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**Addressing across Cultures**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
FN	first name
FTA	face-threatening act
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific verbal form
HONh	humble form
HONr	respectful form
IMP	imperative
LN	last name
NOM	nominative
POL	polite verbal form
SUBJ	subject
TOP	topic marker
T	informal pronominal variant
V	formal pronominal variant

## ROMANIZATION SYSTEM USED FOR THE TRANSCRIPTION OF JAPANESE

Japanese words in this thesis are transcribed following the Hepburn system. It is the romanization system based on the English phonology, following the English pronunciation.

For consistency, long vowels are indicated by a macron, e.g. long *o* is transcribed as *ō*. Syllabic ‘n’ is written as *n* before consonants, but as *n’* (with an apostrophe) before vowels and ‘y’, in order to avoid confusion between, e.g. *kinen* (memory) and *kin’en* (no smoking).

# 1. Introduction

This thesis deals with forms and functions of address terms concerning different concepts of politeness among cultures. It focuses mainly on address terms in American English, Japanese and Czech. It presupposes that address terms are rather conventionalized patterns reflecting the cultural factors of a given speech community.

American and Japanese speech communities are culturally quite distant, thus correspondence between the linguistic means they use to communicate may be expected to be relatively small. Czech is my mother tongue and it can function as a mediator for comparison of address systems in these languages.

Americans are notable for their friendly first name addressing and equal usage of one pronominal form toward almost anyone in almost every situation. American culture in general is considered to be friendly and informal. Japanese language, in contrast, has a prolific system of honorific terms based on a hierarchic structure of the society. Japanese culture is traditionally considered to be very strict and reserved.

Terms for addressing applied in these languages, though equal in the communicative function and reflecting the same type of social relations, may demand different linguistic behaviour to express politeness of the speech act.

## 1.1. The method and the objectives of this thesis

The objective of this thesis is politeness in address terms, and its linguistic representation as a part of grammatical systems of American English, Japanese and Czech. In order to explore such a phenomenon the investigation on two levels is necessary:

- 1) description of the address terms repertoires in American English, Japanese and Czech, including an analysis of address forms properties given by the morpho-grammatical characteristics of each linguistic system;
- 2) study of politeness concepts and their application on addressing in given languages and cultures.

The theoretical hypotheses will be verified or contrasted by the analysis of address forms extracted from an American theatre play and a Japanese film. The first text of analysis is a three-act play *Our Town* by American playwright Thornton Wilder. *Our Town* was written in 1937 and first performed at the McCarter Theater in Princeton, New Jersey on 22 January 1938.

Wilder uses the actions of the Stage Manager to introduce the town of Grover's Corners to the audience. As Kohler (1939) puts it, it is a homely chronicle about an average New England town's citizens in the early twentieth century depicted through their everyday lives, particularly George Gibbs, a doctor's son, and Emily Webb, a daughter of the town's newspaper editor, and George's future wife. *Our Town's* narrator, the Stage Manager, is obviously aware of his relationship with the audience, leaving him free to address them directly. Due to the diversity of the town inhabitants, connected by various relations, we can assume a relatively rich repertoire of address terms expressing different degree of politeness.

The second text of analysis is *Tokyo Story* (*Tōkyō monogatari*, 1953), film by Yasujiro Ozu<sup>1</sup> and Kogo Noda. It is regarded as one of the finest Japanese films ever made. As Desser (1997: 22) mentions, Ozu is praised for his traditional style and this is the reason why I chose his work for my study.

It tells a story of an aging couple visiting their children in Tokyo. We can observe address behaviour among the family members, including grandparents, their son with his wife and two children, their daughter and her husband, and their daughter-in-law.

*Our Town* and *Tokyo Story* are works of the same genre, domestic drama, thus their analysis will supposedly lead to comparable results. It can be argued, that these dramas have been made too long time ago and that language and culture conventions have changed since then. However, my study is not intended to be a guide giving instructions which term of address one should use to be polite in nowadays communication. These two texts are used as a sample for the comparison of culture and tradition bound similarities and differences in forms of address.

I work with the texts in their original language and their translations, English original of *Our Town* and its Japanese and Czech translation, and Japanese text of *Tokyo Story* translated into English and Czech respectively. These two texts provide a relatively small part of the address repertoires, but they suit to my aim to compare the address terms usage in communicative context.

The field of this study falls into linguistics and cross-cultural pragmatics, as it deals with terms of address as grammatical and lexical systems and move also beyond linguistic realisation into pragmatics to capture politeness concepts in culturally distinctive languages. Considering various approaches to politeness and terms of address, pragmatics methods govern the direction of current research and are most recently suggested by e.g. Mayumi Usami (2002), Miyuki Takenoya (2003), Toshihiko Suzuki (2007) and Ivona Barešová (2008).

Usami (2002) critically observes theoretical background of politeness theories and studies of Japanese honorifics. The studies dealing with politeness as a linguistic etiquette, understood as culture-bound norm defining what is appropriate in given situation, were primarily associated with contrasting the languages with honorific system, such as Japanese, and the so called non-honorific languages. Theories concerned with grammatical systems are criticized for focusing on describing grammatical features of honorifics, whereas the deviation from normative language use, regarded as incorrect by the theorists, may actually reflect the actual language manipulation.

Terms of address have been often analysed by use of sociolinguistics. The sociolinguistic approach, in contrast to the grammatical approach, has been claimed to capture actual situations of honorific use. However, most of the sociolinguistic studies rely on the data obtained from questionnaires with

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<sup>1</sup> The ordering of Japanese names is adapted to English language, given first name followed by surname.

simplified hypothetical situations in which informants are asked, how they would say given phrases to a variety of addressees. The limitation of this kind of studies is therefore in that they may reflect what people think about the correct use of address terms rather than their actual use.

Since the grammatical structure of English and Japanese differ from each other, we cannot do just with the bare comparison of honorifics as grammatical features. We have to go further and extend the scope of the study to the field of pragmatics and approach functional means of politeness. The data for the present study are limited by the scripts of a theatrical play and a film. However, in contrast to the questionnaires, a drama should provide coherent speech acts copying actual conversation. Therefore, we can suppose it to be a suitable material for study of form and function of address terms as a verbal representation of politeness.

## 1.2. Brief characteristics of the languages studied

In this study, attention will be paid to a language manifestation of politeness, considering the language devices to signal various degrees of politeness. The result of the thesis should be a comparison of linguistic devices based on similarities and differences between three typologically different languages, English, Japanese and Czech respectively.

The language classification follows the conception of **grammatical typology**, which attempts to explain resemblances and differences between the grammars of various languages while seeking connections among the phenomena of an individual language as Neustupný (1978:113) defines. The Prague typology works with five types of languages: inflection, agglutination, isolation, polysyntheticism, and introflexion. In every language mixture of these types can be found, but some of them can be considered as prevalent and decisive for the typological characteristics. English tends to show the features of **isolating** type, in Japanese **agglutinative** features prevail and Czech has typically **inflectional** character.

Languages in which a word tends to consist of only one morpheme are called isolating (or analytical). Highly isolating languages have no inflection, and the most extreme ones make limited use of processes of word formation. Languages in which a word tends to consist of more than one morpheme are called synthetic. English is a mildly synthetic language, while older Indo-European languages, like Czech, are highly synthetic. They have plenty of inflection, derivation and compounding. Japanese is analytic in having no noun inflection, but highly synthetic in having a complex system of verb inflection. An agglutinative language, in an ideal case is a synthetic or a polysynthetic language where there is a one-to-one correspondence between meaning and form. In an ideal case agglutinative languages exhibit all of the following three properties (while inflectional languages exhibit the opposite properties):

1. Each morpheme expresses only one meaning element. This is the opposite of synthesis, where each morpheme expresses more than one meaning element.



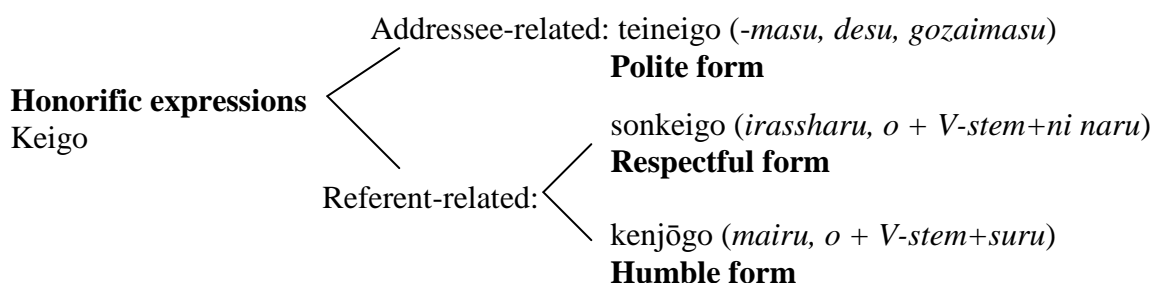
2. There is a clear-cut boundary between each morpheme. The opposite is known as fusion, where the verb root is combined with the suffix, the two morphemes are fused together.

3. Grammatical processes are expressed through prefixes or suffixes and do not affect the form of the individual morphemes. This is the opposite of introflexion, as in the English plural *men* of *man*.

### 1.2.1. Japanese Honorifics (Introduction)

It was already mentioned above that theorists concerned with politeness distinguish between **honorific languages** and **non-honorific** languages. Since English and Czech, as other European or Western languages, do not use honorifics, a brief introduction of the Japanese honorific system would be necessary.<sup>2</sup>

Florian Coulmas in *Linguistic Etiquette in Japanese Society* (1992) cited by Suzuki (2007) classifies Japanese honorifics as follows (1):



(1): The basic model of the Japanese honorific system

The Japanese honorifics (*keigo*) represent the grammatical and lexical system used to express respect. Japanese respect language comprises not only of lexical devices, such as respectful nouns and pronouns, but is mainly based on special verbal forms, introduced in (1). By means of morphological and syntactical devices polite, respectful and humble forms of verbs are created.

‘**Addressee-related**’ expressions are used irrespective of the subject matter referred to. They are **polite** and indicate **formal** situation, but do not necessarily express respect to the person addressed.

‘**Referent-related**’ expressions refer to the subject matter. They show deference and respect to the hearer or to the person talked about. **Respectful** forms express respect to the subject. **Humble** forms indicate deference by showing the speaker’s humility, and thus express respect to person addressed.

The examples below illustrate the difference between Addressee-related and Referent-related honorific verb forms. “Teacher” is not the hearer of the sentences in 1, 2 and 3 and still the verbal forms in 2 and 3 express respect to him. Whereas examples 1 and 3 express respect to the hearer.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted, that even in English and Czech elements analogous to honorifics can be found (see e.g. Neustupný 1978: 192). For example, the auxiliary routines such as “would you...” or “may I...” fulfil the same function as honorifics.

1. *Sensei ga kimasu.*  
teacher NOM come-POL  
The teacher comes.
2. *Sensei ga irassharu.*  
teacher NOM come-HONr  
The teacher comes.
3. *Sensei ga irasshaimasu.*  
teacher NOM come-HONr-POL  
The teacher comes.

In example 1, the speaker uses polite *-masu* form and speaks formally but does not express respect to the teacher, as he does not use respectful verbal form. In example 2, the speaker shows respect towards the teacher by the use of a respectful verbal form, but speaks informally, because of an informal verbal ending. In example 3, the speaker again shows respect toward the teacher by the use of a respectful verbal form. In addition he speaks formally, expressing respect to the hearer, because of the polite *-masu* form.

Example 4 demonstrates the usage of a humble verbal form which shows respect to a hearer without being a sentence subject, by lowering the status of the subject.

4. *Watashi ga mairimasu.*  
I NOM come-HONh-POL  
I come.

The honorific and humble variants of some Japanese verbs, as the examples signal, are lexically completely different forms. The verb *kimasu* in example 1 is the polite form of the verb *kuru* (come - plain form). Its respectful equivalent is *irassharu* (example 2), while its humble form is *mairu*. By means of the suffix *-masu* we make the polite forms of the respectful and humble forms, as in examples 3 and 4 (*irassharu* - *irasshaimasu*, *mairu* - *mairimasu*)

However, the majority of verbs create honorific forms by means of inflectional morphemes as indicated in (1). For example, the verb *kaku* (write) makes use of periphrastic constructions: the respectful form being *o-kaki ni naru*, and the humble form *o-kaki suru*. Compare the examples A, B, C and D below describing the same situation as in examples 1, 2, 3 and 4.

- A. *Sensei ga kakimasu.*  
teacher NOM write-POL  
The teacher writes.
- B. *Sensei ga o-kaki ni naru.*  
teacher NOM write-HONr  
The teacher writes.

C. *Sensei ga o-kaki ni narimasu.*  
 teacher NOM write-HONr-POL  
 The teacher writes.

D. *Watashi ga o-kaki shimasu.*  
 I NOM write-HONh-POL  
 I write.

## 2. Politeness theories

Politeness may be defined simply as a ‘proper behaviour’ and in this common-sense meaning it is obviously not confined only to language, but includes also non-verbal behaviour. Politeness has been thus researched within the fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and anthropology but also sociology and social psychology. In the age of increasing globalisation it is essential for maintaining smooth communication and harmonious human relations among different cultures.

### 2.1. Various Concepts in Politeness Theory

The concept of politeness has become a major issue in linguistics. It started by publications by Brown and Levinson (*Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena* 1978, revised as *Politeness: some universals in language usage* 1987) followed by other crucial theories cited until today.

The most influential politeness theories were summarised by Gino Eelen in 2001. He critically reviewed the existing politeness theories and chose nine representative theories by Robin Tolmach Lakoff, Penelope Brown and S.C. Levinson, Geoffrey N. Leech, Sachiko Ide, Schoshana Blum-Kulka, Yueguo Gu, Bruce Fraser and William Nolen, Horst Arnd and R.W. Janney and Richard Watts. Some of the theories are however rather isolated and this chapter introduces only works related to the present thesis.

#### 2.1.1. Robin T. Lakoff

**Robin T. Lakoff** has been concerned with the relation between linguistic form and social and psychological context; and was one of the first linguists to examine politeness from a pragmatic perspective. She treats communication as a social interaction rather than merely information interchange. In *The logic of politeness; or, minding your P's and Q's* (1973), she developed a ‘politeness rule’, in which she devised three maxims that are usually followed in interaction (in Eelen 2001: 3):

(2)

- Rule 1: ‘Don't impose’
- Rule 2: ‘Give options’
- Rule 3: ‘Make [Alter] feel good, be friendly’

Lakoff stated that these are principles of good interaction, but the cultures differ in the emphasis on them. She states that European cultures tend

to stress a strategy of Distance (rule 1) characteristic for impersonality, Asian cultures tend to adhere to a strategy of Deference (rule 2) characterised by hesitancy, and American culture tends toward Camaraderie (rule 3) characterised by informality (in Eelen 2001: 3).

Furthermore, in *Talking power: the politics of language* (1990), Lakoff defined politeness as “a system of interpersonal relations designated to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange” (ibid 2).

