss," "boss to subordinate," and "co-worker to co-worker" finds that LN+*san* is the most common form across all contexts. It is deviations from the standard pattern, the author argues, that are face-saving strategies or used "when one has to face an 'out-group' member who he/she is not confident of comfortably dealing with" (Kitayama 2013: 471). In this way, LN+*san* does not particularly orient to power relations or make them relevant in interaction and thus might also be seen as egalitarian similar to FN in American workplace contexts (see also Thompson 2006).

That said, FN in American workplaces and LN+*san* in Japanese workplaces are general trends and reflect default, unmarked forms. Other marked forms are also used. For example, title plus last name (Title+LN) in American workplaces make institutional power structures relevant for specific purposes such as making or accepting assignments (see Brown and Ford 1961; Cotton et al. 2008). Likewise, Japanese may drop *san* or replace it with *kun*, particularly among male colleagues of the same general status or when a manager is referring to male subordinates (Kitayama 2013; Mogi 2002). Thus, marked forms are used in both American and Japanese workplaces when relevant to a given context or interaction. Otherwise, the tendency in both American and Japanese workplaces seems to prefer the form of address that is unmarked in each respective culture, even while the surface forms are noticeably different and would be marked if used in the other cultural context (i.e., FN in Japan or Title+LN in America would not be unmarked or egalitarian).

3.3 Addressing Others in Intercultural Interaction

As the default forms of address in English and Japanese are ostensibly different in terms of their form, despite similarities in how they are used,

there is potential for problems in intercultural interactions between American and Japanese colleagues. Professionals generally seem to prefer appropriate and unmarked forms but do not necessarily know what those are in other cultural contexts. For example, Okamura (2009) surveys British English speakers using English with Japanese colleagues and finds that interlocutors tend to accommodate to their conversational partners' expected address forms: English speakers call Japanese by last name and Japanese call English speakers by first name. The motivation appears to be primarily to help the other feel comfortable by conforming to their native social expectations, although other issues may also play a role (such as ease of pronunciation).

In terms of identities expressed by address terms in intercultural interaction, Maeda (2002) analyzes references to non-Japanese in Japanese television and finds pervasive non-reciprocity. Foreigners are almost always called by their first names, though *-san* is frequently added. Japanese, on the other hand, are most regularly called by last names. She argues that such a lack of reciprocity is an explicit way to mark others as foreign and that doing so pushes a larger social narrative that foreigners are different and cannot or should not be expected to fit in with Japanese culture.

4 Data and Methodology

The present study takes data from recordings of ethnographically-grounded observation of interactions between six American student interns and their Japanese colleagues. Each student was participating in a university-sponsored summer internship program and was the only American—and in most cases the only foreigner—employed in their respective organizations. Conversations took place almost entirely in Japanese. Four students are male and two are female, and all are intermediate to advanced speakers of Japanese with five of the six having lived in Japan for at least one year prior to the internship. Observations were conducted over a one or two day period and audio-recorded throughout their entire daily routines. Segments involving address terms were transcribed and analyzed using qualitative discourse analysis. For

this study, roughly 20 hours of total recordings from all interns were considered.

The six interns were employed in four different Japanese companies over a span of two years, including two engineering firms, one newspaper publisher, and one bank. Internships lasted for three to six months during which each student was assigned a mentor and a project which they were supposed to deliver by the end of the internship. For example, one intern was assigned to test a product being developed by the company and then produce a series of reports on its performance which he presented to management. Others received similar assignments in their various fields of specialty. As student interns, they are lower in institutional status relative to all of those with whom they interacted in the companies. As the only foreigners in their assigned workgroups, they are also cultural outsiders relative to their colleagues.

5 Use of Terms of Address in American-Japanese Interaction at Work

The data show four general patterns of address terms: (1) Japanese workers use LN or LN+*san* when addressing each other; (2) American interns also use LN+*san* most frequently when addressing their Japanese coworkers; (3) Japanese workers use FN only (i.e., *yobisute*) when addressing American interns and only append *san* when introducing them to others; and (4) some interns deviate from calling their colleagues by LN+*san* for what seems to be specific interactional reasons. Here I discuss examples to illustrate each pattern.

