Im/Politeness Variations in Digital Japanese-Korean Comfort Women Discourses*

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1 Introduction

When one encounters the term 'grandmother,' especially in a Japanese/Korean language context, a system based on honorifics and respect for elders is invoked. However, in these two social contexts there is also a strong historical evocation: Comfort Women. 'Officially' known as *ianfu* in Japanese and *wianbu* in Korean, 'Comfort Women' are often referred to in the digital discourses of netizens as 'Comfort Women Grandmother(s)' or just 'Grandmother(s)'. However, owing to the honorific system in both languages, as

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well as the affordance of digital Computer Mediated Communication[1] (here after CMC) for nonstandard spellings[2], the noun referent honorific 'Grandmother' presents a plethora of "im/politeness variations" from both morphological and pragmatic perspectives.

Of the identified 'secondary' meanings of Japanese honorific forms, referent honorifics (Brown, 2008:370) *-san* and *o-*, two of the most common honorific affixes found in conjunction with 'Grandmother', prescriptively fall within the category of respect (sonkei) and convey a compliance with politeness maxims (e.g. Leech, 1983). While the counterpart to *-san* in Korean is *-ssi*, there is said to be no prefix counterpart for *o-* nor a Japanese suffix equivalent for *-nim* (Brown, 2008:376). Yet, *-nim* is structurally similar to *-san* in that it attaches to title-conveying nouns.

Politeness research in East Asian languages has long focused on the principal of universality (e.g. Ide, 1982; Pan, 2011). Impoliteness has received much less attention, especially with regards to referent honorifics- an understudied aspect of im/politeness research (Cook, 2011:3656). Some notable exceptions are Cook (2011) and Brown (2013). However, most referent honorific im/politeness research heavily focuses on verbs as this is the lexical item on which most honorific marking is found. This narrow focus in existing literature raises empirical questions for other lexical categories such as nouns which are vital components of reference chains[3], e.g., series of expressions referring to the same referents, and textual cohesion. That is, with respect to honorifically marked nouns, "politeness" becomes pragmatically challenged when 'respectful' referential forms such as *obaasan* and *halmonim* (both 'Grandmother') appear in the same coreference chain as derogatory lexical items such as moto *ianfu* 'former Comfort Woman' and *noinne* 'senile' respectively. With a focus on digital Comfort Women Discourses, this preliminary paper focusses on what variants of 'Grandmother' exist, a question

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[1] CMC "is a broad field, encompassing psychological, sociological, organizational science, communication, computer science, and information science perspectives" (Fussell & Setlock, 2014:2). CMC generally refers to any communication which involves the use of computers and the Internet with social media being a primary site of research focus. Computer technology has extensively contributed to 21st century language change as a result of the affordances that is has introduced (i.e. nonstandard spellings).

[2] Androutsopoulos (2000:514) defines nonstandard spellings as "spellings that diverge from standard (codified) orthography and/or do not occur in formal writing" which includes "the transfer of spoken language features to writing, and formal modifications of a sign" not related to spoken language norms.

[3] Federzoni, Ho-Dac, and Fabre (2021) define (co)reference chains as "discourse structures that group together several clauses around a common referent." As a property of cohesion, coreference occurs "in chains and lexical networks in texts" and can be realized by personal or possessive pronouns, as well as person-morphology in verbs (McArthur, Lam-McArthur, Fontaine, 2018).

which has implications for the second stage of the study which focuses on their functions for politeness and identity construction (see Section 4.0 below).

To emphasize, this study is not concerned with the debates re: Comfort Women definition, history, and/or origin. Rather, this study is an investigation into the observable everyday language practices of Japanese and Korean netizens and how the Comfort Women are remembered/discussed about in groups where im/politeness paradigms manifest in the respective constructed identities of the Comfort Women.

