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”Dame desu” vs. “I am afraid, I cannot, sir”: Techniques for
Translating Politeness in Yana Toboso’s manga *Kuroshitsuji*

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Tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, kuinka Yana Toboson mangassa *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) esiintyvää japanilaista kohteliasta kieltä on käännetty englannin ja suomen kielelle. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys sisältää, muun muassa, Brown ja Levinsonin (1987) ja Leechin (2007) huomioita (kielellisestä) kohteliaisuudesta, Kinsuin (2003, 2010, 2014) teorian roolikielistä, Iden (1982) ja Coulmasin (2005) näkemyksiä japanin kohteliaasta kielestä sekä Lampisen (1990) suomen kielen kohteliaisuusstrategioita.

Tutkimuksen materiaali kerättiin Yana Toboson mangan *Kuroshitsujin* (2007) ensimmäisestä pokkarista ja sen englannin- (*Black Butler*, 2010) sekä suomenkielisistä (*Kuroshitsuji – piru hovimestariksi*, 2012) käännöksistä. *Kuroshitsuji* sijoittuu myöhäiseen viktoriaanisen ajan Englantiin (1890-luvulle) ja seuraa hovimestarin (Sebastian Michaelis) ja hänen herransa (Ciel Phantomhive) arkea. Materiaali koostui 67 Sebastianin herralleen kohdistamasta lausumasta, jotka analysoitiin sekä kvantitatiivisesti että kvalitatiivisesti vertaamalla niitä niiden käännettyihin versioihin. Analyysissa hyödynnettiin mukailtua versiota Molina ja Hurtadon (2002) käännös menetelmistä.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että 'vakiintunut vastine', 'puute' ja 'kompensaatio' olivat kaikista yleisimpiä käännös menetelmiä, kun taas 'kielellistä tiivistämistä' käytettiin vähiten. Suomenkielinen käännös hyödynsi enemmän käännös menetelmiä kuin englanninkielinen versio. Kvalitatiivinen analyysi osoitti, että kompensoidessaan alkuperäisen version kohteliaisuutta, käännökset suosivat tiettyjä kohteliaisuus ilmauksia tai kohteliaita elementtejä ylitse muiden: englanninkielinen versio tukeutui kohteliaisuus ilmauksiin *please* ja *sir*, ja suomenkielinen versio hyödynsi systemaattista teitittelyä. Japanin kielen kohteliaisuus suffiksi *-sama* oli myös kompensoitu monin eri tavoin: englanninkielinen versio käytti ilmaisuja "mister", "lady" ja "miss", kun taas suomenkielisessä versiossa käytettiin "herraa" tai "neitiä". Japanin ylistävät (*sonkeigo*) ja nöyrät (*kenjōgo*) verbit sekä *o-* ja *go-* prefiksit oli usein jätetty kompensoimatta. Lisäksi analyysissa tuli ilmi käännösten välillä hyödyntävän kohteliaisuus ilmauksia Sebastianin lausumissa, vaikka alkuperäinen versio ei sisältänyt mitään kompensoitavaa.

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The aim of this study is to find out how Japanese polite language in Yana Toboso’s manga *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) has been translated into English and Finnish. The theoretical framework of this study discusses Brown and Levinson’s (1987) and Leech’s (2007) notions regarding (linguistic) politeness, Kinsui’s (2003, 2010, 2014) theory about role languages, Ide’s (1982) and Coulmas’ (2005) views on Japanese polite language, and Lampinen’s (1990) strategies for Finnish politeness.

The material used in the study was drawn from the first volume of Yana Toboso’s manga *Kuroshitsuji* (2007), along with its English (*Black Butler*, 2010) and Finnish (*Kuroshitsuji – piru hovimestariksi*, 2012) translated versions. *Kuroshitsuji* sets in late Victorian Era England (1890’s) and depicts the lives of a butler (Sebastian Michaelis) and his master (Ciel Phantomhive). The material consisted of 67 Sebastian’s utterances to his master, which were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively by comparing them to their translated versions. The analysis applied a modified set of Molina and Hurtado’s (2002) translation techniques.

The results showed that the translation techniques ‘Established Equivalent’, ‘Deprivation’ and ‘Compensation’ were the most applied techniques, while ‘Linguistic Compression’ was the least applied technique. The Finnish translated version used more techniques than the English translation. The qualitative analysis showed that the translations favored certain politeness markers or elements to compensate the politeness of the original: the English translation relied on the use of *please* and *sir*, while the Finnish version used T/V distinction systematically. Japanese honorific suffix *-sama* was also compensated in various ways, including “mister”, “miss” and “lady” for the English translation, and *herra* and *neiti* for the Finnish version. Japanese exalting (*sonkeigo*) and humble (*kenjōgo*) verbs along with *o-* and *go-* prefixes were often left uncompensated. Furthermore, the translations sometimes used polite elements in Sebastian’s utterances, although there was nothing to compensate in the original Japanese utterance.

Contents

1. Introduction.....	6
2. Review of Literature	8
2.1. (Linguistic) Politeness.....	9
2.1.1. Face and Face Threatening Acts	13
2.1.2. Cross-Cultural Variation in Politeness.....	15
2.1.3. Against and For Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory.....	17
2.2. Role Language and Butler’s Language	19
2.3. <i>Keigo</i> : Japanese Polite Language	23
2.3.1. Address Terms and Referring to Things	24
2.3.2. Lexical and Morphological Politeness.....	25
2.3.3. Social Rules of Japanese Politeness.....	28
2.4. English Politeness.....	29
2.4.1. Politeness in Britain and English-speaking Cultures	30
2.4.2. Politeness Devices in English Language	31
2.5. Politeness in Finland and Finnish Language	33
2.5.1. Address Terms and Politeness in Finland	33
2.5.2. Finnish Politeness Devices.....	34
2.6. Molina and Hurtado’s (2002) Translation Techniques	39
3. Previous Studies.....	40
4. Material and Methods	43
4.1. <i>Kuroshitsuji</i>	43
4.2. Translating <i>Kuroshitsuji</i> : Points to Consider	44
4.3. Translation Techniques to Be Used in This Study	46
4.4. Delimitations for This Study	48
5. Results and Analysis	50

5.1. Distribution of Translation Techniques in the Translations of <i>Kuroshitsuji</i>	50
5.2. Utterances With <i>-masu</i> Verbs.....	52
5.3. Utterances With Copula <i>Desu</i>	54
5.4. Utterances With <i>Sonkeigo</i> or <i>Kenjōgo</i> Verbs.....	55
5.5. Utterances With <i>Kudasai</i>	57
5.6. Utterances With Prefixes <i>o-</i> or <i>go-</i>	60
5.7. Utterances With Suffix <i>-sama</i>	63
5.8. Utterances With <i>Botchan</i>	65
6. Discussion	66
7. Conclusion	69
References.....	71
Appendix.....	78

1. Introduction

The focus of this study is translating polite language in socially hierarchical, historical and fictional setting between three languages: Japanese, English and Finnish. Polite language is relatively topical subject since during the past ten years, there seems to have been an increase in the popularity of fiction, such as television shows and novels, depicting the milieu of the 19th and 20th centuries. For example, *Bridgeton* (2021-) or *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015), popular period dramas setting before and after Victorian Era, are not depicting life so far into history, yet when we look at them, we might notice features in them that we recognize as "historical" – such as social class differences or the said polite language. In fact, Rivlin (2015, p. 17-18) noticed in her article that the reason for shows like *Downton Abbey* appeals to us is because they take us to “a time and place in which the connection between identity and service was apparently clear-cut: there were masters and there were servants”. This is due to that the time we live in now is “almost devoid of people we call servants”, but our world is still very fixated on service (ibid., p. 17). And, perhaps, these shows – along with multiple other historical books and movies – show the extent of our fascination with how polished and refined the interactions between people of high social statuses were. Even if the characters’ way of speaking would not be exactly historically authentic, the notion that people simply were “more polite” in the past is strong – particularly when it came to the interaction between servants and masters. But how does one translate this sort of interaction today?

Politeness has been studied immensely in general (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 2007), and also in Japanese (e.g., Dunn 2011; Ide 1982; Barke 2010), in English (e.g., Stewart 2005; Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 2007), and a little bit in Finnish (e.g., Lampinen 1990; Airaksinen 2020; Yli-Vakkuri 2005; Tanner 2012). However, politeness in terms of translation has, for some reason, not been studied as much, although politeness is a key feature of interaction. In fact, Mubarak-Aberer (2017) explains the importance of politeness in interaction quite well with the following illustration in Figure 1.

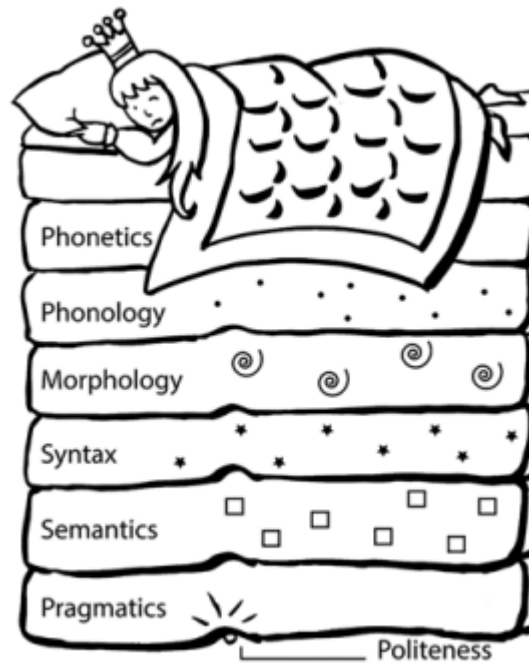


Figure 1. *Grasping politeness.* (Mubarak-Aberer 2017, p. 19)

As seen in Figure 1, Mubarak-Aberer (2017, p. 19-20) draws a parallel between the grasping of politeness and Hans Christian Andersen’s story about the princess and the pea (1835); Mubarak-Aberer (2017, p. 19-20) argues that where the princess needed to prove being an actual princess by recognizing that there were a pea under all her mattresses, a successful communication between participants needs the understanding of politeness from under all linguistics levels. Therefore, politeness is not always something that is easy to determine or recognize in interaction, yet the lack of it may leave the addressee with an uncomfortable feeling that something was missing. But what kind of linguistic or grammatical elements there is to show politeness?

This study is about translating Japanese linguistic politeness into English and Finnish. A Japanese ongoing manga called *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) by Yana Toboso, along with its English and Finnish translations, is utilized as the material of this study. *Kuroshitsuji* sets in late-Victorian era England (1837-1901), into a Phantomhive mansion, where the young earl, Ciel Phantomhive, lives with his servants (Toboso 2007), and thus the setting of this manga is the epitome of the image readers might have about politeness and class. In other words, the manga is an excellent research subject since the social power distance between the butler Sebastian Michaelis and his lord forces Sebastian to speak in a polite and respective manner, but among his colleagues, Sebastian is not forced to use such language. Thus, the aim of this study is to qualitatively compare how the polite expressions employed by one character, the butler Sebastian Michaelis, to his master, Ciel

Phantomhive, have been translated in the English (*Black Butler*, 2010) and Finnish (*Kuroshitsuji – piru hovimestariksi*, 2012) versions of *Kuroshitsuji* (2007). *Kuroshitsuji* has not been studied immensely in general nor in translation (of politeness) and this study aims to fill this gap. Moreover, Japanese, English and Finnish cultures have differentiating hierarchical values, and although the setting of the manga is England depicting English characters, Japanese values regarding politeness and social statuses seep into it. Thus, the polarization between Japanese and Finnish, for instance, is a very fruitful aspect to explore. In analyzing Sebastian's utterances, the study shall use a set of Molina and Hurtado's (2002) translation techniques to determine, what sort of techniques the translated versions have applied when translating Japanese polite language to English and Finnish, and quantitatively analyze the distribution of the said techniques. However, the focus of this study is **not** to evaluate which translated version of the manga was "better" or "worse" in terms of politeness value; the sole interest of this study is to analyze, **how** Japanese linguistic politeness has been translated.

In section 2., the background literature pertinent to the subject of this study will be reviewed. Concepts such as (linguistic) politeness, Japanese politeness and 'role language' shall be discussed. Next, section 3. will present the previous studies conducted about translation of politeness. The section 4. includes both the introduction of the material of this study, *Kuroshitsuji*, as well as the methods and delimitations for the research. Following, section 5., presents the results of the study, first quantitatively and then qualitatively by analyzing few example utterances drawn from the material. In section 6., the results received from this study will be discussed and compared with the studies introduced in section 3.. Finally, section 7. offers a conclusion for the whole study.

2. Review of Literature

This section will introduce the literature that is pertinent for the study. First, in section 2.1., (linguistic) politeness shall be discussed by looking into different definitions for politeness. Next, section 2.1.1. will focus on concept of 'face' and 'face-threatening acts'. The section 2.1.2. discusses politeness from a cultural perspective and covers scholars' ideas on how similar or different politeness is in different cultures. After this, in section 2.1.3., a critical discussion regarding Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of 'face' shall be provided. The section 2.2. discusses a theory called 'role language' along with 'butler's language'. Following, sections 2.3., 2.4. and 2.5. focus on Japanese politeness, English politeness and Finnish politeness, respectively. Finally, in section 2.6., Molina and Hurtado's (2002) translation techniques will be introduced.

2.1. (Linguistic) Politeness

Politeness is defined as a phenomenon that is strongly tied into a specific culture, language community and time, and it means consideration in interaction that is displayed to another human being and appreciating their social position in the society (kielitoimistonohjepankki.fi., indicated as “kotus.fi” from now on). Being a sociocultural phenomenon, politeness is bound to be expressed and interpreted differently in different cultural settings, but also in different situations within one culture: some interactions call for keeping distance by being politely formal, whereas others call for familiarity and thus informality (kotus.fi). The former situation can be said to depict ‘negative politeness’, whereas the latter ‘positive politeness’ (Brown and Levinson 1987). Negative politeness entails individual’s freedom of imposition, distance and protection of personal matters, while positive politeness is about closeness, team spirit and the consideration of one’s own feelings and thoughts (Brown and Levinson 1987; Larjavaara 1999). Negative politeness and positive politeness will be discussed later on in detail, but first, it is important to separate verbal (or linguistic) politeness from non-verbal politeness. Non-verbal politeness means mainly actions, such as opening a door for someone or picking up the pen they dropped, whereas verbal politeness is interested in how people convey politeness by using polite words or expressions (Airaksinen 2020). This study focuses on linguistic politeness and thus favors the verbal take on politeness over behavioral.

Wang (2014, p. 271) argues politeness being “one of the basic social concepts in human communication”, but remarks that despite its importance and day-to-day occurrence, it has been hard to properly explain how politeness operates. The difficulty of the concept of politeness may have to do with how it can be divided into different phenomena, such as a) a real-world goal and b) reflecting the norms of a society, and how these phenomena can be kept conceptually separate (ibid.). The real-world goal perspective of politeness, according to Wang, is a psychological human desire to simply be good to other people (ibid.). The nature of this desire is usually non-verbal, and thus for linguistics hard to analyze (ibid.). However, politeness as a social norm includes consideration to others in terms of not thinking too highly of oneself compared to others and materializes in interaction and addressing other people; this perspective is culture-sensitive (Wang 2014, p. 271). On similar note, Leech (2007, p. 195) divides politeness use into linguistically oriented and socio-culturally-oriented aspects. In other words, politeness encompasses both language and social or cultural settings (Leech 2007, p. 195).

While on the subject, Leech (2007, p. 174) divides politeness into semantic politeness and pragmatic politeness. According to him, semantic politeness aspect utilizes ‘politeness scale’, where utterances can be placed according to their level of politeness (ibid.). The point is that in this

aspect, one does **not** need a context for the utterance to determine its place on the scale; a request ‘*Can you help me?*’ is more polite than ‘*Help me*’, but not as polite as ‘*Could you possibly help me?*’ (Leech 2007, p. 174). On the other hand, the pragmatic politeness scale is reliant on, for example, situation or norms in a certain society or group (ibid.). This differs from the semantic politeness scale because it **is** dependent of context. For instance, among family members, utterances such as “Could I possibly interrupt?” could be seen as overly polite, perhaps even ironic (Leech 2007, p. 174). Therefore, the pragmatic politeness scale includes 1) “overpoliteness”, 2) “underpoliteness”, and 3) “politeness appropriate to the situation” (Leech 2007, p. 174).

It is thus safe to say that situations influence speech, but in fact politeness works both ways; the participants of the conversation have the power to affect the formality of the said situation and conversation (Lampinen 1990, p. 78). The occasions where the speaker(s) and the hearer(s) are either a) strangers to each other, b) unequal in terms of social status, or c) both of the former, are most difficult ones for proposing requests (ibid.). Lampinen (ibid.) illustrates these by giving two opposing occasions: asking from a friend if you could borrow their book, versus requesting a raise from your boss. These kinds of situations alter the way the speaker uses language. When the speaker has a goal that deviates from the sheer goal of ‘being polite’, they are strategically using language and, thus, politeness turns into an instrument of that goal (ibid.). Moreover, different ‘roles’ have different conventions and requirements for a polite conversation (ibid.). For example, in customer service, the client is not bound by the same requirements of politeness as is the salesperson (kotus.fi.). In fact, more about roles and politeness are discussed, from a fictional viewpoint mainly, in section 2.2. in detail.

Thus, politeness is situational, but the participants determine the level or degree of the formality. Politeness is all about the relationships between people and their expectations (kotus.fi.), which resonates with Leech’s (2007) scale of politeness; in some situations, the same utterance might be overpolite, whereas in others it is perfectly adequate. Therefore, even an individual action of politeness is always social because it needs the roles and social standards in order to be interpreted (Ehlich 2005, p. 78-79). Ehlich defines polite activity as “social activity” (Ehlich 2005, p. 78-79), underlining the purpose of politeness as interaction. Moreover, Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 55-56) state that social relationships consist of messages and, thus, by using and studying language in social interactions, the patterns reveal information not only on construction of language, but principles in social relationships as well. They identify constructing of these social messages as the “key locus of the interface of language and society” (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 56).

Speaking of social interaction and how it affects language, Leech (2007, p. 193-194) lists five scales of value that (pragmatic) politeness is depended upon. These are as follows:

- 1) Vertical distance between *S*[*peaker*] and *O*[*thers*]: in terms of status, power, role, age, etc.)
- 2) Horizontal distance between *S* and *O* (intimate, familiar, acquaintance, stranger, etc.)
- 3) Weight or value: how large is the benefit, the cost, the favour, the obligation, etc., i.e., the real socially defined value of what is being transacted.
- 4) Strength of socially defined rights and obligations (e.g., a host's obligations to a guest.)
- 5) "Self-territory" and "other-territory" (in-group membership vs. out-group)

As can be seen, social distance between people can be measured both vertically and horizontally. To illustrate this, let's look at Lampinen's (1990) example about asking a raise from one's boss; one might be well acquainted with their boss (horizontal distance), but since the boss is the speaker's superior (vertical distance), the situation might call for a use of polite language, nonetheless. This has to do with the third scale of Leech's values: weight. The weight of a request, for example, is important to notice. The benefit for the worker – and similarly, the cost to the boss – is significantly higher when asking for a raise, whereas asking for a pen to borrow. The scale four has to do with social roles, as previously discussed above. Considering the material of this study, yet a better example than "host's obligations to a guest" would be "servant's obligations to their master". Furthermore, this also proves that since these latter obligations include the asymmetry in social status and power (i.e., vertical distance), all these values are, in some way, tied to and depended on one another. As Ehlich (2005, p. 73) states, "the phenomenon of politeness does not exist, as it were, 'in and of itself', independent of its network of semantic connections". This also proves the difficulty Wang (2014, p. 271) mentioned regarding properly determining how politeness "works".

Finally, the scale five of Leech's values, a less self-explanatory scale, is about in-group and out-group identities. According to Leech (2007, p. 194), this factor determines "who belongs to the domain of *S* and who to the domain of *O*". He continues to exemplify this as a "strong group association", something that is prominent in some cultures in the East (Leech 2007, p. 194). This 'group' could be a family, in which the people inside it are the family members (Leech 2007, p. 194). However, the interaction between two or more separate in-groups calls for humbly addressing a) own in-group members and oneself to out-group members and b) other out-group members and their specific in-group members (Leech 2007, p. 194). For example, if two Japanese women were discussing about each other's husbands, they both would use humble forms of the other party's husband, and possibly of their own.

Now, as previously mentioned, politeness can be divided into negative and positive politeness, where the former emphasizes distance and the latter closeness. However, Larjavaara (1999) also distinguishes different types for politeness¹ based on the context politeness is used in (Larjavaara 1999). He separates politeness into a) fundamental politeness (*peruskohteliaisuus*), b) status politeness (*statuskohteliaisuus*), c) territorial politeness (*reviirikohteliaisuus*), d) camaraderie politeness (*kumppanikohteliaisuus*) and e) politeness driven by needs (*pitämiskohteliaisuus*) (Larjavaara 1999). The fundamental politeness refers to a person's subconscious expectations about social appreciation or almost any kind of verbal or non-verbal act of acknowledging the other person in interaction – for example a smile or kind words (Larjavaara 1999). This sounds rather similar with Wang's (2014) real-world goal perspective, and is called “fundamental” since, according to Larjavaara (1999), it seems to be a universal characteristic. The remaining four categories are more situational.

