

Pragmatics of Japanese

Perspectives on grammar,
interaction and culture

EDITED BY

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Table of contents

Dedication	VII
Foreword	XI
Acknowledgement	XV
Introduction	1
<i>Junko Mori, Mutsuko Endo Hudson and Yoshiko Matsumoto</i>	
Part I. Grammar	
CHAPTER 1	
Reason-coding in Japanese: A Multiple Grammar perspective	17
<i>Yumiko Kawanishi and Shoichi Iwasaki</i>	
CHAPTER 2	
<i>Amari/anmari/anma</i> and <i>totemo/tottemo</i> in history and discourse:	
Interaction of negative polarity and positive polarity	49
<i>Rumiko Shinzato</i>	
CHAPTER 3	
The form and meaning of the dangling <i>mitaina</i> construction	
in a network of constructions	75
<i>Yoshiko Matsumoto</i>	
CHAPTER 4	
“Late projectability” of Japanese turns revisited:	
Interrelation between gaze and syntax in Japanese conversations	99
<i>Kanae Nakamura</i>	
Part II. Interaction	
CHAPTER 5	
Superiors’ directives in the Japanese workplace: Are they all strategic?	125
<i>Haruko Minegishi Cook</i>	
CHAPTER 6	
Negotiating entitlement in Japanese: The case of requesting forms	149
<i>Naomi Geyer</i>	

CHAPTER 7

- From subjectivity to intersubjectivity: A discourse-pragmatic study
of the Japanese epistemic marker *kamo* (*shirenai*) 173
Yan Wang

CHAPTER 8

- Ne* as an “impoliteness” (“detachment”) marker? 197
Mutsuko Endo Hudson

Part III. Culture

CHAPTER 9

- Genre and the cultural realms of taste in Japanese, Korean,
and U.S. online recipes 219
Susan G. Strauss, Heesun Chang and Yumi Matsumoto

CHAPTER 10

- Metapragmatic discourse in self-help books on Japanese women’s speech:
An indexical approach to social meanings 245
Shigeko Okamoto

CHAPTER 11

- Linguistic nationalism and fictional deception:
Metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese in Japan 267
Satoko Suzuki

CHAPTER 12

- How does a non-native Japanese literary writer dissimulate
and diversify the Japanese language? A case study of Hideo Levy 289
Seiichi Makino

- Subject index 309

- Name index 311

Dedication

With deep gratitude and appreciation, we, the editors and contributors, dedicate this book to our colleague, mentor, and teacher, Dr. Naomi Hanaoka McGloin.

Dr. McGloin was born in Hiroshima, and grew up in Hiroshima and Tokyo. She studied at the International Christian University in Tokyo, where she completed her bachelor's degree in English in 1967. The same year, she was selected as a recipient of the University of Michigan's Barbour Scholarship, established for "women of the highest academic and professional caliber" from Asian countries, and moved to the United States to embark on her graduate study in linguistics. She received her master's degree in 1968, and Ph.D. in 1972, both from the University of Michigan. Her dissertation was entitled *Some Aspects of Negation in Japanese*.

Upon completion of her doctoral degree, Dr. McGloin taught Japanese at the University of Michigan as a lecturer. Then in 1976, she was recruited as a professor of Japanese language and linguistics by the Department of East Asian Languages and Literature at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. For more than two decades, until 1998, she remained the only woman tenure-track/tenured faculty in the department. During her career at the university that spanned more than four decades, she supervised and mentored eight doctoral students and nearly 150 MA students in Japanese linguistics, and taught countless undergraduate students of Japanese. She also chaired the department in 1990–1993, 2001–2005 and 2012–2013.

As one of the pioneers of pragmatics research on Japanese, Dr. McGloin has produced a number of influential works that have contributed to the development of perspectives on grammar, interaction, and culture, featured in this volume. To name a few, her 1976 book chapter, "Negation," in a volume edited by Masayoshi Shibatani and her 1986 book, *Negation in Japanese* (Boreal Scholarly Publishers/Linguistic Research Inc.), offered the first comprehensive look at negation in Japanese in the generative linguistics framework, and examined constraints, scope, context, and pragmatic/discourse functions of negation constructions. Her 1980 article on *no da* 'it is that' is also regarded as one of the seminal works on this frequently used sentence-final expression. Further, *Aspects of Japanese Women's Language* (1991, Kurosio Publishers), which she co-edited with Sachiko Ide, built foundations for the subsequent research on Japanese language and gender. More recently, she has applied usage-based approaches to investigate the use of the connective particle *shi* 'and' as a sentence-final particle (2010, with Yumiko Konishi), the semantic shift of

the adverb *futsuuni* (2012, with Moeko Watanabe), the subordination and information status of *to* and *koto* complement clauses (2014), the sentence-final particle *yone* (2015, with Jun Xu), and yes/no questions marked by *no* (2016, with Yang Wang). The core of her work remains the exploration of the relationship between form and function of various linguistic expressions in Japanese.

In addition to these works in linguistics, Dr. McGloin is known for the creation of language teaching materials firmly grounded in her linguistic analyses. Her 1989 book, *A Students' Guide to Japanese Grammar* (Taishukan), offers useful comparison of similar grammatical structures that are confusing for learners of Japanese. The analyses provided in this book are so profound that they are often cited in linguistics articles. *An Integrated Approach to Intermediate Japanese* (first edition 1994, revised edition 2008), co-authored with Akira Miura, is a long-time best-selling textbook. Further, *Modern Japanese Grammar: A Practical Guide* (2013) and *Workbook* (2014), co-authored with Mutsuko E. Hudson, Fumiko Nazikian, and Tomomi Kakegawa, provide function-based as well as traditional accounts of grammatical features, with ample examples to illustrate their use in various communication contexts that second language learners are likely to encounter.

Dr. McGloin's leadership in the field of Japanese language and linguistics is also demonstrated through her contributions to professional organizations, including long-time service as a secretary, board member and the President of the American Association of Teachers of Japanese. Under her presidency, the association organized and hosted the International Conference on Japanese Language Education at Columbia University in 2006, held for the first time in North America. She was also the principal organizer of the 15th Japanese/Korean Linguistics Conference held in Madison, Wisconsin in 2005, which resulted in *Japanese/Korean Linguistics, Vol. 15* (2007, CSLI), co-edited with Junko Mori.

Dr. McGloin's professionalism and ability to integrate research, teaching, and service have been a model for those of us who followed in her footsteps. The compilation of this edited volume *Pragmatics of Japanese: Perspectives on Grammar, Interaction, and Culture* is our way of celebrating Dr. McGloin's accomplishments and expressing our sincere thanks, on the occasion of her retirement from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the spring of 2018.

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Foreword

I was delighted to hear some time ago that friends, colleagues, and former students of Naomi H. McGloin's were planning a volume dedicated to Naomi, celebrating her academic achievements and honoring her dedication to her profession and students. Believe it or not, I have known her for 46 years since we first met in California in 1971. I was therefore equally happy to be asked to contribute a small piece reminiscing on my encounters with her.

The summer of 1971 was a special summer for the then younger students of linguistics and especially for those aspiring young Turks in Japanese linguistics. A group of California linguists had formed an informal association (the California Linguistics Association?), and they organized and hosted a summer institute at UC Santa Cruz, inviting many leading generative grammarians as instructors. The time was during the high point of the hot debates between the mainstream lexicalist transformational grammarians and the start-up generative semanticists, including George Lakoff, Haj Ross, and James D. McCawley. The institute naturally attracted a large number of graduate students and younger linguists from both in and out of California. Many graduate students from Berkeley attended this institute as well, and I was one of those who drove down the Pacific Coast Highway to Santa Cruz a couple of days a week to attend some of the exciting courses being offered in the redwoods.

It was in Jim McCawley's class on Japanese syntax that I met Naomi and a few other Japanese students. The class had maybe around ten to twelve students mostly consisting of Japanese graduate students and a few non-Japanese auditors, including, besides Naomi, Noriko Akatsuka (Ohio State), Takatsugu Oyakawa and Masayoshi Hirose (both from Berkeley), Kunihiro Ogawa (in transition from Utah to UC San Diego), and Masaaki Yamanashi (in transition from UC San Diego to Michigan). There may have been a few other Japanese students, such as Masako Inoue (Yuki Kuroda's early student at UC San Diego), who became the president of Tokyo Women's Christian University and is now the president of Kyoto Notre Dame University under her married name Masako Sanada.

In this group of Japanese students there were two women titans (女傑), who scared the rest of us. One was Noriko Akatsuka and the other Naomi Hanaoka. Noriko, who had finished her degree at Illinois and had started teaching at Ohio State, and Naomi, who was an advanced graduate student at Michigan, were almost

opposite in personality and academic style. Noriko was outspoken and gregarious (though she was actually a very shy person, as I learned later), while Naomi was quieter and more reserved, almost remaining an elegant Japanese young woman not tainted by her American experiences, at least outwardly. Intellectually, Noriko was a very dynamic, and somewhat disorganized, thinker, whereas Naomi was a very meticulous and careful scholar.

The reason that these two scared us was that both Noriko and Naomi knew a great deal more about Japanese syntax and what it took to argue in linguistics than the rest of us. Noriko had already finished her dissertation and Naomi must have been at an advanced stage in her dissertation work – she finished it in 1972, the following year. After all, most of us were beginning graduate students, as I had just completed my first year of graduate school. The one most devastated by encountering the two female leaders of the pack was my friend Tak Oyakawa, who had finished an MA in Seattle and who had already spent a couple of years in Berkeley. He also knew he was good at playing ping-pong, beating me easily. But Noriko trashed him in the ping-pong game as well. More serious problems for Tak were that his favorite topics in Japanese syntax, namely reflexivization and the negative polarity expression *sika-nai* had been pursued by Noriko and Naomi, respectively, in far more sophisticated manners than he had ever imagined.

We were also envious of Noriko and Naomi because of their love life. Noriko and Jim McCawley started earnest courting on the Santa Cruz campus, and rumor had it that Naomi also had a serious boyfriend...by the name of Jim McGloin?

After the fun summer in California, Naomi went back to Ann Arbor to finish her dissertation, entitled *Some Aspects of Negation in Japanese*, in the following year. I belatedly got to know the quality of her work when she contributed part of her dissertation to the volume *Syntax and Semantics 5: Japanese Generative Grammar* (Academic Press; 1976), which I edited. The article “Negation” by Naomi, written in the generative semantics framework, is a fine piece of scholarship illuminating both the theoretical insight and the descriptive advantage that this framework allowed Naomi to cultivate in dealing with complex phenomena surrounding negative expressions. While the framework itself may no longer be pursued nowadays, the observations and analyses that Naomi made regarding such topics as *nakute* vs. *naide*, negative environment, and scope of negation are still valid and cannot be ignored by anyone interested in the syntax and semantics of sentence negation. (My understanding is that her Michigan dissertation was published in book form as *Negation in Japanese* in 1986.)

As the above episode shows, Naomi is a refined grammarian who would have produced many more influential works in syntax and semantics had her deep commitments to the teaching of Japanese not driven her toward research in pragmatics, dealing with topics of more immediate relevance to Japanese language teaching.

Naomi, like her predecessor in the field Susumu Kuno, successfully combined serious linguistic research and language teaching, feeding each other. All the contributions to this volume fittingly demonstrate the tremendous benefit one can gain from the active intercourse between the teaching of Japanese and linguistic research.

While Naomi and I had drifted apart in our professional activities after the late 1970's, our paths converged again when she graciously invited me to the Japanese/Korean linguistics conference, which she hosted at the lakeside campus of the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2005. It was a delightful reunion, with Noriko Akatsuka included, after so many years, when I also had a chance to meet Naomi's husband Jim McGloin. The conference itself was highly successful and people still talk fondly about the wonderful time we had both professionally and socially in Madison.

I hear that Naomi is retiring from active teaching in the spring of 2018. I will have four more years of half-time teaching until 2022 at Rice. Both of us have come a long way, while losing many dear friends and teachers along the way, including Kunihiro Ogawa, Takatsugu Oyakawa, Jim McCawley, Chuck Fillmore, and most recently Noriko Akatsuka. Naomi and all of us involved in this commemorative occasion have been very lucky to be blessed with good health and supportive families, friends, and colleagues, enabling us to celebrate the joys of daily life and to continue to do the things that our departed friends all would have enjoyed doing.

Good luck and lots of happiness in your retirement, Naomi!

July 2017

Masayoshi Shibatani

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We also would like to thank Maki Kawada-Shimotani for encouraging us to take on this project and Jae Takeuchi for supporting the development of the book proposal. Our sincere gratitude also goes to the editor of the *Pragmatics & Beyond New Series*, Dr. Anita Fetzer, and John Benjamins's acquisition editor, Ms. Isja Conen, for their guidance, and to the two anonymous reviewers, whose feedback greatly helped us shape the final form of this edited volume.

Introduction

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1. Introduction

During the last four decades, Japanese has arguably established its status as one of the most studied non-European languages in pragmatics. Because of the characteristics that Japanese presents in its structure, as well as the common belief of the apparent cultural uniqueness of its speech community, studies of Japanese have contributed to our understanding of human language by confirming or disconfirming the applicability of various pragmatic principles. These studies have also described a broad range of discourse-pragmatic functions that are served by particular linguistic forms available in Japanese, and these findings in turn have prompted specialists of other languages to study previously unnoticed phenomena in their data.

While a number of books, edited volumes, and journal articles on Japanese pragmatics have been published over the years, to our knowledge, there is no single book that showcases the breadth of research conducted in this ever-expanding, interdisciplinary field. Thus, the aim of this volume is to bring together studies that examine a variety of traditional and emerging topics by adopting diverse theoretical and methodological perspectives. That is, the volume demonstrates the wide scope of pragmatics research informed by, as well as informing, usage-based grammar, cognitive linguistics, conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and literary and cultural studies, among others. It also considers future directions as to how the study of Japanese language in use will continue to offer critical data and analyses to the field dominated by the study of English and other European languages.

This introductory chapter first provides a brief overview of the development of the field, by elucidating the changing scope of inquiry and reviewing emerging research trends concerning the three fundamental components of pragmatics, *grammar*, *interaction*, and *culture*. The chapter will then offer a preview of the chapters to follow, which are organized according to these three components.

2. The scope of inquiry: Past and present

The modern-day use of the term “pragmatics” was first introduced by Charles Morris (1938), who defined pragmatics as “the study of the relation of signs to interpreters” and distinguished it from syntax (“the formal relations of signs to one another”) and semantics (“the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable” (p. 6). The establishment of pragmatics as an independent research field, however, did not happen until the 1970s, following the publication of a series of influential works by linguistic philosophers such as J. L. Austin, J. Searle, and P. Grice in the 1960s and 1970s. The speech act theories of Austin and Searle and the Gricean Cooperative Principle have had a long-lasting impact on the subsequent development of the field that has investigated how the relationship between the speakers and listeners and the context of interaction contribute to the meaning-making process.

Over the last several decades, pragmatics research has flourished, significantly expanding its scope of inquiry. The field once recognized as just a subfield of linguistics and semiotics has become increasingly interdisciplinary. Today, conferences, journals, edited volumes, and book series on pragmatics are populated not only by linguists, but also by researchers trained in anthropology, communication studies, psychology, and sociology, all of whom have introduced diverse theoretical and methodological perspectives. Together they address a broad range of issues associated with the use of language and other semiotic resources in social interactions. The transforming boundaries of pragmatics and the field’s spirit of welcoming interdisciplinarity are well represented in the current book series, *Pragmatics & Beyond New Series*, as well.

The development of pragmatics research on Japanese largely follows that of pragmatics research in general. A quick search in the Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA) demonstrates the significant surge in the number of publications on Japanese pragmatics in the 1990s and thereafter. Researchers of Japanese pragmatics have either embraced newly introduced theories, or critiqued them for their inapplicability to Japanese language. One of the earlier attempts to showcase research on Japanese pragmatics, for instance, can be found in the 1997 special issue of *Journal of Pragmatics* (Volume 28, Issue 6). This special issue introduced seven articles that addressed what were then recognized as current topics. The special issue further identified innovative directions in diverse areas of pragmatic studies, ranging from the examination of Fauconnier’s theory of Mental Space to historical pragmatics, language socialization process, sequential organization of talk-in-interaction, and indexicality associated with a variety of linguistic forms. In the preface to this special issue, Matsumoto (1997: 659) states, “Pragmatics research emphasizes a balance of theory with sound observation.” The studies featured in the

issue are varied in how they achieve the balance of theory and empirical evidence: some examined audio- and/or video- recorded conversations taking data-driven approaches, while others tested existing theories and proposed alternatives based primarily on the observation of examples constructed by researchers.

During the subsequent two decades, strands of pragmatics research that put emphasis on the investigation of actual language use have gained momentum through the interaction with neighboring social scientific disciplines mentioned above. While theoretical inquiries continue to hold their prominence, the articulation of methods for achieving “sound observation,” as well as the description of types of corpora studied, has become all the more critical. As demonstrated in the current collection of studies, there is a broad range of authentic spoken and written data, including audio- and/or video-recorded ordinary conversations, institutional discourse, online discourse, TV drama, news and talk shows, meta-pragmatic discourse, literary texts; all these have been examined to shed light on the process of meaning-creation and the use of linguistic forms that are specific to particular domains and genres of discourse. The heightened attention to this genre- or domain-specific nature of language use and the expansion of database are perhaps the major aspects of the development in the last two decades.

Regardless of theoretical and methodological perspectives adopted for the inquiry, the core mission of the field remains the examination of linguistic structures (grammar), contexts of use (interaction), and universality and particularity of human behaviors (culture), as well as their interrelationship. In the following, the development of pragmatics research will be discussed further through a concise review of traditional and emerging perspectives adopted to advance our knowledge on these three components.

2.1 Grammar

The series of publications by Noam Chomsky in the 1950s and 1960s contributed to the establishment of the commanding tradition of formal linguistics that investigates language as an autonomous system whose rules and structures are deemed describable independent of the examination of its use. In opposition to this view, C. J. Fillmore, G. Green, G. Lakoff, R. Lakoff, and E. Prince, among others, put forth the idea that speaker’s intention and contextual understanding are the crux of linguistic descriptions. That is, how language is used is the central focus of investigation in order to discover its rules and structures for functionalists. Further, while generative grammarians propose the universality of human language through its abstraction, usage-based linguists such as J. Bybee, B. Comrie, J. Du Bois, T. Givón, C. N. Li, S. A. Thompson, to name a few, explore variations and the universality through the cross-linguistic examinations of a wide variety of languages. Phenomena in

Japanese such as the prominence of theme/topic, focus, empathy, or epistemic status, investigated by S. Kuno, S. Kuroda, M. Shibatani, A. Kamio, N. Akatsuka, N. McGloin, and others also contributed to the formative years of this development.

The attempt to uncover how cognitive and interactional dimensions of language use affect linguistic structures and vice versa has further developed in the subsequent years, branching out to different streams of research, identified as cognitive grammar/linguistics, construction grammar, discourse-functional linguistics, and interactional linguistics, among others. The notions such as memory, attention, information flow, affect, emotion, cognitive and interactional economy have been brought to bear on the understanding of how grammar shapes, and is shaped by, what users do with language. The 2006 volume in this series, edited by S. Suzuki, for instance, explores affective dimensions of language use and their impact on linguistic structures.

As represented in a few chapters of this volume, the incorporation of historical perspectives into pragmatics research has also yielded fruitful outcomes. These studies account for diachronic changes in linguistic structures as a result of pragmatic needs. The special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* co-edited by N. Onodera and R. Suzuki (2007) further attests to how studies on Japanese have contributed to the development of historical pragmatics, documenting how the processes of grammaticalization, subjectification and intersubjectification, originally proposed by Traugott and Langacker, among others, apply to Japanese data. While there are significant variations in theoretical and methodological perspectives adopted in these undertakings, the common assumption among them is that language belongs to its users. The recent volume edited by Kabata and Ono (2014) showcases the range of usage-based approaches that have been applied to the study of Japanese language.

Further, the advancement of technology seen during the last two decades has enabled researchers to expand the size and scope of linguistic data and given rise to the systematic analysis of recurrent patterns observed in various types of corpora. This development has promoted the investigation of genre-specific grammar. Technology has also boosted the ease of collecting and examining audio and video recordings of naturally occurring interactions. The close observation of such data has led some linguists, especially those who incorporate the sociological framework of conversation analysis into linguistic analysis (e.g. E. Couper-Kuhlen, C. E. Ford, B. A. Fox, M. Selting, L. Mondada, and S. A. Thompson), to conclude that grammar cannot be investigated in isolation from other semiotic resources such as prosody, gaze, facial expressions, gesture that are also in play in the meaning-making process. These lines of work have influenced pragmatics research on Japanese, which in turn continues to offer opportunities to explore the typology and universals of human language.

2.2 Interaction

As summarized above, pragmatic inquiry into linguistic structures considers both cognitive and interactional dimensions of language use. For the understanding of interactional dimensions, factors such as the context of interaction, the relationship among interlocutors, and the speaker's (or writer's) intention are the primary target of investigation. The apparent richness of linguistic forms such as honorifics and sentence-final particles in Japanese has led many researchers of Japanese to investigate social meanings codified by these forms. In the meantime, politeness theories proposed by R. Lakoff (1973, 1975), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983) have also stirred controversies and prompted a number of Japanese specialists to assert how principles developed by these Western researchers cannot fully capture politeness phenomena in Japanese.

Brown and Levinson, for instance, classified the Japanese culture, along with the British, the Malagasy, and the Brahmins of India, as a “negative-politeness culture,” which prioritizes the avoidance of imposition on others over the maintenance and enhancement of others' positive public image. This rather coarse classification and generalization was immediately challenged by researchers such as Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989). Matsumoto pointed out that the Western conceptualization of face prominently featured in Brown and Levinson's model cannot be uncritically adopted when discussing how politeness works in other cultures. On the other hand, Ide argued that the understanding of vertical and horizontal relationships among interlocutors, as defined by the sociocultural norms of the society, or what Ide calls *wakimae* ‘discernment,’ is considered essential for the appropriate use of honorifics and the conceptualization of politeness.

As is the case for other areas of pragmatics research, the study on politeness and other social and interactional aspects of language use has taken an empirical turn in the subsequent years. Theory-building based on researchers' or research participants' introspection has been countered by the inspection of audio-/video-recorded interactions. The former tends to view contextual factors to be static and predetermined values, according to which the speakers select suitable linguistic forms to encode them. On the other hand, the latter views contexts to be dynamic, often changing moment by moment even within the same speech event or written text addressing the same interlocutors. Indeed, the choice of linguistic forms is considered to contribute to the establishment of the micro context where the participants negotiate their situated identities, participation framework, and the nature of activities in progress. In this view, social meanings are not what is inherent to linguistic forms, but what is indexed or co-constructed in situated activities. The 2008 volume in this series edited by Jones and Ono presents a collection of studies that take this latter perspective and illuminate the ways in which Japanese speakers

shift styles – be it the use or the non-use of addressee honorifics, gendered linguistic forms, or regional and standard variations.

Increasingly, researchers argue that neither the earlier universal pragmatic theories nor the culture-specific norms can fully account for phenomena such as politeness. In order to tackle the complexity of language use in interaction, a number of theoretical and methodological perspectives have been incorporated into pragmatics research; among them are practice theory, discourse analysis, discursive psychology, conversation analysis, and membership categorization analysis. These perspectives have also been adopted by researchers of Japanese pragmatics, who have refined the understanding of the intricacy of the relationship between various formality levels and types of contexts, and the use of linguistic forms.

2.3 Culture

While universality versus cultural-specificity of human language has been one of the central preoccupations in the field, it has been contentious as to how one can establish solid empirical evidence for or against one or the other. As discussed in the previous section, the conceptualization of politeness, for instance, has been a widely-debated topic in Japanese pragmatics because of the language's elaborate system of honorifics. The linguistic relativism of E. Sapir and B. Whorf is also relevant to this consideration as particular linguistic forms of a given language are believed to affect its speakers' cognition and worldview. Further, with our societies becoming increasingly multilingual and multicultural, how to conceptualize a speech community or a cultural group presents yet another challenge.

In its early days, pragmatics research on Japanese had a tendency to emphasize how Japanese language and its speakers are different from Western languages and their speakers. These earlier studies often relied on authors' intuition and anecdotes and discussed prescriptive pragmatic norms, rather than engaging in a systematic analysis of actual discourse. During the period of Japan's post-war economic boom, *Nihonjin-ron* 'theory of Japanese uniqueness' was propagated through both academic and popular literature. The characterization of Japan as a vertical society (Nakane 1970) or the concept of *amae* (dependence) as a unique feature of Japanese psyche (Doi 1973) were often referenced by scholars of pragmatics in their description of norms for language use in the Japanese speech community. In this fashion, studies on Japanese pragmatics also contributed to the further dissemination of *Nihonjin-ron*.

Since the 1990s, however, the assumption of a clearly demarcated, monolithic, and homogeneous community of Japanese speakers and the static understanding of culture shared among its members have increasingly been questioned. For instance,

as the analysis of actual language use has become a standard in the field, more and more studies have begun to report examples of audio-/video-recorded language use that do not fit well with idealized cultural norms discussed in earlier studies. While these norms may apply to certain circumstances and certain groups of Japanese speakers, they do not necessarily govern all communicative behaviors of Japanese speakers. Data-driven approaches have thus continued to refine our understanding of differences among subgroups of Japanese speakers defined by gender, age, regions, professions, and in-/out-group memberships, as well as context-specific or activity-specific nature of the speakers' action.

Alongside this move towards empirical, evidence-based research, the scholarship on language ideologies, i.e., users' beliefs and perceptions concerning language structure and use, has rapidly advanced during the last few decades. This development has also prompted a number of researchers of Japanese pragmatics to critically evaluate the essentialistic, prescriptive understanding of culture, explicit or implicit in earlier studies. From the perspectives of these researchers, earlier pragmatic studies can be seen as a pivotal player for the promotion of the ideology of Japanese uniqueness or the ideology of Japanese women's language as they tend to reiterate or reinforce common beliefs and perceptions without critical reflection. In contrast, researchers on language ideologies examine the process of creation and maintenance of such commonly held beliefs and perceptions attributing them to metapragmatic discourse that circulates in the society. They also describe how power dynamics among sub-groups may be reflected in these ideologies, and how individual speakers work with, around, or against them in order to create their own unique voice and identity.

Further, the rapid progression of globalization, seen in recent years, and the increased population of non-Japanese users of Japanese in Japan and abroad challenges the long-held ideology of "one nation, one language, one culture, one people," which contributed to the creation of modern Japan. While the cultural and linguistic homogeneity has never been a reality, contemporary Japan faces the acute need to come to grips with the reality of a multilingual and multicultural nation, as well as transnational reach of Japanese language and culture. This macro social context destabilizes the traditional notions of Japanese language and culture and their ownership. Given that researchers of Japanese pragmatics working outside of Japan tend to be affiliated with humanities departments, some of the recent pragmatic studies that explore the interplay between language, culture and ideology have expanded its coverage to the intersection with literary and cultural studies.

3. Preview of the chapters

The present volume consists of three parts organized under the three fundamental and interrelated components discussed above, that is, *grammar*, *interaction*, and *culture*. Each part comprises four chapters that highlight the significance of the particular component while introducing different theoretical and methodological perspectives. The classification of these chapters, however, does not necessarily mean that they are exclusively concerned with only one of the three components. Quite the contrary, all the chapters inevitably refer to more than one component in their investigations.

Part I features studies that demonstrate how grammar cannot be sufficiently described without accounting for various elements of language use.

The first chapter by **Yumiko Kawanishi** and **Shoichi Iwasaki** approaches this issue by examining grammatical resources for reason-coding. Noting the importance of using naturally-occurring data drawn from different genres, the authors compare spoken data (mundane telephone conversations) and written data (newspaper editorials). Their analysis reveals a striking contrast between the two datasets. That is, while the conjunctive particles such as *kara*, *shi*, and *dakara* are frequently observed in the spoken data, the use of these particles traditionally associated with reason-coding is relatively infrequent in editorials. Instead, writers often employ relative clauses as a resource for reason-coding. With ample time afforded for composition and processing, writers and readers can express and interpret reasons expressed through embedding strategies. The results illustrate how different constructional patterns are chosen in each genre in accordance with the unique communicative and cognitive conditions associated with the genre. Based on their findings, the authors promote a Multiple Grammar perspective, which accounts for spoken grammar and written grammar, employed by language users to produce and comprehend dissimilar reason-coding devices.

The next chapter by **Rumiko Shinzato** brings in the diachronic perspective that contributes to our understanding of present-day uses of polarity items. Degree adverbs have been a topic of interest in pragmatics as they often indicate the speaker's stance. Historically, *totemo* '(not) very' was an NPI (= negative polarity item) while *amari* 'very' was a PPI (= positive polarity item). However, the current distributional pattern of *totemo* and *amari* and their variants in a spoken corpus indicates that *totemo* 'very' is predominantly used as PPI while *amari* '(not) very' is predominantly used as NPI. Shinzato argues that this shift happened through a gradual diachronic process and explains the reason by using concepts from grammaticalization: specifically, counter-expectation, structural reanalysis and bifurcation. Noting that distributional patterns of synchronic variations in present-day Japanese also provide depth to the understanding of these polarity

items, she supports Hoeksema's (2010) position that emphasizes the importance of grammaticalization in considering uses of polarity items rather than simply treating polarity as an issue of lexical semantics.

Yoshiko Matsumoto's chapter focuses on the relatively recent use of *mitaina*, the prenominal form of the evidential (epistemic modal) expression *mitaida* '(it) is/looks like' that is used in an utterance without the following noun. Whereas the use of *mitaina* as a regular evidential expression followed by a noun indicates a description of an event/state as being the speaker's approximate cognitive observation, Matsumoto illustrates that the innovative use of *mitaina*, termed the "Dangling *Mitaina* Construction," conveys a distinct meaning. It signals that the constituent preceding *mitaina* conveys the speaker's stance toward the situation in a manner that is impressionistic and often vividly descriptive. This pairing of the form and the specific meaning makes it evident that the construction at issue is a full-fledged grammatical construction rather than a fragment. Further, the construction is shown to be a network of similar constructions such as the dangling *toyuu* construction, in which the prenominal *toyuu* dangles without its noun. The development of these innovative constructions in interactional contexts, the author argues, provides additional motivation for incorporating pragmatic and contextual factors into accounts of grammar.

In the last chapter in this part, **Kanae Nakamura** addresses a topic that has received increasing attention in pragmatics; namely, the multimodality of social interaction. Drawing on the methodology and past findings of conversation analysis, Nakamura illustrates the close relationship between gaze and the structure of Japanese. She discusses the timing at which the speaker's gaze shifts toward the recipient during informal conversations and what that signals. Her data show that speakers tend to shift their gaze to the recipient as they begin to produce a turn-final predicate component. This gaze shift, Nakamura argues, serves as a signal of the imminent onset of transition relevance space in face-to-face interaction. This claim is in contrast with previous studies that identified linguistic elements such as the copula or the pragmatic particles that follow the utterance-final predicate as markers of turn completion. Through the analysis of multimodal resources involved in the negotiation of turn transitions, this study revisits the view that the Japanese speakers face difficulty projecting the turn completion due to the postpositional, verb-final structure of the language. The chapter dovetails nicely into the next part that underscores social and interactional dimensions of language use.

Part II consists of four chapters that illuminate how the choice of particular linguistic forms brings about significant consequences in interaction, as well as how the speakers' choice is impacted by their consideration of the relationship with the interlocutors as well as the nature of their action.

The first chapter by **Haruko Minegishi Cook** delves into one of the controversial issues in linguistic politeness in Japanese – whether volitional politeness strategies, discussed by Brown and Levinson (1987) as part of their universal theory of politeness, can account for Japanese speakers' practices, or discernment politeness, proposed by Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989) as their critique of Brown and Levinson, takes more prominence in the case of Japanese. Building on recent studies of workplace interactions by Dunn (2011) and Geyer (2013), Cook approaches this issue through her examination of social superiors' directives in new employee orientation sessions. Her analysis demonstrates that both types of politeness are in play. It also reveals the critical distinction between two types of directives, "procedural" and "non-procedural," that alters how superiors perform discernment or volitional politeness. Based on the results, Cook concludes that the static understanding of discernment as rigid and obligatory rules does not fully capture the dynamic reality of Japanese speakers' politeness behaviors, and calls researchers' attention to the significance of undertaking a closer analysis of actions performed by different types of directives.

Naomi Geyer's chapter also looks into politeness in workplace interaction. Whereas Cook's chapter considers the types of directives as a primary factor influencing the speaker's choice of forms and strategies, Geyer sheds light on the notion of "entitlement" (speaker's right to make a request) in her study of request sequences observed in faculty meetings at Japanese secondary schools. The level of entitlement is determined based on the speakers' understanding of their institutional roles and on the existence (or lack thereof) of prior agreement on the content of a request. While the *-te kudasai* format tends to be employed when the speakers demonstrate their entitlement for making a request, other forms of request tend to be used when they frame requests as their own. Linking the moment-by-moment analysis of request sequences and the perspective of discursive politeness studies, Geyer underscores the importance of attending to the face-work achieved through the process. That is, the speaker's claim of entitlement can be considered their display of positive self-image as informed and institutionally connected beings. Her approach contrasts with the general tendency to focus on face-threatening acts and negative politeness that has been seen in Japanese pragmatics studies.

The remaining two chapters in this part investigate discourse-pragmatic functions of specific linguistic markers, *kamo(shirenai)* and *ne*, respectively.

Yan Wang studies the use of *kamo (shirenai)* ('maybe'), which has been often treated as a marker of epistemic uncertainty. By examining 72 tokens of *kamo (shirenai)* observed in more than five hours of casual conversations among native speakers of Japanese, Wang demonstrates the function of this marker is not limited to the mitigation of informational certainty. Rather, the speakers in her data use this marker to mitigate the assertiveness of a statement, evaluative stance, or

personal emotion. Wang suggests that the occurrence of *kamo* (*shirenai*) may be triggered by a number of factors; e.g. the relationship between the interlocutors, the speaker's assessment of the addressee's knowledge, shared understanding of "face" and "politeness" (Brown and Levinson 1987), and the conversational dynamics. She further accounts for the variety of discourse-pragmatic functions performed by the marker from the point of view of grammaticalization, or more specifically the process of intersubjectivization proposed by Traugot (2003).

The chapter by **Mutsuko Endo Hudson**, on the other hand, examines one type of "optional *ne*" (Kamio 1994, 1998), as in *Gohyaku-en desu NE* '(It) is 500-yen NE' in response to a question about the price. Such *ne* is used when the speaker has full information and the hearer has none, pronounced short and crisp in low pitch, often followed by a glottal stop. The study investigates the occurrences of such *ne* in student responses to questions in interviews with the author. In the literature, *ne* is generally said to mark information/knowledge the speaker assumes is shared with the hearer (e.g. Hayano 2013; Makino and Tsutsui 1986). According to the author, attaching *ne* to information that is actually not shared makes the sentence sound as though the speaker implies that the hearer should know it as well, which may be the reason why *ne*-attached responses often sound "detached" or even "impolite." Hudson's study also refers to the possible generational gap in the interpretation of social meanings of a particular linguistic form.

The results of Hudson's study allude to the fact that linguistic norms and preferences may not be completely shared among native speakers of Japanese. This observation is related to the theme of **Part III**, which consists of four chapters that deliberate the conceptualizations of culture and speech community from respective theoretical and methodological perspectives.

The first chapter by **Susan G. Strauss, Heesun Chang, and Yumi Matsumoto** offers a cross-cultural, cross-linguistic study of the online recipe, a hybrid genre of discourse consisting of recipe presentations and social media commentary, where a group of strangers form a virtual community sharing their ideas and/or feelings on culinary and gastronomic experiences. By juxtaposing comparable websites written in Japanese, Korean and American English, the authors illustrate language/culture-specific patterns of discourse found in the respective sites. The U.S. recipes tend to be procedurally driven compared to the other two, and provide highly specific information regarding ingredients and cookware. On the other hand, Japanese and Korean recipes tend to show an empathic orientation and a higher degree of engagement, appealing to the collective identities defined by units such as family, society and nation. According to the authors, readers' commentaries also reflect lingua-cultural norms of the respective socio-cultural-linguistic groups.

Shigeko Okamoto examines metapragmatic discourse appearing in self-help books on Japanese women's speech, with the aim to uncover how women's speech

norms are understood by laypersons and how their understanding contrasts with scholars' linguistic descriptions of *joseigo* 'women's language.' Her study shows characteristics of "ideal" women's speech recommended in popular self-help books are broader and more complex than what has been reported in scholarly literature. For instance, these books emphasize the importance of extra-linguistic features, without which the use of particular linguistic forms may not be interpreted as polite, gentle, refined or feminine. This suggests that linguistic forms do not necessarily have inherent social meanings, but rather that social meanings of linguistic and extra-linguistic forms are indexed vis-à-vis a particular ideology of the society. In line with recent trends in this subfield, Okamoto advocates for the significance of investigating the process of construction and dissemination of linguistic gender norms.

While the previous two chapters assume the existence of an (imagined) homogeneous speech community consisting of native speakers of Japanese, and examine the process of its discursive construction, the following two chapters shed light on the language of non-native and non-ethnically-Japanese speakers in contemporary, heterogeneous society.

Like Okamoto, **Satoko Suzuki** addresses the relationship between language and ideology in Japanese society, by focusing on linguistic nationalism, or the ideology that only the ethnically Japanese people possess advanced linguistic proficiency in Japanese. Building on the recent literature on *yakuwari-go* 'role language' (Kinsui 2003, 2007, 2008; Yoda 2011), Suzuki examines a novel, *Ahiru to Kamo to Koinrokkaa* ("The Foreign Duck, The Native Duck and God in a Coin Locker") by Kotaro Isaka (2003), whose main protagonist is a young man from Bhutan living in Japan. More specifically, she explicates Isaka's intentional use and non-use of *katakoto nihongo* 'broken Japanese,' indicated by mispronunciation, ungrammatical sentences, disfluency, and inability to adjust speech styles, for the creation of the protagonist's real and pretended identities and a surprising ending in this mystery drama. Suzuki argues the novelist's deliberate use of the metapragmatic stereotype suggests his awareness of linguistic nationalism and his invitation to his readers to join in the critical reflection of unconscious prejudices. Her chapter reminds us of the importance of attending to the diverse demographics of Japanese and the necessity of embracing multiculturalism in our scholarship.

The last chapter by **Seiichi Makino** also turns to literature to problematize the common view regarding the ownership of Japanese language, which has been largely restricted to the ethnically Japanese, born and raised in Japan. The focus of his study is on non-native Japanese literary writers who have gained recognition over the last few decades. Taking Hideo Ian Levy as an example, Makino discusses how these writers establish the amalgamated third language and culture

by overcoming conflicting viewpoints presented by their native language and Japanese and constantly engaging in translation between the two. He also argues that their unique style likely contributes to the dissimulation and diversification of the Japanese literary language, which has already undergone diachronic changes and exhibited synchronic variations. Makino concludes his chapter by encouraging Japanese readers to appreciate the work of non-native writers as they appreciate that of trans-bordering writers whose first language is Japanese. The celebration of trans-lingual literary language, he predicts, will deconstruct the persistent view that Japanese language exclusively belongs to its native speakers.