Thus, the analysis presented here is concerned with one of two layers of im/politeness (see Section 4 for more): the discursive Macro layer morphologically marked as reflected in the absence and/or presence of honorific suffix and/or a prefix components (i.e. お- and -さん rendering variants like お ばあさん *obaasan* 'Grandmother' / ばあさん *baasan* 'Grandmother' in Japanese; -님 rendering variants like 할머님 *halmonim* 'Grandmother' /할머니 *halmoni* 'Grandmother' in Korean) , along with nonstandard spellings/derogatory replacements (e.g. ばば, ババア, BBA (all variants of grandmother); 할매 'Grandmother (Busan dialect), 할마시 'Grandma', 할망구 'Grandmother hag'). That is, the current paper reports on the quantitative portion of the project as the qualitative portion is still underway (see Section 4.0).

2   Methodology

This section explains the data origin, corpus composition, and methodological approaches taken in the study. Specifically, Section 2.1 focuses on the primary sourcing platform *Kaikaihanno,* including how it is structured and how the data was selected; Section 2.2. introduces the two primary Korean netizen community sources ILBE and Naver News, including the data allocation in each; Section 2.3 introduces the Japanese netizen community, including the data allocation; Section 2.4 introduces the particulars of the main corpus followed by those of the subcorpora used for the work-in-progress analysis presented in this paper; and Section 2.5 introduces the analytical frameworks used and the research focus.

2.1 Corpus Construction: *Kaikaihanno*

The corpus for this study is referred to as the *Digital Comfort Women Discourses Corpus* and was constructed in January 2020 using *Kaikaihanno* (a translation blog dedicated to reacting to Korea) as a primary source. *Kaikaihanno* is thus a platform (presumably) run by Japanese language users which acts as an 'information broker' between Japanese netizens and Korean lan-

guage content originally produced for the Korean language audience. Administrators of the *Kaikaihanno* select Korean news articles or posting from Korean Internet outlets such as Naver News (see Section 2.2 below) and translate not only the content of the articles, but also a selection of the comments made by Korean netizens on those very same articles, into Japanese. These Japanese translations of article contents and comments, together with URL links to the original Korean sources, are then posted as entries on *Kaikaihanno* for circulation to the Japanese audience. Each entry is assigned a theme tag which helps organize the content and also helps users more easily locate content in which they are interested. The collection of tags used for entry categorization across *Kaikaihanno* is featured on the right side-bar in a wordcloud format under 'Popular Topics': the hotter a topic is the larger its lettering will appear. In order to obtain the data for this study, the blog's 'Comfort Women' tag was clicked on January 14, 2020, and all entries tagged at the time were saved in PDF format and stored offline in aggregate.

2.2 Corpus Construction: Korean Data

The Korean data for the *Digital Comfort Women Discourses* corpus consists of 82 Korean news articles and a collective total of 19,555 comments. The articles come from various news outlets, the two most prominent being ILBE (n=35), a notorious alt-right platform, and Naver News (n=40), an online news portal. Naver News is South Korea's largest online news portal which consists of original and republished material governed by other media outlets (e.g. Yonhap news, SBS, JTBS, Hankook Ilbo, Kukmin Ilbo, etc.). Of the remaining articles, four are from Blue House petitions, and one each of Korean Liberty News, Ruliweb, and Press Asian. In terms of comments, all but 44 come from either Naver News or ILBE.

2.3 Corpus Construction: Japanese Data

The Japanese data for the *Digital Comfort Women Discourses* corpus consists of 77 Japanese blog entries made on the translation blog *Kaikaihanno* and tagged 'Comfort Women.' In addition, the Japanese data also consists of comments from two sources: (1) 39,283 comments presumably made by Japanese language users, and (2) 2,948 comments which are Japanese translations of Korean netizens' comments made on the Korean news articles on external Internet platforms. It is important to note that the study presented here focuses on original netizen comments and thus only original comments are examined and not the blog entries themselves which contain the translated comments.

