An Ethnolinguistic Review
of
the Japanese Demonstrative KO-SO-A

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Japanese demonstrative words (*ko-so-a*) are three-fold rather than binary as in many other languages (e. g., *this-that; here-there*). The significance of this linguistic fact is reviewed from the ethnolinguistic or ethnosemantic point of view.

First, a strong group orientation is believed to constitute one of the strong ethnic characteristics of Japanese society. That is assumed to have fostered a strong sense of two opposing groups that surround the individual, *uchi* and *soto*; that in turn has shaped the dual notion of *others* (individuals other than the self)—insiders and outsiders, which roughly equate to what the Japanese terms *hito* and *tanin*, respectively, refer to. This social psychology is believed to influence the linguistic and behavioral patterns of the Japanese.

This paper is an attempt to link the three-way distinction of Japanese demonstratives and the sociocultural ethnicity pertaining to Japanese group orientation. Specifically, the trichotomy in *ko-so-a* is a linguistic reflection of the three-way segmentation of society into *self*, ingroup *others*, and outgroup *others*.

Lastly, with regard to a possible speech-society relationship, which is not recognized in Chomsky's linguistic universalism, there are two schools of thought which crucially differ over the question of which influences which. In linguistic determinism, speech is believed to influence society (or its psychology), on the basis of which discriminatory language, for example, has been driven out of our society. In the variant school, society is believed to influence speech, as it may be extensively illustrated in sociolinguistic studies. Our examination of *ko-so-a* however suggests the third possibility of society and language being in constant interaction.

Keywords: Ethnolinguistics, Demonstratives *ko-so-a*, Groupism, Society and Speech

1. BACKGROUND

1. 1. Language and society

Over the question of how language and society are related, there have been two opposing schools. In one school, language is believed to be independent of society. The Chomskian school which holds this view "prefers to develop an asocial linguistics as a preliminary to any other kind of linguistics" (Wardhaugh: 11). Underlying such "asocial" views is the thesis of linguistic universalism. All humans are, as it is claimed, born with the gift of speech, or *language*—which, "much like other biological properties," is "awakened" and "grows in the mind" by following "a largely predetermined course." (Chomsky: 25) In short, the sociocultural context in which individual languages have developed is believed to be in no tangible way responsible for the differences among them.

On the other hand, the thought that language and society are linked divides into two opposing variants, depending on whether language is believed to influence society, or the reverse is believed to be the case. The view that society is dependent on language (at least to some degree) is commonly known as the Whorfian hypothesis. Derived from it is the idea of linguistic determinism and relativism: "the way one thinks is determined by the language one speaks"; "differences among languages are reflected in the differences in the world views of their speakers." (Salzmann: 42).

To linguistic determinists, sexism, for example, is a *linguistic* issue, attributed to the language rather than to the society or to the speakers. Necessarily, the normalizing and banning of sexist language is claimed to be vital for helping remove gender-based prejudices in the society. The question remains, though, as to how far such linguistic control will influence the social attitude. Take the institution of marriage in Japan, which is clearly disadvantageous to women. The derogatory implications of expressions like *Yome ni iku, Ojoo-san o kudasai, Tama no koshi ni noru, Musume o katazukeru, Demodori* (Sasaki: 14-37) seem to have their roots deeply buried in the traditional social reality.

Diametrically opposite to linguistic determinism is the belief that society influences or molds language. This view underlies sociolinguistics which deals, among other things, with speech variation based upon the speaker's regional origin, social level, ethnic background, gender, generation, etc. Each linguistic variety is characterized by a group of distinctive linguistic items (i. e., sounds, lexemes, and choices of words, etc.), which have developed in direct response to the divisions in the society itself.

Yet another relationship between language and society may be conceivable: a constant interaction between the two. Again, consider Japanese expressions like *Ojoo-san o kudasai, Tama no koshi ni noru,* etc., which mirror the dominantly patriarchal society of Japan. As pointed out earlier, linguistic determinists will derive sexist behavior and thought from these phrases and propose language reform to eliminate them. Clearly, however, such a claim is only partial, and thus perhaps unproductive, in that too much is made of language and too little of the sociocultural reality. The patriarchal tradition of Japan which began in feudal times with the introduction of Confucianism (Reischauer: 209) is assumed to have bred a male-dominated society in Japan, inducing the psychology and speech connected with it. Unquestionably, sexist ideas and speech are equally the product of the male-dominated society, and it follows therefore that a more fundamental linkage lies between society and language than between ideas and language.

In sum, the relationship of language and society is assumed to be interactive, instead of one dominantly influencing the other. In other words, language incorporates and reflects sociocultural properties, whereby "different levels of social relations ... are maintained by the successful manipulation of language" (Sciriha: 107). On the other hand, sociocultural items in language help perpetuate, hand down, and reinforce ethnic social psychology.

1. 2. Theoretical framework

Sociolinguistics in the line of the idea that society influences speech has focused on a fairly universal type of sociocultural properties in speech, such as language of respect, gender-related speech, generation-governed variation, and so forth.   Some sociocultural items in speech, on the other hand, are of a highly ethnic type, peculiar to individual language communities.

Take the language of daily greetings like *Sayoonara.*   Despite the dictionary definition ('Good bye'), *Sayoonara* is far more sensitive to the sociocultural reality, specifically to the addressee, than *Good bye,* and it usually does not find its way into a dialog between immediate family members and friends,[1] with the possible exception of a permanent separation (e.g., death). Similarly, *Konnichi-wa* is often directed to someone higher in social position, and rarely downward.   It is obvious that in Japan the social structure imposes a set of restrictions upon the language and behavior related to greeting.[2]   That contrasts sharply with an *asocial* greeting such as the English *Hi,* which is acceptable on almost any occasion with little regard to the addressee.

Society-related linguistic items of an ethnic type may divide into two distinct types.   Some are ethnic mostly in form, that is, in lexical configuration, but the idea expressed is fairly universal. Compare these expressions from English and Japanese, where the italicized lexemes are ethnic, reflecting the respective sociocultural background.

