Journal of Translation 18:1 (2022): 37–66
https://doi.org/10.54395/JOT-T8VM5
ISSN 1558-7282
journaloftranslation.org

Honorifics and the Japanese Bible

Goliath is "Ruder" than Pharaoh?

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Abstract: This paper is dedicated to the study of honorifics (lexically, morphologically, and/or grammatically marked polite/appropriate speech or language) in Bible translation. It includes a brief history of honorific studies, definitions of important terms (e.g., honorifics vs. politeness), challenges of honorifics in general, sociolinguistic factors or rules in Japanese honorifics, how honorifics are reflected in the Japanese Bible (e.g., pronouns, titles, familial terms, in-group vs. out-group, verbal honorifics including prefixes, suffixes, benefactives, imperatives), and specific issues or challenges found in the Japanese Bible. Unfortunately, the original languages of the Bible do not have much to say about honorifics. As such, translators are faced with difficult decisions, as the language may require every utterance to be marked as either "polite" or "casual" to some degree, i.e., one cannot keep the level of politeness "neutral."

I approach this issue of honorifics in Bible translation by observing how honorifics are reflected in one of the most read versions of the Japanese Bible, *Shinkaiyaku Seisho 2017* 'New Japanese Bible 2017,' mainly focusing on the conversational discourse found within the New Testament, and particularly the Gospel according to Matthew. My hope is that this paper will contribute to raising awareness of honorifics, and at the same time provide some clues and a framework for those who are translating the Bible into languages which utilize them.

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Abbreviations

1. Bibles

Kyōdōyaku '18	Seishokyōkaikyōdōyaku Seisho
Kyōdōyaku '87	Shinkyōdōyaku Seisho
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NET	New English Translation
Shinkaiyaku '03	Shinkaiyaku Seisho (*third edition)
Shinkaiyaku '17	Shinkaiyaku Seisho 2017
Shinkaiyaku '78	Shinkaiyaku Seisho (*second edition)

2. Technical Terms

#	semantically ill-formed
-	affix
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
=	clitic boundary
?	questionable
H	humble form
T	lower register
V	higher register
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CON	connective (*te*/*de*)
DAT	dative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
M	masculine
PL	plural
PST	past tense
SG	singular
Ø	pro-drop

1 Introduction to honorifics

This paper examines honorifics (i.e., lexically, morphologically, and/or grammatically marked polite/appropriate speech/language) in Bible translation. For instance, in some cultures, referring to a pastor simply as "John" would be extremely rude and socially unacceptable. To show appropriate respect, pastors may have to be referred to as "Pastor Smith," "Reverend Smith" (if ordained), or perhaps something along the lines of "Teacher Smith." In such societies, referring to Jesus simply as "Jesus" can convey a very wrong message, e.g., people might perceive Jesus as not important or does not deserve respect. In such languages, it may also be rude to refer to God with a pronoun such as "You" or "He."

Unfortunately, the source languages of the Bible (mainly ancient Hebrew and Greek) do not have much to say about honorifics.[1] Persons who are not familiar with honorifics may think, "If the Bible does not show desirable levels of honorifics for translation purposes, why don't we translate them into a default neutral politeness?" Unfortunately, the reality can be much more complicated than it seems. Target languages such as Japanese require every utterance to be marked either as "polite" or "casual" to some degree (i.e., one cannot keep the level of politeness "neutral").[2] In other words, for native Japanese speakers, employing honorifics is not limited to special occasions or speakers with special roles but rather is a norm.[3] Furthermore, in languages such as Japanese in which the employment of honorifics reflects not only the "closeness" but also the hierarchical relationship, the accurate employment of appropriate language is crucial in developing and maintaining harmonious relationships.[4]

Underlyingly, it is important to realize that the employment of honorifics expresses something regarding the relationship between people, but the

[1] Cf. Voinov (2002).

[2] Cf. Ide (2009); Cho (2009); Matsumoto (2001).

[3] Coulmas (1992).

[4] In fact, politeness is a "universal phenomenon," and thus is simply an unavoidable translation issue to one degree or another. Even a common phrase in English such as, "Don't be so polite," is in fact still within the realm of the politeness principle as one is being "polite" within the culture by "not being polite." That is to say, in American culture the way one treats someone "politely" is to *lower* the level of formality and treat them as if they are a friend, as reflected in the common phrase, "Make yourself at home," or in comments such as, "Please don't call me 'Mr. Johnson'. That's my father. Please call me 'Dave'!" Therefore, though often overlooked, "politeness" is an unavoidable translation issue as it is a fundamental aspect of any communication in any society (Blum-Kulka 1992:255).

*non*employment of honorifics also expresses something else.[5] Based on this sociolinguistic context, "politeness" is an absolutely necessary issue to consider in Japanese Bible translation.[6] At the same time, many difficult questions arise. Was the Devil speaking politely when he was tempting Jesus? Were the challenging Pharisees speaking impolitely but well-intended Pharisees speaking politely to Jesus? Was Jesus speaking politely to Pilate, as he was the governor? Or was He *not*, as one who said of Himself, "all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to Me" (Mat 28:18)? These are just a few examples of the difficult decisions translators might have to make when translating the Bible into languages with honorifics.

This paper approaches this issue of honorifics in Bible translation primarily by observing how honorifics are reflected in one of the two most read versions of the Japanese Bible, *Shinkaiyaku Seisho 2017* 'New Japanese Bible 2017'[7] (from here on *Shinkaiyaku* '17 or simply "the Japanese Bible"), and when necessary, in comparison with its older versions, mainly focusing on conversational discourses found within the New Testament (from here on NT), and particularly the Gospel according to Matthew (from here on Matthew).[8]

2 The definition of politeness and honorifics

Like any study of linguistic phenomena, it is imperative to define important terms and refrain from presupposing a mutual understanding. Especially knowing that we are dealing with a "universal linguistic phenomenon" (in a sense that politeness is found in every language and society to some degree), this is crucial, as Ide et al. (1992) have wisely warned, "we cannot assume that the concept of 'politeness' is fully equivalent to the concepts of corresponding terms

[5] Council for Cultural Affairs (2007:5).

[6] Cf. *Kirisuto Shimbun* ['Christ Newspaper']. *Seishohonyaku No Saizensen* ['The Front-Line of The Bible Translation']. *Shinkaiyaku* 2017 2: "*Keigo Ni Kansuru Henkō*" ['The Changes Regarding the Honorifics']. 11 Aug 2018 written by *Shin Nihon Seisho Kankōkai* ['New Japan Bible Publishing Society']. http://kirishin.com/2018/08/24/16648/ [translation of the article titles is mine].

[7] For word searches for *Shinkaiyaku* '17 (and its older versions), I used the official website of *Shin Nihon Seisho Kankōkai* 'New Japan Bible Publishing Society': https://seisho.or.jp/biblesearch/. As for *Kyōdōyaku* '18 (and its older version), I used the official website of *Nihon Seisho Kyōkai* 'Japan Bible Society': https://bible.or.jp/read/vers_search.html.

[8] Unless otherwise specified, English Bible citations are from the New American Standard Bible (NASB). In keeping with that translation, pronouns in this paper which refer to God and Jesus have been capitalized.

in other languages, since language itself is the door to a concept in people's minds."[9]

As for a concise contrast of the two concepts "politeness" and "honorifics," Cho (2009) defines them as follows: "*Politeness*, as a universal concept, is thus related to discourse and usage; whereas *honorifics*, as a specific morphology, are concerned with grammatical structure.... As a result, *politeness* is applicable to all languages, whereas *honorifics* are manifested in some languages" (emphasis mine).[10] The bottom line is, as she puts it brilliantly, politeness is

> a matter of *balance between appearing rude and appearing too polite*. According to the relationship between interlocutors, the balance of politeness can be proposed as being overpolite, being appropriately polite, being underpolite, and being impolite. The balance of politeness is dependent upon the dynamics of interpersonal activity and is not just a static logical concept (emphasis mine).[11]

This paper defines linguistic politeness as *the appropriate language reflecting one's place within one's society in relative relationship to the interlocutor(s) and referent(s)*;[12] and honorifics simply as linguistic politeness marked lexically, morphologically, and/or grammatically. Having these definitions for fundamental terms is a helpful starting point when studying the system of honorifics and its *registers* (different levels/kinds of word/phrase forms including honorifics) in the target language.