### 2.1.2. *Brown & Levinson*

Western studies of politeness primarily draw upon the sociolinguistic theory by **Penelope Brown** and **Stephen C. Levinson** (1978, 1987, in Eelen 2001: 3). Like Lakoff, they see politeness in terms of conflict avoidance at the face-to-face level. Brown and Levinson describe any communication as a purposeful activity and a kind of a trade with one's ‘face’, where either the hearer's or the speaker's face-wants are threatened. Communicants as members of a social community are supposed to have two kinds of face:

**negative** (the want to have one's actions unimpeded, or not to be imposed upon) and

**positive** (the want of appreciation and approval).

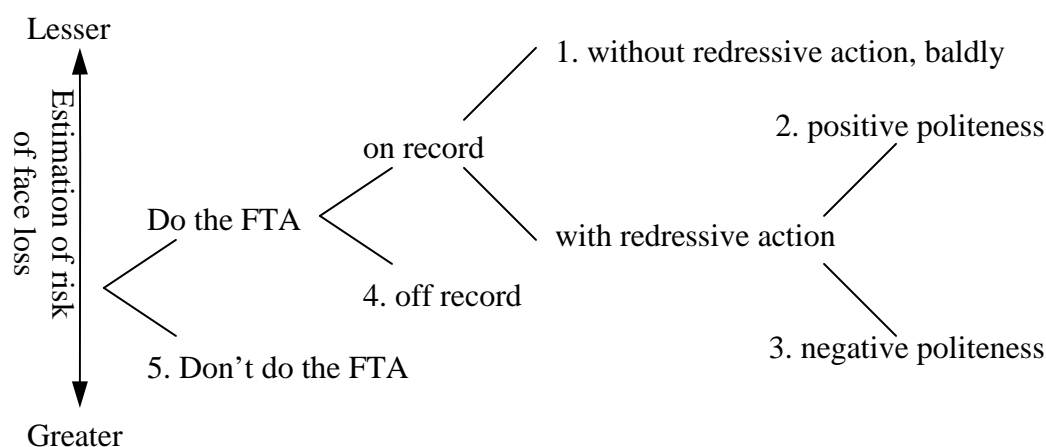
In other words, negative face is the desire to reserve one's individuality and privacy, whereas positive face is the desire to be accepted by society.

In order not to lose the face, interlocutors use strategies of how to diminish the impact of ‘**face threatening acts**’ (FTA). Politeness thus serves to minimize FTA and the amount of politeness applied is determined by the ‘weightiness’ of three variables:

1. the perceived power difference between hearer and speaker,
2. the perceived social distance between hearer and speaker,
3. the culture ranking of the speech act - how threatening or dangerous it is perceived to be within a specific culture.

In a situation where FTA may have to be performed, speakers select a specific strategy resulting in one of five possible communicative choices (numbered 1 to 5 in (3), p. 13) FTA can be performed either ‘on record’ or ‘off record’. **On record** strategy is straight without any other intended interpretation than their literal meaning. It also can apply positive (friendly) or negative (respectful) politeness strategy. **Off record** strategy is indirect, hinting the intended meaning, and therefore softening FTA.

(3) Circumstances determining choice of strategy by Brown and Levinson (in Usami 2002:16). The more an act threatens speaker's or hearer's face, the more speaker will choose a higher-numbered strategy.



### 2.1.3. Ide

**Sachiko Ide** in *Formal forms and discernment: two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness* (1989), analysed by Eelen (2001: 11), focused her research on Japanese concept of politeness and contrasted it with the major politeness theories, which she claims to be based on English and restricted only for Western cultures.

She posits that theories by Brown and Levinson, Leech, Lakoff and others are too much concerned with strategic interaction of the speaker and ‘**Volition**’. This kind of politeness allows the speaker active choice of strategies in order to attain some personal goal.

In contrast, politeness in Japanese is not volitional but rests the use of honorific forms and on ‘**Discernment**’. According to Ide, the employment of honorific forms in Japanese does not depend on the speaker’s free will, but is rooted in the socially obligatory grammatical system. Any statement in Japanese always conveys information about the speaker-hearer relationship. Since the speaker must always choose between honorific and non-honorific forms, there are no socially neutral forms in Japanese. Ide (in Eelen 2001: 12) explains Japanese politeness as follows:

*“The speakers of honorific languages are bound to make choices among linguistic forms of honorifics or plain forms. Since the choices cover such parts of speech as copulas, verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, the discernment aspect of linguistic politeness is a matter of constant concern in the use of language. Since there is no neutral form, the speaker of an honorific language has to be sensitive to levels of formality in verbalizing actions or things, just as a native speaker of English, for example, must be sensitive to the countable and non-countable property of things because of a grammatical distinction of property of the singular and plural in English.”*

Ide (1982) cited by Suzuki (2007) also makes a distinction between formality and politeness. Ide assumes three axis of **formality**: formal, neutral, and informal. Formal speech is characterized by a high-level lexicon including also honorific. Informal speech is colloquial speech characterised by contractions, slang and dialects. Neutral speech is characterised by the absence of formal or informal speech.

The axis of **politeness** has two levels: polite and plain. Polite speech is characterised chiefly by honorifics and high-level lexicon of formal speech can contribute to it. Plain speech is characterised by the absence of honorifics.

However, the distinction between these terms is not very clear and also Ide admits that they are closely correlated. This study concerns politeness in a broader sense including usage of honorifics, which allows references to different definitions and approaches to politeness.

## 2.2. Some principal studies on the theory of address

The basic theories generally cited by linguists dealing with forms of address are those by Albert Gilman, Roger Brown and Marguerite Ford. Their theories will be the basis for my further considerations; hence a summary of their main arguments will be necessary.

**Albert Gilman** and **Roger Brown** in *Who says 'Tu' to whom?* (1958, in Braun 1988: 14) discussed the differentiation of polite and familiar pronouns of address in European languages. The differentiation started with the Latin pronoun *vos* reserved for addressing Roman emperor in the 4th century A.D. The plural address later began to spread and two **dimensions of pronominal usage** developed:

1) the **vertical** status dimension - plural/polite pronoun used toward superiors, and singular/familiar pronoun used toward inferiors.

2) the **horizontal** status dimension - plural/polite pronoun used among distant equals, and singular/familiar pronoun used among intimate equals.

They observed that in recent times differences in status are less frequently expressed in address and the horizontal dimension, hence reciprocity of address, has been dominant. They stressed the fact that the loss of differentiation in pronominal address in English does not prevent differentiation in nominal terms of address.

In *The pronouns of power and solidarity* (1960) **Roger Brown** and **Albert Gilman** concentrated again on pronominal forms of address and introduced the theory of T and V pronouns. The symbol **T** designates **familiar and intimate** second person pronoun of address, while the symbol **V** marks **polite and distant** pronoun of address, which is primarily a plural form but in singular it is used as an honorific.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *The symbols T and V are derived from Latin pronouns tu and vous and this differentiation is valid especially for languages with a contrast of two pronominal variants such as German du/Sie, Czech ty/vy etc.*

The T/V pronouns usage is governed by **power semantic** (i.e. a close equivalent of Gilman/Brown vertical status dimension): superiors receive V, inferiors receive T. The variables which decide about asymmetrical and **non-reciprocal** relations are lower rank, social status, out-group position and age.

Another criterion for the selection of *T* or *V* is based on **solidarity semantic** (i.e. a close equivalent of Gilman/Brown horizontal status dimension). That is whether speakers have something in common (mutual *T* pronoun) or not (mutual *V* pronoun). It leads to **reciprocity** of address with mutual *T* in case of intimacy or mutual *V* in case of distance.

Pronominal addresses thus reflect social structure. Brown/Gilman point to the social background of the power semantic, which is a static and hierarchical society, as opposed to the solidarity semantics produced in the egalitarian society. There can be situations of spontaneous switching to *T* as an expression of anger or intimacy, and spontaneous *V* as an expression of respect or distance.

**Roger Brown and Marguerite Ford** in *Address in American English* (1961, in Braun 1988: 16) examine nominal forms of address in American English. Brown/Ford apply the same social variables as Brown/Gilman and analyse the usage of professional, academic, functional titles, and kinship and family terms. They examine above all the contrast of the use of first names (FN) and titles + last names (TLN). Titles (T) designate the forms as *Mr/Mrs, Dr, Senator, Madam, Sir* etc. The system of address is further extended to usage of multiple names (MN) as nicknames and other informal forms as sub-stages of informality.

They found out that FN is reciprocated, while TLN is used only at the beginning of acquaintances. Thus intimacy and distance determine the selection in symmetrical relationships. Non-reciprocity of FN and TLN is caused by differences in age or status. They classified nominal variants ranging from the most **respectful** to the most **familiar**:

(4)

*T - TLN - LN - FN - MN*

FN/TLN dichotomy in American English is found to be a parallel to the T/V pronouns differentiation in other languages. The intimate form is used downwards, to status inferiors and the distant form upwards, to status superiors. As the relationship between acquaintances grows informal the progress of address toward reciprocal intimate forms can be observed. The non-reciprocal patterns can be the intermediate or final stage of intimacy. The maximum progression ranges from T to MN.<sup>4</sup>

The address theories of Brown/Gilman and Brown/Ford are most cited, but there are also critiques on them. Braun (1988: 21) stresses the possibility of

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<sup>4</sup> I will deal with the usage of the above scale in chapter 4.2.3.

a situation, which Brown/Gilman (1960) mention but underestimate. There are languages or dialects of languages, where instead of just a T/V dichotomy a threefold or even multiple distinction is applied, such as Japanese. On the other hand there are languages with just one pronominal variant, such as English.

The existence of more V forms has important consequence for the question of reciprocity, when the more intimate type of V enhances the possibility of nonreciprocal pronoun usage. It is also difficult to determine, whether the terms should be regarded as equivalent or different, or which of the terms should be assigned a higher degree of respect.

Moreover, the problem comes when a special form of address is used for a special purpose. Braun (1988: 39) mentions a special variant with ambiguous respect degree in English. The pronoun *thou* was originally a second person singular and served as T pronoun restricted to intimate or low status addressees.<sup>5</sup> However, it has gone out of use in everyday situations and nowadays occurs just in religious contexts, such as prayers, as address to God, or in poetry. In view of application as a typical address for God in high style context, *thou* appears to have a high degree of respect. Therefore the status of *thou* is difficult to define in terms of hierarchy and it cannot be placed into a respect scale or in a dyad with *you*.

Finally, Friedrike Braun and Klaus Schubert (1986) in Braun (1988) reconsider their view on addressing and politeness, and give their definition based on terms of **adequacy**. It says that forms of address are considered polite when they are adequate for the situation. Accordingly, a form of address is adequately polite, when it is appropriate to the relationship of speaker and addressee, and which follows the rules of the community. On the other hand, any form of address not corresponding to the relationship or breaking the rules is likely to be considered as impolite.

It should be emphasized, that a violation of the usual address norms does not necessarily implicate impoliteness. There are also situations, when address term is deliberately not used in the habitual way. The address interpretation as appreciating or as offensive then depends on the context, intonation, etc.

Another definition referred by Braun/Schubert classifies forms of address without regard to the context of situation, but focuses on the **address variant's place in the address system** of the respective language. Different variants can be ascribed different degrees of politeness within a system according to their use toward superiors or inferiors, to distant or intimate addressees. This classification however does not imply that the respective variant should be regarded as polite in any situation.

Braun/Schubert thus return to the initial definition that **politeness** may simply mean **adequate behaviour**. For example, address terms which are

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<sup>5</sup> *English once used T and V pronouns address, which marked the relationship between speakers. In Shakespeare's Tempest there are evident the intimate th-forms: thou, thee, thy, thine; and the respectful y-forms: ye, you, your, yours (McArthur: 1996). In early modern English thou functioned as an appropriate term of address to an intimate friend or a person of a lower social status than the speaker; whereas you was the singular of reverence and of polite distance, and also the invariable plural.*



usually considered to be polite, can be offensive, when they are not in agreement with the situation, and are for example used ironically.

### 2.3. Cross-cultural comparison of politeness

Considering the various concepts of politeness, it is difficult to define some universal law for all cultures. Some theorists came with the question ‘Which language is most polite?’ (see Braun 1988: 61) but did not give a simple answer and had to reconsider it due to different conventions, values and norms in different cultures.

Takenoya (2003: 124) has also found different cultural-dependent concepts of politeness. The English pattern of address uses **closeness** as a most important factor; whereas **status** is the most crucial factor for Japanese. Therefore the difference of the patterns is apparent in addressing the status-high individual who is in the close relationship. English tend to use more familiar address, whereas Japanese keeps using formal terms.

Barešová (2008: 29), referring to major theorists (see Reischauer 1989, Goldman 1989, Wierzbicka 1992, 1997), lists common **cultural stereotypes** among which there are also characteristics corresponding to Takenoya’s results. These are **equality** and **friendliness** generally quoted as American values; whereas **hierarchy** and **formal respect** are considered to be conventional Japanese values.

This pattern corresponds also to the concepts of Brown/Gilman and Gilman/Brown. Accordingly, we can assume that the American concept of equality and friendliness relies mainly on the solidarity semantic and the horizontal status dimension, whereas the Japanese concept of hierarchy and formal respect is based mainly on the power semantic and the vertical status dimension.

The positive and negative politeness strategies have been criticised by non-Western theorists for not being applicable on cross-cultural level (e.g. Ide, 1989) mainly because of the difference between languages with and without honorifics.

Usami (2002: 15) takes the view that in languages with elaborate honorific systems the normative use of honorifics can function as a form of negative politeness. Thus deviating from the normative use of honorifics can be intrinsically face-threatening. According to this theory, Japanese speakers have to preserve rules of honorifics in every utterance, and if honorific use is defined merely as negative politeness, then negative politeness in Japanese becomes more like an obligation rather than a strategy. This concept eventually allows comparing politeness among languages with and without honorifics.

Barešová (2008: 33) points out that since for Americans politeness is more closely associated with **friendliness**, they usually employ informal **positive politeness** (defined by Brown and Levinson, 1987). Americans find it polite to convey friendly attitude, which in addressing can be demonstrated by first name terms and equal pronominal form. On the other hand, the Japanese speakers keep **distance** from others employing **negative politeness** and show respect to hearers by using formal honorific terms.

### 3. Transferring politeness in translation

Politeness is one aspect of language use that strongly reflects different cultural perspectives. Polite expressions and strategies in the first language may not be directly translated in the second language. Every speech community has its peculiar social rules and norms, which determine also application and repertoire of forms of address.

Due to the different linguistic rules in different languages, there is lack of one-to-one correspondence among address patterns. However, address terms have become an objective of translation theories not only because of their formation. Translators' concern is also to transfer the address terms while preserving the social and cultural concept.

Dagmar Knittlová in *K teorii i praxi překladu* (2000) discusses historic and more recent styles of translation. She points out that the modern methods of translation focus on pragmatic aspect. The main task of a modern translator is to overcome **intercultural barriers** when transferring various **communicative strategies** in source language (i.e. the language in which the text requiring translation is expressed) and target language (i.e. the language into which a given text is to be translated). Translating process comprises of various methods, operations and means.

There is no unified terminology, but one of the most cited terminologies comes from Canadian translation theorists Vinay and Darbelnet (1958). Knittlová (2000: 14) gives a list of the **translation techniques** ordered from the simplest to the most complex ones.

