



L

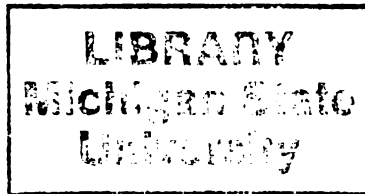
This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
A STUDY OF THE DISCOURSE MARKER
NANKA IN JAPANESE

presented by
Makiko Saito

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for
Master's degree in Linguistics

Major professor

Date June 19, 1992



PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
OCT 26 1996 H-8793497		
JAN 15 1998 (H)7309676		

A STUDY OF THE DISCOURSE MARKER NANKA IN JAPANESE

By

Makiko Saito

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Linguistics and German,
Slavic, African, and Asian Languages

1992

ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE DISCOURSE MARKER *NANKA* IN JAPANESE

By

Makiko Saito

The function of Japanese discourse markers, especially *nanka* 'like, somehow' was studied in informal conversation with four male and four female native speakers of Japanese. This study was mostly based on Schifffrin's study (1987) in which she analyzed eleven discourse markers in English. Based on my data, five words were considered as Japanese discourse markers in my study. They are *nanka* 'somehow', *dakara* 'so', *demo* 'but', *datte* 'but, because', and *sorede* 'and, then'. Each of them has its literal meaning as well as one other meaning that is closely related to its discourse context. Among these discourse markers, *nanka* occurred more than sixty percent out of all the occurrences of discourse markers. This study shows that the occurrence of the marker *nanka* is sensitive to age, rank (i.e. power) differences, and the degree of relaxation, but not gender. Moreover, production of *nanka* is closely related to individual differences. The functions of *nanka* are 1) softener, 2) turn initiator, and 3) filler.

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and debt first to Professor Mutsuko Endo Simon, my chair thesis advisor. I greatly respect her as a linguist, a teacher of Japanese, and a considerate person. Since I started a master's program at Michigan State University, she has been a wonderful adviser who taught me both the sternness and the pleasure of learning and teaching. Her continuous academic interest strongly inspired me to understand more about Japanese language. It is hard to describe in words how fortunate I was to have met her. Without her guidance and patience, this work could not have been done better.

I also would like to express my appreciation to my thesis committee members, Professor Susan M. Gass and Professor Dennis R. Preston. They kindly spent many precious hours giving me significant comments and discussing various points of this work.

My sincere thanks go to the seven subjects who participated in the interviews and to my friends in linguistics who offered me valuable advice and suggestions.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their endless encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES	4
2.1. Studies in English discourse markers	4
2.1.1. Studies in the 1970's	4
2.1.2. Studies in the 1980's	6
2.1.3. Schifffrin (1987)	7
2.2. Studies in Japanese discourse markers	9
2.3. Definition of discourse markers in Japanese	13
3. METHOD AND PROCEDURES	14
3.1. Procedure	14
3.2. Participants	16
3.3. Fragmentation of data	16
4. RESULTS	18
4.1. Japanese discourse markers	18
4.2. The results of all groups	34
4.3. Female group	38
4.4. Male group	44
4.5. Mixed group	48

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	53
6. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH . . .	60
APPENDIX	63
BIBLIOGRAPHY	64

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	List of subjects	16
Table 2.	Summary of Japanese discourse markers	31
Table 3.	Number of <i>nanka</i> by three groups	35
Table 4.	Summary of numbers of clauses, <i>nanka</i> , and percentage of <i>nanka</i> used by all subjects	36
Table 5.	Occurrence of <i>nanka</i> according to the position of the clause	37
Table 6.	Summary of characteristic features of <i>nanka</i> by female, male, and mixed groups	52

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Percentages of occurrence of the discourse markers in Japanese	19
---	----

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FP	final particle
NEG	negative
O	direct object marker
PAST	past tense
Q	question marker
S	subject marker
TAG	tag-question-like auxiliary verb forms

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Discourse markers play one of the important roles in conversation, since they not only support the structure of the conversation, but they most of the time also express critical information of their own. Discourse markers are "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin, 1987: 31). They are strongly connected with their discourse content and, therefore, they cannot be explained only by the syntactic characteristics of sentences.

One of the most recent works on discourse markers is Schiffrin (1987), in which she discusses several English discourse markers--*oh, well, now, then, y'know, I mean, so, because, and, but, and or*. In her study, she illustrates among other things whether these markers have meanings, whether they have functions, and what they add to coherence.

In this thesis, I analyze discourse markers in Japanese, focusing particularly on the discourse marker *nanka* 'like', as it occurs prominently in Japanese discourse. I also investigate whether discourse markers in Japanese function the same way as those in English do and, if they do not, the reasons. One of the reasons why I chose this topic is that there has been little research in this field. Another reason stems from my pedagogical interest. As Stubbs (1984: 203) points out, a model of language should focus on language in use in connected discourse.

Discourse markers are important, as well as syntax or phonology, for second language learners to master in order to achieve native-like competence.

Schiffrin (1987) does not discuss gender differences in the use of discourse markers. In Japanese, however, gender is one of the important factors in analyzing discourse, as it is marked even in a short phrase or in choice of words (Kindaichi, 1957). Therefore, the use of discourse markers might also show some differences between men's and women's speech. Moreover, since indirectness is greatly favored in Japanese (Kindaichi, 1975; Itasaka, 1978), there might be some discourse markers which indicate indirectness and vagueness.

In this study, I take both a quantitative and qualitative approach. The quantitative approach is objective; since it deals with frequency, it can show the tendency of the speakers' preferences in words. With this approach one can also generalize certain properties of discourse markers such as their position in sentences and types. In contrast, the qualitative approach is more subjective in that the interpretation of the observer plays an important role. With this approach one can examine the content of each discourse marker. Because of the two characteristics of these approaches, I feel that adopting only one of them is insufficient. Therefore, both approaches are taken in this study.

My study is mostly based on the seminal work on discourse markers, Schiffrin (1987), which clearly presents English discourse markers. I will attempt to demonstrate: i) what types of discourse markers are in Japanese, ii) how they function and whether they contribute to making conversation coherent, and iii) whether there are any differences in the

use of discourse markers in men's and women's speech, and if there are, how they are different.

Based on the points mentioned above, the following hypotheses are considered:

- A. Japanese discourse markers have almost the same functions as those of English discourse markers.
- B. There are some discourse markers in Japanese which indicate indirectness and vagueness.
- C. There are differences in the use of discourse markers between men and women.

The format of the present thesis is as follows. In chapter 2, I review some of the previous studies on discourse markers. In chapter 3, I discuss the method and procedures adopted in my study. Chapter 4 outlines the results of the study. In chapter 5, I present my analysis of these results, along with my conclusion. Chapter 6 discusses the limitations of the present study and some suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

2.1. Studies in English discourse markers

In the literature, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections seem to constitute the bulk of discourse markers. Although there have been numerous analyses of the syntactic and semantic characteristics of these categories, Quirk (1955) was the first to conduct discoursal studies on them. He drew attention to the importance of "recurrent modifiers" such as *you know*, *you see*, and *well* in colloquial English. Stubbs (1983) also points out that studies of these categories in discourse sequences are of great interest to sociolinguists, since their functions greatly vary depending on the position of a given discourse. Below I review some of the major works on the elements that can be regarded as discourse markers.

2.1.1. Studies in the 1970's

After Quirk (1955) there was not much study on discourse markers in the 1950's or 1960's. However, there appeared an increasing number of studies in the 1970's.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 303-4) observes that *we-ell*, *O.K.*, and *so-co* are marked as a kind of pre-closing device, or more precisely, "possible pre-closing". That is, these words are often used to close a

discourse on a given topic. Not only that, they can also function to open a discourse on a new topic.

Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) states that in taking one's turn, especially when it is overlapped, there are some common turn-entry words which begin a turn. They are, for example, *well*, *but*, *and*, and so . According to them, an overlap with the previous turn will not harm the constructional development which these turn-entry words begin.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 269) discusses some conjunctive items as follows. When *now* is stressed, for example, it is deictic and not cohesive. If it is not stressed it opens a new stage in the communication, such as a new incident in the story, a new point in the argument, or a new attitude of the speaker. Also, *well* typically occurs at the beginning of a response in dialogue. "Response" differs from an "answer" in that "response" is to make a return by some action, whereas "answer" is to comply with a question based on one's knowledge. When the addressee emphasizes *well*, not only does it indicate an acknowledgement of the question, but an answer can be expected to follow. In contrast, when *well* is reduced, it indicates that what follows is a response to what has preceded, and *well* is sometimes combined with the respondent's claim showing a reluctance.

Labov and Fanshel (1977: 182) agrees with Halliday and Hasan's analysis by saying that *well* expresses the connection between what precedes it and what follows it. In addition to that function, they add that *well* is also used to shift topics.

Not many studies were done on discourse markers other than *well* in the 70's except for Von Glaserfeld (1974) and Polanyi (1979). The former analysed the word because from a philosophical and logical view,

and concluded that *because* has something to do with causation. He categorizes *because* into four groups; 'material' causes, 'formal' causes, 'efficient' causes, and 'final' causes, according to its causal relations. This study, however, is not fully based on natural conversation. Polanyi (1979) explains that with *you know* people structure the stories they tell. She states that the marker *you know* gives the audience a strong impression that what the speaker is saying is the truth, and therefore that speaker's implication must be understood.

2.1.2. Studies in the 1980's

In the 1980's, the study of discourse markers developed more fully than in the 1970's.

Wootton (1981) shows that *well* can mark "non-grantings" in a conversation between parents and children. According to him, *well* is used before "non-grantings", but not before grantings. In child to parent request sequences, *well* appears in the parent's response to indicate that the child's request will not be granted. Wootton argues that this initial non-granting *well* is used to minimize the rejection sometimes and to maximize the possibility of granting at other times. I speculate that it is also true in adult-adult conversation.

Owen (1983: 44) suggests that *well* might be interpreted as a hesitation marker, that is, a speaker uses *well* when he/she cannot come up with expected responses to the offered assessments, questions, requests, and offers. He also adds that *well* can precede a response when the presupposition of a question itself needs to be canceled. In

other words, *well* expresses the speaker's difficulty in not being able to answer.

