The Complexity of Aisatsu

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a broader, more multifaceted picture of aisatsu. It is common when discussing aisatsu to only look at its immediate functions thus overlooking a lot of qualities that it has. In the present thesis, background material regarding aisatsu, public speaking and the speech genre "wedding speeches" is provided. This is because the research involves an analysis of wedding speeches to find aisatsu properties. The analysis is based on mentioned background material and transcribed speeches from the webpage "Youtube". In the results of this analysis the complexity of aisatsu becomes evident.

Keywords: Aisatsu, Pragmatics, Social Linguistics, Japanese

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CONVENTIONS

Regarding romanisation of Japanese words, the modified Hepburn system has been used with one exception, instead of macrons; long vowels have been written using the same spelling as in kana. Thus the Japanese word for "today" – 今日 is spelled "kyou" and not "kyō". The syllabic "n" is also written without the use of macrons. Also "を" is spelled "wo" and the topic marker "は" is spelled "wa".

Regarding glossing of Japanese words, the standard set of conventions from the Leipzig Glossing Rules have been referred to. One minor addition being that set aisatsu expressions are referred to as "aisatsu" in block letters, thus "**aisatsu**".

Regarding typographical conventions, the author has decided to keep all cites and quotations in their original form. Shorter ones are marked with regular quotation marks and longer ones are marked with paragraph-indentions and smaller font size.

1. Introduction

Aisatsu is said to be a unique feature of the Japanese language. When the term is translated into English, words such as "greetings" are commonly used. However, aisatsu is much more complex than that. It derives from before 900 AD and has thus had a long time to evolve. In present time it serves many different purposes and therefore has different functions and traits. In everyday Japan aisatsu mostly serves as a tool to keep human relationships smooth. Greetings, apologies, congratulations and public speeches, all of these consist of different aisatsu expressions. But because aisatsu can be so many things, even within the Japanese society, the number of native speakers who fully comprehend aisatsu is decreasing.

1.1 Purpose

When traditionally approaching aisatsu, there are tendencies to do this from a very narrow perspective. What is considered desirable is a concrete answer to what it is and how it is used correctly. But when approaching aisatsu from this angle, you accidently overlook many different properties and features that also serve an important purpose. The aim of this thesis is to provide a broader, more multifaceted picture of aisatsu. In present research the aim is to display the complexity of aisatsu, thus demonstrate that it exists outside of the traditional sense of "greetings". A speech genre within Japanese public speaking, namely Japanese wedding speeches is targeted. Conversation and public speaking are both forms of spoken discourse but due to their nature they differ in many ways. This will be discussed further in the part regarding Japanese public speaking. However, because aisatsu is usually viewed upon from a conversational point of view, it has been decided that this thesis shall approach the topic from a public speaking perspective. When changing perspective, new phenomena are bound to become the centre of attention. All of this is accomplished through different strategies, described below.

1.2 Methodology

The first chapter serves to inform about the basic concepts of aisatsu. This is accomplished in different ways. First, a historical perspective that focuses on the meaning and origin of the word "aisatsu" is provided. Second, what aisatsu really is is discussed. The purpose is to

provide the reader with necessary background information to proceed onto the following parts which explores different types of aisatsu, their functions and different traits. Although the focus of present thesis is spoken aisatsu, fundamental knowledge about non-spoken aisatsu is also provided. However, the only non-spoken aisatsu that is discussed in the research of present thesis is the act of bowing. Before moving on to a case study of a specific aisatsu expression, the idea that aisatsu can function as a way of marking social relationships is discussed. Ending this chapter does the case study which purpose is to further display, in a very concrete way, the complex nature of aisatsu. This study has been conducted by Risako Ide. Since the present thesis aims to analyse wedding speeches, to find out what different types of aisatsu expressions they contain, a chapter regarding the Japanese public speaking genre in general and the speech genre of wedding speeches in particular is provided. The reason why public speaking from a speech genre perspective is discussed through an entire chapter is to display the difference between specific speech genre functions and the functions of specific aisatsu expressions. Finally, the present thesis analyses different patterns and examples from actual wedding speeches that were found on the webpage ''Youtube''. What different aisatsu expressions they consist of and their functions are pointed out.

2. Aisatsu

When reading Japanese books with instructions on how to improve your keigo (敬語), or polite language, aisatsu is usually given a chapter of its own. How explicit these chapters are, vary. However, there is one thing that is always pointed out; the important part that aisatsu play in the Japanese society. Entries claiming that one who does not perform correct aisatsu can not be counted as a full member of the Japanese society are common. The mildest verdict claims that one who possesses the ability to conduct proper aisatsu has an immediate advantage in everyday society as well as in their workplace. But what exactly aisatsu is, is a complicated question. Research shows that even within the Japanese society the number of native speakers who fully comprehend aisatsu has decreased in recent years (Watanabe 2006). According to Satake, aisatsu consists of many different elements and varies in formality depending on different contexts and conversation partners. Other types of aisatsu on the other hand, always keep the same qualities. Some questions still remain though. When are these aisatsu expressions meant to be used and in the company of who? In what contexts are they not supposed to be used at all (Satake 2005)? This chapter serves to inform about the basic concepts of aisatsu.

2.1 The meaning and origin of the word Aisatsu

Before trying to explain the concept of aisatsu it might be a good idea to look at what the word itself means. Aisatsu consists of two kanji, namely 挨 (ai) and 拶 (satsu). The first one carries meanings such as "to push" and "to make an approach". The second kanji also carries similar meanings; "to approach, near" and "to put A between B and C" (Okuyama 1981). Also if you look up "aisatsu" in a regular Japanese dictionary you will find words such as "friendship" and "respect". From this you might come to the logical conclusion that aisatsu is a social act (Haga 1988).

When the word "aisatsu" was first introduced to the Japanese language is unknown. Scientists are of the belief that it originated from Zen Buddhism and therefore must have been introduced sometime during the medieval Kamakura period (1185–1333 AD). Originally the term meant "dialogue", "exchange of words" or "question and answer" (Ide 2007). However, it has been proven that the concept of aisatsu is much older than that. For example, "Taketori Monogatari" is a literary piece that was written during the 900th century and contains scenes

where proper aisatsu is described (Okuyama 1981). During medieval Japan, aisatsu and "jigi" (辞儀) were used to describe the same polite actions. Jigi originally meant "to decline" or "to turn down" but during this time period it was a word to describe the appropriate treatment when approaching another person. An example is when you lower your head and give a slight bow in order to greet the other person (Okuyama 1981). In time, aisatsu came to involve more elements while jigi still to this day is a word describing this particular action.

