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HEDGES IN JAPANESE SPOKEN DISCOURSE:
A COMPARISON BETWEEN YOUNGER AND OLDER SPEAKERS

By

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ABSTRACT

HEDGES IN JAPANESE SPOKEN DISCOURSE:

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In the present study, hedges are defined as expressions of uncertainty, possibility, tentativeness or approximation which convey a sense of vagueness. For example, I examine hedges such as *toka* 'or something', *kana* 'I wonder', *omou* 'I think', *nanka* 'like', *tabun* 'probably' and *teyuuka* 'or rather'. A speaker uses these types of hedges to mitigate his/her utterances, to show a non-committal or self-protective attitude, or to show solidarity among conversation participants. In general, the use of hedges is motivated not only by information demands (lack of knowledge), but also by sociolinguistic factors. The goal of this study is to investigate the effect of major social variables (age, sex and style) on the use of hedges in Japanese conversation so that we can understand how and why people speak vaguely using hedges.

I posited three hypotheses: (1) hedges are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers; (2) hedges are used more often by female speakers than by male speakers; (3) hedges are used more often in casual speech than in formal speech. To test these hypotheses, conversation data of 20 single sex dyads were collected from two age groups (younger and older) and from



both sexes in two styles of conversation (interview and chatting with a friend). All participants are native speakers of Japanese.

The data supported hypotheses (1) and (2), but not (3). This means that the younger groups and female groups used hedges more often than the counter-part groups. Hedges appeared as often in interviews as in chats. There was also an interaction of age and sex: the younger female speakers used hedges the most.

By closely examining *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' in context, it was found that these hedges were used differently depending on the speaker's age and the speech genre. The younger groups used affection-oriented hedges more often than the older groups. The younger groups also showed variations in the usage, and sometimes expressed playfulness, embarrassment or solidarity in the use of hedges when talking to their friends.

According to the questionnaire results, the younger female speakers have a different attitude regarding the use of hedges. For example, they consider hedges a normal way of talking, fun and easy to say, whereas the older speakers show negative views, considering hedges corrupt and inappropriate or unpleasant.

The present study confirmed that social factors do play important roles in the use of hedges in Japanese spoken discourse. Younger speakers exploit hedges often, and create new forms and functions of hedges when they are talking among themselves.

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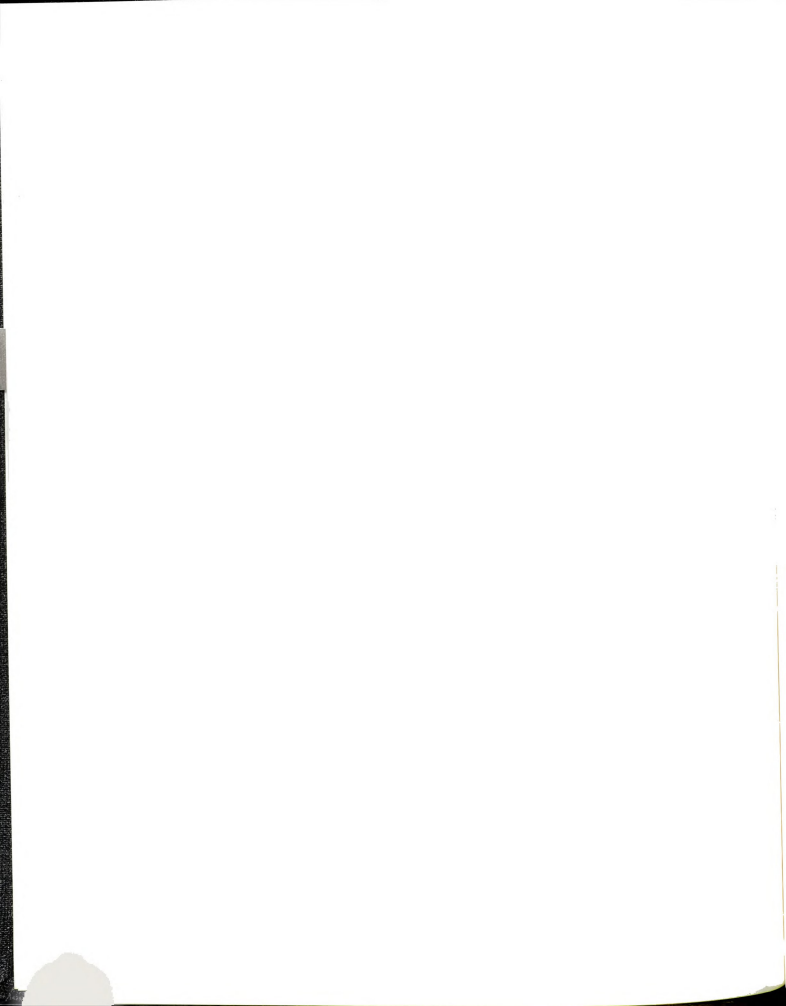


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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. General remarks

Language allows us to express ideas relatively precisely or imprecisely. A speaker often uses hedges when he/she wants to express ideas, emotions, and attitudes imprecisely. Hedges are defined as "words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness" (G. Lakoff 1972:195). More specifically, hedges are expressions of the speaker's uncertainty (Coates 1993), "tentativeness and possibility" (Hyland 1996), or "imprecision or qualification" (Crystal 1997). English phrases such as *I think*, *sort of*, and *perhaps* are good examples of hedges (Coates 1993). The present study investigates the use of hedges in Japanese conversation, and the relation to some social variables such as age, sex, style (speech genre).

Hedges have often been associated with the mitigation effect, softening the force or directness of the utterance, and have been considered as a part of a "politeness" strategy to minimize the possibility of "face threatening" in conversation (Brown and Levinson 1987; Holmes 1995). Hedges are sometimes used to avoid potential disagreement or qualify the speaker's commitment (e.g. Hyland 1996; Satake 1995; Hayashi 1997), or to facilitate convivial conversation or discussion (Hyland 1996; Yonekawa 1998).

In the present study, hedges are defined as expressions of uncertainty, possibility, tentativeness, and approximation which convey a sense of vagueness. Hedges in this study include some modal verbs, modal auxiliaries, and modal adverbs such as, respectively, *to omou* 'I think that', *kamoshirenai* 'may; might', and *tabun* 'probably'. Also included are some unspecifying tags such as, *toka* 'or something', a filler *nanka* 'like', and a connective *teyuuka* 'or rather'. The detailed explanation of the definition and examples of hedges are presented in Chapter 2.

It has been widely observed, often in a negative light, that a noteworthy feature of Japanese spoken by the younger generation is that it is unnecessarily vague with many types of hedging devices (e.g. Sakake 1995; Honna 1999; Degawa 1995; Maynard 1997; Chiba et al. 1999). However there is little empirical evidence to substantiate these claims. Generally, authors rely only on impressionistic observations, and present decontextualized constructed example sentences. The present study provides substantial evidence in order to verify the above observations by comparing conversations by younger and older native speakers of Japanese.

The main framework adopted here is Schiffrin's discourse model (1987). Basically the model claims that discourse markers such as *y'know*, *I mean*, and *well* should be considered as multifunctional expressions, and that the functions of discourse markers emerge from the interaction among their semantic meaning,

sequential position, and the speaker-hearer and/or speaker-utterance relations. Schiffrin claims that understanding the function of discourse markers requires the examination of their use from semantic, textual (sequence of utterances and turns), pragmatic, and social points of views. Although the focus of the present study is on the sociolinguistic examination of the use of hedges using quantitative analyses, hedges such as *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' are qualitatively examined in Chapter 5 to account for the linguistic contexts and functions using Schiffrin's discourse model. More explanation on her model is presented in Chapter 2.

As stated in Inoue (1986: 328), Japanese dialectologists have studied language differences according to age groups to investigate the process of language change. Inoue investigated sociopsychological factors of linguistic changes among the younger generations in metropolitan Tokyo and its vicinity, and found that youth language is highly correlated with changes in the Japanese lexicon. Loveday (1986: 305) also suggests that the linguistic behavior of students strongly influences everyday language, and "many of their innovations eventually find their way into the standard variety".

Thus studying differences between the language of youth and the language of their elders is interesting because it gives us some insights into how the language as a whole may evolve. It is hoped that the present study will help to characterize the

ongoing linguistic changes beyond a mere lexical description. It is also hoped that this study will make a contribution to the field of discourse analysis in general, and to the study of social influences on linguistic choice, as well as the system of politeness in Japanese conversation, providing useful information for Japanese language education, albeit in an indirect way.

1.2. Goals, hypotheses and findings

The goal of this dissertation is to investigate the use of hedges by younger and older speakers in Japanese spoken discourse by manipulating three social variables :age, sex, and style. In Chapter 4, I present detailed quantitative analyses of hedges used in actual single-sex spoken discourse of younger speakers as compared to that of older speakers. The data were collected from participants of a younger group, high school students (age 17 to 18), and of an older group (age 50 to 69).

The hypotheses to be tested are as follows.

- 1. Hedges are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers.**
- 2. Hedges are used more often by female speakers than by male speakers.**
- 3. Hedges are used more often in casual speech than in formal speech.**

These three hypotheses are related to three social variables; age, sex, and style (speech genre). The hypotheses are all based on

the general idea that the use of hedges is motivated not only by informational demands, but also by sociolinguistic factors. For example, R. Lakoff (1975), Preisler (1986), and Coates (1987) claim that hedges are characteristic of women's language, and Okamoto (1995) states that younger female speakers often use hedges to promote solidarity among themselves. The frequency of hedges is also associated with the formal/informal distinction of conversational style (Channell 1994, Crystal and Davy 1975, and Lehrer 1975). The reasoning behind these three hypotheses is described in full in Chapter 3.

While vagueness can arise from lack of knowledge, it can also arise due to the nature and the atmosphere of the social interaction, which speakers take into account when communicating (Channell 1994). The use of hedges then can be thought of as a way of packaging or presenting information in a socially vague manner. This packaging may be motivated by different purposes such as nonconfrontation and self-protection (Satake 1995), politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987), and solidarity (Okamoto 1995; Okamoto and Sato 1992, cited in Okamoto 1995:315). This conforms to one of the common communicational strategies, 'to construct the content of the utterance in such a way as to achieve maximum agreeableness to the recipient' (Maynard 1987).

To test the above hypotheses, conversation data from single-sex dyads were collected from two age groups (younger and older) and from both sexes in two types of conversation setting

(interviews with the present investigator, a stranger to the participants, and chatting with a close friend). The younger group consists of 17- to 18-year-old high school students, and the older group consists of speakers in their 50s or 60s. The participants in both groups were born and raised in Tokyo or its neighboring prefectures (Chiba, Saitama, and Kanagawa).

The interview took place first. Each interview lasted about 15 minutes, during which the participants were individually asked about 'how to spend free time' and related questions. Then followed the chat with a friend. Each pair of participants, who were close friends, were left alone in a room to have a chat about 'trips' for about 15 minutes. Both types of conversation were recorded with a Mini Disk (a portable disk recorder). At the end the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire. The recorded interviews and chats were transcribed for the subsequent analyses, excluding the first 2 minutes for consistency of the level of the participants' involvement in the conversation.

The results provided support for hypotheses 1 and 2 with significant main effects (ANOVA), meaning that the use of hedges differed according to the speakers' age and sex. The younger speakers used hedges more often than the older speakers. For example, the younger speakers often used phrase/sentence-final hedges such as *toka* 'or something', *omou* 'I think', *kanji* 'feels like, is like', *ki ga suru* 'I've got a feeling'; adverbs such as *nanka* 'like', *kekkoo* 'quite', *toriaezu/ichoo* 'for now,

tentatively' and *tabun* 'probably'; and a connective *teyuuka* 'or rather'. Among these hedges, *toka* 'or something' and *nanka* 'like' showed a high frequency in chats among the younger speakers, especially among the younger female speakers. There was also an interaction between age and sex; the younger female group used hedges the most of the four groups.

Hypothesis 3 (regarding style) was not supported, even reversed, in the present study. Overall, hedges were used more often in interviews than in chats. However, post-hoc comparison showed that no significant differences were found between the two styles in all four groups. In interviews, information-oriented hedges may have been stylistically motivated, whereas affection-oriented hedges were promoted in chats.

By closely examining *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' in context, it was found that these hedges were multifunctional and their primary functions varied depending on the speaker's age and sex, and the speech situations. General characteristics of these hedges are that they appear as vague references, and that they both indicate alternatives. *Toka* is used for inexhaustive listing and *teyuuka* is used as a repair marker. *Toka* and *teyuuka* were often used among the younger speakers to show mitigation or solidarity, to express their youthfulness, playfulness or embarrassment, or to avoid being too serious when chatting with their friends.

Using a questionnaire on what the participants thought of the use of particular hedges, it was found that the younger and older groups have different attitudes toward these hedges. The older speakers showed stronger aversion toward these hedges than did the younger speakers. Unlike other groups, the most frequent hedge users, the younger female speakers, considered the frequent use of hedges normal, and they claimed that their use of hedges was unconscious and expressive of solidarity, and was influenced by the people around them. The quantitative and the questionnaire results were further discussed considering the psychological and social backgrounds of the contemporary Japanese youngsters.

1.3. Outline of the dissertation

The organization of remaining chapters is as follows: the relevant literature, including my preliminary study, is reviewed in Chapter 2. After presenting hypotheses and methodology in Chapter 3, the quantitative results of Japanese representative hedges in interviews and chats are discussed in Chapter 4, and the use of *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' is qualitatively examined in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 discusses the results of the questionnaire on the use of hedges, and lastly Chapter 7 concludes the present study.

Chapter 2

Review of the literature on hedges

2.1. Introduction

Hedges in English such as *I think, sort of, maybe, like, and everything*, and *and stuff like that* have received a great deal of attention in the fields of pragmatics and semantics (e.g. G. Lakoff 1972; Dines 1980; Ward and Birner 1993; Miller and Weinert 1995). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), Holmes (1995) and Coates (1987, 1993), hedges are used to weaken the force or directness of an utterance, and they are considered to be very important expressions in comparing women's and men's expression of linguistic politeness. Generally speaking, authors have stressed discursal, semantic, and social factors as major motivations for using hedges. In this chapter, definitions and examples of hedges are presented, and then follows a review of the main studies on hedges from these three perspectives.

It has been reported that age, sex, and style (speech genre), among others, are major social variables that are closely related with the use of hedges (e.g., Okamoto and Sato 1992; Coates 1989; Holmes 1995; Lehrer 1975). In the sections to follow, I discuss several issues on each of the social variables. Additionally, the results of my preliminary study are presented at the end of this chapter.

2.2. Definition of hedges

In a general sense, a "hedge" means "a fence or boundary formed by a row of shrubs or low trees planted close together", or it could also represent a non-committal or ambiguous statement (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary* 1976; *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* 1992). In the study of pragmatics, this sense of hedges is extended to the discussion of "membership functions for fuzzy set" (G. Lakoff 1972), as in the definitions below.

... a 'hedge' is a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set (Brown and Levinson 1987: 145)

An application in PRAGMATICS and DISCOURSE ANALYSIS of a general sense of the word ('to be non-committal or evasive') to a range of items which express a notion of imprecision or qualification (Crystal 1997: 182. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*, the fourth edition).

Semantically hedges also express "tentativeness and possibility" (Hyland 1996: 433), and uncertainty (R. Lakoff 1972; Coates 1993).

When hedges are discussed in terms of social functions, they are considered as a part of a wider system of politeness (in the sense of Brown and Levinson 1987) because they "weaken or reduce the force of an utterance" (Holmes 1995:72) and "mitigate(s) the possible unfriendliness or unkindness of a statement" (R. Lakoff 1975:54). Hedges are also used to facilitate discussion or to reduce the risk of negation by expressing the statement with caution, and diplomatic deference

to the addressee (Hyland 1995). These functions do not only appear within the lexical information expressed by hedges, but they also come into the surface as a result of the interaction between the semantic information of a hedge and the nature and atmosphere of the social setting.

In the present study, hedges are defined as expressions of uncertainty, possibility, tentativeness, and approximation, which convey sense of vagueness. The present study deals with hedging devices in which vagueness is lexically and explicitly expressed. Hedges are also considered to have social functions such as expressing indirectness, politeness, solidarity or self-protection, and facilitating the conversation. The hedges investigated in the present study include modal auxiliaries, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, particles, and a conjunction. I give examples of hedges in English and Japanese in section 2.4.

2.3. Content-oriented and socially-oriented hedges

Hedges are multifunctional; they can provide a range of different functions, often at the same time (Hyland 1996); for example hedges express vague categories, speaker uncertainty, caution, or interpersonal factors of the conversation participants. Consequently, as mentioned in the previous section, authors have provided different types of definitions of hedges depending on the focus of the study.

Generally, two aspects of hedges are addressed. One is that hedges modify the degree of precision or possibility of the proposition (content-oriented), and the other is that hedges incorporate an awareness of social factors in the interaction (socially-oriented). Hyland (1995) explains that hedges convey both affective and referential meanings. These two approaches to the functions of hedges are parallel to the general linguistic point of view: Many linguists distinguish a referential (or descriptive, representational, or cognitive) function of language from a social function (e.g., Gumperz 1964).

Along similar lines, Prince et al. (1982) also identify two distinct phenomena in the use of hedges: "shields" and "approximators". They explain that "shields" such as *I think*, *it seems that* explicitly encode the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth or precision of what he/she is saying. Consider, for example, Prince et al.'s examples (1).

- (1) a. His feet were blue.
b. I think his feet were blue.

In (1a), the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition that "his feet were blue", while in (1b) the speaker expresses his/her uncertainty and noncommittal attitude by adding "I think". Sometimes the degree of the certainty is expressed by the tone or intonation over "I think". However, such prosodic features of hedges are beyond the scope of this study.

Hedges which express fuzziness within the proposition are

called "approximators"(Prince et al.'s example (2a) and (2b)).

- (2) a. He has a somewhat low interior larynx.
- b. His weight was approximately three point two kilograms.

Both (2a) and (2b) are unshielded statements about vague propositions. Prince et al. explain that "approximators" indicate "fuzziness within the propositional content" and that "shields" are correlated with "fuzziness in the relationship between the propositional content and the speaker" (p. 85). Thus, Prince et al.'s "approximators" can be considered as content-oriented hedges, while "shields" are socially-oriented hedges.

However, as stated in Hyland (1996), we cannot always distinguish the two cases. Because the two functions can overlap, we can never be totally sure what the speaker's intention really is, even when the utterance is examined in context. Consider my examples in (3).

- (3) a. It will *probably* rain tomorrow.
- b. I *probably* disagree with your idea.
- c. Bill will *probably* leave town.

The hedge '*probably*' in (3a), if uttered on a cloudy day, may be used purely based on the speaker's inference about the possibility of rain. In this case, '*probably*' in (3a) falls in the group of content-oriented hedges. On the other hand, '*probably*' in (3b) can fall in the group of socially-oriented hedges when the speaker is sure that he/she is disagreeing, but adds this hedge in order

to soften the tone of the rejection. These two cases are relatively clear-cut.

However, 'probably' in (3c) can be regarded as either content- or socially-oriented, or even both, depending on the context. The use of "probably" can be based either on the speaker's conjecture and uncertainty (content-oriented), or on social factors of the conversation (socially-oriented). In the latter case, the speaker is certain of the information but wants to avoid telling it to the addressee, knowing, for example, that the information might hurt the addressee's feelings. Or it can be both, content- and socially-oriented, when the speaker is not 100 % certain of the information and wants to express the lack of confidence in order to be self-protective or to avoid being wrong.

R. Lakoff (1975: 53-54) gives a similar example, "John is sorta short". She states that depending on contexts, "sorta" can be used to indicate the speaker's uncertainty and lack of confidence about the accuracy of the statement or to mitigate the utterance for the sake of politeness.

Therefore, taking the above phenomena into consideration, the present study deals with both types of hedges without a priori trying to exclude one type or another. Thus, the quantitative analysis in Chapter 4 does not distinguish between the two types. However, the difference between the referential or content-oriented hedges, and affective or socially-oriented hedges, is

important for qualitative analysis, and so is addressed in Chapter 5 with the goal of understanding why and how hedges are employed.

2.4. Hedges in English

G. Lakoff (1972: 195) states that, "some of the most interesting questions are raised by the study of words to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy". The following phrases in (4) are his examples in English (1972.: 196).

(4)	sort of	in a real sense,
	kind of	in an important sense,
	loosely speaking	in a way
	more or less	mutatis mutandis
	on the _ side	in a manner of speaking,
	roughly	so to say
	relatively	a veritable
	somewhat	a true
	rather	real
	mostly	a regular
	technically	-like
	quintessential(ly)	-ish ...

In Channell's (1994) study of vague language in spoken and written data, she states that ordinary language leaves room for speakers to be vague and to avoid precision and the commitment associated with it. According to her (p. 18), there are different ways in which speakers can avoid being precise: (1) the use of vague additives (such as *around* and *or something like that*, often combined with numbers), (2) vagueness by choice of vague words (e.g., *thingummy*, *whatsit*, and *loads of*), and (3) vagueness by implicature. The present study focuses on hedging expressions in Japanese which belong to her categories (1) and (2).

Channell (1994) also claims that the use of vague language is frequent and very customary. Kennedy (1987) provides evidence for this proposal by quantifying the frequency of the use of approximation devices in printed text (e.g., *somehow*, *around* and *approximately*) for quantities and degrees, showing that the use is indeed frequent. Although his data corpus is not large enough to generalize the results, he found that overall it contained 1,407 different types of vague expressions, and that there were 9,135 occurrences among 63,176 running words. This means that about 14.46 percent of the words, or one in every seven words, is a hedge.

Prince et al. (1982) show that in some types of conversation the use of hedges is quite frequent. They investigated conversations among doctors, and claim that vagueness is "typical" in medical discourse. They found between 150 and 450 hedges per hour (one every fifteen seconds) in speech by doctors.

2.5. Hedges in Japanese

Vague expressions are considered as one of the most noteworthy features of Japanese youth language (e.g., Honna 1999; Maynard 1997; Yonekawa 1998; Chiba et al. 1999). Let us first examine what "youth language" in Japanese is like. The Japanese language that young people use, called *wakamonogo* ('youth language'), is different from that of the older population (e.g., Maynard 1997; Satake 1995; Yonekawa 1998). Yonekawa (1998: 15) defines "youth language" in Japanese as expressions which are used

by both male and female younger people (ages under or around 30) with their in-group members for entertainment or to facilitate conversation, to show solidarity, to mitigate, or to be indirect.

Inoue (1986) calls youth language "new dialect forms". He claims that the new dialect forms (1) are used more by younger people than by older people, (2) are regarded as stylistically informal by users themselves, and (3) have different forms from those in the standard language. They are not words that will soon die out, but are typical examples of natural language changes. According to Maynard (1997), however, youth language is not directly indexed to the speaker's age; the speaker's selection of speech style depends on situational, social, and cultural factors, in addition to age.

The examples in (5) on the next page are hedging devices in youth language, which are taken from the latest Japanese encyclopedic annuals, *Gendaiyogo no kiso chishiki* [Basic knowledge of current terms](1997, 1998, and 1999) and *Imidas* (1999), and some journal articles (e.g. Satake 1995; Niiyama & Iwamura 1998). The classifications and translations are mine.

(5) a. utterance-final expressions

<i>toka</i>	'or something'
<i>mitaina</i>	'is like'
<i>-tari</i>	'and such'
<i>(t)te iu ka</i>	'or rather; or what should I say'
<i>kanji</i>	'is like; feels like'
<i>kamo(shirenai)</i>	'may; might'
<i>ja nai desu ka/jan?</i>	'isn't it?'
<i>kana</i>	'I wonder; maybe'

b. noun suffixes

-kee	'-type'
-teki	'-esque'
-suru hito	'a person who does...' (about the speaker him/herself)
-toka	'or something; and such'

c. adverbs

toriaezu	'for the time being'
ichioo	'generally; tentatively'
kekko	'quite; fairly'
nanka (often as a filler)	'like'

Nowadays these types of vague expressions are employed frequently by students and sometimes by young "OL" (office ladies, female office workers) and young male workers (e.g., Yonekawa 1998).

Let us now see how these hedges are used in conversation. Example (6) on the next page is a conversation in youth language presented in Niiyama and Iwamura (1998: 26-27). (Translations are theirs. The glosses and emphasis in bold for relevant hedges in the present study are mine. Whether the conversation is constructed by the authors is unknown.) See Appendix 1 for transcription conventions.

(6)

- 1 Ken: Na, kurisumasu, doo suru?
 hey Christmas what do
- 2 Ruri: E? sore tte, masaka futari kiri no kurisumasu
 oh that QT possibly two only GEN Christmas
- 3 **toka** yacchau tte koto?
 or something do QT case
- 4 Ken: E, a, iya... sore wa, imasara da-shii...na.
 oh um well it TOP late-for-now BE-and IP

- 5 Ruri: *Da yonee.ne,ne, sore yori sa, fuyuyasumii, nankaa,*
 Be IP IP IP that than IP winter-vacation like
- 6 ryokoo *toka* iki-tai *kanaa, mitainaa.*
 trip or something go-want I wonder like
- 7 Ken: *E, maji?*
 oh really
- 8 Ruri: *Hawai tokaa... karibu-kai tokaa...*
 Hawaii or something the Caribbean or something
- 9 Ken: *Oioi, kanari, goojasu-kei jan.*
 hang on quite extravagant-type isn't it?
- 10 Ruri: *Yappaa, minami no shima de mattari futari no*
 after all south GEN island on idly two GEN
- 11 bakansu tte *kanji?*
 vacation QT like
- 12 Ken: *Wake, wakaran...*
 meaning understand-NEG
- Ken: Hey, what shall we do for Christmas?
 Ruri: What? Surely you're not suggesting we do something special,
 just the two of us?
 Ken: Um, well... It's a bit late for that...isn't it?
 Ruri: That's right. Hey, you know what? Rather than that, for
 the winter vacation, you know, I think maybe I'd rather go
 on a trip or something.
 Ken: What, really?
 Ruri: Hawaii...or the Caribbean, or...
 Ken: Eh, hang on. That's a bit extravagant, isn't it?
 Ruri: Definitely something like a laid-back vacation for two on
 a tropical island.
 Ken: I don't get it...

Such phrases as *tokaa* 'or something' and *kanaa* 'I wonder'
 in the dialogue are emphasized variants with an elongated vowel
 for *toka* and *kana*, respectively. Niiyama and Iwamura (1998:27)
 explain some of the hedges in the conversation as follows.

- (7) ...**toka(a)**: added on to a sentence without adding much meaning, it has the effect of softening the tone.

nankaa: An adverb used to mean *nantonaku* ("somehow").

...**kanaa/mitainaa**: Suffixes added to soften the tone when one is stating an opinion or thought.

...**tte kanji?**: A vague expression used to avoid making a definite statement.

The conversation in (6), along with the explanations in (7), are found in *Nihongo Journal*, a book for second language learners of Japanese, to help the reader understand the general meanings and the use of hedges in youth language. Also listed are *teyuuka* 'or rather', ...*suru hito* 'a person who does...', *ichioo* 'generally, tentatively', *-kei* '-type', *-kankei* '-related', *-hoomen* '-direction', etc. as examples of recent vague expressions used by young people. Niiyama and Iwamura claim that young people tend to avoid making a definite statement, and tend to mitigate their utterances, and that this is effective when they want to avoid their responsibilities.

I have introduced typical examples of hedging expressions in Japanese which are often considered as youth language. However, this does not mean that older people do not use them at all. Some of these expressions can also be found in older speakers' utterances, though they may not be as frequent as in those of younger speakers. The way older people use these hedges may differ as well: older speakers use them more canonically (as explained in a language dictionary), with fewer variations in usage, than

younger speakers.

Along with the hedges in (5) on p. 18, there are other typical hedging expressions in Japanese, which are presented in (8) below. Detailed explanations for each hedge are presented in Chapter 3.

(8)

a. Utterance-final expressions

(verbs, auxiliaries, particles)

<i>ka nanka</i>	'or something'
<i>nado/nanka</i>	'and so on'
<i>deshoo/daroo</i>	'probably'
<i>soo</i>	'seem; look like'
<i>rashii</i>	'seem; I've heard'
<i>to omou</i>	'(I) think that'
<i>ki ga suru</i>	'I've got a feeling'

b. Adverbial phrases

<i>taigai/daitai</i>	'generally; about; perhaps'
<i>tabun/osoraku</i>	'probably; maybe'
<i>tashika</i>	'perhaps'
<i>aru imi de</i>	'in a sense'

c. suffixes

<i>-kurai/gurai; -koro/-goro; atari</i>	'about; around'
---	-----------------

These are not particularly considered as youth language, but they are typical hedging phrases in Japanese, equivalent to hedging phrases in G. Lakoff's (1972:196) list. I decided to include them as hedges for investigation in this study, because they seem to be important and relatively frequent in Japanese conversation. In order to compare the use of hedges by younger and older speakers and to generalize about how often their utterances are hedged, we need to examine a range of representative hedges which is not limited to youth language.

Among the hedges in (5) and (8), differences may be noted in the degree of uncertainty, probability, or mitigation expressed by certain hedges, and the context in which they appear. Although a discussion of this issue would be an interesting approach to examine detailed functions of particular hedges, this line of inquiry is not pursued in the present study.

2.6. Functions of hedges

Language has various devices to express vagueness in communication. But why do we choose to be vague? Channell (1994: 194), in her discussion of vague language, lists the following main communicative purposes and situations.

- (9)
1. to give the right amount of information
 2. to deliberately withhold information
 3. to use language persuasively
 4. due to lexical gaps
 5. due to lacking specific information
 6. as a form of displacement
 7. for self-protection
 8. for power and politeness
 9. to create informality and atmosphere
 10. in women's language

Vague expressions thus play important roles in expressing the speaker's knowledge and degree of certainty (informational and/or semantic function), in negotiating social interactions with other conversation participants in an appropriate way (social function), and in coordinating texts or turns of utterances in

a sequence (discoursal function). In what follows, I discuss major studies on the functions of vague language from discoursal, semantic, and social points of views.

2.6.1. Discoursal functions

Channell's (1994) list, given in (9), shows that hedges are multifunctional. According to Schiffrin (1987), multifunctionality is one of the important features of discourse markers. This section deals with Schiffrin's discourse model (1987) in relation to the discoursal function of hedges.

Schiffrin (1987) analyzes some of the English hedges, such as *well*, *I mean*, and *y'know*, as discourse markers. She claims that these types of discourse markers are never obligatory, that they are syntactically diverse, and that they are sequentially dependent elements, which serve as 'contextual coordinates' (p. 326-330). According to her (p. 328), discourse markers have the following characteristics.

- (1) they are syntactically detachable from a sentence
- (2) they are commonly used in the initial position of an utterance
- (3) they have a range of prosodic contours, e.g. tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction
- (4) they operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse

Schiffrin (1987) proposes a discourse model which develops the idea that "markers allow speakers to construct and integrate multiple planes and dimensions of an emergent reality: it is out

of such processes that coherent discourse results" (p. 330). In her discourse model, she proposes five dimensions or levels in which discourse markers play a role:

- (1) the exchange structure
- (2) the action structure
- (3) the participation framework
- (4) the ideational structure
- (5) the information state

She claims that discourse markers can function on some of these five different levels at the same time, and that the resulting functions, all together, contribute to overall discourse coherence. The "exchange structure" deals with sequential roles of utterances, or turn-taking, e.g. adjacency pairs, questions and answers, etc. The "action structure" deals with speech acts (which action is intended and which action precedes or follows); e.g., requesting, point making, and warning. The "participation framework" is defined as speaker-hearer relations and speaker-utterance relations, e.g. showing the speakers' commitment to or evaluation of the proposition. The "ideational structure" deals with the organization of e.g., showing propositions, or ideas, topic relations. The "information state" involves the management of speaker-hearer knowledge (what the speaker and hearer know) and meta-knowledge (what the speaker and hearer know about their respective knowledge).

Discourse markers can be used in more than one dimension of the framework simultaneously with one primary function (Schiffrin pp. 316-317). For example, the expression *y'know*

generally has roles on various planes, as follows.

information status

(Y'know focuses on the hearer's knowledge, what the speaker and hearer share, and what is generally known.)

participation status

(Y'know allows the speaker to check how the discourse is progressing, and it solicits affirmation of information.)

ideational structure

(Y'know marks the speaker's knowledge or information.)

exchange structure

(Y'know is used at potential participation transitions, and it marks the speaker as an information provider.)

Schiffrin explains that the multifunctionality of markers is due to the fact that utterances are contextualized in more than one component of talk, and that markers are realized in different discourse slots with different linguistic properties.

I contend that hedges have particularly important functions in the informational and semantic dimensions; i.e., the information status and the ideational structure in Schiffrin's model. Hedges qualify ideas, or what speakers know on a certain topic or what speakers want to acknowledge as what they know. Hedges also play an important role in the "participation framework" because hedges often present the speaker's non-committal attitude toward the proposition, or because hedges can be used to soften the force of the utterance to show indirectness or politeness to the hearer. In the qualitative analysis of the use of hedges (Chapter 5), the functions of hedges are examined according to dimensions in Schiffrin's model.

In what follows I discuss the informational and semantic characteristics, and the pragmatic and social characteristics of hedges separately, while presenting different views of hedges and showing examples.

2.6.2. Semantic and informational functions

Among the various semantic approaches adopted in previous studies on hedges or vague language, there are basically two directions. The older approach is oriented toward theoretical implications for classical logic. The more recent approach is oriented toward functional implications in the actual use of hedging expressions, and this is the approach the present study takes. In the following sections I briefly review the two approaches, particularly, G. Lakoff (1972), Channell (1994), and Dine (1980).

2.6.2.1. Classical and functional approaches to hedges

One of the important characteristics of hedges is the indication of vagueness. Semanticists and logicians have paid a great deal of attention to vague language because of the problem posed by it for semantic models of meaning¹. According to G.

¹ In truth-conditional semantics, meaning can be described in terms of the conditions in the real world under which a sentence may be used to make a true statement (Crystal 1997).

Lakoff (1972), there are predicates such as "red", "tall", "bird", and "bold" that are paradigmatically vague. These predicates have borderline cases or have no sharp boundary, e.g., "a chicken is a bird" (p. 185). These are sentences in which it is unclear whether or not the predicate applies. Keefe and Smith (1999:16) state that this "lack of any sharp boundary" phenomenon is a criterion of vagueness, and they define one feature of vagueness as "boundarylessness". Peirce (1902) also states that a predicate is vague if it can have borderline cases. In these borderline cases or boundaryless cases, the predicates are not clearly true or false; they might be both true and false, or neither true nor false.

Ullmann (1962:118) claims that words are generically vague and they are never homogeneous (i.e. they are context-bound). There is even a view that it is not just words which are vague, but that all language use is vague in some way (Russell 1923), or that the world itself may be vague as well, no matter how precisely one would try to describe it (e.g., Ullmann 1962; Keefe and Smith 1999).

As G. Lakoff (1972: 195-197) states, one of the functions of hedges is to reveal the degree of category membership, and hedges offer a way for natural language to cope with borderline cases. Such a position can avoid the problem posed by classical logic. Regarding the degree of membership in the category "bird",

for example, a chicken ranks as a peripheral member while a robin is a central member (Heider 1971). Therefore, the degree of truth in "a chicken is a bird" is not so clear-cut, and is typically seen as "less true" than is "a robin is a bird". However, if a hedge is added, as in "a chicken is *sort of* a bird", or "*in a sense*, a chicken is a bird", then the truth value of the sentence becomes apparent. G. Lakoff (1972) claims that the full range of degrees of category membership is subtle and vague, and that hedges can clarify this. This is interesting in that hedges, which typically make expressions vague, actually heighten the truth value of a sentence.

According to the epistemic view, "vagueness is a type of ignorance" (e.g., Williamson 1992; Keefe and Smith 1999:17), and lack of knowledge leads to vagueness (Ullman 1962; Crystal and Davy 1975). Williamson (1992) claims that the main feature of a vague predicate can be described loosely as its having a fuzzy boundary, and that this is due to lack of knowledge about where those boundaries lie.

To those who hold that the concept of truth values is the central issue in analyzing vague language, Keefe and Smith (1999: 18) make an objection: "it is undeniable that meaning is intimately connected to use". If there is a sharp boundary for a particular expression, it must be drawn in virtue of how we use the predicate. This approach to the semantics of vague language, oriented toward its actual function in conversation rather than toward its

theoretical implications for classical logic, is the one adhered to in the present study.

My position is similar to that of Channell's (1994) in her study of vague language. She discusses a cognitive aspect of vague language in her list of purposes and contexts of vague expressions (pp. 184-186); i.e. "lacking specific information". Hedges are used by speakers who lack specific knowledge concerning a particular conversation topic. She states that this use of hedges illustrates the working of the Maxim of Quality in the theory of Co-operative Principles (CP) by Grice (1975): Do not say that for which you lack sufficient evidence. Writers and speakers use "the Maxim of Quality to guide their choice of vague and precise presentation of quantities" and "they restrict themselves to writing or saying what they know to be true at the time" (Channel: 186). Channell also points out that we can sometimes observe that speakers provide clear indication of their lack of knowledge, for instance, *I can't remember..., but.*

In my view, the informational aspect is one of the important motivations for the use of hedges. Speakers are vague because they don't know or they are not sure. In addition to this informational motivation, I think that there are other occasions when speakers are vague even when in fact they have access to the relevant information. In this case, the use of hedges is prompted by some contextual needs such as styles of conversation, relationships between the speakers, topics of the conversation,

etc. That is, how much information the speaker provides depends on the context. In other words, the speaker is following the Maxim of quantity: Do not say more than necessary (Grice 1975). Depending on the context, the speaker may not need to, or may prefer not to provide exactly what he/she knows, and the speaker then tailors his/her contributions in the conversation in particular ways, i.e., to give the right amount of information for the purpose of the conversation. Such socially oriented motivations are discussed in section 2.3.3., following the section on "vague category identifiers".

2.6.2.2. Vague category identifiers

Channell (1994), Dine (1980), and Ball and Ariel (1978) also take functional approaches in their studies of expressions which refer vaguely to categories, such as *or something* and *and stuff like that*. These expressions are identified as "tags", "set-marking tags", or "vague category identifiers". The structure of a phrase with a tag is as follows (Channell 1994:120).

Exemplar + Tag

bread or something

Tags are combined with a variety of grammatical categories, for instance, nouns, adjectives, and subordinate clauses.

According to Dine (1980:22), tags serve to "cue the listener to interpret the preceding element as an illustrative example of some more general case". She concludes that tags are used

interchangeably to relate parts to unknown wholes. Similarly, Channell (1994:143) observes that "vague tags are understood to designate categories, either conjunctively or disjunctively," and that "hearers and readers need to draw on pragmatic information in order to identify the intended vague category". Hearers and readers use in particular: (a) the surrounding linguistic context; (b) the purpose of the text or conversation; and (c) their world knowledge. The Exemplar + Tag structure (vague category identifier) is understood as an instruction to access a category based on contextual information and/or the world knowledge.

This analysis is useful in analyzing certain hedges in Japanese, such as *-tari* 'and such' and *toka* 'or something'. However, a pragmatic or social question still remains: Why and to whom do we use such expressions? Perhaps in some cases they are simply production fillers. They can also be used to socially mitigate the force of the utterances such as requests and statements.

2.6.3. Social functions

There are various social and motivational factors involved in the use of hedges. These factors are usually intertwined, and the precise motivation for employing a hedge may not always be clear, as Hyland (1996) states. What is clear is that hedges are part of a wider system of politeness (Myers 1989; R. Lakoff 1975) and that to be vague is one of the verbal behaviors that result

beying the rules of politeness. Closely related to these are the concepts of solidarity and self-protection, together they are the three most widely discussed social motivations for vague language use. These motivations are influenced by social variables, particularly the age and sex of the speaker and the style of conversation. The following sections discuss the relationships among these three motivations: self-protection, self-protection, and solidarity.

1. Politeness

One of the main motivations for speakers to employ hedges is their softening effect to ensure a smooth and appropriate interaction among the conversation participants. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), this motivation of maintaining a smooth interaction is part of the more general concept of "politeness". In similar lines of thought, Hill et al. (1986) state that the basic function of politeness is to constrain human interaction by maintaining a mutually comfortable distance and by promoting interaction by considering the feelings of others. In Ide (1991: 64), the comfortable distance is determined by factors of social status, age, power relation of the participants, the formality of the situation, and topic of the conversation. When investigating the pragmatic functions of Japanese hedges, politeness issues play a significant role.

According to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, hedges are one of the politeness strategies among conversation participants to redress the threat of losing one's 'face'. In the notions "face-threatening" and "face-saving", 'face' is "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be threatened, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in social interaction" (p. 61). Face has two components (p.62).

negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' of a community that his/her actions be unimpeded by others.

positive face: the want of every member that his/her wants be desirable to at least others.

Conversational acts can threaten face (face-threatening) or can save face (face-saving). Any act of protecting face is a token of politeness: an act of protecting positive face is positive politeness, and an act of protecting negative face is negative politeness. For example, Brown and Levinson regard acts such as using in-group identity markers, seeking agreement, and showing respect and understanding as positive politeness, whereas they regard acts of being indirect, giving deference, etc. as negative politeness.

Brown and Levinson further explain that "alternatively, a speaker may choose to be vague about his own opinions, so as not to be seen to disagree" (ibid.: 116). In this sense, hedges are used to show positive politeness, since they show intimacy, establish common ground, or mark in-group identity. Hedges can also

employed for negative politeness; speakers are nonassertive committal so as not to interfere with the addressee's freedom of choice. The use of hedges, in some contexts, may be one way of showing their politeness to others to maintain a mutually comfortable distance between conversational participants while satisfying their "face" needs. Depending on the contexts, this comfortable distance may require the conversation participants to show either intimacy, distance, or something inbetween.

R. Lakoff (1975) presents three factors which determine politeness: formality, deference, and camaraderie. Among these factors, politeness in Japanese has most commonly been discussed in terms of "deference", focusing on the choice of linguistic forms in pronouns, honorifics and other lexical items. In the present study, however, I focus on the role of the "camaraderie" factor, an aspect of positive politeness in the use of hedges which considers the speakers' social attributes.

2. Self-protection

Self-protection in the use of hedges is motivated by the speaker's "wanting to avoid later being shown to have said or done something which is not true" (Channell 1994: 184-185). Speakers often want to guard against the possibility of a faulty conclusion or explanation by being vague. Self-protection is related to the politeness strategy of Brown and Levinson (1987) because one of its effects is vagueness used to avoid disagreement. This

f motivation, self-protection, is speaker-oriented while previous one, camaraderie, is addressee-oriented or t-oriented. The example is from Channell (p. 188):

[BBS Radio 4 news: police spokesman making a statement about hijackers at Stanstead]

I can tell you that approximately eleven people are helping us with our enquiries.

explains that the non-round number, "eleven", suggests that speaker knows that eleven people are involved and this is not an approximation. However, the speaker's official position requires extreme caution to safeguard against being shown to be wrong.

Prince et al. (1982) investigated doctors' conversations, claim that vagueness is typical in medical discourse, due to subject matter being talked about and due to caution over generalizations. They found between 150 and 450 hedges per hour (every fifteen seconds) in speaking among doctors, which is frequent:

Well he had Mannitol, he had Laskx, un he had Albmium, un I *had to believe* he was hypovolemic and *he seemed to correct* them awfully quickly, un and I *was wondering* whether there was any...any renal problems, but un...basically *hard to say* (italics theirs) (p. 87)

gh the speaker is using very precise medical terms, he/she using many "shields"(hedges) to mitigate the statement and commitment. Prince et al. (1982) interpret that there is element of self-protection in this. The authors speculate that

type of hedge is very peculiar to professionals such as
s and lawyers who have a large stake in saving their
sional face.

The use of hedges for self-protection is also common in
icwriting. According to Hyland (1996), hedges are a useful
important social communicative tool to show the writer's
n, diplomatic deference to the views of colleagues, and
ion in expressing degree of uncertainty. He analyzed 26
ific articles and found that hedges are very frequent and
critical role in science. He also claims that hedges signal
iter's anticipation of opposition to a proposition and are
o reduce the risk of negation. Thus, as he states,
r-oriented hedges will involve self-protection by hedging
ment" (p. 438).

Hyland claims that "[r]esearch articles clearly reveal the
onship between a discourse community, standards of
dge, and textual representations, and it is these in
ation which motivate the use of hedges" (p. 452). He also
that the precise motivation for using hedges is often
r. The motivation of self-protection is closely connected
itive limitations. One hedges one's confidence in the
y of a statement when one does not know it well. The line
a speaker's knowledge and self-protection is often
ult to draw. Cognitive factors and other motivations such
teness and self-protection are all closely related. In

on, solidarity is another important motivation.

3.3. Solidarity

Ide (1982: 373) claims that "solidarity is formed among participants who have the same interests and responsibilities in," and "a common cultural, social, or geographical ground is the major factor in creating groups of solidarity".

view of solidarity is adopted in this study. The presence of solidarity is also determined in part by whether a member of the in-group or the out-group (Ide 1982, Loveday

Lebra (1976) explains that the Japanese establish ties primarily on the basis of group ties. Loveday (1984) adds that a "strong sense of inward versus external relations (*uchi* vs. *soto*) fosters a deep sense of solidarity and corporate identification". In addition, solidarity is closely associated with informality, closeness, and rapport among speakers, and is formed in relation to many social factors such as age, gender, and informality (Tannen 1996).

Okamoto and Sato (1992, cited in Okamoto 1995:315) claim that solidarity is one of the major motivations for young females to use masculine expressions and hedges. They analyzed the relationship between young Japanese women's choice of speech level and their degree of intimacy. The study shows that in conversation with their close peers, the participants "often qualified strongly their expressions by giggling ...or using hedges, such as a

tive tte 'that' or the expression *mitai na* 'like'...", and they elect to use them to break the norms in an attempt to "force solidarity"(p. 486). Okamoto (1995:313) also claims *sedai-hoogen* ('generation dialect'), or *wakamono no kotoba* ('youth language'), "serves to convey an image of youthfulness, differentiate younger from older women, and thus to establish solidarity".

Yoshioka (1990) claims that high-school students think it important to show solidarity or build rapport in communicating with themselves. He also states that words which enhance this sense of solidarity are easily accepted and used often by youngsters, and that such expressions help youngsters to form their own culture and/or community.

Solidarity is associated with politeness because it is socially oriented and serves to preserve or create a positive relationship and a mutually comfortable psychological distance between speaker and addressee. As such, solidarity can be seen as face-saving, as opposed to face-threatening in Brown and Levinson's sense (1987). In fact, speakers often sound impolite when they do not use the language of solidarity and casualness, creating unnecessarily formal distance from his/her good friends on casual occasions. Solidarity is also intertwined with many other social variables such as sex, age, and style of the conversation, and helps to create an appropriate atmosphere for conversation.

Social variables

Solidarity, self-protection and politeness are all covert factors which cannot be assessed directly but have to be inferred from a speaker's behavior in a given context. As such, their influence on the use of hedges can only be investigated by changing controlling aspects of the context. Which aspects of the conversation context determine the motivational disposition of the speaker? This list could be long, but I focus on three social variables that have already surfaced during the discussion of the speaker's motivational disposition, namely, sex, age, and style. Changing these variables changes conversation contexts, and allows investigation of the use of hedges in spoken discourse. Below each of these social variables is introduced separately.

1. Sex

In this section, "Lakoff's hypothesis" and its related issues, and issues on Japanese women's speech are discussed. Let us first define the difference between "sex" and "gender". In the present study, the term "sex" is used to refer to the speakers' reported physical differences (natural gender), either female or male. On the other hand, "gender" generally includes the concept of a person's sexual orientation, masculine/feminine/neuter, regardless of his/her natural gender. In linguistics, "gender" is also dealt with in terms of grammatical description, e.g. if a certain noun is masculine/feminine. Such

er" issues are beyond the scope of this study.

R. Lakoff (1975) discusses the relation between women's use of hedges and nonassertiveness. According to her, women use more hedges than men, and this is due to the social norm that "asserting oneself strongly isn't nice or ladylike, or even feminine" (p. 150). She associates women's speech style with the use of certain linguistic features which weaken or mitigate the forces of an utterance, e.g., hesitations, intensifiers and tag questions, and rising intonations on declaratives. Her claim is called the "Lakoff hypothesis", and later researchers aimed to validate the hypothesis empirically.

Preisler (1986) is one of these researchers, and she provides support for the "Lakoff hypothesis". She conducted a study on the expression of tentativeness examining recorded conversational data from groups of four people. Coates (1989) also found a relation between sex, the speaker's sensitivity to conversation topic, and the use of hedges in single-sex discourse. Coates claims that women's frequent use of hedges serves to prevent the discussion of highly sensitive topics from being too face-threatening. She also states that "women's use of addressee-oriented hedges to mitigate the force of an utterance can be seen as a strength rather than as a weakness" (p. 117-118). She attributes men's apparently less frequent usage of hedges to their choice of topic: Unlike women, men generally avoid personal issues. In this sense, hedges are a valuable tool that

discussions on sensitive topics especially for women.

These studies have shown that sex is indeed correlated with use of vague language, with women using hedging expressions often than men. This finding may be attributed to several reasons. One may be that women have their own language style which is characteristically soft-spoken or nonassertive with a certain amount of vagueness. Another may be that vague language is an outcome of power relations, particularly with respect to politeness. Holmes (1995: 151) points out that "[w]omen tend to pay more attention than men to the face needs of others, especially positive face needs". Tannen (1990) observes that men's language is information-centered while women's language is relationship- or rapport-centered.

It is well known that the Japanese language has distinct female and male speech styles (e.g., Ide 1991; Shibamoto 1985; Ide 1992c). In general, Japanese "women's" speech has been characterized as polite, gentle, soft-spoken, non-assertive, and context-sensitive compared to "men's" speech (e.g., Ide 1982, 1991; Smith 1995; Okamoto 1995). However, contrary to the traditional views on Japanese women's speech, nowadays there are also claims that the speech style among contemporary young Japanese women has become less context-sensitive (Okamoto 1995; Philips 1997) and that the female speech style has become diversified (Jinnouchi 1998:52).

To date there have been no empirical studies which explicitly associate Japanese "women's" speech with the use of

s. Although the frequent use of hedges by the younger generation has been discussed in some studies (e.g., Ide 1995; Honna 1999), the explanations are generally based on the authors' intuition or on self-constructed sentences. A quantitative study of Japanese hedges based on naturally occurring data is thus called for in order to investigate how their usage is influenced by social variables such as sex and age.

2. Age

Age is generally considered one of the major sociolinguistic factors that influence the choice of language in Japanese communication, more so than in English. Ide (1982: 336) claims that age in particular is involved with the rules of politeness. Japanese youth language has received a great deal of attention for more than 100 years. Yonekawa (1995, 1998), in his historical review of Japanese youth language, states that Japanese scholars were already discussing youth language 130 years ago. Yonekawa notes that the young female students' use of very informal and masculine words was criticized in newspapers and magazines even around 1900. The features of youth language have been a target of criticism, considered as something bad or corrupt. However, the controversial expressions that female students used 100 years ago are regarded as ordinary or even old-fashioned today. In this sense, youth language is an interesting topic for studying how language changes. According to Labov (1994: 47),

adolescents' (and preadolescents') speech is the cutting edge in the progress of language change. Yonekawa also suggests that young female speakers are relatively free from the social norm in language use, and that they tend to play an important role in language changes².

We now turn to two studies related to youth language and the use of hedges. The first is Philips (1998), which discusses the age issue. Her study investigates the relationship among the social variables age, sex and formality, with respect to the use of discourse markers such as fillers, connectives, and interactive particles. She proposes that some Japanese expressions, such as *nanka* 'like', function as fillers which are "associated with the speaker's non-assertiveness and uncertainty about a prior or upcoming proposition". *Nanka* is one of the most frequently used fillers among young female speakers in informal conversation. None of the three social factors, however, led to statistically significant effects in the use of *nanka*.

Tsuji (1996, 1998, 1999) investigates the latest Japanese youth language in an effort to find the social and psychological motivations in relation to the type of friendship. In his study, 253 college students were asked in questionnaires to write down

²As one of the features of female speech, R. Lakoff (1975) cites Jespersen's claim that new phrases are created more by women than by men and that women's speech is the source of language change.

whether they use some of the expressions typical of youth language (e.g., *toka* 'or something', *teyuuka* 'or rather', *mitaina* 'it's like'). They were then also asked to choose appropriate descriptions about their friendship (e.g., the number of friends, and if they discuss their personal problems with their friends).

Tsuji (1999) reports a statistically significant correlation between the use of youth language and superficial associations with friends. Superficial friendships are, according to Tsuji, relationships that are defined by particular purposes and activities, not by close constant companionships. This study reveals some aspects of language style and younger speaker's social attitude. Tsuji states that hedges in youth language contribute to mitigating their commitments to their utterances and to the avoidance of possible conflicts in their interpersonal relationships. Tsuji's studies are interesting because he approaches youth language from social and psychological points of view in order to investigate why the younger people speak the way they do. However, his findings are based on the participants' self-report, which may not reflect actual usage. Also no comparison was made with an older group, and sex and dialect background were not controlled.

2.7.3. Style

One of the three important social variables is referred to as "style" in the present study. "Style" means speech genres or conversation situations which are related to the formality of the speech setting. The word "style" originates with Joos (1967), and Labov (1972) further develops the topic. Joos defines speech genre as "style", and divides it into five classes; "intimate style", "casual style", "consultative style", "formal style", and "frozen style". "Intimate style" is the most casual style of the five, and the degree of formality increases in the direction of "frozen style". In his category, the interviews in the present study fall somewhere between "consultative style" (conversation between strangers) and "formal style", and the conversation with a friend falls under "intimate style" (conversation between equals with shared knowledge).

Channell (1994:191-192) states that "vague language is associated with informal conversational settings" and that "level of formality and giving the right amount of information are closely related". Crystal and Davy (1975) also claim that speakers can, if they choose, be more precise or imprecise according to the type of conversation, though they do acknowledge an influence of cognitive factors (memory loss, lack of knowledge) on the use of vague language. They give the following reasons for being vague socially: (1) the subject of the conversation is not such that it requires precision, and an approximation or characterization

will do; and (2) the choice of a vague item is deliberate to maintain the atmosphere. This means that the use of vague expressions is influenced by the topic and/or atmosphere of conversation.

One of the most important studies related to the level of formality is Lehrer (1975). Lehrer investigated the vocabulary which was used when talking about wine in two kinds of settings: description tasks (professional context) and communication tasks (socializing context). Lehrer found differences in expressing vagueness according to the topics and contexts of the discussion. Wine experts need to communicate precisely, whereas wine lovers do not have to be so precise. Lehrer observes that "[w]hen a need for precision and a scientific use of language does arise, as among enologists or shippers of wine, the vocabulary can be sharpened..."(p. 920). The wine lovers employ less precise language in describing wine than do the professional wine drinkers, though "they communicate well enough for their purpose" (p. 922).

The wine lovers' conversation is characterized as casual or intimate style, while the wine experts' conversation is characterized as consultative or formal. Formality of the conversation thus controls the level of vagueness in language use. In a casual setting, the focus of the conversation is more on socializing and showing solidarity than on describing wines precisely. This is one way of being polite or showing "camaraderie", as proposed by R. Lakoff (1975), because by being vague the conversation participants are less likely to disagree

with each other, and so can avoid offending each other.

In Japanese conversation, the major social variables of age, sex, and formality are very important because they influence the speakers' choice of language. However, the results of the studies to date on the use of vague expressions in Japanese remain inconclusive on the effects of age, sex, and formality, because of a lack of empirical data from actual conversations. The present study shows to what extent and in what way these major social variables influence the use of hedges in actual conversations.

2.8. Preliminary study

I conducted a preliminary study in 1998 in Tokyo, Japan, which investigated the use of Japanese hedges by 10 younger and 10 older female Japanese native speakers. Although the basic design of the preliminary study is the same as that in the present study, there are a few minor differences.

(1) the order of the interview and the conversation between friends: The dyadic conversation was recorded before the interview in the preliminary study; the order is reversed in the present study.

(2) the topic of the interview: The topic during the interview, "youth language", in the preliminary study was changed to "how to spend free time" in the present study.

I will explain why these changes were made, after the quantitative results of the preliminary study are presented.

2.8.1. Hypotheses and method of the preliminary study

The main issue that was investigated in my preliminary study is the same as in the present study; how social variables influence the use of hedges in Japanese conversation. The data were collected from:

(1) 15-minute talk between two female friends from the same age group about "trips they made and/or places they want to go next" or any other casual topic

(2) 15-minute individual interviews on "youth language" (I acted as the interviewer. The interviews were with the same participants as in the casual conversation.)

Right before the interview session (2), the participants were asked to read a list of example sentences of Japanese youth language including various hedging expressions (see Appendix 2.1 and 2.2). Then, the participants were asked questions about their use and opinions of such expressions, e.g. if they use them, if so, with whom, when, why, etc. (Appendix 2.3). These data served mainly as formal style spoken data, and in addition, as metalinguistic data on the use of hedges. The participants were all female; 6 university students and 4 high-school students for Group I and 10 housewives aged between 50 and 70 for Group II (see Appendix 2.4). Both data sets (1) and (2) were tape-recorded and transcribed for the subsequent analysis.

2.8.2. Results of the preliminary study

Below are the tentative answers to hypothesis 1 (regarding age) and hypothesis 3 (regarding style) obtained from my preliminary study. Included are the total number of hedge tokens and the rate (frequency per 1000 words). The hedges with two or fewer tokens in both groups and both speech styles, are excluded from the tables.

Table 2.1 presents the overall result of the use of hedges by style for each age group. In general, twice as many hedges were employed by the younger group as compared to the older group: The younger speakers used one hedge per 11 words while the older speakers employed one hedge per 22 words. The difference in the rate between two groups is much greater in conversation than in the interview: Hedges are about 2.8 times more frequent in the conversation of Group I than in the language of Group II. In interviews, both groups of participants used more hedges than they did in conversations.

An analysis of variance showed that the main effect of age was statistically significant, ($F(1,18)=45.08$, $MSE=464.02$, $p < .01$): Group I produced more hedges than Group II. The main effect of style (speech genre) also reached statistical significance, ($F(1,18)=36.79$, $MSE=166.24$, $p < .01$): Participants produced more hedges during interviews than during conversations in both groups.

Table 2.1 Total tokens and rates of hedges (female, n=20)total words of utterance: 14944 (Group I), 16585 (Group II)

	Group 1		Group 2		ANOVA		
	token	rate	token	rate		F	p
conversation	671	81.52	233	29.00	age	45.08	.000026*
interview	696	99.47	516	60.52	style	36.79	.000053*
total	1367		749		interac- tion**	2.77	n.s.

n.s.>.10, * $p<.05$, ** age x style

In contrast, the interaction between age and style was not significant ($p = .109$). To obtain further insights into these effects, I conducted post-hoc tests for the rates of each particular type of hedging expression.

Table 2.2 on the next page summarizes the conversation data with the numbers in bold indicating the higher rates and significant differences between Groups I and II. It shows that the total rate of Group I was about three time as high as that of Group II. Particularly, the rates of *nanka* 'like', *toka* 'or something', *teyuuka* 'or rather', *kanji* 'feels like', *mitai* 'is like', *kekoo* 'quite; fairly', and *jan/janai?* 'Isn't it?' were markedly higher for Group I.

Table 2.2 Total tokens and rates of hedges used by Group I and Group II in conversation (female, n=20)
total words of utterance: 8036 (Group I), 8130 (Group II)

hedge	Group 1(n=10)		Group 2(n=10)		p
	tokens	rate	tokens	rate	
nanka 'like'	204	25.39	22	2.71	0.0001
toka 'or something'	208	25.88	15	1.85	0.0001
teyuuka 'or rather'	19	2.36	1	0.12	0.0001
tari 'and suchlike'	21	2.61	15	1.85	n.s.
shi 'and what's more'	12	1.49	27	3.32	0.063
kanji 'feels like'	27	3.36	4	0.49	0.007
mitai 'is like'	12	1.49	1	0.12	0.013
to omou 'I think'	18	2.24	11	1.35	n.s.
deshoo 'probably'	5	0.62	14	1.72	0.065
kamoshirenai 'It might be'	6	0.75	7	0.86	n.s.
ki ga suru 'I've got a feeling'	3	0.37	1	0.12	n.s.
kana/kane/kashira 'I wonder'	27	3.36	30	3.69	n.s.
maa 'kind of'	11	1.37	9	1.11	n.s.
kekko 'quite/fairly'	25	3.11	8	0.98	0.023
tabun 'probably'	1	0.12	0	0.00	n.s.
janai desu ka? 'Isn't it?' (formal)	0	0.00	6	0.74	n.s.
jan/janai? 'Isn't it?' (casual)	58	7.22	17	2.09	0.005
desho? 'right?/you know'	14	1.74	45	5.54	0.002
total	671	81.52	233	29.00	0.0001

n.s.>.10,

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 present the number of tokens and rates of hedge usage. Only hedges which show significant differences among styles are presented in the tables for Group I (Table 2.3) and Group II (table 2.4). For Group I (Table 2.3), even though the overall difference between interview and conversation is not significant, some important shifts can be noted in the types of hedges that are used. The most interesting change concerns *nanka* 'like', which drops from the rate of 25.39/1000 words during conversation to 13.03/1000 words during interviews, suggesting

that this hedging device is regarded as less appropriate in a formal setting. In contrast, *to omou* 'I think' showed a dramatic increase from 2.24/1000 words in conversation to 20.27/1000 words in interviewing. *Ja nai desu ka* 'isn't it? (formal)' appeared only during interviews, while its casual counterpart, *jan* 'isn't it?', appeared only during conversations. This result confirms Jinnouchi's (1998:20) claim that *Ja nai desu ka* 'isn't it?' is the casual counterpart of *jan* 'isn't it?' which is often used among equals. This suggests that the participants did indeed perceive a difference in formality levels between the two styles.