Firstly, status politeness derives from hierarchical differences and the need to show these differences (*ibid.*). This sort of politeness is evident in superordinate-subordinate interactions and is part of Brown and Levinson's (1987) negative politeness, since it creates distance between the participants (Larjavaara 1999). It can also be compared to the vertical distance value proposed by Leech (2007, p. 193-194). This politeness type is the most pertinent for this study because of the chosen material. Next, territorial politeness is about showing deference to personal space and refraining from impinging the other party (Larjavaara 1999). Although this is usually applied to strangers, it may happen between family members as well (*ibid.*). Usually this includes the notion of personal matters or someone being “too friendly” and thus can be realized by impersonal figures of speech, for example (*ibid.*). This too could be seen as negative politeness. Camaraderie politeness, then again, is quite different from the previous ones. This type of politeness highlights the closeness between participants in interaction and is therefore positive politeness (Larjavaara 1999). Instead of using titles or impersonal speech, camaraderie politeness is trying to bring the addressee closer to the speaker by dropping the formalities (*ibid.*). Larjavaara claims that camaraderie politeness is more “modern” than status politeness, yet personally I think that one must remember that this is a *Western* view, and therefore can maybe be applied to Western settings.

The final category of Larjavaara's types of politeness is politeness driven by needs. This category is perhaps most similar with fundamental politeness, since Larjavaara (1999) claims it to be a universally shared politeness and refers to every person's need to be liked. According to

¹ The names of the politeness types are translated into English by me.

him, people do not want to feel being disliked and thus they want to make others feel good for example by smiling (ibid.). This type of politeness is usually linked with positive politeness countries, such as United States (ibid.). The variation between what is “East” politeness and what “West” politeness shall be discussed in section 2.1.2.

All in all, politeness is not always easy to determine, since it realized in different cultures, situations, forms and roles differently. It also includes different concepts, of which perhaps the most infamous one might be the concept of ‘face’, which will be discussed next.

2.1.1. Face and Face Threatening Acts

When talking about politeness, one cannot forget to talk about face; the concept of face is generally treated as the groundwork for politeness (Leech 2007, p. 199). Since this base is so pertinent to politeness research, it should be easy to assume that the definition of this component would also be straightforward. However, it is not; perhaps the most popular – and controversial – definition for face comes from Brown and Levinson (1987), and they define ‘face’ as the “public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself [sic]” (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 61). They stress that face is owned by all “competent adult members of society” (ibid.) and that it consists of two aspects: negative face and positive face (ibid.). This definition for Brown and Levinson’s face is, according to them, derived from Goffman (1967) and the English folk term (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 61). In this sense, face is something that needs constant attention in interaction in order to be maintained; losing it might result into embarrassment or humiliation (ibid.). Thus, generally, in cooperative interaction, each participant wants to maintain each other’s faces, and since they are expected to defend their face, in case it becomes threatened, this ‘want’ is they key definition for both faces (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 61-62); the acts that threaten a person’s face are discussed shortly. Taking in consideration these ‘wants’ that act as the basis of the face-concept, Brown and Levison (1987, p. 62) define both the negative and positive face wants as below:

Negative face: the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his [sic] actions be unimpeded by others.

Positive face: the want of every member that his [sic] wants be desirable to at least some others.

Leech (2007, p. 199), however, acknowledges a problem of correspondence between Brown and Levinson’s positive face and negative face, and, hence, offers his own definition for the

concept. He sees face as the “self-image or self-esteem that a person maintains as a reflection of that person’s estimation by others” (Leech 2007, p. 199). As for the negative and positive faces, Leech has “goals”: **negative face goal** is about face loss and how it lowers person’s self-esteem, making the goal to be ‘do not lose face’ (ibid.). On the other hand, **positive face goal** means increasing or protecting person’s face, i.e., their self-esteem and how they are seen by other people (ibid.). Therefore, what may be interpreted from these definitions of face is that they are quite alike, and that face is strongly linked to person’s appreciation and respect, and what other people think about them. In this case, some acts can be especially harmful to this respect, which will be discussed next.

Face threatening acts (or FTAs) are quite self-explanatory: they are acts that threaten a person’s face (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 60). Brown and Levinson divide the FTAs into two categories, with their respective subcategories (see Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 65-68). However, since the scope of this study is limited, only the main points of the FTAs will be presented here. As mentioned, the FTAs are divided into acts that a) threaten either person’s positive or negative face, and b) mainly threaten either the hearer’s or the speaker’s face (ibid.). The first one of these two distinctions are divided into two: acts threatening hearer’s negative face, and acts threatening their positive face (ibid., p. 65-66). Negative face FTAs include acts such as, orders, requests, offers, promises and compliments (ibid.). FTAs regarding hearer’s positive face include expressions or disapproval, criticism, insults, bringing bad news about the hearer, etc. (Brown and Levinson 1987, 66-67). However, according to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 67), some FTAs – for instance complains, interruptions and requests for personal information – can threaten both the negative and positive face of the hearer.

Whereas this previous classification was concerned with the hearer and their faces, the second classification is focused on the speaker (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 67). Similarly with FTAs targeted towards the hearer, this distinction is also divided into positive and negative face FTAs (ibid, p. 67-68). The FTAs harming speaker’s negative face include expressions or acceptances of thanks, excuses, acceptances of offers and hearer’s faux pas (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 67). The FTAs targeted towards speaker’s positive face include apologies, acceptances of compliments, self-humiliation, confessions and non-control of laughter or tears (ibid., p. 68). As it can be seen, some of these might not even be verbal acts, and Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 65) have mentioned that FTAs can be also non-verbal acts. Brown and Levinson have also introduced strategies for the FTAs (see 1987, p. 68-71), but for the scope of the study they will not be discussed here.

As mentioned before, this theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) has been immensely criticized, and mainly because of its claimed universality. Especially the aspect of face as ‘wants’ and how those wants are culture-specific, has been criticized and particularly with East versus West dichotomy (see Leech 2007). Therefore, the following sections will discuss the cross-cultural variation of politeness and why Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory about face **is** so controversial.

2.1.2. Cross-Cultural Variation in Politeness

As previously learned, there are two basic styles of politeness, i.e., negative politeness and positive politeness, and that where politeness is situational, social, and personal, it is also culture specific. How this cultural variation is realized is that some cultures incline more towards negative politeness by expressing power, social distance and imposition via linguistic markers, and some cultures aim to be socially closer, and thus drive towards positive politeness (Blum-Kulka 1990, p. 262). For example, Indonesian people seem to favor negative politeness by respecting others, whereas English people incline towards the positive side of politeness (Ardi et al. 2016, p. 355). However, Blum-Kulka (1990, p. 262) underlines that this explanation of diversity in politeness is sociological and thus does not include the possibility of cultures having different, underlying values and needs on face-level. For instance, how sincerity and politeness work together – meaning, can a person be honest **and** polite at the same time, and how it is interpreted – differ in Israeli and Chinese cultures (see Blum-Kulka 1990, p. 262). Leech (2007, p. 196) follows by saying that value-scaling of politeness is conventional for societies, but that the specific values can differ between cultures.

Nonetheless, Leech (2007, p. 170) is against of the total division between “East” and “West” politeness, East being in favor of group-values and West being more individual. He finds the idea of two absolutes impossible, since “all polite communication implies that the speaker is taking account of both individual and group values” (ibid.). In fact, Leech argues that it would be meaningless to have a word, and equivalents for the word, ‘politeness’ if there were not something common in that concept between different cultures and languages (ibid.). After all, politeness has been recognized as deeply ingrained feature of human communication (Wang 2014, p. 271). Although, Leech is not confident in talking about universals in politeness so soon, unlike Brown and Levinson (1987) (Leech 2007, p. 200-201). Interestingly, although Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory is endorsed as universal, they actually mention hoping that the cross-cultural similarities discovered by them would also work as a model for investigating **culturally specific** conventions (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 57). Furthermore, Leech (2007) and Brown and

Levinson (1987) might not even be that far away from each other in their viewpoints on face variation; Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 61-62), too, assume that the knowledge of each other's face and "the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction" are a universal, however, the content of that face – e.g., what are the personal boundaries and what personality consists of – will vary. Hence, detecting nuances from these arguments seems to be an arduous task of analyzing and interpretation.

Consequently, cross-cultural studies have found that both social and contextual factors have an impact on politeness norms (Wang 2014, p. 273). As has come up in this paper, social distance and social power were realized to influence politeness (ibid.). Remembering the previous example about requesting a raise from one's boss, a workplace seems to be a perfect base for politeness research. In fact, politeness in a working environment has been increasingly explored (ibid.), and Dunn's (2011) participant-observant analysis of Japanese business etiquette and how it is taught to (especially) young Japanese people, offers many insights. It was previously mentioned that different 'roles' affect politeness, such as the roles of a 'client' and the 'salesperson', who already have different expectations and obligations before any interaction is even taking place. This has to do with asymmetries of politeness, meaning that the speaker and the hearer are not treated equally in conversation (Leech 2007, p. 176). This asymmetry can be exemplified as offering a highly positive observation about the hearer, which would be 'polite', versus making the same kind of observation of oneself (i.e., the speaker), which would be 'impolite' (ibid.). According to Leech (ibid., p. 197), the asymmetry in politeness toward customer(s) performed by service staff (e.g., hotels or stores) is a well-acknowledged custom in Japan – obligation, even. This is, in fact, one of the aspects that has earned criticism for the claims of universals in politeness (Wang 2014, p. 273). Without going too deep into the subject of criticism, since it shall be discussed in the next section, especially Ide et al. (1992) have declared that some non-Western language speakers are **forced** – by the norms of their culture – to use polite expressions, while British people have a certain freedom of choice in the matter (Ide et al. 1992, in Wang 2014, p. 273, my emphasis).

Whereas the interaction between a client and a service person is unbalanced in terms of occupation, West and East seem to be unbalanced in terms of social norms. Some Japanese researchers (see Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 1) suggest that Japanese culture applies something called 'seniority system', meaning system, where fixed social relationships are guided by hierarchical power (Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 1). According to Ide (1989, 2006, in Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 1), the Japanese custom of using honorifics in every utterance with senior or strangers is compulsory for maintaining good relations. For example, in Japan, expressing an opinion towards one's superior

might be seen as an act of criticism (Leech 2007, p. 187). Leech mentions that in Western countries, if the lecturers do not receive any questions about the topic(s) discussed, they might feel like their lecture was a failure (ibid.). On the other hand, in Japan, presenting an opinion that differs from the lecturer's – and thus, superior's – opinion, might be disgraceful (ibid.). It is generally noted that a person's age is specifically important in terms of superiority regarding social power (ibid., p. 197).

Therefore, Ide may have a valid point in arguing that Japanese people do not have the luxury of spontaneously choosing politeness strategies for positive face, and, thus, targeting criticism towards Brown and Levinson's (1987) universal facework model (Ide 1989, 2006, in Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 1). In addition, merely looking at Dunn's (2011, p. 3645) analysis' results regarding Japanese workplace politeness training course is proof enough; the participants are not only trained in polite language use, but in proper vocal and facial expressions, enunciation, how to sit and how to hand over objects, to mention a few (Dunn 2011, p. 3645). Still, I will conclude and agree with Leech's (2007, p. 170) view on the shared similarity of 'politeness' between cultures; norms and specifics may – and do – vary, but it would be pointless to have (cross-cultural) research on politeness if politeness was completely different phenomenon in every culture.

2.1.3. Against and For Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

As has become evident throughout this paper, Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness and face has been a controversial topic amongst scholars. There seem to be equal amount of articles and studies against their views (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1990; Eelen 2014; Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1988; Yabuuchi 2006) as there are supporters (e.g., Arundale 2005; Cousins 1989; Fukada & Asato 2004; Kim-Jo, Benet-Martinez & Ozer 2010; Kiyama et al. 2012). In fact, Arundale (2005, p. 48) argues that this interest into both criticism and defending is due to the influential nature of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory. Even Leech (2007, p. 168) admits that their theory would not have been as easy of a target as it is had they not provided a model so lucid and detailed. In Leech's mind, all the criticism targeted towards Brown and Levinson's (1987) work is "a tribute" (Leech 2007, p. 168).

Therefore, due to the abundance of articles and studies evaluating Brown and Levinson's (1987) work, these arguments can only be summarized. Starting with the criticism, Brown and Levinson has been criticized having Western or Anglophone bias, meaning that their definition for negative politeness is projecting Anglo-Western individualism and freedom rights (Leech 2007, p. 168). Moreover, in so called 'postmodern politeness research', Brown and

Levinson's is argued a) ignoring context by doing research on sentence-level, b) treating politeness as speaker-orientated phenomenon, and c) viewing social distance and other sociological factors as static phenomena (Tanner 2012, p. 147-148). Although having data consisting of "first-hand tape-recorded usage" (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 59) of their languages of choice (i.e., English, Tzeltal and Tamil), problem was that this data was broken down into sentences which were then detached from their contexts (Tanner 2012, p. 147-148). Brown and Levinson's theory and its applicability into Japanese language and culture has also been criticized, perhaps most famously by Ide (1989) and Matsumoto (1988). They both mainly argue that Japanese people, as speakers of an honorific language, are not enjoying the freedom of using polite language unlike non-honorific language users (Ide 1989, p. 245, in Dunn 2011, p. 3644). According to Ide and Yoshida (1999, in Barke 2010, p. 457), polite behavior is very normalized in Asian languages, because of the use of honorifics and how participants' relations are realized through them.

The criticism hardly ends here, but despite the amount of criticism Brown and Levinson (1987) have received, not all these are outright against their theory. Actually, many of the articles and studies disagreeing with Brown and Levinson (1987) agree at least on some issues: for example, Yabuuchi's (2006) article is quite hostile towards Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, yet he admits the possibility of it being "valid as a linguistic politeness system" (Yabuuchi 2006, p. 323). Furthermore, as previously mentioned, Leech (2007, p. 170) also points out that Brown and Levinson did not fully commit to the universal stance, since they took cross-cultural variation into consideration. He follows by explaining that interaction is widely based on principles, which are universal and differ in use within specific cultures or groups (Leech 2007, p. 170). Therefore, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory seem to be realized as a working, plausible theory, and perhaps would not be treated so controversially without the claim of 'universality'. Moreover, Arundale (2005, p. 48) believes Brown and Levinson being misunderstood; to identify a certain language or a group as polite would require conceptualizing the concept 'politeness', which is conflicting with Brown and Levinson's theory (Arundale 2005, p. 48). This conceptualizing would mean, for example, defining fixed markers of politeness and using those markers to define if an utterance was polite or not – which is not what Brown and Levinson have done (Arundale 2005, p. 48). Arundale also writes about the significance and influence of Brown and Levinson's work to science, appealing to the abundance of citations of their work in pragmatic journals (Arundale 2005, p. 49, for more detailed description about their significance, see Arundale 2005, p. 48-49). This is a proof, that despite the criticism, Brown and Levinson do not cease to inspire researchers (Tanner 2012, p. 148). In fact, Culpeper and Demmen (2011) argue that

Brown and Levinson's theory about negative face would depict British culture, however not just British culture in general, but at a certain time period: Victorian period (1837-1901) (Culpeper & Demmen 2011, p. 1-2). They believe that Brown and Levinson's "individualist emphasis" portrays the birth of the thought regarding "individual self separate from society and with its own hidden desires" (Culpeper and Demmen 2011, p. 1-2).

As previously noted, Brown and Levinson was criticized for not taking honorific languages into consideration properly when defining their facework. Ide (1989) and Ide and Yoshida (1999) were especially keen on arguing for the lack of freedom regarding Japanese politeness usage and (positive) facework. However, Dunn (2011, p. 3644) remarks that the results of studies conducted about natural interaction during the last twenty years (cf. Cook 2008; Dunn 2005; Ikuta 2008; Saito 2010) show that speakers, in fact, have tendency to change the level of honorific without changing the addressee of their speech. Moreover, Fukada and Asato (2004, in Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 2), along with Takiura (2005, 2008, in Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 2) have actually drawn parallels between Japanese honorific usage and Brown and Levinson's (1987) P (power) and D (distance) factors, meaning that honorific usage depends on vertical and horizontal distance, which correlates with Brown and Levinson (1987) (Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 2). Furthermore, Saito's study (2010) about honorific and plain forms (i.e., non-honorific forms) usage in Japanese workplace proved that subordinates **do** apply plain forms in discourse with their superiors. This is interesting because the said workplace generally adhered to workplace linguistic politeness principles, such as attaching the honorific suffix *-san* (i.e., Mr., Mrs., Ms.) to superiors' names, or calling them with their titles (Saito 2010, p. 3273). In addition, this treatment of superiors was not tied to either superior's or subordinate's age; even if the subordinate was *older* than their superior, the general rule would be to still use honorifics (Saito 2010, p. 3273). Therefore, honorific usage might be less fixed than previously thought.

2.2. Role Language and Butler's Language

This section shall first introduce the concept called 'role language' and provide few examples how it realizes in Japanese and English languages. After this, standard and polite Japanese language as role language will be discussed, concluding with servant's way of speaking and butler's languages in fiction.

The idea regarding how a certain group of people would speak in literature can be described with the term 'role language'. Kinsui (2003, p. 205, in Kinsui & Yamakido 2015, p. 30)

defines role language (*yakuwarigo*) as a “set of spoken language features (such as vocabulary, grammar and phonetic characteristics) that can be psychologically associated with a particular character type”. The said character’s age, gender, occupation, social status, appearance, and personality are to be noted when assessing their role language, since these attributes impact their way of speaking (ibid.). Kinsui (2014, in Kinsui & Yamakido 2015, p. 32) separates six different social and cultural categories for role languages:

- 1) Gender (e.g., male language),
- 2) Age/generation (e.g., schoolgirl language),
- 3) Social class/occupation (e.g., butler’s language, formal-speech language, boss language),
- 4) Region/nationality/ethnicity (e.g., Kansai language, rural language),
- 5) Pre-modern (e.g., princess language, samurai language), and
- 6) Imaginary creatures (e.g., ghost language).

Figure 2 (Kinsui 2010, p. 51, in Kinsui & Teshigawara 2011, p. 38) shows examples of female language (b), and macho male language (c) in Japanese.

b. *Sō- yo atashi ga shit-teiru-wa*
 yes-[ZERO COPULA]-PARTICLE I NOM know-ASPECT-PARTICLE

c. *Sō-da ore ga shit-teru-ze*
 yes-COPULA I NOM know-ASPECT-PARTICLE

Figure 2. *Examples of Role Languages in Japanese.* (Kinsui 2010, p. 51, in Kinsui & Teshigawara 2011, p. 38)

In Figure 2, both of the example sentences mean “I know that”, yet they are visibly different. From the grammatical aspect, there is four different factors that differentiate these two sentences into separate role languages. Firstly, the use or lack of copula *da* and the particle *yo*, of which the first one is missing from the female’s speech, and the latter from “macho male’s” speech (Kinsui & Teshigawara 2011, p. 38). Secondly, the choice of first-person pronoun: the woman uses *atashi* and the man uses *ore* (ibid.). Then there is the aspect form (*teiru* or *teru*, respectively) and the final particles (*wa* and *ze*, respectively) (ibid.). With these markers, the Japanese reader is swiftly able to distinguish whether the speaker is male or female. Now, although role languages are mostly stereotypes and appear in fictional settings (i.e., manga, television, novels), they derive from actual, real-life language usage (excluding the imaginary role languages, such as ghost language) (ibid., p. 39). For example, in Figure 2, the male uses first person *ore* and the final particle *ze*, which are used

by (young) Japanese male speakers in real-life as well; if a woman would refer to herself as *ore*, it would sound unnatural and, perhaps, comical. However, some role languages still differ from the language that their respective group normally uses.

The previous examples were about Japanese language, but role languages are possible to construct in English as well. Yamaguchi (2007, in Kinsui & Teshigawara 2011, pp. 38-39) has compiled four ways one can create a role language in English and they are: 1) using eye dialect, 2) using stereotyped pidgin varieties, 3) manipulating personal pronouns, and 4) phonological manipulation. Eye dialect means that the character's utterance is spelled in a way that it implies pronunciation deviating from the standard (ibid., p. 39). This entails both regional and foreign accents (ibid.). If the character is foreign, one can omit the articles and *be* verbs from their speech, which accentuates character's foreignness (ibid.). Third way to create a role language in English is to tamper with the first and second person pronouns; in the *Harry Potter* novels, Dobby speaks of himself in third person and addressees Harry by his whole name and not with the pronoun *you* (ibid.). Finally, phonological manipulations can include baby-talk or onomatopoeic effects (ibid.). However, according to Yamaguchi (2007, in Kinsui & Teshigawara 2011, p. 52) adds that these methods for English role languages has their downsides as well and might not work as well as the Japanese ones. For example, if character's utterances are not spelled in standard English, the reader might perceive the character as uneducated (ibid.).