As was pointed out in section 2.1., Stubbs (1983) emphasizes the importance of analyzing discourse markers in conversation. Since the markers make no syntactic predictions, syntax has little to say about them. Neither does semantics have much to say about the markers, because they are not used in their literal sense. Stubbs (1983: 68) points out that one of the main facts about such markers is that they are essentially interactive; they relate an utterance to another. *Well* used in utterance-initial position in spoken language is especially very difficult to translate into other languages, because it has no propositional content, and the meanings given in dictionaries are based only on written data.

Beaman (1984: 60-61) presents an analysis of the coordinating conjunctions: *and*, *but*, and *or* in the spoken and written languages. The result of his experiment was that the actual frequency of coordinating conjunctions such as *and*, *but*, *so*, *or*, and *and so*, was twice as high in the spoken language as that in the written language. In addition, his study shows that *and* in the spoken data mostly functions as a "filler word"; i.e., it is used to avoid awkward silence.

2.1.3. Schiffrin (1987)

Schiffrin (1987) treats eleven English discourse markers, namely, *oh*, *well*, *and*, *but*, *or*, *so*, *because*, *now*, *then*, *y'know*, and *I mean*. She describes the significance of analyzing discourse markers as follows: "an analysis of discourse markers is an analysis of discourse coherence" (1987: 40). In other words, even the same discourse marker has several

different meanings depending on the situation; therefore, it is important that the speaker and the hearer understand the forms and meanings of what is said in that particular situation.

Where her analysis stands out most from all others is her detailed and close examination of the functions of each marker. She adopted the format of group sociolinguistic interviews in which she herself acted as the interviewer and also shifted her role to a participant. The sociolinguistic interviews revealed information on the participants' various situations and speech style, which contributed to the accuracy of her analysis.

In her analysis, Schiffrin (1987) used examples drawn from narratives and arguments only, because telling stories and arguing were two speech activities frequently engaged in by the participants. Regarding *well*, in addition to the functions found in earlier studies, Schiffrin adds another that it marks the "participation framework" of discourse (P.102). The term "participation framework" is originally introduced in Goffman (1981). It is said to capture speaker/hearer relations and speaker/utterance relations. Schiffrin also states that "*well* anchors the speaker into a conversation precisely at those points where upcoming coherence is not guaranteed" (p.126). This statement is generally supported by her data. For example, *well* is used much less before answers to yes-no questions than before answers to *wh*-questions. This is because, according to her, yes-no questions strictly limit respondent's options to make answering easier, whereas *wh*-questions do not provide such clear-cut options.

Schiffrin (p. 328) summarizes suggested conditions for discourse markers as follows:

- (1) 1. Syntactically detachable from a sentence
2. Commonly used in initial position of an utterance
3. Have a range of prosodic contours
e.g. tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction
4. Operate at both local and global levels and several planes of discourse, i.e., it must be vague or have no meaning at all

These suggested conditions of English discourse markers are useful in determining what can be regarded as discourse markers in Japanese, which I will discuss later in this thesis.

2.2. Studies in Japanese discourse markers

There has been almost no research focusing on Japanese discourse markers. There are, however, many studies on particles: for example, Uyeno, 1971; Maynard, 1989; Cook, 1990; and Ishikawa, 1988, 1992. Japanese is rich in particles and some of them contribute to making the conversation coherent. While discourse markers are independent words (some linguists call them "fillers"), particles are usually affixed to noun phrases and sentences. However, some linguists (e.g. Uyeno, 1971) categorize certain interjections under "particles" as will be shown directly below.

Uyeno (1971) presented the first comprehensive work on sentence particles, in which she proposed two groups of particles in Japanese. The first group of particles occurs at the initial position of a sentence. They are *a* 'oh', *aa* 'ah', *are* 'my!', *saa* 'well', *e* 'huh?', *ee* 'yes', and *maa* 'my!'. For instance, in the statements such as, *a* (*doo shi-yoo*) 'Oh, my goodness (what shall I do?)', and *saa* (*tabe-yoo*) 'well

(let's eat!)', sentences in the parentheses may be omitted because the particles at the beginning of the sentences convey sufficient information in the context: according to her, *a* indicates 'seriousness' and *saa* indicates 'let's do...'. The second group of particles called "sentence particles" are *wa*, *zo*, *ze*, *sa*, *yo*, *ne*, and *na*, which are used at the end of a sentence. Uyeno states that "these reflect the speaker's attitude in conveying a piece of information to the addressee." (p. 5) Uyeno's analysis, however, is based on the data of constructed independent sentences and short discourses, and she does not explain why sentence particles are mainly used in the spoken language.

Maynard (1989) also categorizes Japanese particles into two groups as in Uyeno (1971). One group consists of the particles which are directly related to expressing a speaker's judgment when uttering a sentence, and the other group consists of the particles whose functions are primarily grammatical. She further categorizes the particles of the first group into two subtypes; particles that occur in utterance initial position and those in final positions. Utterance-initial particles are the same as those of Uyeno (1971) and the utterance-final particles are the sentence-final particles which Uyeno calls 'sentence particles'. These particles are generally attached to sentences as in, *kyoo wa atsui desu ne* 'It's hot today, isn't it?' and *kore itadaku wa* 'I will take this'. Both Uyeno and Maynard suggest that frequent insertion of such particles in Japanese intensifies speaker's "level of involvement" in conversation.

Chikamatsu (1979: cited in Shibamoto 1985: 61) suggests that there are particles which are used exclusively by one gender and also those used by both. She categorizes sentence-final particles into three

groups according to the usage by gender: (1) *wa*, *no*, *te* used by women, (2) *ze*, *yo*, *no* used by men, and (3) *yo* and *ne* used by both men and women.

Among these particles *ne* is used most frequently in discourse. According to Uyeno (1971), Mizutani (1985), and Kindaichi (1975), *ne* is used when the speaker agrees with the hearer's assumption or when the speaker expects the hearer to agree. In other words, *ne* expresses empathy. Cook (1990: 35) adds another meaning of *ne* as something like 'you know' in English; it establishes a cooperative relationship between conversation participants. It should be noted that, while the English discourse marker 'you know' is an independent phrase, it corresponds to the particle *ne* in Japanese.

Ishikawa (1988, 1992) analyzes the sentence particle *ne* in discourse and suggests that there are three functions of the particle *ne*. First, it enacts shared information which belongs to the hearer. Second, it elicits an acknowledgement or agreement. Third, it contextualize a cooperative footing in the "participation framework". According to Ishikawa, *ne* can serve these three functions at the same time.

Sawyer (1992) analyzes the acquisition of *ne* by L2 learners of Japanese. He finds that learners tend to acquire *ne* first within a chunk like *soo desu ne* 'That's right' since it is memorizable and useful. Susan Gass (personal communication) points out that this is actually a frequent phenomenon of early language acquisition, i.e. things are learned first as a chunk.

In addition to sentence-final particles, Maynard (1989) describes "fillers" in Japanese discourse as follows:

The term "filler" refers to a broad range of utterances (including independently appearing particles) that do not carry identifiable or relevant propositional meanings. Some fillers are phrases or brief comments, as exemplified by *nanka* 'well'; some are mere empty utterables such as *uuuuu* 'uhh'. (1989: 30)

Fillers ensure that "the channel of communication remains open" and also "create an atmosphere in which the speaker shows some hesitancy and less certainty about his/her message content". (Maynard, 1989: 30) Therefore, like sentence particles, fillers also contribute to making the conversation coherent. Two types of fillers are introduced: (1) language-production-based fillers and (2) socially motivated fillers. According to Maynard, language-production-based fillers are used when smooth speech is interrupted, these fillers are usually marked with what Maynard calls "meta-communicational comments" such as, *uuunto*, *hora*, *are*, 'uhh...you know, that' and socially motivated fillers, which are used more frequently, occur to fill a potential silence to avoid potential embarrassment. In addition, Ohta (1991) states that hedges such as, *nanka* 'kind of/something', *ano* 'uh', and *ma* 'well' are quite common as markers of hesitation and they are used to reduce speaker responsibility for that utterance.

It is clear that the definition of fillers given above overlaps with Schiffrin's definition of discourse markers in part. On the other hand, Schiffrin's suggested conditions for discourse markers might exclude Japanese sentence-final particles, because obviously they do not occur in sentence-initial position. In the next section I will discuss and define discourse markers in Japanese.

2.3. Definition of discourse markers in Japanese

As stated in chapter 1, Schiffrin (1987) defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk". What this means is that syntactic, prosodic, and information units of talk are bounded depending on a discourse content. Therefore, we cannot just take out a discourse marker from a sentence to observe its meaning; it has to be observed in relation to the discourse content.

Maynard (1989) uses a term filler, and it has two functions as mentioned above. I speculate that what Maynard calls "language-production-based fillers" are mere empty utterances, which have no particular meaning besides filling a pause to avoid awkwardness in conversation. On the other hand, what Maynard calls socially-motivated fillers create an atmosphere in which the speaker shows some hesitancy and less certainty about his/her message content. We cannot predict this from the literal sense of the word; it is closely connected to the discourse context. We can see that Schiffrin's definition of discourse markers and Maynard's definition of fillers overlap in part. Maynard's definition of fillers can be divided into two types. That is, socially motivated fillers could be discourse markers in Japanese, which is also consistent with Schiffrin's view, because both linguists suggest that an element has a different meaning depending on the context. In this study, I regard Japanese discourse markers as those words that have separate meanings than those expressed in a discourse context. That is, Japanese discourse markers are independent words which have literal meanings as well as other meanings that are closely related to their discourse context.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

3.1. Procedure

The format I employ in the present study is group interviews, following Schifffrin (1987). Here the term *interview* is used though it may actually resemble regular conversation. In sociolinguistic interviews, what is the most important is to minimize the effect of the Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972), that is, how to observe the way people talk when they are not being systematically observed. In order to minimize this paradox, various interviewing skills and strategies were used.

There are three groups: one with all female speakers, one with all male speakers, and one with two male and two female speakers. One of the four female participants is myself. In the all female and mixed groups, I acted as the interviewer and also as a participant. In the all male group, I asked one speaker to act as the interviewer as well as a participant. The three groups will be compared in terms of the types and usage of the discourse markers. Moreover, one of the purposes of forming three different groups is to observe how gender affects the occurrence of discourse markers. Within each group, one individual is designated as an "interviewer" who more or less leads the conversation as necessary. However, the role of an interviewer was kept to a minimum

in order to create a natural setting. The reason why I chose such a format is that, since a one-to-one interview tends to make participants nervous, authentic data may not be obtained by it. In contrast, during group interviews, people can address and sometimes reinforce each other at any time and they feel much less pressure than when they are formally interviewed. Moreover, since the participants are acquainted with each other, they are more relaxed. I believe that the vernacular provides a fundamental baseline of language analysis.