(1a)   He makes his *bread* by gambling.

She came in her *Sunday* best.

He's the black *sheep* of the family.

Shakespeare is all *Greek* to me.

(1b)   Pachinko de *meshi* o kuu ('to make a living from *pachinko*')

Yosoiki no kakkoo o suru. ([Lit.] 'to dress up as if to attend a special occasion')

Deru *kui* wa utareru. ([Lit.] 'A stake that sticks out will be pounded on.')

Boo ni mo *hashi* ni mo kakaranai. ('out of control' [Lit.] 'that cannot be picked up by sticks or chopsticks')

There is nothing ethnic about the idea conveyed in each of these expressions, and given a proper gloss, the message will get across; only, the lexical designation sounds foreign.

On the other hand, the following illustrate sociocultural linguistic items in Japanese which are ethnic not only in the lexical composition but in the idea as well.

(2)   *Tanin no meshi* o kuu.

Kare no okusan wa *yoku dekita* hito da.

"*Ishi no ue ni mo 3-nen*" no tsumori de gambatta.

Buchoo no *tsuru no hito koe* de kimatta.

Hijoo ni *giri-gataki* hito da.

To non-Japanese speakers, the message conveyed in these expressions will be hardly meaningful, unless their cultural relevance is known.[3]

The question of how far sociocultural items integrated into speech mold the speakers' world views and way of thinking remains to be seen.   However, it seems fairly obvious that as long as

such sociocultural items in speech remain in the people's active lexicon, the ethnic thought represented in them is likely to be part of the current belief. Furthermore, as long as the thought remains valid in the society, it may be highly improbable that the corresponding lexical representations will go out of use, however ethnic they are. At any rate, it is assumed that ethnicity often lies in society, which in turn makes its language and social psychology ethnic.

1. 3. Aims of this paper

The three-way system of what are commonly known as demonstrative words in Japanese (*ko-so-a*) will be reexamined, to observe that the *ko-so-a* division ties in with the pattern of interpersonal relations characteristic of Japanese society, on the one hand, and with the distinctive mental and behavioral attitudes of the people, on the other. An attempt will be made to explain *ko-so-as* not merely as grammatical or sociolinguistic items, but as *ethnosemantic* properties as well.[4] It follows that this research is based on the premise that language and society are interdependent.

Perhaps what is most characteristic about the system of Japanese demonstratives is that it is not binary as in other languages (e. g., *this-that* and *here-there* in English), but ternary. If society and language are in fact interdependent and interactive, then the obvious corollary of this lexical fact will be: (i) some aspect of Japanese society is three-fold; (ii) Japanese speakers are, through *and* for the manipulation of such lexemes, conditioned to perceive the universe to consist of three parts and to segment it accordingly. A successful command of the three linguistic forms will require the speaker to possess not only a grammatical knowledge but a non-linguistic, or sociocultural, knowledge about the three-way social division as well.

The honorific speech in Japanese which may be typical of society-language association may illustrate the point.

(3)   Okosama no go-byooki wa ikaga desu ka?
       Kodomo no byooki wa doo?

The two questions, analogous in meaning, reflect the two-way social division, each addressed to an individual from a different social stratum. The internal configuration in each sentence is controlled by a set of grammatical and lexical rules, making the following ill-formed:

(4)   *Okosama no go-byooki wa doo?
       *Kodomo no byooki wa ikaga desu ka?

Now, consider,

(5)   *Shachoo* to *shain*: ʔOkosama no go-byooki wa ikaga desu ka?
       Shain to *shachoo*: ʔKodomo no byooki wa doo?

Here, the well-formed sentences (from (3)) take no heed of the two-fold social division, and are hence anomalous and normally improper.

In sum, the present paper will intend to establish that *ko-so-a* are linguistic items closely linked with the Japanese sociocultural reality, specifically group-think—an instance of highly ethnic language-society interaction.

2. GROUPISM AND LANGUAGE OF JAPAN

A vast literature is available on Japanese group orientation characterized by a marked absence of psychological conflict between the individual and the group.   The Japanese "subordinates his individualism to the group more than the Westerner does" (Reischauer: 146)—promoting the social psychology that "the key Japanese value is harmony" and that "consensus is the goal." (*Ibid.,* 135).   For the Japanese, harmony, or *wa,* is "a sense of unity" attained "by means of the members' total emotional participation." (Nakane: 24).

Such group orientations in Japan may be accounted for by the *mura* form of settlement in earlier Japan brought about by the spread of rice farming.[5)]   *Mura* as a cluster of households constituted an independent self-governed community, and the farmers thereof "shared water resources for the rice fields and cooperated in handling its tax and other administrative problems..." (Reischauer: 131).   The strong group-consciousness that plays an important role in modern Japan is the echo of the traditional *mura* psychology.[6)]

According to Kamishima (1989: 101), the Indian or Chinese counterpart of *mura* was religion-based and weaker as a social unit, hence providing a basis for Hinduism and the caste system in India, and the Party and the people's commune in China.   In contrast, the Japanese *mura* as the units of agrarian settlement furnished a basis for strong comradeship and solidarity for a united body of people, which has gradually extended to embody the neighboring units and their neighbors, until eventually the entire country was united as one big extended family.   Kunihiro (1977: 23) goes as far as to claim that all distinctly Japanese traits—such as *tate shaka* and *amae* expounded on by Nakane and Doi as well as *wa,* all revert to the earlier agricultural life developed in the sociocultural context of *mura.*

In the Japanese notion of group, or *shuudan,* little room is reserved for individualism, and individual disparities are levelled out in group identity.   Thus, what is 'different' (*chigau* in Japanese) is 'wrong' (also *chigau*).   The Japanese emphasis on the group over the self has helped shape another, yet closely related, social psychology—an awareness of two distinct types of group that surround the self: the group which one is a part of and the group which one is not identified with.