The use of role language has multiple purposes, of which few was mentioned already: to determine the character's important attributes, such as age or gender, or to show the regional background of the character. Role language is also utilized for smooth story development: the story might not develop in the same manner, if the reader has to analyze everything since they and the creator do not share any common knowledge about character types (Kinsui & Teshigawara 2011, p. 41). Therefore, the creator utilizes the role language to convey how they want the reader to depict the said character or characters (ibid.). Following, role language can also be used to distinguish the main characters from the minor characters (ibid., p. 39). In fact, in Japanese fiction, the dialects are left for the minor characters while the main character speaks in standard Japanese (Kinsui & Teshigawara 2011, p. 47). The reason behind this is quite simple: the reader can identify and empathize with the protagonist easier, if they speak standard Japanese, and not, for instance, some unfamiliar regional dialect (ibid.). Interestingly, Duc-Harada (2021) argues that standard Japanese should be regarded as role language itself, and that its main function is to serve as a contrasting element – for example, whereas standard Japanese implies seriousness, dialects have a comical effect; standard Japanese is a sign of maturity, whereas dialects imply immaturity (Duc-Harada

2021, p. 39). To back up her arguments, Duc-Harada (2021, p. 48) takes Satsuki, from movie called *Tonari no Totoro (My Neighbor Totoro)*, as an example character. In her example, Satsuki uses polite verb endings and copulas such as *-masen deshita* and *desu* (see section 2.3.2.), although young girls such as Satsuki rarely are this polite (ibid.). Satsuki's is very dependable: she takes care of her sister and the house, and therefore her speech strengthens the audience's perception of her maturity (ibid.). Moreover, relevant for this study, standard Japanese may be used by subordinate when they are speaking to their superior (ibid., p. 46).

Now, although butlers appear frequently in television series and novels, and Kinsui (2014) distinguished 'butler's language' as role language, there seem to be little research regarding butler's language – or servants' language for that matter – in fiction. However, Japanese Foundation moderates a certain website called "Japanese in Anime and Manga" (www.anime-manga.jp/en), which offers information about Japanese language through fiction. On this website, there is a section named 'Character dictionary' where there are eight different character types, 'butler' being one of them (ibid.). The character dictionary of a butler includes examples of butler's language in form of phrases and grammar, of which the former include phrases such as *Botchama, o-mezame no jikan desu yo* ("It's time to wake up, young master") and *Go-burei wo o-yurushi kudasaimase* ("Please forgive my rudeness") (ibid.). The grammar side of butler's dictionary is profoundly centered around Japanese polite language (see section 2.3.) and includes heavy usage of *o*-prefix and exalting and humble verbs, such as *nasaru* ("to do", exalting) and structure *o – suru* ("to do", humble) (ibid.). Therefore, this dictionary helps in strengthening the idea that butler's language is polite. However, it is important to remember, that servants' language that is seen in books or movies, is the product of how people think servants **would** speak, but not always how they actually **did** speak² (Hodson 2016, p. 28). According to Hodson (ibid.), servants did not share one form of speaking or behaving, since they were usually from different social classes and/or of different social statuses. Not to mention that there really is not much evidence of how the servants did speak, since not many was able to write and those who did had either no time or their writings were not preserved to this day (ibid.) Therefore the language we see servants using, might tell more about us than them (Hodson 2016, p. 31). In fact, the representations of servants' language that are embedded in literature are also embedded into the culture outside them; new literary works emulate

² Barke (2010, p. 461), too, emphasized that the fictional, Japanese television show *Motokare* he used in his study consists of artificial dialogue, and thus represents the screenwriter's and audience's ideologies regarding verbal interaction and not, per se, how these interactions would be carried in real life.

the previous ones and thus strengthen our idea of ‘servants’ speech’, even if this idea was not realistic (Hodson 2016, p. 28, 31).

Considering *Kuroshitsuji* and Sebastian, the butler, against all of this information regarding role languages, the manga seems to be a good example of role language. Sebastian speaks politely and mostly in standard Japanese; he is very composed, mature, and refined, if compared to the other servants; he is dressed in butlers livery (see section 4.2., Figure 5), so therefore the appearance already conveys “butler”, meaning that the readers already have some presuppositions regarding his speech. Moreover, as it becomes evident later in the first volume of the manga, Sebastian is actually **playing** the role of a butler, thus I personally think that his speech is a good example about ‘butler’s language’ as role language and I will treat it as such. Perhaps this study will be able to fill the gap about research in ‘butler’s language’.

2.3. *Keigo*: Japanese Polite Language

This section will introduce Japanese polite language, otherwise known as *keigo*. First, some background knowledge regarding *keigo* and its position in Japan will be offered. After this, in section 2.3.1., address terms and how to refer to things by using *keigo* will be discussed. Section 2.3.2. discusses Japanese morphological and lexical politeness and introduces terms *sonkeigo* (exalting polite language) and *kenjōgo* (humble polite language) with examples. Finally, some basic social rules for Japanese politeness will be presented in section 2.3.3..

The significance of polite language to Japanese culture is substantial and Japanese politeness language, also known as *keigo*, is rather multilevel and not so straightforward to define (see Barešova 2015). In fact, Japanese politeness is so complicated that there are business etiquette courses (see Dunn 2011) available, and while honorifics are an everyday phenomenon, many Japanese people – including those dealing with language because of their profession – think that their competence leaves a lot to be desired (Coulmas 2005, p. 305). There are also “speech clinics” and guidance books available in the market for those struggling with honorific language, the latter one being a major business in Japan (*ibid.*). Therefore, this section can – and **will** – only scratch the surface on the concept of *keigo*.

An essential part of Japanese polite language is honorifics. According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 179, 276) honorifics are “direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participant and persons or things referred to in the communicative event”. Coulmas (2005, p. 302) states that “honorific expressions in Japanese are not stylistic frills

which, for the sake of efficiency or any other reason, could easily be left out”. Indeed, in Japanese, honorifics are traditionally associated with politeness, formal speech, and respect (Barke 2010, p. 456). Ide adds that “honorifics are the core of Japanese polite expressions” (Ide 1982, p. 357). Therefore, it will be discussed first how politeness in Japanese is realized regarding address terms and then Japanese lexical and morphological politeness shall be looked into, ending with briefly discussing Japanese social norms.

2.3.1. Address Terms and Referring to Things

Addressing is an important part of politeness and includes referring to the hearer or directly addressing them (Larjavaara 1999). In Japan, people use many suffixes with names (see Ide 1982, p. 359), but the most pertinent ones for this study are *-san* and *-sama*, where the latter shows more deference (Ide 1982, p. 359). These suffixes are quite versatile: one can add them to person’s last or first name, but also to their title or professional rank if they have one (ibid.). For example, a person named Satō could be called as *Satō-san*, *Satō-sama*, *Satō-shachō* (“Company President Satō”) or *Shachō-san/-sama*. Polite speech also utilizes prefixes *o-* and *go-* (Ide 1982, p. 360), which may be added to nouns or people (Ide 1982, p. 360; Coulmas 2005, p. 314). As an example, customers are called *o-kyaku-sama*, and someone else’s mother is referred to as *okaasan* (includes the prefix *o-* and the suffix *-san*). In addition, prefixes *o-* and *go-* have alternatives *on-* and *mi-*, but they express even higher level of deference (Ide 1982, p. 360). Japanese also has many alternatives to personal pronouns, especially for “I”, which depends on the gender of the speaker, however, both women and men may use *watashi* or *watakushi* which both are polite, the latter more so (Ide 1982, p. 358). According to Ide (1982, p. 359), there are no honorific second person pronouns, and maybe the reason for that is that addressing someone without title, rank or name is avoided.

Now, it should be noted that the prefixes *o-/on-* and *go-/mi-* are to be used also when then speaker wants to refer to someone else’s possessions (Coulmas 2005, p. 314; Ide 1982, p. 360). These possessions could include, for instance, letter written by another person (*o-tegami*), their book (*go-hon*) or even their own name (*o-namae*) (Ide 1982, p. 360; Leech 2007, p. 176). Although, these polite or deferential prefixes are not to be attached to speaker’s own possessions: for instance, person A can refer to person B’s name as *o-namae*, but not to their own name (Leech 2007, p. 176). Japanese also has something called *bikago*, meaning “beautifying forms” (Barke 2010, p. 458), and while they also use these prefixes, they are not showing deference in the same manner. Those will be discussed later in detail.

2.3.2. Lexical and Morphological Politeness

In addition to previously discussed address terms, Japanese politeness can also be attached to other words along with morphology. Figure 3 has been taken from Coulmas (2005, p. 313) and it depicts the honorific system of Japanese.

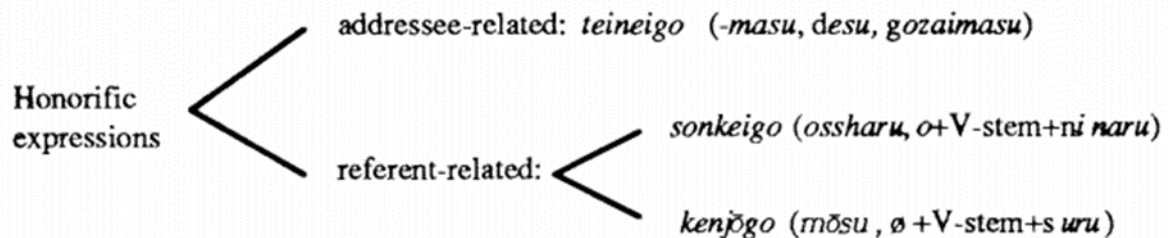


Figure 3³. A simplified model of Japanese honorific system. (Coulmas 2005, p. 313)

First, the honorific expressions are divided into a) addressee-related honorifics and b) referent-related honorifics (Coulmas 2005, p. 313). Addressee-related honorifics are called *teineigo*, also known as ‘polite forms’ (ibid.). *Teineigo* forms are applied to show the difference in social relations between the speakers and are used regardless of the indicated topic or referent, unlike referent-related honorifics (ibid.). Referring to *teineigo* forms, Barke (2010, p. 459) also uses the term ‘horizontally distancing forms’, since they show the “social/psychological distance between the speaker and the addressee”. The use of such forms has to do with stylistic choices (e.g., intimate, polite) and thus choosing to use addressee-related forms the speaker indicates their relationship in relation to the hearer(s) (Coulmas 2005, p. 313). *Teineigo* verbs include the copula *da/desu*, along with *dearu*, *gozaru* (or as *gozaimasu* in *-masu* form) and the *-masu* suffix (Coulmas 2005, p. 313). The copula *da/desu* is used after a noun, and *-masu* is attached to verbs (Barke 2010, p. 459). For example, *kore wa pan desu* (“This is bread”) and *mizu wo nomimasu* (“I drink water”). *De gozaru/gozaimasu* are the formal versions of *da/desu* (Barke 2010, p. 459), and, similarly, *gozaru/gozaimasu* are the formal forms of the verb *aru/arimasu*, describing inanimate existence (Barke 2010, p. 459). Out of these, the *desu* and *-masu* forms are used the most frequently (Barke 2010, p. 459).

³ The prefix *o* after the *mōsu* looks like \emptyset , which would imply the *absence* of this prefix. However, none of my sources (not even Coulmas) verbally implies that this would be the case.

Secondly, the referent-related forms are divided into two groups⁴: a) *sonkeigo* and b) *kenjōgo* (Coulmas 2005, p. 314). These are also referred as ‘respectful or exalting forms’ (*sonkeigo*) and ‘modest or humble forms’ (*kenjōgo*) (Coulmas 2005, p. 313), or ‘vertically distancing honorifics’ (Barke 2010, p. 458-459), and are used to refer to objects (Coulmas 2005, p. 314) or to show deference to a person when they are the subject or object of conversation (Onaha 1991, p. 8). Whereas the horizontally distancing (i.e., addressee-related) forms are about the social and psychological gap between the participants, the referent-related forms imply the differences in hierarchical status (Barke 2010, p. 459). Although classified as referent-related forms, *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* forms have an important difference; humble verbs must *only* be used when speaking of speaker’s actions, while exalting verbs are applied to show deference to the agent (Coulmas 2005, p. 314). This difference is visible in Figure 3, where there is the same word, *iu* (“to say”) in two separate versions: *ossharu* and *mōsu*. Between *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo*, there are also differences in morphology. For instance, for *sonkeigo* (exalting), deference can be verbalized as using the form ‘prefix *o* + verb stem + *ni naru*’ – for example, the verb *kariru* (“to borrow”) becomes *o-kari ni-naru* (Onaha 1991, p. 8). However, for the *kenjōgo* forms, the form is ‘prefix *o* + verb stem + *suru*’, and thus *kariru* would turn into *o-kari suru* (Onaha 1991, p. 8).

To go back to look at Figure 3, as mentioned, there are also alternative forms for the same verb. Figure 4 is taken from Coulmas (2005, p. 314) and shows some examples of the lexical differences between neutral (or plain⁵), exalting, and humble forms of verbs.

neutral	exalting	humble	meaning
<i>iu</i>	<i>ossharu</i>	<i>mōsu</i>	‘say’
<i>iku</i>	<i>irassharu</i>	<i>mairu</i>	‘go’
<i>kuru</i>	<i>irassharu</i>	<i>mairu</i>	‘come’
<i>suru</i>	<i>nasaru</i>	<i>itasu</i>	‘do’
<i>taberu</i>	<i>meshiagaru</i>	<i>itadaku</i>	‘eat’

Figure 4. *The differences in Japanese referent-related verb forms* (Coulmas 2005, p. 314).

⁴ This is a simplified version of categorization of *keigo*. Barke (2010, p. 458-459), for instance, distinguishes two separate *kenjōgo* groups: *kenjōgo* 1 and *kenjōgo* 2.

⁵ Ide (1989, p. 229) is against the idea, that Japanese would have ‘neutral’ forms, and thus refers to these as “plain forms”. This is due to that, according to her, the speaker must choose between plain forms or honorific forms, making politeness “grammatically obligatory”, and thus implying that there is always a choice to make (ibid.).

As can be seen from Figure 4, the exalting and humble forms are totally different compared to the neutral form, and thus, the difference is lexical. Interestingly, the exalting and humble forms of the verbs *go* and *come* are the same, yet they differ in neutral forms. As noted before, from these forms the neutral forms are meant to speak about oneself, while the exalting forms are to refer to someone else's actions.

Therefore, for example, if person A asks, if person B wants more cake, person B can response by saying *jyūbun itadakimashita* (meaning, 'I have had enough' or 'I am full, thank you'), but not **jyūbun meshiagarimashita*, although they both mean eating. Similarly, person A can politely prompt person B to eat the cake by saying *meshiagatte kudasai* ('Please eat' or 'Please go ahead and eat'), but not **itadaitte kudasai*. Moreover, in-group and out-group distinction can also be expressed via exalting and humble verbs (Coulmas 2005, p. 314). To illustrate this, if person A speaks about their own in-group member to person B – who in this scenario is an outsider – person A uses *kenjōgo* (humble) forms. On the other hand, if person A wishes to address person B's in-group member, person A must use *sonkeigo* (exalting) forms. However, not every word has an exalting or humble counterpart, and thus the previous morphological patterns (*o+* verb stem + *ni naru* or *o+* verb stem + *suru*, respectively) can be used in place of the lexical forms and they will convey the same meaning (Coulmas 2005, p. 314-315, see *ibid.* for more detailed description about morphological and lexical differences).

Finally, as I previously mentioned, there is a category called *bikago*, meaning 'beautifying forms' (Barke 2010, p. 458) or 'soft terms' (Coulmas 2005, p. 313). In fact, what makes this category rather problematic, is that there seems to be an issue regarding does the *bikago* forms create a category of their own, or do they belong under *teineigo* forms (Barke 2010, p. 458, 459; Coulmas 2005, p. 313; Barešova 2015). Regardless, they are not used politely – at least not primarily (Tsujimura 1967, p. 109, in Barešova 2015, section 2). Ōishi (1975, pp. 93-93, in Barešova 2015, section 2) proposes that *bikago* words are not mainly used for the sake of the hearer, but for the speaker, in case they want to make their speech more elegant. Therefore, *bikago* does not directly alter the level of politeness of the utterance, yet it makes it more beautiful in a way (Barešova 2015, section 2). Examples of *bikago* are words such as *o-kashi* ("sweets" or "pastries"), *o-furo* ("bath") or *o-mise* ("shop"). Unlike in polite speech, these do not refer to anyone's personal possessions; if not indicated otherwise, by *o-kashi*, the speaker means sweets in general. *O*-prefix is more common than *go*-prefix (Barešova 2015, *Bikago* section).

The focus is more on the quality of the utterance, and the speaker wants to convey a sophisticated view about themselves by using these beautifying prefixes (Tsuji-mura 1975, in Barešova 2015, section 2). However, it is a controversial matter; Barešova (2015) introduces multiple different views and classifications from different scholars, and it is not so straightforward, if the usage of *bikago* expressions are motivated from the speaker's personal wants or their relationship regarding the addressee. Although, it still enforces the politeness of the utterance, and polite speech without any *bikago* expressions would sound unnatural (Barešova 2015, Bikago section).

2.3.3. *Social Rules of Japanese Politeness*

This section is going to briefly cover Japanese politeness norms. Ide (1982, p. 366-377) lists four main rules for Japanese politeness:

- 1) be polite to a person of a higher social position
- 2) be polite to a person with power
- 3) be polite to an older person
- 4) be polite in a formal setting determined by the factors of participants, occasions, or topics

Since these rules are quite complex, they can only be summarized. The first rule entails other people recognizing person's achievements and showing their respect for those achievements (Ide 1982, p. 366). These achievements may include having a socially professional title: a teacher, doctor or lawyer, for example (ibid.). There is also something called "good families", such as royal families, that are the recipient of polite behavior automatically (ibid.). The second rule is about differences in ranks: subordinate must be polite to their superior (Ide 1982, p. 367). Ide (ibid.) explains 'power' followingly: "A person has power when performing his [sic] role of professional" – meaning, that professor has power over their student and police officer has power over the culprit of a crime. Money is also a factor: people in service occupations (e.g., waiters, stewardesses, receptionists) have to be polite to their customers, because the one paying for the services is the one with the power (Ide 1982, pp. 367-368). The difference between power and social position is that power is more situation-based and, thus, more temporary than social position (ibid., p. 368). Furthermore, the second rule is more important than the first one, since the situation works as a key factor in determining who should be polite to whom (Ide 1982, p. 369). For example, even if the customer would be of a lower position in than the salesperson, the salesperson still must be polite to the customer (ibid.).

The third rule, ‘be polite to an older person’, has long roots in the history of Japan (Ide 1982, p. 368). The rule means that despite the setting of the interaction, the older ones must be treated with politeness (ibid.). Age is a means to differentiate one person from another in the homogenous Japanese culture, and age usually influences who will receive a promotion in a company (ibid.). However, both the social position and the power factor overweight the age factor; if the superior is younger than the subordinate, it should not impact on the differences in ranking nor power (ibid., p. 369). The fourth and last rule focuses on the setting of the conversation (Ide 1982, p. 371). If the setting is formal, each of the speakers will be polite to each other by using polite language (ibid.). Despite the linguistic differences between politeness and formality, they are usually used together: polite speech tends to be formal and formal tends to be polite (ibid.). Formality means maintaining the social distance in the conversation, whereas politeness has to do with deference of the other party or parties (ibid.). Three linguistic levels of formality and two levels of politeness may be separated: formality levels would be formal, neutral and informal, while the politeness levels are polite and plain⁶. Formal speech utilizes upper-class words including honorifics, whereas polite speech is realized primarily through honorifics – although upper-class word choices also impact on the politeness of the utterance (Ide 1982, pp. 371-372). Therefore, formal and polite forms usually co-occur in Japanese interaction (ibid., p. 372).

Hence, the complexity in Japanese politeness and honorifics is visible; it is dynamic, and it requires negotiation (Barke 2010, p. 461). Interestingly, the norms of what is polite are changing with time through new generations (Leech 2007, p. 197). This sort of change has happened before; after the Second World War, honorific speech was applied to show “mutual respect in the wake of the democratisation of society” (Coulmas 2005, p. 305). The change did not concern the forms of politeness, but rather the functions (Coulmas 2005, p. 305; see more detailed description of norms by Ministry of Education in 1941 in Coulmas 2005, p. 306-307). Nevertheless, superiority thought is still immensely important in Japanese culture (Coulmas 2005, p. 311), and thus makes Japan a very hierarchical society (Kiyama et al. 2012, p. 1).

2.4. English Politeness

This section shall discuss how politeness is realized in Britain and English-speaking cultures. First, Britain’s and English-speaking countries’ conventions for politeness, such as titles, will be

⁶ Ide (1982, p. 371) adds that ‘impolite’ level could also be possible.

introduced. Then, section 2.4.2. will list the most pertinent and common ways to express politeness grammatically in the English language.