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PART I

Grammar

Reason-coding in Japanese

A Multiple Grammar perspective

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This chapter examines how reasons are expressed in Japanese discourse, employing the Multiple Grammar (MG) Model proposed by Iwasaki (2015) as a theoretical foundation. It shows how the model can explain different ways in which reasons are expressed in conversation and newspaper editorials. This research is different from most previous works in that it starts with the function of reason coding rather than forms such as *kara* and *node*. In conversations, reasons are coded flexibly by employing mechanisms suited for on-line production while in editorials they are expressed using complex structures such as embedding with complement and relative clauses, made possible because there is almost no time constraint.

Keywords: reason-coding, Multiple Grammar Model, spoken grammar, written grammar, Japanese, pragmatics

1. Introduction

“Reason” is one type of adverbial information that states “a cause, evidence, an explanation, an excuse,” among others, provided for some other information in discourse. In Japanese it is often expressed in a clause marked by such conjunctive particles as *kara*, *node*, *tame*, and *shi*. In this chapter we first show that these conjunctive particles and other resources for reason coding are employed in non-identical fashion in spoken and written discourses. We will explain this discrepancy by appealing to an ecological view on grammar, then suggest that the difference is a reflection of different grammars that speakers¹ come to create in their cognitive system, as suggested in the Multiple Grammar (MG) Model (Iwasaki

1. In this chapter the term “speaker” is used either as a general term or as opposed to “writer.” We also use “speaker/writer” when such a label is more appropriate.

2015). Though the analysis of the reason-coding markers such as *kara*, *node*, *tame*, and *shi* has a long history (see for example, Makino and Tsutsui 1986; Nagano 1970; Tsunoda 2012), we need to recognize several shortcomings. First, the previous research mostly relies on the analysts' intuition.² In order to gain a more realistic view on the resources for reason-coding, we have employed a detailed discourse analytical methodology. Second, the methodology adopted in the previous research mostly starts with forms rather than functions. The methodology that starts with the function of reason-coding will enable us to examine a wider range of resources hitherto unnoticed, such as complement and relative clauses used in written discourse to code the reason-consequence relation. Finally, most previous research has not distinguished the patterns of grammar of reason-coding in spoken and written languages (McGloin and Konishi 2010 is an exception), but the grammatical resources or their actual uses may well be distinct in different modes of language use. After preliminary remarks are made on the MG model in Section 2, Section 3 briefly reviews previous studies on the grammar of reason-coding. Section 4 describes the database we used for this research (conversation and newspaper editorials). Section 5 presents the findings, and Section 6 relates them to the MG model. Section 7 concludes the chapter.

2. Multiple Grammar model

Our view on grammar (multiple-grammar view) is shared by Miller and Weinert (1998: 4–5), who claim that “(t)he term ‘spoken language’ and ‘written language’ do not refer merely to different mediums but relate to partially different systems of morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and the organization of texts.” Chafe (1982), for example, reports that coordinating conjunctions such as *and*, *but*, and *so* appear four times more frequently in his English spoken corpus than in his written corpus. In contrast, nominalization of verbs such as *treatment*, *development*, and *operation* appear 11.5 times more frequently in his written corpus than in his spoken corpus (see also Kroll 1977; Ochs 1979). The difference may be attributed to the fundamental disparity between the two types of language use in terms of the media types (sound vs. graph), cognitive constraints (on-line processing vs. detachment), and purposes (interaction vs. ideational formation), among others (see Biber 1988, 1989, 1995; Biber and Conrad 2009; Chafe and Tannen 1987; Tannen 1982; among others). Chafe (1994: 45) further notes that speaking and writing

2. Some exceptions exist: Miyagawa and Nakamura (1991) analyze the use of *kara* and *node* in novels. Kobayashi (1994) examines *shi* in written discourse and McGloin and Konishi (2010) examine *shi* in both spoken and written discourse.

each have their “own validity, each being an effective adaptation to the situation in which it is used.” This view is a natural consequence of the ecological view on grammar to which many functionally oriented linguists subscribe (e.g., Du Bois 1985, 1987; Fujii and Ono 2000; Hopper 1987, 1988, 1998, 2001 2004; Pawley and Syder 1983a, 1983b; Thompson and Hopper 2001). The ecological view, first of all, can help understand the historical development of grammar. Halliday (2004), for example, discusses how grammatical features of scientific English have evolved, and shows how the systems of information packaging through nominalization and integration (e.g. from “*a* happens; so *x* happens” to “happening *a* is the cause of happening *x*”) has evolved as a response to the need of writing scientifically with logical and coherent steps (see also Biber and Conrad 2009). The ecological view also can help us understand speaker’s cognitive foundation in grammar. The MG model was proposed to spell out the speaker’s grammatical systems based on such foundational works by Langacker (1987, 1991, 2000) and Bybee (2006). Because, as noted immediately above, spoken language and written language are significantly different in many respects, it is natural to assume that the grammars for spoken and written languages are acquired and developed differently in the usage-based fashion, and evolve into qualitatively different systems. In other words, the ecological view accommodates the usage-based model of language acquisition, which assumes that people construct grammar by being immersed in the language data in the environment (Dąbrowska 2014; Diessel and Tomasello 2001).

We use “SG1” (Spoken Grammar 1) to refer to the grammar that speakers construct in their initial language acquisition phase and use for basic conversation. Figure 1 below shows the relationship between usage events indicated as “Conversation” in a box at the bottom of the figure and SG1 in the circle. At the lower level of SG1 are found many formulaic and prefabricated expressions which appear regularly in routine conversations. Children may start to use prefabricated formula repeatedly in their conversational routines, but as they mature they may construct progressively more abstract grammatical frames. Thus, at the higher level

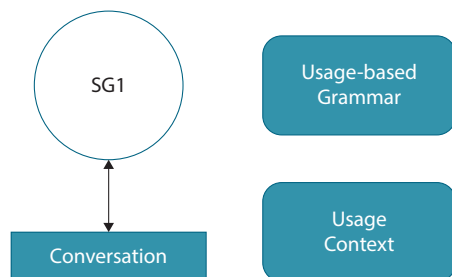


Figure 1. Model for conversational grammar (SG1)

of SG1 are found what Langacker calls “schemas.” This does not mean that mature adult speakers abandon the prefabricated formulas that they have acquired at an earlier stage of language acquisition, but use them routinely (cf. Ochs 1979) and keep modifying them and acquiring new ones as they live their linguistic lives while schematizing sentence structures.

It is important, however, to remember that children are not exposed to conversational language alone, but gradually come in contact with other language uses such as nursery rhymes, songs, folktales, and children’s stories, first, perhaps, through the caregiver’s reading aloud activity, and then through formal education (Purcell-Gates 2001; Sulzby 1985). The first type of written grammar (WG1), then, may be the grammar used in folktales, children’s stories, and such. Figure 2 below shows the initial stage for multiple grammar formation when children start to be exposed to written language. The relationship between “Spoken Language” shown in the box at the bottom of this figure and SG1 in the circle is indicated with a double headed thick arrow because a child (and an adult) are regularly exposed to the conversational language use and actively use SG1 to produce different types of constructions. On the other hand, the line between WG1 and the written language is shown by a dotted line and the direction is from the environment to the grammar, showing a more unidirectional, passive use of this grammar for the purpose of comprehending written texts. The horizontal dotted lines connecting SG1 and WG1 intend to show that the two grammars are related and share many grammatical features.

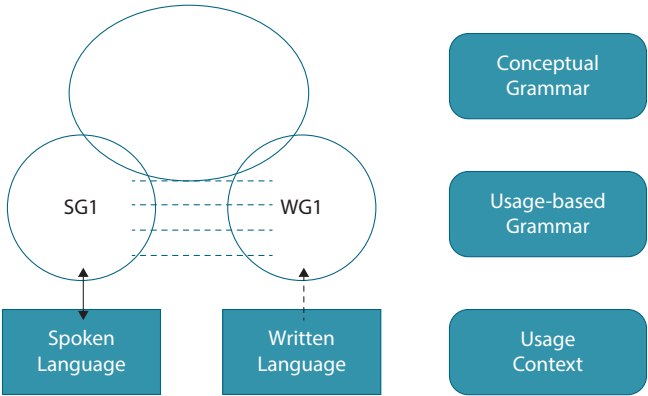


Figure 2. Model for developing conceptual grammar

Schemas become more abstract as children become cognitively more mature, and finally become part of the Conceptual Grammar. Schemas in the Conceptual Grammar are freed from specific grammars derived from the spoken and written environments, and eventually become a resource for creative use of language. In Figure 3, the Conceptual Grammar, which is shown by the larger top circle

connected to SG1 and WG1. As children begin schooling, they will be exposed to other written genres such as scientific writings, mathematical problems, and chapter books, through reading different books and textbooks at school and home, thereby adding WG2, WG3 and so forth. People with higher education have been immersed in many different types of writing, which affects their grammar composition substantially (Miller and Weinert 1998; Wray and Grace 2007). Also in the realm of the spoken language, speakers may acquire non-conversational spoken language genres necessary for business meetings, lectures, and fast food counter routines among many others, thereby adding SG2, SG3 and so forth. Finally, an individual speaker may acquire multiple grammars schematized as shown in Figure 3 below. In this diagram we use SG and WG to refer to the spoken and written grammars in general.

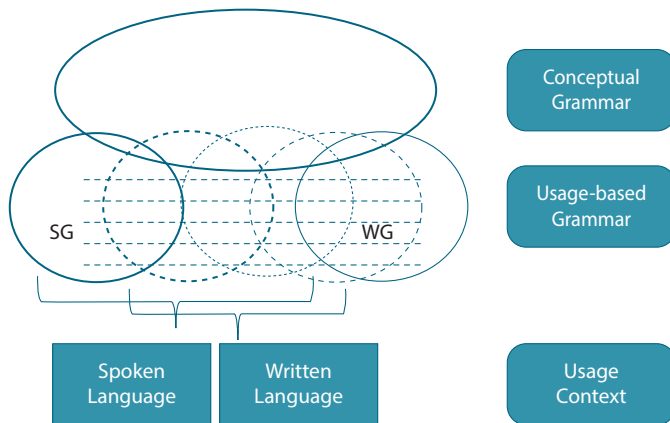


Figure 3. SG, WG and other genre grammars

Some genre grammars are hybrid in nature. On-line chat has both the feature of conversational and written languages (Biber and Conrad 2009), and we assume that a user of such a language must rely on a grammar that is distinct from any variety of spoken and written grammars. Individual speakers may acquire a genre grammar with a varying degree of proficiency. They may be able to use it to produce a text using that grammar; i.e., the production grammar. In the diagram above this type of grammar is indicated by a thickly lined circle. Or they may use a grammar only for a comprehension purpose, i.e. the comprehension grammar, as indicated by the dotted lined circles in the diagram. Various line thicknesses indicate the higher and lesser degrees of acquisition.

Comparing conversational language, newspaper editorials and academic writings in Japanese, Iwasaki (2015) showed that grammatical items in Japanese distribute differently in spoken and written languages. For example, the accusative

case marker must appear in written text, but its use is constrained in conversation (cf. Fujii and Ono 2000). The complementizer *koto* is used mostly in the formulaic expressions (*koto ga aru* ‘I have an experience of doing such and such,’ *koto ni naru* ‘something has been decided,’ etc.) or with a simple noun (*X no koto* ‘things about X’) in conversation, but it is used predominantly to embed a clausal complement in a sentence in written text especially in the form of [Clause + *koto* + Particle + Predicate] (Kaneyasu and Iwasaki 2017). Clancy (1982) discusses that clause chaining is marked with the so-called *te* form (e.g., *susunde* ‘advance and’) in both modes of language use, but the adverbial or *ren’yoo* form (*susumi* ‘advance and’) can be used in written, but not in spoken language. In conversation, many linguistic resources with interactional purposes, such as some sentence-final particles (e.g., *ne*, *sa*, and *yo*) and reactive tokens and continuers (e.g., *naruhodo* ‘I see’; *un/ee/hai* ‘yes’) appear in great numbers, but they do not usually appear in formal written data such as academic writing. These facts suggest that spoken and written grammars must be distinguished in some way. Furthermore, it should be noted that the systematic difference mentioned above is not entirely due to the difference in formality. It is simply impossible to talk as one writes as one cannot use, for example, the adverbial (*ren’yoo*) form in conversation even if it is a formal conversation. Likewise, informal writing such as an email message to a friend may lack certain spoken grammar elements (e.g., some reactive tokens and continuer). If we take the usage-based model and the bottom-up model of grammar acquisition (e.g., Bybee and Hopper 2001; Diessel and Tomasello 2001; Langacker 1991) seriously, we must assume that speakers learn different grammars as they live their linguistic lives. The MG view encourages us to examine grammatical resources from a new perspective. In this chapter, we will use this model to examine grammatical resources that are available for expressing reasons in conversation (telephone conversation, to be more specific) and writing newspaper editorials. We chose newspaper editorials because it is defined as one of the genres that differ greatly from conversations in previous studies (e.g., Biber 1988, 1989, 1995; Biber and Conrad 2009).

3. Grammatical resources for reason-coding

Grammatical resources for reason-coding in Japanese have been mainly studied for conjunctive particles *kara*, *node*, *tame*, and *shi*. These particles are said to appear at the end of the first clause (i.e., the reason clause) before a target clause: [R *kara/node/tame/shi*, T] (throughout this paper, we use R to represent a clause that indicates a reason, and T a target clause for which R is designed to give a reason). Among these particles, *kara* and *node* have been scrutinized in great detail by linguists and language teachers because they are interchangeable in many cases, but

not always, and when both are acceptable, there are some pragmatic differences between the two. A commonly held view on the difference between *kara* and *node* is the degree of subjectivity ascribed to the relationship between R and T. This view is most clearly articulated by Nagano (1970), and subsequent researchers generally follow his analysis (e.g., Makino and Tsutsui 1986; Miyagawa and Nakamura 1991). According to Nagano, *kara* can be used when the relationship between R and T is subjective; that is, when the main clause, T, expresses speakers' subjective stance, such as their "conjecture, opinion, or will," or their interpersonal concerns, such as "order, request, and question." Conversely, *node* is preferred if the relationship between R and T is a more objective one. Another aspect of these conjunctive particles concerns politeness. An ungrammatical sentence with *node* may become acceptable when the politeness level shifts to a more refined one. Tsunoda (2012) reports that *kara* is acceptable but *node* is awkward in the sentence, *ame ga yanda kara/?node sotode asobe!* 'Play outside as it stopped raining!', but if the sentence is changed to the polite register, *node* becomes more acceptable, *ame ga yamimashita kara/node sotode o-asobikudasai* 'Would you like to play outside as it stopped raining?' (translation is our own).

Kara and *node* have also been compared to *tame*. Imao (1991) argues that the use of *tame* is restricted to a purely objective statement. That is, *node* can still accommodate subjective desiderative predicates with *tai* 'want to do,' whereas *tame* does not: *tsuuyaku ni naritai kara/node/*tame isshookennmee benkyooshiteimasu* 'Because I want to be an interpreter, I am studying hard.' Tsunoda (2012) also shows that *tame* is used to connect two objective situations (e.g., *ame ga futta kara/node/tame, shiai wa chuushi ni natta* 'Because it rained, the game was cancelled'), but it cannot be used when the main clause contains a speaker's judgment (e.g., *ame ga futte-iru kara/node/*tame iku no wa yameyoo* 'Because it is raining, let's not go out') (examples are our own).

Among the four conjunctive particles, *shi* is of a special type because its main/original function is to connect two clauses in a list with the meaning of 'and what's more' (*kyoo wa samui shi ame mo futteiru* 'Today is cold, and what's more it is raining'). In addition, it has a function of indicating a cause or support for another statement (*kyoo wa samui shi dekakeru no wa yameyoo* 'Today is cold, so let's not go outside') (Iwasaki 2013; McGloin and Konishi 2010).³ In terms of the subjectivity

3. McGloin and Konishi's main point in the paper is to show that *shi* has changed from a conjunctive particle to a sentence-final particle. They argue that in written text, the functions are restricted to listing, showing a cause, and giving support, but in conversation, it has a new function of adding emotional tone or affect. In the data we are examining, we only found the function of listing and giving a reason (see Section 4). This may be due to the newness of *shi* as a sentence-final particle (personal communication, Mutsuko Endo Hudson, August 2014).

condition, *shi* is strongly subjective, showing a complementary distribution with a strongly objective *tame*. The main clause, T, usually contains a modal element after *shi* (Horiike 1999), while, as shown above, it does not after *tame*. (In the following two sentences, *kara* and *node* are not included, but are acceptable.) Abbreviations used in this paper are provided in Appendix A.

- (1) (objective statement)

*ame ga futta {tame/*shi} shiai wa chuushi ni natta*
 rain NOM fell {tame/*shi} game TOP cancel DAT became
 ‘Because it rained, the game was cancelled.’

- (2) (expressing speaker’s subjective decision)

*ame mo futta {*tame/shi} kyoo wa yameyoo*
 rain also fell {*tame/shi} today TOP cancel:VOL
 ‘Because it also rained, let’s not do it today.’

However, even if T contains a modal element, *shi* becomes problematic if the register is more formal, or of the written style. On the other hand, *tame* becomes more acceptable despite the modal (necessity) connotation in T as in (3) below.

- (3) *baiu-zensen ga tsuuka-suru {tame/*shi} ooame ni keekai*
 rain-front NOM pass-do {tame/*shi} severe.rain DAT caution
ga hitsuyoo
 NOM necessary
 ‘Because the rain front is going to pass, we need to be cautious.’

The above discussion suggests that *kara*, *node*, *tame* and *shi* are sensitive not only to the subjectivity distinction, but also to the formality (informal conversation vs. formal written text) distinction. Besides the four conjunctive particles discussed above, an independent conjunctive *dakara* may introduce a target sentence after a reason sentence (*ame ga futta. dakara shiai wa chuushi ni natta*. ‘It rained. Therefore, the game was cancelled.’) This conjunction has developed into a discourse marker,⁴ which is used often in informal conversation (Karatsu 1995; Maynard 1993; Mori 1999), but is not used in formal writing. Finally, as shown later, relative clauses in written discourse may code the reason-target relations; [*nanmin o kyohi shi-tsuzukete-iru*] *kuni-guni ga hinan o abiru no wa toozen da*. (lit. ‘It is natural that those countries that have been refusing to accept refugees have been criticized. > Because these countries refuse to accept refugees, it is natural that they have been criticized.’)

4. *Dakara* as a discourse marker often appears between two speakers’ turns and makes the current information relevant to the previous, e.g. A: I am all wet. B: DAKARA, I told you to take an umbrella!’ See Maynard (1993) and Mori (1999).

While the research on reason-conjunction is rich, we still do not have much information about how the demonstrated characteristics actually figure in real discourse. We will thus critically evaluate the previous proposals using actual spoken and written discourses. We will argue that the usage patterns of reason-conjunctions are significantly different enough to posit two different grammars.

4. Data

To examine how the grammar of reason-coding is manifested in spoken and written languages, we examined how reasons are expressed in informal conversations and formal editorial writing. For conversation data, we used *CallHome* published by Linguistic Consortium (Canavan and Zipperlen 1996). This is a collection of telephone conversations between family members or close friends who mainly talk about their personal lives in an informal fashion. We acknowledge that telephone conversation lacks visual cues which are an important component in face-to-face conversations, but language still can function without this modality. We performed a detailed analysis of ten conversations in the collection for this study. Each conversation lasted approximately 10 minutes. The approximate total number of words is 16,700. For formal written text data, we analyzed 17 editorials that appeared in four major newspapers (Asahi, Mainichi, Sankei and Yomiuri) in 2005 and 2014. The approximate number of words is 9,910. It should be stressed here that the current study is not intended to be a corpus study, and the purpose of providing the total size of each database is to give an overall comparison base.

5. Grammatical resources for reason-coding in conversation and editorials

The following table summarizes the distribution of four conjunctive particles and one conjunction in the conversation and editorial data. To give a relative comparison, we provided the raw numbers and the number per million words based on the raw numbers.⁵

5. We used the same criteria for counting words in conversations and editorials as much as possible. Words include independent nouns and particles. A compound noun is counted as one noun; *kokusai-jidoo-kikin* 'International Children's Fund' would be counted as one, not three, in either type of discourse. Likewise a complex verb form is also counted as one; *hataraka-sa-rete-iru* 'are being forced to work' would be counted as one not four. For editorials, we used MeCab and Excel for counting. In conversations, we counted words for two minutes from each conversation, and averaged the numbers, which are then multiplied by the total recording time (100 minutes).

Table 1. Frequency of four conjunctive particles in conversations and editorials

	<i>kara</i> ⁶	<i>shi</i>	<i>node</i>	<i>tame</i>	<i>dakara</i>	TOTAL
Conversation (per 1,000,000 words)	129 (7725)	42 (2515)	1 (60)	0	31 (1856)	203
Editorial (per 1,000,000 words)	8 (807)	1 (101)	0	7 (706)	1 (101)	17

Table 1 shows different profiles of conjunctive particles and the sentence conjunctive *dakara* in the two data sets. Speakers in informal conversation employ the conjunctive particles, *kara* and *shi*, and the conjunction, *dakara*, but not *node* and *tame*. The writers of editorials do not employ conjunctive particles and *dakara* often.⁷ This raises an interesting question regarding the expression of R in editorials. We will come back to this question in Section 5.2, but first we examine different means of reason-coding in conversation in 5.1.

5.1 Conversation

5.1.1 Kara

Kara is the most favored conjunctive particles both in conversations and editorials, but its frequency in conversations is significantly higher compared to editorials. *Kara* appeared 9.57 times more frequently in conversations than in editorials based on the per million word count. The speaker Ami in (4) below gives a reason in line 1 with *kara* before she gives the target information in line 2. Transcription keys are provided in Appendix B.

- (4) ja_0696: 123.28–128.50
- 01 → Ami: *tonii no otanjoobi kugatsu futsuka da kara*
(name) GEN birthday Sept. 2nd COP KARA
- 02 *nanka katte-ageyoo to omotta kedo*
something buy-give:VOL QT think:PST but
- 03 *atashi sa mushoku no ningen da @@@*
I PP unemployed COP human COP
'Tony's birthday is September 2nd, KARA
I thought I would buy him something, but
I am an unemployed person, ha ha ha'

6. We only counted reason-coding *kara*, disregarding ablative *kara* 'from.'

7. The distribution of conjunctive particles is interesting in light of the report on English conjunctives of reason by Miller and Weinert (1998: 82), according to which reason-introducing conjunctives, 'since' and 'as,' were not found in their spontaneous spoken language data, and only 'because' or 'coz' are found, suggesting different distribution of conjunctives across discourse types.

When we simply focus on the order of R (reason) and T (target) disregarding any intervening materials between them, the number of the cases of [R *kara* T], as in (4), is 40. Table 2 shows three ordering patterns of R and T: the “canonical” order with R before T; the “incremental reasoning” pattern with T before R; and R only. This table ignores formulaic uses, which will be discussed separately below.

Table 2. Different orders of the reason (R) and the target (T) with *kara*

“Canonical” reasoning (R <i>kara</i> T)	40
“Incremental” reasoning (T R <i>kara</i>)	24
	18 – R given by the same speaker
	6 – R given by a different speaker
Independent (R <i>kara</i>)	38

The “incremental reasoning” pattern, [T R *kara*] appears often in conversation. The same speaker may produce R *kara* after he/she produced T as shown in (5), but also R *kara* may be added by a different speaker as shown in (6).

(5) ja_0696: 229.39 231.51–239.37 240.29

01 Mari: *soshitara rei ga yoko kara dete-kita.* {throat cleared}
 then (name) NOM side from emerge-come:PST
 ‘And then Ray appeared from the side. {throat cleared}’

02 Ami: *un.*
 yes
 ‘OK’

03 Mari: *omaera yamero yo mitaina koto itte.*
 you.guys stop PP like thing say:TE
 ‘He told them to stop.’

04 Ami: *e! rei sa kurohige gundan ni ita no?*
 huh (name) PP black.mustache gang DAT stay:PST SE
 ‘What? Was Ray in the black-beard gang?’

05 Mari: *chuuka ita tte iu ka tootta no ka*
 or stay:PST QT say Q PASS:PST COMP Q

06 *yoku wakannai-n dakedo,*
 well know:NEG-SE but

07 → *soko made mienakatta kara.*
 that till see:NEG:PST KARA

‘You know what. He was with them, or was just passing by, I don’t know. I could not see (the situation) clearly KARA.’

08 Ami: *un. un.*
 yeah yeah
 ‘I see.’

09 Mari: *un.*
 Yes

‘Yeah.’

This type of incrementing is a characteristic feature of a conversational language. It is not appropriate to analyze this as a deviation from a “well-formed” sentence such as, *soko made mienakatta KARA (rei ga sono guruupu no naka ni) ita no ka tada tootta no ka yoku wakannai* ‘Since I could not see that well, I don’t know if (Ray was in the group) or he was just passing by.’ There are 18 cases like this in which a reason is added by the same speaker who produced the target information first. Excerpt (6) shows more clearly the inadequacy of analyzing a conversational language in terms of written language. In this excerpt, the *kara* clause is added to an utterance produced by a different speaker. We found this type of co-construction six times in the data.

- (6) ja_1201: 493.11 495.25–498.25 499.48
- 01 Ai: *un. taka-kun kaijin deshoo?*
yes. (personal name) (station name) COP:EVI
‘Yeah. Taka, (your station is) “Kaijin,” right?’
- 02 Taka: *soo.*
Yes
‘Yes.’
- 03 Ai: *yoku oboeteru deshoo.*
well remember:TE-ASP COP:EVI
‘I have a good memory, huh?’
- 04 Taka: *@@@*
‘Ha ha ha’
- 05 Ai: *@@@*
‘Ha ha ha’
- 06 → Taka: *henna namae da kara ne.*
strange name COP KARA PP
‘It’s a strange name, KARA, right?’

Finally, in 38 cases, R *kara* is stranded, that is, no T can be found in the vicinity. T may be inferred, but it is often difficult to provide specific inference in linguistic form. In (7), we may infer that something like *tanoshimini shitete ne* (‘please look forward to my visit’) may be omitted, but it is impossible to be certain if Taka has planned or was planning to say something like this. What is important is that communication is complete with this type of suspended clause, and it is reasonable to assume that this type of *kara* has become a sentence-final particle (Haugh 2008; Ohori 1995).

- (7) ja_1201: 666.65 669.02–668.90 673.45
- 01 Ai: *un. mata asobi ni kite nee.*
yeah again play PUR come PP
‘Yeah, please come visit me again.’
- 02 → Taka: *un, ano, kekkon shitemo iku kara sa.*
yeah well marriage do:even go KARA PP
‘Yeah, I’ll come visit you even if I get married, so...’

In addition to the three types of ordering of R and T, we counted formulaic uses separately. Formulaic expressions are (semi) ready-made expressions useful for conversational language that needs to be created on the fly (see Kaneyasu and Iwasaki 2017). Formulaic uses are recognized when a specific arrangement of elements carries a specific function. There are nine such cases in the conversational data classified into five types, “*V-te (mo) ii kara*,” “*ii kara*,” “*V kara ii*,” “*V kara tte*,” and “*N no koto da kara*.” These expressions are not found in our editorial data.

- (8) Type I: *V-te (mo) ii kara* (‘It’s OK (not) to do V’)
wakannakute ii kara.
 understand:NEG good KARA
 ‘It’s OK even if you don’t understand (= You don’t need to know).’

Type I, [*V-te (mo) ii kara*] (‘It’s OK (not) to V’), consists of a formulaic expression for granting permission, [*V-te (mo) ii*] ‘you may/are allowed to do V’ (Kurumada and Iwasaki 2011) and *kara*. Furthermore, the whole construction [*V-te (mo) ii kara*] is a type of what Ohori calls “suspended clauses,” which “bear markers for subordination (e.g., *kara*) ... and yet are not accompanied by main clauses” (1995: 201). This particular formulaic expression is used to make a suggestion with various degrees of forcefulness (e.g., *tabete(mo) ii kara* ‘You can eat if you like’, *tabenakute(mo) ii kara* ‘you don’t need to eat if you don’t like it’). As a part of an established formulaic expression, *kara* has lost its subordinator function, and does not need any ‘main clause.’ In other words, *V-te (mo) ii kara* is pragmatically complete.

- (9) Type II: *ii kara* (‘It’s OK / Don’t worry’)
ii kara isshoni iro yo.
 good KARA together stay:IMP PP
 ‘It’s OK. Stay with me.’

Type II, [*ii kara*] (‘It’s OK’), is probably a derivation from Type I by further eliding the condition for an unspecified “main clause.” It is often used to encourage reluctant individual (one’s partner or oneself) to take an action.

- (10) Type III: *V kara ii* (‘It’s OK because X’)
tegami todokete kite-kureru kara ii kedo.
 letter deliver:TE come:TE-give KARA good but
 ‘It’s OK because (she) will bring the letter (to me)’

Type III [*V kara ii*] (‘It’s OK because V’) has both explicit R (as represented by V) and T (*ii* ‘good’), thus can be considered a type of regular [R *kara* T]. However, the combination [*kara ii*] appears frequently in this form: it appeared four times in the current database whereas no other combination (*kara* + X) appeared more than once. The function is also clear: it expresses the speaker’s nonchalant attitude towards potentially serious issues.

- (11) Type IV: V *kara tte* ('Just because ..., (it doesn't mean ...)')
shigoto ni tsuita kara tte suguni wa yappari kae- [truncation]
 job DAT find. PST KARA QT soon TOP as.expected return-
 'Just because (I) found a job, (I cannot go home) immediately, you know'
- (12) Type V: N *no koto da kara* ('Because N being who they are')
aibii no koto da kara
 Ivy GEN NML COP KARA
 'Because Ivy being who she is'

Type IV, [V *kara tte*] ('Just because ..., (it doesn't mean ...)'), is a reduced form of the rhetorical formula [V *kara to itte*]. Type V, [N *no koto da kara*] ('Because N being who they are'), is a formula to stereotype an individual. As noted earlier, these formulaic expressions are used frequently in conversational language, but not in formal writing. (We will make a comment about an expression similar to Type IV used in writing in a later section.)

5.1.2 Shi

As shown in Table 1, *shi* appears 42 times in conversation while it appeared only once in editorials. As noted earlier the main/original function of *shi* is to connect two clauses in a list (*kyoo wa samui shi ame ga futteiru* 'Today is cold, and it is raining'). However, all instances of *shi* in our data can be replaced by *kara*, serving its reason marking function. In (13), Yuri is describing a taxi ride on a rainy day in a remote area; the *shi* clause indicates the reason ('because it was raining') for the speaker's thought at that time ('I'd be in trouble if I was made to get off there').

- (13) ja_1263: 457.63–460.76
 01 → Yuri: *ame mo futteta shi, koko de orosare temo*
 rain also fall:TE:PST SHI here LOC made.to.get.off:though
 02 *komaru na to omotte,*
 in.trouble PP QT think:TE
 'It was raining, too, SHI, I thought I'd be in trouble if I was made
 to get off there.'

5.1.3 Tame and node/node

While *tame* appeared seven times in editorials, it did not appear in conversation at all. This was not surprising in light of the highly objective nature of this particle. However, the almost non-use of *node* and its contracted form *nde* in our data was surprising as this particle is often compared to *kara* in the literature, and we expected to see it used more frequently especially in editorials where objectivity is valued.⁸

8. This does not mean that *node*'s utility is marginal. We found frequent uses of this particle in the writing of product manuals. *Disupuree ni wa, arakajime hogoyoo no toomee shiito ga*

Furthermore, the only use of *node* in the current data was delivered in a marked way. Speaker D in the following utterance is a daughter talking to her mother. Here she is asking her mother to send some money to cover two months' rent. We provide details of delivery of this utterance based on our repeated, careful listening.

(14) ja_1277: 361.22–365.93

01 D:

tada ano koko no heya <@dai@> ga::

only uhm here GEN room rent NOM

→ *ni-kagetsu-bun tarinai kanaa to omotta:: node::*

two-month-portion lacking MOD QT think:PST NODE

'I only uhm I thought maybe I am short two months' rent NODE.'

What is noticeable in this utterance is the extensive hedging behaviors due most likely to the difficulty in requesting monetary assistance. She produced *heyadai* 'rent' with a slight laughing quality indicated by the @ signs that demarcate *dai*, and elongated the vowel of the nominative marker *ga* to lodge an upcoming uncomfortable request. She then added a hedging expression *kanaa to omotta* '(I thought maybe (I am short two months' rent)).' The final vowel of *omotta* 'thought' is elongated, and the delivery slowed down considerably. This utterance is suspended with *node* with an elongated vowel adding further to the tone of hedging. Though no target clause is produced, the inference for the money request is completely clear.

5.1.4 Dakara

Besides the conjunctive particles, the sentence conjunction *dakara* can also connect a reason with a target. Table 3 repeats part of Table 1 with the added count of *dakara* as discourse marker (DM). It shows that there are 31 cases of conjunctive use in conversation and one case in editorial.⁹ Although it is not our concern in this chapter, *dakara* was used as a discourse marker extensively in conversation (96 times), but never in editorials, indicating that this function is taking over the conjunctive function in conversation but not in formal writings.

haritsukete arimasu NODE, hagashite kara goshiyoo kudasai 'A transparent protective sheet is attached to the display monitor NODE, so please use (the piano) after peeling it off' (a manual for Kawai digital piano).' Further study is needed to identity types of writing where *node* appears more frequently.

9. See footnote 4 for the definition of *dakara* as a discourse marker. The distinction between the discourse marker function and the conjunctive function is arguably subtle. We counted only clear cases of conjunctive use as such where *dakara* introduces the target for some information previously produced. See Maynard (1993), Karatsu (1995), Mori (1999), Iwasaki (2013: 308–10) for detail. There are two other cases of *dakara* in editorials in formulaic expressions. We will discuss them in Section 4.2.

Table 3. Frequency of *dakara*

	Conjunctive	DM
Conversation	31	96
Editorial	1	0

The difference between the conjunctive particle *kara* in [R *kara* T] and sentence conjunctive *dakara* is that the speaker can plan some information to be a reason when he/she uses *kara*, but with *dakara* he/she retroactively indicates previous information as such. Before the segment in (15), Miki has been explaining to Aiko that she wants to be an interpreter. In line 1, she stated that there are not many people who know Russian. After Aiko accepted this statement, Miki added the target information in line 3: “So (*dakara*) I think the demand (of Russian interpreters) will increase from now on.”

- (15) ja_1288: 480.30 484.13–484.66 486.97
- 01 Miki:

sono-wari-ni wa koo roshiago dekiru hito ga

that-extent-to TOP like.this Russian can person NOM

hotondo inai no.

really exist:NEG SE

‘and despite that (i.e. Russian will be important in the future)

there are not many people who can speak Russian’
- 02 Aiko:

inai mono ne

exist: NEG NML PP

‘There are not many.’
- 03 → Miki:

nn. dakara juyoo wa takaku naru to omou no,

nn so demand TOP high become QT think SE

kore kara.

this from

‘Yes. DAKARA I think the demand (of Russian interpreters) will

increase from now on.’

To summarize this section, two conjunctive particles, *kara* and *shi*, are used extensively in conversation. Although the “canonical” reasoning order (R *kara* T) is used typically, we cannot ignore the incremental reasoning pattern (T R *kara*). In this pattern, T and R may be produced by the same speaker or by different speakers. Furthermore, the independent *kara* clause without T is also extensively used. Sometimes what is inferred in the non-occurring T cannot be linguistically specified. In such a case, *kara* is functioning like a pragmatic particle. *Kara* also appeared in formulaic expressions, which provide an important resource for the speaker who creates spoken text on the fly. The conjunctive particle *tame* was not used at all, and *node* was used only once in a highly marked way. Finally, the sentence conjunctive *dakara* can introduce T retroactively, after R is expressed.

5.2 Editorials

5.2.1 Kara

In editorials, the reason-indicating conjunctive particle *kara* is used only eight times (or 807 times per million words). This contrasts sharply with a much higher frequency of *kara* in conversations (129 cases, or 7725 words per million words as shown in Table 1). Furthermore, we recognize that *kara* in editorials appeared in complex forms beyond the simple [R *kara* T]. One is used with an emphatic particle *koso*, as in *kara koso* as shown in (16) below. Another is used with a nominalizer *koto* (this will be discussed in 5.2.4). Extracts from the editorials with Japanese characters are provided in Appendix C.¹⁰

(16) Asahi 10/29/05

ima no kyuu joo ni wa sanpi ga aru ga, [kaigai de buryoku kooshi wa shinai to iu gensoku ni tessuru kara koso]_R, [jieetai ga kokumin ni hyooka sare mitomerarete kita]_T no wa ugokashi gatai jijitsu da.

‘Although there are pros and cons associated with the Ninth Article of the Constitution, it is a hard and true fact that the reason [the Self Defense Forces have been accepted by the public] _T is for the very reason that [they have adhered to the principle of no military engagements abroad] _R.’

Among the eight tokens of *kara*, two are in the cleft sentence structure in the form of [T R *kara* COP].¹¹ This is similar to the incremental reasoning pattern, [T R *kara*] found in conversation, but the cleft sentence pattern is completely pre-configured for the purpose of focusing R. Thus, it functions differently than the incremental type, which is a result of the difficulty of pre-structuring an utterance in conversation. In Example (17) below, T is expressed in the subject/topic phrase, [CLAUSE *no wa*], to which R is predicated with *kara da*. The skeletal structure is shown first.

Skeletal structure for (17)

[T] *no wa* [R] *kara de-ar.*

T-NML TOP R SO COP

‘The reason for T is R.’

(17) Asahi 10/31/05

[chuukan hookoku o yonde kigu o oboeru]_T no wa, [nihon seefu ga sono senryaku o tsukitsumete kangae, kokumin ni setsumee shite inai]_R kara de aru.

10. Though it is beyond the scope of the current paper, eventually the orthography used in written text should be considered as a potential feature that influences the composition of the written grammar (WG).

11. We may classify these as formulaic. If we do so, the total of *kara* in editorial will be further reduced to 6.

‘The reason why [we feel a danger after reading the interim report]_T is because [the government has not considered the strategy carefully and has not explained it to the public]_R.’

In (18) below, the first sentence, “Foreign Minister Pan did not come (to Japan) just to shake hands with (Japanese Prime Minister)” provides negative-R (not to shake hands) for the T (F. M. Pan came to Japan). This sentence in effect sets up an expectation for the true reason why Pan came to Japan. The reason is, then, expressed in a complex sentence with the predicate “(F. M. Pan, or the Korean Government) judged it to be more beneficial,” and the content of “it” is expressed in a long complement clause: “to come to Japan and explain Korea’s frustration and its fundamental position rather than protesting the (Japanese Prime Minister’s) visit to the (controversial) Shinto Shrine.”

Skeletal structure for (18)

[R₁] *no dewa nai.* [R₂] *kara da.*

T/R-NML COP-NEG R SO COP

‘(T) is not because of R₁, but it is because of R₂.’

(18) Asahi 10/28/05

[Note: This editorial discusses the visit by Japanese Prime Minister to Yasukuni Shrine where controversial wartime leaders are buried.]

[*pan gaishoo wa, tada akushu o shi ni kita*] _{T/R1} *no dewanai.* [[*hoonichi o torikeshite sanpai ni koogisuru yori mo, norikonde kankoku no ikidoori ya kihon-tekina tachiba o chokusetsu tsutaeta hoo ga tokusaku da*] _{R2} *to handan shita*] _{R2} *kara da.*

F. M. Pan did not come (to Japan) [just to shake hands with (Japanese P. M.).] _{T/R1}
[It is because he judged that it is more beneficial to come to Japan and explain Korea’s frustration and its fundamental position rather than protesting the (Japanese Prime Minister’s) visit to the (controversial) Shinto Shrine.] _{R2}

5.2.2 Shi

While *shi* appeared 42 times (or 2515 per million words) in the conversation data (Table 1), it appeared only once (or 101 times per million words) in the formal written data. It is definitely a peripheral grammar pattern in WG. In (19) below, *shi* is used to make a list of reasons with *kara*. As noted in 5.2.1, *kara* in (19) follows a nominalized clause with *koto*, and appeared in the form of [[R₁] *shi*, [R₂] *kara*, [T]].

