A Paradox in Japanese Pragmatics

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1 Introduction

There is a paradox in Japanese pragmatics. The Japanese place a great social value on the idea of "non-self"[1] and this value seems to be reflected as avoidance of an agent in expressions for physical states (such as onaka ga suita "stomach is empty" meaning "I am hungry") and many other idiomatic expressions. This preference for not mentioning the agent seems to be a linguistic expression of the social value of "non-self" and the social reason for politeness, especially when the agent is the speaker and he did something for others. On the other hand, "self" strongly manifests itself when the speaker describes situations where the speaker is directly involved as a beneficiary. The manifestation of "self" is observed in structural or lexical choices that the speaker must sensitively make in the descriptions of such situations.

The dichotomy between the linguistic repression of "self" and linguistic manifestation of "self" may be derived from the concept of the distinction between uchi "insiders/in-group" and soto "outsiders/out-group" as the Japanese structure of the society in general. I will not discuss this point in this paper.

In this paper, I will discuss the pragmatic preferences for omission of agent and obligatory manifestation of agent, especially when the agent/recipient is the speaker. I will also discuss structural and lexical cases of "self-exposure" and pragmatic strategies of "self-repression" which can be accomplished linguistically. First, I will briefly discuss a pragmatic example of "self-repression" as a linguistic norm in language use. Then, I will discuss three examples of "self-exposure", which unavoidably occurs in descriptions of situations where the speaker is a beneficiary. I will also present my analysis of how Japanese achieve neutral expressions linguistically, avoiding "self-exposure" for pragmatic purposes.

2.0 "Self" repressions in Japanese

Jacobsen (1981) notes that "native speakers of English who study Japanese are sometimes bewildered by the high frequency with which intransitive expressions are used in Japanese" (p.170). The following examples given by Jacobsen indicate the difference between English and Japanese in common expressions: (Jacobsen's (1) and (2) on p. 170, respectively.)

(1) English: Have you found an apartment yet?
    Japanese: Apaato   wa moo mitukarimasita   ka?
              apartment Top. yet be-found-pol.-past Q
              (Lit., Has an apartment been found yet?)

(2) English: Did someone by any chance turn in a lady's watch?
    Japanese: Hyotto site   huzinyoo no tokei   ga
              by-any-chance   lady's   watch Nom.

              todoite-iru desyoo ka?
              reach-Perf.   Q

    (Lit., Did a lady's watch by any chance reach [you]?)

Jacobsen observes that "reference to agent is much more commonly omitted in Japanese than in English" (p.171).

Omission of reference to agents is extremely common in Japanese whether a verb is intransitive or transitive. It is a strong characteristic of the language. Ikegami (1981, 1982) also points out this pragmatic preference in Japanese. He claims that there are two types of languages in the world: "Do languages", such as English and most other European languages, and "Become languages", such as Japanese and Tamil. It is not clear whether Ikegami distinguishes the languages into two categories in terms of syntactic point of view or in terms of pragmatic preferences simply as "tendencies". However, I will use the terms to indicate the distinction between languages which indicate the "agent" as a normative usage and those which omit the "agent" as a normative usage.

The concept of omission/presence of reference to agent and of "Become-languages"/"Do-languages" is similar to the notion of ergativity. However, this paper restricts itself to an argument dealing with certain linguistic characteristics as reflections of a pragmatic preference/tendency observed in normal expressions in Japanese.

2.1 "I have a headache" vs. "Head is painful"

A pragmatic example of "self-repression" as a conventionally "normative" usage of the Japanese language is observed in expressions in which the speaker gives information about his personal matters. In Ikegami's examples, when the speaker himself or someone else has a headache, in Do-languages, he would normally say who has it as in (3).

(3)a. I have a headache.
   b. Tom has a headache.

On the other hand, in Become-languages, like Japanese, when the person who has a headache is the speaker, it is not mentioned, as in (4a), unless the situation requires it. The situation can be that someone asks who has it because he overheard an utterance such as (4a). When the one who has a headache is some third person, the speaker mentions who has it in the first place and also clarifies the distinction between himself and others, as in (4b), by stating how he knows the person has a headache, adding "I heard that...." or "he is saying that...".