2.2 What is Aisatsu

It is understood that Japanese citizens must master natural, flawless aisatsu. Already from early childhood, children are told from their parents and teachers first to use proper aisatsu and then to use even more polite aisatsu as they grow older (Suzuki 1981). However, the meaning of aisatsu is considered vague and the term can be used to describe different things. Japanese citizens use aisatsu expressions everyday without even realising that they are doing so. This is because it is so incorporated in today's society. When talking in terms of aisatsu, it is common to mostly discuss the linguistic aspects (Suzuki 1981). Suzuki warns, however, that by doing so you risk overlooking essential substances of aisatsu as it concerns the entire behavioural pattern. Therefore this chapter will contain a brief overlook of non-spoken aisatsu as well as a more deliberated description of the linguistically related ones. It was mentioned earlier how aisatsu during the medieval time was a word describing the proper treatment when approaching another person. Today aisatsu involves social actions, spoken in particular, that are performed by a specific pattern thus becoming ritualised, often set phrases. As different examples of spoken aisatsu, Suzuki mentions "ohayou(gozaimasu)" (good morning) and "sayonara" (good bye) which are expressions that we use together with people who we have a relation to. Facing this Suzuki also brings up self-introductions (自己紹介 jikoshoukai) and ritual Shinto prayers as examples of aisatsu that we use together with strangers. Examples of aisatsu that does not involve words are actions like, bowing, shaking hands or embracing another person. Also gestures and face expressions belong to this category, together with the tone of voice (Suzuki 1981).

It has been mentioned that aisatsu is a word that describes a social act that is performed through a ritualised pattern. However what different types of aisatsu there are and how you distinguish them from each other, have yet to be mentioned.

2.3 Different types of Aisatsu and their functions

According to Suzuki you can divide aisatsu into three main groups based on function.

1) The type of aisatsu that you use among friends and family such as "yaa" (hi). If you pay attention to the general rules regarding this type, you notice that the word form is short and the words themselves do not have any concrete meaning. They are often accompanied by aisatsu actions such as bowing or nodding which completes the entire aisatsu act. The relationship that you have to your partner is usually one of good friends or comrades (仲間, nakama) and this type of aisatsu confirms that you belong to the same general social group. Suzuki claims that this type's one and only function is phatic[1], which means that it only functions to perform a social task. The aim is to call upon someone else's attention. Other expressions that can be included into this group are expressions like "oi oi" (hey!) and "moshi moshi" (here: excuse me) (Suzuki 1981).

2) This group contains expressions such as "ohayou(gozaimasu)", "konnichiwa" (good day) and "sayonara" (good bye). Equivalent words in English are suggested to be "good bye" and "how are you". The characteristics of this group are that the words themselves contain a certain extent of meaning but the aim is not to convey it. Instead the expressions are collected, standardised formulations that all put together conveys a message. The following example will explain this further. If someone asks you in English "how are you" it is standard to answer, regardless of how you really feel, "fine, thank you". This is what anthropologists refer to as a "ritualized, formal function". This implies that the word's actual meaning fades and becomes indifferent. In certain contexts however, the original meaning of the words can be put forward. As for an example, you can half jokingly say "ohayou" (good morning) to a friend who is sitting half asleep in public. In Japanese society it is not rare to also accompany this group of aisatsu expressions with bows (Suzuki 1981).

3) The third group is what Suzuki likes to refer to as "go-aisatsu". To mark its formal nature, the polite prefix "go" is added to "aisatsu". This group of aisatsu can be used in many different contexts, at sad funerals as well as in happy Shinto prayers. It is also commonly used at banquets, weddings and graduations. In comparison to the two previous groups you may

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[1] Phatic= "The social function of language, used to show rapport between people, or to establish a pleasant atmosphere" (Crystal 1992: 296)

say that go-aisatsu generally consists of longer expressions. Although the group consists of formal aisatsu and therefore has some general set, formal expressions, because of its complicated content they are not definitive (Suzuki 1981). However, consequent tendencies do exist, but they will be described further during later parts of this paper. When using go-aisatsu, appropriate content is not the only thing that should be paid attention to. Also how different words affect the expressions in the sense of beautification or how they demonstrate different meanings is necessary to pay attention to. The tone and context of words and expressions, as well as intonation and word order are all important elements to buy the listeners attention. In other words, in go-aisatsu content as well as beauty is of utter importance. Previously it has been mentioned how aisatsu can be "phatic". Suzuki says that go-aisatsu on the other hand is more poetic than phatic (Suzuki 1981). Ide also mentions that in different contexts go-aisatsu may be glossed as "self-introduction", "public or formal speech" or "congratulations and condolences". Also the opening and closing speeches of different ceremonies, congresses and conventions may be referred to as go-aisatsu (Ide 2005).

When looking at aisatsu from this perspective you might be surprised by the fact that aisatsu does not only equal everyday conversation but also contains poetic and creative functions. In the everyday life of Japan, people are passing the days engaged in conversation. But when you take a closer look at the content you notice that the exchange of information and opinions is lower than you might expect. Instead the extent of aisatsu is greater than you might believe. However, exchanging words has a very important function; it mutually strengthens our feelings of closeness and companionship with other people (Suzuki 1981).

2.4 The traits of Aisatsu

Haga claims that every aisatsu expression contains one or more of the following traits.

1) Contextual boundaries. An example is again "ohayou(gozaimasu)". Due to the nature of this aisatsu expression, it can only be used during a specific time period, namely the morning.

Ohayou gozaimasu.　　Kyou　wa　hayai desu ne
good morning(**aisatsu**) today TOP early COP IP

'Good morning, you're up early today, aren't you?' (Haga 1988)

The first part expressed is a standardised aisatsu expression while the later part is necessary for the message to be conveyed. This type of aisatsu expressions contain limited meaning and its purpose is therefore not to convey any information but to simply keep the conversation smooth (Suzuki 1981). These kinds of functions have already been mentioned in the previous part. Satake continues by stating that this kind of aisatsu is only used together with people that you are familiar with (Satake 2005). Season related aisatsu which is also included here, is in difference to above example, generally limited to written narrative[2]. When giving away gifts, a card with seasonal aisatsu is usually attached to it (Haga 1988). Ide also adds that thanking and apologising can be repeatedly referred to over a stretch of time and mentions examples such as "thank you for the other day". This indicates that aisatsu is not always just a one-time act but sometimes a repeated action to confirm the social interdependence with each other (Ide 2005).

2) Aisatsu that expresses that the conversation partners are not acquainted with each other. Mainly there are two different occasions where you exchange aisatsu with strangers (this opinion is not shared by everyone; again, aisatsu is complex and regional differences do exist). The first occasion is when you join a new social group, for example, move into a new neighbourhood. Depending on regional traditions you either visit your new neighbours to exchange aisatsu or you simply greet them when meeting them on the street where you live. On this occasion you perform a self-introduction. There are people who claim that during the later tradition you might want to avoid eye contact since it is still too early to tell how your future relationship will turn out to be (Haga 1988).