Skeletal structure for (19)

[R₁] *shi* [R₂] *koto kara* [T].

R-SHI R NML KARA T

‘Because of R₁ and R₂, T’

(19) Asahi 10/31/05

[*rishi hokyuu kin nado no katachi de zeekin ga tsugikomarete iru*]_{R1} *shi*, [*akaji ni nattemo kuni ga mendoo o mitekureru*]_{R2} *koto kara*, [*kiritsu ga hatarakinikui to iu mondai mo aru.*]_T

‘[There is also a problem that the regulations do not function well]_T since [tax money is being used for things such as an interest supplement]_{R1}’ and [the government will look after them even if they go into the red.]_{R2}’

5.2.3 Tame and node

As shown in Table 1, *tame* did not appear in conversations but it appeared seven times in editorials in different structures: (a) in the sentence initial conjunctive phrase *kono tame* ‘because of this / as a result of this,’ (b) in the causal form *tame ni* ‘because of,’ and (c) in the cleft construction. It is worth underscoring the fact that *tame* is not used alone as in a simple structure, [R *tame* T] as often seen in the literature. The sentence initial conjunctive phrase *kono tame* ‘because of this / as a result’ is observed in (20) below.

(20) Asahi 10/28/05

[*seefu wa kokkofutankin o kezuru hooshin de choosee o susumete iru.*]_R *kono tame*, [*tooshin ga sono mama seesaku toshite jikkoo sareru koto wa nasasoo da.*]_T

‘The government is making the adjustments by pursuing a policy of reducing national treasury liabilities. As a result, it’s unlikely that the report as it is will be used for government policy.’

This conjunctive phrase is usually used in formal written texts and not in informal conversation. As Imao (1991) notes, *tame* marks the reason from objective viewpoint and is not compatible with subjective views. In conversation, *kono tame* in (20) may be expressed by the conjunctive *dakara*.

The second type of *tame* appears in the expression *tame ni* ‘because of.’

(21) Asahi 10/29/05

[[*konkai no shuuin de no tairyoo shobun wa, soosenkyo de 300 chikai kyodai na seeryoku o eta*]_R *tame ni* [*kanoo ni natta*]_T] *sokumen ga iro koi*.

‘[The dismissal of so many representatives from this session of the lower house of the Diet]_T was very likely made possible *because of* [the massive gains in power of close to 300 seats in the general election]_R.’”

(21) is different from (20) in that (21) embeds R under the head noun *tame* marked by the case particle *ni*. Embedding of a reason is allowed and encouraged in written language. This sentence is also complicated as both the reason (‘the massive gains in power’) and the target (‘dismissal of many representative was made possible’) are both embedded further with the head noun *sokumen* ‘aspect.’

5.2.4 Dakara

There is only one token of conjunctive *dakara* and two instances of *dakara to itte* ‘however’ in the editorial data. The latter may be related to the V-*kara tte* (Type IV formulaic expression discussed in Section 5.1.1.)

(22) Asahi 10/28/05

[*kankee o kiroo ni mo kirenai koto o, chuugoku ya kankoku wa hyaku mo shoochi da.*]_R **dakara** [*kankee o muyamini waruku sase taku nai to, sorenarini kushin shite iru.*]_T

‘China and Korea know very well that it is impossible to sever ties with Japan even if they so desire when the economic, personal, and cultural relationships are strong. (So) they try hard not to worsen the mutual relationship.’

In addition, there are two rhetorical (formulaic) uses of *dakara* in the form of [*dakara (to itte)*] ‘even if that is the case.’ Excerpt (23) is expanded to [R. *dakara to itte*, T *no daroo ka*] ‘R. That being said, is it T? (No, it isn’t.)’

(23) Asahi 10/28/05

kodomo tachi no kyooiku ga taisetsuna koto wa ron o matanai. Toriwake gimukyooiku wa dokodemo ittee no sui jun o tamotaneba naranai. dakara to itte, kyoshokuin no kyuu yo no hanbun o kuni ga nigitteoku hitsuyoo ga aru no daroo ka.

‘There is no argument for the importance of education for children. Especially compulsory education must maintain a certain standard. Even if that is the case, we wonder if it is necessary for the National Government to control half of the salaries for teachers.’

In (24) below, *dakara* appears without *to itte* (but can appear with it) in the form of [R *demo, dakara* T *to iu koto dewa nai*] ‘Just because R, does not mean T.’¹²

(24) Asahi 10/28/05

[[*hitobito no hannoo wa reese*]_R **demo, dakara** [*sanpai wa yoonin-sareta*] **to iu koto**]_T **dewa nai.**

‘It does not mean [that just because [the public’s reaction was cool]_R, [they approve of the shrine visits]]_T’

5.2.5 Relative clause

It has been noted that relative clauses are infrequent in conversational language (Ono and Thompson 1994; Ozeki and Shirai 2007), but it is an important construction in formal written language together with other embedding strategies

12. As indicated in the English equivalent sentence, this sentence contains a reason-coding. Bender and Kathol (2001) claim that the “JB-X DM Y construction” (Just Because X, Doesn’t Mean Y construction) is an idiom (one kind of formulaic expressions).

such as complementation and nominalization. This is one of the most important distinctions between SG and WG. What is significant in our current discussion is that relative clauses may present a reason for some event or state that is expressed in a sentence containing the relative clause. Observe the next two examples, (25) and (26). In (25), the head noun is *Okinawa ken* ‘Okinawa Prefecture’ which is modified by a relative clause (“(it) accommodates 75% of the US military bases”). This information is taken as a reason for the legitimacy of Okinawa Prefecture’s demand for lessening the burden.

(25) Asahi 10/27/05

[*kokunai no beegun kichi no 75% o ukeirete iru*] *okinawa ken ga futan keegen o yookyuu suru no wa toozen daroo.*

‘It is natural that Okinawa Prefecture, which accommodates 75% of the US military bases in Japan, demands a lessening of the burden.’

This sentence can be paraphrased as below to highlight the reason and the target information with [R] *no da kara* [T].

(26) [*kokunai no beegun kichi no 75% o ukeirete iru*]_R *no da kara*, [*sono okinawaken ga futan keegen o yookyuu suru no wa toozen daroo.*]_T

‘Because Okinawa Prefecture accommodates 75% of the US military bases in Japan, it is natural that it demands a lessening of the burden.’

In other words, the relative clause can express a reason for a statement in which the head noun acts as an argument or an oblique for the main predicate. We have identified 13 cases of a relative clause expressing reason.¹³ Three of these 13 cases use *ima* ‘now’ as a head noun. This structure is used to state that the time is ripe “now” (the head noun) to do something (the main clause) based on the reason expressed in the relative clause.

(27) Asahi 10/31/05

[*ginkoo no furyoo saiken shori mo susunda*] *ima wa seefu kee kin’yuu kikan o herasu zekkoo no kikai da.*

‘Now that the disposal of the banks’ bad debt is well underway, it’s the perfect opportunity to reduce the government-run financial institutions.’

13. This does not mean that all relative clauses express a reason. See below.

[*kinoo tabeta*] *sakana wa chibaken no oki de toreta mono rashii.*

‘I heard that the fish [we ate yesterday] was the one from the ocean of Chiba prefecture.’

**kinoo tabeta kara, sono sakana wa chibaken no oki de toreta mono rashii.*

*‘Because we ate yesterday, I heard that the fish was from the ocean of Chiba prefecture.’

This can be re-written as follows.

- (28) [*ginkoo no furyoo saiken shori mo susunda*]_R *no da kara*, [*ima wa seefu kee kin'yu kikan o herasu zekkoo no kikai da.*]_T

'Since the disposal of the banks' bad debt is well underway, now is the perfect opportunity to reduce the government-run financial institutions.'

Sometimes the head noun *ima* 'now' is used with an emphatic particle *koso*. Again the writer is making a suggestion or providing a judgmental statement marked by an auxiliary *beki* '(we) should/ought to do.' See (29) and (30).

- (29) Asahi 10/31/05
[*yuubin min'eeka hoo ga seeritsushita*] *ima koso*, *omoikitta minaoshi o subekida.*
'Now that the law privatizing the postal system has been passed, more than ever, we should make a drastic re-evaluation.'

- (30) [*yuubin min'eeka hoo ga seeritsushita*]_R *no da kara*, [*ima koso*, *omoikitta minaoshi o subekida.*]_T
'Since the law privatizing the postal system has been passed, now more than ever, we should make a drastic re-evaluation.'

To summarize, in formal writing, (a) conjunctive particles are not used frequently, (b) if they are used, the uses are more complex than simple (e.g., the use of *kara koso*, *koto kara*, *kono tame*), and (c) embedding constructions such as complementation and relative clauses are used to express reasons.

6. Discussion

Our analysis in the previous section clearly shows that 'reason' is expressed somewhat differently in conversations and editorials. Conversational language uses constructions such as, [R *kara*, T], [T R *kara*], [R. *dakara* T], and also formulaic expressions such as "Vte ii *kara*," "ii *kara*," "V *kara* ii," "V *kara* tte," and "N *no koto da kara*" extensively, but formal written language use them only sporadically, instead relying more on complex hypotactic structures. We take this difference to be a reflection of the different grammars that speakers/writers use when they are engaged in talking in conversation and writing formal texts. We introduced in Section 2 the labels SG and WG to refer to different grammars that are required for conversational and written languages. In this section, we further explore differences between SG and WG. A fundamental contrast between SG and WG is that the former is only one of the multimodal resources available for communication while the latter is the sole part of communication. SG works together with prosody, gestures

(in face-to-face conversations) and complex inference systems based on personally shared knowledge between the interlocutors. At the same time SG is constrained by temporality, more specifically, by “progressivity” which pushes the information forward and “retroactivity” which modifies what has already been produced. We will examine below how progressivity and retroactivity create specific features of “clause chaining,” “reformulation,” “incrementation” and “bridging” in SG (cf. Ford & Mori 1994, Iwasaki and Ono 2002; Ono and Iwasaki 2002).

Clause chaining is one of the progressivity features of SG. Chafe (1982) shows that English speakers use *and*, *but* and *so* extensively to connect clausal intonation units (IUs) in conversation. Being a predicate-final language, Japanese combines clauses with clause-final conjunctive forms, such as *te* ‘and,’ *tara* ‘if/when,’ and *kedo* ‘but.’ The reason-coding conjunctives we have discussed participate in this system as well. In (31), three clauses are chained with *-shi* and *-kara*.

- (31) ja_1290: 638.65 645.95 – 645.81 647.86
- 01 → Aki: *anata ano nanka okuttemo o-reejo mo konai shi,*
you HES something send:though note also come:NEG SHI
- 02 → *nanimo itte konai kara,*
nothing say:TE come:NEG KARA
- 03 → *ittai tsuiten no ka tukatte n no ka nanka*
wonder arrive:ASP NML Q use:ASP NML Q somehow
- 04 *wakannai kara.*
understand:NEG KARA
‘I sent you something, but you never sent me a thank-you letter
SHI, you haven’t said anything, KARA I am not sure if you have
received it, or if you are using it, or what KARA.’
- 05 Ken: *a, tsuitemasu. arigatoo gozaimasu.*
oh arrive:ASP:POL thank.you.very.much
‘Oh, I received it. Thank you very much.’

The structure for (31) can be summarized as follows.

- 1 [[R₁ (‘no thank-you letter’)]-*shi*
- 2 [[R₂ (‘no word of acknowledgment’)]-*kara*
- 3 [T (‘I don’t know’)]-*kara*

Shi in line 1 marks the first reason (‘you never sent me a thank-you letter’) in a list of reasons, then another reason is added (‘you never sent me word (of acknowledgment’)). *Kara* in line 2 combines them before the target information is expressed in line 3 (‘I didn’t know whether you had received it’). *Shi* and the first *kara* open up a possibility to add more clauses. The second *kara* (line 3) also opens up such an opportunity, but no follow up clause was produced. However, Aki’s

utterance is pragmatically sufficient as shown by Ken's response (expressing gratitude). Sometimes, we see a speaker using the progressivity feature of SG to combine clauses to reformulate the same reason using different wording. Excerpt (32) is a portion of a conversation between two female friends. Michi first produced a reason with *kara* (it's hard to write in a letter), and reformulated it (it is easier to speak on the phone) before reaching the target information (I will say it now).

(32) ja_1328: 326.69 334.01–333.23 333.67

(Speakers A and B are female)

01 → Michi: *de, un. de ne, tegami de kaku no wa taihen*
and uhm and PP letter INST write NML TOP hard
da kara,
COP KARA

02 → *atashi mo denwa de shabetta hoo ga*
I also telephone INST speak side NOM
tettoribayai kara
easy KARA

03 *iu n da kedomo, ano*
say se COP though uhm
'So, yeah. So, it's a hassle to write it in a letter KARA, it's faster to tell you on the phone KARA, that's why I am telling you now, but, well...'

04 Kimi: *un.*
yes
'Yeah.'

Retroactivity is another important feature of conversational language, which allows adding information incrementally. This mechanism is a consequence of producing and linking IUs in a moment-by-moment fashion. In written language, information can be integrated through embedding, and incremental coding of information is not necessary (see below). Prior to Excerpt (33), Shun asked Michi if Tom (the relationship among these people in the transcript is unclear) was there, and in (33) Shun said "no need to hand over the phone (to Tom)," and incrementally added the reason "coz I can't talk to him (in English)."

(33) ja_1123: 301.33 305.13

01 Shun: *a maa kawaran-demo ii kedo.*
oh DM change:NEG-though ok but

02 → *doose doose, hanase- ano hanasen kara.@@@*
anyway anyway speak- uhm speak:POT:NEG KARA
'Oh, you don't have to put him on the phone. I can't talk to him (in English) KARA, ha ha ha.'

The clause chaining and increment mechanisms of SG will further produce what Ono and Iwasaki (2002) and Iwasaki and Ono (2002) call “bridging,” where three clauses are connected with the middle clause relating both to the previous and the following clauses.¹⁴ The speaker in (34) first said “because it is hot” with *kara*, and gave the target information (I was worried) in line 2. For this target information, she incrementally added a reason in line 3 (coz I heard that it reached 40 degrees on some days). The target information bridges two reasons before and after.

- (34) ja_1290: 536.51 545.54 – 545.28 549.10
- 01 Aki: *a soo. sonnara ii kedomo ne.*
oh yeah then good but PP
- 02 → *anmari atsui kara? moo nanka shinpai-shiteta no yo ne.*
very hot KARA DM DM worry-do:ASP:PST SE pp PP
- 03 → *nanka yonjuu do no hi ga atta tte*
DM 40 degree COP day NOM exist:PST QT
kiita kara.
hear:PST KARA
‘Oh, OK. I’m glad to hear that. It was so hot KARA, I was worried about you. I heard that one day the temperature even reached 40
KARA.
- 04 Ken: {cleared throat} *maa sanjuukyuu do ikutsu toka*
DM 39 degree how.much QT
- 05 *hide-tachi no hoo ga atsukatta-n janai no?*
(name)-others GEN side NOM hot:PST-SE MOD Q
‘{cleared throat} Well, 39 degrees or something. Wasn’t Hide’s place even hotter?’

The above examination of the data shows that reason-coding conforms to the mechanism of conversational language; the reason and the target are presented moment-by-moment, linearly, the reason can precede the target, or can be added incrementally. Different reasons may be provided for the target, or the same reason can be reformulated in different words. There are cases where a target appears between two reason clauses. All these patterns are a consequence of spoken language’s temporality feature, which is an integral part of SG.

With no such temporality feature, written language adopts a different grammar for reason-coding. One feature of WG as we saw in the previous section is the use of embedding with complement and relative clauses. Through the use of embedding, writers can organize information in a hypotactic fashion, and express reasons in

14. Iwasaki and Ono’s (2002) examples involve a word that bridges two clauses. In Example (35), a clause connects two other clauses.

complex ways.¹⁵ The reader of such information can also tolerate the complexity of information. Observe (35) below with the structure of an embedded reasoning: [X-*wa* Y-*koto de* Z *tame da*] = [The reason why X is Z, which was due to Y]; Z ('a compromise is reached') is the reason why X ('many participated in the election') happened, and that Y ('room left to amend the draft') is the reason why Z ('a compromise is reached') happened.

(35) Asahi 10/27/05

[*konkai no kokumin toohyoo ni sunniha no ooku ga sanku shita*]_X *no wa*, [*shin kenpoo an ni shuusee no yochi o nokosu*]_Y *kotode*, [*shuyoo seeryoku kan no dakyoo ga seeritsu shita*]_Z *tame da*.

'[The reason why so many of the Sunni faction participated in the national election]_X is because [the major powers reached a compromise]_Z, which was due to [room left to amend the draft of the new constitution]_Y'

Notice that in (35), X, Y, and Z all present complicated information embedded by the complementizers *no* and *koto*. *Tame* is used in a construction similar to the cleft construction (see Example (17) above). In the next example (presented as (19) before), the reason is also put in the complement by *koto* before the reason-marking conjunctive *kara*. The SG counterpart is simply to put the reason without complementizing the information. Note also that two reasons are produced for one target.

(36) Asahi 10/31/05

[*rishi hokyuu kin nado no katachi de zeekin ga tsugikomarete iru*]_{R1} *shi*, [*akaji ni nattemo kuni ga mendoo o mitekureru*]_{R2} *koto kara*, [[*kiritsu ga hatarakinikui*] *to iu mondai mo aru.*]_T

'There is also [the problem that the regulations do not function well]_T, since [tax money is being used for things such as an interest supplement]_{R1}, and [the government will look after them even if they go into the red]_{R2}'

In this example, the target is also expressed in an embedded clause with *mondai* 'issue' as the head noun (... *to yuu mondai mo aru* 'there is also an issue that it is hard to regulate them'). A spoken counterpart may take the form as follows:

(37) ... *zeekin ga tsugikomareteiru shi* ... *mendoomite-kureru kara*
 tax NOM pour:PASS:ASP SHI ... care:BEN KARA
kiritsu ga hataraki-nikui-n da yo ne.
 rule NOM work-hard-SE COP PP PP
 'coz tax money is poured in, (the government) will help, so it is hard to regulate them'

15. Ultimately, the difference between SG and WG must be linked to the processing difference between the instantaneous processing mode of spoken language and the deliberate, slow processing mode of written language.

Interestingly, the formulaic expressions and cleft structure we have identified in the editorials (Section 5.2.4) have a complementation structure for the target information (e.g., *R demo, dakara T to iu koto dewa nai*, see other expressions in (25)).

7. Conclusion

This chapter examined how reasons are expressed in real discourse. This is a significant advancement in the field as most previous studies examined constructed sentences with the main aim to describe differences among conjunctive particles such as *kara* and *node*. The present chapter further introduced the notion of multiple grammars (MG) with SG and WG as two general components used to produce discourses in two distinct linguistic environments. WG is a system that can build a large scale sentence structure with hypotactically embedded information. Writers and readers can cope with this kind of structure because they are afforded ample time for composition and processing. However, writers and readers of formal writing are disadvantaged by the lack of personally, temporally and spatially shared information, and must present/process the information exclusively through linguistic means on paper or monitors. SG, on the other hand, can take advantage of information that is not accessible in a written language environment, but must cope with the moment-by-moment fleeting nature of the conversational environment. We contend also that speakers can construct multiple grammars only by immersing themselves in different environments of language use.

Above, we argued that the distinct ways of reason-coding can be traced back to the principles of SG and WG. We started with the function of reason-coding rather than the forms such as *kara* and *node*. This methodology led us to the discovery of, for example, the relative clause as a resource for reason-coding. It is noteworthy that, when we examine verbal exchanges in conversation in the transcript, we tend to fit them to the grammar of written language (see the notion of “written language bias” by Linnel 2004). This way of examining spoken language makes it appear as a string of ungrammatical language outputs. However, SG has different operating principles that respond to the nature of conversation. Conversely, if we analyze written language using SG as a starting point, many sentences may look ‘ungrammatical.’ What this suggests is that we need to first acknowledge the difference between SG and WG. The next step is to see how many different varieties of SG and WG (i.e., genre grammars) are available, and how SG and WG are merged at a more abstract level of organization in speaker’s cognitive system.

Appendix A. Abbreviations

ASP	aspect	NEG	negative
BEN	benefactive	NML	nominalizer
COMP	complementizer	NOM	nominative
COP	copula	PASS	passive
DAT	dative	PP	pragmatic particle
DM	discourse marker	PST	past
EVI	evidential	Q	question marker
GEN	genitive	QT	quotative
IMP	imperative	SE	sentence extender
INST	instrument	TE	<i>te</i> form
LOC	locative	TOP	topic marking particle
MOD	modality	VOL	volitional

Appendix B. Transcription keys

@	laugh; one per pulse of laughter
.	terminative
,	continuative
?	appeal
:	segment lengthening
wor-	truncated/ cut-off word
{Coughing}	notations
<@dai@>	laughing word

Appendix C. Editorials in the original Japanese

- (17) いまの9条には賛否があるが、海外で武力行使はしないという原則に徹するからこそ、自衛隊が国民に評価され認められてきたのは動かしがたい事実だ。
- (18) 中間報告を読んで危惧を覚えるのは、日本政府がその戦略を突き詰めて考え、国民に説明していないからである。
- (19) 藩外相は、ただ握手をしに来たのではない。訪日を取り消して参拝に抗議するよりも、乗り込んで韓国の憤りや基本的な立場を直接伝えた方が得策だと判断したからだ。
- (20) 利子補給金などの形で税金がつぎ込まれているし、赤字になっても国が面倒をみってくれることから、規律が働きにくいという問題もある。
- (21) 政府は国庫負担金を削る方針で調整を進めている。このため、答申がそのまま政策として実行されることはなさそうだ。
- (22) 今回の衆院での大量処分は、総選挙で300近い巨大な勢力を得たために可能になった側面が色濃い。

- (23) 関係を切ろうにも切れないことを、中国や韓国は百も承知だ。だから関係をむやみに悪くさせたくない、それなりに腐心している。
- (24) 子どもたちの教育が大切なことは論をまたない。とりわけ義務教育はどこでも一定の水準を保たねばならない。だからといって、教職員の給与の半分を国が握っておく必要があるのだろうか。
- (25) 人々の反応は冷静でも、だから参拝は容認されたということではない。
- (26) 国内の米軍基地の75%を受け入れている沖縄県が負担軽減を要求するのは当然だろう。
- (27) 国内の米軍基地の75%を受け入れているのだから、その沖縄県が負担軽減を要求するのは当然だろう。
- (28) 銀行の不良債権処理も進んだいまは、政府系金融機関を減らす絶好の機会だ。
- (29) 銀行の不良債権処理も進んだのだから、今は政府系金融機関を減らす絶好の機会だ。
- (30) 郵政民営化法が成立した今こそ、思い切った見直しをすべきだ。
- (31) 郵政民営化法が成立したのだから今こそ、思い切った見直しをすべきだ。
- (36) 今回の国民投票にスニ派の多くが参加したのは、新憲法案に修正の余地を残すことで、主要勢力間の妥協が成立したためだ。
- (37) 利子補給金などの形で税金が積み込まれているし、赤字になっても国が面倒をみてくれることから、規律が働きにくいという問題もある。
- (38) ...税金が積み込まれているし、...面倒みてくれるから

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Amari/anmari/anma and *totemo/tottemo* in history and discourse

Interaction of negative polarity and positive polarity

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This chapter first presents the distributional patterns of *totemo* and *amari* as positive polarity items (PPIs) and negative polarity items (NPIs) in a present-day spoken corpus, by paying due attention to their morphophonological variants, *tottemo* and *anmari/anma*. It also analyzes ‘prefabs’ (Bybee 2006) they form as PPI and NPI. Second, it delineates the diachronic development of *totemo* from NPI to PPI and that of *amari* from PPI to NPI, and offers an explanatory account incorporating three concepts: counter-expectation (Traugott 1999), structural reanalysis and bifurcation/divergence (Bolinger 1968). In a theoretical context of polarity studies, the paper supports Hoeksema’s (2012) stance that comprehensive accounts need both a syntagmatic relationship (licenser-licensee) as well as a paradigmatic relationship with other similar items in competition.

Keywords: *totemo*, *amari*, positive polarity item (PPI), negative polarity item (NPI), corpus-analysis, diachronic change, counter-expectation, bifurcation, Hoeksema, Japanese, pragmatics

1. Introduction

Perhaps the most common elementary textbook explanation of the difference between the degree adverbs *totemo* ‘very’ and *amari* ‘(not) very’ is as follows: *totemo* co-occurs with positive predicates (i.e., PPI = Positive Polarity Item), while *amari* is called for if the predicate is negative (i.e., NPI = Negative Polarity Item).¹ However, they both occur with positive and negative predicates. (See McGloin’s (1986: 81–82) characterization of *a(n)mari* as “liberal negative polarity item.”) Moreover, the

1. This may have stemmed from the known parallelism between NPI and PPI in their properties (cf. Szabolcsi 2004: 410).

history of the Japanese language reveals a reversal of the textbook explanation, as *totemo* started as an NPI, while *amari* was originally a PPI.

This study adopts the following definitions of PPI and NPI from van der Wouden (1994: 5):

- (1) PPI: Positive polarity items (PPIs) are expressions that cannot felicitously appear in negative contexts.
- NPI: Negative polarity items (NPIs) are expressions that can only appear felicitously in negative contexts.

The purposes of this study are two-fold. First, it presents the distributional patterns of *totemo* and *amari* as PPIs and NPIs in a present-day spoken corpus, by paying due attention to their morphophonological variants, *tottemo* and *anmari/anma*. Using a concept from usage-based grammar (Bybee 2006: 713), this study also analyzes what kind of “prefabs” they form as PPI and NPI. Second, it delineates the diachronic development of *totemo* from NPI to PPI and that of *amari* from PPI to NPI, resulting in a “layering” of the coexisting old and new usages (Hopper and Traugott 2003). In the process, it offers explanatory accounts in both cases as to how the changes in polarity happened and what motivated them. To this end, findings from synchronic corpus-based data are also incorporated. Additionally, as possible factors that triggered the polarity shifts, this study draws on three concepts that are frequently identified in grammaticalization literature: counter-expectation (Traugott 1999), structural reanalysis (Hopper and Traugott 2003) and bifurcation/divergence (Bolinger 1968).

This study considers the occurrences of *totemo/amari* in a wide theoretical context of polarity studies. Most studies put their focus fully on lexical semantics such as polarity sensitivity and licensing, however, Hoeksema (1997) views such approaches as not entirely accurate. He argues that comprehensive accounts need both a syntagmatic relationship (licenser-licensee) as well as a paradigmatic relationship with other similar items in competition (Hoeksema 2012). The current analysis follows Hoeksema’s theoretical stance.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 2 deals with corpus-based synchronic findings on the distribution patterns of *totemo/tottemo* and *amari/anmari/anma*. Sections 3 and 4 lay out historical developments of the two sets of adverbs with explanatory accounts. Section 5 concludes this chapter.

2. Corpus-based studies of *totemo/tottemo* and *amari/anmari/anma*

This section shows distributional patterns of *totemo/tottemo* and *amari/anmari/anma* with respect to PPI and NPI. It also shows what kind of “prefabs” they form. The corpus used in this study is *Meidai Corpus* (2001, 2002, 2003). This is a digitalized corpus of approximately 100 hours of natural conversations between 2–4 participants in close personal relationships.

2.1 *Totemo/tottemo*

2.1.1 *Distributional patterns: PPI vs. NPI*

From the corpus, a total of 86 tokens were obtained, of which 57 were *totemo* and 29 were *tottemo*. *Totemo* and *tottemo* occurred in both positive and negative environments as in (2) and (3).²

- (2) a. X: *Konna koto ja, attoiu.ma ni yonjuu da yo.*
 this.kind thing COP no.time in forty COP SFP
 ‘In this kind of situation, I will be forty in no time.’
 Y: *Uun, jinsee wa totemo hayai.* (PPI)
 INJ life TOP very fast
 ‘Yeah. Life goes by in a flash.’
- b. (Talking about the name of someone’s invention)
 Ikkai kii-temo totemo oboe-rare-nai. (NPI)
 once listen-COND very remember-POT-NEG
 ‘There is no way (= very impossible) I’m gonna remember it, listening to it just once.’
- (3) a. (Referring to the tea they are drinking)
 X: *Un tottemo oishii.* (PPI)
 INJ very delicious
 ‘Yes. It’s delicious.’
 Y: *Oishii, kore mo.*
 delicious this too
 ‘Delicious. Mine, too.’

2. Here, basically following the Hepburn system adopted in the present volume, the transcription keys in the first line, instead of the second line, are used:

used:	shi, chi, ji, tsu, fu; cha, chu, cho;	aa, ii, uu, ee, oo
not used:	si, ti, zi, tu, hu; tya, tyu, tyo;	ā, ī, ū, ē, ō

A deviation from the Hepburn system is /n/, which is always written with *n*. Thus, *anmari*, instead of *ammari*, is adopted.

- b. X: *Sorekara Nihon kankee no ironna moyooshi.mono sapooto*
then Japan related GEN various exhibit support
‘Then (there is) support for Japan-related exhibits.’
Y: *Dakedo, kikin dake-ja tottemo dase-nai kara...*
but foundation only-COP very put.ON-NEG since
‘But since we can’t possibly put it on if it is only (with the help from)
the foundation...’ (NPI)
- c. X: *Kekkyoku wa [ee, ee] seesee.bunpoo [ee] to*
eventually TOP [yes, yes] generative.grammar [yes] and
kogunitibu.guramaa o dokkingu s-ase-nakyaikenai.
cognitive grammar OBJ combine do-CAUS-must
‘Eventually, we have to combine both generative grammar and cogni-
tive grammar.’
Y: *ee, ee.*
‘Yes, yes.’
A: *Tottemo-ja-nai kedo, [ee, ee] sore, deki-nai-tte ne*
totally-COP-NEG but [yes,yes] that can-NEG-I.tell.you SFP
‘I cannot possibly do it but, I’m telling you, you know?’ (NPI)³

The distribution patterns are shown in Table 1. This suggests the overwhelming tendency of *totemo* and *tottemo* to appear as PPI. Of the two items, the skewed distribution of *tottemo* as PPI (93%) is striking (the two examples of NPI are shown in (3b, 3c)). The PPI tendency of *tottemo* is strong, but its opposite, the NPI, also remains noticeably high, thus resulting in almost a 2:1 ratio between the newer function (PPI) and the older function (NPI) when totaled.

Table 1. Distributional patterns of *totemo* and *tottemo* as PPI and NPI

	PPI % (N)	NPI % (N)	% (Total)
Totemo	65% (37)	35% (20)	100% (57)
Tottemo	93% (27)	7% (2)	100% (29)

3. Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: CAUS: causative; COMP: complementizer; COND: conditional; COP: copula; GEN: genitive; GER: gerund; HOR: honorific; IMP: imperative; INF: inference; INJ: interjection; NEG: negative; NOM: nominalizer; OBJ: object; PASS: passive; PN: proper noun; PT: particle; PST: past; PRT: perfect; POT: potential; PROG: progressive; Q: question particle; QT: quotative particle SFP: sentence-final particle; SBJ: subject; TG: tag; TENT: tentative; TOP: topic. [] indicates chiming-ins by different speakers.

2.1.2 Collocations/prefabs

In van der Wouden (1994: 166), the term “collocation” is defined as an “idiosyncratic restriction on the combinability of lexical items.” He sees its applicability to go beyond mere lexical levels, and regards polarity sensitivities as collocational restrictions. In a broader sense, a parallel to van der Wouden’s notion of “collocation” in the usage-based grammar (Bybee 2006) is a “prefab.” In Bybee’s definition, “prefabs are word sequences that are conventionalized, but predictable in other ways...stored in memory” (p. 713). Bybee argues that as the frequency of prefabs increases, they become grammaticalized (cf. Hopper’s (1987) “emergent grammar”).

As prefabs are informative about grammaticalization in progress, the analysis of prefabs, or collocations, in current corpus-based data may mirror the stages of *tot(t)emo* development. Table 2 illustrates the distributional patterns of the co-occurring predicates for the PPI, and NPI usages. As PPI, both *totemo* and *tottemo* overwhelmingly take adjectives (97% and 96%, respectively) over verbs (3% and 4%) as their associated predicates. The list of co-occurring verbs with the PPI usage of *totemo* includes *mukatsuku* ‘get infuriated’ and the only item for *tottemo* is *kuroo shiteiru* ‘suffering.’ Interestingly, all these verbs express emotive and affective meanings, which may be interpretable semantically as closer to adjectives. In any event, PPI *totemo/tottemo* + adjective is firmly established as a prefab.

A similar division (i.e., adjectives vs. verbs) was initially applied for investigation of the NPI usage. However, it soon became apparent that an itemized categorization is possible because of the dominance of two items, namely *totemo janai*

Table 2. Collocation patterns of *totemo* and *tottemo*

	PPI			NPI ⁴			
	Adj.	V	Total(N)	<i>janai ga</i>	POT V	Others	Total(N)
<i>Totemo</i>	97% (36)	3% (1)	100% (37)	45% (9)	40% (8)	15% (3)	100% (20)
<i>Tottemo</i>	96% (28)	4% (1)	100% (29)	50% (1)	50% (1)	0% (0)	100% (2)

4. In the constructed example below with a potential verb in the question, *totemo* in the response is understood as an NPI without the overt negative morpheme *nai*. This shows that *totemo/tottemo* does indeed have a fully grammaticalized NPI usage.

A: *Deki-masu ka?*

can-HOR Q

‘Can you do it?’

B: *Watashi ni wa totemo*

I for TOP not.possible

‘It’s not possible for me.’

ga/kedo ‘I cannot possibly do it’ and potential verbs, thus the current itemization replaced the original (i.e., adjectives vs. verbs) as a more meaningful alternative. The items in the “others” column include *kanji shinai* ‘do not feel...’, *ikanai* ‘(situation) does not go’; *yoyuu ga nai* ‘cannot afford,’ which are all nonvolitional, and may be semantically interpretable as potentials.

2.1.3 Summary

Putting the findings from Tables 1 and 2 together, the following points are postulated:

- (4) a. Both *totemo* and *tottemo* show characteristics of PPI more than NPI, and this tendency is by far greater in *tottemo* (PPI::NPI ratio is approximately 14::1) than *totemo* (PPI::NPI ratio = 2::1);⁵
- b. Both *totemo* and *tottemo* overwhelmingly exhibit collocational affinity with adjectives, and thus form a prefab with adjectives; and
- c. *Totemo* seems to form prefabs with *janaiga*.⁶

From the point of view of grammaticalization, the acquisition of a new function (PPI), and the formation of prefabs exhibit tenets of grammaticalization. Historically, *tottemo* is a newer form than *totemo*,⁷ which came to be popularized around 1952 (Park 2010: 56). Thus, the data suggest that newer forms are functionally more innovative, showing a nearly complete shift to the new PPI function (cf. 4a).

2.2 *Amari/anmari/anma*

2.2.1 *Distributional patterns: PPI vs. NPI*

From the corpus, a total of 761 tokens were obtained with each variant count as follows: *amari* (111), *anmari* (539) and *anma* (111). All occurred in both positive and negative environments, as shown in (5)–(7).

5. Park (2010: 61) also offers similar observation based on his study of written materials. He says that he could only find 1 possible token of NPI *tottemo*.

6. The sample size is too small to draw a meaningful conclusion for *tottemo*.

7. The morphophonological variations caused by the lengthening of the intermediate consonant like *totemo*~*tottemo* is very common as seen in *amari*~*anmari*, *yahari*~*yappari* and *bakari*~*bak-kari*. Of these pairs, the longer alternate is more emphatic. These pairs also show other paradigmatic developments. For more discussion, see Shinzato (2011, 2014).

- (5) a. X: *Soo ya ne, suggoi oboete-ru wa, hontooni*
 right COP PT very.well remember-PROG SFP really
 ‘Right. I remember very well, really.’
 Y: *Uun. amari.ni.mo tanoshikat-ta kara sa, [un] subete ga*
 INJ extremely fun-PST since SFP [yes] all SBJ
kirakira shite (PPI)
 radiant do
 ‘Yeah. Since it was a lot of fun, and everything was radiant...’
- b. X: *Ano, sanshoo kakeru desho?*
 INJ pepper sprinkle right
 ‘Shall I sprinkle pepper?’
 Y: *Sanshoo ga amari suki-ja-nai nda, watashi.* (NPI)
 pepper SBJ too.much like-COP-NEG it.is.that I
 ‘I don’t like pepper that much.’
- (6) a. X: *Techoo mo aa koko ga yaburete-ki-chatta, yappari.*
 notebook also INJ here SBJ tear-come-PRT as.expected.
 ‘My notebook is coming apart right here, just as I expected.’⁸
 Y: *Anmari ookii no ireru kara*⁷ (PPI)
 too.much big NOM put.in since
 ‘Since you put in something too big.’
- b. *watashi, terebi dorama nante anmari miru ki shi-nai kara*
 I TV drama like too.much watch feel do-NEG since
 ‘Since I don’t feel like watching something like TV dramas...’ (NPI)
- (7) a. (Talking about a girl who was reticent at first, then transformed into the opposite later.)
Yappa anma berabera shaberi-sugiru no mo chotto
 expectedly too.much incessantly talk-too.much NOM TOP bit
komaru naa. (PPI)
 nuisance SFP
 ‘Expectedly, those who talk too much incessantly are a bit of a nuisance.’

8. Matsui (2013) discusses the licensing problem of *a(n)mari*. On one hand, unlike typical NPI, which is licensed in a DE (downward entailing) context, *a(n)mari* can be licensed in non-DE contexts such as because-clauses like this one. On the other hand, it is not licensed in questions (e.g., *Soto wa anmari atsui-no?* ‘Is it really hot outside?’ p. 303), typical NPI licensing contexts. The present diachronic-based as well as corpus-based approach is different from Matsui’s strictly synchronic approach: (i) Example (6a) is not regarded as NPI, but PPI, and (ii) it is not taken as a problem, but as a phenomenon of “layering” in grammaticalization.

- b. X: ...*Asoko de baito shi-yoo ka to omot-te.*
there at part.time.job do-TENT Q QT think-GER
'I'm thinking of working as a part-timer there...'
Y: *Soo. Asoko, anma yoku-nai...* (NPI)
So there too.much good-NEG
'Is that so? It's not too good there.'

The distribution is shown in Table 3. This suggests an overwhelming tendency of *amari/anmari/anma* to appear as NPIs. Of these three items, the skewed distributions of *anma* as NPI (95%) and, to a slightly lesser degree, that of *anmari* (86%) are noteworthy. Just like *totemo*, the historically older *amari* shows a split between PPI and NPI at a ratio of 1:2.