Duality of this nature has been recognized and described in linguistic studies in terms of *ingroup* versus *outgroup* (Martin), or *uchi* vs. *soto* (Makino), and *we-group* vs. *they-group* in social science.   For convenience's sake, we will refer to the dual notion of *group* by using the terms 'endo' and 'exo.'   The group where the individual self belongs is *endogroup,* and the group which the self is no part of is *exogroup.*   Similarly, the members of the endogroup and the exogroup will be called *endo-others* and *exo-others,* respectively.

To sum up, as the line that marks out the self in the endogroup of which the self is a part has become more and more obscure, the integration of a body of individual selves into the [endo]group has been intensified, resulting in the social structure of *conditioning* group over *conditioned* individuals and in the sharp awareness of two conflicting types of *others* in relation to

the self.

A word of caution may be necessary to clarify *group* under consideration.   Theoretically, an individual may be identified simultaneously with groups of various types or levels on the basis of kinship, religion, occupation, interest, nationality, etc.   What we are concerned with is not this type of multi-layered grouping; rather, it is the relationship between two or more groups at a comparable level—e. g., a school as an endogroup institution as opposed to another school which is an exogroup institution.

The Japanese group orientation and endo-exo opposition are well reflected in the language. For example, small talk about someone's job will normally touch on an organization where s/he works, but hardly reveal what exactly the person does.   Thus, *Otsutome was dochira desu ka?* ('Where do you work?') is a far more common and certainly more appropriate way of asking what someone does than straightforward questions such as *Donna oshigoto o shite orareru no desu ka?* and *Oshigoto wa nan desu ka?* Given such straightforward questions, Japanese speakers will usually state only the name or type of an establishment (*Nissan desu*; *Ginkoo desu*) or, at the most, the field of work (*Computer-kankei desu*).[7]

Another example of speech reflecting individuality overshadowed by totality is a common response to *Kazoku wa nan-nin desu ka?* 'Five' from a Japanese speaker usually corresponds to 'four' from an English speaker; the fifth member, or the speaker, is automatically included in a Japanese *family*.

The Japanese use of collective nouns referring to an endogroup of which the speaker is a part (e.g., *daigaku, kaisha,* and *kuni*) also reflects group orientation.   The English counterparts (*family, company,* and *country*) are customarily qualified by the plural pronoun *our* (e.g., 'our family/country'), meaning 'of all people including myself, though not you'—i.e., what grammarians call 'exclusive-we.' (Leech & Svartvik: 57) In Japanese, the singular form *watashi/boku-no* is standard.   A somewhat awkward use of *my* in beginners' English as in 'My country/class/company is...' is a patent carryover.   Unlike the English *our,* the Japanese counterpart *watashitachi-no* (plural) refers to the speaker and endo-others in present, but not to exo-others or to endo-others who are not there.[8]

The singular *watashi-no* (or its equivalent *my* in Japanese-style English) in reference to the entire endogroup simply stresses the notion of 'my' being part of it, or the submission of the self to the group.   It imparts no element of ethnocentricity of the sort that apparently bothers Passin (1977: 25) and makes him complain that in Japanese speech "the overuse of the term for *my* —*watashi no,* or *ore no,* or *uchi no*—smacks of selfishness."   On the contrary, it is the plural form (*watashitachi-no*) that will bring forth the idea of 'only *us* belonging, and not you or them outsiders.'   In fact, Japanese speakers will employ that very form whenever they wish to make an endo-exo distinction unmistakably clear.

The characteristic use of the words *uchi* and *yoso* also reflects the Japanese collectivity orientation and endo-exo opposition.   *Uchi*[9] in proper contexts refers to every endogroup of which the speaker is a part: family, home, place of work, community, hometown, or even country—e.g., *uchi no kodomo* (～ *shachoo,* ～ *keizai jootai,* etc.).   In most of West Japan, *uchi*

even refers to the speaker him/herself ('me'), though reserved mainly for female use.[10]   In brief, *uchi* refers to all and any endo-institution that an individual can possibly be a part of, and dialectally even to the self.

As much as *uchi* implies inclusion, so *yoso* implies separation and alienation, as it is evident in expressions like: *yoso mono* ([lit.] 'outside person'—someone new to the place, associated with unacceptable behavior); *yosoyososhii [taido]* ('unfriendly' [attitude]); and yoso-iki *no kotoba* ([lit.] 'language spoken while outside'—extremely formal and artificial and hence unfriendly manner of speaking).

Over many years, endo-exo opposition as a necessary outcome of endosolidarity has fostered two distinct sets of not only language but behavior and emotion as well.   Within the endogroup, "cooperativeness, reasonableness, and understanding of others are virtues most admired, not personal drive, forcefulness and individual self-assertion." (Reischauer: 135)   A sense of un-conditional bondage is depicted in Keene's account of Japanese people's behavior abroad, where he obviously means endo-others by *friends*.

> A group of Japanese tourists moving through the museums of Europe and the shopping centers of the world create an impression on the inhabitants of those countries of people who are unable to function as individuals. ....it is undeniable that Japanese abroad seem to feel reassured in the presence of other Japanese, not only their friends but *any* Japanese." (82: 41)

A feeling of national unity among Japanese will travel across time *and* space, as it is evident in the special pride displayed at achievements made by foreign-born descendants of Japanese immigrants on the mere basis of the fact that they happen to be Japanese by origin.

Towards the exogroup, on the other hand, a strong feeling of *separateness* makes the people extremely uncomfortable and clumsy, and often makes their behavior and sentiment oscillate between extremes.   They can be highly faltering and yielding, but then can also be extremely aggressive and competitive.   The exogroup may sometimes be the target of insatiable curiosity and scrutiny but also of total indifference at other times.   With exo-others, the Japanese can be cordial and open, but can also be quite cold and aloof.   Such conflicting traits in Japanese are best summed up in the phrase: "the most fantastic series of 'but-also's." (Benedict: 1)

McLean (1989: 26) claims that Japanese people's consideration for the feelings of others is "the summation of correct Japanese behavior," and that "to ignore the feelings of others is .... to behave in an un-Japanese way."   This is a sweeping generalization in complete disregard of a sharp exo-end distinction which Japanese people make.   McLean's observation applies only to endo relations, and not exo-others.