1. **transcription** (transcript more or less adapted to conventions of target language; including **transliteration**, i.e. the use of target language orthographic conventions for the written representation of source language expressions involving phonetic changes, e.g. Japanese names *Emily* : *Emirī*, *George* : *Jōji*),
2. **calque** (literal translation, a form of cultural transposition whereby a target text expression is modelled on the grammatical structure of the corresponding source text expression, e.g. Eng. *skyscraper*, Cz. *mrakodrap*),
3. **substitution** (replacing of one language function by another, e.g. noun by pronoun),
4. **transposition** (necessary grammatical changes taken because of different linguistic system of source and target languages),
5. **modulation** (change of point of view, e.g. Eng. *angle-joint of the pipe*, Cz. *koleno potrubí*),
6. **equivalence** (usage of stylistic and structural devices, which are different from source language e.g. in degree of expressivity, e.g. Eng. *my sweet girl* : Cz. *děvenka*),
7. **adaptation** (substitution of a situation described in source language by a different but adequate situation, e.g. sayings).

Translation depends on the similarities or differences in the source and target language. Translators have to deal with morpho-grammatical differences in language systems. Problems are caused by discrepancies in grammatical

categories such as number, gender, person, tense and aspect, which can be more developed in one language and limited in another. For example, in contrast to English, Czech translator cannot avoid expressing gender and has to decide whether to use male or female for gender-neutral English term (e.g. *cook* : *kuchař/kuchařka*, *lawyer* : *advokát/advokátka*).

Another problem comes with person and number, because English does not make difference in T/V verbal and pronominal forms as Czech does. Informal or friendly relationship in English requiring T forms is usually indicated by first name address term, but there is no clear rule for it. Translators have to work with wider context, communicative situation and convention.

Furthermore, translators have to cope with pragmatic aspect, such as expressivity and emotionality of the text. Application of expressive variant influences the communicative value of the speech act. Knittlová (ibid 62) mentions addressing as one of the communicative devices which influence expressivity of the speech act. Flattering address terms indicate good relationship between speaker and hearer: e.g. Eng. *Sally sweetheart darling* : Cz. *Sallynko, miláčku, pusinko*. Colloquial expressions in addressing provide various emotional connotations:

1. intimate (*kid* : *broučku*)
2. ironic (*Let's go, chief* : *Tak jdem, šéfe*) - implied from context
3. pejorative (*So long, crumb-bum* : *Nashledanou, lazare!*)

Swear words in direct address are often strengthened by second person pronoun (Eng. *you bastard* : Cz. *ty zvíře*). Target language equivalents depend again on the context and translator's intuition.

This chapter aimed to briefly summarise the methods of translation and to remind that translations deal not only with linguistic equivalence but also with cultural differences. Since this study compares original texts with their translations, the translation techniques should be taken into account for better understanding of linguistic and communicative devices in specific languages.

## 4. Addressing

Friedrike Braun in *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures* (1988: 12) states that the **system of address** comprises the totality of available forms and their interrelations in one language. The set of selectable pronominal and nominal forms for a given context is restricted, and the variants in question often exclude one another. Individual languages differ in their repertory of address and in the number of variants.

As Braun (1988: 7) posits, address is **a speaker's linguistic reference to their collocutor**. I follow this definition and do not include the linguistic means serving for opening of interaction or for establishing first contact.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> These are various verbal means, such as English "Hey!", Japanese "Hora!", Czech "Poslouchej!", as well as non-verbal greetings, which are also excluded from this study.

**Direct address** discussed in the present study must be clearly distinguished from **reference**. This distinction is important especially for kinship terms, where rules of address and rules of reference may differ. For example the English kinship term *grandson* is a common form of reference, but the usual variant for addressing one's *grandson* would be his first name (cf. chapter 4.2.3.2.1)

#### 4.1. Bound Forms and Free Forms of Address

Braun (1988: 11) makes a distinction between **syntactically** bound forms and syntactically free forms of address. **Bound** forms are integrated parts of sentences, such as *you* in “*Do you like it?*”

On the other hand, **free** forms are forms standing ‘outside’ the sentence construction and can occur in initial, central or final position of utterance, such as *Mr. Brown* in “*Do you like it, Mr. Brown?*” In English, and many other languages, pronouns of address tend to appear as bound forms, while nouns of address occur as free forms. However, also the reverse occurrence is possible (ibid):

(5)

Free form	“ <i>You, may I have your bicycle?</i> ”
Bound form	“ <i>Does the lady have another order?</i> ”

Braun claims that the English pronoun of address *you* does not give much social information when used in a bound form, but it may acquire unfavourable connotations as a free form.

Moreover, not only pronouns, but also nominal variants can imply different emotional expressivity as bound forms and free forms. Lubecka (1993: 42) points out that in contrast to free forms, the bound nominal structures are determined by the verbal component of the sentence. In languages with the distinctive endings for each grammatical case, such as Czech, the nominal forms of address can take the endings of the nominative or vocative case. The free forms take the ending of the vocative case, while the bound forms are expressed by the nominative case. Lubecka (ibid) cites findings by Tokarski (1973) who observed a greater expressivity in the forms with the nominative case.

(6)

Vocative case	<i>Mohl byste to dokončit do zítřka, PANE?</i>
Nominative case	<i>Mohl by to PÁN dokončit do zítřka?</i>

The sentences in (6) address the same person, but in vocative case the hearer is marked as a ‘hearer’ (i.e. the 2nd person singular), while in nominative case a hearer is taken for ‘the other’ (i.e. the 3rd person singular).

#### 4.2. Politeness in address terms of English, Japanese and Czech

The studies dealing with addressing (Braun 1988, Lubecka 1993, Takenoya 2003) agree that as far as the morpho-grammatical aspect is

concerned, the forms of addresses in the linguistic repertoires of most world languages belong to three categories of parts of speech: pronouns, nouns or adjectives respectively.

The characteristic properties of each part of speech determine the rules of their formation and their combination into longer syntactic units, which are simple and compound forms of address. There is further a syntactic relationship between the form of verb and the form of address. Standing in the position of subject, the form of address is syntactically dependent on the verb.

#### 4.2.1. *Verb forms of address*

According to the definition by Braun (1988: 8), verb forms of address are verbs in which reference to the collocutor is expressed, e.g. by means of **inflectional suffixes**. The usage of such a verb may be redundant, when they are accompanied by a pronoun of address. However, in languages where the use of subject pronoun is not obligatory, the verb can be the main bearer of collocutor reference. Let us consider the following example and compare the forms of collocutor reference in English, Japanese and Czech.<sup>7</sup>

- (7) a. *Only like YOU said, it always tells me when it's going to rain.* (9)
- b. *Dakedo, SENSEI ga itta mitai ni ne, ame no furu mae wa chanto*  
but, teacher SUBJ said like, rain GEN fall before TOP regularly  
*aizu ga arun desu.* (19)  
signal SUBJ is-POL
- c. *Akorát vždycky poznám, že bude pršet, zrovna jak jste říkal.* (6)

In the example (7), the Czech verb *jste říkal* constitutes a form of address, because the subject pronoun is omitted and the inflectional suffix *-te* (second person plural) is the only element expressing reference to the collocutor.

Czech is a full pro-drop language, which means that in Czech subject can be omitted not only in orders, like in English, as well as in affirmative and interrogative sentence. A Czech verb then functions not only as a marker of verbal grammatical characteristics (tense, aspect) and subject agreement (number, gender), but also as a bearer of socio-psychological dimension.

Given the obligatory agreement of a subject and a verb in Czech, the verb takes distinctive endings, one reserved for the T form and another for the V form of the pronoun (terms by Brown/Gilman). The verbal form in second person singular corresponds to the personal pronoun *ty* (T) and the verbal form in second person plural is a counterpart to the personal pronoun *vy* (V). Pronoun and verb also carry the same information about collocutors relationship. In case of the reciprocal usage they stand for symmetrical relationships between the collocutors. In power relation, V form is used toward

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<sup>7</sup> *The pronominal, nominal and attributive address forms discussed in examples are highlighted by means of capital letters; verb forms in concern are underlined. Language variations are given: a. original version (Our Town - English, Tokyo Story - Japanese), b. translation into Japanese (Our Town) or English (Tokyo Story), c. Czech translation. The numbers in brackets indicate pages for reference in the scripts of Our Town and its translations, or time of the speech act as it was uttered and recorded in the film Tokyo Story.*

the superior and T form toward the inferior. Generally speaking, the semantics of the verbal forms is the same as of the pronouns they combine with (cf. chapter 4.2.2.).

Similarly as Czech, Japanese can omit the subject pronoun, though it is expressed in (7). It is worth noting that the pronominal address form is replaced by the nominal form in Japanese to indicate respect. It can be anticipated that pronoun cannot be applied in power relation toward a superior, for further discussion see chapter 4.2.2.

However, the Japanese verb can also serve as a main address form, as the following utterance signals.

(8)

- a. *But those other things - YOU're right, MA'AM, there ain't much.* (26)
- b. *Shikashi sono hoka no koto to naru to - ossharu tōri de -*  
but that other things become when - say-HONr according to -  
*roku na chishiki wa nai.* (39)  
good knowledge TOP is-not.
- c. *Musím VÁM dát plně za pravdu, MADAM, těch máme poskrovnu.* (16)

In (8b.) there is no nominal address form in the Japanese translation equivalent to the English and Czech titles. The respectful verbal form in Japanese is a sufficient indicator of respect toward superior, which proves the importance of verbal forms in addressing.

Since the verbal forms in Japanese and Czech should correspond to the politeness degree of subject, we will consider their forms and functions also in the following chapters.

#### 4.2.2. Pronominal forms of address

According to the Braun's (1988: 7) definition, pronouns of address are pronouns referring to the collocutor. These are second person pronoun such as English *you*. Other grammatical persons can also act as pronouns of address, if they refer to the partner in communication, e.g. third person singular or plural, such as German *Sie*.

Let us have a look at the pronominal address forms applied in the observed plays.

- (9) a. *No, go away, YOU. Go away.* (17)
- b. *Damedame. OMAE wa acchi.* (28)  
no way. you TOP there.
- c. *Jedeš, TY POTVORO, jedeš.* (10)

The only pronominal form used for direct reference in modern English is *you*. Example (9) a. presents the pronoun *you* serving as a main form of address. Since modern English does not have the T/V system of pronouns introduced by Brown/Gilman, the power and solidarity of the speaker-hearer

relation cannot be analyzed by the pronoun itself. The meaning of the pronoun *you* is context bound, not explicitly marked with any particular characteristics.

In contrast to English, the Japanese pronoun *omae* in (9b.) immediately informs us about the power semantics in the relationship. Miyuki Takenoya in *Terms of Address in Japanese* (2003: 8) lists the pronominal forms which are most commonly used for addressing in decreasing hierarchical order<sup>8</sup>:

a.	<i>anata</i>	standard and polite
b.	<i>kimi</i>	chiefly used by men to refer to men of equal or lower social status
c.	<i>omae</i>	informal and colloquial, somewhat pejorative

(10) Japanese second person pronouns

Pejorative connotation of the Japanese pronoun *omae* in (9) is even more explicitly expressed in the Czech translation, where the pronominal form *ty* (you sg.) is accompanied by a derogatory nominal term *potvoro* (bastard).

The Czech pronominal address repertoire comprises two personal pronouns *ty* and *vy*, which stand in T/V opposition to each other. Following the theory by Brown/Gilman, the pronoun *ty* (you sg.) denotes familiar and intimate relation. However, if it is used non-reciprocally, the relation is then defined by the asymmetrical, superior vs. inferior, dyad.

To sum it up, although it is not obvious in English as in Japanese and Czech, the pronoun of address in example (9) is definitely T pronoun, marking informality of the situation. This address term cannot serve as a polite reference, and though pejorative, it is adequate to the situation, since it is applied to refer to chicken in the observed text. Thus the Czech/Japanese T pronouns *ty/omae* reflect power semantics here, since they are used by superior to inferior.

The following examples further illustrate other variants of pronominal address forms and their usage. Modern English repertoire is limited by the only pronominal form, Czech has two forms, and thus we can have a look how the nuances expressed by various Japanese pronominal terms are expressed in English.

- (11) a. *CHARLES! Everybody's waitin'.* (23)  
b. *ANATA! Minasan ga omachikaneyo.* (36)  
you! everybody SUBJ HON-wait impatiently  
c. *CHARLES! Čeká se už jen na TEBE!* (14)

<sup>8</sup> Takenoya (2003: 8) claims that there are approximately 13 second person pronouns in Japanese. It can be noted that besides the commonly used pronouns there are other terms, such as *kisama* or *temae*. These are very rough terms, showing speaker's hostility toward addressee and they are therefore out of consideration in terms of politeness.

- (12) a. *EMILY, YOU make me tired.* (32)  
 b. *ANATA ni wa heikō da wa, EMIRI.* (46)  
 you TOP annoyed is, Emily.  
 c. *Už neotravuj, EMÍLIE.* (19)
- (13) a. *So, if YOU get stuck, GEORGE, YOU whistle to me.* (29)  
 b. *Moshi komattara, ANTA, kuchibue fuite yo.* (43)  
 if be-at-a-loss, you, whistle give.  
 c. *Takže, když si nebudeš vědět rady, GEORGI, pískni na mě.* (18)
- (14) a. *Why, FRANK, it ain't any later'n usual.* (40)  
 b. *Ara ANATA, itsumo to onnaji yo.* (56)  
 why you, always and same  
 c. *O nic později než jindy, FRANKU.* (25)

The examples (11), (12), (13) and (14) illustrate how English substitutes the lack of distinctive pronominal terms by employment of nominal forms. The Japanese pronominal terms *anata* and *anta* as well as English first name terms correspond to the informal situation in the examples above. The context is given by a close relationship between a couple in (14), parents and their children in (11) and (12), and a friendly relation between friends in (13).

A power factor on the usage of pronouns in Japanese and gender variable were tested in the empirical studies *Second person pronouns in Japanese* (1981) by H. Russell. The results are cited by Takenoya (2003: 21) and summarized in (15).

Address Term		Speaker's Gender	Usage
a.	<i>anata</i>	women	under any circumstances to almost anyone
		men	only with very intimate friends or to create a distance as when speaking with strangers
b.	<i>kimi</i>	women	only with intimates or those of inferior status
		men	when speaking to strangers and in any situation
c.	<i>omae</i>	women	only with intimates or those of inferior status, or when joking or quarrelling
		men	any time and even with strangers

(15) Japanese second person pronouns and their usage

The following examples consider the other Japanese pronouns of address found in the observed plays. The examples (16) and (17) show the usage of *kimi* by men. As suggested in (15b.), it denotes informal relation between good friends as in (16) and even intimate relationship of a newly wed couple as in (17).



- (16) a. *EMILY, YOU're just naturally bright, I guess.* (29)  
 b. *EMIRĪ, KIMI tte kitto umaretsuki atama ga iin da.* (43)  
 Emily, you surely by-birth head NOM good is.  
 c. *Ty jsi od přírody nadaná, víš. Aspoň mně se to tak jeví.* (18)

- (17) a. *KIMI no mimi mo sono kuchi mo minna boku no mon da yo.* (54:12)  
 you GEN ears also that mouth also all I GEN thing is  
 b. *YOU belong to me.*  
 c. *Patříš jen mně.*

Examples (18), (19) and (20) demonstrate another usage of *omae*, different from the use in (9). This time *omae* is applied by a father toward his son in (18) and by a husband to his wife in (19) and (20). As it is suggested in (15c.), *omae* is not a pejorative term, when it is used by men. However, it should be noted that these relationships are not equal and the terms are not reciprocal.