Table 2.3 Tokens and rates of hedges used by Group I
(female, n=10)

hedge	conversation		interview		P
	tokens	rate	tokens	rate	
<i>nanka</i> 'like'	204	25.39	90	13.03	0.010
<i>teyuuka</i> 'or rather'	19	2.39	44	6.37	0.024
<i>to omou</i> 'I think'	18	2.24	140	20.27	0.0001
<i>tabun</i> 'probably'	1	0.12	10	1.45	0.029
<i>janai desu ka?</i> 'Isn't it?' (formal)	0	0.00	10	1.45	0.021
<i>jan/janai?</i> 'Isn't it?' (casual)	58	7.22	0	0.00	0.0001
<i>desho?</i> 'right?/you know'	14	1.74	0	0.00	0.006
total	671	83.50	696	100.75	n.s.

n.s.>.05

As for the speech of Group II (Table 2.4), the frequency of hedges in the interview is about twice as high as that in conversation. The most significant differences across styles were obtained for *toka* 'or something', *to omou* 'I think that', and *deshoo* 'probably'.

Table 2.4 Tokens and rates of hedges used by Group II
(female, n=10)

hedge	conversation		interview		P
	tokens	rate	tokens	rate	
<i>toka</i> 'or something'	15	1.85	76	8.99	0.0001
<i>teyuuka</i> 'or rather'	1	0.12	12	1.42	0.019
<i>shi</i> 'and what's more'	27	3.32	11	1.30	0.033
<i>kanji</i> 'feels like'	4	0.49	22	2.60	0.007
<i>mitai</i> 'is like'	1	0.12	7	0.83	0.045
<i>to omou</i> 'I think'	11	1.35	107	12.66	0.0001
<i>deshoo</i> 'probably'	14	1.72	57	6.74	0.004
<i>kamoshirenai</i> 'It might be'	7	0.86	21	2.48	0.048
<i>kana/kane/kashira</i> 'I wonder'	30	3.69	88	10.41	0.008
<i>desho?</i> 'right?/you know'	45	5.54	11	1.30	0.001
total	233	28.66	516	61.03	0.0001

Interestingly, the use of *to omou*³ 'I think that' increased during interviews for both Groups I and II as compared to conversations. One explanation for this may be that the speaker uses *to omou* 'I think that' to acknowledge that a certain opinion is personal and therefore may be incorrect. *To omou* 'I think' seems to be a very common way of responding to questions in an interview.

2.8.3. Conclusions from the preliminary study

The results of the preliminary study support hypothesis 1 (more hedges are used by younger speakers), but not hypothesis 3 (fewer hedges in interviews). The younger speakers used a much greater number and variety of hedges than did the older speakers.

³In interviews the formal version of *to omou*, *to omoimasu*, is mostly used.

Unexpectedly, the data showed a higher frequency of the use of hedges in interviews than in conversations among the older speakers. However, the frequency is not as high as that of the younger speakers. It seems that the motivations for using hedges and the preferred types of hedges differ between the generations and speech contexts. This difference is investigated in Chapters 4 and 5 in the present study.

The results of the preliminary study did not support hypothesis 3, concerning the influence of formality. (See Chapter 4 for the results of the present study regarding this hypothesis.) I concluded that the unexpectedly high frequency of hedges in the interviews may have been caused by the particular topic chosen for the interview, "youth language", with which Group II participants may not have been familiar. Even Group I participants seemed to have a hard time talking about hedges, even though they claimed to use them often. Therefore, the topic of the interview was changed to "how to spend free time" for the present study, which both younger and older participants may find relatively easy to talk about. This way, the cognitive demands of answering questions during the interview are expected to be more comparable to those made by conversing between friends. With comparable degrees of cognitive demands, I expect that an informal setting (chats among friends) leads to a higher frequency of hedges than a formal setting (interviews).

In the present study the interview data on the topic of "free time" serve as spoken data in a formal setting. Metalinguistic data on the use of hedges were obtained by means of questionnaires after the interview and dyadic conversation. Also, in contrast to the preliminary study, the interview was recorded first in the present study, preceding the dyadic conversation. This is because I presumed that the participants would feel more familiar and comfortable with the microphone environment after the first recording. Such feelings of comfort and familiarity were deemed more important for recording casual conversation between friends than for interviews. See Chapter 3 for details of methods of data collection.

2.9. Summary

In this section some of the theoretical backgrounds of the study of vague language and hedges in English and Japanese were presented. There are various aspects in the use of hedges, and due to their multifunctionality the examination is complex. Researchers in the past have approached the study of hedges from different perspectives, including cognitive (e.g., Williamson 1992), semantic (e.g., G. Lakoff 1972), sociolinguistic (e.g., Lehrer 1975; Preisler 1986; Philips 1998; Tsuji 1999), and discoursal (Schiffrin 1987). The use of hedges has also been associated with several important social aspects of the conversation contexts such as age and sex of the conversation

participants, and style of the conversation settings. However, these social variables are often investigated or discussed separately, and correlations among the variables are scarcely studied empirically. The present study takes a synthetic approach, and quantifies the influence of these social variables on the use of Japanese hedges.

Chapter 3

Hypotheses and Methodology of the study of hedges

Chapter 2 showed that hedges are an interesting and complex area to study, and that several factors and social variables influence the use of Japanese hedges. Based on previous findings, I posit three hypotheses about the use of hedges in Japanese conversation.

3.1. Hypotheses

The following are three hypotheses in the present study.

- 1. Hedges are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers.**
- 2. Hedges are used more often by female speakers than by male speakers.**
- 3. Hedges are used more often in casual speech than in formal speech.**

Hypothesis 1.

Hedges are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers.

Hypothesis 1 is based on the following. As mentioned in Chapter 2, age is one of the significant variables in Japanese sociolinguistics (Loveday 1986: 302). Japanese hedges such as *toka* 'or something', *mitaina* 'is like', *te kanji* 'feels like', and *tari shite* 'do things like' typically occur in youth language

(e.g., Jinnouchi 1997; Maynard 1997; Satake 1995) and they primarily serve to establish group membership and solidarity among the younger speakers (Okamoto 1995).

Older speakers may use some hedging expressions, but they are expected to use fewer variations of hedges and to use them less frequently than do younger speakers. Here I briefly discuss the issue of age grading. "Age grading" in the present study implies that the older used hedges more often when they were young than now, but gradually decreased the usage, and that the younger will follow this pattern. The frequent use of hedges with many variations seems a recent trend and new practice in Japanese youth language according to Japanese encyclopedic annuals, *Gendaiyoogo no kiso chishiki* [Basic knowledge of current terms] and *Imidas*, and some journal articles (e.g. Satake 1995; Niiyama & Iwamura 1998). However, I cannot exclude the possibility of age grading in the use of hedges. The younger speakers who use some hedges often now may decrease the use when they become older. A future longitudinal study should verify this point.

Younger speakers use youth language mainly with their in-group members (Yonekawa 1998), and some youngsters adopt stylistically informal forms to show their group membership, i.e. intimacy with peer group members (Loveday 1986). This leads us to speculate that one of the main functions of hedges is to create solidarity with an in-group addressee in a casual setting, where the main purpose of the interaction is to maintain rapport.

It is reasonable to assume that both younger and older speakers express their solidarity in some ways when talking to their friends, but how this is done in each age group may be different. The frequent use of certain types of hedges by younger speakers likely constitutes one of the features of youth language, which facilitates their sense of solidarity and in-group identification. This is not to say that older speakers do not try to promote solidarity and in-group identification, but rather that they might use means other than hedges to achieve such goals. For example, according to my informal observation, older people tend to often use the sentence final particle *ne* and the expression *soo desu ne* ('That's right.') which mark shared information. They may also have more physical contact than younger speakers (e.g. lightly patting the addressee's arm or shoulder) and talk about shared past memories.

Here "younger" speakers are defined as teenagers who are students, while "older" speakers are defined as those aged over 50. For the "younger group", I chose students because the language of students is often free from the norm in standard Japanese, and students are a major force in creating new words and styles (Yonekawa 1998). Young working members are excluded because once youngsters start to take up professional roles in society, they use formal language more often than students, and so their language is more confined than that of students. For the "older group", I chose speakers aged over 50 years old because in general their

life styles are considered very distinct from those of the student population.

Although it will be interesting to investigate the language of speakers from the age groups between these two groups, I limit my focus in the present study to establishing whether there is an influence from the age factor at all. This can be done most efficiently by comparing two very different groups, before further investigation of more subtle differences.

Hypothesis 2.

Hedges are used more often by female speakers than by male speakers.

Hypothesis 2 is based on the gender-related studies on the use of vague language discussed in Chapter 2. Women often speak more politely than men (Lakoff 1975; Okamoto 1995), and women's speech is less assertive than men's speech (Smith 1992c). Also, women's speech is associated more strongly with frequent use of hedges than men's speech (Lakoff 1975; Coats 1987; Preisler 1986). In Japanese sociolinguistic studies, Ide (1982, 1991) and Smith (1992c) observe that Japanese women tend to use more softening or evidential expressions⁴ to make their statements polite, nonassertive, gentle, and empathetic. Previous studies thus have

⁴ Evidential expressions are postverbal forms/sentence extensions that express speaker's judgment or conjecture, report hearsay, present quotations, etc.

focused on stylistic differences in men's and women's conversation. Although we must be careful not to stereotypically associate the use of vague language with sex, whether women have their own styles in expressing vagueness is still an interesting topic.

If the above claims are valid, women's language should have more hedges than men's language because hedges can function to mitigate propositions. Although it has been observed that young Japanese women's speech nowadays is much less "feminine" than that of older women's (Shibamoto 1985; Okamoto 1995; Philips 1997), I speculate that, regarding hedges, young women's speech still preserves a greater degree of nonassertiveness and softness as compared to young men's speech.

Hypothesis 3.

Hedges are used more often in casual speech than in formal speech.

Chapter 2 discussed that the level of formality is closely related to one of Grice's conversational maxims (giving the right amount of information), and that this may influence the use of vague language (e.g., Channell 1994; Lehrer 1975). The "formal speech" in Hypothesis 3 refers to speech in which familiarity or solidarity is lacking among participants, and the occasions are formal (Ide 1982:372-375). In this sense, formality depends not only on who are the speakers, but also on the structure of the

conversation (e.g. rigid structure of questions and answers in interviews). In such a conversational setting, speakers are most likely to choose a formal style of language, and the use of hedges as solidarity markers may be absent.

In an informal setting, the use of vague expressions can be dictated by the conversational maxim of quantity (the contribution should be as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange, and should not be unnecessarily informative, Grice 1975). While vagueness can arise from lack of knowledge, it can also arise from the topic or atmosphere of the conversation. For example, certain formal situations are likely to require more precise and specific speech than are informal situations. The speakers adjust the appropriate amount of information for their purposes in the communication.

Thus, I explained how each of these three social variables may influence the use of hedges separately. However, these hypotheses are interrelated with each other. First, I observe that the use of hedges may be an exponent of power relations in society. Both women and teenagers are in general regarded as the groups with less power or authority in Japanese society than men or older groups. In casual conversation between equals, it is less required to express power relations in speech than in formal conversation. The lack of power is likely to lead to "powerless" language and a self-protective or non-committal attitude. Hedges are one of such "powerless" and/or self-protective expressions

due to their fuzziness, or indirectness.

Secondly, the reason that women and youngsters are associated with the use of hedges is that they tend to be more free from standard social norms than men and older speakers (Lakoff 1972; Labov 1994), as I mentioned in Chapter 2. Women and youngsters might be playing leading roles in creating and establishing new hedging expressions in Japanese. This way, they may be enjoying breaking the norm, and creating their own styles for their entertainment purpose or for rapport-building. Oftentimes, this might be easily pursued in informal and in-group interactions. From a different perspective, however, it can be argued that women and youngsters have their own social norms, different from the social norms of men and the older.

If the lack of knowledge is the only motivation to use hedges, then there will be no interaction between social variables and the use of hedges. Believing that social variables do have an effect on the use of hedges, I conducted the present investigation.

3.2. Method

This section explains how the data were collected and analyzed. The method was designed based on the results of the preliminary study discussed in chapter 2.

3.2.1. Data

The use of Japanese hedges is examined in relation to three social variables: age (Group I, ages 17-18 vs. Group II, ages 50-69), sex (female vs. male), and style (casual vs. formal). Four sets of data were obtained:

- (1) individual interviews with participants from Group I (10 female and 10 male; ages 17-18);
- (2) casual dyadic conversations between friends from Group I (5 female and 5 male single-sex pairs; ages 17-18), hereafter, referred to as "chat";
- (3) individual interviews with participants from Group II (10 female and 10 male; ages 50-69);
- (4) casual dyadic conversations between friends from Group II (5 female and 5 male single-sex pairs; ages 50-69). hereafter, referred to as "chat";

The participants for the interviews and chats are the same people for both age groups. In addition, the same participants were asked to fill out questionnaires about the use of hedges, as well as a few items of background information (see Appendix 4.1 and 4.2).

First, I interviewed the participants individually to obtain formal-style speech samples, (1) and (3). The topic for all participants in both Groups I and II was "how to spend free time". After a few warm-up questions, the participants were asked about 9 questions for about 15 minutes (see Appendix 3). The prepared questions included yes-no questions, choice questions, and WH-questions in order to elicit various types of responses from the interviewees. I expected that the speech style would

be formal⁵ in the interview data because the interviewer was a stranger to the participants and the style of interaction (interview style) was formal. Care was taken to maintain a natural interaction during the interviews, for example, by providing feedback and back-channel responses, and asking related questions. The recording took place in a quiet environment that was familiar to the participants such as in their class rooms or at their homes.

Soon after the interview, dyadic conversation data were collected by asking a pair of participants to talk about "trips (enjoyable trips they made, and/or places they want to travel)" or any other familiar topic for about 15 minutes. The topic sheet was given to the participants right before the recording. Then, the pair of participants was left alone in the room. The conversation was carried out between two friends of the same sex from the same age group. For recording both the interview and chat, I used a Minidisk (a portable disk recorder) with a small two-way microphone. After the conversation, the participants filled out a questionnaire about the use of hedges. They also filled out the background information section, including items such as age, birth place, etc.

Right before filling out the questionnaire, the

⁵ In Japanese, formality can be assessed by, among other things, the type of predicate endings: *desu/masu* (formal) ; *ru* (casual); and *dearu* (hyper formal, scholarly writing).

participants were asked to read two short excerpts from conversations between two speakers (see Appendix 4.1). The two written conversation samples contain several kinds of hedges. Most of the hedges in the sample sheet are often regarded as typical in Japanese youth language. One of the conversation examples was based on an actual discourse between two female high-school students in my preliminary study, and the other example was based on the discourse of a male pair of high-school students. Some parts of these conversation examples were modified to simplify the discourse and to add a few varieties of hedges. The order of the two conversation samples was reversed for half of the participants.

After reading the two conversation samples, the participants filled out the form with the multiple-choice questions about the use of hedges: for instance, questions about whether they use these expressions, if so, with whom, when, and why (see Appendix 4.2, for the complete form). There were twenty multiple-choice questions in total and the order of the questions was counter-balanced among the participants. The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect metalinguistic data. Although admittedly there are some limitations in this type of self-reporting data, it nonetheless can yield interesting clues about the speaker's perception of the use of hedges.

3.2.2. Participants

The participants are all native speakers of Japanese, who were born and raised in Tokyo (n=36) or in the neighboring prefectures (Chiba, Kanagawa and Saitama, n=4). Detailed information is presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. The participants speak the Tokyo dialect which is "the speech of the educated middle-class Tokyoites", and has been "considered as the standard language" in Japan (Kindaichi 1978: 60; Shibatani 1990: 186).

Table 3.1 List of participants in Group I

	I.D.	sex	age	hometown
1	YN	female	17	Tokyo
2	FT	female	17	Tokyo
3	YF	female	18	Tokyo
4	YT	female	18	Tokyo
5	TK	female	18	Tokyo
6	YH	female	18	Tokyo
7	YM	female	18	Tokyo
8	HK	female	18	Tokyo
9	YF	female	18	Tokyo
10	MS	female	18	Tokyo
11	EK	male	18	Tokyo
12	ST	male	17	Chiba
13	AY	male	18	Tokyo
14	KK	male	17	Tokyo
15	YM	male	18	Tokyo
16	KK	male	18	Tokyo
17	MK	male	17	Tokyo
18	TS	male	17	Kanagawa
19	MY	male	17	Tokyo
20	MY	male	17	Tokyo

Table 3.2 List of participants in Group II

	I.D.	sex	age	hometown
21	YO	female	66	Tokyo
22	TW	female	60	Tokyo
23	YY	female	55	Tokyo
24	TS	female	64	Tokyo
25	NT	female	63	Tokyo/Shizuoka
26	SO	female	62	Tokyo
27	EO	female	68	Tokyo
28	TG	female	65	Tokyo
29	SK	female	50	Kanagawa
30	KN	female	54	Tokyo
31	MM	male	65	Tokyo
32	KU	male	63	Tokyo
33	JT	male	59	Tokyo
34	IT	male	65	Tokyo
35	YM	male	69	Tokyo
36	TY	male	68	Saitama
37	YS	male	67	Tokyo
38	SK	male	64	Tokyo
39	MD	male	65	Tokyo
40	TF	male	62	Tokyo

The participants in Group I are high-school students whose schools are ranked as average in Tokyo (e.g., Matsumura 1999; Imai 1999): Tokyo Edogawa High School (public school) and Komagome High School (private school). Group II participants consist mainly of retired men and housewives. There are 5 male and 5 female pairs in each age group, in total 40 participants. With all participants, data were obtained in both speech situations.

3.2.3. Procedures

Ten-minute segments after the initial two minutes of all the interviews and conversations were fully transcribed and analyzed (see Appendix 1 for transcription conventions). The

initial two minutes of the interaction were excluded to make sure that all dyads were fully engaged in the conversation from the start of the transcription. Based on the transcriptions, for each participant, the number of total words and the number of occurrences of each type of hedging expressions were counted. Then the relative frequency per 1000 words (hereafter, mean rate) was calculated for each type of hedge.

In total, 400 minutes of interview, and 200 minutes of conversation were transcribed and analyzed. For transcribing the utterances, I followed mainly the convention in Maynard (1987:18), and therefore, not all morphemes are separated in the transcription. In counting words, each independent lexical item and function word (such as particles) were counted as one word. Inflections of independent lexical segments (e.g. negation *nai* 'not', past tense *katta*, and passive morpheme *rareru*) were not counted as a separate word. Repetitions and backchannellings were not counted when they appeared during the other participant's turn of speaking. Analysis of variance (ANOVA), post-hoc pairwise comparisons (Tukey's honestly significant difference method [HSD], see details in Ferguson and Takane 1989), and PEARSON correlations were carried out to investigate the quantitative influences of social factors on the use of hedges (see Chapters 4, 5, and 6).

3.2.4. Units of talk

Units of talk are a convenient and important concept for analysis since conversational interactions take place utilizing units of talk; for example, transitional periods between turns, back-channel responses, confirmation tags, etc. Maynard (1987:23-24) refers to units of talk in Japanese as Pause-bounded Phrasal Units (PPU). According to her, PPU is defined by the phonological feature of a pause, which most often coincides with the phrase, that is, independent lexical items and junction words such as particles. PPUs are frequently followed by a "pause-predicting tone and/or pause-warning decreased speed, along with occasional stressed, rising intonation"(ibid. 24). In Japanese discourse, PPUs can be phrases or clauses, and PPU segmentation occurs roughly once every 1.7 seconds (ibid. 26).

In the present study, I use PPU as defined by Maynard as the basic unit of analysis. In the transcription of the conversation data, the division of utterances is based on PPU. PPU is also useful especially in Chapter 6 which presents contextual analyses of the use of hedges, for example examining the relationship between utterances and turns.

3.3. Hedges in the present study

This section presents the rationale behind my decision as to which hedges are investigated and which are not in this study. I list below hedges for investigation, and also provide



grammatical, semantic, and etymological information about them.

3.3.1. List of hedges

In the present study I treat hedges in just one variety of Japanese, more or less standard Japanese as used by native speakers who were born and have been living in Tokyo or its neighboring prefectures (Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba). This was done to minimize variation arising from regional differences.

As G. Lakoff (1972:196) points out with his list of "some hedges and related phenomena" (Chapter 2), there are many possible hedging expressions. Hedges can include a broad range of lexical expressions or prosodic features, and it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between hedges and non-hedges.

In this study, I limit my investigation to hedges which are lexically expressed, and which convey vagueness or uncertainty; for example, adverbs such as *nanka* 'like', auxiliaries such as *kamoshirenai* 'may; might', and tags such as *toka* 'or something'.

The focus is placed particularly on hedges which are described in the literature as typical for Japanese youth language (e.g. Satake 1995; Niiyama and Iwamura 1998). I also include several other hedging expressions which were relatively frequently employed by both the younger and older participants in my preliminary study. The following is the list of hedges that I investigated in the present study. The explanations of each hedge are from *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar* (Makino and

Tsutsui 1986, henceforth DBJG), *The Kojien Dictionary*, the fifth edition⁶, (Shinmura 1998, hereafter KD), *Supplementary Grammar Notes to An Introduction to Modern Japanese Parts I and II* (Simon 1986, hereafter SGN I and SGN II), and other sources. The hedges for investigation are classified into four major categories: utterance-final expressions, adverbs, connectives and noun suffixes.

A. Utterance-final expressions
(verbs, auxiliaries and particles)

(1) ***toka*** 'or something; etc.'

A combination of the quote marker *to* and *ka* 'or'. It can be used as a conjunction that lists more than one thing or as a quote marker often followed by *iu* 'say'. [DBJG]

(2) ***ka nanka*** 'or something'

A combination of *ka*, a particle meaning 'or' and *nanka*, a noun meaning 'something'.

(3) ***nado; nanka*** 'and so on; things like...'

These are particles that indicate exemplification. "*Nanka* is the informal, colloquial version of *nado*" [DBJG: 268]. *Nanka* and *nado* can sometimes give the sentence a derogatory meaning depending on the context. [DBJG] *Nanka* and *nado* with a derogatory meaning in a context conveying undesirability are not included in the list of hedges in this study.

⁶ The *Kojien Dictionary* is written in Japanese. The translation is provided by the author.

(4) **-tari; tari suru** 'and such; do this, that, and others'

The inflection *tari* expresses an inexhaustive listing of action or states. [DBJG] "One meaning of this pattern is that one does certain things not in a sequence but in a random order. ... One can list more than two verbs or just one verb. In either case, they are examples of various things that one does." [SGN II: 53]

(5) **kanji** 'is like; feels like'

A noun expressing one's feelings caused by things, events, or persons. Also expresses one's impression or the atmosphere in a given situation. [KD]

(6) **kamoshirenai; kamo** 'may; might'

"Ka and mo are particles, and the verb shiremasen/shirenai is always in the negative. ... This set phrase itself is not inflected...". [SGN I: 90] This auxiliary indicates likelihood. [DBJG] *Kamo* can be the contracted version of *kamoshiranai*.

(7) **deshoo; daroo** 'probably'

Daroo is originally the informal conjecture form of the copula *da*, but is used as an auxiliary of conjecture. The formal version is *deshoo*. *Deshoo/daroo* indicates a higher probability than *kamoshirenai* 'may; might'. But the speaker's conjecture is not necessarily based on any evidence. [DBJG]

(8) **soo** 'seem; look like'

This auxiliary adjective expresses "the speaker's conjecture about what is going to happen or the current state of someone or something. Although this expression is based on what the speaker sees or feels, it is merely his guess and the degree of certainty in his statement is fairly low." [DBJG: 550]

(9) **mitai; yoo** 'be like; look like'

Mitai and *yoo* are also auxiliary adjectives, and express the speaker's conjecture about the likelihood of something based on what he sees or saw. The colloquial version of *yoo* is *mitai*. The degree of certainty in *mitai; yoo* is higher than that in *soo* 'seem; look like' above. [DBJG] One function of this expression is to indicate the speaker's uncertainty. [SGN II]

(10) **rashii** 'seem; I've heard'

Rashii is an adjective which can express the speaker's uncertainty. It is interchangeable with *above soo* and *yoo*. However *rashii* is used when the speaker has some personal evidence such as what he has heard or read. "It implies the speaker's judgment and uncertainty regarding the situation at the same time". It is equivalent to saying 'I've heard ..., but I'm not sure' or 'I've heard and it seems to be true that'. [SGN II: 122-123]

(11) **kana; kashira; kane** 'I wonder'

Sentence-final particles which express the idea that the speaker wonders about. *Kashira* is usually used by female speakers, and *kana* is male speakers. Both are used in informal situations. *Kane* consists of the question marker *ka* and the confirmation or agreement marker *ne*. When combined, *ka ne* means 'I am not sure if..., but am I right?'. [DBJG]

(12) **to omou** '(I) think that'

"The particle *to*, which indicates quotation, appears after a clause ending in the plain form and before the verbs ... Unlike the English word *that*, the particle cannot be omitted. The subject of the verb *omou/omoimasu* is either 'I' or 'you' (in a question), and therefore it is not specified unless the speaker wants to contrast what 'I' or 'you' think with someone else's thought or opinion" [SGN I: 64] *Omoimasu* is the formal form of *omou*.

(13) **ki ga suru** 'I've got a feeling'

Ki means 'feeling', and *ga* is a subject particle. *Suru* indicates that something is perceived by the speaker's non-visual senses [DBJG].

B. Adverbial phrases

(14) **nanka** 'like'

Nanka derives from *nani* 'what' and the question particle *ka*. [KD] It expresses indirectness or the speaker's vague feelings and hesitations (Hida and Asada 1994).

- (15) **toriaezu** 'for the time being; for now'
(16) **ichioo** 'generally; for the time being'

Both expressions can mean temporality. They add "the nuance that the topic of the sentence is general rather than detailed, fleeting rather than prolonged, or temporary rather than permanent" (Suleski and Masada 1982: 8).

- (17) **kekoo** 'quite; quite a bit'

It expresses that the degree is higher than what the speaker expected. It is an informal expression often used in casual conversation (Hida and Asada 1994).

- (18) **taigai; daitai** 'generally; approximately; perhaps'

Both *taigai* and *daitai* can be used as a noun or adverb to approximate things. When used as an adverb, *taigai* can also mean 'perhaps'. [KD]

- (19) **tabun; osoraku** 'probably; maybe'

The formal version of the adverb *tabun* is *osoraku*. They are adverbs expressing probability and often used with the auxiliary *daroo*; *deshoo* 'probably' and to *omou* 'I think'.

- (20) **tashika** 'perhaps'

The basic meaning of *tashika* is to refer to something that is certain, trustworthy, and reliable, meaning 'for sure' and 'certainly'. However a "further popular conversational usage of *tashika* carries meanings similar to the Japanese expression *tabun* 'probably; most likely'. It indicates a slight uncertainty on the part of the speaker about the accuracy of the statement..." [Suleski and Masada 1982: 55-58]. In the present study *tashika* is considered a hedge when used in the latter case.

- (21) **aru imi de** 'in a sense'

Aru means 'a certain' and is used when referring to things without specifying them; it only hints at their existence. *Imi* is a noun meaning 'meaning'. [KD]

C. Connective

(22) **teyuuka** 'or rather; or what should I say'

Tteyuuka has many variations: *tteyuuka*, *(t)teiuka*, *tsuuka*, *teka*, etc. All are derived from the quote marker *to/te* 'that', the verb *iu* 'say', and the particle *ka* 'or' that marks an alternative. *To iu ka* has become conventionalized as *tteyuuka* mainly to repair the speaker's or the addressee's utterances or to imply an alternative.

D. Noun suffixes

(23) **-kee** '-type'

(24) **-kankei** '-related'

(25) **-teki**; **-ppoi** '-ish; -tic'

These suffixes are used metaphorically by young Japanese speakers to avoid being direct. [Yonekawa 1998]

(26) **-kurai/gurai**; **-koro/goro**; **atari** 'about; around'

Kurai/gurai approximates quantity or extent. "*Goro* is different from *kurai/gurai* 'about' in that the latter is used with specific quantity (time) expressions ...". *Goro* means 'approximately (with a specific point of time)'. [DBJG: 126-128] *Atari* sets an approximation for place, time, amount, and things. [KD]

The above hedges can all express other meanings than vagueness or uncertainty. In the present study, these expressions are counted as hedges only when they indicate the above-mentioned meanings. The following section lists some of the expressions excluded from the present study.

3.3.2. Expressions to be excluded

At the onset of the present study a number of decisions were made as to which expressions would and would not be included among

hedges, because there are a number of ways to be vague. Below I discuss briefly the linguistic forms or devices which may express vagueness, but which are not included herein.

- (1) Ellipsis
- (2) Hedges within quotations
- (3) Fillers
- (4) Features of intonation (e.g. high rising terminal, HRT, or 'half-question' [Satake 1995; Maynard 1997])
- (5) Tag questions (e.g., *desho?* 'isn't it?')

(1) Ellipsis

One can bring about hedging effects indirectly by omitting phrases. In the case of omission, the utterance becomes vague by not completing the end of the sentence. For example, an utterance sounds vague when it ends with words such as *kara* 'because' and *kedo* 'though', omitting the main clause, which usually follows. I agree with Channell (1994), however in that omission qualitatively differs from additive vagueness or choice of vague words because of its unspecified character. According to Channell, such instances should be viewed not as expressing vagueness but as suppressing reference or mention. As it is difficult to figure out what is omitted or suppressed and what the speaker's real intention is, I exclude the cases of vagueness by omission.

(2) Hedges within quotations

When hedges appear in quotations of what the speaker read or heard, they are not counted. For example, in English, if one

says "Ken said, 'Mary is sort of cute'", the hedging expression 'sort of' in the quotation is not vagueness that the speaker wants to convey him/herself. I regard hedges of this type as a mere quote, and not indicating the speaker's intention to be vague.

(3) Fillers

Fillers such as *eeto* 'uh', *anoo* 'well', and *maa* 'kind of' are not included, although they can express vagueness due to their hesitation and softening effects. One of the major functions of fillers is to hold the floor while the speaker is searching for an appropriate expression (Maynard 1987). They usually express no identifiable propositional meaning. Therefore, I regard the hedging aspect of fillers as peripheral to their usage, and I decided to exclude fillers from the list of hedges.

One exception is *nanka* 'like'. This adverb often functions as a socially motivated filler to soften one's utterance (e.g., Philips 1998). I decided to include *nanka* 'like' in the list of hedges because it has specific hedging functions that are derived from its original meaning. Unlike other fillers, *nanka* has an identifiable semantic meaning. It is a combination of *nani* 'what' and the question marker *ka*. Philips summarizes the function of *nanka* 'like' as indicating an approximation of what the speaker has in his/her mind, which leads to the sense of uncertainty, vagueness and hesitation.

(4) Intonation

Rising intonation patterns, often called high rising terminal (HRT), have been described as an uncertainty sign (Lakoff 1975). However according to Holmes (1995:103-106), the primary function of HRT is, as in tag questions, an interactive device, "checking out that the addressee shares the same background information as the speaker" and facilitating the addressee's participation in the discourse. Saito (1998) also observes the same effect in "half-question" or "question-like intonation" in Japanese conversation. As Holmes (1995) indicates, HRT has not been researched sufficiently to prove that one of its main functions is to express uncertainty, and, therefore, I decided not to include HRT in my list of hedges.

(5) Tag questions

The same can be said for tag questions. The main functions of tag questions include epistemic, facilitative, challenging and softening (Holmes 1995). It is often difficult to determine whether or not certain tag questions are hedges expressing vagueness, due to their frequent facilitator roles in conversation. In the Holmes study (1995:83) women used facilitating tags more than epistemic tags.

My preliminary study did include tags in the list of hedges. The tags in my preliminary study appeared to serve mainly to facilitate the interaction in the conversation. I found little

evidence that tags express vagueness or the speakers' uncertainty. The following is a typical example of the conversation between two young female friends recorded in the preliminary study. Here a speaker 'I' is telling her friend 'Y' her opinion about the rumor that the Japanese like cameras. Tags appear in bold.

(1)

- 1 I: *Nihonjin ga kamera-zuki nante uso da,*
 Japanese SP camera like QT lie BE
- 2 *Tada tanni saa nanka hora nihon no saa*
 only simply IP somehow hey Japan GEN IP
- koo kikai toka kekkoo saa*
 this machine etc. quite IP
- ii no ga ooi jan.*
 good NOM SP many TAG
 (Y: aa aa aa)
 yeah yeah yeah
- 3 *Bideo kamera toka,*
 video camera etc.
- 4 (I:) *Ima hora dejitaru kamera toka aru jan,*
 now hey digital camera etc. exist TAG
 (Y: soo da ne)
 so BE IP
- 5 *Dakara, nanka soo iu no me ni tsuku kara,*
 so like like-that NM eye catch because
- 6 *Motteru tte iu imeeji aru kedo,*
 have QT say image exist though
- 7 *Nihonjin nanka dochika hitotsu jan,*
 Japanese somehow either one TAG
 (Y: un)
 yeah
- 8 *Kamera motteru ka bideo ka tte saa*
 camera have or video or QT IP

- 9 *Sonnani* *ippai mottenai desho*, *dakara nee.*
 such that many have-NEG TAG so IP
- 10 Y: *Fuun kodawari no doai ga*
 yeah strong preference GP degree SP
- chigau n jan* *yappa.*
 differ TAG after-all
- (I: un)
 yeah
- 1 I: It's a lie that the Japanese like cameras.
 2 It's just that, well, see, there are quite many good
 Japanese machines or something, **aren't there?**
 (Y: yeah, yeah, yeah)
- 3 Video cameras and such.
 4 Now, see, we've got things like digital cameras, **right?**
 (Y: That's right)
- 5 So, well, that kind of thing catches people's attention.
 6 There is an impression that the Japanese have (them), but,
 7 the Japanese, well, own either one of them, **don't they?**
 (Y: yeah)
- 8 They have either a camera or video.
 9 They don't have that many, **right?** So.
- 10 Y: Yeah, the degree of preference differs after all,
 doesn't it?
 (I: yeah)

When the speaker I presents her opinion, she uses tags four times. The speaker Y also employs a tag in her response. These tags seem to serve to catch the addressee's attention, rather than showing the speaker's uncertainty. The tags mostly appear with falling intonation, and they are followed by back-channelling responses from the addressee such as 'yeah'. As Holmes (1995: 86) says "[t]ags encourage people to talk" and there is "the correlation between the leadership or facilitator role and a high

proportion of tag questions". This is consistent with the observation by Coates (1989) who found that nearly all tags in the conversations between female friends were facilitative. Although it is not always easy to assign a primary function to a tag (whether a certain tag is epistemic or facilitative), it seems that these tag questions behave quite differently from other types of hedges to be investigated in the present study.

My preliminary study shows that tags (*desho?* 'right?' and *jan?/janai?* 'isn't it?') were used in conversation between friends more frequently than in interviews (see Tables 2.3 and 2.4 on p. 52-53). This is because in interviews the style of the interaction is mostly questions-and-answers, and the participants mainly take a respondent role as an interviewee. There is not much room or need for the interviewee to facilitate the talk in an interview where the interaction is rigidly routinized. Contrarily, in conversation, the interaction is built based on both speakers' cooperation, and the speakers often employ tags to let the conversation proceed smoothly.

Thus, I came to the conclusion that, like HRT, tag questions should not be considered as pure hedges under the working definition in this study, and so I excluded them from my list. Obviously, rising intonation and tag questions are closely related to the issue of hedges, and are interesting areas to be investigated in further studies.

3.4. Summary

My study aims to uncover facts about one of the latest phenomena in Japanese, the use of hedges by younger speakers as compared with older speakers, providing empirical evidence. In this chapter, I explained how I collected and analyzed the data, and discussed the hedges for investigation as well as about the rationale behind excluding a number of linguistic forms that have been considered as hedging expressions in other studies. In the following chapters I present the quantitative data on when Japanese native speakers use hedges and which hedges they prefer, and further discuss the pragmatic roles of hedges, which reflect the speakers' psychological states and relative status in a particular context.

Chapter 4

Quantitative analysis of Japanese hedges in conversation

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the use of Japanese hedges and discusses the results regarding the social variables, age, sex and style. First I will show the number of tokens, mean rates (per 1000 words), and percentages of 21 hedges which were most commonly used by all participants. Then overall data relative to each hypothesis will be presented with the results of statistical analysis (ANOVA and post-hoc comparison; Tukey's HSD method). I will also discuss each hedge separately according to the three social variables, and speculate what caused the results. For ease of reference, I use the same order and numbering of hedges in all tables and throughout the text.

4.2. The results for each hedge

Table 4.1 (next page) presents overall results of the use of each hedging expression with the raw numbers of occurrences, the mean rates per 1000 words, and the percentages. The table summarizes the data from all participants, in both interviews and conversations between friends. First, there appeared some variations in the form of a few hedges. Especially with *teyuuka* 'or rather' (21), variants such as *tteiuka*, *tsuuka*, and *teka* were sometimes employed (see Chapter 5 for detail).

**Table 4.1. Results of each hedge by all participants
(n=40)**

	hedge	meaning	tokens	rate* (‰)
phrase/sentence-final expressions				
(1)	<i>toka</i>	or something	886	25.00 (23.98)
(2)	<i>omou</i>	I think	469	12.89 (12.36)
(3)	<i>kana/kashira/kane</i>	I wonder	369	10.00 (9.59)
(4)	<i>tari/tari suru</i>	do ...and such	312	8.33 (7.99)
(5)	<i>mitai/yoo</i>	is like;look like	194	5.18 (4.97)
(6)	<i>gurai/goro/atari</i>	about;around	177	4.65 (4.46)
(7)	<i>kanji</i>	feels like;is like		3.14 (3.01)
(8)	<i>deshoo</i>	probably	70	1.80 (1.73)
(9)	<i>nado/nanka</i>	and so on	62	1.53 (1.47)
(10)	<i>kamoshirenai/kamo</i>	may	37	1.11 (1.06)
(11)	<i>rashii</i>	seems;I heard	33	0.98 (0.94)
(12)	<i>ka nanka</i>	or something	28	0.69 (0.66)
(13)	<i>ki ga suru</i>	I've got a feeling	20	0.57 (0.55)
(14)	<i>soo</i>	seem;look like	18	0.54 (0.52)
(15)	<i>kee</i>	...type	12	0.32 (0.31)
adverbs				
(16)	<i>nanka</i>	like	499	14.15 (13.57)
(17)	<i>kekko</i>	quite;fairly	150	3.93 (3.77)
(18)	<i>toriaezu/ichioo</i>	for now;tentatively	65	1.77 (1.70)
(19)	<i>taigai/daitai</i>	generally;about	57	1.58 (1.52)
(20)	<i>tabun/osoraku</i>	perhaps	37	1.09 (1.05)
connective				
(21)	<i>teyuuka</i>	or rather	137	3.69 (3.54)
(22)	others		59	1.42 (1.36)
(23)	total		3802	104.26 (100.00)

*rate = mean rate per 1000 words

They are stylistic variants which are often influenced by the speaker's sex or the speech situation, but they do not differ in meaning. Therefore I decided to group them as one hedge.

It should also be noted that there were individual differences in the amount of utterances during 10 minutes. Some



participants were more talkative than others, especially some older male participants in interview situations (see Appendix 5 for detail). To even out such differences for the comparison between groups, the average tokens per 1000 words (referred as 'rate' in tables) were calculated for the analysis.

In general, the result showed that, of all hedges, (1) *toka* 'or something' was the most strongly preferred hedge, constituting 23.98% of the distribution of all hedges. Then follow (16) *nanka* 'like' (13.57%), (2) *omou* 'I think' (12.36%), (3) *kana/kashira/kane* 'I wonder' (9.59%), (4) *tari/tari suru* 'do ... and such' (7.99%), and (5) *mitai(na)* 'is like' (4.97%). These top six hedges constitute 72.46% of all the hedge occurrences. Hedges which occurred less than 10 times are not listed in the table, but are grouped together as (22) 'others' throughout the chapter. This category includes hedges such as *nantonaku* 'somehow', *aru imi de* 'in a sense', *ya nanka* 'and something', and *tashoo* 'more or less'.

Examples of the most frequent six hedges are presented below. They are taken from the recorded conversation (henceforth, younger female speaker = YF, younger male speaker = YM, older female speaker = OF, and older male speaker = OM).

(1) ***toka*** 'or something'

e.g. YF: *Naraigoto mo hajimerareta shi, toka.*
 lessons also start-could and

'And I could also start lessons, and stuff like that'.

(16) **nanka** 'like'

YF: **Nanka** atsukunai n da yo **nanka** attakai tte kanji.
hot-not NM BE IP warm QT feel
'Like, it's not hot [in Hawaii], y'know, like, it feels like warm.'

(2) **omou** 'I think'

YF: **Zettai** nihon-jin dekinai naa toka **omou**.
absolutely Japanese can-not-do IP like
'I think like Japanese can never do it [dancing hard].'

(3) **kana/kashira/kane** 'I wonder'

YF: **Uun** uchi otoosan no hoo wa hataraki-sugiteru **kana**.
ah my-family dad side TP work-too-hard
'Ah, I wonder, in my family, it's my dad who overworks.'

(4) **tari/tari suru** 'do .. and such'

1 YM: **Hoka** no hito ga iru to yappa ki tsukattari
other GP person SP exist if as-expected worry-about

2 **shinakucha naranakute**.
have-to
'If there is someone else [with me on a trip], I have to worry about him, and such.'

(5) **minai(na)** 'is like'

YF: **Nanka** shinjatte 2-hiki ni natchatta **mitaina**.
like have-died 2-dogs to have-become
'Like, my dog has died and I've now got two dogs, like.'

4.3. Sociolinguistic variables and the use of hedges

In this section, the quantitative results of the use of hedges are discussed in relation to the three hypotheses. The effects of social variables (age, sex and style) on the use of hedges and the interaction effects between these variables, for the overall result as well as for the results with individual hedges, are statistically evaluated by ANOVA. The overall result showed



that all three variables had significant effects on the use of hedges, and that there was an interaction between age and sex.

4.3.1. Age

This section presents a comparison between two age groups, group I (age: 17-18) and group II (age: 50-69). Previously, I made the following prediction regarding the age factor.

Hypothesis 1: Hedges are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers.

Overall, this hypothesis was supported by a highly significant effect ($F(1,36)=82.41$, $MSE=301.10$, $p < .00001$) as shown in Table 4.2. The younger group (Group I) used hedges twice as often as the older group (Group II). Detailed ANOVA results are given in Appendix 6.1.

Table 4.2. Tokens and mean rates of hedges by age

	tokens	mean rate per 1000 words	P-value
Group I (n=20) (YF & YM)	2399	69.745	.00001
Group II (n=20) (OF & OM)	1403	34.520	

The high frequency of the occurrences of hedges for the younger group is well illustrated in that the speakers in this group used approximately one hedge every 14.34 words, or one hedge per 10 seconds while the older group employed one hedge every 28.97 words, or per 17 seconds. The frequency in the younger group is even higher than the result in Prince et al. (1982): one every 15 seconds

in medical spoken discourse.

However, looking closely at the results of each hedge, the effect of age varied with the type of hedges. Table 4.3 shows the data of each hedge with indication of statistical significance.

Table 4.3. Tokens and mean rates of all hedges by age

	hedge	meaning	Group I		Group II		p
	phrase/sentence-final expressions		token	rate*	token	rate	
(1)	toka	or something	687	20.04	199	4.96	.00001
(2)	omou	I think	254	7.48	215	5.42	.03470
(3)	kana/kashira/kane	I wonder	187	5.61	182	4.40	ns
(4)	tari/tari suru	do ...and such	167	4.77	145	3.47	ns
(5)	mitai/yoo	is like;look like	89	2.57	105	2.61	ns
(6)	gurai/goro/atari	about;around	89	2.61	88	2.05	ns
(7)	kanji	feels like;is like	70	2.15	41	0.99	.01252
(8)	deshoo	probably	9	0.25	61	1.55	.00119
(9)	nado/nanka	and so on	12	0.31	50	1.22	.02867
(10)	kamoshirenai/kamo	may	17	0.53	20	0.57	ns
(11)	rashii	it seems;I heard	21	0.64	12	0.35	ns
(12)	ka nanka	or something	17	0.41	11	0.28	ns
(13)	ki ga suru	I've got a feeling	15	0.43	5	0.14	.03342
(14)	soo	seem;look like	17	0.52	1	0.01	.00075
(15)	kee	...type	12	0.32	0	0.00	ns
adverbs							
(16)	nanka	like	406	11.67	93	2.48	.00001
(17)	kekkoo	quite;fairly	105	2.92	45	1.02	.00754
(18)	toriaezu/ichioo	for now;tentatively	47	1.36	18	0.41	.00574
(19)	taigai/daitai	generally;about	28	0.94	29	0.64	ns
(20)	tabun/osoraku	perhaps	35	1.05	2	0.04	.00002
connective							
(21)	teyuuka	or rather	86	2.44	51	1.25	.02167
(22)	others		29	0.73	30	0.69	
(23)	total		2399	69.74	1403	34.52	.00001

*rate = mean rate per 1000 words, Group I = YF & YM, Group II = OF & OM

p < .05: significant effect; ns = not significant

First, out of 21 hedges, about half show a significant effect of age. Especially, it is noteworthy that the younger speakers made much more use of several adverbial hedges than the older speakers: Most of the adverbs (16) *nanka* 'like', (17) *toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now;tentatively', (18) *kekko* 'quite; fairly', and (20) *tabun/osoraku* 'perhaps;probably' were used more frequently by the younger speakers than by the older speakers. For the actual use of these adverbs, see below.

(17) *kekko* 'quite; fairly'

(18) *toriaezu* 'for now; tentatively'

1 YF: *Korekara toriaezu,*
from-now-on

2 *ima wa benkyoo o kekko chuushin ni yatette,...*
now TP study DO center do

'From this point, in the meantime, I'll be focusing on studying a bit, now.'

(16) *nanka* 'like'

(20) *tabun* 'probably'

1 YF: *Nto, nanka yaritai koto ga tabun shumi tte*
well want-to-do thing SP hobby QT

2 *yaritai koto da to omou n desu yo.*
want-to-do thing BE QT think NM BE IP
'Well, like, I think, things that you want to do is probably a hobby..., [a hobby is] things you want to do, y'know.'

For the two most frequently used hedges, (1) *toka* 'or something' and (16) *nanka* 'like', the statistical analysis showed a highly significant difference between the younger and older groups ($F(1,36)=124.25$, $MSE=36.63$, $p < .00001$ for *toka* and

$F(1,36)=58.24$, $MSE=28.99$, $p < .00001$ for *nanka*). The use of (1) *toka* in Group I is about 3.5 times as frequent as that in Group II, and the use of (16) *nanka* is about 4.4 times more frequent than that in Group II. Considering that the tokens of *toka* and *nanka* together occupy about half of the total tokens of hedges in Group I, the high frequency of *toka* and *nanka* appears to be the major factor which caused the large statistical difference between the two groups.

In addition to (1) *toka* 'or something', (16) *nanka* 'like' and some adverbial hedges, some phrase- or sentence-final hedges were strongly preferred by Group I: (2) *omou* 'I think', (7) *kanji* 'feels like', (13) *ki ga suru* 'I've got a feeling', and (14) *soo* 'seem; look like'. These types of hedges add to the preceding phrase or clause the vague nuance that the speaker's statement is temporary or that he/she is not a hundred percent certain. The speakers in Group I seem not only to use hedges often, but also to exploit a great variety of these expressions, for example:

(13) ***ki ga suru*** 'I've got a feeling'

1 FM: *Go-nen mae wa a motto tomodachi to atteta*
5-years before TP uh more friend with meat

2 *asondeta ki ga suru.*
have-a-fun

'It feels that I was meeting or having a fun with my friends more five years ago [than now].'

(7) ***kanji*** 'feels like; is like'

1 YF: *Nanka faasutofuudo toka haitte,*
like fast-food etc. enter

2 *Shabettee owatchattari toka,*
chat end-and-such or something

3 *burabura machi shiteru tte kanji.*
rambling city doing QT

'Well, it's like, we enter a fast-food store or something,
only chat and stuff whole the time, or ramble a city.'

However, the uses of (8)*deshoo* 'probably' (8) and (9)*nado/nanka* 'and so on' in Group II were higher than in Group I ($F(1,36)=13.18$, $MSE=2.55$, $p = .00119$ for *deshoo* and $F(1,36)=5.08$, $MSE=2.05$, $p = .02867$ for *nado/nanka*). Although (9)*nado* 'and so on' sounds more formal than *toka*, *nado* has a very similar meaning and function as (1)*toka* 'or something': they usually follow a noun phrase and give it a blurred reference. Therefore, (9)*nado* may serve as an alternative linguistic choice to (1)*toka* particularly for Group II. Finally there was also a significant difference in the use of the connective (21)*teyuuka* 'or rather' between Group I and II ($F(1,36)=5.65$, $MSE=5.04$, $p = .02167$). The detailed use of *teyuuka* is discussed in context in Chapter 5.

4.3.2. Sex

Regarding sex differences, it was hypothesized as follows.

Hypothesis 2: Hedges are used more often by female speakers than by male speakers.

The result (Table 4.4) shows that this prediction was correct with a highly significant effect ($F(1,36)=31.69$, $MSE=301.10$, $p = .00003$). This means that in general women used far more hedges

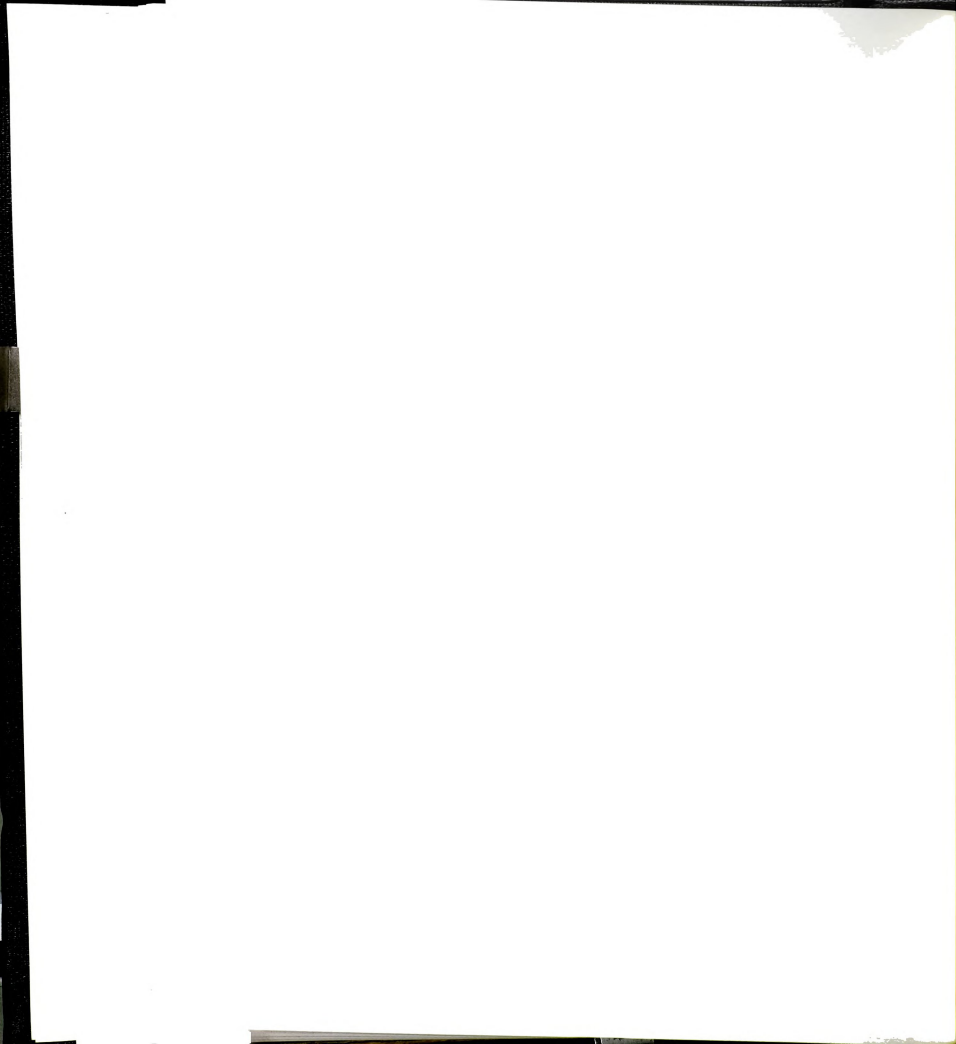
than did men. This result is in accordance with R. Lakoff's (1975) hypothesis that hedges are one of the characteristics of 'women's language'. Other researchers (e.g., Coates 1993; Holmes 1995) have demonstrated based on their conversational data that Lakoff's hypothesis is generally true. The present study shows that this observation also applies to Japanese women's speech.

Table 4.4. Tokens and mean rates of hedges by sex

	tokens	mean rate per 1000 words	P-value
Female (n=20)	2248	63.053	.00003
Male (n=20)	1554	41.212	

As for individual hedges, significant differences according to sex were observed for six hedges (Table 4.5 on the next page). Since there were twelve hedges which showed a significant difference according to age (see previous section), it is probably safe to say that the effect of sex is weaker than that of age.

Out of the six hedges with a significant difference, there was only one hedge, (20)*tabun/osoraku* 'perhaps;probably', which occurred more often in men's speech than in women's speech. The other five hedges, which were used more frequently by women, are (1)*toka* 'or something', (2)*omou* 'I think', (4)*tari/tari suru* 'do ... and such', (14)*soo* 'seem;look like', and (16)*nanka* 'like'. The followings are the examples.



(20) **tabun** 'probably'

- 1 YM: *burabura shitari, kaimono, kana tabun.*
 stroll do-and shopping I-wonder
 'I guess, I stroll around, go shopping and stuff, probably.'

(1) **toka** 'or something' and (14) **soo** 'seem; look like'

- 1 YF: *Koe ga zubutoi kara toka iwa omowarete soo,*
 voice SP deep because say-PASS think-PASS

'It looks like, [I] am told... thought like "This kid has a deep voice, so..."'

Table 4.5. Tokens and mean rates of all hedges by sex

	hedge	meaning	Female		Male		p
	phrase/sentence-final expressions		token	rate*	token	rate	
(1)	<i>toka</i>	or something	575	16.37	311	8.63	.00003
(2)	<i>omou</i>	I think	283	7.95	186	4.95	.00343
(3)	<i>kana/kashira/kane</i>	I wonder	195	5.43	174	4.57	ns
(4)	<i>tari/tari suru</i>	do ...and such	192	5.21	120	3.03	.02893
(5)	<i>mitai/yoo</i>	is like;look like	103	2.86	91	2.32	ns
(6)	<i>gurai/goro/atari</i>	about;around	77	2.02	100	2.63	ns
(7)	<i>kanji</i>	feels like;is like	68	2.01	43	1.13	.05346
(8)	<i>deshoo</i>	probably	23	0.63	47	1.17	ns
(9)	<i>nado/nanka</i>	and so on	24	0.65	38	0.88	ns
(10)	<i>kamoshirenai/kamo</i>	may	23	0.70	14	0.40	ns
(11)	<i>rashii</i>	it seems;I heard	13	0.38	20	0.60	ns
(12)	<i>ka nanka</i>	or something	10	0.27	18	0.41	ns
(13)	<i>ki ga suru</i>	I've got a feeling	13	0.38	7	0.19	ns
(14)	<i>soo</i>	seem;look like	14	0.41	4	0.13	.03547
(15)	<i>kee</i>	...type	7	0.18	5	0.14	ns
adverbs							
(16)	<i>nanka</i>	like	372	10.57	127	3.58	.00003
(17)	<i>kekko</i>	quite;fairly	91	2.39	59	1.54	ns
(18)	<i>toriaezu/ichioo</i>	for now;tentatively	30	0.79	35	0.98	ns
(19)	<i>taigai/daitai</i>	generally;about	28	0.85	29	0.73	ns
(20)	<i>tabun/osoraku</i>	perhaps	12	0.36	25	0.73	.04925
connective							
(21)	<i>teyuuka</i>	or rather	71	2.03	66	1.65	ns
(22)	others		24	0.64	35	0.81	ns
(23)	total		2248	63.05	1554	41.21	.00003

*rate = mean rate per 1000 words

p < .05: significant effect; ns = not significant

As in the case of age (Table 4.3), in Table 4.5 (1)*toka* 'or something' and (16)*nanka* 'like' showed highly significant effects ($F(1,36)=32.65$, $MSE=36.63$, $p = .00003$ for *toka* and $F(1,36)=33.63$, $MSE=28.99$, $p = .00003$), which may have caused the large overall difference in the use of hedges by sex. This means that these hedges, *toka* and *nanka*, represent not only hedges of the contemporary Japanese youngsters (based on Table 4.3), but also hedges of Japanese female speakers (based on Table 4.5).

It is interesting that the female speakers used (4)*tari/tari suru* 'do ...and such' more often than did the male speakers ($F(1,36)=5.06$, $MSE=18.71$, $p = .02893$). This expression is similar to (1)*toka* 'or something' in that both express "an inexhaustive listing of actions or states" (Makino and Tsutsui 1992: 458). (4)*tari/tari suru* is often combined with (1)*toka* 'or something', and they make unspecific references, as shown in the following example.

(12)

- 1 YF: *Kanarazu mushi hain no nee.*
always bug enter IP IP
'Bugs always get in, y'know.'
- 2 *Moo nomoo to shita shunkan ni haittari toka,*
indeed try-to-drink QT did moment in enter
'The moment I try to drink something [juice], indeed, they
get in and stuff.'
- 3 *Nondeinai noni haittari toka shitete,*
drink-not even-if enter and
'Even if I am not drinking, they still get in or something.'

The higher frequency in the use of (1)*toka* and (4)*tari/tari suru* in the female group may mean that female speakers tend to elaborate

their utterances by giving more examples than do male speakers, but more likely that they tend to avoid a definite answer by listing or implying other possibilities.

4.3.3. Style

The last hypothesis on the use of hedges concerns style.

Hypothesis 3: Hedges are used more often in casual speech than in formal speech.

Although the previous two hypotheses were supported with highly significant effects, this hypothesis was not supported in the present study (Table 4.6). The result actually indicates the reversed effect; the participants used hedges more in interviews than in conversations between friends (referred to as 'chat' in Table 4.6). Thus, there was an influence of style of conversation on the use of hedges, but the interviews triggered more use of hedges than did chats ($F(1,36)=12.17$, $MSE=207.28$, $p = .00164$).

Table 4.6. Tokens and mean rates of hedges by style

	tokens	mean rate per 1000 words	P-value
Chat (n=40)	1596	46.517	.00164
Interview (n=40)	2206	57.748	

One of the reasons of the above finding may be suggested in Table 4.7 (next page) which presents the results for each hedge. The table contains seven hedges that showed a significant

difference between the two styles; (2) *omou* 'I think', (3) *kana/kashira/kane* 'I wonder', (4) *tari/tari suru* 'do ... and such', (6) *gurai/goro/atari* 'about;around', and (18) *toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now;tentatively' were used more frequently during interviews, while (12) *ka nanka* 'or something' and (14) *soo* 'seem;look like' appeared more often in conversations between friends.

Table 4.7. Tokens and mean rates of all hedges by style

	hedge	meaning	Chat**		Interview		p
	phrase/sentence-final expressions		token	rate*	token	rate	
(1)	<i>toka</i>	or something	456	13.16	430	11.84	ns
(2)	<i>omou</i>	I think	161	4.77	308	8.12	.00031
(3)	<i>kana/kashira/kane</i>	I wonder	128	3.76	241	6.25	.00088
(4)	<i>tari/tari suru</i>	do ...and such	58	1.65	254	6.59	.00001
(5)	<i>mitai/yoo</i>	is like;look like	93	2.80	101	2.38	ns
(6)	<i>gurai/goro/atari</i>	about;around	48	1.40	129	3.25	.00005
(7)	<i>kanji</i>	feels like;is like	44	1.38	67	1.76	ns
(8)	<i>deshoo</i>	probably	29	0.87	41	0.92	ns
(9)	<i>nado/nanka</i>	and so on	24	0.67	38	0.86	ns
(10)	<i>kamoshirenai/kamo</i>	may	21	0.68	16	0.42	ns
(11)	<i>rashii</i>	it seems;I heard	20	0.64	13	0.34	ns
(12)	<i>ka nanka</i>	or something	20	0.52	8	0.17	.02516
(13)	<i>ki ga suru</i>	I've got a feeling	5	0.15	15	0.42	.09004
(14)	<i>soo</i>	seem;look like	16	0.50	2	0.04	.00452
(15)	<i>kee</i>	...type	9	0.24	3	0.08	ns
adverbs							
(16)	<i>nanka</i>	like	272	7.82	227	6.33	ns
(17)	<i>kekko</i>	quite;fairly	56	1.57	94	2.37	.06839
(18)	<i>toriaezu/ichioo</i>	for now;tentatively	10	0.29	55	1.48	.00103
(19)	<i>taigai/daitai</i>	generally;about	12	0.38	45	1.20	.09542
(20)	<i>tabun/osoraku</i>	perhaps	20	0.63	17	0.46	ns
connective							
(21)	<i>teyuuka</i>	or rather	66	1.93	71	1.76	ns
(22)	<i>others</i>		28	0.72	31	0.70	
(23)	total		1596	46.52	2206	57.75	.00164

*rate = mean rate per 1000 words, chat** = conversation between friends

p < .05: significant effect; ns = not significant

The following is an example of the use of (*kana* 'I wonder' and *tari/tari suru* 'do...and such') by OF, OM, and YF in interview.

(3) *kana* 'I wonder'

(4) *tari/tari suru* 'do ... and such'

1 OF: *Ma sooyuu koto shitenai kara*
well such thing do-not because

2 *sooyuu no mo ii kana to omottari.*
such one too good I-wonder QT think

'Well, since I am not doing such a thing [taking classes on Japanese classics at a culture center], I think such a thing is probably good to do, and stuff like that.'