The second occasion is when you are meeting someone for the first time. Then both partners also perform self-introductions. On this occasion both parts exchange the aisatsu "dozo yoroshiku(onegaishimasu)" ([please] take care of me / I am under your care) (Haga 1988).

Apart from go-aisatsu, which has already been described, Ide also includes aisatsu such as "irasshai(mase)"[3] (welcome) to the different aisatsu which this trait can be applied on. Ide also notices that responding to this welcoming expression would be breaking the norms for adjacency pair format thus the customer is expected not to say anything (Ide 2005).

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[2] I have noticed that season related aisatsu has recently begun to be conveyed in the shape of videoclips on youtube etc.
[3] Irasshai(mase) is used by shop clerks towards customers who enter a shop or restaurant etc.

3) There is a phenomenon that Haga refers to as "late" or "postponed aisatsu". For example, this might occur when you invite someone to your house for the first time. Because it might be difficult for your visitor to find their way to your house from the closest train or subway station, polite hosts might want to go and pick them up. Proper aisatsu is therefore postponed until both host and guest have properly entered the house, taken off their outerwear and placed themselves in the living room or traditional Japanese room. The aisatsu expressions that are used during these occasions depend on the conversation partners' previous relationship (Haga 1988).

4) Within society, especially within the workplace, there are different so called o-reis (お礼). To put it simply, there are two different types, namely, "o-rei wo suru" (お礼をする, to make o-rei) and "o-rei wo iu" (お礼を言う, to say o-rei). The first kind is not relevant for this research since it applies to gift giving and receiving but the later type aim to balance obligations through speech acts. This is done by showing awareness of that you are indebted to your conversational partner and then balancing the obligation by apologising or thanking (Ohashi 2008)[4]. Examples are "gokurousama(deshita)" (Thank you for your trouble/hard work) that are used from people of higher social rank to employees of lower social rank within companies, and "osewasama(deshita)" (Thank you for your help) which can be used by customers when assisted by people working within the service business (Haga 1988).

5) Non-spoken aisatsu. A common example of non-spoken aisatsu that instead is expressed through the body is the action of bowing. The bow shall in deepness be performed with your social rank in proportion to your partner's social rank. The higher your partner is in social rank compared to yourself, the lower you bow. In recent days traditional Japanese style aisatsu has begun compromising with Western non- spoken style aisatsu. This new compromise manifests itself in a sense that the conversation partners both bow and shake hands during the same aisatsu action (Haga 1988).

   For example, an aisatsu expression may both contain traits that mark that you are strangers to each other, such as self-introductions, as well as traits of non-spoken aisatsu such as

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[4] For further reading on the subject, information about Ohashi Juns article "Linguistic rituals for thanking in Japanese: Balancing obligations" can be found in the references

bowing. In general Haga also notes that women use aisatsu together with set phrases, and strict, humble language to a higher extent than men (Haga 1988).

2.5 Marking social relationship

Haga states that in small societies it is only natural that everybody uses aisatsu towards each other. In larger societies on the other hand, he argues that you only use aisatsu together with people that you have a relation to. He also claims that the more complicated human relationships become the more complicated and multifaceted also aisatsu becomes. He also says that it is obvious that regional differences exist (Haga 1988).

Ide also claims that aisatsu functions as a way of marking social relationship and therefore from this perspective can be divided into three different social groups, depending on who the conversation partner is (Ide 2005).

The first group is the "social hierarchy- group". Factors such as age and social status make a difference when choosing the appropriate aisatsu expression. You might want to use a more polite aisatsu expression when talking to someone of higher age or social status than yourself. "Gokurosama(deshita)" (thank you for your trouble/thank you for your hard work) which is a textbook example of social hierarchy based aisatsu expressions, has already been mentioned. This is because it is only to be used from someone of higher social status towards someone of lower social status; the reversed form would be considered extremely impolite (Ide 2005).

Ide has named the second group "boundaries between uchi (in-group) and soto (out-group). This distinction can be marked with aisatsu expressions. Earlier "ohayou(gozaimasu)" (good morning) was mentioned. Between family and friends, who all belong to your uchi (in-group), it is considered more casual to just use "ohayou" since adding "gozaimasu" makes it a polite expression. Using "ohayou" with someone in your soto (out-group) on the other hand is not considered casual but plain rude (Ide 2005).

The third group is the "social interdependence-group". Aisatsu can be used to mark social interdependence among speakers. One example is the aisatsu expression "dozo yoroshiku(onegaishimasu)" ([please] take care of me / I am under your care) which is used when meeting someone for the first time or when you join a new group. This aisatsu formula symbolically implies the inherent feeling that one is indebted to others in society. Symbolic display of this sort is considered polite and formal and is used throughout the Japanese discourse. Under circumstances such as requests, asking for favours or giving warnings, this

type of aisatsu expressions that display interdependence, is used as part of politeness strategies. This gives the impression that you are grateful for others' services (Ide 2005).

2.6 Case study – Sumimasen

As mentioned earlier, this part is here to provide a concrete example of the complexity of aisatsu. The point is not to analyse this aisatsu expression but to provide a list of functions that one single aisatsu expression holds. In different contexts, the functions differ and so do also the aisatsu properties.

Literally speaking "sumimasen" is the polite negative of the verb "sumu" (済む, to be over/to be settled) with the literal meaning "there is no end" or "it is not enough". But as an aisatsu expression it has multiple meanings and functions. The most fundamental distinction between these meanings and functions is the distinction between "apologising" and "thanking". But from a semantics-oriented perspective, the fact that one expression signifies both regret and thanks, goes against the general speech act theory of Austin (1962)[5] and Searle (1969)[6]. According to this theory, apologies and thanks fulfil separate felicity conditions. Apologising is included in the "remedial interchanges"-genre. This genre contains expressions that occur when there is a potential interactional offense between the speakers. Thus these expressions are strategic remedial moves that transform what could be taken as an offense into something acceptable. "Supportive interchanges" on the other hand, to which thanking belongs to, are ritual expressions that are concerned with establishing, renewing and continuing interpersonal relationships (Ide 1998, originally from Goffman 1971)[7].

Ide refers to Coulmas (1981)[8] when she states that the act of thanking in Japanese implies the indebtedness of the recipient of the benefit and therefore resembles apologies, as the speaker who apologises similarly recognise their indebtedness to the conversation partner. They also point out that besides these two functions, sumimasen also serves another five purposes (Ide 1998). Thus, you can divide the aisatsu expression "sumimasen" into the following seven groups based on their functions.