The interviews, each of which lasted one hour, took place in one of the participants' apartment and they were recorded on audio tape. Each group interview was held separately. The same gender group interviews (female/male) were performed before mixed group interview. During the interview, the participants were basically free to talk about anything they chose. However, to make the conversation flow, the "interviewer" first asked other participants in each group *Amerika ni kite ichiban odoroita koto wa nan desu ka?* (What surprised you the most when you came to the United States first?) and *Amerika ni kite kara ichiban taihen datta koto wa nan desu ka?* (What was the hardest thing(s) you experienced since you came to the U.S.?) Also, the interviewer added such topics as 'students at Michigan State University', 'Japan bashing', 'future career', and so on. After the interview, participants were asked to fill out an 'information sheet' which includes sex, age, student status, hometown in Japan, years of residence in the U.S., and major. (See Appendix) This information will help us to see the participants' different styles of conversation.

3.2. Participants

Four men and four women participated in this study. They are all native speakers of Japanese and are currently students at Michigan State University. Their ages range from 21-31 years old. The participants all have known each other for approximately two years, and therefore, they usually talk in colloquial (informal) style, not in polite style.

Table 1. List of subjects

Subject	Sex	Age	Student status	Hometown in Japan	Years of residence in the U.S.	Major
A	F	27	G	Osaka	4 years	Sports psych.
B	F	29	G	Yokohama	1.8 years	Educational psych.
C	F	28	UG	Kanagawa	4.7 years	Linguistics
D	F	29	G	Tokyo	3.8 years	Linguistics
E	M	21	UG	Ibaraki	4.5 years	Physical education
F	M	27	G	Fukuoka	3 years	Agricultural econ.
G	M	31	G	Saitama	3 years	Physics
H	M	22	UG	Tokyo	3 years	Public administration

UG=undergraduate

G=graduate

3.3. Fragmentation of data

Japanese sentences are usually broken into a number of smaller units in informal conversation. Chafe (1980:14) suggests that "clause-final rising or falling pitch is the single most consistent signal" of what he calls an "idea unit" and each unit usually carries one information piece. The "unit of talk" in Schifffrin's (1987) definition

of discourse markers is similar to Chafe's "idea unit". This notion of "unit" is important in analyzing the data, because a sentence is not the most appropriate unit to understand language use and social interaction. Discourse markers occur quite freely in sentences and are difficult to define syntactically. Also, sentences are often extremely difficult to identify in informal speech. I therefore adopt this "idea unit" for the analysis of my data and regard an idea unit as a clause for the sake of convenience.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In this section, I will proceed in the following manner. First, I present Japanese discourse markers appearing in my data along with their frequency. Second, I list each marker in its literal sense and also as a discourse marker. Third, I focus on the marker *nanka*, as this is the most frequently used marker. I will demonstrate its occurrence as a discourse marker in detail, used in each of the three groups: female, male, and mixed groups.

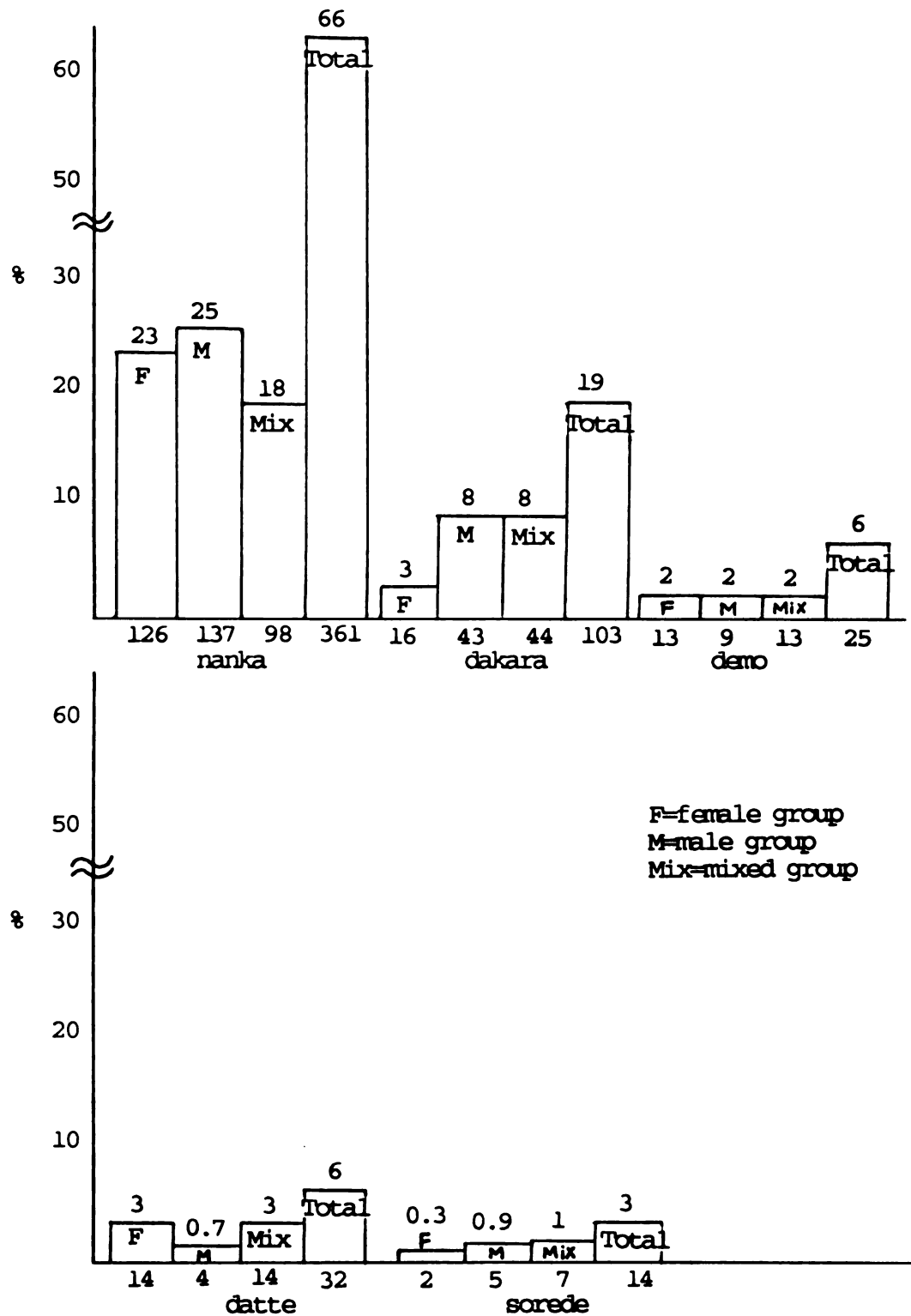
4.1. Japanese discourse markers

Based on my data, I consider the following five words as discourse markers in Japanese: *nanka* 'somehow', *dakara* 'so', *demo* 'but', *datte* 'but, because', and *sorede* 'and, then'. The percentages of occurrence of these markers classified by groups are shown in Figure 1.

As is clear in Figure 1., *nanka* occupies more than a half of the occurrence of all the discourse markers (66%) and *datte* follows it (19%). Notice that the difference in the percentage between the two is large.

Below I list each of the Japanese discourse markers when expressing their original (literal) meanings as well as functioning as

Figure 1. Percentages of occurrence of the discourse markers
in Japanese



discourse markers. I will discuss the most frequently used word *nanka* more in detail in the sections following it.

Nanka is a word derived from *nanika* via euphony according to the Japanese dictionary called *Koojien*. *Nanika* means 'some, any, something, and anything'. The original use of *nanka* is shown in example (2).

- (2) F: ~~Nanka~~ toraburu toka nai? sooiu no.
 any trouble such have-NEG that kind
 'Don't you have any trouble of that kind?'

Nanka in (2) is used as 'any' to modify *toraburu* 'trouble'. In the next example (3), *nanka* is also used to modify the following word *warui koto* 'wrong thing'.

- (3) D: Atashi, ~~nanka~~ warui koto shita kana to omotta mon.
 I some(thing) wrong thing did wonder that thought
 'I thought that I did something wrong.'

In my data, *nanka* is more often used as a softener to avoid directness of the speech. In (4), for example, the speaker talks about people's large payments to stores resulting from the frequent use of their credit cards.

- (4) G: Marui no maitzuki sa harai ga sa, ~~nanka~~ goman
 Marui's every month payment S something like 50,000
 mo rokuman mo natte sa.
 even 60,000 even become FP
 'Monthly payment to Marui will be even something like 50,000
 or 60,000 yen.'

Not knowing the exact amount of the payment, *nanka* is used to express it vaguely. If the speaker had not used *nanka* in the above example (4), it would sound as though he were certain about the amount (i.e. either 50,000 yen or 60,000 yen). Similarly in (5), speaker F gives his opinion starting with *nanka*.

- (5) A: *Nanka* biiru to piza tte awanai ki ga suru.
 somehow beer and pizza match-NEG feeling S do
 'Somehow I don't think beer and pizza go together.'

The speaker F used *nanka* to make his statement less assertive. Therefore, not only does *nanka* express its original meaning 'something; anything' but it further seems to function as a buffer, so to speak, to show less certainty or directness. I will return to this marker in sections 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5.

The second frequently used word is *dakara* 'so; therefore'. The original function of this word is to conjoin reason and result. (6) and (7) illustrate the use of *dakara* in its typical conjunctive function: B explains her disadvantage in her career caused by staying in the U.S. for two years.

- (6) B: *Hokano daisotsuno ko yori ninen okurechau, dakara*
 other univ.graduate person than 2 years behind so
 meritto janakute demeritto.
 merit be-NEG-and demerit
 'I will be 2 years behind than other university graduates, so
 it's not a merit but a demerit.'

Speaker B states her reason that *she will be two years behind* before the word *dakara* and then the result "it's a demerit". In example (7) below, G explains that there is an individual telephone for each person in a hospital. While in (6) *dakara* conjoins the same speaker's clauses, G says *dakara* following another speaker's utterance.