5.1 Japanese Workers Addressing and Referring to Other Japanese Colleagues

As observations were centered on the interns, the data do not have many instances of Japanese L1 speakers addressing other Japanese L1 speakers in conversations not involving an intern. However, several instances were captured in the background of some recordings and, in most cases, the Japanese addressed each other with LN+*san*. This is consistent with field notes I took

while observing, with my own experiences working in Japan, and with prior research on address patterns Japanese workplaces. In this first example, Miyazaki is working on the other side of a cubicle from Ethan, an American student intern. His colleague, Noda, approaches and addresses him in preparation to ask a question (Note that all proper nouns are pseudonymns.)

Example (1) Getting Attention

1→	Noda:	*Miyazaki-san (.) kore tsukatteru?*
		name -HON this use .ASP
		"Miyazaki-san? (Are you) using this?"
2	Miyazaki:	*ah:: (0.2) hai*
		HES yes
		"Uh, ya."
3	Noda:	*chotto ii?*
		little good
		"Is it okay? (=Do you mind?)"
4	Miyazaki:	*eh: dōzo*
		BCH please
		"Go ahead."

In Example (1), Noda gets Miyazaki's attention with a vocative in the LN+*san* form. Most instances of Japanese workers addressing each other occur as vocatives and these typically used LN+*san*. As the speaker is interrupting the other's work momentarily to ask a question, this involves some degree of imposition. Thus, the use of LN+*san* is appropriate as it is sufficiently respectful in a situation when there is no need to orient to differences in institutional positions or other identities. Note also that Noda and Miyazaki are colleagues in the same department and occupy similar positions in terms of vertical hierarchies, though Noda was senior in terms of tenure in the company. LN+*san* thus effectively gets attention while maintaining appropriate levels of solidarity.

Other instances of Japanese workers addressing each other in the data appeared during meetings where the person of highest institutional position would address other workers to make assignments or invite reports on prior assignments. These cases, which are relatively formal, also generally use LN+*san*. Example (2) demonstrates.

Example (2) Addressing in a Meeting

1→	Tanaka:	*Katō-san (.) aidia wa nanka shūsoku shitsutsu*
		name-HON idea TOP HES converge do while
		aru no?
		exist Q
		"Katō-san, are you in the process of coming up with an idea?"
2	Katō:	*u:n (0.4) mada mada na n desu kedo:*
		HES still still COP.ATT NML COP.POL but
3→		*Yanagi-san ni sōdan shinagara chotto yarō*
		name -HON DAT consult do while little do.VOL
		to omot - te:
		QT think.GER
		"Uh, not just yet. I'm thinking of working with Yanagi-san (on this project)."

Here, Tanaka, the team leader, is conducting a casual meeting where all of the team members give reports on their progress during the past week. He would distribute the meeting floor to each participant in turn, addressing them with LN+*san* to ask questions and solicit their reports. Throughout the meeting, all members addressed people with LN+*san* with one exception: Occasionally Tanaka was addressed by his title, *buchō* 'department head', though he was also regularly addressed with LN+*san* as well.

Though most address forms between L1 speakers in the data are LN+*san*, the contexts are limited to attention-getting vocatives (Example (1)) and formal meetings (Example (2)). It is certainly possible that different forms are used in other contexts. While not address terms, some evidence of this may be gleaned from examples of third-person references. Such references also involve the LN+*san* form most frequently, though *yobisute* involving bare LN were also observed in references from male seniors toward male subordinates in some situations, particularly when the referent was absent. The following, taken from the beginning of the same meeting in Example (2), illustrates this as Tanaka looks around the room and comments on who is not in attendance. Note that all of the people mentioned in this example are male.

Example (3) Third-Person Reference in a Meeting

1	Tanaka:	*Kawaguchi-san? ((looking around the room))*
		name -HON
		"Kawaguchi-san?"
2	Hirano:	*i -nai*
		exist.NEG
		"He's not here."
3→	Tanaka:	*Furuta wa?*
		name TOP
		"What about Furuta?"
4	Hirano:	*Furuta-san (0.2) guai waruku natta yōna:*
		name -HON condition bad became seems
		"It seems that Furuta-san is not feeling well."