(3) *kana* 'I wonder'

(6) *gurai* 'about'

1 OM: *Toogee yatte kara juu-nen gurai tatsu kanaa.*
pottery do since 10-years pass

'I guess, it has been about ten years since I started making potteries'.

(3) *kana* 'I wonder'

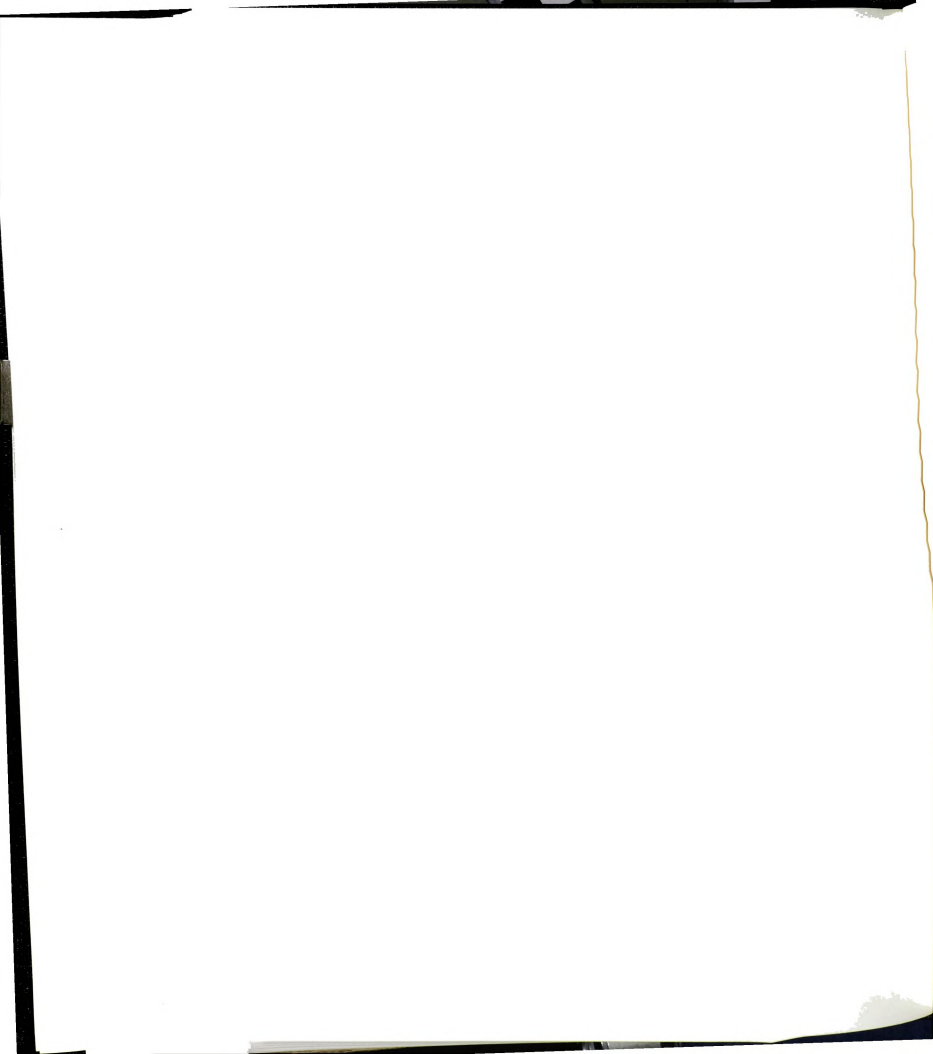
(6) *gurai* 'about'

1 YF: *Tamaani, oya to mo tamani deakeru*
occasionally parents with also occasionally go-out

2 *kana, tte iu gurai de.*
QT say BE

'It's like, occasionally, I go out also with my parents occasionally, I guess.'

The linguistic choice of hedges such as (4) *tari/tari suru*, (2) *omou*, (3) *kana/kashira/kane*, and (6) *gurai/goro/atari*, frequently observed in interviews, may be because these types of hedges are especially common when answering questions. For



example, (4)*tari/tari suru* is suitable for listing examples in answering a question such as 'what do you do in your free time?' (the interview topic was 'free time'). Approximations with (6)*gurai/goro/atari* are also convenient when interviewees want to just give general ideas in their answers. Sentence-final expressions with (2)*omou* are also a typical way of answering questions in interviews. We may thus speculate that the use of these hedges was stylistically motivated in the interview context.

It is also noteworthy that (18)*toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now; tentatively' was employed more in interviews ($F(1,36)=13.65$, $MSE=2.08$, $p = .00103$). This expression also showed a high frequency in usage among the younger speakers. Is there any particular reason why the younger speakers like to use (18)*toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now; tentatively' in interviews? One of the motivations may be that this hedge helps to show a moderate attitude. By adding this hedge, the speaker can add the nuance of tentativeness to his/her utterance, which has an effect of evading commitment and softening the statement. In answering interview questions, for example, YM mentioned studying as one of their activities in their free time, but then downplayed this fact by using (18) *toriaezu*.

(18) ***toriaezu*** 'for now; tentatively'

1 YF: ***Korekara toriaezu,***
from-now-on

2 ***ima wa benkyoo o kekkoo chuushin ni yatette,...***
now TP study DO quite center do

'From this point, in the meantime, I'll be focusing on studying a bit, now.'

Also when they talked about something that flattered themselves or their family members, (18)*toriaezu/ichioo* was inserted in the utterance as in the example below. *Toriaezu/ichioo* can be interpreted as downplaying because YM does not want to sound too proud of himself as a pitcher.

(18) *ichioo* 'for now; tentatively'

1 Interviewer: *Dono hen o mamotteru n desu ka?*
Which area DO defending NM BE Q

'Which base do you play [in the baseball team]?'

2 YM: *E iya ichioo pitchaa o.*
ah well pitcher DO

'Ah, well, I'm kinda the pitcher.'

It is interesting that the youngsters are more sensitive about not sounding too self-congratulatory.

Though the number of occurrences was small, (14)*soo* 'seem' appeared more often in chatting. It was actually the only hedge which showed a significant effect in all three social variables; it was used most by younger female speakers in chatting situations.

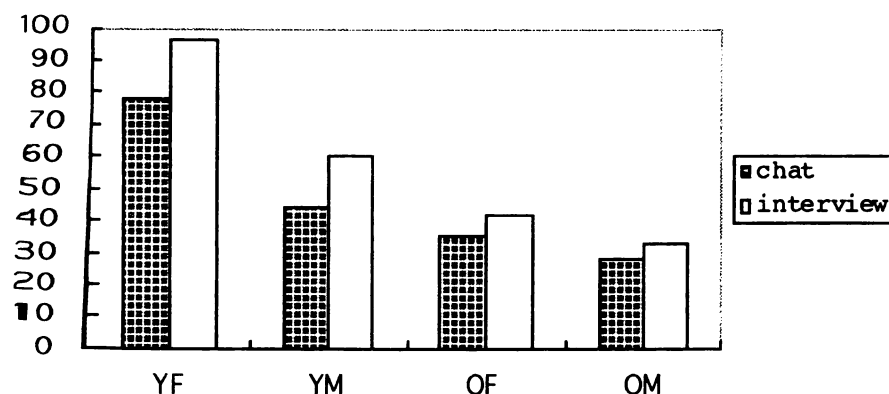
4.3.4. Comparison between the four groups and interaction among the three social variables

This section presents overall tokens and mean rates (per 1000 words) for each of four groups YF, YM, OF, and OM, and provides

the overall ANOVA interactions among the three social variables.

First Figure 4.1 below displays the differences between the four groups and between the two speech situations (chats and interviews).

Figure 4.1. Use of hedges by four groups (mean rates)



As we can see, the means of YF stand out among the four groups in both chats and interview situations. For all four groups, the frequency of hedges in interviews exceeds that in chats. Previously it was found that the overall data for all participants (see Table 4.6) showed a significant difference between these two styles; in general, hedges were used more often in interviews than in chats. However, post-hoc comparison for each group showed that none of the four groups showed significant differences between chats and interviews (see Appendix 6.5).

The detailed information on these results for the four groups is presented in Tables 4.8 and 4.9. The mean scores of YF were 78.45 in chats and 96.50 in interviews; both scores were the



highest among all groups. Post-hoc tests showed that YF used significantly more hedges than YM in both chats and interview situations ($p < ,01$ for both contrasts, see Appendices 6.3 and 6.4). The use of hedges by YF significantly differed from both OF and OM as well. The high frequency in the use of hedges by YF is illustrated also by the fact that YF used approximately one hedge per 12.8 words in chatting and per 10.4 words in interviews, whereas YM used approximately one hedge per 22.8 in chats and per 16.6 in interviews.

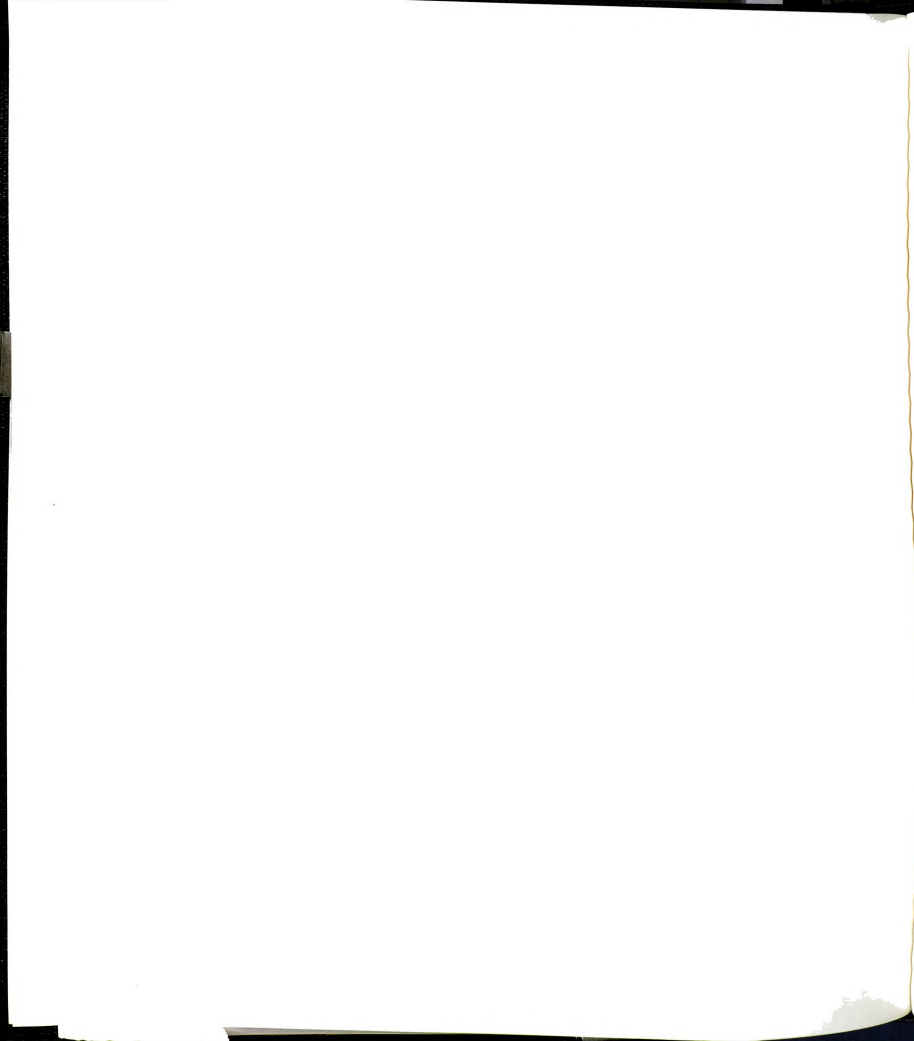
Table 4.8. Tokens and mean rates of hedges in chats for the four groups n=40

	tokens	mean rates
YF	680	78.45
YM	381	43.93
OF	292	35.76
OM	243	27.93

Table 4.9. Tokens and mean rates of hedges in interviews for the four groups n=40

	tokens	mean rates
YF	827	96.50
YM	511	60.10
OF	449	41.50
OM	419	32.90

As for the other three groups (YM, OF, and OM), post-hoc comparisons showed that these groups generally behaved similarly. A significant difference between the three groups was not found in chats (see Appendices 6.3). Combining the data from chats and interviews, a significant difference was found between YM and OM



($p < .05$, see Appendix 6.2). This effect was even stronger in interviews ($p < .01$, see Appendix 6.4).

We now look at the results of ANOVA for interaction below.

Table 4.10. Results for interaction (ANOVA)

	age x sex	style x age	style x sex	style x age x sex
p-value	.00156	.07281	n.s.	n.s.

$p < .05$: significant effect, n.s.= not significant

Only the variables age and sex interacted with each other ($F(1,36)=12.33$, $MSE=301.10$, $p = .00156$). This confirms that YF be haved differently from the other three groups in the use of hedges. Style had the same effect for the four groups of participants; it showed only a tendency toward interaction with age ($F(1,36)=3.33$, $MSE=207.28$, $p = .07281$).

In sum, it is clear that among the four groups (YF, YM, OF, and OM) YF employed hedges the most in both speech situations. YM, in contrast, did not use hedges as often as the YF group, and showed a similar pattern as the older female group, especially in the chat situations. The participants tended to use hedges more in interviews than in chats, but a significant difference between the two situations was not observed in any of the four groups. In the following section, I will discuss these quantitative findings further, searching for the motivations behind the usage of hedges.

4.4. Discussion

The quantitative results showed that two of my hypotheses were supported.

Hypothesis 1 : the younger group use more hedges than the older group -> Supported

Hypothesis 2: the female group use more hedges than the male group -> Supported

Hypothesis 3: the participants use hedges more often in chatting than in interviews -> Not supported
(Reversed)

This section discusses the results and how the social factors (age, sex and style) interact with the main motivations for using hedges, taking into consideration some of the findings from previous research. I will also talk about the frequent use of *toka* 'or something' and *nanka* 'like' among other hedges and the influence of these hedges on the overall result of the use of hedges.

4.4.1. Explanations of the results for the three hypotheses

First, the fact that Hypothesis 1 was supported is largely due to the frequent use of hedges by YF. YM did use hedges more frequently than OF and OM, but the difference was not as big as that of YF. Statistically, it was also proven that the use of hedges by YF was more frequent than that by YM in both styles (post-hoc comparisons, $p < .01$ for both chat and interview, see Appendix 6.3-6.4). The following are possible reasons why the younger groups, especially YF, used hedges often.



(1) Toka 'or something' and nanka 'like' are used as a habit.

The high frequency in the use of *toka* 'or something' and *nanka* 'like' by YF distinguishes their language from that of other groups. The frequent use of these two hedges among YF may actually be due to a habit. Philips (1998) explains that *nanka* 'like' is often used by Japanese speakers to mark hesitation or uncertainty. Barke (2000) claims that *toka* 'or something' and *nanka* 'like' are frequent words of habit, especially so among Japanese female speakers. This issue is further discussed in Chapter 6 which deals with the speakers' self-reported opinions about the use of hedges through questionnaires. In the questionnaire, most of YF agree that they use hedges unconsciously.

(2) For entertainment purposes in youth language

As Yonekawa (1998) states, younger women are relatively free from the social norm or model in language use. This is because in general they participate less in formal interactions and have fewer responsibilities in society. He also claims that younger speakers seem more free to break standard social norms than the older people, and to enjoy creating or using youth language for fun or to express an image of youthfulness. For this reason I speculate that this tendency is generally stronger for younger women than younger men. The issue that younger females behave differently is further discussed in Chapter 6.

The use of some of the hedges by the younger speakers may

be associated with "speech play". According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Sherzer (1976: 1), speech play is a part of everyday interaction, and is defined as any local manipulation of elements and relations of language, creative of a specialized genre, code-variety, and/or style: for example, jokes, riddles, nonsense, speech metaphor and wordplay. Brukman (1972) claims that the play element in speech play can reduce formality and bring humor. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Sherzer (1976) state that all members of society can engage in linguistic creativity and playfulness, and that speech play may be used to promote the formation of social groups and to stress their difference from other groups. Younger speakers may use some hedges as speech play and for fun when talking to other younger friends, and this may be one of their ways to promote solidarity. I will present examples of speech play by the younger groups in context in Chapter 5.

(3) Positive politeness (promoting rapport)

Younger females tend to pay more attention to protecting each other's 'positive faces' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7.1. for explanation) by using hedges as in-group identity markers. They show solidarity by adopting similar ways of talking in casual settings, and by being vague with hedges, they can seek agreement or establish common ground for the conversation. They value this solidarity in feelings and opinions among conversation participants. This confirms the general observations that women

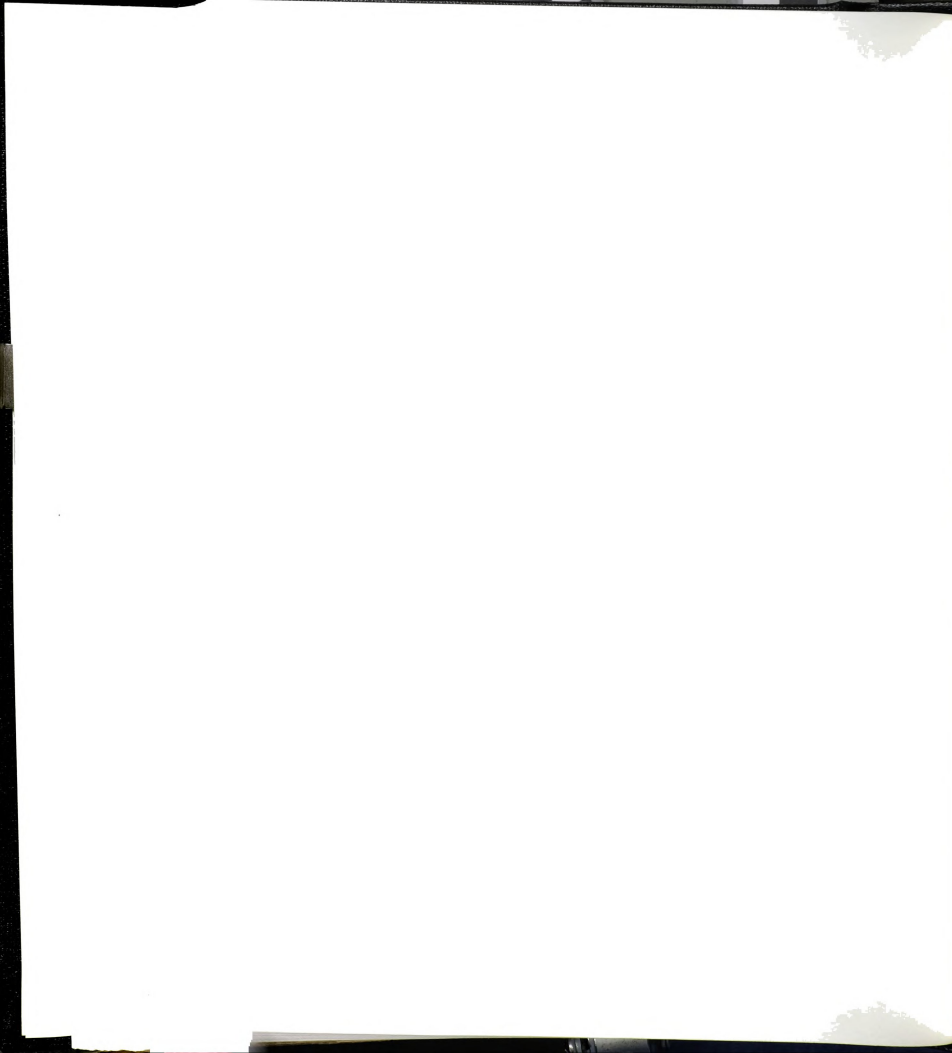
tend to be politer than men.

(4) Negative politeness (indirectness)

As Satake (1995) claims, some of the vague expressions in youth language can be characterized by indirectness. 'Negative politeness' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.1.) may play an important role here, because speakers are probably afraid that they may sound too confident or too direct if they do not use hedges. While the previous three reasons are speaker-oriented motivations for the use of hedges, this motivation is rather addressee-oriented.

(5) Self-protection (face-saving)

As Tsuji (1999) states, "superficial friendship" style by Japanese younger speakers might have some influence on the use of hedges (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2. for details). I interpret this "superficial" style as the style of non-committal or self-protective interpersonal communication. The younger generation exploits hedges to guard against the possibility of a faulty memory or explanation, or to prevent revealing too much of themselves in order to avoid possible conflicts. This type of hedge is speaker-oriented, and helps to establish a mutually comfortable distance, which does not interfere with the conversation participants' freedom of action. The psychological and social reasons for this "superficial" style among youngsters are addressed in detail in Chapter 6.



(6) Less experience and knowledge

The younger generation in general has less experience and knowledge than the older generation. Talking to the older participants, I had the impression that they tend to have more opinions and are used to expressing them more than younger speakers. The younger speakers, on the other hand, may resort to using hedges to express their uncertainty or the lack of knowledge. This explanation may be especially applicable for the comparison between younger and older speakers in interviews in which they are directly asked for their opinions.

Thus, the motivation for using hedges can be multi-layered. What the primary motivation is depends often on the context in which the speaker is situated and on who the speaker, the hearer, and bystanders are. The main motivations discussed above are informational (speaker's knowledge), positive politeness (showing solidarity), negative politeness (being indirect or avoid sounding too confident) and self-protection. In information-centered interaction such as interviews, the informational motivation and self-protection may play more important roles than other motivations. In an affection-centered conversation between friends, however, positive politeness and the purpose of entertaining with youth language (speech play) may motivate the use of hedges more than other factors.

With respect to Hypothesis 2 (women use hedges more than men), most of the motivations I described for Hypothesis 1 may

also hold. However, the reason why women use hedges often may be mainly explained by the general observation that women talk more politely than do men. For positive and/or negative politeness, women tend to make use of vagueness in order to express their camaraderie or deference toward the addressee (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6.3.1. and 2.7.1.).

Looking at the details, however, differences appear between the four groups and between the two styles. The table below summarizes the relation between the four groups in terms of statistical results (post-hoc tests).

Table 4.11. Relation between the four groups in the frequency of hedges (post-hoc comparisons)

chat	YF > YM \approx OF \approx OM (YM \approx OM)
interview	YF > YM \approx OF \approx OM (YM > OM)
total	YF > YM \approx OF \approx OM (YM > OM)

YF=younger female, YM=younger male, OF=older female, OM=older male
> means significant difference, \approx means no significant difference

YF showed the highest frequency of hedge usage of all groups in both chats and interviews. The frequency for YM and OF is similar in both styles, whereas the frequency for YM is higher than that of OM in interviews. In chats, three groups, YM, OF and OM, behaved similarly.

Coates (1993) associates women's frequent use of hedges with her observation that they talk about more sensitive topics than



do men (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.). However, the present study did not find such a trait; the male participants talked about personal or sensitive topics in their conversations as much as did the female participants. The older males in interviews even talked a lot about personal matters; their total number of words was the highest among all groups (Appendix 5.1-5.8).

Lastly, Hypothesis 3 was rejected. This hypothesis was not supported either in my preliminary study (there was no difference between the two styles). There are a few possible explanations for why this hypothesis was rejected.

Previous studies have associated vague language with informal conversation settings (e.g., Lehrer 1975; Channell 1994), and with solidarity (in-groupness), informality, and equality (Tannen 1996). They have regarded solidarity as one of the major motivations for the use of hedges as well as other youth expressions (Okamoto 1995). From these suggestions, we would expect hedges to appear more frequently in informal settings, that is, more in chats than in interviews. However, in the present study hedges were used more often in interviews than in chats.

A question arises: Was the interview setting "formal" enough? I contend that it was, or at least more formal than the chatting context, because there was no familiarity or solidarity between the interviewer and interviewee (total strangers with each other), and because the conversation format was that of an interview (with a rigid alternation between questions and answers)



carried out in the polite style (*desu/masu* endings). Ide (1982) also calls this type of conversation a "formal conversation". However, had the interviewer been much older, the participants might have spoken more formally, and the difference between interviews and chats might have been more prominent.

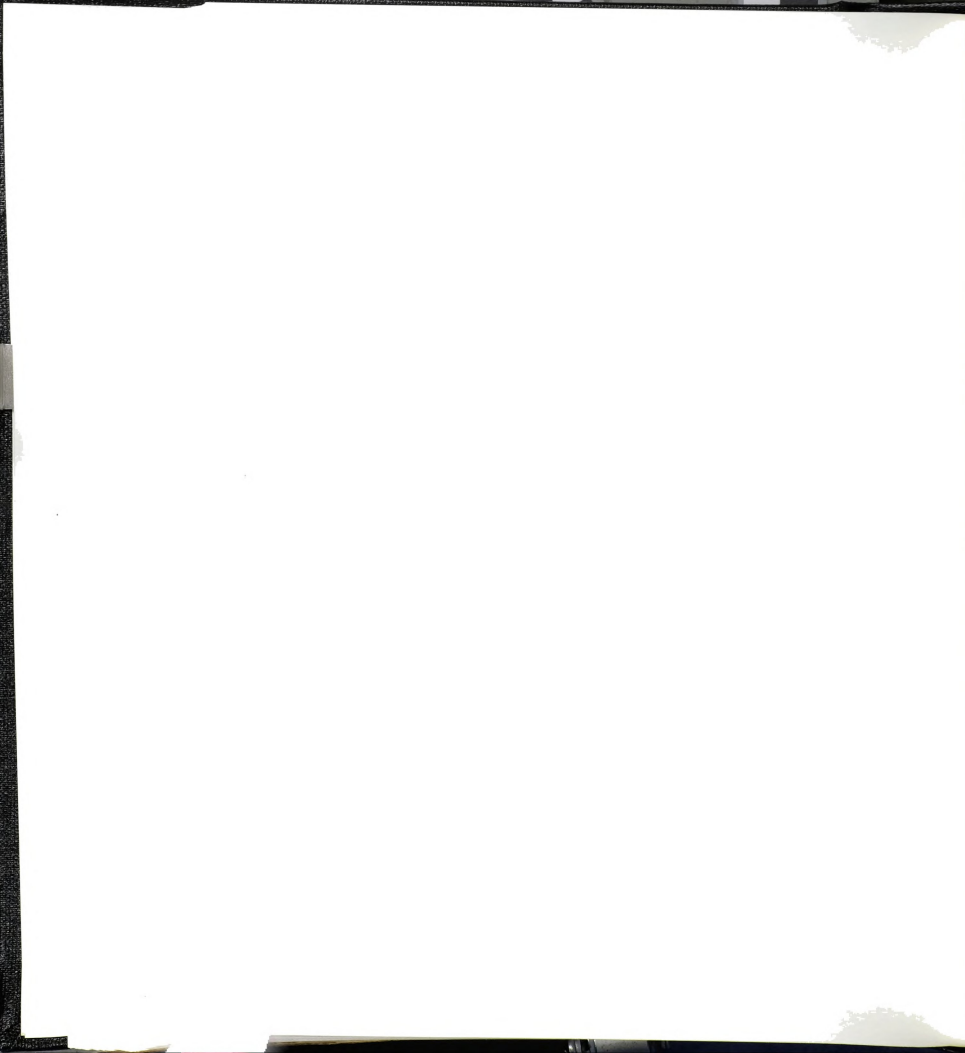
One of the main reasons for the unexpected results regarding style may be because during interviews more emphasis is put on information exchange than during chats. In interviews, the participants were required to provide information in response to several questions, whereas they may have been less pressured to exchange new information while chatting with a friend. Therefore, the use of information-oriented hedges may have been facilitated more in interviews than in chats.

Evidence for a role of informational demands especially in interviews can be found in the types of hedges that caused a significant difference by style. For example, as I mentioned in 4.3.3 in this chapter, *tari/tari suru* 'do ... and such' appeared frequently in interviews for listing representative activities in one's free time. When providing quantitative information or citing proper names, *gurai*, *goro*, and *atari* 'about; around' were often used for approximation. In searching for answers, the participants often used *kana* and *kane* 'I wonder' before their answers, as in *doo kana* 'I wonder how'. *Omou* 'I think' was commonly employed to end their answers to interview questions. Additionally, *kekko* 'quite; fairly' and *taigai/daitai*

'generally; about' were often used for generalization in interviews, although they produced only a tendency toward a main effect of style ($F(1,36)=3.44$, $MSE=3.68$, $p = .06839$ for *kekko*, $F(1,36)=2.87$, $MSE=4.77$, $p = .09542$ for *taigai/daitai*).

In interviews the answers by the participants had to be as informative or precise as required for the purpose of the exchange, as described in Grice's maxim of quantity. As a result, more information-oriented hedges such as the above were used in interviews to express approximation or generalization. Therefore, though it is true that informality or solidarity do trigger vagueness as explained in the literature, it is also probable that formality promotes vagueness in situations such as interviews, which require precision. This also holds in academic/scientific writing, where degrees and levels of vagueness/uncertainty are required for appropriate expression (Hyland 1996). This type of communication style appears to be self-protective, and it is often speaker- and context-oriented.

The above account for the quantitative findings concerning the three hypotheses will be further discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 6 will deal with the analysis of the metalinguistic data on the use of hedges which were collected from the participants' self-reports.



4.4.2. Overall results excluding the use of *toka* 'or something' and *nanka* 'like'

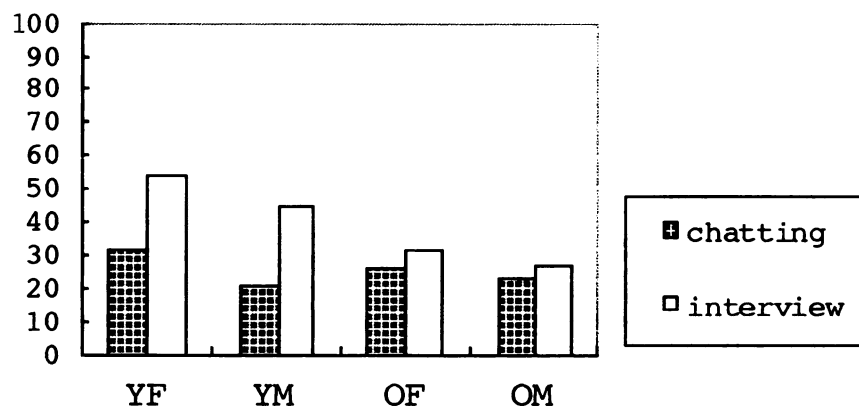
Toka 'or something' and *nanka* 'like' were the two most frequent hedges in my data. Combined, these two hedges had 1385 tokens (out of 3802 total hedge tokens), constituting 36.43% of all hedge occurrences. In the age and sex comparisons, as discussed in the previous section, it was found that *toka* and *nanka* had an important role in distinguishing the younger from the older groups, and the female from the male groups. In the younger groups *toka* and *nanka* amounted to 45.47% of the distribution of all hedges (calculated by mean rates), while in older groups they contributed only 21.55%. YF used *toka* and *nanka* the most frequently of the four groups; *toka* and *nanka* occupied 51.59% of all hedges for YF; 38.60% for YM; 24.62% for OF; 17.84% for OM.

This high frequency of *toka* and *nanka* in the younger groups, suggests that the use of *toka* and *nanka* is highly habitual. I decided to investigate the results excluding these two hedges in order to see if the sociolinguistic factors still have any influence on the use of the other hedges.

The figure on the next page demonstrates the differences among the four groups with the mean scores excluding *toka* and *nanka* tokens (see Figure 4.1 on p. 101 for comparison).



Figure 4.2. Use of hedges excluding *toka* 'or something' and *nanka* 'like' (mean/1000 words)



First, it is apparent in the figure that the bars for the younger groups shrank greatly compared to those in Figure 4.1 (the result including *toka* and *nanka*). Figure 4.2 also shows that the differences among the four groups for chats were reduced, though there is still a decreasing curve rightward for interviews. For the younger groups, the difference between the two styles became noticeably bigger than the one in Figure 4.1 for YF and YM.

The actual numbers of tokens and mean rates are presented in Table 4.12 and 4.13 below. Surprisingly, in the chats, YM showed the lowest frequency of the four groups, though the difference was not significant statistically. These results were evaluated by ANOVA (Tables 4.14). Detailed ANOVA results are given in Appendix 7.

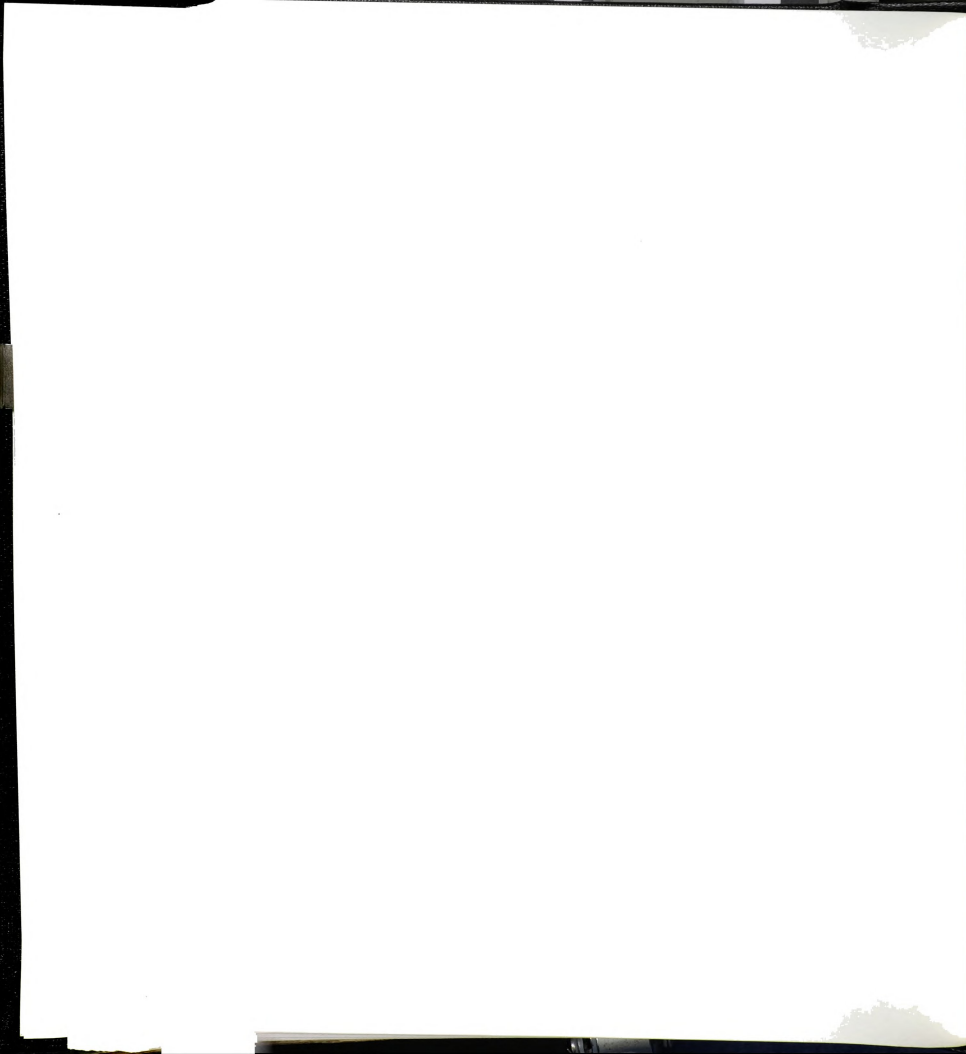


Table 4.12. Tokens and mean rates of hedges in chats for the four groups (n = 40)

	tokens	mean rates
YF	273	31.73
YM	182	21.29
OF	212	26.23
OM	201	22.92
total	863	25.54

Table 4.13. Tokens and mean rates of hedges in interviews for the four groups (n = 40)

	tokens	mean rates
YF	464	54.40
YM	387	44.71
OF	352	32.12
OM	346	27.06
total	1549	39.57

Table 4.14. Main effects and interactions of the three social variables (ANOVA, excluding toka and nanka)

main effect	age	sex	style
p-value	.00047	.01151	.00001

interactions	age x sex	style x age	style x sex	style x age x sex
p-value	n.s.	.00018	n.s.	n.s.

p <.05: significant effect, n.s.= not significant

As was the case with the results with all hedge tokens, there were main effects of all three social variables on the use of hedges excluding *toka* and *nanka*. The levels of significance were remarkably strong for age and style. Analyzing the data without *toka* and *nanka* expressions, both Hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported ($F(1,36)=16.56$, $MSE=144.81$, $p = .00047$ for age and $F(1,36)=7.01$, $MSE=144.81$, $p = .01151$ for sex). And again Hypothesis 3 was

rejected, as the participants use more hedges in interviews than in chats ($F(1,36)=50.35$, $MSE=78.19$, $p < .00001$).

A difference between these results and the previous results with *toka* and *nanka* (see Table 4.10 for comparison, on p. 101) is found in the interaction score for age and sex; the interaction turned out to be 'not significant' in Table 4.14. This means that the use of hedges by YF was less salient without *toka* and *nanka*. However, the interaction between style and age became clearer as the tendency changed to a significant effect. This implies that the use of hedges (excluding *toka* and *nanka*) by the younger groups in interviews was more frequent as compared to chats, and as compared to the older groups in either style.

Thus, it was shown that even excluding the tokens of *toka* and *nanka* the younger speakers used hedges more often than the older speakers, and that women used them more frequently than men. The high frequency of the use of *toka* and *nanka* occupies an important position in the use of hedges, especially for YF. YF spoke with many hedges, and their utterances became even more uncertain, indirect, or unspecified with the frequent use of *toka* and *nanka*.

4.5. Summary

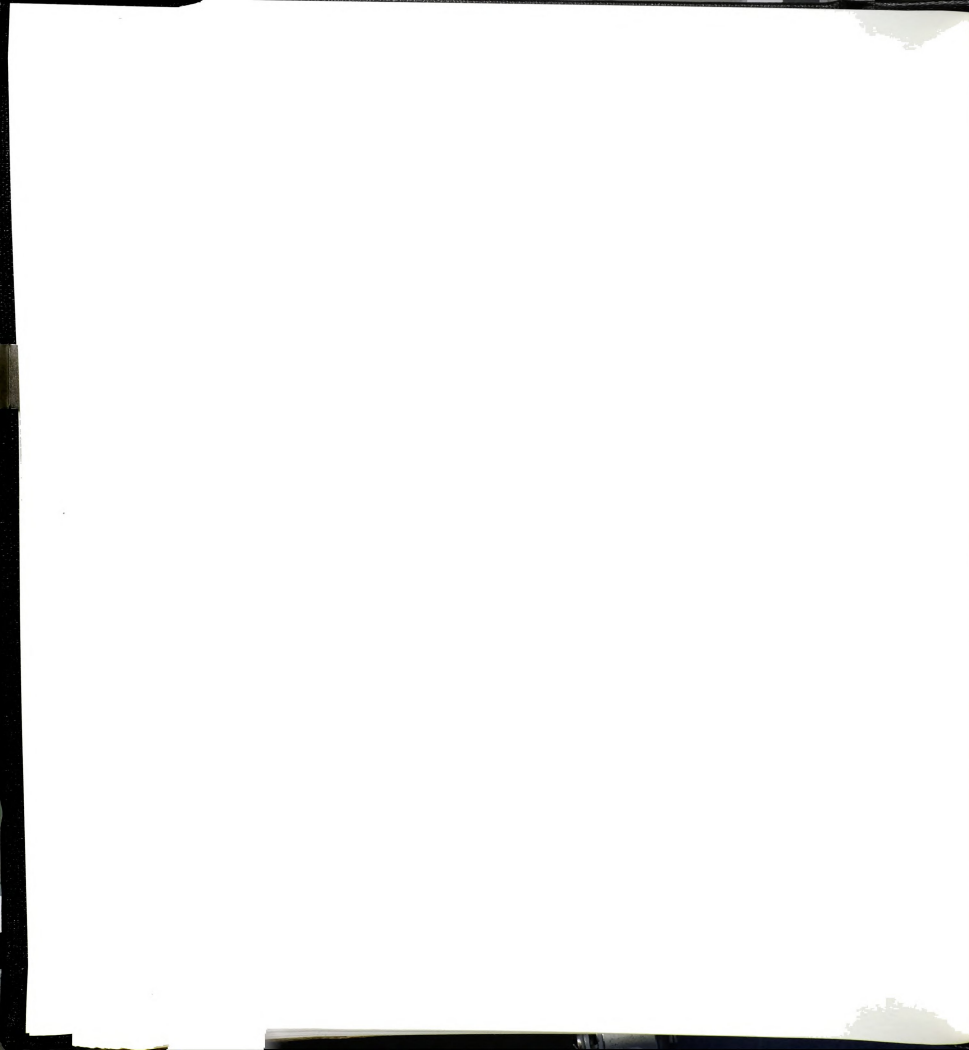
The present chapter dealt with the quantitative analysis of the use of hedges, and showed that the use of hedges does differ according to the speaker's age and sex (Hypotheses 1 and 2).



However, the third prediction turned out to be wrong. Hedges did not appear more often in chatting with friends than in interviews with a stranger (Hypothesis 3). I speculate that this was due to the greater informational demands in interviews, which promoted the need to use hedges to generalize, approximate, make inexhaustive lists, etc. (e.g., *gurai/goro/atari* 'about; around' and *tari/tari suru* 'do...and such').

The younger speakers, especially YF, showed the most frequent use of hedges in both styles. I discussed several possible explanations for this result: positive politeness (promoting rapport and solidarity); negative politeness (indirectness); self-protection; and a relative lack of knowledge and experience. The quantitative results presented in this chapter will be discussed further in relation to the metalinguistic data (questionnaire results) on the use of hedges in Chapter 6.

Toka 'or something' and *nanka* 'like' were the most frequently employed hedges, especially for YF. These two hedges appeared to be used as a habit. The data were reexamined excluding *toka* and *nanka*. Interestingly, this did not change the overall outcomes of the three hypotheses. In the next chapter, the use of hedges will be analyzed qualitatively in context by closely examining the most frequent hedge *toka* 'or something' and the connective *teyuuka* 'or rather'.



Chapter 5

Toka ('or something') and *teyuuka* ('or rather') in spoken discourse

5.1. Introduction

This chapter qualitatively examines the use of *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather'. The usage of both *toka* and *teyuuka* are analyzed in context, and the linguistic environments, basic meanings and discursual functions are investigated for further understanding of why and how speakers use these hedges in particular.

Toka and *teyuuka* were chosen for analysis in the present chapter because they are two of the most important and interesting hedges in Japanese conversation. First, *toka* is important because it is the most frequently used hedge in my data and the difference between younger and older speakers is largest with *toka*. *Teyuuka*, too, showed a significant difference between the two groups. Though its frequency was not as high as that of *toka*, *teyuuka* is one of the interesting hedges because it is a relatively new word, and there are many variations in how it is employed.

5.2. The use of *toka* ('or something')

In the previous chapter, it was found that the frequency of *toka* was highly influenced by age and sex. I repeat the quantitative result of *toka* from Chapter 4 in Table 5.1.

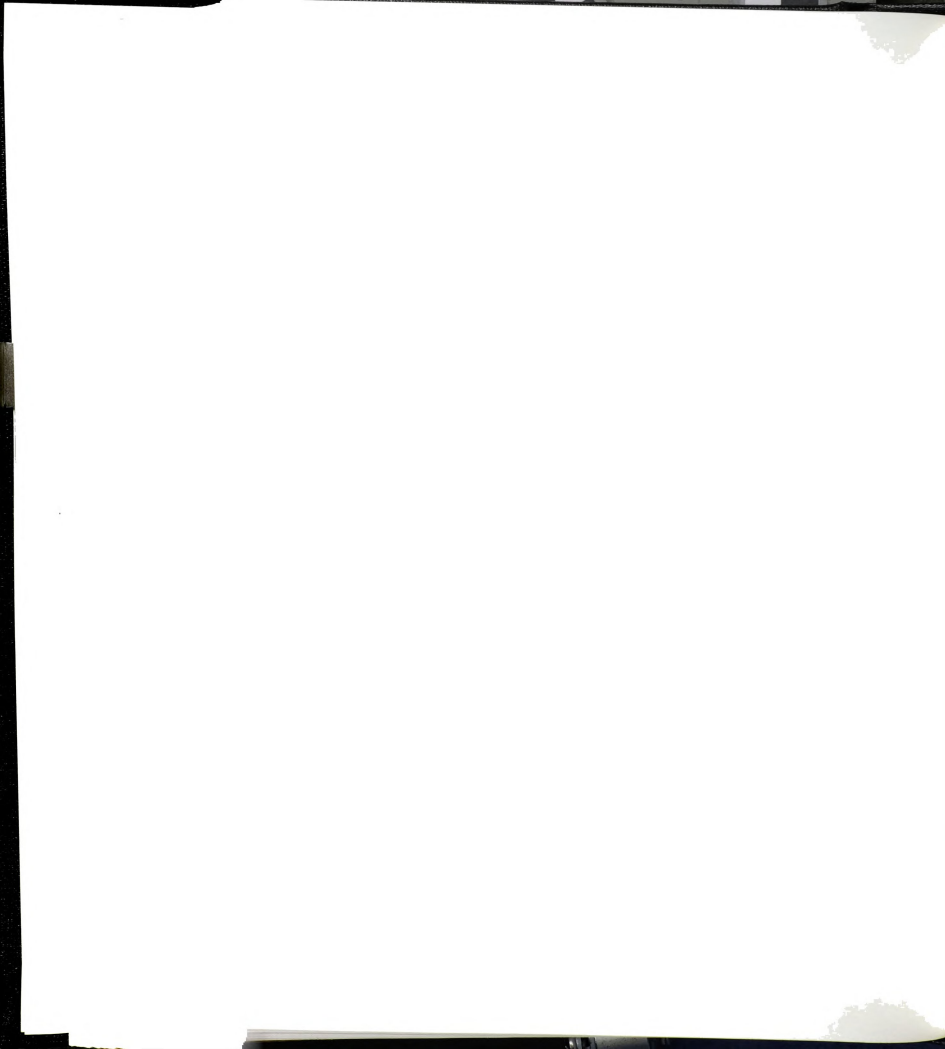


Table 5.1. Tokens and mean rates of toka 'or something' (n=40)

	Chat				interview			
	YM	YM	OF	OM	YM	YM	OF	OM
total words	8478	8735	8238	8546	8766	8592	11083	12886
toka tokens	244	138	43	31	218	87	70	55
toka rate	28.36	15.81	5.01	3.46	25.13	10.87	6.96	4.40

YF=younger female, YM=younger male, OF=older female, OM=older male

The younger speakers, especially female speakers, employed *toka* frequently. Why do they use *toka* so often? In what follows, I further investigate the meanings and functions in discourse in order to find out why *toka* is such a useful linguistic means for younger speakers.

5.2.1. General characteristics of *toka* in previous studies

According to *Kojien* (1998 : 1901), one of the major Japanese dictionaries, there are three types of *toka* as shown in (1)-(3)⁷.

(1) listing and coordinating items

e.g. *ame toka yuki (toka)*
rain snow
'rain, snow, and others'

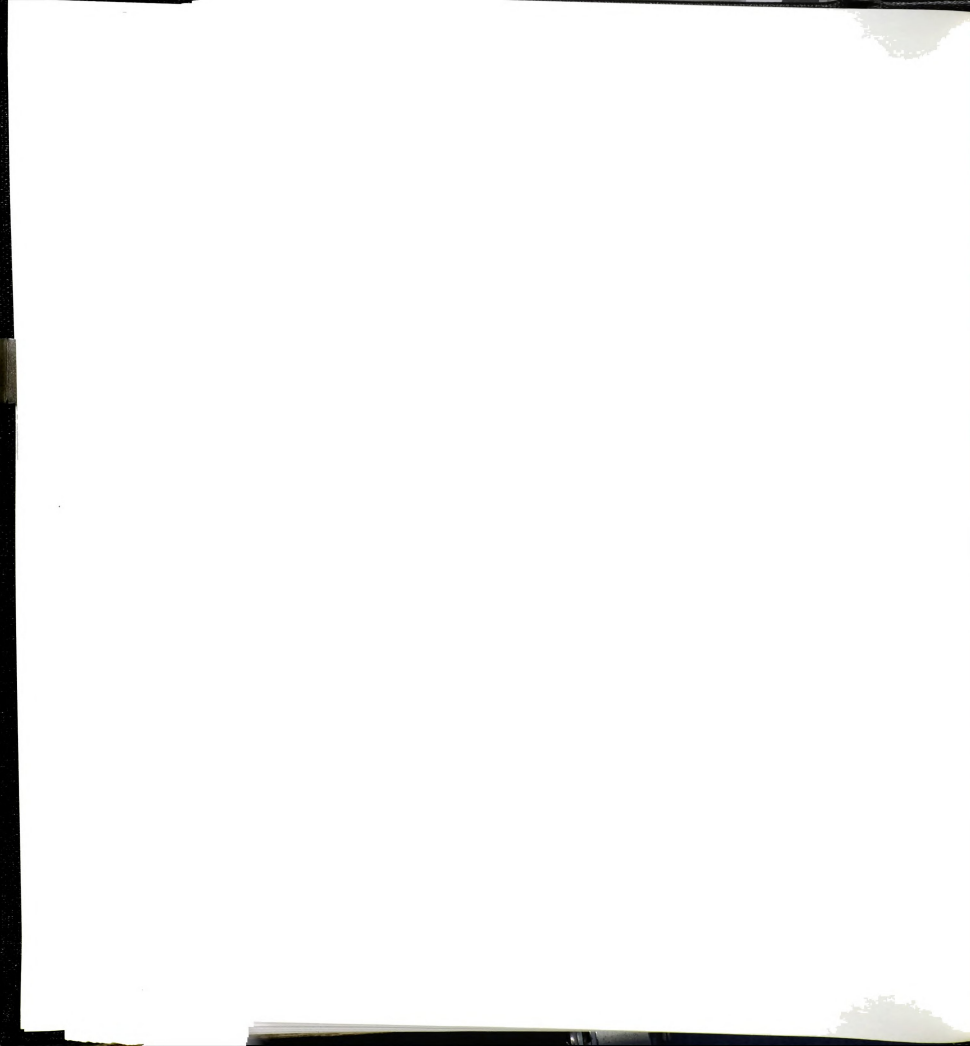
(2) listing one example by omitting the rest, or referring to one item without specifying it

e.g. *koohii toka nonda*
coffee drank
'I drank coffee or something'

(3) quoting with uncertainty

e.g. *kekkon shita toka*
marriage did
'I heard he/she got married, or something.'

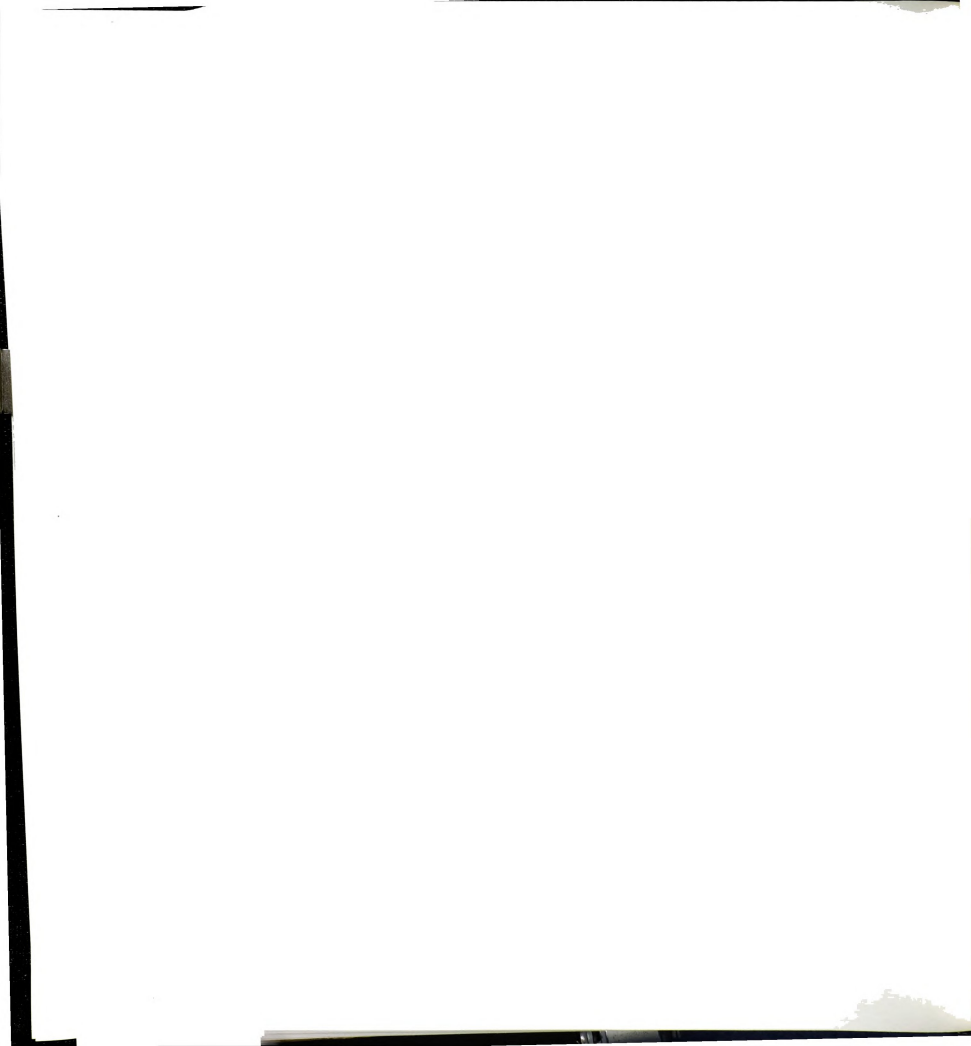
⁷ This dictionary is written in Japanese. The examples are theirs. The glosses and translations are mine.



The first and second types of *toka* in (1) and (2) consist of the coordinative particles *to* 'and' and *ka* 'or', while the third type is composed of *to* (quotative particle) and *ka* (question particle) (Kojien, p. 1901). The third type of *toka* in (3) often precedes a verb such as *iu* 'say' or *kiku* 'hear'. *Toka* can be combined with a variety of grammatical categories such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Makino and Tsutsui (1992:488) give a general explanation, according to which *toka* is a conjunction that lists two or more items, actions, or states inexhaustively. This explanation is similar to the first type of *toka* in (1) in Kojien's description, which is considered as the canonical usage. The usage of *toka* in (2) is regarded as the more recent type (Kojien, p. 1901).

English phrases such as *or something, and stuff like that, etc.* are similar to *toka* 'or something' in Japanese. As I explained in Chapter 2, these phrases are often referred to as "tags" (e.g. Dines 1980; Ball and Ariel 1978) or as "vague category identifiers" (Channell 1994). Tags often refer vaguely to quantities or category.

One of the important social functions of tags such as *toka* is to mitigate the force of speech by vaguely or indirectly telling the speaker's ideas, feelings and information (Channell 1994; Tsuji 1999). Channell states that the speaker is seeking to avoid "face threatening" (in the sense of Brown and Levinson 1987). Tsuji, based on his questionnaire results, reports that *toka* and



teyuuka 'or rather' are used by the Japanese young speakers to avoid conflicts in their interpersonal relationships.

Sunakawa (2000) annualizes conversation data (100 minutes) which were collected from 13 native speakers of Japanese (12 women and 1 man, age unknown). Among three categories of *toka* similar to *Kojien's* (1998: 1901), she focuses on the third type of *toka*, a quotation marker, and shows that *toka* often precedes the verb *iu* (or *itte*) 'say' (86.7%). She found that *tokaitte*, meaning 'say something like', coordinates the successive quotation of utterances by two or more speakers. Therefore she claims that *tokaitte* 'say something like' has functions not only of expressing vagueness, but also of coordinating quotations. Her study shows that the functions of *toka* seems to have diversified.

5.2.2. Immediate linguistic contexts for *toka*

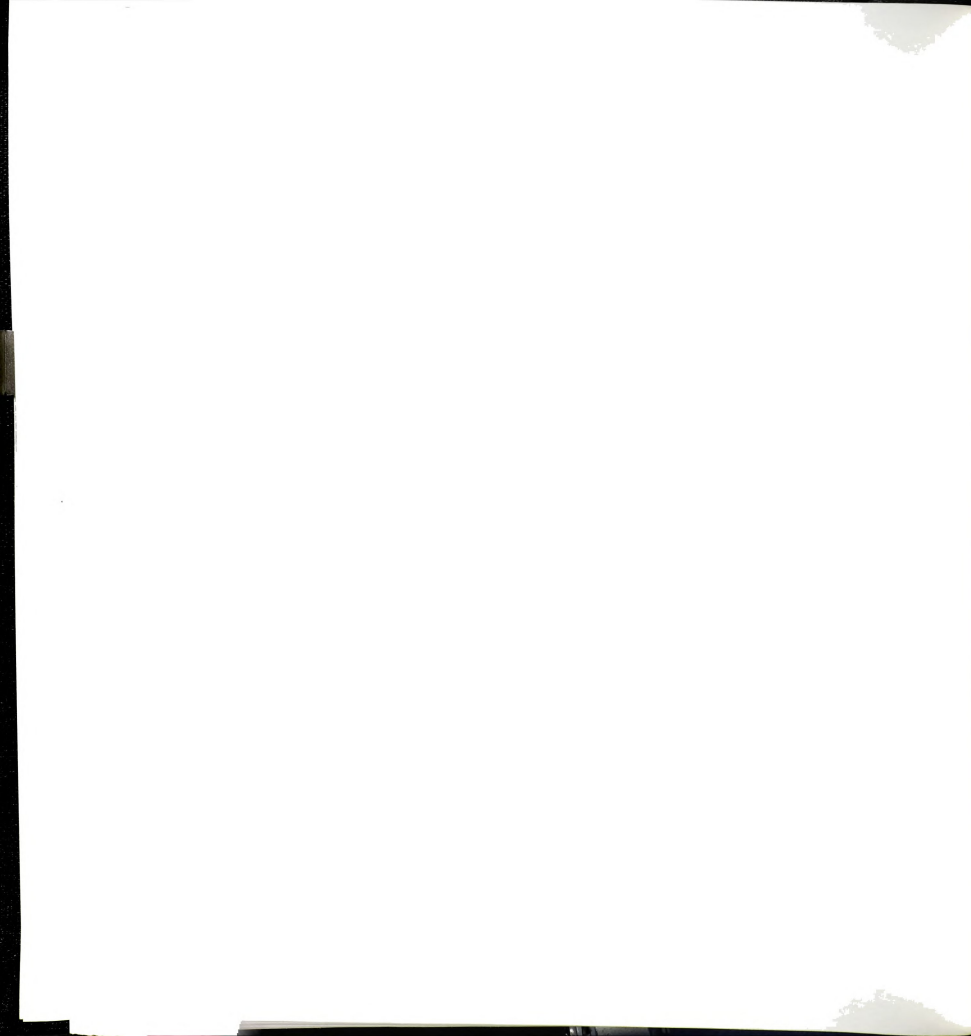
I begin my inquiry of *toka* by showing in which context it appears within the utterance in order to provide a general idea of the *toka* usage. *Tokas* were used in the linguistic environments shown in the examples (4) to (9) below⁸. The examples are from the actual conversation data that I used in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 4. Additional excerpts with *toka* in longer contexts are shown in the next section (5.2.4).

⁸ NP: noun phrase; S: sentence; VP: verb phrase; (): optional

- (4) [NP/S]₁ **toka** [NP/S]₂ (**toka**) '[NP/S]₁, [NP/S]₂ and others'
- e.g. Rooma **toka** Mirano (**toka**)
 Rome Milan
 'Rome, Milan, and places like that'
- (5) [NP/S] **toka** sooyuu no/mono 'things like [NP/S]'
- e.g. okane **toka** sooyuu no
 money such one
 'things like money'
- (6) [NP]₁ **toka** iu [NP]₂ '[NP]₂ called [NP]₁ or something'
- e.g. Tooyoo **toka** iu hoteru
 Tooyoo say hotel
 'a hotel called Toyoo or something'
- (7) [NP]**toka** [VP]
- e.g. ryokoo **toka** iku
 trip go
 '(I) go on a trip or something'
- (8) [S/(in)direct quotation] **toka** [VP]
- e.g. jikan ga oshii **toka** omou
 time SP precious think
 'I think, like, time is precious'.
- (9) [NP/S] **toka**.
- e.g. naraigoto mo hajimerareta shi, **toka**.
 lessons also start-could and
 'And I was also able to start lessons, and stuff'.

The use of *toka* in (4) through (6) is a canonical usage for both the younger and older groups. The type in (7) is a recent usage (Kojien, p. 1901), which is often adopted by younger speakers.

Toka in (4) is used to list items inexhaustively (the second *toka* sometimes drops). In contrast, *toka* in (5) through (8) lists



only one representative example, and "cue the listener to interpret the preceding element as an illustrative example of some more general case" (Dine 1980: 22). *Toka* in (6) is a modified version of *A to iu B* ('A called B'), where *ka* (question particle) is added to *to* (quotative particle). All these types of *toka* usage express a degree of vagueness, uncertainty, or unspecification, but *toka* in (6) in particular indicates the speaker's lack of precise memory and confidence. *Toka* in (9) is used utterance-finally, sometimes precedes a pause, and signals that the speaker is yielding the turn to the hearer. This *toka* semantically serves to blur the content of the statement preceding it, and socially mitigates the force of the utterance.

5.2.3. Basic functions and distribution of *toka*

I first examine the distribution of *toka* based on the three semantic functions, *inexhaustive coordination*, *vague reference*, and *vague quotation* (*Kojien*, p. 1901, see p. 118 in the present study), for four groups (Tables 5.2 to 5.5) and for two styles.

Let us compare Table 5.2. (YF and YM) and Table 5.3. (OF and OM), which show the results in chats. First, we notice a big difference in the total *toka* tokens between the two groups in the chatting situation. The younger speakers' tokens (382 tokens) is 5.2 times as high as that of the older speakers (74 tokens).