(7) D: Hitori hitotsu zutsu?

a person one each

'One (telephone) each person?'

G: Un, *dakara* sokoni kakere ba chokusetsu tsunagaru no.

Yeah, so there call if directly connect FP

'Yeah, so if you call there, it will be directly connected.'

Speaker D's utterance is a reason and a result follows after *dakara* in speaker G's utterance. In both examples (6) and (7), the word *dakara* conjoins reason and result, which is its original function. In contrast, the following example (8) shows the use of *dakara* as a discourse marker. Speaker H enthusiastically tells what surprised him when he first came to the U.S.

(8) H: Kita toki ni kita toki ni, *dakara* anukooru rui ni

came when at came when at alcohol kind on

seigen ga atta.

limitation S there was

'When I came, when I came, there was a limitation (of age) on alcohols.'

In speaker H's utterance, there is no reason-result relationship. Neither was there an explicit statement that can be interpreted as expressing reason in the utterance prior to it. *Dakara* in this case seems simply to emphasize his statement ("there was a limitation of age on alcohols"). In the next example (9), there is also no reason-result relationship; speaker G begins his utterance with *dakara* right after F's question.

- (9) F: Sorede joochoo o ete doo suru no?
 then information O get how do Q

'Then, what do you do after getting the information?'

- G: *Dakara* compusaabu tteno wa ironna saabisu ga aruwake.
 compu.service called S various service S there are

'There are various (kinds of) service in computer service.'

Again, in (9), *dakara* seems only to emphasize the following statement. *Dakara* in this case could mean that "what I want to say is..." or "let me explain this..." In my data, the male speakers used *dakara* more than the female speakers (see Figure 1.). This might be a result of this characteristic of *dakara*. An overuse of *dakara* seems very argumentative because expressing one's opinion emphatically using *dakara* gives the impression that the speaker is very aggressive. I speculate that women try to avoid too much use of *dakara* since in a society like Japan, women are supposed to be less aggressive than men.

As a conjunction, *demo* 'but' indicates an opposition to the previous statement. In example (10), speaker G opposes speaker F's opinion using *demo* at the beginning of his utterance.

- (10) F: Nihonjin dattara ikoo tte iu kedo ne.
 Japanese if go say though FP
 'If they are Japanese, they would go, though.'

G: Demo amerikajin wa ikanai yona.
 but American S go-NEG FP
 'But Americans wouldn't go.'

Demo is also used to combine two clauses said by the same speaker, as shown in (11). H describes what he drinks more of since he came to the U.S.

- (11) H: Kihontekini gyuumyuu shika toranai yo, demo kocchi kite
 basically milk only take-NEG FP but here since
 kara poppu wa ooku nomu.
 since pop S much drink
 'Basically I take only milk, but since I came here I drink much pop.'

Demo in its conjunctive function indicates an opposition like in example (10) and (11) above. On the other hand, as a discourse marker, *demo* is used to contrast an upcoming unit with a prior unit, as Schiffirin (1987) suggested regarding the English discourse marker *but*. Example (12) shows that speaker F begins his utterance with *demo*. Just before F's utterance, they were saying that there is a mutual friend who makes terrible noise when he eats.

- (12) G: Zenzen nanka sa zenzen mawari kinishinai no. zuu zuu zuu
 at all at all around mind-NEG FP

'He doesn't mind (the people) around him. He makes a terrible noise when he drinks (soup) like zuu zuu zuu.'

F: Aa, soo.

oh yeah

'Oh yeah?'

G: Sorede nanka sa, ocha mottekonai to sa, cha motte koi
and FP tea bring-NEG FP tea bring come

ya. (LAUGH)

FP

'And when (a waiter) doesn't bring tea, he shouts "bring me tea!"'

F: Demo nanka Suzuki-san no rumumeito ga kono ue ni
 Mr. Suzuki's roommate S this upper in

sunde nda kedo, raamen taberu toki ni moo odoraita tte.
live but noodle eat when very surprised said

'Mr. Suzuki's roommate is living in the upper floor, but he
said that he was so surprised when his roommate ate noodles.'

Speaker F's statement is not opposed to anything, but contrasts with the prior subject. The next example (13) indicates that, in its usage, *demo* returns to contrast the original subject instead of the prior subject. The speakers are talking about anesthesia at the dentist's office.

(13) C: Nani koo hurikakeru dake de kiku wake?
 what like this sprinkle only by work

'It works only by sprinkling it?'

B: Un nanka ne nanka kuda no saki kara detekun no.
 yeah FP tube of tip from come out FP

'Yeah, it comes out from the tip of a tube.'

D: ~~Demo~~ tashikani soo dayo ne, masui ga itai ndamon.
certainly true be FP anesthesia S hurt

'It's certainly true, since it is anesthesia (injection) which hurts.'

First they talked about an anesthesia injection (main topic), then speaker B talked about a gas type anesthesia (sub-topic), and finally speaker D goes back to the main topic (anesthesia injection), contrasting the former topic beginning with *demo*. The discourse marker *demo* might retain the literal meaning 'but'. However, it is extended to a different lexical unit. When *demo* is used as a discourse marker, the speaker's thoughts are still connected to the prior topic (not the present one).

Datte 'because, but' is usually used to indicate a reason and to oppose something at the same time. In example (14), E says that speed skating shoes are not for rent and he gives a reason after the word *datte*.

(14) E: Aaiu rinku dewa supiido sukeeto kasanai yo, *datte*
that kind rink at speed skating rent-NEG FP because
kutsu yori konna nagai ndamon.
shoes than this much long

'At that kind of rink, speed skating shoes are not for rent,
because (the edge is) this much longer than the shoes.'

Example (15) shows that *datte* is used to oppose C's opinion. Speakers C and G are talking about a local area in Tokyo.

(15) C: Are wa eki no gyakukawa de kaisha no aru hoo
 that S station of other side on company S be side
 janai jan.
 not

'That is on the other side of the station and not on the side
 where the company is.'

G: Soo? datte mise wa mukoo no hoo ni ooi jan.
 so but stores S other of side on many

'Is that right? But there are many stores on the other side.'

Datte in (15), in a way, has almost the same usage as that of *demo*, since they both are used to oppose a previous statement. However, in a particular discourse content, *datte* is used to assert or express speaker's claim or opinion. Example (16) is a conversation between speakers H and E's about pizza in Japan. Speaker E uses *datte* to assert what he knows over speaker H's statement.

(16) H: Nisen ka sanzenen surun desho are.
 2,000 or 3,000 yen cost TAG that
 'That costs 2,000 or 3,000 yen, right?'

E: **Datte** ima nomiyasan de dasun desho, piza tte.
 now bar at serve TAG pizza

'They serve pizza at the bar now, don't they?'

Speaker E's *datte* in (16) does not indicate a reason or opposition to H's statement; it simply expresses his observation. In other words, he wants to emphasize or justify himself by adding more information. In the next example (17), speakers C and D discuss *Kamikaze* (suicide)

corps. *Datte* occur at the beginning of D's utterance to declare her opinion.

- (17) C: Soo da yo. Are muchakucha da yone.
 right be FP they crazy be FP
 'That's right. They are crazy.'

D: Kamikaze desho? **Datte** are wa sugoi meeyo dato
 Kamikaze TAG that S very honor be
 omotten damon ne.
 think be FP
 'Kamikaze, right? They think that it is such an honor.'

Speaker D adds more information (it is such an honor) to speaker C's utterance following the marker *datte*.

Sorede 'and, then' is used to coordinate sentences and also to indicate a succession of time in its literal sense. For instance, in (18), *sorede* is used to combine two features of speed skating shoes.

- (18) E: Hontono yatsu wa konnani nagain da yo, **sorede** sugoi
 real thing S ike this long be FP and very
 toidearu kara abunain da yo
 sharpened since dangerous be FP
 'A real thing (edge of the shoes) is like this long, and since it is sharpened so much, it is dangerous.'

The next example shows a succession of time. B is telling a story that one of B's friends was involved in a suspicious hypnotic seminar and became a leader of the seminar.

- (19) B: Shidoosha ni made nacchatte **sorede** soko de kekkon aite
 leader even became then there marriage partner
 made mitsuke chatta no.
 even find PAST FP
 '(She) even became a leader, then (she) even found a marriage partner there.'

In example (19) two events, becoming a leader and finding a marriage partner, happened at two different times. *Sorede* tells us the order of these events. When *sorede* occurs utterance-initially, it does not express the literal meaning; rather, it indicates a result. In (20), for example, a result is given after the *sorede*.

- (20) G: Amerikajin wa oo gata ga ooin dayo ichiban.
 American S O type S many be most
 'Blood type O is the most common one among Americans.'
- F: A, honto?
 oh really
 'Oh, really?'
- D: Eebii mo ooin da yone, igaito.
 AB also many be FP unexpectedly
 'Unexpectedly, there are also many type AB (people).'
- F: **Sorede** so, sooiu seikaku shiteru nda.
 th, that kind character have FP
 'That's why they have th, that kind of character.'

The next example also shows that *sorede* is used to indicate a result. Speakers F and G begin their utterances with *sorede* after speaker H says that he was surprised because there was an age limit in selling alcohol.

(21) H: Nenree seegen ga atta koto kocchi kite kara odorote,
 age limit S be-PAST thing here come since surprised
 de kafe ni itta toki rooto biao tteno ga atta.
 and cafe to went when root beer called S be-PAST

'I was surprised at the limitation of age when I came here, and
 when I went to the cafe, there was a drink called "root beer."'

F: **Sorede** ano areyane ano ikkai ryugaku o
 well that well once studying abroad o
 jitai shiyoo to.
 decline try to do

'That's why well, that well, you once tried to decline to go on
 a study abroad program.'

G: **Sorede** bureiku no tabi ni kanada ni iku to (LAUGH)
 break every in Canada to go

'That's why you go to Canada during every break.'

Sorede in both speaker F and G, can be translated as 'that's why', and it indicates results of what speaker H did. Table 2. is a summary of Japanese discourse markers in their literal meanings and their meanings as discourse markers.

