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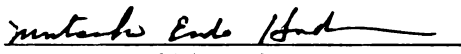
DISCOURSE MARKERS IN JAPANESE:
CONNECTIVES, FILLERS, AND
INTERACTIONAL PARTICLES

presented by

Mieko Kimura Philips

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Linguistics


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DISCOURSE MARKERS IN JAPANESE: CONNECTIVES, FILLERS, AND
INTERACTIONAL PARTICLES

By

Mieko Kimura Philips

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ABSTRACT

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By

Mieko Kimura Philips

This dissertation analyzes the functions of Japanese connectives, fillers, and interactional particles as discourse markers used by native and nonnative speakers of Japanese, using Schiffrin's (1987) framework. Quantitative analysis of these markers in relation to sociolinguistic factors is also presented.

Schiffrin analyzes 11 English discourse markers using the discourse model she proposes, consisting of five planes of talk: the ideational, exchange and action structures, the participation framework, and the information state. She argues that with their indexical functions, English discourse markers provide textual and participant coordinates for an utterance, elucidating its relationship to prior and/or upcoming utterances, or to the interlocutors.

Based upon the naturally occurring speech data, I argue that Japanese connectives, fillers, and interactional particles operate in much the same way as English discourse markers. Discourse markers are indispensable part of Japanese conversation with their functions as utterance-initial, utterance-medial and utterance-final brackets of units of talk.

The connective *de* 'and', for example, functions as a textual coordinate, connecting utterances which are in a sequential or cause-effect relationship. It also functions as a marker of speaker continuation. Fillers not only function as pause-filling devices but also display the speaker's thoughts and feelings, such as uncertainty and hesitation. Interactional

particles also reveal the speaker's feelings or attitude towards a proposition and/or the hearer.

My data suggest that the speaker's gender and speech genre are the most significant factor in the use of connectives. In the use of fillers, formality is the most significant factor. Formality and speech genre are most significantly related to the use of interactional particles.

As regards the use of Japanese discourse markers by non-native speakers, it was found that: (1) their proficiency level and the length of formal study are the two most significant factors in their discourse marker usage, and (2) when a marker has both referential and interactional functions, the former are learned before the latter.

Finally, I propose that, given their importance in natural conversation, the roles and use of discourse markers be consciously taught in Japanese language classrooms.

To all the people who supported me

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TRANSCRIPTION METHODS AND CONVENTIONS

1. Japanese transliteration is given, using the Hepburn style, except that *fu* is spelled *hu*. For double consonants such as *cha*, *chu*, and *cho*, *t* is added instead of using two *cs*. e.g. **hutatsu** 'two', **suki n natchatte** 'came to love (Audrey Hepburn)',

2. Data, examples, tables, and figures are numbered for each chapter.

3. When proper nouns appear in the data, pseudonyms are used except when it is crucial for discussion.

4. Paralinguistic and other interactional symbols are as follows:

/	recognizable pause
.	falling intonation with noticeable pause
,	continuing ("list") intonation, with a slight rise or fall, followed by a short pause
?	rising intonation
...	omission
=	linked or continuing utterances without overlap
[]	speech overlap
()	inaudible; transcription doubt
((LAUGH))	indicates various types of laughs
CAPITAL	emphasis
!	animated tone

5. When transcribing, not all morphemes are separated. Only those which are important to the present study are separated with glosses given.

6. Following abbreviations are used:

BE:	the copula, <i>be</i>
CAUS:	causative morpheme
DO:	direct object particle
EMPH:	emphatic particle
GEN:	genitive particle
IP:	interactional particle
IO:	indirect object
NEG:	negation
NOM:	nominalizer
PASS:	passive morpheme
POSS:	possessive marker
Q:	question particle
QT:	quotative marker
SUB:	subject particle
TAG:	tag question morpheme
TOP:	topic particle
VOL:	volitional form of verbs

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1. General remarks and goals of the present study

The present study analyzes the elements in Japanese conversation commonly known as 'discourse markers.' Discourse markers are defined by Schifffrin (1987:326) as "contextual coordinates, which index an utterance to the local contexts in which utterances are produced and in which they are to be interpreted." In other words, discourse markers reveal utterance-utterance relationships, speaker-utterance relationships, and speaker-hearer relationships in a given discourse context.

The English *and*, for example, signals that the utterances before and after it are in a coordinate and/or sequential relationship, and also signals the speaker's continued turn. The English *but* signals that the prior and upcoming portions of an utterance are in a contrastive relationship. Likewise, the Japanese *dakara* 'so', for example, signals that the prior and upcoming utterances are in a causal relationship. The Japanese filler *ano(o)* 'uh, well' can signal the speaker's hesitation as well as serve as an attention-getter. As such, some discourse markers contribute to discourse coherence and others function to reveal speaker-hearer relationships.

The need for further research on discourse markers is apparent upon examining any transcript of ordinary conversation. Preferred discourse markers and their frequency may vary from speaker to speaker, but there is almost no naturally-occurring conversation—whether Japanese or English, formal or informal—in which no discourse markers are used. Although there have been a number of studies on Japanese discourse markers in recent years, they have been predominantly isolated works on a limited number of connectives and final particles, such as *yo* and *ne*. Moreover, research on the use of discourse markers by non-native speakers is scarce. Thus, an extensive study of Japanese discourse markers is yet to be undertaken. It is hoped that the present study will make a contribution, albeit a

small one, both in the fields of Japanese discourse analysis and Japanese language pedagogy.

The present study deals with three categories discourse markers in Japanese: (1) logical connectives, such as *sorede* 'and' and *demo* 'but'; (2) fillers and interjections, such as *ee(to)* 'uh', *nanka* 'like' and *a* 'oh'; and (3) final particles, such as *ne* 'right?' and *yo* 'I tell you'. Connectives are positioned primarily at the beginning of an utterance, and thus function as "initial brackets," connecting the prior utterance with what follows. Fillers primarily occur utterance-medially, and function as the "utterance-medial brackets," separating the prior and upcoming portions within an utterance. Lastly, final particles primarily occur utterance-finally, and thus function as "utterance-final brackets," expressing the speaker's feelings and orientation to the addressee and/or the utterance to which they are attached. Thus, schematically, the positions of connectives, fillers, and final particles can be described as follows:

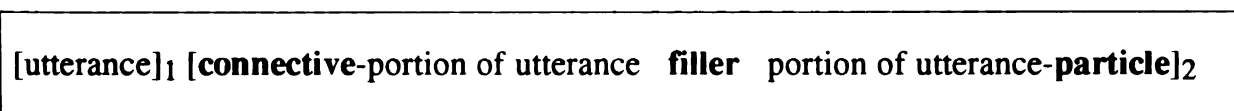


Figure 1.1 Positions of connectives, fillers and final particles

Example (1) from my data illustrates the occurrences of connectives, fillers, and final particles.

- (1) MI: a. Eigo benkyoo shiteru bokura da tte/ tsukawanakute sumimasu kara **nee**.
 English study do-PROG we BE QT use-NEG get by because IP
- b. **Demo** sono bun puresshaa ga/ **koo** tsuyoku natte kimasu kedo **ne**.
 but that much pressure-SUB in this way strong become IP
- WA: c. Ee, soo desu **nee**.
 yes so BE IP
- MI: a. Even we, who are studying English, can get by without using it, **y'know?**
 b. **But**, for that much, the pressure (on us as English teachers), **like**,

increases, **y'know?**
WA: c. Yes, you're right, **I agree.**

The connective *demo* 'but' in (b) functions as a bracket utterance-initially, signalling that (a) and (b) are in a contrastive relationship. The filler *koo* 'like this' in (b) separates the portion before *koo* and after it—the former is what is being talked about, and the latter provides the description of it, often based on the speaker's personal knowledge or experience. The final particle *ne(e)* in (a), (b) and (c) signals that the speaker and addressee know each other well and/or they are relatively close in their social status.

Connectives' functions as discourse markers seem relatively well-established. In contrast, research on so-called fillers in Japanese has been scarce. Fillers are, in Maynard's (1989a:30-31) terms, a broad range of utterances that do not carry identifiable or relevant propositional meanings, and are used to indicate the speaker's hesitancy or uncertainty about his or her message content. English expressions which are referred to as fillers include *well*, *like*, *uh*, *you know* and *if you see what I mean* (Brown and Yule 1983:17). Fillers are characteristic of unplanned face-to-face interaction, and generally do not occur in writing (Brown and Yule pp. 17-18). They are often described as devices used to "fill in pauses, when a speaker feels threatened by his interlocutor wanting to take a turn, using the first word that comes to mind rather than hunting for the *mot juste*" (Brown and Yule p. 18).

Although some fillers are undoubtedly used as floor-holding or pause-filling devices while searching for expressions, many fillers have important roles in conversation. Some researchers on English fillers have considered them as an important part of discourse. Labov and Fanshel (1977:156), for example, state that *well* as a discourse marker refers backwards to some shared topic or knowledge. Stubbs (1983:70) also recognizes the importance of *well*, *now*, and *anyway* as boundary markers, and Schourup (1982) argues for the importance of expressions such as *well*, *like*, and *you know* as devices to reveal interlocutors' thought processes.

Likewise, Japanese expressions which are typically considered to be fillers have specific functions. For example, utterance-initial *ano(o)* 'uh, well' in Japanese as is in *Anoo chotto ohanashi ga* 'uh, I would like to speak to you,' is used to show the speaker's hesitation before what he or she wants to say is actually expressed. *Ano* in *Ano ne, chotto kiite* 'Hey, listen,' is used as an attention-getting device rather than a floor-holding device.

Furthermore, each filler is restricted in terms of the situations where they can occur. If all fillers are used only as floor-holding or pause-filling devices while searching for the "right expression," any filler should suffice in any situation. However, that is not the case. For example, *ano* in *ano chotto ohanashi ga* is not replaceable by *nanka* 'like' or *uun* 'uh, well'. This means that the expressions which are categorized as fillers have more meaningful roles than merely filling in pauses or holding the floor.

Researchers, except for Labov and Fanshel (1977) and Schiffrin (1987), do not explicitly refer to fillers as discourse markers. Many fillers, however, display typical discourse marker characteristics proposed by Schiffrin (1987): syntactic detachability, bracketing of units of talk, and occupying the utterance-initial position. They thus satisfy Schiffrin's operational definition of discourse markers (see Section 1.3.3 below). Moreover, in many instances fillers are used to show a speaker's orientation towards a proposition, the addressee, or the situation in which the conversation is taking place. Fillers thus can serve as contextual coordinates, satisfying the theoretical definition of discourse markers provided by Schiffrin (1987). Therefore, in this study I treat fillers as discourse markers.

Likewise, final particles have not been treated as discourse markers by many researchers, except for Onodera (1993). Based on the theoretical definition given by Schiffrin (1987:327) of discourse markers as textual and participant coordinates, final particles are also included in this study as discourse markers. Final particles are used in conversation to enhance "involvement" and "rapport" among interlocutors (Maynard 1989a:30). The use of final particles reveals the speaker's feelings and orientation towards

a proposition and/or the addressee. Example (2), taken from Makino and Tsutsui (1986:45-46), illustrates this point.

- (2) a. Yamada-san wa sensei desu.
Yamada Mr. TOP teacher BE
'Mr. Yamada is a teacher.'
- b. Yamada-san wa sensei desu **ne**.
Yamada Mr. TOP teacher BE FP
'Mr. Yamada is a teacher, **isn't he?**'
- c. Watashi wa shirimasen **yo**.
I TOP know-NEG FP
'I don't know, **I tell you.**'
- d. Atashi ureshii **wa**.
I happy FP
'I'm happy!'
- e. Ore wa makenai **zo**.
I TOP lose-NEG FP
'I won't lose!'

(2a) is a declarative sentence, which simply states a fact. *Ne* in (b) changes (a) into a tag question, requesting confirmation. *Yo* in (c) is used to assert something emphatically to an addressee whose social status is approximately equal to or lower than the speaker. Thus, the use of *yo* reveals the speaker's judgement about the speaker-addressee relationship. *Wa* in (d) is used when the speaker wishes to express "femininity" in her utterance, and thus reveals the speaker's desire to present certain image of herself in the conversational situation. Finally, *zo* in (e) signals that the speaker is a male and is asserting something emphatically to an addressee who is of equal or lower status. Thus, final particles in (b)-(e) above all reveal important information regarding the speaker-proposition relationship (e.g. strong feelings expressed with *yo* and *zo*), cognitive information (e.g. the

confirmation particle *ne*), and the speaker-addressee relationship (e.g. *yo* and *zo*, which are used with an addressee of equal or lower status). Since the main functions of final particles concern interactional aspects of conversation, and because the particles *ne(e)* and *sa* can occur utterance-medially, they will be referred to as "interactional particles" hereafter, following Maynard (1993). I will analyze these three categories of items, connectives, fillers, and interactional particles, identify their main functions, and describe their contributions to discourse coherence in Japanese conversation.

This dissertation has three goals: (1) to analyze the functions of Japanese discourse markers as used by native speakers, and the variations in their use in relation to sociolinguistic factors, such as gender and speech genre (e.g. conversation, interview, and narratives); (2) to analyze the use of discourse markers by non-native speakers of Japanese at the four proficiency levels defined by the ACTFL (the American Council on Teaching of Foreign Languages): novice, intermediate, advanced and superior levels (see Appendix 1 for ACTFL Oral Proficiency Guidelines); and (3) to consider some pedagogical implications of the findings of the present study in Japanese instructions with respect to Japanese discourse markers.

1.2. Hypotheses

Based on the three goals stated above and prior studies on Japanese and English discourse markers, the following hypotheses were formed. Hypothesis 1 relates to connectives, Hypothesis 2 to fillers, Hypothesis 3 to interactional particles, and Hypotheses 4 and 5 to non-native speakers' use of Japanese discourse markers.

Hypothesis 1

There will be stylistic and genre-related variations in the use of connectives. They will be used more often in narratives than in conversations, and in formal speech than in informal speech.

The reason for this hypothesis is that in narratives the speaker holds the floor longer than in conversation, connecting events, explanations, and the like, which is likely to increase the use of connectives. Also, the more formal the speech style is, more care may be taken to speak in a coherent manner, connecting utterances, which also may increase the use of connectives.

Hypothesis 2

The use of fillers will also be influenced by several sociolinguistic factors:

Fillers will be used more often by women than by men, by older speakers than by younger speakers, and in formal-style speech than in informal-style speech since speakers are more concerned with producing "appropriate speech" when speaking formally than when speaking informally.

Hypothesis 2 is based on the following: (1) Maynard (1989:31) states that fillers and interactional particles contribute to the effect of "social packaging," which refers to a socially motivated act of constructing the content of the utterance in such a way as to achieve "maximum agreeableness" to the recipient. Given the characterization of "social packaging" by Maynard, I speculate that more fillers will be used by women and older speakers, since they are more concerned with maintaining a harmonious relationship with their interlocutors than younger speakers speaking informally. Furthermore, the relationship between people conversing in formal-style Japanese tends to be less familiar than that between persons conversing in informal-style Japanese, and, therefore, fillers will be used more often in formal-style conversations than those in informal-style Japanese, so as not to make utterances overly assertive.

Ide (1982:377) states that women and the older generation tend to use more honorifics, which make their speech more polite, than men and the younger generation. If fillers contribute to "social packaging," as Maynard states, they, like honorifics, may be used more often by women and older participants than men and younger participants.

Hypothesis 3

Interactional particles will be used more often by women than by men; and more frequently in informal-style speech than in formal-style speech.

Hypothesis 3 is based on the following: (1) Takahara (cited in Shibamoto 1985:63) states that interactional particles are used more often by female speakers than by male speakers; and (2) Uyeno (1971:50) states that the closer and less formal the relationship a speaker and addressee maintain, the more sentence particles are allowed in their conversation. Maynard (1989a:28) also states that Japanese interactional particles contribute to encouraging rapport between interlocutors and achieving a closer monitoring of each other's feelings.

Furthermore, since the speaker will express his/her feelings more freely when conversing in informal-style than in formal-style, and since many interactional particles are used to express one's feelings towards an addressee or proposition, more interactional particles are expected to be used in informal-style conversations than in formal-style conversations.

Hypothesis 4

Non-native speakers at higher proficiency level will use more connectives, fillers and interactional particles both in number and variety than those at lower proficiency levels.

Hypothesis 5

When a marker has both textual and interactional functions, the textual functions of discourse markers are learned before interpersonal functions.

Hypothesis 4 is based on my experience teaching Japanese as a foreign language, and also on the oral proficiency guidelines by the ACTFL for novice, intermediate, advanced and superior levels. Hypothesis 5 is based on my teaching experience and my earlier pilot

Philips 1995).

In what follows, I review Schiffrin's discourse model, operational and theoretical functions of discourse markers, and the reasons why I adopt her framework in the present study.

Framework of this study

Schiffrin's (1987) discourse model

Schiffrin (1987:24-29) proposes a discourse model consisting of five components or "planes of talk": (1) the ideational structure; (2) the action structure; (3) the exchange structure; (4) the participation framework; and (5) the information state (1987:25). The ideational structure deals with propositions themselves: their cohesive relations, topic relations, and functional relations. The exchange structure deals with turn-taking, and the action structure deals with speech acts, such as requesting and warning. The participation framework deals with speaker-utterance relationships as well as speaker-hearer relationships. The information state deals with the organization and management of knowledge (what the speaker and the hearer know) and meta-knowledge (what speakers know or assume about their own and each other's knowledge).

Schiffrin (1987:316-317) states that many discourse markers function on more than one plane of talk simultaneously, though with one primary function. For example, the primary function of the English connective *and* is in the ideational structure, connecting propositional units. Its secondary function is in the exchange structure, signalling the speaker's continued turn. The primary function of the interjection *oh* is in the information state as it relates to the speaker's information management. At the same time, it may function in the action structure if it is used to request clarification. By positing the functions of discourse markers on different planes of talk simultaneously, Schiffrin's model can account for the multi-functionality of discourse markers.

1.3.2. Definitions of discourse markers by Schiffrin (1987)

Connectives, fillers, and interactional particles in the present study will be analyzed following Schiffrin's discourse model and her framework, in which discourse markers are defined as "contextual coordinates" (p. 326). More precisely, discourse markers have two indexical functions. The first is their function as "textual coordinates of talk," indexing an utterance to prior and/or upcoming text, in other words, markers reveal which text an utterance is focused on. Discourse markers index the utterance which contains them to whatever text precedes them (proximal) and/or whatever text is to follow (distal) (p. 323). For example, the causal connective *so* indexes an utterance both to prior and upcoming texts, since it relates prior text (=causes) with upcoming text (=results). *I mean* focuses on prior text, since what follows it is a restatement of what has already been mentioned prior to *I mean*.

The second indexical function of discourse markers is to provide "participant coordinates"; a marker shows whether an utterance is focused on the speaker (proximal) or the hearer (distal) or both. For example, *and* focuses on the speaker, since it signals the speaker's continued turn. *Y'know* focuses both on the speaker and the hearer, since it is used for speaker-hearer interaction, such as soliciting confirmation. Through these indexical functions, Schiffrin (1987:315) states, discourse markers clarify the relationships between utterances, the speaker and an utterance, and the speaker and the addressee, and thus contribute to overall discourse coherence.

In sum, Schiffrin (p. 318) proposes that discourse markers "select a meaning relation from whatever potential meanings are provided through the content of talk, and they display that relation." In other words, when there are several possible choices in the relations between utterances and/or an utterance and the interlocutors, markers make it clear which meaning was selected by the speaker. (3) below is Schiffrin's example.

- (3) a. Sue dislikes all linguists.
b. I like her.

Schiffrin (p. 318) states that the choice of the marker between (3a) and (3b) is determined by several factors, such as the identity of the speaker, and the hearer's background beliefs. For example, she states that a linguist (or one who likes linguists) would choose a contrastive relation between (3a) and (3b) with the connective *but*: *Sue dislikes all the linguists, but I like her*. However, a person who dislikes linguists might choose a resultative relation with the causal marker *so*: *Sue dislikes all linguists, so I like her*. Thus, Schiffrin (p. 318) contends that "although a marker may be able theoretically to select any number of implicit and potential relationships, in actuality, that relationship is already fairly constrained, such that the marker acts more to display the relationship (than to create it)."

1.3.3. Reasons for adopting Schiffrin's framework

Schiffrin's framework is a synthesis of various approaches previously employed by other researchers for the analyses of discourse markers (e.g. Halliday & Hasan's (1976) analysis of markers in terms of text cohesion; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson's (1978) analysis in relation to turn taking; and Owen's (1981) analysis of conversational units). What is unique in Schiffrin's approach is her discourse model, in which discourse consists of the aforementioned five planes of talk. It has advantages over other analyses of discourse markers for the following reasons: (1) by employing a multi-layered discourse model in which various elements of talk, such as speech acts, text cohesion, and turn taking, are treated as components of discourse, it can offer a uniform account of syntactically diverse discourse markers; e.g. connectives, adverbs, and interjections; (2) by regarding discourse markers as functioning on various planes of talk, it can account for the plurifunctionality of a given discourse marker in various contexts; e.g. the use of *and* for text cohesion and as a marker of a speaker's continued turn at the same time; and (3) by

differentiating the primary plane from the secondary planes, Schiffrin's analysis can account for the relationship between the a marker's primary function from its secondary functions. Lastly, if we include a broad range of items, such as connectives, interjections, and adverbs, as discourse markers and try to provide a uniform analysis applicable to all these items, rather than analyzing various markers from one discrete perspective, such as text cohesion, turn taking or speech acts, we need a theory which encompasses all such approaches to discourse marker analysis. Schiffrin's (1987) analysis of discourse markers does exactly that.

Another contribution made by Schiffrin to the understanding of discourse markers is her proposal of the specific conditions which qualify expressions as discourse markers (1987:328). She lists the following conditions:

- (1) syntactic detachability,
- (2) being commonly used in the utterance-initial position,
- (3) having a range of prosodic contours, e.g tonic stress and phonological reduction, and
- (4) operating on multiple planes of discourse.

By delineating these specific conditions, we may be able to identify expressions which function in one component of talk becoming discourse markers in another, and also be able to analyze discourse markers in typologically varied languages.

Given these advantages which Schiffrin's approach offers, I adopt it as the framework for the present study of Japanese discourse markers. I also employ both qualitative and quantitative methods in my analysis, since they make complimentary contributions to the analysis of Japanese discourse markers.

1.4. Background to the analysis of Japanese discourse markers

1.4.1. Characteristics of spoken Japanese

Several prominent features characterize spoken Japanese. Clancy (1982:61-76) states that spoken Japanese is characterized by the use of the plain form of predicates, frequent employment of interactional particles, failing to exhibit canonical verb-final order, and considerable fragmentation and involvement. She states that a syntactic clause is frequently broken down into a number of smaller units, which are preceded by a pause and/or hesitations, have distinct intonation contours, and often end with heavy stress and higher pitch on the final syllable of the last word, or with a particle such as *ne* or *sa*. According to Clancy's study (1982:73), 67.4% of all intonation groups are shorter than a syntactically complete clause.

Maynard (1989a:23-40) lists the following as major characteristics of spoken Japanese: fragmentation, frequent use of interactional particles, use of fillers, the occurrence of ellipsis and postposing, and use of the plain form of verbs and adjectives. Thus, fillers and interactional particles are both characteristic of spoken Japanese.

1.4.2. Characteristics of the Japanese communication style

One of the characteristics the Japanese style of communication which has often been discussed by researchers is its "indirectness, ambiguity, vagueness, and impreciseness" (e.g. Singer 1973, Christopher 1984, and Barnlund 1989). Christopher (1984:38) states that the Japanese shun explicit, carefully reasoned statements in favor of indirect and ambiguous ones basically designed not to communicate ideas but to feel out the other person's mood and attitude, and that the Japanese dread provoking direct confrontation. Barnlund (1989:39) states that homogeneity and harmony in Japanese society cultivate skill in the use of ambiguity, circumlocution, euphemism and silence to blunt incipient disputes, which reflects the societal norm of harmony, group-orientedness, conformity, and cooperation.

Clancy (1986) presents a similar view of Japanese communication. She (1986:214) characterizes Japanese conversation as unexplicit, indirect, and potentially ambiguous. She states (1986:216) that an important goal of socialization in Japan is to promote the unanimity of feeling that will support the norms of verbal agreement and empathy, and that the Japanese style of communication can work only in a rather homogeneous society in which people actually can anticipate each other's needs, wants, and reactions. She (p. 217) further states that the burden of successful communication rests on the listener's willingness to cooperate, empathize, and intuit what the speaker has in mind.

Clancy (1986:235-240) also states that Japanese children go through what she calls "empathy and conformity training," in which Japanese mothers actively engage themselves in teaching their children Japanese norms for speech and behavior, both through subtle pressure and explicit instruction. The actual items Japanese mothers teach their children include polite formulas, socially appropriate speech, and context-appropriate turn-taking. Clancy (p. 240) states that one of the results of this kind of empathy and conformity training is the wish to avoid conflict, which makes it difficult for Japanese to risk angering or hurting the feelings of addressees.

Though there is some truth to it, this kind of view seems too monolithic. The Japanese do not use "vague" and "indirect" expressions in every situation in life. Rather, I contend, Japanese use indirectness and vagueness as part of communication strategies where it is socially expected, e.g. to one's superior, but they express their feelings more straightforwardly where it is allowed, e.g. between family members and close friends. Shibatani (1990:389) states that it is Japanese cultural patterns that are responsible for what may appear to outsiders to be illogical or vague usage.

Ide (1982:382) states that women use more honorifics, and the main reason for doing so is because women tend to be concerned with how they appear rather than with what they actually are. In other words, women use more honorifics than men as part of their communication strategy. Like honorifics, fillers and final particles are used as part of

a communication strategy in situations where indirectness and vagueness are expected. The interactional particle *ne* often softens the tone of an utterance. Fillers like *ma(a)* 'kind of' and *nanka* 'like' give an utterance a sense of vagueness, contributing to what Maynard (1989a:31) calls "social packaging." Thus, fillers and final particles contribute to creating a cooperative and harmonious conversational environment.

Another characteristic of the Japanese communication style is frequent use of back channelling expressions. Maynard (1989a:150-177) discusses the difference in back channelling between American and Japanese college students. Back-channel utterances, such as 'mmhm' and 'uh huh' are used by a hearer to ratify the continuing speaker's right to hold the floor rather than attempting to take the floor. Based on casual conversation by 40 pairs of friends (20 American pairs and 20 Japanese pairs), Maynard (pp. 176-177) reports that back-channel responses in the Japanese conversations occurred twice as often as with the American pairs. She also states that head movement as a back-channel expression was used three times as often among Japanese conversants in her study than among American conversants. She (p. 169) states further that head movements and back-channel expressions function as a signal of attention and understanding, and convey active auditor participation, enhancing the speaker's and hearer's involvement in the conversation. Finally, she declares that frequent and continuous back channelling is the norm within the Japanese speech community.

One communication strategy which elicits frequent back-channel expressions is the use of interactional particles. These particles also display important information regarding the conversants' relative social status, the "territory of information," and the attitudes of the speaker towards the hearer and/or proposition. Maynard (1989a:174) states that interactional particles such as *ne*, *yo* and *sa* provide a convenient opportunity for back-channel expressions and head movement for the listener. Martin (1975:914) characterizes interactional particles as devices to "impart some additional hint of the speaker's attitude toward what he is saying—doubt, conviction, caution, inquiry, confirmation or request for

confirmation, and recollection." Thus, in Japanese conversations, fillers and final particles play an important role as contextual and participant coordinates, softening the tone and enhancing cooperative atmosphere.

1.5. Outline of remaining chapters

The organization of remaining chapters is as follows: relevant literature is reviewed in Chapter 2. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 discuss Japanese discourse marker use by native Japanese speakers: connectives (Chapter 3), fillers (Chapter 4) and interactional particles (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 discusses the use of Japanese discourse markers by non-native speakers. Finally, conclusions are presented in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2

Related Literature

2.1. Studies on English discourse markers

This section reviews two analyses of English discourse markers which are relevant to my analysis of Japanese discourse markers: (1) Schiffrin's analysis of 11 discourse markers in Section 2.1.1; and (2) Schourup' analysis of fillers in Section 2.1.2. Discourse marker research in the field of second language acquisition is reviewed in Section 2.1.3..

2.1.1. Schiffrin's work on discourse markers

Schiffrin (1987) analyzes 11 English discourse markers as contextual coordinates which operate on different planes of talk. Since an outline of her work was presented in Chapter 1, in what follows we will review the functions of two discourse markers, *and* and *but*, in order to see how Schiffrin analyzes English discourse markers.

According to Schiffrin, the connective *and* is a marker of coordination and continuation (p.152). Its main function is on the ideational structure plane. It coordinates idea units both at local and global levels (in the ideational structures); and signals the speaker's continuation (in the exchange structures).

But is characterized by Schiffrin as a marker of contrast. She lists three kinds of contrast: (1) referential contrast; (2) functional contrast; and (3) contrastive actions. Referential contrast refer to contrasting ideas, and thus *but* operates in the ideational structure when used as a marker of referential contrast. Functional contrast refers to contrasting functionally-different portions of discourse, and operates in the exchange structure. Contrasting the main portion of an utterance and side-sequencing with *but* is an example of functionally different contrast. *But* as a marker of contrastive actions operates in the action structures. Examples are: (1) making one's points after a speaker has been interrupted, challenged or misunderstood; and (2) claiming the floor in the middle of

someone else's turn. Thus, Schiffrin presents an integrated view of discourse markers from ideational and pragmatic perspectives. Table 2.1 shows the planes of talk described above on which each discourse marker operates, as presented by Schiffrin (p. 316). The primary plane for each discourse marker is indicated with an asterisk.

Table 2.1 Planes of talk on which markers function

Information state	Participation framework	Ideational structure	Action structure	Exchange structure
*oh	oh		oh	
well	*well	well	well	well
		*and	and	and
		*but	but	but
		*or		or
so	so	*so	so	so
because		*because	because	
	now	*now		
then		*then	then	
I mean	*I mean	I mean		
*y'know	y'know	y'know		y'know

2.1.2. Schourup's (1982) study of English fillers as evincives

We now turn to Schourup's analysis on fillers. The review of his work is included here for two reasons: (1) his analysis of English discourse markers as "evincives" motivated me to examine Japanese fillers; and (2) his theory of discourse markers as "evincives" led me to form a hypothesis about the functions of Japanese fillers and test my hypothesis in the form of a questionnaire filled out by participants after data collection.

Schourup (1982) analyzes the English discourse particles *like*, *well*, and *y'know*, and proposes a theoretical framework to account for their use. They are very much like Japanese fillers such as *ano(o)* 'uh; well' and *nanka* 'like'. He (p. 14) states that fillers reflect the speaker's present internal state, and argues that they are "evincives." Evincives are, according to him (p. 15), items which enable speakers to express what they have in mind at a particular point in a conversation without fully disclosing their thoughts, and thus

function as an interface between the speaker's thoughts and his or her actual utterances.

His definition of evincives is as follows (p. 14):

Evincive: a linguistic item that indicates that at the moment at which it is said the speaker is engaged in, or has just then been engaged in, thinking; the evincive item indicates that this thinking is now occurring or has just now occurred but does not completely specify its content.

In order to analyze discourse markers as evincives, he (p. 5) proposes a tripartite model of conversation: (1) the speaker's private world (i.e. the speaker's thoughts); (2) the shared world (i.e. talk and other behavior on display and shared both by the speaker and the addressee), and (3) the other world (i.e. the other interlocutors' thoughts, invisible to the speaker).

Schourup's interpretation of discourse markers as reflections of the speaker's internal state is an attractive one. When a speaker, for various reasons, does not wish to express his or her entire thoughts explicitly, discourse markers play an important role in bridging between the speaker's thoughts and his or her actual utterance, revealing the speaker's feelings and orientation toward the proposition or to the addressee.

Schourup (1982:7) states that many of these discourse markers become closely associated with particular discourse situations through routine usage. The more an item is used routinely, the more it is apt to lose contact with its literal meaning, though that meaning may never be completely obliterated. This process is referred to by Schourup as "routinization."

In routinized expressions, the literal meaning may be overshadowed or obscured by the conventionalized use of the item. Schourup (p. 7) lists *well*, *good-bye*, *take care* and *see you* as examples of routinized expressions. He states that the fact that discourse markers maintain both the routinized meaning and the somewhat obscured original meaning might account for the multiple functions of discourse markers.

Let us look at Schourup's analysis of *like*. He starts with the usages of the word *like* in Webster's Third New International Dictionary. *Like* is used as a transitive verb (*to like something*), a noun (e.g. *likes and dislikes*), an adjective (*=likely*), a preposition (*=similar to*), an adverb (*=nearly, rather*) and as a conjunction (*=as if*). Then he lists examples of *like* from his conversation data which do not fall in any categories listed above. He (p. 30) states that the meanings of *like* in these cases are reminiscent of, though not exactly equivalent to, the meaning listed in a dictionary, and he argues that the original meanings of *like* are accessible to a varying degree but not prominent (p. 42).

One of these examples is *like* used preceding descriptions involving numbers, e.g. *like one more week* and *like five till eight*, in which case *like* is used in the sense of "approximately; nearly." Another example he gives is *like* used immediately preceding a direct quotation as "Both sides of the street can hear her yelling at us and she's *like* 'come in here and have a beer' y'know?" In this case also, *like* is used in the sense of "(This is) approximately (what she said or what I heard her say)."

Schourup's next step is to determine the extent of literalness of the various routinized uses of *like*, compared to the usage presented in Webster's dictionary. He had 22 subjects (students in an introductory linguistics course) write down the meaning of *like* in six instances of *like* in naturally occurring conversation to estimate the differences between actual conversation and the "dictionary meaning." He (p. 44) states that all his subjects agreed that *like* is used to indicate "a minor nonequivalence between overt expression and intended meaning," which is rather close to the adverbial meaning 'nearly.' He (p. 45) concludes that *like* is used as an indicator of divergence between thought and talk which might be caused by various circumstances of conversation, such as turn taking requirements, unexpected turns of topic, distractions, and on-the-spot negotiations.

He states that discourse markers are used to relate what is covert to what is overt in ongoing conversational behavior (pp. 112-113). Each discourse marker has a core meaning; it also has acquired various secondary functions through routine usage.

Therefore, by examining the core meaning, we are able to figure out why a particular discourse marker is used in a specific context.

Schourup's analysis suggests that each discourse marker is associated with a "core meaning" and came to assume other functions through its routinized use over time. His insightful theory may partially explain why Japanese fillers are not interchangeable with each other.

However, in the present study, since connectives, fillers and interactional particles are treated as one category of items, discourse markers, and since Schourup's theory is not applicable to connectives, though it will be drawn on for my analysis of fillers, Schiffrin's approach is better suited for my analysis of Japanese discourse markers generally.

2.1.3. Discourse marker research and second language acquisition

Although McCarthy (1991:13-14) points out the importance of discourse markers, such as *right, okay, so, now* and *then* for "framing moves" and "transactions," research on non-native speakers' acquisition of English discourse markers is scarce. Firth (1988, cited in McCarthy 1991:49) states that, whereas his native subjects used varied expressions, such as *because, 'cos, like* and *see*, even his advanced non-native subjects exclusively used *because* as a causal connective, which made their speech sound unnatural.

As regards the roles which English discourse markers play in comprehension, there are a number of studies. Chaudron and Richards (1986) tested comprehensibility of spoken English with 71 ESL students at two proficiency levels, using four versions of a recorded lecture: (1) no discourse markers included (the baseline version); (2) with "micro-markers," such as *and, because, well, and of course*, included; (3) with "macro-markers," such as *what I'm going to talk about today* and *let's go back to the beginning*; and (4) with both micro- and macro-markers. They claim that, while macro-markers significantly increased comprehensibility for the non-native subjects, micro-markers did not aid comprehension and, furthermore, may have made comprehension more difficult by

detracting from the overall coherence of the lecture.

This study, however, is based on a scripted lecture as the baseline data, which is unnatural to begin with. Furthermore, the micro-markers they added for the second version of the tape were the ones which did not "add semantic information to the lecture" (p. 117), which defeats the whole purpose of discourse marker presence, since typically discourse markers add both semantic and pragmatic information to a discourse.

Chaudron and Richards' study is contradicted by later studies such as Taylor and Bro (1992) and Flowerdew and Tauroza (1995). Taylor (1992) and Taylor and Bro (1992) tested comprehensibility of lectures by international teaching assistants, using 15 native speakers of English as their subjects. They found that the misuse or lack of connectives, such as *and*, *but*, and *therefore*, by non-native teaching assistants significantly reduced the comprehensibility of the lectures for native speakers.

Using an authentic video-taped lecture and its modified version with discourse markers deleted, Flowerdew and Tauroza (1995) found that the presence of discourse markers, both connectives and fillers, significantly increased the comprehensibility of a native English lecturer for the 62 non-native subjects in his study.

All these studies, except that by Chaudron and Richards, suggest that the presence of discourse markers plays a significant role in making one's speech more natural and comprehensible.

2.2. Studies on Japanese discourse markers

This section presents a review of relevant literature on Japanese connectives, fillers, and interactional particles. Japanese connectives, fillers, and interpersonal particles have been analyzed by several researchers: (1) the connective *dakara* 'so': Maynard (1989b and 1993) and Karatsu (1993); *datte* 'but/because': Maynard (1993) and Mori (1994), (*sore*)*de* 'and; so': Ito (1995); (2) the filler *nanka* 'like': Saito (1992) and filler *ano(o)* 'uh, well': Cook (1993); and (3) interactional particles: Uyeno (1972), Oishi (1985), Ishikawa (1988),

Cook (1988 and 1990), Maynard (1993), and Kamio (1994). In the following section, I will review studies which are relevant to my analysis of Japanese discourse markers.

2.2.1. Connectives

Maynard analyzes the Japanese conjunctions *dakara* 'so' (1989b; 1993) and *datte* (1993), following Schiffrin's (1987) analysis of English discourse markers. *Dakara* has traditionally been described as a 'consequential conjunction' or 'cause-and-result' conjunction. Maynard argues that, in addition to this widely recognized function on the textual semantic level, *dakara* has three additional functions as a discourse marker: (1) additional explanation, (2) (reluctant) repetition, (3) and turn-end signal. As all three additional functions of *dakara* take place at the interactional level, Maynard concludes (1989b:411) that the multiple functions of *dakara* can be explained only by recognizing multiple levels of discourse, as proposed by Schiffrin.

Ito (1995) analyzes the function of *sorede* and *de* 'and' using Schiffrin's framework. She (pp. 61-62) concludes that both *sorede* and *de* have functions similar to the English *and* as a structural coordinator of units of talk (in the ideational structure), and also as a marker of speaker continuation (in the exchange structure.) Furthermore, *(sore)de* has the additional functions of requesting the other interlocutor's continuation (in the action structure) and seeking further information (in the action structure and the participation framework). Thus, Ito also acknowledges the need for recognizing multiple planes of discourse in order to account for the plurifunctionality of *(sore)de* as a marker of coordination at the textual semantic level and as a marker of speaker continuation at the interactional level.

Onodera (1993), as a prelude to her diachronic analysis of *demo* 'but' as a discourse marker, analyzes it using Schiffrin's framework. She states that, besides its function as a referential contrast marker, *demo* connects the following 3 types of contrast: (1) pragmatically inferable contrast in the ideational structure; (2) functional contrast (in the

exchange structure); and (3) contrasting actions (in the action structure). Contrasting actions include the following: (1) point-making; (2) claiming the floor; (3) opening the conversation; and (4) changing the topic.

Thus, Onodera also acknowledges the significance of Schiffrin's framework in the analysis of Japanese discourse markers in order to fully account for the three types of contrast *demo* exhibits. The three researchers whose work was reviewed above all agree that Schiffrin's discourse model and her framework for analysis of discourse markers are best suited for the analysis of Japanese discourse markers, which have multiple functions on different levels of discourse; e.g. at the textual semantic and the interactional levels. Furthermore, they all find similarities between Japanese connectives and their English counterparts, *and* and *(sore)de*, *but* and *demo*, and *so* and *dakara*.

2.2.2. Fillers

Compared to the studies of connectives, research on Japanese fillers has been scarce. In what follows I will review major studies on Japanese fillers.

Maynard (1989a) discusses fillers briefly, stating that the frequent use of fillers is one of the characteristics of spoken Japanese. Although she does not treat fillers as discourse markers, she argues for their importance and provides an interesting insight: that they should be categorized into two types: (1) language-production-based fillers, such as *ee* 'well' and *uuunto* 'uh', which are used to fill a potential silence when smooth speech is either cognitively or productively hindered, and (2) socially motivated fillers, such as *nanka* 'like', which are used to achieve "maximum agreeableness" with the recipient by maximizing the similarities and minimizing the differences, ensuring that the recipient's interpersonal emotion and rapport are protected (p. 32). Maynard (p. 31) further states that "frequent use of final particles and fillers helps hide the message, delaying and softening its delivery until the speaker is certain that the interpersonal feelings are intact when the semantic content is conveyed to the other interactant." She (p. 31) also states that "fillers

help create a casual friendly discourse with a pleasant emotional appeal to one's partner," even when the content of messages is not necessarily preferred.

Distinguishing two types of fillers is an important contribution Maynard made as regards fillers, though she does not provide actual data to support her claim or refer to the frequency and distributional characteristics of fillers. Thus, more detailed examination of fillers is necessary to understand their contributions in conversation.

Cook (1993) discusses the use of *ano(o)* 'well' in discourse from the perspective of politeness. *Ano(o)* originally is a demonstrative adjective used to point to an object located at some distance from both the speaker and the listener. Cook (p. 23) discusses the following uses of *ano(o)* as a filler in her data: (1) a turn-initiator, (2) an attention-getter, (3) a proposition highlighter, (4) a new topic introducer, and (5) a mitigation device prefacing a face-threatening act. Based on her data and the function of *ano(o)* as a demonstrative adjective, Cook (p. 33) concludes that the filler *ano(o)* is used to align the speaker and the listener on the same side with respect to the subsequent utterance in face-to-face interaction, functioning as a "positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987:101-128)" marker to obtain the addressee's cooperation and create interpersonal rapport.

Cook's observation about *ano(o)* is insightful. However, I believe that the use of *ano(o)* as an alignment marker between interlocutors is also related to its anaphoric function as well as its role as a demonstrative adjective. In the anaphoric usage, *ano* is employed when the speaker knows or assumes that the hearer, as well as the speaker him/herself, knows the referent of the anaphoric demonstrative (Kuno 1973:283). Martin (1975:1067) states that the anaphoric use of *ano* is to point out "obviousness," reminding the hearer that the reference is well known to both the speaker and the hearer as a result of having just been explained, or is widely known to one and all. The speaker treats a piece of information as something shared or obvious; thus the anaphoric use of *ano*, by pointing out obviousness and sharedness of information, aligns the speaker and the hearer and enhances the cooperative atmosphere of the conversation.

Saito (1992) analyzes the discourse marker *nanka* 'like' in Japanese conversation. She (1992:53) concludes that *nanka* is used as a softener, a turn-initiator, topic changer, and a pause-filler. Saito's other findings include: (1) *nanka* occurs more often in a relaxed conversation than in formal one; (2) *nanka* is less often used in the mixed-sex groups than in the same-sex groups; and (3) that men use *nanka* more often than women. This is an interesting point, since, given Japanese society's expectation for women to be more polite and less assertive than men, we might presume that women use softening devices more often. However, the number of Saito's subjects was small (n=8), and thus, the relationship between gender and discourse markers deserves further research.

2.2.3. Interactional particles

Compared to connectives and fillers, more extensive research has been done on interactional particles. Interactional particles do not contribute to referential meaning, but display contextual information and a variety of social meanings. They thus play important roles in face-to-face interaction, providing information about various aspects of conversation such as: (1) the speaker; e.g. their gender; (2) the speaker-proposition relationship, e.g. "territory of information" (see 2.2.4.3) and degree of the speaker's certainty; and (3) the speaker-addressee relationship, e.g. degree of intimacy and their relative social status. In casual everyday conversation, we can hardly find utterances which do not contain interactional particles. Maynard (1993:101) states that, in her data, 31.8% of pause-bounded phrasal units (PPUs) are accompanied by a particle. Thus, studying interactional particles will provide us with important clues to understanding Japanese conversational discourse.

In what follows, a review of the following studies is presented: (1) Uyeno's (1971) performative analysis of the particle *ne*; (2) Kamio's (1979 and 1994) analysis of *ne* from the perspective of "territory of information"; (3) Maynard's (1993) analysis of *ne* and *yo* in relation to the amount of information possessed by the speaker and the hearer, and (4)

Cook's (1988; 1992) indexical approach to *ne* and *yo*.

2.2.3.1. Uyeno's (1971) performative analysis of interactional particles

Uyeno (1971) undertook one of the earliest analyses of Japanese interactional particles. She examines several interactional particles in the performative framework developed in the late 1960's through early 1970's by generative semanticists. In this view, the illocutionary force of a sentence, such as warning, informing, and ordering, is represented in the logical form by a performative verb, which may or may not appear overtly in the surface form of the sentence. Uyeno states that Japanese interactional particles can be analyzed in terms of a trifold representation: a surface structure, a logical form and a set of presuppositions, and that interactional particles are derived from the underlying performative verb in the logical form (p. 139). Uyeno (p. 59) considers the following in analyzing each interactional particle:

- a. Sex of the speaker;
- b. Sentence styles and relative social status;
- c. Sentence types;
- d. Co-occurrence with other particles;
- e. Occurrence in reported speech events;
- f. Implications and effects; and
- g. Logical structure, presuppositions and surface structure.

Uyeno (p. 132) presents the following as the presuppositions of the final particle *ne* and its logical structure.

i. Presuppositions:

X: male/ female

Y: 2nd person

X {>, =, < } Y, except the cases where the relative social status of X greatly exceeds or is extremely lower than that of Y.

V: STATE/ ORDER/ ASK/ SUGGEST

ii. Logical structure

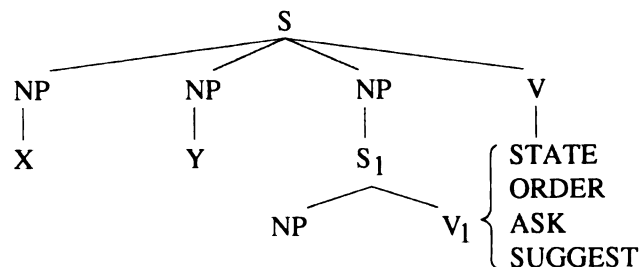


Figure 2.1 Uyeno's performative analysis of interactional particles

As a surface structure, the following are derived:

V=STATE: *iku ne*; *ikimasu ne* 'you'll go, won't you?; I'll go, O.K.?' etc.

V=ORDER: *ikinasai ne* 'go (polite); *iku yo ne* 'you'll go, won't you?, etc.

V=ASK: *iku ka ne*; *ikimasu ka ne* 'I wonder if he'll go', etc.

V=SUGGEST: *ikoo ne* 'let's go, OK?', etc.

Uyeno (p. 130-132) claims that the particle *ne* implies "the speaker's intention that the option of judgement on the given information is left to the addressee, and thus gives a softening effect on the basic nature of each sentence type." Therefore, the addressee feels the speaker's consideration toward him or her, thus enhancing the addressee's participation in the conversation. Hence, *ne* is called the "particle of rapport" by Uyeno.

Uyeno's analysis is largely based on constructed isolated sentences, not on actual conversation data. Furthermore, although some contextual information is provided based on her native intuition, interactional aspects of conversation, which are crucial to the analysis of discourse markers, are totally lacking. Thus, her analysis seems to be severely limited. As Cook (1988:85) argues, at any particular moment in a conversation, a speaker constantly adjusts his or her presuppositions and subsequent choice of interactional particles, depending on the hearer's reaction, to achieve the speaker's goal in the

conversation. Social meanings are inferred from the context in which an utterance is produced. The interpretation of interactional particles and their social meanings are a joint product of the speaker and the hearer, requiring ongoing contextual information and constant negotiation between the conversants. In the view that regards conversation not only as a linguistic but a social and interpersonal activity, the functions of interactional particles cannot be captured by a purely structural approach like Uyeno's.

2.2.3.2. Kamio's (1994) analysis of *ne* by the "territory of information"

Kamio (1979, 1990, and 1994) analyzes the final particle *ne* from a cognitive perspective: "the territory of information." The "territory of information" refers to the location of the source of information or knowledge. For example, if information is derived from the speaker's experience or expertise, the information belongs to his or her territory, whether or not it is shared with the hearer. On the other hand, if the information is derived from the hearer's experience or expertise, it belongs to the hearer's territory.

Table 2.2 is Kamio's representation of the territory of information and the use of *ne* in the four territories of information (1990:78). He argues that *ne* marks the information which belongs to the hearer's territory (Territory C) or to the shared territory (Territory B) as opposed to the speaker's territory (Territory A). He states (1990:65) that in Territories A and D, the use of *ne* is optional, and when it is used, it functions as a marker of solidarity and politeness.

Kamio's analysis is somewhat similar to Maynard's (1993) analysis summarized in Section 2.2.3.3. The use of *ne*, however, cannot be accounted for solely by the "information territory." Ishikawa (1991:22) states that 40% of *ne* usage in her data (letters between close friends) occurred when information was only in the writer's territory, whereas 60% of *ne* occurred when information was shared both by the writer and the reader. Hence, she argues that both a cognitive perspective and an affective perspective must be taken into consideration in the analysis of *ne*.

Table 2.2 Kamio's territory of information

		Speaker's territory	
		In	Out
Hearer's territory	Out	A Direct form with optional <i>yo</i> or <i>ne</i> . Atsui desu (<i>yo</i>)(<i>ne</i>) hot is (<i>yo</i>)(<i>ne</i>)	D Non-direct form with optional <i>yo</i> or <i>ne</i> . Atsui soo desu (<i>ne</i>). hot I hear (<i>ne</i>)
	In	B Direct form + mandatory <i>ne</i> Atsui desu <i>ne</i> . hot is <i>ne</i>	C Non-direct form + mandatory <i>ne</i> Atsui soo desu <i>ne</i> . hot I hear <i>ne</i>

Although there may be differences in the use of *ne* in written Japanese vs. spoken Japanese,¹ given Ishikawa's research, it is unwise to adopt Kamio's approach as the sole means of analysis of *ne*.

2.2.3.3. Maynard's (1993) analysis of *ne* and *yo*

Maynard (1993) presents an analysis of *yo* and *ne* in a framework similar to Kamio's. Prior to this work, Maynard (1989a) briefly discussed interactional particles in relation to "self-contextualization," or "the ongoing process of defining oneself in relation to one's interactional environment" (p. 4). She states that the frequent use of interactional particles by conversants helps intensify their degree of involvement in the conversation, and, further, that their sensitivity to varying levels of involvement is an important part of the self-contextualization process.

In the discussion of characteristics of spoken Japanese, Maynard (1993) analyzes sentence-final *ne* and *yo* in relation to information sharing. She (p. 106) states that the use

¹ Correspondence between close friends lies somewhere between "spoken" language and "written" language, as can be seen from the use of interpersonal particles, such as *ne* 'confirmation', *yo* 'assertion', *kana* 'uncertainty' and a tag-question *desho*, which do not occur in formal written Japanese.

of *ne* and *yo* is regulated by the amount of information the speaker and/or the hearer have. The following is her conclusion.

Table 2.3 Maynard's (1993) conclusion on the use of *ne* and *yo*.

Amount of information a speaker or a hearer possesses	Particle used
1. the speaker's information > the hearer's information	<i>yo</i>
2. the speaker's information $\leq$ the hearer's information	<i>ne</i>

Maynard's observations account for the the sentence-final *ne* and *yo* to some extent. *Ne* and *yo*, however, are not used solely in relation to the amount of information the interlocutors possess. For example, as we shall see in Chapter 5, the use of *yo* and *ne* and the choice between *yo* and *ne* depends on various factors; e.g. how much emphasis the speaker wishes to express or the relationship between the interlocutors, such as relative social status and familiarity with one another other. Moreover, *yo* is often optional.

Maynard (p. 107) supplements her cognitive-oriented explanation of the choice of *yo* and *ne* with an interactional perspective to determine the use of *yo* and *ne*: *yo* is likely to be used when a piece of information is presented as "information-centered," whereas *ne* is likely to be used when information is presented as "addressee-centered." Though incorporation of the interactional approach makes Maynard's analysis more attractive, as I noted regarding Kamio's analysis, it is better to analyze interactional particles with a multi-faceted approach like the one proposed by Schiffrin (1987).

2.2.3.4. Cook's (1988) indexical approach

We now review Cook's analysis of *yo* and *ne*, which emphasizes the function of interactional particles in the affective domain. In contrast to Kamio's and Maynard's interpretations, Cook's (1988) analysis of the interactional particles *ne* and *yo* is

predominantly from an affective perspective: interactional particles are regarded as "social indexicals," following Ochs' model of indexicality. Ochs (cited in Cook 1988:111) proposes that, in any language, "affective and epistemological dispositions are directly indexed, and that they serve as contextual building blocks of other socio-cultural dimensions, such as the speaker, the listener, their social identities, their relationship, and speech acts." Ochs defines affective dispositions as feelings, moods, and attitudes of participants toward a proposition, and epistemological dispositions as pertaining to the participants' beliefs or knowledge vis-à-vis a proposition. Ochs' model of indexicality is illustrated as follows:

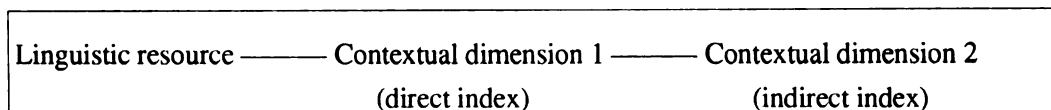


Figure 2.2 Ochs' model of indexicality

Direct indexicality refers to "a feature of the communicative event which is indicated directly and unmediated" (Cook 1988:112), and indirect indexicality refers to "a feature of the communicative event, indicated indirectly through the indexing of some other feature of the communicative event." The direct indexical meanings help constitute indirect indexical meanings; e.g. the direct indexing of the epistemological stance of uncertainty helps to constitute the speech act of question.

Interactional particles, in this view, provide information on the social roles and feelings of the speaker towards the addressee and a proposition. Cook (pp. 115-118) notes, for example, that the final particle *zo*, which has traditionally been characterized as a particle of male speakers, is used by female speakers in her data when they wish to express fierceness or threats to a hearer. She (p. 118) argues that the direct indexing of *zo* is not "male" but "coarse intensity," and this direct meaning of coarse intensity evokes indirect

meanings, such as "male gender," "self-determination," "threatening," or "excitement," regardless of the gender of the speaker.

Cook (p. 120) further states that the link between direct and indirect meanings depends on the participants' knowledge, including socio-cultural associations, and that members of a speech community share certain contextual assumptions which they bring to a communicative situation. Cook (p. 120) also argues that conversants negotiate and interpret a range of direct and indirect meanings indexed by a particular indexical sign in a given speech context, and if a participant does not share many assumptions about the context, indexing is likely to fail.

Cook (p. 118) argues that Ochs' model of indexicality can account for the dynamic nature of social meanings and the complex indexical relations which Japanese interactional particles exhibit. Cook (pp. 154-155) characterizes the indexical relations of *yo* and *ne* as follows.

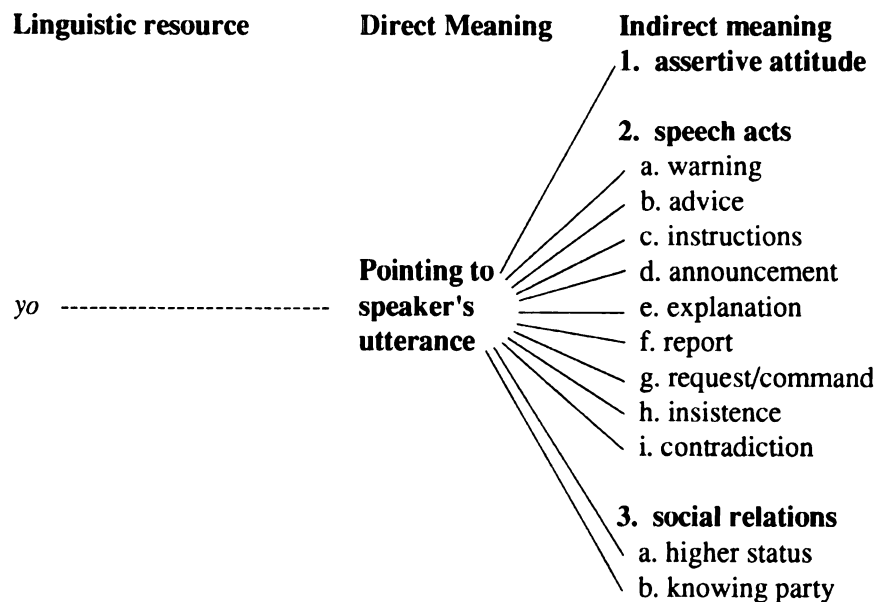


Figure 2.3 Indexical relations of *yo* (Cook 1988:129)

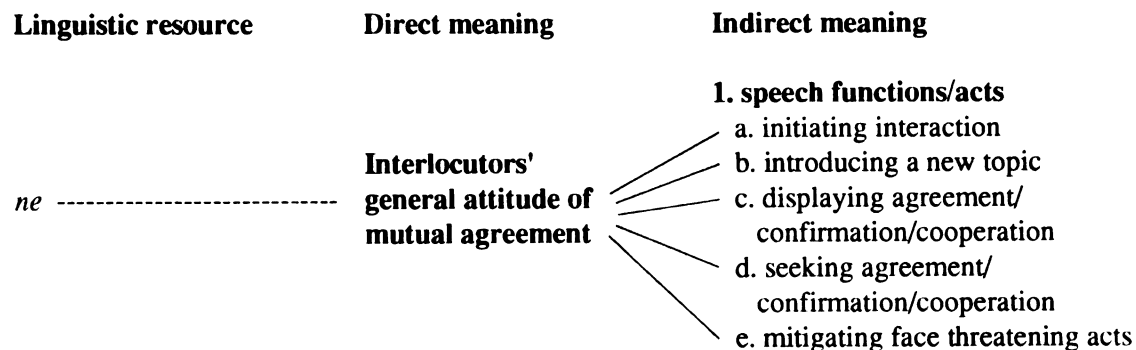


Figure 2.4 Indexical relations of *ne* (Cook 1988:155).

Cook (p. 130) states that all the uses of *yo* contain the direct meaning of "pointing to the speaker's utterance," and the various indirect meanings listed above derive from a specific context for each conversation. For example, in order for an utterance to count as a warning, the speaker must assume that the addressee is unaware of the future occurrence of an adverse event, so the speaker must draw the addressee's attention and warn him or her. *Yo* functions to draw the addressee's attention by pointing to the speaker's utterance.

In accounting for the meanings of *ne*, Cook proceeds in the same manner. All the uses of *ne* assume an "interlocutor's general attitude of mutual agreement." In order to introduce a new topic in conversation and maintain it, the speaker needs the addressee's cooperation, and *ne* seeks this by eliciting his or her involvement. Hence, the indirect meaning of "introducing a new topic" derives from the direct meaning of *ne* as an indexical of an "interlocutor's general attitude of mutual agreement."

Cook's (1988) analysis of interactional particles from an affective perspective as social indexicals is a good one. The major reason for using interactional particles is for affective reasons, and that is why they are not used in writing except for personal correspondence, which is written as if one is speaking to the specific addressee. Her list of

the meanings of each particle is also very thorough, and it might also be pertinent to the analysis of connectives and fillers.

There are, however, some weaknesses in Cook's analysis:

(1) First, not all *yo* or *ne* can be accounted for by the affective approach. As we observed in reviewing Maynard's approach to *yo* and *ne*, the speaker's choice between these two particles involve more than a cognitive or affective perspective alone.