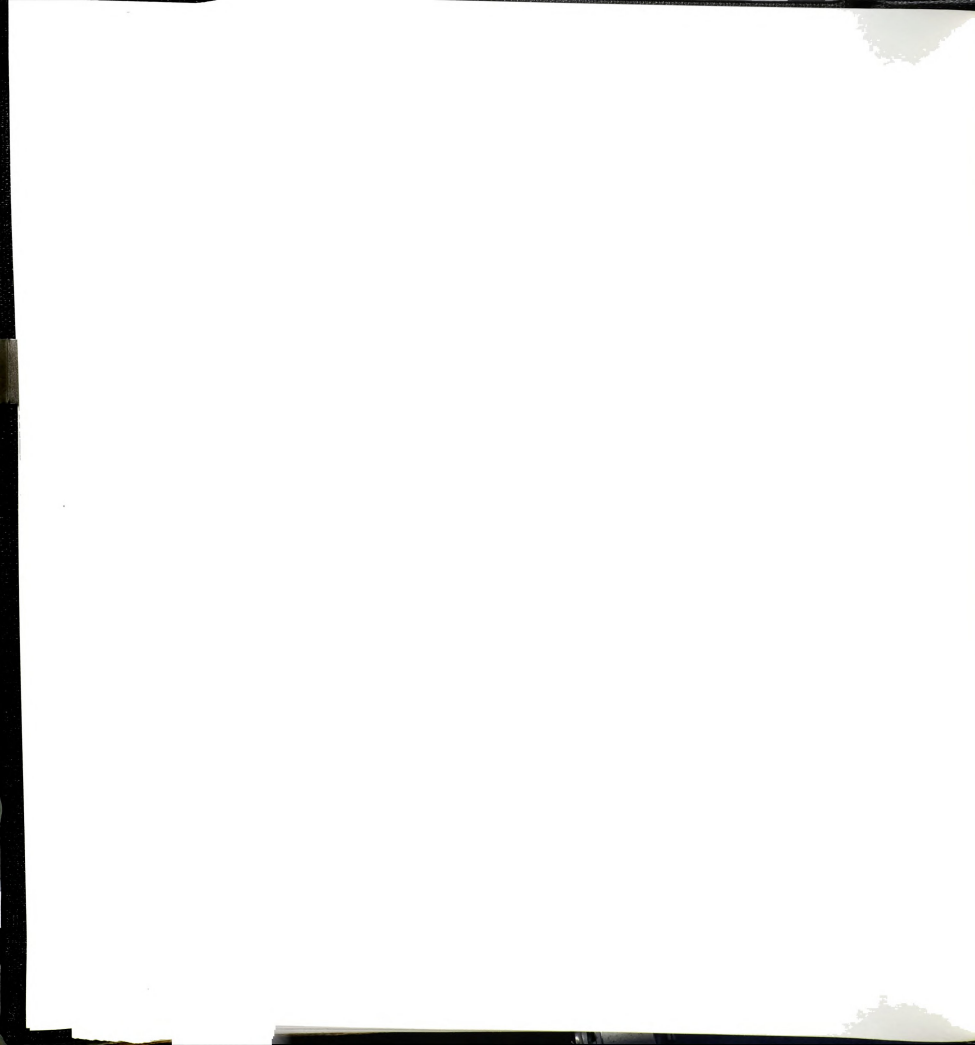


Table 5.2. Tokens of toka 'or something' by functions in chats (younger groups)

	functions	YF	YM	total
(1)	inexhaustive coordination	37 (15.2%)	25 (18.1%)	62 (16.7%)
(2)	vague reference	80 (32.8%)	69 (50.0%)	149 (41.4%)
(3)	vague quotation	127 (52.0%)	44 (31.9%)	171 (42.0%)
	total	244 (100%)	138 (100%)	382 (100%)

(YF=younger female, YM=younger male, n=40)

Table 5.3. Tokens of toka 'or something' by functions in chats (older groups)

	functions	OF	OM	total
(1)	inexhaustive coordination	20 (46.5%)	17 (54.8%)	37 (50.7%)
(2)	vague reference	12 (27.9%)	9 (29.0%)	21 (28.5%)
(3)	vague quotation	11 (25.6%)	5 (16.1%)	16 (20.9%)
	total	43 (100%)	31 (100%)	74 (100%)

(OF=older female, OM=older male, n=40)

Second, a remarkable difference is found in the use of toka as "vague quotation" in (3). The younger groups' total tokens (171 tokens; 42.0%) is 10.7 times more than that of the older groups (16 tokens; 20.9%). Especially, YF group often makes use of this type of toka (127 tokens; 52.0%), which is 11.5 times more than that of OF and 25.4 times more than OM. For YF, the use of toka as "vague quotation" makes up more than half of the total toka tokens. This suggests that this type of usage is common for the younger generation, in particular YF speakers in chatting situations.

The younger speakers also employ *toka* often for "vague reference" as in (2) in Table 5.2. Their usage of this type (149 tokens; 41.4%) is 7.1 times as frequent as that by the older groups (21 tokens; 28.5%). Especially YF's tokens (80 tokens; 32.8%) are the highest among the four groups.

On the other hand, for the older groups (Table 5.3), the use of *toka* as "inexhaustive coordination" in (1) seems common. It forms about half of their total *toka* tokens. This shows that the older groups still use *toka* in the canonical way, while the younger groups tend to employ it less so. This is explained in detail with examples in the next section.

Tables 5.4 and 5.5 on the following page show the results from interviews. It is interesting that in YF's speech, tokens of *toka* as "vague quotation" in (3) drastically drop from 127 tokens (52.0%; in chatting, Table 5.2) to 26 tokens (11.9%; in interview, Table 5.4). The tokens in YM's speech also drop from 44 tokens (31.9%) to 5 tokens (5.7%). This suggests that the younger groups consider this type of usage ("vague quotation") inappropriate for the interview setting, and regard it as a casual linguistic expression among in-group members as commonly assumed (Okamoto 1995). For them, as Okamoto states, this may be one way to express youthfulness or solidarity. In contrast, the older groups, especially male speakers, rarely use *toka* for vague quotation, regardless of the setting.



Table 5.4. Tokens of *toka* 'or something' by functions in interview (younger groups)

	functions	YF	YM	total
(1)	inexhaustive coordination	93 (42.7%)	27 (31.0%)	120 (36.9%)
(2)	vague reference	99 (45.4%)	55 (63.2%)	154 (54.3%)
(3)	vague quotation	26 (11.9%)	5 (5.7%)	31 (8.8%)
	total	218 (100%)	87 (100%)	305 (100%)

(YF=younger female, YM=younger male, n=40)

Table 5.5. Tokens of *toka* 'or something' by functions in interview (older groups)

	functions	OF	OM	total
(1)	inexhaustive coordination	53 (75.7%)	41 (74.5%)	94 (75.1%)
(2)	vague reference	10 (14.3%)	13 (23.6%)	23 (19.0%)
(3)	vague quotation	7 (10.0%)	1 (1.8%)	8 (5.9%)
	total	70 (100%)	55 (100%)	125 (100%)

(OF=older female, OM=older male, n=40)

In contrast to this decrease of *toka* as vague quotation, in YF's speech, there is an increase in the percentage of *toka* as "inexhaustive coordination". Similarly, for the older speakers, the tokens for "inexhaustive coordination" increase in interview (Table 5.5), and occupy 74.5 % of all the *toka* usage.

In sum, one of the major differences between the two age groups is that the younger speakers' usage is more diverse than that of the older. Especially, the younger groups often express vague quotation with *toka*, but mainly in chats. Older speakers use *toka* to coordinate items the most.



5.2.4. Analysis of the use of *toka*

This section examines the use of *toka* in context. The excerpts from the actual conversation data are used to illustrate the discoursal functions of *toka*. I present some cases of *toka* used for vague quotations found in conversations among younger speakers.

5.2.4.1. *Toka* for inexhaustive coordination

Using *toka* to coordinate items (*toka* coordination) is the most common usage among the older speakers. In interviews, the younger speakers also use this *toka* coordination often. Consider example (10).

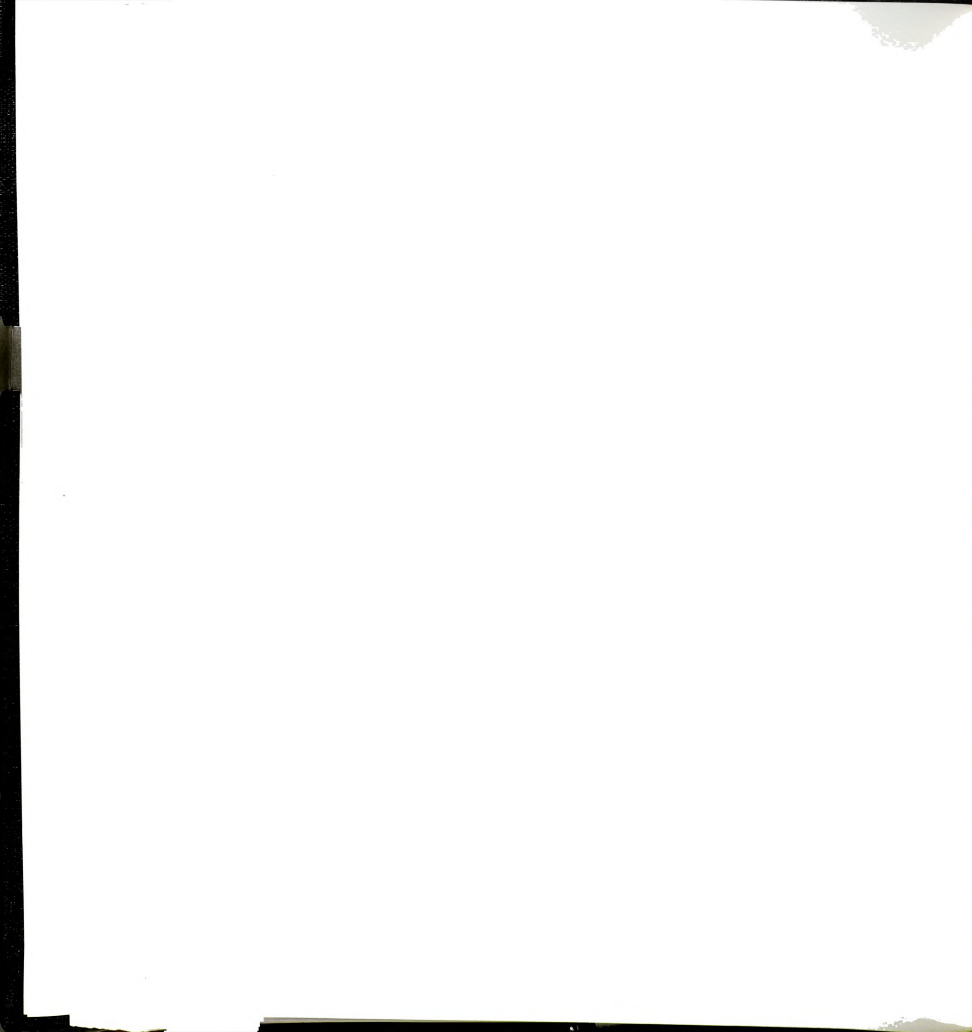
(10) [Prior to this excerpt, O (older female interviewee) mentioned that she was planning to travel in Italy. Interviewer (henceforth, abbreviated as "I") asked O where in Italy she was going⁹.]

1 I: *Dochira desu ka, Itaria no.*
which BE Q Italy GP
'Where is that, in Italy?'

→2 O: *Itaria no Rooma toka Mirano toka Firentse toka,*
Italy GP Rome Milan Firenze
'In Italy, (I will go to) Rome, Milan, Florence,
among others.'

→3 *Ponpei toka atchi no hoo desu.*
Pompeii there GP direction BE
'Pompeii and such, in the direction of those places.'

⁹ See Appendix 1 for the transcription methods.



Here, O is listing cities in Italy (Rome, Milan, Florence and Pompeii) using *toka*. She will probably go to other places as well, but presents these places as representative examples. In such *toka* coordination, it is typical to combine nouns conjunctively to illustrate. This type of *toka* is very convenient because the speaker does not have to mention all items, yet the listed items give a general idea to the addressee.

In the younger speakers' utterances, *toka* coordination enjoys great flexibility, occurring not only after noun phrases, but also after verbal, adverbial, adjectival, and prepositional phrases. *Toka* sometimes appears to combine long utterances. The excerpt in (11) shows how sentences are combined with *toka*.

(11) [K (YM, interviewee) is explaining to the interviewer how he manages his time in order not to get exhausted.]

- 1 K: *Sukoshi-zutsu yoka tteyuuka yasumi no jikan o*
 little by little free time or say rest GP time DO
- 2 *doo ireru ka kangaete.*
 how get Q think
 'I think of how I can take free time, or rather, a break,
 here and there.'
- 3 *Tatoeba ma ima wa benkyoo o mein de yatteru kara,*
 for-example well now TP study DO mainly doing because
 'For example, well now, I am focusing on studying, so,'
- 4 *Benkyoo shite ichijikan yattara donokurai yasumu toka,*
 study do for-1-hour do-if how-much rest
 'How much I can rest after studying for an hour, or'
- 5 *Ato ie kaette shokugo ni donokurai yasumu to*
 also home return after-meal in how-much rest if

- 6 *choodo ii ka toka,*
 just right Q
 'Also, when I go home, how much rest is appropriate, or so,'
- 7 *Ato nichiyooobi wa donokurai yasunde,*
 also Sunday TP how-much rest
- 8 *Osoku made netereba ii ka toka.*
 late till sleep-if good Q
 'Also, on Sundays, how much I can rest, and how late I should
 get up, and stuff like that.'
- 9 *Sukoshi-zutsu jikan toru yooni shiteru n desu kedo ne.*
 little-by-little time take to doing NM BE though IP
 'Thing is, I am trying to have some time little by little,
 though.'

As K's *tatoeba* 'for example' in line 3 shows, he enumerates his examples about how he tries to find time to rest by adding *toka* at the end of each explanation in lines 4, 6 and 8. In such coordination, the range of *toka* is not limited to one sentence, but it extends across sentences. The *toka* in lines 4, 6 and 8 conjunctively coordinates his explanations for the statements in lines 1 to 2 and 9, *sukoshi-zutsu jikan toru yooni shiteru* ('trying to find time little by little'). This type of *toka* not only coordinates examples inexhaustively as in (10), but also contributes more globally to the text coherence. K's utterances in lines 3 to 8 (support 1 to 3 below; framework according to Schifffrin 1987) are grouped as correlated idea units, which jointly provide further explanation concerning his position in lines 1 to 2 and lead to the conclusion statement in line 9.

Position: 'finding time to rest'	(lines 1-2)
'for example'	
Support 1 toka	(lines 3-4)
Support 2 toka	(lines 5-6)
Support 3 toka	(lines 7-8)
Conclusion: 'trying to find time'	(line 9)

The above functions may also be carried out by *to* 'and' (a conjunction particle). However, the difference between *to* and *toka* is that the latter has an additional unspecifying effect. Compared with *to* ('and') coordination, which implies no other possibilities than coordinated items, *toka* coordination implies other possibilities, and thus allows the speaker to moderate his commitment to the utterance.

The above characteristics show that *toka* has an important role in the ideational structure (coordinating idea units) in Schiffrin's discourse model (1987)¹⁰. *Toka* also has a pragmatic effect which plays a role in the exchange structure as a marker of speaker-continuation. When *toka* is used in the end of each unit of talk as in (11), it indicates that an upcoming utterance is still a part of a not yet completed list: it conveys that the speaker has more to say¹¹.

¹⁰ Summary of the analysis of *toka* using Schiffrin's discourse model is given in the later section (5.2.5).

¹¹ When *toka* is used utterance finally with a falling intonation, it suggests a turn transitional point (the speaker yields his/her turn to the addressee).

Toka, thus, has roles in coordinating ideas inexhaustively and in serving as a speakers' continuation marker. The coordination often ranges over utterances in younger speakers' speech. In general, when *toka* is used for coordination, it functions to enumerate representative examples to provide a general picture of the topic to the addressee.

5.2.4.2. *Toka* for vague reference

Toka can also be used to refer only to one item instead of listing several items. In this case, *toka* marks that the selected item is just one among many possible representations of what the speaker has in mind. *Toka* also conveys a sense of uncertainty, unassertiveness or vagueness because it indicates a possible difference between the speaker's statement and the reality. I present three cases of *toka* as vague reference: (12) uncertainty, (13) approximation, and (14) to (16) soft highlighting.

5.2.4.2.1. *Toka* for uncertainty

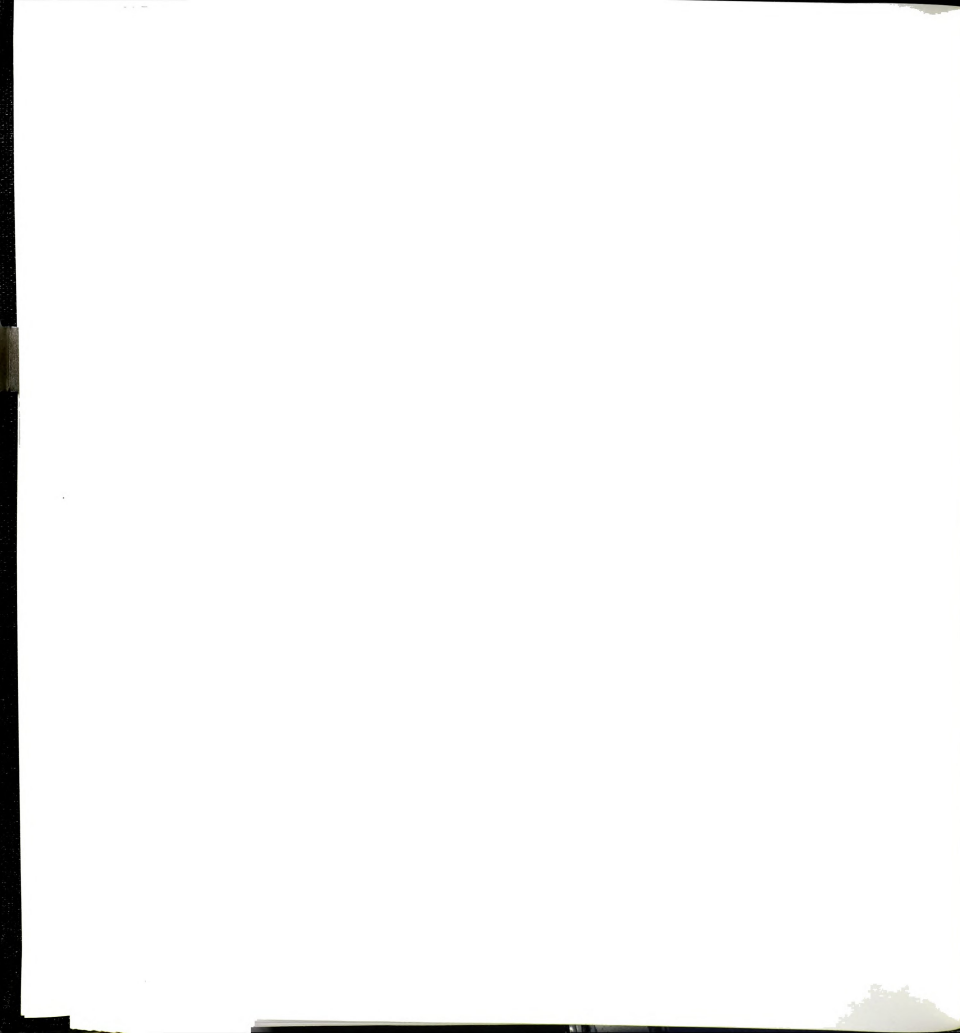
The example in (12) illustrates *toka* used to express uncertainty.

(12) [K and H (YFs) are discussing where their male friend is living. H thinks he is living in Okudo, but K thinks that he is living in Shinkoiwa though she is not sure.]

- 1 K: *Wakannai kedo ie choo dekkai n desho* ㇿ,
 know-not but house damn big NM TAG
 'I don't know, but his house is damn big, right?'

- 2 H: *Nande shitten no doko ni Okudo*↗,
 why know Q where at Okudo
 'How come you know, where, in Okudo?'
- 3 K: *Okudo janai yo nanka*
 Okudo BE-not IP like
 'Not Okudo, like'
- 4 H: = *Okudo ja* e↗
 Okudo BE(-not) huh
 'Not Okudo, really?'
- 5 K: = *Shinkoiwa toka janai no*↗,
 Shinkoiwa TAG Q
 'Isn't it Shinkoiwa or something?'
- 6 H: *A soo na no,*
 Ah so BE IP
 'Ah, is that so.'
- 7 K: *Wakannai kedo*
 know-not though
 'I don't know, though.'

In K's question in line 5, she guesses that their friend lives in Shinkoiwa. The tag *janai no* 'isn't it the case?' in this question suggests that the utterance is a request for confirmation. At the same time K is correcting H's assumption that their friend lives in Okudo. The uncertain tone of voice in this tag question is due to the use of *toka*. Without *toka*, K will sound certain, and her utterance is more likely to be perceived as a repair to H's assumption than as a request for confirmation. K's uncertainty is also explicitly expressed in line 7 with *wakannai kedo* ('I don't know, though'). This type of *toka* has a primary function in the information state in Schifffrin's discourse model (1987) because it concerns the state of speaker's knowledge.



5.2.4.2.2. *Toka* for approximation

The example in (13) shows the use of *toka* for approximation.

(13) S (YF) is explaining how much time students spend to prepare for an entrance exam.

1 S: *Ima demo,*
now even
'Even now,'

→2 8-jikan *toka* yatteru ko wa yatteru mitai desu.
8-hours doing person TP doing seem BE
'Like some people are studying eight hours or so.'

Toka is used after numeral expression 8-jikan ('8 hours'). This *toka* is similar to *like* in English as in 'I'm like six feet tall'. Schourup (1985) claims that this type of *like* is equivalent to 'approximately'. He explains that *like* "can be seen as a device available to speakers to provide for a loose fit between their chosen words and the conceptual material their words are meant to reflect" (p. 42). In (13), S is acknowledging that the number she is giving is an approximation, and that longer or shorter cases are possible.

By indicating that other cases are possible, the speaker shows that he/she is aware of the lack of precision, and so reduces the risk of future objections. This type of hedge, then, is used for self-protection. *Toka* here has a role in the participation framework in Schiffrin's model (1987) since it concerns speaker/utterance relations. The speaker expresses his/her non-committal attitude to the utterance.



5.2.4.2.3. *Toka* for soft highlighting

The next type of *toka* is used as a soft highlighter.
Consider (14a).

(14a) [S (YM) is telling his opinion about Japanese workaholism
in interview.]

- 1 S:*Tashikani soo,*
certainly so
'Certainty right,'
- 2 *Sarariiman toka wa hatarakisugi da to omoimasu ne.*
office-worker TP work-too-much BE QT think IP
'I think that white collar workers work too hard.'

Sarariiman 'white collar worker' is the topic of the sentence in line 2, and it is marked by *toka*, followed by the topic marker *wa*. Although the noun *sarariiman* already has a certain degree of salience¹² in this utterance due to the topicalization by *wa*, *toka* provides an effect of soft highlighting, as I explain in the following.

My analysis of *toka* as a soft highlighter is based on the analysis of *like* as "highlighting" device in Miller and Weinert (1995). The function of *toka* seems similar to that of *like* in casual speech in English. Miller and Weinert claim that *like* is

¹² The salience can be expressed by pitch, position in the constituents, the use of a special syntactic structure or of a particle (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 203). Speakers have various reasons for making a certain information more salient. They may, for example, want to introduce important items into the discourse, or direct the listener's attention to particular propositions.

a “non-contrastive focuser that can focus on new or given information or entities” which can appear in various positions (P. 379). Underhill (1988) also states that *like* often marks the most important new information in the utterance.

What makes *toka* different from other highlighters is its softening effect. *Toka* highlights the information in an unassertive way. This softening and/or unassertiveness come from the lexical meaning of *toka*: indication of uncertainty or other possibilities. The role of *toka* in this sense is close to one of the functions that *tte* ‘that’ (a quotative particle in Japanese) has. *Tte*, used after a noun, has a function of marking a topic (e.g. Miura 1974; Suzuki 1998). Topic marking by *tte* is, according to Miura, done in a less direct and less abrupt way. As stated in Suzuki, *tte*-marked topical phrases represent information of which the speaker is psychologically distanced. This is because *tte* in its original usage often expresses other voices in hearsay. In Kamio’s (1990, 1994) term, the *tte*-marked and *toka*-marked information do not completely belong to the speaker’s information¹³.

¹³ According to Kamio (1990, 1994), the distinction between linguistic forms corresponds to the boundary of territories of information. For example, indirect forms such as *rashii* ‘seem; I heard’ represent information that is outside the speaker’s territory. Whether or not a piece of information belongs to the speaker’s territory decides the choice of expressions.



The excerpt in (14b) shows S's concluding utterance on Japanese workaholicism addressed in (14a).

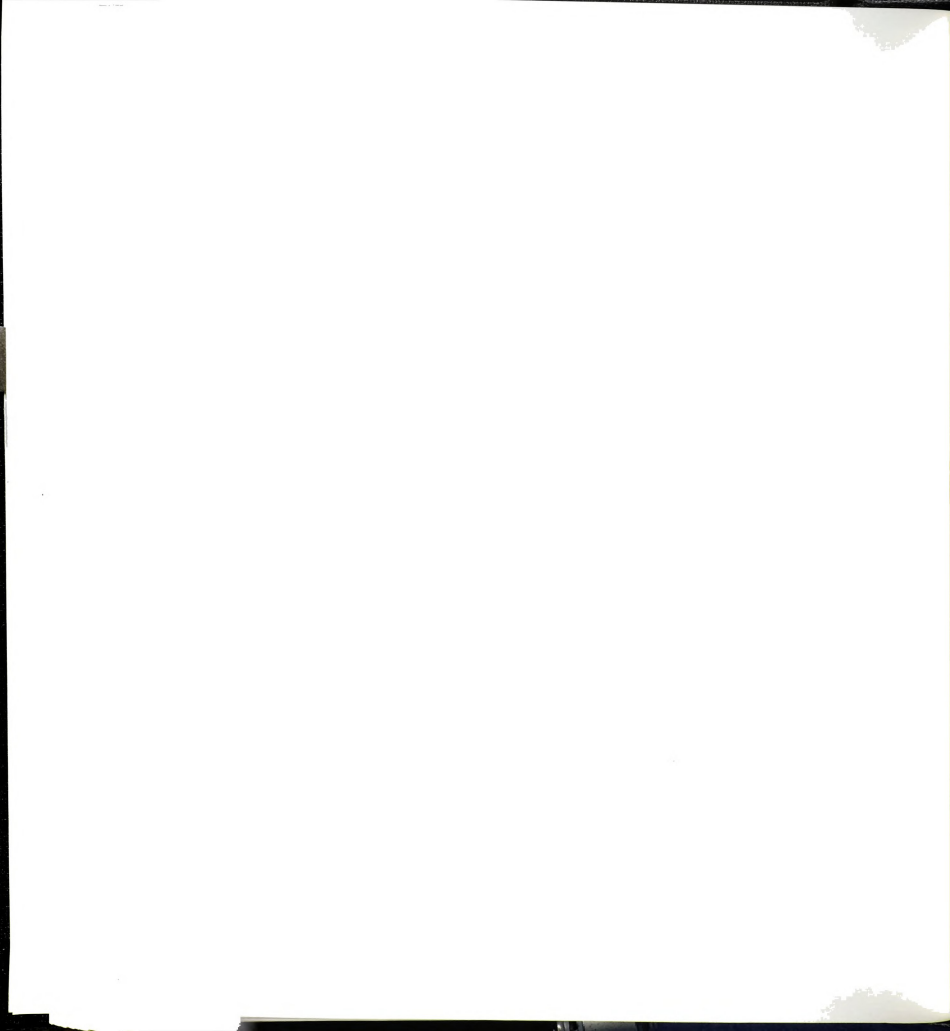
- (14b) 1 S: *Ma nihon no sarariiman wa*
 well Japan GP white-collar-worker TP
- 2 *hatarakisugi janai ka to omoimasu ne.*
 work-too-much TAG Q QT think IP
 'Well, I think that the Japanese white collar workers
 maybe work too hard.'

Here, S makes a very similar statement to that in (14a), but now without using *toka*. According to the statement in (14b), the speaker S is specifying *sarariiman* 'white collar worker' as a workaholic group, not implying other possibilities. This suggests that *toka* in (14a) was not used to imply other possible professions. *Toka* likely serves as a soft highlighter of certain information, while still maintaining the effect of vagueness or unassertive tone of voice that *toka* expresses lexically.

In (14a), *toka* was followed by the topic marker *wa*. However, (15) displays a case in which *toka* has a soft highlighting effect without the topic marker *wa* and subject marker *ga*.

(15) [S (YF) is answering the interviewer's question about the club activities at high school. She thinks that the club was fun and she felt free from restriction because there were no seniors.]

- 1 I: *Bukatsudoo wa doo deshita ka, kookoo jidai wa.*
 club-activity TP how BE Q high-school days TP
 'How were the club activities in high-school days?'



- 2 S: *Ano senpai toka inakatta n desu ne,*
 well senior exist-not NM BE IP
 'Well, thing is, there weren't seniors and such,'
- 3 *Ano hai*
 well yes,
 'Well, yes,'
- 4 *Uchi no gakunen kara no bukatsu tteyuuka,*
 our GP school-year form NM club or say
 'The club consists only of students from our school year,
 or I should say...'
- 5 *Moo minna sotsugyoo shichatte,*
 already everybody graduation have-done
 ''Everybody already graduated,'

In line 2, S introduces the word *senpai* 'seniors' to explain why club activities were fun. In line 2, *senpai* 'seniors' seems to be the main exemplar of the category, or probably the only possibility because S is providing further information about *senpai* in the following utterances. *Toka* is attached to *senpai*, and makes it salient in the utterance without using any particle. Admittedly, the first word of an utterance usually has a certain degree of salience (Sperber and Wilson 1986), but salience is provided in a soft or unassertive way by the use of *toka*. As Miura stated concerning *tte*, I contend that *toka* in this type of context serves to mark the topic in a less direct or abrupt way¹⁴.

¹⁴ According to my impression, *toka* marks the information in a softer or more indirect way than does *tte*. The comparison of *toka* and *tte* is an interesting issue to investigate. I will leave it for future study.



5.2.4.3. Toka for vague quotation

This section concerns mainly the unconventional use of *toka* as it appears frequently in the speech of younger speakers. Many of these types of quotation with *toka* are different from what is regularly regarded as standard usage in Japanese dictionaries. I have observed that *toka* in vague quotation has some similarities with *like* in casual English. Schourup (1985:44) found that *like* is used to introduce direct discourse, and that this nonstandard *like* is very common among younger speakers.

Let us first look at the distribution of quotative *toka* according to the verb that follows it. Table 5.6 summarizes all the data from interview and chatting.

Table 5.6. Variations of quotative *toka* (n=40)

	YF	YM	OF	OM	total
<i>toka iu/itte</i>	80	30	5	2	117
<i>toka omou</i>	40	3	3	0	46
<i>tokatte</i>	24	10	2	1	37
<i>toka</i>	5	4	3	1	13
<i>toka[other verb]</i>	4	2	5	2	13
total	153	49	18	6	226

YF=younger female, YM=younger male, OF=older female, OM=older male

Toka quotation often includes *iu* 'say' (or other forms such as *itte* 'say and' and *iwareru* 'be told'). *Omou* 'think' is also sometimes used to mark the content of the speaker's thought. There are a few cases that include other verbs such as *kanjiru* 'feel', *kaitearu* 'be written', *naruru* 'become', and *kangaeru* 'consider'. Sometimes the verb is absent in the main clause.

In what follows, I present examples of *toka* marking direct and indirect quotations and quoting the speaker's hearsay (another voice) or the speaker's own speech (self-quotation).

5.2.4.3.1. *Toka* for direct and indirect quotation

The following excerpt shows direct quotations of what the speaker was told (16-3,5) and an indirect quotation of the speaker's thought (16-6).

(16) [N (YF) is explaining about her part-time job at Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC). She was asked by her boss to move to a new KFC with him to help him.]

- 1 N: *Ie no chikaku de yatteta*, (I: un)
house GP nearby at doing (I: uh huh)
- 2 *tokoro no tenchoo ga kondo sotchi ni*
place GP store-manager SP this-time there
- 3 *idoo ni natte de isshoni konai toka iwarete*
change to became so together come-not said-PASS
- 'When the store manager of the place where I was doing (a part-time job) near my house was transferred to another place, I was asked like "why don't you come with me?"'
- 4 I:= A *hikinuki tte yatsu desu ne*
oh hiring-away QT thing BE IP
'Oh, hiring you away from the original place, right?'
- 5 N:= *Jikyuu 100en agete ageru kara: toka iwareta kara:*,
hourly-wage ¥100 raise give because said-PASS so
'I was told like, "For you I'll raise your hourly wage by ¥100", so...'
- 6 *Dattara sotchi no hoo ga otoku kana toka omotte:*,
if-so that GM side SP profitable I-wonder thought
- (I: *Soo desu ne*)
(I: so BE IP)
(I: That's right.)

- 7 *ita n desu kedo.*
BE NM BE though
‘Then, I was thinking, that offer might be more profitable,
or something.’

In the direct quotations in lines 3 and 5, *toka* serves as a marker of the quotation of another voice (speech fragments produced by another speaker). In line 3, N is quoting an utterance made by her boss in KFC (*issho ni konai* ‘Why don’t you come with me?’), and in line 5, she is further quoting his persuading utterance (*Jikyuu 100-en agete ageru kara*: ‘I’ll raise your hourly wage by ¥100, so...’) to explain why she changed stores.

To quote what she was told, N could have used the quotation particle *tte* ‘that’. However, she used *toka* instead of *tte* ‘that’ to indicate that the quotation is not an exact replica of words uttered by her boss but an approximation. Thus, N avoids the possibility of misrepresenting her boss’s utterance. The function of this type of *toka* is attributed to the participation framework in the discourse model by Schiffrin (1987): it shows a non-committal and defensive attitude toward the utterance.

As Mayes (1990) and Tannen (1989) state, direct quotation is often not the exact repetition of what was said, but is the constructed dialogue by the speaker. *Toka* serves to make this point clear. Mayes also claims that direct quotation serves to dramatize and highlight key elements in a narrative.

Quotative *toka* can quote not only the content of ‘speech’, but also the content of ‘thought’ as shown in line 6 in (16). *Toka*

omotte means 'I thought something like'. With *toka*, N is reporting her own thought imprecisely. Uncertainty is also expressed by the prior phrase *kana* 'I wonder', but *toka* makes the utterance even more vague. *Toka* indicates that the quoted thought is only a representation of what she thought, and the approximation signals that there may be a better way to put it into words.

5.2.4.3.2. *Toka* for quoting other's voice or speaker's own voice

The excerpt in (17) presents T's short narrative, in which a previous dialogue between T and M is repeated for N (the hearer). *Tokatte* (the contracted form of *toka itte* 'say something like') is frequently employed in T's speech.

(17) [T (YF) is explaining to her friend N (YF) about the bicycle that T rented to another friend M (YF).]

- 1 N: *Sorede*↗
then?
'Then?'
- 2 T: *De nanka tsuita totan ni denwa kite: M ga.*
then like arrived immediately phone came M SP
'Then as soon as I arrived, the phone rang, M (called).'
- 3 *Ee ima nani shiten no: tokatte,*
ah now what doing Q
'She goes like, "Ah, what are you doing now?".'
- 4 *Korekara todokeni iku kara tte,*
from-now bring-back go so QT
'And she says "I'm gonna bring the bicycle back to you now."'
- 5 *Oi tokatte moo owatta tokatte,*
hey already finished
'I go like, "Hey", and I go like, "I don't need it now."'



- 6 *Moo kichatta yo: kotchi tokatte,*
 already have-come IP this-way
 ' She goes like, "I am already on the way to your place."
- 7 *Ee gomen ne: tokatte, ...*
 oh sorry IP
 'And she goes like, "Oh sorry."'

Tokatte coordinates direct quotations of utterances by M and by the speaker herself (T). What M said to T prior to this conversation is marked by *tokatte* in lines 3, 6 and 7, whereas T's direct self-quotations are in line 5. This quotative *tokatte* seems similar to the narrative *go* in English. Expressions such as 'she goes like' or 'I go like' fit the Japanese translation of *tokatte*. Narrative 'go' usually appears in casual discourse, which is the case with *tokatte*.

The roles of *tokatte* in (17) are to report what the speaker heard or said, and to coordinate the utterances in a 'loose' manner. It is 'loose' in the sense that the utterances indicate a possible slight difference between the quoted expression and what was actually heard or said. The speaker reveals his/her inability or reluctance to formulate a strictly precise version of what was heard or said.

In (17), the agent (subject) of the quoted utterances are not expressed¹⁵. In (17), however, even though there are two

¹⁵ In Japanese, elements often drop from the utterance if they can be inferred from the context, especially in conversation.



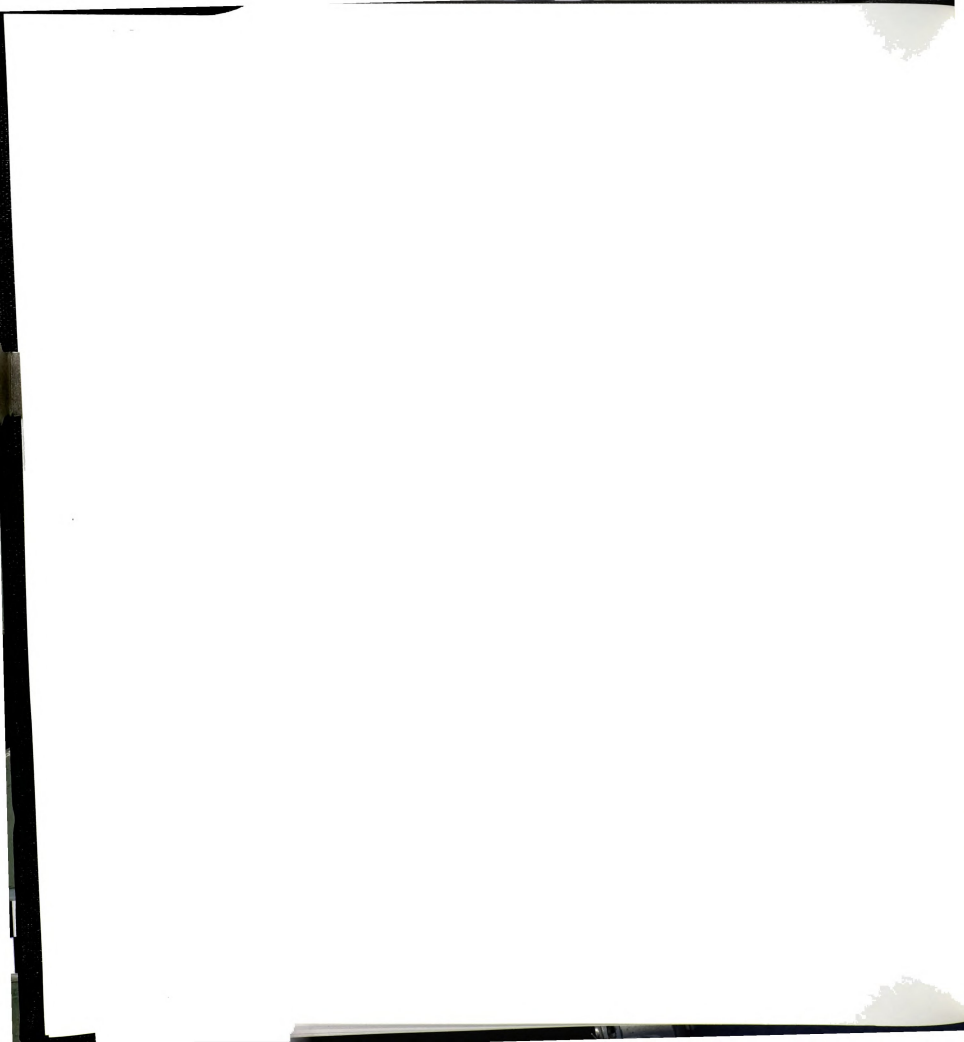
voices involved in the quoted dialogue, these two voices are not distinguished from each other in expressing the subjects of *tokatte*, yet this does not cause confusion. *Tokatte* (without the subject) minimally and rhythmically presents the reconstructed interaction.

What is of interest in this conversation is the self-quotation by speaker T. As Maynard (1996) states, self-quotation has an objectifying and distancing effect. T is taking on the role of reporter, and reports her own utterance as if it were made by somebody else. By introducing the voice of 'another', she creates a dramatizing effect. At the same time, this dramatization is delivered with a hedging attitude. In a non-committal way, *tokatte* tells the listener that what he/she is listening to is not exact recollection.

5.2.4.3.3. Toka for self-quotation to avoid awkwardness or seriousness

The excerpt in (18) on the next page shows similar examples of self-quotations. However, they are not quotations of previous utterances as in (17), but quotations of on-going utterances by two younger female friends.

(18) [M and K (YF) are talking about where they can go for their graduation trip together with other friends. However, their friends are not so enthusiastic about the plan.]



(18)

- 1 K:Minna *ikanai toka iidashita* *deshoo*↗, (HHH)
everybody go-not started-say TAG
'Everybody started to say like they didn't want to go.'
- 2 *Yabai yo*
bad IP
'That's bad!'
- 3 M:=*Ikenai jan toka iu*
can't-go TAG say
'(I) go like "We can't go, then?".'
- 4 K:=*Ikenai toka iu*
can't-go say
'(I) go like "we can't go."'
- 5 M:=*Okane nai kara toka itte,*
money have-not because say
'(I) go like "Because we have no money."'
- 6 K:*Uchira de iku*↗ *Osaka*
we by go Osaka
'Shall we go to Osaka by ourselves?'
- 7 M:=*Uwa: tte*
wow QT
'saying, "Wow".'
- 8 K:*Uwa:, Osaka: tsutte*↗,
wow Osaka! say-QT
'Saying, "Wow, Osaka"?'
- 9 M:*Osaka yada yo: toka itte,*
Osaka dislike IP say
'I go like, "I don't want to go to Osaka."'
- 10 K:*Itchau yo moo.*
go IP well
'Well, I'll go (by myself).'

Let us first examine *toka iu* 'go/say like' in lines 3 and 4. K and M are quoting their own utterances and talking as if they are reporting the speech of others. This usage is unique to YFs, and



is interesting because this quotation marker is seemingly redundant: there is no need to self-quote on-going utterances.

These instances of *toka iu* 'go/say like' seem to bring about playfulness (speech play) in the conversation. Maynard (1996:222) explains that self-quotation "is used at awkward moments for the purpose of 'lightening up'", or that the speaker plays foolish to avoid being taken too seriously. In lines 3 and 4, K and M are "lightening up" the disappointing feeling about cancellation of the trip by being playful with words. This playfulness is also expressed in the repetition style (repeating each other's utterance) in these lines. The effect of "lightening up" is also brought about by the mitigating usage of *toka*. *Toka* implies that the quoted utterance *ikenai* ('(we) can't go') is not exactly what the speaker wants to say, which results in an undetermined tone of voice. With *toka*, the speaker can avoid facing or taking the disappointing fact all too seriously.

Toka itte 'go/say like' in lines 5 and 9 is also used to mitigate the utterance, especially when difficult things have to be expressed. The utterances *okane nai* ('we have no money') in line 5 and *Osaka yada* ('I don't want to go to Osaka') in line 9 are potentially face-threatening to K (the addressee) because K wants to go to Osaka. *Toka* is used to reduce this risk by expressing non-assertiveness and by avoiding being direct. Consequently *toka* is, as Maynard says, used to mend the awkward situation.

The following excerpt in (19) presents a similar case.



(19) [H and K (YF) are talking about H's sister. K is repeatedly telling H that K likes H's sister.]

- 1 H: *Ano ko* |*wa*| *benkyoo shinai ne*,
that kid TP study do-no IP
'That kid does not study.'
- 2 K: |*Dotchi?*|
which
'Which one?'
- 3 H: *Ichiban shita*,
the youngest
'The youngest one.'
- 4 K: *Suki*.
like
'I like her.'
- 5 *Suki toka itte*
like say
'I go like "I like her."'
- 6 H: = *Benkyoo shinai ano ko*.
study do-not that kid
'That kid doesn't study.'
- 7 K: A *T-chan choo suki da mon*.
ah T-chan really like BE MN
'Ah, thing is, I really like T-chan.'
- 8 H: A *so:*.
oh so
'Oh, really.'
- 9 K: *Soo yo toka*, HHHH (HHHH)
so IP
'"Right", or something.'

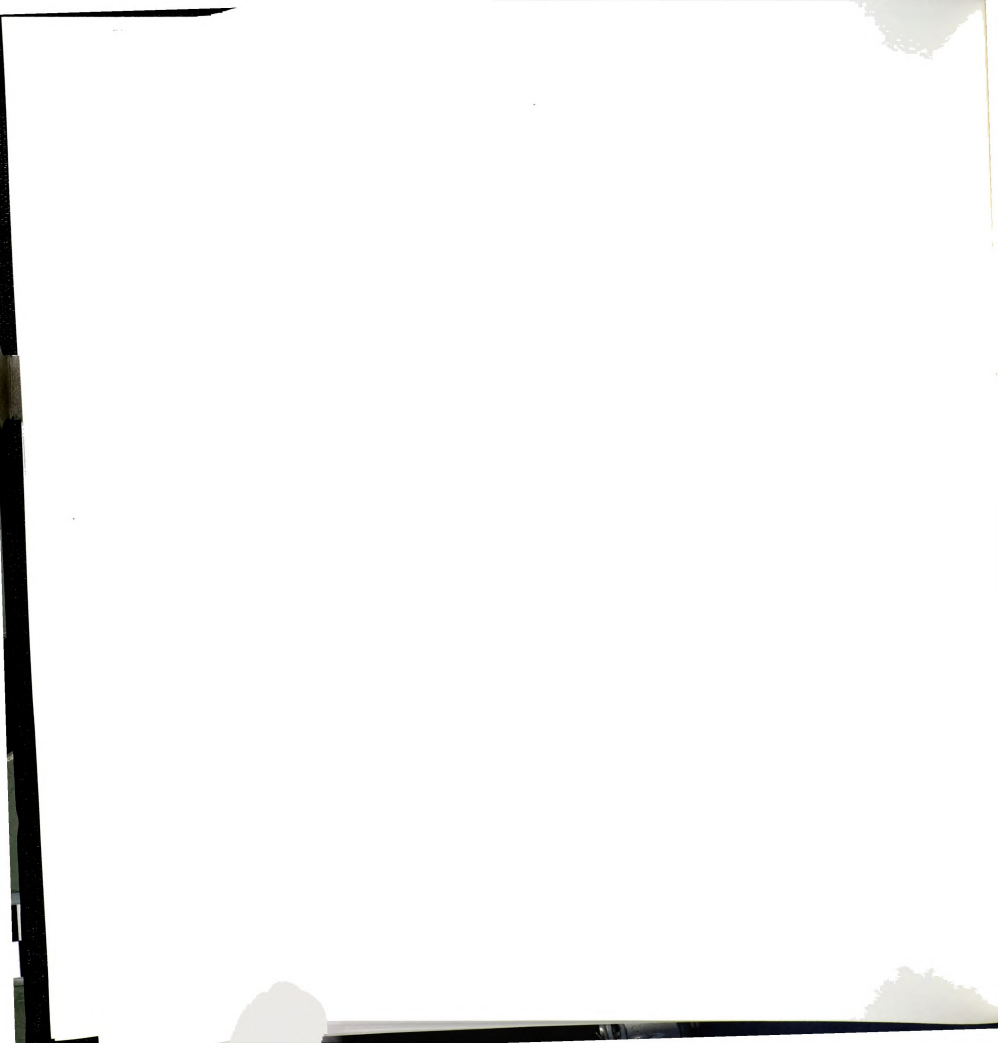
In line 4, K says *suki* 'I like her' straightforwardly. However, there is no response from H. K then repeats *suki* again by quoting it with *toka itte* in line 5. I interpret that the speaker K feels a little awkward in this context in telling her feelings directly. *Toka itte* is introduced by K to express her embarrassment and at

the same time to avoid awkwardness by being playful. Horiuchi (1999) points out that *toka ittoku* 'say like' serves to conclude a serious utterance in a funny way or to express embarrassment. All instances of *toka* in (19) support his point. H does not seem to know how to react to K's statements, and she avoids responding. This awkward interaction is rescued by K's utterance with *toka* in line 9, which evokes a loud laugh from the two speakers.

Thus we have seen various versions of *toka* quotations, which appear mainly in youth speech. *Toka* in quotation is used to mark the speaker's hearsay or thought directly or indirectly. *Toka* implies possible minor discrepancies between the speaker's quotes and the actual utterances or thoughts. The speaker protects him/herself by indicating imprecision and approximations. In a narrative type of discourse, *toka* coordinates quotations and contributes to the text coherence. *Toka* is used to introduce other voices, and it is also used to self-quote the speaker's own utterances. Self-quotation has an effect of making the utterances indirect, non-assertive, and sometimes playful, and thus lighten up the conversation atmosphere when it is awkward or embarrassing.

5.2.5. Summary of functions of *toka* and Schiffrin's discourse model

In this section, I explained the basic functions of *toka* as a marker of inexhaustive coordination, vague reference and vague quotation. When each *toka* usage was closely examined, I found more



specific functions of *toka* in its particular linguistic and social context. *Toka* in inexhaustive listing coordinates representative items, thoughts or hearsay within an utterance or across utterances in a cohesive way. *Toka* as vague reference was used to express uncertainty, for approximation, or for soft highlighting, while showing the speaker's self-protective/ non-committal attitude. *Toka* also marks a direct or indirect quotation, or other- or self-quotation, and at the same time implies that the information marked by *toka* is not complete or precise. Depending on the context, it can also display the speaker's emotional disposition such as playfulness or awkwardness, or help avoid being too serious.

Let us summarize the analysis of *toka* in relation to Schiffrin's discourse model (1987). In general, the functions of *toka* as vague quotation marker operate in four planes. The primary role is on the participation framework because *toka* expresses the speaker's orientation to the utterance and to the addressee, which in some cases implies a non-committal self-protective attitude and in other cases expresses playfulness or rapport. *Toka* also combines idea units (coordinating quoted propositions and utterances in a cohesive way), operating in the ideational structure. *Toka* is sometimes used in turn taking and floor holding (a sequential role), operating in the exchange structure. In the informational state, *toka* serves to organize what the speaker knows and often to imply that the knowledge is incomplete. The core



meaning of *toka* (inexhaustive coordination) is constant, but linguistic and social contexts determine in which planes of discourse *toka* has important roles.

Thus *toka* is multifunctional, and some of the functions overlap with each other. Table 5.7 summarizes the specific functions of *toka* in relation to Schiffrin's discourse model¹⁶. The major planes in which *toka* is operating are marked for each function by (*).

Table 5.7. Functions of *toka* and Schiffrin's discourse model

specific functions	planes of talk				
	(1) informa- -tion	(2) partici- -pation	(3) idea -tional	(4) exchange	(5) action
to express uncertainty, imprecision, lack of information	*	*			
to coordinate utterances, to mark successive quotations			*		
sequential roles (e.g. turn-yielding, floor holding)				*	
to express mitigation, self-protection, non-committal attitude	*	*			
to express playfulness, awkwardness, to avoid being too serious		*			

- (1) Information state
- (2) Participation framework
- (3) Ideational structure
- (4) Exchange structure
- (5) Information state

¹⁶ See Chapter 2 (p. 23) for an introduction of the model.



5.3. The use of *teyuuka* ('or rather')

Both *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' occur typically in spoken discourse, and are often considered as *wakamonogo* 'youth language'. The Japanese encyclopedia *Gendai yoogo no kiso chishiki* [Basic Knowledge of Current Terms], which is published annually in Japan, lists *wakamono yoogo* 'youngster's terms' every year, and has included *toka* since 1990 and *teyuuka* since 1992 in the list of vague expressions in youth language.

The basic function of *toka* and *teyuuka* is to provide alternatives. In "A *toka* B" and "A *teyuuka* B", they both present or imply options (A and/or B) and mark the relationship between them. In general, *toka* coordinates them conjunctively, whereas *teyuuka* signals a repair. When *toka* and *teyuuka* are used at the end of an utterance, they both add a vague, unassertive or uncertain tone of voice, which creates a mitigating effect in the utterance.

In Chapter 4 it was found that *teyuuka* was employed more often in the younger speakers' conversation than in that of older speakers'. Recall that only the age variable produced a main effect with a significant difference, ($F(1,36)=5.65$, $MSE=5.04$, $p = .02167$). I repeat the quantitative results with *teyuuka* in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. Tokens and mean rates of *teyuuka* 'or rather'

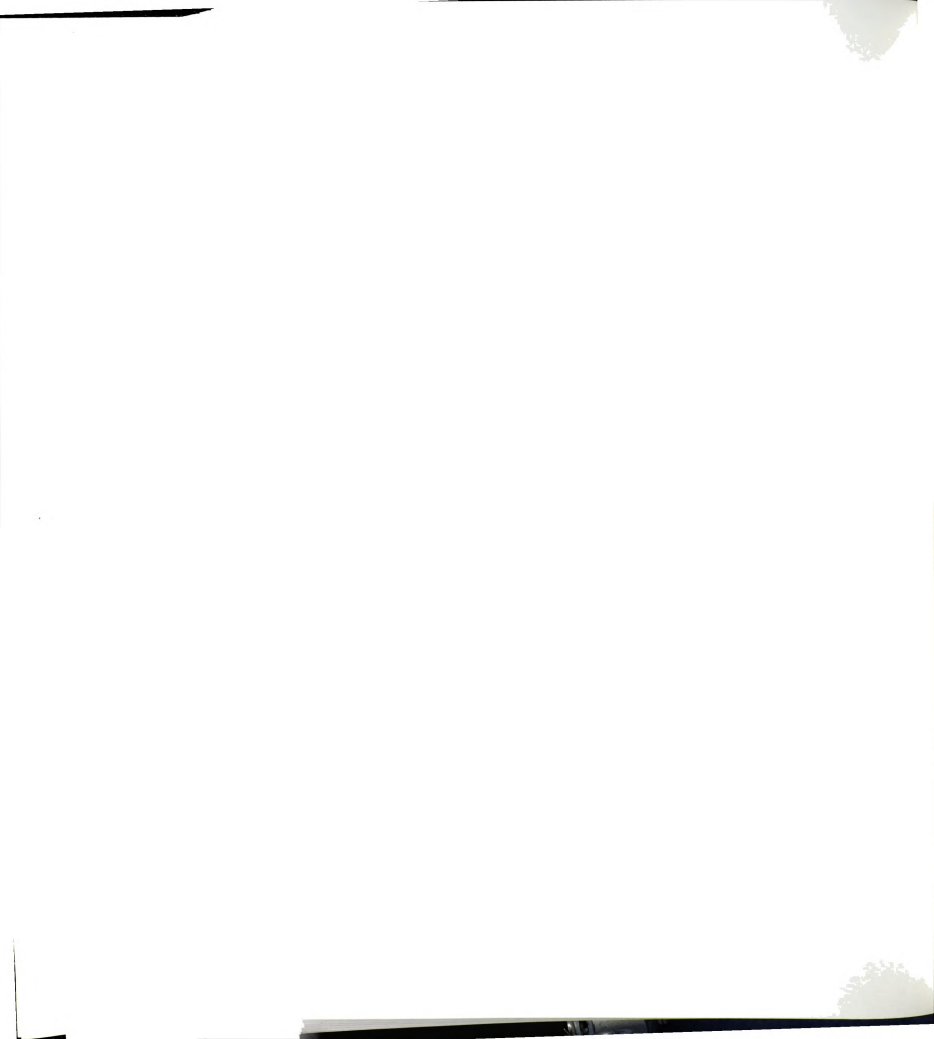
	Chat (N = 40)				interview (N =40)			
	YM	YM	OF	OM	YM	YM	OF	OM
total words	8478	8735	8238	8546	8766	8592	11083	12886
tokens	32	13	8	13	22	19	9	21
ratio	3.84	1.34	0.99	1.54	2.44	2.14	0.86	1.60

In what follows, I present the qualitative analysis of *teyuuka* as a repair marker, comparing the two age groups. Differences are found in the linguistic environments in which *teyuuka* appears, in the orientation of *teyuuka* (self-repair or other-repair), and in the functions of *teyuuka*. I classify six major functions of *teyuuka* in the present study: correction, rephrasing, specifying, blurring, subtopic shift, and supplementary explanation.

5.3.1. Review of the literature on *teyuuka*

Teyuuka is not listed in any major Japanese dictionary because of its new or unestablished status in the Japanese lexicon, and also because *teyuuka* is a combination of elements, *te* (quotative particle), *yu* ('say') and *ka* (particle expressing question or doubt). *Gendai yogo no kiso chishiki* (Basic Knowledge of Current Terms, 1998) explains that *teyuuka* is a prefacing word without any semantic meaning, and is used to start the utterance.

To the best of my knowledge, no study has explored the use of *teyuuka* except for Yoshizawa (1998). Yoshizawa studied the use of *teyuuka* in Japanese younger speakers' conversation (recorded from 13 men and 8 women, ages around 20). Based on the conversation data between friends, she claims that there are four major functions of *teyuuka*; modification (rephrasing, restating, repetition, and ending one's utterance), background repair, replacement repair, and displaying speaker's orientation. She

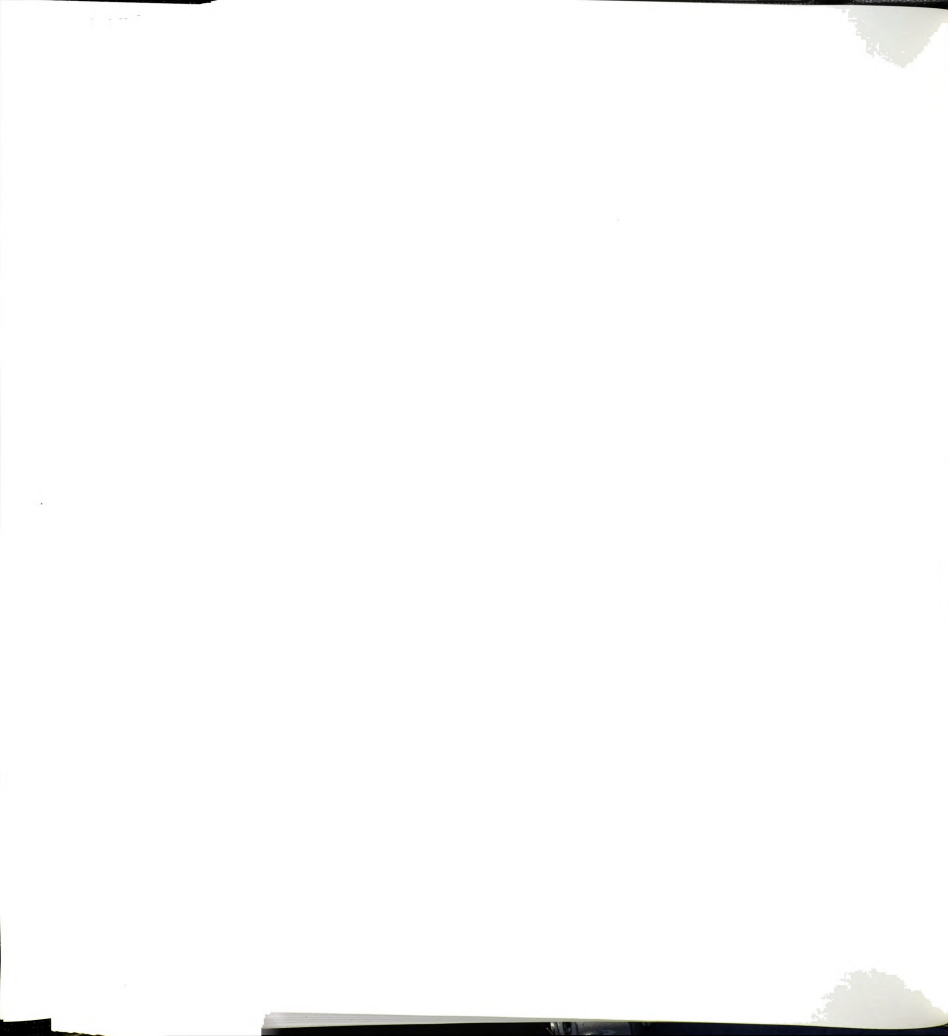


found that out of 98 *teyuuka* tokens, 69 (70.4%) are used for modification of utterances. She also points out that *teyuuka* as a discourse marker contributes to the text coherence because of its coordinating functions. She concludes that *teyuuka* indicates a difference between the utterance and the speakers' thoughts or feelings, and that it is used to repair the difference.

I agree with Yoshizawa (1998), who claims that *teyuuka* has a meaning and function similar to *I mean* in English. Schiffrin (1987) explains that *I mean* has its primary role in the participation framework and marks the speaker's orientation or modification of his/her own talk. Schiffrin also points out two types of self-repair functions in the use of *I mean*. One is background repairs, with supplemental information to modify hearers' understanding of surrounding material, and another is replacement repair, with "substitutions of prior material" which "switch the direction of the developing discourse to that initiated by the substitution" (pp. 300-301). I show below how her analysis fits to the use of *teyuuka*.

5.3.2. General characteristics and immediate linguistic contexts of *teyuuka*

Teyuuka consists of *to* (quotative particle), *iu* ('say'), and *ka* (question particle). *To iu* ('say that') marks that the previous phrase or proposition will be clarified next (*Kojien* p. 117). The main meanings of *A to iu B* are 'A is called B' or 'A



is the same as B' (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* [Comprehensive Japanese dictionary]1975:557). According to my analysis, *teyuuka* is originally a combination of *toiu* and *ka* (a particle which marks question or doubt). *Toiuka* 'or should I say' has subsequently become diversified with variations such as *teyuuka* and *teka* (see Table 5.9).