(4)a. (Watashi wa) atama ga   itai.
         I   Top. head Nom. painful
      "(As for me) head is painful."

b. Tom wa atama ga itai soo-da / to it-te-ir-u.
             hear-Copl./Qt.   say-Ger.-exist-pres.
   "(I) heard that Tom has a headache/ Tom is saying that he
   has a headache."

In Do-languages, it is quite natural to state "who does what', while in Become-languages, it is more natural for the speaker not to mention the person affected by a situation denoted by a VP and to describe an incident in a detached manner as if it has happened by itself.

2.2 "I cleaned your room" vs. "The room became clean"

The preference for "self-repression" in expression is especially strong in Japanese when an incident is related to the speaker's action for someone else's benefit, such as when the speaker did something beneficial for others, because of the social value of "modesty" and "ON"[2]. For example, the speaker can describe situations such as that he cleaned his friend's room in two ways: one explicitly indicates that he cleaned his friend's room, as in (5) and the other describes only the fact that the room is clean, and no agent is mentioned, as in (6).

(5)a. Kimi no   heya o   kirei-ni   shi-te age-ta   yo.
      you poss. room Acc. clean-Adv. do-Ger. give-past emph.
      "(I) cleaned your room (I hope you're happy about it)."

   b. Kimi no   heya sooji-shi-te   oita   yo.
      you poss. room clean-do-Ger. in advance emph.
      "(I) cleaned your room (for your use)."

   c. Boku ga   kimi no   heya o sooji shi-ta   n   da.
      I   Nom. you poss. room Acc. clean-do-past nomlzr copla
      "I cleaned your room."

(6) Heya ga   kirei-ni   nat-ta   yo.
    room Nom. clean-Adv. become-past emph.
    "(Your) room became clean."

In this case, (6) is preferred to (5)(whether he had been asked to do that by his friend or he did it voluntarily). Even though the speaker does not explicitly mention the agent in (5a & b), it is clear that the agent is the speaker himself by convention: that is, when the subject is not mentioned, it is the speaker NP, unless the previous discourse indicates otherwise. Therefore, (5c) sounds even more imposing and as if the speaker is asking for recognition and gratitude from his friend. Thus, in Japanese pragmatics an expression such as (6) is preferred and normal to describe such situations, while in English pragamtics an expression such as (5) is perfectly acceptable and normal.

2.3 "I have decided...." vs. "It's been decided..."

The last example of Japanese pragmatic preference as a Become-language can be observed in (7):

(7)a. Watakushi iyoiyo kekkon-suru koto   ni   nar-imash-ita.
       I   finally marriage-do nomlzr Dat. become-plt-pst.
      "It's finally been decided that I marry."

   b. Watakushi iyoiyo kekkon-suru koto ni sh-imash-ita.
                                           do-plt-pst.
      "I've finally decided to marry."

When one has decided to marry, he/she refers to this decision as if it has been made by someone else when he reports it to his superior or in a formal situation, for pragmatic resons, that is, a Japanese prefers to describe his own affairs as if they happen by themselves. In situations like (7),

expressions such as (7a) are preferred even when the person who marries is not the speaker himself.

I have briefly discussed Japanese preferences in pragmatic usage of the language: the Japanese prefer to choose expressions which do not explicitly denote the agent. This preference becomes even stronger when the agent is the speaker and when he does something beneficial for others, as seen in (5-6). In the next section, I will discuss examples of "self-exposure", an opposing force in Japanese pragmatics.

3.0 "Self" manifestations in Japanese

3.1 Use of honorifics

The most obvious case of "self-exposure" as a counter-example to the Japanese pragmatic preference for "self-repression" is use of honorifics (including both respectful and humble forms). As is well-known, the Japanese use various levels of speech according to their social relationship to the addressee or the referent and social settings such as formality. When a speaker talks with a superior, in terms of social status or age, he is expected to use a respectful form when talking about his superior's affairs, and a humble form when referring to himself. Even in talking with his friends, he is normally expected to use a respectful form when talking about his superior, although he would use non-polite forms of Japanese to his friend. He may also use honorifics when he talks with or about someone whom he greatly respects even if the person is not actually his superior.