Makino (1996: 23) describes Japanese people's *ninjoo* (compassion) and *omoiyari* (thought-fulness) as a feeling of "*uchi-domari*," or of endo-confinement.   *Uchi-domari* compassion slanted towards the endogroup is evident in the Japanese media's news commentary on an accident overseas, say, a plane crash: "*Nihonjin jookyaku no anpi ga kizukawaremasu* ('concerned about the safety of possible Japanese passengers')."

In Benedict's account of the Japanese notion of *respect,* on the other hand, two kinds of *others*

perceived by the Japanese are noted.

> In Japan, 'respecting yourself' is always to show yourself the careful player. It does not mean, as it does in English usage, consciously conforming to a worthy standard of conduct—not truckling to another, not lying, not giving false testimony. In Japan, self-respect (*jicho*)... means, 'You must be shrewd in estimating all the factors involved in the situation and do nothing that will arouse criticism or lessen your chances of success.' (219-220)

'Criticism' or 'chances of success' relates to an evaluation within the endogroup, and nothing beyond.

The dual behavioral structure of *tatemae* and *honne* (Doi, 1986—esp. *Chapter Two*) also seems to be closely tied with the exo-endo opposition. This however is a far more intriguing area of Japanese behavior, in that identification of *honne* with endo-behavior and *tatemae* with exo-behavior, according to Hoyle, may be problematic.[11]

Amae which Reischauer defines as "basking in the affections of others" (p. 141) is also reinforced and displayed within the endogroup and is hardly meaningful outside. Reischauer elaborates specifically on the physical and psychic attitude of *amae* in endogroup relations, like mother and child, and husband and wife (p. 209). *Amae* behavior is almost expected in interacting successfully with endo-others socially senior to the speaker.

In most cultures, *self* simply contrasts, or even conflicts, with *others*. From the ongoing discussions, however, the Japanese *self* conflicts with only *exo-others,* but never with *endo-others.* That may never be more evident than when one sees that Japanese has two distinct lexemes in reference to individuals other than the self—*hito* and *tanin.* In (6), the notional difference between the two words is not transparent, because either word can appear in these identical contexts, though in two separate senses, as seen in (7)-(13) below.

> (6)   {hito, tanin} no me o ki ni suru ('to worry about what others might think of you')
>
>   {hito, tanin} ni tayoru ('to count on others for help')
>
>   {hito, tanin} o kizutsukeru ('to offend others')

Note however that *hito* and *tanin* are not synonymous or interchangeable below: in (7) only *tanin* is passible, but in (8) only *hito* is possible.

> (7)   *tanin* no meshi o kuu ('to undergo an apprenticeship under others')
>
>   *tanin* atsukai o suru ('treat someone as if s/he were a stranger')
>
>   *tanin* no sorani ('accidental physical resemblance to someone unrelated')
>
>   *tanin* gyoogi ('excessively formal and contrived manners as if dealing with a stranger')
>
> (8)   *hito* no kao-iro o ukagau ('to check on how you look to others around you')
>
>   *hito* kara kiita hanashi da kedo.... ('This is what I heard from someone....')
>
>   *hito* zukai ga arai ('to use people badly')
>
>   *hito* ni warawareru yoo na koto o suru ('to do something that people might laugh at')

Obviously, *tanin* and *hito* have a separate referent: *tanin* refers to people that are unrelated or unknown to the self, and *hito* to those to whom the self is related in some way or other.

Consider a somewhat different but still more revealing use of *hito* (but not *tanin*) below:

(9)   *Hito* no kimochi mo shiranaide! ('Think of how people might feel!')

   Hito o baka ni suru ni mo hodo ga aru! ('Stop ridiculing people!')

   Hito no kooi o mu ni suru na! ('You should accept people's kindness with gratitude!')

   Nan demo *hito* makase ni shinaide! ('Don't count on others' help for everything!')

Hito in these sentences actually refers to the speaker him/herself ('me'), and hence, even if *hito* is replaced by *boku/watashi,* the sentences will still yield the same message.

   Reference of *hito* to endo-others is still more evident in (10) through (13) below:

(10)   {Hito, *Tanin} no furi mite, waga furi naose.

This common saying teaches that your behavior be corrected in compliance with that of *others* around you.   The fact that *hito,* but not *tanin,* is the only possible alternative in this saying confirms that behavioral conformity in Japanese society is restricted to interpersonal relations within the endogroup, or *uchi-domari* to use Makino's term.

(11)   {Hito, *Tanin} wa mikake ni yoranai mono da' ([lit.] 'People aren't exactly what they appear to be')

This expresses the speaker's surprise or disappointment at an unexpected deceitful conduct of someone close.   Naturally, *tanin,* or exo-others, with whom the speaker has little reason to trust, cannot replace *hito.*

(12)   {Hito, *Tanin} sawagase na! ('Someone is always imposing on people.')

This is a common expression of disapproval said of or to someone who asks a favor of someone else frequently, and often unfairly, by taking advantage of the close relationship between the two parties.

(13)   {Hito, *Tanin} no uwasa mo 75 nichi. ('Gossip will last only 75 days.')

This saying teaches that you let no rumor or gossip about you bother you as it will not last long. *Uwasa,* by definition, originates in the endogroup; it is of little relevancy to the exo-group.   In sum, *hito* contrasts with *tanin* in the same way that *endo-others* contrasts with *exo-others.*

   Thus far, we have seen that out of a seamless aggregation of individuals integrated into the endogroup have evolved the notion of the self being an entity inseparable from the whole, on the one hand, and, on the other, a sharp awareness of the endogroup, with which one identifies oneself, as opposed to the exogroup, in which one has no place.   We have also seen that such group orientations are reflected in various parts of the language.   In the section to follow, the *ko-so-a* lexemes will be examined to explicate their strong connection with the Japanese group-think which we have seen.