Table 5.9. Variants of *teyuuka* 'or rather'

	younger	older	total
<i>teyuuka/teiuka</i>	53 (61.2%)	42 (82.4%)	95
<i>teka/tsuka/tsuuka/chuuka</i>	30 (34.9%)	6 (11.8%)	36
<i>toiuka</i>	3 (3.5%)	0 (0%)	3
<i>toiimasuka</i>	0 (0%)	3 (5.9%)	3
total tokens	86 (100%)	51 (100%)	137

The younger speakers use short and casual versions of *teyuuka* (*teka*, *tsuka*, *tsuuka*, *chuuka*) more frequently than the older speakers. The formal variant *toiimasuka* is only found in the older speakers' utterance in my data. When *teyuuka* follows a glottal closure immediately after the segment of the prior word, it is written as *tteyuuka* (with an extra /t/ in the beginning).

Table 5.10 presents the immediate linguistic environments and the distribution of *teyuuka* in two age groups.

Table 5.10. Linguistic environment for *teyuuka* 'or rather'

		younger	older	total
(1)	...<i>teyuuka</i>...	60 (69.8%)	43 (84.3%)	103
(2)	<i>Teyuuka</i>...	19 (22.1%)	0 (0%)	19
(3)	...<i>teyuuka</i>.	7 (8.1%)	8 (15.7%)	15
	total tokens	86 (100%)	51 (100%)	137



The examples of each context are presented in the section of analysis (5.3.4). In Table 5.10, the form (1) '...teyuuka...' means that *teyuuka* is used between phrases or sentences, (2) '*Teyuuka*...' means that it prefaces the utterance, and (3) '...*teyuuka*.' indicates that the utterance ends with *teyuuka*. Differences between the two age groups are found mainly in the tokens of (2) '*Teyuuka*...'; this type of usage is found only among the younger groups.

The utterance-initial *teyuuka* in (2) is often used to repair other's talk. This type of repair is termed "other-repair". In "A *teyuuka* B", A and B indicate two options and A is substituted by B. "Other-repair" means that B is provided by another speaker (not by the speaker who provided A). On the other hand "self-repair" means that both A and B are provided by the same speaker. The table below shows the comparison of the orientation of *teyuuka*.

Table 5.11. Orientation of repair in *teyuuka* 'or rather'

	younger	older	total
self-repair.	55 (64.05%)	46 (90.25%)	101
other-repair	31 (36.0%)	5 (9.85%)	36
total	86 (100%)	51 (100%)	137

Note that other-repair is mostly employed by younger speakers. Older speakers' use of *teyuuka* is generally limited to self-repair.

5.3.3. Basic functions and distribution of *teyuuka*

Repair is defined as "instances in which the speaker stops in some way in the course of producing an utterance, and then



repeats or replaces some part or all of it" (Hayashi 1994:77). *Teyuuka* shares the basic features with *I mean* as a marker of the speaker's orientation and modification. Schifffrin's (1987) two classifications of *I mean* (substitution and background repairs) can also be used for the analysis of *teyuuka*. Table 5.12 classifies *teyuuka* tokens according to six major functions.

Table 5.12. Functions of *teyuuka* 'or rather'

		younger	older	total
(1)	correction	35 (40.7%)	13 (29.4%)	48 (35.0%)
(2)	rephrasing	11 (12.8%)	12 (23.5%)	23 (16.8%)
(3)	specifying	10 (11.6%)	9 (17.6%)	19 (13.9%)
(4)	blurring	9 (10.5%)	14 (27.5%)	23 (16.8%)
(5)	subtopic shift	5 (5.8%)	1 (2.0%)	6 (4.4%)
(6)	supplementary explanation	15 (8.1%)	2 (3.9%)	17 (12.4%)
	other (repetition)	1 (1.2%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.7%)
	total	86 (100%)	51 (100%)	137 (100%)

The usage of *teyuuka* is very diverse for both age groups. The most common usage is (1) correction. In the younger speakers' speech, *teyuuka* is also used to provide (5) subtopic shift and (6) supplementary explanation. The next sections illustrate each function.

5.3.4. Analysis of the use of *teyuuka*

Teyuuka is not yet listed in any major Japanese language dictionary. *Teyuuka* seems to be currently going through its routinization¹⁷ and lexicalization process. The more *teyuuka* is

¹⁷ See Schourup (1985: 10-13).

used routinely, the more it is conventionalized and apt to be established in the Japanese lexicon.

5.3.4.1. *Teyuuka* for correction

The example in (20) represents the most frequent function of *teyuuka*, correcting a part of the preceding utterance.

(20) [During the interview, F (OM) is explaining that his hobby is to make potteries. He tells the interviewer that he prefers making them by hand to making them with an electric potter's wheel.]

- 1 F:Ee *watashi wa moo tebine*
Yeah I TP indeed making-by-hand
- 2 *shika dekinai n desu yo.*
can-only-do NM BE IP
'Yeah, I can't make (potteries) any other way than by hand.'
- 3 *Dekinai tteyuuka sore ichiban suki de,*
can-only-do that best like BE
'Rather than I can't, I should say that it's the way I like best.'
- 4 I:Aji *ga arimasu yone.*
class SP has IP
'It has class, you know.'
- 5 F:Ee.
Yes
'Yes.'

In lines 1 to 2, F first says that he cannot make potteries any other way than by *tebine* method ('by hand'). However, he thinks that the expression 'cannot make' is not appropriate. Then *teyuuka* is used to initiate a repair. *Teyuuka* here is best translated by 'or rather', or 'or I should say' because it indicates



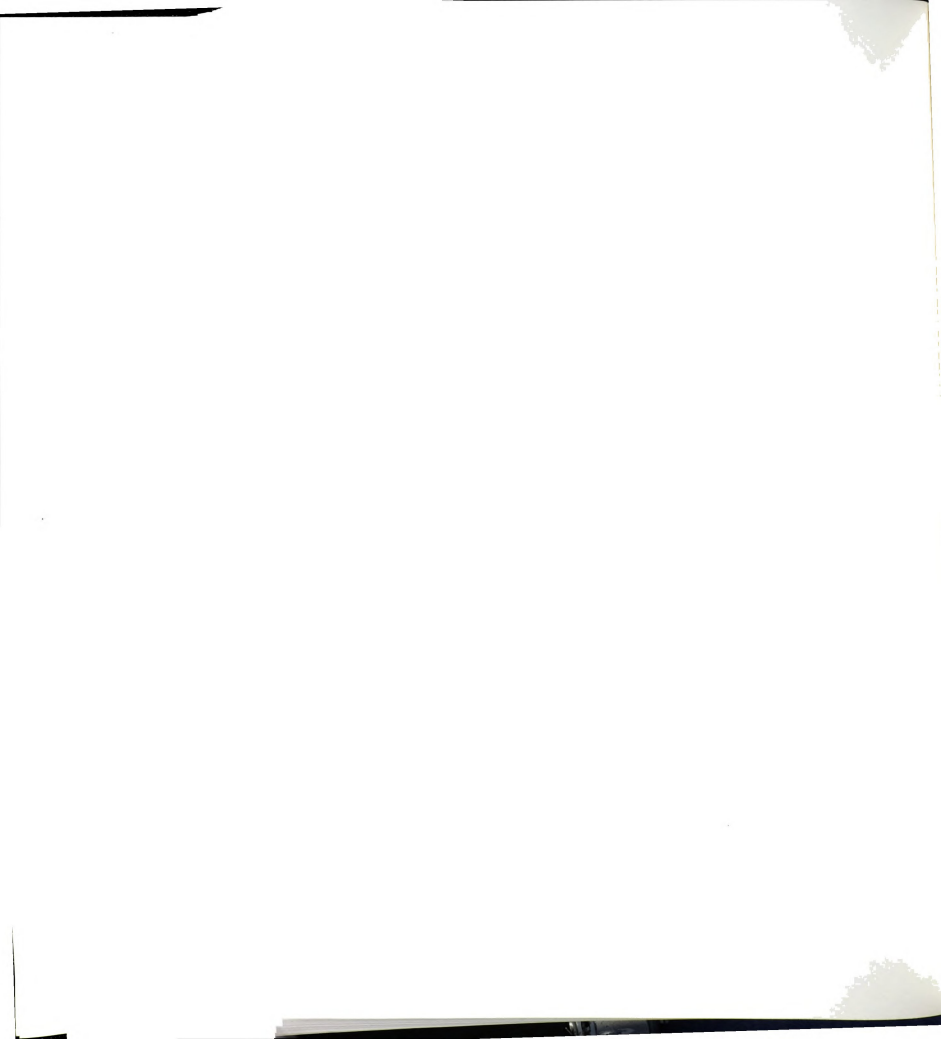
that something is wrong with the preceding utterance. *Shika dekinai* ('cannot make') is the repairable, *teyuuka* signals the correction, and then the repairing segment *sore ichiban suki de* ('I like it best') follows. *Teyuuka* has a remedial function in this utterance.

In Schifffrin's discourse model (1987), the primary role of this type of *teyuuka*, like *I mean* in English, is located in the participation framework because it shows the speaker's intention of repairing the prior ideas. The secondary role is found in the ideational structure since *teyuuka* prefaces the expansion of the prior ideas. Additionally, because speakers' orientation to ideas is also related to knowledge about the content, *teyuuka* is relevant to the information state as well. These multifunctional features are characteristic of *teyuuka* in all its types, as shown below.

The excerpt in (20) presented an example of self-repair. The excerpt in (21) presents an example of other-repair.

(21) [T (YM) is asked by the interviewer if he eats out with his friends when he gets together with them.]

- 1 I:Minna de atsumatte donna koto suru n desu ka.
everybody with gather what thing do NM BE Q
'What kind of thing do you do when everybody gets together?'
- 2 Gaishoku desu ka?,
eat-out BE Q
'Do you eat out?'



- 3 T: *Iya gaishoku tatsuuka moo sono-hen sono-hen ni,*
 no eat-out just around-there around-there
- 4 *tamatte suwarikonde. (I: Ee.)*
 hang-around sit-down-for-a-while (I: yeah)
 'No, not like eating out, we just hang around and sit down
 for a while around there..., around there.'

In lines 3 to 4, the repairable *gaishoku* 'eating out' is corrected by the repairing sentence *moo sono-hen sono-hen ni tamatte suwarikonde* 'just hanging around and sit down for a while around there...'. The utterance-initial *Iya* 'No' in line 3 clearly indicates that *gaishoku* ('eating out') is not the answer. The repairable *gaishoku* ('eating out') was first uttered by the interviewer in her question in line 2. Then T corrects the repairable in his turn. This is a case of other-repair, because the repairing utterance is provided by another speaker.

T could have simply used *janakute* 'not' instead of *teyuuka* in line 3 to negate the interviewer's guess. However, with *teyuuka*, *gaishoku* ('eating out') sounds as if it is not totally wrong, and thus mitigates the face-threatening act of disagreeing. The use of *teyuuka* by T is based on negative politeness (being nonassertive so as not to interfere with the addressee's freedom of action).

In the previous section, I mentioned three planes in Schifffrin's discourse model (1987) on which *teyuuka* functions (the participation framework, the ideational structure, and the information state). Additionally, depending on the context, *teyuuka* operates in the exchange structure which concerns turns



and sequential roles. *Teyuuka* as other-repair is used across turns in the speaker-hearer interaction. Serving as a contextual coordinator, it brings coherence between two turns by different speakers.

There are 36 occurrences of other-repair in the data of the present study. Out of these 36 tokens, 31 were found in the younger speakers' speech (see details in Table 5.11 on p. 153). Table 5.13 below shows the distribution of *teyuuka* as other-repair function for both sexes and chats and interviews.

Table 5.13. *Teyuuka* as other-repair for the younger speakers (YF and YM)

	YF	YM	total
chatting	15	7	22
interview	1	8	9
total	16	15	31

Both YF and YM speakers use other-repairs at almost the same frequency (16 for YF and 15 for YM). However, a clear difference is found in the distribution according to speech situations. YF use *teyuuka* for other-repair mostly with their friends, not with the interviewer, whereas this difference is not observed in YM's speech. This suggests that YF are more reluctant to correct other utterances in interviews. For YM, *teyuuka* seems to be a useful means to express disagreement in a soft way. Overall, *teyuuka* for other-repair is employed more often in casual conversation than in interviews.

5.3.4.2. *Teyuuka* for rephrasing

The excerpt in (22) shows a case in which the repairing phrase is a paraphrase of the repairable.

(22) [M (OM) is talking about the similarity between German and Japanese with his friend U (OM).]

- 1 M: *Nantonaku, Nihonjin to no koo*
 somehow Japanese with GP like-this
- 2 *shinjoo teyuuka kimochi ni chuuningu suru tokoro ga,*
 feeling sentiment to tuning do point SP
- 'Somehow, like this, [Germans] have characteristics that
 are in tune with Japanese feelings or should I say
 sentiments.'
- 3 U: *Arimasu ka?*
 have Q
 'They [Germans] have, you think?'
- 4 M: *Aru- aru n janai ka to omou.*
 have have NM TAG Q QT think
 'I think that they hav- have.'

In line 2, M replaces the word *shinjoo* 'feeling, heart' with *kimochi* 'feeling, sentiment, mood'. Judging from the general meanings of the two words listed in *Kojien Dictionary* (1998) and *Kenkyuusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (1992), these two words are synonyms, though there may be a slightly different nuance depending on the context. *Teyuuka* here is best translated as 'in other words'. Why does the speaker present two similar words? This seemingly redundant repair may have some roles. For example, the speaker can show his/her slight preference between two options (the repaired one is better) and can provide more examples. The



speaker might have wanted to repair a phrase with a more appropriate expression, but ended with a similar word. In this case, the speaker can still show his/her intention of repair, indicating that the first word is not exactly what he/she means and he/she is looking for a better expression. With *teyuuka*, the speaker can also gain time to construct his upcoming utterances.

5.3.4.3. *Teyuuka* for specifying

Teyuuka is also used to specify one's point. Consider (23).

(23) [N (YF) is providing examples for the types of things she has to teach to new employees at her part-time job.]

- 1 I:Dooitta koto shidoo suru n desu ka?
 what-kind-of thing instruction do NM BE Q
 'What kind of thing do you teach?'
- 2 N:Uun mazu sekkyaku no kihon tteyuuka nanka,
 umm first wait-on-customer GP basic like
 'Umm, first, the basics of waiting, or say, like'
- 3 Aisatsu toka egao toka sooyuu tokoro kara hajimatte,
 greeting etc. smiling etc. such things from start
 'starting from greeting, smiling and stuff like that,'
- 4 Reji no uchikata toka. ...
 cashier GP how-to-punch
 'How to use cashiers or something.'
- 5 Sooyuu koto o oshiete itte:,
 such things DO teach keep
 'I keep teaching such things,'

The utterances in lines 3 and 4 list examples to elaborate the phrase in line 2, *sekkyaku no kihon* ('the basics of how to treat customers'). *Teyuuka* signals a turning point from the general



concept to its specific examples, and initiates this modification. The speaker was probably unsure whether the addressee understood the situation by only hearing *sekkyaku no kihon* ('the basics of how to treat customers'), and therefore she decided to add more information. This process of wondering and deciding is expressed in *teyuuka* with a little hesitating tone of voice.

Among Schifffrin's (1987) classifications of repairs, this type of *teyuuka* can be classified as background repair. *Teyuuka* prefaces the expansion and specification of the speakers' own prior idea, which is more general. The expansion and specification are subordinate asides, and the repair goes back to the point where the discourse was interrupted as the speaker N concludes in line 5, 'I keep teaching such things'.

5.3.4.4. *Teyuuka* for blurring

Above we saw *teyuuka* appearing utterance-medially. The excerpt in (24) presents the use of *teyuuka* appearing utterance-finally. Although in the examples so far *teyuuka* shares some features of *I mean* in English, this utterance-final *teyuuka* behaves differently from *I mean*.

(24) [K (YM) is telling the interviewer that he does not want to take over his father's business.]

- 1 K:Maa ie tsugu no wa ichiban da
well take-over NM TP best BE

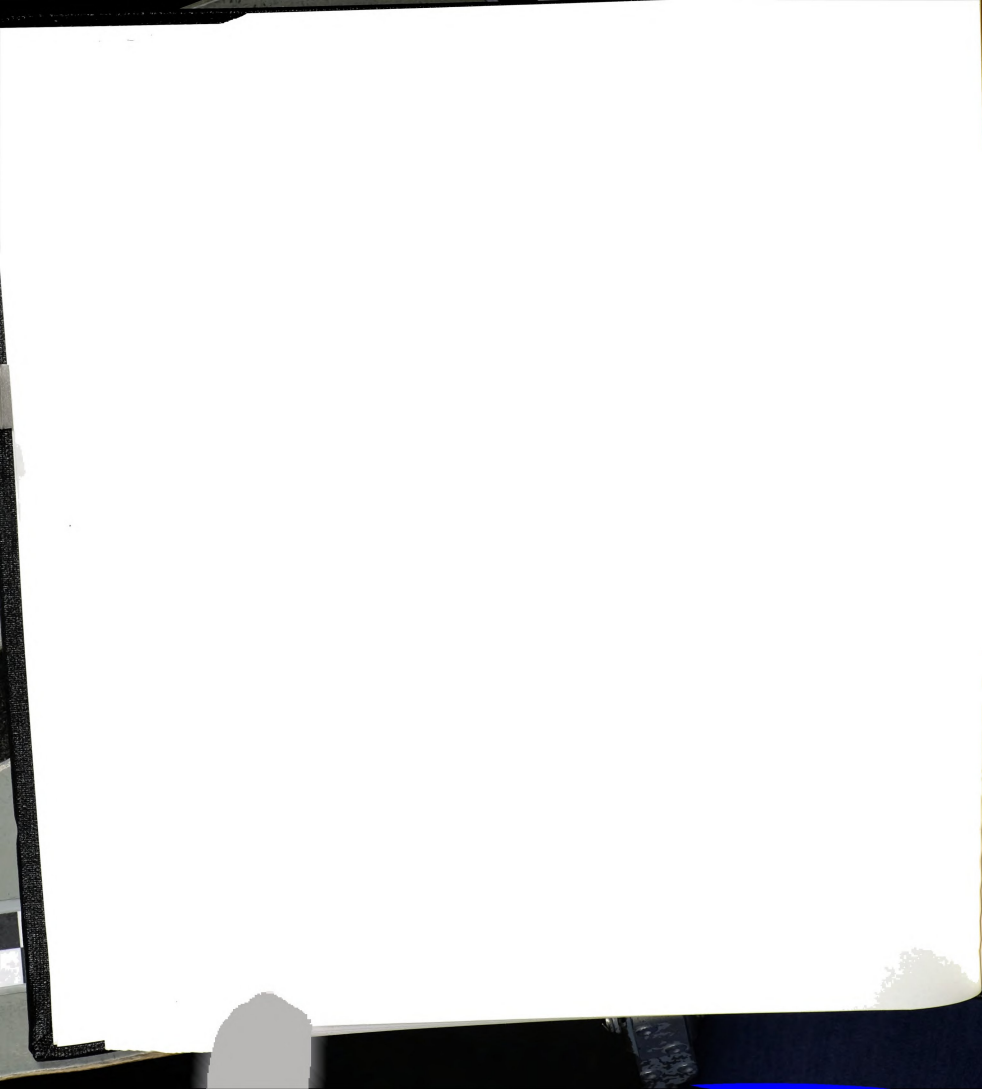


- 2 *to omou n desu kedo yappari,*
 QT think NM BE but after-all
 'Well, although I think that it is the best thing to take
 over [my father's business] after all,'
- 3 *Demo oya mo jibun no sukina koto yare tte*
 but my-parents also myself GP like thing do QT
- 4 *iu fuu ni itte kureteru n de,*
 like tell-me NM BE
 'But my parents also tell me to do things that I like.'
- 5 *Dakara, dakara, teyuuka, un.*
 so so um
 'So, So, or should I say..., um.'
- 6 I: *Naruhodo, muki fumuki arimasu yone.*
 I-see forte-and-foible have IP
 'I see, we have things we are good at, and things we're not,
 y'know.'

K uses *teyuuka* after his statement *dakara* ('so') in line 5, and does not provide further explanation. In line 1 through 4, K implies that he does not want to take over his father's business and that his parents are OK about it. Therefore he probably wanted to say that he won't take over, but he leaves the point vague by using *teyuuka* without providing the repairing segment.

This type of sentence-final *teyuuka* functions in a similar way as the sentence-final *toka*. *Teyuuka* implies that there is a better way to say it, and by not providing it the utterance sounds incomplete, vague or indirect. This type of *teyuuka* often has a blurring and softening influence on the utterance.

Teyuuka in line 5 also signals a position at a turn transition. The speaker yields the turn of his speech with *teyuuka*, and after that, the turn is taken by the interviewer. In this sense, *teyuuka*



contributes to the textual organization, which operates in the exchange structure in Schifffrin's discourse model (1987).

5.3.4.5. *Teyuuka* for subtopic shift

We now turn to the use of *teyuuka* appearing utterance-initially to shift the subtopic as in (25).

(25) [Both S and K (YF) want to go to Disneyland abroad (Europe and America).]

1 S: *Yuuro tte gaikoku no*
Euro QT abroad one
'You mean, Euro is the one abroad?'

2 K: *Gaikoku no,*
abroad one
'The one abroad.'

3 S: *A itte mitai,*
oh go try
'Oh, I wanna go.'

4 K: *Itte mitai yone*
go try IP
'Right, we wanna go there.'

→5 S: *=Teka kibo ga chigau yone,* (K: Un)
scale SB different IP (K: Right)
'Because the scale is different, you know'

→6 K: *Teka amerika no dizuniirando choo dekai n da tte,*
America GP Disneyland damn big NM BE QT
'Or, Disneyland in America is damn big, I heard.'

Let us examine the use of *teka* in line 6 (*teka* in line 5 concerns another function to be discussed in the next section, supplementary explanation). First, the two speakers K and S are talking about the Disneyland in Europe and agreeing that they both want to go



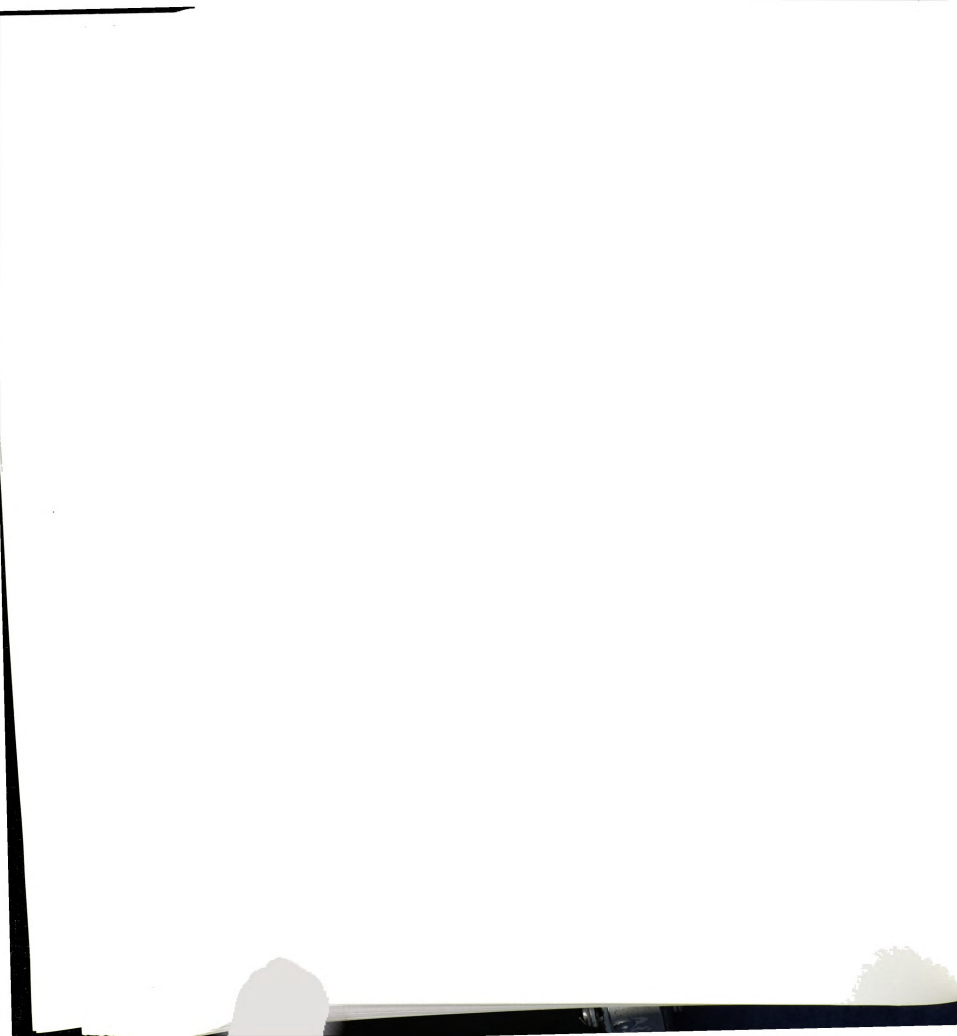
there. Then in line 6, the topic of the conversation is shifted from the European Disneyland to the one in America. This transition of subtopics within the general topic of Disneyland is initiated by the sentence-initial *teka*. With *teka* in line 6 K takes her turn to provide information (point-making), and marks the subtopic shift.

This type of *teyuuka* is similar to Schifffrin's replacement repairs. Replacement repairs, according to Schifffrin (1987: 301), 'lead forward to the ideas of upcoming discourse' without returning to the previous points. Instead of providing background information, the utterance initiated by *teka* in line 6 further develops the conversation on Disneyland.

5.3.4.6. *Teyuuka* for supplementary explanation

As I mentioned earlier, *teka* in line 6 in (25) is a case of replacement repair. *Teka* in line 5 in (25) is an example of a background repair, as it provides a reason why S and K want to visit the Disneyland in Europe (it is huge).

Both tokens of *teka* in (25), appearing utterance-initially, serve also as proposition highlighters in a soft way. They are, in other words, attention-getters, which function to direct the addressee's attention to the upcoming utterance which is the point-making statement. Both utterances by K and S in lines 5 and 6 are preceded by *teka*, claiming the speakers' turns, and creating rhythmic adjacent pairs. This kind of interaction, which involves



different turns and two speakers, is not found in my data of older speakers' conversations.

The following example (15) was previously shown during my analysis of *toka*. I present a longer excerpt below.

(15) [S (YF) is answering the interviewer's question about the club activities at high school. She thinks that the club was fun and she felt free from restrictions because there were no seniors.]

1 I: *Bukatsudoo wa doo deshita ka? kookoo jidai wa.*
club-activity TP how BE Q high-school days TP
'How were the club activities in high-school days?'

2 S: *Ano senpai toka inakatta n desu ne,*
well senior exist-not NM BE IP
'Well, thing is, there weren't seniors and such,'

3 *Ano hai*
well yes,
'Well, yes,'

→4 *Uchi no gakunen kara no bukatsu tteyuuka,*
our GP school-year form NM club
'The club consisted only of students from my class,
or I should say'

5 *Moo minna sotsugyoo shichatte,*
already everybody graduation did
'Everybody already graduated,'

6 *Hai moo zutto inakatta n de*
yes already for-a-long-time had-not NM BE

7 *kekko jiyuu tte kanji datta n desu kedo,*
quite free QT like BE NM BE so
'Yes, we did not have (any seniors) for a long time already,
so it was like we had a lot of freedom, though.'

Here the repairable is *Uchi no gakunen kara no bukatsu* ('The club consisted only of students from my class') in line 4, and this fact is further explained in lines 5 and 6. The utterances



in lines 5 and 6 provide supplementary explanation, and this repair is initiated with *teyuuka* in line 4. Then, in line 7, S finally gives the interviewer her main answer to the question on her club activities (she had a lot of freedom). Lines 2 to 6 provide background information, and they all lead to the conclusion in line 7. *Teyuuka* in line 4 organizes the background information (lines 2 to 6) as shown in the textual structure below.

I:	Question	(line 1)
S:	Support teyuuka	(lines 2 - 4)
	Supplementary support	(lines 5 - 6)
	Position	(line 7)

The last excerpt in (26) illustrates another case.

(26) [K (YF) hopes to get a job which deals with flowers, specifically a job in a wedding hall.]

- 1 K: *Kekkon shiki no ohana o tsukuritai n desu yo.*
marriage ceremony GP flower DO want-to-make NM BE IP
'The thing is, I'd like to arrange flowers for wedding halls.'
- 2 I: *Ano buuke desu ka?*
Well bouquet BE Q
'You mean, bouquets?'
- 3 K: *Buuke toka, watashi anoo shikijoo no zenbu,*
bouquet etc. I well wedding-hall GN everything
'Bouquets and stuff like that, I, well, everything involving a wedding hall.'
- 4 **Tsuka** *sooyuu no mo dezain no benkyoo shitetara*
such one too design GP study doing-if
- 5 *jibun de dezain shita no de dekiru kara*
myself by design did one with can because



6 *ii* *na:* *to omotte:.*
 good IP QT think

'Or I mean, for that kind of things, if I study designing,
I can work with something I design by myself, so I think
it's good.'

Tsuka in line 4 has several functions. First it initiates the explanatory utterances (lines 4 to 6) for the statement in line 1. The reason why the speaker is interested in all kinds of flower-related jobs in wedding halls is that she thinks it would be nice to study designing and then use her own designs to handle such jobs. *Tsuka* not only combines utterances in a coherent way (marking statement and reason relations), but textually also signals the speaker's continuation of her utterance, and so serves as a floor-holding device. It is also used as a highlighter for her point-making.

The organization of repair in "A *teyuuka* B" has some variations. We have seen that repair is done at the word level (A and B are words or phrases) and at the sentence level (A and B are sentences). For example, the excerpt in (22) shows repair at the word level, while the last excerpt in (26) shows repair at the sentence level.

When *teyuuka* is used at the sentence level, it functions to coordinate idea units in a more global way than *teyuuka* at the word level. *Teyuuka* shows that upcoming utterances are the modification of the prior utterance or segments, and thus holds the speaker's turn so that he/she can provide related information.

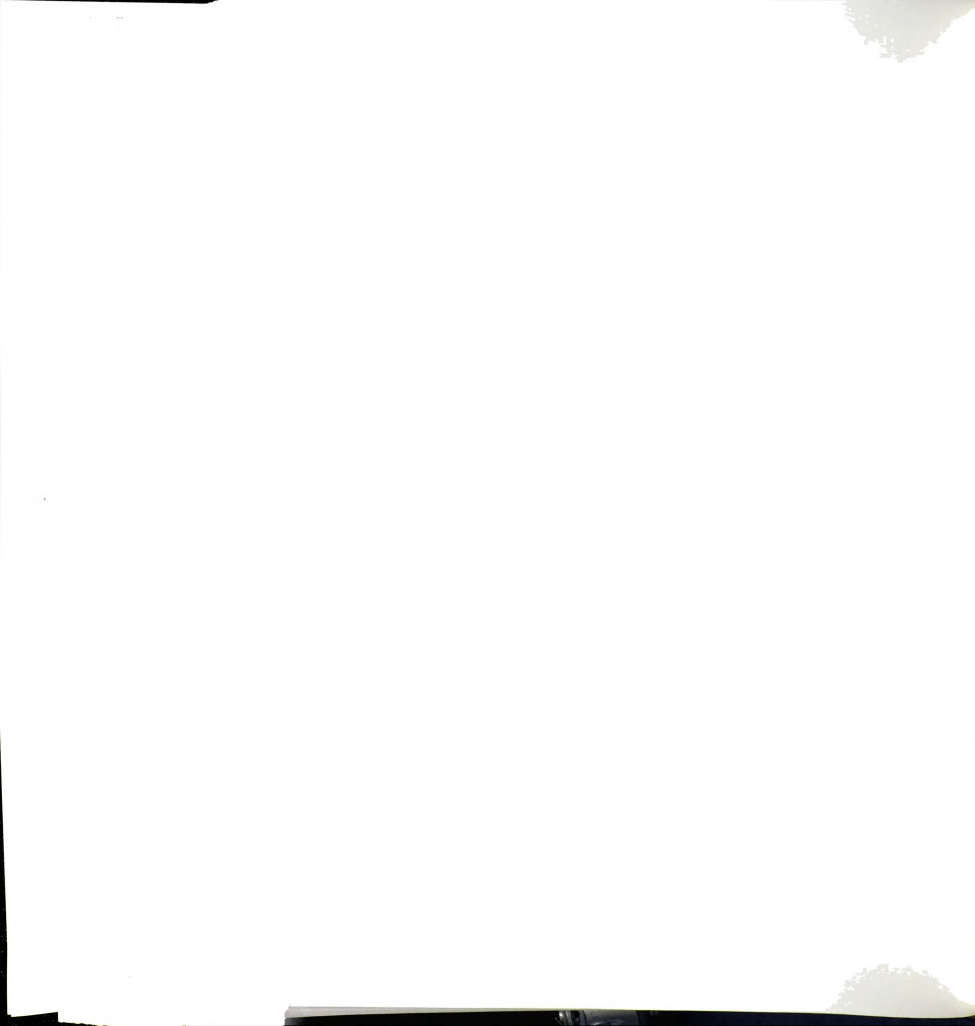


The relation between these utterances or turns is not expressed obviously or in an assertive way because of the semantic vagueness carried by *teyuuka*. In A *teyuuka* B, B is preferred, but A is not completely rejected. This non-committal tone of voice may originate in the semantic function of *ka* (question particle) which implies the speaker's doubt. *Teyuuka* serves to soften the utterance and blurs the relationship between the two alternatives.

5.3.5. Summary of functions of *teyuuka* and Schiffrin's discourse model

In this section, I examined the functions of *teyuuka*. The general function of *teyuuka* is to repair (a part of) an utterance in a mitigated or unassertive way. *Teyuuka* as a repair introduces a better alternative than the prior utterance while not completely rejecting the repaired element.

I classified the functions of *teyuuka* into six basic categories: correction, rephrasing, specifying, blurring and subtopic shift. *Teyuuka* was used most frequently for correction (35% of all *teyuuka* tokens). While older speaker used *teyuuka* mainly for self-repair, younger speakers used it for both other- and self-repair. Especially younger male speakers employed *teyuuka* as other-repair during the interviews. Younger speakers also differ from the older speakers in the use of *teyuuka* in the utterance-initial position. They sometimes secured their turn of speech by using *teyuuka* at the beginning of the turn. In addition,



teyuuka was used to initiate a subtopic shift and to provide supplementary explanation among the younger groups, but this was rare among the older groups.

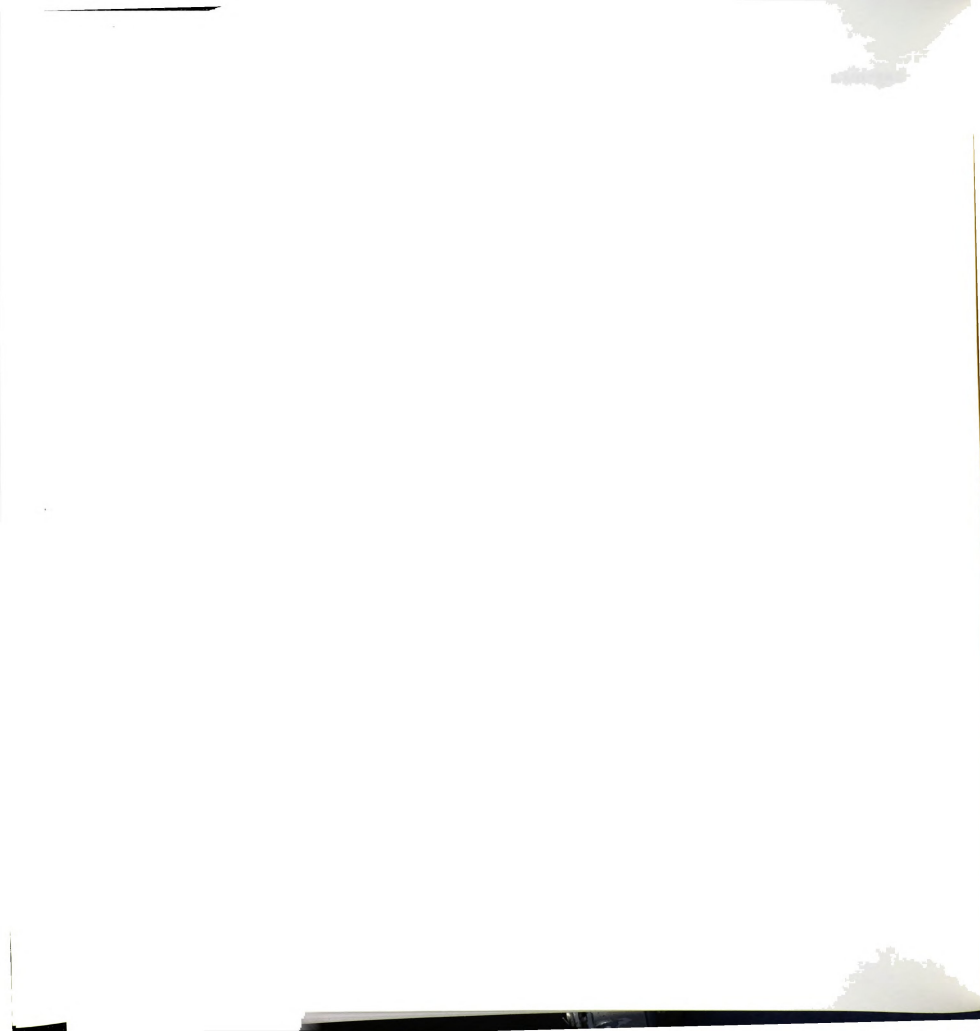
Table 5.14 summarizes the specific functions of *teyuuka* in relation to Schiffrin's discourse model. The major planes in which *teyuuka* is operating are marked for each function by (*).

Table 5.14. Functions of *teyuuka* and Schiffrin's discourse model

specific functions	planes of talk				
	(1) informa- -tion	(2) partici- -pation	(3) idea -tional	(4) exchange	(5) action
as self repair (SP's provision of inclusive option, explanation, correction)	*	*	*		
as other repair (other SP's provision of inclusive option, explanation, correction)	*	*	*	*	*
to express uncertainty, imprecision, lack of information	*	*			
sequential roles (turn initiator, attention-getter, turn-yielding, floor holding)				*	
to express mitigation, non-committal attitude	*	*			
subtopic shift (expansion of ideas)			*		

SP = speaker

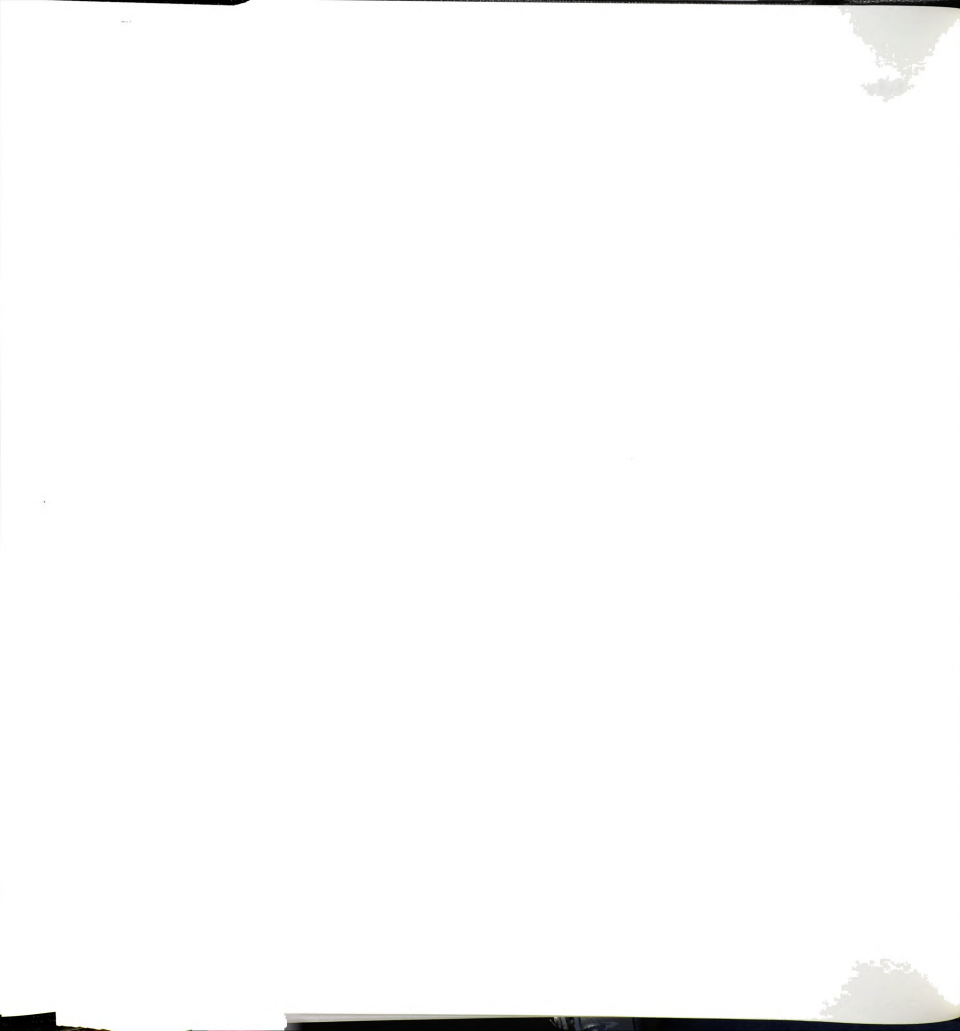
- (1) Information state
- (2) Participation framework
- (3) Ideational structure
- (4) Exchange structure
- (5) Information state



5.4. Summary

In the present chapter, I discussed the functions of *toka* and *teyuuka* while examining their linguistic contexts closely. General characteristics of *toka* and *teyuuka* are that they appear as hedges, and that they are both used to provide alternatives as in "A *toka* B" and "A *teyuuka* B". Basically, *toka* inexhaustively coordinates items, sentences and quotations, whereas *teyuuka* repairs the prior utterance in a soft or nonassertive way. *Toka* and *teyuuka* in general imply that there are other expressions, and the speaker can make his/her utterance open or vague by not specifying the other possibilities as in "A *toka*" and "A *teyuuka*". This way, the speaker can be non-committal and avoid being too assertive.

Younger speakers employ more variations in the usage of *toka* and *teyuuka* than do older speakers. It is interesting that they sometimes use these expressions to be playful, to express awkwardness or their preferences and to avoid being too serious. This is one way how youngsters communicate, interact and express their youthfulness, showing their solidarity or rapport among themselves.



Chapter 6

Results of the Questionnaire on the use of hedges

6.1. Introduction

The present chapter investigates the results of the questionnaire, and presents a comparison of the findings with the actual use of hedges discussed in Chapter 4. I first discuss how the participants perceive the use of hedges: Who uses hedges, when and why. Then I briefly examine some of the important issues concerning the psychological and social background of the contemporary Japanese youngsters in order to further understand their communication style and motivations behind the use of hedges.

6.2. Questionnaire results

After the interview and conversation with their friends, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire form. The purposes of the questionnaire are to investigate what speakers think of the use of hedges, especially hedges common in conversation by Japanese younger speakers, and to compare the questionnaire results with the actual use of hedges. It is hoped that the findings with this questionnaire will provide some insights about why such hedges are used in conversation and how they function in interpersonal communication (see Niedzielski and Preston 2000, for a discussion of the use of metalinguistic data). I am aware that this type of metalinguistic investigation through



participants' self-report has limitations because the self-reported information does not necessarily reflect reality. Therefore, these results are considered as subsidiary information.

As I explained in Chapter 3, before the questionnaire was given, all participants were first asked to read two short conversation samples in Japanese which include several hedges, e.g. *toka* 'or something', *nanka* 'like', *kekko* 'quite', *teyuuka* 'or rather', *kanji* 'feel like', *mitai* 'is like' (see Appendix 4 for the Japanese writing that was shown to the participants). These two samples are based on actual conversations between high-school students (single sex, one female and one male pairs) which were recorded in my preliminary study. The samples were chosen as they reflect the use of hedges by youngsters in conversation.

Conversation samples

(1a)

1 A: Nankaa, Tanaka-san wa fasshon toka mo chigakuttee,
like Mr./Ms.Tanaka TP fashion etc. also differ

2 Itsumo hade-kee no fuku toka kiteru tte kanji.
always showy-type GP close etc. wear QT feel-like

'Like, Mr./Ms. Tanaka's fashion and things differ, and he/she always wears like showy-type of clothes, seems like.'

3 B: Teyuuka, medachi-tagari-ya na n jan?
or rather person-who-wants-attention BE NM TAG

'Or rather, he/she wants to attract attention, doesn't he/she?'



(1b)

- 1 C:Menkyo toru no?
license get Q
'Are you going to get a license?'
- 2 D:Menkyo, tteyuuka toritai n da kedo,
license or-I-should-say want-to-get NM BE but
- 3 Kekkoo jikan kimatchau wake jan?
a bit time be-limited case TAG
- 4 Kaigai toka mo ikitai shi.
abroad etc. also want-to-go and
- 5 Nanka ima wa toriaezu ii ya, mitaina.
like now TP for-now OK IP like

'A license, or I should say, I want to get it, but it restricts my schedule a bit, doesn't it? Plus, I want to go abroad and stuff. Like, for now, it can wait, sort of.'

The participants were asked to mark an appropriate number (ranging from 1 to 5) for Likert-type questions, indicating if, when and why they use hedges like those in the sample conversations and what they think of these hedges.

For the statistical analysis, ANOVA, post-hoc test (Tukey's HSD method), and PEARSON were used to evaluate the differences. Detailed results are presented in Appendices 11-23.

6.2.1. Perception of who uses hedges

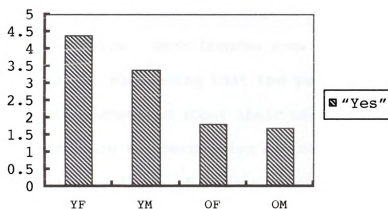
The first question asked of all participants was: "Do you use the underlined type of expressions [hedges] in conversation?" Figure 6.1 on the next page sums the answers in a bar graph displaying the mean scores for the four groups. The choices given



to the participants range from 1 to 5. The higher the mean number, the more the participants agree or think that they use hedges.

Figure 6.1 shows that YF (younger female speakers) most strongly agree that they use hedges (mean = 4.4).

Figure 6.1. Answers to "Do you use the underlined type of expressions [hedges] in conversation?" (n=40)



While most of YF agree that they use hedges like the samples often, the answers from YM (younger male speakers) are divided into either "not often" or "sometimes". With older groups, except for one participant in OF (older females) and one participant in OM (older males) who answered "sometimes", they answered that they don't or never use such hedges.

Statistical tests by ANOVA showed that there was a significant effect of age and a tendency toward an effect of sex on the perception of using hedges ($F(1,36)=58.39$, $MSE=0.79$, $p < .00001$ for age and $F(1,36)=3.82$, $MSE=0.79$, $p = .05544$ for sex, see Appendix 11.1 for details). No interaction was found between age and sex. Then, post-hoc tests were conducted to evaluate the



differences between the groups. There was no significant difference between YF and YM nor between OF and OM (see Appendix 11.2). All other tests showed that there were significant differences between the younger groups and the older groups ($p < .01$ for all contrasts).

This finding is similar to the overall result of the actual use of hedges discussed in Chapter 4. I repeat Figure 4.1 from Chapter 4 below. Both figures show a similar pattern among the four groups, suggesting that the participants generally have a realistic perception about their use of hedges. Only YM showed a higher score for perception of the use of hedges (Figure 6.1) than the actual use of hedges (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Use of hedges by four groups, (mean rate/1000 words)

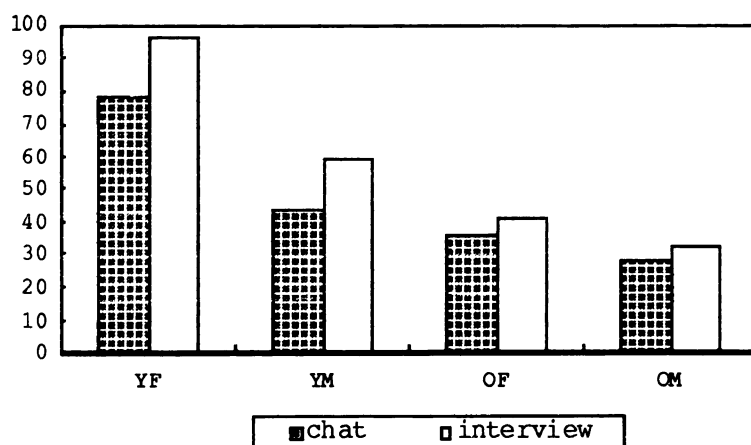
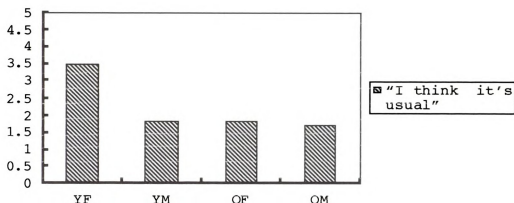


Figure 6.2 summarizes the answers to the question: "What do you think of using this kind of expression in conversation? Usual way of speaking?".



**Figure 6.2. Answers to "Usual way of speaking?"
(n=40)**



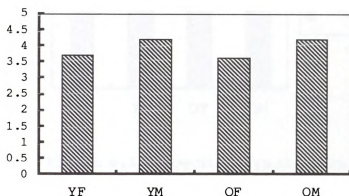
Significant differences were found between the younger and older groups ($F(1,36)=8.63$, $MSE=0.94$, $p = .00584$, see ANOVA results in Appendix 12.1 for details) and between the female and male groups ($F(1,36)=8.63$, $MSE=0.94$, $P = .00584$). There was also an interaction between age and sex ($F(1,36)=6.82$, $MSE=0.94$, $p = .01256$). These results indicate that YF's score is much higher than those of other groups. Post-hoc comparisons also showed that there was a significant difference between YF and other groups ($p < .01$ for these three contrasts), but not among YM, OF, and OM (see Appendix 12.2). While YM, OF, and OM perceive the use of hedges as deviant from the norm, this perception is not present in YF. The use of hedges may not strike YF as unusual. This is probably one of the reasons why YF use hedges more often in conversation than do other groups.

Another interesting point is that YM's answers are similar to those of OF and OM ($YF > YM \approx OF \approx OM$). This tendency is also found in the actual use of hedges (Figure 4.1). The fact that



YF behave differently from YM is consistent with the participants' perception shown in the following figure. Figure 6.3 shows answers to "Do you think there is any gender difference in using this type of expressions?".

Figure 6.3. Answers to "Do you think there is any gender difference?" (n=40)



[Higher scores indicate that the participants think that women use hedges more often than do men.]

Overall, all four groups tend to think that women use hedges more often than do men. ANOVA shows that there is no significant age effect ($F(1,36)=0.04$, $MSE=0.66$, $p=.82610$), but there is a significant sex effect ($F(1,36)=4.60$, $MSE=0.66$, $p=.03668$, see Appendix 13.1 for details). Post-hoc tests showed that there were no significant differences between the groups (see Appendix 13.2). The participants are aware or feel that the use of hedges is associated with gender, in particular with women.

Figure 6.4 summarizes the answers to "Were you able to talk to your conversation partner naturally?". No significant



difference was found in ANOVA (see Appendix 14). Overall, most of the participants thought that they were able to speak naturally.

Figure 6.4. Answers to "Were you able to talk naturally?"

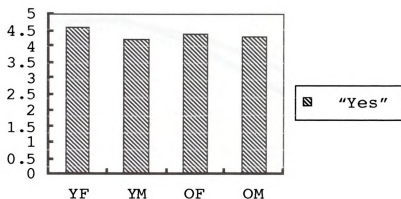
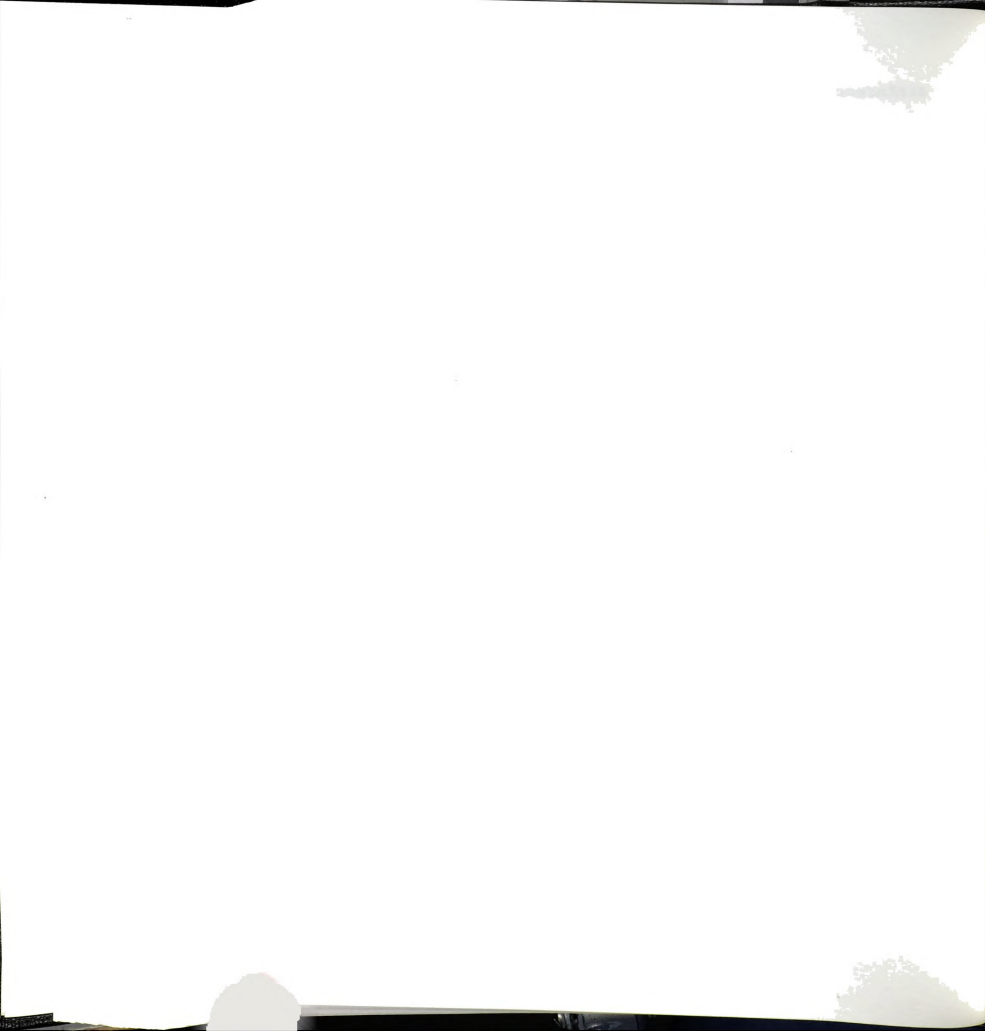


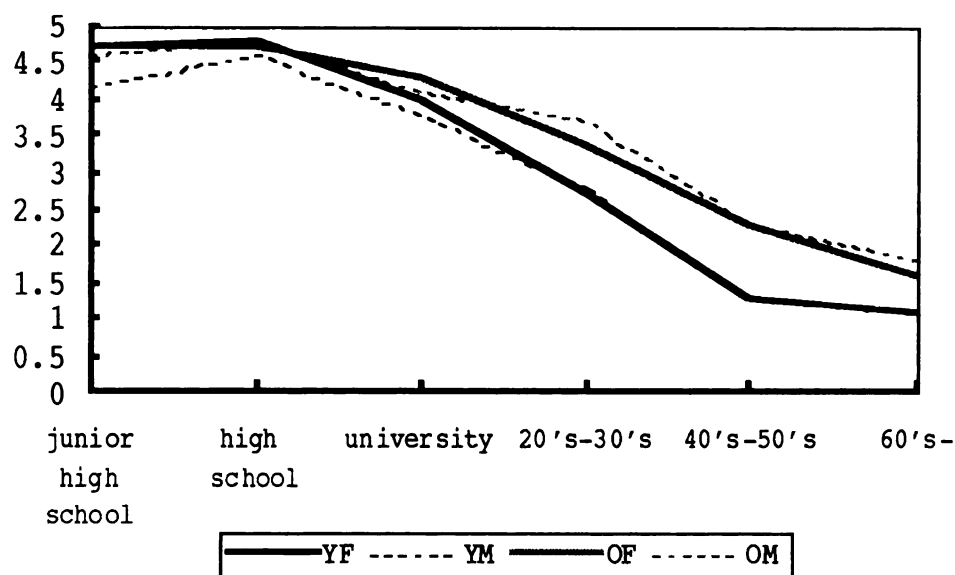
Figure 6.5 below displays the participants' answers to the question: "Which age groups do you think use the underlined type of expressions in general?". The participants were asked to evaluate the frequency of the use of hedges by six different age groups. Higher numbers indicate higher perceived frequency of hedge usage. To illustrate these data, I used curves rather than bars because there is an ordinal relation between the dependent measures (six different age groups).

It is found that all groups consider high-school students to be the group that uses hedges most often. Generally, students of junior-high school, high school and university are regarded as the frequent hedge users. Between the younger and older participants, the perception splits for groups of "20's-30's", "40's-50's" and "60's-". YF and YM show lower scores for those



generations than do OF and OM. This suggests that YF and YM think that the use of hedges is restricted mainly to students.

Figure 6.5. Answers to "Which age groups do you think use the underlined type of expressions in general? (n=40)"



ANOVA tests showed that there were significant effects of age ($F(1,36)=11.66$, $MSE=1.20$, $p = .00193$) and perception of frequency of hedges in the six age groups (age perception, $F(1,36)=229.49$, $MSE=0.35$, $p < .00001$, see Appendix 15). An interaction was also found between age and age perception ($F(1,36)=4.04$, $MSE=0.35$, $p=.00204$). This shows that the younger and older groups have different perceptions on the frequency of hedge usage by the six age groups.

In this section the following results were found: (1) YF think that they use hedges often, which is consistent with the finding in Chapter 4; (2) YF do not consider the use of hedges as deviant while YM, OF, and OM do; (3) the participants of all



four groups agree that women use hedges more often than do men, and that junior high-school, high-school and university students are the leading groups in the use of hedges.

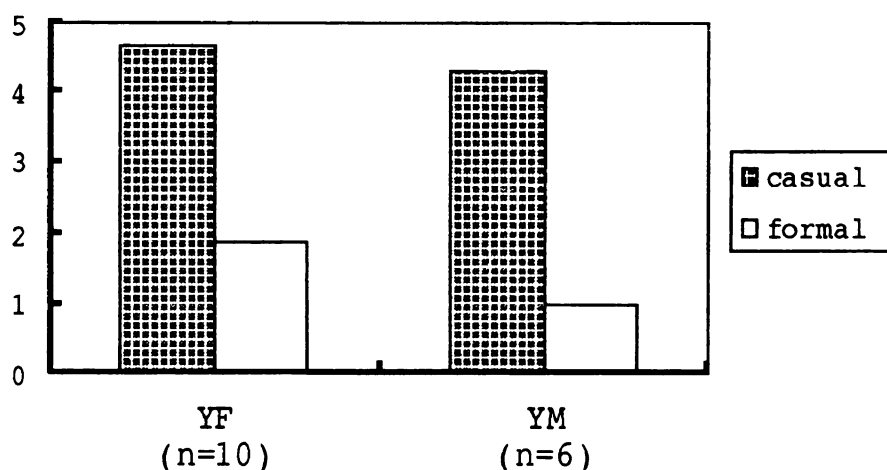
6.2.2. Situations when hedges are used

The present section deals with the answers to the question "On what kind of occasions do you use the underlined type of expressions?". Two styles, casual and formal, and the addressee's age group are compared. Figure 6.6 (next page) summarizes the answers to the question on whether the participant uses hedges on casual and formal occasions. Each bar in the figure displays a mean score. Higher scores indicate a higher frequency in the use of hedges. This question was asked only of the participants who answered that they use hedges in the first question ("Do you use the underlined type of expressions in conversation?"): ten YF, six YM and only one each from OF and OM groups. For this reason, OF and OM are excluded in the figure, and only YF and YM are included.

It is evident that both YF and YM think they differentiate the use of hedges depending on the formality of the conversation situations. There are remarkable differences in the mean scores between casual and formal situations for both sexes (t-tests showed a significant difference between the two styles for YF as well as for YM, $p < 0.0001$ for both groups).



Figure 6.6. Answers to "On what kind of occasions (casual/formal) do you use the underlined type of expressions?" (n=16)

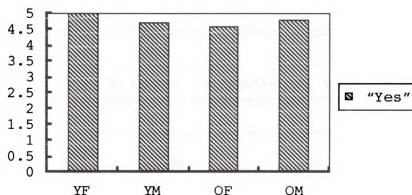


Let us compare Figure 6.6 with Figure 4.1 which was previously shown in section 6.2.1. These two figures, the speakers' perception (Figure 6.6) and actual use of hedges (Figure 4.1), show that they are quite different. According to the participants' self-report, they think that they use hedges more often in casual situations than in formal ones. However, in actuality, YF and YM used them in interviews as often as in chats (Figure 4.1). The difference between the two styles (Figure 4.1) was not statistically significant for either of these two groups according to post-hoc tests (see Appendix 6.5).

There is additional evidence that the participants consider hedges more appropriate for casual conversations. Figure 6.7 summarizes the answers to the question: "What do you think of using this kind of expressions in conversation: should one refrain from using them depending on the occasion?".



Figure 6.7. Answers to "Should one refrain from using the underlined type of expressions depending on the occasion?"