Table 3. Distributional patterns of *amari*, *anmari* and *anma* as PPI and NPI

	PPI % (N)	NPI % (N)	% (Total)
<i>Amari</i>	37% (41)	63% (70)	100% (111)
<i>Anmari</i>	14% (73)	86% (467)	100% (540)
<i>Anma</i>	5% (5)	95% (106)	100% (111)

Previous studies were based on novels and the authors' own intuition, and were also oblivious to the genre differences between spoken vs. written. To establish uniformity in Modern Japanese data sources, only the corpus data are utilized in this study. The previous studies generally concur that PPI *amari* is basically a subordinate clause phenomenon (see 5a, 6a, 7a above). In light of this claim, the present corpus-based study investigates the distribution patterns of PPI *amari*, *anmari* and *anma* in different syntactic environments, namely, subordinate vs. main clauses. Included in subordinate clauses are cause/reason, conditional and relative clauses. From Table 4, a crude generalization can be made: in the case of *anmari* and *anma*, in main clauses (5b, 6b, 7b), NPI usage is predominant (98% and 100%, respectively). An investigation of the 2% of PPI usages in main clauses for *anmari* reveals that most of them are not *bona fide* PPIs. For instance, out of 6 tokens, 3 are semantically negative predicates (*sukunai* 'few, scarce,' *sasshoo*⁹ 'bloodshed'),

9. Here is an example of *sasshoo* 'bloodshed.'
(A tells B that he has never eaten rabbit meat.)
A: *Sasshoo wa kiraida mon.*
bloodshed TOP dislike because
'Because I dislike bloodshed.'
B: Ee?
'Really?'

or a possibly negative evaluative predicate (*takai* ‘expensive’) and 3 are with *sugiru* ‘too much’ (more in Section 2.2.2). As the previous studies claimed, they have to be in a subordinate clause to function as PPI. It is fair to say that the main clause is a NPI licenser for *anmari/anma*. *Amari*, in contrast, has a fair amount of PPI usage in main clauses, and also its PPI usage is by far more dominant than its NPI usage in subordinate clauses. The opposite is true for *anmari/anma*.

Table 4. The occurrences of *amari*, *anmari* and *anma* as PPI and NPI in subordinate vs. main clauses

	Subordinate			Main		
	PPI	NPI	% (Total)	PPI	NPI	% (Total)
<i>Amari</i>	71% (30)	29% (12)	100% (42)	15% (11)	84% (58)	100% (69)
<i>Anmari</i>	45% (67)	55% (81)	100% (148)	2% (6)	98% (386)	100% (391)
<i>Anma</i>	33% (5)	67% (10)	100% (15)	0% (0)	100% (96)	100% (96)

2.2.2 Collocations and syntactic environment

Past studies have pointed out that in main clauses,¹⁰ *amari* and *anmari* cannot be a PPI unless they are tagged by *ni* (e.g., *amari(ni)mo*) or co-occur with *sugiru* ‘exceed’ (Suga 1992: 42) or semantically negative evaluative predicates such as *hidoi* ‘terrible’ (Imanishi 2001: 15). Table 5 shows co-occurrence rates of the three variants with *(ni)mo*, *sugiru* and without them ($\emptyset$).

The corpus data (Table 5) support the findings of the previous studies when *amari* is accompanied with *(ni)mo*. However, that is not necessarily the case for *anmari*, nor for *anma*. For instance, for their PPI usage, the co-occurrence with *ni(mo)* or *sugiru* (i.e., B + C + D) are low for *anmari* (18%) and *anma* (20%).¹¹ In contrast, the occurrence of *(ni)mo* and *sugiru* is considerably high for PPI *amari* (85%). What this leads to is that the view in the previous studies which treats *ni(mo)*

A: *Anmari sasshoo.*

too.much bloodshed
‘It’s too much bloodshed.’

B: *Sasshoo kiraina wari.ni, otoosan niku toka yoku taberu jan.*

bloodshed dislike for Dad meat things.like lot eat TG
‘For someone disliking bloodshed, Dad, you eat meat a lot, don’t you.’

10. A clarification is in order here. A causal noun phrase like [amari no N]_{NP} de, which may be interpretable as ‘a shortened form of an S (subordinate clause)’ (personal communication, Mutsuko Endo Hudson on June 2, 2014), was excluded from being considered as a main clause phenomenon in past studies.

11. Due to the small size of the tokens, this percentage may not be statistically significant.

or *sugiru* as a PPI licensor is accurate for *amari*, but not for *anmari* and *anma*. Not surprisingly, as for NPI usage, the co-occurrence of *ni(mo)* or *sugiru* with *amari/anmari/anma* is little to none.

Table 5. Co-occurrence of $\emptyset$ /*ni/nimo/sugiru* with *amari*, *anmari* and *anma* as PPI and NPI

PPI						
	A = $\emptyset$	B = <i>ni</i>	C = <i>nimo</i>	D = <i>sugiru</i>	Total (N)	A:: (B + C + D)
<i>Amari</i>	15% (6)	15% (6)	63% (26)	7% (3)	100% (41)	15% :: 85%
<i>Anmari</i>	82% (60)	0% (0)	4% (3)	14% (10)	100% (73)	82% :: 18%
<i>Anma</i>	80% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	20% (1)	100% (5)	80% :: 20%
NPI						
	A = $\emptyset$	B = <i>ni</i>	C = <i>nimo</i>	D = <i>sugiru</i>	Total (N)	
<i>Amari</i>	94% (66)	2% (1)	4% (3)	0% (0)	100% (70)	94% :: 6%
<i>Anmari</i>	100% (464)	0% (0)	0% (2)	0% (0)	100% (466)	100% :: 0%
<i>Anma</i>	100% (106)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	100% (106)	100% :: 0%

Table 6 shows the PPI occurrence of *(ni)mo* and *sugiru* in subordinate vs. main clauses. In the case of *amari*, 24 out of 30 (= 80%) instances take *(ni)mo* or *sugiru* in subordinate clauses. As for the main clauses, all of them are either tagged by *(ni)mo* or *sugiru*. This indicates *(ni)mo* or *sugiru* trigger PPI usage for *amari*. On the other hand, for *anmari* and *anma*, the subordinate contexts alone are often sufficient to trigger that usage.

Table 6. Occurrence of PPI *amari*, *anmari* and *anma* with $\emptyset$ /*ni/nimo/sugiru* in subordinate and main clauses

Subordinate clauses						
	A = $\emptyset$	B = <i>ni</i>	C = <i>nimo</i>	D = <i>sugiru</i>	Total (N)	A :: (B + C + D)
<i>Amari</i>	20% (6)	10% (3)	67% (20)	3% (1)	100% (30)	20% :: 80%
<i>Anmari</i>	85% (57)	0% (0)	5% (3)	10% (7)	100% (67)	85% :: 15%
<i>Anma</i>	80% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	20% (1)	100% (5)	80% :: 20%
Main clauses						
	A = $\emptyset$	B = <i>ni</i>	C = <i>nimo</i>	D = <i>sugiru</i>	Total (N)	A :: (B + C + D)
<i>Amari</i>	0% (0)	27% (3)	55% (6)	18% (2)	100% (11)	0% :: 100%
<i>Anmari</i>	50% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	50% (3)	100% (6)	50% :: 50%
<i>Anma</i>	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	100% :: 0%

2.2.3 Summary

A summary of the findings shown in Tables 3 through 6 is provided in (8).

- (8) a. All the variants (*amari/anmari/anma*) exhibit the characteristics of NPI more than PPI, in varying degrees from the strongest (*anma*) to the weakest (*amari*) (Table 3);
- b. Main clauses function as NPI licensors for *anmari* and *anma* (Table 4);
- c. For *anmari/anma*, *(ni)mo* and *sugiru* are not considered to be significant as PPI licensors due to their infrequent occurrences (Table 5); and
- d. For *amari*, *(ni)mo* and *sugiru* license PPI readings both in subordinate and main clauses, while for *anmari* and *anma*, the subordinate contexts on their own can yield PPI readings (Table 6).

3. Diachronic development of *totemo/tottemo*

This and the subsequent sections deal with the diachronic developments of *totemo/tottemo* and *amari/anmari/anma*. Each section first delineates the development, drawing on previous studies. Then each delves into questions of how the switches in polarity happened, and what motivated such changes.

3.1 Outline of the diachronic development with examples

Drawing on the diachronic studies by Harima (1993) and Yoshii (2003), the development of *totemo/tottemo* can be illustrated by three stages as in (9).

- (9) Stage 1: *totemo kakutemo* ‘either way’ ... positive/negative
 Stage 2: *totemo* ‘either way/no matter what’... negative potential
 Stage 3: *totemo* (degree adverb) ... positive adjective

Stage 1 is when *totemo* was part of a formulaic expression, *to-temo kaku-temo* built on the medial deictic *to*¹² and the proximal *kaku*, meaning ‘that way or this way, i.e., either way.’ At this stage, this concessive clause could end in a positive or negative

12. It is probably not controversial to take this as a demonstrative etymologically (Yoshii 2003). It is not clear, however, what kind of deictic it is. This study takes the position that it is related to Eastern Old Japanese medial deictic *to*, and Old Okinawan *du* (Shinzato and Serafim 2013). Similar to *to-temo kaku-temo*, is *to-nimo, kaku nimo* ‘that way or this way, either way,’ from which Modern Japanese *tonikaku* ‘anyway, anyhow’ evolved (*Nihon Dai-jiten Kankookai* (vol. 9) 1984: 1291–1292).

predicate and express the meaning of ‘Either way, what follows is inevitable.’ Some examples of Stage 1 are presented in (10).

- (10) a. *Wa-ga yo no hodo ha,*¹³ *totemo.kakutemo onaji koto*
 I-GEN life GEN extent TOP either.way same thing
nare-do... (Genji Monogatari: Hotaru, 11th C.)
 COP-but
 ‘To the extent my life is (concerned), either way, it is the same, but...’
- b. *Totemo.kootemo imasara-ni kokorozashi no hedataru koto*
 either.way now-ADV VOW SBJ become.distant NOM
ha aru-majikere do (Genji Monogatari: Makibashira, 11th C.)
 TOP COP-NEG-INF but
 ‘Either way, my vow for you will not fade (= distant)...’

Stage 2 begins around the Kamakura period (late 12th century – early 14th century) as *totemo* was established as a single adverb when an elision of *kakutemo* occurred following the separation of *totemo* and *kakutemo* by an intervening verb (cf. Yoshii 2003: 322). With this syntactic change, the *totemo* clauses came to be used in conditional clauses (or clauses interpretable as such) as in (11a), which was not observed in Stage 1. Further, Yoshii notes that, though unexplainable to him, the causal *totemo* developed collocational affinity with negative potentials around the Edo period (17th century), and subsequently, around the Meiji period (mid-19th century), *totemo* became a categorical NPI as in (11b).

- (11) a. *Totemo tasukaru-majiki mi, setsunano nagarahe mo*
 no.matter.what save-NEG body momentary delay TOP
kurushiku... (Soga Monogatari, vol. 10, 14th C.–15th C.)
 painful
 ‘My life (lit. my body) won’t be spared, no matter what. (If so,) momentary delay is even painful...’
- b. *Ippan no ningen wa totemo sumootori ni katsu*
 ordinary GEN people TOP no.matter.what sumo.wrestler IO beat
koto atagawa-zu. (Kishida, 1884, cited in Yoshii (2003: 332))
 COMP can-NEG
 ‘Ordinary people can’t possibly beat the sumo wrestlers.’

13. Pre-modern examples (before mid-19th century) are presented by Roman transliteration of *kana* instead of phonological representation (e.g., the topic marker *ha* instead of *wa*).

Stage 3 is characterized by a polarity shift from NPI to PPI. The innovative PPI usage (*totemo* + positive adjective) was described by Akutagawa Ryunosuke as unacceptable in his essay in 1924 (cf. Iwabuchi 1968 and *Nihon Dai-jiten Kankookai* 1984). Most scholars cite this to indicate the timing of the shift to be around 1925. Based on her corpus-based study of *totemo* from semantics as well as collocations, Nakao's (2005) study independently concurs that the turning point was around 1925. Some early examples of PPI usage are listed in (12).

- (12) a. *Hontoo wa totemo ii tsuzumi...*
 truth TOP very good drum
 'The truth is it's a very good drum' (*Ayakashi no Tsuzumi*, by Yumeno 1926)
- b. *Totemo atsuku-te yari-kire ya shi-nai*
 extremely hot -GER bear-POT TOP do-NEG
 'It's extremely hot, and I can't bear it.'
 (*Chijin no Ai*, 1926, cited in Yoshii (2003: 336))

According to Yoshii (2003), Example (12b) may reflect the transitional nature of *totemo*, as it can be interpreted as PPI as in "extremely hot," and at the same time, it may be taken as NPI as in *totemo...yari-kire ya shinai* 'can't possibly bear it.'

3.2 An explanatory account

This section aims to provide an explanatory account of the diachronic developments delineated above. To this end, three notions from the grammaticalization framework are considered as possible factors, namely "counter-expectation," "re-analysis" and "bifurcation/divergence." In the process, the previous diachronic studies and the corpus-based synchronic analysis in Section 2 will also be incorporated to present these cases in a more comprehensive manner.

3.2.1 Counter-expectation factor

A counter-expectation refers to the speaker's point of view in opposition to normative viewpoints held by the general public (Traugott and Dasher 2002). It has been noted that the rhetoric of counter-expectation plays a role in grammaticalization especially in the case of adverbs. For instance, (13a) is an example of *in fact* as a verbal adverb where "fact" is in contrast with "feeling," while in (13b) the same adverb functions as a sentence adverb and implicates the sense of counter-expectation.

- (13) a. *Humanity, comfortably engaged elsewhere in the business of living, is absent in fact, but everywhere in feeling.*
 (United Airlines Magazine, May 1997, cited in Traugott 1999: 182)
- b. *It's almost as if he were avoiding the evening's moment of truth. The moment is, in fact, about 45 minutes, the main body of the play, during which Mr. Quinton...holds the stage and acts up a primeval cataclysm all by himself.*
 (New York Times, July 29, 1996, review of Phaedra,
 cited in Traugott 1999: 183)

In the current case, the counter-expectation factor seems to have worked in the bridging context from NPI *totemo* to PPI *totemo*. The co-occurrence of *totemo* with a potential verb has been noted both diachronically (Section 3.1) and synchronically (Section 2.1). What has not been stressed is that these potential verbs in negative forms were an important factor to evoke counter-expectation. It is a transition from “no matter what, X happens” (2nd stage) to “it is extremely A (= adjective), counter-to-my expectation, X can't happen.” Along with this development was an emergence of the structure in which a negative potential verb is combined with *hodo* ‘to the extent’ as in (14). This structure presents an unimaginable/unexpected situation, which the quality of the specified adjective in a sentence describes. Naturally, such a quality induces the counter-expectation interpretation, and subsequently the “extreme” interpretation. From this point, the developmental scenario goes like this: at some point in history, this “extreme” phrase elides, or is replaced by context, but the “extreme” sense continues to be carried on by *totemo* itself. Using Example (14), this development is schematized as in (15). The idea of elision from structures like (14) or (12b) were mentioned in Shinmura (1940) and Yoshii (2003), but the role of negative potentials, the transition from the counter-expectation to the extremity reading, and the transfer of the extremity sense embedded in the *hodo* ‘extent’ phrase to the *totemo* were not clarified in the previous studies.

- (14) X *wa totemo [kono yo no mono to wa omo-e-nai*
 TOP extremely this world GEN person as TOP think-POT-NEG
 hodo] utsukushii.
 extent beautiful
 ‘X is extremely beautiful [to the extent one can't think of (that quality) as
 that of a person on earth].’
- (15) a. If X is a person on earth (= A), her beauty is expected to be that of a person
 on earth (EXPECTATION)
 b. Counter to the expectation in (15a), X's beauty cannot possibly be thought
 of as something that of A (COUNTER-EXPECTATION)
 c. X is *totemo* Y [to the extent one cannot think of Y to be generally/expectedly
 attributable to A, thus Y has an extreme quality]
 d. X is *totemo* Y ‘X is extremely Y.’

(15a) represents the expected norm (i.e., EXPECTATION), while (15b) deviates from/opposes the common expectation (i.e., COUNTER-EXPECTATION), which was sanctioned by the negative potential “can’t (possibly).” Thus, the “extreme” sense emerges as in (15c). In (15d), the bracketed part gets elided, but the “extreme” sense is transferred to *totemo*, giving it a maximizer meaning¹⁴ and making it a PPI. It is of note that out of the six examples Nakao (2005: 223) collected, two have the phrase *Y to omoenai hodo* ‘to the extent that one cannot possibly think that it is Y’ as in (14).

3.2.2 Structural reanalysis of scope

Not all structural reanalyses are instances of grammaticalization, but as Traugott (2010: 16) states, “grammaticalization requires structural reanalysis.” For instance, in the process of *be going to* from the purposive phrase to the futurity auxiliary, the following reanalysis occurred (dir = direction; Purp. = purposive; TNS = tense):

- (16) Stage 1
 be going [to visit Bill]
 PROG V_{dir} [Purp. Clause]
 Stage 2
 [be going to] visit Bill
 TNS V_{act}
 (by reanalysis) (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 69)

The analysis is applicable to the current case, and as noted in Section 3.1, many previous studies suggested/implied it in various forms. In this chapter, the reanalyses (17) and (18) are posited for Examples (12b) and (14).

- (17) [*totemo atsukute yarikirya shinai*] → (reanalysis)
 [*totemo atsukute*] *yarikirya shinai* → (ellipsis) → [*totemo atsui*]
 (18) X *wa* [*totemo kono yo no mono to wa omoenai hodo*] *utsukushii* → (reanalysis)
 X *wa totemo* [*kono yo no mono to wa omoenai hodo*] *utsukushii* → (ellipsis) →
 [*totemo utsukushii*]

Hopper and Traugott (2003) state that the reanalysis in (16) is motivated by syntagmatic reanalysis, but the expansion of V_{act} into any verb including a stative type, such as *like*, is motivated by analogy, that is, a reanalysis using a paradigmatic relationship. Reanalyses like (17) and (18) were of the syntagmatic type, but the establishment of PPI *totemo* + adjective was probably promoted first by the *totemo* + ‘implied negative’ adjective (which is semantically negative, but syntactically

14. Israel (2001) observes a general tendency that forms denoting a minimal scalar degree become emphatic negative polarity items (NPIs), while forms denoting maximal degree evolve to be emphatic positive polarity items.

positive) like *muzukashii* ‘difficult,’ and *muri* ‘impossible,’ as Matsui (2004) suggests. Park’s (2010) corpus-based study of the early 20th century confirms Matsui’s hypothesis.¹⁵ He contends that in the transition from NPI to PPI, there was an increasing co-occurrence of *totemo* with “implied negative” adjectives around 1900–1920, and the PPI usage (*totemo* + *bona fide* positive adjective) started to show expansion around 1920 as well. This transitional stage proposed by Matsui and corroborated by Park’s data is reasonable because these ‘implied negative’ adjectives are semantically close to an NPI implicating the meaning of impossibility, and yet they are structurally positive, thus carrying the syntactic attribute of PPI. Thus, they come in the intermediate stage between a *bona fide* NPI and *bona fide* PPI in present-day Japanese. This could be conceived of as a functional extension based on paradigmatic analogy, as mentioned above (i.e., further expansion of V_{act} into any verb).

The idiomatic expression *totemo janai ga* mentioned in Section 2.1.2 can also be seen as a case of reanalysis. Ohno (1992) claims that this usage became popular after the World War II. By then, the very original *totemo kakutemo* must have been fossilized as a unit, meaning ‘no matter what, it is impossible.’ According to Ohno, an amalgamation of *totemokakutemo* with *nante mono* ‘things like’ was formed as a noun phrase, and was presented with the negated copula *dewa nai* + the conjunctive particle *ga* ‘but.’ Together, the original string in (19) meant ‘it’s not the kind of the thing that is impossible under any circumstances,’ which in turn came to mean ‘it’s not totally impossible, but’ in the last string. Based on Ohno’s hypothesis, the development can be posited as in (19).

- (19) [[[*totemo kakutemo*] ...*nante mono*] *dewa-nai ga*] →
 [[[*totemo*] ...*nante mono*] *dewa nai ga*] → [*totemo ja nai ga*]

This development shows a direction towards structural coalescence, a typical trait of grammaticalization.

3.2.3 *Bifurcation / divergence*

Bolinger (1968) claims that a phonetic change may result in coexisting older and newer forms. Subsequently, when the two forms are reinterpreted semantically (cf. isomorphism condition of “one meaning for one form”), and the same meaning differentiation between the two crystallizes in speech registers of many, then semantic *bifurcation* (or *divergence*, to use a more familiar term in grammaticalization) results. Bolinger (1968: 110–111) states:

15. An interesting point Park (2010) makes is that explicit contexts are required for NPI *totemo*. For instance, *muzukashii* ‘difficult’ can be PPI or NPI. As NPI, the contexts have to be presented to provide the reason why it would be difficult to carry out the said activity. Without such contexts, the default reading of *totemo muzukashii* is PPI ‘very difficult’ instead of NPI ‘can’t possibly do.’

If I use *burned* as the past of the verb *to burn* and you happen to prefer *burnt*, and our conversation turns on the subject of something charred and you refer to it as *burnt*, I may suspect that you are in possession of a formula that I lack, whereby a thing gets burned and ends up *burnt*... Perhaps my impression is supported by the length of the words – *burned* takes longer to say, it sounds like something going on, while *burnt* is short, like something finished. No more than this may be needed to balance our calculations in favor of a shift in meaning.

Totemo has a morphophonological variant *tottemo*, which, according to Park's (2010) literature-based study, started to appear in 1952, mostly in the dialogue part of the texts. A question might arise if this serves as a case of bifurcation. As it appears from the corpus data (Table 1) in Section 2.1.1, *tottemo* is categorically a PPI, while that is not the case for *totemo*. Thus, it is possible to see a division of labor between them. One may ask if their subscribed roles are cognitively motivated as Bolinger (1968) alluded to with the syllable length. The present study argues that the *tottemo* is indeed motivated by a paradigmatic relationship. As noted in Hamada (1986), the insertion of the mora obstruent /Q/ has a general tendency to strengthen the word meaning. In similar pairs such as *bakari* vs. *bakkari*, *yahari* vs. *yappari*, it is the variant with /Q/ which exudes an emphatic tone (Shinzato 2011, 2014). Between *totemo* and *tottemo*, it is more natural for *tottemo* to align paradigmatically with these adverbs with the embedded /Q/ element. In addition, the sound symbolic value of the /Q/ as an added emphasis that *tottemo* (not *totemo*) has acquired in its transition from NPI to PPI and in its establishment as a categorical PPI suits the maximizer sense of PPI (see also footnote 14).¹⁶ From the point of view of the reanalysis discussed in the previous section, this could be conceived as a paradigmatic reanalysis based on analogy (cf. Section 3.1.1.). This study asserts that there is a division of labor between *totemo* and *tottemo* as follows: *tottemo* is a categorical PPI, but *totemo* retains its original NPI function.

4. Diachronic development of *amari* /*anmari*/*anma*

4.1 Outline of development with examples

Building on previous studies (*Nihon Kokugo Dai-Jiten*; *Joodaigo Jiten*, Hirotsuka 1996; Kawase 2008), the following polarity shift is obtained:

16. The emphasis associated with the lengthened syllable is not confined to PPI. For instance, NPI *anmari* is more emphatic than *amari*.

- (20) Stage 1: *amari* (noun, suffix)
 Stage 2: *amari* (degree adverb) ... positive
 Stage 3: *amari* (degree adverb) ... negative¹⁷

At Stage 1, *amari* as a noun or a suffix denoted an excess amount as in Examples (21) and (22). The *amari* as an adverb did not appear until the 9th century (Hirosaka 1996).

- (21) *Karano wo shio ni yaki-shi ga amari koto ni tsukuri...*
 P. N. OBJ salt for burn-PST GEN left.over harp for make
 ‘Burning the (wood from the retired boat called) Karano to heat (sea water) for
 harvesting salt, and making the leftover (wood) into a harp...’ (*Kojiki*, 712)
- (22) *Mi-so amari futatsu ...* (*Bussoku Sekika* 8th C.)
 three-ten excess two
 ‘Thirty two...’

At Stage 2, *amari* developed into an adverb expressing an excessive degree. It is not difficult to imagine that excess quantity was translated into extremity, and linked to the PPI usage, as maximizers generally grammaticalize as PPI. Examples (23)–(25) illustrate the PPI usage of *amari*. According to Kawase (2008), PPI *amari* was prevalent through the 19th century. For instance, he observes that out of 40 instances of *amari* in *Amakusa-bon Heike Monogatari* (1593), 38 (95%) are PPI and 2 (5%) are NPI. In *Hanashi-bon* (1813–1885), a later text, the NPI percentage increased to 20%, but still the PPI usage was by far the majority.

- (23) *Anadu-raruru mono amari kokoro-yoshi to hito ni*
 ridicule-PASS person extremely good-hearted QT people to
shira-re-nuru hito (*Makurano Sooshi*, end of 10th C.)
 know-PASS-PRT person
 ‘A person ridiculed is a person who is known to be extremely good-hearted.’
- (24) *Amari kotokotoshiku hazukashigeni zo ohasuru*
 extremely grand ashamed PT COP:HOR
 ‘(Your father) is extremely grand and (make us) ashamed.’
 (*Genji Monogatari: Tokonatsu*, 11th C.)

17. According to Kawase (2008: 5), the following diachronic process is observed in *amari* (excluding *anmari*, or *amari ni*) in three literary works of different periods.

1. *Hakai* [The broken commandment] (1905): NPI = 7; PPI = 20 (out of 27), cited in Kawase (2008: 5)
2. *Wagahai wa Neko de aru* [I am a cat] (1905): NPI = 22; PPI = 33 (out of 55), cited in Kawase (2008: 5)
3. *Sekai no Owari to Haado Boirudo Wandaa Rando* [Hard boiled wonderland and the end of the world] (1985): NPI = 70, PPI = 5 (out of 75), cited in Kawase (2008: 5)

- (25) *Anmari amohute, mono ga iha-re-mase-nu.*
 extremely sweet words OBJ say-POT-HOR-NEG
 ‘It is extremely sweet – I’ve lost words to say.’ (Kyoogenki Kakiuri, 1660,
 cited in Nihon Dai-jiten Kankookai (vol. 1) 1972: 749)

At Stage 3, around the 18th century, *amari* + negative came to be established as a collocational unit, or prefab (cf. Kawase 2008). In Hirosaka’s (1996) observation, this new collocation started in negative imperative contexts. Kawase (2008) agrees with Hirosaka about the high occurrence of negative imperatives in *Kyogen*, but he also points out that in *Hanashi-bon* the NPI sentences are also noticeable in other non-imperative contexts as well.

- (26) *Amari hara na tate-zu to isashime...*
 so.much gut IMP.PT stand-NEG QT warn
 ‘Warning him not to get so angry...’
 (Torakiyo Kyoogen, 1641, cited in Hirosaka (1996: 59))
- (27) *Kore wa amari omoshiroo-nai.*
 this TOP so.much interesting-NEG
 ‘This is not so interesting.’
 (Kyoogenki shuui, 1730, cited in Hirosaka (1996: 60))

4.2 An explanatory account

4.2.1 Counter-expectation factor and mitigating effect

The present study argues that in the process of *amari* being established as a PPI degree adverb, the counter-expectation factor played a role. For instance, all examples in (23) to (25) demonstrate that the amount concerned exceeds the generally perceived norm, and *amari/anmari* is used to stress that excessive degree.¹⁸ Kawase (2008) is especially explicit about this point saying that *amari* indicates a degree which exceeds the general norm, and that in turn, implies something extraordinary, happens. In the above examples, what was unexpected were the surprisingly kind nature in (23), unmatched high ranking of the interlocutor’s father in (24), and the outrageous sweetness in (25). The counter-expectation factor is also in line with McGloin’s (1986) observation that the “counter expectation” meaning and the “surprise” connotation are closely associated with the liberal NPI *a(n)mari* in present-day Japanese.

18. Mutsuko Endo Hudson (personal communication on June 2, 2014) shows that this “excessive degree” meaning “can be easily linked to the original meaning; CURRENT DEGREE – (minus) NORMAL DEGREE = excess, surplus (*amari* as a noun).”

Hirosaka (1996: 49) offers Example (28), which may serve as a bridge context from PPI to NPI. She states that Example (28) inherently has two interpretations. One meaning is ‘Cakes are usually *very* sweet, but counter to that/my expectation, it is *not* the case that the cakes at this store are *extremely* sweet,’ thus, it is the negation of the generally approved expectation. The same sentence can also mean, ‘the degree of sweetness is not high.’ The former is close to a PPI reading, while the latter is an NPI interpretation.

- (28) *Kono mise no keeki wa amari amaku-nai.*
 this bakery GEN cake TOP extremely/so.much sweet-NEG
 ‘Cakes at this bakery are not sweet (against general expectation/counter to my expectation)/Cakes at this bakery are not so sweet (on a scale of sweetness).’

She notes that the two interpretations associated with (28) are also possible for the negative command in (29). It could mean ‘It’s okay to make noise if it is *not extremely* loud’ (negated PPI meaning), but in ordinary circumstances, what this communicates is the message, ‘Don’t make *any* noise’ (NPI). She asserts that this ambiguity leads to a softer tone in (29a) compared to (29b) (cf. “understatement” in Horn (1989)).

- (29) a. *amari sawagu na.*
 too.much make.noise IMP.NEG
 ‘Don’t make too much noise.’
 b. *Sawagu na.*
 make.noise IMP.NEG
 ‘Don’t make noise.’

What the above shows is the hypothesized transition from PPI (30a) > the negation of the excessiveness (‘too much noise’ = PPI) (30b) > the mitigation meaning (understatement) (30c) > pragmatically inferred simple negation meaning (‘any noise’ = NPI) (30d).

- (30) a. *amari* [X] excessively [X] PPI
 b. *amari* [X] *na* do NOT [excessively [X]]
 c. *amari* [X] *na* do [[NOT excessive [X]] understatement
 d. *amari* [X] *na* do [[NOT any [X]] NPI

Hirosaka seems to think prohibition is conducive to this shift. Prohibition in this case is after all a warning to stay within the expected norm (i.e., conforming to the speaker’s expectation) instead of deviation from it (i.e., counter to the speaker’s expectation). Prohibitions are issued when the speaker anticipates that something will happen that s/he disapproves of. Indeed, as Lyons (1977: 766) states, “there is no point in telling or asking someone to refrain from carrying out some course of

action, unless we have some prior expectation that he will or may do what we want him not to do.” The degree of excessiveness is in a positive correlation to the degree of unfavorableness (i.e., the more they make a racket, the more it is unbearable to the speaker), thus resulting in a chain reaction from excessiveness (ie, *noise* in 30a) > unfavorableness > intervention by the speaker (i.e., negative imperative, as in (30c–d)). The counter-expectation is in a part and parcel with excessiveness. It is in this sense that the counter-expectation factor, particularly the negation of it, played a role in the evolution of NPI from PPI.

4.2.2 Structural reanalysis of scope

For the case of *amari* in its shift from PPI to NPI, the following reanalysis can be proposed. Similar analyses are offered in Hirosaka (1996) and Kawase (2008).¹⁹ In the first stage, *amari* has a scope over a positive predicate. The intermediate stage is transitional allowing both PPI-like and NPI-like interpretations, as mentioned above regarding (28) and (29). In the last stage, *amari* is a categorical NPI.

- (31) *Amari* [X] → [*amari* ‘excessively’ [X]] *nai* PPI → [*amari* X-*nai*]
→ PPI /NPI (cf. Example 28, 29a) → NPI

Another structural change is the loss of structural independence for PPI *amari*, as in (32). Suga (1992) and Kawase (2008) state that PPI *amari* was still common in the main clause in the late 17th century, and was even seen in the early 19th century literature. However, according to the present-day corpus data (Tables 4 and 6 in Section 2.2.2), this tendency for PPI *amari* to appear in subordinate clauses is rather evident. It was also pointed out that the licensors (*ni*)*mo* or *sugiru* are needed for *amari/anmari/anma* to be in main clauses.

- (32) [*amari* [X]]_s → [[[*amari* [X]] [Y]]_s]
parataxis → subordination

This syntactic change may have sanctioned the functional division between *amari* and *anmari/anma*. This is because for the latter, subordinate contexts seem to function as PPI licensors, while the PPI licensors for *amari* appear to be (*ni*)*mo* or *sugiru* (Table 5 and Section 2.2.3.).

19. Hirosaka’s formulation is as follows (*nai* ‘not’): *amari* [X] / *amari* [X *nai*] > [*amari* X] *nai* > [*amari*] X [*nai*].

Kawase is also slightly different: [[*amari* P] *nai*] > emergence of NPI > NPI & specialization of PPI by *amari* (*ni/nimo*).

4.2.3 Bifurcation / divergence

In the case of the *amari* group, bifurcation is seen between *amari* vs. *amari ni(mo)/sugiru* and *amari* vs. *anmari/anma*. As for the former, the corpus data (Table 5) show that 85% of the PPI *amari* are attached to *ni(mo)/sugiru*, but for NPI *amari*, only 6% take *ni(mo)*. Thus, the prefab *amari ni(mo)/sugiru* appear to be working as licensors of positive polarity, and sanctioning the division of labor between *amari* as NPI and *amari ni(mo)/sugiru* as PPI. This is in accord with Suga (1992), who argues that *amari-ni* became specialized as PPI, which in turn allowed *amari* (without *ni*) to establish itself as NPI. Kawase's (2008) analysis based on historical data corroborates Suga's argument that *amari-ni* worked as the catalyst for the preservation of *amari* as PPI.

As for the bifurcation between *amari* vs. *anmari/anma*, the corpus data indicate the propensity of *anmari/anma* as NPI (Table 3). Neither one rarely occurs with *nimo*, the PPI licensor (Table 5). As PPI, they seldom appear in main clauses (Table 4). All of these support the status of *anmari/anma* as categorically NPI. Historically, as Hirosaka (1996) notes, *anmari* became more prevalent than *amari* around the time of *Heike Monogatari* (pre-14th century), a major shift from its use in *Genji Monogatari*, a prominent literary work in the 11th century. *Anma* is a recent development as shown in Shinzato (2014). There were very few tokens of *anma* in corpora by Gendai Nihongo Kenkyuukai (1997, 2002), but its token count increased significantly in the current corpus and Usami's (2005) corpus. The bifurcation between *amari* and *anmari/anma* is also seen in the development of other functions: *anmari/anma* have developed a filler usage, while *amari* has not (cf. Shinzato 2014).

5. Conclusion

The cross-linguistic omnipresence of PPI and NPI has been noted with data from 40 languages (Haspelmath 1997). The phenomena have been investigated rigorously in formal semantics (Horn 1989, *inter alia*). However, such research seems to center on the issues of "lexical semantics" (Ludusaw 1997), "licensing environments" (Giannakidou 2002), and "polarity sensitivity" (Israel 1996), without paying much attention to the historical development or synchronic variations.

In contrast, Hoeksema (1997) takes the view that lexical semantics alone cannot determine the distribution of polarity items. According to him, Dutch degree adverbs, *bar* and *bijster* 'very, all that,' have two-way sensitivity to polarity: sentential level, and semantics of adjectives they modify (positive or negative). *Bijster* primarily occurs in a negative sentence modifying an adjective of positive attributes (e.g., 'good') and *Bar* in a positive sentence with an antonym pair of negative attributes

(e.g., ‘bad’). With diachronic data, he demonstrates how such polarity came to be established in present-day Dutch. Hoeksema (2010: 190) considers polarity items to be the product of grammaticalization, and he also stresses both syntagmatic factors as well as paradigmatic factors (the competition of other items) (See also Lee 2011 and Martins 2012).

The two groups of Japanese adverbs presented here also show the importance of diachronic analyses. They support Hoeksema’s (1997) view that both syntagmatic (collocations) and paradigmatic relationships (cf. 3.2.3) are indispensable. After delineating the diachronic developments for both adverbs, the present study identified three factors as relevant for the polarity shift: counter-expectation, scope reanalysis and bifurcation. In the broader context of polarity studies, it argued that historical analyses as well as corpus-based variation research are valuable along with lexical semantics, licensing environments, and polarity sensitivity.

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The form and meaning of the dangling *mitaina* construction in a network of constructions

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In recent years the use in Japanese of the prenominal form *mitaina* of the evidential expression, *mitaida* ‘(it) look(s) like,’ has been observed at the utterance final position with no noun following it. The pragmatic function of this apparently innovative construction has been described in terms of the speakers’ *distancing from* a vivid and engaged description in the preceding clause. This chapter suggests as an alternative analysis of the construction, based on spoken and written data, that *mitaina* signals the speaker’s stance, conveying his/her impressionistic and vivid description of the situation described in the preceding component. The pairing of the form and meaning makes this construction a full-fledged grammatical construction in terms of Construction Grammar, rather than an idiosyncratic phenomenon.

Keywords: Construction Grammar, constructionalization, pragmatics, innovative, *mitaina*, stance, complementizer, quotative, evidential, Japanese

1. Introduction

One of the commonly used evidential (or epistemic modal) expressions in Japanese, *mitaida* (or *mitai-da*) ‘(it) look(s) like,’ functions morpho-syntactically as a nominal adjective, in which *-da*, following the stem *mitai-*, indicates the plain non-past finite form. In the past two decades or so, linguists as well as Japanese speakers in general, have noted that the prenominal form *mitaina* (or *mitai-na*) is used at the utterance final position with no noun (phrase) following it (e.g. Fujii 2006; Maynard 2005; Suzuki 1995). From the morphological point of view, this use of a prenominal form without a following noun is anomalous. It is nonetheless frequently used in conversation and in casual writing by young people (e.g. Suzuki 1995), and is also found in the speech of other generations (e.g. Maynard 2005). This apparently innovative construction has generated discussion of its pragmatic

functions, which are commonly described in terms of the speakers' distancing from a vivid and engaged description in the preceding clause. For simplicity, I call the prenominal form *mitaina* that follows a phrase/clause at the utterance final position "the dangling *mitaina* construction (DMC)." In this study, I draw on the concept of "constructionalization" (Fried 2009; Traugott and Trousdale 2013) in the synchronic environment to illustrate that the DMC has a specific function and meaning, making it a distinct construction in the sense used in Construction Grammar. As we will see later, the DMC provides an example of a grammatical construction that necessarily implicates pragmatic and contextual factors such as informality of the verbal interaction and the interlocutors' involvement in the conversational narrative.

In my investigation, I will examine the structure and revisit the pragmatic meanings associated with the DMC. The DMC has assumed to be a kind of quotative marker and has sometimes been referred to as "quotative *mitaina*" (like English "quotative *like*") largely due to the fact that, in many instances, *mitaina* follows a clause (or a phrase) expressed in the form of quoted speech. However, previous discussions suggest that the concept of marking a quotation does not fully describe the characteristics of the construction. In this study, I consider an alternative analysis of the DMC, showing that *mitaina* is used to indicate the speaker's (or writer's) stance by marking the preceding component as the depiction of his or her personal impression regarding the situation presented in the ongoing discourse. Such personal impressionistic depiction can be given in a form of quoted speech for rhetorical purposes. From this perspective, the DMC can be situated in a network of constructions, and it can be compared to another recently noted "dangling" construction with *toyuu* (e.g. Kim 2014; Ohori 1997) as a subcategory of a more schematic construction, such as the Suspended Clause Construction (e.g. Horie 2014; Ohori 1997). As with many other innovative expressions, the use of the DMC may decline, yet it provides an excellent example of a construction that is part of coherent constructional system, rather than an idiosyncratic phenomenon. In what follows, I will first review the structure of the construction at issue in Section 2, and then, in Section 3, I will examine the meaning and pragmatics of the construction. In Section 4, I will summarize the structural and pragmatic observations and discuss the constructional implications in terms of the relation of the DMC to a network of other related constructions. Conclusions are offered in Section 5. I will draw on data from the Nagoya University Conversation Corpus (Meidai Kaiwa Corpus: MKC) as well as my collection of naturally-occurring conversations with speakers of various ages. *Aozora Bunko* and an award-winning *keetai shoosetsu* 'cell phone novel' (i.e., a novel intended to be read on cell phones), *Watashi Kanojo* 'I, His Girlfriend' will provide written discourse data.