It is also important to be aware that politeness and honorifics are not invariably in a relationship of proportionality. In other words, employment of higher honorifics does not necessarily communicate higher respect from the speaker. In fact, since politeness is about appropriateness, depending on the context, being overly polite can be impolite if not outright rude. Whether the utterance is polite or impolite in a given context is, for the most part, determined by the social norms rooted in various social and cultural expectations. Therefore, it may be said that politeness can be conveyed when one is *neither uninvitedly casual nor exceedingly proper*. In other words, being polite is to behave with the right level of formality expected by the context including age, gender, social status, relationship, occasion, and various other social factors. This is why, linguistically, being polite would refer to the employment of the *appropriate* level of register to the given context.

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[9] Ide et al. (1992:282).

[10] Cho (2009:10). Cho also defines *honorifics* as "special linguistic forms that are used as signs of deference toward the addressee(s) or the nominal referents" (Cho 2009:4).

[11] Cho (2009:9–10).

[12] Cf. Council for Cultural Affairs (2007:53).

3 Multiple cultural factors in Japanese honorifics

There are multiple factors that contribute to the selection of a register within an utterance. They are all considered together to choose the most appropriate register in the given context. There are various frameworks (angles) to look at these criteria when examining honorifics. Coulmas (1992) provides three social factors that contribute to Japanese honorifics: 1) Relative Status (superior vs. inferior);[13] 2) Group Membership ("in-group" vs. "out-group"); and 3) Gender (male vs. female).[14] Ide (2009) gives four Japanese social rules of politeness: be polite 1) to a person of higher social position; 2) to a person with power; 3) to an older person; and 4) in a formal setting determined by the factors of participants, occasions, and topics.[15] This chapter examines perhaps the most crucial (but most complicated) notion of group membership.[16]

In this group membership, there are two cognitively/socially distinguished groups: *uchi* 'in-group' and *soto* 'out-group' (lit., 'inside' and 'outside' respectively). Coulmas (1992) describes this concept as follows:

> The general principle is that reference to self and members of one's own group—i.e., family, school, company, etc.—is modest/humble when talking to others, whereas reference to others is respectful.... *Addressing* someone by (first or last) name only indicates intimacy, while *referring* to someone by name only merely indicates group membership as well as the required awareness that honorifics are inappropriate when referring to in-group members toward outsiders (emphasis mine).[17]

The following scenario from Coulmas (1992) is an excellent example to depict this phenomenon of *uchi* vs. *soto*. Here the secretary refers to her boss simply by name (without any title), which she will absolutely not do with the customer.[18] While the customer refers to the secretary's boss as 'Mr. Tanaka' with a title *-san* and uses the *respectful form* of the verb 'is' in reference to him, the secretary refers to her boss simply as 'Tanaka' without any title and uses the *humble form* of the verb (more on this later):[19]

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[13] Mizutani 1979:151, cited in Coulmas (1992:311).

[14] Coulmas (1992:311–312).

[15] Ide (1982:366–377), cited in Cho (2009:38).

[16] Cf. Takekuro (2006:410).

[17] Coulmas (1992:311).

[18] Coulmas (1992:311).

[19] Adapted and modified from Coulmas (1992:311).

(a) Customer:
Tanaka-**san**=wa Pari kara kaet-te **irasshai**-masu ka
Mr. Tanaka=topic Paris from returned **is [+respect]** Question
'Has Mr. Tanaka returned from Paris?'

(b) Secretary:
Tanaka-Ø=wa mada kaet-te **ori**-masen
Ø. Tanaka=topic yet returned **is [+humble]**-not
'Tanaka has not returned yet.'

This in-group vs. out-group concept is not limited to the corporate world but is also apparent in other social domains including family. For example, an individual may refer to an out-group member's father as *o-tō-sama* (V) [+respect] (note the honorific prefix *o-* and title *-sama*), but refers to one's own father as *chichi* (V) [+humble] in front of others, since "It is not polite to respect the speaker's own [parent] in the presence of a respected addressee."[20] However, when one is speaking directly to his/her father or making a reference to him in his/her in-group, he may be referred to as *o-tō-san* (T).[21]

4 Honorifics and the Japanese Bible

As mentioned above, Japanese honorifics are marked linguistically, i.e., lexically, morphologically, and/or grammatically. Furthermore, it was explained that the selection of a register (level/type of honorifics) within any utterance is imperative, playing a crucial role not only in politeness but appropriateness and naturalness. This chapter presents how Japanese honorifics are reflected in the Japanese Bible and examines translation challenges/issues that can be observed from it.

4.1 Familial address

As was briefly mentioned, familial terms are difficult to translate precisely in Japanese because there is politeness involved. The table below lists seven ways 'father' is translated in the Japanese Bible (*Shinkaiyaku* '17), all from the same Hebrew or Greek word. The classification of T (lower register) or V (higher register) in this paper is allocated simply in relative terms (based on my intuition).

[20] Nishina (2008:299).

[21] Though *o-tō-san* 'father (T)' by form appears to be a polite reference with both the honorific prefix and the title, it is still a casual/familiar address as it has become conventionalized and has lost its formal sense over the years.

Table 1: 'Father' in the Japanese Bible

'Father'	"Formal" context	"Informal" context	Antiquity
chichi-oya (T/V)		first/second/third person's father	contemporary
o-tō-san (T)		first/second/third person's father	contemporary
o-tō-sama (V)	first/second/third person's father		contemporary
chichi (V/H)	first person's father		contemporary
chichi-ue (V)	first/second/third person's father		archaic
o-chichi-ue (VV)	second/third person's father		archaic
chichi-gimi (VVV)	second/third person's father		archaic

While *o-tō-san* (T) is found only nineteen times throughout the Japanese Bible, the higher register counterpart *o-tō-sama* (V) is even rarer and is only found in two verses (Judges 11:36; Luke 15:27). The parable of the prodigal son provides a nice contrast of these two forms: while the brothers in the parable refer to their father as *o-tō-san* (Luke 15:12, 29), the servant refers to his master as *o-tō-sama* when speaking to his master's son, as contrasted below:

(1) "**Father** [*o-tō-san* (T)], give me the share of the estate that is coming to me" (Luke 15:12).
(2) "Your brother has come, and your **father** [*o-tō-sama* (V)] has slaughtered the fattened calf" (Luke 15:27).

Although *o-tō-sama* is classified as V, *chichi* is classified as V/H in the table above. This is because the politeness works differently for the two honorific forms of 'father.' While the former pays respect to the second or third person by "elevating" the referent father, the latter pays respect to the interlocutor(s) by "humbling" one's father. Since it is a humble form, *chichi* is usually used *only* in reference to the speaker's father and not anyone else's father. Thus, it is appropriate for a disciple to refer to his father as *chichi* before his *Rabbi* Jesus and for Joseph's brothers to do the same before the ruler of Egypt (Joseph):

(3) "Lord, allow me first to go and bury my **father** [*chichi* (V/H)]" (Matthew 8:21).

(4) "Your servant our **father** [*chichi* (V/H)] is well; he is still alive" (Genesis 43:28).