- (18) a. *GEORGE, how old are YOU?* (37)  
 b. *JŌJI, OMAE, ikutsu ni natta?* (51)  
 George, you, how-many into became?  
 c. *Kolik je TI, GEORGI?* (23)
- (19) a. *MYRTLE, I guess YOU don't know about that older superstition.* (62)  
 b. *MĀTORU, OMAE wa furui hō no meishin wa shiranai to mieru na.* (81)  
 Myrtle, you TOP older superstition TOP know-not it-seems.  
 c. *Tak se mi zdá, MYRTLE, že neznáš tu druhou, starší pověru.* (37)
- (20) a. *OMAE da yo, OMAE ga kaeritain ja yo.* (54:45)  
 you is you SUBJ want-to-go-home  
 b. *YOU're the one who's homesick. Right?*  
 c. *Spíš se stýská TOBĚ.*

These examples correspond to the stereotypes of American and Japanese cultures. American equality and friendliness are reflected in addressing of husband and wife, where both address each other by the pronoun *you*. On the other hand, Japanese hierarchy and formal respect affect the nonreciprocal address behaviour. Husband addresses wife by the pronoun *omae* and first name, or kinship title mother, and wife uses also first name and kinship title father, but the pronoun form *anata*, as example (14) illustrated, which is claimed to be standard and more polite than *omae* in (10).

However, as example (18) prove, the hierarchy between parents and children is preserved even in American address, since both American and Japanese parents use pronominal forms and first names toward children, but children can use only kinship titles mother/father in reply.<sup>9</sup> (Kinship titles will be further discussed in chapter 4.2.3.2.1.)

Pronominal address terms can be employed also for a group of addressees. Let us compare the pronominal forms for plural in the languages observed.

- (21) a. *I declare. - How do YOU BOYS feel about that?* (8)  
 b. *Hē, sō kai - sorede KIMITACHI dō omotteru no?* (19)  
 why, so is-it - so you what are-thinking?  
 c. *Tomu říkáám novína. - A co VY na to MLÁDENCI?* (5)

In English, the opposition between the singular and the plural pronominal form is not explicit and *you* is commonly used in most everyday situations to designate both one and many persons. Japanese creates the plural form by means of suffix *-tachi*, simply attached to the singular forms in (10): *anatatachi*, *kimitachi* and *omaetachi*.

In Czech the pronoun *vy* (you pl.) denotes a group of individuals, standing in opposition to *ty* (you sg.) denoting one individual. Singular and plural reference is their primary meaning and if they preserve their first differentiating feature, *ty* indicating a singular referent and *vy* a plural one, they mark equality of status and social roles as Lubecka (1993: 33) notes. The setting of encounter is thus presented as informal and its participants as friends or acquaintances knowing each other for quite a long time and who are more or less of the same age. The pronouns are used reciprocally and it is not necessary to express higher degree of politeness to one performer in the speech act.

However, when the Czech pronoun *vy* is applied to one referent, it correlates to the formal power semantic address pattern, which makes it a bearer of such features as: formality of setting, difference of age, formality of an encounter, or lack of previous acquaintance. Look at the formal addressing in the example below.

- (22) a. *But...YOU believe in it, don't you, MR. WEBB?* (60)  
 b. *Demo...UEBU SAN wa sore o mitomete irun desune?* (79)  
 but... Webb HON TOP this ACC approve-POL  
 c. *Ale VY...svatby uznáváte, PANE WEBB, nebo snad ne?* (36)

As we can see in (22) the Czech second person plural pronoun *vy* corresponds to the formal address form, which has to be expressed by nominal terms - title plus last name, in English and Japanese.

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<sup>9</sup> It should be mentioned that some American children may call their parents, and especially their step-parents, by their first names. But it is a recent tendency, which cannot be traced in the observed texts.

It should be stressed that the Japanese pronominal address terms are not employed in many situations, since they cannot serve as a polite address. Although *anata* is stated to be a polite term, it cannot be used as a reference to a superior. Japanese actually lacks a second person pronoun that can be applied as a V pronoun.

Eventually, only Czech out of the three languages can apply pronominal form to express politeness. The Japanese pronouns do not stand in T/V opposition and their plural forms do not designate polite form as was suggested by Gilman/Brown. English makes use of only one pronoun. English cannot apply pronominal term by itself in formal situations to indicate respect to the hearer. The existence of one form *you* attributes an important role to the linguistic and para-linguistic context of the speech act. Consequently, all *you* address forms meaning and interpretations are context-bound. Consequently, the T/V dyad of singular/familiar pronoun versus plural/polite pronoun can be found only in Czech.

English pronouns are semantically neutral, not explicitly marked with any particular characteristics, as it is in the case of Czech and Japanese pronouns. Brown/Ford (1961: 384) investigated address term avoiding and suggests that:

*“When someone is in region of uncertainty, we find that he avoids the use of any sort of personal name and makes do with the uncommitted omnibus you.”* (in Lubecka 1993: 32)

Lubecka further suggests that the existence of only one pronominal form of address answers the Americans’ communicative demands. It suits the American stereotypical standard of friendliness and equality. Eventually, the Japanese pronominal forms with specified usage suit the hierarchical character of the Japanese.

Apart from personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns are also a part of pronominal address repertoire. The examples below show their application in direct addresses which appeared in the observed texts.

- (23) a. *Good morning, EVERYBODY. Only five more hours to live.* (56)
- b. *Ohayō, MINNA. ato gojikan no inochi da.* (74)  
Good morning, everybody. rest five-hours of life is.
- c. *Dobré jitro VE SPOLEK. Tak už mi zbývá jen pět hodin života.* (34)
- (24) a. *Now look here, EVERYBODY.* (34)
- b. *Chotto, MINASAN, iidesuka.* (49)  
a little, everybody-HON, is-it-good-POL?
- c. *Takhle ne PŘÁTELÉ.* (21)

As examples (23) and (24) illustrate, indefinite pronouns commonly occur in rather informal settings. Lubecka (1993: 39) suggests that they are

usually used reciprocally among persons sharing the same status, age and who have known each other for some time.

Indeed, the English indefinite pronoun *everybody* in example (23) imply informality of situation. In the play, George accompanies his speech by the gesture of cutting his throat, being childish. The sentence in (24) is uttered by a choir director to choir members, people from the neighbourhood, knowing one another for a long time.

The English term is the same as in (23), but the Japanese term is more polite indicating rather formal situation. The pronoun *minna* is accompanied by the honorific suffix *-san*, and the verb is in its polite form, sharing the communicative value with the pronoun.

The Czech translation replaced the neutral pronominal terms by semantically more explicit nominal terms, which are however equally informal in their meaning.

Compared with the nominal and attributive systems of address, the pronominal systems are rather poor since pronouns belong to a close category, which does not grow and these linguistic forms are not productive, as Lubecka (1993: 30) points out.

Nevertheless, due to various context modifications pronominal address forms are able to convey a wide range of different meanings, and carry various socio-psychological factors. They can express emotions of the interlocutors, of both positive and negative character. If they are used together with nasty words, they acquire negative meaning as it is in the Czech term in example (9). In Czech both *ty* and *vy* are able to appear in such clusters but still the expressions with the T form *ty* are stronger. An opposite result is achieved when a pronominal form is accompanied by a term of endearment or hypocoristics.

The chart in (25) demonstrates the informal character of English pronominal forms of address. In situations requiring polite address formal nominal terms, such as *Madame* or *Sir* or last name plus title, are employed as indicators of power (cf. chapter 4.2.3).

Japanese has comparatively rich repertoire of pronominal address forms, but they cannot be usually applied in formal polite situations as can be seen in (25). Similarly to English, for addressing a superior, also Japanese applies nominal address term, mostly name plus honorific title.

The Czech pronominal system is based on the T/V binary opposition *ty* vs. *vy*, where *vy* accompanied by plural verbal form can serve as a polite term of address.

(25)

English		Czech		Japanese	
<i>you</i> <i>everybody</i>	non-V neutral	<i>ty</i>	T Singular/Familiar  + singular verbal form	<i>anata</i> <i>kimi</i> <i>omae</i> <i>minna</i>	non-V  + plain verbal form
		<i>vy</i>	V Plural/Polite  + plural verbal form	<i>mina-</i> <i>san</i>  <i>mina-</i> <i>sama</i>	Respectful  + polite/respectful verbal form

Pronominal forms are often used with other address patterns, nominal or attributive, and thus we can observe their forms and functions also in the following chapters.

#### 4.2.3. Nominal forms of address

Braun (1988: 9) defines nouns of address as substantives which designate collocutors or refer to them in some other way. The nominal system of address is the richest and the most productive of all the lexical means of addressing. Lubecka (1993: 42) mentions the processes how their numerous stylistic variants are created:

(26)

- 1) **morphological derivation** - diminution, augmentation
- 2) **stylistic modifications** - borrowings either from foreign languages (e.g. Cz. *madam*) or from professional jargons, slang and colloquial variants (e.g. Eng. *smurf*, *kid*)
- 3) **lexical and phraseological procedures** - metaphors, euphemisms, hypocoristics (e.g. Eng. *honey*)
- 4) speaker's **imagination and inventiveness**

The meaning and level of politeness of the nominal forms of address are usually explicitly stated and do not depend as much on the para-linguistic context, as it is in the case of the pronominal address pattern. Especially English, which cannot express the power relation of the collocutors by pronominal address, relies rather on nominal address terms (cf. chapter 4.2.2).

The category of nominal forms of address comprises diverse types, which are names, kinship terms, titles, occupational terms, terms for some types of relationships, terms of endearment, etc. On a scale of respect according to Brown/Ford (1961) in chapter 2.2., category of nouns consist of first name (FN), last name (LN), full name (FLN) and all of these with titles (T), namely honorific titles (HT) and professional titles (PT), with the degree of respect growing from the least to the most. The following subchapters deal with these classes separately.

#### 4.2.3.1. Names

The category of names comprises first names, last names, pet names, nicknames and pseudonyms, and each denote separate subgroup with their own characteristic properties and politeness implication.

Let us begin with the analysis of first names which occurred as address terms in the observed texts. Example (27) shows the reciprocal usage in symmetrical relationship between friends. Examples (28) and (29) illustrate the usage in asymmetrical relationship marked by difference in status and age, where the younger and those of less power are addressed with their first names, i.e. child by his parent in (28) and younger brother by older sister (29).

- (27) a. *EMILY...would you like an ice-cream soda, or something, before you go home?* (66)
- b. *EMIRĪ...chotto kaerimichi de, kurīmu sōda ka nanka, dō?*(88)  
Emily a little way-back on, cream soda or suchlike how?
- c. *Nedáme si něco, EMÍLIE<sup>10</sup>, než půjdeš domů? Třeba zmrzlinu?*(40)
- (28) a. *Put away your book, WALLY.* (15)
- b. *UORĪ, hon o shimai nasai.* (25)  
Wally, book ACC close IMP.
- c. *WALLY, nech tu knihu.* (8)
- (29) a. *KEIZO, oboeteru?* (1:12:54)  
Keizo, remember?
- b. *Do you remember, KEIZO?*
- c. *KEIZO, pamatuješ?*

The examples (27), (28) and (29) prove the theory by Brown/Ford, that FN is intimate form of address used in informal situations comparable to T pronominal address form. They act as markers of informality, affectivity and intimacy.

It is important to notice that Japanese is sensitive to hierarchy even among siblings. FN address without any honorific suffix as in (29) is possible

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<sup>10</sup> As Knappová (1989: 15-26) explains, Czech first names, like all the Czech nouns, belong to declension paradigm of the same word ending variation. The names of foreign origin, which appear in Czech speech, are adapted to the Czech system and undergo the form changes. Both Czech and foreign male names are assigned to nominal paradigms of pán (Michal, Ivo), muž (Tomáš, Matěj), předseda (Ota, Lád'a), or the pronominal declension paradigm (René, Tony). The female names are declined according to the nominal paradigms žena (Jana, Andrea) and růže (Alice, Marie), or according to the adjectival paradigm jarní (Maří). Some foreign names do not undergo the declension changes: female names ending with -l (Ráchel), -es (Mercedes, Dolores), -v (Ljubov) and some other (Maud, Karmen). The declension changes are not sometimes applied also for names ending with -i, -y (Noemi, Bety) and names with endings untypical for Czech such as -ó, -é, -ö (Ildikó, Niké, Enikö).

only as address form toward a younger sibling, but an older sibling is addressed by FN with the honorific *-san* or by a kinship term (cf. chapter 4.2.3.2.1).

**Informality** is the essential property of first names, especially conspicuous if they function as **diminutives**, as Lubecka (1993: 47) suggests. The procedure of diminutives formation consists in either adding some suffixes or cutting out the initial or final syllable which results in a kind of a hypocoristic root. Diminutives are most often used to name children or youngsters, the following examples illustrate some diminutive forms used in the analysed texts.

- (30) a. *Giddap, BESSIE.* (49)
- b. *Sora ike, BESHĪ.* (67)  
So go, Bessie.
- c. *Tak jedem, BESSIE.* (31)
- (31) a. *Chirakashi wa dame yo ISAMUCHAN.* (07:42)  
mess up TOP don't Isamu-HON
- b. *Don't mess up the room, ISAMU!*
- c. *Nedělej tu nepořádek, ISAMU!*

*Bessie* is a diminutive form of the name *Elizabeth* or *Bessandra*, *Wally* can be the short form of *Walter* or *Wallace*. However, there are also some instances of diminutives, which are used as official given names, e.g. *Howie* can be a diminutive form of *Howard* or *Howell* but is used as a common name for an adult in our text as example (32) demonstrates. It is not obvious from the English version (32a.), but in Japanese (32b.) respect toward *Howie* is expressed by the title *-san*, and in Czech (32c.) by the formal plural verbal form.

- (32)
- a. *Good morning, HOWIE. Do you think it's going to rain again?* (51)
- b. *Ohayō, HAU I SAN. Mata furidasu kashira nē.* (69)  
morning, Howie-HON. again begin-to-rain I-wonder.
- c. *Dobré ráno, HOWIE. Co myslíte, bude zas pršet?* (32)

Japanese creates diminutives of first names, and nouns in general, by means of the suffix *-chan* as example (31) signals. Czech is even more productive in diminutives creation and the number of its diminutives made from the same basic form is larger, due to morphological property of synthetic language. The variations differ in the intensity of feelings, e.g. *Jiří – Jirka – Jiřík – Jiříček*.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *The diminutives formed by cutting out the suffix are loaded with emotions because to contract the term of address seems to endear the addressee. Apart from morphology, English, being more analytic, makes use of the adjective little to create diminutives. The adjective little*

First names and especially diminutives express various stages of intimacy and as such can be applied as device of positive politeness. This property can be observed also in orders, which due to the presence of diminutive lose a formal character and become soft and even polite request as in (30) and (31) above.

**Last names**, in contrast to first names, are classified as **formal** means of addressing<sup>12</sup>. Lubecka (1993: 45) suggests that it is because they may indicate such social characteristics as social or marital status of their bearers, which belong to the formal category of social factors.

At present, last names are only symbolic labels, but as Lubecka (1993: 44) mentions, they reflected a social status, a professional background, a place of origin or a nationality of their holders in the past. In English the social status can be explicitly defined e.g. by the prefix *sir* (e.g. *sir Winston Churchill*).

