Deconstruction of the Speaker and the Three-Tier Model of Language Use[*]
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1. Introduction

In this paper, I will investigate certain differences between Japanese and English on the relation between grammar and pragmatics, and present a model of language use that can provide an explanatory basis for the differences. The model, which I call the "three-tier model of language use", is built on the concepts of public and private self as two aspects of the speaker, which have been developed in a series of previous studies (Hirose (1995, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2008, 2009, 2012), Hasegawa and Hirose (2005), Hirose and Hasegawa (2010)).

The grammatico-pragmatic phenomena to be investigated here center around what I call the "paradoxicality of the speaker-addressee relationship", which can be stated as follows: In Japanese, as compared to English, it is notably observed that while the speaker is grammatically treated in a privileged way, he must pay due consideration to his relationship with the addressee and encode it linguistically in communication.

I will first illustrate the ways in which the speaker is grammatically treated in a privileged way in Japanese, but not in English. As is well known, Japanese psychological predicates, such as predicates of emotion and sensation, are subject to "person restrictions" in that their simple present forms can occur with first person subjects, but not with non-first person subjects. Take the emotive predicate *sabisi-i* 'lonely' as an example.[1]

(1)　a.　*Watasi　wa　sabisi-i.*
　　　　　I　　　TOP　lonely-PRES
　　　　　'I am lonely.'
　　b.　**Kare　wa　sabisi-i.*
　　　　　he　　TOP　lonely-PRES
　　　　　'He is lonely.'

[1] The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples in this paper: ACC = accusative, COP = copula, DAT = dative, EMPH = emphatic, GEN = genitive, HON = honorific, HS = hearsay, IMP = imperative, LOC = locative, NEG = negative, NMLZ = nominalizer, NOM = nominative, PAST = past, PERF = perfective, POL = polite, PRES = present, PT = polite title, Q = question, QUOT = quotative, SFP = sentence-final particle, STAT = stative, SUPER-POL = super-polite, TOP = topic.

As is often pointed out, the acceptability contrast between (1a) and (1b) is due to the fact that one can have direct access to one's own mental states, but not to another's. Although this privileged status of the speaker seems cognitively universal (e.g. Bar-On and Long (2001)), it is not directly reflected in English, where psychological predicates in simple present tense allow non-first as well as first person subjects, as in (2).

(2) a.   I am lonely.
     b.   He is lonely.

Another argument for the privileged status of the speaker in Japanese comes from the fact that the speaker is usually unexpressed even when he is a direct participant in the situation being described, i.e. a phenomenon which Langacker (1990) terms "subjectification". Thus, as observed by Nishimura (2000), the first-person subject of a perception construction is usually expressed overtly in English, but not in Japanese.

(3) a.   I see a bus over there.
     b.   I heard a strange noise somewhere in the house.
(4) a.   *Mukoo   ni   basu ga   mie-ru.*
           over.there LOC bus   NOM see-PRES
           '(I) see a bus over there.'
     b.   *Ie   no   dokoka   de   henna   monooto   ga   kikoe-ta.*
           house GEN somewhere LOC strange noise   NOM hear-PAST
           '(I) heard a strange noise somewhere in the house.'

In Langackerian terms, the overt use of *I* in (3) means that the speaker as the subject of perception is placed "onstage" with the other participants, thus objectively construed as an object of description. On the other hand, the non-representation of the speaker in (4) indicates that the speaker as the subject of perception is placed "offstage" and relegated to the background of consciousness; it is thereby implied that the speaker of (4) is subjectively involved, or immersed, in the situation he is describing. Furthermore, as mentioned by Nishimura, if a first-person subject is used explicitly, as in (5), it is interpreted contrastively, meaning something like "I, in contrast to others"; so it is not appropriate to regard the sentences in (4) as those in which the first-person subject has been omitted.[2]

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[2] Ikegami (2000, 2007), for example, speaks of the "zero-encoding of the speaker" to describe this phenomenon.

(5) a. *Watasi ni wa mukoo ni basu ga mie-ru.*
    I   DAT TOP over.there LOC bus NOM see-PRES
    'As for myself, I see a bus over there.'

  b. *Watasi ni wa ie no dokoka de henna*
    I   DAT TOP house GEN somewhere LOC strange
    monooto ga kikoe-ta.
    noise   NOM hear-PAST
    'As for myself, I heard a strange noise somewhere in the house.'

Next we will see that in communication Japanese speakers must always consider and encode their relationship with the addressee, while English speakers need not. First, as noted by Matsumoto (1988, 1989), when telling someone in conversation that today is, say, Saturday, Japanese speakers rarely use a plain-form sentence like (6), which would sound as if they were talking to themselves or to someone very close to them. Instead, they normally say sentences such as those in (7), employing a sentence-final particle like *yo*, the polite form of copula *desu*, or the super-polite form *degozaimasu* in accordance with their social or socio-psychological relationship with the addressee.

(6) *Kyoo wa doyoobi da.*
    today TOP Saturday COP
    'Today is Saturday.'

(7) a. *Kyoo wa doyoobi da yo.*
    today TOP Saturday COP SFP
    'Today is Saturday (I tell you).'

  b. *Kyoo wa doyoobi desu.*
    today TOP Saturday COP.POL
    'Today is Saturday.'

  c. *Kyoo wa doyoobi degozaimasu.*
    today TOP Saturday COP.SUPER-POL
    'Today is Saturday.'

English speakers, on the other hand, can utilize the same sentence *Today is Saturday* to talk to anyone, regardless of their mutual relationship.

Another way in which Japanese speakers, unlike English speakers, pay due consideration to their relationship with the addressee is that they must be sensitive to whether or not the information conveyed by an utterance is shared with the addressee. For example, when conveying information unknown to the addressee, Japanese

speakers can use an assertive form of sentence, as in (8), where the fact that Hanako is ill is assumed to be new information to the addressee. It is not appropriate, however, to use an assertive form when the information being conveyed is known to the addressee; thus, as pointed out by Kamio (1990, 1994), sentence (9a) cannot be used when both speaker and addressee are under a clear blue sky. In such a case, Japanese speakers must employ a non-assertive form with the sentence-final particle *ne*, as in (9b), which signals that the information falls within the addressee's "territory of information", to use Kamio's terminology.