Here, Tanaka asks about Kawaguchi using LN+*san* in line 1. This utterance is something of a role-call as Tanaka, who is in charge of the meeting, is calling to see if Kawaguchi is in attendance. Thus *Kawaguchi-san* in line 1 is an address, although it turns out that Kawaguchi is absent. Then, when Hirano mentions that Kawaguchi is absent, Tanaka asks him about Furuta as well, who is also absent (line 3). In this case, where Furuta is a non-present referent but Hirano is the addressee, *-san* is not used. When Hirano, a colleague of Furuta but a subordinate to Tanaka, refers to Furuta while explaining that he is out sick, he adds *-san* to the reference. Thus, we see that LN is always used in addresses as well as third-person references, but that *-san* may be dropped when a male superior refers to a male subordinate who is absent. Thus, as also expected with *yobisute* forms, *-san* is dropped among male participants when the speaker is a higher status.

Finally, though *-san* is dropped occasionally in talk between Japanese L1 speakers, it is always present in the data when referring to Japanese employees in utterances directed toward the American interns. The following example illustrates this during a conversation at lunch. When David, an American intern, teased a colleague by asking him to translate a phrase into English, another participant responds by saying that Miyamoto (another colleague who was also sitting at the table but not participating in the conversation at the time) would be able to do it, using LN+*san* to form the reference.

Example (4) Referring to Others at Lunch

1	David:	*((to Yamamoto)) tsūyaku dōzo (0.4) ganbat -te* translation please good luck.IMP "Translation please. Good luck."
2	Yamamoto:	*muri. [haha]* impossible "Impossible."
3	Morita:	*[haha] Miyamoto-san nara dekiru kedo* name -HON if can do but "Miyamoto can do it."
4	David:	*nande Miyamoto-san?* why name -HON "Why Miyamoto?"
5	Miyamoto:	*eh kii -te -tara- (.) kii -te -tara dekiru kedo* HES listen.ASP.if listen.ASP.if can do but "Uh, if (I'm) listening. I can do it if (I'm) listening."

As noted earlier, the choice of term when referring to others reflects the identities of the speaker and hearer as much or more than the referent. Here, then, using LN+*san* is probably not so much about the relationship between Morita (the speaker) and Miyamoto (the referent) as it is about the relationships between the Japanese workers and David (the hearer). Consistently, when referring to a third person while talking to the interns, LN+*san* is always used. Recalling that LN+*san* is the preferred default form when talking with outsiders (Thompson 2006), the fact that more familiar terms never show up in talk toward the interns suggests some orientation to the interns as outsiders relative to the insider group of Japanese L1 full-time colleagues.

5.2 Japanese Workers Addressing American Interns

Next, I explore how the Japanese directly address the American interns. A consistent pattern is observed in the data in this context as well: (1) Japanese workers regularly use bare FN toward the interns regardless of their gender; (2) *-san* is appended to the first name only when the interns were being

introduced to a third party; and (3) last names were never observed. In this way, *yobisute* seems to be the normal way to refer to American interns in these companies. The next example shows this in a vocative.

Example (5) Addressing Interns with First Name

1→	Miyazaki:	*Deebiddo?*
		name
		"David?"
2	David:	*hai hai*
		yes yes
		"Ya?"
3	Miyazaki:	*sakki no deeta?*
		just now GEN data
		"That data from just now?"
4	David:	*hai*
		Yes
		"Ya."
5	Miyazaki:	(0.6) *chōdai*
		give me
		"Send it to me."
6	David:	*okay*
		okay
		"Okay."