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[5] Austin, J. (1962). *How to do things with words*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[6] Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[7] Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. New York: Basic Books.
[8] Coulmas, F. (1981). Poison to your soul: Thanks and apologies contrastively viewed. In: F. Coulmas, ed., Conversational routines: Explorations in standardized communication situations and prepatterned speech, 69 – 91. The Hague: Mouton.

1) Sumimasen as sincere apology. When using sumimasen in this manner, there has to be a substantial reason for the speaker to be apologetic towards their conversation partners, who is potentially offended. There are scientists who claim that sumimasen can be interpreted as a more polite way of thanking than "arigatou(gozaimasu)" which is the most general word to express gratitude. This is because sumimasen has the effect of adding a humble tone to the exchange, marking the speaker's awreness of the conversation partner's feelings (Ide 1998).

2) Sumimasen as quasi-thanks and apology. Here the expression is used to convey one's mixed feelings of regret and thankfulness (Ibid).

3) Sumimasen as a request marker. This usage is similar to the use of the English expression "excuse me" in interactions that initiate a request or favour. It is also similar to expressions such as "do you mind if" or "could you please" which requests permission in advance for intrusion into other's territory (Ibid).

4) Sumimasen as an attention-getting device. Sumimasen can simply function as an expression used to open a conversation with a potential conversation partner. Thus it functions as an announcement of the speaker's presence and signals one's desire to interact. There are other expressions used to convey the same message but sumimasen is the one most commonly used when the conversation partners does not know each other and therefore used in public contexts (Ibid).

5) Sumimasen as a leave-taking device. Here sumimasen is used without regard to degrees of gratitude or regret. It only functions as a routine formula in a highly ritualistic manner. "Shitsure shimasu" (I intrude) is used in the same manner (Ibid).

6) Sumimasen as an affirmative and conformational response (Ibid).

7) Sumimasen as reciprocal exchange of acknowledgement. By exchanging sumimasen the conversation partners display symbolic gestures of concern for each other. They are acknowledging their reciprocal social relationship in society. This mutual acknowledgement has a highly phatic function as it creates rapport between the conversation partners in public discourse. To put it simple, this type of sumimasen is a verbal form of the nonverbal act of

bowing in public and is therefore performed in a highly ritualized manner and is supportive rather than remedial in nature (Ibid).

Ide says that:

> I would like to emphazise here that these seven functional categories are not mutually exclusive, but overlapping in nature, and it is through these various contextual functions that the socio-cultural meaning and function of *sumimasen* emerges (Ide 1998: 522)

3. Public speaking from a speech genre perspective

Because in present research analyses of wedding speeches are included, it might be a good idea to know the basic rules and conventions about this particular speech genre. The first part will discuss Japanese public speaking in general and give a brief outlook on the discourse. However, Japanese wedding speeches belong to an own discourse within the genre of Japanese public speaking. Therefore a part describing Japanese wedding speeches in general is also provided.

3.1 Japanese public speaking

Dunn claims that conversation and public speaking both are forms of spoken discourse but that they due to their nature differ in many ways (Dunn 2010). She continues by claiming that we by speaking in a public official discourse are subjected to completely different expectations than in conversational speech. This manifests itself in a change of register and the speaker makes frequent use of forms which display deference and negative politeness (Dunn 2010).

To begin with, the circumstances where public and conversational speeches are used are different. Although a conversation is interactive, public speaking is usually a monologic act. This both allows and encourages the usage of certain types of syntactic structuring of information. The public speaking register in Japanese is characterised by long sequences of clauses, connected loosely with conjunctions. Also a frequent use of complex noun phrases with clausal modifiers, connected to a well-recognised predicate-final word order. Because public speaking is monologic, it allows the speaker to construct longer and more syntactically complex utterances compared to conversational interactions. Public speech generally lacks the characteristics of conversational speech, such as non-canonical word order and sentence-final interactional particles. Public speech is also characterised by a high frequency of honorific forms, both referent honorifics and addressee (distal) honorifics. Honorifics are grammatical forms which index deference to either your addressee or to the person whom about you are speaking. Honorific predicates consist of two main types, namely "addressee honorifics" and "referent honorifics" (Shibatani 2005).

Referent honorifics manifest the deference to a person or social group that may be either the addressee or a third person party. This is usually referred to as "humble form" and "respectful

form" depending on the tactics used. The aim is to index deference by either marking yourself as of lower status (humble) or marking the addressee or a third person party as of higher status (respectful). Even in very formal speech styles speakers do not use referent honorifics at every given opportunity since this might be interpreted as "overdone" (Dunn 2010).

Addressee honorifics are also called "polite language" and include verbal endings such as "–masu" attached to the adverbial forms of verbal stems and the copula forms of "desu" and "deshita". There are two different subject honorification processes. Shibatani says:

> One involves a form of circumlocution expressing the idea of making indirect reference
> to someone's doing something by means of a form that directly translates as someone's
> 'becoming to do something' (Shibatani 1990:375)

The other one is a homophone of the passive and potential form, and consequently just adds "-rare" to the verb stem. Object-honorifics uses the honorific prefix "o-" together with a nominalised verbal form and the verb "suru" (to do). There are however, in both subject and object honorifics, a lot of suppletive forms (Shibatani 1990).

Hedges are often used to weaken the force of assertion and consequently making the expressions sound vaguer and less definitive. Some may also be used as fillers, enabling the speaker to think of what to say next. Hedges are neither rare nor inappropriate in formal speech events. However different hedges are used compared to conversational speaking. The most commonly used hedge in public speaking is "to omou" (と思う, to think/to believe) in different forms (humble form; zonjiru). "To omou" softens the force of assertion by marking the statement as the speakers own thoughts and opinions. In public speaking "to omou" is also commonly used when making requests of the audience and when announcing what the speaker is about to talk about. Both honorifics and hedges can be marked as showing negative or restraint politeness (Dunn 2010).

Also it is worth mentioning that the presence of a live audience requires speakers to enact appropriate social relationships through the use of these linguistic indexes. This is due to the existence of public positional social identities. This concept is based on the idea that when we are involved in personal conversations, we only speak as a representative of ourselves. However, in a public, official discourse we do not only speak for ourselves but also as a representative of the social group we belong to (Dunn 2010). Dunn suggests that honorifics and the hedge "to omou" displays socially-normative attitudes while sentence-final particles and post-predicate elements, common in the conversational discourse, involve a personal

emotional expression (Dunn 2010). It is both appropriate and expected of someone speaking as a representative of a social group or organisation to display deference to the audience through the use of honorifics. The hedge "to omou" is used similarly by softening the force of certain speech acts in ways that involve socially appropriate deference and modesty (Dunn 2010).