While the words discussed above are all discourse markers, several words can be regarded as fillers. They are: *ano* 'well', *sono* 'well', *maa* 'well, ah', *hora* 'well', *iya* 'well', and *mo* 'well'. Even though I categorize them as fillers, there is still a fuzzy area between discourse markers and fillers. I will present examples of some fillers to show what fillers are like. Among the fillers, *ano* occurs most frequently (35%) and *iya* follows it (25%). They are so-called 'language-production-based fillers' (Maynard, 1989) and they usually occur when a speaker stumbles or cannot come up with an intended word

Table 2. Summary of Japanese discourse markers

	Literal	Discourse marker
<i>nanka</i>	'some, any, something, anything'	uncertainty, softener indirectness
<i>dakara</i>	'so, therefore' conjoins reason and result	emphasizer
<i>demo</i>	'but' opposition	contrasts with the prior subject
<i>datte</i>	'but, because' opposition, indicates reason	asserts or claims one's opinion
<i>sorede</i>	'and, then' coordinates sentences	result

immediately or to gain time while groping for a word. For example, (22) indicates a typical use of *ano* as a filler.

- (22) F: Netetara ikinari **ano**, dare dakke **ano** Indiana ni ita sa
 sleeping suddenly well who be Q well Indiana in was FP
 nantoka-san.
 something Ms.

'When I was sleeping, suddenly, well, who was it? well, Ms.
 something, who was in Indiana.'

Next example shows the use of *sono* as a filler.

- (23) F: Sorekara ato **sono**, minna no kurashi no yoosu wa?
 then well everyone of living of situation S
 'Then, well, (how is) everyone's living situation?'

Sono and ano function almost the same as a pause filler. The word *hora* has two usages: one is an interjection to get people's attention and the other is a mere filler. Example (24) shows that *hora* is used to get attention.

- (24) A: **Hora**, mite.
 hey look
 'Hey, look!'

Hora in my data is mostly used to fill a pause when a speaker is groping for a word. In the next example, *hora* occurs with *ano* in succession.

- (25) D: Yoku minna Marui de sa **hora** **ano** suutsu toka tsukuru
 often everybody Marui at FP well well suit like make
 nda yone, geppu de.
 be FP monthly payment by
 'Everybody often has like, well, well, a suit made at Marui on
 a monthly payment plan.'

Moo is used to state emphatically. This is shown in example (26).

- (26) G: **Moo** chuugakkoo gurai no toki kara, **moo** zenzen
 Jr. high school about of when since at all
 suugaku dekinaktta.
 math. can-NEG-PAST
 'Since about Junior high school, I couldn't do mathematics at
 all.'

The first *moo* could mean 'already' and emphasizes *chuugakkoo* 'Jr. high school' and the second one emphasizes *zenzen* 'at all'.

Maa is also used to fill a pause. Example (27) indicates that speaker E seeks what to say.

(27) F: Infomeeshon komittii?

information committee

'Information committee?'

E: Un ~~maa~~ dakara yoo wa dakara nandemo shiri tai
yeah well point S everything know want

koto boku ni itte mitaina.

thing me to ask like

'Yeah, well the piont is, like "ask me everything that you want to know."'

Finally, the word *iya* has two meanings: one is an interjection meaning 'no' and the other is as a filler meaning 'well'. In example (28) *iya* is used to mean 'no'.

(28) F: Nande? yasui kara?

why cheap because

'Why? Because it's cheap?'

G: *Iya* chigau, geppu dakara.

no not right monthly payment because

'No, it is not, because it is a monthly payment.'

The next example indicates the use of *iya* as a filler. After a long talk speaker F concludes the topic starting with *iya*.

(29) F: Yooko-chan no koto mo aru kedo are hanasu to nagaku
 Yooko of story also be but that talk if long
 naru kara. (LAUGH)
 become since

'There is also a story about Yooko, but if I tell that it's
 going to be long.'

H: Tsugi ikooze tsugi!
 next let's go next

'Next, let's go on to the next(topic)!'

F: Iya moo nanka iroiro aru kedomo.
 well various be but

'Well, there are various stories.'

Speakers F made fun of what speaker H did before and speaker H was embarrassed (he wants to change the topic). Then finally speaker F finishes the topic about speaker H starting with *iya*. Interestingly, there were many more filler words in informal speech than I had expected.

As I have shown above, there are several discourse markers and fillers in Japanese, and it is interesting to note that only one discourse marker, *nanka*, accounts for over sixty percent of the entire occurrence of discourse markers. In the following sections, I will therefore focus on the marker *nanka*.

4.2. The results of all groups

One of the purposes of forming three different groups was to observe how gender affects the occurrence of discourse markers. Table 3. shows that there was virtually no difference in the occurrence of

nanka among the three groups. In each group, the total number that *nanka* occurred was divided by the total number of clauses. In the mixed group, the percentage (7%) is slightly lower than those of the other two groups. In this group, *nanka* occurred 96 times with male speakers and only twice with female speakers. The result of female speakers (number of *nanka* =2, number of clauses=379) in the mixed group distorts the result of the mixed group.

Table 3. Number of *nanka* by three groups

	Female group	Male group	Mixed group
Number of <i>nanka</i>	126/1107 (11%)	137/1096 (13%)	98/1271 (8%)

Without the result of female speakers (i.e. the result of male speakers), the number of times *nanka* occurred is 96 while the number of clauses is 892. Therefore, the percentage is 11%, which is almost the same result as those of the female and male groups. Again, according to Table 3., the density of the marker *nanka* shows almost no difference among the three groups.

Table 4 shows that there is a large individual difference in the number of clauses. Subjects C, D (female) and F, G (male) participated in two different interviews (female/male group and mixed group). The smallest number of clauses (84) is found with the male speaker E in the male group interview and the largest number of clauses (516) is found with the male speaker F in the male group interview.

Table 4. Summary of numbers of clauses, *nanka*, and percentage of *nanka* used by all subjects

Subject	Sex	Number of clause	Number of <i>nanka</i>	%
A	F	276 (f)	54 (f)	0.20 (f)
B	F	197 (f)	25 f)	0.13 (f)
C	F	217 (f) + 171 (mx) =388	8 (f) + 0 (mx) =8	0.04 (f) , 0 (mx) 0.02
D	F	417 (f) + 208 (mx) =625	39 (f) + 2 (mx) =41	0.09 (f) , 0.01 (mx) 0.07
E	M	84 (m)	1 (m)	0.01 (m)
F	M	516 (m) + 461 (mx) =977	50 (m) + 47 (mx) =97	0.10 (m) , 0.10 (mx) 0.10
G	M	332 (m) + 431 (mx) =763	72 (m) + 49 (mx) =121	0.22 (m) , 0.11 (mx) 0.16
H	M	164 (m)	14 (m)	0.09 (m)
Female total		1486	128	0.09
Male total		1988	233	0.12

f=female group
m=male group
mx=mixed group

These numbers indicate that speaker E did not participate in the conversation so much and that speaker F spoke and dominated the conversation most of the time. The largest percentage of *nanka* (0.22) is produced by the male speaker G, followed by the female speaker A (0.20). The smallest percentage of *nanka* is observed in the male speaker E (0.01). The total of the two percentages of female and male (0.09, 0.12 respectively) show that there is not a large gender difference in the frequency of *nanka*; however, there is a dramatic difference in the mixed group. The number of *nanka* used decreases expect in the case of one male subject F (where the percentage is the same). These numbers suggest that the presence of the opposite sex may influence the occurrence of *nanka*. A reason for this might be the speakers' hesitation in speaking to the opposite sex and they could not speak as freely as in a single sex group.

Nanka occurs not only clause initially, but also medially and finally. Table 5. shows the distribution of occurrence of *nanka* in

Table 5. Occurrence of *nanka* according to the position of the clause

	Female group	Male group	Mixed group	Total
Total	126	137	98	361
Initially	50 (40%)	47 (34%)	31 (33%)	128 (35%)
Medially	70 (56%)	74 (54%)	55 (56%)	199 (55%)
Finally	6 (5%)	16 (16%)	12 (13%)	34 (10%)

three different groups. *Nanka* occurred most clause-medially (55%) and occurred least in final position (10%). The distribution of *nanka* is almost the same all through the three groups. Clause-final *nanka* in the male and mixed groups (16%, 13% respectively) occurred slightly higher than that in the female group. This is related to the fact that the frequency of clause-initial *nanka* in the male and mixed groups is slightly lower than that in the female group. The above quantitative results show that there is little differences according to gender in general; however, both female and male speakers use *nanka* less frequently when speaking in the mixed group. In the following sections, I will show some qualitative results which do indicate gender differences and also the same tendencies of *nanka*. I am going to show these results by the groups; female, male, and mixed groups.

4.3. Female group

In the female group conversation, *nanka* was mostly used to make a statement vague or uncertain, and also to avoid an assertion or a strong claim. Below are some examples which indicate this.

Nanka often occurred utterance-initially, it also occurred with male speakers; however, it seems that female speakers preferred to use this initial *nanka* than male speakers. when *nanka* occurs initially, it indicates that the speaker is not sure about what she is going to say. In (30), for example, speaker B is telling the group that she is still afraid of talking to Americans because of her poor English, and that even after she goes back to Japan, she will still be uncomfortable with foreigners.

(30) B: *Nanka* ima no hoo ga hidoi kamoshirenai (LAUGH)
 now S worse perhaps

'Perhaps I am worse now.'

(D: Fuun)

mmm

'Mmm'

Nanka minna atashi ga shabe rerun janaika to
 everybody I S speak can that
 omotterun janaikana
 think wonder

'I wonder if everybody will think that I can speak (English).'

These occurrences of *nanka* in (30) can be interpreted as "I am not sure but..." or "I don't know well but...". Moreover, in (31) speaker A explains about an incident surrounding a new religion which happened a couple of years ago in Japan.

(31) A: *Nanka* sono musumetachi wa jihatsutekini atsumattan
 those girls S spontaneously gathered

datte, kyoso no uchi ni
 I hear founder of religion of house to

'I hear that those girls gathered spontaneously at the founder
 (of the religion)'s house.'

Nanka in (31) also indicates the speaker's uncertainty about what she is going to say. By using *nanka* at the beginning of the utterance, the speaker signals that "I am not sure about this but let me say....". In a way, a speaker defends him/herself first by showing his/her lack of unconfidence or uncertainty.

Nanka sometimes occurs with other discourse markers and fillers. Especially in the female group conversation, *nanka* often occurred with the discourse marker *demo*. It occurred six times with female and twice with male speakers. In example (32), speaker D shares her experience that at a restaurant people were talking about Japanese after the Japan bashing, and she was uncomfortable in that situation. *Demo* and *nanka* are used in succession.