In the example above, Miyazaki calls David by first name with no suffix in a vocative to get his attention. He also adapts the pronunciation of David's name to fit the Japanese phonetic system. While the situation is similar to those involving vocatives already examined (see Example (1)), the form deployed here is starkly different. Rather than LN+*san*, instead bare FN is used. While it is unclear if Miyazaki is orienting to David as an intern or a foreign outsider (or both or neither), this does suggest that David is somehow positioned differently than other workers. It is also worth noticing that in the talk following the initial vocative, Miyazaki appears to position David as a junior worker and perhaps even a child. For example, in line 5 he tells David to send a report by saying *chōdai* 'give it to me' which is a request form that is seen commonly in talk from parents

toward children. He did not ask for the report with a lengthy preface or any explanation, nor did he express gratitude at the end; after line 6 he turned around and walked back to his desk. While this is not necessarily rude, it is unexpected and may even be inappropriate in a workplace. Combined with the *yobisute* form of address, this seems to treat David as an institutional lower worker, social outsider, and/or a child.

Indeed, *yobisute* bare FN is by far the most frequent way that American interns are addressed. To further illustrate, a second example of a non-vocative second person address follows.

Example (6) Second Person Reference to Interns

1→	Tanaka:	>*Iisan ga kaeru made< hachijū-do ga tsuit*
		name NOM return until eighty -degrees NOM turn on.
		-eru
		ASP
		"(The chamber will be) turned to 80 degrees until you [Ethan] return (to America)."
2	Ethan:	*ah sō ne*
		INJ right PP
		"Oh, that's right."
3	Tanaka:	*zutto hachijū-do.*
		the whole time eighty -degrees
		"(It will be) eighty degrees for the whole time."

In this sample, Tanaka was explaining to Ethan that the temperature chamber, a device used by the company to test product performance in extreme environments, will be set at 80 degrees Celsius for the remainder of Ethan's internship. In his explanation, Tanaka uses Ethan's first name as a second-person address in the subject position of the sentence in line 1 (equivalent to how the second-person pronoun "you" would be used in English). As with Miyazaki in Example (5), Tanaka also used a Japanese pronunciation but no suffix. This pattern of *yobisute* is pervasive with the interns almost always being referred to by bare FN with some phonetic adjustments.

The only variation in any sort of reference to the interns appears when introducing them to a third person. In this case, first names are still used but *san* is added as illustrated in the following.

Example (7) Introducing Americans to Others

1→	Akagi:	*((gestures toward Susan))* *Sūzan-san* *to:: (.)* *Sutiibu-san*
		name-HON and name -HON
		"Susan and Steve."
2	Farmer:	*hi.* *((shakes hands with Susan and the researcher))*
3	Susan:	*yoroshiku o -negaishimasu.*
		well HON-wish .POL
		"Nice to meet you."
4	Farmer:	*nice to meet you*
5	All:	*hahaha*

This example took place during Susan's internship with a local newspaper company. Akagi was a photographer for the paper who would travel through the city and document local events. Susan would follow him and write a story about the events from the perspective of an American experiencing Japanese culture for the first time. In the example, Akagi and Susan have just arrived at a local farm to interview a farmer about a recent drought. Akagi had contacted the farmer in advance to make an appointment and, on meeting the farmer, introduced both Susan and myself (as a visiting researcher). As with direct addresses (e.g., Examples (5) and (6)), FN is still used, but this time Akagi added the suffix *-san*. Of course, when introducing someone in Japanese for the first time, last names would almost certainly be used. Moreover, as noted earlier, when introducing an in-group member to an out-group member, Japanese will use *yobisute* by dropping *-san* (Kitayama 2013; Niyekawa 1991; Okamura 2009). Here, Akagi actually appends it even though Susan is an institutional in-group member relative to the farmer. In this way, by using *-san*, Akagi is presenting the American to the farmer as outsiders in relation not only to the farmer but also to Akagi—despite the fact that Susan is currently working for the same company.

Had Susan been a Japanese reporter, bare LN (*yobisute*) would probably be expected. Thus, the use of first name, here with *-san* added, again positions the Americans differently than other workers. Indeed, orientation to our foreigner status can be further seen as the farmer tried

to greet us in English. His mannerisms and accompanying laughter suggest this was more of a playful attempt to be friendly than an accommodation, but it nevertheless brings the foreignness of the Americans to the foreground.

