Pragmatics could be defined as 'the study of those relations between language and context that are grammaticalised, or encoded in the structure of a language',\(^1\) if it is to be defined in terms of its concern with language structure. The term 'to grammaticalise' refers to the encoding of meaning distinctions, not only syntactically but also lexically and morphologically. This concept, together with the notion of context constitutes the core of pragmatics, according to the above definition. However, the definition might be regarded as incomplete because it excludes the study of the principles of language usage that cannot be considered as having any repercussions on linguistic structure.\(^2\)

The styles in which natural languages 'grammaticalise' various physical, social, cultural and interactional aspects of context surrounding the utterance in question can be studied from both universal and relative viewpoints. Pragmatics is divided into two kinds in this respect: Levinson (1983: 10) states that a distinction could be made between universal pragmatics, the general theory of what and how aspects of context are encoded and the language-specific pragmatics, that focusses more specifically upon the characteristics of the kinds of context encoded and the modes in which such aspects of context are realised linguistically in individual languages.
The contrastive study of natural languages from different language families can certainly provide some clues to what universal tendencies human language (and possibly human cognition) retains in expressing context and, at the same time, can serve to exhibit the unique mode in which each language grammaticalises it. Levinson (1983: 10) mentions the different means of grammaticalisation of social status in English and Japanese, aiming to give a sketch of the notion language-specific pragmatics. This example also suggests one aspect of language universality:

... the pragmatics of English might have relatively little to say about social status (beyond what we need to describe the appropriate contexts for the use of sir, your honour and the like), while in contrast the pragmatics of Japanese would be greatly concerned with the grammaticalization of the relative social ranks of participants and referents.

From a universalist viewpoint, it can be pointed out that concerning the encoding of social status, there exists a common distinction between personal references of power and those of solidarity in both languages.3

The aim of this paper is to shed some light upon the characteristics of referential styles in English and Japanese contrastively, basically from the standpoint of language-specific pragmatics. The theoretical framework that will be employed is that of systemic-functionalist. Butler (1988) states that substantial literature on pragmatics is almost ignored in the works of systemic-functional linguistics and there are few references to systemic work in publications on pragmatics despite a major overlap between the kinds of phenomena investigated in systemic linguistics and in pragmatics.4 Functionalism, however, has made a significant contribution to the study of reference. Levinson (1983: 62) lists five types of deixis, that is, person, place, time, social and discourse deixis in the field of pragmatics, and accounts of all these categories can also be found in systemic literature.5 The
following discussion will roughly fall into the domain of pragmatics in that it cannot be unfolded without reference to context and grammaticalisation, although a number of syntactic and semantic properties will be under consideration as well.

II

The Notion of Endophora and Exophora

Every language has items that possess the property of reference. The term 'reference' in linguistics is seen as the meaning relationship which links the full lexical expression of an entity with the proform which refers to it, according to Morley's (1985) definition. In English these items are personal, demonstrative and comparative reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 31). This is also the case with the Japanese language. In this paper the main focus will be upon personal reference, but demonstratives will also be given attention.

Referential items 'instead of being interpreted semantically in their own right, . . . make reference to something else for their interpretation', that is, their identities are to be retrieved from some other sources, either in the texts in which they appear or in the extra-linguistic environments—contexts—relevant to the linguistic interaction (Halliday & Hasan, 1989). In the latter case, a referential item is not encoded in a text and is retrievable from the situation, as in the following example:

(1) Watch out! He must be drunk.

Those who are present on the interactive scene where this utterance is made understand who he is, although his identity is not made explicit verbally.

It is worth noting that Halliday & Hasan (1976) suggest that reference to
the situation as shown in the above case is the primary form of reference and that reference to other items within a text is a secondary form. It is natural that the referential encoding of what is present before the speaker and hearer preceded that of what is mentioned verbally in the history of human language, and it might follow then that reference to what is mentioned verbally can be regarded as a more evolved linguistic phenomenon. However, which of these two types of reference occurs more frequently differs from language to language and those languages in which reference to situation is more dominant than that to what is said/written are not to be regarded as less evolved. What can be certainly stated from a viewpoint of language-specific pragmatics is that which kinds of referential style is prevailing is one vital parameter that determines the characteristics of each individual language.