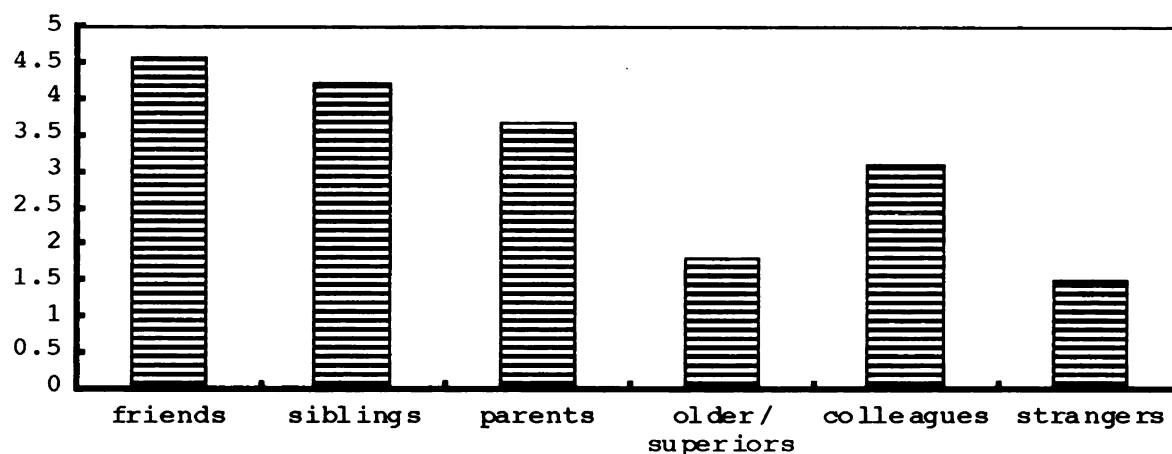
Not only the older groups, but also the younger groups think that they should not use hedges on certain occasions. Figure 6.6 suggests that the participants probably meant formal occasions for not using hedges. There were no significant differences among the four groups (see Appendix 16). It is interesting that all YF participants marked 5 ("strongly agree") for this statement.

Then why is there such a difference between the speakers' perception and the actual use of hedges in conversation? I leave this discussion to the next section. The same discrepancy is also found in Figure 6.8 below. The figure shows YF's preferences of using hedges with different addressees (*friends, siblings, parents, older people/superiors, colleagues and strangers*). This question was asked only of the participants who consider themselves as hedge users (question item (1)). As we can see from the figure, YF claim that they do not use hedges when talking to older people/superiors and strangers, but only when talking to

1000
1000

their friends or siblings. Higher mean scores in the figure indicate that the participants think that they use hedges, whereas lower scores indicate that they do not think so.

Figure 6.8. Answers to "Speaking with whom do you use the underlined type of expressions?" (YF, n=10)



According to PEARSON analysis, it is found that there are strong positive relationships between *friends* and *casual situations* ($r^2 = .802$) and between *siblings* and *parents* ($r^2 = .911$), and that there are strong negative relationships between *siblings* and *formal situations* ($r^2 = -.844$) and between *parents* and *formal situations* ($r^2 = -.830$)¹⁸. The detailed PEARSON results are presented in Appendix 17. These relationships are reasonable because if the conversation involves close persons such as friends, siblings and parents, the style of the conversation is likely to be casual,

¹⁸ The PEARSON analysis evaluated the situation variables (casual and formal), and the addressee variables (friends, siblings, parents, superiors, colleagues and strangers) together.



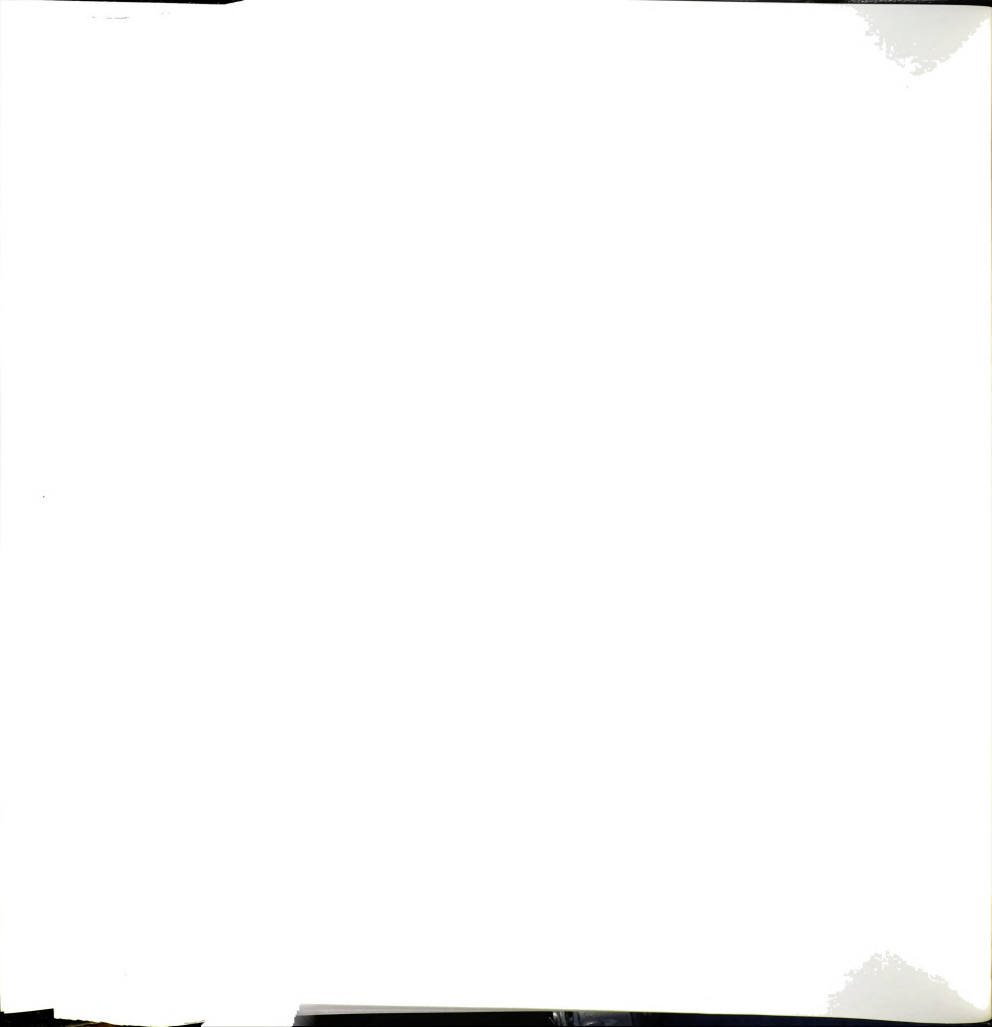
not formal.

With this result, we can group the different types of addressees. Friends, siblings, and parents belong to a group with whom YF use hedges, and they are associated with casual situations. Older people/superiors and strangers belong to a group with whom YF refrain from using hedges, and they are associated with formal situations. However, from the actual data in conversations and interviews this perception of YF does not coincide with their actual behavior.

6.2.3. Reasons to use hedges

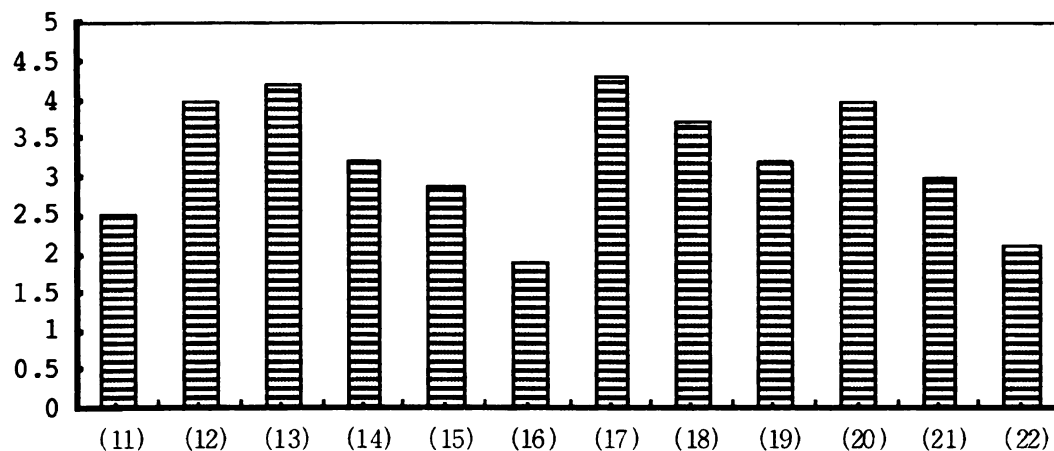
In my preliminary study, the participants were asked regarding the motivation for using hedges, and it was found that most of the participants were not able to explain or analyze why they use hedges. It was therefore decided that in the present study, the participants are given possible reasons for why they use hedges, and asked to mark to what degree they agree with each stated reason (with a number from 1 to 5, i.e., from strongly disagree to strongly agree). Figure 6.9 on the next page summarizes the results.

YF agreed most strongly with (12) *to show solidarity*, (13) *easy to say*, (17) *unconsciously*, and (20) *influenced by people around me*. A strong positive relationship is found between (13) *easy to say* and (17) *unconsciously* ($r^2 = .726$, see Appendix 18 for detailed PEARSON results). This result suggests that hedges are



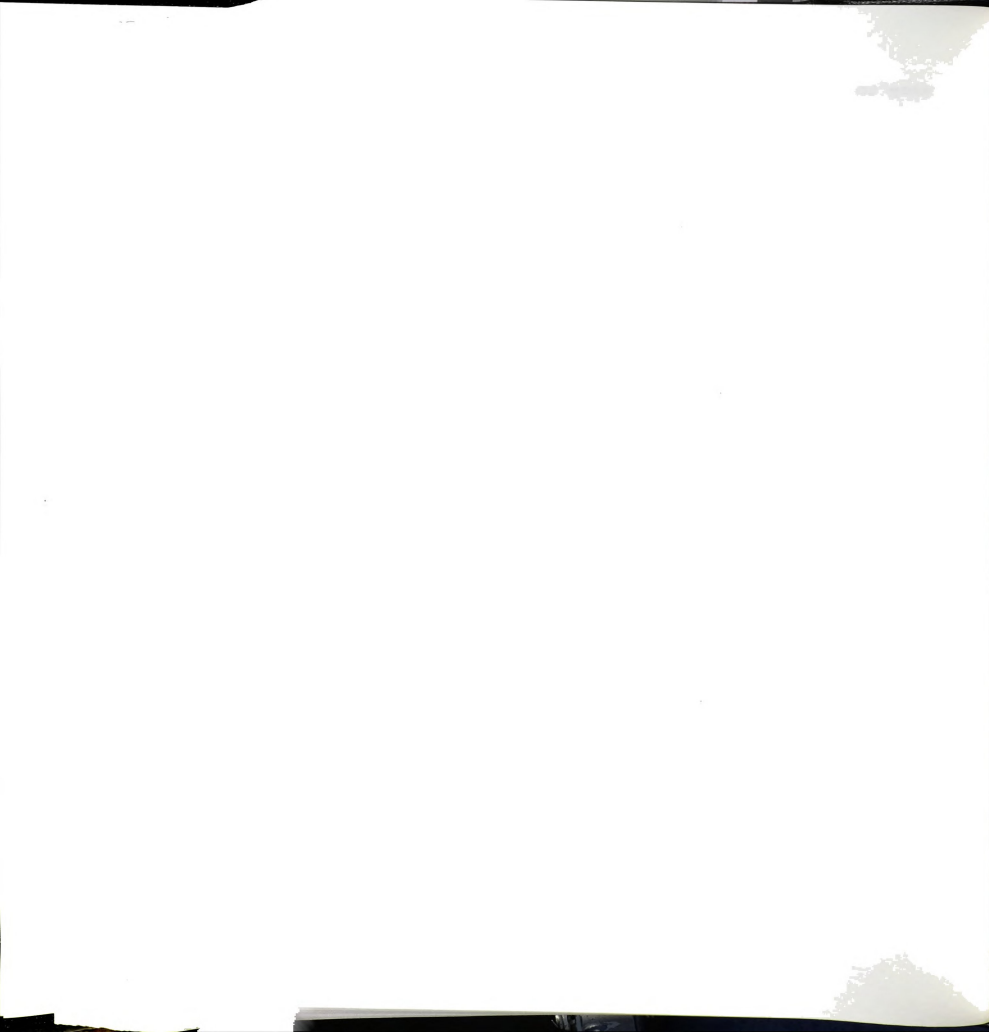
easy to use for YF and while using them often the usage may have become unconscious. It may also be the case that YF are influenced in the use of hedges by people around them who use hedges. In general, it appears that YF have no specific motivation to use hedges.

Figure 6.9. Answers to "Why do you use this type of expressions?" (YF, n =10)



- (11) fashion or trend
- (12) to show solidarity
- (13) easy to say
- (14) for fun
- (15) to be vague
- (16) to evade my responsibility
- (17) unconsciously
- (18) adapting to the other party's language
- (19) to soften the tone
- (20) influenced by people around me
- (21) when talking about unfamiliar topics
- (22) to avoid disagreement

On the other hand, YF disagreed with (16) *to evade my responsibility* and (22) *to avoid disagreement*. It means that YF negate (though not strongly) the use of hedges for self-protection.



It is questionable, however, whether YF are really certain that reasons (16) and (22) are false. It may just be that they did not understand reasons (16) and (22), or that these reasons sounded too deliberate for YF.

According to Figure 6.9, most of YF speakers think that they are influenced by people around them. Also ranked high was reason (18) *adapting to the other party's language*, which suggests another type of "influence" on YF's use of hedges. This issue of "influence" is also supported by the results in Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.10. Answers to "Is there anyone around you who uses this kind of expressions?" (n=40)

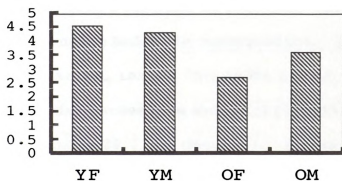


Figure 6.10 shows that YF think that they are surrounded by hedge users the most, and a similar result is obtained for YM. There was a significant effect of age ($F(1,36)=20.98$, $MSE=0.81$, $p = .00016$, see Appendix 19.1 for detailed ANOVA results), suggesting that youngsters have more input of hedge usage in their daily lives as compared to the older groups. They listed classmates, friends at school, and their siblings as people providing such input. According to post-hoc tests, significant



differences were found between the younger groups and the older groups ($p < .01$ for YF-OF, YF-OM and YM-OF; $p < .05$ for YM-OM, see Appendix 19.2 for details). OM showed a high score than did OF ($p < .01$), although it was not as high as that of the younger speakers. The ANOVA result showed that there is an interaction between age and sex ($F(1,36)=4.47$, $MSE=0.81$, $p = .03917$).

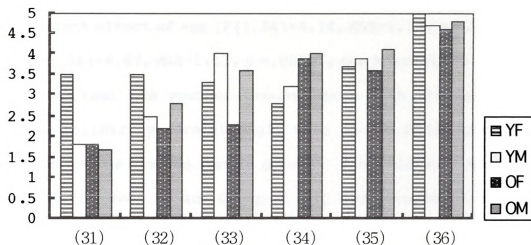
We now turn to the perceptions or views the participants have on the use of hedges. Figure 6.11 (next page) displays bars for each view by the four groups of participants. As previously explained, YF stand out in (31) *usual way of speaking*. They are the only group that did not show disagreement on this item.

YF also stand out in (32) *fun*, which suggests that some of YF enjoy using hedges in conversation. This finding is supported by statistical tests. The ANOVA result showed that there was an interaction between age and sex ($F(1,36)=4.41$, $MSE=1.45$, $p = .04032$, see Appendix 20.1 for details). It was also found that age and sex did not influence the results ($F(1,36)=1.73$, $MSE=1.45$, $p = .19473$ for age, $F(1,36)=0.28$, $MSE=1.45$, $p = .60870$ for sex), indicating that there was no significant difference between the younger and older groups and between female and male groups. Post-hoc tests showed that there were no significant contrasts (Appendix 20.2).

Almost all participants agreed strongly with (36) *one should refrain from using them on some occasions*, which is also discussed in the previous section.

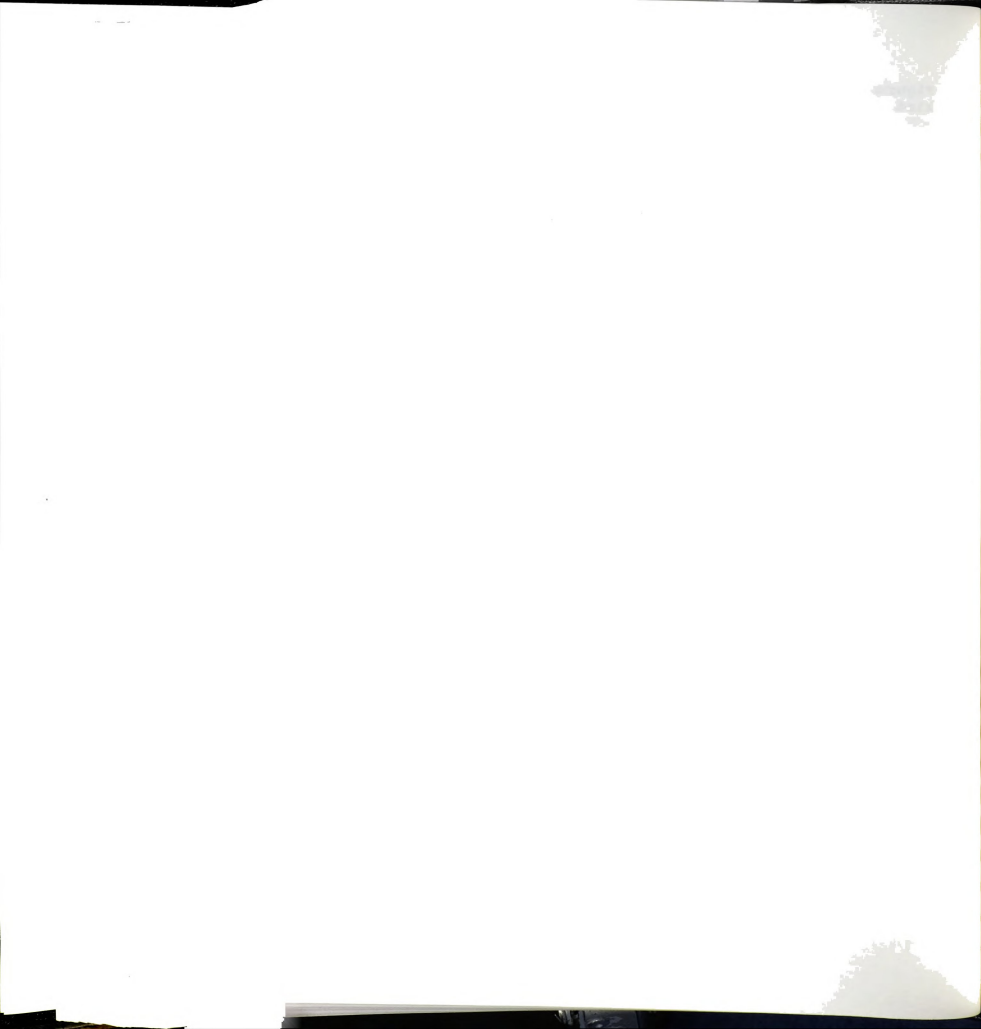


Figure 6.11. Answers to "What do you think of using this kind of expressions in conversation?" (n=40)



- (31) usual way of speaking
- (32) fun
- (33) shows solidarity
- (34) unpleasant/inappropriate
- (35) corrupt
- (36) one should refrain from using them on some occasions

Most of the participants also think that language using hedges sounds *corrupt* (35). The ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference between the two age groups ($F(1,36)=0.25$, $MSE=1.01$, $p=.84915$) nor between the two sex groups ($F(1,36)=1.21$, $MSE=1.01$, $p=.27727$) for (35) *corrupt*. See Appendix 21 for detailed ANOVA results. This perception regarding (35) has a positive relationship with (34) *unpleasant/inappropriate* in the older groups ($r^2=.7992$, see Appendix 22.2 for details). This means that (34) and (35) can be grouped together as negative views that the older group has on the use of hedges. This negative view is very contrastive with YF's view, (32) *fun*.



Another finding is that YM show the highest mean score for (33) *showing solidarity*. The ANOVA showed that there was a significant effect of age ($F(1,36)=4.34$, $MSE=1.13$, $p=.04182$) and sex ($F(1,36)=8.87$, $MSE=1.13$, $p=.00531$, see Appendix 23.1). This indicates that the younger groups agree with the reason (33) *showing solidarity* more strongly than do the older groups, and the male groups than do female groups. A significant difference was found between YM and OF ($p < .01$) and between OF and OM ($p < .05$) in post-hoc test (see Appendix 23.2)

In sum, YF reported that they mostly used hedges unconsciously and that using hedges in conversation was not an unusual way of speaking but fun and easy to say. The way of speaking with hedges is probably influenced by their friends or siblings, considering that YF are aware that they are surrounded by people who use hedges. On the other hand, the older groups showed more negative views on hedges than did the younger groups (e.g. hedges are unpleasant or inappropriate language).

6.2.4. Discussion

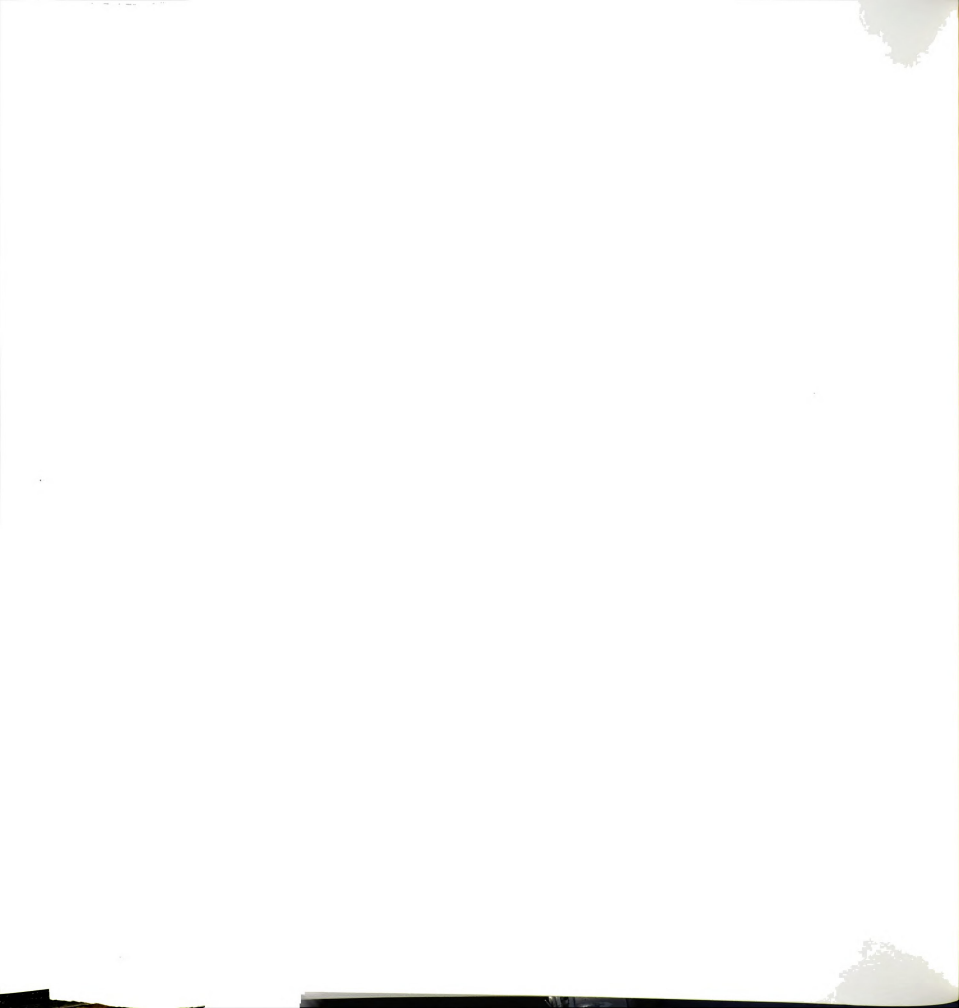
In this section, two questions will be mainly discussed. One is why younger speakers use hedges often, and another is why there is a difference between the speakers' perception and the actual use of hedges in the two different styles. Based on the participants' self-reports, the answer to the former question is perhaps that younger speakers, especially YF, do not have a



negative view on the use of hedges like the older speakers do. Rather, YF think that hedges are nothing out of the ordinary, fun and easy to say. The younger speakers also think that they use hedges to show solidarity among close people. It was found that YF are not conscious of the use of hedges and unaware of the self-protective effect hedges have in some contexts. Instead, they seem to view and use hedges more as an in-group marker, though it is not clear whether they realize this.

Hedges as an in-group marker is also suggested in the younger speakers' opinion that one should refrain from using hedges in formal situations or when talking to older people, superiors, and strangers. Hedges can be used, in their view, when talking to friends and siblings, or people who are inside the group, and in casual situations. This view is shared also with other groups. Additionally, all participants agreed that the hedges shown in the samples are typical expressions that belong to junior high school students, high school students and university students, especially female students. This indicates that the use of some hedges is stereotypically associated with the young generation of students, often with female students.

In the present study, the actual use of hedges in the younger groups did not reflect their views that hedges should not be used in formal situations. There are possible explanations for this discrepancy. As discussed in Chapter 4, one is that for YF the interview with the present investigator may not have been formal



enough to refrain from the use of hedges. The interviewer was a stranger, older, and somebody outside of their in-group. In principle, then, the situation should be regarded as a formal one. However, YF possibly did not look at the situation this way. YF were likely being friendly to the interviewer (30 year old female) by not showing too much formality in their language. There were, however, distinct differences in their speech between the two styles; e.g. formal endings (*desu/masu*-forms) were used sentence-finally in interviews. Nevertheless, regarding the use of hedges, it is possible that YF did not make a lot of effort to avoid hedges because they thought it appropriate. Additionally, as YF claim, the use of some hedges can be unconscious or habitual, and it may be difficult for YF not to use them in their utterances unless the situation requires a great deal of formality.

Another explanation for the discrepancy is found in the types of hedges they use in chats and interviews. The examination in Chapter 4 showed differences only in the frequency of hedges. However, the usage of hedges (*toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather') analyzed in context, as in Chapter 5, varies slightly from context to context and exhibits different functions. For example, *toka* 'or something' as a vague quotation was used more often in chats than in interviews. Also, YF used *teyuuka* 'or rather' to show disagreement mostly in chats. Thus, particular uses of hedges disappeared when the style was more formal. It

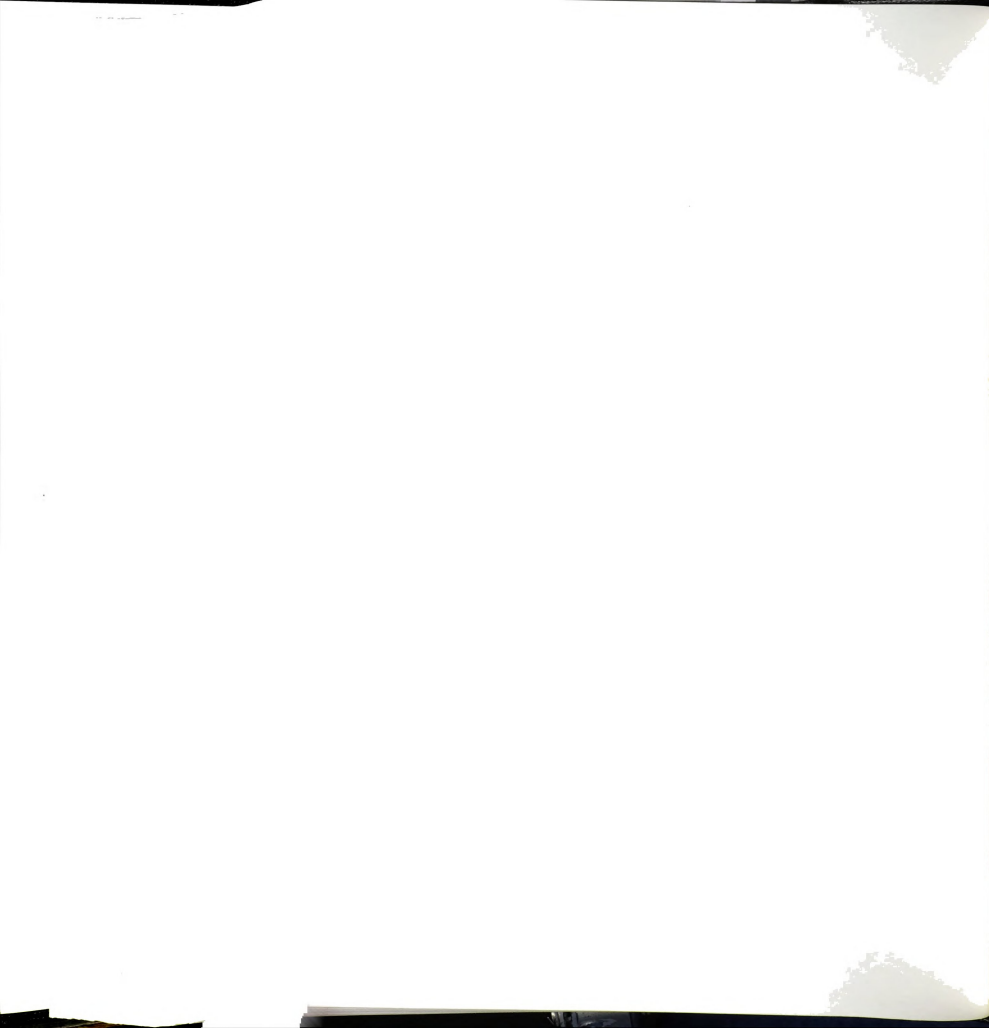


is possible that specifically these uses of hedges are the ones that the participants have in mind when they say that hedges should not be used in formal settings. Such distinctions according to style were observed only for *toka* and *teyuuka*, but a close examination of each hedge in context may reveal more subtle changes. I leave this question for future study.

6.3. Psychological and social background of the use of hedges

In this section, I discuss some of the important issues in the psychology of adolescence, while considering the social backgrounds of the Japanese moderns and results from other studies. Although I am fully aware that such a discussion is largely speculative, there does exist a large academic literature on this topic that might provide some insights into the dynamics of Japanese youth language in general, and the use of hedges by younger speakers in particular (F. Inoue, personal communication).

As I discussed at the end of Chapter 4, some general characteristics of being adolescent might have an influence on linguistic choices. For example, youngsters are in general more free from social norms or responsibilities than older generations, which makes it easier for youngsters to create their own or new communication styles (e.g. Yonekawa 1998). Also, youngsters are less experienced in life, which may lead to uncertainty or



non-assertiveness in their statements on certain topics.

In addition to these points, let us discuss two important features of adolescence: instability and avoidance personality. First, in general the term "adolescence" refers to the period between puberty (11 to 13 years old) and adulthood (after approximately 20 years old) (e.g. Suzuki and Matsuda 1997). During this stage, the adolescent goes through big physical and psychological changes. An adolescent's unstable personality or physical condition is often attributed to this pubertal development and the related psychological and/or physical factors such as difficulties in accepting changes of the body image or dealing with sexual development (e.g. Suzuki and Matsuda 1997; Shimizu 1998). According to Freud 1936/1985 (translated in Sotobayashi 1985), physical (sexual) development causes an unbalanced self and self-protective behaviors.

Because of these developmental characteristics, adolescents are often thought to have an unestablished identity or a lack of self-esteem. Due to their instability or low self-esteem, they are afraid of communicating with others, relatively easily influenced by people around them, and/or sometimes self-protective (Nakanishi 2000). They may be sensitive to trends, and easily follow what others do, though they may not be aware of these facts. It is reasonable to assume that youth language reflects such characteristics. Their fear of rejection, and of being different from others may be related to



the frequent use of hedges. Hedges are a convenient tool for youngsters because they enable them to avoid self-disclosure by being unassertive and non-committal in the communication.

While instability in adolescence may be a universal phenomenon, the issue to follow is related more to contemporary Japanese society and its possible influence on the youth. It has been observed that the contemporary Japanese tend to have an "avoidance personality" (e.g. Harada 1990; Sengoku 1994; Kageyama 1999). According to these authors, avoidance personality characterizes a person who avoids interpersonal contacts, self-disclosure, and/or creating a new relationship because of fear of rejection or due to inferiority complex. Typical of the avoidance personality is that the youngster is afraid of revealing him/herself and of getting hurt. As a consequence, he/she prefers to have only superficial communication with others. Here, hedges can play an important role since they often make vague references, and convey self-protective or non-committal attitudes.

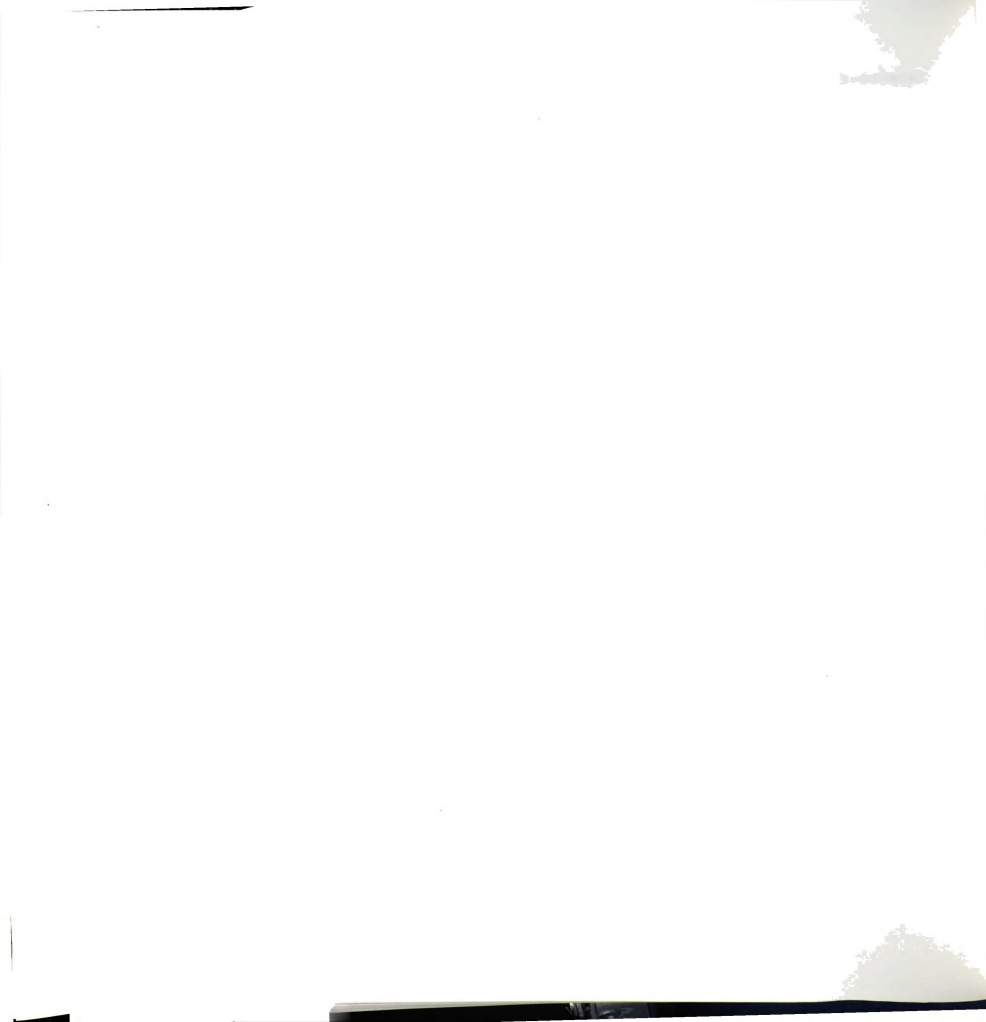
It is difficult to pinpoint one crucial reason why Japanese youngsters tend to develop an avoidance personality. The cause may be found in their social backgrounds. As Kageyama (1999) claims, many youngsters are growing up without having many direct experiences and personal interactions in their social or family lives nowadays. Direct experiences include, according to Kageyama, senses of achievement and failure, and intimate



face-to-face interactions between close people such as fighting, arguing or reconciling. He claims that the lack of these experiences is influential in creating indifference among adolescents and eventually leads to an increase in serious crimes, as have been committed by Japanese adolescents in recent years.

There are several possible social causes for this tendency. Often mentioned is that small-sized or "nuclear" families are more common nowadays than ever before, with the youngster being an only child. Also, youngsters are often under a lot of stress or feel a heavy burden in preparing for entrance exams to schools. These social backgrounds may have deprived the youth of opportunities to experience various types of personal relationships and to fully develop social skills.

The Japanese society has changed in many respects along with its economical growth in the 1980's to the 1990's. According to national surveys conducted by NHK (*Nihon Hoosoo Kyoku* [Japanese Broadcasting Bureau]) in 1973, 1978, 1983, and 1988 (introduced in the NHK Research Center 1993), the preference of the Japanese regarding social life has gradually shifted from "close/personal relationship with neighbors, relatives, and people at work" in 1973 to "superficial relationship" in 1988 ($n = 3,853$, age over 16). Considering that the contemporary youngsters were born in the early 1980's, their personality may be reflecting these characteristics of Japanese society.



It is also worth mentioning that recently people are living in a high-tech, information-oriented society, and influenced by the Japanese mass media (Sekiguchi 1999). Today, it is very common for university students and high-school students (even junior-high school students) to use various computer-mediated communication channels such as *keetai* (cellular phone), PHS (Personal Handy-phone System), e-mail, and web-chat. Kageyama (1999) claims that these types of communication tools replace direct contact between people and they even help the youngsters to create a personal barrier in interpersonal interaction and to have superficial relationships.

I agree with Chiba *et al.*'s (1999) claim that the Japanese media such as TV, radio, comic books and magazines have a strong impact on youth language. Suzuki and Matsuda (1997: 157-158) also claim that these media influence the youngsters' way of thinking. Youngsters are daily exposed to the communication styles provided by those media. According to an NHK survey in 1996 (cited in Suzuki and Matsuda 1997: 158), students spend more than half of their free time using these media. These media can quickly display the latest trends in language use and emphasize the trends in order to receive a lot of attention from the audience. For example, some entertainment TV programs often use Japanese subtitles even for utterances in Japanese (a technique called *teroppu* in Japanese), and highlight the interesting phrases or pieces of information in bold. They also use many newly-created shortened

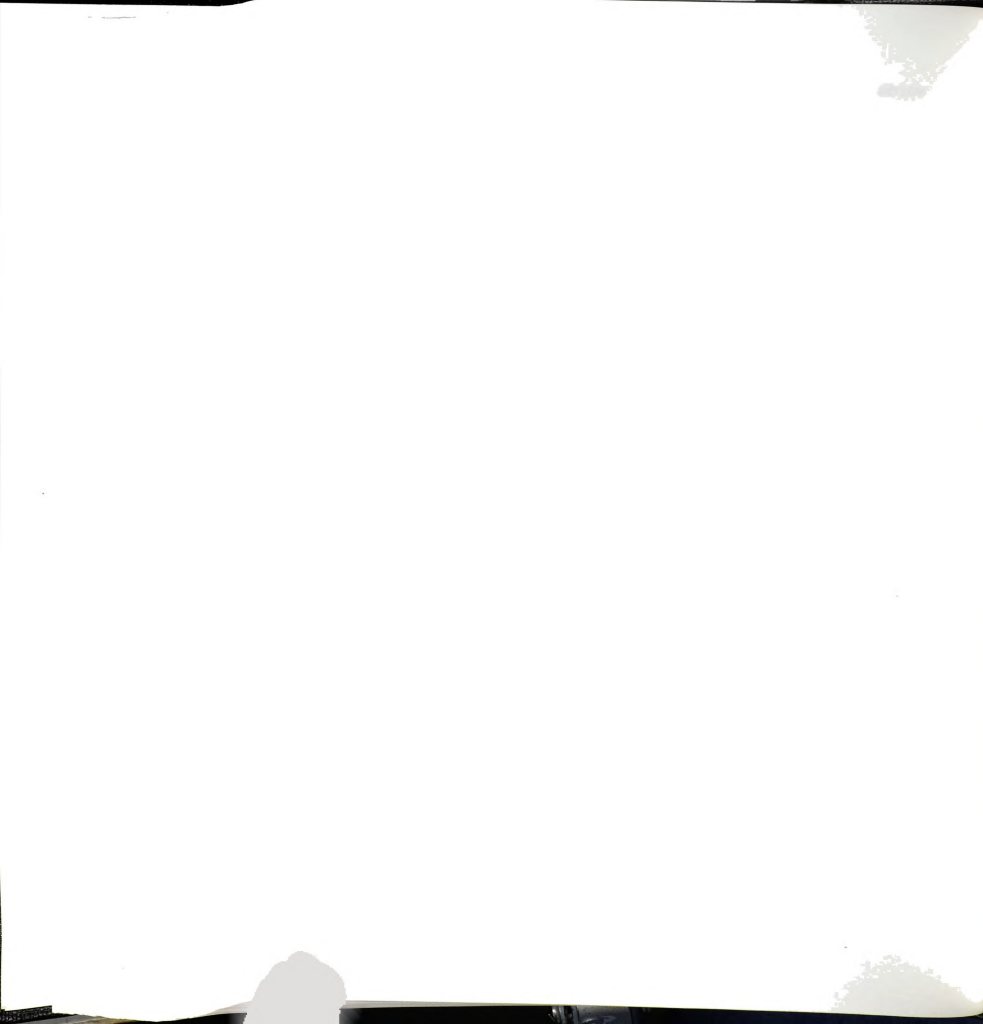


words (e.g., *bura-pi* for 'Brad Pitt' and *mini-suka* for 'mini (short) skirt'). Through these media, the expressions of youth language can spread equally and quickly all over the country, and so their usage is adopted easily among youngsters¹⁹.

Lastly, why do female youngsters use hedges more often than male youngsters? Nowadays, it has been observed that the speech by younger female speakers is neutralized, or no longer characteristically "feminine" sounding (e.g. Okamoto 1995; Philips 1997). However, in the present study, the data still support Lakoff's hypothesis that women tend to use softening expressions such as hedges more often than do men. This suggests that less feminine language is used among female youngsters with respect to sentence-final forms and some pronouns (e.g. masculine words *boku* or *ore* for 'I'), but not yet with respect to expressing uncertainty, mitigating expressions, and/or showing a non-committal attitude.

I speculate that this fact has something to do with the stereotypical gender roles in Japanese society, or the image with

¹⁹ There are Japanese contemporary dictionaries and annual encyclopedias which include a section of "youth language" (e.g. *Gendai yoogo no kiso chishiki* [Basic knowledge of current terms] and *Imidas*). A list and explanations of "youth language" and "college women's language" are also available on web sites (e.g. Web Imidas [Online]: <http://imidas.shueisha.co.jp/koukoku/03.html>; "college women's language": <http://www.osaka-gaidai.ac.jp/%7Ekoyano/joshidai93.htm>).



which women are associated at home, school and the work place. In Japan there still are a strong stereotypical image of women as being subservient and dependent, and some social expectations that they appear or behave "feminine" and beautiful (T. Inoue 1999).

According to a survey conducted in 1992 by the Bureau of Citizens and Cultural Affairs of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 46 percent of the Japanese informants ($n = 3,524$) agree that girls should be raised to be feminine and boys to be masculine. Western countries, on the other hand, show much lower percentages (e.g. 28 % for the U.S., 16 % for England, 6 % for Sweden, $n \approx 1000$). Although there may be slight differences in the definition of the words "feminine" and "masculine" across cultures, this survey illustrates that close to a half of the Japanese population still have different expectations for male and female children and adolescents. I speculate that this type of general social attitude and expectations concerning women and how to raise and treat girls promotes Japanese female adolescents to be non-assertive or soft-spoken.

In general, it is true that the Japanese value harmony in relationships (e.g. Kindaichi 1957; Lebra 1976; Mushakoji 1976; Nakanishi 2000). As a consequence, they prefer implicit communication styles. A public opinion poll conducted by the Agency of Cultural Affairs in Japan in 1999 shows that 74 percent



of the informants (all generations, $n = 2,196$) prefer an implicit communication style (sensing what others want to say based on the context) over an explicit communication style (stating clearly what you want or mean). Therefore, vague speech style is not a privilege of only youngsters. Older people also prefer to use various types of vague expressions.

However, some of the hedging expressions frequently used by the Japanese youngsters do catch people's attention, and often negatively, and the language of youngsters is often criticized as being vague (Chiba et al. 1999). According to the same survey by the Agency of Cultural Affairs in 1999, 85.9 percent of the informants think that the Japanese language now is "corrupt". When the informants were given several reasons from which to choose (up to three reasons) in a subsequent question, 62.5 percent of the informants chose "youth language" as a reason of the corruption. This finding is similar to that with the questionnaire in the present study in which the participants were asked whether hedges sound corrupt. Furthermore in the survey, 42.4 percent of the informants say that they sometimes do not understand the new or trendy words, and 23.5 percent say that they do not understand what people from a different generation say. Considering that some of the hedges investigated in the present study represent the contemporary youth language and that the older speakers had a negative perception of hedges, they can form an obstacle in the communication and understanding among different generations.



6.4. Summary

Through the questionnaire results in the present study, it was found that there were differences between the participants' perception and the actual use of hedges, as well as differences in the opinions between the two age groups. Some of the hedging expressions used by youngsters are characterized as unpleasant and disapproved by the older groups. Although most of the younger female students in the present study were aware that they should consider the context when using hedges, in actuality, conscious control may not be as easy as it seems.

Above I discussed possible psychological and social reasons why Japanese youngsters use some types of hedges often. In their developmental stage (psychological and physical) as adolescents, they do not yet have an established identity, which causes instability and uneasiness in human relationships. Additionally, their avoidance personality may prevent them from disclosing themselves in communication, which leads to superficial relationships. These characteristics of the contemporary adolescents may have been created or enhanced by some features of contemporary Japanese society such as the nuclear family, the pervasive mass media, the new communication channels, and the stereotypical gender image.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The present chapter summarizes the findings concerning the use of Japanese hedges by younger and older speakers. The focus of the present study is largely threefold. First, the frequency of the use of Japanese hedges was quantitatively examined in relation to the three social variables (age, sex and style). Second, the use of *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' were qualitatively investigated in context to understand their main functions and differences among the younger and older speakers. Last, the speakers' metalinguistic knowledge about the use of hedges was discussed by examining the results of a questionnaire.

The purpose of the study was to investigate the use of hedges by the younger (high-school students, $n=20$) and older speakers (speakers in their 50's and 60's, $n=20$) in Japanese spoken discourse. By comparing the use of Japanese hedges between two different age groups and sex groups in two different speech situations, I hoped to understand who speaks vaguely using hedges, and when and why hedges are used. It was also hoped that the present study would help us understand one of the on-going linguistic changes and the system of politeness in Japanese conversation.



7.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the use of hedges

In the present study, hedges are defined as expressions of uncertainty, possibility, tentativeness, and approximation, which convey a sense of vagueness. For the quantitative analysis, I chose 21 Japanese hedges, which semantically express vagueness. They are for example phrase-/clause-final expressions such as *toka* 'or something', *omou* 'I think', *kana* 'I wonder', adverbs such as *nanka* 'like', *toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now; tentatively', *kekko* 'quite; a bit', and a connective *teyuuka* 'or rather'.

Depending on the context, some hedges function as information-oriented hedges, and some hedges function as affection-oriented hedges. The main motivations for using hedges are informational (speaker's knowledge), positive politeness (showing solidarity), negative politeness (being indirect or avoid sounding too confident), self-protection or non-committal attitude, and/or textual or sequential coordination and cohesion. In a social context, hedges play an important role in expressing the degree of the speaker's commitment and in smoothing and facilitating the interaction.

I posited three hypotheses regarding the influence of the social variables age, sex and style on the use of hedges. I repeat the results in the following.



1. Hedges are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers. -> Supported
2. Hedges are used more often by female speakers than by male speakers. -> Supported
3. Hedges are used more often in casual speech than in formal speech. -> Not supported (Reversed)

Overall, hedges were employed more often by the younger speakers than the older speakers, especially by younger female speakers (Chapter 4). Out of 21 hedges which were investigated in this study, 12 hedges showed a significant main effect of age (ANOVA). It is noteworthy that in addition to some phrase-/clause-final hedges, the younger speakers made frequent use of several adverbial hedges: e.g. *tabun* 'probably', *toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now; tentatively'.

The two most frequently used hedges were *toka* 'or something' and *nanka* 'like'. They appeared most frequently in the younger female speakers' speech (51.59 % of all hedges), as compared to the younger male speakers (38.60 %), the older female speakers (24.62 %), and the older male speakers (17.84 %). The statistical analysis showed highly significant main effects of age and sex for both hedges.

Overall, among the four groups, the younger female speakers employed hedges the most in both chats and interviews: there was a significant interaction between age and sex (ANOVA). The younger male group, in contrast, did not use hedges as often as the younger female group, and showed a similar pattern as the older

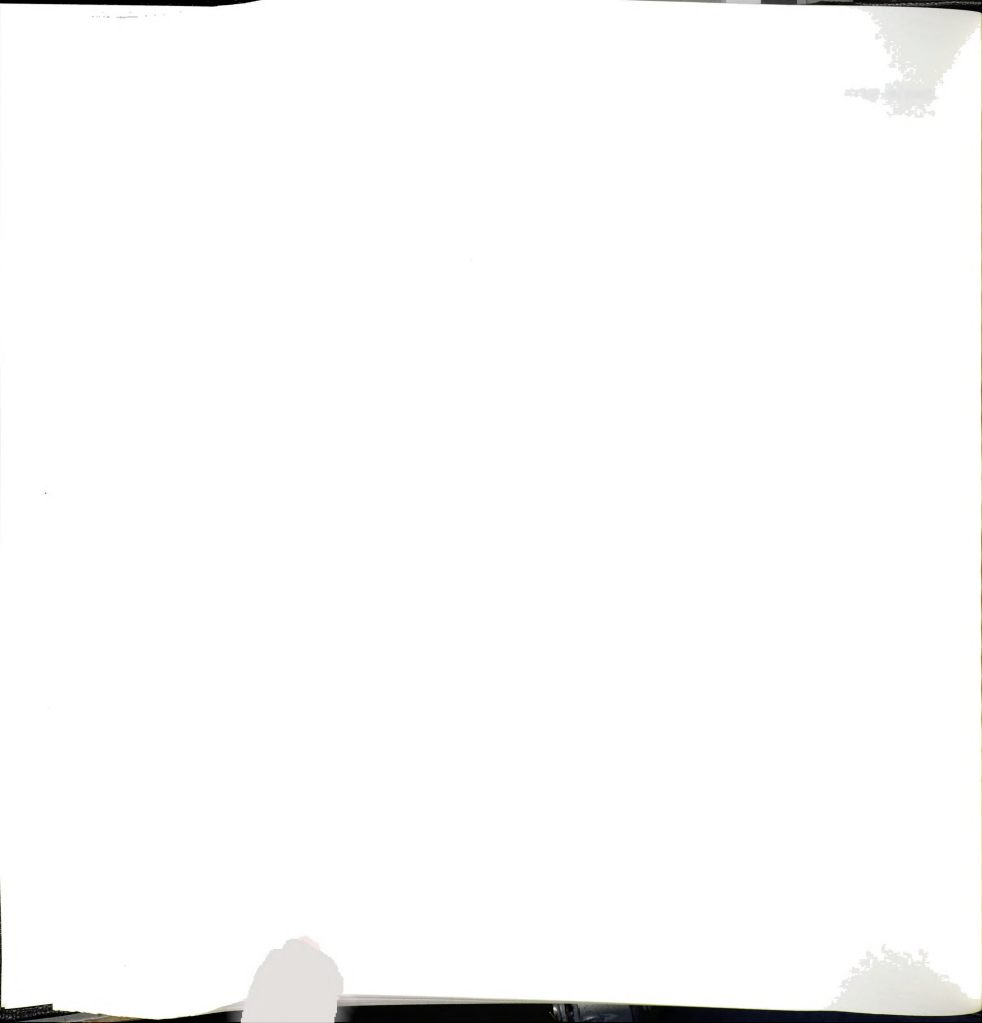


female group in the chats.

Hypothesis 3 was not supported in the present study. The overall result showed that hedges were used more often in interviews than in chats. However, post-hoc comparisons showed that no significant differences in the frequency of hedges were found between the two situations for all four groups.

Considering that this hypothesis was not supported in my preliminary study either, the general observation in the previous literature that hedges or vague expressions appear more often in a casual context than in a formal context (e.g., Lehrer 1975; Channell 1994) did not hold in this study. One of the possible reasons may be that the use of information-oriented hedges was facilitated in interviews. In interviews the participants mainly took an information-provider role in the questions-and-answers interaction, therefore emphasis was put on information exchange. During interviews the speakers frequently used hedges for listing items, approximations, and evidential expressions, e.g. *tari/tari suru* 'do ... and such', *gurai*, *goro*, and *atarī* 'about; around', *omou* 'I think', and *kana* 'I wonder'.

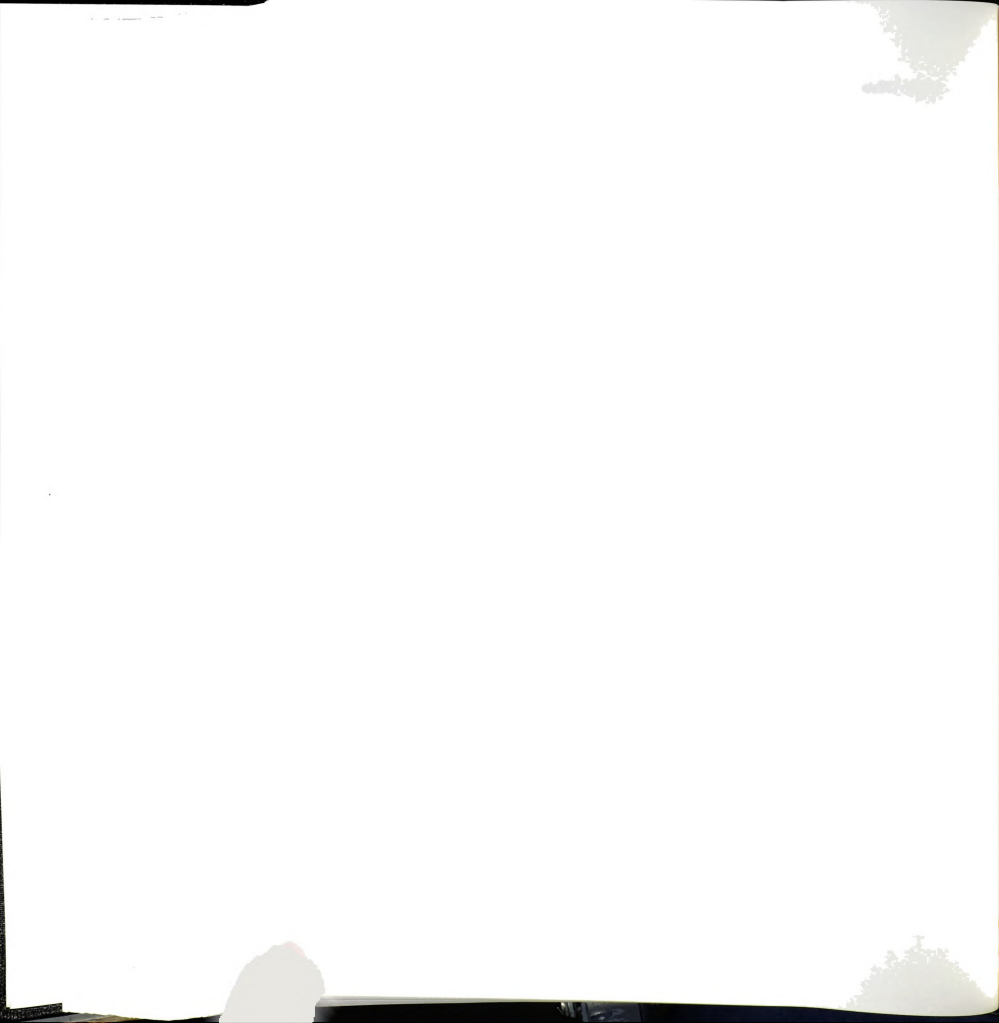
On the other hand, in casual situations, more emphasis is put on emotional exchange in general (Lehrer 1975). By qualitatively examining the use of *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' in context (Chapter 5), it was found that more affection-oriented hedges were used in chats than in interview in the younger speakers' speech.



The younger speakers used *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' slightly differently when they were chatting among themselves (Chapter 5). For example, they used *toka* for vague quotation more often in chats than in interviews. The younger speakers used *toka* to quote another's utterance (other-quotation) or their own utterance (self-quotation), sometimes successively coordinating the text. With *toka* for vague quotation, they expressed playfulness, awkwardness and youthfulness, or they avoided being too serious in the social interaction. The frequent use of hedges, especially vague quotation, is probably one way to show solidarity for the younger speakers.

Generally, *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' are multifunctional and their primary functions vary depending on the context. A major characteristic of these hedges is that they make vague references, and that they are both used to provide alternatives; *toka* as an inexhaustive coordinator and *teyuuka* as a repair marker. *Toka* and *teyuuka* imply that there are other possibilities, and by not mentioning the possibilities, they can leave the utterance vague or unassertive. This way, the speaker shows his/her non-committal or self-protective attitude to the addressee.

Chapter 5 introduced the functions of *toka* 'or something': uncertainty marker, approximation, soft highlighter, and vague quotation. I also classified six major functions of *teyuuka* 'or rather': correction, rephrasing, specifying, blurring, subtopic

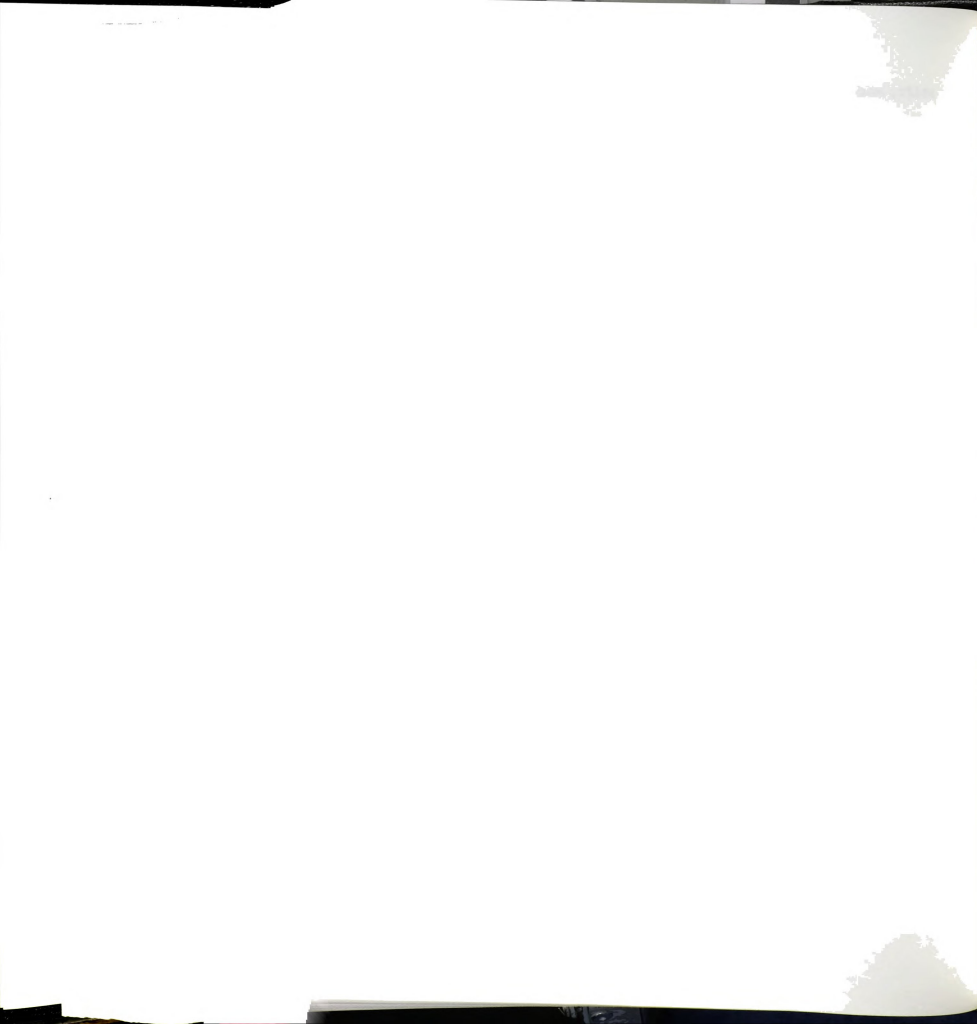


shift, and supplementary explanation. *Teyuuka* was often used for repair (self-repair and other-repair). What makes *teyuuka* different from other repair expressions is that it does not completely reject the repaired segment, and so the repair is made in an unassertive or mitigated tone of voice. It was found in the present study that the younger speakers used *teyuuka* both for self-repair and other-repair, while the older speakers mainly used it for self-repair.

By examining *toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather' in context, interesting differences in the usage and linguistic environment appeared depending on the speaker's age, sex and style of the conversation. Future study should expand this type of investigation to other hedges than these two.