In summary, the pattern of address toward the American interns is opposite that of address toward other Japanese workers: FN is used instead of LN and *san* is only used in situations where it would probably be dropped in reference to a Japanese. That said, important question remains regarding the *intent* of the Japanese workers. Are they trying to make it clear to others that the interns are low status and/or foreign outsiders? Or perhaps they are trying to accommodate them by using common American form of address and other markers of respect, as has been suggested in other studies (e.g., Okamura 2009). Another possibility is that, because American names are typically presented in reverse order from Japanese names, they simply are not aware of which name is first and which is last. Thus, given these data, it can only be concluded at this point that Japanese and Americans are addressed differently. The question of "why" remains. However, especially given the differences in the use of *yobisute* forms, it seems reasonable to argue that the Americans are perceived as outsiders by their colleagues and manifest this in the patterns of address the typically deploy.

5.3 Americans Addressing Japanese

Next, I explore how the Americans address their Japanese counterparts. Here, there is yet again a broadly consistent pattern in the data: American interns regularly addressed their Japanese colleagues with LN+*san*. Comparable to Examples (1) and (5), the following shows how the interns typically called their co-workers in vocatives to get attention.

Example (8) Americans Addressing Japanese

1→	Ethan:	*Hayashi-san.*
		name -HON
		"Hayashi?"
2	Hayashi:	*hai?*
		yes?
		"Yes?"
3	Ethan:	*raishū:: (.) kayōbi desu yo ne.*
		next week Tuesday COP.POL PP PP
		"Next week Tuesday, right?"
4	Hayashi:	*eh.*
		yes.
		"Ya."

Here, Ethan approached his co-worker, Hayashi, to ask about a deadline following the typical, unmarked form in Japanese: LN+*san*. This was by far the most common way for the interns to approach other workers and pervades all contexts of interaction, from asking questions as above to casual talk during lunch. The use of LN+*san* in casual settings is further illustrated in the following.

Example (9) Addressing Japanese During Lunch

1→	Susan:	*hai (.) Akagi-san (.) dōzo.*
		INJ name -HON please
		"Okay, Akagi. Please (=Here you go.)"
		((hands a package of konjac jelly to Akagi))
2	Akagi:	*oh::: arigatō gozaimasu.*
		thank you COP .POL
		"Oh! Thank you very much."
3		*arigataku chōdai itashi-masu.*
		gratefully receive do.HON.POL
		"I will gratefully receive (this jelly)."

Here, Susan and Akagi had sat down for a break but Akagi realized he forgot to bring his lunch. Susan commented that she did not bring much either, but had an extra packet of jelly which she playfully offered to Akagi. The playfulness was manifest by Susan, who framed her offer in line 1 with a smile, and Akagi's over-the-top use of honorifics in line 3. The incongruence of using *arigataku chōdai itashimasu* 'I will gratefully receive', an extremely formal way to accept an offering, with the casual context of giving a small package of jelly during a lunch break is a way of being light-hearted and jocular. However, despite this playful interaction, Susan persists in using LN+*san* in addressing her co-worker.

Indeed, the tendency for interns to use LN+*san* is so pervasive that they even used it in third-person references to their co-workers when talking to me in English, even when no Japanese speakers were present.

Example (10) Referring to Japanese While Speaking English

1→	Mike:	*°often° (0.4) well you see Seki-san in the corner there? (0.6) uh:: so she often- er (.) we work on projects together a lot.*
2	Researcher:	*she's the one from earlier?*
3	Mike:	*ya*

Here, Mike is telling me about Seki, a co-worker who had been at his desk earlier to ask questions about a project. However, though the conversation was English, he still referred to her as *Seki-san* using the typical LN+*san* convention. This was extremely common among the interns, all of whom would refer to their co-workers with LN+*san* when talking to me in English during interviews. In those interviews, the interns described two main reasons for consistently using LN+*san*: (1) They felt it was the most appropriate given their position as an intern; and (2) they felt it was the safest form to use when they were not sure if other forms could be appropriate. That is, the interns seems to suggest that LN+*san* is used precisely because it is unmarked as they have uncertainty regarding the proper use of more marked forms.