2.4 Corpus Construction: *Digital Comfort Women Discourses Corpus* and subcorpora

Following the discussions in Section 2.2 and 2.3 above, the *Digital Comfort Women Discourses* corpus collectively consists of 159 texts (77 Japanese blog entries; 82 Korean news articles) and roughly 61,750 comments. Where-upon comment data is comprised of Japanese comments (n=39,283), Korean comments (n=19,555), and Korean comments translated into Japanese which comprises some of the content of the 77 Japanese blog entries (n=2,948). A comprehensive overview of the corpus is shown in Table 2.1 below which also reflects the Korean, Japanese, and Translation subcorpora.

Comfort Women Discourses Corpus

Korean Data						Japanese Data	
Ilbe		**Naver**		**Other**		**Kaikaihanno**	
Articles	**Comments**	**Articles**	**Comments**	**Articles**	**Comments**	**Entries**	**Comments**
35	6,597	40	12,914	7	44	77	39,283

				Total Articles			
					82		
				Total Comments			
					19,555		

Translated Comment Data

1,556	1,308	84	**Total Translated Comments**
			2,948

Table 2.1 Digital Comfort Women Discourses Corpus Composition

A visual representation of the specific subcorpus composition used in this study is presented in Figure 2.1 below which highlights the origin of each data component[4]. For ease of access, Figure 2.1 only explicitly visualizes the details of two prominent Korean communities (i.e. ILBE and Naver News).

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[4] The quantitative findings presented in this paper for this study are preliminary and based on only a portion of the subcorpus outlined here as initial coding is still in progress.
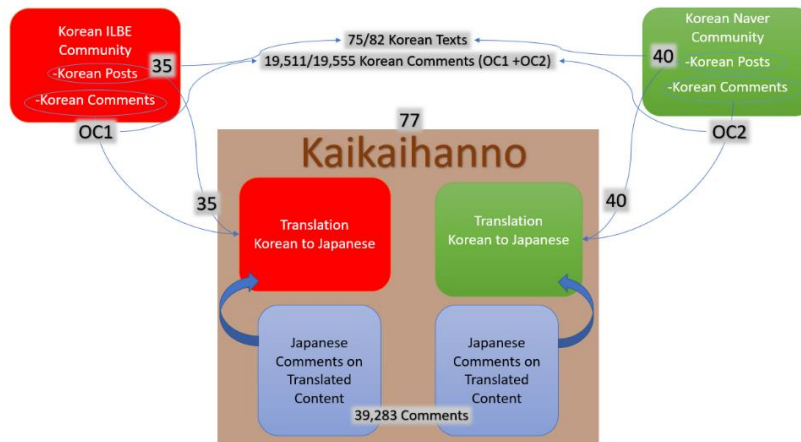
Figure 2.1 Digital Comfort Women Discourses Corpus Visualizer

As can be seen in the figure, only 'native' Korean and Japanese comment data are objects of examination (n = 19,555 and n = 39,283 respectively). The abbreviation "OC" in the figures stands for 'Original Comment', i.e. 'native' comment, and the number marks the community source with 1 being ILBE and 2 being Naver News. This is since translation itself is a social act, its own form of discourse, which may embody the attitude of the translator (Kedari, 2021:79) and may be used to achieve certain affective responses in target readers via translation techniques such as textual manipulation. Consequently, the translated comment data is not included in this study and is instead under examination as a linked study involving the Othering and Identity construction of Comfort Women in digital discourses (see Sluchinski, 2021).

2.5 Methodological Frameworks and Research Focus

Adopting a mixed methods approach combining quantitative Corpus Linguistics and qualitative Discourse Analysis (e.g. Martin and Rose, 2007; Martin and White, 2005), this study focusses specifically on the variations, in terms of both morphology and spelling, of 'Grandmother' noun referent honorifics in Japanese and Korean comments. As a primarily descriptive study, there is no hypothesis per say and the analysis is driven by an inductive bottom-up approach.