(2) Secondly, Cook does not explain why the direct meaning of a particle leads to many indirect meanings and functions in a variety of domains, such as cognitive, affective, and turn-taking domains. If we employ Schiffrin's view that discourse is a synthesis of multi-dimensional planes of talk, such as information state and participation and exchange structures, and that expressions and functions have not one-to-one but many-to-many relationships, we can offer a more straightforward account as to why the indirect meanings of interactional particles derive from their direct meaning. By viewing interactional particles as contextual coordinates which function on various planes of discourse, we will be able to explain why *yo* is sometimes used for speech acts, and other times for social relations or both.

Despite the weakness of Cook's analysis, her approach accounts for the use of *yo* and *ne* in many situations. Therefore, I will be adopting part of her analysis in my analysis of interactional particles in Chapter 5.

2.2.4. Studies on non-native use of discourse markers

Despite a vast number of studies on second language acquisition, research on the use of discourse markers by non-native speakers has been scarce except for some recent work on the interactional particles *ne* and *yo*; e.g. Sawyer (1992), Ohta (1994), and Mine (1995). One reason may be that, as in Schiffrin's definition, many discourse markers are syntactically detachable, and many do not carry referential meanings. This means that anyone, native or non-native speakers, can communicate without using discourse markers,

perhaps except for connectives and a few interactional particles, if the sole purpose of communication is simply getting a message across. However, as incorrect use of *yo* and *ne* can be detrimental to conversation (e.g. use of *yo* to one's superior), appropriate use of discourse markers is mandatory for successful communication. Thus, teaching how to use discourse markers should be an integral part of language instruction. In what follows, I will review studies on the use of discourse markers by non-native speakers.

Sawyer (1992) provides a longitudinal study on the acquisition of the final particle *ne* over a period of one year. His data were obtained by interviewing eleven students of Japanese from a variety of language backgrounds. He found that: (1) acquisition of *ne* by his subjects was slow compared to the acquisition of grammatical and lexical items; (2) *ne* was first used in memorized chunks such as *soo desu ne* 'yes, indeed'; and (3) individual learners showed a considerable variation in manner and speed of acquiring *ne* (pp. 97-99).

Sawyer offers two reasons for the slow appearance of *ne* in the students' speech, in comparison with other items: (1) students' focus on other items due to predominantly grammar-oriented instruction and/or (2) their concern with referential functions rather than interpersonal functions. Based on his study, Sawyer (p. 106) suggests that less formal affectively-oriented Japanese instruction is necessary, since "creating and maintaining affective unity" (Cook 1990) is a very important part of Japanese conversation.

Sawyer's study makes two contributions: (1) it provides data on the actual longitudinal development of the acquisition of *ne* by non-native speakers, which can be used as a basis for future studies, and (2) it offers helpful suggestions as to how Japanese instruction should be conducted to produce speakers of Japanese who are concerned with affectively-oriented communication.

Ohta (1994) discusses the acquisition of interactional particles by first-year college students of Japanese over a period of one year in relation to their teachers' use of interactional particles. She concludes that: (1) a larger number and variety of interactional particles are used in ordinary conversation in Japanese than in the classroom; (2) *ne* was the

particle most frequently used in the classroom by the three teachers she studied, constituting 85.4% of all the particles; (3) *ne* was the only particle used by her subjects during the entire year; and (4) the three teachers' use of interactional particles was influenced by their stance towards their classroom roles (e.g. the teachers who focused their instruction on communication used more particles than the one whose focus was on grammar instruction).

Ohta's study may shed light on why *ne* is usually the first particle acquired by non-native speakers, namely, *ne* is the one students of Japanese are exposed most frequently in the classroom.

Mine's (1995) longitudinal study deals with the acquisition of sentence-final expressions, including interactional particles, by non-native speakers of Japanese over 8 months. She states (p. 68) that *ne* and *yo* are the first sentence-final expressions acquired by her subjects, followed by *yone*. Her study is important because it suggests an acquisition order of Japanese interactional particles by non-native speakers.

2.3. Summary

The studies reviewed above shed light on various aspects of discourse markers. Schourup's analysis of discourse markers as evincives, Maynard's analysis of several discourse connectives and interactional particles in the framework of self-contextualization, and Cook's analysis of interactional particles as social indexicals are particularly relevant to the present study for the following reasons: (1) Schourup's analysis of English discourse markers as evincives may be applicable to the analysis of Japanese discourse markers, and may help us understand why a particular discourse marker is used in a particular situation; (2) Maynard's analysis is important, since self-contextualization is culture specific, and the use of discourse markers is related to expected communication patterns in the society in which a conversation is taking place; and (3) Cook's analysis of interactional particles as social indexical and affect markers is important because the very purpose of using

discourse markers is to index the orientation of the conversants toward each other and also toward propositions.

While some of the studies of Japanese connectives use Schiffrin's framework, no studies of other discourse markers, such as adverbs, interjections and interactional particles, have been conducted using this framework. Furthermore, most studies of interactional particles focus on one or another of Schiffrin's five discourse planes. By applying Schiffrin's framework to connectives, fillers, and interactional particles, it is hoped that the present study will lead to a better understanding of Japanese discourse markers.

CHAPTER 3

Japanese Connectives as Discourse Markers

3.1. Preliminaries

Japanese connectives, like English connectives, play important roles in conversation, providing contextual coordinates, bracketing various units of talk (e.g. propositions, speech acts, and turns) and indexing an utterance to the local context in which it is produced and interpreted. They coordinate propositional units in the ideational structure as well as functioning on other planes of talk, displaying the speaker's orientation to the proposition and the hearer, and contributing to discourse coherence. For example, *de* 'and' coordinates ideas and signal the speaker's continuation. *Demo* 'but' signals an upcoming utterance as contrasting. *Dakara* 'so' expresses cause and effect relationships, and may also express the speaker's irritation toward the addressee for having to provide repeated or self-evident information (Maynard 1989a).

In the present section, the functions of Japanese connectives are examined using both quantitative and qualitative approaches, as they make complementary contributions to my analysis. The quantitative analysis section presents speakers' general preferences for particular discourse markers, listing number of discourse marker occurrences, their frequencies per 1000 words, and what percentage of total discourse marker use each represents. The use of connectives is also discussed in relation to four sociolinguistic variables: formality of speech (formal vs. informal), age (older vs. younger), gender (men vs. women) and the genre (interviews, conversations and narratives). In the qualitative analysis section, the three most frequently used connectives in my data, *(sore)de* 'and,' *demo* 'but,' and *dakara* 'so', are examined to investigate their functions as contextual coordinates in Japanese conversation.

My data show that Japanese connectives are similar to English connectives in their functions and frequencies. Among the connectives which appeared in my data,

coordinative connectives such as *de* 'and' were used most often, constituting 46% of all connectives used. Coordinative connectives coordinate propositional units in the ideational structure and signal speaker continuation in the exchange structure. Adversative connectives such as *demo* 'but' constituted 28% of connectives, and were used to indicate the upcoming contrast in the ideational, action and exchange structures. The causal connective *dakara* 'so' was the third most common connective (18% of all the connectives), and was used to express cause-effect relationships. These three categories of connectives constituted 92% of the connectives used in my data, indicating their importance in spoken Japanese.

The use of connectives in my data, however, did not show significant a relationship to speech styles or the age of speakers. This fact may indicate that connectives have relatively well-defined roles and perform similar functions as contextual coordinates regardless of the the formality of speech or the age of speaker. The use of connectives, however, was significantly related to gender; women used connectives at much higher rate than men. More particularly, the use of *de* 'and' and *demo* 'but' was significantly influenced by gender difference. In what follows, I examine the frequency and functions of Japanese connectives as discourse markers.

3.2. Method

3.2.1. Data

The main aim of the present study is to examine: (1) the use of discourse markers by native Japanese speakers in spoken discourse; (2) the relationship between sociolinguistic factors such as the interlocutors' gender and age and the use of discourse markers; and (3) the differences between native and non-native speakers of Japanese in the use of discourse markers.

In order to analyze the use of Japanese discourse markers, four types of data were

obtained: (1) casual dyadic conversations by college-age native speakers of Japanese (4 same-sex pairs and 2 cross-sex pairs; ages 18-21); (2) 12 interviews by the college-age participants from whom the casual conversation data were collected; (3) conversations by older participants (4 same-sex and 2 cross-sex pairs; ages 36-66); and (4) 6 narratives (ages 24-45).

The conversation data were obtained by asking the participants to talk about any topic they chose for 30 minutes with a tape recorder in front of them. For the collection of these data, unless the researcher was one of the conversants, the participants were left alone to minimize what Labov (1972) calls the "observer's paradox": the more aware the respondents are that their speech is being observed, the less natural their performances will be, and thus the produced speech will be less natural.

The interview data were collected by interviewing the same college students from whom the conversation data had previously been obtained. The interviews were conducted in formal-style Japanese² due to the following factors: (1) relationship between the researcher and the subjects was not close enough to use informal-style Japanese;³ and (2) to be used as the baseline data for the study of interview data of non-native subjects, most of whom used formal-style Japanese. Each interview took 15 to 25 minutes. Although the main job of the interviewer was to elicit responses from the interviewees, care was taken to make the interaction "conversation-like" to the extent possible. For example, the interviewer not only asked questions, but expressed her views and opinions on many of the topics during the interviews.

Separate narrative data were obtained by asking three male and three female native speakers to describe their happiest experience or most troubling experience in the U.S. The

² Formal-style Japanese refers to the speech style in which the polite form of the copula (e.g. *desu*) and the plain verb forms (e.g. *-masu*) are used.

³ Informal-style Japanese refers to the speech style in which the plain verb endings (e.g. *-ru*) and the plain form of the copula (e.g. *da*) are used.

length of the narratives varied between two to ten minutes.⁴

Data collection took place in a dorm lounge and coffee shops to ensure a casual atmosphere. The participants were told that their conversations and interviews would be used for the researcher's conversation analysis, but were not told what aspect of their speech was of particular interest. At the end of their interviews and conversations, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding their backgrounds (see Appendix 2 for the questionnaire format.)

3.2.2. Participants

Two types of participants were recruited for the data collection. The 'younger' group consists of six male and six female Japanese college students, ages 18-21 (participants #7-#14 and #19-#24 in Table 3.1). They came from three universities in Japan to attend a summer English program in the U.S. They were classmates in their respective Japanese universities and knew each other well enough to converse in the informal speech style.

The 'older' group consists of twelve native speakers, ages 36 to 66 (Participants #1-6 and 13-18). Though they knew each other well as friends or through their work, their relationship to each other was not as close as that of the younger participants. Moreover, due to the age difference in each pair, they all used formal-style Japanese.

The participants from whom the narrative data were collected were graduate students and Japanese teachers at a local university. Table 3.1 is the list of participants.

⁴ Data from 4 triadic conversations were also collected, which will be used throughout the present thesis whenever pertinent. Besides the Japanese data, 6 dyadic conversations and 4 narratives were collected from native English speakers speaking English, to be compared with the Japanese data, using the same procedure as the Japanese data. The results of the analysis are presented throughout this thesis where the information is pertinent. See Appendix 4 for a list of the participants in English conversation.

Table 3.1 List of native Japanese participants

name	sex	age	occupation	hometown	type of data	topic
1 MI	M	O	teacher	Chiba	C	USA
2 WA	M	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	USA
3 JM	M	O	teacher	Chiba	C	travelling
4 WK	M	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	travelling
5 TH	M	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	travelling/ food
6 MA	M	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	daily life
7 FY	M	Y	student	Tokyo	C/ I	college life
8 SH	M	Y	student	Kanagawa	C/ I	college life
9 KK	M	Y	student	Shizuoka	C/ I	USA/ classes
10 KM	M	Y	student	Shizuoka	C/ I	USA/ classes
11 TT	M	Y	student	Kanagawa	C/ I	college life
12 YI	M	Y	student	Chiba	C/ I	college life
13 TA	F	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	daily life
14 YO	F	O	student	Tokyo	C	daily life
15 YK	F	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	daily life
16 IM	F	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	USA
17 KH	F	O	teacher	Tokyo	C	travelling/ food
18 Mieko	F	O	student	Tokyo	C	daily life
19 IY	F	Y	student	Tokyo	C/ I	movies/ pastime
20 NM	F	Y	student	Tokyo	C/ I	movies/ pastime
21 UM	F	Y	student	Kanagawa	C/ I	travelling
22 KY	F	Y	student	Tokyo	C/ I	travelling
23 AR	F	Y	student	Tokyo	C/ I	USA
24 KE	F	Y	student	Kanagawa	C/ I	USA
25 KI	M	O	teacher	Saitama	N	happy moment
26 UK	M	O	student	Tokyo	N	troubling time
27 WY	M	O	teacher	Niigata	N	troubling time
28 YY	F	Y	student	Tokyo	N	happy moment
29 YU	F	Y	student	Tokyo	N	happy moment
30 WM	F	Y	student	Tochigi	N	embarrassing time

O=older speaker (ages 33-66); Y=younger speaker (ages 18-21); C=conversation; I=interview; N=narrative

3.2.3. Procedures

After collecting the data, the first two minutes of the recordings were transcribed but categorically excluded from my quantitative analysis, since in the conversation data some pairs were not yet fully engaged in natural conversation during the first minute or so. Having been left alone with a tape recorder, some pairs could not agree upon what they should talk about, while others started to talk immediately but in formal Japanese. After one or two minutes, however, all the pairs became actively engaged in conversation. The

ten-minute segments following the initial two minutes of the recordings were fully analyzed. The first two minutes of the interview data were also excluded from quantitative analysis to maintain consistency. Regarding the narratives, only a portion of the participants' narratives, namely, what Labov (1972:363-175) calls the "abstract" through the "coda," were analyzed.

After transcribing the data, the markers were classified into three categories: (1) connectives, (2) fillers, and (3) interactional particles. The number of occurrences of each discourse marker was tallied, and the frequency of each discourse marker per 1,000 words ("the rate" hereafter) was calculated by dividing the number of occurrences of each discourse marker by the number of the words uttered, and then multiplying the result by 1,000. After the rates were calculated, in order to see the relationship between sociolinguistic factors and the use of discourse markers, the two-tailed *t* statistical significance test was run for factors which have two variables, such as gender (male vs. female) and age (younger vs. older). For factors which have three or more variables, e.g. speech genre (interviews, conversations and narratives), the one-way ANOVA (analysis of variance) test was performed. In total, 120 minutes of the interviews, 120 minutes of the conversations, and approximately 25 minutes of the narratives were analyzed.

3.2.4. Units of talk

Defining 'units of talk' is an important task in discourse marker analysis, since Schiffrin (1987:31) operationally defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk." However, she deliberately left the definition of 'units of talk' vague in her analysis, stating that utilizing a precise unit would place a limit on her analysis by restricting her attention to just that unit (p. 31). Therefore, her 'units of talk' can be sentences, tone groups, actions, and so on.

Other researchers propose more concrete 'units of talk' based on prosodic cues such as intonation or pauses (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Chafe 1982; and Iwasaki 1993,

inter alia). Halliday and Hasan (1976:325-326) state that text is organized into units of information, expressed by intonation patterns in English, and that these information units take the form of an unbroken succession of intonation units or tone groups. Chafe's 'idea unit' is another 'unit of talk' based on intonation and pauses (1982:37 and 1987:22). He states that idea units are 'a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour, are typically bounded by pauses, and usually exhibit one of a small set of syntactic structures' (1987:22). He adds that 'idea units' often coincide syntactically with a single clause, and further states that 'they are a striking, probably universal property of spoken language' (p. 37).

Regarding Japanese, however, Maynard (1989:23-24) argues that it is necessary to establish a smaller unit than Chafe's idea units, since many of the units of talk defined by phonological features, such as clear utterance-final pauses or intonation contour, are phrases rather than clauses, i.e. morphological units of independent lexical items plus junction words such as particles and do not contain verbals. Therefore, Maynard proposes the use of pause-bounded phrasal units (PPU) as the unit of analysis (p. 23). Maynard also lists the following characteristics for PPU boundaries: (1) a pause-predicting tone; (2) a pause-warning speed; (3) skipped beats; or (4) a distinct intonation contour (p. 23).

The characteristics Maynard assigns to PPUs, however, seem to be similar to Chafe's idea units or Halliday's "information units" in that they are pronounced in one continuous flow, often do not contain verbs, and may best be described as phrases rather than clauses. Furthermore, in my data, most of these PPUs are clause-sized, both in English (1,346 clauses in 1,487 intonation units=90.5%) and in Japanese (4,996 clauses in 5,667 intonation units=88.2% of the total corpus.)⁵ Matsumoto (1997) also reports that the majority of Japanese intonation units consist of clauses rather than phrases (81% of

⁵ Short expressions such as 'O.K.' or 'sure' as a response to 'Will you call me tonight?' and one-word answers to a question such as 'Tokyo' as a response to 'Where did you go yesterday?' are treated as a clause rather than a phrase in the present study.

1,121 intonation units in Matsumoto's study are clauses).

In the present study, I will consider the syntactic clause as the basic unit of analysis for the following reasons: (1) most intonation units in my data were clause-sized; and (2) to employ a consistent unit for formal and informal Japanese and non-native speakers' Japanese (at least for the novice and intermediate level speakers of Japanese, intonation contours and pauses were not a reliable indicator of intonation units, and therefore the use of strictly intonation-based units was not practical).

3.3. Quantitative analysis

This section presents a quantitative analysis of the connectives in my data. The number of occurrences, the percentage of total discourse marker use each connective represents, and the rate per 1,000 words are presented in the present section. In Section 3.4, the use of connectives is discussed in relation to four sociolinguistic factors, formality (formal vs. informal speech styles), gender (men vs. women), age (older vs. younger) and speech genres (interviews, conversations and narratives).

3.3.1. The tokens, rates, and percentages of connectives

In this section, I discuss the number of occurrences of connectives, the rate of connectives per 1,000 words, and what percentage of total discourse marker use each marker represents. There were individual variations in the use of connectives. The quantitative analysis presented below, therefore, should be regarded as a general tendency in the use of connectives in my data.

Following Martin's categorization (1975:818), I classify the connectives which occurred in my data in the following categories: coordinative (e.g. *de* 'and' and *soshite* 'and'), adversative (e.g. *demo* 'but' and *dakedo* 'but'), causal (e.g. *dakara* 'so'), consequential (e.g. *ja(a)* 'then'), disjunctive (e.g. *aruwa* 'or'), and explanatory (e.g. *nazenaraba* 'because').

Coordinative connectives were the most commonly used connectives, constituting 46% of the total connectives used. *De* 'and' was the most frequently used coordinative connective (24%), followed by *sorede* 'and' (11%), and *ato* 'and/in addition' (6.6%).

Demo 'but' was the most frequently used adversative connective, constituting 23% of all the connectives in my data. The causal connective *dakara* 'so' constituted 18% of all connectives used. The three most frequently used connectives, *(sore)de* 'and', *demo* 'but', and *dakara* 'so', constituted 76% of all the connectives in my data. Table 3.2 summarizes the number of occurrences, what percentage of total discourse marker use each one represents, and the rate of each connective in my data.

Table 3.2 Connectives in the native Japanese data (n=36)

marker type	marker (meaning)	tokens	(%)	rate/1000 words
coordinative	<i>de</i> 'and'	262	(24%)	7.32
	<i>sorede</i> ⁶	119	(11%)	3.33
	<i>ato</i>	73	(6.6%)	2.04
	<i>sorekara</i> ⁷	45	(4.1%)	1.26
	<i>soshite</i> ⁸	7	(0.6%)	0.2
total (coord)		506	(46%)	14.1
adversative	<i>demo</i> ⁹ 'but'	255	(23%)	7.13
	<i>datte</i> ¹⁰	35	(3.2%)	0.98
	<i>tada</i>	15	(1.4%)	0.42
	<i>tokoroga</i>	1	(0.1%)	0.03
total (adv)		306	(28%)	8.55
causal	<i>dakara</i> 'so'	198	(18%)	5.53
total (consq)	<i>(ja</i> 'then', etc.)	80	(7.3%)	2.24
total (disj)	<i>(aruiwa</i> 'or', etc.)	11	(1%)	0.31
total (expl)	<i>nazenaraba</i> 'because'	1	(0.09)	0.03
total		1102	(100%)	30.8

coord=coordinative connectives; adv=adversative; consq=consequential; disj=disjunctive; expl=explanatory

⁶ Variants of *sorede*, such as *sonde* and *soide* 'and' are also included in this category.

⁷ This category includes: *sorekara* 'and', *soreto* 'and', *soreni* 'and', and *shikamo* 'and'.

⁸ Of the seven occurrences of *soshite* 'and', three were used in its colloquial variant *site* 'and'.

⁹ This category includes: *demo* 'but', *dakedo* 'but' and *shikashi* 'but'.

¹⁰ *Datte* can be categorized either as an adversative or an explanatory connective. It is classified as an adversative connective throughout this thesis.

The number of tokens of consequential, disjunctive, and explanatory connectives was small, constituting 8.3% of the total connectives use. The consequential category consists of *ja(a)* 'then' (45 tokens), *soshitara* 'then' (21 tokens), *soosuruto* 'then' (8 tokens), *dattara* 'then' (4 tokens) and *sorenara* 'then' (2 tokens), constituting 7.3% of the connectives. Disjunctive category consists of *toyuuka* 'or rather' (4 tokens), *aruwa* 'or' (4 tokens) and *soretomo* 'or' (3 tokens). Only one token of explanatory connective occurred. The low percentage of the explanatory connective is perhaps attributable to the agglutinative nature of Japanese. Explanatory clauses in Japanese generally end with the bound explanatory conjunctive particles such as *-kara* 'because' and *-node* 'because', rather than beginning with independent connectives such as *nazenaraba* 'because'. Hence the infrequent occurrence of explanatory connectives.

The overall percentages of connectives in my data were similar to those obtained by other researchers, as shown in Table 3.3, which compares the number of tokens and the percentages of connectives in four studies: the National Language Research Institute's 1955 study (cited in Onodera 1993:9), Onodera (1993:11), Ito (1995:24), and the present study. In all of these studies, the percentage of coordinative connectives, such as *de* and *sorede*, was the highest, followed by the adversative connective *demo* or the causal connective *dakara*, indicating the general preference for these connectives in Japanese conversation.

Table 3.3 Percentages of connectives in various studies

connectives	meaning	NLRI (1955) 85 varieties	Onodera (1993) 160 varieties	Ito (1995) 4 varieties	present study 28 varieties
<i>sorede, de, etc.</i>	'and'	417 (27%)	539 (29.6%)	179 (43.3%)	353 (31.9%)
<i>demo, etc.</i>	'but'	196 (12.6%)	304 (16.7%)	96 (23.2%)	252 (22.9%)
<i>dakara, etc.</i>	'so'	188 (12.1%)	299 (16.4%)	118 (28.6%)	198 (18.0%)
<i>sorekara, etc</i>	'then'	138 (8.9%)	76 (4.1%)	N/A	45 (4.1%)
<i>ja</i>	'well then'	99 (6.4%)	311 (17.1%)	N/A	45 (4.1%)
<i>datte</i>	'but/because'	N/A	82 (4.5%)	20 (4.8%)	35 (3.2%)
% of number	connectives of tokens	67% of 1558 tokens	88.4% of 1819 tokens	100% of 423 tokens	84.2% of 1102 tokens

3.4. Sociolinguistic factors and the use of connectives

In this section, I examine the use of connectives in relation to four sociolinguistic factors: (1) formality of speech in Section 3.4.1; (2) age in Section 3.4.2; (3) gender in Section 3.4.3; and (4) speech genres in Section 3.4.4.

3.4.1. Formality

"Formal speech style" is defined in the present study as the speech style in which the polite verb endings (e.g. *-masu* and *-masen*) and the polite form of the copula (e.g. *desu* and *deshita*) are used. "Informal style speech" is defined as the speech style in which the plain form of verb endings (e.g. *-ru* and *-ta*) and the plain form of the copula (e.g. *da* and *datta*) are used.

In order to examine the differences in the use of connectives by formality, an unmatched two-tailed *t*-test was run on the rates of connectives per 1,000 words at a 95% significance level. A *P*-value of 0.05 or lower indicates a significant relationship between formality and the use of connectives, and a *P*-value between 0.05 and 1.0 indicates a strong tendency towards significance.¹¹

My results show that the difference in formality did not significantly affect the total rate of connectives, contrary to a part of Hypothesis 1 presented in Ch 1:

Hypothesis 1

There will be a stylistic or genre-related variation in the use of connectives. They will be used more often in narratives than in conversations, in formal speech than in informal speech.

¹¹ The statistical analysis does not show a clear relationship for connectives with a small number of tokens such as the explanatory connective in my data. Therefore, the result is indicated as "indeterminable" in such a case.

The total rate of connectives was higher for informal speech than in formal speech (33.8/1000 words and 29.6/1000 words, respectively), but the difference was not statistically significant. By category, the rates of coordinative, adversative, disjunctive and explanatory connectives were higher in informal speech than in formal speech, but the differences were not significant or indeterminable due to low occurrences. Table 3.4 summarizes the number of tokens and the rate for each connective, with numbers in bold indicating the higher rate between formal and informal speech.

Table 3.4 The tokens and rates of connectives by formality (two-tailed *t*-test; *n*=36)

marker	meaning	formal (n=24)		informal (n=12)		P-Value
		tokens	rate/1000 wds	tokens	rate/1000 wds	
<i>de</i>	'and'	163	6.4	99	9.5	ns
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	87	3.4	32	3.1	ns
<i>ato</i>	'and'	55	2.2	18	1.7	ns
<i>sorekara</i>	'and'	34	1.3	11	1.1	ns
<i>soshite</i>	'and'	6	0.2	1	0.1	ns
total	(coord)	345	13.6	161	15.4	ns
<i>demo</i>	'but'	168	6.6	87	8.3	ns
<i>datte</i>	'but'	13	0.5	22	2.1	0.055
<i>tada</i>	'but'	15	0.6	-----	-----	0.068
<i>tokoroga</i>	'but'	1	0.04	-----	-----	ID
total	(adv)	197	7.8	109	10.4	ns
<i>dakara</i>	'so'	146	5.8	52	5.0	ns
total	(consq)	51	2.0	29	1.5	ns
total	(disj)	9	0.36	2	2.8	ns
total	(expl)	1	0.04	0	0.2	ID
total		749	29.6	353	33.8	ns

degree of freedom: 34 ; confidence level: 95%; ----: non-occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence; ns=not significant

As for individual connectives, the rates of the informal coordinative connective *de* 'and' and the informal adversative connective *datte* 'but' were higher in informal conversations than in formal conversations, as well as another adversative connective *demo* 'but'. However, none of the individual connectives showed a significant relationship to formality, though the rates of *datte* 'but' and *tada* 'but' were on the margin of significance

($P=0.055$ and 0.068 , respectively). I therefore conclude that formality does not significantly influence the use of connectives, and that the functions of connectives as contextual coordinates are similar in formal and informal speech.

3.4.2. Speakers' age

Speakers' age was not significantly related to the use of connectives. The rates were higher for older speakers in every category except for coordinative connectives *de* 'and' (6.7/1000 words for older speakers vs. 7.6/1000 words for younger speakers) and *ato* 'and; in addition' (0.77/1000 words and 2.77/1000 words, respectively), as well as the total rate (34/1000 words vs. 29.3/1000 words), but the differences were not statistically significant. Table 3.5 is a summary of the number of tokens and the rates of connectives by the speakers' age, with the numbers in bold indicating the higher rate between the older and the younger speakers.

Table 3.5 The tokens and rates of connectives by age (two-tailed t -test; $n=36$)

marker	meaning	(n=12)		(n=24)		P-value
		tokens	rate/1000 wds	tokens	rate/1000 wds	
<i>de</i>	and	79	6.7	183	7.6	ns
<i>sorede</i>	and	42	3.6	77	3.2	ns
<i>ato</i>	and	9	0.77	64	2.7	0.020
<i>sorekara</i>	and	29	2.48	16	0.7	ns
<i>soshite</i>	and	5	0.43	2	0.1	ns
total	(coord)	164	14	342	14.2	ns
<i>demo</i>	but	87	7.4	168	6.97	ns
<i>datte</i>	but	12	1.0	23	0.95	ns
<i>tada</i>	but	7	0.6	8	0.33	ns
<i>tokoroga</i>	but	1	0.09	-----	-----	ID
total	(adv)	107	9.2	199	8.3	ns
<i>dakara</i>	so	79	6.8	119	4.9	ns
total	(consq)	42	3.6	38	1.6	0.045
total	(disj)	5	0.4	6	0.25	ns
total	(expl)	-----	-----	1	0.04	ID
total		397	34	705	29.3	ns

----: non-occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence; ns=not significant

The only items which showed statistically significant differences were *ato* 'and; in addition' and the consequential connectives ($P=0.020$ and 0.045 , respectively). Therefore, I conclude that connectives have similar functions across speakers' age.

3.4.3. Gender

Women used more connectives than men overall and the difference was statistically significant ($P=0.000$). They also used more coordinative, adversative, and causal connectives than men, and the differences for coordinative and adversative connectives were statistically significant.

Ide (1997:60) cites a study on essays written by Japanese 4th to 9th graders and states that male students used "positive conjunctions" such as *soshite* 'and' and *dakara* 'so', whereas female students preferred negative conjunctions such as *demo* 'but'. She speculates that the reason for this phenomenon is that female students are less willing to show confidence in what they are saying, and thus modify their opinions with less decisive forms such as *demo*. However, probably due to the difference between written Japanese and spoken Japanese, my data did not support this observation, since coordinative, adversative, and causal connectives were all used by women at a higher rate than by men. The consequential connectives also were used by women more often than men, and the difference showed a strong tendency towards significance.

As regards individual connectives, the rates of *de* 'and', *ato* 'and, in addition', and *demo* 'but' were significantly higher for women than for men. *Sorekara* 'and, then' was the only connective which was used more often by men than women, but the difference was not significant. Thus, according to my data, women use more connectives than men, and the speaker's gender influences the use of connectives. Table 3.6 summarizes the number of tokens and rates per 1000 words, with the numbers in bold representing the higher rate for each connective between male and female speakers.

Table 3.6 The tokens and rates of connectives by the speaker's gender (two-tailed *t*-test; n=36)

marker	meaning	men (n=18)		women (n=18)		P-value
		tokens	rate/1000 wds	tokens	rate/1000 wds	
<i>de</i>	'and'	61	3.9	201	10	0.001
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	44	2.8	75	3.7	ns
<i>ato</i>	'and'	18	1.1	55	2.7	0.048
<i>sorekara</i>	'and'	27	1.7	18	0.9	ns
<i>soshite</i>	'and'	4	0.3	3	0.2	ns
total	(coord)	154	9.8	352	17.5	0.001
<i>demo</i>	'but'	74	4.7	181	9.0	0.009
<i>datte</i>	'but'	9	0.6	26	1.3	ns
<i>tada</i>	'but'	10	0.6	5	0.3	ns
<i>tokoroga</i>	'but'	1	0.06	-----	-----	ID
total	(adv)	94	6.0	212	10.6	0.008
<i>dakara</i>	'so'	72	4.6	126	6.3	ns
total	(consq)	21	1.3	59	2.9	0.087
total	(disj)	6	0.4	5	0.3	ns
total	(expl)	1	0.06	-----	-----	ID
total		348	22.1	754	37.6	0.000

---: non-occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence; ns=not significant

The younger men in my data talked about a wide variety of topics, each one briefly, whereas women and older men discussed a few topics at great length. For example, FY and SH, a young male pair, changed topics 6 times in 10 minutes: the State of Michigan, their university in Japan, other universities in Japan, American culture, discrimination, and their girlfriends. IY and NM, a young women's pair, had only 2 topics: movies and their families. TA and I, an older women's pair, had just one topic, TH's house. MI and WA, an older men's pair, had one topic: comparing the U.S. and Japan. Since young men changed their topics frequently, they did not have as many occasions to use connectives as the other three categories of speaker, hence the low rates of connectives usage.

Tannen (1994:99) states that, at all age levels in her study¹², female speakers' talk was tightly focused; they talked about a small number of topics at length, whereas male speakers' talk was diffused, and they changed their topics often. The older men in my data did not conform to the pattern described by Tannen, but the women and younger men conformed to her characterization. Although Tannen did not comment on the use of connectives in her study, perhaps tightly cohesive speech on a small number of topics by women and older men in my data contributed to the larger rates of connectives compared to those of younger men.

I now examine the rates of connectives in relation to the addressee's gender. According to the *t*-test results, both men's and women's use of connectives were somewhat influenced by the addressee's gender, though not significantly.

The male speakers' total rate was higher when speaking to a woman than to a man. Particularly, the rates of coordinative connectives were high with female addressees. The rate of *sorede* 'and' was significantly higher with a female addressee ($P=0.001$), and the rates of *sorekara* 'and', *dakara* 'so', the consequential total and the total rate of connectives were also higher when speaking to a woman than to a man, though not statistically significant. *Sorede* 'and', *sorekara* 'and/then' and *dakara* 'so' are all markers of speaker continuation. Therefore, we can say that male speakers used markers of continuation more often when speaking to a woman than to a man.

The older male speakers in my data held the floor for a long time when they were speaking to women, stating their opinions or describing their experience, and their female partners had much shorter speech segments than the male speakers. On the other hand, when a man was talking to another man, especially among the young participants, the floor was turned over much more quickly between the conversants. This might partially account for the high rates of coordinative and causal connectives in men's speech when speaking to

¹² Tannen analyzed video-taped English conversations, using 8 same-sex pairs at four age levels: second-graders, six-graders, tenth-graders, and 25-year-olds.

women than to a man (14.2/1000 words with a female addressee vs. 7.2/1000 words with a male addressee for coordinative connectives and 7.8/1000 words with a female addressee vs. 4.8/1000 words with a male addressee for causal connectives). The rates of adversative connectives were higher with male addressees than with female addressees, but the difference was not significant.

As regards the female speakers, the total rate of connectives use was higher when speaking to another woman than to a man, as well as the rates for coordinative and causal connectives. This is due to the fact that women had much longer speech segments with female addressees than with male addressees. The rates of adversative connectives were higher when speaking to a man than to a woman, but the difference was not statistically significant. Table 3.7 summarizes the rates of connectives by the addressee's gender.

Table 3.7 The rates of connectives per 1000 words by the addressee's gender (two-tailed *t*-test; *n*=24)

marker	meaning	Male speakers		P-value	Female speakers		P-value
		M v. M (<i>n</i> =8)	M v. F (<i>n</i> =4)		F v. M (<i>n</i> =4)	F v. F (<i>n</i> =8)	
		token (rate)	token (rate)		token (rate)	token (rate)	
<i>de</i>	'and'	27 (4.3)	15 (4.5)	ns	32 (8.0)	104 (12.2)	ns
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	3 (0.5)	11 (3.3)	0.010	10 (2.5)	50 (5.9)	ns
<i>ato</i>	'and'	2 (0.3)	4 (1.2)	ns	8 (2.0)	13 (1.5)	ns
<i>sorekara</i>	'and'	11 (1.8)	16 (4.8)	ns	7 (1.7)	6 (0.7)	ns
<i>soshite</i>	'and'	2 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	ID	-----	3 (0.4)	ID
total	(coord)	45 (7.2)	47 (14.2)	ns	57 (14.2)	176 (20.6)	0.083
<i>demo</i>	'but'	42 (6.7)	13 (3.9)	ns	39 (9.7)	80 (9.4)	ns
<i>datte</i>	'but'	6 (1.0)	2 (0.6)	ns	15 (3.7)	11 (1.3)	0.078
<i>tada</i>	'but'	2 (0.3)	2 (0.6)	ID	2 (0.5)	1 (0.1)	ID
<i>tokoroga</i>	'but'	-----	1 (0.3)	ID	-----	-----	N/A
total	(adv)	50 (8.0)	18 (5.4)	ns	56 (13.9)	92 (10.8)	ns
<i>dakara</i>	'so'	30 (4.8)	26 (7.8)	ns	16 (4.0)	59 (6.9)	ns
total	(consq)	8 (1.3)	10 (3.0)	ns	19 (4.7)	34 (4.0)	ns
total	(disj)	-----	3 (0.9)	ID	1 (0.3)	3 (0.4)	ID
total	(expl)	-----	-----	N/A	-----	-----	N/A
total		133 (21.2)	104 (31.4)	ns	149 (37.1)	364 (42.6)	ns

----: non-occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence; ns=not significant; N/A: no *P*-value (=no occurrence)

As we saw above, the speaker's gender is significantly related to the use of connectives, whereas the addressee's gender showed only a marginal relationship (except the rate of *sorede* 'and' for male speakers with a female addressee). One note of caution is that in my study, the speech data were obtained not from the same individual speaking to a same-sex partner and an opposite-sex partner, but from different individuals conversing with same-sex or opposite-sex partners. Moreover, the number of subjects was relatively small ($n=24$ in total). Therefore, these findings may indicate a general tendency, but cannot be said to confirm how a particular individual's speech is likely to vary depending on the sex of his/her addressee. Thus, we will have to await further research on this issue.

3.4.4. Speech genre

Speech genre influenced the use of the connectives, which supported part of my Hypothesis 1. The rate of *de* 'and' was the highest in narratives, and the difference was statistically significant ($P=0.013$). The percentage of coordinative and causal connectives together constituted 86% of the connectives used in narratives, indicating their importance in narratives, where the speaker tells a story, connecting utterances in a coherent manner and holding the floor for a long time. It is also possible that when the speaker does not have to worry about fighting for the floor, coordinative and causal connectives are more likely to be used than in conversations.

The rates of the contrast markers *demo* 'but' and *datte* 'but, because' were highest in conversation. As Schifffrin (1987:152) points out, one of the functions of adversative connectives is marking an upcoming contrasting action. Therefore, they are less likely to be used in interviews and narratives, where the speaker "monopolizes" the floor, than in conversations, where the interlocutors can present opposing views to each other. Table 3.8 summarizes the number of tokens and the rates of connectives by speech genre with the numbers in bold indicating the highest rate of the three speech genres.

Table 3.8 The tokens and rates of connectives by speech genre (one-way ANOVA test; n=42)

marker	meaning	interviews (n=12)		conversations (n=24)		narratives (n=6)		P-Value
		token (%)	rate	token (%)	rate	token (%)	rate	
<i>de</i>	'and'	84 (23.9)	6.2	178 (23.7)	8.0	49 (54.4)	15.2	0.013
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	45 (12.8)	3.3	74 (9.9)	3.3	12 (13.3)	3.7	ns
<i>ato</i>	'and'	46 (13.1)	3.3	27 (3.6)	1.2	4 (4.4)	1.2	0.002
<i>sorekara</i>	'and'	5 (1.4)	0.3	40 (5.3)	1.8	-----	-----	ns
<i>soshite</i>	'and'	1 (0.3)	0.1	6 (0.8)	0.3	1 (1.1)	0.3	ns
total	(coord)	181 (51.4)	13.3	325 (43.3)	14.7	66 (73.3)	20.5	ns
<i>demo</i>	'but'	81 (23)	5.9	174 (23.2)	7.9	4 (4.4)	1.2	0.020
<i>datte</i>	'but'	1 (0.3)	0.1	34 (4.5)	1.5	1 (1.1)	0.3	0.024
<i>tada</i>	'but'	8 (2.3)	0.6	7 (0.9)	0.3	-----	-----	ns
<i>tokoroga</i>	'but'	-----	-----	1 (0.13)	0.1	3 (3.3)	0.9	0.003
total	(adv)	90 (25.6)	6.6	216 (28.8)	9.8	8 (8.9)	2.5	0.027
<i>dakara</i>	'so'	67 (19)	4.9	131 (17.5)	5.9	12 (13.3)	3.7	ns
total	(consq)	9 (2.6)	0.7	71 (9.5)	3.2	4 (4.4)	1.2	0.008
total	(disj)	4 (1.1)	0.3	7 (0.9)	0.3	-----	-----	ns
total	(expl)	1 (0.3)	0.1	-----	-----	-----	-----	ID
total		352 (100)	25.8	750 (100)	33.9	90 (100)	28	ns

-----: non-occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence; ns=not significant

3.4.5. Summary

We have seen that, in my data on spoken Japanese, coordinative connectives were most often used, followed by adversative and causal connectives. This order was consistent with other research in Japanese and also Schiffrrin's (1987) findings on English connectives.

The use of Japanese connectives was examined in relation to four sociolinguistic factors: formality, age, gender, and speech genre. Gender of the speaker was the most significant factor influencing the use of connectives in my data, followed by speech genre.

It was shown that women used more connectives than men, and that the speaker's gender is more significant than the addressee's gender. As in Tannen's study (1994), the female participants in my data talked at length on a small number of topics, and the young male participants discussed briefly a large number of topics, which may have contributed to the high rates of connectives in women's speech.

Speech genre influenced the use of coordinative, causal, and adversative connectives. Coordinative and causal connectives were used most frequently in the narratives, suggesting that Japanese coordinative and causal connectives function as markers of coordination and continuation, like the English *and* and *so* (see Schiffrin 1987). Adversative connectives were used most often in conversations, where opposing views are most likely to be expressed by the interlocutors.

Age and formality were not significant factors in the use of connectives in my data, suggesting that connectives have similar functions across age and style. Thus, the gender-related part of my hypothesis was supported by my data, but not the part related to formality.

3.5. Qualitative analysis

In this section, a qualitative analysis of the three most frequently used connectives in my data, *(sore)de* 'and', *demo* 'but', and *dakara* 'so', is presented.

3.5.1. The coordinative marker *(sore)de* 'and'

Sorede and its shortened variant *de* 'and' were the two most common coordinative connectives used by the native participants, together constituting 35% of the total connectives appearing in my data. In this section *de* and *sorede* are treated as one connective *(sore)de*, except when they need to be distinguished (see, for example, 3.5.1.3 for a discussion of *de* vs. *sorede*).

(Sore)de is often treated as a causal connective. For example, *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar* (Makino and Tsutsui 1986:413) defines *sorede* as: "a conjunction to indicate that what is stated in the preceding sentence is the reason or cause for what is stated in the following sentence." *Kojien Dictionary* gives the following definitions for *sorede*: (1) for that reason; and (2) thus [translation mine]. Martin (1975:818) lists *(sore)de* as a consequential and sequential conjunction, but not as a coordinative conjunction.

Several studies, however, indicate that the main function of *sorede* is to express a coordinative relationship rather than a causal one (see Morita 1980; Ito 1995, and Philips 1995; Hudson 1998, *inter alia*).

Sorede consists of two components: the demonstrative pronoun *sore* 'that' and the gerundive form of the copula *da* 'to be'. According to *The Kojien Dictionary*, gerundives have the following functions: (1) conjoin prior and upcoming structures, events, etc.; (2) express causal relationships; (3) express conditions; and (4) express adversative relationships. The multifunctionality of *(sore)de* seems to derive from the multifunctionality of the gerundive *-de*.

Ito (1995) lists the following as its three functions: (1) marker of coordination of units (PPUs in her analysis); (2) marker of speaker continuation; and (3) eliciting the other interlocutor's continuation and requesting confirmation. Hudson (1998) states that *sorede* is used in the following situations: (1) coordination of idea units; (2) expressing a cause-effect relationship; (3) expressing contrast, similar to English *but*; and (4) in topic change. Philips (1995) lists the following four functions for *(sorede)*: (1) (sequential) coordination; (2) speaker continuation; (3) requesting the previous speaker's continued turn; and (4) connecting units with casual relationships.

Table 3.9 presents my summary of various functions of *(sore)de* as previously reported. (*) indicates the planes of talk defined in Schiffrin (1987) on which each function takes place. As shown in this table, *(sore)de* functions on every discourse plane except in the information state, and it is very much like English *and*, which Schiffrin (1987) characterizes as a marker of idea coordination and speaker continuation (see Ch. 2 of this thesis for the summary of various discourse markers analyzed by Schiffrin (1987)).

Since a detailed analysis of *(sore)de* is presented in Ito (1995), the current study focuses its attention on a review of the canonical functions of *(sore)de*, as it occurred in my data. First, we consider the function of *(sore)de* in the ideational structure: (1) as a coordination marker of idea units and (2) as a marker of causal relationship in Section

3.5.1.1. Secondly, I discuss the functions of *(sore)de* as a marker of continuation in the exchange and action structures in Section 3.5.1.2. Finally, the functions of *de* and *sorede* will be compared in Section 3.5.1.3.

Table 3.9 Functions of *(sore)de* on various planes of discourse

functions	Planes of talk				
	Info. state	Ideational structure	Participation framework	Action structure	Exchange structure
1. coordination		*			
2. causal marker		*			
3. contrast marker		*			
4. speaker continuation				*	*
5. elicit other's turn			*	*	*
6. topic change					*

3.5.1.1. *(Sore)de* in the ideational structure

3.5.1.1.1. Connecting idea units

As Schiffrin states regarding the English *and*, *(sore)de* is often used for more than one function simultaneously. When *(sore)de* coordinates two idea units, for example, it also functions as a marker of speaker continuation (see Hudson 1998). When *(sore)de* is used for co-construction by several speakers, it simultaneously functions as a marker of idea coordination and as an entry-device. In this section, however, we consider the roles of *(sore)de* separately for ease of discussion.

As described in previous studies, both *de* and *sorede* functioned as a marker of idea units or event coordination both at a local- and global-level in my data. *(Sore)de* as an event connector occurred most frequently in narratives. (1) illustrates the function of *de* as a coordinator of local-level units. Here YY is describing her experience in a library.

- (1) YY: a. **De** atashi/ **de** okane koo dashite
and I and money like this took out

b. **de** tsukue no ue ni oita n desu yo.
and desk GEN top on put assert IP

c. **De** sono otoko no ko ga te o dashiteta n desu yone.
and that boy SUB hand DO extend assert IP

d. **De** atashi kizukanakatta n desu yo.
and I notice assert IP

YY: a. **And** I took money out like this,
b. **and** put it on the counter.
c. **And** that boy was putting his hand out (towards me).
d. **And** I did not notice that.'

De in (b), (c) and (d) is used to describe YY's experience choronologically, connecting local-level idea units in the order of occurrence.

(2) is an example of *de* connecting global-level units. UM is telling her friend where various high schools take their students for school trips.

(2) UM a. Sukii iku tokoro mo areba nan da kke/
ski go places also exist what is it
b. Okinawa made itchau tokoro mo areba/
Okinawa to go places also exist
c. Hokkaidoo ittari/
Hokkaido go-and
d. **de** uchi no gakkoo wa Kanazawa/ Hida Takayama/ kana?
and my school TOP Kanazawa Hida Takayama maybe

UM: a. 'There are schools which go skiing
b. Some schools go as far as Okinawa,
c. some go to Hokkaido,
d. **and** my school goes to Kanazawa and Hida Takayama, I believe.'

In (2), places other schools go for school trips are connected by other means than *de* or *sorede*. In (a) and (b), UM uses *mo areba* 'there are cases such as', and in (c) she uses *-tari* 'and so forth'. Finally, she talks about her own school, beginning with *de*. This *de* is

used to separate her own school from other schools in the area, connecting two global units.

In (3), *de* connects both local- and global-level units. NM is recounting how her parents, who knew each other in their home town, came to Tokyo, dated there again, and eventually got married.

- (3) NM a. Saisho okaasan ga Tookyoo kita no kana?
first mother SUB Tokyo came I wonder
- b. **De** uchi no otoosan ga Tookyoo ni kite/ shigoto de/ otagai ne/
and my GEN father SUB Tokyo to go-and work for together IP
- c. **De** okaasan wa koo motto nanka senmon gakkoo ni mata kayotte
and mother TOP this more kind of vocational school again attend-and
- d. **de** otoosan shigoto de/
and father work for
- e. Mitaka toka ni sundete/
Mitaka or something at live-and
- f. okaasan Setagaya toka yuu kara chikakatta rashii n da kedo/
mother Setagaya or something said so close perhaps assert but
- g. **nde** soko de mo nando ka deeto shitari toka shitete/
and there also several times date did-and etc. do-and
- h. **de** otagai mattete asondeta n da tte.
and each other wait for spend time-past assert QT
- NM: a. 'I guess my mother came to Tokyo first,
b. **and** my father came later to Tokyo to work, both of them.
c. **And** my mother went to a vocational school there again,
d. **and** my father worked.
e. My father lived in Mitaka.
f. My mother told me she lived in Setagaya, so they lived close to each other.
g. **And** they dated there several times, waited for each other,
h. **and** spent time together.'

In (3), events are connected with *de* or its variant *nde*. *De* in (b) connects two events sequentially: (1) NM's mother coming to Tokyo first, and (2) her father coming to Tokyo next, thus functioning as a connector of local-level units. *De* in (d) connects two local-level

units: the two reasons why NM's parents came to Tokyo, and *de* in (h) also connects two local sequential units: (1) their dates (g) and their having time together (h).

De in (c), in contrast, connects larger, more global units: (1) NM's parents' coming to Tokyo, and (2) the reasons for doing so. Thus, *de* is used for connecting both local-level and global-level units. As a marker of coordination of units, whether local or global, *de* functions on two planes of talk proposed by Schiffrin (1987): (1) in the ideational structures, connecting two ideas units, and (2) in the exchange structure, signalling speaker continuation.

Sorede also functions as a connector of local- and global-level units. In Example (4), *sorede* connects two local-level units.

- (4) IY: a. Anoo/ are nan da kke Dizunii no Pokohantasu mita no ne
uh that what was it Disney GEN Pocahontas saw IP IP
- NM: b. Un Pokohantasu?
Oh Pocahontas
- IY: c. Un demo ne Mika gaa/ kinooo/
yeah but IP Mika SUB yesterday
- d. nanka wakannai Eego no/ nan da kke eega mite
what I don't know English GEN what movies saw
- NM: e. un
uh huh
- IY: f. *sorede*/ anoo un wakannai tte yappari.
and uh oh yeah not understand as you know
- IY: a. 'y'know? that/ what was it? I saw Pocahontas by Disney, y'know?
- NM: b. Huh? Pocahontas?
- IY: c. Yeah, but yesterday, Mika
d. she saw an English/ well/ she saw a movie she couldn't understand
- NM: e. uh huh?
- IY: f. *and*/ uh/ oh, she said she didn't understand it as you can guess.'

In (f), *sorede* is used to connect two local-level units: (1) her friend Mika saw an English movie, and (2) the fact that she did not understand it.

Both *de* and *sorede* function as markers of coordination of local and global idea units. Interactionally, they signal the speaker's intention to continue his or her turn, indicating that they have more to say.

3.5.1.1.2. (*Sore*)*de* as a causal marker

Both *de* and *sorede* can be used as connectors of cause and effect in the ideational structure. However, the functional distinctions between (*sore*)*de* as a coordinative marker and a causal marker are not always clear. In my data, the instances of (*sore*)*de* which are replaceable with *dakara* 'so' were counted as causal markers, and the rest were counted as coordinative markers. According to this classification, 76% of *sorede* was used as a coordinative marker, and 24% was used as a causal marker. The percentage of *de* used as a causal marker was 8% in my data. Therefore, although *de* is a shortened variant of *sorede*, it seems to have lost much of its function as a causal marker, and is mostly used as a coordinative marker. (5) is an example of *sorede* used as a causal marker.

- (5) FY: a. Amerika-jin toka wa "omae wa sore de ii no ka" tte iwaretari suru toka
 Americans TOP you TOP that with OK NOM Q QT say-PASS etc.
 b. **sorede** nanka doki tte suru tte yuu ka/
 so kind of astonished QT say Q
 FY: a. 'Americans asked me, "Is it O.K. with you?"
 b. **that's why** I was kind of astonished.'

In his illustration about how Americans value individual's wishes in everyday life, FY describes his astonishment when his host father unexpectedly asked for FY's permission so that the family's children can play with FY. In (b), *sorede* is used to express the cause of his astonishment.

De was also used as a causal marker, as shown in (6). TA is talking about house hunting, and *de* is used to explain the reason why she began to look at houses in another area.

- (6) TA: a. Sorede moo zutto mitete/
and really long time looking-and
- b. zenzen sukina no ga mitukara nakute
not at all like one SUB could not find-and
- c. **de** chotto kokora atari mo mite miyoo kana nante/ maaketto o ne/
so a little here area also look try maybe market-DO IP
- TA: a. 'I kept looking at houses for a long time,
b. (but) I couldn't find anything I liked,
c. so, I thought of looking at houses in this area also.'

In (5) and (6) above, we have seen that both *sorede* and *de* are used as a cause-effect marker. Given the fact that *sorede* started out as a causal marker and that that still is the primary function listed in dictionaries today, the percentages of *sorede* and *de* as causal markers seem to be low. It is possible that (*sore*)*de* as a coordinating marker will assume more prevalent function in the future, but I leave that issue to future research. In the next section, we examine the functions of (*sore*)*de* in the exchange and action structures.

3.5.1.2. (*Sore*)*de* in the exchange and action structures: A marker of speaker-continuation

(*Sore*)*de* as a marker of speaker continuation may operate on three planes of talk defined by Schifffrin (1987): (1) in the ideational structure, connecting idea units; (2) in the exchange structure, signalling that the speaker has more to say and is not yet ready to relinquish his or her turn; and (3) in the action structure, requesting the previous interlocutor to continue his/her turn.

(*Sore*)*de* occurs in the following situations as a marker of speaker continuation: (1) as a floor-holding device when the speaker is not yet ready to relinquish his or her turn; (2)

when presenting contrasting ideas within the speaker's turn; (3) when the speaker wishes to present functionally different information, e.g. digression and supplementary information; (4) as a turn-entry device for co-construction of a text; and (5) when requesting another speaker's continued turn. I discuss each of these functions of *(sore) de* below.

3.5.1.2.1. *(Sore)de* as a floor-holding device

The first example in which *(sore)de* is used in the exchange structure is as a floor-holding device. As previous studies show (Ito 1995), *(sore)de* is used as a marker of speaker continuation to signal the speaker's continued turn. *(Sore)de* is void of semantic meaning in this case, and is often used with other connectives and/or fillers. (7) is such an example.

- (7) IM: a. Tada gamushara ni totteta dake de/ tan'i dake o.
 only randomly took only and credit only DO
- b. **Sorede sorede** maa anoo dakara ne/
 and and kind of uh so IP
- c. **sorede/** atashi ga hutarime ka nanka datta n desu
 and I SUB second or something was assert
- d. chiisai daigaku datta kara.
 small college was because
- e. Dakara sonoo tan'i o kanzan suru nante koto wa kangaenakatta.
 so uh credit DO transfer do such thing TOP did not think
- IM: a. 'I just took courses randomly.
 b. **and and** well uh, so, **and**
 c. I was the second person sent as an exchange student
 d. because my college was a small one
 e. so, I didn't think of transferring the credits.'

Sorede in (b-c) is used with 2 fillers (*maa* 'kind of' and *anoo* 'uh') simply to keep the floor while searching for words. The use of *dakara* in (b) indicates that IM is trying to explain

the reason why she was just taking courses rather than working toward a degree. (8) is an example of *de* used as a floor-holding device.

- (8) IY: a. Soide nakunatte kara otoosan sugoi suki n natchatte.
and passed away since father very like became
- b. Demo otoosan sooyuu gara ja nai kara/ Tora-san-kee da kara.
but father such taste not because Tora-san-type BE because
- c. Sonde saa uun **de** kekkyoku nee/
and IP uh and after all IP
- d. natsu ni/ oneechan mo/
summer in older sister also
- e. onee-chan horaa eega sukina n da yo.
older sister horror movies like assert IP
- IY: a. 'My father began to love (Audrey Hepburn's) movies since she passed away.
b. But it's not like my father, 'cause he is more of a Tora-san type person,
c. And y'know, uh **and** after all
d. in the summer, my older sister, too
e. she likes horror movies, y'know.'

In this example, after holding the floor with *sonde saa uun de kekkyoku nee* 'and, uh and after all', YI begins to talk about a totally different subject, her older sister's favorite movies. Thus, examples (7) and (8) show that *(sore)de* is sometimes used simply to maintain the speaker's turn and to show his/her intention to continue while searching for an appropriate expression.

3.5.1.2.2. Connecting contrasting ideas

The second situation where *(sore)de* was used as a marker of speaker continuation in my data was for connecting two contrasting units. *(Sore)de* is generally understood as a coordinating marker like the English *and*. *And* in my English data was used not only to coordinate two units of "like kind," but also in an environment shared with *but* or *so*, or even with *because*. (9) illustrates a use of *and* connecting two contrasting units in my data.

- (9) PE: a. What upsets me is that we talked about having the pressure on one instructor
 b. to make the final decision,
 c. and we try to move away from that.
 d. **And** I don't think we ever did, y'know.
 e. And I, and I, that upsets me.

In (d), *and* connects two contrasting idea units: (1) what the faculty tried to do in the speaker's institution, and (2) the results of that effort, a failure. Thus, *and* can be used as a contrast marker rather than as a coordinating marker.

(*Sore*)*de* also occurred in an environment shared with *demo* 'but' and *dakara* 'so' in my data. *Sorede* as a contrast marker is cited in Hudson (1998) and *de* as a contrast marker is noted in Ito (1995:28-29). (10) is an example of *de* connecting contrasting units from my data.

- (10) WA: a. Demo wareware daitai shimetemasu yone hutsuu daigaku de wa.
 but we usually wear IP ordinarily college at TOP
- MI: b. Maa atsukattara boku wa shimemasen kedo.
 well hot if I-TOP wear-NEG but
- c. De jugyoo no aru hi wa daitai shimeru to.
 and class GEN have day-TOP usually wear
- WA: a. 'But we usually wear ties on a college campus, don't we?
 MI: b. Well, I don't wear one when it's hot, but
 c. **But** when I have classes, I wear one.'

In (c), MI states that he generally does not wear a tie during a hot season, and he continues on with *de* in (c), saying that he does wear one when he has classes. In this example, since the contrast is already expressed with *-kedo* at the end of (b), *de* in (c) connects two contrasting units, and functions as a marker of speaker continuation simultaneously. In total, 15/262 tokens (5.7%) of *de* and 1/119 token (0.8%) of *sorede* were used for connecting contrasting ideas in my data.

All the cases of *(sore)de* as a contrast marker in my data occurred within the same speaker's turn. This is another indication that *(sore)de* in this situation was used primarily to keep the speaker's turn, connecting two contrasting idea units. According to my data, it seems that if the upcoming contrast is to be expressed within the same speaker's turn, either *(sore)de* or adversative markers such as *demo* 'but' and *dakedo* 'but' can be used. If the upcoming contrast is across speakers, however, a "true" adversative marker must be used rather than *de*. (11) illustrates this point.

- (11) WA: a. Jisseekatsu no naka de wa nanka koo/ nanka onnaji-yoona hito ga
 real life GEN within TOP kind of this well same-kind person-SUB
 b. takusan dete kuru yoona/ kanji ga shimasu nee/ un.
 many appear like feeling-SUB do IP yeah
- MI: c. **Demo** osoraku min-/ wakai hito-tachi nanka jibun no shitai yooni
 but perhaps young people etc. self GEN want to do as
 d. shitai to yuu kimochi tte no wa daibu aru to omou n desu kedo ne.
 want to do desire TOP fair amount have QT think assert but IP
- WA: a. 'I feel that in reality, the same kind of people,
 b. many people will be produced who are like each other.
- MI: c. **But** perhaps young people of today have a fair amount of feelings
 d. for what they really want to do, I think.'

In (d), it would be odd to use *de* instead of *demo* 'but'. So, if contrast is to be expressed across speakers, a true adversative connective is in order.

3.5.1.2.3. Connecting functionally different units

(Sore)de as a marker of speaker continuation was also used to connect functionally different units within a speaker's turn; e.g. the main topic of conversation and background information or supplementary information. (12) is an example of *de* used to differentiate a repair from the main information.

- (12) AR: a. Suupaa de ne/ nanka nee/ nanka nee/
supermarket at IP like IP like IP
- b. hajimete kinoo kaado o tsukatta no ne?
for the first time yesterday card-DO used IP IP
- SK: c. Un un un.
yeah yeah yeah
- AR: d. Anoo/ hajimete ja nai ka.
well the first time NEG Q
- e. De nanka jibun de koo yatte yaru yatsu na no ne?
and like self by this do do one IP IP
- AR: a. 'At a supermarket, well, uh, y'know
b. I used a charge card for the first time yesterday.
- SK: c. Yeah yeah yeah.
- AR: d. Well, it wasn't the first time, maybe.
e. And it was a kind of machine one has to put a card through oneself

In (d), AR corrects herself saying that it was not the first time, and in (e), she returns to her description about using a charge card. Thus, *de* marks functionally different portions of an utterance, and signals speaker continuation simultaneously.