(32) C: Mite hanashiteta kamoshirenai yo.

look talked perhaps FP

'(Those people) perhaps talked looking at you.'

D: Iya, sonna koto naika wakan naikedo, **demo nanka**

no that thing NEG know NEG but

sooiu hanashi shiteta

that kind talk did

'No, I don't know that it isn't the case, but they were talking about that kind (of thing).'

Demo is a marker to express an opposing opinion. Therefore *nanka* after *demo* here suggests that the speaker used it to softens her opposition. Also in example (33), *nanka* is used with *demo*. Speaker D says that one of her friends changed after participating a hypnotic seminar.

(33) C: Sore hontoni kiku no kana.

that really effective wonder

'I wonder if that is really effective.'

D: **Demo nanka**, "atashi akaruku natta mitai" toka itteta mon.

but I cheerful became seem that said

'But she said, "I have become cheerful."'

Again, in (33) above, *nanka* following *demo* softens speaker D's statement. Without *nanka*, speaker D's opinion can be simple opposition against speaker C's assumption that the hypnotic seminar may not have been effective, but *nanka* is inserted to avoid it. Therefore, *nanka* can be interpreted as functioning as a buffer.

Repetition of *nanka* often happens with female speakers. It occurred seven times with female and only twice with male speakers. Shibamoto (1985) states that repetition of word is one of the characteristics of woman's speech. For instance, (34) illustrates B's explanation about anesthesia at the dentist's office. *Nanka* is repeated twice.

- (34) B: Un, *nanka* ne *nanka* kuda no saki kara detekuru no.
 Year FP tube of tip from come out FP
 'Yeah, it comes out from a tip of a tube.'

Similarly, the next example shows the use of *nanka* twice in succession. The speaker is also female.

- (35) A: Sooiu ne shiriai no okusan toka sa, koto ga atta
 that acquaintance's wife like FP thing S happened
 kara sa, honto *nanka nanka* yoku wakara nai na
 since FP really well understand NEG FP
 toka omoun da kedo ne.
 think be FP
 'Since the thing like that happened to acquaintance's wife, I
 don't think that I really understand (articles in a magazine)
 well.'

It seems that these repetitions of *nanka* not only indicate more uncertainty, but also the fact that the speaker is looking for a word as in the case with the filler *ano*. In addition to *nanka*, other discourse marker also were repeated. One of the examples is with *datte*.

- (36) D: Datte datte haratta bun, datte betsumi ooen mitaini
paid part separately Owen like
ne, maikai haratteru wake janai kara ne.
FP every-time paying case NEG because FP
- 'Since a part you paid, separately like Owen, it is not the
case that you are paying everytime.'

Datte is repeated twice in succession and used again later.

When an utterance ends with *nanka* in female speech, it often indicates that the speaker could continue on, but she does not want to express the rest; she lets the hearer(s) guess what she wants to say. The use of utterance-final *nanka* in male speech is different in that the sentence is complete in itself and *nanka* simply happens to be postposed from its original position. (For discussion on Japanese postposing, see Simon, 1989.) In example (37), C tells how thunder is frightening and dangerous and speaker A responds in an incomplete sentence ending with *nanka*.

- (37) C: Shokkushi ka nanka shiran kedo, san nin
death from shock or something don't know but 3 person
gurai.
about

'I don't know if it was a death from the shock or something,
but about 3 people (died).'

B: Hieeee

WOW

'Wow'

A: Aaaa, sore wa **nanka**....

my! that S

'My! That is....'

Speaker A could have finished her utterance by saying same such thing as "(my! that is) too bad" or "(my! that is) terrible," but she did not. However, we can easily guess what speaker A wanted to say from the context. In the following example speaker A also implies something after the marker *nanka*. Speaker D confesses that she gained much weight in the first year in the U.S. because in the dormitory she could eat as much as she wanted. Speaker C stops at *nanka* and does not complete her sentence.

(38) D: Atashi wa are o yatte ichinenme sugoi futtocchattan
I S that O do first-year very gain weight
da kedo sa.
be FP

'I did that first year and gained so much weight.'

C: Soo **nanka**... (LAUGH)
yeah

'Yeah? (That's)....'

Speaker C could have continued on by saying something like, "(Yeah? That's) awful! I feel sorry for you." or "(Yeah? That's) too bad, you should have been more careful," but she did not say anything. The

incomplete (syntactically loose) sentence is also one of the characteristics of women's speech (Shibamoto, 1985).

As I have shown, *nanka* in the female group is generally used to soften the tone and to indicate indirectness.

4.4. Male group

In the male group, two subjects (F and G) produced conspicuously large number of clauses (see Table 3.), which means they dominated the conversation and the other two subjects listened most of the time. Therefore, the topics of the conversation were mainly F and G's experiences, opinions, and explanation about some events.

The male speakers also used *nanka* to make a statement vague. In the following example (39), F tells what he read in a magazine about graduate students in Japan. There are three occurrences of *nanka*.

- (39) G: Nihon no gakusee tte **nanka** are dayo ne, kurai shi,
 Japanese student such be FP not cheerful and
nanka daigaku, daigakuinsee toka tokuni michi
 gradu, graduate student such as especially street
 no mannaka aruite toorenai tte iu kara ne. un
 of middle walk through-can-NEG say FP oh
 konocida, **nanka** Aera kananka shinbun iya zasshi
 recently Area something newspaper no magazine
 miteta ndakedo, **ano** nihon no daigakuin wa suramu
 looked but well Japan in grad.school S slum
 ka shiteru tte.
 like become they say

'Japanese students are not cheerful. I heard that graduate students cannot walk in the middle of the street. Oh, recently

I looked at Area or something, newspaper? no magazine, well they say that graduate schools in Japan are becoming like a slum.'

Three occurrences of *nankas* in (39) indicate uncertainty of the speaker. The first *nanka* would function as a filler 'well', the second one can be interpreted as "I am not sure but...", and the third one emphasizes his lack of confidence in what he was looking at (newspaper or magazine). This usage of *nanka* is the same as that of the female speakers.

In the male group, *nanka* is also used with other conjunctives and discourse markers. Especially, the male speakers often used *nanka* with *dakara*. *Dakara* occurred frequently with male speakers, but not with female speakers (see Figure 1.). I suspect that it is because overuse of *dakara* sounds argumentative. Co-occurrence of *dakara* with *nanka* occurred seven times with male speakers and only once with female speakers. In example (40), *dakar* and *nanka* are used in succession. Speaker G explains why he does not like undergraduates' parties.

(40) G: **Dakara nanka** hanashi tetemo tsuzukanai nda yo. Nanka
talk when continue-NEG FP

hanashi tsuuka kyoomi no taishoo ga chigau kara.
talk or interest of subject S different because

'Even when I speak with them, it doesn't continue. Because the subject or our interests is different.'

F: Un

yeah

'Yeah'

G: **Dakara nanka** sa, ipp, ippantekina, mejaa nani toka sa
FP ge general major what like FP

(LAUGH) sorede owacchau nda yo ne.
 then end FP

'(I ask about) ge, general (subjects) like their majors, then that's the end of the conversation.'

As a discourse marker, *dakara* tends to emphasize (assert) the following statement. Therefore, the occurrence of *nanka* with *dakara* shows that a speaker tries to avoid a strong statement or being assertive. The next example also shows cooccurrence of *dakara* and *nanka*. G explains why the oil leaked out from the pump of his car.

- (41) G: Sono, sooiufuuni naru ichijikan ka nijikan maeni tashita
 well like that became 1 hour or 2 hours before added
 ndayo. **Dakara nanka** sono toki ni kyuuni nanka hibi ga
 FP that time at suddenly crack S
 ookiku nattan ka shiranai kedo, waaatto moreta njanaino
 big became or know-NEG but a lot leaked
 tabun.
 maybe

'Well, I added oil one or two hours before it happened. I don't know, maybe the crack became bigger suddenly at that time, but it leaked out a lot, maybe.'

Speaker G actually does not know the real reason why oil leaked, therefore, *nanka* occurred after *dakara* to make his comment less certain.

In addition, *nanka* is sometimes used to get one's turn in the male group conversation. In example (42), right after G's utterance, F starts his turn with *nanka* to get other people's attention, and he continues to talk.

- (42) G: Kocchi wa ii yona, sutaffushippu tte iumon ga aru kara.
 here S good FP staffship called S be since
 'Here (the U.S.) is good, because there is a thing called
 staffship.'

F: *Nanka*, ore mo daigakuinsee to tsukiatte, Kangaku no
 I too grad.student with associate *Kangaku* at
 koro, sono uchino kyooju ni isshookenmee ato kuttsuiteitta
 when well our prof. desperately after followed
 nda yone.

FP

'I too associated with graduate students, when I was at *Kangaku*
 well, (they) desperately followed our professor.'

Speaker F could have begun his turn without using *nanka*, but he did not.
 I speculate that, in this case, speaker F used *nanka* to avoid too abrupt
 a turn shift. Moreover in the following example (43), speaker G begins
 his turn in the middle of H's utterance, when they are discussing that
 an American company is easier to work for than a Japanese company.

- (43) H: Ii imi de yuniiku to iu,
 good sense in unique say
 'It is unique in a good sense...'

G: *Nanka*, honto sugoi daigaku made
 really very university till
 wa ammari kanjinakatta dakede. Kaisha tte sa *nanka*
 S not much realize-NEG-PAST only company be FP
 ojisan ippai iru jan.
 old men many be FP

'I only really didn't realize so much untill (I went to)
 universiy. There are many old men in a company.'

The turn shift in example (43) would also have been abrupt without *nanka*. Therefore, *nanka* is used to get one's turn and at the same time to avoid abruptness in turn shift. In the male group conversation, there were many cases when two or three people's utterances overlapped. This suggests that getting one's turn is harder than in the female or mixed group conversation. Most likely, *nanka* was used as one of the devices to gain one's turn.

There is one more characteristic of the use of *nanka* in the male group; it occurred finally. When *nanka* occurred sentence- or clause-finally, it is often a result of postposing, that is, *nanka* moved from initial or medial position to the final position. Since this postposing of *nanka* frequently occurred with the male speakers (especially in the mixed group), I will show the examples of postposed *nanka* in the next section.