Halliday & Hasan (1976: 33) name the reference to situation as exophora or exophoric reference and this could be contrasted with endophora or endophoric reference, the general name for reference within a text. Brown & Yule (1983) explicate these notions in the following illustration:

(2) a. exophora: Look at that. (that= )
   b. endophora:
      (i) anaphoric — Look at the sun. It’s going down quickly.
      (It refers back to the sun.)
      (ii) cataphoric — It’s going down quickly, the sun.
      (It refers forwards to the sun.)

As the figure shows endophoric reference further splits into anaphoric reference and cataphoric reference. Any endophoric referential term may either follow or precede the element to which it refers. Halliday & Hasan (1989) call this the ‘linguistic referent’. When a referential item follows its linguistic referent it is anaphoric; when it precedes the linguistic referent it is cataphoric.
Naturally, exophoric reference can never have a linguistic referent because its referent can only be found in the external environment in which verbal communication is unfolding and not in a linguistically manifested text. As has been observed in Example (1), it is the non-linguistic context, largely dependent on the physical speaker-hearer relationship, that enables the hearer to decode exophoric reference, whereas this relation has nothing to do with the interpretation of the identity of an endophoric reference, which is a purely linguistic phenomenon. Halliday & Hasan (1976: 35) state that exophora is 'context-bound', whilst endophora is not.

Which referential mode (either endophoric or exophoric) is more prevailing is of vital interest to language-specific pragmatics. There can be observed a drastic difference in this respect between English and Japanese, which reflects crucial aspects of Englishness and Japaneseness; but preliminary to the discussion on endophora and exophora of personal reference in English and Japanese, person systems in the two languages must be illustrated in the first instance.

III

Person Systems and Speech Roles in English and Japanese

In the case of English, it is possible to set up a clearly defined person system consisting of pronouns. Pronouns in English (and other Indo-European languages) can be classified with respect to person and exhibit limited numbers of fixed vocabulary constituting orderly paradigms according to their properties as gender and number. Halliday (1985) states that the basic distinction can be made into 'speech roles', that is, roles of participants (I, you), and other roles (he, she, it, they). It is also argued in Halliday (1985) that reference first evolved as an 'exophoric' or 'deictic' relation 'to be
interpreted by reference to the situation here and now' and thus 'I' was 'the one speaking': 'you', 'the one(s) spoken to'; 'he, she, it, they' were the third party, 'the other(s) in the situation'. Speech roles, that is, 'I' and 'you', are naturally referred to exophorically, their referents being defined in the act of speaking. Third person categories can be used exophorically as observed in Example (1), but more often than not, they are anaphoric. In the following discourse, she and her refer to a woman who stole somebody else's post office savings book:

(3) A1: We had one forgery case – rather a pathetic one of um – of a woman who um – stole somebody else's post office savings book and took – took the money. – It was a difficult case. +
B: She went to the post office –
A2: Went to the post office and signed in somebody else's name and – got the money and + um – was caught. – Now she was a woman with several children and very considerable domestic problems + and I would say an inadequate housewife. – But on the other hand she had taken this – um + savings book from an old age pensioner. We put her on probation. – She was already seriously in debt everywhere.

Third person is inherently cohesive in that it typically refers anaphorically to a preceding element in the text. Speech roles, on the other hand, do not normally refer to the preceding text at all; their referents are identified by physical speaker-hearer relations, that is, they are interpreted exophorically. Accordingly the absence of full lexical expressions for I and you does not lead to any confusion in most cases, although in written language speech roles may function anaphorically when they appear in quotation (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 48). You and I in the example below have the cellarer and William as their full lexical referents:

(4) The cellarer hesitated. He looked at William, then at the path, and
finally asked, "Brunellus? How did you know?"

"Come, come," William said, "it is obvious you are hunting for Bruellus, the abbot's favorite horse, fifteen hands. . . . He went to the right, as I said, but you should hurry, in any case."

(Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*) [italics mine]

We usually refers not to plurality of speakers but to speaker and hearer(s), speaker and non-participant(s) or speaker, hearer(s) and non-participant(s) and thus can be said to include both 'speech roles' and other roles depending on context. Plural *you* may be used to refer to hearer(s) and also non-participant(s) as well.

When it comes to Japanese personal reference, first of all it is essential to point out that the use of personal pronouns is not very frequent. Speakers of Japanese normally do not verbalise first and second person, and in most cases they undergo ellipsis instead of being expressed as pronouns; that is, speech roles are not grammaticalised very often. It must be noted also that the use of personal pronouns is a very marked linguistic phenomenon. As for third person, the use of pronouns in spontaneous conversation is even rarer, and again ellipsis is the most unmarked means of attenuated reference. Elliptical reference for first, second and third person can be observed in spoken English as well, but its use is a highly marked phenomenon with a number of constraints (for further discussion cf. Hasan, 1984).

In Japanese distinction can be made between speech roles and other roles as well as in English with respect to the notion of exophora and endophora; speech roles are used exophorically almost exclusively and other roles can be used either endophorically or exophorically. The most notable characteristic of Japanese which will be focussed upon is the *exophoric nature of third person reference* stemming from the diversity of the expressions other than pronouns. As will be clarified in the following discussions, particular kinds of vocabularies function as attenuated referential terms in Japanese; these
expressions reinforce the social and spatial identity of referents repeatedly and thus can be regarded as exophoric in the sense that their referents are selfevident enough in the context of speech events or in the images of participants and have no linguistic referents which make their identity explicit.

Secondly, personal reference can be made even for previously mentioned elements by means not only by pronouns and ellipsis but by a wide range of nominal expressions including first and last names, nicknames, kinship terms, social positions and professions of referents, epithet-like constructions including place deictic terms\(^{19}\) (e.g., *ano hito* ‘that person’), and so on. In English these categories can simply be regarded as *substitutions* (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 88–141), but as far as Japanese is concerned, the border between (personal) reference and substitution is so blurred that in this paper these categories are labelled as referential for the sake of convenience. Personal pronouns can be simply regarded as one of these constituents of referential devices, not possessing special supremacy over other categories;\(^{20}\) their use in Japanese is actually a very marked and restricted linguistic phenomenon (for further discussion, cf. Clancy (1982)).\(^{21}\) Below is shown an exemplification of personal reference in modern Japanese:

(5)a. First person pronouns:
watashi, watakushi, atashi, boku, ore, washi, oira, uchi ‘(my) home’),

b. Second person pronouns:
anata, anta, kimi, omae, o-taku (originally, ‘(your) home’ with honorific prefix ‘o’), kisama (originally ‘very precious person’ now used pejoratively in a rough manner),

c. Third person pronouns:
kare (‘he’), kanojo (‘she’), karera (‘they’)
d. Epithet-like expressions including place deictic terms:
kono hito (‘this person’), sono hito (‘that person’ or ‘the person’),
ano hito ('that person'), kono kata ('this person' in a polite manner), sono kata ('that person' or 'the person' in a polite manner), ano kata ('that person' in a polite manner), koitsu ('this guy'), soitsu ('that guy' or 'the guy'), aitsu ('that guy'), kochira ('this side' referring to the first person), sochira ('that side' referring to the second person), achira ('that side' referring to the third person), kotchi (casual form of 'kochira'), sotchi (casual form of 'sochira'), atchi (casual form of 'achira'),

e. Personal names & nicknames
f. Social positions
g. Professions
h. kinship terms
i. Age and sex related terms:
boku (for a male infant), o-nee-chan (originally meaning 'elder sister' used for young girls/ladies in general), oji-san (originally meaning 'uncle' used for middle-aged men in general), oku-san (originally meaning 'one's wife' used for married women in general).

In the following section special focus will be given to the category of 'epithet-like expressions including place deictic terms' in connexion with the exophoric nature of third person in Japanese.