When (*sore*)*de* was used to connect functionally different portions of an utterance, the units connected with it were generally on the current topic of conversation, though a sub-topic shift occurred occasionally. (13) is an example of a sub-topic shift with *de*.

- (13) KE: a. Ano sa/ koko no saa/ ja ne/ koko no sa/ Eego no jugyoo tte saa/
Well IP here IP then IP here IP English class QT IP
- b. konna taihen da to omotta?
this much demanding QT think-PAST
- YI: c. Zenzen.
not at all
- d. Shukudai ga taihen da yo.
homework-SUB demanding BE IP
- e. Mecha taihen datta.
very hard BE-PAST

- KE: f. Shukudai ga taihen da yone.
homework-SUB hard BE IP
- g. De atashi sa/ 5-ko mo shukudai ga aru no/ Bunkyo no repooto ga.
and I IP item EMPH. homework-SUB exist IP placename GEN report-SUB
- h. De koko de yaroo to omotte ne
and here do-VOL QT think IP
- KE: a. 'Hey, here, then, English classes here y'know
b. did you expect them to be this demanding?
- YI: c. Not at all.
d. There's a lot of homework.
e. Very hard, it was.
- KE: f. Homework is really demanding, isn't it.
g. And I have five assigned papers for Bunkyo.
h. And I planned to do that while I am here, y'know?'

In (g), KE shifts the sub-topic of conversation from the homework assignments for her summer English program in the U.S. to her other homework for her university in Japan. Thus, KE uses *de* in this situation to keep her turn while changing the topic of conversation, and at the same time *de* differentiates the main topic of conversation from a sub-topic of conversation.

3.5.1.2.4. (Sore)*de* as a turn-entry device for co-construction

Five tokens of *de* were used as a turn-entry device in my data. In this situation, though the floor is taken over by the new speaker, what follows *de* was limited to a cooperative supplementation of the prior speaker's utterance, not an expression of opposition. Thus, *de* in this case was used to jointly construct a single discourse between a prior and a current speaker, and to enhance the interactional relationship between the two interlocutors.¹³

¹³ Ono and Yoshida (1996:118-120) state that co-construction in Japanese is extremely rare at the syntactic or discourse level. Co-construction at the syntactic level was observed once in my data in a young men's pair. Co-construction at the discourse level, however, occurred with male and female and older and younger speakers; 5 such cases began with *de*.

- (14) KH: a. Kooyuu kenshuu tte yuu no ga/
this kind of program SUB
- b. sugooku taisetsuna koto ja nai no kashira to omou n desu yonee.
very important thing must be QT think assert IP
- TH: c. Hai/ **de** yahari anoo/ chishiki naki keeken to
Yes and as expected uh knowledge-without experience and
- d. keeken naki chishiki o kurabemasu to ne/
experience-without knowledge-DO compare when IP
- e. watashi wa keeken no hoo ga mono o yuu to omou n desu yone.
I TOP experience SUB powerful QT think assert IP
- KH: a. 'This kind of study abroad program
b. is a very important experience (for the students), I think.
- TH: c. Yes, **and** as you know, comparing knowledge without experience
d. and experience without knowledge,
e. I think experience is much more important.'

In this example, as soon as KH has finished her turn, TH agrees with her with *hai* 'yes', and immediately starts his turn with *de*, supplementing what KH has stated.

Such joint-construction of a single text was often observed in triadic conversations, in which two of the conversants were female speakers who shared experience, and the other conversant was not as close as the two. In (15), SM and IK, both female speakers, are telling NW, a male speaker, about their experience.

- (15) SM: a. Asia resutoran toka aru jan/ asoko no Sebun-irebun no mae.
Asia restaurant etc. exist TAG there Seven Eleven in front of
- NW: b. Un aru aru.
Yeah exist exist
- SM: c. Asoko ni haitta n da yone?
there in enter assert IP
- IK: d. **De** haitta n.
and entered IP
- e. De atashi ga koohii ga nomitai.
and I SUB coffee SUB want to drink

- SM: a. 'There is an Asia restaurant, etc. in front of Seven Eleven, y'know?
 NW: b. Yeah yeah.
 SM: c. We went in there, right?
 IK: d. **And** we entered,
 e. and I wanted to drink coffee.'

In (c), SM gives background information to NW about the restaurant, and then invites IK to enter the conversation by saying *yone* 'right?'. In (d), IK uses *de* as an entry device to begin her narrative. As with (14), the unit prefaced with *de* has to be a "cooperative" type which supports a prior statement.

A similar usage of the English *and* was observed in my data. In (16), AP and CP are talking about psychoanalysis.

- (16) AP: a. It's difficult to measure um the amount of good it's doing for society
 b. because we don't probably have enough records about/
 c. the exact um nature of ()
 d. how many people are benefitting from it.
 CP: e. Right.
 AP: f. And it's true that there have been [a lot of ()
 CP: g. [And how much therapy do you need,
 h. I mean if you are going by the medical industry and health insurance.

In (g), CP starts his turn with *and* in the middle of AP's utterance. *And* in CP's utterance here connects his utterance in (g-h) with AP's utterance in (f), supporting AP's argument in (a-d). Thus, CP takes the turn from AP with *and*, but he support AP's argument.

Thus, both the Japanese *de* and the English *and* are used across speakers as a turn-entry device for co-construction of a single text.

3.5.1.2.5. Requesting other speaker's continuation

Another type of *(sore)de* in my data was in requesting more information, in other words, requesting the previous speaker's continued turn. In most cases, *(sore)de* was used as a preface to a question, requesting clarification, or elaboration on what has

previously has been stated. There were two tokens of *de* (both cases were by myself) used by itself to request the previous speaker's continuation. In (17), KM is describing his experience in Detroit.

- (17) KM: a. Deteroito itta n desu kedo
 Detroit went assert but
- Mieko: b. Aa honto ni?
 oh really
- KM: c. Uun/ nanka/ nanka/ nanka/ un nanka ayashii machi da na toka
 well like like like yeah kind of questionable town BE IP something
- d. nanka koo/ sakaete
 like like this flourish
- Mieko: e. E? dauntaun itta no?
 oh downtown went Q
- KM: f. Ano ano/
 uh uh
- Mieko: g. Doo deshita?
 how was
- KM: h. Kanari abunakatta.
 fairly dangerous-PAST
- Mieko: i. Ee/ **de**?
 yes and
- KM: j. De yoru 9:00 sugi toka chotto aruitetara/
 and night 9:00 after about a little walking-when
- l. nanka moo zen'in mirareta n desu yo.
 somehow really everyone see-PASS assert IP
- KM: a. 'We went to Detroit.
- Mieko: b. Oh, really?
- KM: c. Uh, like, like, like, kind of a questionable town,
 d. somehow, well, lively
- Mieko: e. Oh? you went to Downtown Detroit?
- KM: f. Uh/ uh/
- Mieko: g. How was it?
- KM: h. It was pretty dangerous.
- Mieko: i. I see, **and**?
- KM: j. And when we were taking a little walk after 9:00 at night,
 l. we were all stared at for some reason, y'know?

In (i), I used *de* with rising intonation to request more information from KM. In this function, (*sore*)*de* primarily operates in the action structure, urging another interlocutor's continued turn.

I have examined the functions of (*sore*)*de* as a marker of idea coordination and speaker continuation in 5 situations above. (*Sore*)*de* coordinates local- or global-level idea units, and also connects units which have cause-effect relationships. As a marker of speaker continuation, (*sore*)*de* signals the present speaker's continued turn and is also used for requesting the prior speaker's continued turn. In its textual function, (*sore*)*de* indexes an utterance both to prior and upcoming units and indicates their relationship to each other, e.g. coordination or causal relationships. In its interpersonal function, (*sore*)*de* primarily signals the speaker's continued turn. When (*sore*)*de* is used for cooperative entry for jointly constructing discourse or to urge the current speaker's continued turn for more information, it indexes the utterance both to the speaker and the hearer. Thus, (*sore*)*de* contributes to displaying discourse coherence through its textual function, coordinating idea units, and by its interpersonal functions, signalling speaker continuation.

3.5.1.3 *Sorede* and *de*

Ito (1995:53) observed the following differences between *sorede* and *de* in her spoken Japanese data: (1) *de* generally connects units at local levels, while *sorede* is used to connect units at a more global level; and (2) *de* shares some of its functions with *demo* 'but' or *dakedo* 'but', whereas *sorede* does not; and (3) there is a distributional difference by gender between *de* and *sorede*: *sorede* is used more often by male speakers than female speakers, whereas no such difference exists for *de*.

As regards the difference between *sorede* and *de*, Hudson (1998) states that it is difficult to clearly differentiate the two since they appear as several variants such *sorede*: *soide*, *sonde*, *hoide*, *honde*, *nde*, and *de* on a continuum. In what follows, I argue that: (1)

there is no clear difference in the use of *de* and *sorede* by gender; (2) *de* and *sorede* share the same functions as a marker of idea coordination and speaker continuation; (3) the difference between *de* and *sorede* in part derives from a speaker's preference for a shorter variant in speaking, i.e. it is easier and takes less time to pronounce *de* than *sorede*, and *de* is more colloquial than *sorede*, since *de* is used primarily in speaking; and (4) *de* and *sorede* often alternate as a connector of either local or global units to break textual regularity, rather than based on their intrinsic qualitative differences.

First, we will look at use of *de* and *sorede* in relation to gender. My data did not conform with Ito's finding. As regards the percentage difference between *de* and *sorede* in relation to gender, both men and women used *de* more than *sorede*, though women's percentage of *de* was higher than men's (men: *de*: 58.1% vs. *sorede*: 41.9% ; women: *de*: 72.8% vs. *sorede*: 27.2%).

Concerning the rate per 1,000 words, *de* usage was much higher for women than men and the difference was significant (10/1000 words for women vs. 3.88/1000 words for men; $P=0.001$). In contrast, the gender difference was small for the rate of *sorede*, and was not statistically significant since the P -value was more than 0.05 (3.74/1000 words for women vs. 2.8/1000 words for men; $P=0.249$.) Thus, my finding was the opposite of Ito's and, therefore, as regards distributional asymmetry between *de* and *sorede* based on gender, we must leave the issue for future research. Table 3.10 summarizes the use of *de* and *sorede* in my data.

Table 3.10 The number of tokens, percentages, rates of *de* and *sorede* by gender

marker	men (n=18)		women (n=18)		P-value
	tokens (%)	rate	tokens (%)	rate	
<i>de</i>	61 (58.1%)	3.88	201 (72.8%)	10	0.001
<i>sorede</i>	44 (41.9%)	2.8	75 (27.2%)	3.74	0.249 (=ns)
total	105 (100%)	6.68	276 (100%)	13.74	

ns=not significant

Concerning the use of *de* and *sorede* in relation to speech genre, a clear difference was observed in my data. The percentage of *de* was the highest in the narratives (80.3%), followed by the conversations (65.3%) and the interviews (65.1%). The rate of *de* per 1,000 words was also the highest in the narratives (15.2/1000 words), followed by the conversations (8.04/1000 words) and the interviews (6.15/1000 words), and the difference was statistically significant ($P=0.0137$).

In contrast, there was almost no difference in the rates of *sorede* in the three speech genres (3.3/1000 words in the interviews, 3.34/1000 words in the conversations, and 3.73/1000 words in the narratives), and the difference was not statistically significant ($P=0.9962$). It is evident that in narratives *de* was preferred to *sorede*.

Thus, my data show that both gender and speech genre are significantly related to the use of *de*, but not to that of *sorede*. Table 3.11 summarizes the number of tokens, percentages, and the rates/1000 words of *de* and *sorede* in three speech genres: interviews, conversations, and narratives.

Table 3.11 The number of tokens, rates/1000 words, and percentages of *de* and *sorede* by speech genre

	interviews		conversations		narratives		P-value
	token (%)	rate	rates	rate	token (%)	rates	
<i>de</i>	84 (65.1%)	6.15	79 (65.3%)	8.04	49 (80.3%)	15.2	0.0137
<i>sorede</i>	45 (34.9%)	3.3	42 (34.7%)	3.34	12 (19.6%)	3.73	0.9962 (=ns)
total	129 (100%)	9.45	121 (100%)	11.38	61 (100%)	18.93	

ns=not significant

Next, we consider the functional differences between *de* and *sorede*. At least in my data, there was no clear difference between *de* and *sorede*. All the functions discussed thus far were shared by both *de* and *sorede*, though there was some difference in terms of which of the two was preferred based on the situation.

First, the percentages of the two connectives used as a causal marker were different. As mentioned in Section 3.5.1.1.2, in my data, 24% of *sorede* was used as a causal marker, whereas only 8% of *de* was used in that function. It seems that *de* is preferred as a marker of coordination, whereas *sorede* is preferred as a causal marker (also see Hudson 1998).

Secondly, *sorede* does sound more formal than *de*, though the distinction was not clear in my data. Six native speakers of Japanese to whom I addressed the question of the distinction between *de* and *sorede* all stated that *sorede* is more formal sounding than *de*. In my data also the rate of *sorede* was higher in conversations in formal style Japanese than in informal style, though the difference was not statistically significant.¹⁴ Therefore, in a very formal situations, such as political speech and formal lectures, *sorede* is more likely to be used than *de*.

As for the units which *de* and *sorede* connect, there was not a clear distinction in my data. Both *de* and *sorede* were used to connect units at both local- and global-levels. (18) is an example of *sorede* being used as a connector of local units.

- (18) SH:
- a. Detroit de chotto toraburu ga okichatta n desu yo.
Detroit in a little trouble SUB happened assert IP
 - b. Basu ga yotee doori ni tsukanakute
bus-SUB as was scheduled arrive-NEG
 - c. **sorede** noriokurechatte.
and get on late
 - d. **De** chanto tsuku no ka doo ka tte huu ni basu-gaisya ni ittara
and as expected arrive whether or not QT like bus-company IO said when
 - e. tsuku kara daijoobu da tte itteta n desu kedo
arrive so OK BE QT said assert but
 - f. kekkyoku okurechatta n de
after all was late

¹⁴ The rates of *sorede* was 3.43/1000 words in formal speech and 3.06/1000 words in informal speech, which was not statistically significant ($P=0.989$). The rate of *de* in formal speech was 6.43/1000 words and 9.47/1000 words in informal speech, which also was not statistically significant ($P=0.189$).

- SH:
- a. '(We had to spend a night in Detroit because) we had a little trouble there.
 - b. Our bus (from Canada) did not arrive on time,
 - c. **and** we couldn't get on the bus,
 - d. **and** we had asked the bus company if the bus would arrive on time,
 - e. they said that it would, and we would be all right, but
 - f. it didn't arrive on time after all'

The structure of (18) is as follows:

- (18)'
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| a. Topic 1: SUMMARY | trouble in Detroit |
| b. Topic 2: EVENT in Detroit | in Detroit the bus from Canada was late |
| c. sorede EVENT in Detroit | and/so they couldn't get on the connecting bus |
| d. De Topic 3: EVENT in Canada | And inquiry at the bus company in Canada |
| e. EVENT in Canada | what they were told at the company in Canada |
| f. SUMMARY of (d) and (e) | the bus from Canada was late after all |

In (c), *sorede* connects two local-level units: (1) their bus from Canada was late, and (2) they could not get on the bus which was leaving from Detroit to come back to their dormitory. On the other hand, *de* in (e) is used to connect more global units: (1) the event in Detroit on the previous day and (2) event in Canada before they left for Detroit.

(19) is another example of *de* connecting global units, and *sorede* connecting local units.

- (19) IY:
- a. Ano Kanagawa no tomodachi n chi ni asobi ni itta no ne.
uh Kanagawa GEN friend GEN house to visited IP IP
 - b. **De** asoko ni nanka ojisan/ sono tomodachi no otoosan ga
and there well a man that friend GEN father-SUB
 - c. sugoi ii ojisan na n da kedo/
very nice man assert but
 - d. onna 3-nin otoko 3-nin de asobi ni itte/
woman people man people by visited-and
 - e. **de** nanka otoko 3-nin wa nanka/ yoku wakannai geemu o shitete
and like man people-TOP like well understand-NEG game-DO did and

f. **soide** atashi-tachi wa zutto sono reezaa disuku o misaserareta no ne.
and we -TOP the whole time that laser disk -DO watch-PASS IP IP

- IY:
- a. 'Well, we went to visit a friend in Kanagawa.
 - b. **and** there was uh a man there/ my friend's father.
 - c. A very nice man.
 - d. Three girls and three guys went there, and
 - e. **and** the three guys were playing with a game I didn't know well,
 - f. **and** we, the girls, were made to watch that laser disk the whole time.

The structure of (19) is as follows:

- (19)'
- a. Topic 1: EVENT visiting IY's friend's house
 - b-c. **de** Topic 2: EVENT **and** description of her friend's father
 - d. Topic 3: EVENT people who visited the friends
 - e. **de** Topic 4: EVENT **and** what the boys did that night at the friend's house
 - f. **soide** Event **and** what the girls did there

Sorede in (f) connects two local units: (1) what the three girls did at a friend's house; and (2) what the three boys did. In contrast, *de* in (b) and (e) connects larger units. *De* in (b) connects: (1) the fact that IY and her friends went to visit a friend in Kanagawa; and (2) the description of her friend's father. *De* in (e) separates the background information—that fact that three girls and three boys visited their friend's house—from a event in the narrative—what they did there. Thus, *de* in (e) marks the beginning of IY's long narrative about that night.

Examples like these make the roles of *sorede* and *de* fuzzy. Furthermore, it is difficult to clearly differentiate their functions when there are so many variants of *sorede*. Therefore, while I agree with Ito that *de* is used more often in narratives to connect local-level units (Ito 1995:55), I doubt that there are clear-cut functional differences between the two. The high occurrence of *de* in narratives is perhaps due to a phonological factor: *de* is shorter than *sorede* and thus easier to say—it saves time to use *de* when many events must be connected. In my data, when *sorede* was used in narratives, it often appeared as a one-

syllable variant *nde* or two-syllable variants, *soide* or *honde*, rather than in its full three-syllable form, *sorede*, which may support my argument that the shorter form is preferred when *sorede* is used over and over again. Another possible reason for the frequency of *de* is that, because *sorede* is used as a causal marker more frequently than *de*, when one wants to coordinate units without implying causal relationships, *de* is preferred.

Another factor influencing the alternation between *de* and *sorede* parallels Schiffrin's discussion of the alternation between *and* and 'zero' (i.e. asyndetic) connection within a narrative. She (1987:130) states that both *and* and 'zero' can be used to connect events, but there is a tendency that one or the other is used to separate a general conclusion from a list of specific events. That is, if a list of specific events has been connected using *and* within a narrative, 'zero' is used to mark a segment which is a general conclusion, or vice versa, to break away from textual regularity (p. 131). The Japanese *sorede* and *de* often seem to function in the same way. That is, if a series of events have been connected with *de*, *sorede* is used to separate a general conclusion from the series of events. If *sorede* has been used to list events in a narrative, *de* is likely to be used with the conclusion.

As I have stated above, there are several reasons to prefer *de* in speaking: (1) it is shorter than *sorede* and takes less time to pronounce, particularly when a series of events are to be connected, as in narratives; (2) it lacks strong causal implication, and thus is preferred in situations where causal relationships do not exist; and (3) it lacks the formal tone *sorede* carries with it, and thus more common in casual conversations.

My data illustrate that both *de* and *sorede* are used to connect either local or global units, and that functional differences between *sorede* and *de* are not clear-cut.

3.5.1.4. Summary of the functions of (sore)de

In this section, I have examined the functions of (sore)de as a marker of coordination and speaker continuation. Figure 3.1 summarizes its functions discussed in this section.

	General Functions	Specific Functions
(sore)de	I. ideational structure (a marker of coordination)	{ (1) to connect idea units, events, etc. (2) to coordinate units in cause-effect relations
	II. exchange structure (speaker continuation)	{ (1) to hold the floor while searching for words (2) to connect functionally different units (3) for turn-entry for co-construction of text
	III. action structure	to request the continuation of prior speaker

Figure 3.1 Summary of the functions of (sore)de

Table 3.12 summarizes the function of (sore)de in relation to Schifffrin's discourse planes. The primary plane for each function is indicated by (*), and the secondary planes are indicated by (+). No mark indicates that a particular plane is not relevant to the specific function listed on the left or lacks that function.

Table 3.12 Functions of (sore)de and the discourse planes on which they operate

functions	Planes of talk				
	Info. state	Ideational structure	Participation framework	Action structure	Exchange structure
1. sequential coordination		*			+
2. causal coordination		*			+
3. floor-holding device		+	+		*
4. expressing contrast		+			*
5. connect functionally differentiated units		+			*
6. turn-entry for co-construction		+	+		*
7. request other's continuation		+	+	*	+

Note that many of the functions listed above are not discrete ones, but overlap each other. For example, when (sore)de is used for sequential coordination of idea structures or as a causal marker, interactionally, it also signals speaker continuation. What makes this

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overlap possible is perhaps, as Schiffrin contends, because the functions listed above simultaneously are placed on different planes of talk, such as the ideational structure, the exchange structure and the action structure.

3.5.2. The adversative marker *demo* 'but'

In this section, we analyze the second most common connective *demo* 'but,' which constituted 20% of all connectives used in my data. *Demo* 'but' is an adversative connective which functions like the English *but* in many ways, connecting contrasting units. We first consider the main functions of *demo*.

Schiffrin (1987:152) characterizes *but* as a marker of upcoming contrast, and lists its functions as follows:

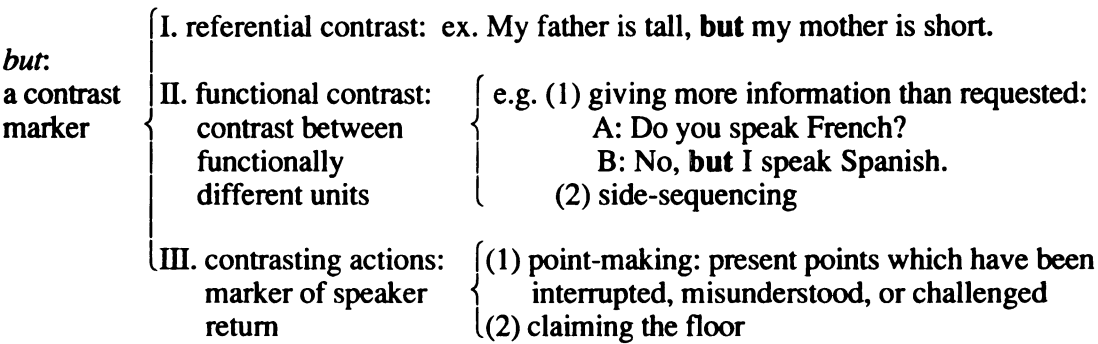


Figure 3.2 Functions of *but* (Schiffrin 1987)

Onodera (1993) analyzes *demo* 'but', following Schiffrin's classification of *but*, though adding two more functions. She states that referential contrast is the contrast between contraries that are overtly stated in the discourse and "pragmatically inferable contrast" is the contrast between contraries that are inferred rather than explicitly stated (p. 99). She argues that it is necessary to have "pragmatically inferable contrast" as a separate category, since Japanese speakers do not generally say exactly what they mean, and therefore, contrast must be inferred. (20) is Onodera's example of pragmatically inferable

contrast.

- (20) Miki: a. Dee anoo/ watashi wa nama de mo ii keredomo
and uh I-TOP fresh even if OK but
- b. honto wa anoo/ sukoshi abura de itameta hoo ga ii ka mo shirenai.
actually uh a little oil in sauté had better may
- c. **Demo**/ shinnari shitara anmari itamesuginakutte ii kara/ de sore irete
but soft become much overcook-NEG OK so and that put in
- Miki: a. And well, though I don't mind fresh (onion),
b. it might be better to sauté (the onion) in a little oil.
c. when (the onion) becomes soft, don't overcook it, and put it in'

She states that *demo* in (c) contrasts inferred "advantage of cooking" vs. "potential disadvantage of cooking". Figure 3.3 summarizes Onodera's findings about *demo*.

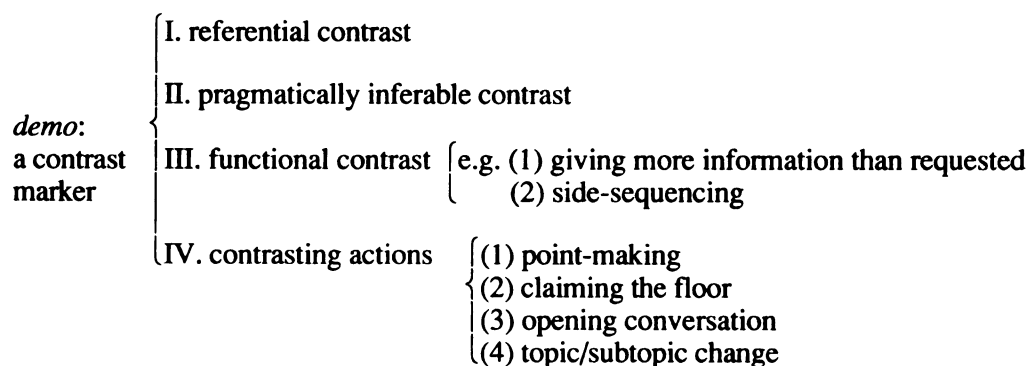


Figure 3.3 Functions of *demo* 'but' (Onodera 1993)

My data on *demo* largely agree with Onodera's findings. In what follows, I discuss each function of *demo* which appeared in my data.

3.5.2.1. Referential contrast

Referential contrast refers to the contrast between two propositions. Of all the uses of *demo* in my data, 42.4% had this function. In (21) TA is talking about her garden.

- (21) TA: a. Anoo natsu wa, natsu wa nee/ kyonen wa sonoo yoku teire shita node
 well summer-TOP summer-TOP IP last year-TOP uh often care did because
- b. zutto bara ga saitete/
 for a long time rose-SUB bloom
- c. yuri toka ne/ saiteta n desu ne?
 lily etc. IP bloomed BE IP
- d. Uun **demo** kotoshi wa dakara nannimo shite nai nde/
 well but this year -TOP so nothing do NEG because
- e. nannimo saite nai n desu yo.
 nothing bloom-NEG BE IP
- TA: a. 'Well in summer, in summer, last year, because I did that
 b. roses were in bloom all through the summer and
 c. lilies, too, were in bloom.
 d. Well, **but** this year, because I haven't done anything, so
 e. nothing is in bloom, y'know.'

In (d), *demo* 'but' is used to contrast TA's garden last summer vs. this summer: (1) last year, as she tended the garden often, she had many flowers, but (2) this year, she has not done anything, so she does not have any flowers. Thus, *demo* 'but' is used to connect contrasting units in the ideational structures defined by Schiffrin (1987).

3.5.2.2. Functional contrast

Functional contrast is the contrast between functionally different portions of discourse, and is interactionally motivated. Schiffrin (1987:159-60) cites an example from a question-and-answer pair where the respondent gives more information than was actually requested in order to satisfy interactional demands such as mitigating a face-threatening situation. In such cases, the contrast is between what was requested and what was not, and Schiffrin speculates that the reason for giving more information than requested is the speaker's desire to be socially and informationally cooperative (p. 161). She also states that her respondents often provided the requested information first, and added a disclaimer

utterance prefaced with *but* (p. 162).

The use of *demo* as a marker of functional contrast constituted 21.9% in my data.

In (22), I asked NM what kind of work she wanted to do after graduating from college.

(22) Mieko: a. Keezai gakubu de/ sotsugyoo shite donna shigoto shitai to omoimasu ka.
economics department at graduate do and what kind work want to do QT think Q

NM: b. Ee yukuyuku wa/ moshi kanoo de areba
uh future-TOP if possible

c. jibun de jigyou ga shitai n desu kedo ne.
self by business-SUB want to assert but IP

d. **Demo** ima wa ne/ kekkoo onna no hito wa tsubusareru jidai da kara
but now-TOP IP fairly women person-TOP crushed time BE because

e. uun ato okane mo nai to dekinai kara.
uh and money also NEG if cannot do because

Mieko: a. 'You're an economics major, and what kind of work do you want to do after graduation?

NM: b. Uh in the future, if possible,
c. I want to have my own business, y'know.
d. **But** presently, it is a time when women get crushed (in business), so
e. uh besides, I cannot have my own business if I don't have money.'

Demo in (d) serves two functions: (1) functional contrast, contrasting the requested portion of NM's answer (b-c) and additional information (d-e); and (2) referential contrast between what she wants to do and a possibility of not being able to do it. *Demo* in (d) operates in: (1) the ideational structure, connecting two functionally different idea units; and (2) the exchange structure, signalling the speaker's continuation. There were many cases of *demo* serving dual functions, marking referential and functional contrast simultaneously, as in this example.

3.5.2.3. Contrasting actions

Finally, we look at *demo* used for contrasting actions. Schifffrin (1987:173) also

characterizes *but* as a marker of speaker-return. She states that *but* is used to present points which have been interrupted, misunderstood and/or challenged (p. 174). She further states that *but* is used as a floor-claiming device at a non-transition place, due to the speaker's strong desire to present his or her points in the middle of other interlocutor's turn (p. 174). In what follows, we look at five functions of *demo* as a marker of contrasting actions, which constituted 35.7% of *demo* in my data: (1) in point-making in Section 3.5.2.3.1; (2) for claiming the floor in Section 3.5.2.3.2; (3) for topic change in Section 3.5.2.3.3.; (4) for returning to a prior topic of conversation in section 3.5.2.3.4; and (5) for requesting further information in Section 3.5.2.3.5.¹⁵

3.5.2.3.1. Point-making

Schiffrin (1987:171-174) states that points presented with *but* tend to be repeated arguments from prior discourse segments. Onodera agrees with Schiffrin, and presents examples of *demo* being used for making "repeated points." While I found many cases of repeated points made with *demo* in my data, it is evident that totally new points are also often made with it. (23) is an example of a "repeated point" being prefaced with *demo*, and (24) is an example of a "new point" being prefaced with *demo*, both from my data. In (23), IM is describing the trouble she had in the U.S.

- (23) IM:
- a. Kore gurai no heya nee/ semai heya o hutari de shea suru/
this about GEN room IP small room-DO two people with share do
 - b. shiteta n desu kara nee
did assert because IP
 - c. ima kangaetara shinjirarenai desu kedo.
now think when believe-NEG BE but
 - d. Uun dakara sono toki ni iroiro arimashita nee.
well so that time at various had IP

¹⁵ In many of these cases, *demo* was also used to express referential contrast simultaneously.

Mieko: e. E? *konna ni semai heya desu ka?*
what like this small room BE Q

IM: f. *Moo chotto hiroi kamo shinnai.*
more a little big may

g. *Moo chotto hiroi kanaa/*
more a little big perhaps

h. **Demo** *nee/ kekkoo semai mono ga arimashita yo.*
but IP pretty small thing-SUB was IP

IM: a. 'A room about the size of this room/ the two of us share the small room
b. I mean we shared, so
c. now, I can't believe we did that, but
d. Well, so, we had various problems then.

Mieko: e. What? such a small room as this?

IM: f. Maybe it was a little bigger.
g. Perhaps a little bigger.
h. **But** it was pretty small, y'know.

In (f-g), in response to my comment of disbelief in (e), IM makes a concession. Then, using *demo* in (h), she goes back to the point she had made earlier: the room she shared with her roommate was small. IM seems to feel strongly that it is important to emphasize how small her dorm room was, which serves as background information for her later description of various troubles she had with her roommate.

We now look at an example of a new point being prefaced with *demo*. I have asked NM how she feels about the trade problems between the U.S. and Japan.

(24) Mieko: a. *Booeeki masatsu ni tsuite wa doo omoimasu ka?*
trade friction about -TOP what think Q

NM: b. *Soo desu nee/ tte ka atashi mo Nihon-jin da kara na n desu kedo/*
well QT Q I also Japanese BE because assert but

c. *ma Amerika ga kawatte hoshii na to omoimasu.*
well the U.S.-SUB change want IP QT think

d. *Ano tatoeba kuruma no mondai ni shite mo*
well for example automobile problem concerning also

e. *yappari ano nanka ippootekini nanka Amerika wa Nihon ga*
as you know well like one-sidedly like the U.S.-TOP Japan-SUB

warui mitaina koto itteru kedo/
 bad like thing say-PROG but

f. **demo** Amerika mo sore narini un doo kana/ koo ganbatte
 but the U.S. also that way yeah how I wonder this try hard

g. jibun-tachi no kuni de tsukutta kuruma o uru doryoku o shite hoshii.
 self pl. GEN country in made automobile-DO sell effort-DO do want

Mieko: a. 'How do you feel about the trade friction?

NM: b. Well, what shall I say, because I'm Japanese,

c. I hope the U.S. will change.

d. Well, for example, concerning the automobile problems we have,

e. as you know well, Americans say one-sidedly that Japanese are bad,

f. **but** I want Americans, what shall I say, to try harder,

g. to make more effort to sell the cars they make.'

In (f), NM introduces the point she wants to make with *demo*, after a long introductory remark about her feelings about the trade friction between the U.S. and Japan (b-e). This was the first time the trade issue was discussed between NM and me, so NM was not returning to a point which was interrupted or misunderstood. In my data, making a new point with *demo* was more common than returning to an old point.

Thus, *demo* can be used to either reiterate an old point after interruption or challenges, or present a new point one wants to make. *Demo* as a marker of point-making operates in the: (1) action structure, asserting the point the speaker wishes to make; and (2) participation framework, indicating the speaker's strong belief or commitment to the point presented.

3.5.2.3.2. Claiming the floor

Both Schifffrin (1987:170) and Onodera (1993:128-131) state in their respective studies that *but* and *demo* are used in the middle of another speaker's turn to claim the floor. In my data also, though the number was small (there were only 5 such examples), *demo* was used to claim the floor to defend one's position, challenge the other speaker, or

assert one's opinions. (25) illustrates a use of *demo* to claim the floor to defend one's position.

(25) YK: a. Uun nanka saikin anoo ata/ warito atarashii ne? shiritsu no gakkoo nanka
 well like lately well new pretty new IP private school etc.

kaikaku ga susumerareteru desho?
 improvement-SUB undertake TAG

b. Unto hora/ sensee no ebaryueeshon nanka suru yoo ni natte ne?
 well y'know teacher GEN evaluation etc. do like become IP

Mieko: c. E? gakusee ga?
 oh student-SUB

YK: d. Soo.
 right

Mieko: e. Watashi shinai hoo ga ii to omou.
 I do-NEG better QT think

f. Gakusee no ebaryueeshon/ datte kawaiiso ja nai desu ka sensee wa.
 student evaluation because pitiable TAG teacher-TOP

g. Ue kara cheaman no eba
 top from chairman eva

YK: h. [**Demo** nee/ iya **demoo**/ ano sore de hora ano
 but IP no but well that with y'know uh

i. gakusee no niizu? ni atta kyooiku ga sarete kuru n dattara
 student GEN needs to match education-SUB do-PASS come if

j. de maji/ yappari sooyuu/ ano majime ni yatteru gakusee tte yuu no wa
 and seri as expected such uh serious do-PROG student QT say one-TOP

k. sonna jibun ga raku ni naru yoona ebaryueeshon kaitari shinai to omoo.
 such self-TOP easy become like evaluation write do-NEG QT think

YK: a. 'Well, like, lately, new/ at pretty new private schools and so forth,
 there have been some changes taking place, y'know?

b. Well, y'know, they began to do teachers' evaluation, y'know?

Mieko: c. What? students do that?

YK: d. Right.

Mieko: e. I think it's better if they don't.

f. Student evaluation/ because, poor teachers!

g. From the top, they have the chairperson's eva

YK: h. **But** y'know, **but** with evaluation, if

i. they can improve education to match the needs of their students,

j. and seri/ y'know those/ uh students who study seriously

k. they won't write evaluations so that they will have easy classes, I think.

In (h), after I stated that student evaluation of teachers is unnecessary, YK begins her turn in the middle of my explanation to present an opposing view, using *demo* twice. In this example, *demo* prefaces the argument YK wishes to present, and simultaneously operates as a turn-initiator for her lengthy explanations why she thinks student evaluation is necessary. *Demo* also functions as a marker of what Onodera calls pragmatically inferable contrast, contrasting the merits and demerits of doing students' evaluation of teachers. This kind of *demo* was seen only between two conversants who are about equal in age and status.

3.5.2.3.3. Topic change

When *demo* was used at the beginning of a next speaker's turn, it was often used for a topic change, and was the most common connective to be used for a topic change in my data. *Demo* as a marker of topic change was used regardless of the relationship, age, or status difference between conversants. In (26), WY had been talking about the trouble he had in the U.S. As soon as he finished a lengthy description of the trouble he had at the immigration office when he arrived in the U.S., he immediately began talking about another problem he encountered with *demo*.

(26) WY: a. Aa kore wa antan taru mon de aru naa to yuu ishiki o motta to omoimasu nee.
oh this-TOP dismal thing BE FP QT thinking-DO had QT think IP

b. **Demo** motto nee/ ima saisho no sooyuu shitsumon o sareta toki ni ne/
but more IP now first GEN that kind question-DO do-PASS when IP

c. nani ga komatta ka to omotte sugu ichiban saisho ni atama ni ukan da no wa
what-SUB troubled Q QT think soon first head appeared NOM-TOP

konna koto ja nai n desu nee.
this thing BE-NEG assert IP

WY: a. 'Oh this is a dismal beginning, I thought, y'know?

b. **But** something else/ when I was asked that question,

c. what came to mind first was nothing like what I have been telling you.'

Demo in (b) is used for a sub-topic change, though the overall topic is still WY's troubles in the U.S. In this function, *demo* operates in the exchange structure, continuing his turn and providing more information than requested.

3.5.2.3.4. Returning to a prior topic of conversation

Another function of *demo* in my data was to mark returning to a prior topic. In this function, *demo* was used to preface a question. In (27), YK and I, both Japanese teachers, are talking about what we did in class on the previous day.

(27) Mieko: a. Kinoo no kurasu wa doo deshita?
yesterday GEN class-TOP how was

YK: b. Kinoo wa hutsuu deshita ne. Ippun-kan supiichi yatte, kanji yatte/
yesterday-TOP ordinary was IP one-minute speech did Chinese characters did

Mieko: c. Ja misuterii wa shinakute.
then mystery-TOP do-NEG

YK: d. Shinakute/ sorede paatikuru to yomimon yatta n desu yo.
did-NEG and particles and reading did assert IP

Mieko: e. Aa yomimono/ are sugoi jikan kakaru desho.
oh reading that very time consuming TAG

YK: f. Ee yominono are anoo tango wakan nai desu yone gakusee/ nanka ne
yes reading that uh vocabulary understand-NEG TAG student kind of IP

g. de shotchuu ura mite/ kotae-awase shite tte kanji de.
and often back see answer-match do QT feel

Mieko: h. Atashi tobashichatta n desu yone.
I skipped assert IP

YK: i. Atashi mo soo sureba yokatta na.
I also so do if was good FP

j. **Demo** misuterii wa yatta n desu ka?
but mystery -TOP did assert Q

Mieko: a. 'How was yesterday's class?

YK: b. As usual. We did a one-minute speech, and Chinese characters.

Mieko: c. Then you didn't do the "Mystery" activity.

- YK: d. No, we didn't. And we did reading and particles.
 Mieko: e. Oh reading! That's very time-consuming, isn't it?
 YK: f. Yes, reading. There are many words the students don't know.
 g. So, they often looked at the back side of the sheet when we went over the answers,
 Mieko: h. I skipped it, y'know?
 YK: i. I should have done that, too.
 j. **But** did you do the "Mystery" activity?

In (j), after talking about other class activities, YK asks a question about the "Mystery" activity which was introduced in the conversation in (c-d). *Demo* in (j) signals YK's wish to return to a prior topic of conversation.

3.5.2.3.5. Requesting clarification or further information

Another function of *demo* is prefacing a request for clarification or further information. In this function, *demo* is used to preface a question. In (28), FY and SH are talking about SH's friend, who is required to live in a dormitory for the first two years in college.

- (28) SH: a. Kyoosee na no ichi, ni-nen wa.
 requirement IP one two year-TOP
 b. De ore/ no tomodachi no tomodachi ga T. Daigaku itteru toka itte/
 and I GEN friend GEN friend -SUB placename university go etc. say
 c. nde sono hanashi o iroiro kiite/ kiite n da kedo/ un
 and that story -DO various hear hear assert but yeah
 FY: d. Ryoo desho? sono hito.
 dorm TAG that person
 SH: e. Ryoo/ nanka.
 dorm well
 FY: f. **Demo** ryoo de mo koshitsu desho? tabun.
 but dorm even private room TAB probably
 SH: a. Freshmen and sophomores are required (to live in a dorm.)
 b. And my friend's friend goes to T. University,
 c. and I've heard many stories, but yeah.
 FY: d. He lives in the dorm, right?
 SH: e. In the dorm, well.

FY: f. **But** even though it's a dorm, it's probably a private room, right?

In (f), *demo* prefaces FY's request for clarification from SH about the living conditions of SH's friend's friend. It seems that FY is testing his hypothesis about the living arrangements at T. University against the information presented by SH. In this function, *demo* operates in the exchange structure (turn-initiator).

3.5.2.4. *Demo* and co-occurring discourse markers

We have seen 7 functions of *demo* in this section: *demo* for referential contrast, functional contrast, and 5 functions of *demo* connecting contrasting actions. *Demo* is fundamentally a contrast marker, and its main function is in the ideational structure. However, 35.7% of *demo* was used for contrasting actions, as an entry-device to claim the floor and prefacing various conversational moves such as making one's points, both repeated and new, and challenging the other interlocutor.

As Onodera (1993:100) observes, it is difficult for many Japanese speakers to present contrasting opinions or actions in a straightforward way. This view can be supported by the fact that many instances of *demo* in my data were immediately followed by other discourse markers, in particular with fillers and the interactional particle *ne*, which have a mitigating or softening effect.

Demo was followed by fillers and the particle *ne* much more often than *(sore)de* 'and' or *dakara* 'so'. In particular, the percentages of hedging or softening expressions, such as *nanka* 'like', *ma(a)* 'kind of', *yappari* 'as expected', *nante yuu no* 'what shall I say,' and *ne* occurring with *demo* were higher than with *(sore)de* or *dakara*. This suggests that when people use *demo*, though they may feel a need to express their contrasting opinions, they also feel it is necessary to somehow justify their insistence or contrasting behavior, or to mitigate the "rudeness" of having to do so; and one of the means that speakers employ to mitigate their action is to use softening expressions such as fillers.

Table 3.13 summarizes the number of fillers and the interactional particle *ne* which immediately followed *(sore)de* 'and', *demo* 'but' and *dakara* 'so'.

Table 3.13 Fillers and the particle *ne* following *(sore)de*, *demo* and *dakara*

expressions following the connectives	<i>(sore)de</i> 'and'	<i>demo</i> 'but'	<i>dakara</i> 'so'
<i>nanka</i> 'like'	21 (5.5%)	25 (9.8%)	5 (2.5%)
<i>ano(o)</i> 'well'	19 (5.0%)	18 (7.1%)	15 (7.6%)
<i>ma(a)</i> 'kind of'	13 (3.4%)	19 (7.5%)	5 (2.5%)
<i>yappari</i> 'as expected'	7 (1.8%)	14 (5.5%)	4 (2.0%)
<i>ee(to)</i> 'uh'	6 (1.6%)	1 (0.4%)	2 (0.1%)
<i>sono(o)</i> 'well'	3 (0.8%)	2 (0.4%)	4 (2.0%)
<i>uun</i> 'well'	2 (0.5%)	6 (2.4%)	3 (1.5%)
<i>nante yuu no</i> 'what shall I say?'	1 (0.3%)	8 (3.1%)	2 (0.1%)
<i>hora</i> 'y'know'	-----	1 (0.4%)	1 (0.5%)
<i>ne</i>	8 (2.1%)	23 (9.0%)	5 (2.0%)
without fillers	301 (79.0%)	138 (54.1%)	152 (76.8%)
total	381 (100%)	255 (100%)	198 (100%)

3.5.2.5 Summary

In this section, we looked at the functions of the adversative marker *demo*. It functions much like the English *but*, connecting units in contrasting relationships, such as referential and functional contrasts and contrasting actions. Hedging expressions, such as *nanka* 'like' and *ma(a)* 'kind of' are used with *demo* to soften the tone and mitigate face threatening acts, such as presentation of opposing views and challenges. Table 3.14 summarizes the functions of *demo* and the planes of talk on which each function operates. The primary plane for each function is indicated by (*), and the secondary planes are indicated by (+).

Figure 3.14 Functions of *demo* and the discourse planes on which they operate

functions	Planes of talk				
	Info. state	Ideational structure	Participation framework	Action structure	Exchange structure
1. referential contrast		*			+
2. functional contrast		+			*
3. point-making		*	+	+	+
4. claiming the floor		+	+	+	*
5. topic change		+	+	+	*
6. returning to a prior topic		*		+	+
7. requesting further info.		*	+	+	+

3.5.3. The Causal marker *dakara* 'so'

In this section, we will look at the functions of the causal marker *dakara* 'so', which was the third most frequently used connective in my data. *Dakara* consists of the copula *da* and a conjunctive particle *kara* 'because' (Morita 1980:237). The portion prior to *kara* 'because' expresses reasons or causes, and the portion following *kara* expresses the result.

Dakara is classified as a consequential conjunction (Martin 1975:818) and sometimes appears in its more complete forms: *soredesukara* (*sore* 'that' *desu* 'is' *kara* 'because'); *soredakara*; *desukara* or *ndakara*. *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* lists the following as the translation for *dakara*: 'so, accordingly, therefore, consequently, for that reason, on that ground, that is why, so that'.

As a discourse marker, Maynard (1993:95-97) summarizes the functions of *dakara* as shown in Figure 3.4. According to Maynard (1993:70-98), as a cause-result marker, *dakara* 'so' is used to connect discourse segments [X] and [Y], primarily indicating the semantic cause-and-result relationship between them. Interactionally, as a marker of additional explanation, *dakara* is used to signal a point in discourse where an additional

explanation about [X] begins. *Dakara* may also express the speaker's irritation, and signal that [X] has been already mentioned or is assumed to be understood or self-evident in the current discourse, so the speaker adds (reluctantly) an explanatory statement [Y] (Maynard 1993:88). As an end-of-the-turn marker, *dakara* signals the speaker's willingness to yield the turn. As for the distribution of *dakara* in the above mentioned functions, Maynard (1993:95) states that 57.75% of *dakara* in her conversation data was used as a cause-result marker; 36.62% as an additional explanation marker; and 5.63% as an end-of-turn marker.

semantic source:	context-bound meaning	Modal contextualization
<i>Dakara</i> connects discourse segments [X] and [Y] in that [X] provides a semantic and/or interactional reason for [Y] to naturally follow.	1. semantic -----	a cause-result marker
	2. interactional -----	a) add explanation b) signal end of turn c) express irritation for repeated explanation

Figure 3.4 Functions of *dakara* 'so' (Maynard 1993)

The data collected for the present study largely agree with Maynard's analysis of *dakara*. In the following section, we examine the functions of *dakara* as: (1) a cause and effect marker in Section 3.5.3.1; (2) a marker of supplementary information in Section 3.5.3.2; (3) a turn-yielding device in Section 3.5.3.3; and (4) a marker of repeated information in Section 3.5.3.4.

3.5.3.1 *Dakara* as a marker of semantic cause and effect

In my data, 70.8% of *dakara* was used to connect both local and global units with cause-effect relationships. (29) is an example of *dakara* connecting two local-level units in cause-effect relations. YK is talking about a robbery in her office.

- (29) YK: a. Nanka kanojo ga kekkyoku hora sotogawa desho?
 well she SUB after all see outside TAG
- b. ano hito no suwaru/ nee/ suwaru toko ga.
 that person-GEN sit IP sit place-SUB
- c. **Dakara** are mitai desu yo/
 so that like IP
- d. kanojo no mono ga hotondo torareta n ja nai no kashira.
 she GEN things SUB mostly stolen TAG I wonder
- YK: a. 'Well she sits close to the door in the office, y'know?
 b. the place where she sits.
 c. So, it looks like
 d. that mostly her things were stolen, I think.

In this example, YK is speculating about why her co-worker's things were stolen by a burglar. She says the reason is that her co-worker sits closest to the door and, therefore, her items were easily accessible to the robber. *Dakara* indicates that two local units, [YK's co-worker sits nearest to the entrance (a-b)] and [mostly her belongings were stolen(c-d)], are in a direct cause-effect relationship.

Dakara also is used to connect global units in cause-effect relationships. This use of *dakara* was typically found in narratives. In (30), I asked WY to talk about his most troubling moment in the U.S. WY starts describing the trouble he had concerning his room and board fee at the cashier's office, which in the end turned out to be one of his happy moments in the U.S. The receptionist at the office insisted that he had not paid his fee when, in fact, he had.

- (30) WY: a. Kono hito to hanashite mo dame da kara ne
 this person with talk even no good because IP
- b. bosu ni hanashi o shiyoo tte itte
 boss to talk DO let's QT said-and
- c. boku wa hetana Eego nagaramo koo setsumee shita n desu ne.
 I TOP bad English although this explanation did assert IP

- d. Kaikoo ichiban sono josee ga nani o itta ka ttsuttara nee
 open mouth first that lady-SUB what DO said Q IP
- e. "Mr. W, I'm very sorry" to osshatta n desu yo.
 QT said assert IP
- f. "I'm sorry" tte kotoba wa Amerika-jin wa mettani iwanai mon to
 word TOP American TOP seldom say QT
 omottemashita kara ne.
 thought because IP
- g. "watashi wa mooshiwakenai to omotteru" tte yuu iikata de ayamarete/
 I TOP sorry QT think QT say expression by apologize-and
- h. zenbu kochira de te hazu o shimasu kara tte yuu koto ni narimashite ne.
 everything this by arrange DO do because QT say situation became IP
- i. Sore ga kekkatekini wa **dakara** watashi wa sugoku ureshii koto de.
 that SUB as a result TOP so I TOP very happy thing
- WY: a. 'Because it's no use talking to this person,
 b. (my friend) suggested that we talk to her boss,
 c. with my bad English, I explained my situation.
 d. What she said as soon as she opened her mouth was
 e. she said, "Mr. W, I'm sorry."
 f. I had thought Americans seldom say "I'm sorry,"
 g. "I'm deeply sorry" she apologized, and
 h. she said that she would make all the necessary arrangements.
 i. So, in the end, that turned out to be a very happy moment.'

In (30), *dakara* prefaces the coda of the narrative: that was a very happy moment. *Dakara* does not simply connect only one event to the conclusion, but connects three events (c)-(h) as the reasons which made him feel happy, functioning globally over a wide range of the narrative. The structure of (30) is as follows:

- (30)' EVENT: WY's trouble at the cashier's office (prior to the narrative)
 (a-b) EVENT: he decided to talk to the receptionist's boss
 (c) EVENT: the boss listened to his story,
 (d-g) EVENT: the boss apologized to him about their mistake,
 (h) EVENT: the boss said she would make all the necessary arrangements,
dakara (i) CONCLUSION: he felt happy.

Dakara as a cause-effect marker occurs not only within one's turn, but may occur across speakers. In (31), OY and I are talking about our college classmates.

- (31) Mieko: a. Soo yonee/ moo 20-nen da mon nee datte.
 right IP already year BE IP but
- b. Kao datte saa/ minna hagetari shiteru n ja nai?
 face even IP everyone bald etc. do TAG
- c. Onna no ko no hoo ga kawannai yonee.
 girl SUB change-NEG IP
- OY: d. Soo soo **dakara** kookoo no doosookai no toki mo sa/
 right so high school reunion time also IP
- e. onna no ko wa hotondo kawaranai no yone.
 girl TOP almost change-NEG IP IP
- f. Demo otoko no ko wa muzan ni mo hagetari hutotchattari shite saa
 but boy TOP shockingly EMPH. bald fat do IP
- g. zenzen dare ga dare da ka wakannai no yo.
 at all who-SUB who BE Q understand-NEG IP IP
- Mieko: a. 'You're right. It's been 20 years.
 b. Their faces, everyone has changed, gotten bald, and the like.
 c. Girls don't change much, do they?
- OY: d. Yeah yeah, so, when I went to my high school reunion, y'know
 e. most girls haven't changed.
 f. But, to my shock, some boys became bald or fat,
 g. I couldn't tell who is who.'

After I said that girls have not changed in their appearance in 20-years after graduation, OY expresses agreement in (d), and begins a long description of her high school class reunion. The units connected by *dakara* in (h) are: (1) girls do not change much over the years, and (2) OY could still recognize her female classmates from high school after 25 years, but not male classmates.

In this example, the reason is given by myself, which was confirmed by OY, and the result is given by OY. This type of discourse is similar in format to the co-construction with *de* discussed in Section 3.5.1.2.4, except that when the other interlocutor begins

supplementation with *dakara*, a cause-effect relationship must be present between the previous and the next speakers' utterances. The structure of (31) is as follows:

- (31)' (a-c) REASON: girls do not change much over time
- (d) AGREEMENT/ **dakara** STATEMENT: in her high school reunion
- (e) STATEMENT: most girls have not changed
- (f) **demo** STATEMENT: but boys have changed
- (g) RESULT: OY could not recognize her male classmates

Thus, *dakara* together with the expression of agreement, *soo soo* 'yeah yeah' in this case, functions as a device to begin one's utterance which is in a cause-effect relationship with the prior speaker's last utterance. This type of *dakara* not only operates in the ideational structures as a connector of propositional units, but also in the exchange structures as a turn-entry device.

3.5.3.2. Marker of supplementary information

Thus far, we have seen *dakara* function as a connector of units in causal relations: {[X: cause/reason.] *Dakara* [Y: result/consequence]}. As has been pointed out by Maynard (1989b; 1993b), however, *dakara* also connects units which do not show an apparent cause-effect relationship: {[X: utterance.] *Dakara* [Y: supplementary information]}. In this function, *dakara* signals the beginning of a supplementary explanation, reason, or description, expressing the meanings: 'to add', 'to explain further' or even 'in other words,' rather than 'so', 'that's why', or 'consequently'.

Maynard (1993:77) argues that *dakara* as a marker of supplementary information is used to point out that a relevant conversational move [X] has already been made, and that the speaker wishes to provide further information. She further states that what follows *dakara* is given as evidence supporting the previous point (p. 77).

3.5.3.2.1. As a marker of "self-initiated" supplementary information

First, we will look at the case of *dakara* used as a marker of self-initiated supplementary information, as in (32).

- (32) Mieko: a. Dooshite Amerika koyoo to omotta n desu ka?
 why the U.S. come QT thought assert Q
- IY: b. E? atashi Eebunka na n desu kedo/
 Oh I English literature BE but
- c. uun yappari mukoo de mo Eego wa benkyoo dekimasu kedo
 well as you know over there in also English-TOP study can but
- d. uun nanka hanareta toko kara Nihon mitari toka
 uh well far away place from Japan see-want and
- e. Amerika-jin to iroirona kuni no hito no seekatsu o tooshite
 American and various country GEN people GEN life -DO through
- f. a Nihon-jin o mitari toka
 oh Japanese -DO see and
- g. **dakara** honmono no Eego no ne? hatsuon toka mo kikitakatta shi
 so real English GEN IP pronunciation etc. also hear and
- h. nitijookaiwateki na koto mo kiso o shi? nante yuu n deshoo/
 everyday conversation-like thing also basics-DO what shall I say
- i. bunpoo ga doo toka ja nakute/ tomodachi dooshi no kaiwa toka
 grammar-SUB how etc. NEG-and friends each other-GEN conversation, etc.
- Mieko: a. 'What made you decide to come to the U.S.?'
 IY: b. Oh? I'm majoring in English literature, and
 c. as you know, I can study English in Japan too, but
 d. I wanted to see Japan from a far away place, and
 e. through Americans and people from various countries,
 f. I wanted to see Japan, and
 g. so, real English, I wanted to hear real pronunciation, and
 h. everyday conversation also, what shall I say,
 i. not just English grammar, but conversations between friends, etc.'

In (b), IY begins to explain why she decided to participate in the summer English study program (d-f). Then, she continues her explanation in (g-i) beginning with *dakara*. In (g), *dakara* is used to connect IY's utterance (d-f) and another reason for coming to the U.S. (g-

i), elaborating her statement in (d-f), and responding to my question in (a). Perhaps the explanation in (g-i) was brought about as a result of IY's realization that additional explanation was in order. The structure for (32) is as follows:

- (32)' (a) QUESTION: request for IY's reason for coming to the U.S.
 (b-c) ANSWER: REASON 1: IY's major is English literature;
 and she can study English in Japan, but
 (d-f) REASON 2: IY wanted to see Japan and Japanese from outside
 (g-i) **dakara** ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: she wanted to study real English

In this function, *dakara* corresponds to 'to explain further' or 'to add' in English, and operates in the ideational structure, connecting two idea units.

3.5.3.2.2. As a marker of "other-initiated" supplementary information

Let us now consider the second use of *dakara* as a marker of supplementary information, where a supplementary explanation is given in response to the other interlocutor's utterance. (33) is Maynard's example (1993:77).

- (33) B: a. Yoku Chiba iku n da yo ano hito.
 often go NOM be IP that person
- A: b. Aa ima wa Chiba ni sunderu n ja nai no ka.
 oh now TOP Chiba in live NOM BE-NEG NOM Q
- B: c. Iya **dakara**/ uchi to ato Chiba ni Narashino tte tokoro ga atte
 no so/therefore home and Chiba in Narashino QT place SUB there is
- d. soko ni itoko ga sunderu no ne.
 there in cousin SUB live IP IP
- e. De nanka Chiba ni geetobooru tomodachi ga iru kara/
 and like in croquet friend SUB there is because
- f. soo tenki no ii hi wa taitee **dakara** itoko n chi itte asondete
 yes weather SUB good day TOP mostly so/therefore cousin LK home go-and play

- B. a. 'She goes to Chiba often.
- A. b. Oh, doesn't she live in Chiba now?
- B. c. No, so she's at our house and there's a place called Narashino in Chiba,
d. and that's where my cousin lives.
e. And she has some friends to play Japanese croquet with in Chiba, so
f. yeah, when the weather's good, most of the time, so she goes to my
cousin's place and plays there.'

In (c) and (f), what follow *dakara* are not a result of the prior units. In fact, the segments after *dakara* in (c) and (f) both explain why B's grandmother goes to Chiba often and what she does there. Therefore, the only function *dakara* plays in (32) is to indicate where a supplementary explanation begins. Maynard (1993:79) provides the following structure for (33):

(33)' Maynard's interpretation of the structure of (33):

[X]: B: c. No, (my grandmother does not live in Chiba).

dakara

[Y]: B: c. Grandmother lives at home.
d. B's cousin lives in Narashino, Chiba.
e. Grandmother has friends there with whom she plays Japanese croquet.
f. On days when the weather is good, grandmother goes to the cousin's place plays there.

According to (33)', Maynard seems to find both [X] (cause) and [Y] (effect) in B's own utterance. Unlike (32), in which the supplementary information was provided with the speaker's own initiative, in (33), B's supplementary explanation seems to have been triggered by A's utterance about the current residence of B's grandmother. In (c), B first responds to A's question with *iya* 'no', and begins the supplementary explanation with *dakara*, pointing out that relevant information has already been supplied in (a). Therefore, if A had not asked about B's grandmother's current residence, B's explanation probably

would not have occurred.¹⁶ Thus, *dakara* has two functions in (33): (1) to mark the beginning of the supplementary explanation; and (2) to point out that relevant information has already be given.

In (33), we find the prior conversational movement [X] in earlier segments of the conversation. However, there were cases in my data in which a relevant piece of information could not be found prior to *dakara*. In (34), KY has been talking about her area of study.