> (8) *Hanako wa byooki desu.*   [known only to speaker]
>   Hanako TOP ill   COP.POL
>   'Hanako is ill.'
>
> (9) a. *#Ii tenki desu.*   [known to both speaker and addressee]
>   good weather COP.POL
>   'It's a beautiful day.'
>   b. *Ii tenki desu ne.*
>   good weather COP.POL SFP
>   'It's a beautiful day, isn't it?'

In English, by contrast, it is possible to use an assertive form like (11) as well as (10), irrespective of whether or not the information being conveyed is shared with the addressee.

> (10) Hanako is ill.
> (11) It's a beautiful day.

From the discussion so far, we can ask the following question. Why is the paradoxicality of the speaker-addressee relationship notably observed in Japanese, but not in English? I claim that the answer to this question can be provided by the three-tier model of language use, a theory that generally deals with the relation between grammar and pragmatics. In what follows, I will first give the gist of the three-tier model and then present linguistic evidence for it.

2. The Three-Tier Model of Language Use

The three-tier model can be summarized in the following four main points.

> (i) The speaker, who construes a situation and encodes it linguistically, can be deconstructed into the "public self" as the subject of communicating and

the "private self" as the subject of thinking or consciousness.   English is a public-self centered language, whereas Japanese is a private-self centered language.

(ii)   Language use consists of three tiers: One is the "situation construal" tier, in which the speaker as private self construes a situation, forming a thought about it; another is the "situation report" tier, in which the speaker as public self reports or communicates his construed situation to the addressee; and the third is the "interpersonal relationship" tier, in which the speaker as public self construes and considers his interpersonal relationship with the addressee.   Languages differ as to how the three tiers are combined, according to whether their basic "egocentricity" lies in the public self or the private self.

(iii)   In English, a public-self centered language, the situation construal tier is normally unified with the situation report tier, to which is added the interpersonal relationship tier (see Figure 1 below).   The unification of situation construal and situation report means that one gives priority to the outside perspective from which to report a situation and linguistically encodes as much as is necessary to report about the situation.   Thus, even when the speaker himself is involved in a situation as a participant, the reporter's perspective places his self as a participant on a par with the other participants.   On the other hand, the fact that situation report is not unified with interpersonal relationship means that one can assume an unmarked (or neutral) level of communication which does not depend on any particular relationship between speaker and addressee, a level where the speaker and the addressee are linguistically equal, being in a symmetrical relationship.   This default level of communication can be modified, though, by taking into account additional factors concerning the interpersonal relationship between speaker and addressee, such as politeness, deference, and intimacy.

(iv)   In Japanese, a private-self centered language, the situation construal tier is normally independent of the situation report tier and the interpersonal relationship tier (see Figure 2 below).   Thus, in construing a situation, the speaker can freely place himself in the situation and view it from the inside; also, he does not need to linguistically encode what is already given in his consciousness.   On the other hand, situation report is unified with interpersonal relationship, which means that in reporting a situation to someone, the speaker must always construe and consider his interpersonal relationship with the addressee, defining himself and the addressee in

terms of that relationship. Thus, in situation report, interpersonal relationship is linguistically encoded as much as possible, and there is no unmarked level of communication neutral to interpersonal relationship.

The three-tier model, as applied to English and Japanese, is shown in Figures 1 and 2, where S stands for "speaker or self", O for "situation as object of construal", and H for "hearer or addressee"; the single arrow ($\rightarrow$) denotes the process of "construing", and the double arrow ($\Rightarrow$) that of "reporting or communicating (to someone)"; and the circle ($\bigcirc$) indicates where the unmarked deictic center is located.
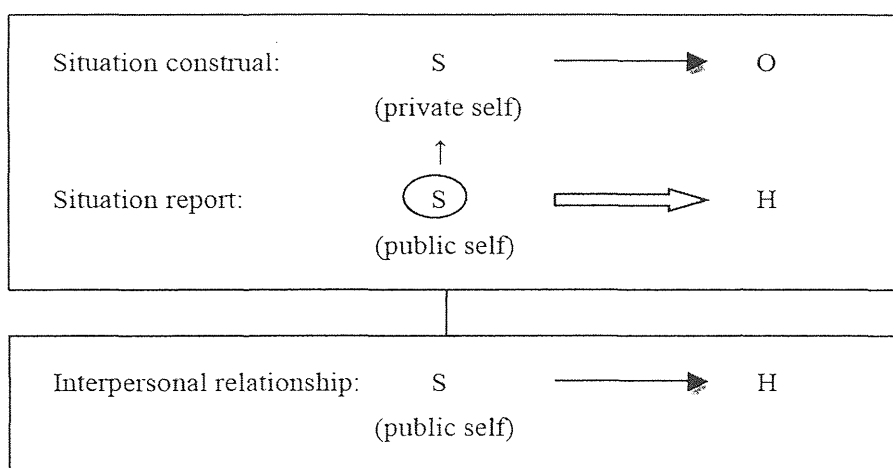

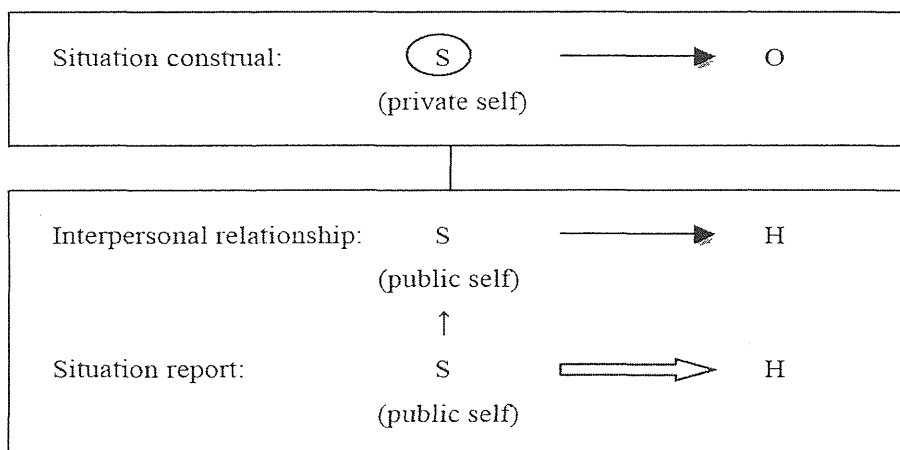Figure 1. *English as a public-self centered language*

Figure 2. *Japanese as a private-self centered language*

In what follows, I will provide arguments for the three-tier model and account for the paradoxicality of the speaker-addressee relationship in terms of the model.