IV

Exophoric Nature of Persons in Japanese

In the cases where speakers of English use third person pronouns, Japanese speakers frequently use 'epithet-like expressions including place deictic terms', which are basically used to refer to entities in front of the speaker and hearer, instead of the strongly constrained third person pronouns. Prior to the discussion on the usage of these items it is necessary
to explicate general features of Japanese place deixis briefly.

According to Levinson (1983), place deixis concerns 'the encoding of spatial locations relative to the location of the participants in the speech event', and 'probably most languages grammaticalize at least a distinction between proximal and distal, but many make much more elaborate distinction', which are 'commonly encoded in demonstratives and deictic adverbs of place'. English has only a 'bi-partite distinction' in deictic terms (excluding indefinite ones), that is, distinction between proximal and distal; for a certain entity or a piece of information to be proximal means that it is within the speaker’s psychological territory and to be distal means that it is outside the speaker’s territory without respect to the hearer (Kamio, 1986). Demonstratives exhibit the distinction between proximal ('this') and distal ('that'), and deictic adverbs of place can also be classified into proximal ('here') and distal ('there').

Coulmas (1982) points out that the corresponding classification in Japanese is more fully developed and its terms 'furnish the most important lexicalized means of deictic reference'. This fact certainly supports the hypothesis that Japanese is an exophora-oriented language. The paradigm is quadripartite consisting of the stem-morphemes  

ko-, 50-, a- and do- (Coulmas, 1982: 211), but in explaining first, second and third person the indefinite category do- could be out of focus. Thus as Kamio (1986: 178) holds, Japanese can be regarded as retaining a tripartite distinction of place deictic terms. Further, Hattori (1968) characterises ko-, so- and a- as referring to an object in the speaker’s territory, the hearer’s territory and outside of both territories, respectively, and it is reasonable to state that a category specifically referring to the hearer’s territory exists in the domain of Japanese deictic terms unlike in English (Kamio, 1986: 179). In Figure 1 ko- is expressed as something inside the speaker’s territory, so- is inside the hearer’s territory and a- is distant from both speaker and hearer.
It should be noted, however, that *so-* could be used when the referent is not believed to be known to the hearer while *a-* emphasises the familiarity of the reference object, and *ko-* expresses immediacy and obviousness. Thus, it must be borne in mind that the two-dimensional visualisation as in Figure 1 is an oversimplified explanation.\(^{28}\)

These stem-morphemes are basic elements of place deixis in Japanese and they constitute a paradigm of deictic terms as in the following.\(^{29}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pronominal</th>
<th>adnominal</th>
<th>local</th>
<th>directional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ko-</em></td>
<td>kore</td>
<td>kono</td>
<td>koko</td>
<td>kochira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>so-</em></td>
<td>sore</td>
<td>sono</td>
<td>soko</td>
<td>sochira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a-</em></td>
<td>are</td>
<td>ano</td>
<td>asoko</td>
<td>achira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1: THE PARADIGM OF JAPANESE PLACE DEIXIS**

Amongst the categories of pronominal, adnominal, local and directional forms, adnominal forms and nominal use of directional forms with which personal reference is concerned will be discussed further.
The combination of adnominal forms of place deixis and the words meaning 'person' such as *kono hito* ('this person'), *sono hito* ('that person' or 'the person'), *ano hito* ('that person'), *kono kata* (polite form of *kono hito*), *sono kata* (polite form of *sono hito*), *ano kata* (polite form of *ano hito*) are the most frequently used expressions referring to third person, and so are more colloquial forms, *koitsu* (casual form of *kono hito*), and *aitsu* (casual form of *ano hito*) consisting of stem-morphemes *ko-, so-* and *a* and *yatsu*, a rough word meaning 'a person'. These items function in almost the same way as personal pronouns do and in addition are free from many constraints that third person pronouns possess, although they continually reinforce the spatial position of the referents in the course of communication unlike pronouns, with the place deixis stem-morphemes referring to the entities in the context of the speech event exophorically. Consider the fragments of discourse below extracted from a talk show:

(6) A1: Nande ya-na? – Dare ga tome ta-n ya-na –
      (Why COP? Who NOM stop PAST COP).
      Sonna mon?
      (such thing?)
B1: Uchi no kinjo no
      (Home GEN neighbourhood GEN)
A2: Nan te yuu hito?
      (What QT named person?)
B2: Sakaguchi-san.
      (Mr-Sakaguchi)
A3: Ee + *kono hito* no yuu-ta haru yoo-ni –
      (Er *this person* NOM says HON as)
      Sakaguchi-san ni oko-tte i-tte kudasai ne. +
      (Mr-Sakaguchi DAT complaining go please)

A utters *kono hito* when he was addressing to the audience pinpointing his
partner B.

(7) Iya shikashi ne – *sono hito* no hitotsu no
(Well however you-see *that person* GEN a-certain)
jootai o Ø mi-te ne – horede – a + *koitsu*
(state ACC one-NOM sees you-see and-then oh *this guy*)
wa moo iya-na yatch-aya na – to Ø omou
(Top disgusting fellow – COP QT one-NOM one-NOM thinks)
koto te ne– aru-n desu tte nee.
(situation QT you-see there-is COP QT you-see)

Here both *sono hito* and *koitsu* introduce an indefinite, imaginative character and refers to it exophorically not in the physical surrounding of the conversation but in the speaker’s mind:

Concerning the features of directional forms of place deixis shown in Table 1, it is worth noting that they are also used like personal pronouns (Coulmas, 1982: 213–214). *Kochira* and its informal form *kotchi* (in English ‘this side’) can refer to the speaker; their use as first person reference is especially frequent in telephone conversation where in English the place deixis ‘this’ is used as well:

(8) *Kochira* wa Yamamoto desu

(This-side TOP Yamamoto COP)
‘This is Yamamoto’

Similarly *sochira* and *sotchi* (possibly ‘that side’) can be used for second person, and *achira* and *atchi* (‘that side’) for third person, and they are sometimes accompanied by honorific titles -*san* and -*sama* as in the following clauses; the equivalent of a *so*-term is expressed as *that* in the English counterpart:

(9) a. Ø *Sochira-san* no go-taugoo shidai desu
(It-TOP That-side-HON GEN EON-convenience depending COP)
'It depends on your convenience'

b. *Atchi wa ki-ni-shi te nai mitai*  
(*That-side TOP mind to not seem(s)*)  
'He/She/They doesn't/don't seem to mind (that)'

Note that although first and second person pronouns themselves mostly realise exophoric reference, the degree of 'exophoricality' of *kochira* and *sochira* are even higher than that of pronouns.

As it has been observed in this section, Japanese possesses a highly developed place deictic system and it covers the fuzziness of third person pronouns; as third person pronouns are such devices that chiefly work endophorically constructing cohesion within a text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 51) and the usage of deixis is inherently exophoric, it seems reasonable to say that the exophoric mode of reference is more prevailing than the endophoric mode in Japanese.

Conversely, it can be stated that English is an endophora-oriented language because of the use of pronouns as the most dominating means of third person reference. In addition, there is no place deictic category which specifically marks hearer's territory such as *so-terms* in Japanese, and this loss is partly compensated by a possessive personal pronoun *your* (Kamio, 1986: 205–208). Note that although in (9a) *sochira* was first translated into 'that side', *your side* is a far more appropriate equivalent in that it encodes the hearer's territory. English clauses in (10) are those that mark the hearer's territory and are hence faithful to the conversational principle *Be polite to the hearer,* in these cases *that* is not appropriate and *your* must be selected instead.