The use of the honorifics indicates the speaker's social position and it can also be a manifestation of the speaker's psychological attitude toward the addressee or the person he is talking about. With strangers or in a formal situation, he is expected to use a polite form. Listeners understand what kind of social and psychological relationship the participants in the conversation have by observing the type of the language they use.

In forming honorific expressions, in addition to abundant lexical items, the inchoative verb naru 'become' or the passive suffix -rare are used for respectful forms (an honorific form of a verb), as seen in (8).

(8) "Mr. Satoo wrote the report".
   a. Satoo-san ga   sono repooto o <u>o-kaki ni nat-ta</u>   n   desu.
         -Mr. Nom. that report   Acc. Hon.-write become-pst. comp. cpl.

   b. Satoo-sensee ga sono report o <u>kak-are-ta</u>   n desu.
                                            -Pass-pst.

The use of the respectful forms in (8) indicates that Mr. Satoo is either the
speaker's superior or someone whom he respects.   In other words, it
indicates the speaker's relationship with Mr. Tanaka.

   The humble form refers to an action of the speaker himself or a
person to whom he considers extremely close such as his family member or
close friend, namely, an "insider." The humble form contains either the
active verb <u>suru</u> 'do' or the causative suffix <u>-sase</u>, as seen in (9).

(9) "I wrote the report."
   a. Watasi ga   sono repooto o   <u>o-kaki   s-ita</u>   n   desu.
      I   Nom. that report   Acc. Hon-write do-pst. comp. cpl.

   b. Watasi ga sono repooto o <u>kak-ase-te   itadaki-masita.</u>
                                     write-Caus.-Ger. receive(Hon.)-polite.
      (Lit., I received the action of someone else's making (me) write
         the report.)

Again, the use of the humble form indicates the agent's (the speaker's in
(9)) social position or internal feelings toward what he did. In the case of
(9), the speaker may be working for a company and he was assigned the
task, i.e. writing a report. He politely reports, probably to his boss, what he
did by using the humble form, especially (9b). The use of the humble form
here indicates that the speaker is socially 'inferior to the person who
assigned the task and that he willingly did the assignment.

   The use of honorifics unavoidably manifests the speaker's social and
psychological attitude and relationship with the addressee and/or the

referent. This example indicates that there is a paradoxical expectation in Japanese pragmatics, namely, the fact that "self-exposure" sometimes is appropriate. A type of expression is determined by the speaker's relationship with others and matters he describes.

3.2 Donatory Expressions

The second example of the dichotomy between "self-exposure" and "self-repression" in Japanese pragmatics is observed in descriptions of situations in which the speaker is directly involved as a recipient. For example, it is more normal and natural for the speaker to indicate his gratitude, when he describes a situation in which the speaker receives a benefit from someone else. That is, "self-exposure" is required when the speaker is a beneficiary.

In describing situations in which he is a beneficiary, the speaker may choose basically two different ways. One sounds as if he is talking about someone else's affairs. The other clearly indicates the speaker's emotional attitude toward the matter. Whichever way he chooses, it will indicate his psychological attitude toward the situation or the person to whom he is talking.

For example, in describing a situation in which someone lent some money to the speaker, the speaker normally expresses his gratitude or contentment with a giving verb kure-ru 'give (it to me)' or a receiving verb moraw '(I) receive (it from a non-speaker)' as a supporting verb, as in (10). He may also use another supporting verb k-uru 'come (to me)', as in (11), indicating that the loan was made by the agent's wish but not his: it could imply the agent's forcefulness or the speaker's annoyance.