2.5.1 Coding Software and Database Management

The study used Atlas.ti, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, to code the data for all variants of the term 'Grandmother' as well as to annotate the various anaphoric and cataphoric reference chains between all the 'Grandmother' variants and other third person lexical items. Much of the coding process was carried out manually. The coreference chains were further logged into an Access database managed by variant, detailing each connected instance of reference. As outlined in Section 1, the qualitative portion which uses the reference chains to explore the pragmatic role(s) they play in politeness and the identity construction of Comfort Women is still underway and thus not presented in this paper.

2.5.2 Politeness Ranking Scale

The politeness ranking scale used in the study was generated using combined top-down and bottom-up approaches. The politeness ranking scale was obtained to have an initial view of how these expressions (or a variety of expressions) are understood by everyday language users in terms of politeness. Initially, I generated a list of possible 'Grandmother' variants in Korean, as well as one in Japanese, based on prescriptively occurring terms in line with the respective honorific systems. Following this, I then ranked the terms from most to least polite making intuitive judgements based on prescriptive definitions and experience.

To incorporate a bottom-up approach, I then carried out initial coding of the data to capture variants used by everyday language users and added any variants that were missing to the respective lists. With the lists constructed from both bottom-up and top-down approaches, I sought intercoder reliability with native speaking volunteers[5]. For both Korean and Japanese lists, I asked two native speakers to rank each term from most to least polite. There was no disagreement between native speakers on the rankings, and little-to-no disagreement between native speaker rankings and my own. The lists verified by the native speakers were used as the final politeness ranking scales employed in the Macro layer of the quantitative analysis (see Section 3 below).

3   Macro Research Focus (Quantitative)

This section introduces the preliminary quantitative findings which address the question of what 'Grandmother' variants exist. Subsection 3.1 introduces

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[5] It is important to note that, due to the sensitive nature of the topic, I did not tell the volunteers what the list was for or where the terms had come from. They were simply presented with my ranking of various 'Grandmother' variants and asked to arrange it from most to least polite.

the categories of the 'Grandmother' variants while the politeness rankings are presented in 3.2.

3.1 Variant Categories

Four distinct categories of 'Grandmother' variants were identified in the corpus: 1) Morphologically Marked: Present/Absent Suffix (see 3.1.1 below) ; 2) Morphologically Marked: Present/Absent Prefix (see 3.1.2 below); 3) Nonstandard Spellings (see 3.1.3. below); and 4) Derogatory Replacements (see 3.1.4. below).

In order to understand these categories, a brief discussion of the Japanese and Korean writing systems is in order. The Japanese writing system has access to four different scripts: *kanji* (Chinese characters), *katakana* syllabary (generally understood to be used for foreign words, emphasis and other purposes), *hiragana* syllabary (generally understood to be used when there is no Chinese character available) and *romaji* (Roman alphabet like the Korean writing system's various Roman alphabet Romanization Systems, the most recent being the Revised Romanization system implemented by the government in 2000). In contrast, the Korean writing system is heavily reliant on *Hangul* (the Korean alphabet of 24 basic letters and 27 complex letters arranged in syllabic blocks) while also having access to two additional script systems relevant for CMC, namely *Hanja* (the traditional writing system consisting mainly of Chinese characters) and the previously mentioned Roman script.

Given the difference in affordances allowed by the Japanese writing and honorific systems and vs the Korean ones, several of the four categories are language specific. Specifically, the Korean writing system does not easily allow for nonstandard spellings given the syllabic block structure. Consequently, thus far, Nonstandard Spellings have only been found in the Japanese language data. In addition to the writing systems, the honorific systems have also played a role in category exclusivity. Specifically, in Japanese it is possible to have prefix honorifics where such is not the case in Korean, resulting in the Morphologically Marked: Present/Absent Prefix also being exclusively composed of Japanese language data.

The complexity of the Japanese writing system further presents implications for the identified categories given that a given variant, for example お ばぁさん *obaasan* 'Grandmother', can belong to multiple categories. In お ばぁさん (*obaasan*), presence of prefix お- (*o-*) allows it to fall under category (2), presence of suffix -さん (*-san*) allows it to fall under category (1), and the nonstandard component ばぁ(*baa*) which exhibits use of a smaller font allows it to fall under category (3). It is for these reason that the following

subsections present only exemplars of each category to facilitate understanding and do not include quantitative representations. Instead, quantitative aspects are presented by language variant in the ultimate politeness ranking lists of Section 3.2.