Thus, there is a clear non-reciprocity in the forms of address used across the data. As a general rule, Japanese use *yobisute* bare FN to

American interns and the Americans use default LN+*san* to the Japanese. Ostensibly, this suggests the interns are being positioned in low or outsider positions, or are being treated as children. Whether or not this has material consequences for social integration is not immediately clear, but it can be reasonably concluded that different institutional and social positions are encoded into the typical forms of address used by the participants in this study.

5.4 Strategic Deviations from Typical Patterns

Despite the pervasiveness and consistency of the typical patterns described above, there were several instances in which unusual deviations from the typical pattern are observed. Such rhetorical strategies, however, were limited to address forms used by some American interns toward their Japanese colleagues; the Japanese L1 speakers never deviated from FN or FN+*san* when addressing the interns. The few deviations that were observed seem to be used to accomplish specific social actions. In this section, I illustrate two such examples in which deviant forms of address are used to (1) mitigate imposition, and (2) disagree with others. Consider the following.

Example (11) Deviations in Address Forms to Mitigate Imposition

1→	David:	*hi sensee.* teacher "Hi, teacher."
2	Noda:	*eh hahaha (0.3) nani?* INJ what "Huh? Hahaha. What?"
3	David:	*nan deshō ka?* what COP.POL.VOL Q "What is it? (=What do you think?)"
4	Noda:	*a- haha*
5	David:	*can you guess?*
6	Noda:	*hahahaha .hhh*

As in several prior examples, here David addresses Noda with a vocative to get his attention prior to asking a question. However, rather than a typical form such as LN+*san*, he addresses Noda as *sensee* 'teacher'. In Japanese, *sensee* is a fairly ideologically-laden form of address, reserved for teachers, doctors, or others in a mentoring role. Here, it exaggerates power differences between David and Noda. In fact, I often observed David mockingly refer to his colleagues with linguistic forms that exaggerated differences in status (see Moody 2014). That this is a playful strategy can be seen in Noda's reaction: when David calls him *sensee* he laughingly says *nani* 'what', David tries to get Noda to guess in line 3, and then uses English in line 5, all of which elicits progressively louder laughter from Noda.

Critically, the use of *sensee* as a vocative to open the interaction is combined with other playful resources and this seems to be a strategy for face-threatening mitigation. As noted in the discussion of Example (1), calling a co-worker's attention to ask a question is effectively an interruption and may impose on the addressee who is doing other things. While such imposition is often mitigated in Japanese by using negative politeness strategies (e.g., apologizing for the intrusion, deploying honorifics, and so on), David deploys a positive politeness strategy by using teasing to create humor. Using a non-standard from of address, David discursively reinterprets his relationship with his co-worker from one of intern-colleague to one of student-teacher and this transformation of identities is enough of a deviation from the actual relationship to contextualize playfulness. As such, it functions effectively as a means of intruding on someone without being burdensome. Thus, identity work through non-standard address forms can help create humor as a means of mitigating intrusions or other face-threatening acts.

A second example shows how a deviation from typical patterns is used to help do disagreements. In the following extended example, David and his colleagues are talking at lunch while debating the best way to translate the Japanese *undōkai* 'sports festival' into English. This company required all workers to study English and had prepared a text for this purpose. Prior to the following example, David was criticizing the translation of *undōkai* in the company's English teaching materials which rendered it as "athletics meeting." In response, Miyamoto proposed "sports festival" as a better translation. After some discussion of why "athletics meeting" is a

bad translation, in line 1 of Example (12), David agrees with Miyamoto's suggestion that "sports festival" is a good translation.