- (34) Mieko: a. Senkoo wa?
major TOP
- KY: b. A, keezai desu.
oh economics BE
- Mieko: c. De tokuni keezai no donna koto ni tsuite benkyoo shiteru n desu ka.
and particularly economics GEN what kind things about study do-PROG BE Q
- KY: d. Yooroppa no keezai no ugoki o ima chotto benkyoo shitemasu.
Europe GEN economy GEN movement now a little study do-PROG
- Mieko: e. Hai/ uun dooshite keezai o benkyoo shiyoo to omotta n desu ka?
yes uh why economics TOP study do VOL QT thought assert Q
- KY: f. A **dakara** saisho **dakara** shakaitekina koto ni tsuite kyoomi ga atte/
oh so first so social thing in about interest SUB have-and
- g. de hoogaku ni shiyoo ka keezai ni shiyoo ka mayotte/
and law do or economics do or wondered-and
- h. keezai o tooshite sekai to tsunagatteru kara to omotte/
economics DO through world with connect because QT thought-and
- i. nanka un omoshirosoo da na to omotte/ un.
kind of yeah interesting seem FP QT thought yeah
- Mieko: a. 'Your major is?
- KY: b. Oh, economics.
- Mieko: c. And what area in economics in particular are you studying?
- KY: d. 'I'm studying the economic trend in Europe, etc.
- Mieko: e. O.K. Uh why did you decide to study economics?
- KY: f. **To explain**, I was interested in social issues, and
g. I wondered whether I should study law or economics.

¹⁶ Hudson (1998) states that the English expression *Like I said* is similar to the Japanese *dakara* used for (reluctant) repetition.

- h. I thought I'd be better connected with the world by studying economics,
- i. I thought it's kind of interesting.'

In (34), as with (33), what follows *dakara* in (f) is not the result of some prior segments in the conversation. Rather, the role of each unit is completely reversed: the unit before *dakara* is the result, namely that KY is studying economics, and the unit after *dakara* refers to the reasons for studying economics, contrary to the canonical use of *dakara*, in which the reason or cause precedes the result. The structure in (34) is: {[result/consequence]. *Dakara* [reason/cause]}.

In (34), it is difficult to find a relevant conversational move [X] in the portion prior to *dakara*, since it was the first time KY was asked about the reasons for studying economics, and there was nothing which indicated her motives prior to this segment. Therefore, it seems that my question in (e) led to KY's use of *dakara* in (f). She first responded to my question with a 'oh' to mark a receipt of information, and began her explanation about the reason for studying economics with *dakara*. In this case, the translation for *dakara* is more like 'to explain', rather than 'like I said'.

Dakara which marks the beginning of supplementary information operates in the: (1) action structure, providing additional information; and (2) exchange structure, when *dakara* is used as a turn-initiator.

3.5.3.3. Signalling the end of one's turn

In this section, we look at two instances of *dakara* which are used to signal the end of the speaker's turn. Maynard (1989a:410) states that *dakara* at the end of the turn or a narrative signals the end of the current turn, the speaker's wish to yield the turn, or to end the conversational narrative framework. I first discuss *dakara* which marks the beginning of a summary statement, which often occurs in the coda segment of a narrative. In (35), YU has been describing her happiest experience in the U.S.

- (35) YU:
- a. Ichiban ureshikatta koto to ieba/ saisho ni kita toki ni/
happiest event QT say first at came when
 - b. kuukoo ni borantia yatteru hito ga kitete
airport to volunteer do person-SUB come-and
 - c. de "Anata Y desu ka" toka itte
and you name BE Q etc. said
 - d. de nanka moo kuukoo kara doomu made moo okutte kurete
and like EMPH airport from dorm to EMPH took kindly
 - e. de sonoato zutto moo zutto nanka ima mo desu kedo/
and after that long time EMPH long time like now also BE but
 - f. nanka koto aru goto ni/ tatoeba sankusugibingu toka ne/
like event have every for example Thanksgiving etc. IP
 - g. nanka ima de mo koo koosai o tsuzukete kurete iru to yuu
like now also like relation-DO continue kindly BE QT say
 - h. nanka komatta koto ga attara itsu de mo irasshai mitaina koto o itte
something trouble -SUB have if whenever come like thing-DO say
 - kureru n de
kindly and
 - i. **dakara** sore ga sugoku yokatta to omoimasu.
so that-SUB very good-PAST QT think
- Mieko: j. Ii desu nee.
good BE IP
- YU:
- a. 'Speaking about the happiest experience,
 - b. a volunteer person met me at the airport, and
 - c. she said, "Are you Y?" and
 - d. and she took me from the airport to my dorm, and
 - e. since then, even now,
 - f. at every special occasion, such as Thanksgiving,
 - g. she has kept in touch with me until now, and
 - h. she tells me to come to her when I am in trouble, and
 - i. so, I think that's my happiest experience.
- Mieko: j. That's nice!'

In (35), following 21 intonation units, YU finished her narrative with one clause prefaced with *dakara*. *Dakara* in (i) connects the cause (events in (a-h)) with the result (concluding

statement in (i)), and prefaces the summary statement which follows and signals the end of YU's turn.

The second type of *dakara* occurred not only in narratives, but in conversations and interviews. After giving reasons, explanations or descriptions, speakers often ended their turn with an utterance prefaced with *dakara* or simply with *dakara* alone as in (36). YK and I have been talking about student evaluations of teachers.

(36) YK: a. Nihon no gakusee tte/ warito majime ni torikumu n ja nai desu ka ne?
 Japanese student QT pretty seriously deal with TAG Q IP

b. Anmari chakashitari suru hito wa inai n ja/
 not many make fun of person-TOP exist-NEG

c. sukunai to omoo yo demo/ **dakara**.
 few QT think IP but so

Mieko: d. Atashitachi mo majime ni kakimasu mon ne.
 we also seriously write IP

YK: a. 'Japanese students/ they treat (evaluation) pretty seriously, don't they?
 b. I don't think there will be many/
 c. few students who will treat them lightly, though. **That's why** (I think student evaluation of teachers is good.)

Mieko: d. We write out teachers' evaluation seriously, too, don't we?

In (c), there was a definite pause between *demo* 'but' and *dakara*, and *dakara* was pronounced with the utterance-final falling intonation. In both (35) and (36), immediately after *dakara* or the utterance prefaced with *dakara*, I took the turn, commenting on the narrative and asking follow-up questions in (35), and commenting on how we, as students, fill out evaluations seriously in (36).

Dakara in this function seems to work just like the English *so*. Schiffrin (1987:223) characterizes the function of *so* as a result marker:

...*so* indicates that a speaker has reached a point in the presentation of his/her idea at which a hearer can infer what would come next even if it is not explicitly stated.

The joint accessibility of unstated information creates a point of potential closure for a discourse topic...it is possible for either speaker or hearer to move on to a new topic of talk. Hence, a potential participation transition...

...so does convey a 'result' meaning even if no result follows, because *so* instructs the hearer to recover a conclusion (an inference, a claim) which has already been presented, or which is otherwise mutually known because of e.g. just-presented reasons and/or support.

Examples (35) and (36) illustrate that *dakara* has a function similar to *so*; it is used at a point where both a change in speakers and topics is possible, and it signals the speaker's willingness to turn over the floor to the other interlocutor.

3.5.3.4. Marker of repeated information

Finally, we will consider the function of *dakara* as a marker of (reluctantly) repeated information. Maynard (1993:92) states that when *dakara* is used for this function, the speaker may convey his or her reluctance or irritation about having to repeat a piece of information which has already been given earlier or self-evident. There were two tokens of this type of *dakara* in my data and, in both cases, *dakara* was pronounced with an emphatic tone.¹⁷ Both were in informal conversation. In (37), AR and SK are talking about the lunch they had had.

- (37) AR: a. Nanka ne/ sutiimu raisu tte no wa sa/ hutsuu no raisu jan taita gohan no/
 well IP steam rice QT TOP IP ordinary rice TAG boiled rice GEN
- b. sore na noni atashi sore ja nakutte motto nanka
 that but I that BE NEG more like
- c. raisu/ nanka chaahan mitaina no ga aru jan
 rice well fried rice like SUB there is TAG
- d. are ga tabetakutte kooyatte yubisashi-nagara demo yatta no ne?
 that SUB eat-want this way point while but did IP IP
- e. de sutiimud raisu tte yutte/
 and steamed rice QT said

¹⁷ There were other examples of *dakara* used for repeated information or supplementary information, but the tone of irritation were not as obvious as with these two.

- f. a sutiimud raisu tte hakumai datta no ne.
oh steam rice QT white rice was IP IP
- SK: g. Hutsuu raisu tte yuttara rice kureta yo.
usually rice QT say rice give IP
- h. Gohan ga tabetakatta no?
rice -SUB eat-want Q
- AR: i. Iya chigau/ **dakara** sono chaahan ga tabetakatta n da kedo.
no wrong so that fried rice-SUB eat-want IP BE but
- AR: a. 'Well, "steamed rice" means ordinary rice, boiled rice, right?
b. but I/ not boiled rice, but something else,
c. but there is something like fried rice, isn't there?
d. I wanted to eat fried rice, and so I ordered, pointing to the rice,
e. and I said "steamed rice,"
f. oh, now I know steamed rice means white boiled rice,
- SK: g. I usually got rice when I said "rice."
h. Did you want to eat boiled rice?
- AR: i. No, wrong. **Like I said/** I wanted to eat fried rice.'

In (d), AR has already mentioned that she wanted to eat fried rice. In (i), AR repeats that she wanted to eat fried rice, responding to SK's question in (h), with a tone of minor irritation and annoyance towards SK's slowness understanding her point. In this function, *dakara* operates in the participation framework and action structure, conveying the speaker's irritation and pointing out that something has already been mentioned or should be evident from the context.

3.5.3.5. Summary

In this section, we examined the functions of *dakara* 'so'. *Dakara* primarily is a cause-effect marker which connects idea units, indicating that the unit preceding *dakara* is the cause of the unit following it. *Dakara* has additional functions at the interactional level, marking the beginning of self- or other-initiated supplementary information. Utterance-final *dakara* (following a pause and pronounced with utterance-final intonation), or an utterance prefaced with *dakara*, marks the speaker's willingness to yield his or her turn and is often used in the concluding statement of a narrative. It also prefates a self-evident or

repeated piece of information and may convey the speaker's irritation or annoyance for having to state it again.

Dakara indexes an utterance both to prior and upcoming units, since it connects units in a cause-effect relationship. Interactionally, *dakara* indexes an utterance both to the speaker and the hearer, sometimes expressing the speaker's irritation or annoyance towards the addressee, prefacing additional information, and signalling the end of the speaker's turn.

Table 3.15 summarizes the function of *dakara* presented in this section. The primary plane is indicated by (*), and the secondary planes are indicated by (+). No mark indicates that a particular plane is not relevant to the functions listed on the left.

Table 3.15 Functions of *dakara* on the five planes of talk

functions	Planes of talk				
	Info. state	Ideational structure	Participation framework	Action structure	Exchange structure
1. cause-effect marker		*			+
2. supplementary information	+	*		+	
3. concluding statement		*		+	+
4. repetition marker	+	*	+		+

3.6. Summary of Japanese connectives

In this chapter, a quantitative and a qualitative analyses of Japanese connectives were presented. In the collected data, it was found that connectives were used more often by older speakers than younger speakers, but the difference was not statistically significant. Connectives were used significantly more frequently by women than men, which was probably due to the small rate of connectives use by the younger male participants, who had quick floor changes compared to older males and female participants. Coordinative connectives were used more frequently in narratives than in interviews or conversations,

supporting their characteristics as markers of idea coordination and speaker continuation. Adversative connectives, *demo* 'but' and *datte* 'but, because' were used more frequently in conversations, probably due to their use for contrastive actions, such as presentation of opposing views, challenges and defending one's opinions.

It was argued that *(sore)de* functions as a marker of idea coordination and speaker continuation, and there were no noticeable functional differences between *de* and *sorede* in my data. The adversative *demo* was presented as a contrast marker in the ideational, action and exchange structures. *Demo* is used for: (1) referential contrast; (2) functional contrast (contrasting functionally different units); and (3) contrastive actions (point-making, claiming the floor, topic change, and requesting clarification or further information). *Demo* also functions as a marker of speaker's continuation or his/her return to a prior point. *Demo* is frequently followed by fillers and the interactional particle *ne* as hedging expressions, which may be attributable to Japanese speakers' tendency to hesitate in presenting contrasting views.

Dakara connects units which have semantic cause-effect relationships, connecting units in which the unit prior to *dakara* expresses the cause, and the unit following *dakara* expresses result. *Dakara* is also used to signal the beginning of supplementary information, to summarize a prior utterance, or to signal the end of one's turn.

All the connectives presented in this section not only operate as connectors of idea units, but function interactionally in the action and exchange structures and participation framework, e.g. as a turn-entry or turn-exit device, or as a device to express the speaker's orientation toward propositions or to other participants in the conversation. Thus, they all index an utterance to the local context and to the interlocutors, contributing to discourse coherence.

CHAPTER 4

Japanese fillers as discourse markers

4.1. Preliminaries

In this section, I analyze fillers in Japanese. Fillers are a broad range of utterances, including interjections and adverbs, that typically occur in casual face-to-face interactions or telephone conversations. They are considered not to carry identifiable propositional meanings. However, just as connectives function as contextual coordinates with their indexical functions in ideational, action and exchange structures, coordinating idea units, speech acts and turn-taking, as described in Chapter 3, fillers have important functions in the participation framework and the information state, displaying the speaker's belief about the information possessed by the hearer and the speaker's feelings and orientation toward a proposition and/or the addressee.

As textual and participant coordinates, fillers make a significant contribution to discourse coherence through their indexical functions regarding proposition-proposition, speaker-proposition and speaker-hearer relationships. For example, when *ano(o)* 'well, uh' functions as an attention-getter, it indexes an utterance both to the speaker and the hearer, since it expresses the speaker's wish to get the hearer's attention. It also functions as a marker of speaker continuation, and thus it is not used at the utterance-final position, unlike some other fillers such as *nanka* 'like' and *ma(a)* 'kind of'. As a textual coordinate, *ano(o)* indexes an utterance both to prior and upcoming texts, separating the two and highlighting the latter in repairs, disagreement and (sub)topic shifts.

Ee(to) 'uh' marks the speaker's search for an appropriate expression. As a textual coordinate, it indicates that the upcoming utterance is the result of the search. Although both *ano(o)* and *ee(to)* can be used as a place-holder while the speaker is searching for appropriate expressions, *ano(o)* is more likely to be used in formal settings and to one's superiors than *ee(to)*, though there certainly exists individual preferences for one or the

other. Thus, the choice between the two depends on the speech situation as well as personal preference, which is another indication of the functions of *ano(o)* and *ee(to)* as participant coordinates. A 'oh', *aa* 'oh' and *e?* 'oh, huh?' index an utterance to the speaker and to prior text, since they mark the speaker's receipt and management of information. Thus, although fillers can be and are often used as floor-holding or pause-filling devices while one searches for appropriate expressions, they also play important roles in conversation cognitively, socially, and interactionally.

Despite the important roles fillers play in conversation, research on Japanese fillers has been scarce. Maynard (1989a:30) categorizes fillers into two groups: (1) language-production-based fillers, which are employed to avoid potential silence or to hold one's turn during a search for the right expression, and (2) socially motivated fillers, which are used to make the utterance softer or less impactful.

Takubo (1995, 1996) analyzes several fillers from the perspective of information management, in particular, the "mental space theory." He states that the "mental space" serves as the data base for actual utterances, and that fillers express the speaker's information management processes. Takubo's characterization of Japanese fillers is similar to Schourup's analysis of English fillers as evincives, which reflect speakers' unexpressed thought processes or their current mental state (1982:14).

Koide (cited in Maynard 1989a:32) states that "hesitation fillers" such as *ee(to)* 'uh' occur most frequently in the following three contexts: (1) when a speaker approaches the most important point of the message; (2) when a speaker attempts to summarize the content; and (3) when the speaker designs his or her talk to be situationally appropriate. Koide also states that hesitation fillers express politeness and soften a statement in conversation. Thus, Maynard, Takubo and Koide agree that fillers are used not only as a floor-holding device when smooth speech production is hindered, but also for various other purposes to produce situationally appropriate utterances.

One of the reasons that fillers should be regarded as more than simple floor-holding

devices is that most fillers are not interchangeable with each other. If all fillers are used simply to keep the speaker's turn or to avoid silence, any filler should suffice in any such situation. The truth is that many fillers are associated with specific functions. Some of the functions derive from a filler's original meaning as an adverb, as in the case of *nanka* 'like' and *ma(a)* 'kind of'; other fillers may lack propositional meanings but become associated with particular functions through their routinized use, as in the case of *a* 'oh', and *ee(to)* 'uh'.

Thus, without hearing the upcoming utterance, hearers can often infer what kind of message will follow a particular filler. For example, *nanka* 'like' is associated with the speaker's non-assertiveness and uncertainty about a prior or upcoming proposition. *Ma(a)* 'kind of' indicates the downplaying of a proposition by the speaker. *Moo* 'really' indicates the speaker's emphatic feelings about the upcoming proposition. These effects are conveyed by the fillers without speakers overt mention of their feelings. If fillers are simply a floor-holding device, why must a particular filler be used in a particular situation? I will show in what follows that fillers are used to indicate the speaker's thoughts or evaluation processes, and that they should be treated as discourse markers.

In Sections 4.2–4.4, I present quantitative descriptions of all fillers in my native Japanese speakers' data, and, in Section 4.5, a qualitative analysis of selected fillers. As with connectives, fillers have several functions simultaneously, primarily in the information state and the participation framework defined by Schiffrin (1987); therefore, I adopt her approach in analyzing their roles in conversation.

4.2. Quantitative results

Following Maynard (1989a), I classify fillers' functions into two categories: (1) language-production-based fillers, which are used as pause-filling devices when a smooth speech production is either cognitively or productively hindered; and (2) socially motivated

fillers, which are used to express the speaker's feelings, emotions, and orientation, such as hesitancy and uncertainty.

I further classify language-production-based fillers into two categories: (1) production-related fillers; e.g. *ee(to)* 'uh', *soo desu nee* 'let me see', and *are* 'that thing'; and (2) information management-type fillers, *a* 'oh', *aa* 'oh (I see)', *un* 'yeah', and *e?* 'oh, huh?'. Production-related fillers are used when the speaker is trying to recall an expression or having trouble formulating an appropriate utterance. Information-management fillers are used to signal a receipt of information, and whether or not the information was anticipated. Socially motivated fillers are used as part of communication strategies termed "social packaging" by Maynard (1989b:31)," reflecting the speaker's desire to construct an utterance in a way agreeable to the recipient in Japanese conversation. Fillers which are used for interpersonal purposes such as the speaker's hesitation, uncertainty, or intense feelings are included in the category of social fillers in the present study.

This classification, however, is not a clear-cut characterization of each filler, since many of the fillers serve more than one function simultaneously. For example, *nanka* 'like' is used when the speaker wishes to express uncertainty about the proposition itself and/or when he or she feels the need to sound less certain because of the speaker-addressee relationship (e.g. the addressee is the speaker's superior and thus it is desirable to sound less imposing and definite). *Ano(o)* 'well' and *uun* 'well, uh' can also serve either as production-type or social-type fillers depending on the context in which they occur, and it is often difficult to distinguish their functions.

The total rate of fillers per 1,000 words was much higher than that of connectives (30.8/1000 words for connectives vs. 71.4/1000 words for fillers). As regards individual fillers, *ano(o)* 'well, uh' was the one most frequently used, followed by *nanka* 'like' and *moo* 'really'. These three constituted 49.7% of all fillers in my data. Table 4.1 summarizes the number of tokens, what percentage of total filler use each one represents,

and the rate per 1,000 words of each filler used by the native Japanese participants in order of decreasing frequency.

Table 4.1 Summary of fillers in the native Japanese data (n=36)

marker	meaning	tokens (%)	rate/1000wds
<i>ano(o)</i>	uh, well	527 (20.7%)	14.7
<i>nanka</i>	like	467 (18.4%)	13.0
<i>moo</i>	really	270 (10.6%)	7.54
<i>yappari</i>	as expected	201 (7.9%)	5.62
<i>ma(a)</i>	kind of	189 (7.4%)	5.28
<i>a</i>	oh	147 (5.8%)	4.10
<i>koo</i>	like this	135 (5.3%)	3.77
<i>aa</i>	oh (I see)	105 (4.1%)	2.93
<i>uun</i>	uh, well	97 (3.8%)	2.71
<i>ee(to)</i>	uh	94 (3.7%)	2.6
<i>sono(o)</i>	uh, well	89 (3.5%)	2.49
<i>nante yuu no</i>	what shall I say?	86 (3.4%)	2.40
<i>un</i>	yeah	47 (1.8%)	1.31
<i>e?</i>	oh, huh?	35 (1.4%)	0.98
<i>soo (desu) ne(e)</i>	well, let me see	34 (1.3%)	0.95
<i>hora</i>	there!	18 (0.7%)	0.5
<i>are</i>	that	16 (0.6%)	0.45
total		2,541 (100%)	71.4

4.3. Sociolinguistic factors

We now look at the rates of fillers per 1,000 words in relation to four sociolinguistic factors: (1) formality (formal vs. informal); (2) age (older vs. younger); (3) the speaker's and the addressee's gender (men vs. women); and (4) speech genre (conversation, interview, and narrative). As with connectives, after the rates were calculated, in order to see whether or not these factors significantly influence the use of discourse markers, the unmatched two-tailed *t*-test was run for formality, gender, and age. For speech genre, the one-way ANOVA test was performed.

4.3.1. Formality

Speech styles influenced the use of fillers. The total rate of filler use was much

higher in formal speech than informal speech; the difference was statistically significant ($P=0.003$). Not only the rate but the types of fillers used were influenced by speech styles: colloquial sounding fillers such as *nanka* 'like' were used more often in informal speech than in formal speech, though the differences were not statistically significant. In contrast, formal-sounding ones such as *ano(o)* 'well', *sono(o)* 'well', and *soo desu nee* 'let me see' were used more often in formal speech than in informal speech; the P -values were 0.0000, 0.019, and 0.020, respectively, indicating a strong relationship between speech formality and the use of certain fillers. Table 4.2 summarizes the number of tokens, rates/1000 words and the P -value of each filler. A P -value of 0.05 or lower indicates a significant relationship between formality and the use of fillers and a P -value between 0.05 and 0.1 indicates a strong tendency towards significance.

Table 4.2 The tokens and rates of fillers per 1,000 words by formality (two-tailed t -test; $n=36$)

marker	formal (n=24)		informal (n=12)		P -value
number of words	25,334		10,454		df=34
	tokens	rates/1000 wds	tokens	rates/1000 wds	cl=95%
<i>ano(o)</i>	478	18.9	49	4.69	0.000
<i>nanka</i>	310	12.2	157	15.0	ns
<i>moo</i>	188	7.42	82	7.84	ns
<i>yappari</i>	188	7.42	13	1.24	0.000
<i>ma(a)</i>	167	6.59	22	2.1	0.044
<i>koo</i>	115	4.54	44	0.57	ns
<i>uun</i>	88	3.47	69	0.86	0.030
<i>ee(to)</i>	87	3.43	7	0.67	0.046
<i>sono(o)</i>	83	3.28	49	0.57	0.019
<i>a</i>	79	3.12	68	6.5	0.025
<i>aa</i>	73	2.88	32	3.06	ns
<i>nante yuu no</i>	56	2.21	30	2.87	ns
<i>un</i>	39	1.54	8	0.77	0.053
<i>soo (desu) ne(e)</i>	33	1.30	1	0.1	0.020
<i>e?</i>	21	0.83	14	1.34	ns
<i>hora</i>	12	0.47	6	0.57	ns
<i>are</i>	5	0.2	11	1.05	0.036
total	2022	79.8	535	51.2	0.003

df: degree of freedom; cl: confidence level; $P \leq 0.05$: significant relationship; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ns: not significant

The rate of the social-type filler *ma(a)* 'kind of' per 1,000 words was significantly higher in formal speech than in informal speech (6.59 in formal speech vs. 2.1 in informal speech; $P=0.044$), which may suggest that "social packaging" is more prevalent in formal speech situations than when the participants are speaking informally.

4.3.2. Age

The age of speakers influenced the use of fillers. Older speakers used fillers more often than younger speakers (85.8 vs. 64.5/1000 words), and the difference was statistically significant ($P=0.05$). The most notable difference was in the use of *ano(o)* 'well, uh' and *sono(o)* 'well, uh',¹ which were much higher for older speakers than younger speakers ($P=0.000$ for both *ano(o)* and *sono(o)*). The rate of the social filler *ma(a)* 'kind of' was also higher for the older participants than the younger participants ($P=0.007$). This may be partially due to the fact that the older conversants used formal-style Japanese, in which social packaging is common, while the younger participants' data include both formal and informal speech. This area must await future research which includes older speakers' informal Japanese data.

As regards production-related fillers, such as *ee(to)* 'uh', *soo desu ne(e)* 'let me see', and *nante yuu no* 'what shall I say', there was no statistically significant difference between the older and younger conversants. As for information management fillers, younger speakers' rates were higher than those of older speakers, and the differences were statistically significant, except the rates of *aa* 'oh' (the P -values for *a* 'oh', *un* 'yeah', and *e?* 'oh, huh?' were 0.033, 0.007, and 0.028, respectively). Table 4.3 summarizes the number of tokens, the rate/1000 words, and the P -value for each filler by participants' age.

¹ *Sono(o)*, like *ano(o)*, is a demonstrative adjective originally.

Table 4.3 The tokens and rates of fillers per 1,000 words by age (two-tailed *t*-test; n=36)

marker	older (n=12)		younger (n=24)		P-value
number of words	11,686		24,102		df=34
	tokens	rates/1000 wds	tokens	rates/1000 wds	cl=95%
ano(o)	306	26.2	221	9.2	0.000
nanka	121	10.4	346	14.4	ns
ma(a)	107	9.2	82	3.4	0.007
yappari	90	7.7	111	4.6	0.083
moo	82	7.0	188	7.8	ns
koo	76	6.5	59	2.5	0.024
sono(o)	62	5.3	27	1.1	0.000
ee(to)	37	3.2	57	2.4	ns
uun	29	2.5	68	2.8	ns
ai	28	2.4	77	3.2	ns
a	26	2.2	121	5.0	0.033
nante yuu no	17	1.5	69	2.9	ns
hora	11	0.9	7	0.3	ns
soo (desu) ne(e)	5	0.4	29	1.2	ns
un	3	0.3	44	1.8	0.007
e?	3	0.3	32	1.3	0.028
are	-----	-----	16	0.7	0.092
total	1003	85.8	1554	64.5	0.050

---: no occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant relationship; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ns: not significant

4.3.3. Gender

My results show that the speaker's gender was not a significant factor in the use of fillers, contrary to my Hypothesis 2:

Hypothesis 2

The use of fillers will also be influenced by several sociolinguistic factors:

Fillers will be used more often by women than by men, by older speakers than by younger speakers, and in formal-style speech than in informal-style speech since speakers are more concerned with producing "appropriate speech" when speaking formally than when speaking informally.

As shown in Table 4.4, there was not much difference between men and women in the total rate (67.8/1000 words for men vs. 74.3/1000 for women). The only category which

showed a significant difference was the information management fillers *a* 'oh', *un* 'yeah', and *e?* 'oh, huh?', whose *P*-values were 0.001, 0.004, and 0.009, respectively. Of other fillers, the rate of the social filler *ma(a)* 'kind of' was significantly related to gender ($P=0.027$), and the rates of *nante yuu no* 'what shall I say', *hora* 'there!', and *koo* 'like this' showed some relationship to the speakers' gender ($P=0.084$, 0.084, and 0.099, respectively). This result shows that Hypothesis 2 is incorrect or inconclusive at best.

Table 4.4 The tokens and rates of fillers per 1,000 words by speakers' gender (two-tailed *t*-test; $n=36$)

marker	men (n=18)		women (n=18)		P-value df=34 cl=95%
number of words	15,729		20,059		
	tokens	rates/1000 wds	tokens	rates/1000 wds	
<i>ano(o)</i>	245	15.6	282	14.1	ns
<i>nanka</i>	156	9.9	311	15.5	ns
<i>moo</i>	123	7.8	147	7.3	ns
<i>ma(a)</i>	121	7.7	68	3.4	0.027
<i>koo</i>	91	5.8	44	2.2	0.099
<i>yappari</i>	88	5.6	113	5.6	ns
<i>ai</i>	45	2.9	60	3.0	ns
<i>sono(o)</i>	40	2.54	69	2.4	ns
<i>ee(to)</i>	39	2.48	55	2.7	ns
<i>uun</i>	28	1.8	49	3.4	ns
<i>a</i>	27	1.7	120	6.0	0.001
<i>nante yuu no</i>	22	1.4	64	3.2	0.084
<i>soo (desu) ne(e)</i>	17	1.1	17	0.9	ns
<i>are</i>	7	0.5	9	0.5	ns
<i>e?</i>	4	0.3	31	1.6	0.009
<i>hora</i>	3	0.2	15	0.8	0.084
total	1067	67.8	1490	74.3	ns

$P \leq 0.05$: significant relationship; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ns: not significant

We now examine the rate of filler usage in relation to the addressee's gender. As shown in Table 4.5, address's gender was not significantly related to the use of fillers, except for *ee(to)* 'uh,' *soo desu ne(e)* 'let me see,' and *nanka* 'like' ($P=0.041$, 0.036, and 0.016, respectively). The rate of *koo* 'like this' showed some relationship to the addressee's gender ($P=0.08$).

The total rate of fillers per 1,000 words was higher for both men and women when they were speaking to a woman than when speaking to a man. As regards the female speakers, the rates of most fillers, except *nanka* 'like', *moo* 'really', and *sono(o)* 'well' were higher with a female addressee than with a male addressee, which was contrary to my expectation that women would use more fillers, especially softeners, when speaking to men. Male speakers used more fillers when speaking to a female addressee, but the difference was small (66.3/1000 words with a male addressee vs. 77.5/1000 words with a female addressee). Hypothesis 2 was incorrect in this regard as well.

Table 4.5 The rates of fillers per 1,000 words by addressees' gender (one-way ANOVA test)

marker	M v. M n=8	M v. F n=4	F v. M n=4	F v. F n=8	P-value
number of words	6260	3316	4018	8546	df=34
	rates	rates	rates	rates	cl=95%
<i>nanka</i>	13.7	2.1	14.9	14.6	0.016
<i>ano(o)</i>	13.3	28.6	5.0	18.4	ns
<i>koo</i>	10.4	0.6	1.7	2.6	0.080
<i>ma(a)</i>	8.0	8.4	1.7	5.2	ns
<i>yappari</i>	5.6	4.8	1.7	5.3	ns
<i>moo</i>	4.3	9.1	11.0	7.4	ns
<i>ai</i>	2.24	2.1	3.0	3.2	ns
<i>sono(o)</i>	2.2	5.7	3.0	2.7	ns
<i>nante yuu no</i>	2.1	1.2	1.5	2.8	ns
<i>a</i>	2.1	0.9	5.5	6.6	ns
<i>uun</i>	1.1	2.1	0.3	2.7	ns
<i>un</i>	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.7	ns
<i>hora</i>	0.5	----	0.3	1.5	ns
<i>ee(to)</i>	0.2	8.8	0.5	1.4	0.041
<i>e?</i>	0.2	0.9	0.5	1.3	ns
<i>soo (desu) ne(e)</i>	----	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.036
<i>are</i>	----	1.2	0.5	0.6	ns
total	66.3	77.5	51.5	77.1	ns

---: no occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant relationship; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ns=not significant

The use of fillers by the speaker's gender and the addressee's gender indicate that the use of fillers is not significantly related to gender. This is perhaps due to the fact that the older conversants spoke in formal Japanese in which the gender difference is generally

not prominent, and that among the younger speakers, especially among students, little gender difference is present not only in the use of fillers but in their speech in general, even when they speak in informal Japanese. This area needs further research.

4.3.4. Speech genre

We now compare the use of fillers in the interviews, casual conversations and narratives. Speech genres were not significantly related to the total rate of fillers, though the use of several fillers was significantly related to speech genres.

First, the rate of the production filler *ee(to)* 'uh' was the highest in narratives, where speakers needed to keep the floor for a long time, and the difference was significant ($P=0.007$). The the rate of *soo desu nee* 'let me see,' a floor holder, was the highest in the interviews ($P=0.001$).

Secondly, the rates of information management fillers were low in narratives, where speakers did not need to respond to others' utterances. The highest rate for information management fillers, however, was in the interviews, contrary to my assumption that information management markers are generally used in response to what the other interlocutor has said and thus are likely to appear most often in casual conversations, where two or more interlocutors share similar responsibility in speaking, in contrast with interviews, where interviewees hold the floor for a longer time than the interviewer.

Social-type fillers such as *ma(a)* 'kind of' and *nanka* 'like' did not show a significant relationship to speech genres. I had anticipated that the rates for social-type fillers would be highest in casual conversations, where speakers need more social packaging in responding to others' utterances and presenting their points tactfully, but this was also proven to be incorrect.

The P -values of the total rate and those of most individual fillers suggest that speech genre does not significantly influence the use of fillers. Table 4.6 is a summary of the

number of tokens, the percentage and the rate/1000 words for each filler in the three speech genres, with bold numbers indicating the highest rate of the three speech genres for each marker.

Table 4.6 The tokens and rates of fillers per 1,000 words by speech genre (one-way ANOVA test; n=42)

marker	conversation (n=24) 22140 wds		interviews (n=24) 13648 wds		narratives (n=6) 3217 wds		P- Value
	token (%)	rate	token (%)	rate	token (%)	rate	
<i>ano(o)</i>	355 (23.1)	16	172 (16.9)	12.6	43 (18.6)	13.4	ns
<i>nanka</i>	278 (18.1)	12.6	189 (18.5)	13.8	49 (21.2)	15.2	ns
<i>moo</i>	164 (10.7)	7.4	106 (10.4)	7.8	25 (10.8)	7.8	ns
<i>ma(a)</i>	129 (8.4)	5.8	60 (5.9)	4.4	21 (9.1)	6.5	ns
<i>yappari</i>	103 (6.7)	4.7	98 (9.6)	7.2	12 (5.2)	3.7	ns
<i>koo</i>	96 (6.2)	4.3	39 (3.8)	2.9	21 (9.1)	6.5	ns
<i>a</i>	94 (6.1)	4.3	53 (5.2)	3.9	6 (2.6)	1.9	ns
<i>sono(o)</i>	68 (4.4)	3.1	21 (2.1)	1.5	13 (5.6)	4.0	ns
<i>ai</i>	60 (3.9)	2.7	45 (4.4)	3.3	-----	-----	0.076
<i>nante yuu no</i>	47 (3.1)	2.1	39 (3.8)	2.9	6 (2.6)	1.9	ns
<i>ee(to)</i>	44 (2.9)	2.0	50 (4.9)	3.7	24 (10.4)	7.5	0.007
<i>uun</i>	38 (2.5)	1.7	59 (5.8)	4.3	8 (3.5)	2.5	0.008
<i>hora</i>	17 (1.1)	0.8	1 (0.1)	0.07	-----	-----	ns
<i>e?</i>	17 (1.1)	0.8	18 (1.8)	1.3	-----	-----	ns
<i>un</i>	11 (0.7)	0.5	36 (3.5)	2.6	1 (0.4)	0.3	ns
<i>are</i>	11 (0.7)	0.5	5 (0.5)	0.37	-----	-----	ns
<i>soo (desu) ne(e)</i>	6 (0.4)	0.3	28 (2.8)	2.1	2 (0.9)	0.6	0.001
total	1538 (100)	74.7	1019 (100)	69.5	231 (100)	71.8	ns

----: non-occurrence; $P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence; ns=not significant

4.4. Summary

In this section, I presented a quantitative analysis of fillers. My findings are:

1. Formality was significantly related to the use of fillers: they were used more often in formal speech than in informal speech ($P=0.003$).
2. Age also was a significant factor in the use of fillers: older speakers used more fillers than younger speakers ($P=0.05$). *Ano(o)* 'well', *sono(o)* 'well', *ma(a)* 'kind of', and *koo* 'like this' were used more often by older speakers than by younger speakers, whereas information management fillers were used more often by younger speakers than

by older speakers.

3. Neither the speakers' or addressees' gender was significantly related to the use of fillers, except for the information management fillers *a* 'oh', *un* 'yeah', and *e?* 'oh, huh?', which were used more often by women than by men ($P=0.001$, 0.004 and 0.009 , respectively).

4. Speech genre was not a significant factor to any fillers except the production markers *ee(to)* 'uh', *soo desu nee* 'let me see' and *uun* 'uh, well'. *Ee(to)* was used most often in narratives, whereas *soo desu nee* and *uun* were used most often in interviews.

4.5. Qualitative analysis

In this section, in order to show that fillers function as textual and participation coordinates which indicate the speaker's thoughts or internal evaluation processes, I analyze eight non-information-management-type fillers first in descending order of frequency: *ano(o)* 'well', *nanka* 'like', *moo* 'really', *yappari* 'as expected', *ma(a)* 'kind of', *koo* 'like this', *ee(to)* 'uh, well' and *uun* 'well' in Sections 4.5.1–4.9. In Section 4.5.10 functions of information-management fillers is discussed.

4.5.1. *Ano(o)* 'well, uh': a hesitation marker

Ano(o) was the most frequently used filler in my data with 527 tokens, constituting 21% of all the fillers used. In its original use as a demonstrative adjective, *ano* 'that' refers to objects which are away from both the speaker and the addressee. As an anaphoric demonstrative, it refers to shared information or experience between the speaker and the hearer and enhances the closeness between the two (cf. Kuno 1973; Martin 1975). Morita (1989:69) states that *ano* is also used by a writer when s/he "wishes to make the readers feel as if they share the same perspective as the writer" [translation mine].

According to Cook (1993:23), as a discourse marker, *ano(o)* is used in the following situations: (1) to get the the addressee's attention; (2) when the speaker starts a

conversation or a new turn; (3) to highlight a proposition that immediately follows *ano(o)*, (4) to start a new topic, and (5) when the speaker disagrees with others. She (1993:33) concludes that *ano(o)*, like its function as a demonstrative adjective, is used to align the speaker and the addressee on the same side and serves to obtain the addressee's cooperation in face-to-face interactions.

Takubo (1995:1025) states "*ano(o)* is fundamentally used when the speaker is searching for or constructing appropriate expressions directed to an addressee, and that "*ano(o)* appears only in face-to-face interaction, not in soliloquy " [translation mine].

My data confirm Cook's and Takubo's observations. *Ano(o)* is used when the speaker needs the addressee's cooperation before introducing a new conversational move. In other words, *ano(o)* is used when the speaker is about to make a new conversational move such as presenting an important point or shifting a topic, as if to warn the addressee about the upcoming conversational move and mitigate its impact.

Ano(o) shares many functions with the English *well* and *uh*. *Well* prefaces a disagreement (Pomerantz 1984:72) or a dispreferred response (Wootton 1981:67), starts a new turn (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:32), and prefaces a topic shift or self- or other-repair (Schourup 1982:53-60). *Uh* is often used turn-initially, or when the speaker is searching for an appropriate expression. Schourup (1982:110) states that *uh* indicates that the speaker is hesitating to try to think of the best or most accurate thing to say next, or to remember something, or is reluctant to say what is to follow.

In what follows, we examine the functions of *ano(o)* and show that the general function of *ano(o)* is to express hesitation before new conversational moves. First, we review the functions of *ano(o)* proposed in Cook (1993) in Sections 4.5.1.1-4.5.1.5, and then consider its additional functions found in my data in Sections 4.5.1.6-4.5.1.7.

4.5.1.1. Getting the addressee's attention

Probably the most common function which the Japanese speakers associate with

ano(o) is as an attention-getter when talking to a stranger. For example, in the questionnaire² filled out by the participants in the present study, 6/22 (27.2%) of them associated *ano(o)* with talking to strangers, getting their attention, while 5/22 (22.7%) associated it with searching for an appropriate expression. One participant stated that she uses it when speaking to a person older than herself, suggesting the use of *ano(o)* in polite situations. Though native speakers often use fillers without consciously considering their functions, the result of the questionnaire shed some light on the use of fillers.

Ano(o) also is used before requesting a favor. For example, when students visit a professor's office asking for a letter of recommendation, they will typically start their request with *ano(o)*, as *ano(o) suisenjoo onegai shitai n desu ga....*'*ano*, may I ask you to write a letter of recommendation for me.' In this case, *ano(o)* serves two functions: (1) to get the addressee's attention; and (2) to express hesitancy, and, consequently, deference towards the addressee by delaying the request for a moment. Without *ano(o)* in this case, the speaker sounds too forward, as if s/he is requesting a naturally expected service. *Ano* in this situation operates in the participation framework, showing the speaker's hesitation toward the addressee.

In my data, since the recordings started after speakers sat down for interviews, casual conversations or narratives, perhaps there was no need to call other's attention, no example of *ano(o)* as an attention-getter was observed. (1) is an example of *ano(o)* which is closest to its use as an attention-getter in my data. Only the tokens of *ano(o)* which are pertinent to the specific function depicted in this section are in bold.

- (1) KE: a. Nanika hanasanakya ikenai n desho?
something speak-must TAG
b. Shitara/ demo sa/ nanka sugoi wazatorashii to omowanai?
then but IP somehow very artificial QT think-NEG

² See Section 6.6.1 for the results of the questionnaire.

c. **Ano** sa/ koko no sa/ jaa nee/ koko no sa/ Ego no jugyoo tte sa
 well IP here-LOC IP then IP here-LOC IP English class IP

- KE: a. 'We have to talk about something, right?
 b. Then, but, don't you think it's very artificial?
 c. **Well**, here, then, speaking of the English classes here'

KE and YI have been asked to converse for the data collection for this thesis. In (a) and (b), KE is commenting on how artificial it is to talk about something for the purpose of data collection with a tape recorder in front of them. Then in (c), she changes the topic completely and begins talking about their summer English courses. *Ano* seems to be used for three functions here: (1) as a floor-holder; (2) to signal KE's hesitation before the introduction of a new topic of conversation; and (3) to get the addressee's attention and cooperation for the new topic, for which *ano nee* or *ano saa* is often used.

4.5.1.2. Prefacing a new speaker's turn

Ano(o) as a marker of hesitation was used at the turn-initial position. In my data, 21 tokens of *ano(o)* occurred in this position. In (2), I asked IM why she came to the U.S.

- (2) Mieko: a. Mawari ni ita n desu ka?
 around in was BE Q

b. sono nante Amerika toka itte benkyoo shiteru hito toka ga.
 uh what the U.S. etc. go study do-PROG person etc.-SUB

- IM: c. **Ano** ne/ amari inakatta desu ne/ mada ne.
 well IP very was-NEG BE IP yet IP

d. Demo ano kookoo no toki ni anoo Oosutoraria to kookan toka de
 but well high school time in well Australia with exchange etc. by

- Mieko: a. 'Were there people around you
 b. that / what shall I say/ people who went to the U.S., etc. and studied?
 IM: c. **Well**, there weren't many yet.
 d. But uh in high school, well by an exchange (program) with Australia'

In (c), *ano* occurs at the beginning of IM's turn; she starts her answer with *ano ne* 'well y'know'. In this example, since IM is giving requested information, there is no need for her to be hesitant. Furthermore, since her turn is requested and expected by the interviewer, she has no need to use *ano* to hold the floor. Therefore, *ano* in (2) must be analyzed as being used for other purposes, rather than as a hedging expression or floor-holding device. It seems to be used to get the addressee's attention and indicate the importance of the upcoming utterance. *Ano* in this function operates in the participation framework, signalling the speaker's orientation to the upcoming proposition as well as in the action structure, soliciting the addressee's cooperation.

4.5.1.3. Highlighting a proposition

According to Cook (1993), *ano(o)* is frequently used to highlight upcoming information. In my data, *ano(o)* as a proposition highlighter or point-making was its most frequently used function (343/527 tokens=65.1%). (3) is an example from my data to illustrate this function of *ano(o)*.

- (3) KY: a. De uun de un motomoto sono daigaku/
and well and yeah originally that university
- b. a kookoo toka tsukutta mokuteki ga
oh high school etc. founded purpose-SUB
- c. **ano** gakkai-in no tame no daigaku kookoo toka ja nakutte
well group member for GEN university high school etc. BE-NEG
- d. **ano** shakai ni yuuigina jinzai o sodateru tte yuu hooshin ga atta kara
well society for useful people-DO raise QT principle-SUB had because
- KY: a. 'And, well, and, yeah, originally, uh our university
b. oh the purpose for building the high school and so forth
c. **well** was not to build high schools and colleges for the (religious) group members, but
d. **well** was based on the principle of producing graduates who will be useful for society'

KY is making a point that her university was not built only to benefit the religious group she belongs to, but to produce people useful to the society in general. In (c) and (d), before introducing the point, she uses *ano* to make the addressee ready to listen to her proposition.

As a marker of point-making, *ano(o)* was used in one of the following four positions: (1) intonation-unit-initial position; (2) immediately after the topic marker *wa*; (3) after the subject marker *ga*; and (4) after adverbial phrases or clauses. In my data, 17.9% of *ano(o)* was used after an adverbial phrase or clause, such as *tokuni* 'particularly', *sugoku* 'very' or *hijooni* 'extremely', and 10.1% occurred following the topic marker *wa*. It seems that by inserting *ano(o)* between the introductory portion of an utterance and the following main information, the speaker tries to focus addressees' attention on upcoming information.

4.5.1.4. (Sub)topic shifting

The third function of *ano(o)* discussed in Cook (1993) is the use of *ano(o)* before a topic change. In my data also, 29/527 tokens (5.5%) of *ano(o)* was used to preface a new topic or subtopic introduction. (4) illustrates the use of *ano(o)* prefacing a subtopic change.

- (4) KY: a. Ja kondo obaachan chi asobi ni oide yo.
 then next time grandma house visit come IP
- UM: b. Ikitaai.
 go-want
- KY: c. Tada yo.
 free IP
- UM: d. **Ano** koosoku basu de ike n no?
 well express bus by go-can Q
- KY: e. Un soo soo soo.
 yeah right right right
- KY: a. 'Then come and visit (me at) my grandma's house.
 UM: b. I want to do that.

- KY: c. It's free.
 UM: d. **Well**, can I come by an express bus?
 KY: e. Yeah, right right.'

Prior to the segment above, KY has described the beauty of the city where her grandmother lives. Then she invites UM to come and visit her grandmother's house. In (d), UM asks a question concerning how to get to KY's grandmother's house, with *ano(o)* prefacing a subtopic change.

Example (5) illustrates a major topic change with *ano(o)*.

- (5) SH: a. Amami Ooshima/ obaachan ga mada sunderu n de
 Amami Oshima grandmother-SUB still live-PROG
 b. ichioo maitoshi kaerimasu.
 generally every year return
 Mieko: c. Ii desu nee.
 good BE IP
 SH: d. Hai, sugoku kiree de/
 yes very pretty-and
 Mieko: e. Kiree da tte iimasu yone.
 pretty BE QT say IP
 f. **Anoo**/ kochira ni kite Eego no kurasu totte
 uh here to come English class take-and
 g. Nihon no Eego no kurasu to kurabete doo desu ka?
 Japanese English class with compare how BE Q
 SH: a. 'My grandmother still lives in Amami Ooshima, and so
 b. we generally go back there every year.
 Mieko: c. That's nice!
 SH: d. Yes, it's very pretty, and
 Mieko: e. People say it's beautiful.
 f. **Well**, you've been taking English classes since you came here,
 g. what do you think comparing them with the English classes in Japan?'

Up to (f), SH and I were talking about his father's hometown, Amami Ooshima, and in (f), after I made a comment on what SH said in (d), the topic was completely changed with *anoo*. *Anoo* was used here both as a floor holder while thinking up the next question to

ask and also to avoid the abruptness of asking a completely different question.

Schourup (1982:49-53) states that *well* in English often prefaces a topic shift. He argues that *well* closes previous discourse and focuses on the following discourse. He further states that "without *well* the speaker would be seen as peremptorily changing the topic without taking leave of the other participant to do so." He further argues that *well* as a discourse marker is used to indicate that the present speaker is now examining the contents of a "private world", and "by evincing covert consultation at the point just before an abrupt topic shift, the speaker can imply that the shift is a considered one and invites the interlocutor to fill in some reasonable motive for the shift (p.53)."

Ano(o) in (4) and (5) functions in a similar way to the English *well* characterized by Schourup, serving as a warning device for the addressee of an upcoming topic change and enlisting the addressee's cooperation in the introduction of the new topic.

4.5.1.5. Prefacing a disagreement

The last function of *ano(o)* discussed in Cook (1993) is for prefacing disagreement. In my data, 17/527 tokens (3.2%) of *ano(o)* was used to preface disagreement. *Ano(o)* in such a function often followed *iya(a)* 'no', *uun* 'well', and *ma(a)* 'kind of'. There were cases, however, where *ano(o)* prefaced a disagreement without other expressions of disagreement, as in (6).

(6) Mieko: a. Demo hanasu no sukoshi wa narete jishin ga tsuita desho?
but speak NOM a little-TOP accustomed confidence-SUB build TAG

b. Amerika ni kuru to.
the U.S. to come when

KK: c. **Ano/** kaimono toka sooyuu no wa dekiru kedo/
well shopping etc. such one-TOP can do but

d. tomodachi toka to atte hukaku hanasu/
friend etc. with see seriously speak

e. sooyuu no wa yappari Nihongo ja nai to mukuchi ni natte'
 such one-TOP as you know Japanese BE-NEG taciturn become

- Mieko: a. 'But you must have become used to speaking and become confident,
 b. now that you have spent some time in the U.S.
 KK: c. Well, I can do things like shopping, but
 d. things like meeting with friends and have serious discussions,
 e. if I cannot use Japanese, I tend not to say much....'

In answering my question in (c-e), KK does not entirely agree with my assumption that he has gotten confident about speaking English. He shows his hesitation with *ano* in (c). *Ano* functions as a mitigator of an upcoming face-threatening act of disagreement, operating in the participation framework.

Thus far, we have seen the functions of *ano(o)* which appeared both in Cook's and my data. In what follows, we will look at two new functions of *ano(o)*: prefacing repairs in Section 4.5.1.6 and prefacing quoted segments in 4.5.1.7.

4.5.1.6. Prefacing repairs

Ano(o) was used to preface repair segments. I follow Schiffrin's classification of repairs (1987:300-303): background and replacement repairs. According to Schiffrin, background repairs are "subordinate asides which provide information to modify and/or supplement hearers' understanding of surrounding material"; e.g. background information, and repetition and paraphrases of what has previously been stated. Replacement repairs are modification of the propositional information or speaker intentions concerning prior utterances. Schiffrin states that *well* is used to preface background repairs, whereas *I mean* or *rather* is used for replacement repairs in English.

In my Japanese data, *ano(o)* was used for both background and replacement repairs. (7) is an example of the former, and (8) the latter. In (7), *ano* is used to preface additional background information.

- (7) SH: a. Motomoto uchi no daigaku wa yappari gakkai-in-san ga ooi n de
originally my college-TOP as you know member-SUB abundant and
- b. sorede boku mo soo na n de
and I also so assert and
- c. **ano** soo uchi no daigaku wa sooritsusha ga
well uh my college-TOP founder-SUB
- d. **ano** shitteru to omou n desu kedo/ Ikeda Daisaku-san ga taterarete
well know QT think BE but SUB founded
- e. ma sono hito no kengaku no seeshin tte yuu ka/
well that person GEN founding school spirit or
- f. sooyuu no ni hikarete ikoo tte yuu huu ni
such attracted go QT like
- SH: a. 'Originally, there are many religious group members in my college,
b. and I am a member, too, so
c. **well** uh the founder of my college,
d. **well**, I think you know, Mr. Daisaku Ikeda founded it, and
e. well the founding spirit, or something,
f. I was attracted to that, and decided to attend'

After giving two reasons, SH makes two incidental comments as regards the founder of his college prefaced with *ano* before going on to the third reason for choosing his college. *Ano* in this function seems to be used to signal to the hearer the speaker's shift in orientation between the main information and background or tangential information.

(8) illustrates the use of *ano(o)* prefacing a replacement repair. KY attended a high school away from home, and has been describing how her high school life was.

- (8) KY: a. Ryoo de hachi-nin gurashi
dorm in eight-people living
- b. hutari-beya de/ hachi-nin ga sundete
two-person-room in eight-people-SUB lived
- c. de sono hachi/ **ano** san-nen-kan issho ni kurashita tte kanji de
and that eight well three-year-for together lived like
- KY: a. 'Eight people lived in the dorm
b. in two-person rooms, eight students lived,

c. and those eight, **I mean**, for three years we lived together.'

In (c), KY starts saying *hachi* 'eight', but rephrased her utterance with *ano* and begins to talk about how long they lived together. *Ano* in this example is used to preface a self-initiated correction.

Not all self-repair involves correction. (9) is an example of *ano(o)* used for clarification of the segment prior to *anoo*.

- (9) Mieko: a. Dooshite Amerika ni kita n desu ka.
 why the U.S. to came BE Q
- b. Soo desu nee/ Eego o manabu tame ni.
 well English-DO learn to
- c. Wareware wa/ **anoo** kokusai gakubu wa ichioo
 we-TOP well international division-TOP generally
- d. Eego o kiso to shite sono ue ni iroirona keezai/ seeji o yatteku n de
 English-DO bases as that top on various economics politics-DO do
- Mieko: a. 'Why did you come to the U.S.?'
YI: b. Well/ to learn English.
 c. We, **well/I mean** at the International Division, generally
 d. with English as our basis, we study various fields like economics or
 politics'

In (c), YI starts his utterance with *wareware wa* 'we'. Then he restates it with *kokusai gakubu wa* 'the International Division' in order to clarify what he means by *wareware*. The segment following *ano(o)* represents more specific and accurate information in the mind of the speaker. Thus, in (7)-(9), *ano(o)* is used to alert the addressee of upcoming repairs.

4.5.1.7. Prefacing direct quotation

Another use of *ano(o)* found in my data is before quoted segments, as shown in (10) and (11).

- (10) TA: a. Atashi mo kyone/ ano kotoshi kotoshi kaette kitara
I also last year well this year this year return came when
b. M ga yuu ni/
M-SUB say
c. **ano** "Bad news!" toka yuu no ne.
etc. say IP IP
- TA: a. 'I too, last/ well, this year, when I returned home this year,
b. M said,
c. **well** "Bad news!" or something, y'know.'

In (10), TA is talking about the problem she had with her house while she was away. She reports what her house sitter, an English speaker, told her when she returned to her house. *Ano* in (c), since the quoted segment is in English, not in Japanese, it is clear that *ano* belongs to TA, not to the quoted segment. *Ano* is used to separate TA's utterance from the direct quotation. (11) is another example of *ano* prefacing a quoted segment.

- (11) KE: a. Demo sono koojitsu ga dandan tsuujinaku natte kite shimatta n de
but that excuse-SUB gradually work NEG came and
b. sorede ano "Mata iku no?" toka minna kazoku ni iwarete shimau n de
and well again go Q etc. everyone family by say-PASS so
- KE: a. 'But that excuse gradually became unworkable,
b. and everyone in my family asks me, well, "Are you going again?" etc'

In (b) also, it is unnatural to interpret *ano* as part of the quoted utterance. Therefore, in both of these cases, *ano* is used to separate the speakers' own words from quotations.

4.5.1.8. *Ano(o)* as a floor-holding device

Finally, we will treat the use of $ano(o)$ as a floor-holding device. Consider (12) and (13).

- (12) MI: a. Nihon mo Amerika mo kihonteki ni wa anmari kawaranai tokoro ga
Japan also the U.S. also fundamentally-TOP very different-NEG aspect-SUB

- aru naa to omoimasu ne.
exist FP QT think IP
- WA: b. Soo desu nee.
right BE IP
- MI: c. Tatoeba boku/ nanka Meridian Mooru aruite te mo
for example I well Meridian Mall walk even
- d. **ano/ ano/** nante iimasu ka nee/ koo/ anoo Eego baajon no naka o ne/
well well what shall I say IP like this well English version of in-DO IP
- e. aruiteru tte iimasu ka ne/
walk-PROG QT say Q IP
- f. Nihon no machi no ano Eego baajon no naka o aruiteru tte yuu
Japan GEN town GEN well English version of in -DO walk-PROG QT say
- MI: a. 'I feel that many fundamental aspects are similar between the U.S.
and Japan.
- WA: b. Yes, that's right.
- MI: c. For example, when i walk around at the Meridian Mall,
d. **well, well,** what shall I say, like, well, in the English version/
e. as if we are walking, so to speak,
f. I feel as if we are walking in the English version of a Japanese mall'
- (13) IM: a. De moo uchi wa zutto kyooshi na n desu kazoku ga.
and EMPH. house-TOP for a long time teacher assert family-SUB
- b. Dakara **anoo** nanka maa kyooshi kana toka omotteta n desu yo.
so well like kind of teacher I wonder etc. thought assert IP
- IM: a. 'There has been a teacher in my family for generations.
b. So, **uh,** like, well, (I) should become a teacher, I was thinking.'

In both (12) and (13), *ano(o)* occurs as part of a string of floor-holding devices: in (12), as the first one of the five (*ano, ano, nante iimasu ka ne, koo,* and *anoo* 'well, well, what shall I say, like, well'), and, in (13), as the first of three (*anoo, nanka,* and *maa* 'well, like, well'). A typical use of *ano(o)* as a floor-holding device appeared before meta-communication expressions such as *nan te yuu no?* 'what do you call that' or *nan da kke* 'what was it?' *Ano(o)* functions as a floor-holding device so that the speaker can keep his or her turn while searching for an appropriate expression. In my data, *ano(o)* was often

used for more than one function simultaneously; e.g. prefacing a proposition to be highlighted and as a floor-holder simultaneously.

4.5.1.9. *Ano(o)*: a marker of hesitation for a new conversational move

In what follows, I illustrate the use of *ano(o)* to mark a change in conversational moves in face-to-face interactions as well as to function as a floor-holder. First, we examine the distribution of the various functions of *ano(o)* discussed above, summarized in Table 4.7. Of 527 tokens of *ano(o)*, 7% were used exclusively as floor-holding device while the speaker was searching for the next expression,³ and 0.6% was undeterminable since another speaker started to talk before the current speaker's turn was over. The remaining 92.4% of *ano(o)* was used to preface certain conversational moves, such as introducing of the main portion of an utterance, disagreement, or topic change, though many tokens of *ano(o)* were simultaneously used as a floor holder.

Table 4.7 Number of tokens and % of various functions of *ano(o)*

various functions of <i>ano(o)</i>		(total=527 tokens)	
highlight a point	343 (65.1%)	turn-initial	21 (4.0%)
repair: (1) background	39 (7.4%)	disagreement	17 (3.2%)
(2) replacement	32 (6.1%)	direct quote	6 (1.2%)
floor-holding device	37 (7.0%)	undeterminable	3 (0.6%)
topic change	29 (5.5%)		

Ano(o) was used most frequently before introducing the main point of an utterance, followed by its use before repairs. In most cases, *ano(o)* occurred after other fillers or by itself, so that once *ano(o)* was uttered, the speaker continued his or her utterance without further insertion of fillers. Only 37/527 tokens (7.0%) of *ano(o)* were followed by other fillers.

³ I am using the term "floor-holding device" here exclusively for situations where *ano(o)* was used with other fillers and/or connectives and the speaker was obviously trying to recall something or having trouble formulating the next utterance.