2.4.1. *Politeness in Britain and English-speaking Cultures*

Unlike Finland, Britain is clearly known for its everyday politeness (see Grossmann 2020; Heinemann 2019; Ryabova 2015, p. 93) – so much so that this politeness phenomenon has been described with words such as “unrelenting” (Murphy 2018) and “excessive” (Ryabova 2015, p. 93). In fact, Murphy (2018) argues that “the national reputation for good manners is treated as a badge of honour”. This collective idea about Britain (and English-speaking cultures to some extent) being extremely polite might be the result of frequent use of politeness markers (see next section) such as *please*, *sorry* or *thank you* (Heinemann 2019; Grossmann 2020; Murphy 2018). However, the idea that British people say *thank you* more often than other cultures (see Grossmann 2020) might not be as straightforward as previously thought. Murphy (2018) claims that the scientific evidence shows only that British people use *thank you* more than seven other cultures and only in certain situations. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Americans, for example, use *thanks* or *thank you* in conversations more often than British people, who, then again, use *please* more than Americans (Murphy 2018). Murphy (2018) emphasizes that these are merely a sign that Americans and British people have different customs; neither is politer or more grateful than the other. In fact, Murphy (2018) thinks that the use of *thanks*, for example, stems from the individualistic nature of English-speaking cultures, where people thank in order to show that they were not expecting the other party to be generous towards them. Interestingly, in collectivist cultures this could imply lack of trust for the other party’s generous nature (ibid.).

What comes to addressing other people and the use of formal titles, English could be positioned somewhere between Japanese and Finnish. According to English Grammar Today (indicated as “EGT” from now on, politeness section), in formal situations one should use either a) *Mr*, *Mrs* or *Ms* (e.g., Ms Smith), b) *sir* or *madam*, or c) professional titles (e.g., *doctor (Dr)* or *professor (Prof)*). These could be used when the speaker does not know the addressee or if they want to be respectful (ibid.). *Mr*, *Mrs*, and *Ms* precede the surname of the addressee, likewise the professional titles, which are neither used alone nor with first name. *Sir* and *madam* are something EGT (ibid.) describes as “very polite terms of address”. These are used for customer service situations, for example in stores or restaurants (ibid.). *Sir* is also used for male teachers, but the title for female teachers is *miss* (ibid.).

As can be seen, England and English-speaking cultures have very polite image. Multiple sources show that *sorry*, *please* and *thank you* are encountered frequently. Furthermore, Stewart (2005, p. 17) makes an interesting notion by saying that British people tend to intensify their *sorries* with additional adverbs (such as *dreadfully*) and give long explanations, for example, for their request for apologies. This, and Bonger's (2017) mention about politeness being "essential" in English-speaking countries, proves that while British people may not be "politer" than other cultures, politeness is still a pivotal part of their shared, English-speaking culture.

2.4.2. *Politeness Devices in English Language*

Unlike Japanese or Finnish, English does not have specific verb endings or T/V-distinction (see section 2.5.) to convey politeness and therefore, the grammatical and lexical choices one needs to make to sound polite are, perhaps, somewhat trickier – although English has a lot common with Finnish politeness devices. Below is a list of the most common or pertinent ways to create polite sentences that appeared in multiple sources (i.e., House & Kasper 1981; Leech 2007; Ryabova 2015; Stewart 2005; Storozhilova 2017)

1. Politeness markers
2. Past tense and durative aspect marker
3. Modal auxiliaries
4. Interrogative form
5. Hedging
6. Softening expressions

First, there are the politeness markers. These are elements, such as *please* and *thank you*, that the speaker may choose to add to their utterance to show respect (House & Kasper 1981, p. 166; Storozhilova 2017). However, it is worth notifying that while *please* can make the utterance politer, this is not always the case: for example, "Make dinner, please" is still not equally as polite as "Could you make dinner, please", since the previous is an imperative (Storozhilova 2017). Therefore, in the case of "Make dinner, please", *please* softens the command, but it is still clearly a command (ibid.).

Secondly, past tense can increase the politeness value of an utterance and it is often applied in polite conversation, especially in hedging (House & Kasper 1981, p. 166; Stewart 2005, p. 124-125; Storozhilova 2017). The reason for past tense or durative aspect marker (e.g., "I was wondering...") being polite is that these two can be "modified in the light of further evidence",

meaning that the speaker implies that the utterance was something they previously thought, but do not think anymore (Stewart 2005, p. 124-125). This is visible in the following examples: “**I was wondering** whether you could give me a hand” and “**I didn’t think** you’d mind if I just popped out for a moment” (ibid., my emphasis).

Past tense is also connected with modal auxiliary verbs, such as *can*, *will* and *shall*, since these are usually seen in past tense (*could*, *would* and *should*, respectively); while “Will you shut the door, please?” is polite, “Would you shut the door, please?” is deemed politer (Ryabova 2015, p. 93). In fact, Storozhilova (2017) separates *can* as informal and *could* as formal. Modal auxiliary verbs are perfect transition to interrogative form, which is next on the list. Looking back at the previous example of “Make dinner, please” and “Could you make dinner, please”, the first one is an imperative and the latter an interrogative. Although the idea behind both of them is “I want you to make me dinner”, it is politer to express this thought as a question, as if the speaker would not be sure about the addressee’s actions. Leech (2007, p. 180) gives a following example “I wonder if you’d mind holding this tray for a second?”, where “you would mind” implies the hypothetical nature of the request and the speaker’s presupposition that the hearer will **not** say “yes”. Thus, the speaker is not so certain about their addressee’s actions, which – at least outwardly – gives the hearer the possibility to decline the request or disobey the command (Stewart 2005, p. 117).

Moving on, hedging is a way to show one’s personal disagreement, but in a subtly manner (Leech 2007, p. 187). Instead of saying “I don’t agree with you” or “You’re wrong”, the speaker may soften their opinions by saying “Do you really think so? I would have thought...” or “I agree, but...” (ibid.). Stewart’s study (2005) showed that native (British) English speakers tend to use hedges in past tense. Finally, Storozhilova (2017) mentions softening expressions, such as *a bit*, *I think* or *maybe*, to make an utterance sound politer. House and Kasper’s (1981) ‘understaters’ have much common with these and they define understaters as adverbial modifiers that are used to minimize some aspect of the utterance. Storozhilova (2017) states that an utterance is polite if it is subjective and vague but warns not to use them on written discourse, such as letters or essays.

Although English does not have T/V-distinction, English language still is able to utilize various methods to sound polite. The list above is far from extensive, and the concepts do not always share the same names and the lines between different devices are sometimes hazy. For example, Storozhilova (2017) instructs to use *I am afraid* to “say ‘No’ politely or for telling some bad news”, and thus it could interpreted as a hedge, but might also work as a softening expression.

2.5. Politeness in Finland and Finnish Language

This section discusses politeness in Finland and Finnish language. First, section 2.5.1. will discuss address terms and referring to other people in Finnish culture. Afterwards, in section 2.5.2., linguistic politeness devices for Finnish language shall be presented.

2.5.1. Address Terms and Politeness in Finland

In Finnish language, one can address another person by using either pronouns *sinä* (singular “you”) or *te* (plural “you”) (Larjavaara 1999), which, in English is called ‘T/V distinction’, or ‘T/V system’ (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 107, 198-199). The use of the singular *you* is referred to as *sinuttelu* and the use of the plural you is called *teitittely*. Speaker may use the plural form of the pronoun *you* if they want to express politeness towards the hearer (Larjavaara 1999). According to Larjavaara (1999), *teitittely* (or T/V distinction) used to express only hierarchical differences between the speaker and the hearer, but it gradually was utilized to convey horizontal social distance even amongst peers as well. In the past, *sinuttelu* was almost frowned upon and used as means to convey the speaker’s dislike towards the hearer (ibid.). Since then, these conventions have changed, and where before *sinuttelu* had negative connotations, it now is the predominant procedure (Larjavaara 1999; Yli-Vakkuri 2005, pp. 190-191). This change in Finland’s politeness culture can be situated into the 1960’s (Yli-Vakkuri 2005, p. 190), when the dominant negative politeness culture started to fade away along with globalization and change of values (Larjavaara 1999). For example, according Larjavaara (1999), whereas previously age had been an important factor of social status, today people desire to be young. He continues that the world has become too complicated for formalities, since people are not as tied down to their statuses as they were before (ibid.).

However, status politeness is still used in Finland, just not so often as before (Larjavaara 1999). In fact, address terms such as *herra* (‘Mister’/‘Sir’), *rouva* (‘Mrs’/‘Madam’/‘Ma’am’) or *neiti* (‘Miss’) have become so old-fashioned that they are not commonly used in unofficial formal speech either (Yli-Vakkuri 2005, p. 194). Interestingly, Yli-Vakkuri (2005, p. 196) mentions that in the 1950’s, *herra* became to have a rather unfavorable nuance as it was utilized as the “title of the ‘titleless’”, which may explain its unpopularity in Finnish culture. Moreover, it is against the idea of solidarity of Finnish culture to highlight the status differences at a workplace (Larjavaara 1999) or an unofficial formal situation (Yli-Vakkuri 2005, p. 197). Now *herra* and *rouva* are usually used by service personnel when addressing their

customers (Yli-Vakkuri 2005, p. 196). Still, Maamies (1999) acknowledges the difficulties that addressing people causes; what is polite for one person might be impolite to another.

Moreover, Finnish does not have many politeness phrases, since politeness is attached to grammar, and thus Finnish has borrowed these from other languages (Yli-Vakkuri 2005, pp. 199-200). In fact, Peterson and Vattovaara (2014) conducted an interesting study regarding the use of anglicism *pliis/pliide* ('please') in Finnish interactions. The study showed that *please* can be translated to Finnish either as *olkaa hyvä* (ibid., p. 249) or *kiitos* (ibid., p. 250; Yli-Vakkuri 2005, p. 199), which are to create distance between the participants (Peterson and Vattovaara, pp. 249-250), whereas the loan word *pliis* or *pliide* is used as a positive politeness marker and identified with teenagers (ibid., pp. 249, 251). Therefore, translating *please* into Finnish is very context driven and the speaker has to take into consideration the social distance between themselves and their hearer. Larjavaara (1999), as Leech (2007, p. 197), thinks that politeness norms are changing with the new generation. It is not to say that young Finns cannot be polite anymore, it means that the ways to express politeness are changing; T/V distinction might not be as common as it was hundred years ago, yet it hardly is the only way to show politeness (Larjavaara 1999).

2.5.2. Finnish Politeness Devices

Linguistic politeness or politeness devices of Finnish language seems to be lacking in authentic empirical research (Tanner 2012, p. 145); Lampinen (1990) has listed Finnish politeness strategies, yet the examples have been taken from literature; Yli-Vakkuri (2005) has written about politeness in general but has no specific examples. Perhaps the most fitting study about politeness in Finnish is Tanner's (2012) doctoral thesis, which discussed and compared service encounter dialogues and requests both in Finnish as second language textbooks and authentic service situations (Tanner 2012, p. 3), serves to partially fill this gap. However, most of the strategies listed by Lampinen (1990) align with the 'linguistic politeness devices' found on kotus.fi, and therefore, the list of the main Finnish politeness devices is presented below. This list is modified from Lampinen's (1990, p. 79-88) politeness strategies and the linguistic politeness devices of kotus.fi.

1. Whimperative
2. Negative
3. Verb chains
4. Potential form
5. Passive voice and generic third person singular
6. Expressions of reservation

7. Past tense
8. Enclitic particles
9. Obscuring expressions
10. T/V-distinction

The examples are either drawn from: a) *Kuroshitsuji*'s Finnish version (*Kuroshitsuji – piru hovimestariksi* (2012), marked as “KSJF”), b) from kotus.fi, or c) Lampinen's (1990) article. Lampinen (1990) used examples from Ilmari Turja's and Mika Waltari's plays (see Lampinen 1990, p. 79, 91). The gloss translations of the examples are mine.

Whimperative (fin. *Kimperatiivi*) means expressing the command in form of a question, indicated by *-ko* or *-kö* suffix (Lampinen 1990, p. 80). The idea behind whimperative is that the speaker tries to make the directive more polite by insinuating the hearer having choice in the matter; the speaker asks if the person *can* perform the act, and thus is concerned with their opinion (ibid.). Moreover, the hearer has time to consider the directive and, possibly, decline (ibid.; kotus.fi). Example 1 demonstrates this:

Example 1

Tuletko käymään täällä? (kotus.fi)

Will you come over here?

vs.

Tule käymään täällä.

Come over here.

Next, besides stating what is untrue, negative form is used to form affective meanings which are “expressive or emotional meanings, which convey the speaker's personal feelings and attitudes regarding themselves, the hearer of the topic of conversation” (Lampinen 1990, p. 81, my translation). One of the affective meanings conveyed with negative is politeness and is used in that purpose in whimperatives and requests marked as questions; normally, questions in negative form anticipate answers that are also in negative form, meaning “no” (ibid.) Therefore, the speaker indicates already assuming that the other participant is going to decline although the speaker expects a positive answer (ibid.). This is demonstrated in Example 2:

Example 2

Sebastian: **Enkö** saisi yhtään tanssia... arvon lordi? (KSJF, p. 61)

Would I not get a single dance... honored lord?

Avoidance is another way to express politeness (Lampinen 1990, p. 82). This can be done with the aid of modal verbs, such as *voida* ('can'/'could'), *taitaa* ('may'/'might') and *mahtaa* ('can'/'may'), which replace the predicate of the sentence (ibid.), as illustrated in Example 3, where the modal is in bold, and the predicate is underlined:

Example 3

Sebastian: Olen pahoillani, mutta **voinko** pyytää teitä siivoamaan tämän sotkun ja hoitamaan illallisjärjestelyt? (KSJF, p. 118)

I am sorry, but **may I** ask you to clean this mess and take care of the dinner preparations?

By doing this, the speaker does not attract attention to the act itself but to the addressee's willingness to act, and thus minimizes the burden of the command or request (Lampinen 1990, p. 82).

Potential form (i.e. *-isi*) is used when the speaker must express hesitation, since it softens the statement or request by implying uncertainty (Lampinen 1990, p. 83). However, words such as *ehkä* (*maybe*) or *kai* ('perhaps', 'I think') are used instead of potential, since they convey the same meaning (ibid.). In Example 4, Sebastian uses *olisi*:

Example 4

Sebastian: Siitä huolimatta... nyt **olisi** parasta taipua hänen tahtonsa ja pyytää häntä sitten lähtemään. (KSJF, p. 57)

Despite that... now it **would be** best to yield to her wishes and then ask her to leave.

Here, Sebastian does not want to sound as if his suggestion is the only or definite one, and thus he uses the potential form (*olisi*) for the verb *olla* ('to be').

Moving on, the use of passive (and generic third person singular) implies that one is avoiding referring to one specific person, thus meaning, it impersonalizes the act (Lampinen 1990, p. 83-84). This can mean that the speaker, on the outside, implies as if they are including themselves into the act, but really the target is the hearer (ibid., p. 84). Example 5 illustrates this:

Example 5

Margit: Jussi, **ei puhuta** roskaa. (Lampinen 1990, p. 84)

Jussi, **let's not speak** rubbish.

As can be seen, Example 5 uses passive voice that includes both the speaker and the hearer, but is clearly addressed only to the hearer, meaning Jussi. By using passive voice, the Margit softens the command, so Jussi would not feel as attacked.

Expressions of reservations (fin. *varaukset*) are expressions, that imply personal opinion (Lampinen 1990, p. 85). If the situation calls for scolding or other unpleasanties, the speaker can be evasive and polite by using expression such as *pelkään* (“I am afraid”) or *minua hämmästyttää* (“it astonishes me”) (ibid.). Example 6 utilizes *pelkään*:

Example 6

Äyrämö: Asiat ovat vähän muuttuneet kaupungissa siitä, kun viimeksi kävit.
Pelkään, että et oikein osaa sopeutua uusiin olosuhteisiin. (Lampinen 1990, p. 85)

Things have changed a little in the town since the last time you visited. **I am afraid**, that you will not quite know how to adjust to the new circumstances.

In Example 6, the speaker expresses their thoughts as a fear of their own, which is polite because the speaker is saying what they **think**, and not exactly how things **are**.

Next, Lampinen (1990, p. 85-86) differentiates two usages for past tense: primary and secondary. In primary use, past tense refers to action that has happened in the past, whereas in the secondary use (i.e., when it is used to be polite), it refers to actions that takes place in the present (ibid.). Past tense in this latter function is used to be less intrusive, especially when the speaker needs to ask something about the addressee themselves, or to imply that they should have known something (ibid., p. 86), as illustrated in Example 7:

Example 7

Rva Rask: Mikä isännän nimi **olikaan**? (Lampinen 1990, p. 86)

Mrs. Rask: What **was** master's name again?

In Example 7, Mrs. Rask uses past tense when asking for the master's name. This implies that she has heard it before, but simply forgotten it. It is difficult to say whether this is the case or not

without knowing the context of this example, although it is possible that Mrs. Rask has never heard the master's name in the first place.

Enclitic particles (e.g., *-han/-hän*, *-pa(s)/-pä(s)*, *-s*) are used to soften a commands and questions (Lampinen 1990, p. 86-87; kotus.fi). Example 8 illustrates this:

Example 8

Sebastian: En ole nähnyt sitä omin silmin... mutta toki**han** osaatte tanssia? (KSJF, p. 58)

I have not seen it with my own eyes... but you **do** know how to dance?

In Example 8, Sebastian uses the enclitic particle *-han*, which implies that although he is questioning his master's dancing abilities (based on never seeing him dance), he wants to appear as if he is certain his master *can* dance – he simply has not seen it. Here, the enclitic particle *-han* has a meaning of “some sort of previously shared knowledge that just needs verification”. Therefore, Sebastian wants to appear to be believing in his master's excellency even when doubting.

Device number nine is obscuring expressions (fin. *himentäminen*) which are expressions that include a word, which obscures the meaning of the said expression (Lampinen 1990, p. 87). In Finnish, these obscuring words are, for example, *yksi* (‘one’), *pieni* (‘small’), *vain* (‘only, ‘just’), *vähän* (‘a little’) and *sellainen* (‘that kind of’) (ibid.). The point of using obscuring words is to belittle (oneself or the inconvenience caused by the hearer's request) and distance, and are used in requests and assertions, when the referred person is the addressee (ibid.). They also convey empathy (ibid., p. 88). Example 9 utilizes the obscuring expression *vähän*:

Example 9

Särkelä: Tuoko Fiina meille **vähän** juotavaa. (Lampinen 1990, p. 87)

Would Fiina bring us a little something to drink.

Finally, in Finnish, the use of second person plural (*te*) as second person singular (*sinä*) is referred as *teitittely* (kotus.fi), or otherwise known as T/V system (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 107). *Teitittely* can be applied to either one person or multiple people (kotus.fi). In case of showing respect to multiple people at the same time, the speaker uses the normal second person plural pronouns (kotus.fi). In Example 10, Sebastian uses T/V distinction with Chlaus:

Example 10

Sebastian: Olemme odottaneet **teitä**... herra Claus. (KSJF, p. 23)

We have been expecting **you**... Mister Chlaus.

As it can be seen, in Example 10, although Sebastian refers to only Mister Chlaus, he uses the pronoun *you* in plural form instead of the singular form (i.e., *sinua*).

2.6. Molina and Hurtado's (2002) Translation Techniques

This section will present Molina and Hurtado's (2002) translation techniques.

Molina and Hurtado (2002) define translation techniques as “procedures to analyse and classify how translation equivalence works” (Molina and Hurtado 2002, p. 509). According to them (ibid.) “a technique is the result of a choice made by a translator” and it has five basic characteristics which are as follows:

- 1) They affect the result of the translation
- 2) They are classified by comparison with the original
- 3) They affect micro-units of text
- 4) They are by nature discursive and contextual
- 5) They are functional

In their article, Molina and Hurtado (2002) discuss about the terminological and conceptual difficulties when it comes to techniques in translation. These problems – and disagreements – arise from scholars having different terms (e.g., ‘procedure’ or ‘strategy’) for the same concepts and that the categorizations are based on studying different aspects (ibid., p. 499, 506). Therefore, Molina and Hurtado (2002) introduce, compare and analyze different scholars’ classifications for translation techniques, such as Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) and Newmark (1988) (see Molina and Hurtado 2002), and afterwards propose their own definition for translation techniques (see above) following with their own proposal for a categorization of these techniques. There are in total of 18 techniques, but since the scope of this study is limited, only the ones that are relevant for this study shall be offered. Therefore, below are the definitions and (possible) examples for five translation techniques as described in Molina and Hurtado (2002, p. 510):

- 1) **Compensation.** To introduce a ST element of information or stylistic effect in another place in the TT because it cannot be reflected in the same place as in the ST.

- 2) **Established equivalent.** To use a term or expression recognized (by dictionaries or language in use) as an equivalent in the TL, e.g., to translate the English expression *They are as like as two peas* as *Se parecen como dos gotas de agua* in Spanish.