3.2 Wedding speeches

Contemporary Japanese wedding receptions contain a series of speeches performed by various guests, ranging from workplace superiors and former teachers to friends of the same age as the groom and bride. These speeches are highly conventionalised in form and content and are referred to as either "(go-) aisatsu" or supiichi (スピーチ, speech). Even though they are highly conventionalised, they are not identical; there is a variation across both individual speakers and the different categories of wedding guests. Also the degree and type of conventionalisation vary from across different parts of the wedding speech and different categories of speakers (Dunn 2005).

A standard Japanese wedding reception is usually held in the form of a banquet with multiple speeches and a "Master of Ceremonies" who controls the event and introduces the speakers. Generally, speakers are selected by the groom and bride, not only based on their relationship but also based on their social position. Apart from friends and family, every other speaker is usually a person of high status, in a position of authority to whom either the couple or their parents are obliged for past or future benevolence. Thus the most common speakers are current or former professors and workplace superiors. Inviting them as speakers is a way to acknowledge the relationship and obligation but also, having high status people giving speeches functions as raising the social status of the couple. Therefore the speakers do not, as previously mentioned, speak as individuals but as representatives of certain social categories. Even friends, who are selected based on a more personal relationship, are often introduced as a "representative of the friends" (Dunn 2005).

Wedding manuals typically provide sample speeches divided into different categories of speakers (Dunn 2005). The division used in this paper is based on such a manual. First we have the "baishakunin" (媒妁人), or "go-betweens". Unlike the other guests they are not invited to the wedding as guests but functions as a representative of the couple and their families. Then we have "shuhin" (主賓) – honoured guests, "ippan raihin" (一般来賓) –

ordinary guests and last we have "yuujin" (友人) also known as "friends". They usually speak in the same order as presented above, starting with the go-between and moving on with honoured guests. Those who speak in the position of honoured guest are usually people of higher status, one generation older than the couple with considerate experience of this type of public speaking. Since being an honoured guest indicates that you are of high social status, honoured guests usually begin their speeches by apologising for claiming this position, although they have been asked by the couple to hold that position. The very last person to give a speech is the father of the groom followed by the groom himself (Dunn 2005).

Common for all speeches is the temporal structure. It moves from a highly formalised and conventionalised opening, through a less formal and conventionalised middle and then regresses back to a formal closing. The most tightly structured speeches are those of the go-betweens but all initial speeches are tightly structured and conventionalised in both form and content. As the reception moves on to the ordinary guests and to the friends, the speeches gradually become more personalised and humorous. The last two speeches by groom and father, once again becomes much conventionalised in form and content. All speakers also bow once in the beginning of the speech when congratulating the couple and then once again at the end of the speech. Japanese wedding speeches are a relative monologic genre with no interjections or verbal responses from the audience. Since wedding speeches are included in the category of public speaking, honorifics are used to a wide extent. Also it is common to have a self-introduction at the beginning of the speech (Dunn 2005).

Speakers open their speeches with a series of formulaic expressions. None of them are obligatory in a sense that they appear in every single speech but there are a number of commonly used formulaic expressions. Among them we find:

- Self-introduction
- Congratulations to the couple and their families
- Apology for speaking ahead of other guests
- Expression of gratitude or happiness for being invited
- Explanation of relationship to the couple

Many of these elements themselves also consist of formulaic phrases. For example, in Dunns research all but one of the self-introductions followed the pattern below:

((Tadaima) goshookai {o itadakimashita}) (Institution no) <u>Name</u> degozaimasu.
                          {ni azukarimashita}
((Just-now) introduction received)   (Institution of) <u>Name</u> copula
'(As (just) introduced) I am <u>Name</u> (of institution)' (Dunn 2005: 215)

When paying attention to the basic elements of the closing of the speeches, you notice that this section is even more tightly structured and less variable than the openings. The standard formulaic expressions consist of following, among others:

- Statement of wishes or requests for the couple's future
- Announcement of the ending of the speech (optional)
- Congratulations or thanks (Dunn 2005)

Dunn also claims that the closing wishes fit a formulaic pattern. However, this pattern allows a creative space for speakers to adapt traditional metaphors and make them personal (Dunn 2005).

The main bodies of wedding speeches are considerably different from the openings and the closings. This is due to less structure in both form and content. In the main body, the speaker's relationship to the couple is usually described. Also the bride or groom's personality is described. Because each couple is different and each speaker has a different history of personal content with the couple, every speech is unique and therefore becomes less conventionalised (Dunn 2005). Due to this reason, the main body parts of wedding speeches will not fulfil the requirements for present analysis, since aisatsu expressions are ritualised expressions. Consequently they will not be paid any further attention in this paper.

4. Research

In the chapter regarding aisatsu, it was mentioned that public or formal speech might in some contexts be glossed as go-aisatsu. It was also mentioned how the openings and closings of speeches at different ceremonies may be referred to as go-aisatsu. In the chapter regarding Japanese public speaking, it was proved that wedding speeches fulfil both of these criteria. In its execution it is both public and formal. Also it is a part of a ceremony with highly conventionalised openings and closings. From this you might come to the conclusion that wedding speeches, apart from being a speech genre within public speaking, also can be glossed as go-aisatsu. Now let us take a closer look at their complexity and see what kind of aisatsu expressions they consist of.

4.1 Methodology

In the preceding chapter, it was stated that the most conventionalised parts of wedding speeches are the openings and the closings. Therefore this chapter is divided into three parts, the first one focusing on openings and the second one focusing on closings. Examples of what is most commonly expressed through these formulaic expressions have also already been provided. It is upon these examples that present research has been based. Some of these examples consist of a more complicated pattern. When this is the case, instead of displaying this with a large number of examples, a pattern has been provided. Also, the marking of social relationships have been summarised in the third and also last part. All patterns derive from Dunn (2005) and the examples are a mixture between Dunn's examples and wedding speeches that the author has transcribed from the webpage "Youtube".