3.1.1 Morphologically Marked: Present/Absent Suffix

This first category has both Japanese and Korean 'Grandmother' variants where the main noun is marked by either the presence of a suffix honorific marker (see green underlined circles in Figure 3.1 below) or the absence of a suffix honorific marker (see red underlined circles in Figure 3.1 below). In the case of Japanese, this means the presence or absence of -さん(-*san*), -ちゃん(-*chan*), -様 (-*sama*), etc. and in Korean the presence or absence of -님(-*nim*).
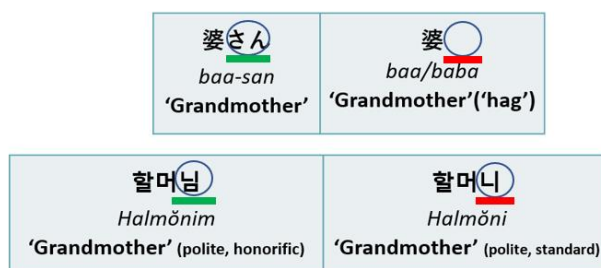

Figure 3.1 Type 1 Grandmother Variant Morphologically Marked: Present/Absent Suffix

3.1.2 Morphologically Marked: Present/Absent Prefix

This second category has exclusively Japanese 'Grandmother' variants where the main noun is marked by either the presence of a prefix honorific marker (see green underlined circles in Figure 3.2 below) or the absence of a prefix honorific marker (see red underlined circles in Figure 3.2 below). In the case of Japanese, this means the presence or absence of お- (*o-*).

Figure 3.2 Type 2 Grandmother Variant Morphologically Marked: Present/Absent Prefix

3.1.3 Nonstandard Spelling

This third category has exclusively Japanese 'Grandmother' variants where the scripts are flouted to achieve pragmatic and visual effects. Scholars such as Sebba (2011: 27) have noted that the deliberate choice of script in a singular writing system can be seen as a purposeful social action. Comparative standard vs nonstandard variants are shown in Figure 3.3 below with the red underline marking the nonstandard features.

おばあちゃん	オバーチャン
O-baa-chan	*O-baa-chan*
'Grandmother'	**'Grandmother'**
おばあさん	をばあさん
O-baa-san	*O-baa-san*
'Grandmother'	**'Grandmother'**

Figure 3.3 Type 3 Grandmother Variant Nonstandard Spelling

3.1.4 Derogatory Replacements

This fourth category has both Japanese and Korean 'Grandmother' variants. In the case of Japanese, neither honorific suffixes or prefixes are present, leaving what may be termed as the "*babaa* stem[6]" (see green underline in the left box of Figure 3,4 below) which may be combined with derogatory suffix *-domo*, or the whole word is replaced with something else (i.e. 'Grandmother' in Korean pronunciation and stylized in *katakana*. See the right box of The Japanese entry in Figure 3.4 below). In the case of Korean, the honorific suffix is absent and the 할 '*hal*' syllabic block is combined with other derogatory syllabic blocks and/or compound nouns (see Figure 3.4 below).

ババア共	ハルモニたち
ba-baa-domo	*ha-ru-mo-ni-tachi*
'Grandmother'	**'Grandmother'**
	(Korean)
할망구	할마시
Halmanggu	*Halmasi*
'hag'	**'not as bad as hag'**

Figure 3.4 Type 4 Grandmother Variant Derogatory Replacement

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[6] The term "*babaa* stem" is coined as such because *babaa* is the most common form and listed in dictionaries. Other variants of phonetic similarity, such as *baba*, are less common shorter variants or independent forms. With *babaa* as the starting point, shortened forms can be considered as examples of nonstandard spelling/writing.