7.3. Behind the use of hedges

In Chapter 6, the participants' perception about the use of hedges and the psychological and social background of the contemporary Japanese adolescents were discussed. Answers to the question "Do you use the expressions [hedges]?" turned out to correspond to the result of the actual use of hedges analyzed in Chapter 4. An interesting finding is that the younger female speakers have different attitudes or opinions toward the use of hedges than do other groups. For example, they consider the use of hedges a usual way of talking, which was not the case with other groups. They also think that the use of hedges is fun, while the

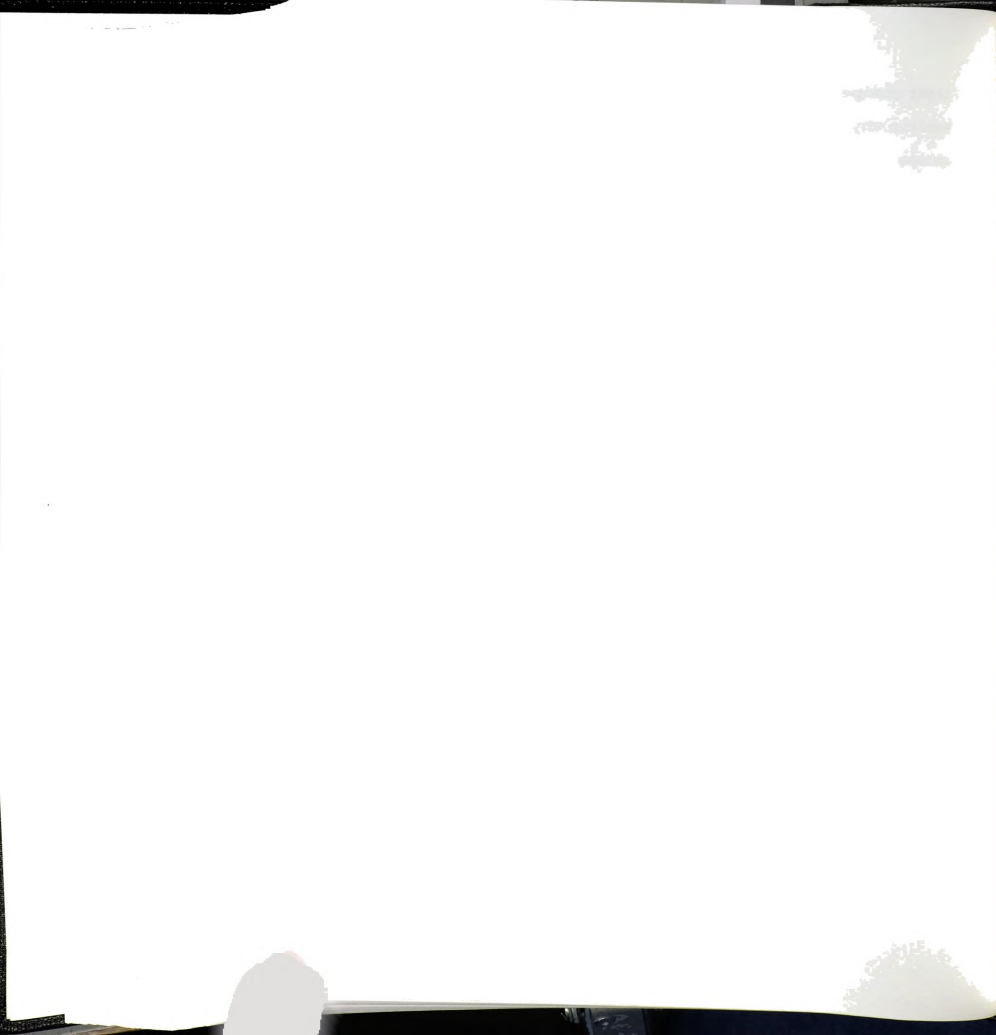


older groups think it is corrupt or unpleasant. This may partially explain why the younger speakers used hedges more often than other groups.

The choice of words reflects the communication style that the speaker wants to express in an interaction. Contemporary youngsters often exhibit an unstable or avoidance personality (Suzuki and Matsuda 1997; Shimizu 1998; Kageyama 1999). Due to the avoidance personality, the youngsters tend to be afraid of communicating directly with others, and of disclosing themselves.

Some of these features are caused by the (psychological and physical) developmental stage that adolescents are going through. According to Kageyama (1999), there are also some features in society which make youngsters vulnerable, too sensitive and protective. He explains that possible social causes for this tendency may be, for example, the increase of small-sized families and a heavy burden in preparing for entrance exams. It is also worth mentioning that people are living in a high-tech, information-oriented society, which may have promoted youngsters to have indirect communication styles and superficial relationships.

The participants, the older participants in particular, found some of the hedges corrupt or unpleasant. As I briefly discussed in Chapter 2, it is often the case that when a language goes through a change, new forms or expressions are not welcomed in the beginning. Yet, despite such criticism, some of the new



forms remain in use and spread among Japanese speakers. The hedges investigated in the present study may be no exception. If adolescents' speech plays a leading role in the progress of language change, as Labov claims (1994), the use of hedges by youngsters will influence other generations of Japanese.

7.4. Suggestions for future study

The present study has some limitations. I will point out the major limitations in the following before closing my dissertation.

In the present study, the focus was put mainly on the quantitative examination of the use of representative hedges in Japanese (Chapter 4), and only two hedges (*toka* 'or something' and *teyuuka* 'or rather') were qualitatively examined in context (Chapter 5). Although the investigation of the two hedges have already revealed interesting differences in their usage in relation to social variables, the differences should be generalized by looking closely at other hedges as well.

Second, the sample of participants was relatively small. Ideally, more data are necessary to make the findings stronger. Especially, it will be interesting for future study to examine hedge usage by other generations, between the younger and the older groups in the present study, to understand whether the age effect is discrete or continuous.



The present study dealt only with single-sex dyads. It would be interesting to know whether participants adjust or change their language when they talk to the opposite sex. Also, collecting data from other styles (e.g., narratives and phone conversation) than chats and interviews may reveal different characteristics of hedges. Since the use of hedges is also related to cognitive factors, we may be able to analyze more in depth when hedges appear by manipulating the informational demands e.g. requiring the participants to talk about difficult or unfamiliar topics.

One should also take into consideration that the interviewer's age and sex may influence the language of the interviewees. In the present study, the use of hedges by the younger female group was the most frequent of the four groups. However, if the interviewer was older and male, their language might have been more formal than it was with the interviewer in the present study.

Lastly, to investigate the universality of this issue, a future study should also include cross-cultural comparisons on the use of hedges. It would be interesting to see what kind of hedges are used in other languages by younger speakers and older speakers.

Despite these limitations, I hope that the present study was convincing in verifying earlier general observations about the use of hedges by Japanese younger speakers as compared to older

speakers, in showing influences of the speaker's sex and the speech genre on the use of hedges, and in presenting likely explanations for when and why speakers use hedges in conversation.



APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Transcription methods and conventions

1. Japanese transliteration is given in the Hepburn style romanization.
2. Data, tables, and figures are numbered for each chapter.
3. Participants are referred to by the initial of their first name in Chapter 5.
4. Paralinguistic and other interactional symbols are as follows:

/	recognized pause
.	falling intonation with noticeable pause
,	continuing ('list') intonation, with a slight rise or fall, followed by a short pause
:	colon following a vowel indicates elongation
...	omission
=	linked or continuing utterances without overlap
	speech overlap
()	the hearer's backchannelling
(HHH)	indicates various types of laughs
↗	rising intonation

5. Following abbreviations are used:

BE:	the copula, be
DO:	direct object particle
GP:	genitive particle
IP:	interaction particle
IO:	indirect object
NM:	nominalizer
PASS:	passive morpheme
Q:	question particle
QT:	Quotative particle
SP:	subject particle
TAG:	tag question morpheme
TP:	topic particle

Appendix 2.1

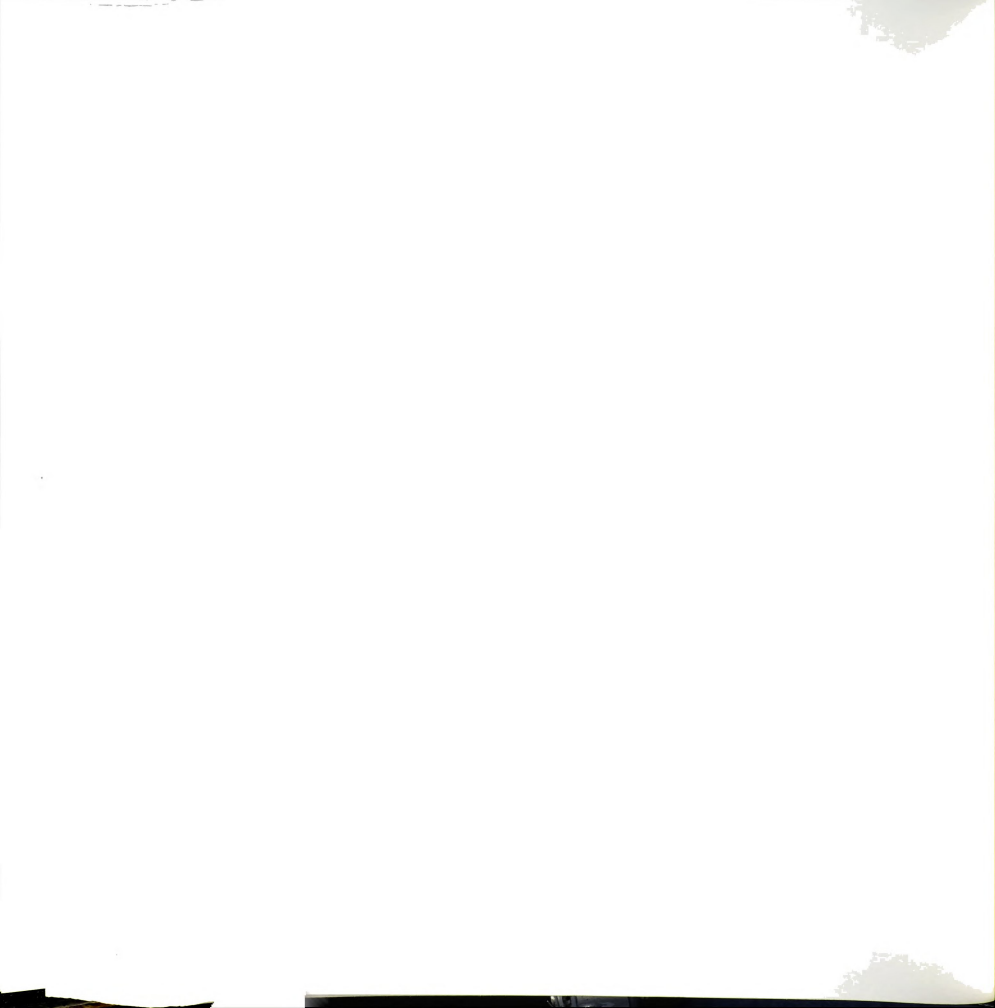
Examples of hedges used in the preliminary study

The participants are asked to read the following immediately before the interview (Appendix 2.3 presents the questions asked

in the interview). The participants are allowed to look at the sheet during the interview. These are constructed sentences by the present investigator. The interview questions are about some hedges which are often found in speech by Japanese youngsters. These examples are provided so as to help the participants to have a better idea about the topic. The same form is given in Japanese orthography in Appendix 2.2.

Examples (Hedges are underlined.)

- (1) **toka** 'or something'
e.g. I can't get up early in the morning or something.
- (2) **nanka** 'like'
e.g. I traveled various places and like I changed.
- (3) **mitaina** 'is like'
e.g. If it were pilaf, I can cook it,
and something like that.
- (4) **teyuuka** 'or rather; or I should say'
e.g. That person is odd, or what should I say.
e.g. Or rather, he is shy, isn't he?
- (5) **kanji** 'feel like; is like'
e.g. It's like I come home about ten everyday.
- (6) **(da)shi** 'and what's more; and suchlike'
e.g. She is always doing part-time work, and so.
- (7) **-kei** ' -type; -like'
e.g. The guy is a salary man-type of person
- (8) **-teki** '-ish; -esque'
e.g. In my-ish case, I don't feel like taking
the trouble to go.
- (9) **ja nai desu ka** 'Isn't it?'
(about the speaker him/herself)
e.g. I like coffee, right?.



Appendix 2.2 Examples of hedges in Japanese writing used in the preliminary study

- (1) とか
例：朝とかは早く起きれないんです。
- (2) なんか
例：いろいろ旅行してなんか自分が変わりました。
- (3) みたいな
例：ピラフなら私にも作れそうみたいな。
- (4) っていうか
例1：あの人はかわってるっていうか。
例2：ていうか、恥ずかしがりやなんだよね。
- (5) かんじ
例：毎日10時頃帰るってかんじです。
- (6) (だ) し
例：彼女はいつもバイトだし。
- (7) . . . 系
例：相手はサラリーマン系の人。
- (8) . . . 的
例：私的にはわざわざ行く気がしないんだ。
- (9) . . . じゃないですか。(自分のことに関して)
例：私ってコーヒーが好きじゃないですか。
-

Appendix 2.3. Sample questions used during the interview in the preliminary study (for the interviewer's use only)

1. *Futsuu nakanoii tomodachi to no kaiwa de wa donna koto o hanashimasu ka.*

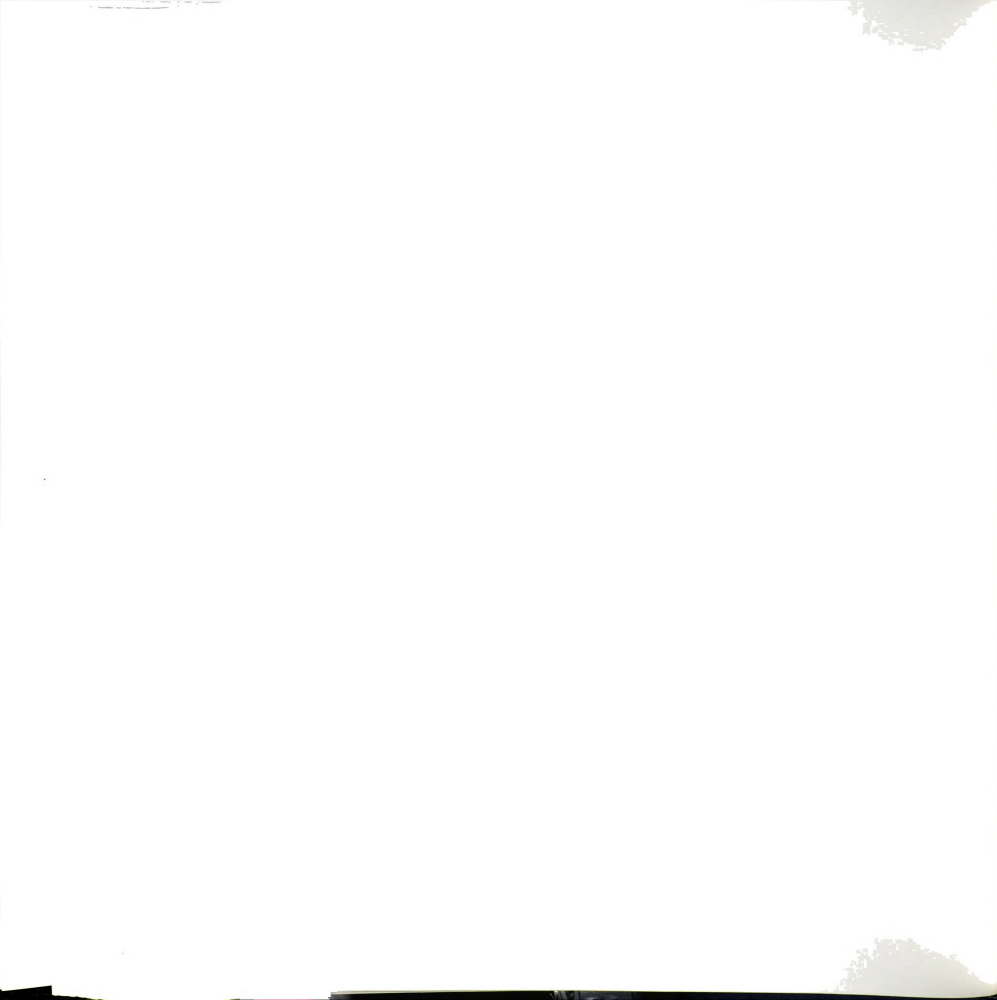
'What type of things do you usually talk about with your close friends?' (a warm-up question)

2. *Tomodachi to hanasu toki to konoyooni intabyuu de hanasu toki to de wa hasashi-kata ga kwarimasu ka.*
Donoyooni kwarimasu ka.

'Do you talk differently with your friends and with a stranger during an interview like this? If yes, how?'

3. *Kaiwa de kooyuu hyoogen o tsukaimasu ka.*

'Do you use this kind of expressions in conversation?
(The participant is allowed to look at the examples of hedges.)



4. (If yes in 4) *Dare to hanashiteiru toki tsukaimasu ka.*
 'With whom do you use them in conversation?'
- Dare to wa tsukawanai yooni shiteimasu ka.*
 'With whom do you avoid using them?'
- Hanasu toki igai, tatoeba kaku toki ni mo tsukaimasu ka.*
 'Do you also use them on other occasions such as in writing?'
- Aratamatta ba de mo tsukaimasu ka.*
 'Do you use them in formal situations?'
- Dooshite koyuu hyoogen o kaiwa de tsukaimasu ka.*
 'Why do you use them in conversation?'
5. *Ippantekini dooyuu hito ga yoku konoyoona hyoogen o tsukau to omoimasu ka.*
 'Who do you think use this type of expressions often in general?'
6. *Sono hito-tachi wa dare to hanashiteiru toki ni tsukatteiru yoo desu ka. Aratamatta ba de mo tsukatteiru yoo desu ka.*
 'With whom does it seem that they (in question 6) use them?
 Do you think they use them on formal occasions also?'
7. *Dansee to josee de wa koyuu hyoogen de sa ga aru to omoimasu ka.*
 'Do you think there are differences in using these expressions between men and women?'
8. *Kooyuu hyoogen de sedai no sa ga aru to omoimasu ka.*
 'Do you think there are differences in their use between generations?'
9. *Kaiwa de kooyuu hyoogen o tsukau koto o kojintekini doo omoimasu ka.*
 'What do you personally think of using these expressions in conversation?'
10. *Kooyuu hyoogen o tsukau koto o ue no sedai wa doo omotteru to omoimasu ka.*
 'What would older generations think about younger people using these expressions?' (only to younger participants)



11. *Kooyuu kotoba wa donoyoona imi matawa yakuwari o motteiru to omoimasu ka.*

'What kind of meanings or functions do you think these words have?'

(I then ask the participant what is the role of each hedging expression in the examples.)

Appendix 2.4. List of Japanese participants in the preliminary study (for chats and interviews)

Group I (younger speakers)					
	I.D.	Age	Sex	Occupation (grade)	Hometown
1	RA	19	Female	University student* (1)	Gunma
2	NO	19	Female	University student* (1)	Gunma
3	YS	22	Female	University student* (3)	Saitama
4	SI	21	Female	University student* (3)	Tokyo
5	SG	19	Female	University student* (1)	Tokyo
6	NA	18	Female	University student* (1)	Gunma
7	EI	18	Female	High school student** (3)	Tokyo
8	YK	18	Female	High school student** (3)	Tokyo
9	AS	18	Female	High school student** (3)	Tokyo
10	TI	18	Female	High school student** (3)	Tokyo

* Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

** Tokyo Komatsugawa High school

Group II (older speakers)					
	I.D.	Age	Sex	Occupation (grade)	Hometown
11	TS	59	Female	Cook	Tokyo
12	HK	70	Female	Housewife	Tokyo
13	KH	61	Female	Housewife	Kobe/Chiba
14	MU	58	Female	Housewife	Tokyo
15	YE	58	Female	Housewife	Chiba
16	FW	51	Female	Housewife	Tokyo
17	KS	55	Female	Housewife	Tokyo
18	HS	52	Female	Housewife	Tokyo
19	TS	67	Female	Housewife	Tokyo
20	SK	59	Female	Housewife	Tokyo

Appendix 3

Sample questions used during the interview in the present study (for the interviewer's use only)

Topic: "How to spend one's free time"

1. (warm-up questions about the weather, seasonal/current topics, etc.)

2. *Yoka wa taitee donoyooni sugoshimasu ka?*

"How do you usually spend your free time?"

3. *Genzai no yoka no jikan wa juubun desuka? soreto motto atta hoo ga ii desu ka?*

"Have you got enough free time? Or would you like more?"

4. *Donoyoona yoka no sugoshikata ga risooteki desu ka?*

"What would be an ideal way to spend your free time?"

5. *Yoka o joozuni sugosu ue de mottomo taisetsuna jooken wa tsugi no uchi dore desu ka? jikan, okane, yuujin, tairyoku, shumi*

"What is the most important condition for spending your free time?"

(The interviewer shows a card on which the following words are written.) [time, money, friends, physical strength, hobby]

6. *Sore wa dooshite desu ka?*

"Why?"

7. *Ippantekini Nihonjin wa yoka no sugoshikata ga heta de, hatarakisugiru matawa chuu/kookoosei wa benkyoo bakari shiteiru to iwaremasu ga, kono koto nitsuite doo omoimasu ka?*

"It has been said in general that Japanese are not good at using their free time and that they work too much or that junior and senior high school students study too much. What do you think about it?"

8. *Go-nen mae gurai to kurabete, genzai no yoka no sugoshikata wa kawarimashita ka?*

"As compared to about 5 years ago, did your way of spending free time change?"

9. *Korekara yoka ni donoyoona koto o shite mitai desu ka?*

"In the future, what sort of things do you want to do in your free time?"

Appendix 4.1. Examples of hedges used for questionnaire

The participants are asked to read the following immediately before filling out the questionnaire (Appendix 4.2. Questionnaire material). The participants can look at the following while filling out the sheet. The conversation sample contains hedges, and the questionnaire is about the metalinguistic questions about the use of these hedges. The sample conversation (the actual material shown to the participants) is given in Japanese orthography.

The conversation samples (English translation)

Please read the following conversation samples paying attention to the underlined phrases, and then answer the questions.

(The underlined phrases are not emphasized or pronounced loudly in the conversation.)

- (1) A: Like, Mr./Ms. Tanaka's fashion and things differ, and he/she always wears like showy-type of clothes, seems like.

B: Or rather, he/she wants to attract attention, doesn't he/she?

- (2) C: Are you going to get a license?

D: A license, or rather, I want to get it, but it restricts my schedule a bit, doesn't it? Plus, I want to go abroad and stuff. Like for now, it can wait, sort of.



The conversation samples in Japanese writing

下線部の表現に注意しながら、下の会話例を読んで質問に答えて下さい。

(下線部の表現は会話上で特に強調されているわけではありません。)

例1 A: なんか、田中さんはファッションとかも違くって、いつも
派手系の服とか着てるってかんじ。

B: っていうか、目立ちたがりやなんじゃん？

例2 C: 免許取るの？

D: 免許、っていうか取りたいんだけど、
けっこう時間決まっちゃうわけじゃん？

海外とかも行きたいし。なんか今はとりあえずいいや、みたいな。

Appendix 4.2. Questionnaire

The participants are asked to fill out the following multiple-choice questionnaire.

Questionnaire(English translation)

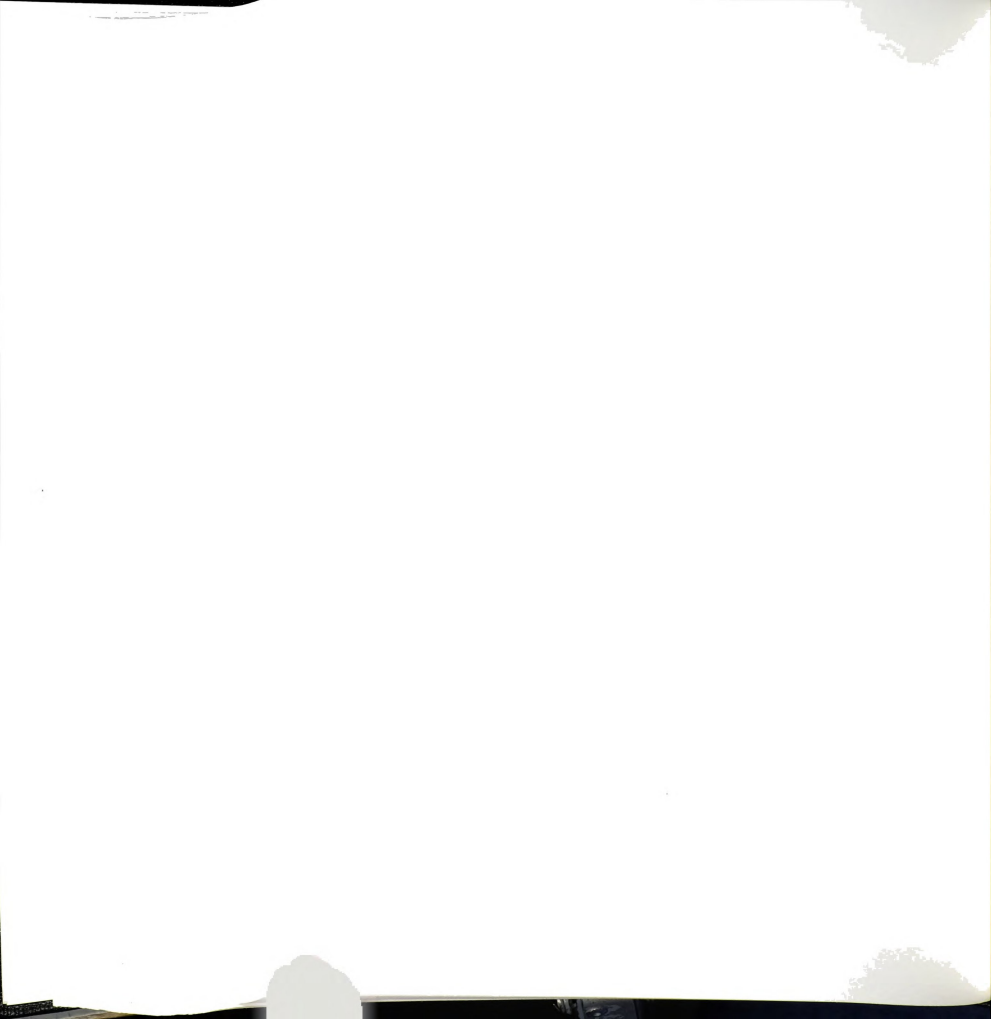
Please mark the most appropriate numbers.

1. (1) Do you use the underlined type of expressions in conversation?

not at all	not often	I don't know	sometimes	often
1	2	3	4	5

2A. If you chose 4 or 5 in (1), speaking with whom do you use them in conversation? Please answer each item.

(If you chose 1, 2, or 3 in (1), Please move on to Question 3 on the next page.)



	I don't use them at all	I don't use them often	I don't know	I use them sometimes	I use them often
(2)with friends	1	2	3	4	5
(3)with siblings	1	2	3	4	5
(4)with parents	1	2	3	4	5
(5)with my children	1	2	3	4	5
(6)with superiors	1	2	3	4	5
(7)with colleagues	1	2	3	4	5
(8)with a stranger/unfamiliar person	1	2	3	4	5

others ()

(For (5), please mark 3, if you are younger participants.)

2

B. On what kind of occasions do you use the underlined type of expressions?

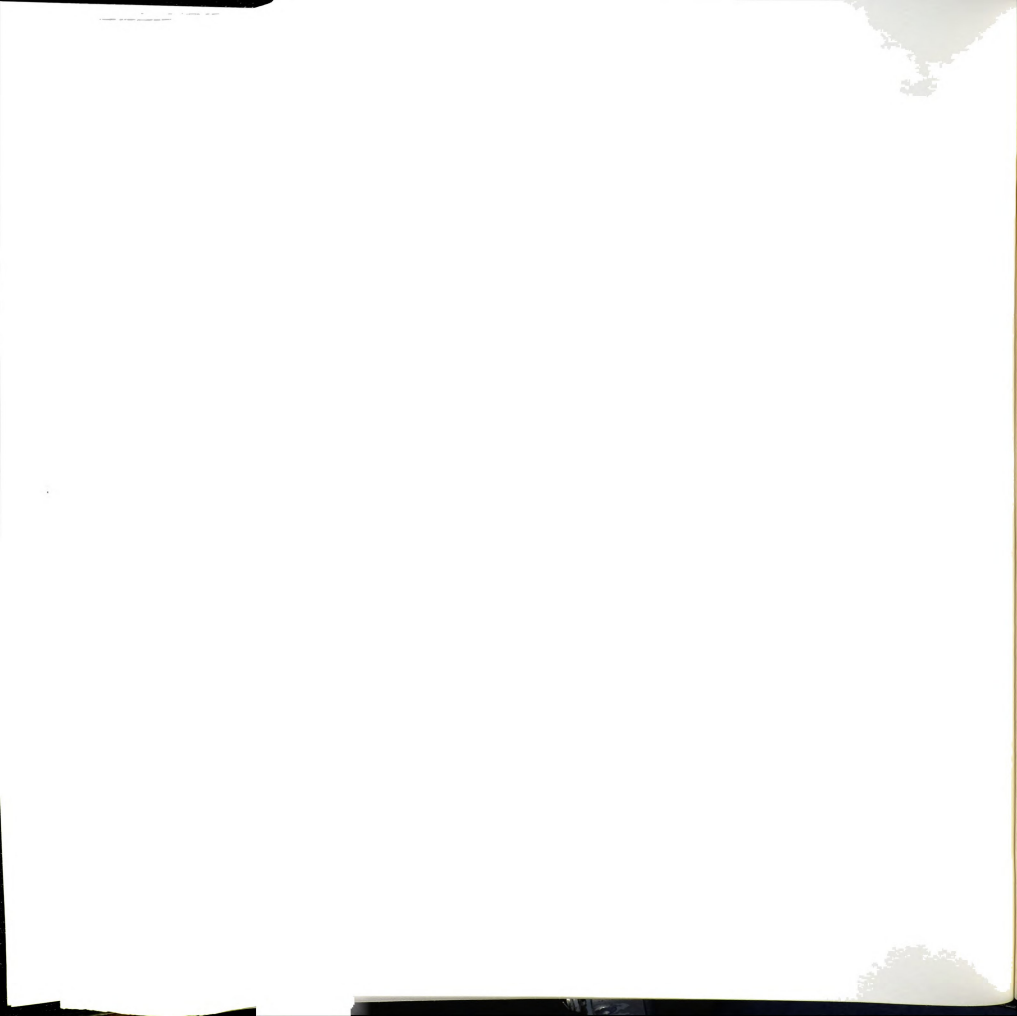
	I don't use them at all	I don't use them often	I don't know	I use them sometimes	I use them often
(9) casual occasions (e.g., chatting with friends, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5

(10) formal occasions (e.g., interviews)	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

others ()

2C. Why do you use this type of expressions?

	strongly disagree	probably disagree	I don't know	probably agree	strongly agree
(11)fashion/trend	1	2	3	4	5
(12)to show closeness/solidarity	1	2	3	4	5
(13)easy to say	1	2	3	4	5
(14)fun	1	2	3	4	5
(15)to be vague	1	2	3	4	5
(16)to evade my responsibility	1	2	3	4	5

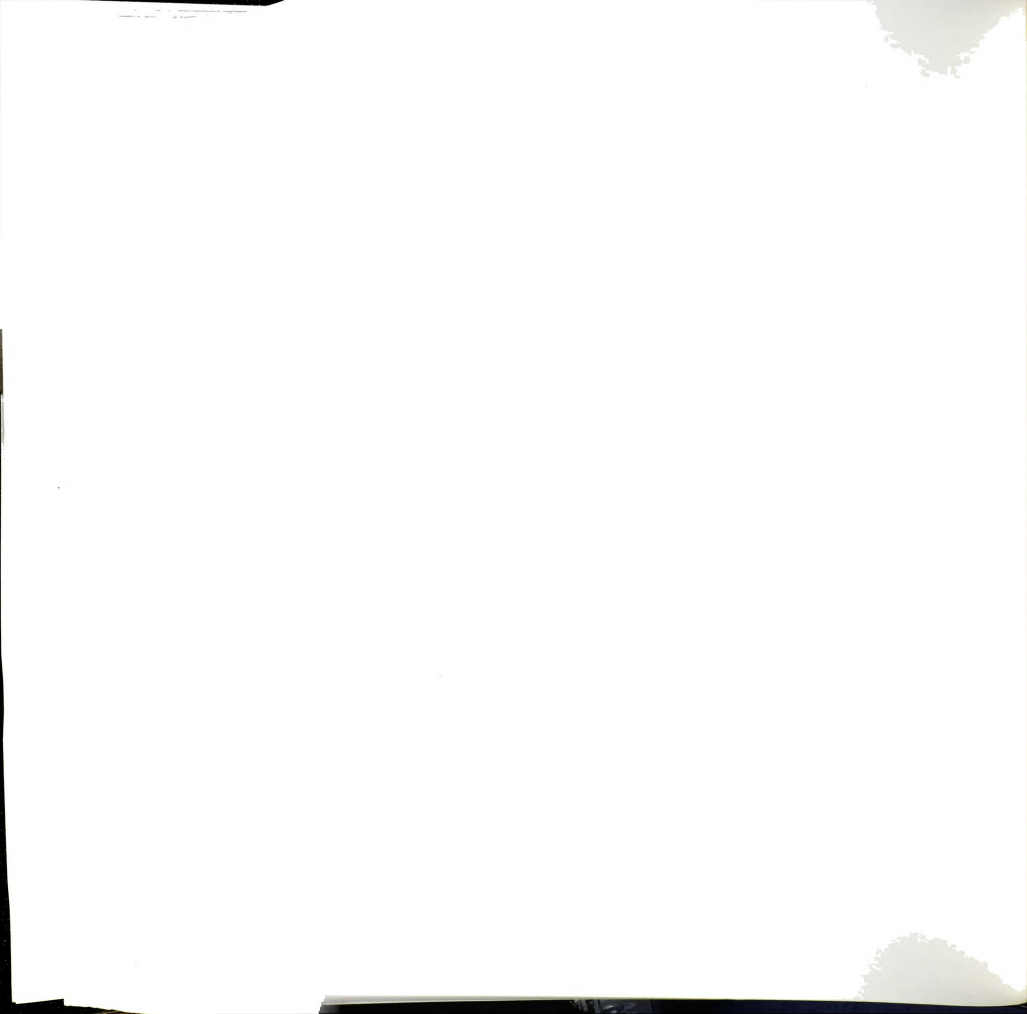


	strongly disagree	probably disagree	I don't know	probably agree	strongly agree
(17)unconsciously	1	2	3	4	5
(18)adapting to the other party's language	1	2	3	4	5
(19)to soften the tone	1	2	3	4	5
(20)influenced by people around me	1	2	3	4	5
(21)when talking about unfamiliar topics	1	2	3	4	5
(22)to avoid disagreement	1	2	3	4	5
others ()

Please move on to the questions on the next page.

3. Which age groups do you think use the underlined type of expressions in general?

	Not at all	Not much	I don't know	Sometimes	Often
(23)junior high school students	1	2	3	4	5
(24)high school students	1	2	3	4	5
(25) university students	1	2	3	4	5
(26)20's-30's	1	2	3	4	5
(27)40's-50's	1	2	3	4	5
(28)60's-	1	2	3	4	5
others ()



4. Is there anyone around you who uses this kind of expressions?

(29)	Not at all	Few	I don't know	Some	Many
	1	2	3	4	5

Who, for example? ()

5. Do you think there is any gender difference in using this type of expressions?

(30)	men use them a lot more often	men use them somewhat more often	I don't know	women use them somewhat more often	women use them a lot more often
	1	2	3	4	5

6. What do you think of using this kind of expressions in conversation?

	strongly disagree	disagree	I don't know	agree	strongly agree
(31)usual way of speaking	1	2	3	4	5
(32)fun	1	2	3	4	5
(33)shows closeness/solidarity	1	2	3	4	5
(34)unpleasant/inappropriate	1	2	3	4	5
(35)corrupt	1	2	3	4	5
(36)one should refrain from using them depending on occasions	1	2	3	4	5

other ()

7. How much attention do you usually pay to your own language?

	Not at all	Little	I don't know	Some	A lot
(37)	1	2	3	4	5

8. Please write your comments if any.

()

-
- 1 name ()
 2 age () years old
 3 gender male/female
 4 hometown ()
 5 years of residency in Tokyo/Kanto area
 ()years from () ~ ()years old
 6 present occupation ()
 student: the () grade in ()
 7 What is the relationship with your conversation partner?
- very good friend good friend friend acquaintance
 other()
- 8 Were you able to talk to your conversation partner naturally?
- very naturally mostly naturally neither
 not so naturally not at all
-

Questionnaire in Japanese writing

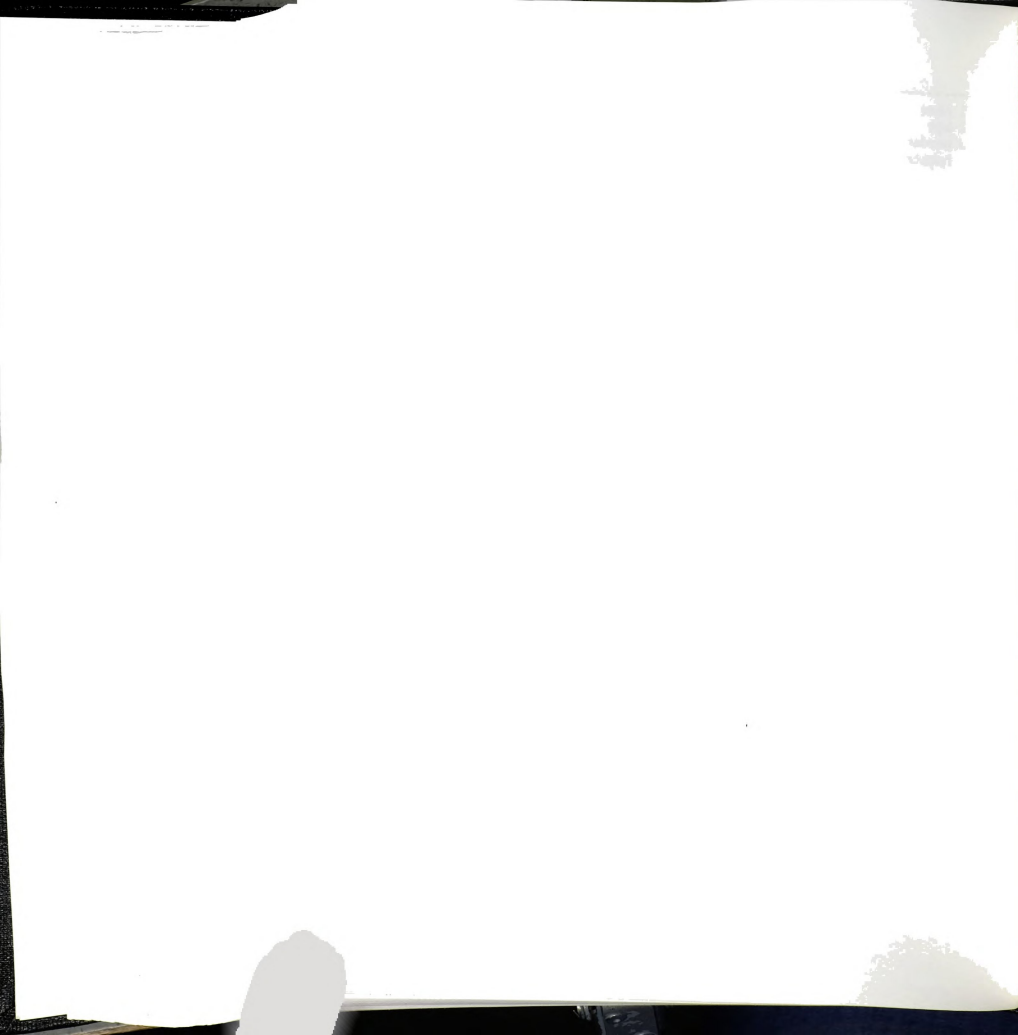
次の質問であてはまる番号に○を付けて下さい。

1. (1) 会話で下線部のような表現を使いますか。

全く使わない	あまり使わない	どちらとも言えない	時々使う	よく使う
1	2	3	4	5

- 2A. 上の質問(1)で、4か5を選んだ場合、誰と話している時に使いますか。それぞれお答え下さい。(1か2か3を選んだ場合、次のページの質問3へ)

	全く使わない	あまり使わない	どちらとも言えない	時々使う	よく使う
(2) 友達と	1	2	3	4	5
(3) 兄弟・姉妹と	1	2	3	4	5
(4) 親と	1	2	3	4	5
(5) 自分の子供と	1	2	3	4	5
(6) 目上の人と	1	2	3	4	5
(7) 仕事の同僚と	1	2	3	4	5
(8) 初対面の人・あまり面識がない人と	1	2	3	4	5
その他 ()					



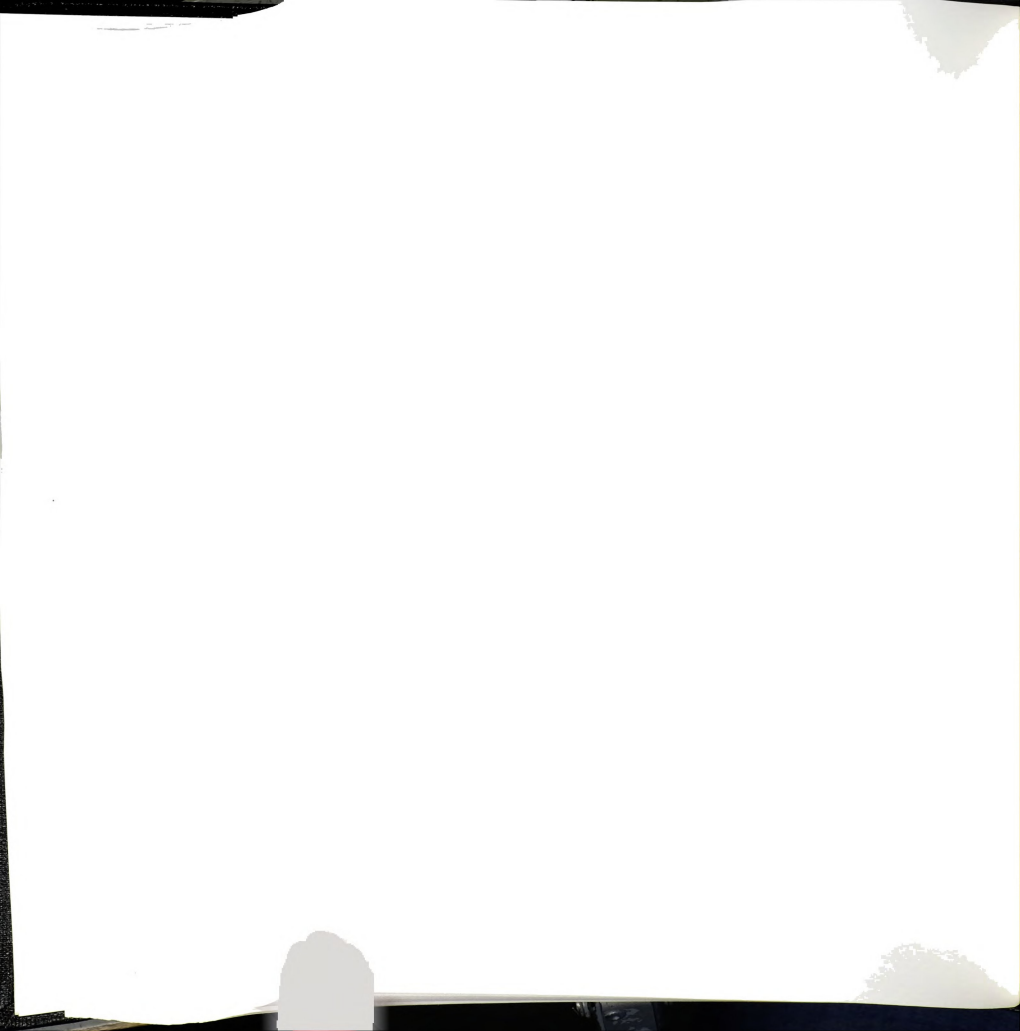
2B. 例のような表現はどのような場面で使いますか。

	全く使わない	あまり使わない	どちらとも言えない	時々使う	よく使う
(9) うちとけた場 (友達との雑談など)	1	2	3	4	5
(10) 改まった場 (面接やインタビューなど)	1	2	3	4	5
その他	()				

2C. どうしてこういう表現を使いますか。

	全く違う	たぶん違う	どちらとも言えない	たぶんそうだ	全くそうだ
(11) 流行だから	1	2	3	4	5
(12) 話し相手への親しみ・連帯感を表す	1	2	3	4	5
(13) 言いやすいから・楽	1	2	3	4	5
(14) 楽しいから	1	2	3	4	5
(15) 曖昧に言う・ぼかすため	1	2	3	4	5
(16) 責任のがれ	1	2	3	4	5
(17) 無意識に・何となく	1	2	3	4	5
(18) 話し相手に合わせて	1	2	3	4	5
(19) 柔らかく言うため	1	2	3	4	5
(20) 周りからうつった	1	2	3	4	5
(21) よく分からない事について話す時	1	2	3	4	5
(22) 相手との意見の衝突を避けるため	1	2	3	4	5
その他	()				

次のページの質問にもお答え下さい。



3. 下線のような表現は一般にどの年代の人が使うと思いますか。

	全く使わない	あまり使わない	どちらとも言えない	時々使う	よく使う
(23) 中学生	1	2	3	4	5
(24) 高校生	1	2	3	4	5
(25) 大学生	1	2	3	4	5
(26) 20代～30代	1	2	3	4	5
(27) 40代～50代	1	2	3	4	5
(28) 60代より上	1	2	3	4	5
その他	()				

4. 自分の周りに例のような話し方をする人がいますか。

	全然いない	いない	どちらとも言えない	いる	たくさんいる
(29)	1	2	3	4	5
それは例えば誰ですか。()					

5. 下線のような表現を使う場合、男女差があると思いますか。

	男性の方が 断然よく使う	男性の方が 多少よく使う	どちらとも言えない	女性の方が 多少よく使う	女性の方が 断然よく使う
(30)	1	2	3	4	5

6. 例のような表現を会話で使うことをどのように思いますか。

	全くそう思わない は思わない	あまりそう は言えない	どちらとも 言えない	多少そうだ と思う	全くそうだ と思う
(31) 普通の話し方	1	2	3	4	5
(32) 楽しい	1	2	3	4	5
(33) 親しみ・連帯感が表されている	1	2	3	4	5
(34) 不快・好ましくない	1	2	3	4	5
(35) 乱れている	1	2	3	4	5
(36) 場によって使い分けるべき	1	2	3	4	5
その他	()				



7. 普段、自分の言葉使いについて、どの程度気を使っていますか。

全く気を使わない 気を使わない どちらとも言えない 気を使う 非常に気を使う
(37) 1 2 3 4 5

8. コメントがありましたら、お願いします。()

1名前 ()

2 年 齡 滿 () 歲

3 性別：男 女

4 出身地：（ ）都・県（ ）区・市

5 東京／関東地区在住年数 () 年間ぐらい () 歳～() 歳まで

6 現在の職業 () / 学生 : () 年 / その他 ()

7 会話相手との関係は？

とても仲の良い友達 仲の良い友達 友達 知り合い その他（ ）

8 会話相手とは自然に話せましたか。

非常に自然に話せた だいたい自然に話せた どちらとも言えない
あまり自然に話せなかった 全然自然に話せなかった



Appendix 5.1. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the younger female speakers, in chat, n=10)

Younger Female		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
total words		558	1033	810	863	1091	996	672	688	835	932	8478
hedges												
1	toka	19	32	16	17	51	22	19	18	18	32	244
2	omou	2	3	2	5	13	6	5	3	7	7	53
3	kana/kashira/kane	1	2	9	5	4	8	0	1	6	5	41
4	tari/tari suru	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	8
5	mitai/yoo	2	7	7	0	0	2	4	0	2	9	33
6	gurai/goro/atari	0	3	1	2	0	1	1	0	3	1	12
7	kanji	1	0	1	1	2	1	8	0	2	3	19
8	deshoo/daroo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	nado/nanka	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	kamoshirenai/kamo	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	5
11	rashii	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
12	ka nanka	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
13	ki ga suru	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
14	soo	0	1	2	2	0	0	2	0	2	4	13
15	kee	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	5
16	nanka	10	27	21	11	29	18	8	3	11	25	163
17	kekkoo	0	0	6	1	6	8	0	0	3	2	26
18	toriaezu/ichioo	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
19	taigai/daitai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	tabun/osoraku	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
21	tteyuuka	5	5	2	0	4	1	0	2	5	8	32
22	others*	0	0	1	1	1	5	0	1	0	0	9
23	total	44	83	75	49	114	73	47	30	61	104	680

* nanigeni / nanigenaku 'somehow', kankei '-related', and teki/ppoi '-ish; -tic'

The meanings of hedges

1. toka 'or something'
2. omou 'I think'
3. kana/kashira/kane 'I wonder'
4. tari/tari suru 'do... and such'
5. mitai/yoo 'is like; look like'
6. gurai/goro/atari 'about; around'
7. kanji 'feels like; is like'
8. deshoo/daroo 'probably'
9. nado/nanka 'and so on'
10. kamoshirenai/kamo 'may'
11. rashii 'it seems; I heard'
12. ka nanka 'or something'
13. ki ga suru 'I've got a feeling'
14. soo 'seem; look like'
15. kee '-type'
16. nanka 'like'
17. kekkoo 'quite; fairly'
18. toriaezu/ichioo 'for now; tentatively'
19. taigai/daitai 'generally; about'
20. tabun/osoraku 'perhaps'
21. teyuuka 'or rather'

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Appendix 5.2. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the younger female speakers, in interview, n=10)

Younger Female		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	total
total words		689	945	843	889	1092	917	726	740	773	1152	8766
hedges												
1	toka	24	15	34	19	24	22	9	18	24	29	218
2	omou	11	3	12	11	10	7	10	18	14	15	111
3	kana/kashira/kane	11	5	7	3	3	6	8	4	11	5	63
4	tari/tari suru	8	7	20	0	8	6	3	19	6	17	94
5	mitai/yoo	2	4	1	0	5	0	5	0	1	1	19
6	gurai/goro/atari	1	5	3	1	1	3	2	1	0	1	18
7	kanji	3	2	3	6	2	0	2	2	2	3	25
8	deshoo/daroo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	nado/nanka	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
10	kamoshirenai/kamo	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4
11	rashii	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
12	ka nanka	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
13	ki ga suru	2	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	0	0	8
14	soo	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
15	kee	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
16	nanka	18	17	23	22	8	15	2	7	21	12	145
17	kekkoo	2	0	12	3	8	0	0	4	6	8	43
18	toriaezu/ichioo	2	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	2	9	19
19	taigai/daitai	1	0	3	0	1	0	14	0	1	0	20
20	tabun/osoraku	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	6
21	tteyuuka	4	1	3	0	4	1	1	1	1	6	22
22	others*	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	5
23	total	91	61	123	69	80	65	60	76	94	108	827

* tashoo 'more or less' and aru teido 'to certain degree' ,

The meanings of hedges

1. toka 'or something'
2. omou 'I think'
3. kana/kashira/kane 'I wonder'
4. tari/tari suru 'do... and such'
5. mitai/yoo 'is like; look like'
6. gurai/goro/atari 'about; around'
7. kanji 'feels like; is like'
8. deshoo/daroo 'probably'
9. nado/nanka 'and so on'
10. kamoshirenai/kamo 'may'
11. rashii 'it seems; I heard'
12. ka nanka 'or something'
13. ki ga suru 'I've got a feeling'
14. soo 'seem; look like'
15. kee '-type'
16. nanka 'like'
17. kekkoo 'quite; fairly'
18. toriaezu/ichioo 'for now; tentatively'
19. taigai/daitai 'generally; about'
20. tabun/osoraku 'perhaps'
21. teyuuka 'or rather'

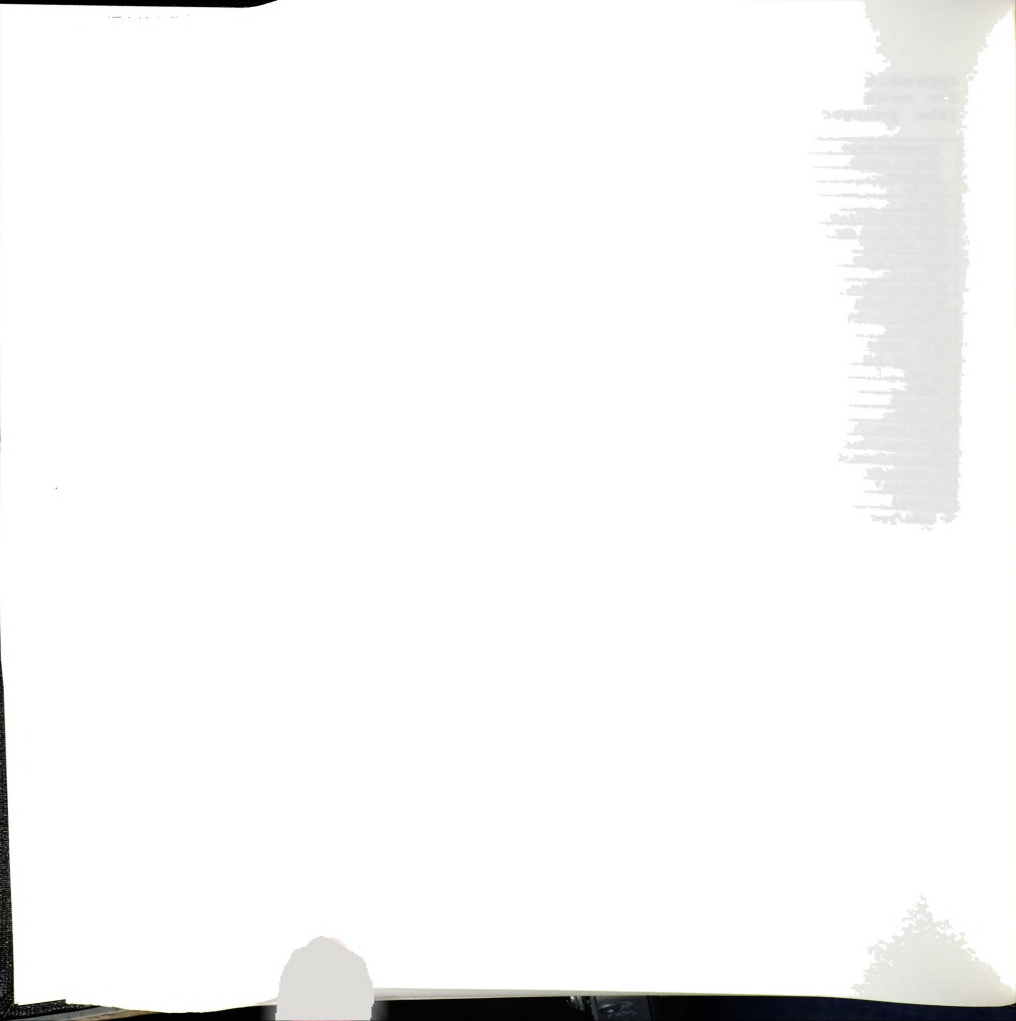
Appendix 5.3. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the younger male speakers, in chat, n=10)

	Younger male	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total
	total words	752	961	677	1031	1334	719	1348	448	519	946	8735
	hedges											
1	toka	7	26	8	16	12	11	28	12	4	14	138
2	omou	2	0	0	0	2	1	4	1	3	3	16
3	kana/kashira/kane	0	2	4	5	2	0	2	3	1	1	20
4	tari/tari suru	1	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	8
5	mitai/yoo	1	0	1	0	5	1	5	4	0	1	18
6	gurai/goro/atari	0	0	4	4	0	0	1	1	2	2	14
7	kanji	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	7
8	deshoo/daroo	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
9	nado/nanka	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
10	kamoshirenai/kamo	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
11	rashii	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	1	1	0	9
12	ka nanka	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	1	0	1	11
13	ki ga suru	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
14	soo	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
15	kee	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	4
16	nanka	2	4	2	2	6	5	18	5	3	14	61
17	kekkoo	1	1	0	3	3	2	4	3	0	1	18
18	toriaezu/ichioo	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
19	taigai/daitai	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
20	tabun/osoraku	0	0	1	1	3	1	0	1	2	5	14
21	tteyuuka	0	5	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	5	13
22	others*	0	1	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	9
23	total	16	42	26	40	52	24	76	34	20	51	381

* teki/ppoi '-ish; -tic', kankei '-related', tashika 'perhaps', and aru imi de 'in a sense'

The meanings of hedges

1. toka 'or something'
2. omou 'I think'
3. kana/kashira/kane 'I wonder'
4. tari/tari suru 'do... and such'
5. mitai/yoo 'is like; look like'
6. gurai/goro/atari 'about; around'
7. kanji 'feels like; is like'
8. deshoo/daroo 'probably'
9. nado/nanka 'and so on'
10. kamoshirenai/kamo 'may'
11. rashii 'it seems; I heard'
12. ka nanka 'or something'
13. ki ga suru 'I've got a feeling'
14. soo 'seem; look like'
15. kee '-type'
16. nanka 'like'
17. kekkoo 'quite; fairly'
18. toriaezu/ichioo 'for now; tentatively'
19. taigai/daitai 'generally; about'
20. tabun/osoraku 'perhaps'
21. teyuuka 'or rather'



Appendix 5.4. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the younger male speakers, in interview, n=10)

	Younger Male	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total
	total words	832	641	787	948	943	937	1168	701	677	958	8592
	hedges											
1	toka	3	10	11	17	5	5	5	11	14	6	87
2	omou	8	3	6	4	5	12	2	6	8	20	74
3	kana/kashira/kane	4	3	10	4	9	10	6	8	6	3	63
4	tari/tari suru	6	4	8	8	8	2	4	5	0	12	57
5	mitai/yoo	0	0	2	3	1	1	7	2	1	2	19
6	gurai/goro/atari	2	3	2	5	6	6	11	3	6	1	45
7	kanji	0	1	0	7	2	2	2	0	4	1	19
8	deshoo/daroo	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	5
9	nado/nanka	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9
10	kamoshirenai/kamo	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
11	rashii	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	6
12	ka nanka	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
13	ki ga suru	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
14	soo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	kee	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	nanka	3	5	4	3	1	2	6	5	4	4	37
17	kekoo	0	0	1	7	0	0	4	4	0	2	18
18	toriaezu/ichioo	0	3	5	3	0	1	2	0	6	2	22
19	taigai/daitai	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	5
20	tabun/osoraku	0	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	9
21	tteyuuka	0	1	3	4	3	2	3	2	0	1	19
22	others*	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	6
23	total	30	34	60	70	45	49	59	47	51	66	511

* nari 'either...or...', nantonaku 'somehow',
and nanikashira 'something or other'

The meanings of hedges

1. toka 'or something'
2. omou 'I think'
3. kana/kashira/kane 'I wonder'
4. tari/tari suru 'do... and such'
5. mitai/yoo 'is like; look like'
6. gurai/goro/atari 'about; around'
7. kanji 'feels like; is like'
8. deshoo/daroo 'probably'
9. nado/nanka 'and so on'
10. kamoshirenai/kamo 'may'
11. rashii 'it seems; I heard'
12. ka nanka 'or something'
13. ki ga suru 'I've got a feeling'
14. soo 'seem; look like'
15. kee '-type'
16. nanka 'like'
17. kekoo 'quite; fairly'
18. toriaezu/ichioo 'for now; tentatively'
19. taigai/daitai 'generally; about'
20. tabun/osoraku 'perhaps'
21. teyuuka 'or rather'

Appendix 5.5. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the older female speakers, in chat, n=10)

	Older Female	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	total
	total words	677	791	636	1012	1004	1033	690	790	645	960	8238
	hedges											
1	<i>toka</i>	4	6	1	17	2	4	3	1	3	2	43
2	<i>omou</i>	3	5	9	5	7	4	4	6	3	5	51
3	<i>kana/kashira/kane</i>	0	7	7	2	1	3	1	4	0	11	36
4	<i>tari/tari suru</i>	0	1	4	6	2	3	2	7	1	0	26
5	<i>mitai/yoo</i>	1	2	0	2	3	2	3	2	4	3	22
6	<i>gurai/goro/atari</i>	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	6
7	<i>kanji</i>	0	1	2	1	0	1	1	1	2	3	12
8	<i>deshoo/daroo</i>	2	0	3	0	1	1	0	3	0	2	12
9	<i>nado/nanka</i>	0	0	0	3	1	2	2	0	2	3	13
10	<i>kamoshirenai/kamo</i>	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	10
11	<i>rashii</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
12	<i>ka nanka</i>	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4
13	<i>ki ga suru</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	<i>soo</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	<i>kee</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	<i>nanka</i>	1	2	0	5	0	2	3	4	8	12	37
17	<i>kekkoo</i>	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
18	<i>toriaezu/ichioo</i>	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
19	<i>taigai/daitai</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	<i>tabun/osoraku</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	<i>tteyuuka</i>	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	8
22	<i>others*</i>	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
23	total	17	31	27	48	19	24	20	34	28	44	292

* *ya nanka* 'and something; and so on'

The meanings of hedges

1. *toka* 'or something'
2. *omou* 'I think'
3. *kana/kashira/kane* 'I wonder'
4. *tari/tari suru* 'do... and such'
5. *mitai/yoo* 'is like; look like'
6. *gurai/goro/atari* 'about; around'
7. *kanji* 'feels like; is like'
8. *deshoo/daroo* 'probably'
9. *nado/nanka* 'and so on'
10. *kamoshirenai/kamo* 'may'
11. *rashii* 'it seems; I heard'
12. *ka nanka* 'or something'
13. *ki ga suru* 'I've got a feeling'
14. *soo* 'seem; look like'
15. *kee* '-type'
16. *nanka* 'like'
17. *kekkoo* 'quite; fairly'
18. *toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now; tentatively'
19. *taigai/daitai* 'generally; about'
20. *tabun/osoraku* 'perhaps'
21. *teyuuka* 'or rather'