2. The structure of the dangling *mitaina* construction

Japanese has several evidential (or epistemic modal) expressions, such as *yooda*, *sooda*, and *rashii*. These mark a description of an event or a state as being based on the speaker's sensory and/or introspective observation. Different expressions are chosen depending on the source of evidence and the process of making the inference, as indicated in Table 1 below. One such evidential expression, *mitaida*, covers the widest range of uses among the related expressions, and is often considered similar to, or as a colloquial version of, *yooda* in usage (Teramura 1984).¹ The meaning of *mitaida* could be translated into English as 'to look like,' 'to seem,' 'to be like,' and other similar expressions. According to *Digital Daijisen*, *mitaida* originated in 1800s as the juxtaposition of *mita* 'saw' and *yooda* 'be like' in a clause such as *X(NP) o mita yooda* 'X ACC saw like' 'as if (I) had seen X,' expressing approximation and inference. It developed into *X(NP) Ø mita yooda*, losing the accusative case marking on the preceding noun phrase, then further shortening to the current *mitaida*.²

Table 1. Evidential expressions: Adapted from Teramura 1979

	(shi)soo	yoo	rashii	soo	mitai
Direct experience	–	–	–	–	–
Speaker's inference	+	+	+	–	+
Completed fact	–	+	+	+	+
Incomplete (present/future)	+	+	+	+	+
Inference based on objective facts	+	+	+		+
Inference based on direct visual evidence only	+	–	–		(+)
Inferential thought involved	–	+	+		+
Inference about general tendency	–	+	+		+
Source: speaker's observation	3	2	1	0	+
Source: information from others	0	1	2	3	+
Degree of speaker's responsibility		+	–		+/–

1. The functional descriptions of *(shi)soo(da)*, *yoo(da)*, *rashi(i)*, and *soo(da)* are provided in Teramura (1979) (translations are mine). A higher number in the table indicates more reliance on the given factor. Teramura did not list *mitai(da)* in the chart because it is a colloquial expression without a comparably clear set of conditions for use (personal communication). I added *mitaina* to the chart for the purpose of this study.

2. The process of developing to *mitaida* itself suggests (diachronic) constructionalization, which is a good topic for another investigation. This study focuses on the synchronic variations and constructionalization of *mitaida*.

The following are a few examples from the corpora of conversations and fiction that show uses of *mitaida*.

- (1) *ima demo okureteru mitaida kedo* [MKC: Meidai Kaiwa Corpus]
 now even is.being.late but
 ‘It looks like it’s still late, but...’
- (2) *genki mitaida yo* [MKC]
 is.in.good.health PP
 ‘(He) seems to be in good health’
- (3) *suzume mitaida yo* [Aozora Bunko]
 sparrow PP
 ‘It is like a sparrow.’

The prenominal form *mitaina* is normally used in a subordinate clause that precedes a noun or a noun phrase, as exemplified in the following instances.

- (4) *shirukusaten mitaina kootaku no aru suutsu* [MKC]
 silk.satin sheen GEN exist suit
 ‘a suit that has a sheen like silk satin’
- (5) *kanzenni Miura-kun no sonzai o wasureteiru mitaina*
 completely Mr. Miura GEN existence ACC has.forgotten
yoosu *da* [Aozora Bunko]
 appearance COP.PRS
 ‘It appears (lit. There is an appearance) that (she) has completely forgotten the existence of Mr. Miura.’

In (4) the noun *kootaku* ‘sheen’ is modified by *shirukusaten mitaina* ‘like silk satin,’ and similarly in (5), *mitaina* is followed by the noun *yoosu* ‘appearance.’

As seen in (5), the noun modified by the clause with *mitaina* can be abstract and designate a sensation. In both Examples (6) and (7), the noun is *kanji* ‘feeling,’ whose content is described in the clause preceding *mitaina*.

- (6) *soo, reezun mitaina kanji.* [MKC]
 right raisin feeling
 ‘Right, (it) felt like a raisin./ (lit.) There is the feeling of raisin’
- (7) *sono sai wa yoroshiku onegaishimasu mitaina kanji no*
 that occasion TOP appropriately please.take.care feeling GEN
kotowari no meeru datta wake [MKC]
 refusal GEN mail COP.PST reason
 ‘It was an email of refusal that felt like (it was saying) “When needed, I’d ask for your assistance” / It was an email of refusal, in which there was the feeling that ...’

- (10) 01 A: *kyonen wa sa, roku-nen to san-nen futari*
 last.year TOP PP six-grade and three-grade two.people
 02 *ita kara sa,*
 there.were since PP
 ‘Last year, since I had two children, a six-grader and a third-grader,’
 03 *kekko migotae atta no ne,*
 relatively worth-seeing NMLZ PP
 ‘there were relatively many performances to watch,’
 04 *nanka koogoni deteta mitai.*
 somehow alternately was.on.stage seem
 ‘(they = the children) seemed to have been on stage one after another.’
 05 *hitori ni.natchattara daibu aichatte.*
 one.person became quite empty
 ‘as I only have one child now, there was quite a wait (between per-
 formances).’
 06 → *nanka, miru mono nai ne mitaina.*
 somehow watch thing there.is.not PP
 ‘It’s like “there’s nothing to watch, is there?”’
 [Conversations among mothers: a performing arts event at school]

For purposes of contrast, (11) is a constructed example with the “regular” sentence-final form *mitaida*.

- (11) *miru mono (ga) nai mitaida.*
 watch thing (NOM) there.is.not seems (finite)
 ‘There seems to be nothing to watch.’

Example (11), with the finite form *mitaida*, is a sentence expressing the speaker’s inference or an approximation of the situation based on some circumstantial evidence of the absence of something to watch. In contrast to this evidential use of the expression, the clause that precedes *mitaina* in line 6 of Example (10) is in the form of a main clause followed by the pragmatic particle *ne*, representing speech that exemplifies the speaker’s attitude toward the described situation of a long gap between performances of interest. If the content of the pre-*mitaina*-clause, ‘there is nothing to watch,’ were intended as an inference about the situation, the sentence in (11) would be chosen. Incidentally, *mitai* at the end of line 4 is another example of the basic evidential use of the expression, which conveys the speaker’s assessment of the event, as in (11). Although it lacks the finite ending *da*, the omission is common in casual speech.

Example (12) shows that a pragmatic particle such as *ne* can follow *mitaina*, illustrating that *mitaina* is behaving as an independent constituent rather than being incomplete without a noun.

- (12) 01 A: *nanka ga a::tte aida ga aku tte sa*
 something NOM there.is interval NOM exist QUOT PP
 ‘when there is gap after a performance,’
 02 → B: *kaeru ni mo kaerenai shi mitaina ne.*
 go.home DAT also cannot.go.home and PP
 ‘it’s like “I can’t quite go home, and...”, y’know?’
 [Conversations among mothers: a performing arts event at school]

The pre-*mitaina*-clauses in (10) and (12), as in many other instances, resemble reported speech and include features of a main clause, such as pragmatic particles and incomplete sentences. In contrast, pre-*mitaina*-clauses in other examples can be ambiguous between a replication of actual speech and a description, especially when no elements strongly indicative of speech are included, as in (13)–(15).

- (13) *nanka hayaku kekkonshite, nanka yuukan-madamu ni*
 somehow soon marry somehow lady-of.leisure DAT
naritai mitaina. [MKC]
 want.to.be
 ‘It seems like/it’s like (she) somehow gets married soon, and wants to be a lady of leisure’
- (14) *koo sukima o miru to hokori tamatteru mitaina.*
 in.this.way crack ACC see when dust has.accumulated
 ‘When I saw the crack in this way, it seemed like dust was gathered/it was like “the dust was gathered”’ [MKC]
- (15) *ma:*
// atashi ni shitara // atarimaeno otoko // mitaina.
 well I DAT do.if regular man
 ‘well // for me // a regular guy // he’s like/it’s like’
 [Watashi Kanojo ‘I, the Girlfriend’ (Cell phone novel)]
 (N. B. “//” indicates a line break.)

Ambiguous examples as above are an important reminder that uses of the DMC are not restricted to constructions with a clause clearly resembling quoted speech, and suggest that an analysis of the DMC should not be confined to constructions with quoted speech. With this caveat, I will consider in the next section the meaning of the DMC in discourse.

3. The meaning and pragmatics of the dangling *mitaina* construction

The understanding of the utterance-final use of *mitaina* has been advanced notably by Suzuki (1995), Maynard (2005), and Fujii (2006) from the discourse-pragmatic and constructional points of view. Maynard (2005), in her examination of the functions of what she termed “inserted speech” in discourse, emphasized foregrounded emotivity and the speaker’s non-committal (and distancing) attitude conveyed by objectifying the speech of another. Fujii (2006) and Suzuki (1995) offered analyses suggesting that the content of the construction elaborates the referent of the putative head noun (or the “host concept” in Fujii’s term), which is often mentioned elsewhere in the discourse. They also suggested a distancing effect of the construction, stemming from the fact that “the quoted speech or feeling is [...] not a completely precise reproduction of the original” (Fujii 2006: 91).

Examination of my spoken and written discourse data basically supports the points regarding foregrounded emotivity and the possibility of having a putative head noun in the vicinity in some uses of the construction. However, the idea that one foregrounds emotivity by quoting speech while being objective and non-committal about the content of the speech is not consistently borne out. For example, the claim of distancing effect first suggested by Suzuki (1995) was questioned by Fujii (2006), who nonetheless adopted it by observing that the quoted speech or feeling is an imprecise reproduction of the original and therefore is distant.

Discussing the functional distinctions between the complementizers *to* and *koto*, McGloin (2014: 30) questioned the claims made by previous studies (Hayashi 1997; Maynard 1986; Suzuki 2000) that “*to* clauses introduce psychological distance because the quoted information is ascribed to someone other than the speaker.” McGloin argued that “*to* has an opposite effect to ‘distancing.’ By choosing *to*, the speaker can inject his/her strong subjective stance, and this results in foregrounding information as central or important to the development of his/her point/theme” (p. 31). My view is consonant with McGloin’s. I will further discuss this point in Section 3.2 drawing on relevant work by Tannen (1986).

The current study departs from the previously mentioned studies on the pragmatics of *mitaina* in that it argues that (i) the part preceding *mitaina* conveys the speaker’s stance (either in the format of speech or not), and is not an attempt to reproduce (an approximation of) a speech or thought attributed to what was originally produced elsewhere; (ii) the construction invites addressee involvement, rather than indicating objectification or distance; and (iii) the absence of a head noun is part of the construction, rather than being merely evidence of an understood referent that is intended to be qualified. I view the DMC as an example of constructionalization (in a short time span), in which a new form is paired with a new meaning (function) within a network of related constructions in the framework

of Construction Grammar. The next Section 3.1 will address the third point listed above, and the first and the second points will be discussed in Section 3.2.

3.1 Effect of missing noun

The DMC is, by definition, missing a head noun. But, as Suzuki (1995) and Fujii (2006) described, there are cases in which a likely head noun (e.g., *kanji* ‘feeling,’ as exemplified in (16)) can be found in the close vicinity. Maynard (2005) states that *kanji* ‘feeling,’ *koto* ‘thing’ and *jookyoo* ‘situation’ are commonly found as the head noun. In (16), previously given as (8), the speaker almost stops at the end of line 2 with *mitaina*, but continues the utterance by adding more words, as in line 3, including the head noun, *kanji* ‘feeling.’

- (16) 01 B: *dakedo, watashitachi wa yappari suru no?*
but we TOP after.all do NMLZ
02 *yaranakute ii tte itteta janai mitaina,*
not.to.do O.K. QUOT has.said COP.NEG
03 *sooyuu, hora, kanji datta kara,...*
such y'know feeling COP.PST because
'But, like, "Are we going to do this after all? You'd said that we wouldn't
have to do it", there was, y'know, that kind of feeling, so ...'
[Conversation among mothers]

However, it is not always the case that there is a noun in the context that functions as the head noun that is modified by the *mitaina*-constituent. Example (17), given as (12) earlier, is a continuation of (10) and provides another instance of the DMC. Unlike in (16), there is no noun such as *kanji* 'feeling' or any other possible head noun that represents some contextual and abstract concept. Speaker A refers to the awkward situation where there is a long gap in time between two school performances by her children that she plans to watch. Speaker B expresses her sympathy to speaker A by elaborating on the problem of not being able to go home. Speaker B's sympathetic elaboration is carried out by an instance of the DMC, in which the dilemma is expressed as the first-person utterance/thought in the form of a main clause.

- (17) [continuation of mothers' conversations about a school event in (10)]
- 01 A: *nanka ga a::tte aida ga aku tte sa*
something NOM there.is interval NOM exist QUOT PP
'when there is gap after a performance,'
- 02 B: *kaeru ni mo kaerenai shi mitaina ne.*
go.home DAT also cannot.go.home and PP
'it's like "So, I can't quite go home," right?'

In both (16) and (17), the absence of any apparent head noun in the stretch of conversation does not seem to hinder the communication. Since a putative head noun would denote a generalized concept or impression rather than a substantive object, its specific reference is not crucial in the context of spontaneous conversation. The absence of a head noun, (which, if used, would likely be an abstract noun such as *kanji* ‘feeling,’ *koto* ‘thing,’ or *yoosu* ‘situation’) contributes to the impression of incompleteness, ambiguity and interlocutors’ involvement through shared understanding, which are characteristic of casual conversations among intimates.

3.2 Quotation of the original speaker’s speech/thought or the speaker’s stance?

Another notable characteristic of the DMC is that a clause or other elements that precede *mitaina* can be in the style of a direct quotation (i.e. what may be called a “first-person utterance”), as we have seen above and in many other instances. I have mentioned that the pre-*mitaina* part in such cases has been most commonly regarded as a “quotation” of a putative speech/thought of someone that is produced elsewhere. This assumption is perhaps due to the general understanding that the use of the spoken discourse style (which includes interjections, utterance final pragmatic markers and other linguistic elements that typically occur in a main clause) often indicates a quotation. The characterization of *mitaina* as a quotative marker has encouraged discussions of the construction’s functional similarities to the English *like*, and to the concepts of multivoicedness or intertextuality (Maynard 2005).

However, as we will discuss more in detail with additional examples in this section, the conversational and written data, as well as some previous research findings on narratives (e.g. Chafe 1982; Goffman 1981; Tannen 1986), do not warrant the assumption that such pre-*mitaina* element in the style of a direct quotation is in fact a quotation. Nor do they support the conclusion that the pragmatic effect of the DMC is that the speaker is non-committal and distancing him/herself from the content of the quoted speech. In an effort to better understand the meaning of the DMC, I propose an alternative analysis that interprets the pre-*mitaina* element as a representation of the speaker’s personal impression (or as an elaborative comment) about the situation at issue. In other words, the DMC is used to indicate the speaker’s stance through the constructed first-person utterance. I will call this pre-*mitaina* element “constructed speech (CS),” following Tannen (1986). It has been observed by many researchers (e.g., Chafe 1982; Ochs 1979; Tannen 1982) that first-person utterances (or dialogues) add vividness and subjectivity to the depiction. Saying that “direct quotation is a misnomer,” Tannen (1986: 311) introduced the term “constructed dialogue.” I chose the word “speech” rather than “dialogue” for the purpose of this chapter, since the “dialogue” tends to suggest a conversation

between two or more people rather than one person's utterance.³ Like constructed dialogue, CS is not a direct quotation or an attempted approximation of someone's speech, but is a creation by the speaker, "just as surely as is the dialogue created by fiction writers and playwrights" (Tannen 1986: 311). The use of CS in the DMC indeed "makes story into drama, and that through such drama talk builds on and creates interpersonal involvement" (Tannen 1986: 330). With *mitaina*, which originates in the evidential expression marking approximate description based on the speaker's observation and introspection, the DMC functions to express the speaker's personal impression of the situation, and that expression can be made vividly through CS. The conveyed meaning of the DMC can be compared and contrasted with a construction that is relatively similar to it, such as the dangling *toyuu*. We will return to this comparative topic in Section 4.2, after we further illustrate the DMC with examples.

In the segment (18) from Meidai Kaiwa Corpus, two female speakers, A and B, who are in their late teens to early twenties, are apparently talking about the recording of their conversation. Speaker A's second turn contains two instances of the DMC in succession.

- (18) 01 A: *koitsura bakana koto itten na: tte, omow-areru*
 these.guys stupid thing is saying PP QUOT think-PASS
 02 *no kana: tte omoo to, sugoi sore ga iya.*
 NMLZ I.wonder QUOT think COND really that NOM hate
 'I really hate to think they may think "these guys are saying something stupid"'
- 03 B: *ma: ne*
 INTERJECTION PP
 'um, yeah'
- 04 A: *nani, koitsu, itten no:: mitaina*
 what this.person(derog./familiar) is.saying Q
- 05 *naiyoo, motto nanka kashiko soona koto, hanase yo: mitaina*
 content more somehow clever seems thing talk PP
 'Like "what is she saying?" Like "talk about something that sounds cleverer!'" [MKC]

Both instances of the constructed speech in the DMC by A, *nani, koitsu, itten no::* 'What is she saying?' and *naiyoo, motto nanka kashiko soona koto, hanase yo:* 'Talk about something that sounds cleverer!' are of an imagined person who may listen to the recording of their conversation and may consider it stupid, as described in A's first line in (18). These utterances provide a vivid sense of the imagined scene

3. The term "constructed utterance" may be more appropriate, but "constructed speech" is chosen here to maintain the term I have used previously (e.g., Matsumoto 2011).

that elaborates A's concern that was just expressed. In that elaborative scene, the imagined listener of the recorded conversation loudly criticizes the conversation (and the conversants) as stupid with those words expressed before the dangling *mitaina*. This scene in which the listener is criticizing is completely in the imagined world constructed by Speaker A; therefore, both instances of the "speech" in the style of the first-person utterance that precede *mitaina* are also created by Speaker A. Framed by *mitaina*, which conveys that the preceding description is based on the narrator's observation and introspection, the creator of CS in (18) is more squarely attributed to A than being ascribed to the imagined "figure" (in Goffman's sense) as it would be with the notion of quotation. By providing a scene with expressive utterances and showing her stance to such situation, as Tannen observed, Speaker A (narrator) successfully makes her story into drama, expressing her own stance, and thereby enhancing interpersonal involvement with her interlocutor B. Another way to describe the function of the DMC is that it is like a "voiceover" by the speaker to elaborate on the situation depicted in the conversation, giving his or her personal impression and stance toward the situation. Note that the example does not show objectification of the utterances or a non-committal attitude of the speaker.

Similar to (18), the DMCs in (19) are examples of the construction of the speech of the person in a narrated story. A longer stretch of this discourse suggests that Speaker C is retelling a story that was heard from people who were with the teacher, G-sensee. This time, the person who is associated with the pre-*mitaina* CS in the DMC in lines 3 and 4, i.e., G-sensee, is a real person—not simply an imagined entity as in (18). However, Speaker C explicitly states in line 5 that the words given in lines 3 and 4 in the DMCs were never actually said, but that G-sensee's eyes were expressive of such thoughts, according to Speaker C, or the original narrator of the story. Thus, the passages in lines 3, *are, pafe wa* 'oh, how about parfait?' and 4, *tsugi pafe tabeni ikanai no ka* 'aren't we going to eat parfait after this?' are a creation of the speaker (or of the original narrator of the story), and cannot be described as an attempted approximation of a quotation or thought of G-sensee.

- (19) 01 C: *de, sono futari wa moo manpuku de*
 and that two.people TOP already full.stomach COP
 'and, those two were already completely full, and'
- 02 *soreja kaerimasu tte kaettyatta mon de, (un)*
 then go.home QUOT went.home NMLZ COP (uh huh)
 'so, they said that they'd be going home and they left, so (uh huh)'
- 03 *G sensee wa chotto sabishigeni, are, pafe*
 G teacher TOP a.little seeming.lonely oh parfait
wa mitaina
 TOP seems like
 'Professor G was like in a little lonely way "oh, how about parfait?"'

- 04 *tsugi pafe tabeni ikanai no ka mitaina.*
 next parfait to.eat go.not NMLZ Q
 ‘like “aren’t we going to eat parfait after this?”’
- 05 → *de ne, iwanakatta rashii kedo sooyuu shisen ga*
 and PP did.not.say seem but such gaze NOM
 sugoi atta
 really existed
- 06 *n da tte.* [MKC]
 NMLZ COP QUOT
 ‘and y’know, he didn’t say this, it seems, but his eyes were really like
 that, I heard.’

The disappointment of G-sensee is likely to be expressed by the speaker’s “voiceover” to the scene, and felt by the listener more vividly with this constructed speech preceding *mitaina* than by a simple statement saying that G-sensee was very disappointed. Further, the contexts of conversations (and texts) such as this one are often notably intimate and engaging, as is evident above. This contextual feature also suggests that the function of the construction is less to be objective and distancing, but more to present the speaker’s stance vividly. What is conveyed by the construction is marked by *mitaina* as the speaker’s personal impression, and the content of the impression is expressed in the part preceding *mitaina*.

The explanation I have offered here can be viewed as consistent in many situations with the claims in previous studies that the DMCs with dramatic and vivid “quotations” or “inserted speech” (in Maynard’s term) to have a distancing and non-committal effect. Among the examples that were discussed above, the instances of DMCs in (8) (= (16)) and (10) include CS associated with the speaker herself. In that situation, it is reasonable to infer non-commitment, since the speaker expresses her “impression” marked by *mitaina* rather than making a direct assertion. This rhetorical technique of heteroglossia (e.g., Bakhtin 1981) has also been recognized and discussed much in discourse studies as well as in other areas, and it is plausible that the speaker can distance herself/himself from what is expressed in the CS in this way.

4. Summary and implications of the DMC in a network of constructions

4.1 Summary

We have considered in the above Sections 2–3 the basic structure and the meaning of the DMC. The examples we have observed show that, in the regular evidential use of *mitaida*, the speaker conveys that the event description is an epistemically-based approximation. Similarly, the regular use of *mitaina* as an evidential expression is to

mark the speaker's subjective (and epistemic) description about what is designated by the head noun. In contrast, in its innovative use, *mitaina* without the NP functions as a discourse marker presenting the preceding clause/phrase as the speaker's personal impression about the topic of the conversation to the listener and the audience. The DMC is communicative of the speaker's stance in interaction and, in this sense, it is intersubjective (Traugott and Dasher 2002). The dangling *mitaina* pragmatically marks the content of the pre-*mitaina* element (often the performed and constructed speech) as being the speaker's own impressionistic representation, not as an actual or an approximate quotation of speech or thought made elsewhere. Crucially, the original creator of the expressed sentiment is the narrator, and it is the narrator's stance and voice that are heard through and about the figure at issue. That is, the DMC can be considered as licensing the speaker to create a vivid and involved conversation with the listener/audience by using constructed speech and by providing elaborating comments, rather than reporting what was (or might have been) said or thought by someone else or by the speaker. In the context of casual conversations or writing that conjures some intimacy (e.g., *keetai shoosetsu*, blogs), the use of the DMC increases the level of involvement of the discourse participants through the animating effect of constructed speech.

4.2 Constructional implications of the DMC

The concept of constructionalization, having grown out of past work on grammaticalization, lexicalization, and other perspectives on language change, and being extensively influenced by current theories of Construction Grammar, provides a convenient tool to discuss the development and characteristics of innovative constructions such as the one examined in this study. I have already referred to the basic concept in the discussions above, but the crux of the idea is expressed by the originators of the term "constructionalization" as "[B]riefly, constructionalization is the development of form_{new}-meaning_{new} pairs (signs), whether specific signs, or schemas" (Traugott and Trousdale 2014: 259).⁴

Table 2 below schematically summarizes the pairings of the form and the meaning of constructions involving the evidential expression *mitai*-. At the top of the table is the original evidential use of *mitai*- in sentence-final position in the finite form *mitaida* (which may be in the past, polite, and/or other forms). The innovative construction (DMC), in which the prenominal form *mitaina* without a noun functions as a discourse marker, is given in the last row, which shows the result of constructionalization, i.e., the development of the new form-new meaning pair.

4. The details of constructionalization are found in Traugott and Trousdale (2013), among others.

There are intermediate uses or stages of form-meaning pairs between the Evidential *Mitaina* Construction and the DMC in a similar way as the process of constructionalization (and grammaticalization) occurs through gradual changes. The vertical dots in the middle row of the first two columns in the table are to suggest such possibilities as, for example, the prenominal *mitaina* followed by an abstract noun such as *kanji* ‘feeling,’ and *yoosu* ‘state,’ etc. The nouns could be concrete, such as in (4), in which the meaning of *mitaina* is still similar to the original evidential expression, but part of the noun-modifying clause. In another case, the prenominal *mitaina* can be used more or less independently when a few words are inserted between the pre-*mitaina*-clause and the purportedly modified noun (as we saw in Example (8), repeated as (16)). In comparison to a more prototypical diachronic process, what we have observed with the DMC has had only a short span of history and therefore can be identified as a synchronic variation. Nonetheless, much of the process of developing new form-meaning pairs is common between the diachronic and synchronic variations, including the gradualness of changes, i.e., variations occurring in small steps.

Table 2. Constructionalization – evidential *mitaida* to dangling *mitaina*

Construction	Form	Meaning
Evidential <i>Mitaina</i>	 <i>mitaida</i> .	Approximate description of real world situation through speaker’s observation and introspection
.	.	Approximate description of impression through speaker’s observation and introspection
.	 <i>mitaina kanji/yoosu/</i>	
.	etc. .	
.	.	
Dangling <i>Mitaina</i>	 <i>mitaina</i> ∅.	Speaker’s stance toward the situation, impressionistic presentation of the situation

One of the advantages of the alternative analysis of the DMC that I am proposing here is that it can be distinguished from more prototypical quotative constructions that use variations of the quotative markers, *to*, *tte*, *toka*, and the like (for detailed and expanded analyses of the relevant structures and the pragmatics of them, see Okamoto and Ono 2008; Suzuki 2007, among others). Another is that it enables comparisons to other related constructions, as part of a network of constructions.

For example, the DMC can be considered as one specific instantiation of the schematic construction of “suspended clause constructions” (e.g., Horie 2014; Ohori 1995, 1997; Shirakawa 1995), or a subcategory of one that is similar. The concept of “insubordination” proposed by Evans (2007) addresses this issue also

from the typological perspective. With regard to schematic constructions, Traugott and Trousdale (2014: 261) explain that “linguistic schemas are also abstractions across sets of constructions that are (unconsciously) perceived by language-users to be closely related to each other in the constructional network. Like productivity, schematicity is a gradient concept, and degrees of schematicity pertain to levels of generality or specificity and the extent to which parts of the network are rich in detail” (Langacker 2009, cited in Traugott and Trousdale 2014).

According to Ohori (1997), a suspended clause construction is one in which a subordinate clause (e.g., adverbial clause) ends with a linkage marker (e.g., *noni*, *node*, *te*) without a usually expected main clause. Although appearing incomplete, it functions as an independent clause and is interactionally interpreted as a complete utterance. In a similar manner, the pre-*mitaina* component in a DMC (not always a clause or a verb) is “suspended” without the regularly expected elements (i.e., the head noun, main clause) following it.

Ohori (1997: 476) describes the general function of suspended clause constructions as “[W]hen non-final clauses occur in SCCs [suspended clause constructions], they tend to have inference-intensive readings. That is, put into the SCC frame, the possible range of interpretations of the clause-linking form is constrained by the constructional frame.” In other words, regardless of the inherent semantics of a specific clause-linking form, the “inference-intensive” meaning is coerced by the construction. In the constructional template below (from Ohori 1997: 477), which represents the above summary, the construction’s pragmatic effect is described as “interpersonal.”

(20) CONST: Suspended Clause⁵

SynCat	< Cl	+ dependent
	:	
		– embedded>
SemRel	<Inference-intensive>	
PragEff	<Interpersonal>	
[	[... CLAUSE...]	– LINK] #

For the purposes of this study, building on Ohori’s formulation, I propose a schematic construction “Suspended Constituent Construction,” in which the suspended component is not limited to a clause but includes a variety of elements (e.g., interjections, fragments of a clause), the semantic relation (SemRel) is not specified, and the value of Pragmatic Effect (PragEff) is given as “participants’ involvement

5. CONST: construction; SynCat: syntactic category; SemRel: semantic relation; PragEff: pragmatic effect.

in discourse,” a more focused specification than being “interpersonal,” which is perhaps applicable to many other pragmatically sensitive constructions. The template for the “Suspended Constituent Construction” may be represented as in (21).

(21) CONST: Suspended Constituent

SynCat	< Cl, etc.	+ dependent
	:	- embedded>
PragEff	< participants’ involvement in discourse>	
[	[... NOUN /CLAUSE/ ‘SPEECH’, ETC...] – LINK] #	

Important properties of this schematic construction are that a string of linguistic elements that is usually only part of a larger more complete constituent is used as a stand-alone construction, and that it has the pragmatic effect of inviting participants’ involvement in the ongoing discourse.⁶ Various constructions, including the DMC, can be subtypes of this schematic construction. For example, the structure in which a (clausal) component is followed by the complementizer *toyuu* ‘(literally) says that’, without an expected head noun following it, falls within this schematic construction. The “missing” head noun could be something general such as *koto* ‘matter,’ *wake* ‘reason,’ *hanashi* ‘story,’ and the like, or what could have been mentioned in the context. This “dangling *toyuu* construction” (to coin the term for the construction with the utterance-final *toyuu*) has been frequently observed recently in similar genres to those for the DMC have been observed (Horie 2014; Kato 2010; Kim 2014; Ohori 1997), though the use of the DMC has perhaps become less frequent. I will not attempt to present a detailed analysis of the “dangling *toyuu* construction” here, but instead will give a description for the purpose of comparison to the DMC. While there are closely shared properties, including evidentiality and epistemic modality, between these dangling *toyuu* and dangling *mitaina* constructions, their meanings are different. The example of the structure with *toyuu* that Ohori (1997, *inter alia*) provided is shown in (22) below.⁷ According to Ohori (1997: 478), despite the fact that what is reported in (22) is the speaker’s own experience, “by adding *toyuu*, she is conveying that information as if it were hearsay,”

6. The template in (21) is designed to account for a wide variety of constructions that is not normally used independently.

7. The element *toyuu* at the end of the utterance given in (22) is presented as the complementizer by Ohori, but its form is the same as the finite form of *to yuu* ‘COMP say’. If understood as the latter, there is no putative noun that might be missing in the form, and it would not be an example of suspended clause construction. I am taking Ohori’s interpretation as given here.

and that this use “purposefully obscures the source of information.” He considers this construction to be used to express the speaker’s detachment.

(22) *dare-mo tasuke-ya shinai-toyuu*

Anyone-PRT help-PRT do. NEG-COMP

‘nobody would help (me)-COMP

((13) in Ohori 1997: 278)

Kim (2014), in her contrastive study of what she calls “*in’yoo-shuushoku-setsu* ‘quotative modification clauses’” of Korean and Japanese, provides more examples of the “dangling *toyuu*” uses including those that do not express the speaker’s experience. She suggests that *toyuu* is used when (i) the speaker expresses his or her inferences of another’s thought in his or her own words, (ii) the speaker conveys his or her unexpectedness and surprise, (iii) the speaker rephrases and presents his or her known information as new information, or (iv) the speaker describes his or her personal information from another’s points of view. Example (23) is from Kim (2014: 707) given as an instance of the use (ii).⁸ It is an excerpt from an interview of a young female pop star. Example (23) is the interviewer’s utterance made after hearing a confession from the star that it was well known that she and her roommate kept their place terribly messy.

(23) *konna bishoojo ga sundeite, kawaii koe wa kikoeru kedo,*

such beautiful.girl NOM is.living cute voice TOP hear but

heya wa kitanai tteyuu

room TOP is.dirty COMP

‘(So, then,) such a beautiful young lady lives there, and although cute voice can be heard, the room is messy...’

(From (17) in Kim 2014: 707; originally in Japanese)

I suggest that the general function of the dangling *toyuu* construction (along with variants *tteyuu*, etc.) is to present to the audience the speaker’s view/stance toward the situation in his or her words as the summary or the essence of the situation. In my view this general meaning encompasses the four uses mentioned by Kim above, each of which represents a different aspect of this general meaning. It is also contrasted to the meaning of the DMC, which presents the speaker’s impressionistic (and often vivid) description of the situation to the discourse participants.

As is the case in the DMC, this innovative construction can be considered as the result of constructionalization from the structure that is accompanied with a head noun. Matsumoto (1998), reexamining various interpretations and debates

8. Example (23) is only the most relevant part of the more extended dialogue originally presented by Kim (2014: 707) in Japanese. The gloss and the translation are mine.

on the question of whether *toyuu* can be properly considered as a complementizer especially in noun-modifying constructions, extended her earlier observation (e.g. Matsumoto 1997) to suggest that the *toyuu*-clause is best viewed as “quasi-quotation,” and argued that the variations in the earlier analyses stemmed from the multifunctionality of the device of quasi-quotation.⁹ The noun complement clause with *toyuu* is “presented as [...] worthy of report,” yet it is “not as an established fact but as a reported description” (Matsumoto 1998: 254). Just as the original meaning of *mitaina* still persists in the DMC, it is plausible that the same is true in the case of *toyuu* in the dangling *toyuu* construction.

The following construction (given also as (24) in Matsumoto 1998: 253) contains a head noun, but it imparts the sense that the essence of the (visual) situation is linguistically illustrated by the speaker (the writer in this case) through a *toyuu* clause. What is remarkable is that the head noun denotes visual perception, which is normally considered anomalous in a *toyuu* clause (e.g., Teramura 1977). The writer in (24) (a columnist of a Japanese newspaper) reports his subjective summation of the scene in which the space shuttle Challenger kept rising with vast trail of white smoke after its tragic explosion, by describing that “a gigantic white dragon writhes in the background of blue sky.” Without *toyuu*, the complex NP would be understood as the description of an actual white dragon, but with *toyuu*, it becomes the writer’s verbal portrayal of the essence of the scene (*kookei*). As was the case with *mitaina* in the DMC, the fundamental function of *toyuu* persists in the dangling use.

- (24) *massaona sora o se ni kyodaina hakuryuu ga*
 pure.blue sky ACC background LOC gigantic white.dragon NOM
notautsu, toyuu kookei datta.
 writhe scene COP.PST

‘(lit.) It was a scene (which was something like) a gigantic white dragon writhes in the background of blue sky.’ (Tensei Jingo cited in Matsumoto 1998)

In this section, I summarized the development of the DMC from the point of view of construction grammar and of constructionalization. I also considered

9. Matsumoto (1998: 224) argued that giving focus on the original meaning of the complementizer and its function of presenting the complement clause as a (quasi-) quotation allows to explain “(i) why *toyuu* cooccurs with nouns of communication as the head noun of the construction, (ii) why it complements a subordinate clause which has main clause (or direct speech) elements, (iii) why *toyuu* has been considered to mark nonfactivity or less conviction on the part of the speaker, (iv) why the use of *toyuu* has the effect of marking foregrounded new or unexpected information in the complement clause, and (v) why *toyuu* can be similar in effect to modal expressions.”

the DMC's relation to other constructions at different levels of schematicity in a network of constructions. As schematic constructions, the Suspended Clause Construction and the derived Suspended Constituent Construction were discussed, and their subtypes, i.e., the DMC and its sister construction the Dangling *Toyuu* Construction, were compared. While some constructions may be short-lived after constructionalization (e.g., *all*-quotative discussed Buchstaller et al. 2010), such constructions are part of a coherent system, which may also predict development of new constructions.

5. Conclusion

Above, I discussed the Dangling *Mitaina* Construction, a relatively recent construction that consists of various elements that may include a representation of a first-person utterance and the prenominal evidential expression *mitaina*, which “dangles” by not being followed by a normatively expected head noun. In contrast to the regular use of *mitai*- as an evidential expression, which marks a statement or description of an event or a state as being the speaker's inference or cognitive approximation (e.g., it looks like it's going to rain, the dog that appears to be a wolf), the dangling *mitaina* signals that the component preceding *mitaina* conveys the speaker's impressionistic and often vivid description of the situation as his or her stance toward the situation. This pairing of the form and meaning makes it evident that the DMC is a full-fledged grammatical construction. I also illustrated that the DMC is not an isolated construction, but has its place in a network of constructions. It can be seen to be associated with a more schematic construction such as the Suspended Constituent Construction as its subcategory, and with what I called the dangling *toyuu* construction, in which the prenominal *toyuu* dangles without its noun, a “fellow” construction with its own paired meaning. It can be predicted that there are other constructions that include the prenominal form of other evidential expressions.¹⁰

As suggested by studies of constructionalization and other constructional changes, we can identify enabling factors for the DMC. For example, the fact that *mitaina* lacks a head noun facilitates the effect of being an impression and its incompleteness encourages the addressees to participate and be involved in the construction of the meaning. In the context of informal conversations, where approximation and ambiguity are allowed (or encouraged), the incomplete and

10. The phrase that ends with *soona*, the prenominal form of the hearsay evidential *soo-da*, is commonly used in traditional folktales. This is plausibly another “fellow” construction, but an investigation is needed to make a further observation.

approximate delivery and involvement of the participants in constructing speech all become possible. The use of the DMC is intersubjective, focusing on the speech event and the participants rather than on the speaker's description of the event based on available evidence. Especially with constructed speech preceding *mitaina*, which reflects the speaker's view and comments about the narrated topic, the speaker can create a vivid scene with the performance of constructed speech, which can encourage high involvement of the addressees. These are commonly observed situations in informal conversations and writings, in which these constructions occur.

The DMC has illustrated various aspects of constructional development. But, perhaps more importantly, it also provides further motivation to incorporate pragmatic and contextual factors such as involvement and intersubjectivity into accounts of grammar, such as Fried and Östman (2005) have argued in relation to Construction Grammar. Much work remains to be done to develop an appropriate formal framework, but I believe that the direction of such work offers great promise in developing truly expansive approaches to grammar.

List of abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
COND	conditional	PRS	present
COMP	complementizer	PASS	passive
COP	copula	PST	past
DAT	dative	PP	pragmatic particle
GEN	genitive	Q	question marker
LOC	locative	QUOT	quotative
NMLZ	nominalizer	TOP	topic

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“Late projectability” of Japanese turns revisited

Interrelation between gaze and syntax in Japanese conversations

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Examining an interrelation between gaze and syntax in Japanese interaction, this study reveals the tendency that a speaker’s gaze shift to a recipient occurs in association with the final predicate of the turn-constructional unit (TCU), regardless of the grammatical form of the component following the predicate. The finding proposes that a speaker’s gaze projects an imminent onset of transition space in which a recipient may begin a next turn without being regarded as an interruption. While past studies highlighted the interactional significance of the utterance-final elements that “retroactively” mark the immediately preceding verb/adjective/nominal as the TCU-final predicate, this study uncovers that a speaker’s mid-TCU gaze shift serves as another resource to “proactively” mark the upcoming predicate as a TCU-final one.