4.5. Mixed group

The speakers of the mixed group were two females and two males. As table 3. shows, however, the total number of *nanka* with female speakers is only 2, but with male speakers 96. Moreover, the conversation was mostly dominated by male speakers (total number of clauses: female 379, male 892). Therefore, the results of this group regarding the use of *nanka* mainly concern the male speakers in the presence of the female speakers.

Nanka often occurred sentence- or clause-finally with male speakers. In the female group conversation, too, *nanka* was used finally, but it indicates the speaker's reluctance to continue speaking and the sentences were all incomplete. On the other hand, final *nanka* with the

male speakers is clearly the result of postposing. It is interesting that postposed *nanka* occurred frequently with male speakers, since postposing is generally occurs more in women's speech (Shibamoto, 1987; Simon 1989). Example (44) shows that though *nanka* would normally be in utterance-initial position, it was added at the end. The sentence is complete.

- (44) G: Zenzen dame nanda yo ne, *nanka*.
 at all no good FP
 'It is not good at all.'

Example (44) in canonical word order would be "*Nanka zenzen dame nanda yo ne .*" In this case, *nanka* is used to show an indirectness. Example (45a) below also shows postposing of *nanka*. Notice that the utterance-final occurrence of *nanka* here is different in nature from that in the female speaker's example (38), repeated below as (45b), in that (45a) is a complete sentence whereas (45b) is incomplete.

- (45a) G: Kocchi kara wa yasui kedo, mukoo kara wa takai
 here from S cheap though other side from S expensive
 rashii nda yo.
 hear FP
 'It's cheap from here, but from the other side it's expensive,
 I hear.'
- F: Assoo, hooo.
 oh yeah, I see
 'Oh yeah, I see.'
- G: Dakara kocchi kara bakari okutteru *nanka*.
 so here from only sending

'So I am sending from here only.'

(45b) D: Atashi wa are o yatte ichinenme sugoi futtochattan
 I S that O do first-year very gain weight
 da kedo sa.
 be FP

'I did that first year and gained so much weight.'

C: Soo **nanka**.... (LAUGH)
 yeah
 'Yeah? (That's)....'

The sentence-final *nanka* in (45a) would occur at the beginning in a non-postposed, canonical sentence. This final *nanka* is used to soften G's whole utterance which started with *dakara*. Postposing is said to occur to express an important element (information) first, and the element which appears in final position is considered secondary information. (Simon, 1989)

With the male speakers in mixed group, *nanka* often co-occurred with the filler *iya* 'well' (eight times), which did not occur at all with female speakers (even in a female group conversation). In example (46), speaker F uses *iya* and *nanka* in succession at the beginning of his utterance.

(46) F: **Iya nanka** ne, tamani aru jan, koo tenjoo
 well FP occasionally be like this ceiling
 terasu yooni natteru yatsu.
 light way become thing
 'Well, occasionally there is (a light) which lights the ceiling like this,'

The filler *iya* is used when the speaker gropes for words. The combination of *iya* and *nanka* seems to deemphasize the whole utterance. In example (47), speakers F and G discuss how to play tennis, and speaker G uses *iya* and *nanka* in succession.

(47) G: tekubi tsukawanai yo ne.

wrist use-NEG FP

'We don't use wrist, do we?'

F: Tsukawanai yo.

use-NEG FP

'We don't use it.'

G: Iya **nanka** tenisu kookoo no toki ni yatteta

well tennis high school when in do-PAST

nda kedo, sontoki itsumo iwareteta no wa hokano

but that time always was told thing S other

mono o shitara ikenai tte.

thing O do not

'Well, I played tennis when I was in high school, but at that

time I was told not to do other things (sports).'

To summarize, through three groups, *nanka* is used mostly to soften the statements, to show uncertainty, and to avoid direct and abrupt utterances. When *nanka* is repeated, it not only increases uncertainty, but also functions as a filler. A co-occurring discourse marker or filler with *nanka* differs depending on the group; however, *nanka* functions, so to speak, as a buffer in each case. Table 6 is a summary of characteristic features of *nanka* by female, male, and mixed groups.

In the next section, I will discuss the functions of *nanka* based on the above results.

Table 6. Summary of characteristic features of *nanka* by female, male, and mixed groups

	Characteristic features of <i>nanka</i>
Female group	1. uncertainty, softener, indirectness 2. co-occurrence of <i>demo</i> and <i>nanka</i> 3. repetition 4. incomplete sentences
Male group	1. uncertainty, softener, indirectness 2. co-occurrence of <i>dakara</i> and <i>nanka</i> 3. turn entry device
Mixed group	1. uncertainty, softener, indirectness 2. postposing 3. co-occurrence of <i>iya</i> and <i>nanka</i>

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As it has been demonstrated, there are discourse markers in Japanese. As far as my data are concerned, they are *nanka*, *dakara*, *demo*, *datte*, and *sorede*. Each word has its own literal use. In a discourse context, however, it often plays a different role.

Japanese and English discourse markers do not always have the same functions. *Nanka* functions all as softener, turn initiator, and filler and such a word cannot be found in English. *Dakara*, which emphasizes the following statement, does not have the same function as the English words *so*. *Sorede* indicates a result as a discourse marker much more strongly than the English discourse marker *and*. The use of *datte*, which asserts one's opinion, is also quite different from the English discourse marker *because* and *but*. Only the marker *demo* seems to have almost the same function as its English equivalent *but*; it indicates contrast with the prior subject. Thus the hypothesis A that Japanese discourse markers have almost the same functions as those of English discourse markers is not confirmed except for the marker *demo*.

The discourse markers in my data might seem very few in number. I suspect it is because the interviews were informal and the subjects were generally young (most of them were in their twenties). It is easily surmised that if the interviews (conversations) had been more formal and

between people not so close or with older people, such as, in business meetings, formal parties, and classroom situations, the result would have been different. Social distance influences the whole organization of the conversation (Ventola, 1979). Thus, words such as *shikashi* 'but', *keredomo* 'but; however' which are usually used in a formal setting and can function as discourse markers would likely happen in the settings mentioned above, but they did not in my data.

The discourse markers which indicate indirectness and vagueness were not found except the marker *nanka*. It is worth noting that the occurrence of *nanka* occupies more than sixty percent of all the occurrences of discourse markers. (See Figure 1.) Interestingly, during the interviews, I did not notice so many occurrences of *nanka*; however, when I listened to the tapes after the interviews, *nanka* is actually used very frequently and occurs at various points in a conversation. Thus, the hypothesis B that there are some Japanese discourse markers which indicate indirectness and vagueness is partially supported by the frequent occurrence of *nanka*, but other discourse markers do not show such functions.

One thing that I had not expected before the interviews was large individual differences in number of clauses. In the female group, one speaker (speaker D) spoke almost twice as long as other speakers (D=417, speakers A=276, B=197, C=217). In the male group, speaker F uttered 516 clauses which is almost six times as large as that of speaker E (84), who participated least in the same group. (See Table 4.) I suspect that the reason for the relatively many utterances by speakers D and F is that, since they were participating as the interviewer, they felt responsible to keep the conversation flow during the interview.

Concerning the male group, particularly speakers F and G dominated the conversation. The possible reason for this is the age difference, which is an extremely influential factor in Japanese discourse in general. Nakane (1970) points out that in everyday affairs one always has to be aware of the addressee's age and rank in order to differentiate one's speech styles. Even though all the speakers in my study are friends who always speak in informal style, speakers F and G are graduate students and speakers D and H are undergraduate students. Therefore, the difference in age and also rank (graduate or undergraduate) might have influenced their conversation.

As in the male group, speakers F and G also dominated the conversation in the mixed group, even though there were not conspicuous age and rank differences (except for one female speaker who is an undergraduate student). Then why did speakers F and G dominate this group also? It is conceivable that the male speakers wanted to show their superiority to the female speakers by speaking about their knowledge and experience. Another possibility is the personalities of speakers F and G. They are generally talkative and always try to entertain others (this certainly is true in the male group conversation). As a result, speakers F and G talked a lot compared to the female speakers.

Interestingly in the male group, the speakers with power over others (resulting from higher rank, for example) spoke more, and as a result, produced more *nanka*. The male speakers with less power than others spoke less and hence produced fewer *nanka*. Therefore, in terms of quantity of speech, I feel that power is an important factor especially for male speakers. Regarding the female group, on the other

hand, whether one has power or not does not seem to influence the number of utterances, at least in my data. However, it does influence the occurrence of *nanka*. The participant who has more power used *nanka* more frequently and the participant who has less power used it less frequently.

With both female and male speakers in the mixed group, the occurrence of *nanka* decreased compared to the same gender groups, except in the case of one male speaker (though the percentage stayed the same). (See Table 4.) This suggests that in this case the presence of opposite sex may have an affect on the use of *nanka*. Adler (1978: 46) points out that subjects tend to decrease intensity to the same-sex experimenter and increase intensity to the opposite-sex experimenter. In my study, it seemed that both female and male speakers were somewhat conscious about the presence of the opposite sex, even though they are in relatively similar status in terms of age and rank. This result might suggest that the occurrence of *nanka* is sensitive to how much a speaker is relaxed, that is, when the speaker is relaxed he/she uses *nanka* more frequently than when he/she is not relaxed.

Another point that I had not anticipated was that the male speakers produced *nanka* much more often than I expected. Shibamoto (1985) states that women's speech is more polite and softer than men's speech. As *nanka* is one of the softening devices, I had expected that the difference in frequency of *nanka* between female and male speakers would be large; however, it was not the case. On the contrary, not only did the male speakers use *nanka* much more often in the mixed group, in general, they used other discourse markers frequently as well (see Figure 1.) Female and male speakers used *nanka* in different ways.

Female speakers tend to use it in repetition, in succession with the discourse marker *demo*, and in incomplete sentences. Repetition and incomplete sentences are general characteristics of women's speech (Shibamoto, 1985). On the other hand, male speakers tend to use *nanka* as a turn-entry device and as a result of postposing, and it often co-occurred with *dakara*. Therefore, the hypothesis C that there are differences in the use of discourse markers between men and women is supported; however, it is only with *nanka*. The use of other discourse markers were not analyzed in this study.