3. English as a Public-Self Centered Language and Japanese as a Private-Self Centered Language

One of the important hypotheses of the three-tier model is that English is a public-self centered language, whereas Japanese is a private-self centered language. I will first discuss this hypothesis.

As mentioned above, the public self is the speaker as the subject of communicating, i.e. the speaker who faces an addressee or has one in mind, while the private self is the speaker as the subject of thinking or consciousness, i.e. the speaker who has no addressee in mind. The public and private self are the subjects of two different levels of linguistic expression called *public* and *private expression*. Public expression corresponds to the communicative function of language, and private expression to the non-communicative, thought-expressing function of language. Thus public expression requires the presence of an addressee, whereas private expression does not. There are linguistic expressions that inherently presuppose the existence of an addressee. Among such expressions in Japanese are (a) certain sentence-final particles (e.g. *yo* 'I tell you', *ne* 'you know'), (b) imperative expressions (e.g. *hasire* 'Run!'), (c) vocative expressions (e.g. *ooi/oi* 'hey'), (d) response expressions (e.g. *hai/iie* 'yes/no'), (e) pragmatic adverbials of various sorts (e.g. *sumimasen ga* 'Excuse me, but', *kokodake no hanasi dakedo* 'between you and me'), (f) polite verbs (e.g. *desu/masu*), (g) hearsay expressions (e.g. *(da)sooda/(da)tte* 'I hear'), and so on. These "addressee-oriented" expressions are themselves public expressions, and they also serve to make phrases and sentences containing them public expressions. On the other hand, phrases and sentences without addressee-oriented expressions are private expressions unless they are used by the speaker with the intention of communicating with another person (see Hirose (1995, 1997, 2000) for detailed discussion).

While public expressions involve communicative attitudes, private expressions correspond to mental states. Mental states are typically described in Japanese by verbs like *omou* 'think' followed by the stative aspectual verb *te-iru*. *Omou* and other mental-state verbs can take as a complement a reported clause marked by the quotative particle *to*. Because the level of linguistic expression that describes what one thinks, believes, doubts, or wishes must be private, a mental-state verb allows only a private expression as its reported-clause complement. Thus, consider the following examples (where angle brackets labeled *priv* represent a private expression and square brackets labeled *pub* represent a public expression).

(12) a. *Haruo wa* <priv *ame* <u>*ni-tigainai*</u>> *to* *omotte-iru.*
      Haruo TOP   rain must   QUOT think-STAT
      'Haruo thinks it must be raining.'

     b. *Haruo wa* <priv *ame* <u>*daroo*</u>> *to* *omotte-iru.*
      Haruo TOP   rain will   QUOT think-STAT
      'Haruo thinks it will be raining.'

(13) a. **Haruo wa* [pub *ame da* <u>*yo*</u>] *to* *omotte-iru.*
      Haruo TOP   rain COP SFP QUOT think-STAT
      'Haruo thinks "It is raining (I tell you)."'

     b. **Haruo wa* [pub *ame* <u>*desu*</u>] *to* *omotte-iru.*
      Haruo TOP   rain COP.POL QUOT think-STAT
      'Haruo thinks (politely) "It is raining."'

In (12) the reported clauses are private expressions because the underlined parts are modal expressions that represent mental states of certainty and conjecture. In (13), on the other hand, the underlined parts are addressee-oriented expressions which mark the whole reported clauses as public expressions. Hence the unacceptability of the sentences in (13).

Unlike mental-state verbs, utterance verbs such as *yuu* (or *iu*) 'say' allow both public and private expressions as their reported clauses. For example, the reported clauses in (14) are public expressions, regarded generally as cases of direct discourse.

(14) a. *Haruo wa Akiko ni* [pub *ame da* <u>*yo*</u>] *to* *itta.*
      Haruo TOP Akiko DAT   rain COP SFP QUOT said
      'Haruo said to Akiko, "It is raining (I tell you)."'

     b. *Haruo wa Akiko ni* [pub *ame* <u>*desu*</u>] *to* *itta.*
      Haruo TOP Akiko DAT   rain COP.POL QUOT said
      'Haruo said to Akiko (politely), "It is raining."'

Here the reported clauses convey not only Haruo's communicative attitude toward Akiko, but also his belief that it is raining. Focusing on the latter, we can report Haruo's utterance as private expression, using so-called indirect discourse, as in (15).

(15) *Haruo wa Akiko ni* <priv *ame da*> *to* *itta.*
    Haruo TOP Akiko DAT   rain COP QUOT said
    'Haruo told Akiko that it was raining.'

These observations lead to the following hypothesis, first developed in detail in Hirose (1995) (cf. also Hirose (1997, 2000, 2008, 2012), Wada (2001, 2002)).

> (16)　Direct discourse is a quotation of public expression, and indirect discourse is a quotation of private expression.

This means that while direct discourse can represent communicative attitudes of the original speaker, indirect discourse can represent only mental states of the original speaker.　We will return to this hypothesis shortly.

As argued at length in earlier work (see, among others, Hirose (2000), Hasegawa and Hirose (2005), Hirose and Hasegawa (2010)), Japanese and English differ significantly in how to encode the public and private self.　Their difference is summarized as follows.

> (17)　Japanese has a special word for private self, *zibun* 'self', but not any special word for public self, so that in Japanese a variety of words are used to represent the public self, depending on who is talking to whom (e.g. *boku* 'I (male-casual)', *atasi* 'I (female-casual)', *watasi* 'I (male-formal, female-formal/informal)', *watakusi* 'I (very formal)', *ore* 'I (male-casual/ vulgar)', *atai* 'I (female-vulgar)', kinship terms like *otoosan/okaasan* 'father/mother', and the occupational title *sensei* 'teacher').
>
> (18)　English has a special word for public self, *I*, but not any special word for private self, so that in English, personal pronouns are employed to represent the private self, depending on its grammatical person (e.g. *I, you,* or *he*).

In particular, the difference between Japanese and English regarding the private self is seen in the grammar of indirect discourse.

Since Japanese has *zibun* as a special word for private self, one's inner consciousness about oneself can be described by using *zibun*, as in (19).

> (19)　*Zibun wa   zettaini   tadasi-i.*
> 　　　 self　TOP　absolutely　right-PRES
> 　　　 Lit. 'Self be absolutely right.'

This sentence is a self-contained expression in which *zibun* refers to the subject of the represented consciousness and the present tense of the predicate corresponds to the time of the represented consciousness.　Thus (19) can be used about any person,

irrespective of whether that person is "I", "you", or "he".