However, since the humble form *chichi* (V/H) is usually chosen to express *humility in the presence of other(s)*, it is rather strange that Lot's eldest daughter "humbly" refers to her own father as *chichi* when speaking to her sister (who is not only younger but also an in-group member):

(5) "Our **father** [*chichi* (V/H)] is old" (Genesis 19:31).

In this context of sisters speaking of their father, it would be more natural if it were *o-tō-san* (T) or *o-tō-sama* (V). In fact, the previous edition *Shinkaiyaku* '03 has translated it as *o-tō-san* (T).

Another challenge is that Jesus also refers to God the Father as *chichi* (V/H) as well, contributing much to its highest occurrence of the word 'father' in the Japanese Bible:

(6) "All things have been handed over to Me by My **Father** [*chichi* (V/H)]" (Matthew 11:27).

The complexity of this translation issue perhaps lies in the fact that while *chichi* (V/H) in *conversational discourse* is the third-person reference to one's father in *humility* before the presence of others, it is completely natural and appropriate for *chichi* to be used in other discourse types, such as in poetic or narration discourse.[22] One may criticize this translation, saying Jesus should not (or even cannot) humble His Father in the presence of others. Or perhaps this translation decision is motivated by the intention to give Jesus (and Father God) "extra dignity" by employing *chichi* in a classical sense which does not carry the humble sense.

4.2 Address/reference for first, second, and third person

Though it may be surprising for some, translating pronouns, a seemingly simple process, requires a deep understanding of each culture.[23] As for Japanese, there are many pronouns (literally dozens), especially if historical (such as *thou* for 'you' in English) and dialectical (such as *y'all* in Southern states) counterparts are

[22] Prayer: "Our **Father** [*chichi*], who is in heaven, Hallowed be Your name" (Matthew 6:9); Proverb: "HONOR YOUR **FATHER** [*chichi*] AND MOTHER" (Matthew 15:4), or in narration discourse as in "Going on from there He saw two other brothers...in the boat with their **father** [*chichi*] Zebedee" (Matthew 4:21). In these discourse types, *chichi* does not carry the "humble" sense.

[23] Bocquet (2000:237), cited in Coffman (2017:236).

also to be included. When it comes to addressing or referring to someone within a conversation (including oneself), Japanese speakers follow various socio-linguistic rules (such as the relationship with other interlocutors and occasions) to make the appropriate choice.

4.2.1 Honorific affixes on nouns and proper names

Before going into actual terms of address/reference, this section introduces the honorific affixes which often appear alongside pronouns. These honorific prefixes and suffixes are commonly found in Japanese conversations, each carrying different connotations and levels of politeness.

4.2.1.1 Honorific prefixes

There are five honorific prefixes in Japanese, as shown in the table below:

Table 2: Honorific prefixes

Prefix	Examples	Register
o-	*o-tegami* 'letter'	T/V
go-	*go-han* '(cooked) rice'	T/V
on-	*on-sha* 'company'	VV
gyo-	*gyo-i* 'will, desire'	VV
mi-	*mi-na* 'name (of God)'	VVV

Basically, every noun can receive one of these honorific prefixes according to its lexical class/group. The most common honorific prefixes in the Japanese Bible are *o-*, *go-*, and *mi-*, and they can be found on nouns or verbs:

(7) "And I brought him to Your **disciples** [*o-deshi-tachi*]" (Matthew 17:16).
(8) "**Sir** [*go-shujin-sama*], did you not sow good seed in your field?" (Matthew 13:27).
(9) "The God of our fathers has **appointed** [*o-erabi=ni nari-mashi-ta*] you to know His **will** [*mi-kokoro*] (Acts 22:14).

Lexically, the prefix *mi-* is special as it is used to pay respect to gods or the Imperial family.[24] Therefore, Japanese Christians have adopted this concept and use this prefix in many instances when referring to God, as can be found throughout the Japanese Bible.

[24] God(s) and the imperial family are grouped together according to *Kokka Shintō* 'State Shintōism', which stands on the narrative that the Japanese imperial family are the descendants of gods.

4.2.1.2 Honorific suffix keishō ("title")

Most of the time, last names and first names are accompanied by different types of "titles" in Japanese, with a gradation from formal to casual, some common examples being *-sama*, *-san*, *-kun*, and *-chan*. These suffix titles are functionally (but roughly) equivalent to English titles (e.g., 'Mr.,' 'Mrs.,' 'Ms.,' 'Sir,' or 'Madam/Lady'). The choice for the term of address is influenced by various factors, including the gender and age of the interlocutors. The table below reflects a simple and generic usage of each *keishō* "title."

Table 3: Honorific suffix *Keishō* "title")[25]

"Titles"	Literary	Verbal	Male	Female	Old	Young	Formal	Casual
-dono (V)	x		x	x	x		x	
-shi (V)	x		x	x	x		x	
-sama (V)	x	x	x	x	x		x	
-san (V/T)		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
-kun (T)		x	x		(x)	x		x
-chan (T)		x	x	x	(x)	x		x

Intriguingly, none of the *keishō* except for *-sama* (V) is found in the Japanese Bible. If these proper *keishō* are absent in modern Japanese, usually such a reference carries a familiar/friendly, casual, or rude connotation, although the lack of titles can also be appropriate in some professional settings. As for *-sama*, it can be found after names, pronouns, and title/relationship terms in the Japanese Bible, as illustrated in the following examples:

(10) "**Jesus** [*Iesu-sama* (V)], Son of David, have mercy on me!" (Mark 10:47)
(11) "Lord, I am not worthy for You [*anata-sama* (V-V)] to come under my roof, but just say the word and my servant will be healed" (Matthew 8:8).
(12) "Hail, **King** [*ō-sama* (V)] of the Jews!" (Matthew 27:29)

Although Jesus' name is followed by *-sama* (V) in the Mark 10:47 passage above, this is surprisingly extremely rare, occurring only seven times throughout the NT. Elsewhere, it is consistently "omitted": angels referring to Jesus (Acts 1:11), and even the apostle Peter referring to Jesus (e.g., Acts 1:16). However, the two disciples heading to Emmaus do refer to Jesus as *Iesu-sama* 'Jesus (V)' with

[25] These are the *referent's* gender and age group.

the title (Luke 24:19, 23). The translation decision behind these distinctions is unclear:

(13) "Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into the sky? This **Jesus** [*Iesu-Ø*], who has been taken up from you into heaven" (Acts 1:11).
(14) "Brothers, the Scripture had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit foretold by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who became a guide to those who arrested **Jesus** [*Iesu-Ø*]" (Acts 1:16).
(15) "Those about **Jesus** [*Iesu-sama* (V)] the Nazarene, who proved to be a prophet mighty in deed and word in the sight of God and all the people" (Luke 24:19).

4.2.2 First-person address/reference

As for Japanese pronouns, similarly to familial terms, the distinction cannot be made simply by a T vs. V contrast, as there are more varieties of choices, each with different connotations. As mentioned above, since linguistic politeness is not necessarily binary but rather a gradation ranging from the lowest to the highest register, it should include inappropriate words such as derogatory/crude "belittling" words (labeled as TT or even TTT) which are, strictly speaking, not honorifics.