This is evident when we look at the positional distribution of *ano(o)* as it occurred in my data. 43.8% of *ano(o)* occurred clause-initially, most of which were used to mark point-making, repairs, topic change, or disagreement. *Ano* following a connective or particles was usually used for point making. The positions where *ano(o)* occurred are summarized in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Positions where *ano(o)* occurred in utterances

position	token (%)	position	token (%)
turn-initial	21 (4.0%)	after <i>no</i> (GEN/LOC)	15 (2.8%)
clause-initial	210 (39.8%)	after <i>ga</i> (SUB)	12 (2.3%)
after connective	63 (12.0%)	after <i>de</i> (LOC)	5 (0.9%)
after adverb	94 (17.8%)	after <i>o</i> (DO)	5 (0.9%)
after <i>wa</i> (TOP)	54 (10.2%)	other ⁴	11 (2.1%)
before other fillers	37 (7.0%)		
total			527 (100%)

What is common to all the functions of *ano(o)* discussed in this section is that it marks the speaker's shift in orientation and the introduction of a new conversational move, e.g. from less to a more important point in an utterance, from one topic of conversation to another, from the speaker's own speech to a directly quoted segment, or from the main topic of conversation to tangential utterances such as background and replacement repairs. *Ano(o)* separates the prior segment of an utterance from an upcoming segment which is different in orientation. It signals to the hearer that the speaker is about to present a change in discourse.

Furthermore, *ano(o)* serves as a marker of speaker continuation. As such, it occurred at the utterance-initial and medial positions, but never at the utterance-final position. *Ano(o)* is used to indicate that the speaker is searching for an appropriate expression, perhaps while taking various factors of the conversational situation into account, such as the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, the content of the

⁴ This category includes adjectives, adjectival phrases, and prepositional phrases.

proposition, or the knowledge and meta-knowledge of both participants. *Ano(o)* followed by several other fillers, such as *anoo nanka nante yuu ka* 'well, like, what shall I say' obviously signals the speaker's wish to continue and his/her effort to search for an appropriate expression. Even when *ano(o)* was used for other purposes in my data, such as highlighting a proposition, the speaker was generally not interrupted while *ano(o)* was being used, suggesting the simultaneous function of *ano(o)* as a floor-holder.⁵

Ano then serves four purposes: (1) holds the floor in the conversation while the speaker is searching for an appropriate expression; (2) separates the prior and upcoming portions of an utterance when the speaker wishes to present a change in the utterance (e.g. highlight a proposition, topic shift, or disagreement); (3) calls the attention of the addressee to an upcoming proposition, as well as soliciting the addressee's cooperation; and (4) shows the speaker's hesitation or reluctance (e.g. in topic change and disagreement), mitigating the possible face threatening acts brought about by the new conversational move. Again, in many cases, *ano(o)* may serve more than one function simultaneously.

4.5.1.10. Summary

In this section, I examined the functions of *ano(o)*. Most uses of *ano(o)* should not be simply treated as a floor-holding device, but as a discourse marker which indicates the speaker's orientation shift and a new conversational move, such as point-making and topic change, though *ano(o)* can also function as a floor-holder simultaneously in any of these situations. As such, *ano(o)* operates primarily in the participation framework and the exchange structure proposed by Schiffrin (1987).

I also contended that *ano(o)* may signal to addressees the speaker's hesitation when presenting a new conversational move and enlist the addressee's cooperation, perhaps mitigates a face-threatening act brought about by the speaker's orientation shift in the new

⁵ *Ano(o)* as a floor-holder in these situations was suggested to me by Professor M. E. Hudson.

conversational move. Figure 4.1 summarizes the general and specific functions of *ano(o)* presented in this section.

	general functions	specific functions
<i>ano(o)</i> : a hesitation marker before a new conversational move	I. place-holder	1. to hold the floor while searching for an appropriate expression
	II. hesitation marker	2. to preface (sub)topic shift 3. to preface a request
	III. to call addressee's attention to the upcoming proposition	4. to preface a repair 5. to preface a quoted speech 6. to highlight an upcoming proposition
	IV. to enlist addressee's cooperation and/or mitigate FTAs	7. to preface a new speaker's turn 8. to preface disagreement

Figure 4.1 General and specific functions of *ano(o)*

4.5.2. *Nanka* 'like': a marker of hesitation and uncertainty

Nanka was the second most common filler in my data, constituting 18% of all the fillers in my data with 467 tokens. *Nanka* derives from *nani* 'what' and the question particle *ka*, and originally means 'something, somehow.' Saito (1992:53) characterizes the discourse marker *nanka* as a softener, a turn-initiator, and a floor-holder, which is used to express vagueness or the speakers' uncertainty.

Nanka 'like' in my data primarily filled the following functions: (1) as a floor-holder while the speaker was searching for an appropriate expression; (2) as a turn-initiator; (3) to preface the main points of an utterance; and (4) to preface a (sub)topic shift. *Nanka*, like *ano(o)*, has two general functions: (1)as a floor-holder while searching for an appropriate expression, a production-related function, and (2) as a hesitation marker, a socially motivated function. *Nanka* as a socially motivated filler is used based on the following two factors: (1) uncertainty about the proposition itself, that is the speaker is not

certain about the proposition due to lack of knowledge or memory lapse; and (2) the speaker-addressee relationship, as when the speaker expresses hesitation towards certain addressees, such as one's superior, creating an agreeable environment for the interaction.

I discuss the use of *nanka*: (1) prefacing a new speaker's turn in Section 4.5.2.1; (2) prefacing a topic-shift in Section 4.5.2.2; and (3) as a floor-holder in Section 4.5.2.3. In Section 4.5.2.4, a summary of the functions *nanka* is presented.

4.5.2.1. *Nanka* prefacing a new speaker's turn

32 tokens (6.9%) of *nanka* were used prefacing a new speaker's turn.

(14) SH: a. Amerika-jin wa yoku sedai o koete hanasu ne.
American-people-TOP often generation-DO cross speak IP

FY: b. **Nanka**/ chitchai kodomo to saa/
like small child and IP

c. kookoosee no niichan toka hanashiteru mon.
high school student young man etc. speak

SH: d. Un tanoshisoo ni ne.
yeah happy seem IP

SH: a. 'Americans often communicate with each other, across generations, don't they.

FY: b. **Like**, (we often see) young children and
c. high school students talking to each other.

SH: d. Yeah, looking very happy, right?'

(15) Mieko: a. Tokyo to Osaka kurabete doo desu ka?
Tokyo and Osaka compare how BE Q

b. kookoo wa Osaka de daigaku wa Tokyo desu yone.
high school-TOP Osaka in college-TOP Tokyo BE IP

KY: c. **Nanka** kookoo no toki wa iroiro kisoku ga kibishikatta kara/
like high school time-TOP various regulations-SUB strict-PAST because

d. ano anmari soto e derarenakute
uh often outside go-NEG

- Mieko: a. 'How do you feel, comparing Tokyo and Osaka?
 b. Your high school was in Osaka, and college is in Tokyo, right?
 KY: c. **Like**, in high school, there were various strict regulations, so
 d. uh we couldn't go out much.'

In (14), immediately after SH finishes his utterance with *ne*, FY begins his turn with *nanka*, and gives a specific example which supports SH's prior statement. In (15), KY begins her answer with *nanka*. In these examples, *nanka* cannot be regarded as a softener or hedging expressions towards the addressee. Particularly in (14), since SH and FY are good friends and FY's utterance is a support for SH's prior statement, FY has no need to soften his statement or try to be vague in relation to SH. *Nanka* therefore is used to express uncertainty about what the speaker is about to say to convey his/her observation about Americans communicating across generations: '*I don't know exactly why this is but....*'

Nanka in (14) and (15) also seems to be used to avoid an abrupt beginning of the new speaker's turn. Two of the participants who filled out the questionnaire (see Section 6.6.1 for the entire results) stated that they use *nanka* at the beginning of an utterance without attaching any meaning, and stated that they use it when they do not want to emphasize something, in other words, to make a statement vague. *Nanka* in (14) and (15) is used perhaps to avoid sounding too abrupt or definite.

Not only is *nanka* used to preface a new speaker's expected turn as in (14) and (15), but it can also be used as a turn-entry device, as shown in (16).

- (16) KO: a. Nioi kagu to ne/ Muhi no nioi ga suru n da yo.
 smell smell when IP Muhi smell-SUB do BE IP
 SM: b. Tabete miru?
 eat try
 YA: c. E? ii yo.
 what OK IP
 KO: d. **Nanka** sa/
 like IP

- SM: e. Ima made tabeta ame no naka de ichiban oishiku nai to omou.
 now until ate candy among most tasty-NEG QT think
- f. Kuchi ni irete mireba?
 mouth in put in try
- KO: g. **Nanka** ne/
 like IP
- SM: h. tabemono da kara.
 food BE because
- KO: i. Ima nioi dake de mo kekkoo kiteru.
 now smell only fairly come
- KO: a. 'When I smell the candy, it smells like the insect cream *Muhi*.
 SM: b. Do you want to try some?
 YA: c. What? Oh that's O.K.
 KO: d. **Like?**
 SM: e. This is the worst tasting candy of all the ones I've tried so far.
 f. Why don't you put one in your mouth?
 KO: g. **Like?**
 SM: h. It's food, so.
 KO: i. Now, I can smell the candy pretty strongly.

After KO has told YA how bad the candy smells, SM urges YA to try one in (b). YA declines the offer in (c). KO tries to start her turn with *nanka sa* 'like, y'know', but SM continues her turn and further urges YA to try the candy. In (g), KO tries again to enter the conversation with *nanka nee* 'like, y'know', and again is ignored by SM, who continues her turn. Finally, KO gains a chance to begin her utterance in (i). Since the first two tries by KO to enter the conversation were ignored by SM, we do not know what she was going to say after *nanka*. When she finally succeeds, it is by commenting on the candy's smell. Although both attempts failed, *nanka* in this example was used as an entry device in the conversation. *Nanka* lacks the forcefulness which *ano(o)* 'uh, well', *demo* 'but' and the final particle *nee* have as a turn-initiator since it expresses uncertainty and vagueness. This may have contributed to the failure of KO's attempts to enter the conversation.

As a turn-initiator, *nanka* operates in the participation framework, expressing the speaker's feelings about the proposition or the addressee, in the exchange structure, and in the action structure indicating the speaker's willingness to enter the conversation.

4.5.2.2. (Sub)topic shifting

Nanka was also used before topic and subtopic shift. (17) is an example of a subtopic shift. WA and MI have been talking about casual attire worn by some Americans on Fridays.

- (17) WA: a. Shichoo-san toko no B-san *nanka* mo
mayor Mr. place GEN Mr. also
- MI: b. Tii-shatsu mitaina no kitemashita kara ne.
T-shirt like one wear-PAST because IP
- WA: c. Bikkuri suru yoona ne/
surprise do like IP
- d. dokka no ojisan ga arawareta yoona kanji deshita yone.
somewhere middle-aged man-SUB appeared like seem was IP
- e. Aayuu tokoro wa *nanka* omoshiroi tte yuu ka/
such aspect-TOP like interesting QT say Q
- MI: f. **Nanka** kigyoo demo *nanka* sooyuu no ga toriirerareteru mitai desu ne
like business even like such that-SUB incorporate-PASS like BE IP
- g. kinyoobi toka wa moo kanzenni jibun no sukina huku de kite ii toka iu.
Friday etc. TOP really completely self POSS like clothes in come may etc. QT
- WA: a. 'People like Mr. B from the Mayor's office
- MI: b. He was dressed in something like a T-shirt.
- WA: c. A kind which shocks us, right?
- d. He looked like a strange middle-aged man out of nowhere, didn't he?
- e. That kind of custom is kind of interesting, or what shall we say?
- MI: f. **Well**, that kind of custom seems to be adopted in business also, y'know?
- g. It seems that they have rules which say that they can come (to the office) dressed as they please.

After talking about the clothing a mayor's staff member was wearing on a Friday, MI begins to talk about the business world adopting the same kind of custom in (f). With

nanka in (f), the subtopic shifted from what they actually experienced at the mayor's office to what MI has heard or read about private companies. *Nanka* in (f) expresses the speaker's non-commitment due to uncertainty about the information he has. As such, *nanka* was often accompanied by expressions such as *ki/kanji ga suru* 'seems like, feels like' and *mitai* or *yoo* 'seems, appears', which also indicate the speaker's uncertainty or speculation. *Nanka* thus operates in the participation framework, signalling the speaker's uncertainty or non-commitment to the proposition.

4.5.2.3. As a floor-holder

Nanka occurred as a floor-holder as well. In (18), TA is talking about her college classmates after graduation.

- (18) Mieko: a. Sotsugyoo shite sugu kekkon shita hito hotondo imasen nee.
 graduation do soon marry did person almost exist-NEG IP
- TA: b. J. wa warini hora **nanka**/
 J.university-TOP fairly y'know like
- c. J. wa **nanka**/
 J.Univ-TOP like
- d. joshikoo kara suisen tte yuu no ga ooi n desu yo/ un sugoku.
 girls' school from recommended one-SUB many BE IP yeah very
- Mieko: a. 'There is almost no one who got married right after graduation.
 TA: b. My university is, y'know, uh
 c. there are, well,
 d. there are many female students who come from girls' high schools with the school's recommendation'

In (b-c), TA uses *nanka* twice and *hora* 'you know what I mean' once while she searches for an appropriate expression. *Nanka* serves two functions here: (1) to hold the floor while TA searches for an appropriate expression; and (2) to express uncertainty as to how exactly to characterize her university, operating in the exchange structure and the participation framework. (19) is another example of *nanka* as a floor-holder.

- (19) KM: a. Deteroito itta n desu kedo/
 Detroit went explain but
- b. uun **nanka**/ **nanka**/ **nanka** un **nanka** ayashii machi da na toka
 well uh uh uh yeah like strange town BE IP etc.
- c. **nanka** koo sakaete/ sakaete nakute/ kikenna machi tte kanji ga suru.
 like this flourish flourish NEG dangerous town QT feel-SUB do
- KM: a. 'We went to Detroit, but
 b. well, **like**, **like**, **like**, yeah **like**, kind of a strange town,
 c. **well** uh it's not flourish, flourishing, and looks like a dangerous town.'

In (b), KM uses four *nanka* before he finally comes up with his impression of Detroit. The instances of *nanka* in (18) and (19) all have the dual functions of expressing the speaker's uncertainty as to how exactly to formulate the utterance, and of maintaining one's turn while he or she searches for an appropriate expression. Sometimes *nanka* in this function was followed by expressions such as *nante yuu no* 'what shall I say' as *nanka nante yuu no?* 'well, what shall I say?' or *koo* 'like this', as *nanka koo* 'like this', which intensifies the feeling of uncertainty even more.

Nanka was used with other fillers as in (18) and (19)—directly preceded by *hora* in (18b) and *uun* in (19b) and followed by *koo* in (19c)—but was also used by itself as a placeholder and as an expression of uncertainty, as shown in (20).

- (20) YU: a. Sonoato zutto moo zutto/
 after that long time really long time
- b. **nanka** ima mo desu kedo
 uh now also BE but
- c. **nanka** koto aru goto ni/ tatoeba sankusugibingu toka ne/
 uh event have every for example Thanksgiving etc. IP
- d. **nanka** Iisutaa toka aru goto ni
 like Easter etc. have every time

e. **nanka** ima de mo koo koosai o tsuzukete kurete iru to yuu
 uh now also like relation-DO continue kindly QT say

- YU: a. 'For a long time since then,
 b. **like**, even now
 c. **like**, at every special occasion, such as Thanksgiving,
 d. **like**, and Easter, on every such occasion,
 e. **like**, even now she has kindly been in touch with me'

YU uses *nanka* at the beginning of each intonation unit in (b-e). *Nanka* is used to maintain her turn, and at the same time it expresses her uncertainty about why things are happening the way they are. *Nanka* operates in the participation framework, indicating the speaker's uncertainty about a proposition and in the exchange structure, signalling her intention to continue speaking.

4.5.2.4. The general functions of *nanka*

In Section 4.5.2, we examined three situations where *nanka* 'like' is used as a hesitation and uncertainty marker. *Nanka* is used: (1) as a turn-entry device or prefacing a new speaker's turn; (2) to preface a (sub)topic shift; and (3) as a floor-holder while searching for an appropriate expression. *Nanka* expresses the speaker's feelings of hesitation and uncertainty in a given situation, as if to say: *I don't know exactly, but...*

I propose that *nanka* is a marker of the speaker's evaluation of his or her knowledge about the proposition and/or the speaker's assessment of the relationship between the addressee and him/herself. Three participants I interviewed stated that they use *nanka* to soften the tone, even when they are certain about a proposition when speaking to certain addressees (e.g. to a person who is older than the speaker). In other words, *nanka* is used to signal their reluctance to express what is in their mind straightforwardly in certain situations. In other cases, *nanka* is used as a production-based filler, expressing the speaker's inability to immediately formulate exactly what s/he wants to express due to reasons such as inaccurate information or memory lapse.

The use of *nanka* thus signals to the addressee that the speaker has gone through an evaluation process regarding his or her knowledge about a proposition and the speaker-addressee relationships, and, as a result, underscores the fact that what is stated with *nanka* is an approximation of what is in his or her mind, which results in the tone of uncertainty, vagueness and hesitation. The use of *nanka* is particularly suited to conversation where the speaker has to express him/herself without being able to spend enough time to carefully formulate what to say.

4.5.2.5. Summary

In this section, we examined the functions of *nanka* 'like', which is summarized in Figure 4.2.

	general functions	specific functions
<i>nanka</i> : a marker of the speaker's uncertainty & non-commit- ment	I. floor-holder	1. to hold the floor while searching for an appropriate expression
	II. hesitation marker	2. to preface a (sub)topic shift 3. to preface a new speaker's turn 4. to initiate a turn
	III. express uncertainty or vagueness	5. to indicate lack of knowledge or memory lapse 6. to indicate the speaker's unwillingness to appear too definite and confident

Figure 4.2 General and specific functions of *nanka*

4.5.3. *Moo* 'really': a marker of excess

Moo was the third most common filler in my data, constituting 11% of all the fillers with 270 tokens. It originally is an adverb, meaning 'really'. As a discourse marker, it is used when the speaker thinks something is beyond his/her expectations and expresses the speaker's feelings of "excess" about something in comparison with the expected amount s/he assigns it. In (21), WA has been talking about how Americans value their informality

and individualism.

(21) WA: a. Kuruma mo soo desu ne, Nihon wa koo pikapika ni shiteru n desu yonee.

car also so BE IP Japan-TOP this shiny do assert IP

b. Amerika wa koo nante yuu ka **moo/ moo** hashirereba ii tte yuu kanji de ne/
the U.S. -TOP this what shall I say really really run if OK QT impression IP

c. ano chotto ya sotto de wa **moo/ nanka/**
uh a little by -top really like

d. daibu sutanto-man ga tsukatta yoona kuruma de mo ne/
fairly stunt man-SUB used like car even if IP

e. amari ki ni shinai tte yuu ka
very mind do-NEG QT say Q

WA: a. 'We can say the same thing about cars also. Japanese keep their cars shiny.

b. In the U.S., what shall I say, **really** it **really** looks like if a car runs, it's O.K.

c. well, with a little damage **really**, or rather,

d. even a car which looks like it was used by a stunt man,

e. they don't seem to mind driving it.

In (a) and (b), WA is contrasting the situation in Japan and the U.S. He uses *moo* three times to express his feelings regarding how different the situation in the U.S. is from his expectation, and that Americans drive cars whose appearance is unimaginable in Japan.

(22) is another example of *moo*.

(22) TT: a. Bokura wa bebii buumu no gakusee ga ichiban ookatta tokina mon de
I-pl.-TOP baby boom student-SUB most many time BE

b. ano hito kurasu nan nanka iroiro riyuu o tsukete huyashita n desu yo.
uh one class somehow various reason-DO attach increase-PAST BE IP

c. Soshitara **moo** gakuryoku no reberu ga zudoon to sagatte shimatte
then really academic level-SUB onom. lower do-PAST

TT: a. 'We belong to the time when there was the largest number of students even during the baby-boom age, and

b. well, our high school decided to add another class for various reasons.

c. As a result, **really**, our academic level went down dramatically'

TT attended a very prestigious high school which prided itself for academic excellence. In (c), TT expresses his dismay and disappointment with *moo* about how different the level of his school was from his expectation.

In both (21) and (22), *moo* is used to emphasize the speakers' feelings about something being excessive, much beyond their expectations, or something beyond a "normal" range for better or worse. *Moo* operates in the participation framework, showing the speaker's orientation or feelings about a situation or proposition, and, as a result, plays a role in drawing addressees' attention to an upcoming proposition and involves them in the conversation.

4.5.4. *Yappari* 'as expected': a marker of expected results

Yappari 'as expected' was the fourth most common filler in my data, constituting 7.9% of all the fillers used with 201 tokens. *Yappari* is an informal variant of an adverb *yahari* (*Kojien Dictionary*). It has an even more informal form, *yappa*. *Kenkyuusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* lists the following translations for *yahari*: (1) also, as well, likewise; (2) still, all the same; (3) after all; and (4) nevertheless. Morita (1980:453) states that *yahari* is used when "the present situation does not differ from the speaker's expectations" [translation mine].

In my data, *yappari* occurred at the utterance-initial-, medial- and utterance-final position. As a discourse marker, *yappari* is used for the following functions: (1) to confirm that something matches the speaker's expectations; (2) to point out to the addressee that they have shared knowledge of something; and (3) to indicate that something matches widely accepted expectations; e.g. by society in general. In order to use *yappari* in discourse, speakers go through an evaluation of the situation or proposition, based on the expected norms set by the speaker, addressee, and society, or based on past experiences. (23) illustrates the use of *yappari* based on a widely accepted expectation.

(23) Mieko: a. Doo desu ka? Eego no kurasu wa. Nani ga ichiban nobimashita?
 how BE Q English GEN class-TOP what-SUB most improve

YI: b. Soo desu ne/ **yappa** supiikingu ga ichiban/
 let me see as expected speaking-SUB most

c. supiikingu to risuningu ga kanari/
 speaking and listening-SUB considerably

d. ano Doitsu-jin toka Kankoku-jin to issho no kurasu na n de
 well Germans and Koreans with together class

Mieko: a. 'How are your English classes? What improved the most?

YI: b. Well, **as expected**, speaking (has improved) the most/

c. speaking and listening (improved) considerably,
 well we (study) together with Germans, Koreans, etc.'

In (b), YI states that his speaking and listening abilities improved the most since he came to the U.S. He uses *yappa*, an informal variant of *yappari*, indicating that these two areas are generally expected to improve the most by living in a country where the language is spoken.

In (24), SH has been talking about how he has gotten used to expressing himself in English since he came to the U.S.

(24) SH: a. Boku saisho ni kotchi kita toki wa/
 I first at here came time-TOP

b. toriaezu "hello" to shika iwanakatta n desu kedo/
 at first hello QT only say-NEG-PAST assert but

c. iroiro **yappa** aru ja nai desu ka/ ai/ nan te yuu n desu ka/
 various as expected exist BE-NEG BE Q gree/ what QT say BE Q

d. koo aisatsu kotoba mitaina no ga/ sooyuu no o sukoshi zutsu oboete
 this greeting expression like one-SUB such ONE-DO a little by little learn

SH: a. 'When I came here first,

b. "Hello" was the only thing I could say, but

c. there are various, **y'know what I mean**, gree/ what are they called

d. well, greeting expressions or something/ I learned those a little by little'

In (c), SH seems to have trouble formulating exactly what he wants to say, and says,

yappa aru ja nai desu ka 'there are, you know what I mean.' *Yappari* in this context is used to enlist addressees' participation in the conversation. In other words, *yappari* makes addressees feel as if the speaker is talking about what everyone should know, and thus, addressees feel obliged to try to guess what the speaker is trying to say, rather than passively listening to the speaker. *Yappari* enhances addressees' involvement and contributes to improved rapport between speakers and addressees as well as serving as a pause-filling device while the speaker searches for an appropriate expression.

Thus, *yappari* operates on three planes of talk defined by Schiffrin (1987): (1) in the participation framework, expressing the speaker's judgement or feelings about a situation or a proposition; (2) in the information state as regards knowledge and meta-knowledge of the interlocutors; and (3) in the action structure, enlisting addressee's cooperation.

4.5.5. *Ma(a)* 'kind of': a marker of downplaying the effect

We now turn to *ma(a)* 'kind of'. *Ma(a)* was the fifth most common filler in my data, constituting 7.4% of all the fillers used with 189 tokens. *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English dictionary* gives the following translation of *ma(a)*: 'well, I think, I should say/think, it would seem, and something like that.' *Kojien Dictionary* lists *ma(a)* as an adverb which indicates that something is more or less acceptable. Morita (1989:1037) states that *ma(a)* is used to express the speaker's acceptance and resignation that something is the best possible choice or situation at a given moment, and thus may convey a sense of uncertainty and dissatisfaction [translation mine]. It suggests that the speaker knows the best situation for something, judges that the present situation is good enough, and accepts it. As such, it conveys a sense of the speaker's compromise.

In what follows, I propose the function of *ma(a)* 'kind of' also expresses the speaker's "downplaying" effect when expressing personal views or disagreement. It is used to express a sense of humility when talking about him/herself or his in-group

members (e.g. family members, and co-workers in some cases) to outsiders. In Section 4.5.5.1, I discuss the function of *ma(a)* to express the speaker's views non-assertively, its use to preface disagreement in Section 4.5.5.2, and its use to express humility as regards personal situations in Section 4.5.5.3.

4.5.5.1. When expressing opinions

The first situation where *ma(a)* 'kind of' was used for the downplaying effect is when expressing opinions, as shown in (25). 158/198 tokens (83.6%) of *ma(a)* was used to lessen the impact of the speaker's statement, of which 12.2% occurred at the turn-initial position of a new speaker.

- (25) WA: a. Amerika wa irui wa yappa zuibun yasui naa.
the U.S-TOP clothing-TOP as expected very cheap IP
- MI: b. **Maa** soo yuu seekatsu ni **maa** mitchaku shita mono toka
kind of such life for kind of closely related item and
- c. hitsujuhin mitai no wa yasui desu nee.
necessity like one-TOP cheap BE IP
- WA: a. 'Clothes are, as you know, very cheap in the U.S.
- MI: b. **Well** things which are **kind of** closely related to everyday life, and
c. daily necessities are inexpensive, aren't they.'

In (b), MI starts his turn with *maa*, which serves two purposes: (1) make a less abrupt transition between speakers like the English *well*; and (2) to avoid sounding too confident and assertive about the proposition the speaker is putting forward. (26) is another example of *ma(a)* being used for the downplaying effect.

- (26) SH: a. Daigaku ni haitte/ anmari koo okkina mon etenakatta n de
college at enter very this bit thing get-NEG assert
- b. sorede **ma/** kotchi ni kite
so kind of here to come

c. sooyuu jibun mo hukumete koo/ kaetai na to omotte
 such self also including this change IP QT think

d. **ma** kotchi no hoo ni kite
 kind of here way to come

e. **ma** ima wa manzoku shiteru n desu kedo/ kotchi no seekatsu.
 kind of now-TOP satisfy do assert but here-GEN life

SH: a. 'After entering my college, I wasn't getting much out of it,
 b. so, **well**, by coming here
 c. I wanted to change things, including myself, and
 d. **kind of**, since I came here (the U.S.), and
 e. now I **kind of** am satisfied with my life here.'

In (b), (d) and (e), *ma* is used to somewhat downplay his statement about his present situation since coming to the U.S. In each of these cases, *ma* has the effect of indicating to the hearer that SH's situation may not be the best one possible, but is acceptable.

4.5.5.2. Prefacing disagreement

Another situation where *ma(a)* was used is to preface minor disagreement (22/189 tokens=11.1%), as in (27).

(27) WA: a. Nihon de wa dooshitemo kanpai toka hitokoto shichoo-san toka ga aisatsu
 Japan in-TOP without fail toast etc. speech mayor etc. SUB greeting

suru toka nanka arimasu ne.
 do etc. something like have IP

b. Amerika no baai wa nanka moo hajime kara nantonaku hajimatte/
 the U.S. in case -TOP somehow really beginning from in someway begin-and

c. nante yuu/ nantonaku owatte/
 what shall I say/ somehow end-and

d. **ma** kojinkojin no koo deai o daiji ni suru tte yuu ka
 kind of individual like this encounter-DO value do or

e. sonna ki ga chotto shimasu kedo ne.
 such feeling-SUB a little do but IP

MI: f. **Ma** boku wa nantonaku sonoo tatoeba **ma** tashoo keeshikibatta tokoro de wa
 kind of I-TOP somehow uh for example kind of a little formal place in-TOP

g. aisatsu toka mo anoo Amerika mo aru yoona kanji desu keredo.
greeting etc. also well the U.S. also exist like feeling BE but

h. Sore ga maa sonnani katakurushii kanji ja nai/ tte yuu ki wa shimasu ne.
that-SUB that much formal feel BE-NEG like feeling-TOP do IP

- WA: a. 'In Japan (at the beginning of a festival), we always have speeches by someone, like the mayor,
b. but in the U.S., from the beginning, events begin without us knowing when,
c. and, what shall I say, end before we know it,
d. and we may be able to say that they value individual encounters
e. more (than formality), I feel that's what they value, y'know.
- MI: f. **Well**, I somehow feel that at **kind of** formal occasions, for example,
g. Americans also do formal greetings or something, but
h. perhaps those greetings are not as stiff-sounding (like Japanese), I think.'

In (f), MI begins his turn with *maa*, expressing a minor disagreement with WA, who had stated that Americans value an informal atmosphere when meeting with people, rather than valuing formality. MI expresses his view that Americans do have formality, but it is not as formal as Japanese. *Maa* is followed by other expressions of uncertainty *nantonaku* 'somehow', *sonoo* 'uh' as well as another *ma* 'kind of'. *Ma* 'kind of' here seems to indicate that MI has heard what WA has said, is not in complete agreement with WA, but wishes to present his disagreement less impactfully.

Unlike the connective *demo* 'but', a marker of upcoming contrast, *ma(a)* 'kind of' makes an utterance sound softer, downplaying the impact of disagreement. Whereas *demo* expresses disagreement straightforwardly, *ma(a)* marks conciliatory agreement, indicating the result of the speaker's evaluation process of the situation and partial acceptance of what has been stated. As such, *ma(a)* is not used often by young children, unlike *demo* which is used even by every young children.

The participants who filled out the questionnaire after recording their speech (see Section 6.6.1 for the results) stated the following: (1) they use *ma(a)* 'kind of' when they do not agree with something completely (7/17=41.2%); and (2) to soften the impact of a counter argument (3/17=23.5%). It is possible that the speaker has his or her own view

about something, but may not wish to express it to a certain addressee. In other words, *ma(a)* is a sign of the speaker's calculation as to how best to present his/her own ideas towards the addressee in a given situation and the resulting compromise.

4.5.5.3. To express humility

The core meaning of *ma(a)* is that of downplaying, and expresses the speaker's feelings that the situation or the prior statement is not exactly what s/he thinks, but acceptable to the extent that they can compromise. *Ma(a)* expresses the concession the speaker is making, partially accepting the situation or other interlocutor's view, but implying that they do not consider them the best choice possible. As such, *ma(a)* can also be used to express the speaker's humility about a personal situation, as is illustrated in (28).

- (28) MA: a. Eeto Ema wa anoo ee nante yuu n desu ka ne/ ee geemu sofuto o
 well Ema-TOP well uh what is it called IP uh game software-DO
- b. ma ichiban ookii no wa Nintendoo toka arimasu kedo ne/
 kind of most big one-TOP Nintendo etc. exist but IP
- c. Nintendoo/ Sega toka ma sooyuu anoo tokoro to kuraberu to
 Nintendo Sega etc. kind of such well place with compare when
- d. chiisai n desu keredomo/
 small explain but
- e. sooyuu geemu sofuto o tsukuru/ **ma** kaisha ni tsutometemashite
 such game software-DO make kind of company at employed
- MA: a. 'Well, Ema, well uh, what shall I say?/ uh game software/
 b. well the biggest ones are like Nintendo and others/
 c. Nintendo and Sega. Comparing with those companies
 d. it's small, but
 e. that kind of video game software/ **kind of** company, she works for'

In (b)-(c), MA talks about the two biggest video-game software manufactures. Then in (d-e), he mentions that his daughter also works for a video-game manufacture, though much

smaller than the other two. It seems that MA is trying to characterize his daughter's work as less fancy than it sounds. This kind of downplaying about one's family member is socially expected in Japan, and *ma(a)* fulfills that function in (e).

4.5.5.4. Summary

In this section, we examined the functions of *ma(a)* 'kind of'. The general function of *ma(a)* is to downplay the effect of the the speaker's utterance. Specifically, *ma(a)* is used in the following situations: (1) to express the speaker's feelings that something is not the absolutely the best one, but acceptable, such as in expressing conciliatory agreement; (2) to soften the speaker's utterance, and thus is used to preface disagreement; and (3) to show the speaker's humility about him/herself and/or his in-group members. Figure 4.3 summarizes the functions of *ma(a)* discussed in this section.

	general functions	specific functions
<i>ma(a)</i> : a marker of downplaying the effect	{ to express the speaker's wish to present his/her utterance less impactfully	{ 1. to express conciliatory agreement 2. to express mild disagreement 3. to state one's opinions less impactfully 4. to express humility when talking about personal situations

Figure 4.3 General and specific functions of *ma(a)*

4.5.6. *Koo* 'like this': A marker of information recalling

Koo originally is an adverb meaning 'like this' and was the seventh most frequently used filler in my data (135 tokens=5.3%). Its occurrence was limited to the utterance-medial or at the intonation-unit-final position, and it was generally followed by a short pause before the next word was uttered. As a discourse marker *koo* indicates that the speaker is in search of appropriate expressions based on his/her personal experience and functions as a floor-holder while the search is going on. Consider (29).

- (29) WA: a. Ma watashi mo kondo kuru toki wa soo shitara ii kana to omoimasu ne.
 well I also next time come when-TOP so do-if good FP QT think IP
- b. Demo nee/ ano **koo**/ 10-nen gurai watashi **koo**/
 but IP well like this ten-years about I like this
- c. mae kara **koo**/ miteru n desu keredomo
 ago from like this watch explain but
- d. chotto Amerika no naka de mo kawatte kita yoona ki ga suru n desu.
 a little the U.S. of inside in also change come-PAST like feeling-SUB do assert
- WA: a. 'Well, I think I also will do that (=wearing casual shoes) when I come
 here next time.
 b. But, y'know, well **it's like**, from about 10 years ago, **it's like**
 c. I've been, **it's like**, observing, but
 d. I feel that the U.S. also has been changing a little bit.

In (b)-(c), with the use of *koo* 'like this', WA sounds as if he is trying to recall his personal experience and currently visualizing the changes he has observed.

Koo seems to be used when the speaker is trying to bring up what is stored in his or her mental storage space as accurately as possible. As we can infer from the original meaning of *koo*, when speakers use this expression, it seems that they are trying to come up with expressions which best describe the ways or manners in which things have happened, are happening, or will happen in the future, based on the speaker's personal experience. Thus, *koo* functions as an interface between the speaker's cognitive operation and the upcoming utterance.

4.5.7. *Uun* 'uh, well': a marker of hesitation

Uun 'uh, well', a marker of hesitation and place-holder, was the ninth most common filler in my data (the eighth most common filler was *a* 'oh', which is discussed in Section 4.5.10). It is a grunting sound and is used when the speaker is searching for words, or when he or she does not want to express him/herself immediately. In (30), KY has been talking about her impression of the United States.

- (30) KY: a. Uwasa ni wa kiitemashita kedo/ hiroi n desu yone.
 rumor in-TOP hear-PAST but big BE IP
- b. Michi mo hiroi shi/ kuruma mo ookii shi/
 road also wide and car also big and
- c. **uun** soo desu ne/ inshoo/
 well let me see impression
- d. senshuu Shikago ni itta n desu yo
 last week Chicago to go-PAST BE IP
- KY: a. 'I had heard what people talk about (the U.S.), but it's big, y'know?
 b. Roads are wide, and cars are big, and
 c. **we:ll**/ let me see, my impression,
 d. last week, we went to Chicago'

In (c), while searching what to say next, KY uses two expressions which signal that she is in the process of thinking: *uun* and *soo desu nee* 'let me see' as well as repeating the word *inshoo* 'my impression (about the U.S.)'. Finally, she starts talking about her trip to Chicago.

(31) is an example of *uun* prefacing disagreement.

- (31) Mieko: a. Nee/ yappa chigau to omou n desu yone/
 IP as you know different QT think assert IP
- b. nanka koo sensee ni taishite mo/ reegi tadashisa ga dete kuru to
 like like this teacher to about also politeness-SUB come out QT think
 omoimasen?
 think
- IM: c. **Uun**/ demo ma sore wa keego toka tsukawaseteru kara da to omoimasu
 well but kind of that-TOP honorific etc. use-CAUSE-CAUS because BE QT think
 kedo ne.
 but IP
- Mieko: a. 'Y'know, as expected, they are different, I think.
 b. somehow, like, towards teachers, they show politeness, don't you think?
- IM: c. **We::ll**, but that's because we make them use honorifics, etc., I think.'

In (b), I stated that American students who take a Japanese course are different from other Americans. In (c), IM expresses disagreement with *demo* 'but'. By uttering *uun* before and *maa* 'kind of ' after *demo*, IM avoids the abruptness of disagreement.

Uun is sometimes used for background repairs, as is illustrated in (32).

(32) KE: a. Atashi ga omotta no wa Indo to Nihon no kankee toka/
I-SUB think-PAST NOM-TOP India and Japan GEN relationship etc.

b. sono Indo ga *uun*/ yoku aru topikku na n desu kedo/
uh India-SUB often exist topic assert but

c. ano shokuminchi jidai ni uketa Indo no
well colony period in received India GEN

KE: a. 'What I was thinking is the relationship between India and Japan or
b. uh India, **well** it's a common topic, but
c. well, the influence India received during its colonial days'

In (b), by saying *uun*, KE indicates to the addressee that she has to stop and think what to say next before she goes on.

Uun is similar to *ee(to)* (discussed in Section 4.5.8) in its floor-holding function.

Uun, like *ee(to)*, indicates that the speaker's smooth speech production is momentarily halted. Moreover, both *uun* and *ee(to)* are used in relatively informal situations to an addressee who is not one's superior. However, while *ee(to)* predominantly signals that the speaker is simply searching for an appropriate expression, *uun* indicates two kinds of hesitation: (1) production-related hesitation (the speaker has trouble formulating an appropriate expression); and (2) hesitation based on the speaker-addressee and speaker-proposition relationship, e.g. to an addressee to whom the speaker may not be in the position to express overt disagreement, or the speaker is uncertain about the proposition, or the proposition is a sensitive issue. In other words, while *ee(to)* carries no sense of reluctance, hedging or disagreement, *uun* often indicates the speaker's hesitation or

reluctance to express exactly what is in his or her mind. As such, *uun* may also be used to express disagreement or refusal instead of explicit *iie* or *iya* 'no'.

4.5.8. *Ee(to)* 'well, uh': a marker of information recalling effort

Ee(to) is an interjection which is translated as 'well', 'let me see' and 'er' in the *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English dictionary*. It was the 10th most common filler in my data. *Ee(to)* was used in several variant forms such as *ee*, and *uunto*,⁶ all of which will be represented as *ee(to)* throughout this study. The degree of formality is as follows: *ee* > *eeto* > *ettoo* > *uunto*. Maynard (1989a:31) characterizes *ee(to)* as a "language-production-based" filler. Takubo (1995:1024-1025) characterizes it as a marker of "inward-directed cognitive operation," and states that "it is used when the speaker is in consultation with his/her knowledge data-base, or when he or she wants to temporarily suspend the interaction with the addressee before continuing" [translation mine].

In my data, 71/94 tokens (75.5%) of *ee(to)* were used at the clause-initial position. Of the 71 tokens, 59.1% (42 tokens) were used to preface a new speaker's turn, which was the highest percentage among all the fillers in my data used in this position. In what follows, I discuss four functions of *ee(to)* as a marker of the speaker's recalling effort: (1) prefacing an answer to a question in Section 4.5.8.1; (2) as a floor-holding device in Section 4.5.8.2; (3) prefacing repair segments in Section 4.5.8.3; and (4) prefacing a (sub)topic shift in Section 4.5.8.4.

4.5.8.1. *Ee(to)* prefacing answers

Ee(to) was frequently used to preface answers to questions. 29/94 tokens (30.1%) of all *ee(to)* was used before answering WH questions, and 7 tokens (7.4%) were used before answering yes-or-no questions. Not only answers to questions which require some

⁶ Based on its functions, *uunto* is treated as a variant of *eeto* in this thesis rather than as a variant of *uun* 'well'.

amount of thinking, but answers to very simple questions were prefaced with *ee(to)*.

Sometimes, pre-answer *ee(to)* was preceded by a 'oh' as in *a ee(to) 'oh, well'*. (33)-(35)

illustrate the use of *ee(to)* prefacing answers to WH questions.

- (33) Mieko: a. Amami-Ooshima tte doko ni aru n desu ka?
Amami-Oshima QT where at exist Q

SH: b. **Eeto** anoo hanbun Okinawa haittete
uh well half Okinawa enter

c. hanbun/ sugoi dokutoku no bunka ga aru n desu yo.
half very unique culture-SUB have assert IP

Mieko: a. 'Where is Amami-Oshima?

SH: b. **Well**, one half of it belongs to Okinawa, and
c. the other half/ it has a very unique culture, y'know.'

- (34) Mieko: a. Baito doko de shiteru n desu ka?
part-time work where at do BE Q

AR: b. **Eeto** juuroku-goo zoi no sebun irebun de yatteru n desu kedo'
uh route along LOC 7-11 at do-PROG assert but

Mieko: a. 'Where do you work part-time?

AR: b. **Uh**, I work at 7-11 on Route 16.'

- (35) Mieko: a. Daigaku wa doko desu ka?
college-TOP where BE Q

IY: b. **Eeto** Sooka Daigaku desu.
uh Sooka University BE

Mieko: c. Nan-nensee desu ka?
what-grade BE Q

IY: d. **Eeto** san-nen desu.
uh third-year BE

Mieko: a. Which university do you go to?

IY: b. **Uh**, Sooka University.

Mieko: c. What year are you in?

IY: d. **Uh**, junior.'

In all these examples, answers to questions are prefaced with *ee(to)*. As stated at the beginning of this section, *ee(to)* has typically been characterized as a language-production-based filler (Maynard 1989a:31), which is supposed to be used when smooth speech production is temporarily hindered or to fill in a pause while searching for an appropriate expression: SH is trying to give the best way to describe where Amami-Oshima is in (33b), and AR is thinking for a second how to give information about her work place in (34b).

Characterization of *ee(to)* as a language-production-based filler does not make much sense in Example (35), where IY is only asked the name of her university and her academic level. Giving the requested answers in (35) did not require any degree of thinking, since the questions are simple and straightforward and about IY herself. The answers should be readily available to IY, and there is no need to be hesitant or spend time searching for appropriate expressions. In fact, three of the participants in the interviews responded with *ee(to)* when they were asked their names, two responded with *ee(to)* when they were asked about their majors or hometowns, and four prefaced the names of their university and their academic level with *ee(to)*. This indicates that *ee(to)* can sometimes be used in situations where there is no need to search for appropriate expressions.

Ee(to) in these cases is perhaps used as a momentary floor-holder to signal to the addressee that the speakers understood the questions and are ready to give their answers, rather than being used to fill in potential silence while searching for an appropriate expression.

4.5.8.2. As a floor-holder

There were cases of *ee(to)* clearly being used to signal that the speaker was having trouble coming up with appropriate expressions, as in (36)-(37). (36) is an example where *ee(to)* is used while searching for the right word.

- (36) UM a. Koobe wa itta yo.
Kobe-TOP go-PAST IP
- KY: b. Ii yone.
good IP
- UM: c. Kyonen to ototoshi.
last year and the year before last year
- d. Eeto chotto are suru mae.
uh a little that do before
- KY: e. Kuzureru mae?
destroy before
- UM: f. Un kuzureru mae ni.
yeah destroy before
- UM: a. 'I visited Kobe.
KY: b. That's nice.
UM: c. Last year and two years ago.
d. Uh, a little before that (happened).
KY: e. Before it was destroyed by the earthquake?
UM: f. Yeah, before the earthquake.

In (d), UM says that she "visited Kobe *eeto a little before that (happened)*," unable to come up with the word for destruction or earthquake. KY supplies the expression *kuzureru* 'destroyed', and UM acknowledges the information with *un* 'yeah', indicating that *kuzureru* was the word she was looking for.

(37) is an example where *ee(to)* was used to come up with an appropriate answer, rather than a specific word.

- (37) Mieko: a. Ichiban tanoshikatta koto wa nan desu ka?/ Amerika ni kite.
most enjoyable thing-TOP what BE Q the U.S. to come
- AR: b. Eeto soo desu ne nanka/ a doyoobi ni Shiidaa Pointo ni itta n desu kedo
uh let's see well oh Saturday on Cedar Point to went explain but
- Mieko: a. 'What was the most enjoyable experience you've had in the U.S.?
AR b. Uh, let's see, uh, oh, we went to Cedar Point on Saturday'

In (37), AR uses *eeto* to search through her memory to find an answer to the question—the

most enjoyable experience. She uses three fillers, *eeto*, *soo desu nee*, and *nanka* before she begins her answer with a 'oh', which marks AR's having thought of something to say. If *ee(to)* is simply used as a filler of potential silence, any kind of sound such as *aa* or *uu* will suffice, which is not the case here.⁷ Therefore, *ee(to)* has more meaning than just filling in the pause. I propose that, in these cases, the primary function of *ee(to)* is to signal to addressees that speakers are recalling information. The secondary functions of *ee(to)* are to express the speaker's intention to continue and fill the potential silence.

4.5.8.3. Prefacing a repair segment

Ee(to) was also used to preface repair segments. (38) is an example of a replacement repair.

- (38) Mieko: a. Hitori-gurashi? Geshuku?
 one-person live boarding house
- IY: b. Geshuku/ **ee** apaato de
 boarding house uh apartment at
- Mieko: a. 'You live alone? Is it a rooming house?'
 IY: b. Rooming house, **uh** it's an apartment.'

In (b), IY began to say *geshuku* 'a boarding house' first, and corrects herself with *ee*, a shorter and more formal variant of *eeto*.

(39) is an example of a background repair.

- (39) NM: a. Uchi wa ne/ ano ne/
 my family-TOP IP well IP
- b. **uunto** ryooshin wa Iwate shusshin na n da kedo/
 parents-TOP Iwate Prefecture hometown BE but
- c. de soko de nanka kookoo ni densha de kayotteta no ne?
 and there well high school to train by commute-PROG-PAST IP IP

⁷ *Ano(o)* 'uh' or *uun* 'uh' are possible alternatives to *eeto* in this situation.

- NM: a. 'In my parents' case/ well y'know?
 b. **well**, they are originally from Iwate Prefecture,
 c. and they were commuting to their high schools by train, y'know?'

In (b), NM inserts background information about her parents' home prefecture with *uunto*, an even more informal variant of *eeto*. In these examples, *ee(to)* was used to show a momentary hesitation before introducing actual repair segments.

4.5.8.4. (Sub)topic shifting

Ee(to) was also used to search for an appropriate expression before the speaker introduced a new topic. It was frequently used by myself when I was interviewing the participants, but there were other cases as well. (40) is an example of *ee(to)* for a subtopic change.

- (40) IY: a. Atashi ano byuutii ando biisuto mite/ ano jimaku nashi datta kara
 I uh Beauty and Beast see well subtitle without BE-PAST because
 b. yoku wakan nakatta.
 well understand NEG-PAST
 c. **Uunto** ne/ sukina ne/ are nani?/ eega.
 uh IP favorite IP that what movie
 d. Ichiban bideo mite/ aa atashi wa kore ga suki daa tte yuu eega.
 best video see oh I-TOP this-SUB like BE QT say movie
- NM: e. ((laugh)) Kakko ii to omotta no ga/ Kebin Kosunaa no
 look good QT think one-SUB Kevin Costner GEN
- IY: a. 'I saw the Beauty and the Beast and/ well there was no subtitle, so
 b. I couldn't understand it well.
 c. **Uh**, your favorite/ what is your favorite movie?
 d. Watching videos, the one you feel you love the most?
- NM: e. ((laugh)) The one I thought the coolest was the one by Kevin Costner'

In (c), IY changes the subtopic with *uunto* from the movies she has seen to NM's favorite movies.

(41) is an example of a major topic change during an interview. Prior to this segment, KY has been describing her happiest experience since coming to the U.S., talking about going bowling and making her personal best score.

(41) KY: a. Hyaku-juuroku-ten desu.
116 point BE

Mieko: b. A soo desu ka.
oh so BE Q

c. Eeto ichiban komatta koto toka iya datta koto wa nan desu ka?
well most troubled thing and bad BE thing-TOP what BE Q

KY: a. 'It was 116 points.

Mieko: b. Oh really?

c. Well, what was your most troubling or worst experience?

In (c), the topic was shifted from happy experience to difficult experience.⁸ The use of *ee(to)* for a topic change during interviews occurred frequently at the beginning of the interviews, when I was getting the interviewees' background information such as their names, hometowns, majors, and the reasons for coming to the U.S. *Ee(to)* was used as a place-holder while I was thinking what I should ask next. I needed more time to think at the beginning because the participants gave short answers while I was still thinking about the next questions to ask.

Thus, *ee(to)* before a (sub)topic change functions to signal to the hearer that the speaker is in the process of searching for an appropriate expression and to hold the floor.

4.5.8.5 Other functions of *ee(to)*

Besides the functions discussed thus far, *ee(to)* was used at the beginning of a narrative. Of the six narratives collected for the present study, three began with *ee(to)*, one

⁸ In this situation, the connective *jaa* 'then' rather than the filler *eeto* 'uh' would have been a possible alternative, and obviously there are personal preferences as to which expression a speaker chooses at a given circumstance.

began with *ano*, and the other two began with *eeto anoo* and *ano eeto*. *Ee(to)* and *ano(o)* in narratives were used between the initial chat and the subsequent narratives. *Ee(to)*, like *ano(o)*, seems to have a function of marking a change in speaker orientation, such as from an initial chat to the narrative.

We have seen that *ee(to)*, like other fillers discussed in this chapter, is used in various situations where the speaker needs time while searching for the right words or an appropriate answer, signalling the speaker's intention to continue his or her turn. As such, it is used to preface a (sub)topic shift, repairs, and when the speaker is trying to formulate an answer to a question. It seems that the primary function of *ee(to)* is to indicate the speaker's intentions to continue their turns and to request that the addressee wait until they come up with what to say. Figure 4.4 summarizes the functions of *ee(to)* discussed above.

	general functions	specific functions
<i>ee(to)</i> : a marker of the speaker's information recalling effort	I. express that the speaker is searching an appropriate expression and needs time II. floor-holder	1. to preface answers to questions 2. to preface a repair 3. to preface (sub)topic change 4. to hold the floor

Figure 4.4 General and specific functions of *ee(to)*

Both *ee(to)* and *ano(o)* are used when speakers search for an appropriate expression. *Ee(to)*, however, is different from *ano(o)* in several respects; (1) *ano(o)* sounds more formal than *ee(to)* and can consequently be used in formal situations and towards one's superior; (2) the primary function of *ano(o)* is a hesitation marker based on the speaker's perception of the speaker-addressee relationship and is used to solicit the addressee's cooperation by enhancing or creating the sense of togetherness and sharedness, while *ee(to)* is used to signal the speaker's consultation with his/her own mental data base to come up with an appropriate expression. Therefore, the main functions of *ano(o)* are in

the participation framework and exchange structure proposed by Schiffrin, whereas the main function of *ee(to)* is in the information state and the exchange structure.

Ee(to) also contrasts with *nanka* or *ma(a)*, which entail creating an agreeable conversation atmosphere. *Ee(to)* does not have such a function. Thus, while *ano(o)*, *ee(to)*, *uun*, and *nanka* all can function as pause-filling devices and are translated as *uh*, *well*, and *er* in dictionaries and Japanese textbooks, their functions must be clearly distinguished and their nuances explained in the Japanese language classroom.

4.5.9. *Hora* 'there, y'know': A marker of addressee involvement

Hora 'look, there' is an interjection which is used to attract someone's attention to a visible object. *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* lists *y'know* and *you remember* as its translation.

Hora was the least frequent of the fifteen fillers in my data with 18 tokens. Of them, none appeared in the narratives, one in an interview, and seventeen in casual conversations. In what follows, I argue that *hora* not only functions as a language-production-based filler as suggested by Maynard (1989a), but also as a device to enhance or create a sense of sharedness between interlocutors.

Hora, I propose, has functions similar to *y'know* in English, and has the following effects: (1) points to shared knowledge about something, and enhances the participation of the addressee in conversation; (2) creates a sense of "sharedness" and rapport among interlocutors; and (3) functions as a floor-holder while the speaker is trying to recall an expression. (42) illustrates the use of *hora* referring to a shared piece of information between the speaker and the addressee.

- (42) YK: a. *Nanka kanojo ga kekkyoku hora sotogawa desho?*
 like she-SUB after all y'know outside TAG
 b. *ano hito no suwaru/ nee suwaru toko ga.*
 that person-SUB sit IP sit place-SUB

- c. *Dakara are mitai desu yo/ kanojo no mono ga hotondo torareta n ja*
 so that like BE IP she-GEN things-SUB mostly take-PASS BE

- YK: a. 'Well she is, **as you know**, outside (=close to the door), right?
 b. the place where her desk is.
 c. So, it looks as if mostly her things were taken'

Both YK and I are familiar with the office arrangements where a burglary took place. By using *hora* 'y'know' and *desho* 'right?' in (a), YK tries to facilitate my understanding regarding why mostly things which belong to one of the office workers were stolen, based on our shared knowledge that her desk is located nearest to the entrance.

Hora is also used to create the feeling of "sharedness" between interlocutors when they do not actually have shared knowledge about something, as illustrated in (43).

- (43) Mieko: a. *Sonnani takusan o-uchi miru no taihen deshita ne.*
 such many HON-house look NOM hard BE-PAST IP
- TA: b. *Iya/ sore ga hora/ hima datta desho?*
 no that-SUB y'know free BE TAG
- Mieko: c. *Demo ii kaimono desu nee.*
 but nice purchase BE IP
- TA: d. *Demo/ demo koko wa hora gakkoo-ku ga anmari yoku nai n desho?*
 but but here-TOP y'know school-district-SUB very good-NEG TAG
- Mieko: a. 'It must have taken you a long time to look at so many houses!
 TA: b. Oh no, the fact is that I had nothing else to do, **as you know**?
 Mieko: c. But you've purchased a nice house!
 TA: d. But, but, the school district here is not that great, **y'know**'

TA uses *hora* in (b) and (d) as if I knew what TA's schedule was like when she was house-hunting or about the school district in the area where TA's house is. *Hora* in this case contributes to creating "pseudo-shared world" between TA and myself, eliciting the addressee's involvement in the conversation. Furthermore, since the use of *hora* is limited to casual conversations among conversants who know each other well, the speaker can use *hora* in order to emphasize their close relationship, enlist addressees' cooperation, and

enhance the addressees' participation in the conversation.

The third function of *hora* is to indicate to the addressee that the speaker is in the process of recalling something.

(44) Mieko: a. Naze asoko de oshie-hajimeta n deshita kke?
 why there at teach-begin-PAST BE-PAST Q

YO: b. Saisho wa dakara **hora** ano sensee/
 first-TOP so y'know that teacher

c. sensee tte yuu ka/ eeto nan da kke/ A-san/ kanojo no shookai de
 teacher QT say Q uh what BE Q A-Ms. she-GEN introducing by

Mieko: a. 'Why did you begin teaching there?

YO: b. At first, to explain, y'know, that teacher

c. teacher?, or what should I say? Ms. A. I was brought in by her'

In (b), YO uses *hora* when she is trying to recall the name of the person who got her involved in teaching Japanese. YO has trouble remembering the person's name and uses three fillers: *hora*, *eeto* and *nan da kke* 'what do you call'. Furthermore, she says *ano sensee* 'that teacher', indicating that she is referring to a teacher who is known to both YO and myself. In this example, *hora*, together with *ano* 'that person/thing we both have shared knowledge about' and *nan da kke* 'what do you call that', contributes to increasing the addressee's participation in the conversation.

As a discourse marker, *hora* creates a sense of "sharedness" among the interlocutors and enhances their participation in the conversation. It also relates to the knowledge and meta-knowledge among them, and thus operates in the participation framework and the information state.

4.5.10. A 'oh', *aa* 'oh', and *e?* 'oh, huh?' for information management

Finally, I discuss three interjections, *a*, *aa* and *e?*, all of which are translated as *oh* in English (*Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*). A 'oh' indicates that the

speaker has just become aware of something and wishes to express that realization to the addressee and/or to him/herself in the case of soliloquy. In face-to-face interactions, it is used in repairs or prefacing an answer to a question, where the speaker's re-orientation is necessary. (45) illustrates a case of *a* prefacing a background repair segment. KY is describing her high school.

- (45) KY: a. Nanka Oosaka na n desu keredomo/ sono yama no ushiro ga/
 like Osaka explain but that mountain GEN back-SUB
 b. a/ koosha no ushiro ni yama ga atte
 oh school building GEN behind at mountains-SUB exist
 c. sono ushiro ga Nara-ken to yuu tokoro.
 that behind-SUB Nara Prefecture QT say place
 KY: a. '(my high school) is in Osaka, but behind the mountain is,
 b. **oh**, behind the school building is a mountain, and
 c. behind that is Nara Prefecture, a place like that.

In (b), KY starts saying something about behind the mountain, and she repairs it with *a* 'oh', adding that the mountain is behind the school building and continues on to say that behind the mountain is Nara Prefecture. Thus, in (45), *a* signals to the addressee that the speaker has just become aware of something, a mistake.

(46) is a case of *a* before answering questions. KE says *a* every time before answering questions, as if she is acknowledging the receipt of my questions.

- (46) Mieko: a. Eeto ja namae o onegai shimasu.
 uh then name-DO please
 KE: b. A, KE desu.
 oh KE BE
 Mieko: c. Hai, de Ajia keezai o benkyoo shiteru n desu ka?
 OK and Asia economics-DO study do-PROG BE Q
 KE: d. A, hai.
 oh yes

Mieko: e. Tokuni Ajia no donna koto ni tsuite benkyoo shiteru n desu ka?
 particularly Asia-GEN what thing about study do-PROG BE Q

KE: f. A mada soko made haitte nai n desu kedo.
 oh yet that as far as enter-NEG BE but

Mieko: a. 'Your name, please.

KE: b. Oh, I'm KE.

Mieko: c. O.K., and you're studying Asian economics?

KE: d. Oh, yes.

Mieko: e. Particularly about what in Asia are you studying?

KE: f. Oh, we haven't gotten into the details yet, but well now the world'

The second interjection *aa* 'oh' indicates a speaker's receipt of information. *Aa* can occur alone or as *aa soo desu ka* 'oh, is that right'. In (47), YK and I are talking about inexpensive radios, and in (b), YK signals that she received the information with *aa* 'oh'.

(47) Mieko: a. Kore ne/ chooshi ga warukute tokidoki ugokanai n desu yone.
 this IP condition-SUB bad sometimes move-NEG BE IP IP

YK: b. Aa soo na no. Uchi ni mo aru n desu kedo ne/ kooyuu no zenzen ne.
 so IP house at also exist BE but IP this kind one not at all IP

Mieko: a. 'This one, y'know, its condition is bad, and sometimes it doesn't work.

YK: b. Oh, I see. I have one like this at home too, but this kind of (radio) is not at all good.'

E? 'oh, huh?' is used to indicate receipt of unanticipated information, or indicates that the speaker did not hear or understand what has been said.

(48) Mieko: a. Amerika ni kitai na to omotta no wa donna riyuu na n desu ka?
 the U.S. to come-want QT think-PAST NOM-TOP what kind reason BE Q

NM: b. E? sonoo benkyoo shiteru koto mo arimasu.
 oh uh study do-PROG fact also exist

c. Ano benkyoo shiteru no wa nichii/ nichiboo/ nichibee booeeki?
 well study do-PROG-GEN-TOP Japan/ Japan tra Japan-U.S. trade

Mieko: a. 'What made you want to come to the U.S.?