(20) *Zibun wa zettaini tadasi-i to {boku/kimi/kare} wa*
self TOP absolutely right-PRES QUOT {I/you/he} TOP
omotta.
thought
Lit. 'Self be absolutely right, {I/you/he} thought.'

In English, on the other hand, sentences literally corresponding to (19) and (20) are ungrammatical. In order to represent the consciousness of a private self, it is necessary to postulate outside the consciousness a public self, or a reporting speaker, whose perspective determines the grammatical person of the private self and the tense of the represented consciousness, as in (21) (where (b) is a free indirect discourse version of (a)).

(21) a. {I/You/He} thought that *{I was/you were/he was}* absolutely right.
b. *{I was/You were/He was}* absolutely right, {I/you/he} thought.

In (21), the private self is encoded differently as either *I* or *you* or *he*, depending on its grammatical person, as seen from the public self. Although the represented consciousness semantically corresponds to the present time of the private self, it is formally framed in the past tense, because the present of the private self in the past is seen as past from the viewpoint of the public self.[3]

From these observations, we can say that in Japanese the consciousness of a private self can be expressed in a self-contained way within the consciousness because Japanese is a private-self centered language, whereas in English it cannot be expressed without postulating a public self outside the consciousness because English is a public-self centered language. That is, in Japanese, situation construal by a private self can be expressed independently of a public self, while in English it is dependent on situation report by a public self. This provides one piece of evidence that situation construal and situation report in the three-tier model are independent in Japanese, but unified in English.[4]

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[3] See Wada (2001:266-296; 2002) for a fuller discussion of how to interpret tenses in indirect discourse in connection with the distinction between public and private self.

[4] Unlike English, Japanese has no fixed word like *I* for the public self. Depending on the speaker's interpersonal relationship with the addressee, a variety of words are employed including those given in (17). Metaphorically speaking, while the private self designated by *zibun* is the "naked" self, those various words are different "clothes" for the private self to wear in public. This context-dependence of the way the public self is defined suggests the inseparability of interpersonal

4. The Unmarked Mode of Expression in Japanese and English

Let us further consider the unmarked mode of expression in Japanese and English. I argue here that the unmarked mode of expression is private expression in Japanese and public expression in English.

According to the Performative Analysis, proposed by Ross (1970), every declarative sentence of English has in its underlying structure a higher performative clause of the form I SAY TO YOU or I TELL YOU, which guarantees that the speaker is talking to the addressee. Thus, for example, sentence (22a) has a structure like (22b).

    (22)   a.   Today is Saturday.

            b.   I SAY TO YOU Today is Saturday.

In terms of the three-tier model, the performative part of (22b), I SAY TO YOU, corresponds to situation report, while the propositional part, "Today is Saturday", corresponds to situation construal. If the relation given in (22b) is incorporated in the simple sentence (22a), then it means that (22a) is a public expression in which situation construal and situation report are unified. In the case of Japanese sentences like (23a), by contrast, it is not possible to assume a similar performative clause, as in (23b).

    (23)   a.   *Kyoo wa doyoobi da.*

                 today TOP Saturday COP

                 'Today is Saturday.'

            b.   # I SAY TO YOU *Kyoo wa doyoobi da.*

Evidence for this difference between English and Japanese is provided by Shizawa (2009, 2011), who makes a contrastive analysis of speech act conditionals such as those in (24) and (25).

    (24)   a.   If you don't know, I tell you today is Saturday.

            b.   If you don't know, today is Saturday.

    (25)   a.   *Sira-nai nara {yuu/osieru} ga, kyoo wa doyoobi da.*

                 know-not if   {say/tell}   but today TOP Saturday COP

                 'If (you) don't know, (I) tell (you) today is Saturday.'

relationship from situation report in Japanese (cf. section 5 below). For more detailed discussion of the distinction between public and private self, as well as its linguistic and cultural implications, see Hirose (2000), Hasegawa and Hirose (2005), and Hirose and Hasegawa (2010).

       b.   *Sira-nai   nara,   kyoo   wa   doyoobi   da.
           know-not if   today TOP Saturday COP
           'If (you) don't know, today is Saturday.'

In (24a), the *if*-clause modifies the performative clause *I tell you*, providing a condition on the speaker's speech act. Furthermore, as (24b) shows, the same *if*-clause occurs even without an explicit performative clause. This means that in English, the utterance *Today is Saturday* itself can be interpreted as a public expression used by the speaker with the intention to communicate with the addressee.[5]

On the other hand, the Japanese counterpart of (24a) is (25a), where the conditional clause, *sira-nai nara* 'if (you) don't know', modifies the speech act verb *yuu* 'say' or *osieru* 'tell', which linguistically guarantees the speaker's communicative intention.[6] But, as pointed out by Shizawa, if these verbs are deleted, we get an ungrammatical sentence, as in (25b). That is, in Japanese the simple utterance *Kyoo wa doyoobi da* 'Today is Saturday' is itself a private expression in which no communicative intention is assumed. This is further confirmed by the acceptability of examples like the following.

   (26)   a. *(?)Sira-nai   nara,   kyoo   wa   doyoobi da   <u>yo</u>.*
             know-not if   today TOP Saturday COP SFP
             'If (you) don't know, today is Saturday.'
         b. <u>*Gozonzi*-nai</u> *yoo* <u>*desi*</u>   *tara,*   *kyoo* *wa* *doyoobi*
            know.HON-not seem COP.POL if   today TOP Saturday
            <u>*desu*</u> <u>*yo*</u>.
            COP.POL SFP
            'If (you) don't know, today is Saturday.'

Unlike (25b), these utterances are acceptable because of the underlined addressee-oriented expressions, which make them public expressions (see Shizawa (2009, 2011) for more detailed discussion).

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     [5] This is true regardless of whether or not the Performative Analysis is adopted.

     [6] In Japanese, *siranai nara {yuu/osieru} ga* in (25a) forms a syntactic unit that functions as a "modality expression", especially in the sense of Nakau (1994). In terms of the semantic distinction between modality and proposition, the English sentence in (24a) also can be divided as in (i), despite its syntactic structure (ii) (thanks to an anonymous reviewer for bringing this point to my attention).

    (i)   Semantics: [MODALITY If you don't know, I tell you] [PROPOSITION today is Saturday].
    (ii) Syntax: [S1 If you don't know [S2 I tell you today is Saturday]].