Table 4: First-person pronouns in the Japanese Bible

First-person pronoun	Gender of speaker	Age of speaker	Antiquity
ware (VV)	Male/Female	Adults	Semi-archaic
wa (VV)	Male/Female	Adults	Semi-archaic
watakushi (VV)	Male/Female	Adults	Contemporary
watashi (V/T)	Male/Female	Adults/Children	Contemporary
jibun (T)	Male	Adults	Contemporary
ore (TT)	Male	Adults/Children	Contemporary

The Japanese Bible employs six first-person pronouns. The semi-archaic[26] literary form *ware* (VV) gives a formal and grand impression (and a sense of dignity). This plural form is used more than 252 times throughout the Japanese Bible, spoken by both God and humans. Another semi-archaic form *ware-ra*

[26] The pronouns *ware* and *wa* are labeled "semi-archaic" based on the descriptive usage in modern Japanese. They are basically no longer spoken in regular daily conversation, but are still used in some formal speech and writing.

appears twenty-five times, mostly in poetic discourses such as in Psalms or prayers.[27]

The most common first-person pronoun found in the Japanese Bible is *watashi* (V/T), appearing more than 16,100 times. Jesus referred to Himself as *watashi* even when he was a boy:

(16) "Did you not know that **I** [*watashi* (V)] had to be in **My** [*jibun=no* 'self=GEN'] Father's house?" (Luke 2:49)

This choice of pronoun is rather unnatural, as no modern Japanese twelve- or thirteen-year-old boys would refer to themselves as *watashi* (V). Rather they would either say *boku* (T) or perhaps *ore* (TT). Not only is Jesus speaking with a higher register to his parents as a young boy, but He is also employing high honorifics throughout His utterance, such as on the predicates. This would most likely appear unnaturally formal/proper from modern readers' perspectives.

The least common first-person pronoun found in the Japanese Bible is *jibun* (T). While the Japanese Bible often employs *jibun* as a second- or third-person reflexive pronoun, this paper accounts only those which are "pure" first-person pronouns (i.e., *non-reflexive* pronouns). I was only able to find two clear cases of non-reflexive *jibun* in the Japanese Bible: a landowner in Jesus' parable (Matthew 20:15) and the evil spirit in Acts 19:15:

(17) "Is it not lawful for **me** [∅] to do what **I** [*jibun* (T)] want with what is **my** [*jibun=no* 'self=GEN'] own?" (Matthew 20:15)
(18) "**I** [*jibun* (T)] recognize Jesus, and **I** [∅] know about Paul, but who are you?" (Acts 19:15)

While the employment of *jibun* as a "pure" first-person pronoun (i.e., not reflexive neither bound by any specific grammatical pattern) appears to be very infrequently used in the Japanese Bible, it is not clear as to why *jibun* is chosen over others in these two passages.

The second uncommon first-person pronoun *ore* (TT) appears only fifteen times: thirteen times in the OT and twice in the NT. It is chosen when the utterance is from criminals or enemy gentiles within the context of war.[28] While

[27] e.g., Genesis 24:60; Psalm 46:1; Isaiah 61:2; Mark 11:10.

[28] Jonathan speaking from the point of view of the Philistine garrison (1 Samuel 14:9, 10); the Philistine garrison: "Come on up to **us** [*ore-tachi*] so we can teach you a thing or two!" (1 Samuel 14:12 [NET]); Goliath: "Am **I** [*ore* (TT)] not the Philistine, and you the servants of Saul?" (1 Samuel 17:8; also 17:9, 43); David speaking from the point of view of his enemy: "And my enemy will say, '**I** [*ore*] have overcome him'" (Psalm 13:4); and the criminals on the cross: "Are You not the Christ? Save Yourself and **us** [*ore-tachi*]!" (Luke 23:39); "And **we** [*ore-tachi*] indeed are *suffering* justly" (Luke 23:41).

some enemies/criminals in the Japanese Bible refer to themselves as *ore* (TT), most of the "antagonists" in both the OT and the NT do not follow the same pattern but refer to themselves as *watashi* (V). The issue with the contrast between antagonists' *watashi* (V) and *ore* (TT) is that those few individuals such as Goliath appear much more crude and vicious in comparison to others such as Pharaoh, and therefore appear (unnecessarily?) more evil than others:[29]

(19) "Am **I** [*ore* (TT)] not the Philistine, and you the servants of Saul?" (1 Samuel 17:8)
(20) "Who is the LORD that **I** [*watashi* (V)] should obey His voice to let Israel go?" (Exodus 5:2)

While the choice of pronoun alone signals the level of politeness, Japanese also allows for further complexity with the addition of "self-belittling/demeaning" suffixes (*-domo* and *-me*), functioning to humble the speaker (and/or the in-group), signifying one's "lowly state." Since these are respectful, self-humbling forms, they are labeled as V/H, as in *chichi* 'father' (V/H). These suffixes can attach to pronouns as well as regular nouns as shown below:[30]

Table 5: Japanese "belittling/demeaning" suffixes

	Suffix *-domo*	**Suffix *-me***
***watakushi* (VV)**	*watakushi-domo* (VV-V/H)	*watakushi-me* (VV-V/H)
***watashi* (V)**	*watashi-domo* (V-V/H)	
***inu* 'dog'**	*Inu-domo* (TTT)	*Inu-me* (TTT)

In the Japanese Bible, there are few instances of *-domo* suffixes and a number of *-me* suffixes. While the former is found with pronouns, the latter is not used with pronouns. The suffix *-domo* can be found along with the first-person pronoun for a "humbling" purpose (e.g., Genesis 24:23). It is also found with nouns such as 'servants' or 'slaves' as in "your servants" (e.g., Genesis 42:10):

(21) "Whose daughter are you? Please tell me, is there room for **us** [*watashi-domo* (V-V/H)] to lodge in your father's house?" (Genesis 24:23)
(22) "No, my lord, but your **servants** [*shimobe-domo* (V/H)] have come to buy food" (Genesis 42:10)

[29] Perhaps Goliath is simply portrayed as a barbaric warrior, while Pharaoh is more refined as a king.

[30] Matsumoto (2001:77) describes *watashi-domo* (V-V/H) as modest, humble, and self-deprecating.

However, this *-domo* morpheme in the self-humbling sense is only found in the OT. In the NT, *-domo* appears only in second- or third-person belittling sense, and the vast majority of these occurrences refer to demons (twenty-nine times).[31] I have the impression that it communicates the speakers' or authors' disgusted attitude towards the demons. However, the usage of these suffixes also faces the issue of consistency. The suffix *-domo* follows *akurei* 'demons' twenty-nine times in the NT and once in the OT (despite the word *akurei* 'demon' only found twice in the OT). These two occurrences in the OT are contrastive in the usage of *-domo* despite them having extremely similar constructions:

(23) "They sacrificed to **demons** [*akurei-domo* (TTT)] who were not God" (Deuteronomy 32:17).
(24) "They even sacrificed their sons and their daughters to the **demons** [*akurei-Ø*]" (Psalm 106:37).

4.2.3 Second-person address/reference in the Japanese Bible

The Japanese Bible employs four kinds of second-person pronouns. In order of the highest to the lowest register, they are: *anata-sama*, *anata*, *kimi*, and *omae*, as shown in the table below:

Table 6: Second-person pronouns and plural morphemes in the Japanese Bible

Second-person pronouns	Gender of speaker	Age of speaker	Plural morpheme
anata-sama (VV)	Male/Female	Adults	*-gata* (V)
anata (V)	Male/Female	Adults	*-tachi* (T)
kimi (T)	Male/Female	Adults/Children	*-ra* (TT)
omae (TT)	Male/Female	Adults/Children	*-domo* (TTT/V/H)

To mark plurality in the second-person pronoun in Japanese, a plural suffix specific for animate objects (including some used only for humans) is attached. The suffixes also have levels of politeness with the four most common being: *-gata*, *-tachi*, *-ra*, and *-domo* (from highest to lowest register) as shown above.[32] The choice of pronouns and plural morphemes reflects the speaker's desired sociolinguistic meaning; the same can be said about the choice of verbal

[31] The suffix *-domo* is labeled TTT since it tends to act like a pluralizing morpheme, but there are other pluralizer suffixes *-tachi* (T) and *-ra* (TT) within its category. The *-me* suffix is arguably more demeaning than *-domo*, but for the purpose of this paper, I kept the labeling equal to *-domo*.