3. GRAMMAR OF *KO-SO-A*

   Demonstratives in some languages are reported to be distinguished in four or more ways (Levinson: 81–82), but in most languages they come in pairs, as with *this-that* and *here-there* in English.   Japanese demonstratives divide into three types, *ko-, so-,* and *a-,* each followed by a group of morphemes distinguished according to the referent: *-re* (an object), *-ko* (location), *-chira* (direction, side, or option), *-o/-a* (manner), etc. In Korean, Turkish, and Spanish, too,

demonstratives are ternary, but the function of the middle series of demonstratives differs considerably from Japanese. (Kinsui & Takubo: 142).

Most literature on the grammar of Japanese demonstratives agrees that they are used in two ways: (i) "situational" or "deictic" in reference to something visible—e. g., *Kono naifu wa doko de katta?* ('Where did you get this knife?'); *Soko ni oite*! ('Put it there, will you?'); (ii) "contextual" or "anaphoric" in reference to something previously stated (e.g., *Boku mo soo omou.* 'I think so, too.') or information shared by or known to both the speaker and the listener (*Ano otoko wa dooshite ita?* 'How was that fellow doing?').[12]

The deictic demonstratives are not distinguished solely on the basis of "three degrees of distance from the speaker...," as simplified by Martin (1988: 1066).   The relative position of the speaker, the addressee, and the referent is crucial.

Compare,

(14)   S————R——————A   (*kore*)

(15)   S————A——R   (*sore*)

(where S = speaker; A = addressee; R = referent)

Kore refers to what is closer to the speaker than it is to the addressee, and *sore* to what is closer to the addressee than it is to the speaker.

Are refers to something that lies farther away from either the speaker or the addressee than they are from each other.

(16)   S—A————R   (*are*)

Given this frame of reference, let's consider what demonstrative is supposed to be used in the following situations where the three variables are evenly spaced out:

(17)   S————R————A   (*kore* or *sore*?)

(18)   S————A————R   (*sore* or *are*?)

(19)   A————S————R   (*kore, sore,* or *are*?)

Clearly, the rules seen in (14)–(16) will not apply to uniquely determine the appropriate demonstrative in these situations.

Admittedly, situations like these are only hypothetical and highly unrealistic in everyday life. More often than not they will go unnoticed even if they do occur.   After all, speakers decide on a demonstrative on the basis of their perception of the situation, and the choice does not necessarily reflect the actual reality.   Japanese speakers who are found in situations closer to these, if not exactly those, will usually get around them by moving or leaning slightly towards the object to be identified.   Through such physical adjustment (plainly subconscious), the speaker, the addressee, and the object are in effect relocated so as to enable the speaker to choose one from the three demonstratives.

Nonetheless, the fact does remain that no matter what demonstrative may be employed in (17)–(19), it is still not 'correct,' or at least cannot be explained by the grammatical rules just seen.   There is, properly speaking, no grammatically correct demonstrative available in any of these situations, nor does any grammatical account of why that is so seem plausible.   As we will see later, the question of why no demonstrative word is available in Situations (17) through (19)

is directly related to the sociocultural significance of the ternary demonstrative system in Japanese.

4. SOCIOCULTURAL PROPERTIES OF *KO-SO-A*

Perhaps Aston, William G. in his *A Grammar of the Japanese Written Language* (1872) is the first to attempt a sociological account of *ko-so-a* by equating demonstratives with grammatical persons.[13]

> *Ko, kore, kono* are said of things conceived to be near, or belonging to the speaker. They may be described as demonstrative pronouns of the first person. ...   *So, sore, sono* are said of persons and things which are regarded as near, or in some way connected with the person addressed. They may be called the demonstrative pronouns of the second person. (Aston: 68).... *Kare, kano, are, ano* are used of persons or things not immediately present. They may be termed demonstrative pronouns of the third person. (Aston: 70) [The underlines are mine.]

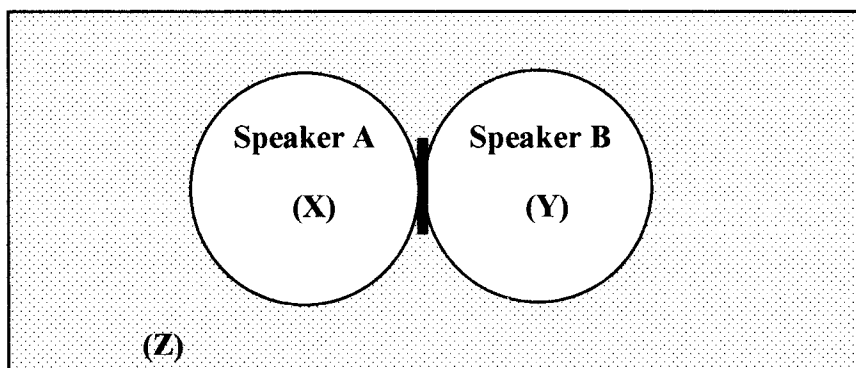The following certainly attest to Aston's observations.

(20)   *Kotchi* wa genki da kedo, *sotchi* wa? ('I'm/We're doing fine, and you?')

        Achira-sama ga itta koto da. ('That's what he/she/they said.")

These demonstratives are used in lieu of personal pronouns.   In other words, these sentences are syntactically complete as they are, leaving no room for an insertion of an additional noun phrase like *boku-wa* or *kare-ga* with the function of the subject.