- 3) **Linguistic amplification.** To add linguistic elements. This is often used in consecutive interpreting and dubbing, e.g., to translate the English expression *No way* into Spanish as *De ninguna de las maneras* instead of using an expression with the same number of words, *En absoluto*. It is in opposition to **linguistic compression**.

- 4) **Linguistic compression.** To synthesize linguistic elements in the TT. This is often used in simultaneous interpreting and in sub-titling, e.g., to translate the English question *Yes, so what?* With *¿Y?*, in Spanish, instead of using a phrase with the same number of words, *¿Sí, y qué?*. It is in opposition to **linguistic amplification**.

- 5) **Modulation.** To change the point of view, focus or cognitive category in relation to the ST; it can be lexical or structural.

In my opinion, Molina and Hurtado's classification of translation techniques fits this study, because the focus of the study is to explore the target texts, TTs, and not to try to ponder the translator's actions or thought processes. Moreover, Molina and Hurtado's classification is not too meticulous or specific – meaning the categories are relatively basic – which fits for the purposes and aims of this study well. Section 4.3. will explain what techniques from Molina and Hurtado (2002) shall be used in this study along with possible modifications for the techniques.

3. Previous Studies

This section shall introduce studies that have been previously made of translation of politeness in literature.

As was mentioned in the introduction, and as has come clear throughout this paper, politeness has been studied immensely from multiple different angles. Yet there seems to be a gap when it comes to research regarding **translating** politeness – especially translating politeness in manga. Consequently, there are few studies conducted about *Kuroshitsuji*, but those regarding (translation of) politeness are scarce and not in English. Interestingly, some studies that focused on

comparing a certain Japanese manga and its translation(s) from a scanlation (e.g., visual similarities/differences such as font style and size, format, writing order, etc.) and translation point of view did mention few observations regarding elements of polite language as well. Therefore, these studies did not focus on polite language or *keigo*, and they did not even always use the word *politeness*, per se, but discussed about registers, honorific titles and formal language, to mention a few. This section includes a compilation of these observations made from multiple different manga and language pairs and, in addition, a summarization of Aapakallio's (2021) study, in which she studied polite language in a Japanese novel *Sensei no kaban* and its Finnish and English translations. None of these studies are exactly similar with this one, but they will give some sort of picture about how *keigo* or honorifics has been translated in literature.

First, Idrus (2021) studied the differences and similarities between the Japanese manga *Meitantei Conan* (*Detective Conan*, 1994) and its Indonesian translation (*Detektif Conan*). The study focused on format, writing order, typography, parts that were translated and parts that were not (Idrus 2021). From politeness viewpoint, the study discussed Japanese (honorific) suffixes *-sama*, *-san*, *-kun* and *-chan*. The results showed that the suffix *-san* was translated in few different ways: *Akira-san* ("Mr. Akira") was translated as *Pak Akira*, where *Pak* refers to a respected individual (ibid.). In addition, *-san* was also translated as *Bu*, that is used to greet a respected woman (ibid.). There were also instances when *-san* was omitted in the translation. Okyayuz (2017) conducted a similar study with the manga called *Naruto*, but its focus was comparing the two Turkish translated versions: printed and scanlated. This study, too, mentioned honorifics, such as the suffix *-kun* (attached to young boys' name) and the title *sensei*, meaning 'teacher' or 'master'; Okyayuz (ibid., p. 168) presented an example, where the Turkish printed version was compared with the English translation of *Naruto*, and while the former had retained the title *sensei* and the suffix *-kun*, the latter had not. Moreover, the printed Turkish version explained how and when to use the honorific suffixes (i.e., *-sama*, *-san*, *-kun*, *-chan*) in detail, but the scanlated version did not, although it had retained the suffixes as well (ibid.). Therefore, while the Indonesian version of *Detective Conan* translated (or at least compensated) the honorifics used in it, the Turkish translation of *Naruto* decided to retain them in their Japanese form.

In a similar manner, de la Iglesia (2016) compared two editions of Katsuhiro Outomo's manga *Akira*: the first English and the first German. In his article, de la Iglesia discussed and compared the visual features (e.g., coloring of the pages) and translation between the original and the translated versions, and mentioned the use of honorific suffixes (ibid., p. 13), much like the two previous studies. According to the study, both the translations had chosen varying solutions to

translate these suffixes – for example, in the English version, *Kei-sama* was referred as “honored lady”, while the German version used T/V distinction very archaically (*Ihr müßt Kei sein*) to compensate *-sama* (ibid.). However, de la Iglesia also noted that there was no distinct pattern in the translation solutions of the honorifics, and sometimes the suffixes were merely omitted (ibid.).

Thus, there have been different solutions on translating the honorific suffixes from Japanese to various target languages. Moreover, it is interesting that so many different studies have taken honorifics into consideration, although the study has not directly focused on them. However, Aapakallio (2021) focused on polite language by qualitatively analyzing Japanese honorific speech in a Japanese novel called *Sensei no kaban* and comparing the polite expressions from it with the Finnish (*Sensein salkku*) and English (*Strange Weather in Tokyo*) translations of the book. Aapakallio (2021) focused on grammatical politeness and for this study she utilized Kumar and Jha’s (2010) structural model of politeness. Aapakallio (2021, p. 70) mentioned that although she did not aim to evaluate the translations in terms of how “good” or “bad” they were, the quality of the translation was still taken into consideration. She presented her results by sorting them into different categories, which were: 1. Names, titles and pronouns, 2. Polite form, 3. Deferential form, 4. Untranslated honorific speech, 5. Dialogue tags, 6. English politeness and 7. T-V distinction. The results of the study showed that Japanese honorific speech was not always translated to Finnish nor English – for example, suffixes⁷ such as *-san*, were usually omitted. Moreover, Aapakallio (2021, p. 66) observed that neither of the translators followed any specific “rules”, since the choice of what is translated as polite and what is not was unsystematic. However, following Kumar and Jha’s (2010) structural model for politeness, she found both the English and Finnish translations as “successful”, since both of them utilized different grammatical ways to convey politeness. The Finnish translation, for instance, used T/V distinction, enclitic particles, and past tense, whereas the English version used modal verbs (*would, could, should*). Although the translations were not systematic in the way they translated politeness, Aapakallio (2021, p. 66) noted that in the English translation politeness was used to lower one’s own position (i.e., to be humble), whereas in the Finnish translation politeness elevated the hearer’s status. According to her, although every polite expression was not translated to Finnish nor English, the characters managed to be sufficiently polite and she adds that had all the polite instances in the Japanese version been translated, it might have been confusing for the TT readers.

⁷ Aapakallio (2021) originally (and most likely mistakenly) wrote “prefixes”.

Aapakallio's (2021) study is very similar with this one since it also deals with Japanese literature and its Finnish and English translations. I found the results of this study very interesting and will compare mine with them later on. However, there were few aspects that bothered me. Firstly, I find it quite contradicting that Aapakallio mentioned that her aim was not to evaluate the translation quality or grade the translations, yet she still quite often brought up the subject (see Aapakallio 2021, p. 59) and the study had an evaluating or grading undertone, in my personal opinion. Moreover, Kumar and Jha's (2010) structural model for politeness might not have been the best choice for a theory, since their model is designed for computer translating and thus evaluating the translation quality becomes more relevant since the translations have been done by a machine. Yet, I think that Aapakallio analyzed her material well and this study is excellent for me to compare my results with.

4. Material and Methods

This section introduces the material and the study methods for this study. First, the material, the manga *Kuroshitsuji*, will be introduced. After this, few points considering the translation of *Kuroshitsuji* shall be discussed in section 4.2.. The section 4.3. presents the method of the study, along with the specific translation techniques drawn from Molina and Hurtado (2002) classification and how they have been modified to the purposes of this study. Examples of each technique will be offered within the material of this study. Finally, in section 4.4., the delimitations that have been made for this study, shall be explained, ending with the gathering process of the material.

4.1. *Kuroshitsuji*

Kuroshitsuji (2007) is a Japanese manga written and drawn by Yana Toboso. The English translation of the first volume of the manga is titled as *Black Butler* (2010) and was translated by Tomo Kimura. The Finnish version of the said volume (*Kuroshitsuji – piru hovimestariksi*, 2012) was translated by Suvi Mäkelä. Setting in late Victorian Era (around 1890's) England, *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) tells the story of **Ciel Phantomhive**, a 12-year-old earl, and his butler, **Sebastian Michaelis**. By day, Ciel is the head of the Phantomhive family and the Funtom corporation – one of Britain's leading confection and toy manufactures. However, by night he is Queen Victoria's loyal servant, often referred to as "Queen's watchdog", and meddles himself into dangerous political businesses that are in danger to either harm the Queen herself or Britain.

Sebastian then again, on the surface, is a dutiful servant of the Phantomhive family, and tends to take care of the manor all by himself, although Ciel has other servants as well. Sebastian can do everything perfectly, especially cooking and baking, and always dresses, speaks and behaves as a true butler of the 19th century. The first volume of the series does not reveal much from either Ciel's nor Sebastian's pasts, but in the end of the volume, when Ciel is kidnapped by Italian mafia and Sebastian needs to save him, it turns out that Sebastian is actually a demon. After Ciel's parents' deaths few years prior, he and Ciel have made a deal – in the story referred to as “the covenant” – where Sebastian acts as Ciel's butler, bodyguard and assassin, while Ciel avenges for the murder of his parents. In exchange, Sebastian gets to take Ciel's soul when then job is done. While Sebastian is exceedingly good in anything he does – after all, he is a demon – Ciel's other servants are very bad at anything they do, useless in their own duties as well. Ciel's American chef, **Baldroy**, causes a kitchen fire whenever he has to cook; the housemaid, **Mey-Rin**, has a bad eyesight and broken glasses, and tends to be very clumsy; the gardener, **Finnian**, is immensely strong and ends up braking things; and the house steward, **Tanaka**, is very old, forgetful and incompetent man. The volume has many less important side characters, but Ciel's fiancée (**Elizabeth**) and business associate (**Chlaus**) are worth mentioning.

Kuroshitsuji is exceptionally suitable for this study since it depicts butler-master interaction in a historic (and very polite, social status-driven) setting, and thus politeness is a key feature of the interaction between Sebastian and Ciel.

4.2. Translating *Kuroshitsuji*: Points to Consider

Since Japanese is not written with roman alphabet, there are bound to be differences in the typography between the original manga and its translations. Japanese manga are usually written vertically and thus are read from right to left and top to bottom. *Kuroshitsuji* applies this method, which can be seen in Figure 5.



Figure 5. Ateji in Kuroshitsuji. (*Kuroshitsuji* 2007, volume 1, pp. 60-61.)

Japanese writing system consists of *kanjis* and *kanas* (*hiraganas* and *katakanas*), and of these only *kanas* have a fixed reading (e.g., similar like roman alphabet); one *kanji* can have multiple readings, and thus Japanese speakers must learn those readings by heart. However, it is possible to put small *kanas* either to the right side or on the top of a *kanji* to imply how the *kanji* should be read – these are called *furiganas* and can be seen in Figure 5. *Kuroshitsuji* uses *furiganas*, but interestingly, there are some idiosyncrasies when it comes to the reading implied by the *furiganas*. For example, in Figure 5 (p. 61, left page), Sebastian refers to Ciel as ご主人様 (something along the lines of “my honorable master”) which should be read as *go-shujin-sama*, however, the *furigana* on the right of the *kanjis* read マイロード, which is read as *mai roodo* (i.e., “my lord”). In manga, this sort of feature is called *ateji*, meaning “the joining of two words in to one through a reading gloss, known as furigana” (Chow 2021, p. 1). *Atejis* are used to make the dialogue of a manga appear more multilevel (ibid., p. 1-2), and in *Kuroshitsuji* the use of it may have to do with Sebastian’s identity as an Englishman and the British setting, which both have an effect on Sebastian’s

characterization (see Chow 2021 for detailed discussion regarding the use of *ateji* in manga). While this study is not about *ateji*, it is worth notifying that when transcribing Sebastian's utterances, I have transcribed the *kanjis* in the form they are presented in the *furiganas*, no matter how the *kanji* would be read in reality.

Furthermore, since *Kuroshitsuji* is a manga, it does not have dialogue tags (e.g., "Sebastian said" after an utterance) and therefore it was sometimes hard to know, which speech bubble belonged to which character – especially since the character does not have to be in the same square as the bubble. Fortunately, Sebastian's speech style in the original was quite different from his master's or the other servants' that it helped to distinguish Sebastian's utterances from the rest. However, there is the possibility that I have failed to include some utterance. Speaking of utterances, what I in this study refer to as one utterance, may, in fact, consist of one to three speech bubbles of the original Japanese version. This is due to that Sebastian's utterance very often continues through many speech bubbles and choosing to compare one speech bubble to its equivalent one in the translations would have been futile, since the same information has not always been translated into the same speech bubble. Therefore, I have formed utterances from Sebastian's speech bubbles so that they form coherent sentences.

4.3. Translation Techniques to Be Used in This Study

This study is about polite language in manga called *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) and its Finnish and English translations. This study analyzes and compares polite expressions applied by one character, a butler Sebastian Michaelis, when he is interacting with his master, Ciel Phantomhive. The study is an empirical one, and the utterances taken from all three versions will be analyzed by using a set of translation techniques proposed by Molina and Hurtado (2002). Firstly, the utterances from the Finnish and English versions shall be compared with the original, and all the translation techniques that appear in them will be noted. After this, a list showing the frequency of each technique will be compiled and the results will be conveyed quantitatively. Then the utterances are analyzed quantitatively and divided into seven groups (see Table 1 below) according to the polite Japanese language they have utilized. The English and Finnish translations, and the techniques appearing in them, shall be analyzed simultaneously. The section 4.4. explains how the material has been gathered and what are the delimitations that have been made for it.

This study utilizes a set of translation techniques proposed by Molina and Hurtado (2002). They have eighteen different techniques listed, yet this study will use only five of those and

one modified by me. Since the aim of this study is to analyze how politeness is translated and linguistically realized, I have decided to keep the amount of techniques relatively small. Below are the techniques that are included in this study. The first five are taken from Molina and Hurtado (2002, p. 510) as they were, but ‘Deprivation’ is a modified version of their ‘Compensation’. Moreover, I have modified Molina and Hurtado’s ‘Linguistic Compression’ to suit the study’s aims better as well. Some examples (taken from *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) and its Finnish and/or English translations) for the techniques shall be offered and they are listed below.

1. **Established Equivalent:** to use a term or expression recognized (by dictionaries or language in use) as an equivalent in the TL.
e.g., 坊ちゃん (*Botchan*) is ‘young master’.

2. **Compensation:** to introduce a ST element of information or stylistic effect in another place in the TT because it cannot be reflected in the same place as in the ST.
e.g., using T/V distinction in Finnish TT to compensate *o*-prefix in Japanese ST:
 Japanese ST: お約束 (*O-yakusoku*, “your promise”)
 Finnish TT: *lupauksenne*.

3. **Linguistic Amplification:** to add linguistic elements.
e.g., when the TT has politeness markers (such as *sir* or *please*) or elements that are not included in the ST:
 Japanese ST: クラウス様から？ (*Kurausu-sama kara?*, “From mister Chlaus?”)
 English TT: From mister Chlaus, **sir**?

4. **Linguistic Compression:** to leave out linguistic elements in the TT.
e.g., when the TT does not have ST element(s), as in the following example, where the suffix *-sama* (様) has been omitted from the Finnish TT when referred to Francis, although the same suffix has been compensated when referred to Elizabeth:
 Japanese ST: エリザベス様は前当主の妹君である、フランシス様が嫁がれたミッドフォード侯爵家のご令嬢... (*Erizabesu-sama wa zentoushu no imoutogimi dearu, Furanshisu-sama ga totsugareta Middofoodo koushaku no go-reijou...*)

Finnish TT: **Neiti Elizabeth** on Midfordin markiisin tytär. Tämän perheen edellisen pään nuorempi sisar, **Francis**, naitiin siihen sukuun.

- 5. Modulation:** to change the point of view, focus or cognitive category in relation to the ST; it can be lexical or structural.

e.g., when the ST element(s) cannot be directly recognized from the TT; for example, the verb *get* from the Finnish TT cannot be traced back to the Japanese ST:

Japanese ST: ムネヤケが止まらないんですが。(Muneyake ga *tomaranain desu ga*, literally: "The heartburn **does not stop**")

Finnish TT: **Sain** siitä närästystä. ("I **got** heartburn from it")

- 6. Deprivation:** an ST element of information or stylistic effect cannot be reflected in the same place in the TT as in the ST, and thus is left untranslated. Opposite of 'Compensation'.

e.g., The *go*-prefix in Japanese ST that is left uncompensated in English TT:

Japanese ST: そして、ご昼食後は… (Soshite, *go-chuushokugo wa...*, "And after lunch...")

English TT: And after lunch...

4.4. Delimitations for This Study

The material of this study is Yana Toboso's manga *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) and its English (*Black Butler*, 2010) and Finnish (*Kuroshitsuji – piru hovimestariksi*, 2012) translations. For the scope of this study, a few delimitations have been made, which shall be introduced in this section.

Firstly, only the first volume of the series and its two translations will be used in this study. More specifically, the first two chapters of the volume (i.e., page range 4-86 of the Japanese version). In the first volume of the series, the characters are new to the reader, and thus the first impressions that the reader forms of the characters are important. Hence, it seemed that it would be best to choose the first volume, where the reader does not know anything about the characters. Although, it must be noted that for me, the characters' natures did not come by surprise as I have read this volume of the manga series quite some time ago. Secondly, since the study is about politeness, I chose to include only Sebastian's utterances and, more specifically, only those that are directed to his master, Ciel. Sebastian is a servant and is thus required to use polite language when interacting with his master. I think that by delimiting my study to consist only of Sebastian's lines, I

can be more specific about how Sebastian particularly speaks to and addresses his master. Thirdly, I have included only utterances where (in the Japanese ST) Sebastian uses at least one of the politeness elements depicted in Table 1:

- 1) a verb in *-masu* form
- 2) copula *desu*
- 3) verb in *sonkeigo* or *kenjōgo* form
- 4) word *kudasai* ('please')
- 5) *o-* or *go-* prefixes
- 6) suffix *sama*, or
- 7) the title *botchan* ('young master').

Table 1. *The Seven Politeness Elements of Japanese.*

It is worth noting that the elements in Table 1 might not be **all** the politeness elements to be found from the material (or the whole manga), but I chose them, because they appear so frequently and are thus worth to be analyzed. Furthermore, the polite elements – or the lack of them – in one utterance will not affect the next one; the utterances are analyzed as single entities.

Therefore, after all these delimitations, the material of this study consists of 67 utterances with their English and Finnish translations. It must also be notified that since I am not a native speaker of Japanese, I will use (along with the other Japanese sources used in section 2.3.) Shirabe Jisho, a Japanese dictionary application, as the source for *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* verbs or expressions and possible translations, for instance. This is important, since although *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* verbs are both polite, they do have differences in Japanese, as previously learned in section 2.3.. Moreover, I want to be certain of how a specific polite item is viewed and treated in Japanese culture, because it will help me in the analyzing process.

After establishing the delimitations for this study, I went through the material and collected Sebastian's every utterance from the Japanese ST that fit into these delimitations. After this, the English and Finnish counterparts for the utterances were drawn from the English and Finnish translations, respectively. Following the modified Molina and Hurtado's (2002) set of translation techniques, the TT utterances were analyzed against the ST utterances: each polite utterance was analyzed in terms of what polite elements (see Table 1) it utilized and the translation techniques that was applied in it were noted.

5. Results and Analysis

This section introduces the results and analysis of this study. First, section 5.1. will present the results of the quantitative side of the study, and sections after it the qualitative analysis. The qualitative analysis consists of seven subsections which are presented in the order of the seven politeness forms that were introduced in previous section (see Table 1). These subsections include one to four example utterances drawn from the material. What is to be noted is that although the utterances might apply other politeness forms than the one in question, I will mainly focus to the specific politeness form it is under. For example, the utterance might include *o-* and *go-* prefixes, but if it has been analyzed under the category of the title *botchan*, I shall focus mainly on the analysis of the title *botchan* that appears in it. The polite Japanese elements under analysis will be bolded from the Japanese ST of the Utterance in question. Moreover, the utterances in brackets (e.g., Utterance 2) imply that they were placed outside of any speech bubble in the material.

5.1. Distribution of Translation Techniques in the Translations of *Kuroshitsuji*

This section will present the quantitative results of the study. It shall discuss the translation techniques utilized in the English translation of *Kuroshitsuji*, and after this, the same results for the Finnish translation will be presented. Finally, the results will be compared.

Both of the translations applied all the six translation techniques at least once. Moreover, as the quantitative analysis below shows, both versions applied almost the same number of techniques, the Finnish translation slightly more. I will start by introducing the results of the English translation, which are presented in Figure 6.