Keywords: speaker’s gaze, TCU-final predicate, turn projection, late projectability, transition space, Conversation Analysis, interaction, Japanese, pragmatics

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to elucidate an organizational feature of turns in Japanese interaction by taking into consideration both linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors of participants. Particularly focusing on the aspect of turn projection, the study aims to demonstrate that a speaker’s gaze plays a significant role in complementing “late projectability” of the syntactic characteristics of Japanese, which has been argued in past studies (Fox, Hayashi and Jasperson 1996; Hayashi 2003; Lerner and Takagi, 1999; Tanaka 1999).

Turn-taking is one of the fundamental mechanisms for carrying out conversations. In mundane conversations, although the size and order of turns or the

contents of utterances are not predetermined, a smooth speaker change generally takes place when the current speaker's turn comes to an end. Ever since the pioneering work of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) clarified the turn-taking machinery in English conversations, many studies have investigated how components of turns, the so-called "turn-constructive units" (TCUs) (Sacks et al. 1974), are interactively recognized, achieved, and negotiated by participants (see Section 2.1 for further details). While TCUs generally correspond to syntactic units including lexical, phrasal, clausal, and sentential units, some scholars argue for the significance of considering an interplay of different factors in recognizing and projecting TCU-endings, such as syntax and prosody (Auer 1996; Selting 1996); syntax, prosody, and pragmatics (Ford and Thompson 1996); sequential position, syntax, prosody, action, gesture, and gaze (Ford, Fox and Thompson 1996).

From among various interactional resources contributing to turn transitions accomplished with minimal gap or overlap, this study specially focuses on participants' utilization of gaze and examines how gaze and syntax are intertwined to furnish turn/TCU projection in Japanese interaction. As for the role of gaze in interaction, past studies claim that one of the functions of a speaker's gaze shift to a recipient is to indicate imminent utterance completion (Bono and Katagiri 2005; Duncan 1975; Duncan and Niederehe 1974; Kendon 1967). Critically scrutinizing this claim from the perspective of Conversation Analysis (CA), the current study aims to propose a more precise account of the role of a speaker's gaze in terms of turn/TCU projection and to demonstrate the multimodal aspects of turn-taking organization in Japanese conversations.

2. Literature review

2.1 Late projectability of Japanese TCUs

In CA, a TCU is a fundamental segment of conversation that may constitute a complete turn to implement a recognizable action in interaction (Sacks et al. 1974). Generally, the end of a TCU is called a "transition relevance place" (TRP) at which transition to a next speaker becomes relevant (although not necessarily accomplished) (Sacks et al. 1974). Indeed, when a speaker change takes place on the arrival of a possible TCU completion, it often happens only with a minimal gap or minimal overlap. What enables smooth turn transition in the vicinity of possible TCU completion is projectability of the future trajectory of the utterance before the entire course of it is produced.

It has been documented that grammar plays one of the crucial roles in furnishing TCU projectability (Ford and Thompson 1996; Ford et al. 1996; Schegloff 1996).

In English, TCU-beginnings often contain crucial information for projecting how the emerging TCU/turn will develop (e.g., interrogative words and connective expressions) (Lerner 1991; Schegloff 1987, 1996). Moreover, according to Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005), the predicate is the key element that furnishes the significant turn projectability in a clausal TCU. This means that the turn projection of English, whose canonical word order is Subject-Verb-Object, becomes available relatively early in a turn because of the early occurrence of a predicate component.

By contrast, the Japanese language is characterized by the predicate-final structure¹ whose canonical word order is Subject-Object-Verb.² Based on the above argument, the predicate-final structure of Japanese imposes delay on turn projection. In addition to the predicate-final structure, the postpositional structure of Japanese also makes it difficult to project the entire shape of the utterance in the early part of the TCU. In Japanese, various grammatical elements such as connective particles and nominalizers occur postpositionally and can transform the foregoing unit of talk into an embedded clause or a subordinate clause. For example, in (1) below, the first verb *owatta* ‘finished’ can mark a possible syntactic completion. The addition of the quotation marker *to* and another verb *omot(ta)* ‘thought,’ however, transforms the preceding sentential unit into an embedded clause. Although the predicate *omotta* can syntactically mark unit completion, the attachment of the temporal connective particle *(ta)ra* again transforms the preceding unit into a subordinate clause, which develops into a “compound TCU” (Lerner and Takagi 1999) of the form *when X-Y*.

- (1) *Moo owatta to omotta ra, mada atta*
 already finished QR thought when still existed
 ‘When I thought (it) had finished, we still had (it).’

As shown above, the postpositional structure of Japanese keeps the grammatical category of the unit under construction tentative and revisable as the turn unfolds in real time. This fact suggests that it is always possible that the utterance potentially

1. According to *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics* (Trask 1993), a predicate is defined as “constituent of a sentence, most typically a verb phrase, which combines with the subject NP to make up the complete sentence.” In the current study focusing on Japanese, the term “predicate” refers to a clause/sentence-final verbal/adjectival/nominal component which does not include preceding constituents such as object, adverbial, and complement phrases/clauses.

2. The word order in Japanese is, however, relatively flexible, so subjects and objects can be switched around. Also, it is not uncommon that some syntactic constituents, which are supposed to precede a predicate component in prescriptive grammar, are produced after the predicate, as in Excerpts (14) and (15).

interpreted as the main clause can be incrementally developed into another grammatical category embedded in a larger unit of talk.

The late projectability of the Japanese language has been empirically proven by previous research contrasting English and Japanese repair organization (Fox et al. 1996), collaborative completion (Hayashi 2003; Lerner and Takagi 1999), and turn-taking mechanism (Tanaka 1999). However, the limited early turn projection does not necessarily mean that Japanese conversationalists cannot make turn-transitions without much gap or overlap.

On this point, Tanaka (1999) finds some linguistic devices that increase the projectability of impending TCU completion in Japanese. One such device is the employment of certain grammatical items at a TCU-final position. Tanaka refers to those items as the “utterance-final elements” (hereafter, UFEs). Table 1 shows the list of UFEs, some of which are added by Enomoto (2003, 2007).

Table 1. Utterance-final elements listed in Tanaka (1999) and Enomoto (2003, 2007)

Final verb suffixes:	<i>-masu, -mashita, -mashoo</i>
Copulas:	<i>desu, desho(o), da, na</i>
Auxiliaries:	<i>-te kuru, -te miru, -te iru, -te morau, -nai, -u</i>
Collocations:	<i>-teru (te + iru), -chau (te + shimau)</i>
Final particles:	<i>ne, yo, sa, ka, no, wa, zo</i>
Requests/Imperatives:	<i>-te kudasai, -te choodai, -nasai</i>
Nominalizers:	<i>wake, mono, mon, n, koto, yoo</i>

These elements regularly follow the utterance-final predicate and add subsidiary meanings (e.g., aspect, modality) to the proposition of the utterance, as shown in the Excerpts (2) and (3).³ (The UFEs and corresponding translations appear in boldface.)

(2) JC9⁴

01 V: *amerikajin te nanka miteru to ippanni shokuseekatsu*
Americans QT HG seeing if generally eating.habit
02 *mazushii **yo ne***
poor IP IP
'Americans, based on my observation, generally eat poorly, **don't they?**'

3. There are many studies addressing the pragmatic uses and meanings of these grammatical elements. For example, for use and non-use of the final verb suffix *masu*, see Cook (1998) and Maynard (1993), among others; for the sentence-final particles, see Lee (2007) and Morita (2005), among others; for different nominalizers, see Teramura (1984) and Wang (2007), among others.

4. “JC#” stands for the reference number of the data.

(3) JC9

- 01 V: *sore wa sa kappuru goto ni jibuntachi no okareteiru*
 that TP IP couple each by themselves LK being positioned
 02 *jookyoo de kangaete kimete iku koto na n janai kana.*
 situation by think decide go thing CP N TG IP
 ‘That’s something each couple should think about and decide
 depending on their situations – **don’t you think?** – **maybe.**’

Since a “bare predicate” (i.e., a predicate without utterance-final elements) holds the possibility of developing into a unit-internal grammatical component as the utterance unfolds (as in Example (1) above), the occurrence of UFEs plays a pivotal role indicating the approach of an utterance completion by retroactively marking the preceding predicate as a TCU-final one. In fact, Tanaka’s statistical analysis shows that 71.8 percent of convergent points of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completions, or “complex transition relevance places (TRPs)” (Ford and Thompson 1996), where turn-taking is most likely to occur, are marked by one or more UFEs. Hence, Tanaka (1999) proposes that in Japanese the onset of UFEs can be a “pre-possible completion” (Schegloff 1996), and the interval between the onset and the end of the UFEs constitutes “transition space” (Jefferson 1986) within which a next speaker may get an early start without interrupting.

Although Tanaka’s claim is important in terms of showing that the Japanese language has the interactional resources to compensate for the late turn/TCU projectability, her analysis largely focuses on the linguistic aspect of the turn-taking mechanism in Japanese. However, as many conversation analytic studies have revealed, social interaction is a multimodal activity; participants of interaction utilize both linguistic and non-linguistic resources including body movement and physical settings in a coordinated manner to organize social interaction (cf. C. Goodwin 1981, 2000, 2003, 2006; M. H. Goodwin 1980, 1995; Hayashi 2003; Iwasaki 2007, 2009; Mondada 2006, 2007; Streeck 1993; among others). Thus, this study pays special attention to the participants’ use of gaze in relation to the utterance construction and considers how a speaker’s gaze serves as an additional interactional resource for negotiating transition space.

2.2 The role of gaze in social interaction

In various studies taking the conversation analytic perspective, gaze has been analyzed as one of the multimodal resources to co-construct social interaction by multiple participants in a moment-by-moment manner. For example, when a speaker produces a gesture while story-telling, s/he first looks at his/her own hand to signal to the recipients that the gesture is something to be looked at, and then brings his/her gaze to a recipient to check on whether and how the gesture is attended to

by the recipient (Hayashi 2003; Streeck 1993). A speaker's gaze, in coordination with talk and gesture, also indicates the initiation and conclusion of a reenactment embedded in a larger story-telling activity (Sidnell 2006). It has also been demonstrated that gaze withdrawal typically takes place at the speaker's initiation of a word search, which at the same time may open up an opportunity for recipients to participate in the joint construction of the utterance-in-progress (M. H. Goodwin and C. Goodwin 1986; Hayashi 2003).

Gaze has also been discussed in association with hearership that may influence the construction of utterances. C. Goodwin (1981) closely examines the real-time development of turns in English interactions, and shows that a speaker often orients to his/her recipient's state of gaze as a display of "engagement/disengagement" at the beginning of a turn. Thus, a speaker deals with the absence of a recipient's gaze through speech disfluencies that serve as interactional devices to achieve mutual gaze—namely, mutual orientation—between the speaker and the recipient.

The role of gaze in social interaction that is most relevant to the current study is its regulatory function in terms of the turn-taking organization. Kendon's (1967) quantitative analysis of dyadic interactions in English has discovered a pattern of changes in participants' gaze directions while producing utterances. Specifically, a speaker looks away as or before s/he begins a long utterance, and then shifts gaze to a recipient before the utterance ends. He also finds that the recipient tends to respond without a pause when the speaker completes the utterance with gaze directed to him/her. Based on these findings, Kendon claims that the speaker's gaze away from the recipient indicates the speaker's taking a turn while his/her gaze toward the recipient signals ending of the turn.

Although Kendon's claim was supported by Duncan and Niederehe (1974) and Duncan (1975), later studies show that the interrelation between a speaker's gaze and turn changes discussed by Kendon is not applicable to all languages and cultures. For instance, Rossano (2009) and Rossano, Brown and Levinson (2009) demonstrate that, in the case of question turns, a speaker's gaze does not tend to be used as a turn-transition cue in Italian, Tzeltal, and Yéli Dnye.

As for Japanese interactions, Bono and Katagiri (2005) examined the applicability of Kendon's findings to the interactions that occurred at conference poster presentations in Japanese. Their study investigates the timing of a speaker's gaze in relation to the utterance completion point, and finds that approximately 72 percent of all speakers' gazes directed to a recipient occur before the utterance's terminal point. The occurrences of speakers' gaze shifts increase noticeably from the point of two seconds prior to utterance completion, and the highest number of gaze shifts occur in the range of one second to one-half second prior to utterance completion. In addition, the study shows a high frequency of recipients' nods following a

speaker’s gaze shift. Based on these findings, the authors conclude that a speaker’s gaze signals an approach of utterance-ending and also prompts co-participants’ reactions.

Measuring the occurrence of a speaker’s gaze shift by time, however, may not accurately account for the relation between gaze and utterance ending. How can we verify that the gaze shift occurring two seconds before completion and that occurring a half-second prior to completion equally concern the projection of utterance completion? In Sections 4 and 5, I will pursue this question by taking into account the relation between the syntactic forms of the emerging utterance and the timing of a speaker’s gaze shift.

3. Data

The database for this study consists of video recordings of ten face-to-face conversations of native speakers of Japanese: five two-party conversations and five three-party ones. There are 25 participants in total: 19 female and six male. Their ages range from early twenties to late thirties. The participants of each conversation know each other as friends, classmates, or colleagues.

In order to prompt active interaction among participants, I provided a short reading selection in which a certain issue of Japanese society was discussed. After the participants had read the selection, I asked them to talk freely for about 30 to 45 minutes about their reactions to it. All of them placed the reading material in front of them (by holding it in their hands, placing it on the table, or putting it on their laps). By virtue of the existence of the reading selection, the data demonstrate how the participants utilized their gaze shift from the reading material to their recipients (or vice versa) as a resource for organizing interactional practices.

All the conversations were transcribed according to the conventions of CA developed by Gail Jefferson (e.g. See the appendix for transcription symbols and abbreviations in the present study. In the excerpts, a speaker’s gaze shift is indicated above the word where it occurred. The dots represent the duration in which the speaker’s gaze moves toward a recipient, and the arrow indicates the point where his/her gaze reaches the recipient.⁵

5. This study mainly investigates how a speaker utilizes his/her gaze as a resource for turn projection, therefore, the transcript only includes a speaker’s gaze shift (except for Excerpts (16) and (17) which also include recipients’ gaze shift).

- 02 *kara janai?*=
because TG
'Isn't that after all because the government didn't do a proper
job - don't you think?'
- 03 O: *=soo da yo ne.*
so CP IP IP
'That's right.'

(6) JC3

- 01 H: *=maa (.) kore: jissai tabun kono: (.) hon no-* (0.3)
HG this actually probably this book LK
- 02 *nisan peeji ni shika nan'[nai to omou kara,*
a few page to only become.not QT think because
'Well, this may be actually only a few pages of this book, so...'
- 03 G: [nn nn nn nn
'Uh-huh uh-huh uh-huh uh-huh.'
... gaze to G
- 04 H: *saishuutekini donna:: hanashi na no ka [wa wakannai kedo ne?*
eventually how story CP N Q TP know.not but IP
'We don't know how this story eventually turns out, though, right?'
- 05 G: [nn nn nn nn
'Uh-huh uh-huh uh-huh uh-huh.'

(7) (same as (2)) JC9

- 01 V: *amerikajin te nanka miteru to ippan ni shokuseekatsu*
Americans QT HG seeing if generally eating. habit
... gaze to W
- 02 *mazushii yo ne.*
poor IP IP
'Americans, based on my observation, generally eat poorly, don't they?'
- 03 W: *nn.*
'Uh-huh.'

(8) JC1

- ... gaze to B
- 01 A: *kojin no jiyuu nante: (0.7) omoikkiri: (.)*
individual LK freedom such thoroughly
- 02 *soo(h)sha(h)ru ko(h)nsutor(h)akuto ja(h)nai(h) desu [ka.*
social construct TG CP Q
'Such a thing as 'individual freedom' is (0.7) an entirely social
construct, isn't that so?'
- 03 B: [nn hm
'Uh-huh uh-huh.'

The pattern of a speaker's gaze shift beginning at the onset (or a few syllables before the onset) of the predicate can also be observed when the predicate-final elements consist of epistemic modality expressions. The expressions include *to omou* ('I think that...'), *to yuu/yoona/mitaina ki ga suru* ('I have a feeling that...'), *to yuu/yoona/mitaina kanji ga suru* ('I have a feeling that...') and *kamo shirenai* ('maybe'), as shown in (9) to (11).

(9) JC7

-↓gaze away from R
- 01 Q: *da soo demo shinaito hon:toni = datte futari kodomo undara*
 thus so even do.not.if really because two kids bear.if
 ... ↓gaze to R
- 02 *zettai muri da to [omou n da yo ne. korekara:,*
 absolutely impossible CP QT think N CP IP IP from now on
 'Otherwise, really. Because if we had two kids, it would be
 absolutely impossible, I think. From now on...'
- 03 R: [muri da yo ne : : :
 impossible CP IP IP
 'Impossible, yeah.'

(10) JC7

- ..↓gaze away from R ... ↓gaze to R
- 01 Q: *a demo: (0.5) dotchimo hoshii tte no wa wakaru::*
 INJ but both want QT N TP understandable
- 02 *ki [wa suru kedo ne.*
 feeling TP do but IP
 'Oh, but (0.5) that (she) wants both is understandable - I feel,
 though, yeah.'
- 03 R: [nn: *ne::*
 IP
 'Uh-huh, yeah::'

(11) JC7

- 01 Q: °*sooiu hito demo° ima no jidai (0.3) >dare ga warui tte*
 such person but now LK time who S wrong QT
 ↓gaze to R
- 02 *soitsu ga warui< tte [kanji da yo ne.*
 that guy S wrong QT feeling CP IP IP
 'As for such a person, but, nowadays (0.3) (if you ask) who is
 wrong, (I would answer) he is wrong, or something like that.'
- 03 R: [s: *soo soo(h) soo(h) soo(hhh)*
 so so so so
 'Right, right, right, right.'

The use of an epistemic modality expression (often in combination with UFEs) makes the component following the TCU-final verb/adjective/noun relatively longer. Actually, the components of the UFEs in (4) to (7) take only 0.3 to 0.4 seconds, while the parts of the modality expressions in (9) to (11) take about 0.6 to 0.9 seconds.⁷ Nonetheless, a speaker's gaze shift occurs at or right before the verb/adjective/nominal preceding the epistemic modality expression.⁸

7. The UFEs in Excerpt (8) takes as long as 0.7 seconds, which is probably because of the speaker's laughter.

8. From the perspective of syntax, the "sentence-final" predicate appears within the epistemic modality expression (i.e., *suru* 'do' in (10) and *kanji* 'feeling' in (11)). Takanashi (2007), however, claims that the TCU-final phrases composed of a verb *omou* 'think' or abstract nouns (e.g., *ki* 'feeling' and *kanji* 'feeling') can be treated by participants as the constituents of transition space,

The following examples further support the observation that a speaker orients to the final predicate when directing his/her gaze to a recipient. In (12) and (13), the TCU ends with a bare predicate.⁹

(12) JC9

- ... ↓gaze to X
- 01 V: *ore wa ne kono ne* (0.5) *yamada mitsuo san kirai.*
 I TP IP this IP PN Mr. dislike
 ‘I don’t like this Mr. Mitsuo Yamada.’
- 02 (0.5)
- 03 X: huh hehehehh¹⁰
 ((11 lines omitted))
- ... ↓gaze to X
- 15 V: [*ato honnin kanchigai mo hanahadashii*]
 and himself misunderstanding also intense
 ‘And he misunderstands excessively.’
- 16 (1.0)
- 17 X: *tatoeba doo yuu toko ga?*
 example how such point S
 ‘About what, for example?’

(13) JC1

- 01 B: [*un. <de- de- soo soo >dakara<(. jibun no ikikata o*
 and and so so thus self LK lifestyle O
- 02 *erabu no wa kojiri no jiyuu desu. hoka no*
 choose N TP individual LK freedom CP other LK
- 03 *hito no toyakaku iu koto de wa arimasen*
 person LK this and that say thing CP TP not
- 04 *tte yuu [kedo:*
 QT say but
 ‘Yeah. And, and, yeah yeah, “So, to choose one’s lifestyle is up
 to the individual. It’s not something other people can criticize,’
 (the author) claims, but...’
- 05 A: [*u:n*
 “Uh-huh.”
- ... ↓gaze to A
- 06 B: *betsuni kojiri no jiyuu izen no mondai?*
 particularly individual LK freedom before LK matter
 ‘...it’s a matter prior to the individual’s choice (lit. freedom).’
- 07 A: *soo soo soo soo =*
 so so so so
 ‘Yeah yeah yeah yeah.’

just like the UFEs. Thus, henceforth in my discussion, a “final predicate” will refer to a bare predicate preceding the UFEs and TCU-final epistemic modality expressions.

9. In my dataset, the turns ending with bare predicates are not very common. The quantitative investigation of Tanaka (1999) also shows that turns ending with a bare predicate word (“truncated/*iikiri*-ending” in her term) occupy only 16.1 percent of the entire set of pragmatically, syntactically, and intonationally complete turns.

10. In this excerpt, both of X’s responses in lines 3 and 17 are delayed after silence, which indicates her disagreement with speaker V.

The speaker's orientation to the final predicate can be observed even when the TCU is extended by a post-predicate component. See Excerpts (14) and (15).

(14) JC6

- ... gaze to O
- 01 M: *n: kaisha ni totte mainasuna mono ni natte hoshiku nai*
 company for minus thing to become want not
- 02 *yo n[e.= shussan ga ne.*
 IP IP childbirth S IP
 'Uh-huh, we don't want (it) to become a disadvantage to the
 company, do we? The childbirth.'
- 03 O: *[un. soo soo soo.*
 so so so
 'Uh-huh, yeah yeah yeah.'

(15) JC6

- ... gaze to O
- 01 M: *demo kihontekini: onna ga yaru mon da to omotteru*¹¹ *mon ne.=*
 but basically female S do N CP QT thinking N IP
- 02 *=[kitto.*
 probably
 'But basically (men) think that (those are) things that women
 should take care of, right? Probably.'
- 03 O: *[omotteru ne.*
 thinking IP
 '(They) do, yeah.'

According to Tanaka (1999), due to the recipients' orientation to the predicate-final structure as a means to anticipate a coming opportunity for turn-taking, the speaker of a TCU with a post-predicate addition tends to use turn-holding strategies such as "rush-through" (Schegloff 1982) to override a possible TRP marked by the end of a final predicate component. In the examples above, while the speaker indeed utilizes rush-through into the post-predicate component (signified as =), the speaker's gaze shift marks the occurrence of the predicate. Despite the contradictory cues, judging from the timing of the onset of the next turn, we can observe that the recipient consistently orients to the final predicate component as a place to take the next turn. In fact, in both excerpts, the recipients have been looking at the speaker when the speaker directs his/her gaze to them (although the recipient's gaze is not described in the transcripts). Hence, the speakers' gaze shift probably helps the recipients foresee the upcoming predicate, which enables them to begin the next turn on completion of the predicate component of the prior speaker's turn, not at the end of the post-predicate component.

11. Since the subject of this verb is the third person "men," *omotteru* 'thinking' in this utterance does not represent the speaker's epistemic stance.

This section has demonstrated a speaker’s general orientation to a final predicate when s/he directs his/her gaze to a recipient. This tendency is consistent regardless of the grammatical form of the TCU-ending. When the final predicate is followed by a modality component composed of UFEs and/or epistemic modality expressions, the length of this component does not seem to affect the timing of the speaker’s gaze shift. In other words, whether the modality component is long or short (or nonexistent), speakers tend to bring their gaze to a recipient near the predicate preceding it. The speaker may display his/her orientation to the final predicate through gaze even when s/he extends the emerging TCU by a post-predicate addition.

These findings seem to explain why a speaker’s mid-TCU gaze shift is most likely to occur from two seconds to a half-second prior to completion, as Bono and Katagiri (2005) demonstrate. Actually, in the cases of bare predicate ending in Excerpt (12), it is about 0.5 seconds prior to completion when the speaker starts shifting his gaze toward a recipient. Moreover, the initiation of the speaker’s gaze shift in all other instances presented in this section occurs within the range of a half second to two seconds before completion, except for (8) in which the speaker’s gaze shift starts about 2.4 seconds prior to turn termination.

In light of these findings, what can we claim about the role of the speaker’s gaze shift in the TCU/turn projection in Japanese? This question will be explored in the next section.

5. Discussion: What does the speaker’s mid-TCU gaze signal in terms of TCU/turn projection?

Based on the observations presented in Section 4, we can conclude that a speaker’s gaze shift to a recipient in the middle of a TCU often indicates an imminent occurrence or a concurrence of a TCU/turn-final predicate. As shown in Figure 1, when the TCU is completed in the form of a bare predicate, the speaker’s gaze shift signals the approach of a (possible) TCU completion. On the other hand, when a predicate is followed by a modality-indicating component, the speaker’s gaze shift indicates an imminent possible “syntactic” completion.

Such a distinction is, however, only possible (and may be meaningful) for the analysts who are allowed to investigate already-produced utterances. For the participants who need to process the utterances as they emerge moment-by-moment, the speaker’s gaze signaling the occurrence of a final predicate indicates an upcoming possible syntactic completion, whether the unfolding utterance comes to an end or not.

Bare-predicate ending

((gaze shift))

(non-predicate components) + [a final predicate].

↑
TCU completion

Ending with modality-indicators

((gaze shift))

(non-predicate components) + [a final predicate].

+ modality-indicating components.

↑
possible syntactic completion

↑
TCU completion

transition space

Figure 1. Typical formats of Japanese sentential TCUs

From the perspective of actions in interaction, the final predicate in a TCU proffering a speaker's point of view usually concludes his/her assertion, and the subsequent modality component, if there is one, expresses his/her attitudinal stance toward the delivered perspective. In utterances (a) and (b) in Figure 2, the main point of the speaker's claim becomes intelligible by the end of the predicates *mazushii* 'poor' and *wakaru* 'understandable,' respectively. By contrast, the interactional particles *yo* and *ne* in (a) display the speaker's assertiveness (e.g., Maynard 1993; McGloin 1989) and alignment (e.g., Maynard 1993; Morita 2005) respectively, whereas *ki wa suru kedo ne* 'I feel ..., though, right?' in (b) semantically mitigates the speaker's epistemic stance.

(a)

Amerikajin	te	nanka	miteru	to	ippan'ni	shokuseekatsu	mazushii	yo	ne.

Americans	QT	HG	seeing	if	generally	eating habit	poor	IP	IP

"Americans, based on my observation, generally eat poorly – I assume, right?"

the earliest possible action completion

(b)

demo	dotchimo	hoshii	tte	no	wa	wakaru	ki	wa	suru	kedo	ne.

but	both	want	QT	N	TP	understandable	feeling	TP	do	but	IP

"But that (she) wants both is understandable – I feel, though, right?"

Figure 2. Action completion points in Japanese sentential TCUs

To summarize the discussions schematized in Figures 1 and 2, the speaker's gaze co-occurring with the final predicate signals an imminent, possible syntactic, as

well as action, completion. Such a point can be considered to be a pre-possible completion, namely, the onset of transition space, which opens the door for a response from the recipient.

As for TCU-final projectability in Japanese, Tanaka (1999) and Enomoto (2003, 2007) propose the interactional significance of UFEs as markers of pre-possible completion and as constituents of transition space. According to their account, UFEs used in certain sequential environments provide recipients with pivotal resources for projecting an imminent TRP, because the simple production of a verb/adjective/nominal is not necessarily regarded as an incipient TCU-ending due to the incremental transformability of Japanese (see Section 2.1). While their argument sounds plausible, the instances discussed in the previous section demonstrate that a speaker's mid-TCU gaze shift also offers recipients a useful resource for projecting an onset of transition space before the occurrence of the UFEs (and epistemic modality expressions) in face-to-face interaction. Actually, in most of the instances in the previous section, the gazed recipient is looking at the speaker when the speakers' gaze reaches the recipient, and then the recipients produce a response in a timely manner (i.e., within transition space or right at the completion of the speaker's utterance).¹²

The following instances further reveal that, in combination with other interactional resources such as sequential positions and syntactic structures, a speaker's gaze shift can make it possible for the gazed recipient to produce agreement at the precise moment when the transition space begins (i.e., without listening to the start of the UFEs). In Excerpt (16), three women (P, R, Q) are talking about extremely active career women described in the reading material.

(16) JC7

- ... ↓R: gaze to Q ... ↓gaze to P ... ↓gaze to Q
 01 R: *tashika tokidoki:: sugoi haipaana hito iru yo ne.*
 certainly sometimes very hyper person exist IP IP
 'Certainly, sometimes there are hyperactive people (women), right?'
 ↓Q: gaze to R
 ... ↓Q: gaze away from R [Figure 3]
 02 Q: *iru::: (0.6) >e(h) demo-< demo soko o mezase tte*
 exist INJ but but there O aim QT

12. Exceptions include Excerpts (8) and (12), in which the gazed recipients do not look at the speakers when the speakers' gaze is directed to them. Lack of the recipients' gaze may be related to their possible non-affirmative stance toward the speakers' perspectives (Goodwin 1981; Haddington 2006). Actually, the recipient in (8) produces only a minimal response *nn hm* and the recipient in (12) delays her responses. The speakers' formulation of the next turn seems to be affected by such recipients' reactions. However, discussion of such phenomena is beyond the scope of the current study.

- iQ: gaze to R [Figure 4]
- 03 *iwaretemo muri* [da kara: tte omotte.]
 be told.if impossible CP because QT think
 'There are. (0.6) Oh, but, but even if we are told to aim at
 being like them, it's impossible, (that's what) I thought.'
- 04 R: [> *muri* *muri* < eheh hehh]=
 impossible impossible
 'Impossible, impossible.'
- 05 R: =*soo*(h) *ja nai*(h) =*soo soo soo soo*:
 so CP not so so so so
 'Not that way... Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.'



Figure 3. Line 2



Figure 4. Line 3

In line 1, R expresses her observation that there are sometimes hyperactive career women in the real world. Maintaining mutual gaze with R, Q repeats the verb *iru* in R's previous statement with a considerably long sound stretch, displaying strong agreement. After a 0.6-second pause, Q shifts her gaze away from R (Figure 3) and begins delivering her opinion that it is impossible for them to aim at being like such hyperactive career women (lines 2–3). At the end of the first clause of a compound TCU initiated by *-temo* 'even if', Q begins to direct her gaze toward R, and thereby syntactically projects the upcoming main clause and gesturally projects an approach of the predicate (Figure 4). In fact, the main clause composed of the predicate, *muri da kara* 'it's impossible',¹³ is produced subsequently. As for the recipient R, who has been looking at Q since the vicinity of the final predicate of her previous turn, on hearing the word *muri*, she immediately and quickly repeats it precisely at the onset of the UFEs, showing strong agreement (line 4).

Excerpt (17) also illustrates that a speaker's gaze shift in association with the final predicate becomes a resource for a recipient to produce agreement without listening to the UFEs in the speaker's turn.

13. According to the prescriptive grammar, the connective particle *kara* 'because' is attached to the end of a subordinate clause followed by the main clause. In conversation, however, it is not unusual that *kara*-marked clauses occur without corresponding main clauses. In such cases, the connective particles serve as utterance-final particles (Inoguchi 1998).

(17) JC6

- 01 N: °tonikakut° (1.1) *demo(.) yappari moo sukoshi hoikuen toka*
 anyway but as expected more a bit daycare center etc.
- 02 *ga ne,*
 S IP
 ‘Anyway, (0.7) but (.) as expected, a bit more daycare centers or something...’
- 03 M: *N:::n*
 ‘UH-HUH’
- 04 N: *yasuku ii no ga* (1.5) *are ba, (.) umo kkana to omou*
hito wa
 cheap good N S exist if give birth IP QT think
 person TP
 ↑gaze to O
- 05 *fueru daroo* [ne:.
 increase CP-NA IP
 ‘if there are more cheap and good ones, (.) the people who feel like having kids will increase, probably, right?’
- 06 O: [nn.
 ‘Uh-huh.’
 ...↓O: slowly looking downward
- 07 (2.5)
 [Figure 5] ↓O: begins raising head
- 08 O: *sore dakara kodomo mo moo hitori de ii toka=*
 that thus kids also already one by fine etc.
 ↑M: gaze to O
 ↑N: gaze to O [Figure 6]
 ...↓O: gaze to M [Figure 7]
- 09 *=omotteru hito ippai iru* [mon ne.
 thinking person many exist N IP
 ‘That’s why there are a lot of people who think having just one child is fine, right?’
- 10 M: [s:soo da yo ne.=
 so CP IP IP
 ‘That’s right.’
- 11 N: =n[:
 ‘Uh-huh::’
- 12 M: [yooikushi *no koto mo aru shi ne?*
 expense of child raising LK matter also exist because IP
 ‘Since the expense of child care also matters, right?’



Figure 5. The beginning of line 8

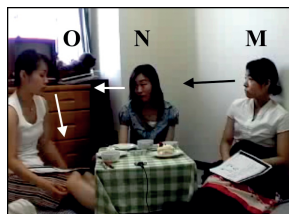


Figure 6. The middle of line 8



Figure 7. Line 9

In lines 1–5, N surmises that more people would have children if there were more affordable good daycare centers. After a relatively long silence, O offers her social observation (lines 8–9) supporting N's proposal of the relationship between the inadequacy of daycare centers and the small population of working mothers. As O begins this turn, she lowers her head to look into the reading material on her lap (Figure 5). Soon after the turn begins, she lifts her head, which prompts both recipients to bring their gaze toward her (Figure 6). Then, at the end of the topical noun phrase *omotteru hito* 'person thinking,' O directs her gaze to one of the recipients, M (Figure 7). Although what is produced next is an adverb *ippai* 'a lot' instead of the predicate *iru* 'exist,' I argue that the speaker's gaze shift occurring at this particular syntactic point is associated with the production of the predicate. Tanaka (2001) documents that some Japanese adverbs, in combination with immediate local contexts, can serve as strong resources for projecting forthcoming predicates due to their typical syntactic position (i.e., immediately or shortly before a predicate) as well as their semantic property of making available a range of predicates that may reasonably follow them. As a matter of fact, *ippai iru* is a synonym of an adjective *ooi* 'a lot.' Thus, semantically speaking, I claim that *ippai iru* may be treated as if it is a one-word predicate term.

As for the recipient M, she shifts her gaze to the speaker O in earlier part of O's utterance (line 8) and keeps looking at O. Hence, M observes speaker O's gaze shift toward herself and produces agreement on the onset of the speaker's UFEs.¹⁴

To summarize, in Japanese face-to-face interaction, one of the interactional functions of a speaker's gaze is to signal the imminence of the final predicate, which marks early possible syntactic as well as action completion, yet not necessarily actual utterance completion. In other words, such a speaker's gaze shift indicates the onset of transition space: the space in a TCU/turn where recipients may initiate their response without interrupting the speaker's ongoing utterance.

6. Conclusion

Starting from a question about Bono and Katagiri's (2005) claim that one of the functions of a speaker's gaze is to signal an approach of TCU/turn completion, this study has explored how a speaker's gaze in coordination with talk contributes to

14. A related function of a speaker's gaze shift in multi-party interaction is next speaker selection (Goodwin 1981; Lerner 2003). In Excerpt (17), speaker O's gaze shift not only signals an approach of the final predicate, but also selects M as the next speaker. This is probably why M produces her response during the transition space of O's turn, while N delays her response (line 11) even though N also observes O's gaze movement.

TCU/turn projection in Japanese. The findings reveal the tendency that the speaker's mid-TCU gaze shift shows his/her orientation to the TCU/turn-final predicate when bringing his/her gaze to a recipient, regardless of the grammatical form or length of the component following the final predicate. This finding suggests that a speaker's mid-TCU gaze shift in Japanese interaction is to project early a possible syntactic/action completion, which may not necessarily be TCU/turn completion. In other words, what a speaker's gaze signals is the imminent onset of transition space, in which a recipient may begin a next turn without it being regarded as an interruption. As demonstrated in Section 4, transition space in Japanese generally consists of modality-indicating items such as interactional particles and epistemic modality expressions. This means that soliciting his/her recipient's response within transition space by means of gaze shift may provide a speaker with an opportunity to adjust his/her attitudinal stance in accordance with the recipient's reaction before completing his/her own turn. Indeed, such interactional practices are documented in Nakamura (2011).

Regarding TCU/turn-final projectability in Japanese, past studies highlighted the interactional significance of the UFEs, which "retroactively" mark the immediately preceding verb/adjective/nominal as the TCU-final predicate (Enomoto 2003, 2007; Tanaka 1999). The findings of this study have further revealed that a speaker's gaze shift occurring in association with the final predicate serves as another useful resource for turn projection. Namely, it is a device that "proactively" marks the upcoming predicate as a TCU/turn-final one.

As past studies of social interaction have documented, organizing social interaction is a multimodal activity, in which multiple interactional resources are mobilized by participants in an intricately coordinated manner to accomplish, interpret, and/or negotiate actions in interaction. Through investigating the interplay of gaze and syntax in Japanese interaction, this study has reconfirmed that participants also utilize multiple interactional resources to project the development of turns and to organize turn-takings.

This study offers a new insight on the relationship between a speaker's gaze and turn projection in Japanese interaction. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that the current study did not sufficiently consider contingencies of recipients' gaze, such as how lack of mutual gaze between a speaker and a recipient affects turn-taking and development of the speaker's subsequent utterance. Moreover, while past studies unveil other functions of participants' gaze in interaction such as next speaker selection, monitoring, engaging/disengaging, this study did not explore how such functions are integrated in the function of turn projection. These are limitations of the current study and I will leave these inquiries for future research.

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Appendix

Transcript symbols

?	rising intonation
ˆ	moderately rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
=	latched utterances, with no interval between them
:	lengthened sound stretch
(.)	micro-pause
(0.0)	length of silence in seconds and tenths of seconds
[	the point at which the current talk is overlapped by other talk
°°	a passage of talk quieter than the surrounding talk
<u>underline</u>	stress or emphasis by relatively high pitch
–	sudden cut-off of the current sound
hh	audible outbreath
(hh)	laughter within a word
.hh	audible inbreath
> <	increase in tempo
< >	decrease in tempo
()	unintelligible
(word)	transcriber's unsure hearings

Abbreviations

CP	copula	CP-NA	non-assertive copula
EMP	emphasis marker	FL	filler-like expression
HG	hedge-like expression	INJ	interjection
IP	interactional particle	LK	nominal linking marker
N	nominalizer	O	object marker
PN	proper noun	Q	question marker
QT	quotation marker	S	subject marker
TG	tag-like expression	TP	topic marker

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PART II

Interaction

Superiors' directives in the Japanese workplace

Are they all strategic?

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One of the criticisms against Brown and Levinson's universal theory of politeness (1987) is the assertion that discernment politeness is more important than volitional politeness in Japanese society (e.g., Ide 1989; Hill et al. 1986). Contrary to this claim, studies that have analyzed actual discourse in the Japanese workplace report abundant volitional politeness strategies. These opposing views raise a question as to where and to what extent Japanese speakers use volitional strategies or observe discernment in the workplace. To answer this question, this chapter investigates superiors' directives in new employee orientation sessions in a Japanese company. It finds a tendency among superiors to observe discernment when issuing procedural directives and to use negative and positive politeness strategies when issuing non-procedural directives.

Keywords: directives, politeness, politeness strategies, discernment politeness, volitional politeness, workplace discourse, Japanese, pragmatics

1. Introduction

Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1987) defines politeness as a face-saving device. Politeness is seen as the speaker's strategy to redress an FTA (face-threatening act) in order to save the hearer's negative and positive face wants. According to the seriousness of an FTA, the speaker chooses a strategy from several options ranging from an off record move such as a hint to a move with no redressive action. The seriousness of an FTA is measured by three variables, namely D(S,H), social distance between the speaker and hearer, P(H,S), the relative power of the speaker with respect to the hearer, and Rx, the absolute ranking of imposition of an act X.