Further language-society interlocking concerning *ko-so-a* has been proposed in terms of *nawabari,* or territorial marking. (Ando, 1986; Kamio, 1979; Makino, 1996; Mikami, 1987).   The minute a verbal interaction gets under way between two or more speakers, there will instantly emerge around each speaker (without the speaker's knowledge, of course) a sharply defined circle which marks off each speaker's *territory.*

(21)

We will extend this thesis to equate the three-way system of Japanese demonstratives with the three-way segmentation of the society into *self, endo-others* and *exo-others.*

Characteristically, the dividing line between (X) and (Y) will always appear in the middle,

making the territories exactly identical in size.   The same also holds true even if more than two speakers, hence, two or more territories, are involved.   If one speaker moves farther away from, or moves up closer to, another, each territory will automatically gain or lose its area in the same proportion, so the dividing line will always come in the middle.

It is this dividing line between (X) and (Y) that enables, or actually forces, the Japanese speaker to distinguish between *ko* and *so*.   Speaker A identifies what inheres in his/her own territory (X) as a *ko*-entity, and what inheres in the partner's territory (Y) as a *so*-entity.   With Speaker B, the complete opposite applies, and (Y) is seen as *ko* and (X) as *so*.   It follows that *ko* and *so* are only two sides of a coin, as it were, and are not exactly separate entities.   They represent one and the same entity, only with a different label attached, depending upon who speaks of it.

In short, the whole being of one speaker's territory presupposes that of another.   Either all exist together, or else none by itself.   Thus, the area represented by (X) and (Y) together is not exactly twofold, but that it is a single *shared* world, which is only tentatively partitioned into individual cells.

On the other hand, adjacent to that shared word is an area occupied by neither Speaker A nor B—i.e., Territory (Z).   Viewed from Speakers A and B, Territory (Z) equally represents a separate world, or *a*-world.   Exactly the same thing is true of (X) and/or (Y) seen from the point of view of the members of Territory (Z).   Unlike the relationship between (X) and (Y), the relationship between (X+Y), jointly or separately, and (Z) is in no way dependent.   Unlike the line dividing (X) and (Y), which is tentative and conditional, the line which marks off (Z) is firm and absolute and defies trespassing, interfusion, and sharing.

To translate this in social terms in line with our earlier observations of Japanese group orientation and endo-exo opposition, Speakers A and B together constitute an endogroup, and their relationship is of one endo-member to another.   The existence of all parties to this unit is meaningful and real only in relation to one another,[14] giving rise to a strong group affiliation.   A firm separation of the territories (X+Y) and (Z), on the other hand, is analogous to the endo-exo opposition.

Apparently, the earlier Japanese language did not have a ternary demonstrative system; it was binary with no *so-a* contrast of the sort that is found in modern Japanese.[15]   It is believed that the *so-ka* contrast developed in the Heian period, and that later as *ka-* gradually changed to *a-*, the *ko-so-a* system has developed.   This may help explain a curious absence of idiomatic phrases which combine *so-* and *a-*, in contrast to those which contain *ko-* and *so-* (e. g., *koko-soko*; *soo-koo*) or *ko-* and *a-* (*are-kore*; *koko-kashiko*).   Furthermore, if language and society are in fact interdependent, it then follows that the rise of an eno-exo psychology in Japan should coincide with the change in its demonstrative system as far back as the Heian period.

To revert to our earlier observation of linguistic ambivalence in reference to (17)‒(19), one can see that the object to be identified lies right on the borderline between the two speakers' territories and is not affiliated with either territory and that therefore no identification is available.   It follows that identification is strictly territory-based.

Precisely the same holds true not just of the language but of the society of Japan as well. According to Reischauer, groups which abound throughout Japanese society provide the members with a strong sense of individual self-identification (p. 132). Individuals who are a part of no group will have to suffer an *identification crisis.*

This mentality is manifested in various forms in everyday life, some of which can be quite serious—e. g., ostracizing as a form of bullying in schools. A more general identification crisis occurs after retiring from work, whereby one 'loses' what one has been identified with. "A job in Japan is not merely a contractual arrangement for pay but means identification with a larger unity—in other words, a satisfying sense of being part of something ... significant." (Reischauer: 131) Retirement to average Japanese is like sinking into oblivion, and to avoid it, many will find a new employer to bring themselves back into the society. Actual jobs they are given to do may be immaterial in terms of contribution and pay, but they certainly will ensure them identification.

As we have seen earlier, the individual is not so much an independent self as it is a being meaningful in relation to a given (endo) group. Perhaps no other Japanese expression may better represent this social psychology in speech than the common question asked to find out who someone is—"*Dochira-san/sama desu ka?*" ([Lit.] 'Which group are you from?'). The more straightforward "*Dare/Donata desu ka?*" is also available and is an appropriate alternative when the identification of a third party is at issue, but not as a question addressed directly to the other party. Recall Aston's equation of *ko-so-a* with personal pronouns seen in reference to (20). One may note that in *kochira, sochira,* and *achira,* the morpheme *-chira* denotes the territory or group, and *ko-so-a* represents a deictic division.

Thus far, we have observed more than a mere accidental linkage between the language of *ko-so-a* and the social structure pertaining to *self, endogroup* and *exogroup.* They are interdependent indeed, in that these ethnic linguistic items reflect the sociocultural traits that are highly ethnic, and vice versa.

Finally, let us look into some usages of *a*-words which, of the three demonstratives, seem to be most sensitive to sociocultural realities. First, observe:

(22) Sensei wa Eigo ga ojoozu desu ga, *achira* no kata desu ka?

Achira (or *Achara*)-shiki no ongaku ni wa tsuite ikenai.

For a Japanese speaker, the referent of these *a*-words is self-evident with no further context—'a country other than Japan'.[17] Properly speaking, these *a*-words are neither deictic nor anaphoric, because they require no further context or information to determine what they refer to. One can argue therefore that the *a*-words in (22) are not exactly demonstratives, or at least not used demonstratively.