3.2 Politeness Rankings

Quantitatively, 14 core Korean 'Grandmother' variants (see Table 3.1 below) and 32 core Japanese 'Grandmother' variants (See Table 3.2 below) were found in the corpus. By core variant, I refer to the singular form of the variant with the corresponding quantitative number encompassing both singular and plural forms, with allocation distinction in brackets. The data is presented this way was due to the relatively low occurrence of plural, and the grammatical difference being reflected in both languages via suffixation.

With regards to the Korean variants, a total of 1,773 tokens were identified. Within this number, almost 76% were the standard, plain 할머니(들) *halmeoni(deul)* 'grandmother(s)', which ranked as the third most polite variant overall. Of the 1,345 tokens, 728 were singular and 617 were plural. The second most frequent variant was the Busan dialect variant: 할매(들) *halmae(deul)* 'grandmother(s)' ranked fourth most polite with a collective of 238 tokens, while the utmost polite form 할머님(들) *halmeonim(deul)* 'grandmother(s)' was the third most frequent at 4.5% and a collective total of 80 tokens. The most frequent derogatory variant was 6) 할망구 *halmanggu* 'grandmother hag' at only 1.5% and 27 tokens. Some variants tied in terms of their politeness ranking; this is reflected in the numbers to the left of the respective variant entries. The last two entries were difficult for speakers to rank and thus have an XX ranking.

TERM	ROMANIZATION	(N)	(% WITHIN/1,773)
1) 할머님(들)	halmeonim(deul)	63(17) = 80	4.5%
2) 할머니분(들)	halmeonibun(deul)	0 (4) = 4	0.2%
3) 할머니(들)	halmeoni(deul)	728 (617) = 1,345	75.9%
4) 할매(들)	halmae(deul)	217 (66) = 283	16.0%
4) 할마시(들)	halmasi	9 (6) = 15	0.8%
5) 할마씨(들)	halmassi(deul)	4 (1) =5	0.3%
6) 할망	halmang	0 (1) = 1	0.06%
6) 할망구	halmanggu	26 (1) =27	1.5%
7) 할매미	halmaemi	8 = 8	0.5%
8) 할매치곤(들)	halmaechigon(deul)	1 (0) = 1	0.06%
9) 할매년(들)	halmaenyeon(deul)	1 (0) = 1	0.06%
10) 할매새끼(들)	halmaesaekki(deul)	0 (1) = 1	0.06%
XX) 할애(들)	harae(deul)	0 (1) = 1	0.06%
XX) 할무이	halmui	1 = 1	0.06%

Table 3.1 Korean Grandmother Variant Politeness Ranking

With regards to the Japanese variants, a total of 112 tokens were identified (see Table 3.2). The Japanese data is unique in that there are three politeness tiers, reflected in gradient colour coding. Dark green represents the utmost polite tier where a variant has either a prefix honorific, suffix honorific, or both and houses rankings 1-5 (see Table 3.2). In the rankings, 1, 1A, and 1B are of equal politeness according to native speakers and A and B are categorized under 1 because they are nonstandard spellings of the standard form. The quantitative total for Tier 1 is 52 tokens, a total of 46.4%. Light green represents a progression into impoliteness and houses rankings 6-12; as the rankings move farther away from 1 the more impolite they were deemed to be (see Table 3.2). The quantitative total for Tier 2 is 11 tokens, a total of 9.8%. Red represents the utmost impolite tier, i.e. derogatory variants of the *babaa* stem (see Table 3.2). There are several things to note about Tier 3: 1) all *babaa* stems are ranked as equally impolite regardless of orthographic variation (i.e., 13A-13N); 2) Tier 3 houses a total of 49 tokens which amounts to 43.8% of all Japanese tokens. Taken holistically, the Japanese 'Grandmother' variants lean towards being more impolite and derogatory (9.8% + 43.8% = 53.6%) than being standard or polite (i.e., 46.4%).