(10)a. Tom wa (watashi ni) okane   o   kash-ite-kure-ta.
       Top.   I   Dat. money Acc. lend-Ger-give-past.
     "Tom lent me money (and I am grateful for that)".

b. (Watashi wa) Tom ni okane o kash-ite-morat-ta.
    I   Top.   Dat. money Acc. lend-Ger-receive-past.
"I had Tom lend me money (I am happy about it)".

(11) Tom wa (watashi ni) okane o kash-ite-k-ita.
    Top.   I Dat. money Acc. lend-Ger-come-past.
"Tom lent me money (I wonder why/he is rude)."

In the above situation, (10a) is usually the most appropriate expression in Japanese pragmatics: it clearly indicates that the action was initiated by Tom, the subject NP, and reveals the speaker's psychological attitude with the giving verb kure-ru, which is often glossed in English as "give me", since the verb primarily indicates someone's action of giving to the speaker. (10b) is also pragmatically fine. However, the syntactic position of the first person and the supporting verb moraw 'receive' indicate that the speaker had asked Tom to lend the money and is grateful to Tom. (11) is appropriate if Tom voluntarily came to lend money to the speaker despite the fact that the speaker had never asked for it: this could indicate the speaker's annoyance or Tom's forcefulness. All sentences in (10) and (11) for the above situation indicate either the speaker's gratitude, initiation, or annoyance.

3.2.1 Problems of Neutral Expressions for Donatory Situations

As I have mentioned earlier, conventional and idiomatic expressions in Japanese indicate that Japanese is a "Become-language"[3], which prefers agentless constructions, avoiding an explicit indication of the first person referent, as pointed out by Ikegami. On the other hand, expressions for the above situations, i.e., donatory and honorific situations, must linguistically indicate the speaker's deictic position: it is obligatory that the expressions for situations involving the speaker indicate the speaker's position psychologically and socially.

Here, we see a contradiction in Japanese pragmatics: on one hand, omission of reference to the agent is required and impersonal constructions used such as the intransitive verbs exemplified in (4a), (6c) and (7a). On the other hand, for situations in which the speaker is a recipient, the most felicitous means of expression is to indicate the speaker's deictic position. To describe such situations neutrally is a difficult task and there does not seem to be any absolute way to achieve it. This fact again shows the conflict in Japanese pargmatics, in which the obligatory expression switches between "self-repression" and "self-exposure".

In the following, I will discuss how to express donatory situations neutrally.

One might assume that neutral expressions can be automatically achieved by simply dropping any supporting verb, as in (12).

(12) Tom wa (watashi ni) okane o   kash-ita.
     Tom Top.   I   Dat. money Acc. lend-past
     "Tom lent me money."

However, sentences without the giving verb kure-ru 'give (me)' produce negative connotations, because it is interpreted as significant that the speaker has avoided the conventional expression of his politeness or gratitude with kure-ru. In other words, (12) is not a neutral expression.

The connotations of sentences without kure-ru vary, depending on the semantic properties of the main verb, from just bluntness to implicit accusation, as seen in Diagram #1. For example, verbs such as sell and borrow semantically indicate someone's benefit or interest. That is, verbs like sell usually indicate the benefits of both the seller and the buyer, and verbs like borrow and lend indicate the benefit of the borrower. On the other hand, verbs such as introduce and send do not necessarily indicate anyone's benefit. They semantically indicate only actions themselves. I call the former type of verb "benefactive", and the latter "non-benefactive", simply as labels; no substantive analysis is implied.

<u>Diagram #1</u>

Non-Benefactive Verbs   Benefactive Verbs

bluntness   rudeness   doubt   complaint   accusation
(less negative) <---------------------------------->(more negative)
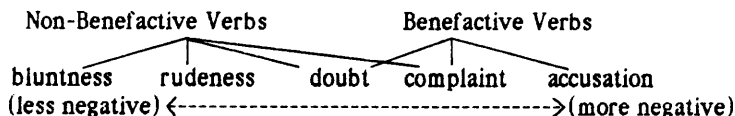
As shown in Diagram #1, when the main verb is non-benefactive, the connotation of a sentence without <u>kure-ru</u> can be just bluntness, seen as the speaker's way of speaking, doubt or at worst complaint about the situation. On the other hand, when the main verb is benefactive, the connotation can be as strong as accusation of the agent for his action involving the speaker.