Again, the territorial divisions as sketched in (21) are relevant to a sociocultural explanation of the word-meaning association pertaining to the *a*-word in the sense of *foreign.* The territory represented by (X+Y) in its fullest spatial extension is, in the minds of Japanese, their nation, and (curiously and problematically) not the entire globe or universe. Obviously, therefore, Territory (Z) represents an alien world, or *a*-world.[18]

Recall Keene's observation quoted earlier describing Japanese travelers abroad, who display 'hail-fellow-well-met' behavior to all and any fellow citizens encountered, known or otherwise. The Japanese concept of endogroup whose outermost limit falls on the national border coincides with the notion that the nation is more than a mere accidental conglomeration of individuals, and that being a part of it is the common denominator for the entire populace. It provides the members the most reassuring form of mental support and identification. In short, the world represented by (X+Y) in (21) is a world shared by the entire populace, which in turn makes (Z) foreign.

The *a*-words used as interjections in (23) are also neither deictic or anaphoric; besides, their referent is more mental, unlike those in (22) whose referent is factual.[19]

(23) *Araa*! Kimi mo katta no?

Are! Samui no ni, doa ga aiteru yo!

Are-are, ano ko mata neteru wa.

Aryaa! Boku wa shiranai yo!

These interjections represent that the happening stated thereafter is due to circumstances beyond the speaker's control or knowledge, as confirmed in (23'), where *a*-interjectives are out of place, because some control or knowledge on the part of the speaker is implied.

(23') *Araa! Kimi mo kae ba?

*Are! Samui kara, doa o aketa yo!

**Are-are,* ano ko mata nekashita wa.

*Aryaa! Boku ga yattanda yo!

The *a*-word in (23) represents the speaker's mental attitude, such as innocence, unknowingness, or evasion (hence called 'evasive' hereafter). The use of an evasive *a*-word is more evident in:

(24) [*A teenage girl commenting on her own mother*]   *Ano* hito to wa hito-tsuki gurai kuchi o kiite inai. ('[Lit.] I haven't talked to that person about a month now.')

This utterly disrespectful use of *ano* in discussing someone senior to the speaker (*mother* in this case, but it can also be the speaker's *teacher, boss,* and the like) is not uncommon today, especially among younger speakers who tend to be expressive.[20]   By referring to one's own mother this way as though the referent were someone unrelated, the speaker's aversion towards the referent will be effectively conveyed.

There is every reason to justify the use of evasive a-words in (25).

(25) Kimi wa mada wakai shi, *atchi* no hoo wa kanari ikeru n daroo? ('You're still young, and must be [lit.] quite capable of that.')

Boku no *asoko* ni ball ga atatta. ('A ball hit me [lit.] there.')

Otoosan no *are* mita koto aru? ('Did you ever see your father's [lit.] that?')

No further context will be necessary to know exactly what is being pursued here. The use of *a*-words in discussing taboo subjects is evasive, although it is part of a more general or social requirement than any individual's personal mental attitude as in (24).

The use of the *a*-words in (26) may also be considered as evasive (hence, mental), although they look somewhat different.

(26) a. [Looking at what is on the table for dinner right in front of you] A, mata *are* ka!

('No, not that again!')

    b. [Talking to an unhappy-looking child right in front of you] *Ano* futekusareta kao!
       ('There you go again with that sullen look on your face!')

    c. [*In response to* Kimi no ryoori wa sekai-ichi da! ('You're the best cook in the whole
       world!')] Mata, *anna* koto o osshatte! ('Stuff and nonsense!')

Instead of using these *a*-words, it is certainly possible to use the unmarked demonstratives, anaphoric or deictic, referring to what is visible or is previously identified. Thus, the deictic *kore* or *sore* in (26a), the deictic *sore* in (26b), and the anaphoric *sonna* in (26c) are all appropriate replacements. The evasive *a*-words as in (26), on the other hand, have the dual rhetorical function of expressing disapproval in a gentle way. First, being neither deictic nor anaphoric, the utterances sound less direct, since they do not refer directly to anything physically present or to any aforesaid information; rather, it sounds as if reference is made to something happening in *another* world. Secondly, *a*-words which express an evasive mental attitude will certainly help demonstrate disapproval.

    In (26a) and (26b) the speaker succeeds in making his/her discontentment clear without sounding too provocative or accusing. (26c) illustrates a common response either to flattering compliments directed to you (as in this case) or to unfairly critical comments made by someone about him/herself. The idea is to emphasize that such remarks are too good (or too bad) to be true. As against the anaphoric *sonna,* the evasive *anna* yields a sobering tone, somewhat analogous to inoffensive remarks in English (said in the right tone, of course) like 'Come on. Don't give me that!'; 'Oh, give me a break!'; 'Oh, cut it out!'; etc. In brief, (26c) renders a graceful denial in reply to an obviously flattering compliment.

    In sum, the evasive use of *a*-words is a linguistic vehicle for putting into words some social realities from which the speaker wishes to (or is supposed to, as in the case of social taboos) detach him/herself. The use of *a*-word executes the effect of exorcizing, so-to-speak, such realities as if they concern another world, or exo-world.

    Once again, with regard to the linguistic ambivalence observed in (17)–(19), we have seen that the whole problem relates to the society, which is reflected in speech. The Japanese society denies identification to individuals who are part of no group. Such individuals are nonexistent beings. By the same token, for what belongs to no linguistic territory, no word is available in the Japanese language since it is not a real being. Again, no word for a nonexistent object.

5. FINAL REMARKS

An attempt has been made to link the three-way distinction of Japanese demonstratives with the ethnic social structure of Japan, perceived as a trichotomy comprising *self, exo-others,* and *exo-others.* It follows that the Japanese demonstrative system is a vehicle for representing social divisions in words, while such social divisions help perpetuate these ethnic linguistic items and the thought reflected in them.

NOTES

1) For further elaboration on this topic, see Mizutani, esp. pp. 1-24.

2) *O[s]su, Yaa, Chiwaa,* and the like are heavily constrained in terms of social level.

3) De Mente's *NTC's Dictionary of Japan's cultural Code Words* is a good source of these expressions.

4) The term and the concept, *ethnosemantic,* is from Salzmann (p. 56).