On the other hand, individual differences were more prominent. Speaker A (female) and speaker G (male) used *nanka* very often. Furthermore, these speakers used many other discourse markers and fillers compared to other speakers. Speaker A generally talked slowly, and when she talked she seemed to be trying to choose the best word in the context as much as she could. As a result, she used many filler words. Moreover, her personality might have contributed to producing frequent *nanka*. Although she spoke often, she always tried to be modest and respected other people's opinions. It is possible that this tendency frequently triggered her to use *nanka* as a softener.

Speaker G is the oldest participant in this study. He had five years of working experience before he came to the U.S. and he is generally considered a very knowledgeable person. Since he likes to share his experience, the number of his utterances was very large. Also he often interrupted other speakers' utterances, and *nanka* was used as a turn entry device. I suspect that this is one of the reasons why *nanka* occurred very often in his utterances.

On the other hand, Speaker E used *nanka* least among the eight subjects of this study. He is the youngest person. I had noticed prior to this study that he is age conscious and that he sometimes uses formal speech style even to close friends as long as they are older than he. Therefore, for him, this age and rank difference may have kept him from participating more actively in the conversation.

In conclusion, it is possible that the occurrence of *nanka* is sensitive to age, rank (i.e. power) differences, and the degree of relaxation, but not gender. Moreover, production of *nanka* is closely related to individual differences.

As we have seen, the discourse marker *nanka* seems to have several functions. First, *nanka* contributes greatly to softening the utterance. Why *nanka* is used so frequently to soften the utterance? This can be explained from one of the characteristics of Japanese conversation. In my data, there were some cases that the speakers exchanged different opinions. In Japanese, people generally try not to disagree, but when they have to do it Japanese people usually hesitate rather than overtly disagreeing (Hinds, 1976: 141). This hesitation device could be the use of *nanka*, which results as softening the utterance (opinion). For this reason, *nanka* was frequently used.

Also, *nanka* as a softener represents another important character of the Japanese language. Japanese people do not like to express things directly. Kindaichi (1975) states that in Japanese one prefers to say everything moderately (gently) as much as possible, and also that Japanese people generally appreciate indirect expressions. Moreover, Itasaka (1978) observes that the Japanese language has a tendency to avoid telling right from wrong. His statement might be too extreme, but

to a certain extent it explains the reason why *nanka* is used so frequently to make the utterance vague, as if to wrap it in a wafer.

Nanka usually does not occur when a speaker talks with definite certainty or when a speaker asserts a very strong opinion. Therefore, *nanka* is often used in reported narratives, since in reported narratives it is the case that the story is not their own experience, but something they have heard from somebody else, so the reliability of the story tends to be low and the speaker tells what he/she has heard with uncertainty. Therefore *nanka* occurred frequently.

Second, *nanka* can begin a new turn. As shown in Table 5. *nanka* occurring initially shows the second largest percentage. Especially with the male speakers' conversation in which the utterances often overlapped and taking one's turn was more difficult, *nanka* seemed to be used to get one's turn. I suspect this is due to the nature of this word. As the speaker avoids an abrupt turn shift, the word *nanka* is uttered first to get an attention of other people.

Third, *nanka* also has a function as a filler. Since it is used to fill a pause when a speaker seeks a word just like *ano*, and *sono*.

We have examined the discourse markers in Japanese, particularly *nanka*. Although *nanka* is used by both men and women, it is sensitive to age, rank (power), and the formality level of talk. The functions of *nanka* are 1) softener, 2) turn initiator, and 3) filler. This marker is used in everyday conversation to make it coherent--which cannot be explained only by the literal sense of the word, "some, any, something, and anything."

CHAPTER 6

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this section, I will discuss what could have been done for obtaining more legitimate result of this study and some suggestions that this study could lead in the future.

First, I made the hypothesis that there are differences in the use of discourse markers between men and women, and it was supported with *nanka*. On the other hand, there is not an important difference according to the gender in producing the number of *nanka*, except in the mixed group. I believe that the reason why there is not a large difference between male and female speakers is because two male and two female speakers participated in two groups, male/female and mixed. That is, speakers C and D (female) and speakers F and G (male) composed the mix group. My intent was that the conversations would be in informal style, which meant that the participants had to be friends who know each other equally well. The speakers who participated in the mixed group seemed to be somewhat influenced by participating in exclusively one gender group, since the mixed group interview was held after the same gender group interviews.

Second the role of the interviewer should have been considered more carefully. In the female and male groups, the speakers who were assigned to be interviewers tended to speak more than other speakers.

Actually I myself was the interviewer of the female and mixed groups (speaker D). I felt that especially in the female group, I had to speak more as interviewer because every time a topic ended, other participants asked me (interviewer) for another topic. The shift in roles (interviewer and participant) might have influenced the participants' speech style. This problem also makes us think again what a linguistic interview should be. It is important, or even crucial, to create a natural setting so that participants do not feel that they are participating in a study.

Third, the social status (power) and the personalities of the participants should have been taken into account. Though the personality traits are less controllable, speakers' speech style, such as fast and slow, talkative and less talkative, might very well influence the result. Rank difference is a very delicate issue among Japanese people. I had assumed that the difference of graduate and undergraduate does not make any difference; however, it actually a sort of superiority in male graduate speakers. Perhaps either just graduate or undergraduate students should have been chosen. Especially in the male group, the differences in age and rank were large.

This study suggests many possible future research directions. First, how the degree of formality of speech affects the occurrence of *nanka*. For example, in formal and informal parties and meetings, how large a difference may be observed. Second, as Sawyer (1992) analyzed second language learners' acquisition of sentence-final particle *ne*, it would be interesting to observe how *nanka* or other discourse markers are acquired by non-native speakers of Japanese. Similarly, as Hays (1992) observed the use of English discourse markers by native speakers of

Japanese, it will be worth finding out how proficiency level in Japanese correlates with use of discourse markers; for instance, it may be that if learners are proficient in speaking Japanese, do they use more discourse markers or not? Third, does the length of residence in the U.S. influence Japanese people's use of discourse markers?

Although the present study only touched on one aspect of Japanese discourse markers, I hope that it will help us to understand more about Japanese informal conversation.

APPENDIX

INFORMATION SHEET

Please answer the following questions.

1. Name: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Sex: Male Female
4. Classification (circle one): Fr. So. Jr. Sr. Grad.
5. Major field of study: _____
6. Hometown in Japan: _____
7. How long have you been in the U.S.? _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, M. K. (1978). *Sex Differences in Human Speech: A sociolinguistic study*. Helmut Buske Verlag Hamburg.
- Beaman, K. (1984). Coordination and subordination revisited: Syntactic complexity in spoken and written narrative discourse. In D. Tannen. ed. *Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
- Chafe, W. (1980). The deployment of consciousness in the production of a narrative. In W. Chafe (ed.), *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production*, 9-50. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Cook, H. M. (1990). The sentence-final particle *ne* as a tool for cooperation in Japanese conversation. In Hoji, H (ed.). *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*. Center for the Study of Language and information. Stanford, California.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*, 124-57. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. (Originally published in *Semiotica*, 25: 1-29. 1979.)
- Halliday, M. A. K. and R. Hasan. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hays, P. (1992). Discourse markers and L2 acquisition. A paper presented at the twelfth Second Language Research Forum, Michigan State University, April.
- Hinds, J. (1976). *Aspects of Japanese Discourse Structure*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.
- Ishikawa, M. (1988). The cognitive and Interactional functions of the Japanese sentence particle *ne* in Discourse. *Southern Review*, 3: 24-35.
- Ishikawa, M. (1992). A synthesis of three approaches to discourse: An analysis of the Japanese sentence particle *ne*. A paper presented at Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting. Philadelphia, PA.

- Itasaka, G. (1978). *Nihongo no hyoojoo* [Expressions of Japanese language]. Tokyo: Kodansha.
- Kindaichi, H. (1957). *Nihongo* [The Japanese language]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kindaichi, H. (1975). *Nihonjin no gengohyoogen* [Language expressions of Japanese people]. Tokyo: Koudansha.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. and D. Fanshel. (1977). *Therapeutic Discourse: Psychotherapy as Conversation*. New York: Academic Press.
- Maynard, S. K. (1989). *Japanese Conversation: Self-Contextualization Through Structure and Interactional Management*. *Advances in Discourse Processes* Vol. 1. Norwood. New Jersey: Ablex.
- Mizutani, N. (1985). *Nichiei hikaku: Hanashikotoba no bunpoo* [The Comparison of Japanese and English: A grammar of spoken language]. Tokyo: Kuroshio shuppan.
- Nakane, C. (1970). *Nihon no Shakai* [Japanese Society]. Tokyo: Kodansha.
- Ohta, A. S. (1992). Evidentiality and politeness in Japanese. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 2, 2, 211-38.
- Owen, M. L. (1983). *Apologies and Remedical Interchanges*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Polanyi, L. (1979). So what's the point? *Semiotica*, 25: 207-41.
- Quirk, R. (1955). Colloquial English and communication. *Studies in Communication*, 169-80. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Sacks, H., E. Schegloff, and G. Jefferson. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language*, 50: 696-735.
- Sawyer, M. (1992). Toward developing pragmatic competence in Japanese as a second language: The affective particle *ne*. A paper presented at the twelfth Second Language Research Forum, Michigan State University, April.
- Schegloff, E. A. and H. Sacks. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 7: 289-327.

- Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shibamoto, J. S. (1985). *Japanese Women's Language*. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Shibamoto, J. S. (1987). The womanly woman: manipulation of stereotypical and nonstereotypical features of Japanese female speech. In S. U. Philips, S. Steel, and C. Tanz, eds. *Language, Gender, and Sex in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shinmura, I. (1955). *Koojien*. Iwanami Shoten.
- Simon, M. E. (1989). An analysis of the postposing construction in Japanese. Unpublished dissertation. University of Michigan.
- Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse Analysis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1984). Applied discourse analysis and educational linguistics. In P. Trudgill. ed. *Applied Sociolinguistics*. London: Academic Press.
- Uyeno, T. (1971). A study of Japanese modality: A performative analysis of sentence particles. Unpublished dissertation. University of Michigan.
- Ventola, Eija. (1979). The structure of casual conversation in English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 3: 267-98.
- Von Glaserfeld, E. (1974). Because and the concepts of causation. *Semiotica*, 12: 129-44.
- Wootton, A. J. (1981). The management of grantings and rejections by parents in request sequences. *Semiotica*, 37: 59-89.