The fact that there is no such mismatch as that between (i) and (ii) in (25a) means that Japanese syntax is more faithful than English syntax to the distinction between modality and proposition.

5. Situation Report and Interpersonal Relationship

Let us next consider the relation between situation report and interpersonal relationship.   As we have just seen, the unmarked mode of expression in Japanese is private expression, i.e. not communication but rather representation of thoughts.   In order to communicate one's thoughts to another person, therefore, one has to use appropriate public expressions, paying attention to one's interpersonal relationship with that person.   This means, in terms of the three-tier model, that situation report is unified with interpersonal relationship in Japanese; simply put, it is not possible to communicate in Japanese without regard to interpersonal relationship (Matsumoto (1988, 1989), Ide (1989, 2006)).   Thus, as we saw above, when conveying the message "Today is Saturday" in conversation, Japanese speakers choose among options such as those in (27), depending on their social and psychological relationship with the addressee.

(27) a. *Kyoo wa doyoobi da yo.*
          today TOP Saturday COP SFP
          'Today is Saturday (I tell you).'
      b. *Kyoo wa doyoobi desu.*
          today TOP Saturday COP.POL
          'Today is Saturday.'
      c. *Kyoo wa doyoobi degozaimasu.*
          today TOP Saturday COP.SUPER-POL
          'Today is Saturday.'

On the other hand, the fact that the English sentence *Today is Saturday* can be used to talk to anyone means that English has an unmarked level of communication independent of particular relationships between speaker and addressee.   In terms of the three-tier model, English is different from Japanese in that while situation construal is unified with situation report, situation report is independent of interpersonal relationship.

It should be noticed, though, that interpersonal relationship can be reflected in English in the use of various address terms, as exemplified in (28), but they are additional elements and not indispensable for communication.

(28) Today is Saturday, {madam/ma'am/Mrs. Brown/Jane/darling/honey/etc.}.

Conversely, we might say that English has developed a variety of these address terms

as a means to additionally express interpersonal relationships independent of situation report.   Thus, for example, a highly formal term like *madam* or *ma'am* would correspond to the super-polite form *degozaimasu* in (27), and a term of endearment like *darling* or *honey* would correspond to an intimate particle like *yo*.   The important point, however, is that it is optional to use an address term in English, but mandatory to use an appropriate sentence-final expression in Japanese.   This difference obviously stems from whether situation report is separable from interpersonal relationship (cf. footnote 4).

6.   The Linguistic Encoding of the Self-Other Relationship in Situation Construal

So far we have seen the basic structure of the three-tier model.   On this basis, I will consider the ways in which the self-other relationship in situation construal is encoded in English and Japanese.

English, as a public-self centered language, has an established system of personal pronouns that can be represented according to Benveniste (1971) as follows.
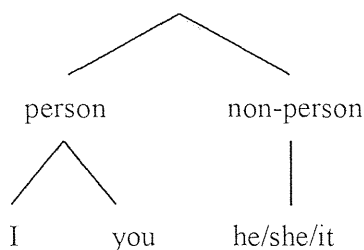


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              person        non-person

          I       you      he/she/it
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Figure 3.   *English personal pronouns*

In this system, a distinction is made between the first and second persons as "persons" and the third person as "non-person"; in other words, only *I* and *you* designate the persons who constitute the direct participants in a speech act.[7]   The relationship between *I* and *you* is symmetrical in the sense that, to quote Benveniste (1971:224-225), "reciprocally *I* becomes *you* in the address of the one who in his turn designates himself as *I*".

Now, since the public self "I" is a reporting speaker with an addressee and always keeps the addressee "you" in mind, it has the following two characteristics.

(29)   a.   The public self "I" does not forget "you" and become totally absorbed in the situation in question.

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[7] The third person is a non-person in the sense that it is not a participant in a speech act but a thing that can only be talked about.

b. The public self "I" says as much as possible to make itself understood by "you".

The first characteristic means that even when the speaker himself is involved in a situation as a participant, his reporter's perspective as public self places his self as a participant on a par with the other participants, thereby construing it as part of the object of description. This is why the first-person pronoun *I* is not omitted in English, unlike in Japanese ((30a) vs. (30b)).

(30) a. I see a bus over there.
   b. *Mukoo   ni   basu   ga   mie-ru.*
      over.there LOC   bus   NOM   see-PRES
      '(I) see a bus over there.'

The second characteristic, (29b), means that the speaker expresses the arguments of a predicate (corresponding to the main participants in a situation) as explicitly as possible. This is why the subject and object of a sentence are not omitted in English unlike in Japanese; thus, while the parenthesized pronouns in the Japanese example of (31b) can be suppressed, the italicized pronouns in the English example of (31a) must be overtly expressed.

(31) a. *He* is rich, and *I* envy *him*.
   b. *(Kare   wa)   kanemoti   de,   (boku wa)   (kare ga)*
      he   TOP   rich   and   I   TOP   he   NOM
      urayamasii.
      envy
      '(He) is rich, and (I) envy (him).'

The general principle operative in the case of English is what Horn (1984) calls the "hearer-based principle" (aka the Q-Principle), which says, "Say as much as you can", or what Ikegami (2000) terms the principle of "recoverability for the hearer", which states that deleted material must be recoverable for the hearer.

Another important point worth noting about the system of English personal pronouns indicated in Figure 3 is that if *I* and *you* are the only indicators of persons, then it is no wonder that every person that "I" imagines can be designated by *you* (Benveniste (1971:201)). This is probably the conceptual motivation for the generic use of *you* to talk about people in general, as in (32) (cf. also Bolinger (1979)).

(32) You cannot live by bread alone.
       (meaning "One cannot live by bread alone.")

While English personal pronouns form a system centering on the public self *I*, Japanese, as a private-self centered language, has a linguistic system of persons centering on the private self *zibun* 'self'. In Japanese, the word *hito* 'person' is ambiguous between "persons in general" and "persons other than the self", which we distinguish here by employing the notations $hito_1$ and $hito_2$; for example, both $hito_1$ and $hito_2$ are used in (33).

(33) *Hito₁   wa   tosi   o   toru ni-ture, hito₂   kara   manabu*
       person TOP age ACC get   as   other.person from   learn
       koto   ga   ooku   naru.
       thing NOM more become
       'The older one gets, the more one learns from other people.'