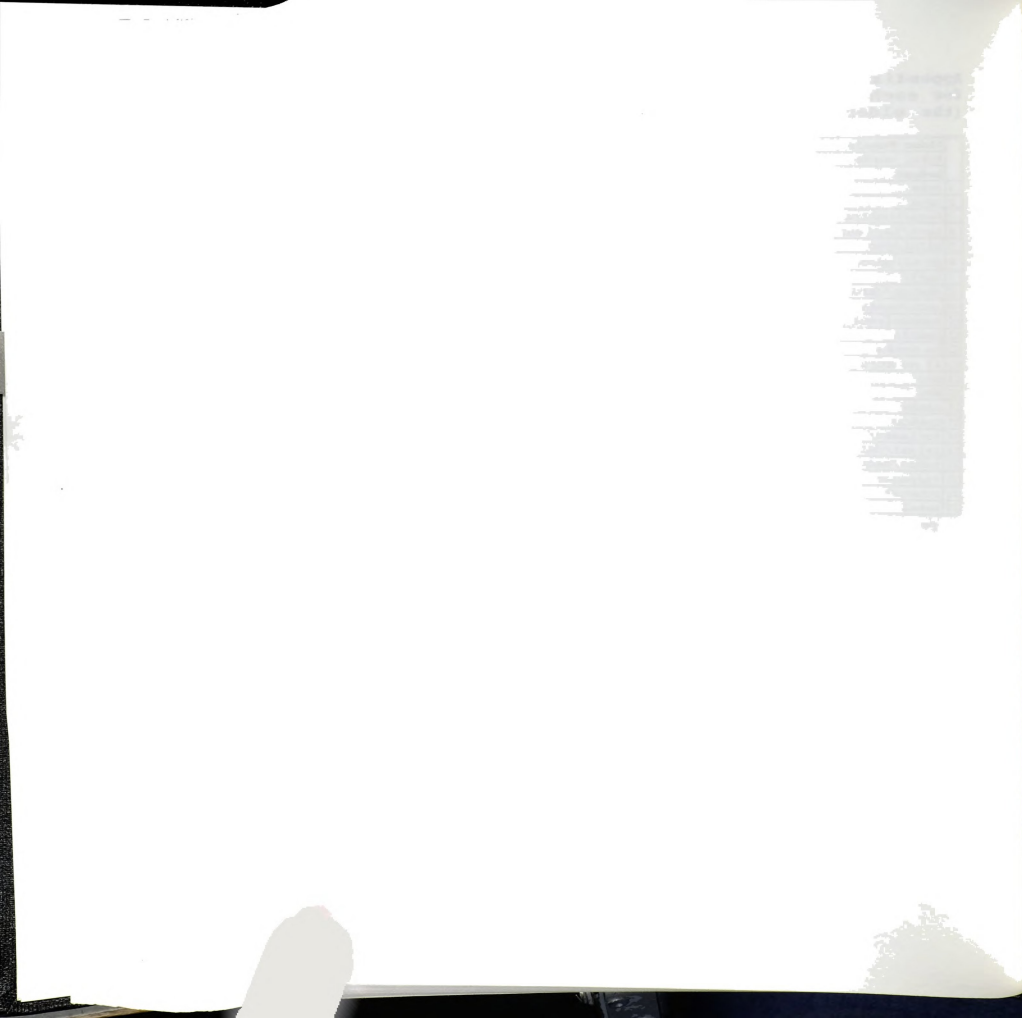
Appendix 5.6. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the older female speakers, in interview, n=10)

	Older Female	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	total
	total words	939	949	1039	1165	1332	1575	888	1172	898	1126	11083
	hedges											
1	<i>toka</i>	7	8	10	2	2	6	9	6	18	2	70
2	<i>omou</i>	3	2	8	8	10	3	5	10	7	12	68
3	<i>kana/kashira/kane</i>	3	4	8	3	5	4	2	5	4	17	55
4	<i>tari/tari suru</i>	2	1	7	4	8	9	12	14	6	1	64
5	<i>mitai/yoo</i>	0	4	1	0	1	6	1	5	6	5	29
6	<i>gurai/goro/atari</i>	6	4	4	5	7	0	5	5	2	3	41
7	<i>kanji</i>	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	2	1	4	12
8	<i>deshoo/daroo</i>	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	11
9	<i>nado/nanka</i>	0	2	2	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	10
10	<i>kamoshirenai/kamo</i>	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
11	<i>rashii</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	5
12	<i>ka nanka</i>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
13	<i>ki ga suru</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
14	<i>soo</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	<i>kee</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	<i>nanka</i>	0	3	0	4	5	1	1	5	3	5	27
17	<i>kekkoo</i>	0	2	1	0	1	8	4	0	1	0	17
18	<i>toriaezu/ichioo</i>	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	6
19	<i>taigai/daitai</i>	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	8
20	<i>tabun/osoraku</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	<i>tteyuuka</i>	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	1	9
22	others*	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	8
23	total	24	40	49	36	45	43	44	61	51	56	449

* *ya nanka* 'and something; and so on', *toka nantoka* 'or something', *nantonaku* 'somehow', and *tashoo* 'more or less'

The meanings of hedges

1. *toka* 'or something'
2. *omou* 'I think'
3. *kana/kashira/kane* 'I wonder'
4. *tari/tari suru* 'do... and such'
5. *mitai/yoo* 'is like; look like'
6. *gurai/goro/atari* 'about; around'
7. *kanji* 'feels like; is like'
8. *deshoo/daroo* 'probably'
9. *nado/nanka* 'and so on'
10. *kamoshirenai/kamo* 'may'
11. *rashii* 'it seems; I heard'
12. *ka nanka* 'or something'
13. *ki ga suru* 'I've got a feeling'
14. *soo* 'seem; look like'
15. *kee* '-type'
16. *nanka* 'like'
17. *kekkoo* 'quite; fairly'
18. *toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now; tentatively'
19. *taigai/daitai* 'generally; about'
20. *tabun/osoraku* 'perhaps'
21. *teyuuka* 'or rather'



Appendix 5.7. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the older male speakers, in chat, n=10)

	Older Male	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	total
	total words	693	784	1068	622	1061	683	776	1002	1351	506	8546
	hedges											
1	toka	3	1	4	3	6	0	1	10	2	1	31
2	omou	6	2	0	4	1	0	11	6	11	0	41
3	kana/kashira/kane	4	3	6	3	3	1	1	2	7	1	31
4	tari/tari suru	1	1	5	1	3	0	4	1	0	0	16
5	mitai/yoo	2	4	3	3	2	0	0	4	1	1	20
6	gurai/goro/atari	0	0	2	0	4	1	1	2	5	1	16
7	kanji	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	6
8	deshoo/daroo	0	1	1	3	1	0	2	3	2	0	13
9	nado/nanka	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	9
10	kamoshirenai/kamo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
11	rashii	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	5
12	ka nanka	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
13	ki ga suru	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
14	soo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	kee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	nanka	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	4	11
17	kekkoo	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	1	7
18	toriaezu/ichioo	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
19	taigai/daitai	0	2	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	9
20	tabun/osoraku	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	tteyuuka	2	2	0	1	2	0	1	1	3	1	13
22	others*	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	8
23	total	29	17	24	18	27	6	22	50	38	12	243

* nantonaku 'somehow' and ya nanka 'and something; and so on'

The meanings of hedges

1. toka 'or something'
2. omou 'I think'
3. kana/kashira/kane 'I wonder'
4. tari/tari suru 'do... and such'
5. mitai/yoo 'is like; look like'
6. gurai/goro/atari 'about; around'
7. kanji 'feels like; is like'
8. deshoo/daroo 'probably'
9. nado/nanka 'and so on'
10. kamoshirenai/kamo 'may'
11. rashii 'it seems; I heard'
12. ka nanka 'or something'
13. ki ga suru 'I've got a feeling'
14. soo 'seem; look like'
15. kee '-type'
16. nanka 'like'
17. kekkoo 'quite; fairly'
18. toriaezu/ichioo 'for now; tentatively'
19. taigai/daitai 'generally; about'
20. tabun/osoraku 'perhaps'
21. teyuuka 'or rather'

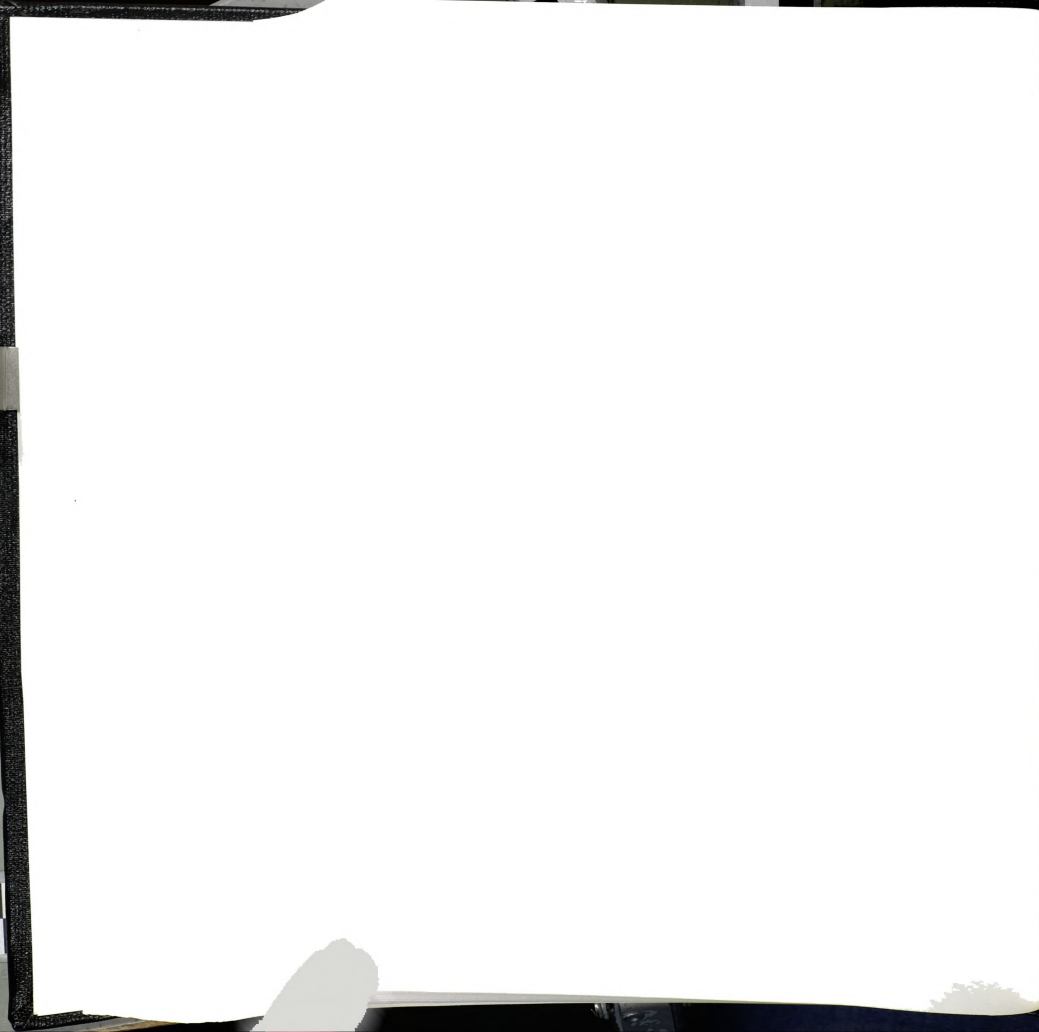
Appendix 5.8. Total number of words and tokens of hedges for each participant (the older male speakers, in interview, n=10)

	Older Male	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	total
	total words	1277	1106	1375	1038	1396	1718	1399	1144	1303	1130	12886
	hedges											
1	<i>toka</i>	6	4	11	3	6	2	1	12	6	4	55
2	<i>omou</i>	4	8	8	7	2	3	10	5	6	2	55
3	<i>kana/kashira/kane</i>	7	2	1	5	15	3	5	4	8	10	60
4	<i>tari/tari suru</i>	3	3	3	2	4	4	4	5	3	8	39
5	<i>mitai/yoo</i>	3	9	9	0	2	2	0	0	8	1	34
6	<i>gurai/goro/atari</i>	2	0	1	0	5	2	2	2	6	5	25
7	<i>kanji</i>	2	2	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	11
8	<i>deshoo/daroo</i>	1	3	1	9	1	0	2	2	3	3	25
9	<i>nado/nanka</i>	3	1	1	1	3	0	4	1	2	2	18
10	<i>kamoshirenai/kamo</i>	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
11	<i>rashii</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	<i>ka nanka</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
13	<i>ki ga suru</i>	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
14	<i>soo</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
15	<i>kee</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	<i>nanka</i>	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	6	3	2	18
17	<i>kekko</i>	5	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	4	16
18	<i>toriaezu/ichioo</i>	0	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	8
19	<i>taigai/daitai</i>	0	0	1	0	2	7	1	0	1	0	12
20	<i>tabun/osoraku</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
21	<i>tteyuuka</i>	1	1	1	1	10	1	2	0	1	3	21
22	<i>others*</i>	4	0	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	12
23	total	44	39	44	28	52	40	35	39	52	46	419

* *tashoo* 'more or less', *nari* 'either... or...', *nandaka* 'somewhat', *toka nantoka* 'or something', and *ya nanka* 'and something; and so on'

The meanings of hedges

1. *toka* 'or something'
2. *omou* 'I think'
3. *kana/kashira/kane* 'I wonder'
4. *tari/tari suru* 'do... and such'
5. *mitai/yoo* 'is like; look like'
6. *gurai/goro/atari* 'about; around'
7. *kanji* 'feels like; is like'
8. *deshoo/daroo* 'probably'
9. *nado/nanka* 'and so on'
10. *kamoshirenai/kamo* 'may'
11. *rashii* 'it seems; I heard'
12. *ka nanka* 'or something'
13. *ki ga suru* 'I've got a feeling'
14. *soo* 'seem; look like'
15. *kee* '-type'
16. *nanka* 'like'
17. *kekko* 'quite; fairly'
18. *toriaezu/ichioo* 'for now; tentatively'
19. *taigai/daitai* 'generally; about'
20. *tabun/osoraku* 'perhaps'
21. *teyuuka* 'or rather'



Appendix 6.1 Detailed ANOVA results for all hedges

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	48907.3400			
age	1	24814.9400	24814.9400	82.4143	.00001
sex	1	9541.1560	9541.1560	31.6877	.00003
age x sex	1	3711.6560	3711.6560	12.3270	.00156
error (age x sex)	36	10839.5900	301.0998		
style	1	2522.4690	2522.4690	12.1694	.00164
style x age	1	690.9375	690.9375	3.3333	.07281
style x sex	1	8.7188	8.7188	.0421	.81979
style x age x sex	1	1.5313	1.5313	.0074	1.00000
error (style x age x sex)	36	7462.0940	207.2804		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

Appendix 6.2 Post-hoc comparisons for both styles (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	6.463**			
OF	8.902**	2.439		
OM	10.400**	3.937*	1.498	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

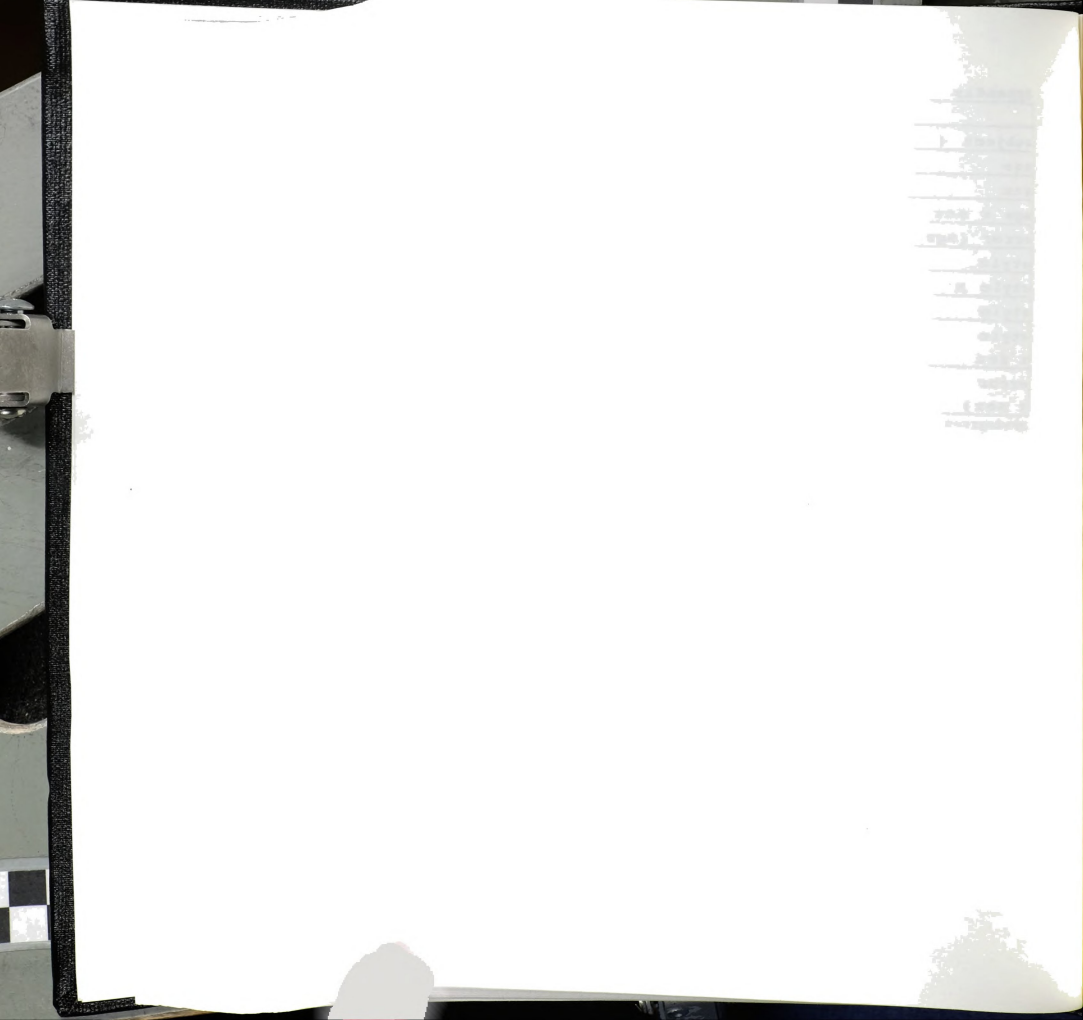
* Significant values ($p < .05$)

Appendix 6.3 Post-hoc comparisons for chat (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	7.584**			
OF	9.377**	1.793		
OM	11.098**	3.514	1.721	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)



Appendix 6.4 Post-hoc comparisons for interview (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	7.995**			
OF	12.081**	4.085		
OM	13.970**	5.975**	1.890	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)

Appendix 6.5 Post-hoc comparisons between chat and interview (n=40)

Groups	Q values
YF	3.963
YM	3.552
OF	1.260
OM	1.091

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)

Appendix 7 Detailed ANOVA results for hedges excluding toka 'or something' and nanka 'like'

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	8799.8050			
age	1	2398.5860	2398.5860	16.5636	.00047
sex	1	1015.5860	1015.5860	7.0132	.01151
age x sex	1	172.4453	172.4453	1.1908	.28219
error (age x sex)	36	5213.1880	144.8108		
style	1	3936.7810	3936.7810	50.3493	.00001
style x age	1	1626.3750	1626.3750	20.8004	.00018
style x sex	1	1.2734	1.2734	.0163	.86727
style x age x sex	1	7.7500	7.7500	.0991	.74940
error (style x age x sex)	36	2814.8200	78.1895		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

1	100
2	100
3	100
4	100
5	100
6	100
7	100
8	100
9	100
10	100
11	100
12	100
13	100
14	100
15	100
16	100
17	100
18	100
19	100
20	100
21	100
22	100
23	100
24	100
25	100
26	100
27	100
28	100
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78	100
79	100
80	100
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82	100
83	100
84	100
85	100
86	100
87	100
88	100
89	100
90	100
91	100
92	100
93	100
94	100
95	100
96	100
97	100
98	100
99	100
100	100

Appendix 8 Detailed ANOVA results for toka 'or something'

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	7711.5110			
age	1	4551.6420	4551.6420	124.2462	.00001
sex	1	1196.2550	1196.2550	32.6542	.00003
age x sex	1	644.7881	644.7881	17.6008	.00036
error (age x sex)	36	1318.8260	36.6341		
style	1	34.7236	34.7236	.8760	.64176
style x age	1	153.2236	153.2236	3.8657	.05411
style x sex	1	9.2119	9.2119	.2324	.63768
style x age x sex	1	.6123	.6123	.0154	.86927
error (style x age x sex)	36	1426.9240	39.6368		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

Appendix 9 Detailed ANOVA results for nanka 'like'

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	4208.2480			
age	1	1688.1200	1688.1200	58.2408	.00001
sex	1	974.9033	974.9033	33.6345	.00003
age x sex	1	501.7578	501.7578	17.3108	.00039
error (age x sex)	36	1043.4660	28.9852		
style	1	43.9163	43.9163	1.9834	.16433
style x age	1	2.7703	2.7703	.1251	.72374
style x sex	1	1.4705	1.4705	.0664	.78647
style x age x sex	1	10.4578	10.4578	.4723	.50317
error (style x age x sex)	36	797.1067	22.1419		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares



Appendix 10 Detailed ANOVA results for teyuuka 'or rather'

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	233.9187			
age	1	28.4721	28.4721	5.6459	.02167
sex	1	2.8690	2.8690	.5689	.53803
age x sex	1	21.0311	21.0311	4.1704	.04589
error (age x sex)	36	181.5466	5.0430		
style	1	.5611	.5611	.2383	.63357
style x age	1	.3544	.3544	.1505	.70092
style x sex	1	7.0925	7.0925	3.0126	.08758
style x age x sex	1	5.1025	5.1025	2.1674	.14614
error (style x age x sex)	36	84.7524	2.3542		

Appendix 11.1 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Do you use the underlined type of expressions [hedges]?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject(n=40)	39	79.7750			
age	1	46.2250	46.2250	58.3895	.00001
sex	1	3.0250	3.0250	3.8210	.05544
age x sex	1	2.0250	2.0250	2.5579	.11478
error (age x sex)	36	28.5000	.7917		

Appendix 11.2 Post-hoc comparisons for answers to "Do you use the underlined type of expressions [hedges]?" (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	3.554			
OF	9.240**	5.686**		
OM	9.596**	6.042**	0.355	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

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1000000

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1000000

Appendix 12.1 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Usual way of speaking?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	56.4000			
age	1	8.1000	8.1000	8.6272	.00584
sex	1	8.1000	8.1000	8.6272	.00584
age x sex	1	6.4000	6.4000	6.8166	.01256
error (age x sex)	36	33.8000	.9389		

Appendix 12.2 Post-hoc comparisons for answers to "Usual way of speaking?" (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	5.548**			
OF	5.548**	0.000		
OM	5.874**	0.326	0.326	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)

Appendix 13.1 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Do you think there is any gender difference?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	26.7750			
age	1	.0250	.0250	.0380	.82610
sex	1	3.0250	3.0250	4.5950	.03668
age x sex	1	.0250	.0250	.0379	.82625
error (age x sex)	36	23.7000	.6583		

Appendix 13.2 Post-hoc comparisons for answers to "Do you think there is any gender difference?" (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	1.949			
OF	0.390	2.339		
OM	1.949	0.000	2.339	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$) * Significant values ($p < .05$)

Appendix 14 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Were you able to talk naturally?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	11.3750			
age	1	.0250	.0250	.0858	.76371
sex	1	.6250	.6250	2.1429	.14841
age x sex	1	.2250	.2250	.7713	.61039
error (age x sex)	36	10.5000	.2917		

Appendix 15 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Which age groups do you think use the underlined type of expressions?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	57.8503			
age	1	14.0166	14.0166	11.6625	.00193
sex	1	.1501	.1501	.1249	.72391
age x sex	1	.4167	.4167	.3468	.56638
error (age x sex)	36	43.2668	1.2019		
age perception (henceforth, AP)	5	399.9001	79.9800	229.4864	.00001
AP x age	5	7.0334	1.4067	4.0362	.00204
AP x sex	5	1.8999	.3800	1.0903	.36737
AP x age x sex	5	.4331	.0866	.2485	.93900
error (AP x age x sex)	180	62.7332	.3485		

Appendix 16 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Should one refrain from using the underlined type of expressions depending on occasions?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	20.9750			
age	1	.2250	.2250	.4029	.53644
sex	1	.0250	.0250	.0447	.81580
age x sex	1	.6251	.6251	1.1195	.29739
error (age x sex)	36	20.1000	.5583		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

Appendix 17 Detailed PEARSON results (YF, n=10)
Correlation matrix 1: "Speaking with whom/when do you use this type of expressions?"

(2) friend							
(3) sibling	0.375						
(4) parent	0.309	0.911					
(6) older	0.458	-0.063	-0.052				
(7) colleague	-0.606	0.152	0.047	-0.531			
(8) stranger	0.609	0.456	0.439	0.304	-0.415		
(9) casual	0.802	0.356	0.386	0.312	-0.284	0.488	
(10) formal	-0.087	-0.844	-0.830	0.195	-0.177	-0.079	-0.069
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)

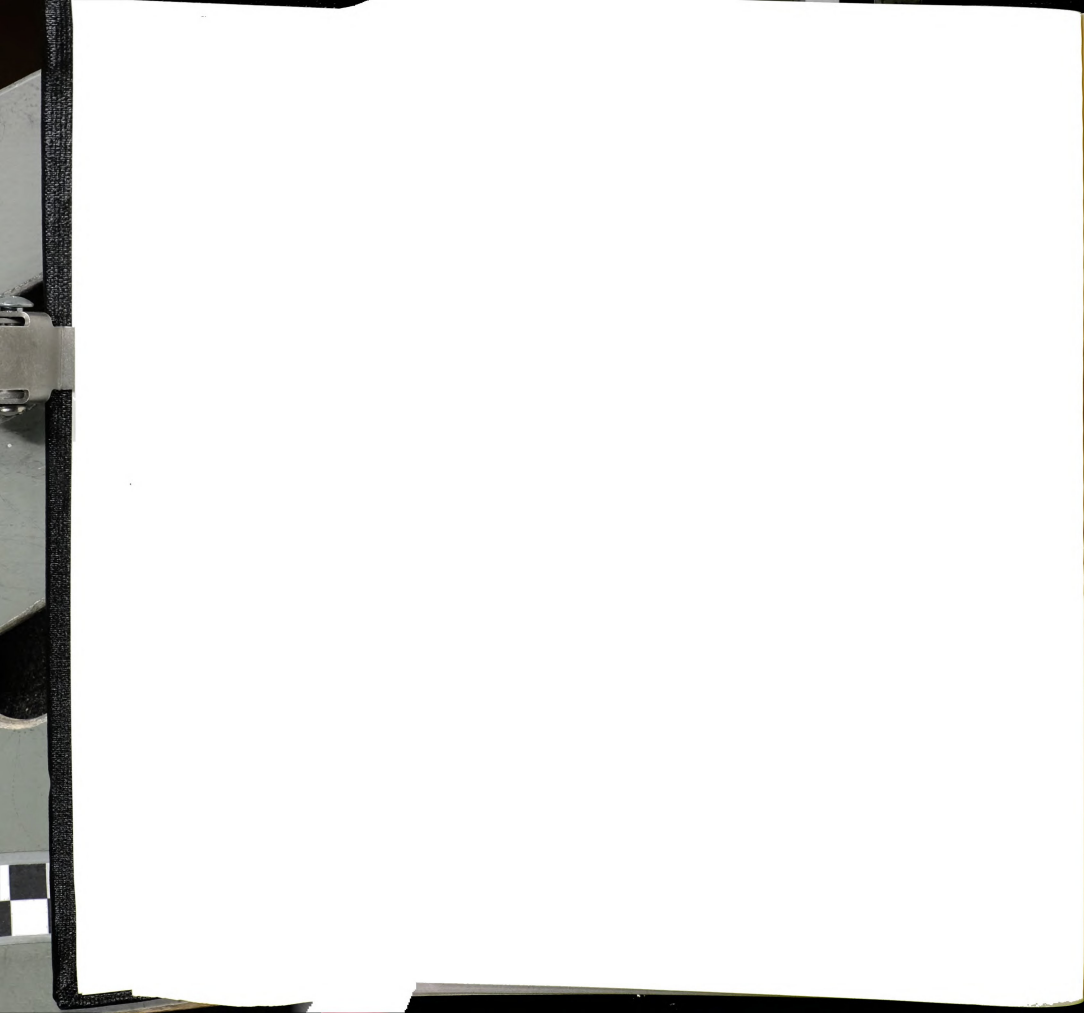
Extreme values (>0.8 or <-0.8) are in bold.

Appendix 18 Detailed PEARSON results (YF, n=10)
Correlation matrix 2: Why do you use this type of expressions?

(12)	0.667					
(13)	0.248	0.000				
(14)	0.639	0.575	0.514			
(15)	-0.269	-0.269	0.040	-0.599		
(16)	-0.090	-0.269	0.441	0.021	0.420	
(17)	0.095	0.000	0.726	0.263	0.046	0.200
(18)	0.265	0.000	-0.072	-0.303	0.801	0.000
(19)	0.598	0.598	-0.312	0.183	-0.129	-0.129
(20)	0.000	0.000	-0.527	-0.407	0.571	0.190
(21)	0.000	0.000	-0.430	-0.221	0.311	-0.311
(22)	0.237	0.237	-0.035	0.345	0.013	0.396
	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)

Extreme values (>0.8 or <-0.8) are in bold.

(18)	-0.167				
(19)	-0.445	0.615			
(20)	-0.607	0.320	0.211		
(21)	-0.165	0.062	-0.173	0.612	
(22)	-0.041	-0.198	0.113	0.335	0.137
	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)



Appendix 18 (cont'd)

- (11) fashion or trend
- (12) to show solidarity
- (13) easy to say
- (14) fun
- (15) to be vague
- (16) to evade my responsibility
- (17) unconsciously
- (18) adapting to the other party's language
- (19) to soften the tone
- (20) influenced by people around me
- (21) when talking about unfamiliar topics
- (22) to avoid disagreement

Appendix 19.1 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Is there anyone around you who uses this type of expressions?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	50.4000			
age	1	16.9000	16.9000	20.9793	.00016
sex	1	.9000	.9000	1.1173	.29789
age x sex	1	3.6000	3.6000	4.4689	.03917
error (age x sex)	36	29.0000	.8056		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

Appendix 19.2 Post-hoc comparisons for answers to "Is there anyone around you who uses this type of expressions?" (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	1.757			
OF	11.125**	9.368**		
OM	5.855**	4.099*	5.270**	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)

Appendix 20.1 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "What do you think of using this type of expressions in conversation: Fun?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	61.5000			
age	1	2.5000	2.5000	1.7241	.19473
sex	1	.4000	.4000	.2759	.60870
age x sex	1	6.4000	6.4000	4.4138	.04032
error (age x sex)	36	52.2000	1.4500		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

Appendix 20.2 Post-hoc comparisons for answers to "What do you think of using this type of expressions in conversation: Fun?" (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	2.626			
OF	3.414	0.788		
OM	1.838	0.788	1.576	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)

APPENDIX 21 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "What do you think of using this type of expressions in conversation: Corrupt?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	37.7750			
age	1	.0250	.0250	.0248	.84915
sex	1	1.2250	1.2250	1.2149	.27727
age x sex	1	.2250	.2250	.2231	.64423
error (age x sex)	36	36.3000	1.0083		

DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

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Appendix 22.1 Detailed PEARSON results (YF and YM, n=20)
Correlation matrix 3: "What do you think of using this type of expressions?"

(31)						
(32)	0.000					
(33)	-0.345	-0.091				
(34)	0.148	-0.193	-0.590			
(35)	-0.378	0.000	-0.304	0.483		
(36)	0.087	0.101	-0.011	-0.373	-0.309	
	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)

(31) usual way of speaking

(32) fun

(33) shows closeness or solidarity

(34) unpleasant or inappropriate

(35) corrupt

(36) one should refrain from using them depending on the occasion

Appendix 22.2 Detailed PEARSON results (OF and OM, n=20)
Correlation matrix 3: "What do you think of using this type of expressions?"

(31)						
(32)	-0.303					
(33)	-0.067	0.538				
(34)	-0.373	-0.032	-0.226			
(35)	-0.394	-0.204	-0.188	0.799		
(36)	0.415	0.571	0.419	-0.496	-0.456	
	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)

Extreme values (>0.8 or <-0.8) are in bold.

(31) usual way of speaking

(32) fun

(33) shows closeness or solidarity

(34) unpleasant or inappropriate

(35) corrupt

(36) one should refrain from using them depending on the occasion

1	100
2	100
3	100
4	100
5	100
6	100
7	100
8	100
9	100
10	100
11	100
12	100
13	100
14	100
15	100
16	100
17	100
18	100
19	100
20	100
21	100
22	100
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87	100
88	100
89	100
90	100
91	100
92	100
93	100
94	100
95	100
96	100
97	100
98	100
99	100
100	100

Appendix 23.1 Detailed ANOVA results for answers to "Do you think that this type of expressions are used to show closeness or solidarity?"

	DF	SS	MS	F	P
subject (n=40)	39	56.4000			
age	1	4.9000	4.9000	4.3448	.04182
sex	1	10.0000	10.0000	8.8670	.00531
age x sex	1	.9000	.9000	.7980	.61873
error (age x sex)	36	40.6000	1.1278		

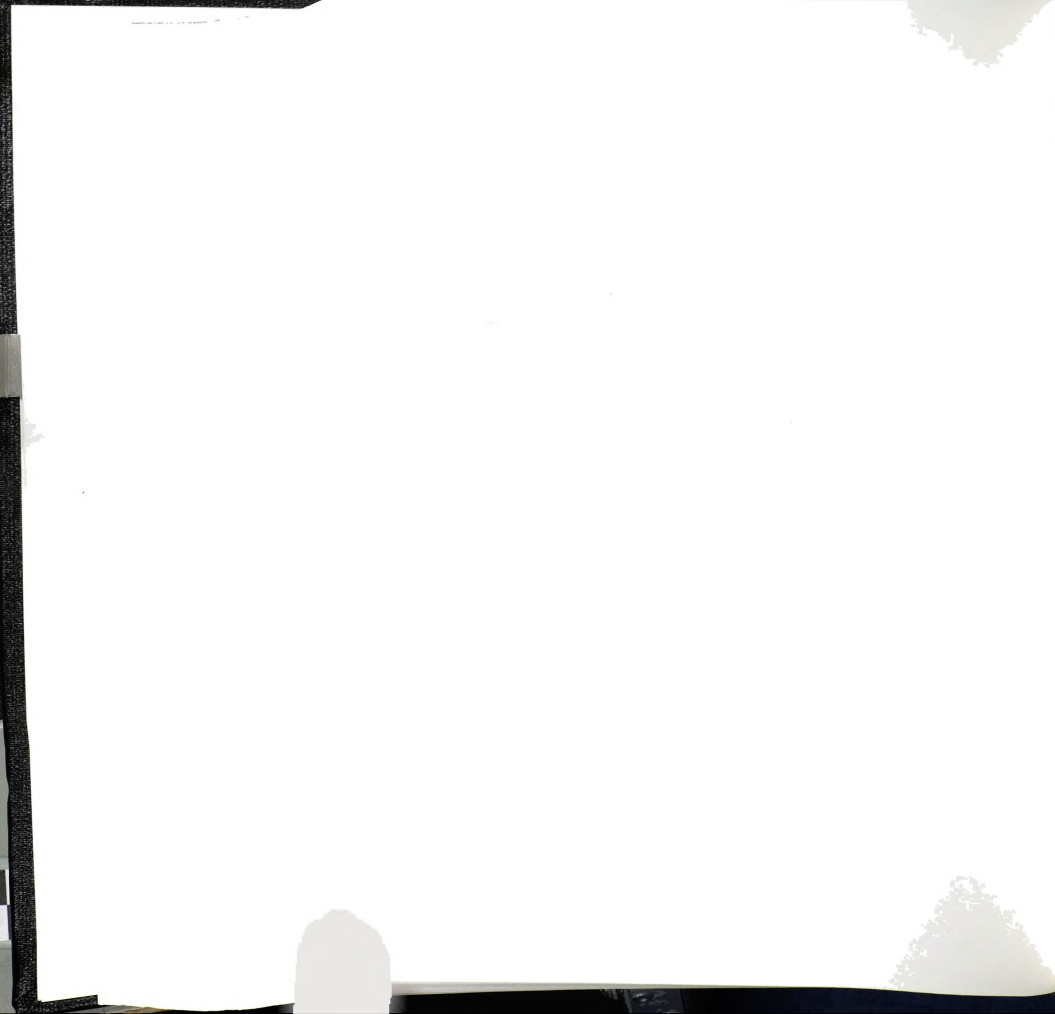
DF=degrees of freedom, SS=sum of squares, MS=mean squares

Appendix 23.2 Post-hoc comparisons for answers to "Do you think that this type of expressions are used to show closeness or solidarity?" (n=40)

Groups	Q values			
YF				
YM	2.084			
OF	2.978	5.062**		
OM	0.893	1.191	3.871*	
	YF	YM	OF	OM

** Extreme significant values ($p < .01$)

* Significant values ($p < .05$)



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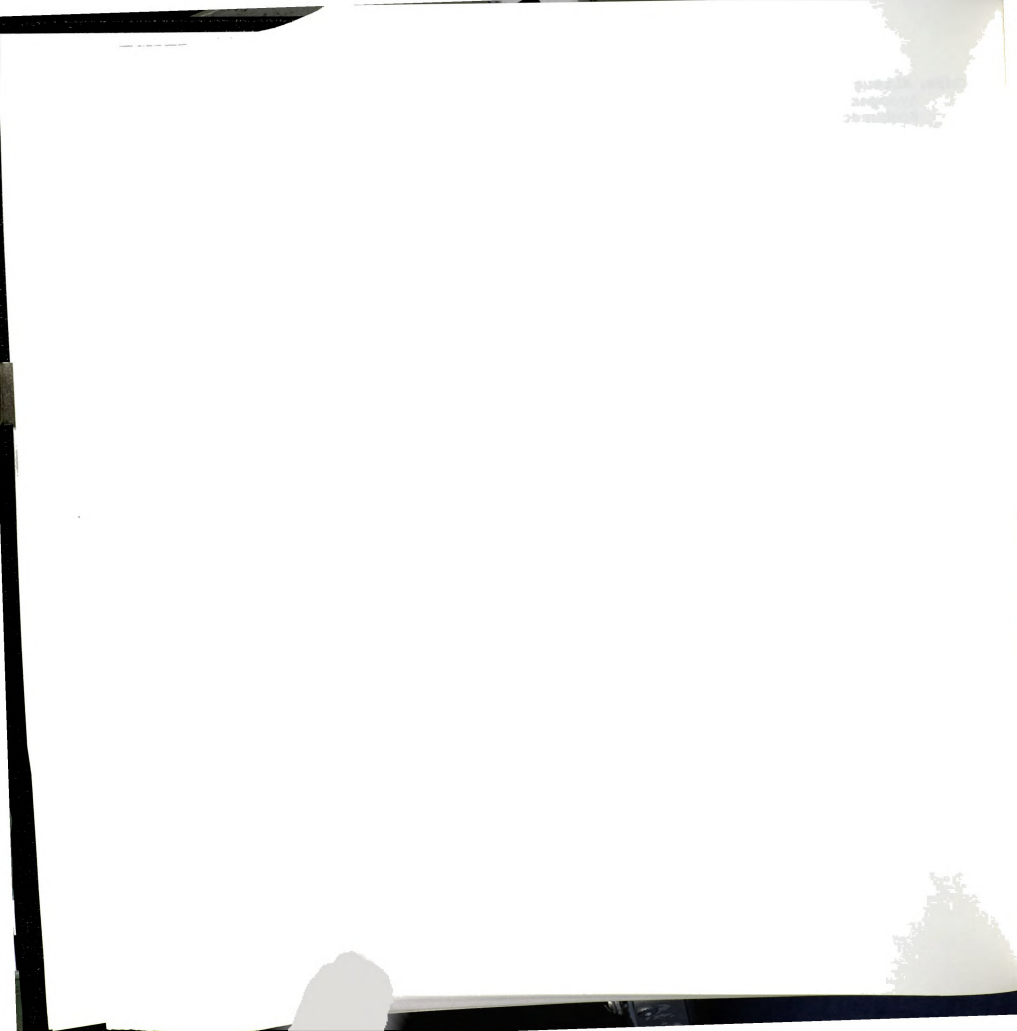
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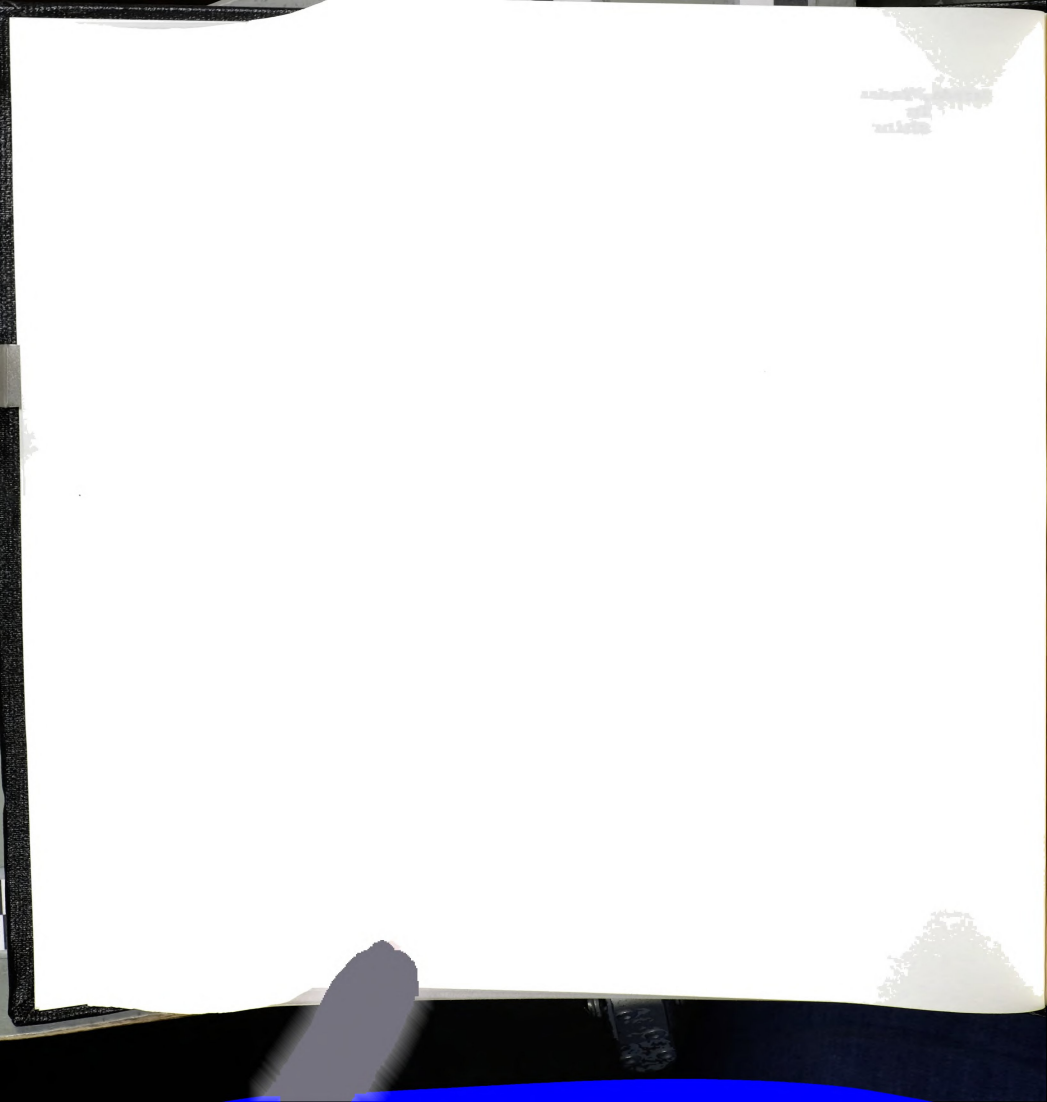
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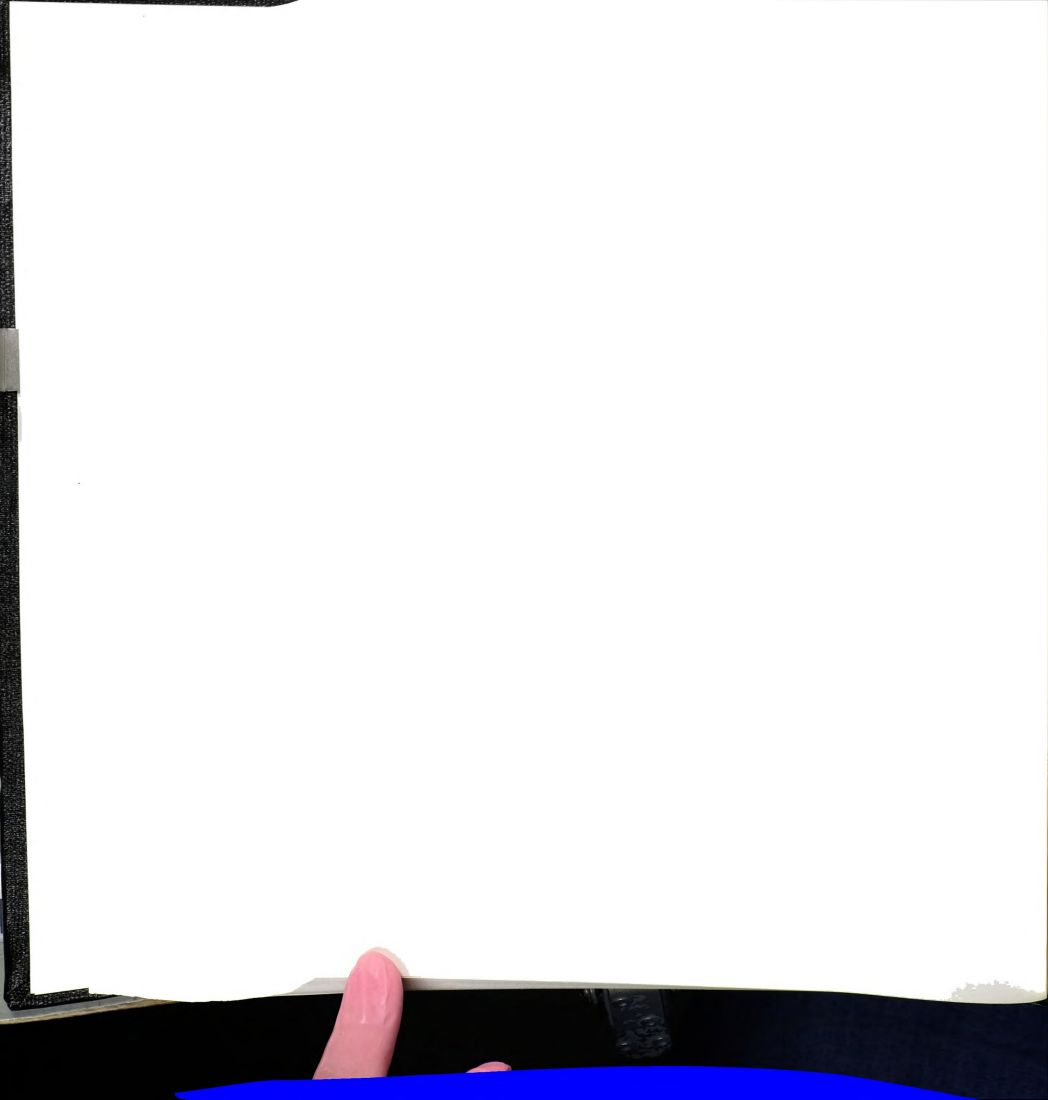
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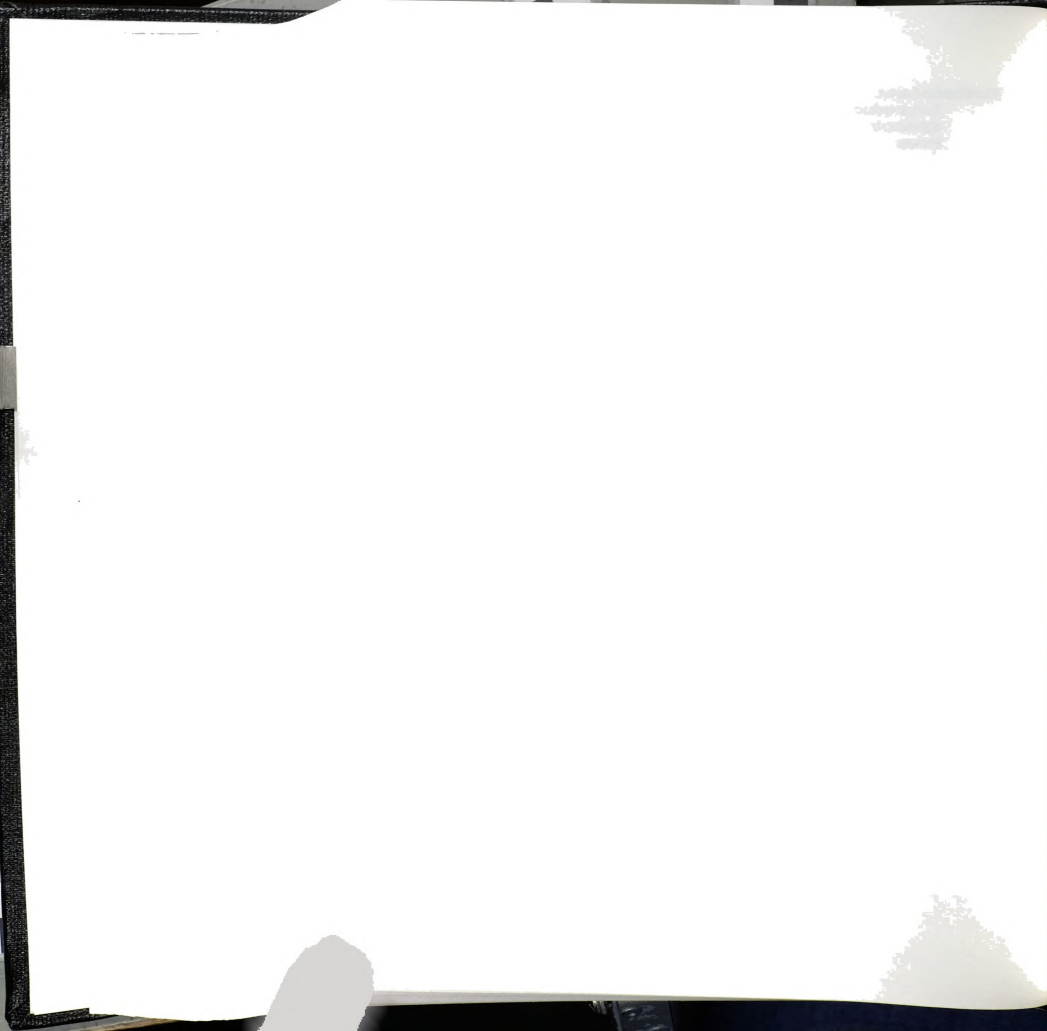
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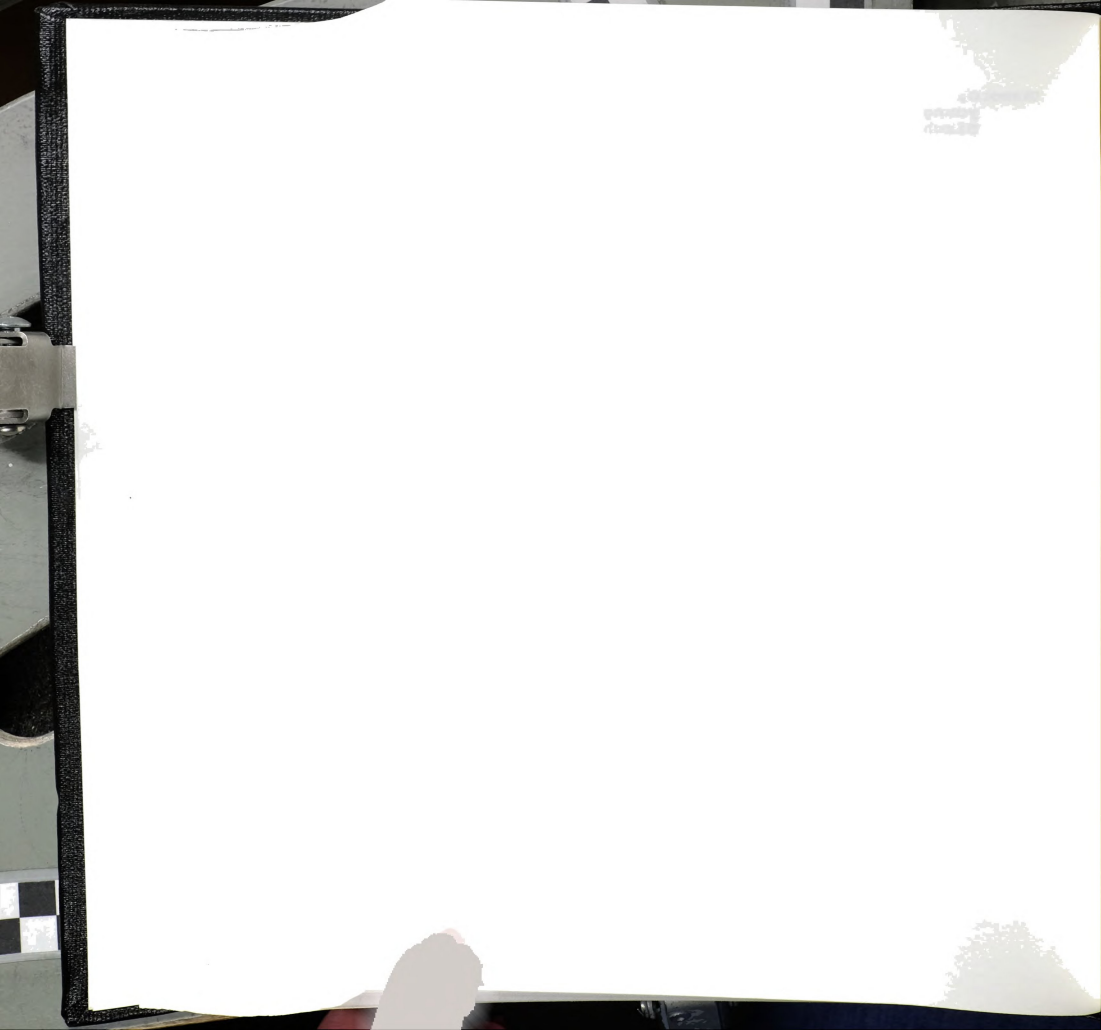
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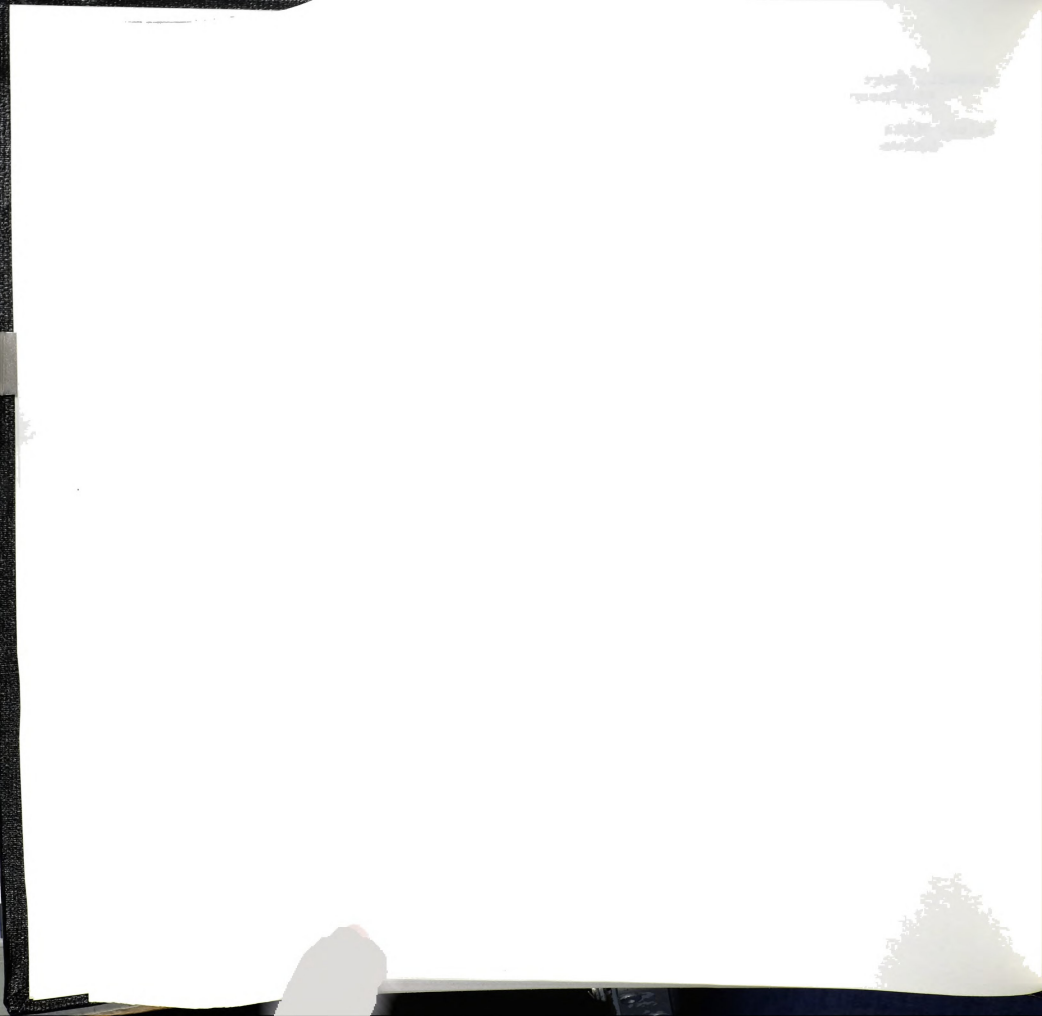
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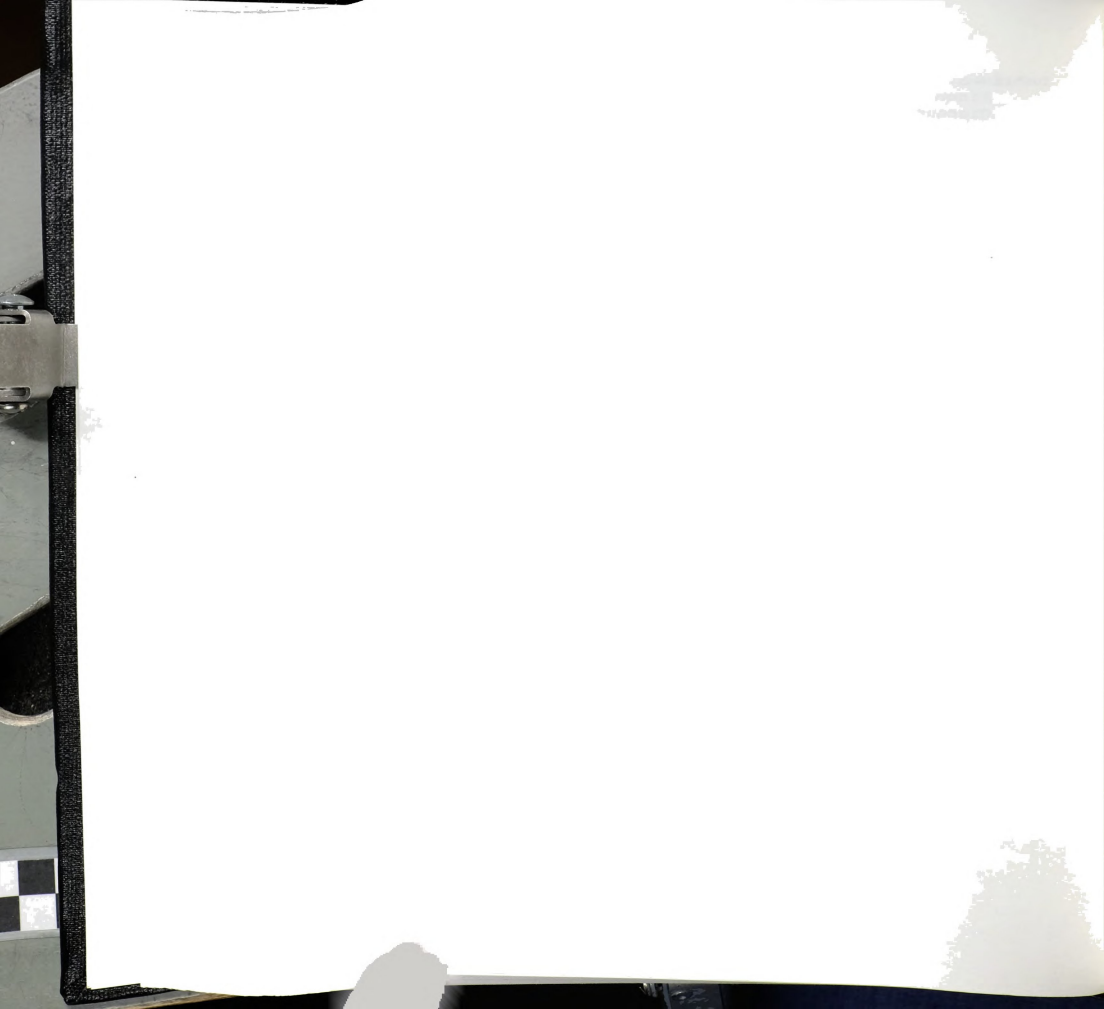
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