4.2 Openings

It has already been mentioned that the openings of wedding speeches consist of different types of conventionalised expressions. Here, five different examples of what is usually expressed through these expressions are being discussed. The first one is:

- Self-introduction

Pattern:

Tadaima goshoukai   wo   itadakimashita Institution no Name degozaimasu
                      ni   azukarimashita

Just now introduction ACC/LOC received   Institution of Name COP

'As just introduced I am Name of Insitution' (Dunn 2005)

Examples:

1) M ginkou no K degozaimasu

   M bank GEN K COP

'I am K of bank M' (Dunn 2005)

2) X to   onaji shokuba   de   shigoto wo shite orimasu O to   moushimasu

   X COM same workplace LOC job   ACC do   O QUOT to be called

'I am O who works in the same workplace as X'

   Now let us start by confirming what type of aisatsu this is. As displayed in the examples, self-introductions do not consist of a concrete aisatsu expression. But as mentioned in the chapter regarding aisatsu, self-introductions are usually viewed upon as the third group, go-aisatsu. Although they do not consist of a fixed expression, the pattern is still highly conventionalised. Also, since the purpose is not for the expression to be phatic but poetic, longer expressions with more liberty for creativity are necessary. However, self-introductions must still convey a certain extent of information. In this particular context it is possible to say that the self-introductions serve little purpose of conveying information. This is because the speaker has already been introduced; consequently no new information is conveyed. Thus you can argue that the main purpose of self-introductions in the openings of wedding speeches is to make a smooth transition from one speaker to another. In other words, although self-introductions in general are poetic, in this context they turn out to be phatic and can thus be compared to previous example:

Ohayou gozaimasu.   Kyou wa hayai desu ne
good morning(**aisatsu**) today TOP early COP IP
'Good morning, you're up early today, aren't you?' (Haga 1988)

Now let us move on to their traits. The second one of Haga's traits is the "Aisatsu that expresses that the conversation partners are not acquainted with each other" – trait. Since self-introductions are one of few aisatsu expressions that are used together with strangers, it naturally fits under this trait. However, when looking at the aisatsu expression from this perspective you must take other aspects into consideration. Usually when you use self-introductions together with unfamiliar people, you do it mutually, meaning that you finish your self-introduction with a set aisatsu expression, "douzo yoroshiku(onegaishimasu)" ([please] take care of me / I am under your care), to which the audience is supposed to reply. This makes conversational self-introductions mutual rather than monologic and therefore you can argue that the second trait can not be applied to self-introductions used during wedding speeches. This is because they lack the finishing expression to which the audience is supposed to reply.

On the other hand, in this context it does have contextual boundaries, namely in time. Regardless of what group of guests you are representing, if you include a self-introduction in your speech, it always comes at the beginning of the opening.

- Congratulations to the couple and their families

Pattern:
Groom's name, bride's name honjitsu wa makoto ni omedetou gozaimasu

Goshinzoku no minasama   kyou wa   hontou ni
Goryoushin   doumo
Gokazoku no minasama   taihen

People being congratulated   today   intensifier congratulations (**aisatsu**)
'Today I sincerely congratulate groom's name, bride's name'
        truly   both parents
        very   the members of booth families (Dunn 2005)

Examples:
3) Honjitsu wa Y-kun M-san taihen omedetou gozaimashita (Slight nod of head)
   Today   TOP Y-TI M-TI   very   congratulations (**aisatsu**)(Slight nod of head)
'Today congratulations to Y and M (Slight bow of head)'
Mata gokazoku goshinzoku   no   kata   makoto ni omedetou gozaimasu (Slight nod of head)

Also family   relatives   GEN people sincerely congratulations(**aisatsu**)(Slight nod of head)
'Also my sincere congratulations to the families and relatives (Slight nod of head)' (Dunn 2005)

4) X san O san honjitsu wa gokekkon omedetou gozaimasu   (Bow)
   X TI   O TI   today   TOP marriage congratulations(**aisatsu**)(Bow)
'X and O congratulations on your marriage today' (Bow)

Here it is not obvious which part that can be interpreted as an aisatsu expression. But earlier it was mentioned how both congratulations and condolences function as go-aisatsu. If you take a closer look at "omedetou(gozaimasu)", it carries meanings such as "congratulations" or "an auspicious occasion". Since this expression belongs to go-aisatsu, its main function is to be poetic rather than phatic. However, it differs to quite a large extent from the previously discussed self-introductions. The reason for self-introductions to not consist of a set expression, but instead a pattern was to enable its poetic characteristics. However, congratulations does not only have a pattern but also a set expression, namely "omedetou(gozaimasu)". Therefore congratulations have boundaries to a larger extent than self-introductions. The poetic liberties thus become confined to the choice of words and sense of appropriate politeness level to a much higher extent.

  It might be worth mentioning that in other contexts, "omedetou(gozaimasu)" can also be used in a phatic manner. In everyday life we congratulate people on different occasions. For example, if someone we know is celebrating their birthday by hosting an event, when showing up, even if the event is hosted later than the actual birthday and congratulations already have been exchanged, it is custody to congratulate them again. This action shows that "omedetou(gozaimasu)"   also   carries   phatic   abilities.   This   also   shows   that omedetou(gozaimasu) can be repeated over time.

  The non-spoken aisatsu of bowing and nodding serves the purpose of ending the congratulatory aisatsu action. As observed in above examples, the speaker is supposed to finish their congratulations with a bow or nod depending on their social status. This trait is most tightly bound to the former, poetic interpretation of the aisatsu expression and shows traits of non-spoken aisatsu.

- Apology for speaking ahead of other guests

Examples:

5) Senetsu   nagara hito koto go-aisatsu   sase – te   itadakimasu

   Presumptuous while   one word aisatsu permit – and receive

'Although it feels presumptuous permit me to say a few words' (Dunn 2005)

For this formulaic expression, I could find neither a set aisatsu expression nor a pattern. Instead, this example is characterised by a high level of politeness and by a high frequency of honorific forms, all accordingly to public speaking. This proves that although these formulaic expressions are standardised, not all of them functions in the same way as aisatsu. One reason for this might be the fact that only one specific group among the wedding guests uses this type of expressions, therefore not making them common enough. Another reason might be that this expression only belongs to the public discourse, therefore not being used in everyday life. Thus we come to the same conclusion that it is simply not common enough.

- Expression of gratitude or happiness for being invited

6) Mata kono youna oseki ni omaneki itadakimashi – te makoto ni   arigatou gozaimasu

   Again this way   seat LOC invite   receive – and   sincerely   thank (**aisatsu**)

'Also I would like to give sincere thanks for being invited here'

It is common when showing happiness or gratitude for being invited, to use different forms of the aisatsu expression "arigatou(gozaimasu)". Arigatou(gozaimasu) literally means "thank you" and does not carry an alternative meaning. It shares a lot of properties with the earlier discussed "omedetou(gozaimasu)". They function in the same manner and share the same ability to be both phatic and poetic depending on context. However, it was stated earlier that omedetou(gozaimasu), due to its congratulatory function, belongs to go-aisatsu but arigatou(gozaimasu) on the other hand, completely lacks this function. When looking upon arigatou(gozaimasu) from a conversational perspective, the expression clearly belongs to Suzuki's second group. This is due to the fact that the expression contains a certain extent of meaning, but it still functions in a very phatic manner. On the contrary, you can argue that in the context of wedding speeches, arigatou(gozaimasu)s purpose is equally phatic and poetic. This makes it difficult to decide whether it belongs to Suzuki's second group or the third group of go-aisatsu.