The Japanese system of persons can be represented as in Figure 4, where $hito_1$ is divided into *zibun* and $hito_2$.

hito₁ 'person'

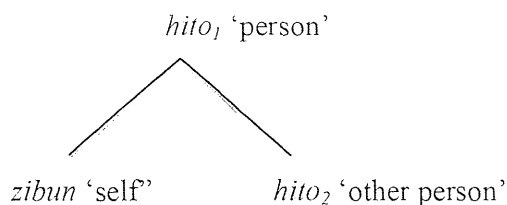*zibun* 'self'   *hito₂* 'other person'

Figure 4. *Self and persons in Japanese*

Figure 4 shows that *zibun* is special in the category of persons.
       Now, the private self *zibun* is a speaker with no addressee, and so is not bound by communicative needs.   From this are derived the following two characteristics.

(34) a. The private self *zibun* can become totally absorbed in a situation without regard to others, thus "losing itself" in the situation.
       b. The private self *zibun*, being egocentric, does not linguistically encode what is known to it.

The first characteristic means that the speaker can place himself in a situation and see it from the inside, in which case the *zibun* or self construing the situation is relegated to

the background of consciousness and it is what is being construed or experienced that is foregrounded. This is why the speaker is usually unexpressed in Japanese, as in (35).

(35) a. *Mukoo   ni   basu   ga   mie-ru.*
          over.there LOC bus   NOM see-PRES
          '(I) see a bus over there.'
      b. *Uresi-i.*
          happy-PRES
          '(I) am happy.'

In these examples, only the predicate part is explicitly expressed because it is this part that is at the center of the consciousness of the private self. There are cases, however, in which the private self becomes conscious of itself in contrast to others and expresses something about itself, such as self-judgment or self-doubt, as in (36), where *zibun* appears as subject.

(36) a. *Zibun wa   matigatte-iru   kamosirenai.*
          self   TOP wrong-be   may
          Lit. 'Self may be wrong.'
      b. *Zibun wa   nani   o   kangaete-iru   no   daroo.*
          self   TOP what ACC think-be   NMLZ wonder
          Lit. 'What be self thinking?'

Let us turn to the second characteristic of the private self, (34b), which means that the speaker does not need to express those arguments of a predicate whose referents are established in his consciousness. This is why the subject and object of a sentence can be omitted in Japanese, as exemplified in (37).

(37) *Kanemoti de,   urayamasii.*
      rich   and envy
      '(He) is rich, and (I) envy (him).'

The general principle concerned here is what Horn (1984) calls the "speaker-based principle" (aka the R-Principle), which says, "Say no more than you must", or what Ikegami (2000) terms the principle of "recoverability for the speaker", which states that deleted material must be recoverable for the speaker.

Note in passing that unlike English *you*, Japanese "second-person pronouns" such

as *anata* 'you (male-formal or female-formal/casual)', *kimi* 'you (male-casual)', *omae* 'you (male-vulgar)', and so on are not used generically.[8]

> (38) *{Anata/Kimi/Omae} wa pan dake de wa ikirare-nai.*
>   you   TOP bread alone by TOP can.live-NEG
>   'You (= the addressee) cannot live by bread alone.'
>   (≠ 'One cannot live by bread alone.')

This is because the use of any term designating the addressee in Japanese always implies a particular relationship between speaker and addressee and hence cannot be generalized to people in general—a fact which further confirms the view that situation report is inseparable from interpersonal relationship in Japanese.

So far we have seen differences in situation construal between Japanese and English, which can be summarized in the following terms.

> (39) In situation construal, Japanese is self-oriented (hence highly subjective) in the sense that it places the self over the other, whereas English is other-oriented (hence highly objective) in the sense that it places the self on an equal footing with the other.

Needless to say, this generalization is based on normal or unmarked cases of Japanese and English. There are also exceptional or marked cases in which the two languages exhibit opposite characteristics. In English, for example, the first-person pronoun is often suppressed in special registers such as diaries which are not intended for communication to others. Consider the following examples, taken from Helen Fielding's diary-style novels *Bridget Jones's Diary* (BJD) and *Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason* (BJER) (see also Haegeman and Ihsane (1999)).[9]

> (40) a. ( ) Cannot believe this has happened. (BJD)
>   b. Oh, God, ( ) feel awful. (BJD)
>   c. ( ) Am really tired. (BJER)
> (41) a. ( ) Do not even know where ( ) am meeting him. (BJER)
>   b. ( ) Wish ( ) was dead. (BJD)
>   c. ( ) Will call him when ( ) get home .... (BJER)

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[8] These and other second-person pronouns are only used for one's equals and inferiors. Superior addressees are designated by kinship terms like *otoosan/okaasan* 'father/mother' and *ozisan/obasan* 'uncle/aunt' and occupational titles like *sensei* 'teacher' and *syatyoo* 'president'.

[9] The parentheses are used here to indicate where the pronoun *I* is omitted.

> d. ( ) Realize ( ) have to learn to love self and live in moment ….
> (BJER)

In (40) the matrix subject is unexpressed, and in (41) both matrix and embedded subjects are unexpressed.   These examples look very similar to Japanese; for instance, (41a) is parallel to the following Japanese sentence with no first-person pronoun.

(42)   *Kare   to   doko   de   au   ka   mo   siranai.*
     him   with   where   LOC   meet   Q   even   know.NEG
     '(I) do not know where (I) am meeting him.'

The very fact that diary English is strongly self-oriented makes subjectification (i.e. non-representation of "I") likely to occur in its context.

In Japanese, on the other hand, if personal pronouns are used uniformly, it sounds unnatural and strange.   A typical example is a translationese style which might be called "textbook-English-like Japanese", a style often used in translating conversations in English textbooks (Hirose and Hasegawa (2010:68-71)).   It has a fixed set of personal pronouns corresponding to English *I, you*, and *he/she*, that is, *watasi, anata*, and *kare/kanozyo*, which are almost always expressed overtly.   Textbook-English-like Japanese is parodied in the form of dialogue between two characters named Jack and Betty in Yoshinori Shimuzu's short story *Eien no Jakku ando Betii (Jack and Betty Forever)*, from which the following examples are drawn.[10]

(43)   *"Anata wa   Jakku   desu   ka?"*
     you   TOP   Jack   COP.POL   Q
     'Are you Jack?'
     "Hai, watasi   wa   Jakku desu."
     yes   I   TOP   Jack   COP.POL
     'Yes, I am Jack.'
     "Anata wa   Jakku   Joonzu   desu   ka?"
     you   TOP   Jack   Jones   COP.POL   Q
     'Are you Jack Jones?'
     "Hai, watasi   wa   Jakku   Joonzu   desu."
     yes   I   TOP   Jack   Jones   COP.POL
     'Yes, I am Jack Jones.'