The following examples present some of the last names address forms used in the observed texts.

- (33) a. *Yes, MRS ELLIS. What can I do for YOU?* (68)  
 b. *Irasshai, ERISU SAN. Nani sashiagemashō.* (90)  
 Welcome, Ellis-HON. what give-HONh.  
 c. *Dobry den, PANÍ ELLISOVÁ*<sup>13</sup>, *hned jsem u VÁS.* (41)

- (34)  
 a. *Oh, MR. STIMSON, I should have listened to them.* (109)  
 b. *SUCHIMUSON SAN, yappari minna no iū koto o kikeba yokattawa.* (138)  
 Stimson-HON, after-all everybody GEN say thing ACC if-listened good  
 c. *PANE STIMSONE! Měla jsem VÁS poslechnout.* (69)

The examples (33) and (34) above signal that last names address forms do not occur on their own but in combination with other address forms. The semantic value and degree of formality implied by last names get coloured by the forms of address with which they combine or create compound forms of address.

The most typical and widespread is the combination of last names with the formal title *Mr.* and its feminine counterparts *Mrs.*, *Miss*, *Ms* in English. Japanese employs the formal title *-san* for both sexes. Czech has one male

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*then implies the hypocoristic value due to the idea of smallness associated with something nice, pleasant and dear to us.*

<sup>12</sup> The social convention of first name and surname order in Czech and English is first name followed by surname in usual unmarked situation. The opposite order is marked and used when calling persons with the same surname in situation such as participation list and so on as Knappová (1989: 16) posits. In Japanese, surname first ordering is a convention.

<sup>13</sup> In Czech, the sex-related differences of last names are signalled. The Czech female surnames have the *-ová* endings, with a few exceptions. According to this rule, female surnames of foreign origin have to incorporate the ending *-ová* as well. For example Mrs. Ellis in (33a.) becomes paní Ellisová in (33c.) as Knappová (1989: 29) claims. However, there is a tendency to preserve the original forms of foreign names in recent years, especially if their format resists inflection.



variant *pane* and two female variants: *paní* for married women and *slečno* for young unmarried women (for further discussion see chapter 4.2.3.2.2).

Another class of forms of address which can combine with last names is a class of **professional titles**. It gives the address term a feature of formality and then the whole address cluster becomes a marker of both a social role and a status.

Important feature of formality is also the appropriate verbal and pronominal form accompanying last name. In Czech it is the second person plural form of the verb and plural form of the pronoun *vás* referring to the hearer as in (33) and (34). The Japanese verb in (34) is in its plain form and politeness is expressed only by the honorific title *-san*. For expressing respect to the collocutor the verb is in its polite or even respectful form as in (33), where the shop assistant addresses a customer in a conventional and highly polite way.

Since last name and full name address corresponds to the V pronoun address indicating formality and distance, it is usually applied in official communication motivated by the social position of a different hierarchical scale. However, there are instances in English where the last name address does not define the relationship between the speakers in terms of power and respect but take a different function. Compare the following examples.

(35) a. *GEORGE GIBBS, where are you going?*(56)

b. *Kore, JŌJI, doko e iku no?*(75)  
hey George where go

c. *Kam utíkáš, GEORGI*<sup>14</sup>? (34)

(36) a. *Why, JULIA HERSEY - French toast!* (54)

b. *Oioi JURIA - furenchi tōsuto ja nai ka!* (72)  
Why, Julia - French toast is not?

c. *Topinka! No ne, JULIE!* (33)

The pattern in (35a.) and (36a.) corresponds to the concept of American addressing, where first name form represents informality and intimacy, while last name form stands for formality and distance. Accordingly, mother addresses her son in this way in order to sound more formal and to express power by means of this structure in (35). In (36) a husband thanks his wife for making his favourite meal, and full name address here sounds formal but also somehow ceremonious so as to express appreciation. This structure may be even loaded with some negative expressivity, such as threat. However, the final effect depends on the context.

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<sup>14</sup> As Straková (1994: 174) mentions, first names have their parallel forms in many languages. Accordingly, also the English name George has its Czech variant Jiří. But as our example signals, they are often preserved in their original form, just adapted to the phonetic and grammatical rules of the target language.

Between the informal first name address and formal last name address forms, there are **half-formal** ways of address in Japanese and Czech. See the following examples for the half-formal forms.

- (37) a. *NORIKO SAN, mō hontō ni kamawande kudasai yo.* (65:18)  
Noriko-HON, any-longer really don't bother IMP-POL
- b. *Don't go to any trouble, NORIKO.*
- c. *NORIKO, nedělejte si s námi starosti.*

The half-formal address in the Japanese (37a.) has been achieved by a juxtaposition of two opposed concepts: the informal first name address and the formal honorific prefix *-san* with the polite verbal form.

Due to the formal verbal form, the half-formality can be traced also in Czech (37c.). The first name address in Czech usually combines with the informal verbal form in the second person singular. The half-formal address in Czech in (37c.) is an exception taking the verb in the second person plural normally reserved for formal occasions. Similarly as Japanese, Czech can also combine the title *pan/paní* and first name, as e.g. *pane Josefe, paní Marie*.

Lubecka (1993: 48) notes that in American English, there can be also observed this form, as e.g. *Miss Daisy*, but mainly as a remnant from the old American South. In (37b.) in fact, there is no implicit marker of a half-formal way of address.

To the category of names, Brown/Ford (1961) included also **multiple names** (MN), which is an informal address terms group comprising various pet names, nicknames and pseudonyms.

Let us consider the nominal forms of address which occurred in the observed texts. The examples (38) and (39) present informal forms of address indicating friendliness and solidarity between friends and as such they can be considered as devices of positive politeness. It is expressed by informal nominal terms in English and Czech and by informal verbal forms in Japanese.

- (38) a. *Don't disgrace the team, BIG BOY.* (77)
- b. *Chīmu no na o kega suna yo.* (100)  
team GEN name ACC hurt do not-IMP.
- c. *A ne abys nám udělal ostudu, KAMARÁDE.* (49)
- (39) a. *Look at him, FELLAS - he looks scared to death.* (77)
- b. *Mite miro yo. Ano kao - bikubiku shite massaojanēka.* (100)  
Look-IMP. that face - scared being completely-blue-is-not-it?
- c. *Když ti to nepůjde, zavolej kamarády. My už si budem vědět rady, co HOŠI?* (49)

The address terms in (40) are rather insulting, however as Fraser (1981: 436) claims, whether a particular phrase is taken as an **insult** depends on the perceptions of the hearer. The effect of an utterance is influenced not only by

the content of address form, but also by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, their relative status, the context of the interaction, and the cultural values of the society.

- (40) a. *GEORGE, don't look so innocent, YOU OLD GEEZER.* (77)  
 b. *JŌJI, kamatoto burun ja neezo, KONO BAKA tare.* (100)  
 George, innocent pretend do-not-IMP, this fool.  
 c. *Netvař se jak svatej, GEORGI, TY CHLAPE MIZERNÁ.* (49)

In our example (40), a groom is addressed by his old friends. The usual context of a wedding is formal and this very informal address term is intended to cheer him up. The example thus supports Fraser's claim that it is possible to use a conventional insulting term without conveying the slightest sense of insult.

To sum up the observations about names as terms of address, formality seems to be the dominating feature of last and full names. Informality on the other hand is realised by first names and nicknames. However, politeness would be the property not only of last and full names as it was assumed.

This conclusion implies that last name and full name address is most formal and presumably most polite between two people. It should be stressed that it does not, however, inherently mean that the other polarity form of address, first name and nickname respectively, is least polite. This is a question of reciprocity, because the reciprocal informal addressing, as a sign of solidarity and friendliness, can serve as a means of positive politeness as well.

Furthermore, the half-formal terms of address combining first name and a title should be added on the scale of hierarchy by Brown/Ford (1961) in (4) between informal first name address terms and formal terms of last names with titles.

#### **4.2.3.2. Titles**

The category of titles includes series of forms defining family relations, professional and functional position or academic status of the interlocutors. This chapter comprises three subchapters dealing firstly with family titles, secondly with professional, functional and academic titles and finally with a group of terms containing the form of address such as *Mr/Mrs*.

##### **4.2.3.2.1. Family titles**

Family titles identify a given person among the family members and assign a place in the family hierarchy to them, as Lubecka (1993: 53) puts it. Since the family bounds can be created either by blood relation or by marriage, there are kinship titles and consanguineal family titles.

Family titles express the concept of the relationships within a family, which are usually based on affection and informality as Lubecka (1993: 37, 56) suggests. This idea would apply especially for American concept of friendliness and intimacy. However, the family relations involve also the dimension of age difference, which may be essential for the Japanese concept, usually based on hierarchy and respect.

The dialogues from observed plays provide us a rich model of kinship terms usage. Let us start the analysis with the basic address terms applied in a nuclear family. The following examples illustrate addressing among parents and their children.

- (41) a. *MAMA, were YOU pretty?* (32)
- b. *Ja, MAMA wa kirei datta?* (45)  
So, mama TOP pretty was?
- c. *MAMI, TYS byla taky hezká?* (19)
- (42) a. *OKĀSAN, ara mata sukoshi ōkiku nattan ja nai kashira.* (15:32)  
mother-HON, oh again a bit big became do not I-wonder
- b. *MAMA, YOU've become taller.*
- c. *MAMI, VY jste snad vyrostla.*

The situations in examples (41) and (42) are rather informal and English terms in both of them reflect this fact by informal address term. Japanese is similarly informal in (41b.), applying rather informal term of address and plain verbal form. However, in (42a.) the plain verbal form still preserves informality of situation but the standard address term expresses more respect toward mother. Czech signals this difference by application of informal second person singular pronoun *ty* with informal verbal form in (41c.) and formal plural pronoun *vy* with formal verbal form in (42c.). Japanese and Czech terms thus again differ from English terms, since their socio-psychological dimension accounts for the verbal form which they take.

The Japanese patterns of address is unique, as there are special terms of address used **inside** the family to one's family members and yet another terms used in speaking outside one's family and about outsider's family members. This study is concerned only with terms of direct address and does not discuss the indirect references used for speaking about relatives **outside** one's family, which comprises completely different set of lexical terms.

The family titles in Czech combine usually with the informal verb and T pronoun *ty*. Usage of the V pronoun *vy* denotes a user of older generation, since it is not used by youngsters toward their family members nowadays. The pronoun *vy* functions as an honorific, therefore it denotes only those family members whose age, important family role, and high position in the family hierarchy entitle them to some special respect, e.g. grandparents. It is important to note that the mother in (42) is actually a grandmother called by her adult daughter, and thus she is entitled to a higher degree of respect.

The same findings can be observed in the following examples presenting address terms for one's father.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> As Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 58) mention there are pairs of terms in Japanese, which can be labelled as 'plain' and 'polite'. The plain forms are reserved for one's family members when talking to outsiders and the polite terms are reserved for the outsider's family. Thus, children call their father by the polite standard form *otōsan*, in talking to outsiders they refer to their father by the plain form *chichi*, but they speak of the outsider's father again as *otōsan* as

- (43) a. *But, PAPA, - I don't want to get married...* (79)  
 b. *Datte PAPA - atashi, kekkon nanka iya...* (103)  
 but papa - I marriage suchlike do-not-want  
 c. *TATÍNKU, já se nechci vdávat...*(51)
- (44) a. *OTŌSAN tsukareta deshō.* (19:48)  
 father-HON tired I-assume  
 b. *YOU must be tired, PAPA.*  
 c. *Musíte být unavený, TATÍNKU.*

Japanese has devices for expressing even higher degree of politeness, which is demonstrated in (45). Here the honorific suffix *-san* is replaced by the more respectful title *-sama* and the plain verbal form by a respectful form.

- (45) a. *OTŌSAMA, taoru nanka omochi desuka.* (12:53)  
 father-HON, towel suchlike have-HONr?  
 b. *Do YOU have a towel, PAPA?*  
 c. *Máte ručník, TATÍNKU?*

The Czech translation corresponds to the Japanese degree of politeness by the formal plural verbal form. English, however, preserves its usual informal addressing pattern.

It is interesting that in the observed texts there are plenty of the address terms for mother and father, while there is only one example of the address term for a son, presented in (46), and none for daughter. Moreover, there is none of them in Japanese.

- (46) a. *Here's a handkerchief, SON.* (37)  
 b. *Sā, hankachi.* (52)  
 here, handkerchief.  
 c. *Tady máš kapesný, SYNU.* (23)

With the only exception in (46), parents called their children by their first names in all the three language variations of the three texts.

However, there is a contrast between American/Czech and Japanese address terms for siblings. Examples (47) and (48) show Japanese address

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in (44a.). However, Goldstein/Tamura suggest that some kind of inside and outside address terms can be observed also in English, since children refer to their father as my father and to the outsider's father as your father. The usage of possessive pronouns combined with kinship terms depend also on the marking of alienability in a specific language. English, Japanese and Czech clearly mark inalienably possessed objects/humans in a distinct way, but I am not going to discuss their distinction here in more detail.

terms for a brother and a sister. Notice that neither of the texts included English and Czech equivalents.

- (47) a. *NĪCHAN, itsu kaeru?* (1:16:12)  
older brother, when go-home  
b. *When do YOU leave?*  
c. *Kdy jedeš domů?*
- (48) a. *ONĒSAN, dōshite mō kaeru.* (1:14:43)  
older-sister, why already go-home  
b. *Must YOU go home today?*  
c. *Už musíš domů?*

Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 45) explain that the Japanese patterns of address emphasize age differences and the terms are typically non-reciprocal. Terms of address of siblings in Japanese are distinguished in status by kinship terms to older brother - *nīchan* in (47a.) and older sister - *nēsan* in (48). The younger siblings are usually called by their first names only in Japanese.

Americans and Czechs do not need to emphasize age difference among siblings. Their relation is based on symmetrical solidarity, in contrast to Japanese asymmetrical power governed relationships. Therefore, Americans and Czechs usually address both older and younger siblings by their first names which allow equal status for all of them.

Kinship terms are used to a much greater degree in Japanese than in English and Czech. Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 45-51) listed the standard forms of English and Japanese family titles and they are presented together with the Czech equivalents in (49).

(49)

		English	Japanese (polite standard)	Czech (vocative)
a.	grandmother	<i>grandmother</i>	<i>obāsan</i>	<i>babičko</i>
b.	grandfather	<i>grandfather</i>	<i>ojīsan</i>	<i>dědečku</i>
c.	father	<i>father</i>	<i>otōsan</i>	<i>tatínku</i>
d.	mother	<i>mother</i>	<i>okāsan</i>	<i>maminko</i>
e.	elder brother	name	<i>onīsan</i>	name
f.	younger brother	name	name (+ <i>san</i> )	name
g.	elder sister	name	<i>onēsan</i>	name
h.	younger sister	name	name (+ <i>san</i> )	name
i.	uncle	( <i>uncle</i> )+name	<i>ojisan</i>	<i>strýci</i>
j.	aunt	( <i>aunt</i> )+name	<i>obasan</i>	<i>teto</i>
k.	niece	name	name+ <i>san</i>	name
l.	nephew	name	name+ <i>san</i>	name
m.	cousin	name	name+ <i>san</i>	name

In all the three languages, apart from the polite standard forms, informal forms and **diminutives** are often used as address terms inside a family. Some examples are given below with the relevant items in bold letters.