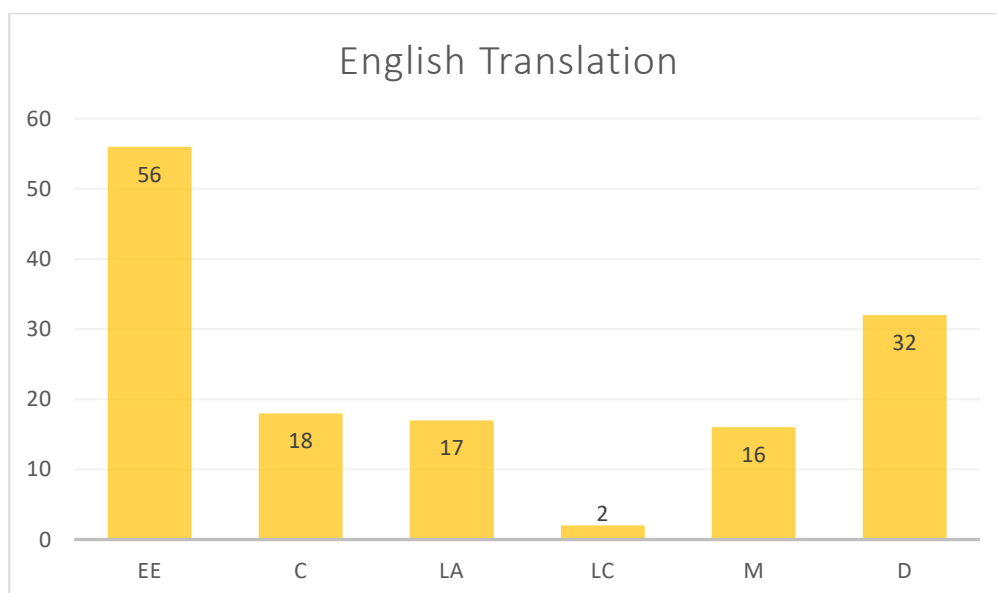


Figure 6. *Distribution of Translation Techniques Appearing in Black Butler.*

As Figure 6 shows, the English translation of *Kuroshitsuji* used in total of 141 translation techniques. The most common translation technique applied was ‘Established Equivalent’, and the least common ‘Linguistic Compression’, with 56 and 2 occurrences, respectively. ‘Compensation’ (18 occurrences), ‘Linguistic Amplification’ (17 occurrences) and ‘Modulation’ (16 occurrences) were all applied almost equally often. However, ‘Deprivation’ was applied 32 times, and thus it is the second applied technique. Now, Figure 7 below presents the distribution of the translation techniques regarding the Finnish translation of *Kuroshitsuji*.

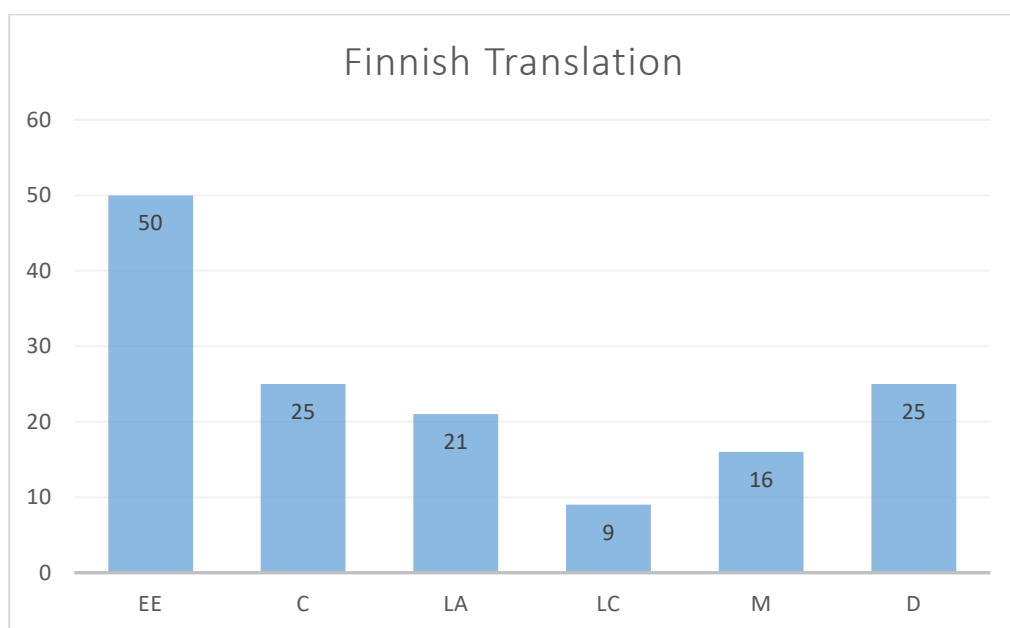


Figure 7. *Distribution of Translation Techniques Appearing in Kuroshitsuji – piru hovimestariksi.*

As can be seen from Figure 7, the Finnish translation used total of 146 techniques, of which the most common one was ‘Established Equivalent’ with 50 occurrences. The least common technique was ‘Linguistic Compression’, which was applied 9 times. Thus, these two align with the English translation, although the English version had more occurrences in ‘Established Equivalent’ and less in ‘Linguistic Compression’. Following, the techniques ‘Compensation’ and ‘Deprivation’ were both applied 25 times. This is interesting because there was far greater difference between these two categories in the English version: ‘Deprivation’ was applied more often than ‘Compensation’. However, both the English and Finnish versions applied ‘Modulation’ 16 times. Finally, the Finnish translation used ‘Linguistic Amplification’ 21 times, which is only few times more than the English version.

Now, comparing the results drawn from the translations, ‘Established Equivalent’ was clearly the most utilized technique, whereas the second most common was ‘Deprivation’. This shows that although the translations include many instances where the politeness could not be, or was not, compensated, working equivalents for the polite elements of the ST were still managed to be found. The scarcity of the technique ‘Linguistic Compression’ in both translations also shows that polite elements in the ST were not automatically omitted from the TTs; ‘Compensation’ and ‘Linguistic Amplification’ are used almost equally often in both translated versions, which means that different kind of solutions were found to either compensate or add politeness into the translation(s). In fact, the utterances utilizing these two techniques are perhaps the most fruitful in terms of qualitative analysis. The following sections will discuss some interesting occurrences I came across in my analysis of *Kuroshitsuji*.

5.2. Utterances With *-masu* Verbs

This section shall present the results of the analysis regarding utterances with suffix *-masu* by offering few examples from the material.

As mentioned in section 2.3., *-masu* form falls under the category *teineigo* in Japanese *keigo*. Therefore, it is polite, but not humble nor exalting. *Teineigo*, such verbs in *-masu* form, is used to show the social distance between the speaker and the hearer(s). However, while *-masu* form differentiates from neutral form, it is usually translated similarly with the latter; for example, many Japanese second language textbooks emphasize the *-masu* form more than neutral/plain form, which is not only the form words are entered into a dictionary in, but also more colloquial way of speaking. Thus, *Mizu wo nomimasu* and *Mizu wo nomu* can be translated as “I drink water”, despite they utilize different verb forms (*-masu* and neutral, respectively). Of course, this example is without any context. Nonetheless, the main point is that *teineigo* is not extremely exalting nor humble, and it is used in Japanese second language textbooks and as a Japanese standard language, which will affect the choices I have made in my analysis. Below is the first of the two examples:

Utterance 1

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
恐れ入ります。	Osoreirimasu.	Much obliged, sir.	Paljon kiitoksia.

In Utterance 1, Sebastian uses the *-masu* form of the verb *osoreiru*. *Osoreiru* has a few different meanings, but the most pertinent ones for this utterance are ‘to be much obliged’ and ‘to be grateful’; Sebastian says this when his master, Ciel, has offered him a glass of lemonade. In the English translation, *osoreiru* has been translated as “Much obliged”, which is very close to the meaning found from the dictionary. I have categorized this as ‘Established Equivalent’, since *-masu* is relatively mild in terms of politeness and the translation is almost identical with the dictionary definition. Interestingly, the English TT has a surplus *sir*, which I categorized as ‘Linguistic Amplification’, since the Japanese ST does not have anything to compensate. In the Finnish version, however, *osoreiru* has been translated as *Paljon kiitoksia*, meaning “Many thanks” or “Thank you very much”. While it is close to the other meaning of *osoreiru*, it cannot be ‘Established Equivalent’ since *doumo arigatou gozaimasu* (“Thank you very much”) could have also been used in the Japanese ST. Thus, the Finnish translation is ‘Modulation’ because the meaning is similar, but the viewpoint is not.

Next, Utterance 2 shows an interesting similarity between the translations:

Utterance 2

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
(いけません。)	(Ikemasen.)	(No, young master.)	(Ei käy, nuori herra.)

In this utterance, the Japanese ST uses the verb *ikemasen*, which, in this context, means ‘(something) will not do’. Sebastian says this after when Ciel has asked him to prepare something sweet for Ciel to eat before dinner. Now, both the English and Finnish translations have translated this quite similarly: the English TT uses the word “No”, while the Finnish uses *Ei käy* (“(that) will not do”). Despite that the English version uses “No” and not “that will not do”, I have categorized both of these translations as ‘Established Equivalent’; in my opinion, the difference between “no” and “that will not do”, is not great enough for it to fall under ‘Modulation’. Furthermore, both of the translations include “young master” (Fin: *nuori herra*), which is interesting since the ST does not have any mention of *botchan* (‘young master’). It is interesting, that both the translations differ from the ST, yet they do it similarly. Therefore, “young master” and *nuori herra* are ‘Linguistic Amplification’.

5.3. Utterances With Copula *Desu*

This section will give examples from the analysis regarding the utterances with copula *desu*.

In Japanese, the copula *desu* is also *teineigo* as was the verb ending *-masu* that was discussed above. The neutral (and dictionary) form of *desu* is *da*, and it is usually translated as ‘is’ or ‘to be’. Whereas *-masu* is a verb ending, *desu* is attached to nouns (or adjectives), as can be seen in the example utterances below. However, *desu* is not always even translated, as can be seen in Utterance 3:

Utterance 3

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
(ダメです。)	(Dame desu .)	(I am afraid, I cannot, sir.)	(Ei käy.)

In this utterance, Sebastian uses the copula *desu* after the word *dame*, which has multiple different meanings. The most relevant ones for the context of this utterance are ‘cannot’ and ‘must not’. The English translation has used “I cannot”, whereas the Finnish one has used *Ei käy* (“(that) will not do”). Now, as I mentioned before, the *desu* has not been translated here directly, meaning both of the target texts do not have any mention of anything ‘being’ anything. Normally I would categorize this as ‘Modulation’, based on that the word under scrutiny cannot be traced back to the ST, but since *desu* is a copula, and it is not always necessary to translate it, I have categorized these both as ‘Established Equivalent’; Japanese can be very vague in its expression sometimes, and the since the Japanese ST in Utterance 3 could be interpreted both as “I cannot” and “(that) will not do”, I think both of the translations are sufficient enough to be ‘Established Equivalent’. However, the English version actually uses more than what is enough: *sir* and the softening expression “I am afraid” are added elements, and since they cannot be found from the ST, they are categorized as ‘Linguistic Amplification’.

The second example, Utterance 4, shows another stance on translating *desu*:

Utterance 4

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
今日の処は付け焼き刃で結構ですか	Kyou wa tokoro wa tsukeyakiba de	A pretence of skill is enough for today, so	Täksi illaksi riittää, että näyttää kuin osaisitte

ら一曲だけ基礎と 言われるワルツを マスター致しましょ う。	kekko <u>u desu</u> kara, ikkyoku dake kiso to iwareru warutsu wo masutaa itashimashou.	let us have you master the waltz, a basic ballroom dance.	tanssia. Opetellaan kaikkien tanssiaisten tanssien perusta eli valssi.
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Here, Sebastian uses *desu* after the adjective *kekko*, which in this context means ‘enough’ or ‘tolerable’. In the English translation this has been translated as “is enough”, which can be easily categorized as ‘Established Equivalent’, and as a verb *riittä* (‘(something) is enough’) the translation of it is enough to be categorized as ‘Established Equivalent’ as well; the expression *olla riittävä* (‘to be enough’) would sound unnatural in this context, in my opinion. The Finnish TT applies also T/V distinction (*osaisitte*, “as if you (plural) could do (something)”), and although the Japanese ST uses the *kenjōgo* verb *itasu* (*itashimashou* in the ST), I have categorized the T/V distinction as ‘Linguistic Amplification’; *itasu*, in Utterance 4, refers to *opetellaan*, which is the passive form of ‘to learn’. Therefore, since *itasu* has not been compensated, it belongs under category ‘Deprivation’ for both translations. *Sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* verbs will be discussed in the next section.

5.4. Utterances With *Sonkeigo* or *Kenjōgo* Verbs

This section will present and analyze some examples of *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* verbs from the material.

In section 2.3., I discussed *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* politeness by offering few examples of how they are used in conversation. I mentioned, for instance, that *sonkeigo* (exalting) forms are used of the addressee’s actions, whereas the *kenjōgo* (humble) forms are used to express the speaker’s own. This difference between *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* forms tends to be lost in translation unless the target language has equivalent forms similar to these ones. However, since English and Finnish do not have these sorts of forms, it is very interesting to analyze how these have been translated. Below are a few examples that I have drawn from the material. In the first example, Utterance 5, Sebastian uses – amongst other things – a verb in *kenjōgo* form:

Utterance 5

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish

私は拝見した事は ございませんが… ダンスの教養はお ありで？	Watashi wa haiken shita koto wa gozaimasen ga… dansu no kyouyou wa o-ari de?	I have never seen you do so myself... but you <i>do</i> know how to dance, sir?	En ole nähnyt sitä omin silmin... mutta tokihan osaatte tanssia?
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The *kenjōgo* verb that is applied in Utterance 5 is *haiken suru* (*haiken shita* being the past tense), meaning ‘to see’ (‘seeing’ + ‘to do’). By using this verb in *kenjōgo* form, Sebastian is referring to his own actions and thus he cannot use *sonkeigo* form, since *sonkeigo* is to be used about other people’s actions. Both the English and Finnish translation have not been able to compensate this, which is not surprising, and therefore the translation technique ‘Deprivation’ is applied. The reason for that why I have not accepted the *sir* in the English TT or the T/V distinction (*osaatte*, “you (plural) can/know how”) in the Finnish TT as compensation is that since Utterance 5 also uses the prefix *o-* in *o-ari* (‘to have’), I have decided that the *sir* compensates this *o-*prefix in the English TT, and the T/V distinction in the Finnish TT. Moreover, since the idea behind *kenjōgo* is to describe one’s own actions, the T/V distinction in the Finnish TT could not compensate the *kenjōgo* verb *haiken suru*, since the former is targeted towards the addressee, meaning Sebastian’s master. Furthermore, the Finnish TT uses the enclitic particle *-han* in *tokihan* (“sure”), which, in my mind, implies the same tone as the italicized and emphasized “*do*” in the English TT: absolute certainty. For these, both of the TT’s utilize ‘Linguistic Amplification’.

The next example, Utterance 6, also applies *kenjōgo* verb:

Utterance 6

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
どこまでも坊ちゃん のお傍におります 。最後までー	Doko made mo botchan no o-soba ni orimasu . Saigo made...	I shall be with young master... until the very end...	Olen aina luonanne. Hamaan loppuun saakka...

This utterance is quite similar with the previous one. The *kenjōgo* verb applied in Utterance 6 is *oru* (‘to be’), in *-masu* form (i.e., *orimasu*). Both of the TT’s have translated *orimasu* as ‘being’ (Finnish TT: *olen*, “I am/ I will be”), and although the Finnish TT, again, uses the T/V distinction (*luonanne*, “with you”, in plural), it cannot be treated as the compensation of the *kenjōgo* verb *orimasu* for the exact same reason as in Utterance 5; *luonanne* emphasizes the addressee, Ciel,

whereas *orimasu* the speaker, Sebastian. Thus, both of the translations fall under ‘Deprivation’ what comes to *orimasu*.

The final example of this category is a *sonkeigo* verb:

Utterance 7

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
この指輪は貴方の指に在る為のもの。大事になさって下さい。	Kono yubiwa wa anata no yubi ni aru tame no mono. Daiji ni nasatte kudasai.	This ring belongs on your finger. Please take care of it.	Tämä sormus kuuluu sormeenne. Pitäkää siitä huolta.

Utterance 7 applies a *sonkeigo* verb *nasaru* (‘to do’). The sentence *daiji ni nasatte kudasai* has been translated quite literally in the English translation: “Please take care (of it)”. However, since the expression *daiji ni nasaru* (“to take care”) can also be – and usually is – used with the verb *suru* (‘to do’) instead of *nasaru*, the English translation cannot be ‘Established Equivalent’; by using *nasaru* instead of *suru* (*daiji ni nasatte* vs. *daiji ni shite*), Sebastian refers to his master’s actions by asking him politely to take care of the ring. Thus, the English TT applies ‘Deprivation’ since the politeness has not been compensated. However, the Finnish TT has managed to compensate the verb *nasaru* by using T/V distinction (Finnish TT: *pitäkää*). While in the previous utterances the T/V distinction could not be counted as compensation, in Utterance 7 it can; since both *sonkeigo* and T/V distinction is aimed to the addressee, the Finnish TT uses the technique ‘Compensation’. Although, what it comes to the word *kudasai* (‘please’), it is ‘Linguistic Compression’ for the Finnish TT and ‘Established Equivalent’ for English TT, since the Finnish language does not have one specific word for ‘please’⁸, but *olkaa hyvä* or *pyydän* could have been used. Utterances including *kudasai* will, in fact, be discussed in the following section.

5.5. Utterances With *Kudasai*

This section shall offer few example utterances from the material including the word *kudasai*, meaning ‘please’.

Kudasai literally means ‘please give me’ or ‘please do for me’ (sv. Shirabe Jisho), and it is the imperative form of the word *kudasaru*, meaning ‘to give’. Now, although Shirabe Jisho

⁸ See Peterson and Vattovaara (2014), or section 2.5.1.

categorizes *kudasai* as *sonkeigo* (exalting), I have decided to present utterances including *kudasai* separate from the section 6.4.. This is due to that *kudasai* is often used in situations, where *sonkeigo* is not necessary – for instance, when one orders a coffee from a coffee shop, they say *koohii hitotsu wo kudasai* (“One coffee, please”). This would prove that it has at least some sort of fixed meaning, and Shirabe Jisho actually categorizes it also as an expression. However, Japanese has also another expression to convey ‘please’: *onegaishimasu*. Where *kudasai* is *sonkeigo*, *onegaishimasu* is *kenjōgo* (humble polite language). Although these two are both used as ‘please’, they are used in different situations, for example in taxis: *Shinjuku-eki made onegaishimasu* (“To Shinjuku train station, please”). Abe (2020) also mentions that there is a grammatical reason for choosing one ‘please’ over another: *kudasai* follows an object and/or the *wo* particle of the sentence, while *onegaishimasu* comes after the object – for example, *koohii hitotsu wo kudasai* vs. *koohii hitotsu (wo) onegaishimasu*. Nonetheless, according to Abe (ibid.) these two ‘pleases’ are “interchangeable”, yet *onegaishimasu* is politer and used when conversing with one’s superior, for example. Therefore, I will accept ‘please’ as sufficient translation for *kudasai*.

Now, with all this in mind, I will present the following examples from *Kuroshitsuji*, starting with Utterance 8:

Utterance 8

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
おまかせ下さい。	O-makase kudasai .	Please do, sir.	Minä hoidan kaiken.

In here, Sebastian uses *kudasai* after the noun *makase*, which means ‘leaving everything up to someone else’. Sebastian says this to Ciel after Sebastian has informed taking care of preparations for an incoming quest and Ciel has thanked him for it. Therefore, what Sebastian means with this is “leave everything up to me”, and hence both of the translations are categorized as ‘Modulation’. This is partly due how Ciel’s previous comment was translated; in the Japanese ST, Ciel says *aa, tanonda zo* (“ah, please do”), and the Japanese utterance in Utterance 8 is Sebastian’s answer to this. However, in the English version, this utterance of Ciel has been translated as “All right. I leave it to you”, which is interesting, since Sebastian’s and Ciel’s utterances are almost reversed. However, the English version still has translated *kudasai* as “please”, and thus the English translation also applies the technique ‘Established Equivalent’. Moreover, there is an extra *sir* in the English TT, and since the ST has *o*-prefix, this *sir* is ‘Compensation’. In the Finnish version, Ciel

has said *Selvä. Kiitos* (“Alright. Thank you”) and Sebastian answers *Minä hoidan kaiken* (“I will take care of everything”), and since *kudasai* cannot be directly traced back to ST from this translation, the utterance falls under the technique ‘Modulation’, as stated previously.

The next example is rather similar with Utterance 8:

Utterance 9

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
ご安心下さい。	Go-anshin kudasai .	Not to worry, sir.	Ei huolta.