TERM	ROMANIZATION	(N)	(% WITHIN /112)
1) おばあさん(たち)	obāsan (tachi)	17(1) = 18	16.1 %
1A) おばぁさん	oba asan	1 = 1	0.9 %
1B)をばあさん	obāsan	1 = 1	0.9 %
2)お婆さん	obāsan	9 = 9	8.0 %
3) おばあちゃん	o bāchan	4 = 4	3.6 %
3) オバ―チャン	obāchan	1 = 1	0.9 %
4) おばさん(たち)	obasan (tachi)	2 (1) = 3	2.7 %
5)婆さん(達)	bāsan (tachi)	10 (5) = 15	13.4 %
6)ばあさん(たち)	bāsan (tachi)	1 (0) = 1	0.9 %
7)バアサン	bāsan	1 = 1	0.9 %
8)ば―さん(たち)	ba san (tachi)	0 (1) = 1	0.9 %
9)バ―さん	bā san	1 = 1	0.9 %
10) バア さん(たち)	bā san (tachi)	0 (1) = 1	0.9 %
11) 婆ちゃん(達)	bāchan (tachi)	1 (2) = 3	2.7 %
12) ばあちゃん	bāchan	3 = 3	2.7 %
13A) ばばあ(達)	baba a (tachi)	2 (1) = 3	2.7 %
13B) ババア (達)	babā (tachi)	0 (1) = 1	0.9
13C) ババア(たち)	babā (tachi)	11 (1) = 12	10.7 %
13D) ババア	baba a	3 = 3	2.7 %
13E)ババ―	babā	3 = 3	2.7 %
13F) 婆(達)	baba tachi	7 (1) = 8	7.1 %
13G)ババ	baba	2 = 2	1.8 %
13H) 婆婆	baba baba	1 = 1	0.9%
13I) 婆あ	baba a	1 = 1	0.9%
13J) バアア	bāa	1 = 1	0.9%
13K) BAA	BAA	1 = 1	0.9%
13L) BBA (ども)	BBA domo	9 (1) = 10	8.9 %
13M)ババアども	baba a domo	1 = 1	0.9%
13N)ババア共	baba a domo	1 = 1	0.9%
14) ハルモニたち	harumoni tachi	1 = 1	0.9%

Table 3.2 Japanese Grandmother Variant Politeness Ranking

4 Conclusion

The current paper has reported on the quantitative portion of the project (i.e. the first research stage at the Macro layer). In general, the preliminary quantitative results presented in this working paper suggest that in the Korean communities Comfort Women are referred to neutrally, with a tendency to be more polite than impolite, whereas in the Japanese community they tend to be referred to in a derogatory manner. Strategies that contribute to this derogatory reference are lack of honorific affixes, nonstandard spellings, and vulgar word replacements. Furthermore, in terms of Grandmother variants, Japanese presents much more variation than Korean as a result of the available scripts, syntactic-morphological honorific structure, and affordances allowed by the CMC environment.

The quantitative research focus outlined thus far unites with the currently underway second stage of the study, the qualitative research focus, which relies on Discourse Analysis to ask what implications these 'Grandmother' variants have for im/politeness in digital Comfort Women discourses. That is, while the quantitative portion is a descriptive survey at the discursive Macro layer, the qualitative portion targets pragmatic usage at the discursive Micro layer. This Micro layer is formed by the pragmatic usage of the Grandmother variants in rhetorical contexts to achieve various pragmatic functions (e.g. a reference chain of おばあさん *obaasan* 'Grandmother'(honorific) and 売春婦 *baishunpu* 'prostitute'). These two research focuses then wholistically unite to address the following research questions in progress: 1) What 'Grandmother' variants exist, and 2) What reference chains exist among the variants and what are their implications for rhetorical politeness and the identity construction of Comfort Women.

The politeness scales outlined in Section 2.5.2 are also being used in the Micro layer pragmatic analysis of reference chains in cases of rhetorical usage to help explain why a reference chain of おばあさん *obaasan* 'Grandmother'(honorific) and 売春婦 *baishunpu* 'prostitute' can be seen in the data.

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