- (50) a. **MA!** *What dress shall I wear?* (14)  
 b. **MAMA!** *Atashi, dono fuku kiru no?* (24)  
 mama! I, which clothes wear?  
 c. **MAMI!** *Co si mám vzít na sebe?* (8)
- (51) a. **MAMA,** *I'm here!* (102)  
 b. **MAMA,** *atashi wa koko yo.* (129)  
 Mama, I TOP here.  
 c. **MAMINKO,** *tady jsem.* (65)
- (52) a. *Why, YOU know, PA.* (37)  
 b. *Shitteru daro, PAPA.* (52)  
 know probably, papa.  
 c. *Vždyt' víš, TATI.* (23)

All the family titles in (49) above are nouns and following the morphological properties of this part of speech and the rules of the given language they can naturally create diminutives.

In English only a few family titles have directly derived diminutives which have been created either by adding a suffix or by cutting it. Lubecka (1993: 54) gives the following list of the English diminutives:

(53) English kinship titles variations

<i>father</i>	<i>Daddy – Dad – Da</i>
<i>mother</i>	<i>Mummy – Mum – Ma</i>
<i>grandmother</i>	<i>Grandma – Grannie</i>
<i>grandfather</i>	<i>Grandpa – Grandad</i>
<i>son</i>	<i>Sonny</i>

The typical procedure for creating diminutives in English is by means of the qualifying adjective *little* which colours the form of address with positive emotions, e.g. *little niece*, *little cousin*.

The Japanese title *okāsan* has variants as *kāsan*, *okāchan*, *kāchan*, *okā* etc. In addition the terms adapted from English as in (50), (51) and (52) are commonly used.

In Czech, all the diminutives are directly derived from the basic form of a given title by adding different diminutive suffixes which express various degrees of emotional bonds between the speakers, e.g. *dcerko* (daughter), *vnoučku* (grandson), *tetičko* (aunt) etc. The Czech address *matko* may become *mámo*, *mami* in (50c.) , *maminko* (51c.), *maminečko*, etc. It is interesting that the Czech diminutive forms *maminko*, *tatínku* are actually the polite forms of

address, cf. examples (44), (45), (55) and (56); and the standard forms *matko*, *otče* would sound rude. They are thus not usually applied and did not appear also in our texts.

We have discussed the kinship titles used in a nuclear family so far, and now we will deal with terms applied for bigger family members. The examples below illustrate the addressing behaviour in extended family.

- (54) a. *Good morning, MOTHER WEBB.* (57)
- b. *Ohayō, WEBB no OKĀSAN.* (76)  
morning, Webb GEN mother.
- c. *Dobré jitro, PANÍ TCHYNĚ.* (34)
- (55) a. *Don't you remember, MOTHER GIBBS?* (96)
- b. *Wasurechattano, OKĀSAN?* (122)  
failed-to-forget, mother
- c. *Už si nevzpomínáte, MAMINKO?* (61)
- (56) a. *OKĀSAMA, honto ni ohisashiburi de.* (10:39)  
mother-HON, really long-time-no-see
- b. *It's been a long time, MOTHER.*
- c. *Dlouho jsme VÁS neviděli, MAMINKO.*

When we address one's in-laws, the terms for the primary family members are generally used, as the examples (55) and (56) prove. The family titles such as *step-mother*, *step-father* or *step-daughter* denote the family relationship in a very straightforward and somehow crude way, bringing negative connotations.<sup>16</sup> In direct addressing, they are replaced either by first names, terms of endearment or their equivalents denoting blood bonds. These somehow euphemistic kinship terms imply positive affectivity and positive politeness is realised in this way.

In the Japanese texts, other family terms were further employed in direct addressing. Many languages employ family terms also in direct addressing of the outsiders, i.e. the people who are in fact not members of the family. Let us compare the following address terms in Japanese, English and Czech in more detail:

- (57) a. *Morning, MRS. GIBBS.* (11)
- b. *Ohayō, OKUSAN.* (22)  
morning, wife.
- c. *Dobrejtro, PANÍ GIBBSOVÁ.* (7)

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<sup>16</sup> The Czech term for mother-in-law in (41) is the only occurrence of this kind and it is a rather rare example, since also in Czech primary family terms are generally preferred, as (55) and (56) prove.



- (58) a. *Excuse me, MRS. FORREST.* (28)  
 b. *Gomen nasai, FORESUTO OBASAN.* (42)  
 I'm sorry Forrest aunt.  
 c. *Promiňte, PANÍ FORRESTOVÁ.* (17)

As for the Japanese examples above, Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 61) claim, that the term *okusan*, as in (57), or the more polite form *okusama*, primarily meaning wife, is very frequently used for addressing a married woman, even when her name is known. Similarly, *onīsan* (older brother) and *onēsan* (older sister) are used by children to denote a boy or a girl older than themselves. Moreover, the terms *obasan* (aunt) - example (58), and *ojisan* (uncle) are used in addressing people roughly between twenty and sixty of age. *Ojisan* (grandfather) and *obāsan* (grandmother) are used for older men and women. These terms are typically used in direct address outside the family by children, and adults may also use them, if the name is not known. However, the corresponding term for men, *gosshūjin* or more polite *dannasama*, meaning husband, cannot be used as a direct address.

Although it is not used in (57) and (58) above, this phenomenon can be traced also in Czech, where the terms *teto* (aunt) and also *strýček* (uncle) are used in the same way as the Japanese equivalent *obasan* in (58) by children.

On the other hand, as (57) and (58) show, otherwise friendly American pattern applies a title plus last name address term, making thus distance between the collocutors. It is possible to analyse this addressing behaviour in detail, but the problem will be left at this point in the present study.

Finally, another distinctive usage of the primary family term was found in the texts. Look at the function of the terms mother and father in these examples, none of which was used as the address in the children-parent discourse.

- (59) a. *Good morning, MOTHER.* (104)  
 b. *Tadaima KĀSAN.* (131)  
 I'm [back home] mother.  
 c. *Dobrejtro, MÁMO.* (66)
- (60) a. *Well, MA, the day has come.* (52)  
 b. *Yā KĀSAN, tsui ni sono hi ga kita na.* (71)  
 well mother, suddenly that day SUBJ came.  
 c. *Tak MAMINO, a je to tady.* (33)
- (61) a. *OTŌSAN, mō kaeritain ja nai desuka.* (54:39)  
 father already want-to-go-home isn't it-POL?  
 b. *YOU must be homesick already.*  
 c. *TOBĚ už se musí stýskat.*

These in fact identical examples demonstrate the addressing between a husband and a wife since they have children. They signal that it is common to use the kinship terms when children are present, sometimes even if their children are not present at the moment.

Moreover, when their children are not present a different set of terms can be used as well between a couple. Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 53) claim that Japanese husband calls his wife by her name without the honorific *-san*, or by the plain forms *oi* (hey) and *omae* (you informal). Japanese wife calls her husband by his name with *-san*, or by polite terms *anata* (you standard) and *omaesan* (you-HON).

The Japanese terms show the difference of position of husband and wife. While husband may call his wife by informal *oi*, meaning something like “Hey you”, wife calls her husband by terms accompanied by the polite *san*.

The American and Czech husbands and wives usually call each other by equally informal terms, i.e. their first names, kinship terms variations or by various terms of endearment such as Eng. *sweetie*, *honey*, Cz. *zlato*, *miláčku*. Eventually, this concept supports the theory of equality in American culture, opposed to a gender-based hierarchy in the Japanese culture. The difference in status here is not due to the difference in age but because of the difference in sex.

Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 53) conclude that status differences, including difference in position, age, and sex, play an important role in the consciousness of Japanese family members in general. The elder brother is more likely to call his younger sibling by name without *-san* attached, while the older sister is more likely to attach the honorific *-san* to the names of younger siblings. In the same way, mother and grandmother are more likely to call the younger child by the name appended with *-san* than father and grandfather. When it comes to the addressing of the collateral relatives, such as nieces, nephews or cousins, the honorific *-san* (or *-chan*) is even more necessary than it is within the nuclear family. In addressing the eldest child, the parents, grandparents and also younger siblings are likely to use the kinship term *onīsan* (older brother) for a boy or *onēsan* (older sister) for a girl.

In the American family, besides the categories of parents and grandparents, the relatives are usually called by first name or first name attached to the kinship term. The addresses of siblings make no distinction in age. The frequent use of nicknames blurs sex and position differences even more.<sup>17</sup>

Repertoires of family titles in English, Japanese and Czech show a relatively high degree of lexical correspondence, but as far as their morphology is concerned, the same linguistic means of word formation are not always applied.

There is a tendency in English to create compound family titles, but in Czech and Japanese simple ones prevail. For example, Czech and Japanese diminutives are derived from their basic forms by adding the diminutive

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<sup>17</sup> Goldstein/Tamura (1975) point out that in more modern Japanese families there are tendencies toward adopting the American pattern, using equal first names address terms between a husband and a wife and also among siblings. However, for the detailed description of these tendencies further research will be necessary and it is not the objective of this study.

endings, whereas in English they are created by adding the qualifying adjective *little*. Furthermore, the compound terms are characteristic for the English and Japanese consanguineous terms. They typically contain a word denoting the primary relationship such as *mother*, *father* etc., and a term assigning the secondary position such as *step-*, *-in-law*, *grand-*, *half-*.

To sum up, although the list of family titles is long in the languages discussed here, not all of them are used as direct forms of address with the same frequency. The basic kinship terms used in face-to-face contact are *mother*, *father*, *grandmother*, *grandfather*, *uncle* and *aunt*, and their variations in Japanese and Czech. In addition, the titles for addressing older brother *onīsan* and older sister *onēsan* are commonly used in Japanese.

In conclusion, the formal characteristics and lexical contents of the address terms denote family role and position, which influences the address behaviour. The family background is rather informal, but the degree of informality is modified by respect, depending on the family role and status. Informality and respect determine also the usage of the verbal form in Japanese and Czech, which is usually in the plain form or second person singular respectively, but it can be also in polite or respectful form in Japanese and formal second person plural form in Czech, especially for the in-laws.

#### 4.2.3.2.2. The forms of address *Mr.*, *san*, *pane* and their variants

This chapter deals with most generally used titles, which are not limited to one domain in their usage like the group of family titles (cf. chapter 4.2.3.2.1) or the series of professional, academic and functional titles (cf. chapter 4.2.3.2.3). As Braun (1988: 9) suggests, the forms of address corresponding to English *Mr/Mrs* are general forms commonly used in many languages.

The conventional set of such titles in English includes *Mr.* for men and their feminine equivalents *Mrs.* for married women and *Miss* for girls and unmarried women as Lubecka (1993: 73) states.

The Japanese titles do not have a gender and marital status distinction. Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 47) posit that all the English titles, *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, and *Miss* are contained in the Japanese suffix *san*. It is true with respect to a gender distinction, but in contrast to English, Japanese has a set of expressions differentiated in terms of respect. Takenoya (2003: 19) states that Japanese titles are hierarchical and gives a list of common Japanese honorific titles in decreasing order of deference as follows.

##### (62) Japanese honorific titles

-sama	very polite
-san	average
-kun	mostly used for men
-chan	diminutive

Czech, similarly as English, makes a distinction in gender and has a male form *pane* (Mr.) and two female variants *paní* (Mrs.) and *slečno* (Miss), which are on the same level of hierarchy.

Lubecka (1993: 73) discusses the usage of these forms of address, claiming that they are applied, when an adult unknown to the speaker or a

person with whom he is on formal terms, is to be addressed in a polite way. Thus they carry the connotation of formality, politeness and respect in themselves and are looked at as a respectful address pattern.

Let us have a look at the following examples, noticing their function in addressing. The examples below illustrate the distinctive syntactic characteristics of these forms in each of given languages.

(63)

- a. *Oh, MR. CARTER, my little boy is spending the day at your house. (96)*
- b. *Ara, KĀTĀ SAN, uchi no ko ga otaku e ojama shite imasu wa. (123)*  
Oh, Carter-HON, our GEN child SUBJ house-HON disturbe-HONh-POL
- c. *PANE CARTER, můj kluk je dneska u VÁS.*

As Lubecka (1993: 78) claims the English titles *Mr.*, *Mrs.* are not usable on their own without being followed by a lexical item, usually LN, to create a compound term. The title *Miss* can be used separately only in contacting an unknown person, such as a salesgirl or a waitress and acquires different meaning. Address in the phrases like “*Excuse me, Miss*” ignores the question of marital status.

The Japanese titles cannot stand alone as well, but they are in a form of suffix. They can normally combine with family names or a cluster of a first name and a family name but also with first name only as in (64). In addition, they can be attached to other nominal terms - to family titles as in (65) (cf. 4.2.3.2.1), and to professional or functional titles (cf. 4.2.3.2.3).

- (64) a. *NORIKO SAN, anata mofuku motte kita. (1:04:24)*  
Noriko-HON, you mourning-clothes bring came
- b. *NORIKO did YOU bring mourning clothes?*
- c. *NORIKO, vzala jste si šaty na pohřeb?*
- (65) a. *OTOUSAMA, osake osuki nan desu no. (32:45)*  
father-HON, alcohol-HON like-HON be-POL
- b. *Do you like sake FATHER?*
- c. *Máte rád sake, TATÍNKU?*

In Czech, the forms of address titles *pane/paní/slečno* can stand by themselves or combine with other lexical items, which are a family name as in (63), or a full name. Such a combination, especially the latter one, makes them sound more formal than when they appear on their own.

The combination of title with a first name as in (64) is very common in Japanese and is possible also in Czech, but in English hardly ever appears. In Czech the cluster containing the title *pan*, *paní* and a first name functions as an intermediate stage before switching to the informal address pattern. The titles *pan*, *paní* serve as a politeness and respect carrier for informal terms consisting only of first names.

These address patterns were already discussed in chapter 4.2.3.1 as the semi-official or half-formal forms of address, which serve as a compromise between the formal set of family names, titles and their combinations, on the one hand and the informal first names on the other.

Due to the grammatical features of the Czech and the Japanese linguistic system, the dimension of respect and formality accounts for a form of the verb which accompanies the honorific titles. As it is obvious in examples (63), (64) and (65) the verbal form acquire second person plural in Czech.

A form of the Japanese verb depends on the degree of respect implied. In the half-formal construction with first name as in (64), only a plain form of verb is used and respect is expressed chiefly by the title *-san*. In a more formal situation, when the title combines with last name or another title, as in (63) and (65), the polite verbal form must be used. Politeness of utterance can be further modified by usage of honorific terms and respectful verbal forms. The degree of formality gets modified also by the form of the title, *-sama* being more polite than *-san*, according to the hierarchy in (62).

The titles *-chan* and *-kun* are commonly applied in Japanese but do not have English and Czech equivalents. The example below shows the usage of *-chan* and *-kun*.