[32] Cf. Matsumoto (2001:77).

forms which depends on factors such as the speaker's gender and his/her relationship and attitude with and towards the listener.[33]

The Japanese plural pronoun is a combination of two morphemes, a pronoun and a plural morpheme, each reflecting different levels of politeness. While some combinations are natural (with aligned registers), others are ill-formed due to clashes between high and low registers. Perhaps due to a lexical class rule, *-domo* does not seem to take on any second-person pronoun as shown below:

Table 7: Japanese second-person pronouns and plural morphemes (adapted from Matsumoto 2001:77)[34]

-gata	***-tachi***	***-ra***	***-domo***
anata-gata (V-V)	*anata-tachi* (V-T)	**anata-ra* (V-TT)	**anata-domo* (V-TTT/V/H)
#kimi-gata (T-V)	*kimi-tachi* (T-T)	*kimi-ra* (T-TT)	**kimi-domo* (T-TTT/V/H)
#omae-gata (TT-V)	*omae-tachi* (TT-T)	*omae-ra* (TT-TT)	*?omae-domo* (TT-TTT/V/H)
**kisama-gata* (TTT-V)	*kisama-tachi* (TTT-T)	*kisama-ra* (TTT-TT)	*?kisama-domo* (TTT-TTT/V/H)

One of the most common questions that arises with honorifics is, "Would Jesus have spoken to the scribes and Pharisees with respectful forms?"[35] In the Japanese Bible, Jesus usually uses *anata* '2SG (V)' and *anata-gata* '2PL (V-V)' when speaking to others, including the crowd/people (e.g., Matthew 15:28; 5:11) and His disciples (e.g., Matthew 17:25; 16:25).

(25) "O woman, **your** [*anata=no* '2SG (V)=GEN'] faith is great" (Matthew 15:28).
(26) "Blessed are **you** [*anata-gata* '2PL (V-V)'] when *people* insult you..." (Matthew 5:11).
(27) "What do **you** [*anata=no* '2SG (V)=GEN'] think, Simon?" (Matthew 17:25)

[33] Matsumoto (2001:77).

[34] The question mark (?) is for unnatural forms and the pound (#) for ill-formed. The labels (T and V) are mine. Although Matsumoto (2001) has *kisama-tachi* (TTT-T) as a well-formed word, it is a questionable combination in modern usage. This intuition is also supported by the fact, according to the labels, the well-formed words are either perfectly aligned or once removed in their registers (with the exception of *-domo*). However, *kisama-tachi* (TTT-T) is twice removed in its register difference.

[35] Nida (1950:44), cited in van der Spuy (2010:167).

(28) "But who do **you yourselves** [*anata-gata* '2PL (V-V)'] say that I am?" (Matthew 16:15)

However, when Jesus is speaking harshly, notably to the religious leaders, He instead uses *omae* '2SG (TT)' (e.g., Matthew 23:13; 21:13). He also refers harshly to demons as *omae* (TT) (e.g., Mark 5:9, Luke 8:30):

(29) "But woe to you [*Ø*], scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because **you** [*omae-tachi* '2PL (TT-T)'] shut the kingdom of heaven in front of people" (Matthew 23:13).

(30) "It is written: 'MY HOUSE WILL BE CALLED A HOUSE OF PRAYER'; but **you** [*omae-tachi* '2PL (TT-T)'] are making it a DEN OF ROBBERS" (Matthew 21:13).

(31) "What is **your** [*omae=no* '2SG (TT)=GEN'] name?" (Mark 5:9)

While religious leaders refer to the blind man as *omae* (TT) with no respect (e.g., John 9:10), Jesus refers to him as *anata* (V) which reflects His kind attitude towards him (e.g., John 9:35).

(32) "How then were **your** [*omae=no* '2SG (TT)=GEN'] eyes opened?" (John 9:10)

(33) "Do **you** [*anata* '2SG (V)'] believe in the Son of Man?" (John 9:35)

Can God in the OT or Jesus in the NT be so harsh (or even crude to some extent) even if He is God and Lord of all? Hierarchically speaking, He is definitely not required to pay respect to others, and He does judge and condemn people. However, He is also a loving God who sees people with grace. In which case, should He not still speak caringly (or politely)? This is a difficult decision to make.

While biblical antagonists such as Goliath crudely refer to Israelites as *omae-ra* (TT-TT) with the lowest register combination possible in the Japanese Bible (e.g., 1 Samuel 17:8), others such as Pharaoh only refer to them as *omae-tachi* (TT-T) which is less impolite (Exodus 5:4). Similar to the choice of first-person pronouns, these translation decisions make antagonists such as Goliath appear more crude and evil than others including Pharaoh:

(34) "Am I not the Philistine, and **you** [*omae-ra* '2PL (TT-TT)'] the servants of Saul?" (1 Samuel 17:8)

(35) "Get *back* to **your** [*omae-tachi=no* '2PL (TT-T)=GEN'] labors!" (Exodus 5:4)

The serpent deceitfully uses a high register *anata-gata* (V-V) when tempting Eve (Genesis 3:4). Perhaps this type of deceitful and false politeness can also be seen where religious leaders refer to Jesus and His disciples in public by *anata* (V) and *anata-gata* (V-V) (e.g., Matthew 12:38; Luke 5:30):

(36) "**You** [*anata-gata* (V-V)] certainly will not die!" (Genesis 3:4)
(37) "Teacher, we want to see a sign from **You** [*anata* (V)]" (Matthew 12:38)

While demons show respect (or perhaps fear) by referring to Jesus as *anata* (V), e.g., Luke 4:41, they refer to the Jewish exorcists roughly as *omae-tachi* (TT-T) in Acts 19:15:

(38) "**You** [*anata* (V)] are the Son of God!" (Luke 4:41)
(39) "I recognize Jesus, and I know of Paul, but who are **you** [*omae-tachi* (TT-T)]?" (Acts 19:15)

The reason why this section is titled "second-person address/reference" instead of simply "second-person pronouns" is precisely because Japanese often uses non-pronoun expressions in reference to the interlocutor(s). While Father God is referred to as *anata* (V) throughout the Japanese Bible, this second-person pronoun might perhaps sound unnatural for non-Christian Japanese readers who are not accustomed to the Bible, not only because it is not the highest register on the list, *anata-sama* (VV), but simply because a *pronoun* is used in reference to God. There is an unnatural and foreign taste to the presence/usage of the second-person pronoun in reference to God, as Japanese speakers do not usually use second-person pronoun in reference to an important person (or someone the speaker knows by name or has relationship with, such as father or teacher).

Due to various sociolinguistic factors surrounding *anata* (and pronouns in general), Japanese speakers tend to prefer names over pronouns, and furthermore, titles or relationship terms over names. They do this even if it means repeating them "redundantly."[36] Therefore, in addition to the hierarchy of register within the pronoun, there is a hierarchy of the second-person address/reference: titles/relationship > name > pronoun.

Table 8: "Politeness" hierarchy of second-person address/reference

Type of Reference
Title / Relationship Term
Last Name
First Name
Pronoun

[36] Matsumoto (2001:75) refers to these non-pronoun terms (names, titles, and familial terms) along with second-person pronouns, as the *nininshō(=no) hyōgen* 'second-person expression' (translation mine).