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[10] *Jack and Betty* is the title of a series of English textbooks that were widely used in Japanese junior high schools in the 1950's and 60's after World War II.

(44) *"Kyoo no yoona atui hi ni wa, <u>watasi</u> wa ie ni*
today GEN like hot day on TOP I TOP home to
kaerituku yainaya uwagi o nugu desyoo.
get.back as.soon.as jacket ACC take.off will
'On a hot day like today, I will take off my jacket as soon as I get home.'
Uwagi o kiteita Jakku wa soo itta.
jacket ACC was.wearing Jack TOP so said
'So said Jack, who was wearing a jacket.'
"<u>Anata</u> wa suzusikunaru tameni uwagi o nugu
you TOP feel.cooler for jacket ACC take.off
desyoo."
will
'You will take off your jacket to feel cooler.'
"Uwagi o nugu yainaya <u>watasi</u> wa suzusikunaru
jacket ACC take.off as.soon.as I TOP feel.cooler
desyoo."
will
'I will feel cooler as soon as I take off my jacket.'

In particular, as we can see from these examples, *watasi* and *anata* are used reciprocally just like English *I* and *you*, which means that textbook-English-like Japanese places the self on an equal footing with the other and thereby talks about both self and other in the same objective way. But this characteristic is quite unusual for Japanese, which is essentially self-oriented.[11]

7. The Presence or Absence of Person Restrictions on Psychological Predicates

Let us now turn to the question of why Japanese, but not English, has person

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[11] A more natural version of (43), for example, would be as in (i), where the polite title *-san* is used instead of *anata*, and *watasi* is omitted.

(i) *"Jakku-san desu ka?"*
Jack-PT COP.POL Q
'Are (you) Jack?'
"Hai, Jakku desu."
yes Jack COP.POL
'Yes, (I) am Jack.'
"Jakku Joonzu-san desu ka?"
Jack Jones-PT COP.POL Q
'Are (you) Jack Jones?'
"Hai, Jakku Joonzu desu."
yes Jack Jones COP.POL
'Yes, (I) am Jack Jones.'

restrictions on psychological predicates.

We should first notice that the superiority of the self in situation construal in Japanese compels Japanese speakers to make a distinction between the self and others, which is maintained in situation report as well. This characteristic meshes well with the cognitive constraint that one can have direct access to one's own mental states, but not to another's. Thus, when psychological predicates appear in direct, unmodified form, they are interpreted only as expressing the self's mental state; they cannot express another's mental state.

(45)   a.   *Watasi wa   sabisi-i.*
             I   TOP lonely-PRES
             'I am lonely.'
       b.   **Kare   wa   sabisi-i.*
             he   TOP   lonely-PRES
             'He is lonely.'

In order for a psychological sentence to be interpreted as a report of someone's mental state, the sentence must imply the presence of a reporter or observer who is doing the reporting. In Japanese, such a function is performed by expressions such as those underlined in (46). In (46a), *-gatteiru* is an evidential expression meaning "be showing signs of"; in (46b), *rasii* is a hearsay expression meaning "I hear"; and in (46c), *tte* is a quotative marker indicating what someone has said.

(46)   a.   *Kare   wa   sabisi-<u>gatteiru</u>.*
             he   TOP   lonely-be.showing.signs
             Lit. 'He is showing signs of being lonely.'
       b.   *Kare   wa   sabisii <u>rasii</u>.*
             he   TOP lonely   HS
             'I hear he is lonely.'
       c.   *Kare   wa   sabisii <u>tte</u>.*
             he   TOP lonely   QUOT
             'He is lonely, he says.'

Only when expressions like these are added can Japanese report someone's mental state.

In English, by contrast, since situation construal and situation report are unified, both expression of one's mental state and description of another's mental state take the form of a report by the public self. That is, as we have seen, person and tense

marking in every (finite) sentence in English are attributed to the public self, which guarantees the presence of a reporter; consequently, psychological sentences in English can be interpreted as reports of mental states, irrespective of the person of their subjects. When in the first person present tense, though, they also serve to express one's mental states. Thus in (47a), the private self feeling lonely and the public self reporting it are identical, the "I" at the time of utterance (*pub* and *priv* with the same subscript means that they are ascribed to the same self).[12] In (47b), on the other hand, the private self feeling lonely is someone other than the speaker, and the speaker as public self is reporting that person's mental state in the "third person present tense".[13]

(47) a. [pub$_i$ <priv$_i$ [pub$_i$ *I am*] *lonely*>]. (pub$_i$ = priv$_i$)

   b. [pub$_i$ <priv$_j$ [pub$_i$ *He is*] *lonely*>]. (pub$_i$ ≠ priv$_j$)

Notice that although (47b) is a report of another person's mental state, it does not take a reporting clause like *he thinks* in (48). This is because, in the case of (47b), the speaker is accepting the person's mental state as valid and reporting it in so-called free indirect discourse, which lacks a reporting clause.

(48) He thinks he is lonely.

It is worth mentioning in this connection that in a Japanese sentence like the following, which reports another person's desire, the reporting clause *omotte-iru* '(he) thinks' cannot be omitted; if it were, the sentence could not be interpreted as reporting the person's desire. The predicate *-tai* 'want' can only express one's own desire and as such cannot imply the presence of a reporter.[14]

(49) [pub$_i$ *Kare   wa* <priv$_j$ *kyoosi ni   nari-tai*>   *to   omotte-iru*].
          he   TOP   teacher DAT become-want QUOT think-STAT

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[12] In this sense, English first-person present-tense utterances like (47a) can be said to be both expressive and reportive (e.g. Bar-On and Long (2001)).

[13] The subject-verb part in (47) is bracketed and labeled *pub* in the sense that person and tense marking are attributed to the public self.

[14] In (49), the subject of *-tai* in the embedded clause is suppressed; if expressed, it must be *zibun*, as in (i). Since *kare* 'he' is a third-person pronoun, it is not allowed as the subject of *-tai*, as is the case with other psychological predicates in Japanese (e.g. (45b)); hence the unacceptability of (ii).

(i)   *Kare wa zibun wa kyoosi ni   nari-tai   to   omotte-iru.*
      he   TOP self   TOP teacher DAT become-want QUOT think-STAT
      Lit. 'He thinks self wants to be a teacher.'