- (66) a. *Isamu CHAN, obāchan to omote e ikimashō.* (11:33)  
Isamu HON, grandma with front-side to go-POL.
- b. *Will you go with grandma for a walk?*
- c. *Půjdeme na procházku, ISAMU?*
- (67) a. *Naa, HIRAYAMA KUN.* (76:11)  
listen, Hirayama-HON
- b. *Listen, HIRAYAMA.*
- c. *Heled', HIRAYAMO.*
- (68) a. *Nani MINORU!* (17:43)  
what Minoru!
- b. *MINORU! Behave yourself!*
- c. *Chovej se slušně, MINORU!*

The Japanese titles *-kun* and *-chan* are not traditional honorific titles, since they cannot be used in power relation toward one's superior. They are used toward persons of lower status or age, especially toward children. The suffix *-kun* is applied only for boys or men. In example (67) it is attached to a surname and it serves as an informal address between adults but toward a good friend. In solidarity relations they can be used toward person of the same age and status. However, they have the same function as the titles *-san* and *-sama*, since FN address with *-kun* or *-chan* titles sounds more polite than only bare FN address in Japanese form as in (68).

In our texts, these titles appeared also in addresses indicating a couple of addressee as in the next example.

- (69) a. *Thank you very much, MR. and MRS. WEBB.* (62)  
 b. *Yā, WEBU SAN NO GOFŪFU, dōmo arigatō.* (82)  
 So, Webb-HON GEN couple, thank you very much.  
 c. *Děkujem, všEM moc děkujem.* (37)

The English pattern consists of a cluster of the titles for male and female plus their last name. The Czech pattern would be the same (*pane a paní Webbovi*) only adapted to the Czech grammatical system, but it was replaced by a pronoun form in the translation. The Japanese structure in (69) proves that the title *san* is applicable to both genders. Lubecka (1993: 47) claims that this usage is reserved for formal occasions and is marked with politeness.

There are also series of forms of address which do not have to be followed by any other terms in English: *Sir*, *Madame* and *Lady*. Lubecka (1993: 75) states that it primarily functioned as a prefix to the name of a knight, a baronet or a woman of higher rank. This makes its usage coloured with respect, high status and politeness, although it appears as an address to any adult man to whom one wants to show respect. Let us observe the function of *sir* in our text:

- (70) a. *Not at all, SIR; not at all.* (23)  
 d. *iya nani koreshiki* (35)  
 no what a-little-thing  
 e. *Není zač, rádo se stalo.* (13)

Example (70) proves that it is used as a common address term for any male in a polite way in English and not only to bearers of an aristocratic title. Morand (2000: 238) discusses this kind of addressing as one of the devices of negative politeness (terms defined by Brown and Levinson, 1978). Negative politeness has a function of establishing a social distance between speaker and hearer. It is expressing deference by using honorifics, as e.g. in “*Can I help you, Sir*”, which elevate the hearer’s status, and thereby create an aura of respect and of social distance that cushions the impact of a FTA in turn.

The feminine equivalents to *Sir* are *Lady* and *Madam* and they can be also courteously used as an address form to any woman nowadays. *Lady* is a more posh and respectful term as Lubecka (1993: 75) claims.

- (71) a. *No, MA’AM.* (25)  
 b. *Iya, OKUSAN.* (38)  
 no, wife  
 c. *Nikoli, VÁŽENÁ PANÍ.* (15)

Example (71) shows that the title *Madam*, in its more colloquial variant *Ma'am*, corresponds to the classification of the term *Madam* as a term, which expresses deference and politeness in a formal but not too luxurious setting.

We should discuss also the plural forms. Lubecka (1993: 80) lists the English terms as follows:

(72)

<i>Lady</i>	<i>Ladies</i>
<i>Madame</i>	<i>Mesdames, Madam – Madams</i>
<i>Sir</i>	<i>Sirs</i>
<i>Mr., Mrs.</i> – no plural forms; <i>Miss</i>	<i>Misses</i>

The corresponding forms can be found also in Czech:

(73)

<i>pane</i>	<i>páni, pánové</i>
<i>paní</i>	<i>paní</i>
<i>dámo</i>	<i>dámy</i>

These forms usually appear in clusters containing both the masculine and the feminine title. The English and the Czech pattern bring together the plural counterparts of both sexes, however in Japanese there is no such pattern and the general term *mina* (everybody) plus honorific suffix *san* or more polite *sama* is applied instead.

- (74) a. *It's a question, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, make it talk.* (36)
- b. *Kibō o ushinatta hito e no yobikake desu yo, MINASAN,*  
hope ACC lost person to GEN appeal is-POL, everybody-HON,  
*dakara sono tsumori de.* (51)  
for-this-reason that intention by.
- c. *To má být jako otázka, DÁMY A PÁNOVÉ, tak ať je to poznat.* (22)
- (75) a. *MINASAMA, yōkoso, Tōkyō kudasaimashita.* (37:13)  
everybody-HON, welcome, Tokyo give-HONr
- b. *LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. Welcome to Tokyo.*
- c. *DÁMY A PÁNOVÉ, vítejte v Tokiu.*

This expression serves to attract attention and as a collective title expressing politeness and respect toward the audience during an official meeting.

These patterns prove again the difference in politeness expressions in individual languages. English possess special lexical terms to show respect to collocutors, whereas Japanese makes use of general pronoun accompanied by an honorific suffix and a respectful verbal form.

#### 4.2.3.2.3. Professional titles

This chapter concerns titles which are bestowed and achieved by appointment (e.g. *doctor, major*); or are inherited (e.g. *Count, Duke*); and

professional terms designating an addressee's occupation or function (*waiter*) as Braun (1988: 10) classifies them.

Titles serve as identification labels and indicators of profession, function, rank and social role. Their bearers are addressed not as private but as public persons and titles define their position within the hierarchy of social relations. This feature defines titles as inherently formal terms of address in correspondence to the theory by Brown/Ford (1961). They classified titles as the most respectful address terms in contrast to most familiar nicknames addresses.

Lubecka (1993: 59) suggests that the more formalised and hierarchised the application of these titles is, the more exact and precise the equivalence of their forms becomes; and the morpho-grammatical procedures to create address forms become richer and more productive as well.

Let us have a look a conversation concerning professional titles. The titles in example (76), although used only as reference <sup>18</sup> and not as direct address, illustrate the structure of professional titles terms. As Takenoya (2003: 7) posits, professional titles are formed from words indicating institutionally defined positions and thus they explicitly denote the bearer's post in a company hierarchy.

(76)

- a. *Demo anta, insatsu gaisha no BUCHŌSAN ja ttara.* (31:94)  
but you, printing company GEN department-head is
- b. *But a DEPARTMENT HEAD is a good position.*
- c. *Vždyť je ŠÉFEM ODDĚLENÍ.*
- a. *Naan'no BUCHŌSAN na monka! Mada KAKARICHŌ ja.*  
what department-head that's impossible! so far subsection-chief
- b. *DEPARTMENT HEAD, nothing! He's an ASSISTANT SECTION CHIEF.*
- c. *ŠÉFEM ODDĚLENÍ! Jen ASISTENTEM SEKČNÍHO ŠÉFA.*

The list in (77) by Bownas et al. (2005: 105) presents the titles within a Japanese company reflecting the hierarchy of statuses in the decreasing order.

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<sup>18</sup> For Japanese professional titles the same rule as for kinship terms is applied, distinguishing between the forms of address for outsiders and for insiders. In addressing the chairman of one's company, the plain form *kaichō* is used, while, in addressing the chairman of another company (outside one's group), the form *kaichōsan* with the honorific suffix *-san* must be used.



(77)

	Japanese	English	Czech
a.	<i>kaichō</i>	<i>chairman</i>	<i>předseda</i>
b.	<i>fuku-kaichō</i>	<i>vice-chairman</i>	<i>místo-předseda</i>
c.	<i>shachō</i>	<i>president</i>	<i>prezident</i>
d.	<i>fuku-shachō</i>	<i>vice-president</i>	<i>vice-prezident</i>
e.	<i>senmu torishimariyaku</i>	<i>senior managing director</i>	<i>generální ředitel</i>
f.	<i>jomu torishimariyaku</i>	<i>managing director</i>	<i>obchodní ředitel</i>
g.	<i>torishimariyaku</i>	<i>director</i>	<i>ředitel</i>
h.	<i>shikkō-yakuin</i>	<i>officer</i>	<i>úředník</i>
i.	<i>buchō</i>	<i>head of department</i>	<i>vedoucí oddělení</i>
j.	<i>jichō</i>	<i>deputy head of department</i>	<i>zástupce vedoucího oddělení</i>
k.	<i>kachō</i>	<i>head of section</i>	<i>vedoucí sekce</i>
l.	<i>kakarichō</i>	<i>head of subsection</i>	<i>vedoucí podsekce</i>
m.	<i>shain</i>	<i>company member</i>	<i>řadový zaměstnanec</i>

The professional titles repertoires in Japanese, English and Czech indicating position within a company, share their formal features. All three languages apply clearly defined hierarchical titles to express respect and deference.

The Japanese titles in (77) can be used independently or as a suffix to a name. They can be attached to LN and FLN, but being markers of formality they are unlikely to follow FN, e.g. *Tanaka Shachō* (LN). The English titles can be also used independently or attached to a name, but then they take the position preceding a name, e.g. *President Brown* (LN). The Czech titles stand in the initial position in a combination with names like the English titles, but they cannot be used independently and appear in clusters with general honorific titles *pane/paní* (Mr/Mrs). Titles combinations are further discussed in this chapter.

Lubecka (1993: 59) divides titles on grounds of their morphological structure into simple and compound forms. Simple forms are realised by a noun itself, whereas compound forms function as clusters of a noun with an adjective (e.g. *lecturer - senior lecturer*), another noun (*colonel - lieutenant-colonel*) or a prefix (*secretary - undersecretary*). By means of these morpho-grammatical procedures, a rich set of address formulas derived from the basic form has developed. These morphological processes are employed in English as well as in Japanese and Czech, as (77) demonstrates.

The Japanese forms are actually compounds: e.g. *buchō* combines a morpheme *bu* (department) and *chō* (a head, a chief), *shachō* was formed in the same way, from *sha* (company) + *chō* (head), thus literary meaning a head of company, etc.

Some forms of address become very long lexical segments because they contain different titles defining both the function and the profession or different academic titles. Such long title formulas consisting of two or more lexical

segments are not used in face-to-face contacts as a direct address. The only exceptions are the forms containing affixes which are inherent parts of the title itself, e.g. *vice-president*. However, even in such cases the suffixes tend to be omitted. The general tendency is to replace the composed forms containing the affixes *vice-*, *pro-*, *under-*, etc. with their simple counterparts for direct address (e.g. *vice-president* - *president*, *pro-consul* - *consul*, *undersecretary* - *secretary*) as Lubecka (ibid) claims. This kind of euphemistic forms heightens the status of the interlocutor and thus expresses respect to him. Otherwise, titles should be applied appropriately to the actual position of collocutors and adequacy is an important aspect of politeness in title addresses.

The following example shows another form and function of title in Japanese.

- (78) a. *Good morning, MR. NEWSOME.* (103)  
 b. *Ohayō, GYŪNYŪYA SAN.* (130)  
 morning, milkman-HON  
 c. *Dobrejtro, PANE NEWSOME.* (65)

Example (78) demonstrates a very conspicuous difference between English/Czech and Japanese. English/Czech tends to avoid professional and functional titles if they denote low professions such as conductor, milkman, driver, etc. They are usually replaced by the title *Mr./Mrs.* plus LN. When they are used as a direct address in English/Czech, they get coloured with irony and lose their function of politeness marker.

Japanese uses many other occupational titles for a direct address, as signal the list below by Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 63):

(79)

<i>o-mawari-san</i>	policeman
<i>yūbinya-san</i>	mailman
<i>daiku-san</i>	carpenter
<i>o-furoya-san</i>	owner of public bath
<i>denkiya-san</i>	electrician
<i>suidōya-san</i>	water-meter reader, collector of water bills, plumber
<i>insatsuya-san</i>	printer
<i>hokenya-san</i>	insurance man
<i>gasuya-san</i>	gasman

These terms are again compound forms, consisting of the subject of one's job (e.g. *furo* - bath, *yūbin* - mail, *denki* - electricity, *suidō* - waterworks, *insatsu* - printing), a suffix *-ya* denoting a place where the occupation is performed (*furoya* - public bath), and a suffix *-san*, generally used for persons, eventually deriving a term of occupation. The whole title can be further preceded by the honorific prefix *o-* (*o-furoya-san*).

In Japanese, categories of people may be also called by the name of the company that they are connected with. For example, a book salesman may be

called *honya-san*, meaning literally *Mr. bookstore*, following the pattern in (79). Or he may be called by the name of the particular store with *-san*, for example *Buntendō-san* would be a salesman in a Buntendō bookstore.

In English perhaps only children may say *Mr. Milkman*, *Mr. Gasman* etc., but they generally stop using these terms when they grow up and use the general address form of *Mr. + LN*.

Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 65) give a list of occupations, where titles are in common use as direct address terms also in English.

(80)

politicians (e.g. Senator)
ranks in armed forces (e.g. Captain)
men in clergy (e.g. Pastor)
men in medicine (e.g. Doctor)
men in university (e.g. Professor)

They claim that these categories of terms may be used in direct address as a kind of honorific by anyone who knows the position of the addressee. The terms denoting other occupations (e.g. officer, stewardess, bellboy, operator, bus driver, bartender, waitress, salesgirl) can be also applied as address form, but cannot be used when the speaker has no specific connection to the hearer on the job. That is, Americans would not call a bus driver by this term in direct address if he is not on the job at that moment and if they have no connection to him in his capacity as bus driver.

Thus we can see that the Japanese occupation terms are more widely applicable in direct address than those in English, where again general terms *Mr.* plus last name would be applied.

The formality of titles should be confirmed also by their grammatical and syntactic features. The principle of politeness denoted by titles is in case of Japanese and Czech realised also by the form of verb and pronoun which go together with the title (cf. chapter 4.2.1). Consider the underlined verbal and pronominal forms in the following examples.

- (81) a. *Have YOU any comments, MR. WEBB?* (24)  
 b. *WEBU SAN, ANATA no kojinteki kansō o hitotsu.* (37)  
 WebbHON, you GEN personal impression ACC one  
 c. *Ne, dēkuji, PANE REDAKTORE. Chtěl byste ještě něco poznamenat?* (14)
- (82) a. *Afraid we won't have time for that, PROFESSOR.* (22)  
 b. *Dōmo ne, sono jikan ga nai yō desu yo, SENSEI.* (34)  
 Thank you, that time SUBJ not seem-POL, teacher-HON.  
 c. *Velice VÁM děkujeme, PANE PROFESORE.* (13)

Following their formal function, titles usually demand formal verb and pronoun forms. In example (81) the Czech verb is in its formal V form and the

Japanese pronoun is in its polite form. In (82) the polite verbal form in Japanese and formal V pronominal form in Czech appear.

In the analysed texts, titles appear also in half-formal or informal setting. Due to their formal characteristics, titles are not expected to combine with hypocoristic or create diminutives. Lubecka (1993: 63) claims that titles used in informal setting are marked with emotions, positive affections, irony or even derision. Let us consider the connotation of titles in the examples below, which are used in half-formal or even informal situations.

- (83) a. *Morning, DOC. GIBBS.* (8)
- b. *SENSEI, ohayō* (5)  
teacher-HON, morning.
- c. *Dobrejtro, PANE DOKTORE.* (19)
- (84) a. *Morning, DOC.* (10)
- b. *SENSEI, ohayō* (6)  
teacher-HON, morning
- c. *Dobrejtro, PANE DOKTOR.* (21)

The informality of the situations in (83) and (84) are indicated by the abbreviated form of title *Doc.* instead of *Doctor* in English. In combination with informal greeting *Morning*, it implies familiarity and a friendly relationship between collocutors, which can work as tactics of positive politeness (term by Brown and Levinson, 1978).