Examples for titles and relationship terms in Japanese are *sensei* 'teacher, pastor, doctor, lawyer, politician, artist, etc.' and *o-tō-san* 'father.' When a child refers to their father as 'you' or 'him' in Japanese, it has a similar connotation to saying 'that man' in English. In other words, using the pronoun is equivalent to saying, "there is no better or more appropriate word to describe our relationship" or "I do not perceive you/him to be my father." Therefore, even if it may seem redundant to non-Japanese speakers, Japanese children would say, "**Dad**, are these **dad**'s glasses?" instead of "**Dad**, are these **your** glasses?"

Following the familial term > pronoun rule, in the '17 version, Jacob's address to his father Isaac (Genesis 27:19) is appropriately translated as *o-tō-san*, "replacing" the pronoun *anata* found in the older versions. In fact, *Kyōdōyaku* always had this verse translated as *o-tō-san* 'father (T)' since the '87 version.

(40) "I have done as **you** [*anata* '2SG (V)'] told me." (Genesis 27:19 ['78/'03])
(41) "I have done as **you** [*o-tō-san* 'father (T)'] told me." (Genesis 27:19 ['17])

Based on the sociolinguistic features of Japanese, it may be more natural and appropriate if the biblical characters refer to God consistently as *kami-sama* 'God (V)' (at least within conversational discourse) and make use of pro-drop whenever possible (another polite "technique").

4.2.4 Third-person address/reference

Just as in the second-person reference, titles/relationship terms and names take priority over pronouns. Additionally, Japanese favors the demonstrative construction as in 'this/that person' over the "pure" third-person pronoun, making the following hierarchy: title/relationship > name > demonstrative > pronoun. The table below lists different terms of third-person reference employed in the Japanese Bible from the highest to the lowest register:

Table 9: Third-person reference (politeness hierarchy)

Third-person reference	Rough translation/example
Title/Relationship	Teacher, father
Name	Mr. Theophilus
kono/ano o-kata	'this/that person/one' (VV)
kono/ano kata	'this/that person/one' (V)
kono/ano hito	'this/that person/one' (T)
kare/kanojo	'3MS/3FS' (T)
koitsu/aitsu	'this/that person/one' (TT)

As can be seen from this table, the actual third-person pronouns *kare* and *kanojo* are the "rudest" of all within the third-person reference hierarchy (with

the exception of the "derogatory" *koitsu/aitsu* 'this/that person' (TT)). This means that when the referent is to be respected, pronouns are avoided in Japanese conversational discourse whenever possible, as they are on the lowest end of the honorific spectrum. Therefore, when the referent is God, the pronoun is often replaced either by a title/relationship term (e.g., *kami* 'God'), a proper name (e.g., *Iesu* 'Jesus'), or a demonstrative construction (e.g., *kono kata* 'this person/one (V)'):

(42) "We also will serve the LORD, for **He** [*kono o-kata* 'this person/one (VV)'] is our God" (Joshua 24:18).

Very intriguingly, Jesus employs these respectful replacements in reference to the Father God and the Holy Spirit:

(43) "But I will warn you **whom** [*kata* (V)] to fear: fear the **One who** [*kata* (V)], after **He** [*Ø*] has killed *someone*, has *the* power to throw *that person* into hell; yes, I tell you, fear **Him** [*kono kata* 'this person/one (V)']!" (Luke 12:5)

(44) "***the Helper*** [*kono kata* 'this person/one (V)'] *is* the Spirit of truth, **whom** [*Ø*] the world cannot receive, because it does not see **Him** [*kono kata* 'this person/one (V)'] or know *Him*[37]*; but* you know **Him** [*kono kata* 'this person/one (V)'] because **He** [*kono kata* 'this person/one (V)'] remains with you and will be in you" (John 14:17)

In the Japanese Bible, the narrators of the Gospels consistently use third-person pronouns in reference to every character but show clear deliberate avoidance of this reference for Jesus. They consistently avoid using *kare* '3MS' (T) by repeating the proper name *Iesu*. For instance, Luke 24:41–43 reads:

(45) "[**He**] said to them, 'Have you anything here to eat?' They gave **Him** a piece of a broiled fish; and [**He**] took it and ate *it* before them." ([NASB: the square brackets are mine])

Actually, in Greek, there are four lexical and grammatical references to Jesus in this passage, one by a pronoun and three by verbal subject agreement: *εἶπεν* '(He) said,' *αὐτῷ* 'Him,' *λαβὼν* '(He) took,' and *ἔφαγεν* '(He) ate.' Notice that in the Greek, there is only one overt pronoun 'Him' and the rest are third-person subject agreements on verbs. However, since English grammar often requires an overt subject, two pronouns ('He') are added. While the English translation added two pronouns, the Japanese translation added the proper name *Iesu* 'Jesus' twice as an overt subject and pro-dropped the original overt pronoun:

[37] The italics in NASB here indicate that the pronoun 'Him' is supplied in its translation.

(46) "**He** [*Iesu*] said to them, 'Have you anything here to eat?' They gave **Him** [*Ø*] a piece of a broiled fish; and **He** [*Iesu*] took it and ate *it* before them" (Luke 24:41–43 ['17]).

4.3 Verbal honorifics

Japanese verbal honorifics can be marked lexically, morphologically, and grammatically, and the politeness can be achieved differently depending on the type of honorifics employed in a similar manner to familial terms, e.g., *chichi* (V) when "humbling" one's father before others vs. *otō-sama* (V) when "exalting" one's father or usually someone else's father.

4.3.1 Five verbal registers and three verbal honorifics

As for the verbal honorifics, Japanese has five major registers: *Jō-go*, *Teinei-go*, *Sonkei-go*, *Kenjō-go*, and (for the lack of a better word) the "basic" form. They can combine to produce a mixed verb phrase, as shown in the table below with the verb 'to eat.'

Table 10: The five verbal registers ('to eat')[38]

Registers	Jō-go	Teinei-go (V)
"Basic" (T)	*taber-u* (T)	*tabe-masu* (T-V)
Sonkei-go (VV)	*meshi-agar-u* (VV)	*meshi-agari-masu* (VV-V)
Kenjō-go	*itadak-u* (VV-H)	*itadaki-masu* (VV-V/H)

As can be seen from the labels, *Teinei-go*, *Sonkei-go*, and *Kenjō-go* are, strictly speaking, the actual honorific forms (but not *Jō-go* or the basic form).[39] *Sonkei-go* and *Kenjō-go* are both labeled with double V in the table above, as these lexical honorific forms are higher in register than the other morphological or grammatical honorific forms (more on this later). Additionally, the "humble" *Kenjō-go* is given the label H along with VV to distinguish it from other forms.

Simply put, while *Teinei-go* is the form with morphological honorifics (taking the honorific auxiliary *-masu* or an honorific copula such as *desu*), *Jō-go* is the non-*Teinei-go* form which does not take the honorific auxiliary or the

[38] As mentioned earlier, morpheme boundaries are minimally marked so that we can focus on the issue of honorifics. Words can get very confusing if all morpheme boundaries are marked e.g., *mesh-i-agar-i-mas-u* 'eat (VV-V).'

[39] *Jō-go*, *Sonkei-go*, *Kenjō-go*, and *Teinei-go* literally mean 'usual/ordinary-language,' 'respect-language,' 'humility/modesty-language,' and 'polite/courteous-language' respectively.

honorific copula.[40] While *Sonkei-go* and *Kenjō-go* are honorific forms (can be lexical, morphological, or grammatical honorifics), the basic form is, lexically speaking, the non-honorific form (i.e., non-*Sonkei/Kenjō-go*). For convenience's sake, the basic *Jō-go* form will be referred to as *Jō-go* (T) hereafter. This form can be used in casual speech, as in speaking to family members, peers (specific to same age/year group), and hierarchically lower (usually younger) people.[41]

As for the effect of politeness, *Sonkei-go* is used to raise (or exalt) the *referent* (whether a second or third person) to show respect. On the other hand, *Kenjō-go* lowers (or humbles) oneself to show respect to the *interlocutor*(*s*). As mentioned with regard to the *desu*/*masu* form, *Teinei-go* makes each utterance polite (or courteous) to show respect to the *interlocutor(s)*. Thus, the politeness affects different people for each of the polite forms: *Sonkei-go* pays respect directly to the *referent* by exalting them, *Kenjō-go* pays respect indirectly by humbling the *speaker*, *Teinei-go* pays respect to the *interlocutor(s)* by speaking appropriately.