NM: b. Oh? well, what I'm studying is part of the reason/

c. Well, what I'm studying is Japan/ Japan trade/ Japan-U.S. trade'

The fillers in examples (45)-(48) display the speaker's cognitive and information management processes. *A*, *aa*, and *e?* are all response markers concerning the speaker's receipt of information. They signal whether or not the speaker understood the received information and indicate whether the information was anticipated or not. They also indicate the speaker's cognitive re-orientation in the case of a repair. As such, *a aa* and *e?* all operate in the information state.

4.6. The role of fillers in conversation

We have seen how fillers function in Japanese conversation. Unlike the connectives discussed in Chapter 3 which mostly function as utterance-initial brackets, fillers primarily bracket utterance-internal units, separating prior and upcoming portions within an utterance. Fillers such as *ee(to)* 'uh' and all the information management fillers index an utterance to the speaker, displaying the speaker's cognitive processes and orientation to the information, whereas socially motivated fillers such as *nanka* 'like', *ano(o)* 'uh, well', *ma(a)* 'kind of', and *hora* 'there, y'know' all index an utterance both to the speaker and the addressee, displaying the speaker's feelings to both the addressee and to the proposition.

Except by a few researchers such as Maynard (1989a), Cook (1993) and Takubo (1992 and 1995) and Takubo and Kinsui (1996), fillers have been treated predominantly as pause-filling or floor-holding devices in face-to-face interactions, and consequently have not been given much importance. We have seen, however, that even the items which have been characterized solely as production-related fillers such as *ee(to)* 'uh' and *hora* 'there' have important functions unique to each one. Many times, fillers have simultaneous roles as a place-holder and for other social and interactional purposes.

There are many reasons why speakers stall momentarily: they may not be able to recall a word instantly; they may be weighing various options, wondering which one best

suits the purpose of the utterance in a given situation; they may feel that they should withhold some information from certain addressees; or they may want to avoid abrupt topic changes in face-to-face interactions. Each filler, in its unique ways, represents the speaker's thoughts and/or evaluation or judgement regarding the speech situations, propositions or speaker-hearer relationships, operating primarily in the information state or participation framework. That is why most fillers are not interchangeable with each other, and interlocutors, in many cases, can guess what kind of utterance or conversational move is to follow simply by hearing certain fillers.

In some instances what makes this relationship between a particular filler and its implied meaning is the original meaning of the filler (e.g. *nanka* 'somehow', *yappari* 'as expected' and *ma(a)* 'kind of'); other fillers come to be associated with particular situations and assume specific functions in a given speech community through their routinized usage (e.g. *ee(to)*). In still other cases the conventionalized usages may be far removed from the expression's literal meanings, as in the case of *ano* 'uh; well' and *hora* 'look'.

The routinized expressions assume shared functions within a speech community. For example, when native Japanese speakers hear *ma(a)* 'kind of', they can sense that the speaker is trying to downplay the effect of his or her utterance; when the speaker utters *nanka* 'like', addressees can sense the speaker's uncertainty. When the Japanese hear *ee(to)* 'uh', *koo* 'like this' or *hora* 'there; y'know', they can feel that the speaker is going through his/her mental storage space, trying to figure out appropriate expressions or to recall something.

Through these routinized functions, fillers help the speaker display his/her feelings and orientation towards a proposition and/or addressee without overtly mentioning them. They may also enhance the involvement of the interlocutors in conversation and contribute to discourse coherence. Thus, fillers are essential for successful face-to-face interaction. Table 4.9 shows the indexical functions of the fillers discussed in this chapter as textual and participant coordinates.

Table 4.9 Fillers as contextual coordinates

marker	original meaning	position within an intonation unit	as participation coordinate	as textual coordinate
<i>ano</i>	that	initial/medial	speaker/hearer	prior/upcoming
<i>nanka</i>	something	initial/medial/final/alone	speaker/hearer	prior/upcoming
<i>ma(a)</i>	kind of	initial/medial/final/alone	speaker/hearer	prior/upcoming
<i>ee(to)</i>	well; uh	initial/medial	speaker	upcoming
<i>moo</i>	really	initial/medial/final	speaker/hearer	upcoming
<i>yappari</i>	as expected	initial/medial/final/alone	speaker/hearer	prior/upcoming
<i>uun</i>	well; uh	initial/medial/final/alone	speaker/hearer	prior/upcoming
<i>koo</i>	in this way	initial/medial	speaker	upcoming
<i>hora</i>	look; there	initial/medial/final	speaker/hearer	upcoming
<i>a!,aa, e?</i>	oh	initial/medial	speaker	prior

4.7. Summary

In this chapter, I examined the functions of Japanese fillers as discourse markers using Schifffrin's (1987) framework. Based on the fact that fillers are not interchangeable with each other, and that specific fillers are associated with specific agreed-upon functions within a speech community, I have argued that fillers have important roles, just as connectives do, disclosing information such as the speaker's feelings, orientation, and/or changes in conversational moves, and therefore are an indispensable part of face-to-face interactions.

CHAPTER 5

Japanese interactional particles as discourse markers

5.1. Preliminaries

We now turn to the last group of discourse markers used by native Japanese participants, interactional particles. Interactional particles, like connectives and fillers, play important roles as contextual coordinates in face-to-face interactions in Japanese, expressing the speaker's feelings and orientation towards the addressee or proposition (Makino and Tsutsui 1986:45-49). Martin (1975:914) states that interactional particles are used to "impart some additional hint of the speaker's attitude toward what he is saying—doubt, conviction, caution, inquiry, confirmation or request for confirmation, recollection, etc." In ordinary conversation, especially in the informal type, it is virtually impossible to talk without interactional particles.

In my data, the frequency of interactional particles was 55.7 tokens per 1,000 words, whereas the frequency of fillers was 77.1/1000 words and that of connectives was 30.8/1000 words (the rate of connectives in the English data was 52.9/1000 words, and that of fillers was 28.3/1000 words). These numbers alone indicate how prevalent the use of fillers and interactional particles is in Japanese conversation. Interactional particles were used for various purposes. *Ne*, for example, was used to request confirmation or agreement, to soften the tone when expressing disagreement, as an attention-checking device, and as an attention-getter. *Yo* was used in warning, advice, and invitation. *Kana* and *kashira* were used to express the speaker's uncertainty about a proposition.

One of the differences between interactional particles and other discourse markers is the position where they occur in discourse; unlike connectives and fillers, which function as utterance-initial- and utterance-medial-brackets, interactional particles function as utterance- or phrase-final brackets. The units they bracket are also different. Connectives mainly bracket propositions, speech acts and turns, indexing an utterance to prior and/or

upcoming utterances and fillers bracket prior and upcoming units within an utterance. In contrast, interactional particles generally index an utterance to prior units of discourse.

The principal aim of this chapter is not to dispute the validity of previous research on Japanese interactional particles, but to argue for the incorporation of a multi-faceted approach like Schifffrin's in their analyses. Adapting such a discourse model is particularly important in analyzing them since they coordinate interactional units rather than idea units. In addition, they reveal cognitive information; e.g. whether the information belongs to the speaker, the hearer, or is shared by both. They also reveal the speaker-hearer relationship; e.g. their relative social status difference and how close they are to each other. *Yo*, for example, is not generally used toward one's superior. Some particles are used only in informal settings (e.g. *no*, *sa*, and *yona*) and others can be used both in formal and informal settings (e.g. *ne* and *yone*), thus revealing the speaker's judgement about whether the situation is formal or informal. Furthermore, many particles reveal the speaker's gender; e.g. *wa* and *kashira* are mostly used by female speakers, and the addressee-directed *na*, *yona*, and *zo* are generally used by male speakers. Table 5.1 is a classification of interactional particles by formality and the speaker's gender.

Table 5.1 List of interactional particles by formality and the speaker's gender

particles	formal	informal
predominantly feminine	<i>wa</i>	<i>kashira, no</i>
predominantly masculine		<i>yona, zo</i>
neutral	<i>ne, yo, yone</i> ¹	<i>kana, sa</i>

Particles such as *yo* 'I assert', *no* 'I assert', *zo* 'I assert' and *kana* 'I wonder' also express the speaker's feelings about a proposition; e.g. how confident the speaker is about his or her utterance. Furthermore, the use of these particles is not rigidly fixed but varies

¹ Most of these particles have a short and long variants (e.g. *ne* and *nee*, *sa* and *saa*). They will be represented by their short variants throughout the present study unless the distinction is important for the discussion.

according to circumstances. For example, *yo* is generally characterized as a particle of assertion when a piece of information is assumed to be known only to the speaker, operating in the information state defined by Schiffrin (1987). However, as Maynard (1993:107-108) states, when the speaker wishes to avoid sounding rude, or to enhance the atmosphere of cooperation and rapport, *ne* may be used instead of *yo*. On the other hand, as we shall see in Section 5.4.2.3, *yo* may be used in place of *ne* to show agreement, if the speaker feels strongly about a proposition in a situation where normally *ne* is expected. The choice of particles is not independently determined but related to the context in which they occur. Thus, it is preferable to employ an approach in which we can analyze the functions of interactional particles from multiple perspectives. Therefore, Schiffrin's (1987) framework is adopted in the present study for the analysis of interactional particles.

In what follows, I analyze the functions of Japanese interactional particles as discourse markers. Quantitative analysis is presented in Section 5.2, followed by a discussion of interactional particle use in relation to formality, age, gender and speech genre in Section 5.3. In Section 5.4, the functions of *ne*, *yo* and *yone*, are examined.

5.2. Quantitative analysis

A total of 11 interactional particles were examined, and the frequency per 1,000 words and the percentage of each particle in total particle use were calculated. *Ne* was by far the most frequently used of all, constituting 52% of all the interactional particles used, followed by *yo* (13%) and *yone*.² These three constituted 76% of all the interactional particles in my data. These percentages were similar to those discussed in Maynard (1993); she reports that *ne* constituted 41.18% and *yo* 14.83% in her data. Of all the *ne* used, the percentage for the utterance-final *ne* was the highest (35% of all interactional particles), followed by the utterance-medial *ne* (16%). Since *ne* and *yone* express a cooperative

² *Yone* is a combination of *yo* and *ne*, but it was counted as a separate particle. Likewise, *yona* (the combination of *yo* and *na*) was counted as a separate particle.

attitude, such as confirmation and agreement, the high percentage of *ne* and *yone* reflects the importance of cooperative attitude in face-to-face interactions.

Table 5.2 shows the numbers of tokens, the rate per 1,000 words, and the percentage of each interactional particle in my data. The numbers in parentheses show the breakdown of *ne* and *na* according to their positions within an utterance.³

Table 5.2 Summary of Japanese interactional particles in the collected data (n=36)

particles	functions ⁴	tokens	/ 1000 wds	%
<i>ne</i> total	confirmation/rapport	1039	29	52
(initial)		(10)	(0.28)	(0.5)
(medial)		(314)	(8.77)	(16)
(final)		(689)	(19.3)	(35)
(alone)		(26)	(0.73)	(1.2)
<i>yo</i>	speaker's emphasis	251	7.0	13
<i>na</i> total	confirmation/rapport/emotion	151	4.2	7.6
(medial ⁵)		(5)	(0.01)	(0.3)
(final 1)		(29)	(0.08)	(1.5)
(final 2 ⁶)		(117)	(0.33)	(5.9)
<i>no</i>	explanation/emotion/question	133	0.37	6.7
<i>kana</i>	uncertainty (male/female)	115	0.32	5.8
<i>kashira</i>	uncertainty (female)	4	0.01	0.2
<i>sa</i>	informality/assertion	77	0.22	3.9
<i>wa</i>	assertion with femininity	1	0.003	0.1
<i>zo</i>	assertion with masculinity	1	0.003	0.1
<i>yone</i>	assertion+confirmation	216	0.6	11
<i>yona</i>	assertion+confirmation	4	0.01	0.2
total		1992	55.7	100

Okamoto (1995:304) reports that the use of strongly feminine particles was infrequent in her study of informal Japanese conversations. In my data also, interactional

³ All particles other than *ne* and *na*, and *sa*, only occur at the utterance-final position. All occurrences of *sa* in my data was utterance-medially.

⁴ The characterization of the functions of the interactional particles are based on the following: Uyeno (1971); Makino and Tsutsui (1986), and Cook (1988).

⁵ All utterance-medial and final *na*1 are considered as addressee-directed in the present study; e.g. KK: *Kinoo naa Morita-san to naa/ dansu shita yo ore* and *Kinoo no eega omoshirokatta na* 'Yesterday's movie was interesting, wasn't it?' It is generally used by male speakers in casual conversation with male addressees.

⁶ This category refers to the self-directed *na*, as in *Dokka ikitai na* 'I want to go somewhere.' This type of *na* is used both by male and female speakers to male and female addressees.

particles which are associated with gender appeared infrequently. For example, the particle *kashira* (feminine) and *yona* (masculine) were used only four times each, and *wa*⁷ (feminine) and *zo* (masculine) were used just once each. This may be partially due to the limited types of subjects used for the present study, all of whom were teachers and college students. With data from more varied conversation situations, such as conversations between married couples and from a wide variety of occupations where expressions of femininity or masculinity are common, the results may have been different. This is an area which awaits further research.

5.3. Sociolinguistic factors

We now consider the use of interactional particles in relation to four sociolinguistic factors: (1) formality; (2) age; (3) gender and (4) speech genre. In order to examine the significance of these four sociolinguistic factors on the usage of interactional particles, based on their rates per 1,000 words, the unmatched two-tailed-test was performed for the factors with two variables, such as formality, and one-way ANOVA test was run for those with three or more variables; e.g. speech genre. At a 95% confidence level, a *P*-value of 0.05 or lower indicates a significant difference; and 0.1 indicates a strong tendency towards significance.

5.3.1. Formality

The result of the *t*-test showed a statistically significant influence of formality on the use of interactional particles. The total rate of interactional particles was much higher in informal speech than formal speech (80.5/1000 words vs. 45.4/1000 words), and the difference was significant (*P*=0.003). The high use of interactional particles in informal speech indicates that Japanese speakers express their feelings and attitudes toward a

⁷ *Wa* with falling intonation can be used both by male and female speakers, but this type of *wa* did not appear in my data. The *wa* in my data was pronounced with rising intonation.

proposition or the addressee more readily in informal speech than in formal speech. Table 5.3 shows the rates of interactional particles per 1,000 words and their *P*-values by speech style.

Table 5.3 The tokens and rates/1000 words of interactional particles by formality (two-tailed *t*-test; *n*=36)

particles	formal (n=24)		informal (n=12)		<i>P</i> -value cl=95%
	tokens	rates/1000 wds	tokens	rates/1000 wds	
<i>ne</i> total	696	27.5	448	32.8	ns
(initial)	(-----)	(-----)	(10)	(0.96)	0.001
(medial)	(178)	(7.03)	(136)	(13)	ns
(final)	(503)	(19.9)	(186)	(17.8)	ns
(alone)	(15)	(0.59)	(11)	(1.05)	ns
<i>yo</i>	144	5.68	107	10.2	0.035
<i>na</i> total	72	2.84	79	7.56	0.002
(medial)	(-----)	(-----)	(5)	(0.48)	0.027
(final 1)	(-----)	(-----)	(29)	(2.8)	0.011
(final 2)	(72)	(2.8)	(45)	(4.3)	ns
<i>no</i>	11	0.43	122	11.7	0.000
<i>kana</i>	72	2.84	43	4.11	ns
<i>kashira</i>	4	0.16	-----	-----	ID
<i>sa</i>	1	0.04	76	7.27	0.000
<i>wa</i>	1	0.04	-----	-----	ID
<i>zo</i>	-----	-----	1	0.1	ID
<i>yone</i>	149	5.88	67	6.4	ns
<i>yona</i>	-----	-----	4	0.38	ID
total	1150	45.4	842	80.5	0.003

$P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID=indeterminable due to low occurrence; ns=not significant

The use of certain particles was associated with particular speech styles. *Kashira* and *wa* were used only in formal speech, but their statistical significance was indeterminable due to their infrequent occurrences. All other particles, except for the utterance-final *ne*, were used more frequently in informal speech than in formal style speech. More particularly, the rates of utterance-medial and the *no*, *sa* and *yona* and the addressee-directed *na* were much higher in informal style speech than in formal speech, confirming Uyeno's (1971) observation that these particles are characteristic of informal speech. The differences in the

rates of *no* and *sa*, both particles of assertion, also proved to be significantly associated with informal style speech.

As regards *ne*, while the total rate and the rate of the utterance-final *ne* did not show a statistically significant difference between formal and informal speech (19.9/1000 words in formal and 17.8/1000 words in informal), the utterance-initial *ne* showed a strong association with informal speech ($P=0.001$).

5.3.2. Age

Speakers' ages also influenced the use of some interactional particles in my data, though not the rate of particles as a whole. The total rate was higher for older speakers than younger speakers (62.1 and 52.5 per 1,000 words, respectively), but the difference was not statistically significant.

Seven items (*ne* as a whole, the final *ne*, *na* as a whole, the medial *na*, the addressee-directed *na*, *sa*, and *yone*) were significantly related to age ($P\leq 0.05$), and the particle *no* showed a strong tendency ($0.05 < P \leq 0.1$). The rates of the utterance-final *ne* and *yone* were significantly higher for older speakers than younger speakers ($P=0.004$ and 0.003 , respectively). The rates for *na*, *no* and *sa* were higher among the younger speakers than the older ones, particularly the use of the utterance-medial and addressee-directed *na*. This is probably due to the fact that the older speakers all used formal-style Japanese, in which *no*, the addressee-directed *na*, and *sa* are not used often, whereas the younger speakers used both formal and informal style Japanese, in which these particles are used frequently. Therefore, we must await for future study to see the independent effect of age and formality on interactional particle use.

The use of *kana*, *kashira*, *wa* and *zo* were indeterminable due to their low rates. The rates of the initial and the single-utterance *ne*, *yo*, and the self-directed *na* were not significantly related to the speaker's age. Table 5.4 summarizes the rates of interactional particles used by participants' age.

Table 5.4 The tokens and rates/1000 words of interactional particles by age (two-tailed *t*-test; n=36)

particles	older (n=12)		younger (n=24)		<i>P</i> -value cl=95%
	tokens	rates/1000 wds	tokens	rates/1000 wds	
<i>ne</i> total	457	39.1	582	24.1	0.005
(initial)	(-----)	(-----)	(10)	(0.4)	ns
(medial)	(144)	(12.3)	(170)	(7.1)	ns
(final)	(301)	(25.8)	(388)	(16.1)	0.004
(alone)	(12)	(1.0)	(14)	(0.6)	ns
<i>yo</i>	84	7.2	167	6.9	ns
<i>na</i> total	16	1.4	135	5.6	0.011
(medial)	(-----)	(-----)	(5)	(0.21)	0.005
(final 1)	(-----)	(-----)	(29)	(1.2)	0.008
(final 2)	(16)	(1.4)	(101)	(4.19)	ns
<i>no</i>	9	3.1	124	5.1	0.061
<i>kana</i>	36	0.3	79	3.3	ID
<i>kashira</i>	4	0.34	-----	-----	ID
<i>sa</i>	1	0.09	76	3.2	0.047
<i>wa</i>	1	0.09	-----	-----	ID
<i>zo</i>	-----	-----	1	0.04	ID
<i>yone</i>	118	10.1	98	4.1	0.003
<i>yona</i>	-----	-----	4	0.2	ID
total	726	62.1	1266	52.5	ns

$P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable; ns=not significant

5.3.3. Gender

In this section, the use of interactional particles is examined in terms of three gender-related issues: (1) the use of interactional particles in relation to the speaker's gender; (2) the use of interactional particles in relation to the gender of the addressee; and (3) some changes occurring in the use of the gender-associated particles.

Some previous research has suggested that women use more interactional particles than men (Peng 1981 and Hori 1979, reported in Shibamoto 1985). My data did not support this observation. Only the initial and medial *ne* showed a statistically significant relationship to gender ($P=0.022$ and 0.021 , respectively). Though women's rates, except *na* and *zo*, were higher than those of men, the differences were not significant. I conclude that, at least in my data, the speakers' gender was not related to the frequency of

interactional particles. Table 5.5 summarizes the use of interactional particles by speakers' gender.

Table 5.5 The tokens and rates of interactional particles by speakers' gender (two-tailed *t*-test; *n*=36)

particles	men (n=18)		women (n=18)		<i>P</i> -value cl=95%
	tokens	rates/1000 wds	tokens	rates/1000 wds	
<i>ne</i> total	448	26.8	591	29.5	ns
(initial)	(-----)	(-----)	(10)	(0.5)	0.022
(medial)	(79)	(5.0)	(235)	(11.7)	0.021
(final)	(360)	(22.9)	(329)	(16.4)	ns
(alone)	(9)	(0.6)	(17)	(0.9)	ns
<i>yo</i>	79	5.0	172	8.6	ns
<i>na</i> total	89	5.7	63	3.1	0.086
(medial)	(5)	(0.3)	(-----)	(-----)	ns
(final 1)	(29)	(1.8)	(-----)	(-----)	0.081
(final 2)	(55)	(3.5)	(63)	(3.1)	0.058
<i>no</i>	16	1.0	117	5.8	ns
<i>kana</i>	44	2.8	71	3.5	ns
<i>kashira</i>	-----	-----	4	0.2	ID
<i>sa</i>	13	0.9	64	3.2	ns
<i>wa</i>	-----	-----	1	0.05	ID
<i>zo</i>	1	0.06	-----	-----	ID
<i>yone</i>	79	5.0	137	6.8	ns
<i>yona</i>	2	0.1	2	0.1	ID
total	726	47.4	1266	60.9	ns

P≤0.05: significant correlation; 0.05<*P*≤0.1: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable; ns=not significant

We now consider the use of interactional particles in relation to the addressee's gender. For both men and women, the total rate of interactional particles per 1,000 words was higher in speaking to a man than to a woman, though the difference was of marginal significance for women (*P*=0.071) and not significant for men. The only particle which showed a significant difference was the utterance-final *ne* and *yone* by female speakers to female addressees (*P*=0.022 and 0.024, respectively). The addressee's gender did not affect the use of other interactional particles in any significant way.

As regards the use of strongly feminine and masculine particles such as *wa* (feminine) and *zo* (masculine) it has been reported that both men and women have a

tendency to use them when talking to a same-sex partner (Peng 1981, cited in McGloin 1991:25). My data showed mixed results. While the feminine particle *wa* (1 token), the addressee-directed *na* (34 tokens) and *yona* (4 tokens), were used with same-sex partners, the feminine particle *kashira* (4 tokens) and the masculine particle *zo* were used to opposite-sex partners. However, since the number of tokens of these particles in my data, except for *na(a)*, was extremely small, we await future research concerning this point. Table 5.6 summarizes the use of interactional particles in relation to the addressee's gender.

Table 5.6 The rates of interactional particles by the addressee's gender (one-way ANOVA test; n=24)

particles	M v. M (n=8)	M v. F (n=4)	P-value	F v. M (n=4)	F v. F (n=8)	P-value
<i>ne</i> total	39	23.2	ns	42.1	36.3	ns
(initial)	(-----)	(-----)	N/A	(1.5)	(0.5)	ns
(medial)	(7.0)	(4.8)	ns	(13.7)	(19.3)	ns
(final)	(30.5)	(18.4)	ns	(24.9)	(15.8)	0.022
(alone)	(1.4)	(-----)	ns	(2.0)	(0.7)	ns
<i>yo</i>	4.2	7.8	ns	8.5	12.3	ns
<i>na</i> total	8.3	1.5	ns	4.5	2.3	ns
(medial)	(0.8)	(-----)	ns	(-----)	(-----)	N/A
(final 1)	(4.6)	(-----)	ns	(-----)	(-----)	N/A
(final 2)	(2.9)	(1.5)	ns	(4.5)	(2.3)	ns
<i>no</i>	1.9	1.2	ns	17.2	5.4	ns
<i>kana</i>	2.6	3.3	ns	2.7	4.8	ns
<i>kashira</i>	-----	-----	N/A	0.75	0.1	ID
<i>sa</i>	1.4	1.2	ns	11	2.3	ns
<i>wa</i>	-----	-----	N/A	-----	0.1	ID
<i>zo</i>	-----	0.3	ID	-----	-----	N/A
<i>yone</i>	9.7	2.1	0.093	15.4	6.4	0.024
<i>yona</i>	0.3	-----	ID	0.5	-----	ID
total	67.4	40.7	ns	103	70.1	0.071

$P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable; N/A: no P -value due to no occurrence; ns=not significant

Finally, we consider the changes taking place in the use of gender-associated interactional particles. Recently, it has been noted that the distinction between Japanese women's and men's speech is becoming less prominent (e.g. Reynolds 1993 and Okamoto 1995). My data on interactional particles provide some support for their conclusions.

While there still are strongly gender-associated interactional particles, some of them are coming to be used by both sexes. For example, the particle *no* in declarative sentences, which has been associated with female speech (e.g. Shibamoto 1985), was also used by men in my data. Among men, 4/16 tokens (25%) of *no* were used in declarative sentences and 12/16 tokens (75%) in questions, whereas among female speakers, 77/117 tokens (65.8%) were in declarative sentences, and 40/117 tokens (34.2%) were in questions. This supports McGloin's (1991) observation that the use of *no* in declarative sentences by male speakers is increasing. Thus, while *no* in declarative sentences may still be characterized as feminine, it is certainly undergoing a change.

Another particle which showed a change in its use is the utterance-final *yona*, which has traditionally been associated with male speech (e.g. Uchida 1993, cited in Maynard 1997:73). It was used twice by AR, one of the young female speakers, when speaking to a male addressee. Among the male speakers, *yona* was used twice in total (once each by two speakers). Even though *yona* was used by only one female speaker and was "self-directed," the use of *yona* by AR suggests that its use is also undergoing some change.

The use of *yona* by a female speaker, the use of *no* in declarative sentences by men, the low occurrence of strongly masculine and feminine interactional particles such as *zo*, *wa* and *kashira*, and the high occurrence of *da* (the plain form of the copula *desu* considered to be masculine) among young female speakers all indicate that the neutralization of masculine and feminine speech is indeed taking place in Japanese, at least among young speakers of Japanese in casual conversations. It is interesting to consider these changes in the light of Eckert's (1990) and Labov's (1991) observations on gender and linguistic changes.

Labov (1991:205) argues that, as regards phonological changes (e.g. the Northern Cities Chain Shift in vowels), women lead men at the initial stages of linguistic changes, though women become more conservative than men in accepting changes as women are recognized by the speech community. Eckert (1990:264-265) argues that not only the

speaker's sex but also his or her social status must be considered in the discussion of gender-related linguistic phenomena. Both Labov and Eckert agree that women's phonological behavior in part relates to their relative "powerlessness" in relation to men and to their greater need to use social symbols, such as speech, for self-presentation (Eckert 1989:264; Labov 1991:144).

The strongly-masculine particle *yona* was used by a young female college student, AR, and the plain form of copula, *da*, was used predominantly by younger female speakers, though some of the older female speakers also used it. Up to the time of college graduation, very little power difference exists between men and women in Japanese society. It may be that only in this "power-neutral" situation is women's speech and men's speech less distinct, and, as women become recognized in society, their speech becomes more conservative, as in the case of the older participants in the present study.

5.3.4. Speech genre

We now consider the use of interactional particles in the three types of speech genres: interviews, casual conversations and narratives. In order to examine the relationship between speech genre and the use of interactional particles, the one-way ANOVA test was run at 95% confidence level on the rates of interactional particles per 1,000 words.

The total rate as well as the rates of all individual particles except for *yo* and *na* were highest in conversations (the total rates: 70.8/1000 words in conversations, 41/1000 words in narratives and 31.1/1000 words in interviews). The *P*-value for the total rate is 0.0000, indicating a significant relationship between speech genre and the usage rates of interactional particles. The result indicates that interactional particles, as their name indicates, are truly important in two-way conversations, compared to one-way interactions like narratives.

The speech genre particularly affected the use of *ne* (utterance-medially as well as the *ne* as a whole), *no*, and *sa*. The particles *sa*, *wa*, and *yona* were used only in conversations. Conversation was the only genre which included informal Japanese, which probably explain the high rates of the informal particles *no* and *sa*. In narratives, *ne*, *yo* and *yone* were frequent, constituting 91.9% of all particles used, compared to 77.9% in interviews and 75% in conversations. Table 5.7 is a summary of the use of interactional particles in interviews, conversations and in narratives.

Table 5.7 The rates of interactional particles by speech genre (one-way ANOVA test; n=42)

particles	interviews (n=12)		conversations (n=24)		narratives (n=6)		P-value
	rates	%	rates	%	rates	%	
<i>ne</i> : total	17.5	(56.4)	36.1	(51)	29.5	(70.4)	0.0043
(initial)	(-----)	(-----)	(0.45)	(0.64)	(-----)	(-----)	ns
(medial)	(2.5)	(8.0)	(12.6)	(17.9)	(6.8)	(16.3)	0.0193
(final)	(30.5)	(47.6)	(18.4)	(31.1)	(24.9)	(54.1)	0.1152
(alone)	(0.22)	(0.7)	(1.04)	(1.5)	(-----)	(-----)	ns
<i>yo</i>	4.4	(14.2)	4.3	(12.2)	4.7	(11.1)	ns
<i>na</i> : total	4.1	(13.2)	1.5	(6.1)	1.9	(4.4)	ns
(medial)	(-----)	(-----)	(0.23)	(0.32)	(-----)	(-----)	ns
(final 1)	(-----)	(-----)	(1.3)	(1.9)	(-----)	(-----)	ns
(final 2)	(4.1)	(13.2)	(2.8)	(13.2)	(1.9)	(4.4)	ns
<i>no</i>	0.2	(0.5)	5.9	(8.4)	0.9	(2.2)	0.0516
<i>kana</i>	2.6	(8.5)	3.6	(5.0)	0.6	(1.5)	0.0694
<i>kashira</i>	-----	(-----)	0.2	(0.3)	-----	(-----)	ID
<i>sa</i>	-----	(-----)	3.5	(4.9)	-----	(-----)	0.0445
<i>wa</i>	-----	(-----)	0.05	(0.06)	-----	(-----)	ID
<i>zo</i>	-----	(-----)	0.05	(0.06)	-----	(-----)	ID
<i>yone</i>	2.3	(7.3)	8.4	(11.8)	4.6	(10.4)	0.0340
<i>yona</i>	-----	(-----)	0.2	(0.3)	-----	(-----)	ID
total	31.1	(100)	70.8	(100)	42	(100)	0.0000

$P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ID: indeterminable; ns=not significant

5.3.5. Summary

In this section, a quantitative analysis of Japanese interactional particles was presented. My data showed the following:

1. The rates of interactional particles were higher in informal speech than in formal speech, a statistically significant result.
2. The relationship between age and the use of interactional particles was inconclusive.
3. Neither the speaker's nor the addressee's gender were significantly related to the rates of interactional particles.
4. Some of the strongly gender-related particles are beginning to be used by both sexes; e.g. *yona* (a masculine particle) and *no* (a feminine particle) were used by both men and women.
5. The rates of interactional particles are significantly related to speech genre: the highest was in the conversation, and the lowest in the narratives, indicating the importance of interactional particles particularly in informal conversations.

5.4. Qualitative analysis

In this section, the three most commonly used interactional particles, *ne*, *yo* and *yone* are analyzed as contextual coordinates which show a speaker's feelings and orientation toward propositions and/or the addressee. First, I present an analysis of *ne* in Section 5.4.1, followed by an analysis of *yo* in Section 5.4.2, and finally an analysis of *yone* in Section 5.4.3.

All Japanese interactional particles occur in the utterance-final position, except for *ne*, *na* and *sa*, which can occur both in the phrase-final and utterance-final positions. *Ne* also occurs utterance-initially or as a whole utterance by itself. Most research thus far has focused on the utterance-final *ne*. In the present study, a unified account of *ne* in all positions is proposed.

5.4.1. *Ne*: a marker of agreement and cooperation

Ne has been characterized as a particle of confirmation and agreement (Makino and

Tsutsui 1986, and Takubo and Kinsui 1996)), shared information (Kamio 1994), and cooperative attitude and interpersonal involvement (Cook 1990). Table 5.8 summarizes the previous analyses of *ne* by several researchers.

Table 5.8 Previous studies on *ne*

studies	perspective	characterization of <i>ne</i>
Uyeno (1971:113)	speech acts	speaker requests/provides agreement or rapport
Makino & Tsutsui (1986:286)	functional	speaker requests confirmation or agreement from hearer about some shared knowledge
Cook (1988:155)	indexical/ affective	interlocutors' general attitude of mutual agreement
Ishikawa (1988:23; 1990:31)	cognitive interactional	(1) information is in hearer's territory (2) displays/elicits speaker's friendly attitude
Maynard (1993:106)	cognitive	(1) only the hearer has the information (2) speaker (S)'s info. $\equiv$ hearer (H)'s info. (3) S's info. > H's info. (to present information with a sense of detachment)
Kamio (1994:86)	cognitive	info. in hearer's territory $\geq$ speaker's territory
Takubo & Kinsui (1996)	cognitive	indication that speaker is calculating the validity of the proposition

As shown in Table 5.8, *ne* has generally been analyzed from two perspectives: (1) the cognitive perspective, e.g. Kamio's "territory of information" (1990), Maynard's "amount of knowledge and meta-knowledge" (1993), Takubo's (1992) and Takubo and Kinsui's (1996) "mental space" theory; and (2) the affective/interpersonal perspective, e.g. Cook (1988 and 1990). Only Ishikawa (1988 and 1990) analyzes *ne* from both cognitive and interpersonal perspectives.

I agree with Ishikawa's approach and propose that Schifffrin's framework be adopted for the analysis of *ne* for the following two reasons. First, by incorporating the five planes of talk proposed in her discourse model, Schifffrin's approach can account for the various functions of *ne* which operate on more than one plane of talk. Secondly, since all instances of *ne*, regardless of their positions in an utterance, are derived from the same origin (see Onodera 1993), all the functions of *ne* must be regarded as related to each other

in some way, and Schiffrin's framework can capture the commonality in all uses of *ne*.

It is evident that not all functions of *ne* can be explained solely from a cognitive perspective such as the "territory of information" or "mental space" theories, since *ne* expresses the speaker's orientation towards the addressee as well. Takubo and Kinsui's (1996) mental space theory may be able to account for most uses of the utterance-final *ne*. Neither their theory nor Kamio's theory, however, can fully account for the function of the utterance-medial *ne* as an attention-checking device, which thus must be accounted for by interactional as well as cognitive terms. Thus, since it is impossible to analyze the functions of *ne* and other Japanese interactional particles from just one perspective, it is necessary to adopt a multi-faceted approach like Schiffrin's.

In what follows, I argue that *ne* is a marker of speaker-hearer cooperation, and also that it displays the speaker's assessment of the addressee, as *ne* is generally used with an addressee whom the speaker knows well. As such, *ne* is used in situations where the speaker wishes to display his or her cooperative attitude to the addressee or to enlist the addressee's cooperation, including mitigating upcoming face threatening acts. My approach is close to Cook's (1990) analysis *ne*, which is from an affective perspective. In addition, I incorporate a cognitive approach in my analysis, since the use of *ne* is related to the interlocutors' knowledge and meta-knowledge as well, and thus cannot be analyzed solely from an affective perspective.

Six specific functions of *ne* were found in my data, all relating to cooperation: (1) to request or express agreement; (2) to request or provide confirmation; (3) to soften the preceding expression; (4) to preface a repair; (5) as an attention-checking device; and (6) as an attention-getter. The first three functions above are examples of *ne* used utterance-finally, (4) and (5) utterance-medially, and (6) utterance-initially.

5.4.1.1. Requesting or expressing agreement

First, I discuss the function of *ne* used to request or express agreement. The most

typical use of *ne* as an agreement marker was in expressions such as *soo desu ne* 'yes, indeed' or as a single-utterance *Ne*, which can be interpreted as an abbreviation of a repeat of an immediately preceding utterance. In my data, of 689 tokens of the utterance-final *ne*, 148 tokens (21.5%) were used as *soo desu ne* 'yes, indeed.' There were 26 tokens (3.8%) of *ne* as single-utterances. *Ne* in both of these cases was used to express agreement with a prior utterance. Thus, over 25% of all the instances of *ne* in my data were used to express agreement.

Example (1) illustrates the use of *ne* in this function. FY and SH are talking about a university in Japan which is considered to have excellent facilities, which they have not yet visited.

- (1) FY: a. 'T Daigaku ne/ sugoi ne.
name university IP awesome IP
- SH: b. Kondo itte mitai ne.
this time go try IP
- c. Kengaku shite mitai ne.
observe do try IP
- FY: d. Ne. Chotto ryoo haitte mitai ne.
a little dorm enter try IP
- SH: e. Haitte mitai ne nanka. So kkaa. Naruhodo ne.
enter try kind of so Q I see IP
- FY: a. 'T University is awesome, isn't it?
- SH: b. I want to visit it some day, don't you?
- c. I want to see what it is like, don't you?
- FY: d. I agree. I want to enter the dormitory, don't you?
- SH: e. Yeah, I want to try entering, somehow. I see, I see.'

In (a), after hearing about the university, FY says "It's awesome" to which SH responds, "I want to visit it one day" and "I want to see it, don't you?" SH ends his utterances with *ne*, which elicits agreement from FY. In (d), FY provides agreement with a single-utterance "*Ne*" and continues with "I want to go inside their dormitory, don't you?,"

ending his utterance with *ne* also. Immediately after FY's *ne*, SH starts his turn, saying "I want to go inside the dormitory too, don't you?" again ending with *ne*. Thus, in this example, we can see *ne* being used repeatedly and for both requesting and expressing agreement by the two speakers, displaying their cooperative attitude toward each other. *Ne* in this function is generally pronounced with a middle sustained pitch with a glottal stop following it or the vowel elongated as *nee*, rather than with definite utterance-final falling intonation.

Ne as a marker requesting or providing agreement operates in the following planes of talk: (1) action structures, eliciting and providing agreement; (2) participation framework, displaying the speaker's desire to involve other interlocutors in the conversation; (3) exchange structures, when a speaker-change occurs.

5.4.1.2. Requesting or providing confirmation

The second function of *ne* is to request confirmation from the hearer. In (2), MA, an avid soccer fan, and I are talking about the World Cup soccer matches.

- (2) Mieko: a. Sakkaa sugokatta desu ne/ kotoshi no natsu wa/ anoo Amerika kappu.
 soccer exciting-PAST BE IP this year's summer-TOP uh America cup

MA: b. Aa waarudo kappu ne/ kotoshi no waarudo kappu wa sugokatta.
 oh world cup IP this year's world cup-TOP exciting-PAST

Mieko: c. A waarudo kappu desu ka.
 oh world cup BE Q

d. Atashi Nihon ga kuru ka to omotte tanoshimi ni shitetara
 I Japan-SUB come Q QT think look forward to

e. yosen de makechatta n desu ne?
 elimination match in lose-PAST assert IP

MA: f. Ee zannen nagara hikiwakete ne/ anoo hikiwakete/
 yes regrettable tie IP uh tie-and

g. sore de saigo no/ uun 30-byoo gurai de makete shimaimashita ne.
 that with last uh 30 seconds about in lose-PAST IP

- Mieko: a. 'Soccer matches were exciting, this summer, well the Americas Cup.
 MA: b. Oh you mean the World Cup. This year's World Cup WAS exciting.
 Mieko: c. Oh, it was the World Cup, was it?
 d. I thought Japan might come to the U.S., and was looking forward to it,
 e. but they lost during the elimination round, **right**?
 MA: f. Yes, regrettably, they tied y'know/ well they tied and
 g. in the last, well, 30 seconds, they ended up losing, **y'know**.'

In (e), "Japan was defeated during the elimination round *ne*" was pronounced with rising intonation, which was interpreted as a tag question. In response, MA says *ee* 'yes' and provides an account of how Japan lost the match. *Ne* in (e) also serves as a device to yield the turn to the other interlocutor, since the question elicits the addressee's response. *Ne* in this function is used when the speakers assume that the addressee has an equal amount of or more information. In (g), MA finishes providing information with *ne*, pronounced with falling intonation.

Thus, *ne* is used both to request and provide confirmation. In these functions, *ne* operates in the information state (displaying the speaker's assumption about the hearer's knowledge) as well as in action structures (requesting confirmation and cooperation), the participation framework (showing interest in what other interlocutors have to say), and the exchange structure (initiating speaker-change).

5.4.1.3. In disagreement

Ne is also used to soften the tone, following a negative response. Here, too, the speaker solicits the addressee's cooperation. One such example is the use of *ne* following an expression of disagreement, as shown in (3).

- (3) Mieko: a. Amerika-jin igai no hito ga hanasu Eego no hoo ga
 American other persons-SUB speak English-SUB
 b. wakari-yasui to omoimasen? nantonaku.
 understand-easy QT think-NEG somehow

- YI: c. *Soo de wa nai desu ne.*
 so BE NEG BE IP
- d. *Doitsu-jin wa yoku shaberu n desu kedo/*
 German-TOP often speak BE but
- e. *dokutoku no namari mitaina no ga atte/ are wa chotto kikitorinikui shi*
 unique accent like one-SUB exist that-TOP a little hear-difficult and
- Mieko: a. 'English spoken by people other than Americans,
 b. don't you think it's easier to understand it, somehow?
- YI: c. That's not the case, *y'know*.
 d. Germans speak a lot, but
 e. they have unique accent-like thing, and it's hard to understand them, and'

In (c), YI expresses disagreement *soo de wa nai desu* 'that's not so,' adding *ne* at the end. Then he starts explaining specific reasons why he thinks it is not the case. In this situation, since the information belongs exclusively to the speaker, *soo de wa nai desu* 'that's not so' alone or with the final particle of assertion *yo*, as *soo de wa nai desu yo* would be expected if we simply base our analysis on the "territory of information." However, the speaker's choice was *ne*, and without the *ne* in this case, his answer would have sounded too assertive and blunt. Additionally, *ne* may add a sense of detachment as if the speaker is expressing his/her opinion objectively.⁸

Therefore, *ne* in this example can be analyzed as expressing the speaker's effort to appear cooperative towards the addressee by softening the tone and mitigating the face threatening act which has just occurred. At the same time, the speaker requests a cooperative acceptance from the addressee of the negative response he makes. *Ne* has the effect of softening the impact of disagreement as well as inject a sense of objectiveness. This is an example which shows that *ne* cannot be analyzed by a cognitive approach alone.

Another example of *ne* for requesting cooperation was observed in its frequent use after the adversative marker *demo*. In my data, 23/255 tokens (9.0%) of *demo* were immediately followed by *ne* as *demo nee* 'but y'know'. This percentage is much higher

⁸ See Maynard (1993a:106) where she states that *ne* may be used when the speaker wishes to present his/her remarks with a sense of detachment or distance.

than other connectives, e.g. *de ne* 'and y'know' (8/381=2.1%) and *dakara ne* 'so y'know' (5/198=2.5%). It is quite plausible that speakers should try to mitigate, by the use of *ne*, the face threatening acts which they are about to introduce. *Ne* in this function, then, operates in the participation framework, displaying the speaker's concern about the speaker-hearer relationship.

5.4.1.4. Prefacing repairs

Another function of *ne* is to preface repairs, which also necessitates the hearer's cooperation. In (4), TT has been talking about his impressions of Americans.

- (4) TT: a. 'Minna ga sorezore ano "Hi" tte itta toki ni miseru egao tte yuu no ga
everyone-SUB each well hi QT say when show smile QT say one-SUB
b. *hijooni nanka shin/*
very something
c. *nee/ inshoobukai tte yuu ka.*
impressive QT say Q
- Mieko: d. Are wa ii desu nee.
that-TOP nice BE IP
- TT: a. 'The smile everyone shows when they say "Hi"
b. very/ well, *shin/*
c. *y'know/* it impressed me or what shall I say.
- Mieko: d. That's really nice, isn't it.

In (b), TT says *shin* (perhaps the initial part of *shinjirarenai* 'incredible'). Then he pauses and says *nee* 'y'know' and rephrases his remark, saying *inshoobukai* 'impressive'. There were only four cases of *ne* used immediately before a repair in my data. It is still an important use of *ne*, since it helps create rapport and a cooperative atmosphere between interlocutors. It also expresses the speaker's desire to appeal to the addressee in making a repair, so that a successful correction can be made with the cooperation from the addressee. *Ne* prefacing repairs operates in the participation framework (displaying the speaker's

desire for cooperation from the addressee) and action structures (enlisting cooperation).

5.4.1.5. As an attention-checking device

Ne was frequently used utterance-medially as an attention-checking device, another situation where the addressee's cooperation is needed. In (5), NR is presenting her ideas about the use of fillers in Japanese conversation.

- (5) NR: a. Dakedo **nee/** tatoeba **nee/** purezenteeshon no umai hito tte no wa sa/
but IP for example IP presentation-SUB good person QT one-TOP IP

Mieko: Un.
yeah

- NR: b. sooyuu no ga sukunai no yo.
such one-SUB few IP IP

- c. Nde **nee/** atashi omou n da kedo **nee/**
and IP I think BE but IP

Mieko: Un.
yeah

- NR: d. uchi no ofisu nanka de mo sa/ koo kaigi o yaru ja nai.
my-GEN office something even IP this meeting-DO do TAG

- e. Sooruruto **nee/** ano heta ni **nee/**
then IP well badly IP

- f. Nihontekina hassoo o motteru no wa **ne**
Japanese way of thinking have one-TOP IP

- g. otoko no hito ni kagitte **nee/** sooyuu no ga ookute **nee/**
men limit IP such one-SUB many IP

Mieko: Un un.
yeah yeah

- NR: h. ooi tte yuu ka
many or what

- NR: a. 'But **y'know**, for example **y'know**, those who are good at presentations

Mieko: Yeah.

- NR: b. they don't use many fillers, I tell you.

- c. And **y'know**, what I think is **y'know**

Mieko: Yeah.

- NR: d. in my office **y'know**, we have meetings, as you imagine.

- NR:**

(d). By the frequent use of *ne* and *sa*, NR can elicit the hearer's interest and cooperation,

5.4.1.6. As an attention-getter

initiating a turn or introducing a new topic into the conversation. This is another situation

- d. sakki nee/ Masumi-chan ni yutta n da kedo/ kyoo no asa sugoku nee/
a while ago IP Masumi-Miss to say BE but today GEN morning very IP

e. koohii nomi ni ittara nee
 coffee drink to go-PAST when IP

KE: a. 'So, it'll be Matsudo if we go one more station.

YI: b. Yeah, it's Tokyo only by name.

KE: c. Y'know a little while ago, y'know

 d. a little while ago y'know, I told this to Masumi too, but this morning, very

 e. when I went to have coffee, y'know?

In (c), KE starts her turn when YI has barely finished speaking, using *nee*. By the use of *nee*, KE mitigates the face threatening act of taking a turn from YI. *Nee* in this example operates in the: (1) participation framework, displaying the speaker's eagerness to tell something to the addressee and to mitigate the face threatening act which is about to come up; (2) exchange structure, initiating a turn; and (3) action structure, enlisting the addressee's cooperation. The second *nee* in (c) and *nee* in (d) are used to enlist the addressee's cooperation in introducing a new topic and checking his/her attention. It thus functions in the action structure and participation framework. In all these cases, *ne(e)* serves to create a cooperative atmosphere so that the speaker can proceed with his or her intended remark.

We have thus far examined various functions of *ne* and have seen that *ne* operates on three planes of talk proposed by Schifffrin. Cognitively, *ne* is used when the speaker assumes that the hearer has as much or more knowledge about a proposition as the speaker (Kamio 1990). Interactionally, *ne* is used when the speaker is requesting or expressing a cooperative attitude. From the examples examined thus far, *ne* seems to be more significant as an interactional marker of cooperation than as a cognitive marker.

As we have seen in several examples above, as a textual coordinate, *ne* indexes an utterance both to prior and upcoming segments. As a participant coordinate, it indexes an utterance both to the speaker and the hearer, enhancing agreeableness between the interlocutors and displaying the speaker's judgement about the speaker-addressee relationship as "familiar."

Thus, *ne* in several situations cannot be explained solely from cognitive perspectives. In (1b) and (1c), for example, since SH is expressing his own thoughts, he either should use no particle or use *yo*, if we base our analysis on the cognitive approach. However, SH uses *ne* instead. The most plausible explanation for this is that he is requesting agreement from FY, which means an interactional need and motive can override the cognitive function of particles (the use of *ne* rather than no particle or the use of *yo* in this case). *Ne* as an attention-getter or as an attention-checking device are other examples where *ne* cannot be accounted for solely from a cognitive perspective. Hence it is important to incorporate an affective perspective in an analysis of *ne*.

As stated in the preliminary section of this chapter, the validity of previous research on *ne* itself is not questioned. Rather, I am proposing that, given various functions of *ne*, we should employ a more integrated approach to account for all the roles of *ne*.

5.4.1.4. Summary

In this section, I examined various functions of *ne* as a marker of cooperation when requesting (or providing) agreement or confirmation, in repairs, and as an attention-checking device. Figure 5.1 summarizes the general and specific functions of *ne* as discussed in this section.

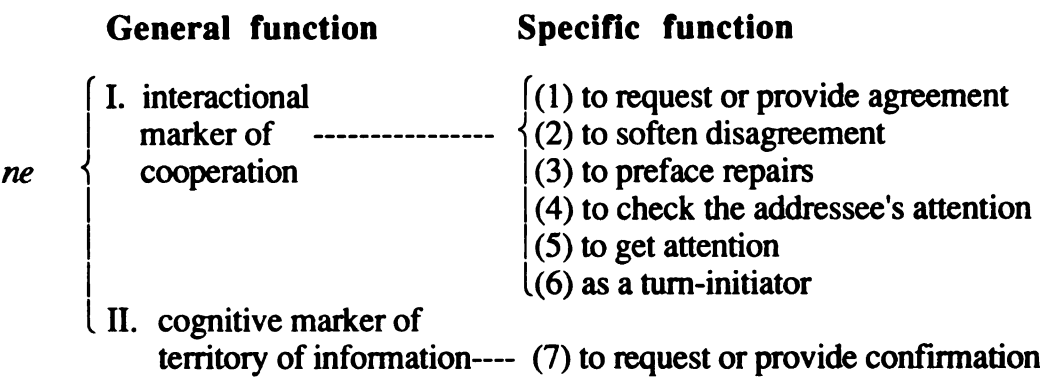


Figure 5.1 Functions of *ne*

We have also seen *ne* used to mitigate face threatening acts such as expressing disagreement or taking another speaker's turn. *Ne* should not be analyzed from one point of view alone, such as cognitive or interpersonal, but should be analyzed from various perspectives.

5.4.2. *Yo*: a marker of the speaker's emphasis

Yo was the second most common final particle in my data, constituting 13% of all the particles used. *Yo* has been characterized as a particle of assertion or speaker's insistence (e.g. Uyeno 1971 and Makino 1986) and is often translated as "I tell you," "I warn you," or "I'm sure." Table 5.9 summarizes previous research on *yo*.

Table 5.9 Summary of previous studies on *yo*

studies	perspective	characterization of <i>yo</i>
Uyeno (1971:109)	speech acts	speaker's insistence
Makino & Tsutsui (1986:543)	functional	assertion or (fairly) strong conviction
Cook (1988:129)	indexical/ affective	point to speaker's utterance (direct meaning) assertive attitude (indirect meaning)
Maynard (1993:106)	cognitive	speaker's info. > hearer's info.
Takubo & Kinsui (1996:72)	cognitive	speaker tells hearer to register something in the "indirect-experience" domain

As Table 5.9 shows, cognitively, *yo* is used when the speaker assumes that s/he has more knowledge than the addressee. Functionally, *yo* conveys the speaker's assertive attitude, strong conviction or insistence.

In what follows, I argue that *yo* is a marker which conveys the speaker's emphasis on a proposition and simultaneously displays his/her orientation towards the addressee, i.e. either the speaker is higher in status than the addressee, or they are equal and/or in a friendly relationship. The term "emphasis" here is defined as the "speaker's attempt to strongly convey to the addressee the importance of the message." A speaker might wish to

convey emphasis for various reasons: (1) to provide emphatically information that the addressee does not have; (2) to show his/her strong conviction about the proposition; or (3) to show his/her strong feeling about the proposition. In the rest of this section, the terms "emphasis," "intensity" and "speaker's conviction" are all used interchangeably.

In what follows, five specific functions of *yo* as an emphatic marker are examined. I first discuss the use of *yo* when presenting information unknown to the hearer in Section 5.4.2.1, then the use of *yo* in disagreement in Section 5.4.2.2, in providing confirmation or agreement in Section 5.4.2.3, in advising and warning in Section 5.4.2.4, and finally in request or invitation in Section 5.4.2.5.

5.4.2.1. Presenting information unknown to the hearer

Many cases of *yo* in my data were used to present information unknown to the hearer. In Kamio's (1990) term, the information belongs to the speaker's territory. However, *yo* in this situation is mostly optional, except in advice or in warnings. In other words, the speaker can accomplish the task of conveying his/her exclusive information without *yo*. The reason the speaker chooses to use *yo* instead of the bare form, I argue, is to emphasize the information and/or to convey the sense of closeness in familiar conversations. As such, *yo* is not usually used to one's social superiors.

In my data, 234/251 tokens (93.2%) of all instances of *yo* were used for this purpose, whereas 12 tokens (4.8%) were used for confirming prior utterances, 3 tokens (1.2%) for warning, and 2 tokens (0.8%) were for invitation.

I now discuss two situations where *yo* is used to convey the speaker's emphasis in presenting information unknown to the addressee: (1) presenting the speaker's views; and (2) describing the speaker's own experience.

5.4.2.1.1. Presenting the speaker's views

The first situation where *yo* is used to emphasize a proposition unknown to the

addressee is when the speaker presents his/her views. In (7), SH and FY are talking about American society.

- (7) SH: a. Ma demo *nee/ de Amerika wa tonikaku jitsuryoku shugi da ne.*
 well but IP and the U.S.-TOP anyhow ability principle BE IP
- FY: b. *Soo da ne/ Amerika wa.*
 so BE IP the U.S.-TOP
- c. *Sore wa ii koto da to omou yo boku wa.*
 that-TOP good thing BE QT think I-TOP
- SH: a. 'Well but, y'know, the U.S. is really an ability-based society, isn't it?
- FY: b. You are right, the U.S. is.
 c. I think that's good, y'know?'

In (b), FY first expresses his agreement with *ne* to what SH has just said. Then in (c), he adds his own view, ending his utterance with *yo*. In my data, 51/251 tokens (20.3%) of *yo* were used to express the speaker's views, of which 16 tokens (6.4%) were accompanied by *omou* 'I think', as in this example.

It is widely agreed among researchers (e.g. Maynard 1993; Kamio 1990; and Takubo and Kinsui 1996) that cognitively *yo* is used when the speaker assumes what s/he has just said is unknown to the addressee. FY does exactly that in (7c) above.

However, (c) would have been acceptable without the *yo* as an expression of FY's view. Therefore, the use of *yo* must convey more than the fact that the information belongs to the speaker. I argue that the reason FY uses *yo* in (c) is to emphasize his opinion in order to convey to SH how strongly he feels about the proposition; *yo* also signals to SH that they have friendly and equal (or high-to-low) relationship .

When a speaker presents personal views or experiences which belong to his or her territory, and if s/he feels strongly, *yo* is used. However, even if the information belongs to the speaker's territory, if s/he does not wish to convey how strongly s/he feels about the matter, s/he can always choose not to employ *yo*, or use *ne* instead. Therefore, the use of

interactional particles such as *yo* and *ne* is determined by the interaction of three factors: (1) the speaker's knowledge and meta-knowledge; and (2) the speaker's feelings and sense of certainty; (3) the speaker-hearer relationship, which determines in part whether or not it is appropriate for the speaker to express feelings emphatically and/or convey the sense of friendliness.

Yo operates in the information state, signalling the speaker's assumptions about the addressee's knowledge about an upcoming utterance. At the same time, *yo* operates in the participation framework, displaying the speaker's strong feelings about the proposition presented and his or her orientation towards the addressee, pointing out their friendly and equal or high-to-low relationship.

5.4.2.1.2. Describing the speakers' experiences

Another function of *yo* was to emphatically present information unknown to the addressee when describing the speaker's own experiences. In (8), IM is recounting the trouble she had with her first roommate in the U.S.

- (8) IM: a. Anoo nanka karada ni warusoono mono bakkari tabeteta n desu yo/
 well something body for bad-seem thin only eat-PAST assert IP
- b. anoo daietto shiteta n desu yonee/ kanojo ga.
 well diet do-PROG-PAST BE IP she-SUB
- c. Sorede maa yasetai bakkari ni/ demo amai mon wa tabetai n desu yo.
 and kind of slim down-want but sweet thing-TOP eat-want assert IP
- IM: a. '(she) only ate things which looked bad for her body, I tell you.
 b. well she was on diet, y'know.
 c. And well because she really wanted to lose weight, but she wanted to eat sweets, I tell you.'

In (a) and (c), IM uses *yo*. In this example, as in (7) above, the speaker could have presented her description without *yo* if she did not wish to convey how strongly she felt about the situation or to show her willingness to be friendly. Therefore, *yo* seems to

display IM's desire to convey her emphatic feelings about the matter and her friendliness towards the addressee at the same time.

Yo was also used to report what the speaker had heard which s/he assumed was unknown to the addressee, as illustrated in (9).

(9) Mieko: a. Uchi no shujin mo are ga ichiban suki datta mitai.
my husband also that-SUB most like BE-PAST seem

AR: b. A nanka ittemashita yo ima.
oh something say-PROG-PAST IP now

c. Uchi no okusan wa kirai na n da yo tte.
my wife-TOP dislike assert IP QT

Mieko: a. 'My husband also liked that ride most, it seems.

AR: b. Oh, he was telling me just now, y'know,
c. "My wife doesn't like that."

In (b), AR reported to me what she heard prior to this segment. When a speaker quotes what someone said that is unknown to the addressee, s/he often uses *yo*, as in *itteta yo* 's/he told me y'know'.

In (9), the use of *yo* is natural cognitively, since AR is reporting what she has heard, but assumes it is unknown to the addressee. At the same time *yo* signals AR's emphasis on the presented information and friendly posture. The same utterance presented without *yo* will lack emphatic tone and familiarity.

Thus, *yo* in this function operates in the information state, signalling the speaker's assumptions that s/he has exclusive knowledge, and in the participation framework, displaying his/her friendly feelings towards the addressee.

5.4.2.2. In disagreement

Another function of *yo* was to express disagreement emphatically, as in (10).

- KY: a. 'Wasn't it our sophomore year when you came to my house?
 UM: b. Our sophomore year, **I'm sure**. Our sophomore year's
 KY: c. Our sophomore year's spring break.
 UM: d. It was, wasn't it? Oh, wrong! The spring break of our freshman year.
 e. In the winter it was. Winter, winter, winter.
 KY: f. What? That's wrong, **I'm sure**. During the spring break, **I tell you**.
 I remember it was in March.
 UM: g. Oh I see.'

In (11), not remembering exactly when UM visited KY's house, they both assert that it was their sophomore year. KY's use of *yo* in *e chigau yo* and *haruyasumi da yo* in (f) expresses her certainty that it was during a spring break, not a winter break, which she substantiates with her remark *atashi 3-gatsu oboeteru mon* 'I remember it was in March.' KY uses *yo* to emphasize her certainty as well as point out their friendly relationship.

In this example, the information about the time of the visit belongs to both interlocutors' territories since they shared the experience and furthermore, they both believe that they are correct. The use of *yo* seems to be related to various factors here; e.g. the territory of information, the speaker's certainty about the information, how much of that certainty they wish to display to the addressee, and the familiarity which exist between the interlocutors. Thus, *yo* operates in the information state, displaying the speaker's assumption about the territory and amount of information, and in the participation framework, indicating the speaker's wish to emphasize what has just been said and his/her desire to reassure the friendly relationship among the interlocutors.

5.4.2.3. Providing confirmation or agreement

Yo was also used to provide confirmation or agreement, as illustrated in (12).