In Utterance 9, the Japanese ST uses *kudasai* after the noun *anshin*, meaning ‘relief’ or ‘peace of mind’. By this, Sebastian means that “please, do not worry”, or “please be at ease”, which is how it has been translated in the English version. However, it is interesting that although there is a fixed translation for *kudasai* in English language (i.e., ‘please’), it has not been utilized in this utterance. Therefore, the English translation uses categories ‘Established Equivalent’ and ‘Linguistic Compression’. Moreover, it also uses ‘Compensation’, since the ST has *go*-prefix that has been compensated with the *sir* addition. The Finnish translation has translated *go-anshin kudasai* as *Ei huolta* (“not to worry”), and is thus ‘Established Equivalent’, but also ‘Linguistic Compression’, since *kudasai* has not been translated. Although there is not one specific equivalent for *kudasai*, there are a few possibilities the Finnish version could have used, such as *pyydän* or *olkaa hyvä* (together with T/V distinction, e.g.: *Olkaa hyvä, älkääkä huolehtiko*).

The last example of this category is Utterance 10:

Utterance 10

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
お約束通りこれから晚餐まで本日の復習と明日の予習をなさって下さいね。	O-yakusoku doori kore kara bansan made honjitsu no fukushyuu to ashita no yoshuu wo nasatte kudasai ne.	... Please review what you did today and prepare for tomorrow's lessons until dinnertime as promised.	... kerratkaa lupauksenne mukaan illalliseen asti tämän päivän läksyjä ja valmistautukaa huomista opetusta varten.

In this utterance, Sebastian uses *kudasai* after the verb *nasaru* ('to do', *sonkeigo*). In the English TT, this has been translated as “please” in the beginning of the utterance, and thus it is ‘Established Equivalent’. The Finnish version, however, has not translated *kudasai* in any way and therefore it applies the technique ‘Linguistic Compression’. Similarly with Utterance 9, *kudasai* could have been translated as *olkaa (niin) hyvä* or *jos voisitte* (“if you could...”, with T/V distinction). The Finnish TT also utilizes T/V distinction (*lupauksenne*, “Your promise”), and since the Japanese ST has *o*-prefix (*o-yakusoku*, “your promise”), I have categorized this as ‘Compensation’.

5.6. Utterances With Prefixes *o*- or *go*-

This section will present the results of the analysis regarding *o*- and *go*-prefixes.

O- and *go*- prefixes can be either *sonkeigo* or *bikago*. In case of *sonkeigo*, they refer to something the person in question (not always the addressee) owns, either concrete possessions or abstract ones – such as a book or a name. On the other hand, if they are used for *bikago* purposes, they elevate or “beautify” the general impression conveyed via the sentence they are in. For this category, I have not made a distinction between *sonkeigo* or *bikago* prefixes, and therefore both of them are included. However, while analyzing, I will offer my own insights if the prefix is *sonkeigo* or *bikago*. The first prefix in Utterance 11 is *go*-:

Utterance 11

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
ですが、エリザベス様はダンスをご所望の様ですが...	Desu ga, Erizabesu-sama wa dansu wo go -shomou no you desu ga...	But miss Elizabeth wishes to dance with you...	Mutta neiti Elizabeth tahtoo tanssia kanssanne.

In Utterance 11, Sebastian uses the *go*-prefix that is attached to the noun *shomou* (‘a request’, ‘a wish’). Now, the setting for this utterance is the following: Elizabeth, Ciel’s fiancée, has come to the Phantomhive manor and wishes to have a ball. However, Ciel is against this idea and tells Sebastian to send Elizabeth back home. Therefore, when Sebastian says Utterance 11, by *go-shomou* he is referring to Elizabeth’s wishes and uses *sonkeigo*, because, as a member of peerage, Elizabeth has a higher social status than Sebastian. Both the English and Finnish translations have translated this as ‘(s/he) wishes’ (Finnish TT: *tahtoo*) and neither of them have compensated the politeness conveyed by *go*-prefix. Therefore, they both are ‘Deprivation’. Although the Finnish TT

does use T/V distinction (*kanssanne*, “with you (plural)”), but I would not treat it as compensation in this case, because the wish is *Elizabeth*’s, not Ciel’s. Therefore, since the T/V distinction is aimed towards Ciel, it is ‘Linguistic Amplification’ in this utterance.

Moving on, Utterance 12 also uses *go*-prefix, but it is personally more difficult for me to decide, is it *sonkeigo* or *bikago*, or both.

Utterance 12

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
そして、ご昼食後は…	Soshite go - chuushokugo wa…	And after lunch…	Ja lounaan jälkeen…

In here, the prefix is attached to the noun *chuushokugo* (‘lunch’ + ‘after’), and both of the translation have translated it quite identically (minus the differences in word order). In this utterance, Sebastian is informing Ciel of his (Ciel’s) agenda for the day, and therefore the lunch in question might be Ciel’s lunch. In this sense, it would be *sonkeigo*, but from *bikago* aspect, it could be just a beautification technique, and not anyone’s lunch in particular. Either way, I categorized this as ‘Deprivation’ for both TT’s, since they have not succeeded to compensate this in any way. For instance, the Finnish TT could have used T/V distinction (*lounaan* vs. *lounaanne*) and the English TT could have added “**your** lunch, **sir**…”. In fact, the absence of these additions from both of the translations could suggest that the *go*-prefix is *bikago*, not *sonkeigo*, but I personally doubt this.

Utterance 13, however, uses both *go*- and *o*-prefix:

Utterance 13

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
もし取引先のご令嬢のダンスのお誘いを断りでもすれば社交界での坊ちゃん株はガタ落ちに…	Moshi torihikisaki no go -reijou no dansu no o -sasoi wo kotowari de mo sureba shakoukai deno botchan no kabu wa gataochi ni…	For if you were to refuse the daughter of a business acquaintance a dance, young master’s reputation in social circles would plummet…	Jos torjuisitte liikeyumppanine tyttären tanssikutsun, osakkeenne laskisivat jyrkästi hienostopiireissä.

In Utterance 13, the prefixes Sebastian uses, *go-* and *o-*, are attached to the noun *reijou* (‘a daughter’) and *sasoi* (‘an invitation’), respectively. According to Shirabe Jisho, *reijou* is already *sonkeigo* (s.v., Shirabe Jisho) by referring to specifically someone else’s daughter or the addressee’s daughter. As touched upon in section x, in-group and out-group differences are visible here as well. In this case, the daughter Sebastian speaks about is Ciel’s business partner’s, who is a) an acquaintance of Sebastian’s master, b) of higher status than Sebastian, and c) not an in-group member of Sebastian. Therefore, in my opinion, the reason for using *go-reijou* for maximum politeness is multifold and quite complex, honestly. Nonetheless, the daughter is someone to be respected or “belongs” to someone that is, hence the politeness. The *o-*prefix in *o-sasoi*, however, is quite clearly used to refer to the daughter, since she has invited Ciel to dance: the invitation is hers, and therefore Sebastian is polite.

Although Sebastian is giving his master an example, this daughter in question is Elizabeth, and the conversation takes place in the same context as Utterance 11. Now, the English translation has translated *go-reijou* as “the daughter of a business acquaintance” and the Finnish as *liikekumppaninne tyttäären* (“the daughter of your (plural) business partner”). The Finnish TT uses, again, T/V distinction (*liikekumppaninne*) here, but since I am not completely sure about who is the reason for Sebastian’s use of *go-*prefix in *go-reijou* (i.e., Ciel’s business acquaintance or Ciel’s business acquaintance’s daughter?), I have categorized both the English and the Finnish translations as ‘Deprivation’, since the T/V distinction only includes Ciel; T/V distinction is ‘Linguistic Amplification’ in this utterance. Then, as for *o-sasoi*, the English version has translated this as “a dance”, while the Finnish TT reads *tanssikutsu* (“a dance invitation”). Since there, again, is no way for English nor Finnish to express politeness with a similar prefix, and it has not been compensated, they both are ‘Deprivation’. The English TT could also use the technique ‘Modulation’, but I analyzed that ‘a dance’ in this context is close enough for ‘an invitation’. The Finnish TT, however, does apply technique ‘Modulation’ since the *botchan* in the ST has turned into T/V distinction.

The last example of *o-* and *go-*prefixes is Utterance 14:

Utterance 14

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
今から家庭教師を お呼びする時間は ありません。	Ima kara madamu wo o- yobi suru jikan wa arimasen.	We do not have the time to enlist one of the madames as your dance instructor, sir.	Meillä ei ole aikaa kutsua yhtäkään madamea opettamaan teitä.

The *o*-prefix in Utterance 14 requires some interpreting. The situation is rather similar with Utterance 12 since this could be *sonkeigo* or *bikago*. For the *sonkeigo* interpretation, the context of this utterance is vital: before Sebastian's utterance (Utterance 14), Ciel has suggested Sebastian to call for a dance instructor for himself. Therefore, when Sebastian informs him that there is no time to call for anyone, Sebastian uses *o-yobi* (*o*-prefix + 'a call'), because the idea to call for someone was his master's. Shirabe Jisho agrees with this interpretation. Then again, the prefix might also refer to the madame instruction in question, but nonetheless, it would still be *sonkeigo*. Another interpretation is that it could also be *bikago*, in which case the prefix would merely be Sebastian's way to sound more polished.

However, to start with the English translation, where *o-yobi* is translated as "to enlist", which is not exactly the same as 'to call (for somebody)'. Therefore, it cannot, in my opinion, be 'Deprivation', and I do not think that it is 'Modulation' either, since there is no change in viewpoint, per se; I categorized it as 'Compensation', because Sebastian uses an additional *sir* at the end of his utterance. This, to my mind, compensates the *o*-prefix, although the verb used differentiated from the ST. In fact, the Finnish translation uses the verb *kutsua* ('to call (for)', 'to invite') and would be 'Deprivation' if Sebastian was not using T/V distinction (*teitä*). Thus, I have interpreted the *o*-prefix to refer to Ciel's previous suggestion and therefore, the Finnish translation also falls under 'Compensation'.

5.7. Utterances With Suffix *-sama*

This section introduces some examples of the analysis regarding suffix *-sama*.

In Japanese, there are many honorific suffixes that may be attached to person's name or title. This section shall look into the suffix *-sama* and offer few examples how it has been translated in *Kuroshitsuji*. *-Sama* is quite deferent suffix and in modern Japan, it is used in customer service encounters (*o-kyaku-sama*, "dear customer"), or referring to deities (*kami-sama*), for instance. *-Sama* is the more formal version of *-san* and by using this instead of *-san*, Sebastian conveys that this person has socially higher status than him. *Kuroshitsuji* sets in Victorian Period England, and the people to whom Sebastian refers as *-sama* are usually of peerage and/or Ciel's acquaintances.

Starting with the first example, Utterance 15:

Utterance 15

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
エリザベス様の前 で見栄を張って…	Erizabesu- sama no mae de mie wo hatte…	Yet you pretended not to care in front of miss Elizabeth…	Silti esititte neiti Elizabethin nähden, että ette välitä siitä.

In this utterance, Sebastian uses the suffix *-sama* attached to Elizabeth’s name. In the English translation this has been translated as “miss Elizabeth”, and in the Finnish version as *neiti Elizabeth* (“miss Elizabeth”). I have classified these both as ‘Compensation’. The reason why they cannot, in my opinion, be ‘Established Equivalent’, is that, as previously learned, Japanese also has the polite suffix *-san*, which can be translated similarly with *-sama* (sv. *san* in Shirabe Jisho). Therefore, since the difference between *-sama* and *-san* in Japanese is in the degree of politeness (*-sama* being deferential), I do not think they are the same. Moreover, these two are both gender neutral, meaning that *-sama* is not always translated as *miss* or *neiti*. Consequently, I have categorized these as ‘Compensation’ because, adding the title *miss* or *neiti* to the TT is compensation enough. Also, whereas in the Japanese ST *-sama* is a suffix, in the TT’s it is a prefix. The Finnish TT also applies T/V distinction, which is ‘Linguistic Amplification’.

The next example proves how differently *-sama* can be translated:

Utterance 16

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
ーでは、クラウド 様が直々に本国へ ？	--- De wa, Kurausu- sama ga jikijiki ni igirisu he?	…Then… mister Chlaus himself is coming to England, sir?	No niin… herra Claus tulee siis henkilökohtaisesti Englantiin?

In Utterance 16, the *-sama* suffix is used to refer to Chlaus. In the English TT, this has been translated as “mister Chlaus”, and similarly, in the Finnish TT it is *herra Claus* (“mister Claus”). Now, if compared to Utterance 15, *-sama* has been translated as *mister* and *herra* since its referent is a male. Again, this cannot be ‘Established Equivalent’ since there are too many possible compensations for this *-sama*, so I have categorized this as ‘Compensation’ on the same grounds as in Utterance 15; although *mister* and *herra* might not convey the politeness of *-sama* fully, I have deemed them polite enough in the context of their specific target cultures. The English TT also uses

the politeness marker *sir*, which is ‘Linguistic Amplification’ since the Japanese ST does not include this.

In the last example of this category, the English and Finnish translations differ with each other:

Utterance 17

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
エリザベス様は前 当主の妹君である 、フランシス様が嫁 がれたミッドフォー ド侯爵家のご令嬢 ...	Erizabesu- sama wa zentoushu no imoutogimi dearu, Furanshisu- sama ga totsugareta Middofoodo koushaku no go- reijou...	Miss Elizabeth is the daughter of the Midford Marquessate, the family into which lady Francis, the younger sister of the previous head of his family, married.	Neiti Elizabeth on Midfordin markiisin tytär. Tämän perheen edellisen pään nuorempi sisar, Francis, naitiin siihen sukuun.

Here, Sebastian uses *-sama* two times: first when he is referring to Elizabeth and then referring to Francis. In the English version, the *-sama* referring to Elizabeth has been translated as “miss”, whereas the one used about Francis is “lady”. *Lady* is yet another way to translate *-sama*, and I have categorized these both as ‘Compensation’. The Finnish version, however, has translated the first *-sama* as *neiti* (“miss”), but the *-sama* referring to Francis has, interestingly, been omitted. Thus, the Finnish version uses ‘Compensation’ for *neiti Elizabeth*, and ‘Linguistic Compression’ for *Francis*. Hence, the suffix *-sama* has been translated quite differently depending on the referent.

5.8. Utterances With *Botchan*

This section will present examples from the analysis regarding the title *botchan*.

The final category deals with the title *botchan*, meaning ‘young master’. *Botchan* consists of the word ‘boy’ or ‘priest’ (*bou/bot*) and the suffix *-chan*. *-Chan* is usually attached to girls’ names and implies cuteness, young age or close relationships. It can also be used to refer to cute animals, such as cats (*neko-chan*). In case of *Kuroshitsuji* however, *botchan* is a title and therefore I will not treat the suffix *-chan* as a suffix in here in the same sense as in *neko-chan* (e.g., to compare, *botchan* vs. *bot-chan*).

In *Kuroshitsuji*, the most common way to translate *botchan* was ‘young master’ and *nuori herra* (“young master”). Therefore, I shall offer only one example of this category:

Utterance 18

Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
ダンスの才能が皆無 というか。壊滅的 ですね、坊ちゃん 。	Dansu no sainou ga kaimu toiu ka. Kaimetsuteki desu ne, botchan .	Your dancing ability leaves much to be desired. How very catastrophic, young master.	Tanssitaidoissanne on paljon toivomisen varaa. Tämä on kauhistuttavaa, nuori herra.

As Utterance 18 shows, the English TT has used “young master” as translation of *botchan*, and the Finnish TT has, similarly, translated *botchan* as *nuori herra*. These both have been categorized as ‘Established Equivalent’. Additionally, the Finnish TT also uses T/V distinction (*tanssitaidoissanne*, “in your (plural) dancing abilities”), which falls under the technique ‘Linguistic Amplification’, since there is nothing to compensate in the ST.

6. Discussion

This section will discuss the results of the analysis and compare them to the theoretical background and previous studies conducted about (linguistic) politeness.

The results of this study show that when Japanese polite language appearing in *Kuroshitsuji* was translated into English and Finnish, ‘Established Equivalent’ was the most used technique. This would indicate that Sebastian mostly used a lot of *teineigo* or words that have a working equivalent in both target languages, but techniques ‘Deprivation’ and ‘Compensation’ have also high occurrences in the translated versions of the manga. While ‘Established Equivalent’ mainly consisted of translations for *-masu* verbs, copula *desu* and the title *botchan*, ‘Deprivation’ and ‘Compensation’ consisted of *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* verbs, along with *o-*, *go-* and *-sama* affixes. Since *sonkeigo* and *kenjōgo* verbs are a feature that cannot be found from English nor Finnish language, it is understandable that these, along with *o-* and *go-* prefixes, were often uncompensated. However, as came evident throughout the analysis, the most common ways a Japanese polite ST element was compensated in the English translation were either adding *sir* or *please*, and in the Finnish version by using the T/V distinction. Moreover, the Finnish version sometimes used enclitic particles such as *-han*, but not so often that it would be some kind of a pattern. Speaking of patterns,

in the Finnish version, Sebastian used T/V distinction when conversing with or referring to Ciel so systematically that it made me draw a conclusion that this was probably a strategy. Yet, as I have not interviewed the translator, it will stay just as my personal speculation. Another interesting observation was that sometimes the English and Finnish versions had added politeness into Sebastian's utterances although there was nothing to compensate in the Japanese ST. For instance, in the English translation in Utterances 2 and 3, "young master", "I am afraid" and *sir* had been added, while the Japanese respective STs were merely *teineigo* and thus not exalting nor humble. On the other hand, in the Finnish version in Utterance 17, the honorific suffix *-sama* was translated when it referred to Elizabeth but left out when referring to Francis. This was interesting, since the Finnish translation had quite diligently translated the suffix in question throughout the manga.

While on the subject of honorific suffixes, Sebastian's uses of *-sama* were translated in various different ways, and thus the results align with Idrus' (2021) and (partially) with de la Iglesia's (2016) studies. The translations analyzed in these studies had found at least a few different ways to translate honorific suffixes, while in the Okyayuz's (2017) and Aapakallio's (2021) studies these suffixes were either retained in their Japanese form or dropped altogether. In *Kuroshitsuji*'s case, in the English version *-sama* was translated as *miss*, *lady* or *mister*, and the Finnish version used either *neiti* or *herra* depending on the addressee. Since *-sama* is gender-neutral, and English nor Finnish does not have any similar gender-neutral polite title, the translations are bound to apply more than one compensation tactic.

In my personal opinion, the reason that might have affected whether the honorific suffixes were/are translated, retained or left out, is the setting of the work of fiction. Since *Kuroshitsuji* sets in Victorian Era England and depicts historical environment and culture, the "pressure" or importance to compensate the suffix *-sama* in some way is bigger; *Kuroshitsuji* is a manga, and thus what the reader sees also affects the impression they receive from the translation. Therefore, the translator can hardly mold Sebastian's appearance or behavior to suit the target culture better, and since both his appearance and behavior is the epitome of a butler, the translator is left with the translation to compensate. Furthermore, since the setting of *Kuroshitsuji* is England, and the characters are English, retaining the suffixes in their Japanese form might look odd. This could work if the setting of the manga or book was Japan, or the characters were Japanese, but clearly this, too, is depended on context; Aapakallio's (2021) study's material **was** a Japanese book, depicting a Japanese setting and characters, and **still** the suffix *-san* was usually left out in the translations.

Kuroshitsuji's historicity might even help in a certain way, because using words such as *herra* ('mister') or *neiti* ('miss') in historical fiction will not necessarily be frowned upon as they are seen as "historical". Problems might arise when the setting is modern, because whereas in Finnish culture T/V distinction is now used mainly (and scarcely) in customer service situations and people are usually addressed by their first name, in Japanese culture, *-sama* and *-san* are still in frequent use and do not have similar historical nuance. Moreover, Japanese culture and its conventions are not as famous and popular as English or American ones, and thus retaining these suffixes might foreignize the reader to the point, where they would not understand that the honorific suffixes are meant to show politeness and relations between people – because how could they, if they are not familiar with Japanese culture? There is of course the option of adding explanations or editor's note, as was done in Okyayuz's (2017) study, but those might not work in a fiction novel as well as in manga. Moreover, inspecting the results from a role language viewpoint, Sebastian's utterances to Ciel align with the example sentences on Japanese in Anime and Manga website's butler's character dictionary (www.anime-manga.jp/en). In fact, Sebastian had a few almost identical utterances, for example, *Botchan, o-mezame no jikan desu yo* ("Young master, it is time to wake up") (Toboso 2007, p. 4). Sebastian used mainly the same grammatical structures as listed on butler's dictionary (www.anime-manga.jp/en), and although role language was not the main focus of this study, I think that these results indicate that Sebastian's speech in Japanese (the very least) is a good example of a role language.