Whatever the type of the main verb, the connotation of a sentence without <u>kure-ru</u> is not pleasant, though the exact nature and degree of unpleasantness cannot be predicted out of context. As for (12), it connotes that the speaker is definitely dissatisfied with the situation. The hearer must ask further questions about what the speaker really means by avoidance of normal usage of a supporting verb; for example, "What do you mean by that?!", "What's wrong with that?", "You didn't want him to?", "Is there anything wrong with that?", and so forth.

In short, whether the main verb is benefactive or non-benefactive, the sentence without <u>kure-ru</u> 'give' produces negative connotations when the agent NP is the grammatical subject and the speaker is involved as a recipient of the agent's action.

Then, the question arises as to how Japanese expresses such receiving situations objectively. Is there any linguistic way to achieve this? There seems to be one way to express the situation objectively, which is possible only when the main verb is a directional verb that implies a Path, i.e., a verb which implicates either physical or metaphorical movement of Trajector[4] from Source to Goal. In the above example, the movement of money as Trajector of <u>lend</u> in (12) and <u>borrow</u> in (13) below is from the lender as Source to the borrower as Goal. The difference between <u>lend</u> and

borrow is that while the semantic directionality indicated by lend is outward with respect to the agent, the lender, the directionality indicated by borrow is inward with respect to the agent, the borrower. Diagram #2 illustrates these movements:

Diagram #2

Agent

Outward: lend   the subject NP (Source) --> the indirect object (Goal)
Inward: borrow the subject NP (Goal)<-- the ablative phrase (Source)

As described for sentence (12), when the agent NP is the subject and the first person is in oblique position, a sentence without a supporting verb (which indicates that the agent's action is directed with respect to the speaker, such as kureru 'give (me)') produces negative connotations. For this structure, a supporting verb is obligatorily required and it indicates the speaker's psychological attitude toward the situation. That is, it is not neutral. A strategy for neutral expression of situations like (10)-(12) is to place the first person in the subject position, which automatically requires a semantically inverse verb. If the speaker is the borrower, as in (10)-(12), the verb borrow is required, as in (13). In this way, a supporting verb is not required and the sentence does not produce negative connotations at all. It indicates that the action is initiated by the speaker himself.

    (13) (Watashi wa) Tom kara   okane   o   kari-ta.
              I   Top.   Tom from   money Acc. borrow-past.
        "I borrowed money from Tom."

Although (13) does not indicate that Tom initiated the action of lending money, it also does not indicate the speaker's psychological attitude toward the situation explicitly, that is, whether he is grateful or annoyed about Tom's action.

A difficulty arises when the semantic nature of a verb is not benefactive, as with introduce and send, and when the verb does not have a semantically inverse verb (in terms of its directionality) as do lend vs. borrow and sell vs. buy. The verb okur-u 'send/take (someone) home' is such a verb. Since okur-u 'take home' does not have a semantically inverse verb, it has to be passivised in order to reverse the directionality. And the Japanese passive construction often carries the connotation of adversity. The sentences in (14) are both pragmatically questionable.

(14)a.??Tom wa watashi o uchi made okut-ta.
        Tom Top. I Acc. home up to send-past
     "Tom took me home."

   b.??Watashi wa Tom ni uchi-made okur-are-ta.
        I Top. Tom Agnt. house-up to send-Pass.-past
     "I was taken to home by Tom."

In cases such as the above, there does not seem to be any strategy to express the situation neutrally. As I have discussed earlier, the pragmatically most preferred and normal way is to attach a supporting verb, either moraw-u 'receive' or kure-ru 'give', indicating the speaker's gratefulness to Tom.

However, when both the lender and the borrower are third persons, this type of difficulty in describing the situation does not arise. The speaker can simply state the fact without any supporting verb, which indicates the speaker's psychological attitude. If the lender initiated the action, he would say (15a) and if the borrower did, (15b).