When focusing on the different aisatsu traits, arigatou(gozaimasu) can be used in a larger number of contexts than omedetou(gozaimasu) and is therefore not bound in time to the same extent. In wedding speeches specifically, arigatou(gozaimasu) can for example, unlike omedetou(gozaimasu), be found in both the openings and the closings. This will be displayed later during the part regarding closings. It is also to be said that thanking can be looked upon as an aisatsu expression that is repeated over time, because there is a period of time between receiving invitations to the wedding and the actual ceremony. Yet you express your gratitude once again, showing awareness of that you are indebted to your conversational partner and then balancing the obligation by thanking. This is in accordance to Hagas trait of o-reis.

- Explanation of relationship to the couple

7) X to   onaji shokuba   de   shigoto wo shite orimasu O   to   moushimasu
   X COM same workplace LOC job   ACC do   O QUOT to be called
'I am O who works in the same workplace as X'

Here an example of what an explanation of relationship to the couple might look like, has been provided. Although they are standardised formulaic expressions and look and act in the same way, unlike previous examples, omedetou(gozaimasu) and arigatou(gozaimasu), they do not consist of a pattern or set aisatsu expression. Some people might argue that "to moushimasu" in a way can be interpreted as an aisatsu expression, mostly based on the fact that it is a common expression in self-introductions. However, in this context, "to moushimasu" does not have a relationship to the explanation of relationship to the couple and can therefore only be interpreted as a humble form of "to iu" (と言う, to say). As mentioned earlier, even though these expressions are standardised they do not always have the same qualities as aisatsu expressions do.

4.3 Closings

The closings of wedding speeches do not allow the same amount of variety as the openings. Therefore, only three examples of conventionalised expressions are being provided. The first one is:

- Statement of wishes or requests for the couple's future

Pattern:

Verb – te   itadaki – tai   to   omoimasu/zonjimasu/omotte orimasu

Verb – and receive – DES QUOT think

'I think I would like [the couple] to…'

Or

Verb koto   wo oinori itashimasu/moushiagemasu

Verb NOM DO pray do

'I pray that [they] will…'

Or

Verb – te   kudasai

Verb – and please

'Please…'(Dunn 2005)

Examples:

8) Zehi   namaatatakai katei   wo   kizuite – itte – kudasai

   Without fail lukewarm   home ACC build – and – go – please

'Please without fail go and build a warm home'

It is hard to fit this type of formulaic pattern into Suzuki's three-group-division. At first sight you might dismiss it based on the same reasons as "apology for speaking ahead of other guests" and "explanation of relationship to the couple" was dismissed as aisatsu. However, here the expressions do carry obvious aisatsu traits although not expressed through one set aisatsu expression. This is due to Hagas trait divisions where requests and wishes can be classified under the traits of o-reis. Requests executed according to the patterns above, gives the impression that you are grateful to others' services, therefore also displaying indebtedness. When looking at the requests from this point of view, they have striking similarities with Suzuki's third group, go-aisatsu. A message is being conveyed in a highly ritualised manner

but without set aisatsu expressions. Also the functions of requests and wishes have a more poetic rather than phatic function.

- Announcement of the ending of the speech (optional)

Examples:

9) Soko de musubi toshite   wa futari   he   no shukufuku no kimochi wo
   Therefore conclusion as for TOP two people ALL GEN blessing GEN feeling ACC
    sunao ni tsutae – tai   to   omoimasu (Bow)
    honestly convey – DES QUOT   think   (Bow)

'Therefore lastly I think that I would like to convey my honest feelings of blessing to the two of you (Bow)'

If only focusing on the spoken part of this type of formulaic expression, it does not contain an immediate aisatsu expression. Some people would claim that "to omou" (to think/to believe) could be considered an aisatsu expression. However you can preferably state that it is merely a hedge used to soften the force of the expression and add another politeness level. However, the bow in the ending gives it a non-spoken aisatsu trait. Therefore it might be a good idea to reconsider the qualities of this formulaic expression.

   Again, the expression does not consist of a set aisatsu expression. However if you look at example 9 as an entire piece, it is possible to draw references between it and the second one of Suzuki's groups. Although the example does carry a meaning, the expression is very formulaic thus displaying that the purpose is to create a smooth ending rather than conveying feelings of blessings. Suzuki also states that the second group is often accompanied with the non-spoken aisatsu trait of bowing.

- Congratulations or thanks

Examples:

10) Honjitsu wa hontou ni omedetou gozaimasu
    Today   TOP truly   congratulations (**aisatsu**)

'Today I truly congratulate you'

"Omedetou gozaimasu" plays the same role here as it does in congratulations to the couple and their families. So does thanking in relation to expressions of gratitude or happiness for being invited. In other words, both expressions are phatic to a certain degree and bound in time to a certain extent. In relation to thanking, congratulating is phatic to a higher extent and more bound in time. Thanking on the other hand has to a larger extent the ability to be repeated over time. This is because the nature of thanking is to show awareness of that you are obliged to the couple for inviting you and thus balancing the obligation by thanking.

4.4 Marking social relationship (openings and closings)

All of the speakers belong to different groups of wedding guests but during the conventionalised parts they generally use the same aisatsu expressions in the same manner. The representative of the honoured guests uses the same aisatsu expressions as the representative of the friends. This is not consistent with Ides "social hierarchy-group". This group is characterised by the fact that different aisatsu expressions are used depending on where you stand in the social hierarchy in relation to your conversation partner.

The second group on the other hand, "boundaries between uchi (in-group) and soto (out-group) match the above examples. In the wedding speeches, the speaker makes a clear distinction between uchi (in-group) and soto (out-group), depending on their relationship to the couple. This is done through different levels of politeness within the aisatsu pattern and the set aisatsu expression. It is clearly displayed in past examples how the same type of pattern is repeated but also how different speakers add different politeness levels when using them. For example we have the following pattern belonging to the headline "Congratulations to the couple and their families":

Groom's name, bride's name honjitsu wa makoto ni omedetou gozaimasu

Goshinzoku no minasama   kyou wa   hontou ni

Goryoushin   doumo

Gokazoku no minasama   taihen

People being congratulated   today   intensifier congratulations (**aisatsu**)
'Today I sincerely congratulate groom's name, bride's name'

            truly   both parents

very   the members of booth families (Dunn 2005)

Here the different politeness levels are displayed very clearly. For example, "honjitsu" has a more formal thus polite sound than "kyou". Also different intensifiers carries different politeness levels with "makoto ni" and "domou" being the most polite. What also stands out is the difference when performing non-spoken aisatsu. When congratulations were being discussed, two different examples were provided. The speaker in example 3 uses a very polite language, yet the bow is confined to a slight nod:

3) Honjitsu wa Y-kun M-san taihen omedetou gozaimashita (Slight bow of head)

   Today TOP Y-TI M-TI very   congratulations(**aisatsu**)(Slight bow of head)

'Today congratulations to Y and M (Slight nod of head)'

Mata gokazoku goshinzoku no   kata   makoto ni omedetou gozaimasu (Slight bow of head)

Also family   relatives   GEN people sincerely congratulations(**aisatsu**) (Slight bow of head)

'Also my sincere congratulations to the families and relatives (slight nod of head)'(Dunn 2005)

The speaker in example 4 however, does not use the same level of politeness but does instead provide a proper bow.