4.3.2 "Exalting" Sonkei-go and "humble" Kenjō-go in the Japanese Bible

The Japanese Bible employs three types of "exalting" *Sonkei-go*. Although both Types 2 and 3 are labeled as single V, the grammatical *Sonkei-go* (Type 2) is slightly higher in register:

Table 11: Three types of *Sonkei-go* ('to eat')

Registers	Jō-go	Teinei-go (V)
"Basic" (T)	*taber-u* (T)	*tabe-masu* (T-V)
Sonkei-go 1 (VV)	*meshi-agar-u* (VV)	*meshi-agari-masu* (VV-V)
Sonkei-go 2 (V)	*o-tabe=ni nar-u* (V)	*o-tabe=ni nari-masu* (V-V)
Sonkei-go 3 (V)	*taber-are-ru* (V)	*taber-are-masu* (V-V)

The verb mentioned earlier *meshi-agaru* (VV) fits the Type 1 which is not only lexically contrastive (different stem from the basic verb *taberu* (T)) but also irregular:

(47) Lexical (Type 1): "and [Jesus] took it and **ate** [*meshi-agat-ta* (VVV-T)] *it* in front of them" (Luke 24:43)

[40] The same register *Jō-go* can be used in other discourse types such as poetry and academic writings. In these discourse types, they do not carry a casual tone, but rather a formal and proper tone. Although they behave somewhat differently compared to the *Jō-go* in conversational discourse, for the most part they follow the same pattern.

[41] Generally speaking, *Teinei-go* adds the honorific auxiliary *masu* for verbs and the honorific copula such as *desu* for nouns, adjectives, and adverbs (including nominalized verbs).

The non-lexical but grammatical Type 2 *Sonkei-go* is constructed with the following formula: *o/go-* + verb stem + *=ni naru/suru*[42] (honorific prefix *o/go-*; *=ni* 'DAT'; *naru* lit., 'to become'; *suru* lit., 'to do') as can be seen in the following passages:

(48) Grammatical (Type 2): "for today in the city of David there **has been born** [*o-um-are=ni nari-mashi-ta* (V-V)] for you a Savior, who is Christ the Lord." (Luke 2:11)

As can be seen in Table 11 above, Type 3 *Sonkei-go* employs the suffix *-(r)are*, and is slightly lower in formality than its grammatical Type 2 counterpart. This morpheme is fundamentally a passive voice marker, but it can also morphologically function as an honorific suffix. This third type is found often in narration:

(49) "He [Jesus] did not **speak** *[hanas-are-nakat-ta* (V-T)] anything to them without a parable." (Matthew 13:34)

The humble *Kenjō-go* appears both morphologically and lexically. While the slave spoke to his king humbly by the employment of morphological *Kenjō-go* in (50), the gentile woman begged Jesus by the usage of lexical *Kenjō-go* in (51), and Tertius greeted the recipients in the letter to the people of Rome with the combination of morphological and lexical humble honorifics in (52):

(50) Morphological: "Have patience with me and I **will repay** [*o-kaeshi shi-masu* (V/H-V)] you everything" (Matthew 18:26).
(51) Lexical: "Yes, Lord, *but* even the dogs under the table **feed** [*itadaki-masu* (VV-V)] on the children's crumbs" (Mark 7:28).
(52) Morphological: "I, Tertius, who have written this letter, **greet** [*go-aisatsu mōshi-age-masu* (VV/H-V)] you in the Lord" (Romans 16:22).

4.3.3 Benefactive morphemes

Japanese has three types of benefactive morphemes which are crucial in natural and appropriate utterances. These morphologically marked benefactives are crucial in expressing linguistic politeness in Japanese utterances. The three kinds differ in the subject's role (benefactor vs. beneficiary) and the point of view of the utterance (benefactor vs. beneficiary). Each of them has their own counterpart of *Sonkei-go* or *Kenjō-go* as shown in the table below:

[42] Coulmas (1992).

Table 12: Benefactive morphemes

Subject	Benefactor	Benefactor	Beneficiary
Point of View	Beneficiary	Benefactor	Beneficiary
Lit. Translation	'to give'	'to give'	'to receive'
Jō-go (T)	*kureru* (T)	*ageru* (T)	*morau* (T)
Sonkei-go (V)	*kudasaru* (V)		
Kenjō-go (V)		*sashi-ageru* (V)	*itadaku* (V)

The first benefactive type is *kureru* (T) and *kudasaru* (V) which takes the benefactor as the subject with the utterance from the point of view of the beneficiary. The latter "politer" counterpart can be seen in the utterance of the sick man:

(53) "He who **made me well** [*naoshi-te kudasat-ta* 'cured (for me) (V)'] was the one who said to me, 'Pick up your pallet and walk'" (John 5:11).

This benefactive *kudasaru* signifies that the sick man acknowledged that he had received favor from Jesus and was grateful. If he had simply said *naoshi-ta* ('made me well') instead, without the beneficiary morpheme, he would have sounded very much ungrateful, matter of fact, and indifferent, as if it was somebody else's business (despite having been saved by the gracious miracle of Jesus).

While the first benefactive type marked the appreciation of the beneficiary, the second benefactive type, *ageru* (T) and *sashi-ageru* (V), mark the benefactor's good will to do a favor for the beneficiary. It takes the benefactor as the subject and is spoken from the point of view of the benefactor:

(54) "Follow Me, and I **will make** [*=ni shi-te age-yō* (T)] you fishers of people" (Matthew 4:19).

The breakdown of this transliteration is as follows: the dative case *=ni*, the inflected form of *suru* 'do' *shi*, the *te* connective, the benefactive morpheme stem *ageru*, and the hortatory subjunctive (volitive) marker *yō*. Therefore, in this verse, the benefactive morpheme *ageru* is reflecting Jesus' *good will* to bestow to the fishermen the honorable role of being His disciples. This lower register of the benefactor morpheme *ageru* is usually employed when the person is hierarchically higher and granting favor to the lower person.

The *Kenjo-gō* counterpart, *sashi-ageru* (V), is rare and is only found once in the OT (Song of Solomon 8:2) and four times in the NT (Matthew 3:11; 25:37, 38; Luke 1:3):

(55) "Lord, when did we see You hungry, and feed You, or thirsty, and **give** You something **to drink** [*nom-ase-te sashi-age-ta* '*drink*-CAUS-CON BEN-PST (V)']?" (Matthew 25:37)

The third benefactive type, *morau* (T) and *itadaku* (V), adds the sense of 'be given the benefits from the actor.' In other words, it expresses gratefulness or thankfulness. This sounds almost identical to the effect of *kureru/kudasaru*. The key difference is that while *kureru/kudasaru* has the effect of *Sonkei-go* (as it literally means 'to give'), the effect of *morau/itadaku* is *Kenjō-go* (as it literally means 'to receive').[43] It takes the beneficiary as the subject and is spoken from the point of view of the beneficiary:

(56) "Therefore, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God were making an appeal through us; we beg you on behalf of Christ, **be reconciled** [*wakai-sase-te itadaki-nasai* '(gratefully/humbly benefit from being allowed to) be reconciled (V)'] to God" (2 Corinthians 5:20).