(15)a. Tom wa Mary ni okane o kash-ita.
        Tom Top. Mary Dat. money Acc. lend-past.
     "Tom lent money to Mary."

b. Mary wa   Tom kara okane o   kari-ta.
   Mary Top. Tom from money Acc. borrow-past
   "Mary borrowed money from Tom."

This seems to indicate that difficulty in producing neutral expressions arises only when describing situations in which the speaker himself is directly involved and which involve the benefit of the speaker and/or a third person. This may indicate that linguistic "self-exposure" is required in Japanese pragmatics when the speaker is a recipient of someone's action, contradicting the usual pragmatic preference of Japanese as a Become-language.

3.3 The Conceptual Directionality of Passives

The last example of "self-exposure" in this paper is use of the passive construction, although I am not sure if this can be considered a pragmatic case. My argument here is to point out that the first person manifests itself in Japanese passives, and that passives are chosen for pragmatic purposes. Araki (1980, 1983) suggests that the concept of "passive" seems to be derived from the Japanese philosophical concept of "out-of-controlness". The implication that the Japanese passive construction carries is "adversity". For example, in Japanese, there are two ways to express someone's father's death, as in (16): (16a) is a description of the fact and (16b) indicates his emotional suffering from the fact by using the passive construction in Japanese.

(16)a. Chichi   ga   sin-da.   "my father died"
       my father Nom. die-pst.

    b. Chichi ni sin-are-ta.   "my father died on me"
       my father Agnt. die-Pass.-pst.

In my analysis, the conceptual directionality that the   passive construction implies seems to be toward the speaker, that is, it is not what the speaker can control. Thus, it may be said that use of the passive

construction indicates the speaker's judgment of an event as uncontrollable for him. In other words, because of his helplessness toward an uncontrollable matter, he perceives it as adversity. Use of the passive indicates that the speaker perceives the fact as being uncontrollable and thus, as being adversative, because the directionality of passives is directed to the recipient, namely, the subject NP. Example (17) may explicate the point that I am making: the passives indicate the speaker's psychological attitude toward an event which he describes. When someone has been caught in the rain, he could express the event in a somehow neutral way as in (17a) or with a passive construction, which clearly indicates his feeling of suffering, as in (17b).

(17)a. Ame ga   fut-te, nure-ta.
       rain Nom. fall-Ger. get wet-past
       "Because it rained, I got wet."

   b. Ame ni   fur-are-ta.
      rain Agnt. fall-Pass.-past
      "It rained on me."

The adversity is indicated by the use of the passive construction even in describing someone else's affairs. For example, the speaker knows that someone saw Tom's room. Tom may not have minded it. However, use of the passive construction as in (18) indicates that at least the speaker is annoyed by Tom's room being seen by Jim.

(18) Tom wa Jim ni   heya o   mi-rare-ta.
     Tom Top. Jim Agnt. room Acc. see-Pass.-past
     "As for Tom, his room was seen by Jim."

(18) does not indicate that Tom did not like Jim to have seen his room. Rather, it indicates that the speaker is bothered by the fact.

The Japanese passive construction does not always indicate such adversity or the speaker's negative judgment toward the situation. This also depends on the semantic nature of the verbs. For example, the passive form of verbs such as home-ru 'praise' and yorokob-u 'please' does not indicate any sense of adversity at all. It can indicate the speaker's contentment about the situations that he describes. Some examples are as follows:

(19)a. Toshio wa   sensei ni   homer-are-ta.
       Toshio Top. teacher Agt. praise-Pass.-past
       "Toshio was praised by the teacher."

   b. Haha   ni seetaa o age-te, totemo yorokob-are-ta.
      mother Agt. swearer Acc. give-Ger. lot   please-Pass.-past
      "(I) gave a sweater to my mother, and she was very happy
      (Lit. ......, and I was pleased by my mother)."