(10) a. *Your scarf is wonderful*  
?*That scarf is wonderful*
An apodosis that can be deduced from the above discussions is that
Japanese reference demonstrates an exophora-oriented nature, whilst its
English counterpart points to an endophora-oriented nature. Amongst other
things, this contrast is strongly manifested in the mode of third person
reference. A summary of the properties that make the endophoricality of
English and exophoricality of Japanese stand out is given in the following
figure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENDOPHORA-ORIENTATION (ENGLISH)</th>
<th>EXOPHORA-ORIENTATION (JAPANESE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominance of personal pronouns for third person reference</td>
<td>vs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bipartite place deictic system</td>
<td>vs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitutional usage of personal pronouns for a missing deictic category</td>
<td>vs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 2: THE FACTORS DETERMINING ENDOPHORA-ORIENTATION IN ENGLISH & EXOPHORA-ORIENTATION IN JAPANESE

It seems reasonable to say that a close relationship between third person
reference and place deictic terms is widely observed in various languages,
which are unrelated with each other. Lyons (1968) points out that no
distinction can be drawn between 'demonstratives' and third person pronouns in many languages. In classical Latin (as in Greek), there was no third person pronouns, and pronominal reference was made by means of place deictic terms—hic (this, kore), iste (roughly corresponding to Japanese sore, but no equivalent in English), or ille (that, are). This substitution of third person pronouns with place deictic terms can be observed in Mongolian as well; T.ə.p (singular) and T.ə.d (plural) corresponding to Japanese sore are utilised.

Andoo (1986) states that in the historical development of the Japanese language, the phenomenon of diverting place deixis into personal pronouns is especially prominent; the third person pronoun for a male referent kare originally meant 'the man overthere' with ka-meaning 'distant'. According to Lyons (1968: 279), the third person pronouns of the Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish, etc.) have in fact developed from demonstratives, that is, place deictic terms, and the same is true of the third person pronouns of English and German. The connexion between third person pronouns and place deixis seems to be observed in many world languages without regard to the distinction between different language families.

Lastly, the distinction between endophora and exophora should not be interpreted as an isolated linguistic issue. As discussed in Section II, exophora is a context-bound relation, and conversely endophora is a context-free and, so to speak, a 'text-bound' relation. Thus, for instance, the contrast between an endophora-orientation and an exophora-orientation is related to the acceptability of ellipsis which differs significantly between English and Japanese.

An endophora-orientation and an exophora-orientation are not only concerned with context dependency but also with the encoding of animacy and the contrast between speaker-oriented manner and hearer-oriented manner of speaking, for instance. These possible prospects for the study of the referential modes fall into the domain of language-specific pragmatics, but behind the contrast between an endophora-orientation and an exophora-orientation, there must exist some universal conceptual system of human language that embraces all the conceivable modes of reference; to search for possible universality is a vital aim of further study.

NOTES
2 Ibid., p. 10.
5 Ibid., p. 22.
8 Ibid., p. 31.
14 Ibid., p. 291.
15 This extract is from taped authentic interviews used in Robert O'Neill & Roger Scott, *Viewpoints* (London: Longman, 1974). The types of pauses are determined in terms of relative length, as Brown & Yule (1983: 163) define:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 0.5 1 1.5 2 2.5 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short long extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pauses pauses pauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Extended pauses are represented by ‘+++’, long pauses by ‘+’ and short pauses by ‘−’ in the transcriptions throughout this paper following the method of Brown & Yule.


20 Ibid., p. 100.


22 Japanese *koitsu, soitsu* and *aitsu*, although their English counterparts are *this guy, that/the guy* and *that guy* respectively, can all refer to both men and women.


27 Florian Coulmas, 'Some Remarks on Japanese Deictics'; p. 211.

28 Ibid., p. 217.

29 Cf. Ibid, p. 219, but Coulmas includes indefinite categories (*do-*) in his classification.

30 First of all it must be borne in mind that Japanese third person pronouns *kare* and *kanojo* usually refer to one's boyfriend and girlfriend in spoken discourse. For further discussions, cf. John Hinds, 'Third Person Pronouns in Japanese',
Language in Japanese Society, ed. by Fred C. C. Peng (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975); he states, for example, that kare and kanojo are not normally used for babies and children. However, the use of third person pronouns in Japanese is completely different in written language, where personal pronouns are used quite naturally.

31 These are transcripts of the fragments of recorded discourse from a Japanese ad-lib talk show.


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