4) X san O san honjitsu wa gokekkon omedetou gozaimasu

   X TI   O TI   today   TOP marriage congratulations (**aisatsu**)

'X and O congratulations on your marriage today'

Judging by this it is only natural to assume that the speaker in example 3 belongs to the same uchi (in-group) as the couple but has a higher social status. As mentioned in the chapter regarding wedding speeches, the guests of higher social status are required to use a more polite language than the friends and ordinary guests. With this non-spoken aisatsu the speaker better matches their social relationship and achieves an accurate level of politeness, thus not showing too much deference to the couple. The speaker in example 4 is most likely a representative of the friends or ordinary guests; and most likely also belongs to the uchi (in-group). He uses the lower bow to compensate the lack of politeness in the spoken aisatsu.

When focusing on who is being congratulated, this is displayed even more clearly. Depending on who you are congratulating, different levels of politeness are shown. Again, if we look at example 3, the speaker is first congratulating the couple by their names together with appropriate titles, clearly marking that the groom belongs to the same uchi (in-group) as the speaker by using the familiar title "kun". The bride also receives the title "san" which shows a balanced level of politeness and closeness. When the speaker on the other hand is moving on and congratulates their parents and relatives, by adding the honorific prefix "go" before "ryoushin" and "shinzoku", the politeness level increases dramatically thus showing that they, from his point of view, belong to a soto (out-group).

There is a formulaic expression that differs from the others. "Statement of wishes or requests for the couple's future" does not belong to the second group but the third. Ide calls the third group "the social interdependence-group". It consists of expressions that are used to mark social interdependence among speakers. We have already come to the conclusion that the requests and wishes being displayed during wedding speeches, serve this purpose and therefore also belong to this group of social divisions.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to provide the reader with a broader picture of aisatsu. This has been accomplished through different strategies. First a chapter regarding aisatsu was provided. Here, an introduction to the history of aisatsu showed that the word itself originates from the medieval Zen Buddhism but that the function already existed within the Japanese society. Next part described the three different groups of aisatsu and their functions:

 1) The first group consists of short aisatsu expressions such as "oi oi" (hey!). You use these among your friends and family and their function is phatic.

 2) The second group consists of expressions that to a certain extent carry a meaning. But their most important function is not to convey any information but to be phatic. An example is "ohayou(gozaimasu)" (good morning).

 3) The third and last group is called "go-aisatsu". These aisatsu expressions are longer and have a more complicated content. In go-aisatsu, not only information but also how different words affect the expression in sense of beautification is of utter importance. Its main function is to be poetic rather than phatic.

 In part three, a discussion regarding the five different traits that aisatsu can carry was provided:

 1) Contextual boundaries

 2) Expressions of unfamiliarity between the conversation partners

 3) Late/postponed aisatsu

 4) O-reis

 5) Non-spoken aisatsu

 Finally, it was noticed how aisatsu can be used to mark the social relationship between people in three different ways, namely by:

 1) Social hierarchy

 2) Boundaries between uchi (in-group) and soto (out-group)

 3) Social interdependence

 Present research regarded the Japanese public speech genre; therefore a brief outlook on the topic provided the reader with necessary background information. By speaking in a public official discourse, you become subjected to completely different expectations than in conversational speech. This manifests itself in a change of register and the speaker makes

frequent use of forms which display deference and negative politeness. These traits must not be confused with aisatsu expressions.

Also a more specific description of Japanese wedding speeches served the same purpose, thus assuring the readers comprehension. Japanese wedding speeches are complex. The wedding receptions contain a series of speeches performed by various guests, representing their own social group amongst the wedding guests. They are highly conventionalised but not identical.

The purpose of present research has been to display the variety and complexity of aisatsu. By proceeding from a known aisatsu group, namely the go-aisatsu of wedding speeches, different aisatsu expressions have been isolated from the original speech and their functions, traits, belonging and social definitions have been analysed. Based on this, following conclusions have been reached.

1) Although wedding speeches belong to the group go-aisatsu and their openings and closings are highly conventionalised and formulaic, not all of these formulaic expressions derive from aisatsu. In the example of "apology for speaking ahead of other guests" no aisatsu traits could be found. Although the English word "apology" is used, there are no apologetic Japanese expressions within the utterance. Instead the speaker uses very humble honorifics to express these feelings. The honorifics are simply a part of the speech genre and have little to do with aisatsu unless there are other aisatsu traits.

2) A majority of the aisatsu expressions used within the speech genre have a phatic function. Even aisatsu expressions, such as self-introductions, which usually are described as poetic, have a very phatic function in this context. This is due to the fact that they are not conveying any new information but rather function as a way of making a smooth transition or ending of the speech. On the contrary, there are also other aisatsu expression such as "arigatou(gozaimasu)" which usually functions in a very phatic manner. Within wedding speeches however, their function becomes rather poetic. This is because it is of higher importance that the act of thanking is performed in a beautiful way.

3) It is common to use aisatsu expressions that are either bound in time or are repeated over time. For example, if a self-introduction is being a part of the speech, it must always come in the very beginning. Another example is when the speaker congratulates the couple. Although congratulations most likely have been exchanged before, it is custody to involve congratulations in the speech thus making it an aisatsu expression repeated over time.

4) At last, regarding marking of social relationship, the following conclusion has been reached. Although it is obvious that there exists a social hierarchy among the guests, aisatsu

expressions are not used to display this. On the other hand they are used frequently to create boundaries between uchi (in-group) and soto (out-group). On one occasion, where the speaker states wishes or requests for the couple's future, the third division based on social interdependence is used.

All this put together shows that aisatsu has many different forms and functions. It also shows that it is not static but very dynamic and changes depending on context. In the chapter regarding aisatsu it was also mentioned how aisatsu is still evolving. Recently the non-spoken aisatsu trait has started to involve Western elements. Also when present research was carried out, the author noticed how season related aisatsu has begun being conveyed through new media. This shows that aisatsu is still living, evolving and changing. Thus it can be discussed that even now, aisatsu is growing more and more complex with each passing day.

In the future it would be interesting to conduct research on more recent changes within aisatsu. As for example, how it is being performed online or what impact the Western elements have had. Also a larger numbers of case studies, like the one included in present thesis, have to be performed on isolated aisatsu expressions to find out their exact character and functions.

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