If Toshio in (19a) is the speaker's child, it certainly indicates the speaker's happiness. (19a) can also be a neutral description of a fact. However, it does not indicate any adversity, because of the semantic nature of the verb "praise", which has positive connotations. (19b) also never indicates adversity, for the same reason as in (19a). This fact indicates that the semantic nature of passives is not "adversative" but rather that "the conceptual direction of an action is uncontrollably directed toward the recipient or the speaker".

4 Concluding Remarks

I have briefly demonstrated the Japanese pragmatic preference for "self-repression" and the obligatory cases of "self-exposure" for pragmatic purposes: Japanese prefer expressing an incident in a detached manner, not mentioning the agent especially when the speaker talks about himself, while it is obligatory in Japanese to indicate the speaker's deictic position when he talks about situations in which he is a recipient or beneficiary.

I have discussed three examples of obligatory linguistic manifestations of the first person. One is the most commonly known example: the use of honorifics is required in various social contexts, indicating the speaker's social and psychological attitude toward the addressee or the referent. Improper usage of honorifics may lead to unpleasant consequences in the speaker's relationship with others.

The second example, Japanese directional verbs such as kas-u 'lend' and kari-ru 'borrow', has shown that the first person clearly emerges in the structure and lexical choice of descriptions of situations where the speaker is a recipient of someone else's action. He normally must indicate his deictic position with a supporting verb, which indicates spatial or psychological deixis (I call this "affective deixis", see Tokunaga, 1986 for its definition and discussion). Without such verbs, sentences produce negative connotations. I have also demonstrated that there is no absolute strategy for producing a neutral description of such situations. These findings indicate that to describe such situations is quite a sensitive matter in Japanese. In such situations, the manifestation of "self" is pragmatically preferred and often obligatory.

The third example has also shown that use of passive constructions often reveals the speaker's perception of helplessness or adversity, because of the conceptual directionality of passives, which is perceived as uncontrollably toward the speaker. The speaker can intentionally indicate his emotionally negative attitude by the passive construction. This is an interesting and ironical aspect of Japanese pragmatics since the Japanese primary social value has been claimed to be "non-self". It is even more ironical when it is compared to the universal purpose of passives: the passive construction is generally considered the "agentless" construction which makes a sentence sound more "impersonal", and thus, it is a universal politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987). This also applies to Japanese: the passive suffix -rare is used to form a respectful form, as seen in (8b), which refers to the action of someone superior to the speaker/his in-group member's superior's action.

In conclusion, my analysis has led me to claim that there is a paradox in Japanese pragmatics. The distinction between "self" and "non-self" observed in my argument can be extended to the social distinction between uchi "insider" and soto "outside". The notion of uchi "insiders" and soto "outsiders" seems to be reflected in language use as rigid pragmatic rules in Japanese, which determine appropriate choices of structures and lexical items in context. In other words, the appropriate linguistic choice seems to be made based on who the speaker considers his insider and outsider. A pragmatically felicitous expression can be made primarily based on the distinction between "self" and "non-self", and when the speaker is aware of treating an "insider" just like himself, i.e. "self", and an "outsider" as "non-self"[5].

NOTES

1. The notion of "non-self" (complete freedom from self-attachment) is derived from Buddhism: it is the spiritual state that human-beings are to achieve. The desire for this spiritual accomplishment and its value are unconsciously recognized by the Japanese, thus the value is built into the culture as a Japanese social value.

2. "ON" is normally understood as "a debt of gratitude". In psychological reality, it is a much deeper and more complicated feeling that the Japanese experience as gratefulness.

3. I use this terminology for convenience to make the discussion simpler.

4. The term Trajector is first used in Space Grammar introduced by Langacker, 1980. It indicates an element which either metaphorically or physically moves. The moving element is indicated by DO in the particular situation under discussion. Space Grammar is now called Cognitive Grammar (See Langacker, 1987 and Lakoff, 1987).

5. See my unpublished paper, "Integrating pragmatics into the language instruction: A rule for choice of appropriate expressions in Japanese", presented at Conference on Innovations in Teaching Chinese and Japanese at Rutgers University in March, 1988, for more discussion.

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