(ii) **Kare wa kyoosi ni   nari-tai.*
      he   TOP teacher DAT become-want
      'He wants to be a teacher.'

'He thinks he wants to be a teacher.'

The literal English counterpart of (49) is (50a), whose free indirect discourse version is (50b).

    (50)   a.   He thinks he wants to be a teacher.

            b.   He wants to be a teacher.

English is different from Japanese in that not only (50a) but also (50b) is interpreted as a report of another person's mental state, a fact which indicates that situation construal and situation report are unified in English.

8. The Superiority of the Self in Situation Construal and Interpersonal Consideration in Situation Report

In Japanese, unlike in English, situation construal and situation report are independent, which means that the superiority of the self in situation construal coexists with interpersonal consideration in situation report. In other words, it is precisely because of his superiority in situation construal that the speaker has to make adequate linguistic adjustments in situation report by paying due consideration to his interpersonal relationship with the addressee.

Thus, compare the following four sentences, all of which are translated in English as "I am happy".

    (51)   a.   *Uresii.*

                  happy

                  'I am happy.'

            b.   *Uresii* <u>*yo*</u>.

                  happy   SFP

                  'I am happy.'

            c.   *Uresii* <u>*desu*</u>.

                  happy   POL

                  'I am happy.'

            d.   *Uresiku* <u>*omoi-masu*</u>.

                  happy   think-POL

                  'I am happy.'

Sentence (51a) is no more than a private expression expressing directly the speaker's feeling of happiness; the subject of *uresii* is unexpressed because it is obvious to the

speaker, whose subjective experience is expressed. This property of having no overt subject is carried over to the other three sentences in (51), but because of the presence of the underlined public expressions *yo*, *desu*, and *omoi-masu*, these are used to report the speaker's feeling of happiness to the addressee. In (51b), *yo* functions as a marker of intimacy which signals that the speaker is giving the addressee new information that he should bear in mind; in (51c), *desu* serves to show deference to the addressee; in (51d), *omoi-masu*, the polite form of *omou* 'think', shows more deference than *desu* because it contributes to avoiding direct expression of feelings.

These observations about the examples in (51) suggest that non-representation of the speaker or, for that matter, omission of grammatical subjects and objects follows, in the situation construal tier, the speaker-based principle "Say no more than you must", whereas the use of appropriate public expressions based on interpersonal consideration follows, in the situation report tier, the hearer-based principle "Say as much as you can". This is possible in Japanese exactly because situation construal and situation report are independent.

On the other hand, in English, where situation construal and situation report are normally unified, if the self is placed over the other in situation construal and is thereby allowed to be subjectively involved in the situation—that is, if subjectification occurs—then the psychological distance between speaker and addressee in situation report will be shortened accordingly. This is illustrated by the fact that example (52b), where the first person subject is omitted, conveys a greater sense of closeness than (52a) (see Thrasher (1977) and Langacker (2008:468-469) for related discussion).

(52)   a.   I hope you like it.
         b.   ( ) Hope you like it.

When *I* is unexpressed, as in (52b), the speaker is describing the situation not from the perspective of an outside reporter, but from that of an inside participant, which he imposes on the addressee; this results in the speaker bringing the addressee closer to him. Thus, as compared with (52a), (52b) does not go well with respectful forms of address such as *sir* and *Professor Brown*.

(53)   a.   I hope you like it, {sir/Professor Brown}.
         b.   ?Hope you like it, {sir/Professor Brown}.

Unlike diary English, however, conversational English does not permit the omission of the first person subject of an embedded clause, as in (54).

(54)   ( ) Do not even know where ( ) am meeting him. [= (41a)]

The fact that sentences like (54) are acceptable in diary English, but not in conversational English seems to have something to do with the fact that in conversational English situation construal cannot be separated from situation report, as in diary English.

Finally, let us turn to the question of why Japanese speakers must pay due consideration to the addressee's territory of information.   In Japanese, the linguistic superiority of the self in situation construal implies that, by default, the speaker is informationally superior to the addressee.   So if the information conveyed by an utterance is already known to the addressee, the assumed informational superiority of the speaker must be rectified in situation report.   This function is fulfilled by the sentence-final particle *ne*, which serves to signal that the information being conveyed is shared with the addressee.   Thus, in (55), where it is assumed that the information in question is known to both speaker and addressee, the use of *ne* is obligatory, as in the (a) example; the (b) example, which lacks *ne*, is unacceptable because it falsely asserts the default informational superiority of the speaker when in fact the information in question is shared with the addressee.[15]

(55)   a.   *Ii   tenki   desu   ne.*
              good   weather   COP.POL   SFP
              'It's a beautiful day, isn't it?'
         b.   *#Ii   tenki   desu.*
              good   weather   COP.POL
              'It's a beautiful day.'

In English, a public-self centered language where the speaker is placed on an equal footing with the addressee, information giving in situation report can be said to be about "reciprocal information sharing", as suggested by the fact that the verb *share* can mean "to tell", as in (56).

(56)   I will share the news with you

So in English, just as to convey information unknown to the addressee, as in (57a), is to *achieve* reciprocal information sharing, so to convey information known to the

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[15] In (55), the polite verb *desu* only adjusts social relationship by indicating a social distance between speaker and addressee.

addressee, as in (57b), is to *confirm* reciprocal information sharing.

(57) a.   Hanako is ill.   [known only to speaker]
       b.   It's a beautiful day.   [known to both speaker and addressee]

In either case, information giving is based on the reciprocal relationship between speaker and addressee. This is possible because in English situation construal is unified with situation report and the self is placed on an equal footing with the other.

9. Conclusion

In this paper, I have proposed the three-tier model of language use as a theory that generally deals with the relation between grammar and pragmatics. I have shown in particular that this model enables us to explain the paradoxicality of the speaker-addressee relationship in Japanese as follows. On the one hand, the speaker is treated in a privileged way in Japanese because the self is placed over the other in situation construal, which is independent of situation report; on the other hand, he must pay due consideration to his relationship with the addressee and encode it linguistically because the assumed superiority of the self in situation construal needs to be linguistically adjusted on the basis of the socio-psychological relationship with the addressee in situation report, which cannot be separated from interpersonal relationship in Japanese. The same paradoxicality is not seen in English because the fact that situation construal is unified with situation report, which in turn is independent of interpersonal relationship, guarantees a default level of communication where the speaker and the addressee are linguistically equal, being in a symmetrical relationship.

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