Due to its claim that the theory is universal, Brown and Levinson's theory has been challenged by scholars working in East Asian languages. They asserted that in East Asian societies politeness is not governed by the speaker's choice of

strategies but is a matter of socially agreed upon norm because East Asian societies are essentially group-oriented (Byron 2006; Gu 1990; Hill et al. 1986; Ide 1989; Mao 1994; Matsumoto 1988; Yu 2003).¹ For example, Both Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) observe that honorifics are used in non-FTA situations. Matsumoto (1988) asserts that in Japanese honorifics are used in a statement such as “Today is Saturday.”² Ide (1989) claims that linguistic politeness in Japanese society is largely governed by *wakimae* ‘discernment’ because the Japanese language is an honorific language, which is used to acknowledge the status difference between the speaker and the hearer and/or referent. The notion of *wakimae* ‘discernment’ presupposes that polite behavior is regulated by external factors such as the formality of social setting or the social distance between interlocutors.³ Rather than examining naturally occurring discourse data, Ide based her argument on a self-reported survey (Hill et al. 1986).

A study by Hill et al. (1986) quantitatively compared American and Japanese students’ self-reported request expressions (borrowing a pen) to different social categories of addressee and found a much higher correlation between a given request expression and a given category of addressee among Japanese speakers. They noted that when asking for a pen, Japanese survey respondents show a clear tendency to use very polite honorific forms to people of high social standing such as professor whereas they do not use any honorifics to their immediate family members. Hill et al. (1986: 348) define *wakimae* as “conforming to the expected norm,” whereas volition as “the aspect of politeness which allows the speaker a considerably more active choice, according to the speaker’s intention, from a relatively wider range of possibilities.” They further elaborated on discernment by stating, “once certain factors of addressee and situation are noted, the selection of an appropriate linguistic form and/or appropriate behavior is essentially automatic” (1986: 348). Based on these definitions, Hill et al. (1986) use the result of the survey as evidence that politeness in Japanese society is largely a matter of conforming to social norms, or discernment (e.g., the use of honorifics when borrowing a pen from a professor), rather than an individual’s volitional strategy.

Contrary to this claim, it is reported that in the Japanese workplace superiors employ a range of politeness strategies when giving directives to subordinates (Saito

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1. See Okamoto (2010) for a comprehensive discussion.
 2. Matsumoto (2003) mentions that the use of relation-acknowledging devices such as formulaic and honorific expressions is the speaker’s strategic choice rather than based on rigid social rules.
 3. In Ide (1989), *wakimae* is translated into English as ‘discernment.’ Kádár and Mills (2013) question the accuracy of this translation by claiming that *wakimae* is a Japanese specific phenomenon while discernment is a cross-cultural notion. In this paper, I treat *discernment* is an English translation of *wakimae*.

2011; Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005). For example, Smith (1992) indicated that superiors in her data use 20 different linguistic structures as directives to their subordinates. Saito (2011) demonstrated that male superiors rely on various politeness strategies associated with both masculine and feminine interactional styles when subordinates are reluctant to perform directed acts immediately.

More recently, Dunn (2011) and Geyer (2013) examined how the two aspects of politeness manifest in actual practice in Japanese society and suggested that both discernment and volition play a role in Japanese society. In her study on Japanese business manner courses, Dunn (2011) illustrated that the distinction between discernment and volitional politeness blur in actual practice. She found that verbal strategies are not always the speaker's volition but perceived as rituals in the business world. For example, in Japanese business practice, uttering an apology before making a request is a social convention rather than the speaker's volition. Thus, in the business manner courses, verbal strategies are taught in formulaic phrases. Drawing on the concept of "habitus" (Bourdieu 1977), Geyer (2013) proposed that the notion of discernment as a set of rigid socio-pragmatic obligations be revised. Quoting Eelen (2001), she redefined "discernment" as "a set of practical possibilities which actors unconsciously draw upon in structuring their behavior" (Eelen 2001: 222). She examined style shifts between the addressee honorific *masu* form and the non-honorific counterpart, the plain form in Japanese conversations (both family and workplace conversations) and asserted that baseline usage of the *masu* or plain form is not an outcome of an automatic choice of appropriate linguistic forms (*wakimae*), but can be reanalyzed as the members' collective knowledge about typical usages of these forms.

The studies by Dunn (2011) and Geyer (2013) suggest that there is not a clear dichotomy between discernment and volitional politeness previously argued for in the literature. Dunn (2011: 3653) concluded, "it is beyond the scope of this article to address the question of how volition and discernment function in actual interaction." This chapter addresses Dunn's question and examines when and to what extent Japanese speakers tend to use socially agreed upon expressions (discernment) and when and to what extent they strategically choose expressions based on the weightiness of an FTA (volition). To answer these questions, the present study investigates superiors' directives to subordinates in the new employees' orientation sessions of a Japanese company. Goodwin (1980: 157) defines directive as a social act that attempts "to get another to do something." In Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, a directive is a type of FTA that threatens the hearer's negative face. A workplace is an ideal study site for investigating directives because it is a place where directives are frequently issued in order to get things done, and much previous research on Japanese directives was done in the workplace. The chapter examines what type of directive is given strategically and what type conforms to

the socially agreed upon forms in the Japanese workplace by quantitatively and qualitatively analyzing superiors’ directives to new employees. It specifically asks the following questions: (i) what types of linguistic forms are used as “procedural directives” and “non-procedural directives”?; (ii) how frequently do these occur?; and (iii) are both types of directives used strategically to mitigate an FTA (volitional politeness) or as a social convention (discernment politeness)?

2. Types of directives: Procedural and non-procedural directives

The speech acts of directive, request and advice all attempt to make the hearer do something. These speech acts are referred to as “control acts” (Vine 2004). According to Vine (2004), directives and requests are directing control acts and advice is a suggesting control act, and these three are characterized by the speaker’s status, the hearer’s right of refusal, and direction of benefit, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Factors differentiating directives, requests and advice (Vine 2004: 31)

Control acts		Speaker higher status	Hearer has right of refusal	Benefit to speaker
Directing	Directive	yes	no	yes
	Request	no	yes	yes
Suggesting	Advice	maybe	yes	no

A directive is characterized by the higher status of the speaker, no right of refusal on the part of the hearer, and benefit to the speaker. A request differs from a directive in that the speaker’s status is not higher than that of the hearer and the hearer has the right of refusal. Advice differs from a directive in that the hearer has the right of refusal and that the benefit is to the hearer. In the workplace, then, the superior’s “control acts” are all directives because the speaker (superior) is higher in status, and the hearer (subordinate) normally does not have the right of refusal. In this chapter, I refer to superiors’ control acts as “directives.” In the workplace, it is not always the case that a superior’s suggesting control act benefits only the hearer (subordinate) because benefit to the hearer (subordinate) is simultaneously benefit to the speaker (company = the position the superior represents) (cf. Vine 2004). For example, advice to the subordinate to work more efficiently benefits the hearer (subordinate) as well as the company because the subordinate’s efficiency is directly linked to the company’s efficiency and profit.

Some scholars note that there are two sub-types of directives, namely those that require immediate compliance and those that expect compliance in another place

in the future. The two sub-types are called “internal and external” (Mulholland 1994), “request-now and request-then” (Trosborg 1994), and “NOW and LATER” (Vine 2004). Jones (1992), who compared male and female speakers' directives in English in a meeting, proposed a classification of directives similar to “NOW and LATER,” namely “procedural” and “non-procedural.” Procedural directives are those “focused on what individuals or the group should do within the context of the meeting” (Jones 1992: 433). Procedural directives are similar to NOW directives in the sense that typically the requested action should be performed in the immediate speech context. In this study, I adopt the term “procedural directive” because this term is more appropriate for a study of workplace.

Vine (2004: 32) points out the importance of the distinction between NOW and LATER directives:

The distinction between NOW and LATER control act is an important one, for a number of reasons. Firstly, as Mulholland (1994: 76) notes, because NOW control acts require immediate compliance there can be monitoring of compliance. A second important factor is that NOW and LATER control acts may be realised by different forms.

Vine's statement that these two sub-types of directive may be realized in different linguistic forms is insightful. In fact, Ervin-Tripp (1976) reported that Wisner (1967) found that imperatives are used when doctors tell nurses what to do in the immediate context but “we” directives are employed for tasks to be done in the future. I also argue that typically NOW/procedural directives are low in imposition because the preparatory condition of directive (request) is that the hearer is able to perform the act (Searle 1969), and kinds of act that the hearer can perform in the immediate speech context are rather limited. In particular, in the workplace context what the hearer is asked to do in the immediate context is often procedurally expected. Thus, procedural directives in the workplace are typically low in imposition because the participants share expectations as to what is supposed to take place in the immediate speech context. In contrast, LATER/non-procedural directives can be higher in imposition because the hearer is given time to figure out how to perform the directed act, to develop skills necessary for it and/or to collect resources if necessary.

Although the distinction of NOW/procedural and LATER/non-procedural directives is important, in the literature the distinction between the two sub-types is largely ignored with exception of a few studies (Mulholland 1994; Trosborg 1994). The present chapter fills this gap by exploring how the two sub-types of directives are realized in linguistic forms in the Japanese workplace.

3. Studies on directives in the Japanese workplace

The studies on directives in the Japanese workplace have focused on gender difference in the use of directives. The earlier studies (Furo 1996; Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005) argued that when giving directives, women in power use strategies to overcome a “sociolinguistic dilemma” of new and traditional roles of women in the workplace. Smith (1992) examined directives of women and men in position of authority. Her data were drawn from TV dramas and cartoons as well as cooking and home carpentry shows. She lists a total of 20 different linguistic forms (8 imperatives, 7 request forms, 3 desideratives and 2 declaratives) and their variants used as directives and rank-orders them according to degree of politeness. She found that women in an authority position use more polite linguistic forms than their male counterparts, which is consistent with the gender stereotype. She further noted that in order to deal with the “sociolinguistic dilemma” between the traditional women’s role and the position of authority, women in power rely on two strategies, namely “motherese strategy” and “passive power strategy.” As a motherese strategy, Smith identified five different linguistic forms, which are typically used by mothers when talking to their young children. The passive power strategy is characterized as “passive but assured waiting” (Smith 1992: 78). This strategy includes verb root + *te moraimasu/ itadakimasu* and a sentence without the final verb, such as a noun and verb + *koto/yoo ni*. Smith asserts that these strategies make it possible for women to exert power and simultaneously maintain their femininity. Sunaoshi’s study (1994), which compared the directives of two female shop managers and those of male supervisors taken from a TV program, supports Smith’s claim. Sunaoshi found that female shop managers use both motherese and passive power strategies while male supervisors rarely do so. Takano (2005) investigated female leaders’ directives in comparison with those of male leaders. He collected 630 directives from nine female leaders in nine workplaces and 122 male leaders’ directives from three TV programs. Takano lists ten commonly occurring directives for each gender in the order of frequency. This data is given in Table 2.

Comparing the three most frequent directives given by the female and male leaders, Takano states that while both genders use verb root + *te (ne/yo)* ‘Do X’ approximately in an equal frequency, the female leaders do not use the imperative, verb root + *ro* ‘do X’, which is the most frequent form for the male leaders. In contrast, the female leaders’ third frequent form is the polite expression, *onagai shimasu/itashimasu* ‘I ask you a favor,’ which does not occur among the male leaders’ directives. Takano argues that although the female leaders’ directives are more polite than those of the male counterpart in accordance with the socio-cultural norms of Japanese women, a variety of strategies used by the female leaders control power dynamics as linguistic weapons. In contrast to the studies by Smith (1992), Sunaoshi

Table 2. Directives given by female and male leaders (Takano 2005: 642)

Female leaders	%	Male leaders	%
1. Verb root + <i>te kudasai</i> 'Please do X'	23.0	1. Verb root + <i>ro</i> 'Do X'	15.6
2. Verb root + <i>te (ne/yo)</i> 'Do X'	8.3	2. Verb root + <i>te kudasai</i> 'Please do X'	10.7
3. <i>onagai shimasu</i> 'I ask you a favor'	5.2	3. Verb root + <i>te (ne/yo)</i> 'Do X'	7.4
4. N <i>wa</i> /Verb root – <i>te ii/yoroshii/</i> <i>kamawanai/kekkoo desu</i> 'N/doing N is alright'	4.9	4. Verb stem + <i>nai todame/ikenai</i> 'It wouldn't work well unless you do X'	6.6
5. Verb root + <i>te moraeru?/</i> <i>moraemasu?/itadakemasu ka</i> 'Could I have you do X?'	4.4	5. N <i>wa</i> /Verb root – <i>te ii/yoroshii</i> 'N/doing N is alright'	6.6
6. Verb stem + <i>(y)oo (yo)/mashoo(ka)</i> 'Let's/shall we do X?'	4.3	6. Verb stem + <i>(y)oo(yo)/mashoo (ka)</i> 'Let's/shall we do X?'	5.7
7. Verb root <i>te kureru?/kurerukana?/</i> <i>kuremasu ka?/kudasaru?/</i> <i>kudasaimasu ka?</i> 'Will you do me the favor of doing X?'	2.4	7. Verb root + <i>te kure</i> 'Do X for me'	3.3
8. N <i>no</i> /Verb plain + <i>hoo ga ii</i> <i>(kamoshirenai to omou)</i> '(I think) N would (might) be better if you do X'	1.4	8. Verb root + <i>te goran</i> 'Try doing X (and see)'	2.5
9. Verb plain + <i>koto/yoo ni</i> 'Do X'	1.4	9. Verb root + <i>te moraeru?/moraemasu?/</i> <i>itadakemasu ka</i> 'Could I have you do X?'	2.5
		10. Verb root <i>te kureru?/kurerukana?/</i> <i>kuremasu ka?/kudasaru?/kudasaimasu ka?</i> 'Will you do me the favor of doing X?'	2.5

(1994), and Takano (2005), which assert that Japanese women in authority position prefer more polite linguistic expressions, Saito (2011), who qualitatively examined five male superiors' directives directed to both male and female subordinates in a company manufacturing dentures, illustrated that the male superiors are skillful in strategically manipulating both normative masculine and feminine directives in order to persuade their subordinates. These studies do not differentiate subtypes of directives. Thus, the nature of directives examined is not clear.

Furo's study (1996), which looked at four male and four female teachers' directives given to 5th to 9th grade students in a Japanese school in the Washington, D.C. area, also found a tendency for female teachers to be more polite than their male counterparts. This study differs from the others in that directives are given to children rather than adults, and that the types of directives examined are specified, namely instructional and discipline directives. The significance of her study is that it demonstrates that a type of directive influences the choice of a linguistic form even when the same speaker issues directives to the same addressees in a given speech

context. Furo (1996) found that the teachers use different linguistic structures when issuing instruction and discipline directives. For example, the female teachers' most frequent linguistic form, *-te kudasai (ne)* 'please do X,' when issuing instruction directives does not occur in the category of discipline directives. In contrast, their most frequent form, *-nai (no)* 'don't do X' when issuing discipline directives, does not appear in the category of instruction directive. However, because the data size is small, her finding is not conclusive. At least, her study gives us an idea of how future research should investigate ways in which different subtypes of directives function.

In sum, the studies on directives in the Japanese workplace do not discuss discernment politeness, but illustrate superiors' strategic use of directives in order to get subordinates to perform tasks. With the exception of Furo's work (1996), the studies do not distinguish different types of directives. Making a distinction between procedural and non-procedural (or NOW and LATER) directives makes it possible to examine how a type of directed act/imposition correlates with a type of linguistic form.

4. Data and methodology

The research site for this study is a small-scale IT company named Fuji located in Tokyo.⁴ Because Fuji's business is to provide an IT service to other companies and institutions, the employees work at other companies and institutions on a regular basis. Since the employees work at a different location, they are neither directly supervised by the superiors nor do they see each other daily. Due to lack of direct supervision of the employees' work performance, the company provides new employees with a month-long orientation, which consists of two parts, namely sessions on business skills/management and composition training. As shown in Table 3, business skills/management sessions cover a wide range of topics from how to use honorifics to how to manage time and money.

Table 3. Major topics in business skills/management development sessions

1	How to look at the addressee's eyes and smile
2	First impression (dress cleanly, tone of voice, and use of words)
3	Correct usage of honorifics
4	How to listen
5	How to pay attention to others
6	How to behave proactively
7	Representative of the company
8	Importance of being punctual

4. "Fuji" is a pseudonym.

The superiors spent much of the time teaching the new employees how to behave as *shakaijin* 'mature adult member of society' in a variety of business situations. Composition training sessions brushed up their writing skills because typically new employees had majored in science in college and did not have much writing training. The overall goals of the orientation are to improve new employees' communication skills and to ensure that new employees behave properly as Fuji's representatives in the company or institution where they are sent to work. Like other Japanese companies, Fuji employs new college graduates at the beginning of April every year. In 2013 Fuji employed four new college graduates who were in their early 20's. Data were collected by video-taping the sessions, which took place from April through August, 2013. The researcher was not present at the orientation. This study uses as data seven sessions, which involve two superiors, M and H and two new employees, K and N.⁵ M is in his late 30's, has worked for the company for 10 years and holds a managerial position, and H is in his late 20's and has worked for the company for 2 years as a programmer. All the participants are male in this set of data. Each session lasted for 30 minutes to an hour. The recorded data were transcribed, and directives were tabulated according to type and linguistic form.

5. Superiors' directives in the orientation sessions

5.1 Procedural directives

By adopting Jones's (1992) definition of procedural directives, which specifies directives used "within the context of the meeting," I include in procedural directives those that ask for an action performed not only in the immediate context of the orientation meeting but also those that need to be performed by or at the time of the subsequent meeting, such as giving homework assignments (e.g., "write short sentences and bring them to tomorrow's meeting").⁶ There were a total of 99 instances of procedural directives in the data. Table 4 shows their linguistic forms and frequencies in raw numbers and percentage.

5. The other two new employees are not included in this study because they were sent to other companies right after they were hired. The orientation for them was scheduled mostly during the summer.

6. Procedural directives are those "focused on what individuals or the group should do within the context of the meeting" (Jones 1992: 433). Based on this definition, directives requiring tasks such as completing homework assignments are procedural directives because they are considered part of the orientation (i.e., within the context of the orientation meeting) even though they do not require the tasks to be performed within the "immediate" context of the meeting.

Table 4. Superiors' procedural directives to new employees⁷

Linguistic form	English translation	Frequency
1. Verb root + <i>te kudasai</i>	Please do X	38 (38.4%)
2. Name/ <i>jaa</i> name	Name/ OK, name	23 (23.2%)
3. (name)* <i>onagai shimasu</i>	(name) I ask you a favor.	15 (15.2%)
4. <i>jaa</i> ⁷	OK/well	3 (3.0%)
5. Verb root + <i>te moraimasu/te moraimashoo</i>	I'll have you do X. Lets' have you do X.	3 (3.0%)
6. Conditional verb root + <i>temoraereba (ii kana)</i>	(It would be good), if I can have you do X	2 (2.0%)
7. Verb root + <i>te</i>	Do X	2 (2.0%)
8. X <i>ga areba</i>	If you have X	2 (2.0%)
9. X <i>shite mimashoo/ shimashoo</i>	Lets' try to do X/ Lets' do X	2 (2.0%)
10. <i>juuyoo</i>	Important	2 (2.0%)
11. <i>ikimasu</i>	We'll go	1 (1.0%)
12. X <i>shita hoo ga ii</i>	It is better to do X	1 (1.0%)
13. X <i>shite mo ii</i>	It is OK to do X	1 (1.0%)
14. <i>ie yo</i> ((laugh))	Say X + final particle <i>yo</i> ((laugh))	1 (1.0%)
15. X <i>sureba ii</i>	It is good if you do X	1 (1.0%)
16. <i>ikemasen</i>	Do not do X	1 (1.0%)
17. X <i>wa?</i>	How about X	1 (1.0%)
		99 (100%)

* () indicates optional item.

Table 4 shows that although 17 different linguistic forms occur, only the first three forms are frequently used. Almost 40% of the superiors' procedural directives to the new employees are given in the form of verb root + *te kudasai* 'please do X.' The next most frequently used form is the name of the addressee to nominate the next speaker (23.2%). Calling of the name counts as a procedural directive in the meeting, because the addressees understand that they are nominated to perform an expected action.⁸ *Onagai shimasu* 'I ask you a favor' with or without the name of the nominated addressee is the third most frequent form (15.2%). These three linguistic forms make up 76.8% of all the procedural directives. In fact, verb root + *te kudasai* 'please do X' and *onagai shimasu* 'I ask you a favor' are the two most explicit linguistic forms of directive in Japanese. It is noteworthy that close to 80 percent of the procedural directives are realized in the three linguistic forms. The other 14

7. Only instances of *jaa* that prompt the new employees to perform the directed task are included in Table 4. Instances of *jaa* used to nominate the next speaker (i.e., *jaa* in Example (1)) are not included in Table 4.

8. I counted as directives the only instances in which names are not immediately followed by another directive such as verb root + *te kudasai*.

different linguistic structures only occur 3% of the time or less. This fact shows that when issuing procedural directives, the superiors tend to rely on a couple of what is considered as “conventional request forms” as linguistic resources rather than using a variety of politeness strategies. I will return to this point in Section 6.

Example (1) illustrates how verb root + *te kudasai* ‘please do X’ and *onegai shimasu* ‘I ask you a favor’ are employed as a procedural directive. In every meeting, the superiors ask the new employees to come up with the advantage of performing a certain act (*meritto*) and the disadvantage of not doing so (*demeritto*). Here in line 1, H tells the new employees, K and N, to think of the advantage of looking at the addressee’s eyes and interacting with a smile and the disadvantage of not doing so. H’s *itsumo no yoo ni* ‘as usual’ indicates that his directive is a part of the routine in the meeting.

(1) 0403–3 H = superior, K and N = new employees

- 01 H: *hajime ni itsumo no yoo ni ee aite no me o mite*
first usual LK like uh addressee LK eye Obj look
- 02 *egao de komyunikeeshon ga toreru koto ni yoru meritto to*
smiling face by communication Sub take can Nom by merit and
- 03→ *torenai koto ni yoru demeritto o kangaete kudasai*
take Neg Nom by demerit Obj think please
‘First, as usual, please think of an advantage of looking at
the addressee’s eyes and being able to interact with a smile
and a disadvantage of not being able to do so.’
- 04 K and N: ((write)) (3 minutes 15 seconds)
- 05 H: *yoroshii desu ka?*
good Cop Q
‘Are you ready?’
- 06 K: [*hai*]
‘yes’
- 07 N: [*hai*]
yes
- 08 H: *jaa N-kun*
‘Well, N-kun’
- 09 N: *hai*
‘yes’
- 10→ H: *ee meritto onegai shimasu*
uh merit request do
‘Uh, I ask you a favor of (stating) an advantage.’
- 11 N: *meritto to shite wa ee mazu akaruku mieru kana to iu no*
merit as Top uh first cheerful look wonder Q say LK
- 12 *ga hitotsu*
Sub one
‘For an advantage (of doing so), uh first, one thing is that
one may look cheerful.’

In line 3, the linguistic form used is verb root + *te kudasai* ‘please do X’. K and N comply to H’s directive and start to write their answers. After 3 minutes and 15 seconds, H asks K and N if they are ready to present their answer. Then he nominates N in line 5 and asks him to present his answer in line 10 by using *onegai shimasu* ‘I

ask you a favor.’ N responds to this directive in line 11. These directives are low in imposition because what is asked to do is expected in the meeting. Thus, it is hard to argue that the superiors’ verb root + *te kudasai* ‘please do X’ and *onegai shimasu* ‘I ask you a favor’ are strategic. Repeated uses of these request expressions in the same context, in which the level of imposition is low, can be perceived as socially agreed upon usages.

5.2 Non-procedural directives

Non-procedural directives are those that ask for an action not in the immediate context but sometime in the future. Most of the superiors’ non-procedural directives in the orientation sessions focus on appropriate behavior as a company’s representative, which covers topics listed in Table 3. Compared with procedural directives, non-procedural directives are much higher in imposition because they may constrain new employees’ life style and/or habits. A large number of such directives are issued – a total of 143 instances in the data. Table 5 shows their linguistic forms and frequencies in raw numbers and percentage.

Table 5. Superiors’ non-procedural directives to new employees

Linguistic form	English translation	Frequency
1. Hortative Verb root + <i>mashoo</i>	Let’s do X	36 (25.1%)
2. Conditional X <i>ba/tara/to</i> , Y	If X, then Y	21 (14.7%)
3. Assessment of X <i>juuyoo/daiji/yuukoo/mottomo ii</i> , etc.	Assessment of X important/effective/best, etc.	17 (11.9%)
4. Naked plain form of verb	One does X	16 (11.2%)
5. Verb root + <i>te kudasai</i>	Please do X	15 (10.5%)
6. Verb past tense <i>hoo ga ii</i>	It is better to do X	10 (7.7%)
7. Verb root + <i>nakute wa ikenai</i>	One must do X	9 (6.3%)
8. <i>kana</i> *	I wonder	4 (2.8%)
9. Verb root + <i>te hoshii</i>	I want you to do X	3 (2.1%)
10. Verb root + <i>te morau</i>	I have you do X	2 (1.4%)
11. <i>toka</i>	etc.	2 (1.4%)
12. <i>dekiru</i>	You can do X	2 (1.4%)
13. Verb <i>koto</i>	One does X	2 (1.4%)
14. <i>dame desu</i>	Do not do X	1 (0.7%)
15. Verb <i>n desu</i>	It is that you do X	1 (0.7%)
16. Verb to <i>omowareru</i>	It is thought that	1 (0.7%)
		143 (100%)

* Instances of *kana* are not counted when it follows Y in a conditional construction (if X, then Y) and when it occurs after *hoo ga ii*. The expression, *dekiru* is not counted when it occurs in Y in a conditional construction (if X, then Y) as well.

Table 5 shows that 16 different linguistic forms occur, the rate of seven of which is 6.3% or greater. These seven linguistic forms make up 87.4% of all non-procedural directives. The rate of the rest (nine other linguistic forms) is less than 3% each. This means that compared with procedural directives, the superiors use a broader range of linguistic forms frequently when giving non-procedural directives. These linguistic constructions exhibit both positive and negative politeness strategies. What is noticeable is that the typical request form, verb root + *te kudasai* 'please do X', used almost 40% of the time in the category of procedural directives, occurs only 10.5% of the time. Instead, the superiors prefer the hortative, verb root + *mashoo* 'let's do X', which comprises one fourth of all the non-procedural directives followed by various forms of conditionals (*-ereba*, *-tara*, and *-to*) (14.7%). The superiors also use words expressing importance, effectiveness and best quality (*daiji/ juuyoo, yuukoo, mottomo ii*) (11.9 %), the plain verb forms (11.2%), and the expression *hoo ga ii* 'it is better to do X' (7.7%). A rather direct expression of *nakute wa ikenai* 'one must do X' is also used 6.3%. A higher-level of imposition of non-procedural directives is evidenced by the fact that a wider range of linguistic forms are frequently used compared with procedural directives.

The hortative, verb root + *mashoo* 'let's do X', is one of the positive politeness strategies in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987) because it includes both the speaker and hearer in the activity. By using verb root + *mashoo* 'let's do X', the superiors include themselves in the act that they want the new employees to perform. In Example (2), the topic of the session is how to use honorifics correctly. Here the superior H is telling K and N to use honorifics appropriately, but not to use them to people with a close relationship.

(2) 0407

- 01 H: *de keigo ga tsukaeru to aite ni anshin o ataeru*
and honorifics Sub use able if addressee to comfort Obj give
02 *koto ga dekimasu*
Nom Sub can
'and if you can use honorifics, you can give the addressee a
sense of comfort.'
03 *tsukaenai to ee futari mo itta kedo fukaikan o ataeru to*
use able Neg if uh both also said but discomfort Obj give Q
'If you can't use (honorifics), as both of you said, you give
discomfort.'
04 *de shinyoo sarenai (.) to iu koto ni narimasu ne*
and trust PasNeg Q say Nom become FP
'so it turns out to be that you are not trusted.'
05 *gyaku ni shitashii aidagara yuujin toka ni keigo o tsukattari suru*
contrary close relation friend etc to honorifics Obj use do
06 *to*
if
'On the contrary, if you use honorifics to people with a close
relationship like friends,'

- 07 *yosoyososhii* (.) *tanin* *gyoogi da to iu inshoo* *o*
 distant stranger manner Cop Q say impression Obj
- 08 *ataete shimau node*
 give end up so
 'you end up giving the impression that you are distant like a
 stranger so'
- 09 → *tsukai dokoro machigaenai yoo ni chuui* *shimashoo*
 use place mistake Neg attention do (hortative)
 'let's be careful not to misjudge where to use honorifics.'
- 10 N: *hai*
 'Yes.'

In line 9, H uses a hortative to tell K and N to be careful not to misjudge where to use honorifics. In Example (3), the superior, M, also uses a hortative as a directive. Here the topic of the session is whether the new employees should ask the experienced employees questions or they should try to figure things out themselves when things are not clear to them.⁹

(3) 0410

- 01 M: *ano kiku taimingu o umaku* *hakatte kudasai*
 uh ask timing Obj skilfully plan please
 'Uh, please figure out a good time to ask.'
- 02 → *hai de kiitara oboemashoo*
 yes and ask if learn let's
 'Yes, and once you have asked, let's remember (what you've learned).'
- 03 N: *hai*
 'Yes.'
- 04 K: *hai*
 'Yes.'

M tells N and K to ask questions at the right time and to remember what they have learned. Here, M first employs verb root + *te kudasai* and then verb root + *mashoo*.

The superiors' negative politeness strategies include conditionals, statements of importance/effectiveness, the *hoo ga ii* expression, and the plain form of a verb. Almost fifteen percent of the superiors' non-procedural directives involve conditionals (*reba, tara, to*). Conditional sentences are negatively polite because an if-clause hedges the main clause by suspending the presupposition of the main clause. According to Brown and Levinson, a conditional clause changes a command into a polite suggestion because it includes "a notion of possibility or 'if' in the command" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 153). In addition, the main clause of the conditional directives in the data is further mitigated by a single or multiple linguistic device(s). In Example (4), M is talking about the importance of praising co-workers. In line 5, M softens his directive by using two conditionals, *tara* and

9. One of the reviewers wondered whether the selection of different linguistic forms corresponds to the levels of competence or skills that the superiors try to communicate to the junior members. The data, however, do not demonstrate such correspondences. For example, out of 36 instances of verb root + *te kudasai*, 18 instances have to do with taking care of others' needs and wants.

reba clauses and hedges his utterance with *omoimasu* 'I think.' Furthermore, with the verb root + *te* donatory verb construction -*te morau* (i.e., *homete moraereba*), the speaker construes the action as a favor performed by the addressee for the speaker. In this case, the superior indicates that he receives the benefit of praising others from the new employees.

(4) 0403

- 01 M: *homete iku to iu no wa juuyoo na pointo da to omou n*
 praise go Q say Nom Top important point Cop Q think Nom
 02 *desu kedo*
 Cop but
 'I think to praise (others) is an important point but'
 03 *nakanaka homeru no terekusai node (.)*
 pretty praise Nom embarrassing so
 'it is pretty embarrassing to praise others so'
 04 K: *hai*
 'Yes.'
 05→ M: (*soko wa*) *maa ii ten o mitsuketara homete moraereba naa*
 there uh good point Obj find if praise receive if FP
 06 *to omoimasu*
 Q think
 'Uh, if you find a good point, I think it would be good if you
 praise (him/her).'

One of the topics covered in the orientation is being proactive. In Example (5), H is discussing how to be proactive by using a mundane example of putting the trash out and cleaning. After encouraging K and N to consider these chores as their own job (lines 1–3), H is telling them to put the trash out before they leave the company if they find some left in the office. H is issuing this directive (to put the trash out) as an example of a proactive behavior and is not specifically ordering K and N to put out the trash after this session. In this sense, this directive is a non-procedural directive. In line 4, he uses two conditional clauses *tara* and *reba* to mitigate an FTA. Similarly in (5) the verb root + *te* donatory verb construction, -*te kureru* (i.e., *sutete kuretara*) indicates that the speaker construes the action as a favor performed by the addressee for the speaker. In this case the new employees' action of taking trash out is a benefit to the superiors. The particle *ne* at the sentence final position serves to elicit the new employees' agreement.

(5) 0410

- 01 H: *ee gomi sute sooji zatsuyoo nado dareka ga*
 uh trash dump cleaning chore etc. someone Sub
 02 *yananakereba naranai koto wa jibun no shigoto da to*
 do have to Nom Top self LK job Cop Q
 03 *omoeru no ga konomashii jootai da to ieru deshoo*
 think able LK Sub preferable situation Cop Q say able Cop
 'We can say that it is good to consider things that must be done
 such as putting trash out, cleaning, and (other) chores as your
 own job.'
 ((12 turns omitted))

04→ H: *attara sekkyokuteki ni saki ni kaeru hoo ga sutetette kuretara*
 exist if willingly first return one Sub dump receive
 05 *ii desu ne*
 good Cop FP
 'If there's some (trash), it would be good if the one who goes
 home first willingly puts it out.'
 06 K: *hai*
 'Yes.'

A strategy of emphasizing the importance, effectiveness or best quality of a certain behavior is employed 12% of the time. Such an assessment works as a directive because it implies that an important, effective or best thing must be done. It is a negative politeness strategy because it impersonalizes the speaker and hearer. In Example (6), H is talking about how to listen to others attentively even if the topic of the talk is not interesting. He stresses the importance of listening intently in order to get the unsaid message of the speaker's words.

(6) 0408

01 H: *matawa kotoba no imi dake o yomu no dewa nakute sono*
 or word LK meaning only Obj read Nom Top Neg that
 02 *kotoba ni fukumareru hasshinsha no joohoo o*
 word in included speaker LK information Obj
 03 *yomitoru koto ga dekiru yoo ni*
 read Nom Sub can
 04 → *shinken ni aite ni shuuchuu shite kiku no mo juuyoo desu*
 intensely other to concentrate do listen Nom also important Cop
 'Or it is also important to intensely concentrate on and listen
 to the speaker so that you can understand not only the meaning
 of his words but also his intent.'

Although the superiors mostly talk to the new employees in the addressee honorific *masu* form during the orientation session, once in a while they make statements ending in the naked plain form. The naked plain form is a verb or adjective that does not co-occur with an affect key such as a final particle, which indexes the speaker's detached stance (Cook 2008; Maynard 1993). It is a negative politeness strategy similar to impersonal constructions in English because the speaker is not personally and emotionally involved in the content of the talk.¹⁰ The use of this form indexes that the utterance is impersonal in nature and thus is a general rule rather than the speaker's personal order. In Example (7), H tells K and N not to say anything even when they do not agree with other people's opinion. Note that the negative form of the verb *iwanai* 'do not say' here is the naked plain form, which makes the expression a general rule rather than H's personal order. Although the naked plain form sounds direct and on-record, the avoidance of the personal and emotional involvement redresses the FTA of the utterance.

10. This is why the naked plain form occurs in newspapers and scientific writing, etc.

(7) 0403

- 01 H: *iken o iwareta toki ni are sore chotto chigau n ja nai*
 opinion Obj said Pas when at uh that little wrong Nom Neg
 02 *no to omotte mo*
 Nom Q think even
 'When someone gives his opinion, even if one thinks 'uh that's
 not right','
 03 K: ((laugh))
 04→ H: *soko de iwanai*
 there say Neg
 'one does not say (that) there.'
 05 K: *hai*
 'Yes.'

Once in a while, the superiors shift to a more direct expression, *nakute wa ikenai* 'one must do X.' This on-record expression, however, is expressed in the naked plain form, which makes it impersonal. It is more like "one must (must not) do X" rather than "you must (must not) do X." Thus, the strong force of this expression is mitigated. The directive, *nakute wa ikenai* 'one must do X,' is used 6.3%. In Example (8), M is telling K and N that when they visit their client, they have to take off their coat before they get to the door of the client's office. In line 4, M says *moo nuidenakya ikenai* 'one must have already taken off (the coat).' The verb *ikenai* is the naked plain form.

(8) 0404

- 01 M: *maa okyakusan tokoro ni ittara ittara ne*
 well client place to went if went if FP
 'Well, when (you) go go to see a client'
 02 *okyakusan kitara mochiron kite inai no to*
 client came if of course wear Neg Nom and
 'When a client comes, of course, (you) are not wearing (it) and'
 03 *itta toki mo koto wa ano moo okyakusan no sono iriguchi ni*
 went time too coat Top uh already client LK that entrance to
 04 → *iku mae ni wa moo nuidenakya ikenai*
 go before Top already take off Neg if no good
 'When visiting a client, one must have already taken off one's
 coat before arriving at the entrance of the client's (office).'
 05 K: *aa soo desu ne*
 uh so Cop FP
 'Uh, that's right.'

The construction, verb present/past tense *hoo ga ii* 'it is better to do X,' is used 7.7% of the time. As this expression gives the addressee an option of doing X or not doing X, it is also a negative polite strategy. It is a suggestion because it gives the addressee an option of refusing and the benefit goes to the addressee. In Example (9), both H and M use this construction as they talk about when to use honorifics and when not to use them.

(9) 0407

- 01→ M: *toshiue ni wa soo iu no wa ano (.) hikaeta hoo ga ii*
 older person to Top such Top uh avoid way Sub good
- 02 *kamoshirenai desu [kara*
 maybe Cop because
 'It may be better to avoid such (expressions) to those older than
 you'
- 03 H: [hai
 'yes'
- 04→ H: *de (.) tachiba to nenree ryoo hoo chotto kangaeta hoo ga ii*
 and position and age both little think way Sub good
- 05 *kana to*
 wonder Q
 'And (I think), "it would be better to consider both the person's
 position and age."'

Here M is talking about speaking to older co-workers without using honorifics. In line 1, M refers to *soo iu no* 'such a thing (expression)' as not using honorifics, and encourages the new employees to avoid speaking to older co-workers without honorifics. M even uses *kamoshirenai* 'maybe' to further mitigate his utterance. Then H mentions that when using honorifics, it is better to consider both the position and age of the addressee. Here his *hoo ga ii* is followed by *kana* 'I wonder' and the quotative marker *to*. The assertion of his thought is mitigated.

As we have seen, non-procedural directives are high in imposition level because these directives concern almost all aspects of the new employees' life style and personal habits. These directives tell new employees how to talk to others, how to dress, and how to pay attention to everyone around them, among other things. If their life style and personal habits do not meet what the superiors expect of them, then these non-procedural directives highly constrain the new employees' freedom of behaving in their own ways. Thus, when issuing non-procedural directives, the superiors utilize various positive and negative politeness strategies.

5.3 Non-exclusivity between type of directive and linguistic forms

Tables 4 and 5 show that it is not the case that particular linguistic forms are exclusively associated with one type of directives. Table 4 shows that in the category of procedural directive, while only three linguistic forms, which include two conventional request expressions, are used 76.8% of the time, the other 14 different linguistic forms comprise 23.2%. Example (10) illustrates how conditional and hortative forms are employed when giving procedural directives. The new employees are receiving composition training in this example.

(10) 0407

- 01→ M: *maa soo iu imeeji de kaite moraeba ii kana to*
 Well such image by write give if good wonder Q
 '(I think) it would probably be good if you write for us using
 such an idea.'
- 02 K: ((pause)) *hai*
 'Yes.'
- 03 K and N: ((write a paragraph)) (24 seconds)
- 04 M: *kangae* () ((laugh))
 'idea ()'
- 05 K and N: ((write a paragraph)) (4 minutes 3 seconds)
- 06 K: *okkee*
 'OK (I have finished writing).'
- 07 N: *okkee desu*
 OK Cop
 'OK (I have finished writing).'
- 08 ((pause))
- 09→ H: *ja saki N kun happyoo shite moraimashoo*
 OK first N presentation do receive let us
 'OK, first N, let us have you present (your writing).'