5) According to *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (*JIE,* hereafter), the word is believed to share the same root as the modern verbs *mureru* and *muragaru* ('to band together; to cluster'). The noun *mure,* also derived from the same root, is reserved mainly for reference to a group of animals ('flock, herd') in modern Japanese. *Mura* as a rice-farming village had developed by the mid-Heian period (794-1185) and was "inhabited largely by extended families or groups of related families who collectively managed ... water resources." (*JIE:* 577)

6) Nakai (p. 72) relates the language and behavior of greeting in modern Japan to the earlier *mura* life.

7) Exceptional (for a fairly obvious reason) are those in profession (e. g., teachers, lawyers, and doctors) and higher-ups in establishments and organizations who will usually identify the exact job they do.

8) There are exceptions to this rule, though highly limited. Most commonly, the 'exclusive' *watashi-tachi* ('of all people including myself, though not you') is observed when an individual speaks *on behalf of* the endogroup, as for example when a pupil representing her school addresses a group of pupils from or at another school—e. g., *Watashi-tachi no gakkoo de wa, ima koonai o kirei ni suru undoo o shite imasu* ('Our school has been promoting a campaign to keep the campus clean.').

9) Yamagishi (1995: 8ff) relates the characteristic use of *uchi* to the notion of "closedness" and Nakane (1970: 7) to the notion of "household structure" on the ground that the word is "a colloquial form of *ie*" ('home/house').

10) *Uchi* (or the plural *uchi-ra*) in reference to the first person is common in all of the Kansai District (Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, etc.) and in certain areas of Chugoku, Shikoku, and Kyushu. (*NKDJ,*). In some of these areas, though, these words do appear in male speech—e. g., *Uchira kono kaiwai ni sunderu otoko ni wa...* ('For us men who live in this district...').

   O-uchi and the plural *o-uchi-ra,* which are the second-person counterparts ('you'), are part of the common mirror-image pairing of the first and second person pronouns, such as *jibun* vs. *go-jibun;temae* vs. *o-temae* or *o-mae.*

11) A Japanese speaker who is visited unexpectedly by a door-to-door salesman (an outgroup member) will be far less reluctant to chase him away by displaying *honne* than when visited, say, by a friend, with whom the inconvenienced host will more often than not bite his tongue and act on *tatemae.*

12) The terms "situational" and "contextual" are used in Masuoka and Takubo (1994: 164-169), for example, and "deictic" and "anaphoric" in Kuno. In Kuno's own words, the deictic usage is the "finger-pointing" one in talking about "something *visible.*"

13) See Kinsui & Takubo (pp. 17-26). The same idea was later to be expounded on by Sakuma (1951: esp. 35).

14) This kind of strong sense of *shared humanity* will necessarily discourage the independent values of the individuals and force the self to acquire value through relating to others. For a discussion of psychological ambivalence resulting from the suppression of the self in modern Japan, see Doi (1986: 158-162).

15) *NKDJ* in reference to the demonstrative *ka.*

16) The same is true of the less polite alternative *-chi,* as in "*Kotchi wa biiru ni suru, sotchi wa doo suru?*" ('We will have beer, but what about you?')

17) One can argue that these *a*-words are not exactly demonstrative, since they require no deictic or anaphoric antecedent and behave like independent nominals. In fact, *NKDJ* lists *achira* as a nominal: 'a foreign country, especially Europe and USA'.

18) Aaron Gerow's commentary in his article "Recognizing 'others' in a new Japanese cinema" is worthy of note:

"Recent Japanese cinema's attention to "others" thus does not stem simply from a recognition of new "others" in Japanese society; it is an effort to acknowledge that there are "others" who do not fit dominant Japanese definitions of identity...." (p. 6)

His "others" refers mainly to Japan-born or Japan-residing foreign nationals. Although these observations center around the cinema, they may very well apply to today's Japanese society as a whole.

19) For a discussion of somewhat similar usages of English demonstratives, see Lakoff's "emotional deixis" and Levinson's "nondeictic" demonstratives.

20) Referring in public to one's close kin by using respect words such as *okaasan, oniisan,* and *obasan* is also common among younger speakers today. This may also be part of the recent sociolinguistic tendency to talk honestly to one's feeling, although, in this case, respect (rather than evasion) is shown toward endo members at the cost of public esteem.

21) In English, too, reference to socially taboo subjects is evasive and pronominal—e. g., "How about *it* today?"

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「日本語指示詞〈コ・ソ・ア〉の言語文化論的考察」

森　　捨信

　　日本語の指示詞は，多くの言語で二分割（this-that; here-there など）であるのに対し三分割（「コ・ソ・ア」）である。この事が何を意味するのかを「言語文化論」(ethnolinguistics, ethnosemantics) の観点から考察する。

　　先ず，日本の社会的，文化的特徴とされる個人の集団同化（集団思考）は，自己が所属するウチ集団と所属しないソト集団を隔絶するという社会心理をもたらし，さらには，自己以外の人間をウチの人（通常「ひと」で表わされる）とソトの人（「他人」）とに区分し意識するところとなる。

　　この社会構造，社会心理の二分性は日本人の言語や行動様式とも深く関係していて，「コ・ソ・ア」もその一つであると考えられる。つまり，「コ・ソ・ア」に見る言語上の三分割は，日本人の集団思考の基盤をなす「ジブン：ウチ人：ソト人」という厳密な三分性と関係することを検証する。

　　なお，言語が社会および文化とどのような関係にあるかの問題については，関係を一切認めないチョムスキーの言語普遍説は別として，差別語廃絶などの根拠とも言える言語が社会（心理）に影響を及ぼすとする言語決定説，および社会言語学で扱うような社会連動の言語現象により裏付けられる社会決定説とに二分されるが，本稿では「コ・ソ・ア」の考察を通して，言語と社会が相互に影響，連動しあう相互説を示唆する。

　　　キーワード：言語文化論，指示詞「コ・ソ・ア」，集団思考，言語と社会