Example (12) Deviations in Address Forms to Disagree

1	David:	*nanka sports festival no hō ga ichiban ii kana* HES sports festival GEN way NOM best Q "So, I think 'sports festival' is the best, probably."
2	Miyamoto:	*mane sun-na yo oi.* imitation do .NEG.IMP PP hey "Don't imitate me! Hey!"
3	All:	*hahaha*
4	David:	*mane shi-te –nee yo.* imitation do .ASP.NEG PP "I'm not!"
5	Miyamoto:	*ore ga itta yatsu sore wa.* I NOM said thing that TOP "That's what I said. (=I suggested 'sports festival' first.)"
6	David:	*datte (.) sakki no supōtsu fesutaburu ga* but recently GEN sports festival NOM *ichiban ii to itt-eru n janai?* best Q say.ASP NML COP.NEG "But wasn't I just saying that 'sports festival' is the best one?"
7	Miyamoto:	*mane sun-na yo.* imitation do .NEG.IMP PP "Don't imitate me!"
8	David:	*chotto (.) mane shi-te -nai.* INJ imitation do .ASP.NEG "Hey, I'm not."
9	Miyamoto:	*orijinaritii dase orijinaritii.* originality show.IMP originality "Show some originality. Originality."
10	David:	*sokka (.) hai sumi –ma -sen.* I see okay sorry.POL.NEG "Okay, I see. I'm so sorry."

11→		*Miyamoto-sama no osshatta (0.5) sports festival* name -HON GEN honorably said sports festival *ga ichiban tadashii to omot -te ori-masu.* NOM number one correct QT think.GER HUM. POL "I am of the humble opinion that Miyamoto's wonderful suggestion of 'sports festival' is the most correct answer."
12	All:	*hahahahahahahahaha*
13	David:	*dō desu ka? (.) sore de.* how COP.POL Q that INS "How's that? Okay?"

While David was agreeing with Miyamoto's prior translation of *undōkai*, in line 1 he says "'sports festival' is the best" which could be interpreted as David making the suggestion himself despite it being identical to Miyamoto's prior suggestion. Miyamoto chooses to interpret it this way and teases David by telling him not to imitate his suggestion. They banter back and forth for a bit with David insisting he is not imitating but rather agreeing. Miyamoto persists in his teasing and, in line 9, instructs David to be more original in his translation. This suggestion itself is interesting as it appears to orient to the Japanese workers' general perception of David as an English expert.

David, still attempting to disagree with Miyamoto's accusation, responds to the exhortation to be more original with a heavily sarcastic apology and mock agreement in lines 10 and 11. The address term appears in line 11 when David refers to Miyamoto by last name, but rather than *san* he uses *sama*, an honorific suffix that is too formal for this casual context (similar to Akagi's acceptance of the jelly in an earlier example). David combines this address form with several other resources that also create an over-the-top formal response, such as the humble form *omotte orimasu* 'to be of the humble opinion'. This greatly exaggerates the difference in institutional status between Miyamoto and David, projecting David as a lowly intern and Miyamoto as a very knowledgeable expert. However, as the context here is the discussion of English—a context in which David is

usually seen as an expert native speaker and his colleagues as novice learners—this is an ironic reinterpretation of their respective identities.

The use of an exaggeratedly formal form of address occurs in this example in a statement that, through the use of ironic humor, strongly disagrees with Miyamoto's contention that David is imitating him. By mockingly submitting to Miyamoto, David is making it clear that he was actually trying to validate Miyamoto's translation, not imitate it. Thus, again, the deviation from standard forms of address is used to create humor as a means of mitigating a certain social action. Here, this is the act of disagreeing with an accusation, and in the prior example it was the act of interruption or imposing to ask a question. Now, it should be stressed that not all of the interns used this sort of address strategy. That is, deviations for the purpose of accomplishing marked social acts are not a typical pattern. Instead, they are one resource available to the interns that, depending on their personality, context of interaction, and other factors, may be employed to help do identity work for specific purposes.

6 Conclusion: Are American Interns Addressed as Outsiders in Japanese Companies?

The data show that typical patterns of address in American-Japanese workplace interaction are non-reciprocal with two being particularly salient. First, while Japanese workers and American interns both address other Japanese workers most commonly with the default LN+*san*, the Japanese workers address the American interns with the *yobisute* bare FN. Second, while Japanese will use *yobisute* by dropping *-san* when introducing colleagues to someone outside the company, they actually add *-san* when introducing the American interns to others. These patterns suggest that the American interns are positioned differently than their colleagues and, in particular, are treated as outsiders and framed in ways similar to children.