- (12) SH: a. Okinawa no chikaku na n de/
 Okinawa-LOC near assert-and
 b. dokutoku no ano jamisen tte yuu no ga aru n desu yo.
 unique well jamisen QT say one-SUB exist assert IP

- Mieko: c. E? ano hebi no kawa tsukau?
oh that snake-GEN skin use
- SH: d. Soo na n desu yo.
so assert IP
- SH: a. 'Because (Amami-Oshima is) near Okinawa,
b. they have a unique musical instrument called "jamisen."
Mieko: c. Oh? that is the instrument made with snake skin?
SH: d. That's right!'

In (d), SH confirms with *yo* my assumption that jamisen is made with snake skin. Since SH has more knowledge about the instrument, the use of *yo* here is natural.

(13) is an example of *yo* used when both interlocutors have information. AR and I are talking about amusement parks.

- (13) AR: a. Shiidaapointo wa yasui desu yone.
place name-TOP inexpensive BE IP
- Mieko: b. 22-doru gurai desho? 1-nichi de.
22 dollar about TAG one-day for
- AR: c. Hurii pasu de/ un.
free pass with yeah
- Mieko: d. Datte Dizuniirando nante Tookyoo no sugoku takai desu mon nee.
because Disneyland -TOP Tokyo one very expensive BE IP
- AR: e. Takai desu yo.
expensive BE IP
- AR: a. 'Cedar Point is inexpensive, isn't it?
Mieko: b. It's about 22 dollars a day, isn't it?
AR: c. With unlimited number of rides, yeah.
Mieko: d. Disneyland, the one in Tokyo, is very expensive, isn't it?
AR: e. It certainly is!'

In (13), both interlocutors have first-hand knowledge about the amusement parks because they both have been there. In (e), AR could have used *ne* instead of *yo*, as in *takai desu ne* since she is expressing agreement with what I said. The use of *ne* here, however, makes AR's statement mere agreement without displaying her own feelings. In contrast, the use

of *yo* expresses AR's strong feelings about how expensive Tokyo Disneyland is.

5.4.2.4. In advising and warning

Yo is also used in friendly advising or warning, another situation where the speaker's emphasis is called for. In (14), KO and YA are talking about the terrible-smelling candy KO has purchased. After tasting one piece of candy, YA warns KO about the danger of trying a new product in a teasing tone.

- (14) KO: a. Nanka onnaji no kau no wa noo ga nai to omotte
 well same one buy-NOM-TOP brain-SUB exist-NEG QT think-and
 b. chotto choosen/ booken o shite mita no/ atashi ni shite wa mezurashiku.
 a little challenge adventure-DO do try-PAST IP I for TOP rare
YA: c. Ame de booken suru no wa kiken da yo.
 candy with adventure do-NOM-TOP dangerous BE IP
KO: a. 'I though it is kind of silly of me to keep buying the same candy, and
 b. I challenged a little/ tried some adventure/ unusual for me.
YA: d. It's dangerous to be adventurous with candy, **I tell you!**'

In (15), IM is reporting what she told her roommate about her eating habits.

- (15) IM: a. Karada ni warusoono mono bakkari tabeteru kara
 body for bad-looking thing only eat-PROG because
 b. "karada ni warui n ja nai no? chanto tabeta hoo ga ii yo" ttsuttara
 body for bad TAG Q properly eat had better say-PAST when
IM: a. '(She) was eating only unhealthy things, so
 b. I said to her, "Aren't they bad for your health? You should eat more
 properly, **I tell you**"'

In (b), *yo* is used to emphasize the importance of her advice to her roommate. Unlike Examples (1) - (13) above, where *yo* was optional, the *yo* in (14) and (15) is mandatory, if the advice is personally directed to the addressee. *Yo* indicates the importance of the message as well as making it as personal and directly relevant to the addressee. Without

the *yo*, the advice in (14) and (15) would sound like mere factual statements.

5.4.2.5. In request or invitation

Yo was also used for requesting and invitation in my data. In (16), AR and SK have been conversing, but SK had not said much before this segment. So, AR tells SK to contribute more to the conversation.

(16) AR: a. S-kun anmari shabette nai jan. Shabette nai yo chotto.
 name Mr. much speak-NEG TAG speak-NEG IP a little

 b. Tanomimasu *yo*.
 request IP

SK: c. Dekinai/ dekinai. Nanka wadai o kaete kudasai.
 cannot cannot something topic-DO change please

AR: a. 'S, you haven't been saying much. You haven't, hey.
 b. I ask you (to speak more) *yo*.

SK: c. I can't. I can't. Please change the topic.'

(17) is an example of *yo* in invitation, in which KY invites UM with *yo* to come to visit her at her grandmother's house.

(17) UM: a. Aa kiree daroo ne.
 oh pretty BE-AUX IP

KY: b. Ja kondo obaachan chi asobi ni oide *yo*.
 then next time grandma house visit come IP

UM: a. 'Oh that (KY's grandmother's hometown) must be pretty!

KY: b. Then, come and visit me there next time *yo*.'

Yo in both (16) and (17) may be translated into "Really" in English, expressing the speakers' strong feelings about their remarks. *Yo* also makes the utterance sound much more personal. Rather than having to do with the territory of information, *yo* in these

functions operates in the participation framework, expressing the speaker's strong feelings and friendliness.

We have seen that *yo* primarily functions in the information state and the participation framework, indicating the source of knowledge and expressing the speaker's emphasis when presenting opinions, experiences, assumptions, warnings or invitations. In all situations discussed above, except for warning and advice, the task could have been achieved without *yo*, or with the use of *ne* in case of expressing agreement.

The speaker's choice of *yo* is determined by several factors: (1) the location and amount of knowledge and meta-knowledge among the interlocutors; (2) how much emphasis the speaker wishes to convey; (3) the speaker's judgement as regards the relationship among the interlocutors (the addressee's status must be lower or equal to the speaker) and his/her desire to make the utterance personal and friendly. *Yo* cannot be used when a piece of information belongs solely to the hearer. Likewise, even if the speaker has exclusive knowledge, *yo* need not be used if s/he does not wish to convey a sense of emphasis and friendliness.

As a textual coordinate, *yo* indexes an utterance to prior text, emphasizing the proposition. As a participant coordinate, *yo* indexes an utterance both to the speaker and the hearer, expressing the speaker's assumptions about knowledge and meta-knowledge, and about the speaker-hearer relationship.

5.4.2.6. *Yo* and *ne*

Thus far, we have seen several cases where both *ne* and *yo* are possible as interactional particles; e.g. following an expression of disagreement in Section 5.4.2.2, or providing confirmation in Section 5.4.2.3. In some situations *yo* is preferred where *ne* would typically be more appropriate, as in Example (13). In other situations, to soften the tone or present an utterance with a sense of detachment, *ne* is used where *yo* or no particle would be expected, given the interlocutors' knowledge and meta-knowledge.

Of the utterance-final *ne*, 61/689 tokens (9.0%) occurred where *yo* would normally be expected. The percentage was particularly high in the interview data, constituting 82.3% of all such instance of *ne* (51/61 tokens were in the interviews). 11/61 tokens were in formal conversation, and there was no instances of this type of *ne* in informal conversation. In contrast, the cases of *yo* used where *ne* would be expected were few (only 5 tokens=2.0%).

(18) is an example, in which *ne* is used when providing unknown information to the addressee.

(18) Mieko: a. Nani ga/ donna koto ni kyoomi ga arimasu ka?
 what-SUB what kind thing in interest-SUB have Q

IY: b. Nihon desu ka? Keezai desu *ne*.
 Japan BE Q economy BE IP

Mieko: a. 'What/ what kind of things are you interested in?'
 IY: b. About Japan? Its economy, I'd say.'

IY provides the requested information in (b) with *ne*. Since the information is known exclusively to the speaker IY, *yo* or the bare form would have been expected. This type of *ne* was also common in narratives in their evaluation and coda portions. Thus, the choice of *ne* and *yo* is not always clear-cut.

Let us examine how this type of *ne* is accounted for by previous studies: Maynard (1993), Kamio (1994) and Takubo and Kinsui (1996). First, according to Maynard's (1993) characterization of *ne* and *yo*, *yo* should be used in this situation since the information exclusively belongs to IY. She (1993a:106-108) states, however, that *ne* may be used when the speaker wishes to present his or her views with a sense of detachment or distance or to avoid sounding rude. She also accounts for the noncanonical uses of *yo* and *ne* based on whether the speaker's utterance is "information-centered" or "addressee-centered" (e.g. 1993:109 and 1997:88). She states that when an utterance is made with the

information as its main focus, *yo* is likely to be used, and when it is "addressee-centered" *ne* is more likely to be chosen (p. 106). However, according to my data, *yo* is used not only when an utterance is "information-centered" but also when the speaker wishes to present a message directed to the addressee as personal and friendly, which is "addressee-centered" as well.

Next, Kamio (1994:96) refers to this type of *ne* as an "optional *ne*," and states that the "optional *ne* may appear when (i) a given piece of information does not fall into the hearer's territory, but (ii) it is close to the speaker, or equally far from both." In (18), the piece of information is closer to the speaker than to the hearer. Thus, Kamio's explanation is applicable. However, he simply states when this type of *ne* may occur, but provides no explanation of its effect on discourse. Furthermore, Kamio does not address cases where *yo* is preferred over *ne* when both of them are possible.

Finally, Takubo and Kinsui (1996:71) argue that the utterance-final *ne* indicates that "the speaker has gone through an internal search to reach the conclusion just stated" (translation mine). However, they, like Kamio, do not address the alternation of *yo* and *ne* when they are both possible, nor do they discuss the effect of such alternations on discourse.

These three views base their analyses on knowledge and meta-knowledge among interlocutors, and their analyses account for some instances of *ne* being used in place of *yo*. However, only Maynard addresses the cases where *yo* is preferred over *ne* when both are possible choices. Furthermore, the cognitive approach cannot account for the following: (1) the non-utterance-final uses of *ne*; (2) the choice between *ne* and *yo* when both are possible; and (3) the effect of *ne* or *yo* on the discourse. In other words, it is impossible to explain all the different functions of *ne* or *yo* from a cognitive perspective or indexical/affective perspective alone.

Interactional particles, as well as connectives and fillers, are used in an ever developing discourse. The speaker must take various factors into account to determine

which particle is appropriate in a given situation. In order to do so, not only cognitive but also interactional factors such as the speaker-hearer relationship, societal norms, and speech situations (e.g. friendly vs. argumentative) play important roles. As discourse markers are always used in context, it is imperative to analyze them from multiple perspectives.

5.4.2.7. Summary

In this section, the use of the final particle *yo* as a marker of the speaker's emphatic appeal was examined. *Yo* is used when the speaker wishes to emphasize his or her propositions when presenting unknown information to addressees, e.g. expressing the speaker's views. It also reveals the speaker's judgement about the speaker-addressee relationship as regards their relative status and familiarity. In addition, *yo* conveys the speaker's desire to present a message as friendly and personal, as in warning or advice directed to the addressee. Figure 5.2 summarizes the functions of *yo* discussed above.

	General functions	Specific functions of <i>yo</i>
<i>yo</i>	I. cognitive marker of territory of information -----	{ (1) to present information unknown to addressee e.g. the speaker's views and experience
	II. interactional marker of speaker's emphasis -----	{ (2) disagreement (3) in expressing confirmation or agreement
	III. to express the speaker's judgement on speaker-addressee relationship ---	{ (4) advice and warning (5) request and invitation

Figure 5.2 Functions of *yo*

5.4.3. *Yone*: a marker of emphasis and cooperation

Now we will turn to the last particle in this chapter, *yone*, the collocated form of *yo* and *ne*. *Yone* has been analyzed by several researchers from different perspectives. Table

5.10 summarizes past research.

Table 5.10 Summary of previous studies on *yone*

studies	perspective	characterization of <i>yone</i>
Makino & Tsutsui (1986:545)	functional	<i>yone</i> means 'I assert the following and don't you agree?'
Cook (1988:253-254)	indexical/ affective	additive meaning of <i>yo</i> and <i>ne</i> , i.e. assertive attitude+attitude of general agreement/harmony
Nazikian (1994)	cognitive/ interactional	soften speaker's statement; confirm info. the speaker is uncertain about
Takubo & Kinsui (1996)	cognitive	confirm uncertain information

Table 5.10 shows that Makino and Tsutsui, Cook, and Nazikian interpret *yone* as an interactional particle which carries the combined meanings of *yo* and *ne*. All of these researchers agree that the function of *yone* cannot be analyzed solely based on the knowledge and meta-knowledge of the interlocutors. If we analyze *yone* from only the territory of information, there will be a conflict: (1) *yo* is used when the speaker has more information; and (2) *ne* is used when the hearer has more information or when the information is shared between the interlocutors.

I agree that functions of *yone* must be analyzed from both cognitive and interpersonal perspectives. I further propose that, by using Schifffrin's discourse model, we can better account for the functions of *yone*. In what follows, I examine the functions of *yone* as a marker of emphasis and cooperation.

Yone was used for three functions in my data: (1) to present information, opinions or experiences which the speaker assumes are unknown to the addressee; (2) to request or express agreement on shared information; and (3) to request confirmation. In each function, *yone* conveys the combined meaning of *yo* and *ne*. In the first function, *yo* is used to indicate that the information is in the speaker's territory, and that the speaker wishes to present it emphatically, and *ne* is used to enlist the addressee's cooperative listenership. In the second function, *yo* is used to mark the speaker's emphasis and *ne* is

used to request or express agreement. In the third function, *yo* is used to express the speaker's strong conviction about his or her assumptions and *ne* is used to request confirmation. We examine each of these situations below.

5.4.3.1. Presenting speakers' opinions and experiences

One of the situations where the speaker solicits the addressee's cooperative attitude is when emphatically presenting his or her own views or experiences. *Yone* was used in such cases. In (19), KI is describing a happy experience in the U.S.

- (19) KI: a. Boku ga Amerika ni kita toki wa 20-nen gurai mae da kara/
I-SUB the U.S. to come-PAST when-TOP 20 year about ago BE because
b. ano i/ anoo boku wa/ nan da/ sentakuki mo mita koto nakatta n da yone.
well well I-TOP what BE washing machine even see-PAST-NEG BE IP
- KI: a. 'I came to the U.S. about 20-years ago, so
b. well, i/ well, what? I hadn't even seen a washing machine, y'know.'

In (b), emphasizing the fact that he had not seen a washing machine before coming to the U.S., KI was able to effectively present his narrative, which followed (b) above, on how happy he felt using a washing machine in the U.S. instead of washing his clothes by hand.

In (20), MI is talking about his experience of driving a beat-up car in Japan.

- (20) WA: a. sutantoman ga tsukatta yoona kuruma de mo nee/ amari ki ni shinai tte yuu ka
stunt man-SUB use-PAST like car even IP much mind-NEG QT say Q
- MI: b. Demo boku mo soo datta n desu yone.
but I too so BE-PAST assert IP
- c. Anoo saisho kuruma katta toki ni/ anoo moo ichiban saisho kara jiko okoshite
well first car but-PAST when well EMPH. very first from accident happen
- d. are kaikaetara doo toka mawari ga nanka yuu n desu yone.
that buy-change how etc. other-SUB something say assert IP
- WA: a. 'Even cars which look like as if they were used by stunt men/ they don't seem to mind.

- MI: b. But, I was just like that, y'**know**.
c. Well, when I bought my first car, I had an accident at the beginning, and
d. people around us suggested we buy a new car, y'**know**.'

In both (19) and (20), the speakers are presenting their own experiences which are unknown to the addressees. Therefore, *ne* in *yone* is not used to request or give confirmation or agreement, since there is nothing to be agreed upon or confirmed. The *ne* in *yone* is pronounced with a slightly rising intonation in these cases. All instances of *yone* of this type are replaceable with *yo* alone or with the bare form. *Yo* in *yone* in (19) and (20) operates in the information state, indicating that the information only belongs to the speaker. It also operates in the participation framework, expressing the speaker's desire to express emphatic feelings about the proposition, and his/her judgement that the speaker-hearer relationship is a close one. *Ne* in these examples functions to request cooperation in listening or to elicit the hearer's attention so that the speaker can continue with the story, operating in the participation framework. Such *ne* also has the effect of softening the speaker's tone. In sum, *yo* and *ne* in *yone* operate on different planes of talk.

Since there is no conflict as regards *yo* and *ne* in the information state in this analysis (the speaker is the only source of knowledge), and the functions of *yo* and *ne* in the participation framework and the action structure are not mutually exclusive, we can account for the non-conflict of the co-occurring *yo* and *ne*.

This use of *yone* occurred frequently in narratives. Both in conversations and narratives, addressees often provided back-channel expressions such as *ee* 'yes' or *un un* 'yeah yeah', following *yone*. This type of *yone* did not result in a speaker-change, which is another indication that *ne* is used simply to soften the tone of the speaker's utterance and to request cooperative attitude from the addressee in listening to the story, not agreement or confirmation.

In what follows, *yone* which resulted in a speaker-change is discussed.

5.4.3.2. Requesting or expressing agreement about shared experience

The second situation where *yone* was used in my data is when requesting or providing agreement about shared experiences, as shown in (21) .

(21) TH: a. Taki no mizu no tsumetasa ga dono kurai ka tte yuu no o ne/ te de sawareba
water fall-GEN water-GEN coolness-SUB how about Q QT say-NOM-DO hand with touch

KH: b. Te de sawaritakatta desu **yonee**.
hand with touch-want BE IP

TH: c. Sono gurai chikaku made ikitakatta desu **yone**.
that about closeness to go-want-PAST BE IP

KH: d. Ikitakatta desu **yonee**.
go-want-PAST BE IP

TH: a. 'How cool the water of the water fall was, if we could touch it with our hands,

KH: b. I wanted to touch it with my hands, **and you too, right?**

TH: c. I wanted to go as close to the fall as possible, **don't you agree?**

KH: d. I wanted to go, **you're right**.

Yo nee in (b) and (d) are pronounced with falling intonation with an elongated *ne*. *Yone* in (c) is pronounced with a slightly rising intonation. *Yone* in (b), (c) and (d) are all replaceable by either *yo* (if only emphatically presenting the speaker's desire to the addressee) or *ne* (if merely requesting or expressing agreement). Both KH and TH express their strong desire and request or express agreement in this example with the use of *yone*. In (b), KH provides support to TH's remark with *yonee*. In (c), TH gives support to what KH has said in (b) and in turn requests agreement with *yone*. In (d), KH expresses agreement to TH's remark in (c) with *yonee*.

Thus, *yo* in (21) is used to express the speaker's emphasis (how strongly he or she feels about the proposition), operating in the participation framework. It also indicates the close speaker-addressee relationship. *Ne* is used to request or provide agreement, operating in the action structure.

5.4.3.3. Requesting confirmation

The last function of *yone* was to request confirmation on matters about which the speaker assumes that the hearer has more information. In (22), KM and I are talking about an automobile factory.

- (22) Mieko: a. Ranshingu ni mo Ooruzumoobiiu no koojoo ga aru n desu yone.
Lansing in also Oldsmobile-GEN factory-SUB exist assert IP
- KM: b. Aa.
oh
- Mieko: c. Ikimashita?
go-PAST
- KM: d. Ittenai desu kedo/ basu no ano 1-ban no tokoro desu yone.
go-NEG BE but bus-GEN well number 1 place BE IP
- Mieko: e. Un soo desu yone.
yeah so BE IP
- Mieko: a. 'There is an Oldsmobile factory in Lansing, too, y'know.
KM: b. Oh, I see.
Mieko: c. Have you been there?
KM: d. I haven't, but it's along Number 1 bus route, **right**?
Mieko: e. Yeah, that's right.

In this example, I, as a long-time resident of the area, know where the factory is. KM has been in this area only for three weeks, and thus is not familiar with its location. In (d), KM uses *yone* with a slight rising intonation to confirm that his assumption is correct. In this case, *yone* is replaceable with *ne* to request confirmation. Assuming that *yo* expresses the speaker's conviction about the proposition, *yone* means something like the following: 'I believe my assumption about this matter is correct (*yo*), and I request that you confirm my assumption (*ne*).' This is the interpretation commonly given to *yone* (e.g. Makino and Tsutsui 1986 and Takubo and Kinsui 1996). *Yo* operates in the participation framework, displaying speakers' conviction about the proposition and the speaker's judgement regarding the speaker-addressee relationship; *ne* operates in the information state

expressing the speaker's belief that the addressee has more knowledge than the speaker, and also in action structure, requesting confirmation.

5.4.3.4. Summary of *yone*

I have examined the functions of *yone* as a marker which has the combined meanings of *yo* and *ne* in three situations: (1) when the speaker had exclusive information; (2) when information is considered to be shared between interlocutors; and (3) when the addressee is believed to have more information. In the first function, *yo* indicates the territory of information and/or the speaker's certainty and strong feelings about the proposition, and to express friendliness to the addressee. *Ne* is used to request the hearer's cooperation in listening to the speaker. In the second function, *yo* expresses the speaker's strong feelings and certainty about the proposition, and *ne* is used to request or express agreement. In the third function, *yo* expresses the speaker's conviction about the assumption s/he is putting forward, and *ne* is used to request confirmation of the validity of the assumption.

In the combination *yone*, *yo* marks the following: (1) information is in the speaker's territory; (2) the speaker wishes to present his or her utterance emphatically; and/or (3) the speaker and the addressee have a close relationship. *Ne* indicates: (1) the speaker's assumption that the hearer has more knowledge about the proposition; and (2) the speaker's wishes to elicit the hearer's agreement, confirmation, or cooperative attitude when listening. Pragmatically, *yone* is used when the speaker wishes to emphasize a proposition in a friendly way and, request confirmation and/or agreement, and check the addressee's cooperation at the same time.

By applying the multi-faceted discourse model to an analysis of Japanese interactional particles, we can solve the seemingly conflicting juxtaposition of *yo* and *ne*. *Yo* and *ne* in *yone* do not represent two conflicting cognitive situations since they work on different planes of discourse, e.g. when *yo* is operating in the information state, *ne*

operates in the action structure, when *yo* operates in the participation framework, *ne* operates in the information state, and/or action structure, and so forth. Since both *yo* and *ne* operate on several planes of talk simultaneously, *yone* as a combination of two discourse makers can be understood as working at least on two planes. Table 5.11 summarizes the functions of *yone* discussed above.

Table 5.11 Functions of *yo* and *ne* in *yone*

<i>yo</i>	<i>ne</i>
(information state) to indicate the information is in the speaker's territory	(information state) to indicate that the information is in the hearer's territory
(participation framework) 1. to convey emphatic feeling 2. to express the speaker's judgement of the speaker-addressee relationship (close relationship; the speaker is superior or equal to the addressee)	(participation framework) 1. to express the speaker's judgement of the speaker-addressee relationship as familiar
(action structure) 1. to assert	(action structure) 1. to elicit the addressee's attention and cooperative listening attitude 2. to request confirmation or agreement 3. to point out the friendliness between the speaker and the addressee 4. to check the addressee's attention

As a textual coordinate, *yone* indexes an utterance to a prior portion of the utterance, marking the speaker's conviction and information territory in the utterance to which they are attached. As a participant coordinate, *yone* indexes an utterance both to the speaker and the hearer, marking information management by the speaker and pointing out the familiar friendly speaker-addressee relationship.

5.5. Summary

In this chapter, I have presented an analysis of Japanese interactional particles, *ne*,

yo, and *yone* as contextual coordinates which index the speaker-proposition and speaker-hearer relationship, using Schiffrin's discourse mode. Interactional particles as discourse markers are an indispensable part of face-to-face interactions in Japanese. They display information about the speaker's feelings or orientation towards a proposition, speaker-hearer relations, and knowledge and meta-knowledge. I have proposed that: (1) *ne* is a marker of cooperative attitude, reveals that the information is in the hearer's territory, requests or expresses agreement or confirmation, and checks the addressee's attention; (2) *yo* is a marker of the speaker's conviction about a proposition, identifies the information territory, and expresses the speaker's judgement about the speaker-hearer relationship (e.g. the speaker is superior to the addressee or they are equals); and (3) *yone* marks the speaker's conviction about a proposition, reveals his/her assumption about knowledge and meta-knowledge, and elicits (or expresses) a cooperative attitude, confirmation, or agreement.

I have argued that a multi-faceted discourse model better accounts for Japanese interactional particle use, including the occurrence of *ne* in various positions of an utterance, and better explains the seemingly contradictory juxtaposition of *yo* and *ne* as *yone*.

CHAPTER 6

Japanese discourse marker usage by non-native speakers

6.1. Preliminaries

The importance English discourse markers play in comprehension has been argued by several researchers. Tyler (1992) and Tyler and Bro (1992) claim that when connectives are misused by non-native speakers, or not used where normally expected comprehension difficulty occurs among native listeners. Flowerdew and Tauroze (1995) argue that both connectives and fillers used by native speakers during a lecture significantly increase comprehensibility for non-native speakers either by giving the listeners more time to process information with filled pauses or by their semantic or pragmatic framing functions.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. The first is to compare the differences in the use of discourse markers between the native and non-native subjects. The second is to examine the differences in discourse marker use among non-native participants at four proficiency levels defined by the ACTFL (see Appendix 1). While the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Guidelines for the advanced level, for example, refer specifically to the use of communication strategies, such as pause fillers and stalling devices, research on the use of Japanese discourse markers by non-native speakers is scarce to date. This chapter aims to test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4

Non-native speakers at higher proficiency level will use more connectives, fillers and interactional particles both in number and variety than those at lower proficiency levels.

Hypothesis 5

When a marker has both textual and interactional functions, the textual functions of discourse markers are learned before interpersonal functions.

In order to investigate the acquisition of Japanese discourse markers by non-native speakers, a longitudinal study, in which a certain linguistic performance of the same subjects is evaluated at several points in time, would be preferable. This thesis, however, employs a cross-sectional method, in which a linguistic performance of a number of subjects is evaluated at a certain point in time. A longitudinal study was not a realistic choice for the present study, since it takes years of research, following the language acquisition process of the same individuals. Furthermore, realistically speaking, few learners reach the superior level in Japanese. Liskin-Gasparro (cited in Hadley, 1993:28) reports that 2400-2760 hours of instruction is necessary for adult English speakers with high language learning aptitude to reach the superior level in Japanese in contrast with 480 hours for Romance languages and 480-720 hours for other Indo-European languages. Japanese is thus rated as one of the most time-consuming languages to learn. I adopted a cross-sectional research method for the present study for the reasons given above.

In what follows I discuss the research method employed in the present study in Section 6.2, findings on non-native speakers' use of connectives in Section 6.3, their filler usage in Section 6.4, and their usage of interactional particles in Section 6.5. In Section 6.6, I discuss pedagogical implications of the present study.

6.2. Method

6.2.1. Data

The data from non-native subjects (NNSs hereafter) come from interviews in formal-style Japanese. The topics of the interviews for speakers at lower proficiency levels were limited to their immediate surroundings such as family, school, and daily routines. The questions for speakers at higher proficiency levels were similar to those asked of the native speakers of Japanese, including U.S.-Japan relations and economic, social and educational issues. Care was taken to ask questions on similar topics and at a similar degree of difficulty within each proficiency level. In order to maintain consistency between

the natives' and non-natives' data, only the interview data from the native Japanese participants are included in the comparative analysis in this chapter.

6.2.2. Participants

Thirty-two non-native speakers participated in this study. Of the thirty-two recordings, data marred by poor recording quality or those of individuals whose proficiency level was unclear were excluded from my analysis. Three male and three female participants were included in each of the four proficiency levels on the ACTFL Proficiency Scale: (1) novice; (2) intermediate ; (3) advanced; and (4) superior levels. All of the novice level subjects were at novice-high level, and the intermediate level subjects were at intermediate-mid to intermediate-high level. The advanced level participants range from advanced to advanced-high level. The number of native Japanese participants used in this chapter is 12.

Since the objective of this study was to compare the use of discourse markers at the four proficiency levels and with that of native Japanese speakers, regardless of the non-native speakers' personal backgrounds, the participants' native language, age, the length of Japanese studies or the length of stay in Japan were not controlled, though the *t*-test and one-way ANOVA test were performed to investigate the relationship between the use of discourse markers and these factors. At the end of their interviews, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding their backgrounds and their use of some fillers and interactional particles (See Appendix 3 for the questionnaire format). Table 6.1 is a list of the non-native participants.

Table 6.1 List of non-native participants

subject	level	sex	age	occupation	native lang.	time in Japan	length of formal study	#of words in 10 min.
1 BH	NH	M	O	businessman	English	none	6 mos.	238
2 KK	NH	M	O	teacher	English	none	1 year	245
3 AG	NH	M	Y	student	English	none	6 mos.	342
4 TC	NH	F	O	teacher	English	7 mos.	6 mos.	231
5 JL	NH	F	O	teacher	English	none	9 mos.	324
6 AP	NH	F	O	student	English	3 years	1 year	342
7 CA	IM	M	Y	student	English	9 mos.	15 mos.	572
8 PC	IH	M	O	editor	English	3 years	1 year	551
9 DD	IM	M	Y	student	English	9 mos.	1 year	306
10 NH	IM	F	O	teacher	English	6 mos.	1 year	386
11 KO	IH	F	Y	teacher	English	2 years	2 years	522
12 WJ	IM	F	Y	student	English	9 mos.	1 year	534
13 DM	A	M	O	teacher	English	3 years	3 years	791
14 TD	A	M	Y	student	English	3 years	3 years	764
15 FM	A+	M	O	teacher	English	3 mos.	3 years	759
16 MH	A	F	O	teacher	English	3 years	4 years	571
17 EV	A	F	Y	teacher	English	3 years	4 years	674
18 SH	A+	F	O	teacher	English	3 years	3 years	769
19 JY	S	M	O	teacher	English	3 years	6 years	1194
20 TK	S	M	O	teacher	Korean	1 years	6 years	1202
21 SM	S	M	O	teacher	Korean	4 years	6 years	1087
22 BS	S	F	Y	student	English	3 years	4 years	1107
23 KA	S	F	O	teacher	Chinese	2 mos.	8 years	1214
24 YK	S	F	O	teacher	Korean	1 year	5 years	1132

NH=novice-high Level; IM=intermediate-mid Level, IH=intermediate-high Level; A=advanced level; A+=advanced-high Level; S=superior level; O=older (37-61 years old); Y=younger (19-23 years old)

6.2.3. Procedures

I adopted the ACTFL's Oral Proficiency Interview structure as my interview format, namely, beginning with a warm-up, level checks, probes, and ending with a wind-down. All the interviews consisted of questions and answers and one or two role-plays, though the role-play portions are not included in my analysis. As with the native Japanese interview data, the first two minutes of the recordings was categorically excluded from analysis and the following ten-minute segment of each interview was fully transcribed and analyzed. A total of 240 minutes of recordings, 60 minutes for each proficiency level, were analyzed.

After transcribing the data, the frequencies of discourse markers per 1,000 words ("the rates") and their percentages were calculated. Based on the rates of markers per 1,000 words, the *t*-test or the one-way ANOVA test was run on the following variables at a 95% confidence level: (1) age; (2) gender; (3) proficiency level; (4) the length of formal Japanese studies; and (5) the time NNSs had spent in Japan prior to the interviews.

6.3. Connectives

6.3.1. Tokens, rates per 1,000 words, and percentages

In this section, quantitative findings on connective marker use by non-native subjects are presented. According to my data, Hypothesis 4 was supported. Usage rates per 1,000 words were higher and the variety of connectives was more diversified among the superior level subjects and advanced level subjects than those at the lower levels. For both native and non-native subjects, preferences for connectives was in exactly the same order: *de* 'and' was the most commonly used, followed by *sorede* 'and', *demo* 'but' and *dakara* 'so'.

My data show that novice and intermediate level subjects expressed coordination or contrast, using a limited variety of connectives, most of which are introduced relatively early in Japanese instruction, e.g. *soshite* 'and', *sorekara* 'and/then', and *demo* 'but'. The novice level subjects used only one kind of connective, *demo* 'but', which was used by AG and TC one time each. The reason *demo* was the only connective used by the novice level subjects is perhaps: (1) all the novice level participants used the same textbook, in which *demo* was introduced as the first connective; and (2) the function of *demo* as a connector of contrasting idea units is relatively straightforward and thus easy to learn at an early stage.

The intermediate level subjects used 5 connectives: *ato* 'and, in addition', *sorekara* 'and, then' and *soshite* 'and', *demo* 'but,' and *dakara* 'so'. (*Sore*)*de* 'and', the most common coordinative connective among the native and the superior level subjects, was not

used by the intermediate level subjects. Nor were consequential (e.g. *jaa* 'then, if so' and *dattara* 'then; if so'), disjunctive (e.g. *aruiwa* 'or' and *soretomo* 'or') or explanatory connectives (e.g. *to iu no wa* 'that is to say' and *nazenara* 'because') used by the subjects at this level. Among the novice and intermediate level subjects, adversative connectives constituted high percentages (100% and 48.6%, respectively).

The advanced and superior level subjects connected utterances using a variety of connectives to express various types of coordination and contrast. The advanced level subjects used 7 connectives, including 3 varieties of coordinative connectives. Among the coordinative connectives, *sorede* 'and' was most commonly used, followed by *sorekara* 'and' and *de* 'and'. The reasons for the high occurrence of *sorede* compared to *de* at this level seem to be: (1) when *sorede* is introduced in the classroom as a causal or coordinative conjunction, it is always introduced in the form of *sorede*, not *de*; (2) *de* is a colloquial variant; thus students of Japanese are not likely to be exposed to it in the classroom—the usual way for them to become familiar with *de* is through casual interactions with native Japanese; (3) *de* is not very salient in everyday Japanese speech (i.e. it is usually pronounced quickly and does not carry stress), and even the advanced level speakers' listening skill may not be high enough to recognize it in spoken Japanese. Thus, learners at the advanced level can use *sorede* in the form of *sorede*, but not yet as *de*. As regards other connectives, they used one kind of adversative connective, *demo* 'but', and there was one token of the disjunctive connective *aruiwa* 'or'. Consequential or explanatory connectives were not used by the subjects at this level.

The superior level subjects used 10 connectives, and there was much more diversification of coordinative and adversative connectives. Their percentages of connectives usage are similar to those of the native participants. The percentages of coordinative connectives were high among the advanced and superior level subjects (53.6% and 56.7%, respectively), while the percentages of adversative connectives were high among the novice and intermediate level subjects.

Table 6.2 shows the number of tokens and percentages of connectives used by the non-native subjects at four proficiency levels and the native participants. The first set of numbers are the number of tokens; those in parentheses represent the percentages represented by each connective .

Table 6.2 The tokens and percentages of connectives by proficiency levels (n=36)

marker		native	superior	advanced	intermediate	novice
# of subjects		n=12	n=6	n=6	n=6	n=6
total time analyzed		120 min.	60 min.	60 min.	60 min.	60 min.
# of total words		11,686	6,936	4,328	2,871	1,665
		token (%)	token (%)	token (%)	token (%)	token (%)
<i>de</i>	'and'	84 (23.9)	51 (29.8)	5 (7.3)	-----	-----
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	45 (12.8)	27 (14)	17 (10.1)	-----	-----
<i>ato</i>	'and'	46 (13.1)	-----	-----	6 (16.2)	-----
<i>sorekara</i>	'and'	10 (1.4)	14 (0.6)	15 (17.4)	3 (8.1)	-----
<i>soshite</i>	'and'	1 (0.3)	5 (7.6)	0 (2.9)	2 (5.4)	-----
total (coord)		321 (46.6)	97 (56.7)	37 (53.6)	11 (29.7)	-----
<i>demo</i>	'but'	81 (21.9)	22 (12.9)	23 (33.3)	18 (48.6)	2 (100)
<i>datte</i>	'but'	1 (2.27)	-----	-----	-----	-----
<i>tada</i>	'but'	8 (1.14)	1 (0.6)	-----	-----	-----
<i>tokoroga</i>	'but'	-----	3 (1.8)	-----	-----	-----
total (adv)		90 (25.6)	26 (15.2)	23 (33.3)	18 (48.6)	2 (100)
<i>dakara</i>	'so'	67 (19)	40 (23.4)	8 (11.6)	8 (21.6)	-----
total (consq)		9 (2.6)	2 (1.2)	-----	-----	-----
total (disj)		4 (1.14)	-----	1 (1.5)	-----	-----
total (expl)		1 (0.28)	-----	-----	-----	-----
total		352 (100)	163 (100)	69 (100)	37 (100)	2 (100)

consequential connectives: e.g. *ja(a)* 'then'; *dattara* 'then'; *sorenara* 'then'; disjunctive connectives: e.g. *aruwa* 'or'; *soretomo* 'or'; explanatory connectives: *nazenara* 'because'

We now turn to the rates of connective marker use per 1,000 words. The total rate of connectives among the NNSs was highest for the superior level subjects (24/1000 words), followed by the advanced (15.9/1000 words), the intermediate (12.9/1000 words), and the novice level subjects (1.2/1000 words). As shown in Table 6.3, the rate for the native subjects was 25.8/1000 words, which is similar to the superior level speakers' rate. The largest rate difference was between the novice level and the

intermediate level subjects (1.2 and 12.9/1000 words, respectively). In contrast, there was a small difference between the intermediate and the advanced level subjects.

Table 6.3 The rates of connectives per 1,000 words by proficiency level (n=36)

marker	meaning	native	superior	advanced	intermed.	novice
<i>de</i>	'and'	6.2	7.4	1.2	-----	-----
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	3.3	3.9	3.9	-----	-----
<i>ato</i>	'and'	3.4	-----	-----	2.1	-----
<i>sorekara</i>	'and'	0.4	2	3.5	1.0	-----
<i>soshite</i>	'and'	0.07	0.7	-----	0.7	-----
total (coord)		13.3	14	8.55	3.8	-----
<i>demo</i>	'but'	5.9	3.2	5.3	6.3	1.2
<i>datte</i>	'but'	0.07	-----	-----	-----	-----
<i>tada</i>	'but'	0.6	0.1	-----	-----	-----
<i>tokoroga</i>	'but'	-----	0.4	-----	-----	-----
total (advers.)		6.6	3.7	5.3	6.3	1.2
<i>dakara</i>	'so'	4.9	5.8	1.9	2.8	-----
total (conseq)		0.7	0.3	-----	-----	-----
total (disj)		0.3	-----	0.2	-----	-----
total (expl)		0.07	-----	-----	-----	-----
total		25.8	24	15.9	12.9	1.2

6.3.2. Sociolinguistic factors and the use of connectives by NNSs

In order to see what kinds of factors influence the use of connectives, the unmatched two-tailed *t*-test was run for NNSs' age and gender, and the one-way ANOVA test was performed on the following factors: (1) proficiency level (novice, intermediate, advanced and superior), (2) the length of the participants' formal Japanese studies (less than 1 year; 1.0-1.9 years, 2.0-2.9 years, and over 3 years); and (3) the time NNSs had spent in Japan prior to the interviews (0, less than one year, 1.0-1.9 years, 2.0-2.9 years, and over 3 years). A *P*-value of 0.05 or less indicates a significant relationship, and $0.05 \leq P \leq 0.1$ indicates a strong tendency towards significance at a 95% confidence level.

6.3.2.1. Age and gender

Speakers' age was not a significant factor in the use of connectives among the

NNSs, as was also the case with native subjects. The only connective which showed a marginal relationship to the speakers' age was the adversative connective *demo* 'but' ($P=0.090$). Each connective perhaps has relatively well-established functions, so there is little variation based on the age of the NNSs.

As regards gender, we first examine the differences in the native speakers' interview data to use as a basis for comparing native ($n=12$) and non-native subjects ($n=24$). The native subjects' use of connectives in interviews showed a statistically significant relationship to gender (the total: 32.2/1000 words for women and 18/1000 words for men; $P=0.006$). The use of individual connectives was also influenced by gender. For example, women's preference for the following connectives was statistically significant or showed a strong tendency: *de* 'and' (the rates: 8.67 vs. 3.09, respectively; $P=0.071$), *demo* 'but' (the rates: 8.54 vs. 4.23, respectively; $P=0.006$), and *dakara* 'so' (the rates: 6.8 vs. 2.6 and $P=0.032$).

For the NNSs, gender was not a significant factor when proficiency levels were not taken into consideration. Only the use of *de* 'and' showed marginal significance (women's rate was higher than men's; $P=0.071$). However, among the superior level NNSs, the gender difference was clearly exhibited and paralleled the native subjects' tendencies. For example, the rates of *de* 'and' and *demo* 'but' were much higher among females than males (7.24 vs. 0.57/1000 words for *de*, and 23.7 vs. 4.3/1000 words for *demo*). Thus, although gender was not a significant factor in the use of connectives at novice, intermediate, and advanced levels, it was among superior level and native subjects. The fact that the use of connectives among the superior level subjects paralleled that of the native participants in terms of the number, variety, and their preference for particular discourse markers according to their gender indicates that superior level speakers truly do have "native-like" discourse strategy in the use of connectives, as defined in the ACTFL proficiency guidelines.

6.3.2.2. Other factors

Of the other three factors, proficiency level and the length of formal Japanese studies, and the time spent in Japan, the first two showed much more significant relationships to the use of connectives than the time participants spent in Japan, as shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 The *P*-values of the three factors influencing the use of connectives (n=24)

marker	meaning	The <i>P</i> -values for the 3 factors		
		Prof. level	formal Japanese study	time in Japan
<i>de</i>	'and'	0.0396	0.0376	ns
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	0.0097	0.0725	ns
<i>ato</i>	'and'	ns	ns	ns
<i>sorekara</i>	'and'	ns	ns	ns
<i>soshite</i>	'and'	0.0295	ns	ns
total (coord)		0.0363	0.0467	ns
<i>demo</i>	'but'	0.0295	0.0363	ns
<i>datte</i>	'but'	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>tada</i>	'but'	ns	ns	N/A
<i>tokoroga</i>	'but'	ns	ns	ns
subtotal		0.0342	0.0358	ns
<i>dakara</i>	'so'	0.0534	0.0518	0.0213
total (consq)		ns	ns	ns
total (disj)		ns	0.0040	ns
total (expl)		ID	ID	ID
total		0.0018	0.0014	0.0513

$P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ns: not significant; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence, N/A: no *P*-value (=no occurrence)

The total rate of connectives use was strongly related to the proficiency level ($P=0.0018$). As regards individual connectives, *de* 'and' ($P=0.0396$), *sorede* 'and' ($P=0.0097$) *soshite* 'and' ($P=0.0295$), *demo* 'but' ($P=0.0295$), and *dakara* 'so' ($P=0.0534$) showed significant relationships. This result supports Hypothesis 4: NNSs proficiency level is a significant factor which influences the use of connectives.

The length of formal Japanese studies was also strongly related to the use of connectives: the longer formal study, the more frequent the use of connectives. The total

rate of connectives, those of (*sore*)*de* 'and' ($P=0.0376$ for *de* and 0.0725 for *sorede*), *demo* 'but' ($P=0.0363$), *dakara* 'so' ($P=0.0518$), and coordinative, adversative, disjunctive category totals are all significantly related to the length of formal study ($P=0.0467$, 0.0358 , 0.0040 , respectively).

The length of time the NNSs spent in Japan was not as significant as the other two factors. Only the rate of *dakara* 'so' and the total rate were related to connectives use ($P=0.0213$ and 0.0513 , respectively). From these results, it is observed that the length of formal study is important in attaining high proficiency levels, which in turn influences the use of discourse markers.

6.3.3. Discussion

In this section, I first discuss my findings regarding the use of connectives by NNSs and, secondly, how the two most common connectives, (*sore*)*de* 'and' and *demo* 'but' were used by the NNSs.

My major findings are as follows: (1) the NNSs at novice, intermediate, and advanced levels used a limited number of connectives, and the superior level subjects' use of connectives was similar to that of the native subjects; (2) the NNSs at the novice and intermediate levels used connectives mainly for connecting idea units, while those at the advanced and the superior levels use connectives for ideational and interpersonal functions; (3) usage errors occurred only among the novice level subjects (some novice level subjects tried to use connectives, but often erred in form and placement);¹ and (4) the ideational functions of a connective are learned before its interpersonal functions; i.e. the order of learning is from ideational to interpersonal. As the NNSs used connectives for interpersonal functions, their ideational functions decreased in percentage.

¹ The following connectives were used incorrectly and thus were not included in the count: BH: 1 error in *sorekara* 'and, then'; KK: 5 errors in *demo* 'but'; TC: 1 error in *jaa* 'then'; AG: 3 errors in *to* 'and'; and 2 errors in *dakara* 'so' and JL: 1 error in *sorekara* 'and/then'.

6.3.3.1. The use of (*sore*)*de* by non-native subjects

(*Sore*)*de* 'and' was the most commonly used connective by the non-native subjects, though it was used only by the advanced and superior level subjects. In this section, I discuss the use of *de* and *sorede* 'and' by the non-native subjects. First, their distributional characteristics are discussed in Section 6.3.3.1.1, and their use by non-native subjects is discussed in Section 6.3.3.1.2.

6.3.3.1.1. Distribution of *de* and *sorede* 'and' in non-native subjects

I begin my discussion with distributional characteristics of *de* and *sorede* among the NNSs and compare them with those among the native subjects. The most striking fact about *de* and *sorede* among the NNSs was that they were not used by novice or intermediate level subjects, though the intermediate level subjects used three other coordinative connectives, *ato* 'and, in addition', *sorekara* 'and, then', and *soshite* 'and'.

At the advanced and the superior levels, both *de* and *sorede* were used. The following differences in usage between the NNSs at the advanced and superior levels were observed: (1) the advanced level subjects used *sorede* more often than *de* (*sorede*: 17/22 tokens=77.3%; *de*: 5/22 tokens=22.7%), whereas the superior level subjects used *de* more often than *sorede* (*sorede*: 27/78 tokens=34.6% ; and *de*: 51/78 tokens=65.4%). The superior level subjects' percentages of *de* and *sorede* were similar to those of native subjects. Table 6.5 summarizes the tokens and percentages of *de* and *sorede* as used by advanced and superior level subjects and native subjects.

Table 6.5 Distribution of *de* and *sorede* by proficiency level

		native	superior	advanced
<i>sorede</i>	'and'	45 (34.9%)	17 (34.6%)	17 (77.3%)
<i>de</i>	'and'	84 (65.1%)	51 (65.4%)	5 (22.7%)
total		129 (100%)	78 (100%)	22 (100%)

These distributional differences may in part be related to limited instruction about *de* and *sorede*, and partially due to the complexity of their functions:

(1) *Sorede* is introduced relatively late in Japanese instruction;²

(2) The coordinative *de* is not introduced in most introductory textbooks, which suggests that many NNSs do not receive explicit instruction on the use of *de* as a coordinative or causal marker;

(3) Generally speaking, *de* is pronounced quickly by native speakers of Japanese, and is often inaudible even to native Japanese (for example, at times, I had to listen to the recordings of my data several times to hear it), and, therefore, even NNSs who have lived in Japan may have difficulty hearing it; and

(4) Both *de* and *sorede* have many functions (e.g. sequential idea coordination, causal coordination, and speaker continuation), and NNSs may have difficulty figuring out their appropriate usages.

All the above suggests that, if language teachers hope to teach natural Japanese in classroom, explicit instruction on the use of *de* and *sorede* is important.

6.3.3.1.2. Functions of (*sore*)*de* among the NNSs

We now turn to the differences in the usage of *de* and *sorede* between the advanced and superior level NNSs on the one hand, and the native subjects on the other. In terms of the functions of (*sore*)*de* as a marker of coordination and speaker-continuation discussed in Section 3.5.1, the following were observed in the native subjects' interview data: (1) (*sore*)*de* 'and' as a marker of (sequential) idea units coordination at both local- and global-levels; (2) as a causal marker; (3) as a connector of contrasting units within a speaker's

² In the *Introduction to Modern Japanese* by Mizutani and Mizutani, for example, *sorede* is introduced in Chapter 22 out of 30 chapters, which is usually covered in the second half of the first year or in the first half of the second year at college level. In *Learn Japanese* by Young and Nakajima, *sorede* is introduced in Chapter 4 out of 15 chapters as a causal marker, but not as a coordinative connective.

turn; and (4) as a connector of functionally different units, such as the main and tangential portions of an utterance. Interactionally, *(sore)de* was used as a floor-holding device for speaker continuation.

Among the NNSs the dominant functions of *de* and *sorede* differed by proficiency level. The advanced level subjects used *sorede* mostly as a causal marker (58.8%) and as a sequential connector of local-level idea units (35.3%). These two functions constitute 94.1% of all the uses of *sorede* for the advanced level subjects. The superior level subjects used *sorede* in more diversified functions, such as sequential local- and global-level unit connector (40.7% and 11.1%, respectively), as a causal marker (22.2%), and floor-holding device (13.3%). For superior level subjects, as *sorede* assumes various functions, its importance as a causal marker decreases. Table 6.6 summarizes the usages of *sorede* by NNSs and native Japanese.

Table 6.6 Distributions of functions of *sorede* by proficiency level

functions of <i>sorede</i>	native	superior	advanced
causal marker	17 (37.8%)	6 (22.2%)	10 (58.8%)
local-level sequential coordination	12 (26.7%)	11 (40.7%)	6 (35.3%)
floor-holding device	6 (13.3%)	4 (14.8%)	1 (5.9%)
global-level sequential coordination	4 (8.9%)	3 (11.1%)	
connect functionally different unit	4 (8.9%)	3 (11.1%)	
total	45 (100%)	27 (100%)	17 (100%)

De was used for various functions by native and NNSs. The advanced level NNSs used *de* for 3 functions: (1) local-level sequential coordination (3/5 tokens=60%); (2) global-level sequential coordination (1/5 tokens=20%); and (3) floor-holding device (1/5 tokens=20%). The superior level subjects used *de* for 4 functions: (1) local-level sequential coordination (29/51 tokens=56.9%); (2) global-level sequential coordination (10/51 tokens=19.6%); and (3) as a floor-holding device (10/51 tokens=19.6%, each); and (4) as a causal marker (1/51 tokens=3.9%). These results suggest that for both *de* and

sorede, ideational functions are learned first, followed by their interactional functions.

One point of interest about the use of *de* is that its percentage as a causal marker was much lower among NNSs than native speakers. This is probably due to the fact that *de* is usually not explicitly taught in the classroom and it is difficult for NNSs to learn this function. Even when they hear *de* used by native Japanese, they may not know exactly how and when it is used. Explicit instruction on the use of *de* is therefore indispensable. Table 6.7 summarizes the use of *de* by the NNSs and the native participants. Notice the striking similarities in percentages between the superior level subjects and the advanced level subjects, as well as the differences between them and the native subjects.

Table 6.7 Distributions of functions of *de* by proficiency level

functions of <i>de</i>	native	superior	advanced
local-level sequential coordination	27 (32.1%)	29 (56.9%)	3 (60%)
floor-holding device	28 (33.3%)	10 (19.6%)	1 (20%)
global-level sequential coordination	12 (15.5%)	10 (19.6%)	1 (20%)
causal marker	9 (10.7%)	2 (3.9%)	
connect functionally differentiated units	6 (7.1%)		
connect contrasting units	1 (1.2%)		
total	84 (100%)	51 (100%)	5 (100%)

6.3.3.2. The use of *demo* 'but' by non-native speakers

Demo 'but' was characterized as a marker of upcoming contrast in Section 3.5.2 of this thesis. It was the second most commonly used connective both by native and non-native subjects in my data, and was used correctly by the speakers at all four proficiency levels. It was the only connective used by the novice level subjects, and was also the connective most frequently used by the intermediate level subjects. In what follows, I compare the use of *demo* by NNSs at the four proficiency levels and also with that of the native subjects.

During the native participants' interviews, *demo* 'but' was used in three functions: (1) to connect contrasting idea units (referential contrast); (2) to connect functionally

different units (functional contrast), e.g. main ideas and side-sequencing; and (3) to mark an upcoming contrasting action, e.g. point-making, disagreement, or challenge.

As was the case with *(sore)de*, *demo* was used in its ideational function among the novice level speakers but not in its interactional functions. *Demo* was used twice by novice level speakers,³ and both were used to connect contrasting idea units; e.g. *Uchi wa chiisai desu. Demo ii desu.* 'My house is small. But it is nice' (Subject TC). Again, this perhaps indicates that the functions of a connective as a connector of ideational units are learned before its interactional functions.

The percentage of *demo* for referential contrast was higher for the NNSs at lower proficiency levels (100% for novice level, 66.7% for intermediate level) than at higher proficiency levels (56.5 for advanced level and 45.5 for superior level). The percentages of functional contrast and contrasting actions were higher among the NNSs at the advanced and superior levels than the intermediate or the novice level subjects (see Table 6.8). (1) is an example of functional contrast with *demo* used by KA, a superior level speaker.

- (1) Mieko: a. Senmon ga Nihongo na n desu ne?
 major-SUB Japanese assert Q
- KA: b. Ee/ daigaku/ Pekin daigaku de 5-nen-kan senmon to shite narattee/
 yes university Beijin university at 5-years-for major as learned-and
- c. **demo** jugyoo wa/ ano Pekin daigaku wa soogoo daigaku desu kara/
 but classes-TOP well Beijin university-TOP multiversity BE because
- d. tada Nihongo no senmon to yuu/ itte mo/
 only Japanese GEN major QT say say though
- e. Nihongo no jugyoo dake ja nakute/
 Japanese class only not
- f. ano nihongo to kankee nai/ sooyuu kamoku o torimashita.
 well Japanese with relation NEG such subject-DP took
- Mieko: a. 'Your major is Japanese, right?
- KA: b. Yes. University, at Beijin University, I studied Japanese for 5 years as

³ Novice-level speakers are characterized by their word-level utterances rather than sentence-level. Therefore, infrequent use of connectives are quite natural even for novice-high level speakers

- my major, and
- c. **but** classes, well, Beijing University is a multiversity, so
- d. even though I was a Japanese major,
- e. not only Japanese,
- f. but well, I also took courses unrelated to Japanese.'

KA used *demo* in (c) to differentiate her direct answer to my question from additional information in (c-f).

(2) is an example of *demo* used by YK, another superior level speaker, connecting contrasting actions; i.e. challenging.

- (2) YK: a. Sooshi kaimee wa kekkyoku Nihon-jin kara miru to
changing names-TOP after all Japanese from look when
- b. taishita mondai ja nai n desu yone.
serious problem BE NEG assert IP
- Mieko: c. Un demo yappari ne/ namae kaetaku nai
yeah but as expected IP name change-want NEG
- YK: d. [Iya **demo** rekishi kara mite miru to
no but history from look look when
- e. Nihon no baai wa onna no hito/ kekkon shitara namae kaemasu yone?
Japanese case-TOP female person marry do-when name change IP
- YK: a. 'From the Japanese point of view, changing (Koreans') names was
b. not a big thing, y'know?
- Mieko: c. Yeah, but, as you know, we don't want [to change our names
- YK: d. [But from historical viewpoint,
e. In the case of Japan, women change their names when they get married,
don't they?'

In (c), I began to say that no one likes to change his or her name, which was interrupted by YK's statement in (d), arguing that because it was nothing serious for Japanese to change their names, they forced Koreans to change their names, which they resent to this day. Thus, *demo* in (c) is used to present a counter-argument and claim the floor. The interactional use of *demo* by KA and YK is similar to that of native subjects. This is an indication that superior level speakers possess native-like proficiency not only in syntax and vocabulary, but in the use of connectives as discourse markers, referentially and

interactionally. Table 6.8 is a summary of the various uses of *demo* by native and non-native subjects.

Table 6.8 Use of *demo* by proficiency level

functions	native	superior	advanced	intermed.	novice
referential contrast	36 (44.4%)	10 (45.5%)	13 (56.5%)	12 (66.7%)	2 (100%)
functional contrast	36 (44.4%)	8 (36.4%)	5 (21.3%)	3 (16.7%)	
contrasting actions	9 (11.2%)	4 (18.2%)	5 (21.3%)	3 (16.7%)	
total	81 (100%)	22 (100%)	23 (100%)	18 (100%)	2 (100%)

Notice that the use of *demo* in its referential function decreases with proficiency, but that the reverse is true of the functional use. In this cross-sectional study of the functional distribution of *(sore)de* 'and' and *demo* 'but' we find the following: when a connective has more than one function, its most proto-typical function is learned first, i.e. the referential function is learned before the interactional functions. For example, *(sore)de* is introduced as a causal marker first, and thus, NNSs learn its function as a causal marker. As we have seen in Table 6.6, the advanced level subjects in the present study used *sorede* as a causal marker 58.8% of the time. Among the superior level subjects, the percentage of its function as a marker of sequential coordination was higher than the percentage as a causal marker (33.3% vs. 22.2%). The percentage of *sorede* as a floor-holding device, an interactional function, was 5.9% among the advanced level speakers, while it was 14.8% among the superior level subjects. As *sorede* acquired more functions, its percentage as a causal marker decreased.

As regards *demo*, its proto-typical function is to express a referential contrast, and this was the only usage found among the novice level subjects. Its interactional function as a contrasting action marker occurred at the intermediate level and above, supporting my Hypothesis 5. It will be interesting to test this hypothesis in a longitudinal study in the future.

6.3.4. Summary

In this section, I have presented a quantitative analysis of connectives use by the NNSs and discussed the two connectives most often used by the NNSs, (*sore*)*de* 'and' and *demo* 'but'. My findings are:

1. The NNSs at the advanced and superior levels used considerably more connectives both in variety and number than those at intermediate and novice levels.
2. The most striking difference in the variety and the rate of connectives was between novice level and intermediate level: (1) one variety of connective at novice level vs. 5 varieties at intermediate; and (2) the rate of 1.2/1000 words at novice level vs. 12.9/1000 at intermediate level.
3. The proficiency level and the length of formal Japanese study most significantly affected the discourse marker use by the non-native subjects, followed by the length of the time they lived in Japan. Age and gender were not significant factors.
4. There were distributional differences in the use of *de* and *sorede* between the advanced and the superior level subjects. Possible reasons are: (1) classroom instruction mainly introduces *sorede* as a causal marker; and (2) *de* as a coordinative connective is seldom taught.
5. Finally, my findings suggest that a proto-typical function for each connective is learned first, followed by peripheral functions; e.g. as a causal marker first in the case of *sorede* 'and', followed by its function as a marker of sequential coordination, the referential function of *demo* 'but' before its function as a marker of functional contrast or contrasting actions.

6.4. Fillers

6.4.1. Tokens, rates per 1000 words, and percentages

First, I discuss the variety and percentages of fillers. The NNSs at higher proficiency level used more varied fillers than those at lower proficiency levels, supporting Hypothesis 4. Among the fillers, *ano(o)* 'uh, well' was used most frequently by all the NNSs.

In Section 4.2, fillers were classified into two categories: (1) language-production-based fillers, which are used to fill a potential silence when a smooth speech production is hindered; and (2) socially motivated fillers, which contribute to enhancing agreeable conversation atmosphere. The language-production-based fillers were further classified into: (1) production-related fillers, e.g. *ee(to)* 'uh' and *soo desu ne(e)* 'let me see' and (2) information management fillers, *a* 'oh', *aa* 'oh (I see)', *un* 'yeah', and *e?* 'oh, huh?'.

The novice level speakers used only a production-related filler, *ee(to)* 'uh'. The intermediate level speakers used six fillers, two production-type fillers *ee(to)* and *soo desu ne(e)* 'let me see', two information-management fillers, *a* 'oh' and *aa* 'oh (I see)', and *ano(o)* 'uh, well' and *uun* 'well, uh', which can function both as production-related and socially motivated fillers. *Ano(o)* constituted 77.1% of all fillers used by the intermediate level subjects. *Ano(o)* use was particularly notable among those who spent some time in Japan (6 to 9 months).

The advanced level speakers used 13 fillers. They also used *ano(o)* frequently (71.2% of all the fillers they used). *Hora* 'there!', *are* 'that thing', *e?* 'oh, huh?', and *koo* 'like this' were not yet used by the advanced level subjects.

The superior level subjects' use of filler was more diversified, and was similar to that of native speakers in their number and variety. They used 15 fillers. Their percentage of *ano(o)* was consequently much lower than those of other proficiency levels. *Are* 'that thing' and *e?* 'oh, huh?' were not used by them. Table 6.9 summarizes the use of fillers. The numbers in parentheses represent the percentage of each filler.