Morand (2000: 239) suggests that in-group name may serve to imply familiarity, as in e.g. “*Hey Bud, have you gotta minute?*” It is further supported by in-group speech forms and linguistic elements characteristic of speech among social intimates, such as informal greeting forms in (83) and (84).

Positive politeness tactics function to soften the friction that might arise from speaker’s performance of FTA, but Morand considers the positive tactics less polite compared to the negative tactics. This is because the suggested familiarity carries a risk of being presumptuous. It embeds different assumptions as to the nature of the shared social reality between a speaker and a hearer. The negative politeness admits the existence of an imposition and directly tries to mollify it. On the other hand, the positive politeness implies that due to the same underlying social solidarity there is no such imposition.

Czech translation uses the proper form of the title in (83), but the usual vocative form of address *pane doktore* is replaced by the nominative form *pane doktor* in (84). Nominative address form was originally a dialect form, but it came into usage also in the colloquial style as a variant of the official form, which can be sometimes felt to be too formal as Daneš et al. (1957: 48) explain. They list other examples of this kind of address such as *pane učitel* (teacher) instead of *pane učiteli*, *pane Novák* instead of *pane Nováku*.

In Japanese, a special lexical word is used in examples (83) and (84) to express respect to the collocutor. The word *sensei* primarily means *teacher*, but as Takenoya (2003: 7) mentions, its usage has been widened and it is generally

used for reference to a person who is respected for his capabilities. As a title, it is confined not only to teachers but also to medical doctors as in our examples, and other representatives in the national, prefectural, or local legislatures, authors, film directors, artists, politicians, etc.

The title *Doctor* has a wide usage also in English and Czech. Lubecka (1993: 62) points out that one title can function as a marker of both academic position and occupation. It concerns the Czech title *doktor*, which describes a person trained in medical science, a physician and a surgeon and it also stands for an academic title. On the other hand, in case of the academic title *doctor* English makes a clear distinction between *doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)* and *doctor of Science (Ph.Sc.)* and Lubecka (ibid) claims that these titles never appear as direct forms of address.

Japanese and English titles contrast in reciprocity. The English occupational terms are reciprocal. That is, they simply denote occupation as well as carry some respect. An American may refer to himself as a doctor if asked for his occupation as well as being called “Doctor” in direct or indirect address by others. As Goldstein/Tamura (1975: 66) stress, the term in Japanese varies according to whether we give our occupation, we are called directly by others, or others speak about us. Accordingly, the doctor calls himself *isha* (doctor), is addressed by polite term *sensei*, and the others speak about him using the honorific form *o-isha-san*.

Titles in Czech are obligatorily combined with other nominal variants of address, respectively *pane/paní* (Mr./Mrs.) variant, depending on the gender and marital status of the addressee, in order to make the whole cluster sound polite (cf. 4.2.3.2.2). It generally follows the following pattern:

(85)

*pan/paní* + professional, academic, rank or societal title

Lubecka suggests that the formal title *Mr./san/pane* represents the dimension of politeness in the address forms containing professional, functional, academic or rank marker. Titles are thus polite address terms if they follow the more general rules creating polite address pattern proper to a given language. In English they function rather as set expressions and they are applied during social encounters which are very formal and ceremonious as the following examples by Lubecka (1993: 65) signal.

(86)

<i>Mr. Speaker</i>
<i>Mr. Chairman</i>
<i>Mr. Justice</i>
<i>Mr. Alderman</i>
<i>Mr. Toastmaster</i>

Japanese is closer to Czech than to English in combination of professional and functional titles with the honorific title. The dimension of politeness is fully expressed by professional title in English, whereas the form *pane/paní* must precede professional and functional title in Czech and the form *-san* must follow it in Japanese (except for *sensei*).

#### 4.2.4. Attributive forms of address

Attributive forms of address create a relatively small and rather individual group, in the languages examined. Lubecka (1993: 82) claims, that theoretically all adjectives could play the role of address, but in practice only a small percentage belongs to the socially accepted repertoire of address terms. The others are idiolectal or private address formulas.

A typical adjective of address in English is *dear*, which was actually the only English adjective in the texts:

(87)

- a. *Well, DEAR, it's a good thing to spend some every now and then.* (16)
- b. *Demo ne, tama ni wa tsukatte miru no mo ii koto da kedo.* (26)  
but, now-and-then TOP use-try NOM also good thing is though.
- c. *Nebylo by na škodu, REBEKO, kdyby sis občas něco koupila.* (9)

(88)

- a. *Sh, DEAR. Just rest yourself.* (110)
- b. *Shi, damatte. jitto shiterasshai.* (139)  
Sh, hush. still be.
- c. *Šš, HOLČÍČKO, jen pěkně odpočívej.* (70)

The examples (87) and (88) correspond to the statement that attributive forms of address are never neutral and function as evaluating labels defining the relationships between the collocutors. The English adjective *dear* functions as a term of endearment, because of its semantic meaning.

There is no such attributive form of address in Japanese and Czech translations. Japanese applies only informal plain verbal form as the only referent to the hearer. Czech replaces the attributive form by the nominal form, first name and a hypocoristics.

Attributive address forms can be carriers of other potential expressive values and they can imply also respect and politeness. Consider the following example.

(89)

- a. *That's the end of the First Act, FRIENDS.* (46)
- b. *MINASAN, kore de dai ichi maku no owari desu.* (63)  
everybody-HON, this by first act GEN end is-POL
- c. *Konec prvního dějství, VÁŽENÍ.* (29)

The typical attributive form of address in Czech is *vážení*. It serves for addressing a group of people deserving respect. It can be used in formal situations or in half-formal situations, as the English equivalent term in (89) signals.

In a more formal appeal, English would apply some conventional nominal pattern as *ladies and gentlemen* in this place. In Japanese the common pronoun *mina*, denoting simply everybody is used. When respect is needed to

be expressed, the honorific suffixes *-san* or *-sama* are attached to it, creating polite address forms *minasan* or *minasama* (cf. chapter 4.2.3.2.2).

Attributive address terms may further combine into longer address patterns, they can take other qualifying adjectives, possessive adjectives or adverbs. They can also take prefixes or suffixes typical for the category of adjectives, as are in superlative adjectives, e.g. Eng. *-est, dearest*, Cz. *nej-, nejmilejší*) as Lubecka (1993: 83) points out.

Since in Czech adjectives can form their diminutives from their basic form, they can be varied also by this morpho-grammatical procedure, e.g. *malý* - *maličký* (small). Diminutives are more strongly marked and coloured with feelings. They can be further accompanied by the possessive adjective in the first person singular *můj* (my), which is strongly loaded with affection and makes the communication even more personal and warmer.

Hypocoristic adjectives demand very informal and intimate situation and thus cannot be used in formal polite addressing. When the Czech adjective *malý/malý* is used in asymmetrical relationships, the addressor acts as more powerful and such diminutive address form would be regarded as ironical and disrespectful. Once a term of endearment, it gets the opposite dimension with negative values.

Neither English nor Japanese use this attributive form of address, although its lexical equivalents (*small, chīsai*) exist in both languages. In English and Japanese the attributive form is usually replaced by nominal form. In American English it is performed by the informal expressions such as *buddy* (male to male), or *honey* (female and male to female).

In Japanese the adjective forms are not used on their own but appear together with a nominal form, e.g. *kawaii ko* (beloved child). This nominal address can be further accompanied by the suffix of endearment *-chan*.

The morpho-grammatical properties of attributive form of address in Czech inform us about the sex of the addressee in singular when it stands by itself or it corresponds to the nominal form in a cluster as in (90). English and Japanese adjectives do not reflect differences between genders.

(90)

- a. *Well, MA'AM, I wouldn't know what you'd call much.* (25)
- b. *Sō desu ne, sōtō to iū no ga dono teido no koto ka wakarimasen ga,*(37)  
well,           considerable NOM which extend NOM do-not-knowPOL but,
- c. *Promiňte, VÁŽENÁ PANÍ, nevím, čemu říkáte hodně.* (15)

The attributive forms can reflect intensity of feelings by means of diminutives, superlatives and possessive adjectives in English and Czech. Their lexical contents decide about informality and affectivity.

To sum up this chapter, the attributive forms of address do not appear very often on their own in English and Czech, where they tend to co-exist with nominal terms. In Japanese attributive forms cannot function as address terms and are replaced by the nominal counterparts or verbal reference.

## 5. Conclusion

The results of this study supported the claims of pragmatic approaches that cross-culture comparison of speech acts is not possible only on the level of linguistics and socio-linguistics, concerning linguistic expressions and address terms repertoires in isolation, without understanding the culture-specific concept of politeness. The terms of address cannot be considered to be polite only when they are linguistically correct but they should be communicatively adequate as well.

### 5.1. Polite terms of address as a part of grammatical system

Politeness as a part of grammatical system can be observed mainly in terms of honorifics. We classified Japanese as an honorific language and distinguished it from English and Czech as non-honorific languages in chapter 1.2. Although, it was noted that some elements analogous to Japanese honorifics can be found also in English, they are eventually dissimilar from the Japanese system.

For example, the use of titles in addressing closely resembles honorifics. However, English titles *Mr*, *Mrs* or *Miss* are not generally applicable in address forms as the Japanese title *-san*. It was demonstrated by the examples that *-san* can be attached not only to last names, but also to first names, kinship titles, professional titles and even to pronominal forms of address. It expresses respect to the collocutor in all these clusters and is widely used even in rather informal situations and towards long-time acquaintances. Honorifics in Czech are restricted mainly to pronouns and verbal imperatives, but they can express politeness by referring to the addressee using V pronoun and second person plural verb.

The classification of honorific Japanese versus non-honorific Czech can be justified, since Japanese employs addressee related verbal forms, humble forms and third person referent related honorifics in contrast to Czech (cf. chart in (91)). However, these features are not relevant for direct addressing and thus Japanese address system appears to be closer to Czech than to English concerning polite address terms.

We further classified languages according to the grammatical typology in the chapter 1.2. This distinction appeared to be useful concerning address terms formation according to the procedures applied in individual languages. English was defined as an isolating language which does not widely apply grammatical morphological procedures. It corresponds to the fact that English relies mainly on lexical means also in case of address terms. Japanese is an agglutinative language which applies word formation to create compound address forms and grammatical procedures. Czech is an inflectional language which uses grammatical procedures and distinguishes polite verbal forms by means of inflectional endings.

These differences were proved during the texts analysis where the English nominal address terms were often omitted in the Japanese and Czech translation and substituted by verbal forms. English has only one second person pronoun for address and cannot refer to the collocutors by verbal forms in



contrast to Japanese and Czech. Therefore English has to employ lexical forms of address, mostly names and titles for expressing politeness. The analysis of linguistic systems revealed that Japanese has actually a wider repertoire of honorific titles than English, but in contrast to non-honorific system of English, the Japanese honorific system relies mainly on verbal forms (cf. chart in (91)).

Another account of this distinction is the occurrence of half-formal address forms in both Japanese and Czech but not in English. Half-formal structures consist of first name plus polite or respectful verbal form in Japanese, and first name plus second person plural verbal and pronominal forms in Czech. This is possible due to the verbal grammatical procedures only in Japanese and Czech. English lacks these half-formal constructions which would stand between informal first name address and formal last name address terms on a scale of politeness suggested by Brown and Ford (1961).

(91) Language devices for expressing politeness in English, Czech and Japanese.

	English	Czech	Japanese
Addressee honorifics	-	-	<i>kakimasu</i>
Directive referent honorifics	-	-	<i>o-kaki suru</i>
Subject referent honorifics	-	-	<i>o-kaki ni naru</i>
3rd person			
2nd person	- (you)	<i>píšete</i> vy	<i>o-kaki ni naru</i> (anata)
Titles: - family - professional - academic - functional	<i>Mr./Mrs./Miss</i> <i>mother</i> <i>Doctor</i> <i>Professor</i> <i>Mr. Chairman</i>	<i>pane/paní/slečno</i> <i>maminko</i> <i>pane doktore</i> <i>pane profesore</i> <i>pane předsedo</i>	<i>-sama/-san/-kun/-chan</i> <i>o-kā-san</i> <i>sensei</i> <i>sensei</i> <i>kaichō san</i>

## 5.2. Polite address behaviour in communication

From a cross-cultural pragmatic point of view, address usage comes into focus when there are several variants, all of which are grammatically correct. The selection of grammatically interchangeable forms is then determined by extra-linguistic factors in a given cultural and conversational context.

This study approved that cultural norms and values are strongly reflected in particular address systems. The traditional concepts of politeness applied in American culture as opposed to the values in Japanese culture were

cited in chapter 2.3. Equality and friendliness were chosen as the most representative values for American culture; while hierarchy and formal respect were chosen as characteristic values for Japanese culture.

The Japanese system of hierarchy and respect results in a high sensitivity to the position of collocutors in a speech community. The distinction between American and Japanese concept is obvious especially in the kinship terms of address. The reciprocal usage of first name address among almost all the American collocutors cannot be employed in Japanese.

Japanese forms of address express difference of age even within one generation which causes nonreciprocal address behaviour among siblings. In accordance to the hierarchy in Japanese society, younger siblings call their older siblings by the kinship terms, but in English translation no address forms such as *brother* or *sister* appeared. Moreover, husband and wife are also not equal according to the Japanese hierarchy. First name address forms applied reciprocally in English between wife and husband were transferred into Japanese using family terms. When Japanese husband and wife used pronouns, wife used a standard form *anata*, while husband used more informal term *omae*.

The English pronominal system with one equal form generally applicable for everybody perfectly suits to the demands of positive politeness. The problem arises when it is translated into Czech and Japanese, because we have to decide for one form between two, respectively among several hierarchical pronominal variants. The existence of several pronominal variants in Japanese suits, on the other hand, to the hierarchical society of Japan. The hierarchical order contributes to non-reciprocal usage of address terms. Detailed encoding of difference in status makes non-reciprocal addressing easier and more frequent.

The Japanese pronoun *anata* is defined as a standard and polite form, but as the text analysis revealed, it is not generally applicable like the English pronoun *you*. It cannot be used in power relation toward one's superior and thus a nominal form, such as *sensei*, has to be applied instead of the pronoun.

This fact contributes to the conclusion that Japanese politeness applies negative strategy and the vertical status dimension in almost every situation and definitely more often than American politeness, which prefers positive strategy and the horizontal status dimension. In Czech, both vertical and horizontal status dimension models are employed. Czech address pattern thus stands somewhere between the almost exclusively non-reciprocal power governed Japanese address behaviour (e.g. T/V pronouns distinction) and the typically reciprocal solidarity based American addressing (e.g. equal addressing among siblings).

The subjects and situations in this study were limited by the characters and situations of a drama and a film. The aim was to describe the traditional and culture-bound concept of politeness in addressing. The sample texts corresponded to it, although they could not capture the reality with its richness of variants. Furthermore, a comparison of the terms of address in more recent record would bring more complex results valid for today's situation. Therefore, further investigation is required in this respect.

## **6.   Anotace**

## 7. Bibliography

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