However, it may be hasty to conclude that the American interns are being marginalized as there are a number of possible explanations for the observed non-reciprocity. For instance, it could be an issue of accommodation; Americans use LN+*san* and Japanese use FN because they are

trying to conform to what is expected in each other's respective native language and culture. It could also be that they are simply using the terms that they know or feel safe using; Americans use LN+*san* because it is unmarked and Japanese use FN because that is the name that Americans use when introducing themselves. Whatever the reasons, however, the difference in how Japanese and Americans address each other in intercultural interactions has led some to conclude that Japanese emphasizes power structure over solidarity while American English does the opposite (e.g., Okamura 2009). This reasonably follows from the idea that first names are ostensibly more intimate or friendly (similar to T forms) when compared to last names with an honorific suffix which are more distant or impersonal (similar to V forms).

Yet in terms of their interactional use among co-workers in a company, FN and LN+*san* are both unmarked defaults in the context of their respective languages and both have been argued to be egalitarian forms of address that mitigate the relevance of social hierarchies (Okamura 2009; Thompson 2006). In short, while their surface forms are different, FN in America and LN+*san* in Japan seem to be used in similar ways. The perceived differences in how others are positioned only becomes an issue in intercultural settings when interlocutors must negotiate how to refer to each other in situations where the unmarked form in their first language is actually a marked form in their second. So while studies such as Okamura (2009) interpret non-reciprocality as a difference in constructing identities based on familiarity versus power, this may be due to ideological influences in how surface forms appear to mark identities in other cultural settings. Considering that in these data Americans and Japanese address each other with an unmarked form that matches the culture of the addressee, it could be that non-reciprocality is a result of strategies to use egalitarian forms as a default; a strategy which would be consistent with how address terms are used in non-intercultural settings. This sets up an interesting contradiction when considering that the surface forms seem to mark Americans and Japanese differently when they interact with one another. Such tension is typical of intercultural communication where often miscommunication occurs not because of inherent cultural differences but because of differences in how linguistic cues contextualize social information (Gumperz 1982).

Finally, the last two examples discussed above show that, at times, marked forms of address can be used to reinterpret institutional positions and exaggerate them to accomplish specific social actions. This is another strategy that is available in intercultural interaction by using perceived differences in social and institutional identities as resources. In the examples provided, identity work through exaggerated address has the function of mitigating impositions and disagreements. Interestingly, this strategy is only seen in the data by a few of the interns. That is, while address forms are a resource for doing identity work for the purposes of mitigating imposition and disagreement, not everyone takes advantage of them, showing that identity work is necessarily a local, situated phenomenon that uses broad patterns and ideologies to create local meaning. Thus, whether they are differences in typical patterns or dynamic resources to meet situated demands, address terms are clearly fundamental resources for managing identities in intercultural professional interaction.

Transcription Conventions

:	Colon indicates long sounds
?	Question mark indicates rising intonation
.	Period indicates falling intonation
(X.X)	Number in parenthesis indicates timed pause in tenths of seconds
(.)	Period in parenthesis indicates a micropause of one-tenth of a second or less
haha	Indicates laughter
TEXT	Caps indicates loud volume
text-	Dash following text indicates abrupt stop
<u>text</u>	Double underlines indicates items of interest (address terms)
→	Arrow before a line indicates a line of interest
((text))	Double parenthesis indicates transcriber notes

Abbreviations in Glosses

ASP	Aspectual marker	INJ	Interjection
ATT	Attributive	NEG	Negative
BCH	Backchannel	NML	Nominalizer
COP	Copula	NOM	Nominative
DAT	Dative	POL	Polite
GEN	Genitive	PP	Pragmatic particle

GER	Gerund	Q	Question marker
HES	Hesitation	QT	Quotative
HON	Honorific	TOP	Topic marker
HUM	Humulific	VOL	Volitional
IMP	Imperative		

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