The breakdown of this verb phrase is 'reconcile-CAUS-CON BEN-IMP.' In this verse, the connotation is that God holds all the power and right to forgive, and thus people are completely under His grace. Paul should avoid saying *wakai shi-nasai* 'do reconcile' (reconcile do-IMP) because people cannot "*make*" God forgive them. Therefore, it is appropriate that the benefactive *itadaku* is used here in combination with the causative *-sase* suffix to mean '(gratefully/humbly benefit from being allowed to) be reconciled.'

4.3.4 Imperatives

While the lexical (dictionary entry) forms for English verbs are in the imperative form as in *eat*, Japanese verbs are in infinitive forms as in *taber-u* 'to eat.' The imperative form of 'eat' is *taber-o*, and it is often extremely crude and thus rude in Japanese to simply use this "pure" imperative form. Setting aside the variations contributed by *Sonkei-go*, *Kenjō-go*, *Teinei-go* and the basic form, there are four types of imperative constructions employed in the Japanese Bible: 1) "Pure" imperative; 2) *Nasai* imperative; 3) *Kudasai* imperative; and 4) *Yo* imperative, as organized in the table below:

[43] Cf. *Kei-go no Shishin* 'Guidelines to Honorifics.' The Council for Cultural Affairs. 2007: 17.

Table 13: The imperatives for 'behold/see' in the Japanese Bible

Registers	**"Pure" (TT)**	**"Archaic" (V)**	**"Authoritative" (T/V)**	**"Please" (T/V/VV/VVV)**
"Basic"	*mir-o* (TT)	*mi-yo* (V)	*mi-nasai* (T)	*mi-te kure* (T)
"Honorific"			*go-ran-nasai* (V)	*mi-te kudasai* (V)
				go-ran kudasai (VV)
				go-ran=ni nat-te kudasai (VVV)

The pure form of the verb often carries a negative image associated with people such as commanders, criminals, delinquents, and mobs (although among peers, especially within boys/men, this form is used rather casually). Notice none of these speakers really belong to a "peaceful" or "harmonious" category. Rather, the connotation of this verb type is one or more of the following: rough, crude, rude, forceful, entitled, malicious, etc.

The Roman centurions in the Japanese Bible would use this form when commanding their men. Notice in (57) that this officer's commands are in the pure imperative while the following descriptive verbs ('goes,' 'comes,' and 'does') are followed by the *Teinei-go* morpheme *masu*, as the centurion is speaking politely to Jesus:

(57) "For I also am a man under authority, with soldiers under me; and I say to this one, '**Go** [*ik-e*]!' and he goes [*iki-masu*], and to another, '**Come** [*ko-i*]!' and he comes [*ki-masu*], and to my slave, '**Do** [*shir-o*] this!' and he **does** [*shi-masu*] *it*" (Matthew 8:9).

The religious leaders and the hostile criminal on the cross mock Jesus in this form:

(58) "You who *are going to* destroy the temple and rebuild *it* in three days, **save** [*sukut-te mir-o*] Yourself! If You [*omae* (TT)] are the Son of God, **come down** [*ori-te ko-i*] from the cross" (Matthew 27:40).

(59) "Are You [*omae* (TT)] not the Christ? **Save** [*Suku-e*] Yourself and us [*ore-tachi* (TT-T)]!" (Luke 23:39)

The riled-up crowd also uses this form as well. The intensity of this heated, hateful utterance is enhanced by the pure imperatives:

(60) "**Away with** [*nozok-e* 'remove'] *Him*, **away with** [*nozok-e*] *Him*, **crucify** [*jūjika=ni tsuker-o*] Him!" (John 19:15)

While evil and malicious images accompany pure imperatives, Jesus also employs this imperative type when He is speaking to Satan (Matthew 4:10; 16:23; Mark 8:33) or demons (Mark 1:25; 5:8; 9:25; Matthew 8:32):

(61) "**Go away** [*Sagar-e*], Satan!" (Matthew 4:10)
(62) "**Be quiet** [*damar-e*], and **come out** [*de-te ik-e*] of him!" (Mark 1:25)

This may reflect the antagonistic relationship between Jesus and evil forces and Jesus' absolute authority over them (like the centurion over his men). Jesus also uses the pure imperative when His intention is of judgement or curse:

(63) "**Take** [*mot-te*] these things **away** [*ik-e*] from here; stop making My Father's house a place of business!" (John 2:16)
(64) 'I never knew you [*omae-tachi* (TT-T)]; LEAVE [*hanare-te ik-e*] ME, YOU WHO PRACTICE LAWLESSNESS' (Matthew 7:23).

Jesus' default imperative is the "authoritative" *nasai* imperative. This morpheme marks the modality (specifically, mental attitude) of the speaker.[44] This form is often used when parents/teachers are telling their children/students to do (or not do) something. In both of these relationships, the speakers have authority over the listeners. Therefore, it is appropriate for Jesus to use this imperative type when talking to His disciples (e.g., Matthew 26:26) or teaching the crowd/people (e.g., Matthew 4:17):

(65) "Take, **eat** [*tabe-nasai*]; this is My body" (Matthew 26:26).
(66) "**Repent** [*kuiaratame-nasai*], for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matthew 4:17).

Unlike the Father God who uses the "pure" imperative, the Holy Spirit, like Jesus, also uses the *nasai* imperative with the disciples. Angels carrying the message of God also follow this pattern:

(67) "**Go** [*iki-nasai*] up and join this chariot" (Acts 8:29).
(68) "Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid to **take** [*mukae-nasai*] Mary as your wife" (Matthew 1:20).

The *kudasai* imperative functions as a request or plea, and therefore it is often translated as 'please' in English. Since this is the "politer" imperative form, people with hierarchically lower status use this form addressing people of higher status e.g., the religious leaders to the governor Pilate:

[44] Nakau 1980; Nitta 1991; Morikawa 2009, cited in Morikawa 2013:49.

(69) "Therefore, **give orders** [*meiji-te kudasai*] for the tomb to be made secure until the third day" (Matthew 27:64).

When people come to Jesus, they usually employ *kudasai* whether they are seeking help, making a request, or simply asking a question:

(70) "**Have mercy** [*awaren-de kudasai*] on us, Son of David!" (Matthew 9:27)
(71) "**Tell** [*o-kik-ase kudasai*] us then, what do You think? Is it permissible to pay a poll-tax to Caesar, or not?" (Matthew 22:17)

Naturally, prayers to God follow this construction: "And **forgive** [*o-yurushi kudasai*] us our debts" (Matthew 6:12). The disciples also use *kudasai* with Jesus, but the father of the demon possessed boy is politer than them with his usage of the honorific *o-* prefix:

(72) "**Save** [*tasuke-te* (T) *kudasai*] *us*, Lord; we are perishing!" (Matthew 8:25)
(73) "I do believe; **help** [*o-tasuke* (V) *kudasai*] my unbelief!" (Mark 9:24)

While the apostles usually use the authoritative *nasai* imperative when speaking to the crowd/people, they also use the *kudasai* form: "Men of Israel, **listen** [*ki:-te kudasai*] to these words" (Acts 2:22). The distinction between the choice of *nasai* and *kudasai* by the disciples is also unclear.

5 Conclusion

Although this is merely a glimpse into the complex world of honorifics, I hope this paper can be a gateway for some readers into this issue, providing ideas of how politeness may manifest in languages with honorific systems. Perhaps these details on honorifics have overwhelmed you, however, I hope you have found richness and beauty in them as well. I truly appreciate what Watts et al. (1998) had to say: "The extinction of varieties of languages and cultures on this globe is a loss not only of historical material but also of our resources for global survival, which depends on maintaining variety as the source of the dynamics of creation." In this ever-globalizing world, I hope that people will continue to read and appreciate God's Word in diverse ways.

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