Table 6.9 The tokens and percentages of fillers by proficiency level

marker	original meaning	native	superior	advanced	intermediate	novice
		tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)
<i>nanka</i>	'like'	189 (18.5)	52 (12.5) ⁴	5 (1.5)	-----	5 (100)
<i>ano(o)</i>	'uh, well'	172 (16.9)	145 (34.8)	242 (71.2)	54 (77.1)	-----
<i>moo</i>	'really'	106 (10.4)	23 (5.5)	8 (2.4)	-----	-----
<i>yappari</i>	'as expected'	98 (9.6)	18 (4.3)	11 (3.2)	-----	-----
<i>ma(a)</i>	'kind of'	60 (5.9)	81 (19.4)	12 (3.5)	-----	-----
<i>uun</i>	'uh, well'	59 (5.9)	10 (2.4)	13 (3.8)	2 (2.9)	-----
<i>a</i>	'oh'	53 (5.2)	3 (0.7)	1 (0.3)	5 (7.1)	-----
<i>ee(to)</i>	'uh'	50 (4.9)	18 (4.3)	8 (2.4)	3 (4.3)	-----
<i>aa</i>	'oh (I see)'	45 (4.4)	9 (2.2)	3 (0.9)	2 (2.9)	-----
<i>nante yuu no</i>	'what is it?'	39 (3.8)	29 (5.3)	13 (3.8)	-----	-----
<i>koo</i>	'like this'	39 (3.8)	15 (3.6)	-----	-----	-----
<i>un</i>	'yeah'	36 (3.5)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.3)	-----	-----
<i>soo desu ne(e)</i>	'let's see'	28 (2.8)	9 (2.2)	15 (4.4)	4 (5.7)	-----
<i>sono(o)</i>	'uh, well'	21 (2.1)	8 (1.9)	8 (2.4)	-----	-----
<i>e?</i>	'oh, huh?'	18 (1.8)	-----	-----	-----	-----
<i>are</i>	'that thing'	5 (0.5)	-----	-----	-----	-----
<i>hora</i>	'there!'	1 (0.1)	3 (0.7)	-----	-----	-----
total		1019 (100)	417 (100)	340 (100)	70 (100)	5 (100)

As regards the total rate of fillers per 1,000 words, the advanced level subjects' rate was the highest (69.1/1000 words) due to the high rate of *ano(o)* (55.9/1000 words). *Ano(o)* was used mostly as a pause-filling device by the intermediate level subjects, and was not used for a socially motivated purposes at this level.

Information management fillers were rarely used by the NNSs. The total rates of *a* 'oh', *aa* 'oh (I see)', *un* 'yeah', and *e?* 'oh, huh?' ranged between 1.16 to 2.44/1000 words, compared to the native subjects' rate, 11.1/1000 words. Table 6.10 summarizes the rates of fillers per 1,000 words by proficiency level, with numbers in bold indicating the highest rates among the NNSs.

⁴ 44 of 52 tokens (84.6%) of *nanka* were produced by BS, a young female speaker.

Table 6.10 The rates of fillers per 1,000 words by proficiency level

marker	meaning	native	superior	advanced	intermediate	novice
<i>nanka</i>	'like'	13.8	7.5	1.2	-----	-----
<i>ano(o)</i>	'uh, well'	12.6	21.0	55.9	18.8	-----
<i>moo</i>	'really'	7.8	3.3	1.9	-----	-----
<i>yappari</i>	'as expected'	7.2	2.6	2.5	-----	-----
<i>ma(a)</i>	'kind of'	4.4	12.0	2.8	-----	-----
<i>uun</i>	'uh, well'	4.3	1.4	3	0.7	-----
<i>a</i>	'oh'	3.8	0.4	0.23	1.7	-----
<i>ee(to)</i>	'uh'	3.7	2.6	1.9	1.0	3.0
<i>aa</i>	'oh (I see)'	3.3	1.3	0.7	0.7	-----
<i>nante yuu no</i>	'what is it?'	2.9	3.2	3	-----	-----
<i>koo</i>	'like this'	2.9	2.2	-----	-----	-----
<i>un</i>	'yeah'	2.6	0.1	0.2	-----	-----
<i>soo desu ne(e)</i>	'let's see'	2.1	1.3	3.5	1.4	-----
<i>sono(o)</i>	'uh, well'	1.5	1.2	1.9	-----	-----
<i>e?</i>	'oh, huh?'	1.3	-----	-----	-----	-----
<i>are</i>	'that thing'	0.4	-----	-----	-----	-----
<i>hora</i>	'there'	0.07	0.4	-----	-----	-----
total	total	74.7	60.4	78.6	24.4	3.0

6.4.2. Sociolinguistic factors and the use of fillers

6.4.2.1. Age and gender

As with connectives, speakers' age or gender did not significantly affect the use of fillers among the NNSs. The only filler which showed a strong relationship to speakers' age was *nanka* 'like' ($P=0.040$), which was used predominantly by the younger speakers.⁵

As regards gender, I discuss the use of fillers by the native Japanese subjects first. The women's rates were higher for the total rate of fillers, and the difference was significant. For example, women used the following fillers more often than men: *ee(to)* 'uh' (5.47 vs. 1.46/1000 words, respectively; $P=0.052$) and *a* 'oh' (5.6 vs. 1.8/1000 words, respectively; $P=0.015$). A socially motivated filler, *ma(a)* 'kind of', showed a significant difference (6.99 for men vs. 2.27 for women per 1000 words; $P=0.001$).

Among the NNSs, the only filler which showed a significant relationship to gender was *aa* 'oh' ($P=0.022$), which was used more often by women than by men. As regards

⁵ Without the outlier BS who used *nanka* 44 times out of 52, the P-value is 0.487, which means age was not a factor influencing the use of *nanka*.

other fillers, there was no clear difference between female and male speakers at any of the four proficiency levels.

6.4.2.2. Other factors

As with connectives, the result of the one-way ANOVA test shows that the subjects' proficiency levels and the length of formal study were the most significant factors promoting the total use of fillers ($P=0.0000$ for both). Table 6.11 summarizes the P -values in relation to NNSs' proficiency level, length of formal study, and time spent in Japan.

Table 6.11 The P -values of the three factors influencing the use of fillers

marker	original meaning	The P -values for the 3 factors		
		Prof. level	formal Japanese study	time in Japan
<i>ano(o)</i>	'uh; well'	0.0003	0.0020	0.0986
<i>nanka</i>	'like'	ns	ns	ns
<i>moo</i>	'really'	0.0542	0.0245	ns
<i>yappari</i>	'as expected'	ns	ns	ns
<i>ma(a)</i>	'kind of'	0.0000	0.0035	ns
<i>koo</i>	'like this'	0.0507	ns	0.0040
<i>uun</i>	'uh; well'	0.0998	0.0002	ns
<i>sono(o)</i>	'uh; well'	ns	0.0781	ns
<i>ee(to)</i>	'uh'	ns	ns	ns
<i>nante yuu no</i>	'what is it?'	ns	0.0413	ns
<i>soo desu nee</i>	'let me see'	ns	ns	ns
<i>hora</i>	'there'	ns	ns	ns
<i>are</i>	'that thing'	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>a'</i>	'oh'	0.0722	0.0639	ns
<i>aa</i>	'oh (I see)'	ns	ns	ns
<i>un</i>	'oh yeah'	ns	ns	ns
<i>e?</i>	'oh?; huh?'	N/A	N/A	N/A
total		0.0000	0.0000	0.0409

$P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ns: not significant; N/A: no P -value (=no occurrence)

The rates of two fillers, *ano(o)* 'uh, well' and *ma(a)* 'kind of' showed a strong relationship to proficiency levels ($P=0.0003$ and 0.0000 , respectively), and the rates of four fillers, *moo* 'really', *koo* 'like this', *uun* 'uh, well', and *a* 'oh' were also related to proficiency

levels ($0.05 < P \leq 0.1$).

As regards the length of formal Japanese studies, the rates of five fillers *ano(o)* 'uh, well', *moo* 'really', *ma(a)* 'kind of', *uun* 'uh, well', and *nante yuu no* 'what shall I say?' all showed a significant relation ($0.05 < P$). The rates of *sono(o)* 'uh, well' and *a* 'oh' also showed some relationship to the length of formal Japanese studies ($0.05 < P \leq 0.1$).

The amount of time the NNSs spent in Japan also showed some relationship to the use of fillers, but not as strong as the other two factors (the *P*-value of the total rate was 0.0409). The rate of *koo* 'like this' showed a significant relationship and that of *ano(o)* showed some relationship to the time the NNSs spent in Japan ($P=0.004$ and 0.0986, respectively).

6.4.3. Discussion

The following are the major findings as regards the use of fillers by the NNSs:

1. Like connectives, the advanced and the superior level subjects used more fillers in number and variety than the intermediate and novice level subjects (see Table 6.10).
2. The NNSs at novice and intermediate levels used fillers mostly for production-related purposes while searching for an appropriate expression, whereas those at advanced and superior levels used various fillers for both production-related and social purposes. For example, at the novice level, a pause-filling filler *ee(to)* 'uh' was the only one used. At the intermediate level, three more variety of fillers, *soo desu ne(e)* 'let me see', *uun* 'uh, well' and *ano(o)* 'uh, well', occurred as pause-filling devices, as well as *a* 'oh' and *aa* 'oh', information management fillers. Socially motivated fillers (e.g. *ma(a)* 'kind of') or interaction-related ones (e.g. *yappari* 'as expected', *moo* 'really' and *hora* 'there, as you know') were not used at these levels.
3. The rate of *ano(o)* per 1,000 words among the advanced level subjects was the highest (4.4 times more than the native subjects and 2.6 times more than the superior level subjects).

4. Serious errors in usage were not made by any of the subjects.

Findings 1-3 above suggest that: (1) language-production fillers such as *ee(to)* 'uh' and *soo desu ne(e)* 'let me see' are learned before socially or interactionally-oriented ones such as *ma(a)* 'kind of' for down-playing and *yappari* 'as expected'; and (2) if the same filler can be used either for language-production purposes, e.g. when searching for an appropriate expression, and social/interactional reasons, e.g. to enhance agreeable atmosphere and/or the addressee's involvement in conversation, its use as a language-production function is learned before social/interactional functions.

Let us turn to findings (2) and (3). First, as regards the use of language production fillers, as shown in Table 6.9, *ee(to)* 'uh' was the only one used by the novice level subjects, specifically KK and JL. In the case of JL, 2 out of the 3 times she used *ee(to)*, there was approximately a 2-second-pause before she uttered it, suggesting that she was consciously thinking what she must use to fill the pause. KK and JL used English fillers as well as Japanese fillers.

The intermediate level subjects used three additional production-related fillers, *soo desu nee* 'let me see', *ano(o)* 'uh, well' and *uun* 'uh, well', and none of the subjects used English fillers. *Eeto*, *ano(o)* and *soo desu ne(e)* are usually the first fillers introduced in introductory Japanese textbooks.⁶ *Ano(o)* in particular is introduced in most Japanese textbooks as a polite hesitation marker (*Situational Functional Japanese*) or as the most common hesitation marker (*Japanese: The Spoken Language*). NH, an intermediate level subject, commented in the questionnaire (see Section 6.6.1) that she uses it whenever she needs to stall because she heard Japanese people use it when she was living in Japan. Another intermediate level speaker, PK, stated that he uses *ano(o)* in place of *um* when

⁶ For example, *eeto* 'uh' is introduced in the first chapter out of 7 chapters in *Yookoso*. *Ano(o)* 'uh, well' is introduced in Ch. 1 out of 8 chapters in *Situational Functional Japanese* and Ch 4 out of 12 chapters in *Japanese: The spoken language*. *Soo desu nee* 'let me see' is introduced in Ch. 8 out of 30 chapters in the *Introduction to Modern Japanese*.

speaking in Japanese.

This leads to my finding (3): the high rate of *ano(o)* among the advanced level subjects. As we saw in Table 6.9, *ano(o)* constituted 71.2% of all the fillers used by the advanced level subjects and their rate of *ano(o)* per 1,000 words was higher than the NNSs at any level or the native subjects. A characteristic of the usage of *ano(o)* by the intermediate and advanced level subjects was that, unlike the native subjects, the use of *ano(o)* did not show any consistent pattern. Most instances of *ano(o)* used by the native subjects were analyzed as a hesitation marker for specific purposes, such as to highlight a proposition, and to preface topic shift, disagreement, and side-sequencing. The superior level speakers' use of *ano(o)* was similar to the that of native speakers.

Most instances of *ano(o)* by the intermediate and advanced level subjects, in contrast, were analyzed as a floor-holding device. Of 242 tokens of *ano(o)* used by the advanced level speakers, 6 preceded expressions of disagreement, and 5 prefaced repairs, and others were used while searching for appropriate expressions. (3) illustrates the use of *ano(o)* for language-production-related purposes by an advanced level subject.

- (3) DM: a. Ima minna **anoo** Nihon no gakkoo de benkyoo shiteru ne/
now everyone uh Japanese school at study do-PROG IP
- b. doo yuu no kanaa/ **anoo**/ kochira no improvement shitai de ne?
how say NOM I wonder uh here improvement do-want IP
- Mieko: c. Huun/ improvement ttee no wa nan desu ka?
uh huh improvement QT NOM-TOP what is Q
- DM: d. **Ano**/ doo yuu no kana/ **ano**/ doo/ huu/ doo yuu huu/ **anoo**/
uh how say NOM wonder uh how way how say way uh
- nante yuu no kana/ system/ nante yuu no kana/ doo/ nante
what say-NOM wonder system what say-NOM wonder how become
- e. kochira no gakkoo ga motto ii/ aa shitai tte ne.
here school-SUB better that way do-want QT IP
- f. Sore benkyoo **ano** Nihon no kyooiku o benkyoo shiteru.
that study uh Japanese education-DO study do-PROG

- DM: a. Everyone now **uh**, is studying in Japanese school now, y'know?
 b. what shall I say, **uh** something we want to improve here, y'know?
 Mieko: c. Uh huh? What does the word "improvement" mean?
 DM: d. **Well**, what shall I say? **uh**/ how?/ how?/ **uh**/
 I wonder how to say it/ system/ how shall I say it? how/ what?
 e. our schools here/ better/ to change them in a certain way, y'know?
 f. They are studying that/ **uh**/ they're studying Japanese education.'

In (a)-(f), DM uses *ano(o)* 6 times. *Ano(o)* in (d) can be interpreted either as a turn-initial use of *ano* or as a pause-filling device. However, given that the whole utterance in (d) consists of a string of meta-communication fillers, such as *doo yuu no kanaa* 'how shall I say it?' and *nan te yuu no kanaa* 'what shall I say it,' it is more natural to interpret *ano(o)* in (d) as a pause-filling device while searching for words, rather than as a turn-initial use.

Compare (3) with Example (4), which illustrates the use of other fillers by SM, a superior level subject, talking about the Korean and American educational systems.

- (4) Mieko: a. **Kankoku to Amerika no kyooiku seedo o tootte kita gakusee o kurabete**
 Korea and America education system-DO go through student-DO compare
 b. **koo jinzai-teki ni wa dochira no hoo ga yuushuuna hito ga**
 uh human resource-DO which one -SUB excellent person-SUB
dete kuru n deshoo nee.
 come out BE Q
 SM: c. **Sonoo/ nante yuu ka/ anoo hikaku tte yuu no wa**
 well what shall I say uh comparison TOP
muzukashii desu ne/ yappari.
 difficult BE IP as you know
 d. **Demo aru imi de wa desu ne/ anoo/ Amerika no shisutemu no hoo ga koo/**
 but in a sense IP well American system -SUB like this
 e. **yuushuuna / ano eriito no koto ittemasu kedo ne/**
 excellent well elite about say-PROG but IP
 f. **maa toppu reberu no gakusee tachi o tsukuru ni wa**
 kind of top level student pl. -DO produce for-TOP
 g. **Amerika no hoo ga multe iru n ja naika to omou n desu kedo ne/ ee.**
 America -SUB suited TAG QT think assert but IP yes

- Mieko: a. 'When you compare students who went through Korean educational system with those who went through American educational system,
b. which one do you think produces better human resources?
SM: c. **Well, what shall I say, uh,** it's hard to compare them, **as you know.**
d. But in a sense, **uh,** American system, **like**
e. excellent, **well** I'm talking about the elite,
f. for producing **kind of** the top-level students,
g. American educational system may be better, I think, yes.'

Compared to DM, who used only *ano(o)* and *nante (doo) yuu no* 'what shall I say' as pause-filling fillers, SM used 6 different kinds of fillers: *sonoo* 'uh, well', *nante yuu ka* 'what shall I say', *ano(o)* 'uh, well', *yappari* 'as expected', *koo* 'like this', and *maa* 'kind of'. *Ano* in (c) and (d) is probably used as a pause-filling device, but *ano* in (e) is used for background repair. SM uses *sono* and *koo* in lines (c) and (e) where *ano* could have been used instead. Thus, this example shows diversification of the use of *ano(o)* by a superior level speaker and the use of other fillers in place of *ano(o)*.

The frequent use of *ano(o)* by the intermediate and advanced level subjects in my data is perhaps attributable to: (1) NNSs' familiarity with the *ano(o)* through their classroom instruction; (2) their exposure to *ano(o)* used by native Japanese speakers; (3) their lack of knowledge of other fillers; and (4) transfer of an English communication strategy into speaking Japanese, e.g. translating the English *um* as *ano(o)* in Japanese.

It seems that they often overgeneralize the function of *ano(o)* to situations where its use is not appropriate, and use it for any situation where they wish to express hesitation, including situations where other fillers are better suited. As NNSs become familiar with other stalling devices, such as *nanka* 'like' and *hora* 'there; you know what I mean', and also with socially motivated fillers, their use of *ano(o)* is expected to decrease, as was the case with the superior level subjects in the present study.

6.4.4. Summary

In this section, the findings regarding filler use by NNSs in comparison with that

by native speakers were presented. As was the case with connectives, the NNSs' proficiency level and the length of formal Japanese study were the most significant factors affecting the use of fillers, followed by the length of the time spent in Japan. The results show that fillers are used for language-production-related purposes before their use for social or interactional functions, supporting Hypothesis 5. In the case of a filler with both production-related and social functions, e.g. *ano(o)* 'uh, well' and *uun* 'uh, well', its use as a production filler is learned first. Finally, as non-native speakers reach higher proficiency levels, their use of fillers become diversified and their pause-filling function becomes less important.

6.5. Interactional particles

6.5.1. Quantitative analysis

The findings of interactional particles also supported Hypothesis 4. As with connectives and fillers, the NNSs at superior and advanced levels used a larger variety of interactional particles and used them more frequently than those at the intermediate or novice levels. None of the novice level subjects used any interactional particles during the interviews. However, during the role-plays (not included in the quantitative analysis), two subjects used interactional particles: KK used the confirmation particle *ne* and the assertion particle *yo*, each one once, and AP used *ne* once and *yo* twice. This shows that they knew how to use *ne* and *yo* correctly, given appropriate circumstances.

The intermediate subjects used three particles, *ne* (84.5%), *yo* (14.1%) and *yone* (1.4%). Thus, judging from the novice and intermediate subjects, *ne* and *yo* are the most likely to be the first particles learned by NNSs, followed by *yone*.⁷ Mine (1995), based on her 8-month longitudinal study on the acquisition of sentence-final expressions by non-native subjects of Japanese, suggests a general order of acquisition of interactional

⁷ Sakurai (1997) obtained similar results with her studies of *yo* and *ne* by first through fourth year college students of Japanese in her cross-sectional study.

particles in Japanese: *ne* and *yo* are learned first, and followed by *yone* (p. 68). My cross-sectional data confirmed her findings. Ohta (1994), based on her one-year longitudinal study, also found that *ne* was the only interactional particle used by her first-year Japanese subjects, suggesting that *ne* is the first particle learned in Japanese class.

The advanced level subjects used 6 interactional particles and their total number of particles used was much higher than that of the intermediate level subjects. The percentage of *ne* was the highest (78.8%), and *kana*, a particle of uncertainty, was the second highest in percentage. This concurs with Mine's finding that the self-directed *na* and *kana* are learned relatively early by non-native speakers, following *ne* and *yo*. Thus, Mine's claim about a general order of acquisition is again supported by my cross-sectional study.

The superior level subjects' use of interactional particles was similar to that by the native subjects in terms of the variety of particles. However, their percentages of *ne* and *yone* were much higher than that of the native subjects, constituting 86.9% of all particles in contrast to the native subjects' 63.7%. Table 6.12a summarizes the the tokens and percentages of interactional particles used by the NNSs.

Table 6.12a The tokens and percentages of interactional particles by proficiency level

marker functions	native	superior	advanced	intermed.	novice
	tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)
<i>ne</i> cooperation	239 (56.4)	246 (68.7)	152 (78.8)	60 (84.5) ⁹	-----
<i>yo</i> assertion	60 (14.2)	35 (9.8)	7 (3.6)	10 (14.1)	-----
<i>na</i> emotion	56 (13.2)	6 (1.7)	2 (1.0)	-----	-----
<i>no</i> question	2 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	-----	-----	-----
<i>kana</i> uncertainty	36 (8.5)	5 (1.4)	23 (11.9)	-----	-----
<i>kashira</i> uncertainty (F) ⁸	-----	-----	1 (0.5)	-----	-----
<i>yone</i> confirmation	31 (7.3)	65 (18.2)	8 (4.2)	1 (1.4)	-----
total	424 (100)	358 (100)	193 (100)	70 (100)	-----

With regard to the position of *ne*, NNSs at intermediate and advanced levels usually

⁸ *Kashira* is exclusively used by female speakers.

⁹ 30 tokens of *ne* out of 60 were produced by a single subject, PC.

employed it sentence-finally (98.3% and 80.3%, respectively). The superior level subjects used it utterance-medially (35.4%), sentence-finally (64.2%) and by itself (0.4%). This suggests that *ne* in the sentence-final position is learned before other positions. Thus, not only the frequency of *ne*, but its position is related to proficiency level.

It is evident that as the learner becomes more proficient, *ne* (and *yo*) constitute a decreasing percentage of total particle use: intermediate 84.5% (98.6%); advanced: 78.8% (82.4%); superior: 68.7% (78.5%); native subjects: 56.4% (70.6%). Table 6.12b summarizes the breakdown of the use of *ne* by its position.

Table 6.12b The breakdown of *ne* by position and proficiency level (tokens and %)

marker		native	superior	advanced	intermed.	novice
		tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)	tokens (%)
<i>ne</i>	medial	34 (14.2)	87 (35.4)	30 (19.7)	1 (1.7)	-----
	final	202 (84.5)	158 (64.2)	122 (80.3)	59 (98.3)	-----
	alone	3 (1.5)	1 (0.4)	-----	-----	-----
total		239 (100)	246 (100)	152 (100)	60 (100)	-----

As regards the rates of particles per 1,000 words, the total rates were higher for the NNSs at advanced and superior levels than for those at novice and intermediate levels. Of all the interactional particles used by the NNSs, the most frequently occurring one was *ne* by the NNSs at all levels, and the rates were higher than that of the native participants. Table 6.13a summarizes the rates of interactional particles by proficiency level.

Table 6.13a The rates of interactional particles/1000 words by proficiency level

marker	functions	native	superior	advanced	intermed.	novice
<i>ne</i>	cooperation	17.5	35	35.1	20.9	-----
<i>yo</i>	assertion	4.4	5	1.6	3.5	-----
<i>na</i>	emotion	4.1	0.9	0.5	-----	-----
<i>no</i>	question	0.2	0.1	-----	-----	-----
<i>kana</i>	uncertainty	2.6	0.7	5.3	-----	-----
<i>kashira</i>	uncertainty (F)	-----	-----	0.2	-----	-----
<i>yone</i>	confirmation	2.3	9.4	1.9	0.4	-----
total		31.1	52	44.6	24.7	-----

Table 6.13b summarizes the breakdown of the use of *ne* by position.

Table 6.13b The breakdown of *ne* by position and proficiency level (rates/1000 words)

marker	functions	native	superior	advanced	intermed.	novice
<i>ne</i>	medial	2.49	13	6.93	0.35	-----
	final	14.8	23	28.2	20.6	-----
	alone	0.22	0.1	-----	-----	-----
total		17.5	35	35.1	20.9	-----

6.5.2. Sociolinguistic factors and the use of interactional particles

6.5.2.1. Age and gender

We now examine the use of interactional particles in relation to age and gender.

While age was not a significant factor, gender showed some relationship to the use of interactional particles in the NNSs' data. In particular, *ne* was used more often by men than women (82.6 vs. 54.4/1000 words), and the difference is statistically significant ($P=0.035$). The rate of *na* and the total rate of interactional particles also showed a strong tendency that their use is influenced by gender. Gender was not a significant factor in the use of interactional particles in native Japanese interviews, however.

6.5.2.2. Other factors

With regards to the other three factors, proficiency level and formal Japanese study were more significantly related to the use of interactional particles than was time spent in Japan, paralleling the result obtained with fillers and connectives as discussed in Sections 6.3.2.2 and 6.4.2.2.

The proficiency level and formal Japanese study significantly affected the rates of *ne* ($P=0.0157$ and 0.0116 , respectively) *kana* ($P=0.0086$ and 0.0000 , respectively), and *yone* ($P=0.0009$ and 0.0158 , respectively) as well as the total rates of particles ($P=0.0018$

and 0.0017, respectively). Thus, proficiency level and the length of formal study significantly promoted the use of interactional particles. The time the NNSs spent in Japan was related to the rate of *ne* ($P=0.0520$) and *yone* ($P=0.0399$) as well as the total rate of particle usage ($P=0.0476$). Table 6.14 summarizes the P -values of the rates of interactional particles to gender, proficiency level, the length of formal study and the time spent in Japan.

Table 6.14 The P -values of the factors which influenced the use of interactional particles

marker	functions	The P -values for the 4 factors			
		gender	Prof. level	formal Japanese study	time in Japan
<i>ne</i>	cooperation	0.035	0.0157	0.0116	0.0520
<i>yo</i>	assertion	ns	ns	ns	ns
<i>na</i>	emotion	0.064	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>no</i>	question	ID	ID	ID	ID
<i>kana</i>	uncertainty	ns	0.0086	0.0000	ns
<i>kashira</i>	uncertainty (F)	ID	ID	ID	ID
<i>yone</i>	confirmation	ns	0.0009	0.0158	0.0399
total		0.065	0.0018	0.0017	0.0476

$P \leq 0.05$: significant correlation; $0.05 < P \leq 0.1$: strong tendency; ns: not significant; ID: indeterminable due to low occurrence, N/A: no P -value (no occurrence)

6.5.3. Discussion

Let us turn to the use by the NNSs of the most common final particle, *ne*. My findings are as follows: (1) the frequency of *ne* as a percentage of all particles used was higher at lower proficiency levels than higher levels (84.5% at the intermediate level; 78.8% at the advanced level; and 68.7% at the superior level) (2) no errors in interactional particles usage occurred except for overuse of *ne* by one intermediate level subject; (3) the occurrence rates of *ne* by the NNSs were higher than that of the native subjects.

The high rates of *ne* by the NNSs may be attributed to the following facts: (1) *ne* is the most commonly used final particle among native speakers (Maynard 1993:102); (2) it is

introduced early in Japanese instruction;¹⁰ and (3) it is the most frequently used particle by Japanese language teachers in the classroom according to Ohta (1994:310), constituting 86% of all the particles used by the three teachers in her data, followed by *deshoo* (5%), *yo* (5%), *kana* (4%), etc.

Ne, as a marker of cooperative attitude, as discussed in Chapter 5, creates an agreeable atmosphere in face-to-face interaction. Its overuse, however, makes one's speech unnatural. The frequent use of *ne* by the NNSs may derive from their misperception of the functions of *ne* as well as the complexity of its functions. In the questionnaire filled out after the conversations and interviews, 4 native subjects wrote that they use *ne* with close friends, and one wrote that she does not use *ne* to an older person. An intermediate level subject wrote that she uses *ne* whenever she uses *ano(o)*. Another intermediate level subject wrote that he uses *ne* for emphasis. It is quite plausible that NNSs at the intermediate level do not yet know exactly when they should or should not use *ne*. As Martin (1975:916) states, overuse of *ne* can be irritating to the listener.

The overuse of *ne* is likely to be related to the lack of familiarity of other particles. Mine (1995:70) states that during the first month of her longitudinal study, *ne* was often misused, and that by the eighth month, the usage error decreased as her subjects learned other particles appropriate to various situations. (5) is an example of overuse of *ne* by one of my intermediate subjects.

- (5) Mieko: a. Gokazoku wa naka ga ii desu ka?
 family-TOP relationship-SUB good BE Q
 b. Ironna koto o issho ni shimasu ka?
 various thing-DO together do Q
 PC: c. Aa soo desu **ne**.
 oh so BE IP

¹⁰ For example, *ne* is introduced in Ch. 1 of *Yookoso* and *Japanese: The spoken language* (out of 7 and 12 chapters, respectively), in Ch. 2 (out of 12 chapters) of *Situational Functional Japanese*, and in Ch. 3 (out of 30 chapters) of the *Introduction to Modern Japanese*.

d. Aa/ daitai hataraku dake desu **ne**.
oh usually work only BE IP

Mieko: e. Hataraku dake?
work only

PC: f. Soo omoimasu **ne**.
so think IP

Mieko: a. 'Are your family members close to each other?
b. Do they do various things together?

PC: c. Oh yes.
d. Oh we just work.

Mieko: e. Just work?

PC: f. I think so.'

In (c), (d), and (f), PC ended his utterance with *ne* pronounced with a slightly rising intonation. Since the information in these utterances is about his own family, which I know nothing about, he should have used the bare form or *yo*, rather than *ne*. If *ne* was pronounced with a falling or a middle sustained intonation, it would not have sounded as odd, since native speakers sometimes use *ne* when presenting information with a sense of detachment (see Section 5.4.3). PC's intonation and frequent use of *ne*, however, made his utterances sound unnatural. Though he used both *ne* and *yo* during his interview, perhaps he did not have clear understanding of the use of *yo*, *ne*, and the bare form of verbs.

Overusing particles in conversation, as well as lack thereof, can create problems, such as sounding too insistent and too familiar in the case of *yo* or sounding too familiar in the case of *ne*. Therefore, it is advisable to include explicit instruction about how to use interactional particles, including when to use or not use them, in various contexts and at various stages of instruction.

6.5.4. Summary

To summarize the use of interactional particles by non-native subjects, *ne* was the most commonly used particle. The most significant factors affecting the use of interactional

particles are proficiency levels and the length of formal study, followed by the time spent in Japan and gender. My cross-sectional data and Mine's longitudinal study both suggest that *ne* and *yo* are learned first by NNSs.

6.6. Pedagogical implications of the present study

In this section, perceptions of some fillers and interactional particles by native and non-native subjects are discussed first, followed by pedagogical suggestions.

6.6.1. Natives' and NNSs' perceptions of fillers and particles

The results of my questionnaire regarding the fillers indicate that native speakers attach various roles to a given filler. Native and non-native participants have largely similar perceptions about the roles of the fillers surveyed, though there were some discrepancies, particularly among the intermediate level participants (see Appendix 2 and 3 for the format of the questionnaires).

It should be noted that for each of the four fillers, *ee(to)* 'uh', *ano(o)* 'well', *nanka* 'like', and *ma(a)* 'kind of', there were several native participants who stated that they try not to use them (TH, a 66-year old male teacher, stated he avoids using *ano(o)* and *ee(to)*, TA, a 40-year old female teacher, and KH, a 56 year old female teacher, stated they do not use *nanka* and *ma(a)*), which indicates that the use of fillers is not always considered to be appropriate by native speakers.

Table 6.15 summarizes the results of the questionnaire as regards fillers.¹¹

¹¹ The format of the questionnaire was revised after interviewing the NNSs. Therefore, they did not comment on *nanka* 'like' and *maa* 'kind of'. Not every participant answered all the questions, and some of them gave more than one answer for some questions. Therefore, the totals are sometimes different from the number of participants.

Table 6.15 The results of the questionnaires (fillers)

situations where the fillers are used		native (n=24)	NNSs (n=24)
<i>ee(to)</i>	when searching for appropriate expression	11 (40.7%)	8 (36.4%)
'uh'	while thinking	10 (30%)	6 (27.3%)
	while recalling something	2 (7.4%)	3 (13.6%)
	when not sure	1 (3.7%)	-----
	to stall or pause	-----	3 (13.6%)
	at the beginning of utterance	-----	2 (9.1%)
	do not use with friends	2 (7.4%)	-----
	do not use it often	1 (3.7%)	-----
total		27 (100%)	22 (100%)
<i>ano(o)</i>	to a stranger	6 (27.2%)	
'well;	searching for appropriate expression	5 (22.7%)	10 (50%)
'uh'	while thinking	3 (13.6%)	6 (30%)
	to say things which are hard to say	3 (13.6%)	
	to get by a situation	3 (13.6%)	
	when not sure	2 (9.1%)	1 (5%)
	use instead of <i>um</i>		1 (5%)
	at the beginning (of a long explanation)		2 (10%)
total		22 (100%)	20 (100%)
<i>nanka</i>	when words do not come out	5 (22.7%)	
'like'	when I don't want to emphasize something	4 (18.2%)	
	to express uncertainty	4 (18.2%)	
	at the beginning of an utterance (no meaning)	2 (9.1%)	
	to people who are familiar	1 (4.5%)	
	to complain	1 (4.5%)	
	use it without thinking	1 (4.5%)	
	use it like a conjunction	1 (4.5%)	
	try not to use it often	3 (13.6%)	
total		22 (100%)	
<i>ma(a)</i>	when do not agree completely	7 (41.2%)	
'kind	to present a counter argument softly	4 (23.5%)	
of'	to fill a pause (no meaning)	3 (17.6%)	
	to express doubt	2 (11.8%)	
	o express minor conclusions	1 (5.9%)	
total ¹²		17 (100%)	

As regards the roles of the interactional particles *ne* and *yo*, native and non-native responses were again similar. Among the native subjects, SH (a male college student) stated he does not use *ne* often, and FY, KM, NM, and KY (all college students, FY a male, the other three are females) stated that they try not to use *yo* often.

¹² 5 native speakers confused *maa* 'kind of' with a female interjection *maa* 'oh' and answered accordingly, which is not reflected in Table 6.15.

The result of the questionnaire indicate that native and non-native subjects assign similar functions to the fillers and interactional particles surveyed, though the perception differences were greater among the novice and intermediate level subjects than among the advanced and superior level subjects. Table 6.16 summarizes the results of the questionnaire.

Table 6.16 The results of the questionnaires (interactional particles)

particle	situations where the particles are used	native	non-native
<i>ne</i>	ask for agreement	10 (31.3%)	10 (40%)
	to express agreement	6 (18.8%)	9 (36%)
	to confirm	6 (18.8%)	2 (8%)
	to familiar people	4 ((12.5%)	1 (4%)
	for invitation	1 (3.1%)	-----
	to be polite	1 (3.1%)	-----
	when speaking to women	1 (3.1%)	-----
	for emphasis	-----	1 (4%)
	for shared information	-----	1 (4%)
	always use with <i>ano</i>	-----	1 (4%)
	don't use much	1 (3.1%)	-----
	do not use to an older person	2 (6.3%)	-----
total		32 (100%)	25 (100%)
<i>yo</i>	to emphasize something	9 (37.5%)	5 (33.3%)
	to give information	4 (16%)	4 (26.7%)
	to assert something	4 (16%)	4 (26.7%)
	when advising	1 (4.2%)	-----
	with people who are familiar	2 (8.3%)	-----
	to express strong feelings	-----	2 (13.3%)
	don't use much	4 (16.7%)	-----
	masculine sounding	1 (4.2%)	-----
total		24 (100%)	15 (100%)

6.6.2. Classroom implications

The results of the present study suggests pedagogical areas which merit attention:

1. Explicit instructions on discourse markers should be included in Japanese language instruction from the beginning and expanded at every level for the following reasons: (1) discourse markers are an integral part of Japanese conversation, connecting utterances, expressing the speaker's orientation to the proposition and to the addressee, and

without them, one's speech will sound unnatural; (2) all discourse markers analyzed in the present study have more than one function and are used in a variety of situations, and thus their functions and the contexts in which they occur may not be easily understood without explicit explanations; and (3) many students will not have enough opportunities to hear native speaker's natural conversation.

Although it is impossible to teach all discourse markers at once, the instruction should consciously include the use of discourse markers in a wide variety of contexts at various stages of instruction, such as the use of *(sore)de* as a floor-holding device or the use of filler, *nanka* 'like' to express uncertainty.

As specific teaching strategies, I suggest the following be included as part of explicit classroom instruction of discourse markers:

(1) Increase the teachers' use of discourse markers and make their use salient.

Ohta (1994:314) states that the frequency of interactional particles used in the classroom is much less than in normal conversation. Larsen-Freeman (1976, cited in Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991:91) claims that input frequency is significantly correlated with morpheme acquisition order in her ESL classroom. Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993:35) argue that "attention to input is a necessary condition for any learning at all." Many of the intermediate and advanced level subjects in the present study were not aware of fillers such as *nanka* 'like' and *ma(a)* 'kind of'.

By increasing the use of discourse markers in the classroom and by pointing out their usage, teachers can make students aware of the functions of discourse markers. Ohta (1994:318) points out the importance of the use of "*ne*-marked assessments (i.e. teacher's personal reaction to students' utterance, such as *ii desu nee!* 'how nice!') and eye-gaze as strategies to increase the use of *ne* and drawing the students' attention to it. It is also important that teachers emphasize communicative activities using natural language as well as instruction in grammar and vocabulary, including the use of discourse markers.

(2) Use recordings of natural, authentic conversations in class at various stages of instruction. It is important not simply to listen to the recordings but practice how to use particular discourse markers which the teacher wishes to introduce. By analyzing the use of discourse markers in naturally-occurring conversations and by drilling on them, students will have better understanding of the functions of discourse markers.

(3) Provide opportunities for students to use discourse markers whenever possible. Hadley (1993:79-87) argues that contexts must be provided in language learning so learners can apply their knowledge to coping with real-life situations. The importance of context is illustrated by my two novice level subjects, KK and AP, who used interactional particles *yo* and *ne* in their role plays but not during interviews. This suggests that they knew how to use these particles when provided appropriate contexts. Therefore, learners should practice the use of discourse markers in environments in which discourse marker use is imperative, such as in role-plays and guided conversations.

(4) Include the use of discourse markers as part of the evaluation of students' progress. By being tested on the use of discourse markers, students are more likely to use discourse markers consciously.

Okumura (1995:34-36), based on her study of teachers' and nonteachers' perception of elementary learners' spoken Japanese, states that one of the most important criteria for judging non-native speakers' proficiency is fluency and appropriateness as well as correct grammar or vocabulary. The use of discourse markers certainly is part of appropriateness. Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993:35) state that "explicit teacher-provided information about the pragmatics of the second language can play a role in learning, provided that it is accurate and not based solely on fallible native speaker intuition." An analysis of discourse markers such as the present study will serve as an important source of such information.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the findings regarding the roles of discourse markers in Japanese conversation and discusses limitations of the present study.

7.1. Findings of the present study

This study focused its attention on Japanese connectives, fillers and interactional particles as discourse markers as used by native and non-native speakers of Japanese, using Schifffrin's (1987) framework. I have shown that connectives, fillers, and interactional particles all function as discourse markers in Japanese, and that they play important roles in Japanese conversation, conjoining idea units and indicating the speaker's feelings and orientation toward a proposition and/or the addressee. The importance of connectives, fillers, and interactional particles in conversation was in part supported by their frequent occurrence in my data, and partly by their various functions regarding the proposition-proposition, speaker-proposition and speaker-addressee relationships.

To my knowledge, the present study is the first attempt to analyze connectives, fillers, and interactional particles as items all belonging to one category, discourse markers, and in one framework, though some connectives and interactional particles have previously been analyzed separately (e.g. Maynard 1989a, Onodera 1993, Ito 1995, Oishi 1985, Ishikawa 1988 and Cook 1988, *inter alia*). The filler *ano(o)* has been analyzed by Cook (1993). I also presented an analysis of discourse marker usage by non-native subjects at four proficiency levels defined by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), and compared it with that of native speakers.

The primary function of connectives is to conjoin idea units, but they also operate at the interactional level. For example, *(sore)de* 'and' sequentially coordinates idea units, expresses cause-effect relationships, and also operates as a floor-holding device or as an

entry-device for co-construction. *Demo* 'but' connects contrasting idea units (referential contrast), as well as connecting functionally different units (functional contrast) and contrasting actions (e.g. claiming the floor during the other speaker's turn). *Dakara* 'so' connects units in cause-effect relationships, and can also signal the speaker's irritation at having to repeat what has previously been said as well as to signal the end of one's turn.

My data show that the most significant factors which influence the occurrence rate of connectives by native speakers are their gender and the speech genre. Connectives were used more frequently by female speakers than by male speakers. *De* 'and' was used most often in narratives where the speaker holds the floor for a long time. Formality and the speakers' age were not significant factors in the use of connectives.

Fillers' primary function as discourse markers is in participation framework and exchange structures, revealing the cognitive process, such as information management, and the speaker's feelings and orientation towards a proposition and/or the addressee. For example, *a* 'oh' and *aa* 'oh' express the speaker's receipt of information. Some fillers can also be used in the exchange structure as turn-entry devices (e.g. *ano(o)* 'uh, well' and *nanka* 'like'). The main function of *ano(o)* is to express the speaker's hesitation before introducing a new conversational move, such as topic change, disagreement or highlighting a proposition. *Nanka* 'like' indicates the speaker's uncertainty and hesitation, revealing his or her attitude towards the proposition and/or the addressee. Many fillers, including *ano(o)*, *uun* 'uh, well' and *nanka* 'like' can function both as floor-holding devices, while the speaker searches for an appropriate expression, and as socially motivated fillers to create an agreeable atmosphere for conversation. *Ma(a)* 'kind of' expresses the speaker's compromise and downplaying. Thus, it is a useful device to express a conciliatory agreement without overtly stating how one really feels.

The most significant factors which influence the fillers usage are formality and the speaker's age. Fillers are used more frequently in formal-style speech, where "social packaging" is more prevalent than in informal-style speech. The speakers' gender and

speech genre were not significant factors in the use of fillers.

Interactional particles, except *ne*, *na*, and *sa*, occur exclusively utterance-finally, indicating the speaker's feelings and orientation towards a proposition and/or the addressee. *Ne* is used to indicate cooperative attitudes or to align the interlocutors on the same side, as Cook (1993) observes, and thus is used to seek and express agreement and confirmation. It is also used to soften the tone in disagreement, as an attention-checking device, and as an entry device when used utterance-initially. *Yo* is used to express the speaker's emphasis and reveals the speaker's judgement as to the speaker-addressee relationship as a familiar and personal one. *Yone* indicates the speaker's conviction and cooperative attitude simultaneously, and also works as a device to request agreement or confirmation and to check the addressee's attention.

The use of interactional particles was most significantly affected by formality, speakers' age, and speech genre. They were used more often in informal-style speech, confirming Uyeno's observation that "the closer and less formal relation a speaker and addressee maintain, the more sentence particles are allowed in their conversation (1971:50). Older participants used more interactional particles than younger ones.

As regards non-native speakers' use of Japanese discourse markers, my data show the following:

1. The NNSs at higher proficiency levels, such as advanced and superior levels, used more discourse markers both in number and variety; the superior level speakers' use of connectives was similar to that by native speakers, indicating that superior level speakers truly have native-like interactive and discourse strategies as defined in the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Guidelines (the ACTFL 1988:11).

2. The NNSs at lower proficiency levels used connectives for ideational functions primarily, while those at higher proficiency levels used them both for ideational and interactional functions, as so native speakers. This confirmed my hypothesis that the ideational functions of connectives are learned before interactional ones.

3. The intermediate and advanced level subjects used *ano(o)* at a high rate and primarily for production-related purposes. This may indicate that the functions of *ano(o)* for social purposes have not yet been learned at these proficiency levels, or they do not know any other fillers they can use as pause-filling devices.

4. The rates of interactional particles were higher among advanced and superior level subjects than those at the novice and intermediate levels, and native speakers.

5. Of the sociolinguistic factors examined for the present study, proficiency level and length of formal Japanese study most significantly influence the use of discourse markers by non-native subjects. Age, gender and the length of the time spent in Japan were not as significantly related as the other two factors.

Given my findings about NNSs' discourse marker usage and frequency, I proposed that explicit instruction on the specific functions of discourse markers be incorporated at various stages of instruction in order to develop non-native speakers' overall competence.

7.2. The roles of discourse markers in Japanese conversation

My data showed how frequently connectives, fillers and interactional particles are used in Japanese conversation by native speakers. Many connectives are optional. For example, hearers may understand whether two consecutive idea units are in coordinate or contrasting relationship from the meanings of the units themselves. The use of connectives, however, facilitates the understanding of discourse structures, makes the relationships between utterances clearer, and leads to a better discourse coherence.

Many fillers are optional as well. They, however, are useful as floor-holders while the speaker searches for an appropriate expression. They also contribute to creating a socially and culturally expected interactional atmosphere by showing the speaker's emotions and orientation, such as hesitation and uncertainty (e.g. *nanka* 'like' and *maa* 'kind of'), since appearing uncertain is somewhat expected in many situations in Japanese

conversation, even if the speaker is certain about something. Fillers may also display the speaker's emotions (e.g. *moo* 'really'), and help enhance the addressee's involvement in conversation (e.g. *hora* 'you know what I mean' and *yappari* 'as expected').

Interactional particles also contribute to creating an agreeable atmosphere; e.g. by softening the speaker's tone and expressing cooperative attitudes. Additionally, they display the speaker's feelings and emotions, such as emphasis and excitement by the use of *yo*, or the expression of closeness by *ne* and *yo*. The speaker can use them as attention-getting or attention-checking devices as well (e.g. the utterance-initial *ne* and utterance-medial *ne* and *sa*). Interactional particles, as Uyeno (1971:49) and Maynard (1997:87) state, are used by the speaker in order to communicate with the addressee in an emotional and empathy-creating way.

As regards the positions and the speech units they bracket, connectives primarily occur utterance-initially as boundary-markers, connecting ideational (e.g. *de* 'and'), turn-taking (e.g. *dakara* 'so' at the end of one's turn) and speech act units (e.g. the use of *demo* 'but' for point-making). Fillers primarily occur utterance-medially, indexing utterance-internal units, such as phrases, to prior and/or upcoming units and to the interlocutors. For example, *ma(a)* 'kind of' expresses downplaying of the effect of the upcoming utterance and *nanka* 'like' shows the speaker's uncertainty or desire to appear uncertain. Fillers may also bracket turns (e.g. *nanka* 'like' as a turn-initiator) and speech acts (*ano(o)* 'uh' as an attention-getter, as well as a turn-initiator). Interactional particles occur primarily utterance-finally, with the exception of *sa*, which occurs both phrase and utterance-finally, and *ne*, which occurs utterance-initially and phrase-finally, as well as utterance-initially or by itself.

The most important function discourse markers have is as textual and participant coordinates. In other words, they, as Schiffrin (1987:321) states, select and display, rather than create, relationships between propositions, a proposition and the interlocutors, and the speaker and the addressee, by indexing an utterance to prior and/or upcoming units and to

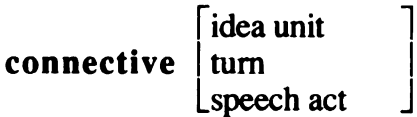
the interlocutors. All Japanese connectives, fillers and interactional particles do exactly that.

Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1 summarize the functions of connectives, fillers and interactional particles discussed in this thesis. Bold indicates the primary position for each category of discourse marker.

Table 7.1 Positions of connectives, fillers, and interactional particles and the units they coordinate

type of marker	positions	main functions	secondary functions
connectives	utterance-initial utterance-final	coordinate idea units, turns, and speech acts	express the speaker's orientation toward a proposition or the hearer
fillers	utterance-medial utterance-initial utterance-final	express the speaker's cognitive process and feelings/ attitudes toward the proposition/ hearer	turn-initiator; attention-getter, etc.
interactional particles	utterance-final utterance-initial utterance-medial	express the speaker's knowledge and meta-knowledge and feelings/ attitudes	turn-initiator attention-getter attention-checker

1. connectives: primarily utterance-initial brackets (also utterance-final for *dakara* 'so')



2. fillers: primarily utterance-medial brackets (secondary: utterance-initial (e.g. *ano(o)* 'uh, well' and *maa* 'kind of' and *eeto* 'uh') or final brackets (e.g. *nanka* 'like')



3. interactional particles: utterance-final (secondary: utterance medial and final for *sa* and *na*; and utterance-initial, medial, and final and by itself for *ne*)



Figure 7.1 Positions of connectives, fillers, and interactional particles and the units they coordinate

7.3. Discourse markers and expected norms of Japanese society

Many researchers have stated that *wa* 'harmony, peace, and unity' is one of the most important social values of Japanese society (e.g. Reischauer 1977; Barnlund 1989; Wierzbicka 1991 *inter alia*). Wierzbicka (1991:358) characterizes *wa* as follows: "it is a desire for unity, closeness, concord, and peace and a refusal to credit or blame individuals within a group, and made possible by conscious and common effort by the participants in a society." Other characteristics attributed to Japanese society is modesty, self-effacement, humility, and avoiding open conflict and confrontation with others (e.g. Reischauer 1977 and Smith 1983).

In order to achieve harmony within the group and avoid open confrontation, Japanese children receive what Clancy (1986:232-240) calls "empathy and conformity training" in which, at quite an early stage of their life, mothers actively teach their children Japanese norms for speech and behavior. Clancy states that in giving directives, Japanese mothers tended to appeal to social norms, unlike American mothers, who tended to express their own feelings (p. 218). She further states that this early training in empathy and conformity leads Japanese children to understand the feelings and expectations of others, and that helps set the stage for the successful functioning of the Japanese indirect, intuitive mode of communication (p. 240).

As shown in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this thesis, discourse markers play important roles in Japanese communication both at the textual and the interactional levels. Fillers and interactional particles particularly contribute to achieving *wa* in Japanese society. For example, *ma(a)* 'kind of' expresses downplaying and humility when the speaker is talking to an addressee who is superior to the speaker, and/or when the speaker is talking about him/herself or his/her family members. Clancy (1986:240) states that one kind of conformity training Japanese children is given by their mothers is how to avoid saying no directly, because any overt expression of conflict could jeopardize the harmony between the

speaker and the listener. She argues that the Japanese try various indirect strategies for saying no, the most extreme of which is simply saying yes. *Ma(a)* functions precisely for this purpose, giving conciliatory agreement when the speaker does not truly agree with others.

Ano(o) also contributes to achieving harmony, first by aligning the speaker and the listener on the same side, appealing to the sense of sharedness between them, and secondly by expressing the speaker's hesitancy for imposing something on the addressee or reluctance to express the upcoming proposition. *Nanka* 'like' is another filler which is used to accomplish in-group harmony. It can be used when the speaker desires not to appear too confident or definite in the eyes of a certain addressee, such as one's superior. *Uun* 'uh; well' and *soo desu ne(e)* 'let me see' are still other fillers which can be used when the speaker does not wish to say no overtly.

Interactional particle such as *ne* and *yone* also contribute to achieving harmony in various situations. Both *ne* and *yone* are used to request or express agreement. *Ne* is also used to check the addressee's attention in the middle of the speaker's turn.

There are fillers in English which express uncertainty, hesitation, or downplaying. Owen (1983) states that *well* is used to preface a face-threatening response such as non-compliance with a request, or rejection of an offer. Schifffrin (1987:280-282) states that *y'know* is used to appeal to shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer, and to draw the hearer's attention to material which is important for the speaker. *Kind of* and *sort of* are other fillers which can be used for uncertainty or downplaying.

As Maynard (1997:20) states, some languages have many language-explicit devices that respond to relationality-based cues, whereas others have fewer and must use other strategies in order to accomplish the same objective. She lists Japanese as an example of the former, and English as that of the latter. Furthermore, in any society, there may be situations where harmonious and cooperative relations are valued. And, perhaps, there are situations when one feels the need to downplay one's utterance or not telling the whole

truth. What is crucial is the extent to which individuals in a particular society try to achieve the goals of promoting harmonious and cooperative relationship with others, avoiding open confrontation.

The Japanese are much more concerned than Americans, for example, with presenting themselves as cooperative and harmonious beings in social interactions, or, in Maynard's terms (1997:19) "are more likely to be trapped in the self-imposed concept of society." Since reluctance to disagree with another's opinions or refuse a request is so strong in Japanese society, Uchida (1974, cited in Clancy 1986:215) states that her subjects rarely used no except within their families. As discussed by many researchers (Reischauer 1977, Smith 1983, Christopher 1984, and Barnlund 1989), Japanese society seems to dictate the individual's effort to achieve harmonious relationships more strongly than American society. The variety and frequency of discourse markers, fillers and interactional particles in particular, provide another piece of evidence to support the characterization of Japanese society presented by these researchers. And, needless to say, this facet of Japanese society helps account for the very significant functions of discourse markers described in this thesis.

7.4. Limitations of the present study and suggestions for future study

There are several factors which limited the scope of this study. First, the number of the subjects was relatively small, especially that of non-native subjects (36 native and 24 non-native subjects). It is hoped that a similar study with a greater number of subjects will be carried out in the future to test the hypotheses presented here.

Second, the type of data was limited. The present study did not include informal speech by older (over 35 years old) native Japanese. Lack of male speakers' data in informal-style conversation compelled me to exclude the informal speech data collected from older women in order to maintain consistency. All of the native subjects were

students and teachers. Studies that include data from various social groups need to be conducted, particularly in investigating gender differences in the use of discourse markers.

Third, in the present study, except for the college-age native subjects, conversation, interview and narrative data were collected from different individuals. Though my data showed tendencies in the use of discourse markers in the three speech genres, it would also be interesting to see how the same individuals' use of discourse markers varies according to speech genre. This issue needs to be addressed in future studies.

Fourth, in the present study, I was able to get feedback about the use of discourse markers only from a handful of the participants, since most of them left the country immediately after recording. The subjects' feedback provided important information about their use of discourse markers. A more systematic method of collecting subjects' feedback is desirable.

Fifth, the present study on the use of discourse markers by non-native speakers was limited to cross-sectional data. Future studies need to address the issue in longitudinal situations in order to see the acquisition order of Japanese discourse markers by non-native speakers.

Lastly, in the present study, only interview data were analyzed for non-native speakers for the following reason: it was difficult to find conversation data from novice and superior level speakers. Novice level speakers are not yet able to converse with another novice level speaker, and superior level non-native speakers are difficult to find in the area where the research was carried out. It is desirable to include non-native conversation data in future studies.

Despite all these limitations, I hope I have been able to shed light on the use of Japanese discourse markers by native and non-native speakers. Discourse markers, particularly fillers, may be used without the speaker's awareness and sometimes in spite of his or her conscious effort not to use them (e.g. TH who stated in the questionnaire that he tries not to use *ano(o)* and *eeto* used them more often than any other older male speakers

and TA and KH who stated that they try to avoid using *ma(a)* and *nanka* also used them, though less often than other older female speakers). Without them, the speaker may sound too confident, too arrogant, and too self-assuring or too inconsiderate of the addressee. I have shown that these discourse markers are indispensable and integral elements in face-to-face interactions in Japanese, and that the Japanese society dictates their appropriate use. Therefore, if learners of Japanese aim at achieving native-like proficiency, explicit instructions on the appropriate use of discourse markers must be incorporated in classroom instruction.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines

(cited in Hadley 1993:502-504)

Novice	The Novice level is characterized by the ability to communicate minimally with learned material.
Novice-High	Able to satisfy partially the requirements of basic communicative exchanges by relying heavily on learned utterances but occasionally expanding these through simple recombinations of their elements. Can ask questions or make statements involving learned material. Shows signs of spontaneity although this falls short of real autonomy of expression. Speech continues to consist of learned utterances rather than of personalized, situationally adapted ones.
Intermediate	The Intermediate level is characterized by the speaker's ability to: -create with the language by combining and recombining learned elements, though primarily in a reactive mode; -initiate, minimally sustain, and close in a simple way basic communicative tasks; and -ask and answer questions.
Advanced	The Advanced level is characterized by the speaker's ability to: -converse in a clearly participatory fashion; -initiate, sustain, and bring to closure a wide variety of communicative tasks, including those that require an increased ability to convey meaning with diverse language strategies due to a complication or an unforeseen turn of events; -satisfy the requirements of school and work situations; and -narrate and describe with paragraph-length connected discourse. Shortcomings can often be smoothed over by communicative strategies, such as pause fillers, stalling devices, and different rates of speech
Superior	The Superior level is characterized by the speaker's ability to: -participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, professional, and abstract topics; and -support opinions and hypothesize using native-like interactive and discourse strategies.

APPENDIX 2

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NATIVE JAPANESE SPEAKERS

INFORMATION SHEET

Pair # _____ Date _____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS. (下記の質問にお答え下さい。日本語でも英語でも結構です。)

1. Name: _____ 2. Age (年齢): _____

3. Gender (性別): Male (男) Female (女)

4. Classification (学年): Fr (一年) So (二年) Jr (三年) Sr (四年) Grad (大学院) _____ 年

Other (その他) _____ Occupation (職業): _____

5. Major field of study (専門) _____

6. Hometown (出身): State (県): _____ City (市): _____

7. How close are you to your conversation partner? (会話相手との関係は下のどれに当たりますか。)

- a. very close friend (親友) b. good friend (友達) c. acquaintance (知合い)
d. don't know the person well (よく知らない) e. other (その他) _____

8. For what reasons do you use the following expressions when you are speaking?

(会話中、どんな時に次の表現を使いますか。)

a. ano(o) あの(う)

b. ee(to) ええ(と)

c. ma(a) ま(あ)

d. nanka なんか

e. ne(e) ね(え)

f. yo よ

Thank you very much for your cooperation. 御協力どうもありがとうございました。

APPENDIX 3

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF JAPANESE

INFORMATION SHEET

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

1. Name: _____ 2. Age: _____

3. Gender: Male _____ Female _____

4. Classification: Fr. So. Jr. Sr. Grad. Other: _____

5. Major field of study: _____

6. Hometown: City: _____ State: _____

7. How long have you studied Japanese? _____ years _____ months

8. How long have you lived in Japan, if at all? _____

9. What were your main reasons for living in Japan? study, work, travelling,
other: _____

10. About how many Japanese friends do you have? _____

11. For what reasons do you personally use the following expressions?

a. ano(o) あの(う):

b. ee(to) ええ(と):

c. nee ね(え):

d. yo よ:

12. What are the things you pay particular attention when speaking Japanese?

a. accuracy b. naturalness of expressions c. pronunciation/intonation

d. express what you want to express

e. other (Please specify) _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation. どうもありがとうございました。

APPENDIX 4

List of native English speakers for the English data

subject	sex	age	occupation	home state	data	topic	words
PE	M	O	teacher	New York	C	foreign language	720
CP	M	O	teacher	Oregon	C	philosophy	1157
SS	M	O	businessman	Michigan	C	Americans	791
HE	F	O	housewife	Virginia	C	foreign language	1326
AP	F	O	teacher	Michigan	C	philosophy	838
SH	F	O	counsellor	Michigan	C	everyday life	1047
JF	M	Y	student	Michigan	C	Americans	785
MC	M	Y	student	Michigan	C	college life	655
BH	M	Y	student	Michigan	C	college life	1037
JH	F	Y	student	Michigan	C	USA & the world	1031
HS	F	Y	student	Michigan	C	USA & the world	1169
EP	F	Y	student	Michigan	C	everyday life	303
CB	M	Y	student	Michigan	N	happy moment	523
TD	M	Y	student	Michigan	N	happy moment	599
TR	F	Y	student	Michigan	N	troubling time	264
LV	F	Y	student	Michigan	N	troubling time	525

O=older; Y=younger; C=conversation; N=narratives

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