Now, what comes to utilizing Molina and Hurtado's (2002) translation techniques, I think the categorization of six techniques that I drew (and modified) from Molina and Hurtado's (2002) total of 18 techniques worked nicely. Of course, it was quite helpful that I did not make the delimitation of one technique per an utterance, and thus I could note every technique that was applied. In fact, utterances applying only one technique were relatively rare. What was also a welcome observation, was that the technique 'Deprivation' ended up being the second most used technique although I had modified it from 'Compensation' before analyzing my material. Therefore, it proved to be a good choice to add another category. However, the techniques caused some minor problems on some utterances, especially the technique 'Modulation'. At times it was rather difficult to know if an utterance was modulated or using just a synonym for the same verb, for example. Also, 'Established Equivalent' was sometimes hard to determine – especially when the word or polite ST element had multiple different definitions on dictionary and/or its use was context-driven, like *kudasai* ('please') – but fortunately I found sources to justify my solutions. All in all, the techniques never caused me that much inconvenience that I would have had to form another

category, because the utterance would not go under any other technique. Yet, for further research purposes, one probably should assess the techniques again to see, if there could be some other technique applied as well; I deliberately chose to use only six techniques, since I was interested more on qualitatively evaluating the utterances, but one could certainly analyze the same material with a wider scope of translation techniques.

Overall, the results showed interesting similarities and differences between previous studies made on the subject, although these studies were rather scarce. The analysis proved that Sebastian clearly favored certain politeness devices in both translations, and that he applied similar grammar as depicted in butler's character dictionary (www.anime-manga.jp/en) in his Japanese utterances.

7. Conclusion

This study was about the translating Japanese linguistic politeness into English and Finnish. The first volume of a manga called *Kuroshitsuji* (2007) by Yana Toboso, along with its English and Finnish translations, was used the material of this study. *Kuroshitsuji* sets in late Victorian Era England and depicts the lives of a butler, Sebastian Michaelis, and his master, a young earl named Ciel Phantomhive. The historic and social status-driven setting made this manga a fine material for politeness research. This study focused on comparing the main character's, the butler Sebastian's, utterances to his master, Ciel, by utilizing a modified version of Molina and Hurtado's (2002) classification of translation techniques. The study also touched on a topic of role languages in the viewpoint of butler's language. The results were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively; the study showed that the English version applied the total of 141 occurrences of translation techniques and the Finnish version 147 occurrences. For both translated versions, 'Established Equivalent' was the most applied translation technique, while 'Linguistic Compression' was the least frequently applied technique. The English version used 'Established Equivalent' 56 times, while for the Finnish version this number was 50. 'Linguistic Compression' was utilized in total of 11 times – 2 for the English version and 9 for the Finnish version. Moreover, 'Compensation' and 'Deprivation' were also utilized relatively often in the translations, the English version having more occurrences in 'Deprivation' (32 occurrences) than 'Compensation' (18 occurrences), whereas the Finnish version used both equally often (25 occurrences).

In the qualitative part of the analysis, the results showed that Sebastian favored certain polite elements to compensate or add politeness into his speech. For the English version, these

compensations consisted mainly of the use of politeness markers such as *sir* and *please*, and for the Finnish version of the systematic use of T/V distinction (i.e., referring to Ciel as ‘you’ in plural form instead of singular). The most applied technique, ‘Established Equivalent’, consisted of translations for *teineigo* (Japanese polite language) elements, such as verbs in *-masu* form and the copula *desu*, along with the title *botchan*. It came evident also that *sonkeigo* or *kenjōgo* verbs appearing in the material were usually either compensated or deprived. When it came to the honorific suffix *-sama*, *Kuroshitsuji* had managed to compensate *-sama* in various different ways: *miss*, *lady*, or *mister* for the English version, and *herra* or *neiti* for the Finnish version. Therefore, it became evident that these results differ from Aapakallio’s (2021) study, but along with Idrus’ (2021) and de la Iglesia’s (2016) studies.

For future research, *Kuroshitsuji* offers a lot of possibilities as a material. It would be interesting to compare *Kuroshitsuji* with its English and or Finnish translation from a scanlation and translation viewpoint. During my analysis, I interestingly noticed that whereas the Finnish version uses almost without a fail the same font, the fonts in the English and Japanese versions vary more regarding to the context. It would be interesting to take this into consideration. Furthermore, it would also be interesting to investigate how Sebastian’s master’s speech has been translated and perhaps analyze it from another role language viewpoint, such as ‘boss language’ or ‘lord language’.

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Appendix

Sebastian's Analyzed Utterances with Japanese Polite Elements (in **bold**) to Ciel in *Kuroshitsuji* (2007), volume 1

Page	Japanese	Japanese (romanized)	English	Finnish
4	坊っちゃん、お目覚めの時間ですよ。	Botchan , o-mezame no jikan desu yo.	Young master, it is time to wake up.	Nuori herra. On aika herätä.
4	本日の朝食はポーチドサーモンとミントサラダをご用意致しました。	Honjitsu no choushoku wa poochidosaaamon to mintosarada wo go-youi itashimashita .	For today's breakfast, I have prepared poached salmon and mint salad.	Valmistin tänään aamiaiseksi haudutettua lohta ja minttusalaattia.
4	付け合せはトーストスコーンとカンパーニュが焼けておりますが、どれにさせていただきますか？	Tsukeawase wa toosutosukoon to kanpaanyu ga yaketeorimasu ga dore ni nasaimasu ka?	We have toast, scones, and pain de champagne on the side. Which would you prefer?	Lisäksi tarjolla on paahtoleipää, skonsseja ja campagnen leipää. Mitä saisi olla?
5	ティーセットはウェッジウッドの蒼白でをご用意致しました。	Tiisetto wa uejjiuddo no buruuhowaito de go-youi itashimashita .	The tea set is Wedgewood blue and white.	Teeastiasto on Wedgewoodin blue and white.
5	本日は朝食後帝王学の権威ユーク教授がお見えです。	Honjitsu wa choushokugo teiougaku no ken'i yuugu-kyoujyu ga o-mie desu .	Professor Hugues, an authority in Kingcraft, will arrive after breakfast, sir.	Hallitsijaopintojen asiantuntija, professori Hugues, saapuu aamiaisen jälkeen.
5	そして、ご昼食後は…	Soshite go-chuushokugo wa…	And after lunch…	Ja lounaan jälkeen…
8	…という訳で、坊ちゃん。私が勝ちましたので…	… Toiu wake de, botchan … Watashi ga kachimashita node…	As I have won this battle… now then, young master.	No niin, nuori herra. Voitin ottelun, joten…

8	お約束通りこれから晚餐まで本日の復習と明日の予習をなさって下さいね。	O-yakusoku doori kore kara bansan made honjitsu no fukushyuu to ashita no yoshuu wo nasatte kudasai ne.	... Please review what you did today and prepare for tomorrow's lessons until dinnertime as promised.	... kerratkaa lupauksenne mukaan illalliseen asti tämän päivän läksyjä ja valmistautukaa huomista opetusta varten.
9	それは残念でございました。	Sore wa zannen degozaimashita.	That is most unfortunate, sir.	Se on kovin valitettavaa.
9	恐れ入ります。	Osoreirimasu.	Much obliged, sir.	Paljon kiitoksia.
10	クラウス様から？	Kurausu-sama kara?	From mister Chlaus, sir?	Herra Claus?
10	かしこまりました。	Kashikomarimashita.	Very well, sir.	Hyvä on.
11	ーでは、クラウス様が直々に本国へ？	--- De wa, Kurausu- sama ga jikijiki ni igirisu he?	...Then... mister Chlaus himself is coming to England, sir?	No niin... herra Claus tulee siis henkilökohtaisesti Englantiin?
11	心得ております。必ずやクラウス様にご満足頂ける最高のおもてなしをー	Kokoroeteorimasu. Kanarazuya Kurausu- sama ni go-manzoku itadakeru saikou no omotenashi wo ---	Perfectly, sir. We shall entertain mister Chlaus such that he is well and truly satisfied...	Kyllä vain. Osoitamme herra Clausille vieraanvaraisuutta niin, että hän on täysin tyytyväinen.
11	ーときに、坊ちゃん。	Tokini, botchan...	... By the way, young master...	Muuten, nuori herra...
11	(ムネヤケが止まらないんですが。)	(Muneyake ga tomaranain desu ga.)	(I seem to have a spot of heartburn.)	(Sain siitä närästystä.)
12	ー (ゴホン。) では私は準備を致しますのでこれで。	--- (Gohon.) Dewa watashi wa jyunbi wo itashimasu node kore de.	(Ahem.) Very well, sir. I shall begin the preparations. If you will excuse me...	(Kröhöm!) Aloitan siis valmistelut. Suokaa anteeksi.

12	おまかせ下さい。	O-makase kudasai.	Please do, sir.	Minä hoidan kaiken.
15	(何かご用ですか?)	(Nanika go-you desu ka?)	(What is it, sir?)	(Kutsuite minua, nuori herra...)
15	(いけません坊ちゃん。それ食べたら夕食残すでしょう。)	(Ikemasen botchan. Sore tabetara yuushoku nokosu deshou.)	(No, young master. If you have that, you will not finish all of your dinner.)	(Ei se käy, nuori herra. Ette jaksa syödä illallistanne loppuun, jos syötte sellaisen.)
15	(ダメです。)	(Dame desu.)	(I am afraid, I cannot, sir.)	(Ei käy.)
15	(いけません。)	(Ikemasen.)	(No, young master.)	(Ei käy, nuori herra.)
47	そうですね。身長が伸びた訳でもないのにお手間をとらせました。	Sou desu ne. Shinchou ga nobita wake de mo nai noni o-tema wo torasemashita.	Indeed. Though you failed to grow taller, you had to go all this trouble.	Niin. Jouduitte näkemään vaivaa, vaikka ette ole kasvanut pituutta.
47	(申しわけございません。)	(Moushiwake gozaimasen.)	(Have my apologies, sir.)	(Olen hyvin pahoillani.)
48	さあ坊ちゃん、早く屋敷に戻りましょう。	Saa botchan. Hayaku yashiki ni modorimashou.	Now then, young master. Let us return to the manor with haste.	No niin, nuori herra. Palatkaamme pian kartanoon.
48	いつも楽しみになさっている番組が始まってしましますよ。	Itsumo tanoshimi ni nasatteiru bangumi ga hajimatteshimaimasu yo.	The programme that you always eagerly anticipate will be starting shortly.	Aina innolla odottamanne televisio-ohjelma alkaa pian.
49	お疲れ様でした、坊ちゃん。すぐにお茶の用意を致しましょう。	Otsukaresama deshita, botchan. Sugu ni o-cha no youi wo itashimashou.	We have arrived home, young master. I will have the tea prepared right away.	Olemme kotona, nuori herra. Menen heti keittämään teetä.
57	エリザベス様は前当主の妹君である、フランシス様が嫁がれたミッドフォード侯爵家のご令嬢…	Erizabesu- sama wa zentoushu no imoutogimi dearu, Furanshisu- sama ga totsugareta Middofoodo koushaku no go-reijou...	Miss Elizabeth is the daughter of the Midford Marquessate, the family into which lady Francis, the younger sister of the previous head of his family, married.	Neiti Elizabeth on Midfordin markiisin tytär. Tämän perheen edellisen pään nuorempi sisar, Francis, naitiin siihen sukuun.

57	婚約者を無下に 追い返す事もでき ませんし仕方あり ませんね。	Konyakusha wo muge ni oikaesu koto mo dekimasenshi , shikata arimasen ne.	There is nothing to be done. You cannot brusquely turn your fiancée away.	Mitään ei ole tehtävissä. Ette voi ajaa kylmästi morsiantanne matkoihinsa.
57	(爵位も上位です し、資産は別とし て)	(Shakui mo joui desushi , shisan wa betsu to shite)	(Their rank in the peerage is higher... not to mention their wealth.)	(Heidän sukunsa on korkeampi arvoinen... ja ovat varakkaampia.)
57	…ですが、今日の 処は大人しく彼女 に従って、お引き 取り願った方が得 策でしょう。	… desu ga, sayou no tokoro wa otonashiku kanojo ni shitakatte o- hikitori negatta houga tokusaku deshou .	… Regardless... the best course for today would be to acquiesce to her fancy, and then ask her to leave.	Siitä huolimatta... nyt olisi parasta taipua hänen tahtoonsa ja pyytää häntä sitten lähtemään.
58	まだこの間のゲー ムも終わっていな い事ですしね。	Mada kono aida no geemu mo owatteinai koto desushi ne.	After all, you have yet to finish playing that game.	Ette ole vielä pelannut pelejä loppuun.
58	ですが、エリザベ ス様はダンスをご 所望の様ですが …	Desu ga, Erizabesu- sama wa dansu wo go-shomou no you desu ga...	But miss Elizabeth wishes to dance with you...	Mutta neiti Elizabeth tahtoo tanssia kanssanne.
58	…坊ちゃん	… Botchan ...	…Young master.	Nuori herra...
58	私は拝見した事 はございませんが … ダンスの教養 はおありで？	Watashi wa haiken shita koto wa gozaimasen ga... dansu no kyouyou wa o-ari de?	I have never seen you do so myself... but you <i>do</i> know how to dance, sir?	En ole nähnyt sitä omin silmin... mutta tokihan osaatte tanssia?
58	…どうりで… パー ティーにお呼ばれ しても壁の華を決 め込む訳ですね。	… Douride ... Paatii ni o-yobareshite mo kabe no hana wo kimekomu wake desu ne.	I see. That would explain why you are such a wallflower even when invited to parties.	Ymmärrän... Siksi siis viihdytte seinäruusuna juhlassa, joihin teidät on kutsuttu.
59	お言葉ですが、坊 ちゃん。“社交”ダ ンスとはよく言った ものでして、夜会	O-kotoba desu ga, botchan . Soosharu dansu to wa yoku itta mono deshite, yakai ya bansankai nado de	I beg to differ, young master. Social dancing is called “social” for a reason.	Rohkenen olla eri mieltä, nuori herra. Seuratansseja kutsutaan syystäkin seuratansseiksi. Ne on

	や晩餐会等では当然必要になってくる嗜みでございます。	wa touzen hitsuyou ni nattekuru tashinami degozaimasu.	It is a necessary skill at balls and banquets.	pakko hallita illanvietoissa ja illallisjuhlissa.
59	もし取引先のご令嬢のダンスのお誘いを断りでもすれば社交界での坊ちゃんの株はガタ落ちに…	Moshi torihiki saki no go-reijou no dansu no o-sasoi wo kotowari de mo sureba shakoukai deno botchan no kabu wa gataochi ni...	For if you were to refuse the daughter of a business acquaintance a dance, young master's reputation in social circles would plummet...	Jos torjuisitte liikekumppaninne tyttären tanssikutsun, osakkeenne laskisivat jyrkästi hienostopiireissä.
60	今から家庭教師をお呼びする時間はありません。	Ima kara madamu wo o-yobi suru jikan wa arimasen.	We do not have the time to enlist one of the madames as your dance instructor, sir.	Meillä ei ole aikaa kutsua yhtäkään madamea opettamaan teitä.
60	今日の処は付け焼き刃で結構ですから一曲だけ基礎と言われるワルツをマスター致しましょう。	Kyou wa tokoro wa tsukeyakiba de kekkou desu kara, ikkyoku dake kiso to iwareru warutsu wo masutaa itashimashou.	A pretence of skill is enough for today, so let us have you master the waltz, a basic ballroom dance.	Täksi illaksi riittää, että näyttää kuin osaisitte tanssia. Opetellaan kaikkien tanssiaisten tanssien perusta eli valssi.
60	ご安心下さい。	Go-anshin kudasai.	Not to worry, sir.	Ei huolta.
60	僭越ながら、私めがダンスのご指導を。	Sen'etsu nagara, watakushi me ga dansu no go-shidou wo.	Brazen though it may be of me, please allow me to teach you how to dance.	Tämä saattaa kuulostaa ylimieliseltä, mutta sallikaa minun opettaa teidät tanssimaan.
61	ウインナワルツならおまかせ下さい。シェーンブルン宮殿にはよくお邪魔しておりました。	Ueinwarusu nara o-makase kudasai. Sheenburun kyuuden ni wa yoku o-jama shite orimashita.	Permit me to teach you the Viennese waltz... as I have often visited the Schönbrunn palace in the past.	Sallikaa minun opettaa teille Wienin valssi. Olen vierailut usein Schönbrunnin palatsissa.
61	一曲お相手願えますか？ご主人様。	Ikkyoku o-aite negaemasu ka? Go-mairoodo-sama.	Will you not grant me this dance... my lord?	Enkö saisi yhtä tanssia... arvon lordi?
61	…いいですか？	--- Ii desu ka?	Are you ready, sir?	Oletteko valmis?

61	しっかりと女性の背をホールドして下さい。	Shikkari to josei no se wo hooru shite kudasai.	Please hold the lady's back firmly.	Pitäkää tiukka ote neidin selästä.
63	ダンスの才能が皆無というか。壊滅的ですね、坊ちゃん。	Dansu no sainou ga kaimu toiu ka. Kaimetsuteki desu ne, botchan.	Your dancing ability leaves much to be desired. How very catastrophic, young master.	Tanssitaidoissanne on paljon toivomisen varaa. Tämä on kauhistuttavaa, nuori herra.
63	(私(女性)にぶら下がってちゃダメなんですよ?)	(Watashi (josei) ni bura shigattecha dame nan desu yo?)	(You must not hang from me (the lady) so.)	(Ette saa roikkua minussa (neidissä) noin.)
63	いいですか、坊ちゃん。	Ii desu ka, botchan.	Listen, young master.	Kuulkaahan, nuori herra.
63	”ダンスはワルツに始まりワルツに終わる”と言われる程です。	”Dansu wa warutsu ni hajimari, warutsu ni owaru” to iwareru hodo desu.	It is said that ”social dancing begins and ends with the waltz.”	Sanotaan, että valssi on tanssien a ja o.
63	格式高く優雅に踊らねばなりません。	Kakushiki takaku, yuuga ni odoraneba narimasen.	You must dance formally and with elegance.	Teidän on tanssittava muodollisesti ja elegantisti.
63-64	ともかくーまずその仏頂面を何とかなさい。	Tomokaku... mazu sono butsuchoutzura wo nantoka nasai.	In any case... you must first address you're [sic] your gloomy demeanour, sir.	Tehkää nyt... ensialkuun jotain tuolle happamalle ilmeelle.
64	レディに失礼にあたります。	Redi ni shitsurei ni atarimasu.	You do not wish to be rude to the lady.	Tuollainen on epäsoveliasta neitiä kohtaan.
64	嘘でも楽しそうになさって下さい。	Uso de mo tanoshisou ni nasatte kudasai.	Please pretend you are having fun... at the very least.	Esittäkää edes, että teillä on hauskaa.
65	坊ちゃん…	Botchan...	Young master...	Nuori herra...
71	坊ちゃん。	Botchan.	Young master.	Nuori herra.
72	坊ちゃん。	Botchan.	Young master.	Nuori herra.

72	せっかく新調した杖をお忘れですよ。	Sekkaku shinchou shita sutekki wo o-wasure desu yo.	You have forgotten this walking stick of yours we just had made.	Unohditte kokonaan kävelykepin, jonka teetimme juuri.
79	ええ。明朝にはお迎えが来るそうです。	Ee. Myouchou ni wa o-mukae ga kuru sou desu .	Yes, sir. They will send someone for her in the morning.	Kyllä. Hänet tullaan hakemaan aamulla.
80	そうですか？結構楽しそうにされていたじゃありませんか。	Sou desu ka? Kekkou tanoshisou ni sareteita ja arimasen ka.	Is that so? You seemed to be rather enjoying yourself, sir.	Niinkö? Näytti siltä, että teillä oli hauskaa.
80	馬鹿はどちらですか？	Baka wa dochira desu ka?	Now which of us would you call a fool?	Kumpi meistä on hölmö?
81	大切なものなのでしょう？	Taisetsu na mono na no deshou ?	The ring is important to you, is it not?	Sormus on teille tärkeä, eikö vain?
81	エリザベス様の前で見栄を張って…	Erizabesu- sama no mae de mie wo hatte…	Yet you pretended not to care in front of miss Elizabeth…	Silti esititte neiti Elizabethin nähden, että ette välitä siitä.
82	ファントムハイブ家の執事たる者。これくらい出来なくてどうします？	Fantomuhaivuke no shitsuji taru mono. Kore kurai dekinakute dou shimasu ?	I am the butler of the Phantomhive family. It goes without saying that I can manage something like this.	Olen Phantomhiven hovimestari. Totta kai pystyn tällaiseen.
82	この指輪は貴方の指に在る為のもの。大事になさって下さい。	Kono yubiwa wa anata no yubi ni aru tame no mono. Daiji ni nasatte kudasai .	This ring belongs on your finger. Please take care of it.	Tämä sormus kuuluu sormeenne. Pitäkää siitä huolta.
83	嗚呼、月がもうあんなに高い、お体にさわります。どうぞお休み下さい。	Aa, tsuki ga mou anna ni takai, o-karada ni sawarimasu . Douzo o-yasumi kudasai .	Oh dear, the Moon is already this high. Please go to sleep now, lest your health be affected, sir.	Voi. Kuu on jo noin korkealla. Levätkää nyt, jotta terveytenne ei kärsi.
84	どこまでも坊ちゃんのお傍におります。最後まで――	Doko made mo botchan no o-soba ni orimasu . Saigo made…	I shall be with young master… until the very end…	Olen aina luonanne. Hamaan loppuun saakka…