The new employees are about to write a paragraph, and in line 1, M is giving an instruction on how to write a paragraph. Here M issues this directive by a conditional sentence, which is further mitigated by *kana* 'wonder' and the quotative marker *to*. When K and N finish writing a paragraph, in line 9, H nominates N and asks him to present his paragraph. Here, instead of the conventional verb root + *te kudasai* (i.e., *happyoo shite kudasai*), H chooses the hortative, verb root + *te moraimashoo*. Because the superior's request to write short sentences is an expected act in the orientation sessions, the imposition level is not high. Thus, these directives are only minimally face-threatening. Apparently, in Example (10) it is H's own choice to use a conditional sentence and hortative. Perhaps because it is too repetitive to keep using the same three linguistic forms (verb root + *te kudasai*, *onagai shimasu*, and name) the superiors opt for more mitigating expressions.

In the category of non-procedural directives, the conventional request form, verb root + *te kudasai* 'please do X,' which is the most frequent form among procedural directives, occurs 10.5% of the time. Out of 15 instances of verb root + *te kudasai* 'please do X' used as a non-procedural directive, 13 of them occur when issuing a high imposition directive such as requests to use honorifics appropriately, to write a journal every day, and to reflect on one's ability.¹¹ Example (11), which is Example (3) in Section 5.2, and Example (12) are cases in which the conventional request form, verb root + *te kudasai* occurs when issuing a non-procedural directive.

11. As for the two instances of verb root + *te kudasai* that I exclude from high-imposition directives, one is not clear due to an inaudible part, and the other asks the junior employees to look forward to a future event of the company.

(11) 0410

- 01→ M: *ano kiku taimingu o umaku hakatte kudasai*
 uh ask timing Obj skilfully plan please
 'Uh, please figure out a good time to ask.'
- 02 *hai de kiitara oboemashoo*
 yes and ask if learn let's
 'Yes, and once you have asked, let's remember (what you've learned).'
- 03 N: *hai*
 'Yes.'
- 04 K: *hai*
 'Yes.'

As discussed earlier, before shifting to a hortative, M is giving a directive by means of the conventional request form, verb root + *te kudasai*.

(12) 0407

- 01 H: *yappari keigo tsukaeru to torihikisaki ni itte mo shinyoo*
 after all honorifics use able if customer to go even trust
 02 *sareru node*
 Pas because
 'after all, if you can use honorifics, you will be trusted when
 meeting customers so'
- 03 K: *hai*
 'Yes.'
- 04→ H: *tadashii keigo (.) jojo ni mi ni tsukete itte kudasai*
 correct honorifics gradually acquire go please
 'Please gradually learn the correct usage of honorifics.'

The directive in Example (12) is given at the end of a lesson on honorifics, in which K and N failed to correctly answer some questions regarding honorific usages. For this reason, this directive is high in imposition level. H softens his directive by giving a reason why it is important to acquire the correct usage of honorifics and saying *jojo ni* 'gradually' but does not use a more mitigating expression. Again, it seems that not to mitigate an FTA by employing a subtler expression than a conventional request form is H's personal choice.

6. Discussion and conclusion

As stated earlier, the goal of the chapter is to investigate how discernment and volition function in actual interaction. By investigating the superiors' directives, the present study found that both discernment and volitional politeness are utilized in the workplace, but they are associated with different types of directives. In procedural directives, three linguistic structures were mainly used, each at the rate of 15% or higher, and they make up the majority (76.8%). These linguistic structures include what are considered as conventional request forms or formulaic request

phrases, verb root + *te kudasai* 'please do X' and *onegai shimasu* 'I ask you a favor.' The two request forms, verb root + *te kudasai* 'please do X' and *onegai shimasu* 'I ask you a favor' are highly salient due to their conventionality and high frequency, and thus can be seen as fixed expressions in a given social context. In short, the present study indicates that when issuing procedural directives, the superiors largely rely on the typical or default request forms, and this can be perceived as discernment or socially agreed upon directives.

In contrast, seven linguistic forms, which occurred at the rate ranging between 6.3% and 25.1%, make up 87.4% of all the non-procedural directives. This means that when directives are non-procedural and high in imposition, a wider range of linguistic forms are deployed with a higher frequency. Among them, hortatives, conditionals, plain forms, and the expressions of importance, effectiveness and best quality are not default request forms but context-dependent. They require context in order to be interpreted as directives/requests. For this reason, they are pragmatically more mitigating than default request forms. Furthermore, these linguistic forms used as non-procedural directives often co-occur with additional mitigating expressions such as *omoimasu* 'I think,' *kamoshirenai* 'may,' and *kana* 'I wonder.' Because of a high imposition associated with non-procedural directives in this data, these linguistic forms tend to be seen as strategies to redress an FTA. This practice is consistent with strategic uses of directives in Japanese companies reported in the literature (e.g., Saito 2011). In sum, the finding that the superiors tend to employ various linguistic politeness strategies when the imposition level is high is in line with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory.

This study suggests that the different claims with respect to the issue of discernment and volitional politeness made by the two research traditions were the result of investigating different types of directives. On the one hand, the Japanese survey results of Hill et al. (1986) are biased towards discernment because they investigated only a typical NOW directive with a low imposition level (borrowing a pen). In addition, the fact that the study was self-reported rather than an analysis of naturally occurring conversation made the survey results further biased towards discernment because speakers are usually only aware of typical or default expressions (cf. Silverstein 2001). On the other hand, the claim made by the gender and directive studies (e.g., Saito 2011; Smith 1992; Takano 2005) that superiors use a wide range of directives to redress an FTA is perhaps largely based on the examination of non-procedural directives.

The present chapter has demonstrated that workplace discourse is complex in that superiors are sensitive to the ongoing contextual dynamics and choose discernment or volitional politeness largely depending on the type of directive they are going to issue. They tend to choose typical or default request expressions when

issuing procedural directives while they tend to use context-dependent linguistic constructions when issuing non-procedural directives. In other words, the superiors pay attention to the immediate speech context including the subordinates' face wants, assess the imposition level of the directive they are going to issue, and decide whether they use a typical expression of request appropriate to the formal meeting of an orientation session, or a positive or negative politeness strategy. They also have freedom to choose any linguistic form, which may deviate from usual practice. For Example, as shown in (10), they use conditionals and a hortative for procedural directives. At the same time, they utilize verb root + *te kudasai* when giving non-procedural directives about 10% of the time. This sequence of actions is far from the automatic selection of a linguistic form based on the formality of the setting and distance between the interlocutors, which is proposed by the advocates of discernment politeness (e.g., Ide 1989; Hill et al 1986). Thus, the static notion of discernment (i.e., rigid sociopragmatic obligation) cannot capture the superiors' choices. What this study found is more in line with Geyer's (2013) proposal of a reconceptualized notion of discernment. She states that the notion of discernment is "a part of a speaker's habitus which allows regulated variations" (p. 173). The present study demonstrates that the superiors' choice of typical request forms is not rigidly regulated by the formality of the setting and the distance between the interlocutors but rather by the type of directives (degree of imposition) and that at times the superiors deviate from the normative practice.

Finally, as this study investigated only one company, it is difficult to generalize beyond this study. Future research needs to examine superiors' two types of directives in multiple workplaces.

Appendix

Transcription conventions

()	unclear utterance
(())	commentary
?	rising intonation
(.)	short pause
(X minutes Y seconds)	pause
[	overlap onset

Abbreviations used in word-for-word translations

Cop	various forms of copula verb <i>be</i>	Pas	passive
Lk	linking nominal	Sub	subject marker
Neg	negative	Q	quotative marker
Nom	nominalizer	FP	final particle
Obj	object marker	Top	topic marker

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Negotiating entitlement in Japanese

The case of requesting forms

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This study investigates how speakers construct their entitlement (the speaker's right and/or capacity to perform certain actions) in requests observed in Japanese workplace discourse. It shows that the *-te kudasai* format frequently appears in requests originally issued by an outside entity and whose content had already been agreed upon. Other forms of request appear when issuers framed their request as their own, and these requests tend to include mitigation elements (e.g., qualification of requested actions and apologies). The study concludes that the speaker's strong or weak entitlement to issue a request is related to the discourse participants' understanding of institutional procedures (knowledge of duties, channels of agreement) and institutional identity (their connection to the original issuer of requests).

Keywords: requests, directives, Japanese, workplace discourse, politeness, face-work, entitlement, pragmatics

1. Introduction

This chapter examines linguistic practices involved in making requests. Requests are usually considered as a type of directives, which Goodwin glosses as “utterances designed to get someone to do something” (Goodwin 2006: 517). Requests and other directives are prevalent in daily life as well as in various institutional settings. It is widely acknowledged that a request tends to impose on the recipient, and therefore some redressing actions are often called for when issuing a request (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987). In some earlier studies on requests from the politeness perspective (e.g., Clark and Schunk 1980), results concerning the relative politeness values of various request forms are based mainly on native speakers' intuition about what is and is not polite. In other words, they were not concerned with how the various formats for making requests are used in real life.

Recently, however, more and more studies on requests and directives use discourse data. For instance, researchers have examined requests and directives issued by those in the superior position within the context of Japanese workplace discourse (e.g., Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005). Others focused on moment-by-moment negotiations of entitlement (the speaker's rights to make a request) and contingencies involved in a request sequence (e.g., Craven and Potter 2010; Curl and Drew 2008). They claim that the ways in which people issue requests may differ depending on the degree of certainty regarding who is allowed to make a request (entitlement) and whether the recipient of the request is able to satisfy the issued request (contingency). According to Craven and Potter (2010: 421), the notion of entitlement "focuses on the speaker's grounds for assessing the likelihood of the request being granted and their concomitant display of their right to make the request."

Similarly, within the field of politeness research, a growing number of studies examine discourse data and conceptualize politeness as interactionally constructed face-work (e.g., Geyer 2008; Mills 2003; Watts 2003). Such approaches focus on the display and negotiation of interlocutors' positive self-image (i.e., face) observed in discourse.

Following these two lines of research, the one on requests and the other on politeness, this study's aims are twofold. First, it examines request sequences observed in grade-level faculty meetings at Japanese secondary schools, in which the hierarchical workplace relationships among participants are not as salient as in corporate settings (e.g., Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005). The present study examines participants' display and/or negotiation of entitlements within institutional peer groups. Second, it attempts to make a connection between discursive politeness studies (e.g., Geyer 2008; Mills 2003; Watts 2003) and the moment-by-moment analysis of requests and directives (e.g., Craven and Potter 2010; Curl and Drew 2008), by outlining how the negotiations involved in participants' entitlement and contingencies can be seen as face-work (i.e., displaying and/or negotiating one's positive self-image). By making such a connection, it suggests a possibility of characterizing politeness as a discursively accountable phenomenon.

Before we proceed to the actual analysis, I would like to discuss some of the linguistic forms related to requests and give a short review of previous studies on requests and politeness from both traditional and discursive perspectives.

2. Past studies on request and politeness

2.1 Requests and politeness

Requesting may be accomplished through a variety of linguistic forms. In English, one can issue a request by simply naming the requested object (e.g., “One hamburger”), by using imperatives (e.g., “Pass me the salt”), or through forms such as “Would you mind...”, “Could you...?” Japanese also has a variety of linguistic forms that can be used in requests, such as *-te kudasai* ‘Please do ...’, *-te kuremasen ka* ‘Would you...?’ or the *te*-form of a verb (e.g., *mite* ‘look’), and it is also possible to just name an object (e.g., *ame* ‘(give me a) candy’). Requests are much-studied actions in cross- and inter-cultural pragmatics, and are one of the core speech functions covered in language textbooks as well.

In Japanese, some of these request forms make use of donatory verbs (e.g., *kureru* ‘give,’ *morau* ‘receive’) as an auxiliary verb attached to the *te*-form of a verb. Thus *-te kuremasen ka* and *-te moraemasen ka* take the form of a negative question and literally mean “won’t you give me the favor of doing ...?” and “couldn’t I receive a favor of your doing...?” respectively. Honorific donatory verbs such as *kudasaru* (the honorific counterpart of *kureru*) and *itadaku* (the honorific counterpart of *morau*) can also be used to form a request in the same manner (i.e., *-te kudasaimasen ka* and *-te itadakemasen ka*). In addition, one can issue a request by using the question form with an affirmative donatory verb (e.g., *-te kuremasu ka*) and by using the informal register (e.g., *-te kurenai*). The combination of all these elements allows for a number of possible variants.

The differences among these variants are marked by the use and non-use of addressee honorifics (i.e., whether to use the *masu*-form ending) and referent honorifics (i.e., whether to use an honorific auxiliary verb). For instance, some variants of *-te kuremasen ka* make use of the honorific form *kudasaru* (a person of higher standing gives me something or a favor) instead of the non-honorific *kureru* ‘give,’ and some variants of *-te moraemasen ka* make use of the honorific verb *itadaku* (to receive something or a favor from a person of higher standing). The variants of *-te kuremasen ka* and *-te moraemasen ka* can take the forms listed in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively.

Kudasai in the *-te kudasai* form of request is the “imperative form of *kudasaru*, the honorific version of *kureru* ‘give,’ and is used as an auxiliary verb with the *te*-form of the verbs” (Makino and Tsutsui 1986: 210). *Kure*, the imperative form of non-honorific *kureru* ‘give,’ can also be used to issue a request; its usage is usually associated with “informal male speech” (Makino and Tsutsui 1986: 210). *-Te* (without

Table 1. A summary of variants of *-te kuremasen ka*

form	auxiliary verb	addressee honorifics	referent honorifics	affirmative/ negative
<i>-te kureru?</i>	<i>kureru</i>	–	–	affirmative
<i>-te kurenai?</i>		–	–	negative
<i>-te kuremasu ka</i>		+	–	affirmative
<i>-te kuremasen ka</i>		+	–	negative
<i>-te kudasaru?</i>	<i>kudasaru</i>	–	+	affirmative
<i>-te kudasanai?</i>		–	+	negative
<i>-te kudasaimasu ka</i>		+	+	affirmative
<i>-te kudasaimasen ka</i>		+	+	negative

Table 2. A summary of variants of *-te moraemasen ka*

form	auxiliary verb	addressee honorifics	referent honorifics	affirmative/ negative
<i>-te moraeru?</i>	<i>moraru</i>	–	–	affirmative
<i>-te moraenai?</i>		–	–	negative
<i>-te moraemasu ka</i>		+	–	affirmative
<i>-te moraemasen ka</i>		+	–	negative
<i>-te itadakeru?</i>	<i>itadaku</i>	–	+	affirmative
<i>-te itadakenai?</i>		–	+	negative
<i>-te itadakemasu ka</i>		+	+	affirmative
<i>-te itadakemasen ka</i>		+	+	negative

any auxiliary verb) functions as an informal request as well (e.g., *mite* 'look') and is frequently used in casual conversation among friends and family members.¹

A prevalent line of research on the indirectness of directives and requests has been based on linguistic politeness theory, initiated by Brown and Levinson's (1987) proposal. They claim that politeness found in various linguistic forms supports the orderliness of social interaction and is therefore one of the essential "foundations of human social life and interaction" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 1). For Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness is a manifestation of respect for the interlocutor's "face." Adapting Goffman's (1967) conceptualization, the authors define "face" as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 61). They distinguish between two types of face: positive face (a positive consistent self-image

1. Researchers (e.g. Martin 1975; Rinnert and Kobayashi 1999) consider the expression of the speaker's desire (e.g., *-te hoshii n desu kedo* 'I want you to do...') and other non-conventionally indirect expressions as part of Japanese request repertoire.

claimed by interactants, crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved by others) and negative face (the basic claim to freedom of action and freedom from imposition).

Due to the fact that it imposes on the recipient, a request is considered a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987). Researchers have stated that the use of special linguistic devices (e.g., politeness strategies) is associated with the act of requesting. A series of studies (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1987; Clark and Schunk 1980; Francik and Clark 1985; Gagne 2010; Rinnert and Kobayashi 1999) focus on the range of politeness strategies used to mitigate face threats caused by requests and directives.

2.2 Politeness and face-work

Recently however, traditional politeness research has been criticized for basing its claim regarding the relative politeness of an utterance on intuitive judgments about the particular form of expression, and for neglecting the interactional context in which the utterance is produced. In response to these criticisms, more and more current politeness studies examine discourse data (e.g., Cook 2011; Dunn 2011; Hudson 2011; Okamoto 2011; Shibamoto-Smith 2011) and conceptualize politeness as interactionally constructed face-work (e.g., Geyer 2008; Mills 2003; Watts 2003).

As stated above, Brown and Levinson (1987) adopted Goffman's notion of face for their linguistic politeness theory. Goffman (1967: 5) defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact." Drawing on Goffman's (1967) terminology, the study of politeness established links to other fields, such as self-presentation in social interaction and managing interpersonal relationships.

Drawing on Goffman's work, Heritage and Raymond (2005: 15) examine assessment sequences and describe how conversation participants negotiate "whose view is the more significant or more authoritative with respect to the matter at hand" when issuing their assessments. They maintain that participants' concerns with face can be indicated in these practices.

Heritage and Raymond (2005) examine the ways in which interlocutors negotiate their epistemic authority in assessment sequences. They found that a second position assessment (a responsive assessment to a previously offered assessment) frequently takes the form of an agreement and is affiliative. Yet at the same time, the issuer of such a second position assessment frequently claims his or her epistemic authority. For instance, in Excerpt (1) (from Heritage and Raymond 2005) Emma is asking Lottie about her recent trip (see the appendix for transcription conventions).

(1) (cited in Heritage and Raymond 2005: 27)

01 Emm: .h ↑How wz yer tri:p
 02 Lot: Oh:: Go:d wonderful Emm[a,
 03→ Emm: [Oh idn'it beautiful down the:re,

Here, after Lottie provides her assessment of the trip, Emma offers a negative interrogative, “Oh idn’it beautiful down the:re.” This turn agrees with Lottie’s assessment, but simultaneously it indicates Emma’s knowledge about the destination of Lottie’s trip and thus “embodies a competitive claim to primacy in assessing the attractions of the location” (p. 27).

Heritage and Raymond (2005) suggest that considerations of face are implicated in this type of epistemic negotiations. Taking this position further, Geyer (2008) attempts to identify the link between discursive identity studies and the notion of face. She contends that the concept of epistemic authority advanced by Heritage and Raymond (2005: 36) implicates elements of situated social identity. That is, interactional practices negotiating epistemic authority can be considered the process of establishing social and discursive identities, as well as instances of face ascription in a Goffmanian sense (see Antaki and Widdicombe 1998 for examples of studies that take this perspective).

Geyer (2008) also illustrates how meeting participants display their institutional ability and knowledge through various linguistic means in different interactional sequences such as collaborative disagreement and troubles talk (cf. Jefferson 1984, 1988).

2.3 Request, identity and entitlement in workplace discourse

Past sociolinguistic studies of Japanese directives in workplace discourse often examine the linguistic practice of those in a superior position (e.g., Okada 2008; Saito 2011; Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005). Several of them study directives issued by Japanese women who are in positions of authority in various contexts and explore the relationships among the concept of politeness, the leaders’ gender identity, and the linguistic forms they utilize in issuing requests (Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005). These studies show that the Japanese women in power often resolve conflicts by using so-called polite language, but depending on the context the “polite directives” used in these situations can be quite powerful linguistic devices. On the contrary, Okada (2008) presents a microanalysis of a Japanese female boxing coach’s use of so-called “masculine” bold imperatives and other directive expressions during training sessions. She claims that the coach varies the directive expressions depending on various factors such as the timing of the current or next action that the directive indicates.

While most of the studies on directives in workplace discourse examine women in leadership positions, Saito (2011) looked at male superiors' use of directives. The male superiors in her study adopt linguistic resources that are associated with both stereotypical masculine and feminine interactional styles, and the researcher concludes that various contextual parameters influence the speaker's choice of language in a given context.

Another line of relevant research on requests and directives incorporates the notion of "entitlement." Entitlement is the speaker's right and/or capacity to perform certain actions. Several studies explore how interactants orient to and negotiate their entitlement to issue requests, and how they orient to contingencies associated with their requests (Craven and Potter 2010; Curl and Drew 2008). Other studies consider the issue of entitlement in workplace interactions (e.g., Asmuß 2007; Asmuß and Oshima 2012; Heinemann 2006). Curl and Drew (2008) examine instances in which speakers use two different forms of request, "could you...?" and "I wonder if you could...?" They argue that participants' choice between the two forms displays their different degrees of entitlement and their understanding of the contingencies of their requests.

Similarly, Craven and Potter (2010) study the use of directives in mother-children interactions. They find that when the mother uses directives, the relevant next action is compliance instead of acceptance. The mother's use of directives treats the contingencies as something under her control, and therefore the speaker's (i.e., the mother's) entitlement is enhanced.

Several other studies pursue the issue of entitlement in workplace interactions. Heinemann (2006) and Asmuß (2007) look at interactions between subjects inside and outside of institutions. Heinemann (2006) examines the request sequence between care recipients and caregivers at a home help service. She argues that care recipients display different degrees of entitlement through the use of positive and negative interrogative requests, among which the negative interrogatives are used to mark the speaker's strong entitlement, while positive interrogatives mark the speaker's low entitlement. Similarly, Asmuß (2007) looks at request sequences in public service encounters, concluding that clients' expectation regarding public services and various grades of entitlement are marked by the way in which they frame their requests. In her study, pure statements mark the speaker's low entitlement, whereas negative interrogatives mark his or her high entitlement. Asmuß and Oshima (2012) investigated proposal sequences in a two-party strategy meeting between a Chief Executive Officer and a Human Resources Manager editing a company's strategy document. They claim that in proposal sequences, participants orient to both questions of entitlement and proposal acceptance (or rejection).

The cited studies show that entitlement is not a predefined category, but that it is negotiated in interaction through various linguistic means. Since the negotiation of speakers' entitlement is part of the interactional activities performed to maintain a positive self-image, the negotiation of speakers' entitlement can be seen as face-work (cf. Geyer 2008). In the case of workplace discourse, participants' claim of entitlement may be closely related to their institutional roles and their workplace identities, as described above (Okada 2008; Saito 2011; Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005).

The strength of the studies introduced in this section is that they all examine naturally occurring conversational data and that they include contextual meanings and moment-by-moment examinations in their analysis. Most of them examine directives issued by someone with institutional authority. Intuitively, it is conceivable that people with institutional authority tend to issue more directives than their subordinates. However, directives in workplace discourse are not always issued by people of superior standing. For instance, in the grade-level faculty meetings in Japanese secondary schools, where status differences among participants are not as salient as in corporate settings, participants issue directives to their peers more frequently. Through the analysis of this lesser studied speech setting, the present study attempts to widen our understanding of Japanese requests in workplace discourse.

3. Data

This study investigates requests occurring in faculty meetings at three secondary schools, and explores how participants construct and negotiate their entitlement in request sequences. The data were collected from audio recordings of four biweekly grade-level faculty meetings at three Japanese secondary schools in the Tokyo metropolitan area. The participants are teachers who teach the same body of students (i.e., teachers assigned to the same grade). In each of the faculty meetings, six or seven teachers participated. Their ages ranged from early 20s to late 50s, and their degree of teaching expertise varied. The gender distribution is almost equal in all the recorded faculty groups. The length of audio recordings ranged from 20 to 45 minutes.

The institutional setting of the data is different from that of earlier studies on directives and requests, in which the institutional hierarchy is evident. As stated earlier, most previous studies (e.g., Okada 2008; Saito 2011; Smith 1992; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005) examine directives issued by someone in a leadership role. In the present study, on the other hand, the hierarchical status differences are not evident among participants, despite differences in age and expertise.

The locus of discussion in previous studies on directives, requests, and proposals in English centered on the following linguistic forms: imperative (e.g., “Pass me the salt.”), positive interrogative (e.g., “Can you pass me the salt?”), negative interrogative (e.g., “Won’t you pass me the salt?”), and “I wonder” statements (e.g., “I wonder if you could pass me the salt.”). As mentioned earlier, the Japanese language has various expressions that are related to these linguistic forms and social actions. Numerous gradations of politeness and indirectness can be achieved by using distinct registers and honorific verbs, adding auxiliary verbs and/or particles (e.g., the final particle *ne*), and through other situational accomplishments. For this reason, it is difficult to define a clear set of sub-categories (for more discussion on this point, see Niyekawa 1991). Following Curl and Drew (2008: 136), I define requests as “turns at talk in which a speaker asks the recipient to perform a specific activity or asks for the transfer of an object from one place or person to another,” and analyze their distribution qualitatively.

4. Analysis

4.1 General tendencies

This section provides an overview of the linguistic formats in which requests are produced in the faculty meeting data. Many of the requests are issued by the member in charge of a certain agenda item. The chairperson often repeats the same request (though not necessarily using the same linguistic formats) in the closing sequence of the agenda item. The most observed linguistic formats were *-te kudasai* ‘..., please,’ *-te kuremasen ka*, *-te moraemasen ka* ‘would you ...?’ and their variants. Other forms are *yoroshiku onegaishimasu*, an explicit request formula whose literal translation is “I humbly wish it to be done well,”² as well as the quotative expression *-te koto de* (the combination of the quotation marker *te* (a casual style of *to iu*), *koto* ‘thing,’ and *de* (the conjunctive form of the copula)). It is an abbreviated form of *-te koto de onegai shimasu*, literally, ‘I humbly wish ... to be done well.’ Noteworthy is the fact that participants use varied formats to issue requests to the same group members, indicating that these variations cannot be explained by referring to speakers’ social identity categories such as gender and status.

2. Ohashi (2003: 257) translates this expression as “I make a request and I hope things go well” and analyzes its pragmatic meanings.

4.2 Different formats and degrees of entitlement

This section examines the use of several types of request formulations observed in the faculty meetings. It will be shown that their usage is closely related to the speaker's display of strong or weak entitlement to issue a given request.

4.2.1 *Display of strong and weak entitlement*

The *-te kudasai* form is often perceived as an equivalent to the English “please imperative” and considered less polite and more direct than other request forms (e.g., *-te kuremasen ka*). In the faculty meeting data compiled for this study, there are several instances in which *-te kudasai* is used in issuing requests.

The observed faculty meetings often start with some noncontroversial reports and announcements followed by more controversial agenda points requiring discussion among participants. Excerpt (2) is taken from the beginning of a meeting. Here, Arai, the chairperson in his 40s, solicits Fujii (a male teacher also in his 40s) to speak (lines 1 and 2). Arai frames Fujii's ensuing action as *renraku de sumu koto* ‘things that can be dealt with as reports’ in line 1. The word *renraku* ‘report’ indicates that Fujii's ensuing action is noncontroversial in comparison to other possible categorizations such as *teean* ‘proposal’ or ‘request.’ The linguistic element *-de sumu* (literally meaning ‘to get off with some thing, event, action and so on’) is often used when the speaker expresses his or her assessment of an event or an action as small or trivial.³ Thus, this portion of Arai's utterance indicates his assessment of Fujii's statement as noncontroversial. Upon Arai's solicitation, from line 3, Fujii asks other teachers to write their names on a calendar in order to sign up for a patrol duty during the local Bon dance festival.

(2) (1-2-021)⁴

- 01 Arai: *jaa sakini renraku de sumu koto kara* (.) eee (.)
 then first report suffice thing from uh
 ‘then, let's deal with the reports first’
- 02 *jaa fujii sensee kara,*
 then Mr. Fujii from
 ‘then, from Mr. Fujii.’
- 03 Fujii: *eee boku kankee wa* (.) *bon-odori no hoo wa*
 uh I relation T Bon-dance lk side T
 ‘well, from me, as for the Bon dance,’
- 04 *kokuban ni hattokimasu nde* (.) *eeto*
 blackboard on stick so well
 ‘I'll put (a calendar) on the blackboard, so, well,’

3. For instance, if one wants to emphasize that it *only* takes one hour, *ichijikan* ‘one hour’ *de sumu* can be used.

4. “(x-x-xxx)” stands for the reference number of the data, indicating “(school-grade level-line number in the transcript).”

- 05 *hitori ikkai teedo o mokuhyoo ni (.) ano (.)*
 one-person once about O aim at er
 'everyone should sign up at least once'
- 06 ***kaite kudasai*** *kyuuko desu kara (.)*
 write please nine Cop so
 'please write down (your name). there are nine slots, so'
- 07 *uchi no gakunen wa hitotsu amarimasu kedo(...)*
 our Lk grade T one left but
 'for this grade there will be one left, but...'
- 08 *ee (.)kaite kudasai (.) seekatsushidoo no hoo kara wa*
 er write please Student-Life-Division Lk side from T
 'well, please write down (your name). the Student Life
 Division said'
- 09 *konshuuchuu tte kotona nde (.) onegaishimasu.*
 by-the-end-of-this-week Qt thing so ask
 '(that it is due) by the end of this week, so I'm asking you.'
- 10 Arai: *jaa bon-odori ni tsuite wa keeji shitokimasu nde.*
 then Bon-dance about T post do so
 'then, as for the Bon dance, (we'll) post (it), so'
- 11 *hinichi o mite(.) kaku gakunen dekireba*
 date O look-and each grade if-possible
 'check the dates and, if each grade level can'
- 12 *ichimee zutsu haitta hoo ga*
 one each enter way S
 'send one (teacher),'
- 13 *seekatsushidoo mo shiyasui node tte koto de*
 dealing-with-students also easy-to-do so Qt thing Cop
 'it will be easier to deal with students'
- 14 *seekatsushidoobu kara mo arimashita node.*
 Student-Life-Division from also there-was so
 'that's what the Student Life Division (told), so'
- 15 *gokyooryoku no hoo o yoroshiku onegaishimasu.*
 cooperation Lk way O good ask
 'I'm asking for your cooperation.'
- 16 (1.0)
- 17 Arai: *hai eeto (.) ii desu ka?*
 yes well OK Cop Q
 'yes, well, is it OK?'
- 18 (1.0)
- 19 Arai: *jaa tsugi senkan ni tsuite...*
 then next election-board about
 'then, next, about the Election Board...'

Patrolling local festivals is one of the miscellaneous services public-school teachers provide in Japan in order to maintain a strong relationship with the local community. The festival this particular year will last for nine days, and since the grade consists of eight teachers, Fujii proposes that everyone volunteer at least once (lines 5 to 8).

Fujii uses the *-te kudasai* form in lines 6 and 8, and ends his request with the explicit request expression *onegaishimasu* 'I'm asking you.' In lines 8 and 9, the speaker reveals that the sign-up deadline is set by the Student Life Division (SLD), a

unit of teachers responsible for a number of school-wide events and for preventing instances of severe student delinquency. By highlighting the SLD's involvement in this request, Fujii claims that it is not his personal request, and thus he is not the one who is responsible for the inconvenience the request would cause. At the same time, Fujii claims his knowledge about the deadline that SLD sets, and thus indicates his connection with SLD. Framing himself as the one who was assigned the task of conveying SLD's request to the faculty meeting attendees strengthens his entitlement to issue this request. In other words, Fujii's entitlement is constructed as part of the participants' understanding of the institutional structure (that Fujii is issuing the request on behalf of SLD). Also relevant is the participants' knowledge of the activity (i.e., patrol) as an already agreed-upon duty decided by SLD, against which non-compliance is not an option. Fujii's manner of introducing the topic (by just saying in line 3 *bon-odori no hoo wa* 'as for the Bon dance' without any further explanation of the duty at hand) also indicates the "already agreed-upon" nature of this obligation.

In Craven and Potter (2010), the mothers' use of English imperative marks their strong entitlement to their directives. The issuers of such directives do not orient to the recipients' non-compliance as a response option, and "by not requiring acceptance, the speaker positions her or himself as fully entitled to direct the recipient" (p. 426). Similar to the mother's use of imperatives, Fujii does not orient to other member's non-acceptance (he does not orient to the willingness or ability of the participants to comply). However, unlike the mothers in Craven and Potter (2010), Fujii's entitlement is related to his institutional role. His entitlement to issue this request is supported by the indication that the original request was made by the SLD and by the display of his role as the messenger of the SLD's request. Arai's (the chairperson's) earlier categorization of Fujii's talk as a noncontroversial "report" in line 1 indicates that the patrol duty is an already agreed-upon activity, and this categorization further restricts the possibility of participants' non-compliance and therefore enhances Fujii's entitlement.

After this request, Arai summarizes Fujii's request in line 10. In the present data, the chairperson frequently summarizes the previously issued proposal in advance of other members' moves. In the summary, Arai adds the reason for the chosen sign-up procedure (that SLD thinks it is easier to deal with the students at the Bon festival if each grade level sends at least one teacher as a patrol) in lines 11–14. This portion of his talk (the reason why at least one of the members should sign up each day) is not a reiteration of Fujii's utterance, it is Arai's own contribution. He frames the reason as something that came from the SLD by saying *seekatsushidoobu kara mo arimasita* 'it is also (coming) from the Student Life Division' in line 14. By revealing the reason for enforcing the particular way of sign-up, and by indicating that the reason was provided by the SLD, Arai's reiteration of and support for Fujii's

request also includes the element of claim for his “epistemic authority” (cf. Heritage and Raymond 2005) that he possesses first-hand information of the reason behind the sign-up method.

Arai’s restatement of Fujii’s request in line 15 consists of the general expression *gokyooryoku* ‘cooperation’ and the explicit request element *yoroshiku onegaishimasu*. He then asks if the request is accepted (line 17) and after a one-second pause he continues by introducing a new topic in line 19. In the present data, acceptance is sometimes marked by a short pause without an audible response from other members. Presumably, the chair observes other members’ gestures (e.g., nodding) and facial expressions to assess their approval.

In Excerpt (2), the strong entitlement displayed by Fujii is not challenged by other participants. Even before he issues the proposal, the chairperson’s framing of the proposal as *hookoku* ‘report’ displays the noncontroversial nature of the proposal, and therefore legitimizes Fujii’s ensuing construction of strong entitlement. Moreover, Fujii’s display of his role as a messenger of the SLD’s request as well as his framing of the request as being originally issued by the SLD underlie his strong entitlement to formulate his requests.

Throughout this segment, Fujii and Arai present themselves as participants with strong entitlement to issue their requests. Their display of entitlement is part of the interactional activities that implicate participants’ face considerations. In Excerpt (2), Fujii’s claim of entitlement is linked to his institutional face (that he is in the position to issue requests on behalf of an authoritative group that deals with school-wide issues, and that he possesses prior knowledge concerning this already agreed-upon request). Similarly, Arai’s claim of epistemic authority (his knowledge of the reason behind the particular sign-up method) is related to his institutional face as a competent chairperson who has prior knowledge about the current request and who is connected to the SLD, the issuing authority.

Let us now turn to another excerpt in which Doi, a male teacher in his 30s, asks members to perform a similar task as the one Fujii requested in Excerpt (2), namely to write down their names on a sign-up sheet. Doi does not use the *-te kudasai* form in this excerpt (at least not in the beginning). The topic under discussion is a duty called *nitchoku*: one teacher has to stay at school until 5:00 pm during the exam period. In line 1, Arai, the chairperson, urges Doi to speak.

(3) (1-2-202)

- 01 Arai: *hai jaa shiken no nitchoku no hanashi o,*
 yes then exam Lk day-duty Lk talk O
 ‘yes, then, next (we’ll talk about) the day duty during the
 exams.’
- 02 Doi: *hai ano sumimasen. shiken no nitchoku to iimasu ka*
 yes well excuse-me exam Lk day-duty Qt say Q
 ‘yes, well, excuse me, but about the day duty during the exams,’

- 03 *ano maa teeji made de ii n desu kedo ano*
 well just designated-time until suffice Nom Cop but well
 'well, until the designated time (5:00 pm) will suffice, but,
 well,'
- 04 *nokotte itadakeru kata tte iu koto de (.) ano (.)*
 stay for us person Qt say thing Cop well
 '(to decide) who will stay (for us)'
- 05 *gensokutekini wa sonoba sonoba de kimete*
 generally T on-the spot decide
 'as a general rule, we (usually) decide on the spot'
- 06 *iku n desu kedo (.) dotanba de kimetemo are desu node (.)*
 go Nom Cop but last-minute decide-if that Cop so
 'but it may not be good to decide at the last moment, so'
- 07 *ichioo zanteeteki ni warifutte oite (.) de (.) nanka atode*
 for-now tentatively assign in-advance and like later
 'for now, we could tentatively assign, and later'
- 08 *hutsugoo ga attara ano maa irekaete itadaku to iu koto DEE*
 inconvenience S exist-if well just change Qt say thing Cop
 'if there are any inconveniences you could change, and'
- 09 *ano suimasen ima zanteeteki ni warifutte itadaketara*
 well excuse-me now tentatively assign for-us-if
 'well, excuse me, if you could tentatively decide (who will
 be on duty when) now'
- 10 *to omoimashite,*
 Qt think-and
 '(that's what) I'm wondering'

In this request segment, Doi asks other members to sign up for the day duty task on the upcoming exam dates. He acknowledges that his proposal diverges from the usual procedure (lines 5 and 6) and that the sign-up schedule will be tentative (lines 7 and 9), subject to change in the future (line 8). The fact that it differs from the general procedure may make his request less acceptable. At the same time, the tentative nature of the resulting schedule decreases the weight of the requested task. Furthermore, Doi's request includes several apologies (*sumimasen* 'excuse me' in lines 2 and 9). These linguistic elements (e.g., *sumimasen* 'excuse me') as well as contextual elements (e.g., that his proposal diverges from the usual procedure) indicate Doi's low entitlement to issue the request. The final request format observed at the end of this sequence is *-te itadaketara to omoimashite* (roughly translated as 'I wonder if you could ...'), including the auxiliary verb *itadaku* (to receive something or a favor from a person of higher standing). This form is traditionally considered less direct and forceful than the *-te kudasai* form. The analysis up to this point indicates that this format may co-occur with requests which exhibit the issuer's low entitlement to the request in question.

In this and other analyses of the relationship between the requestive forms and entitlement, I do not claim that speaker's entitlement always preexists and determines the linguistic forms that the speaker uses to issue a request, nor do I claim that the use of a certain requestive format uni-directionally affects the speaker's entitlement to issue the request. Instead, similar to the relationship between an

utterance and its linguistic context, the relationship between the request formats and the speaker's entitlement to issue the request are reflexive: the degree of speaker's entitlement affects his/her use of linguistic elements, and the use of certain linguistic elements, in turn, influences the degree of his or her entitlement in a moment-by-moment fashion.

After other members discuss the day duty schedule, they approve Doi's request and several members volunteer for the day duty on the upcoming midterm exam days. Next, in Excerpt (4), Doi confirms the details as to how each member should sign up. He specifies how many times the members should sign up in line 1, and ends with the expression *-tte kotode*, which can mark a confirmation. Subsequently, he issues several requests for individual teachers in lines 1 to 4. Interestingly, in contrast to his previous request in Excerpt (3), this portion of his request in Excerpt (4) contains multiple instances of *-te kudasai*.

(4) (1-2-252)

- 01 Doi: *jaa ikkai naishi nikai tte koto de* (.) *ee* (.) *haga sensee wa*
 then once or twice Qt thing Cop er Mr. Haga T
 'then, it will be once or twice, well, Mr. Haga,'
 02 *moo kakanaide kudasai* (.) *seki sensee to takada sensee mo*
 any-more write-Neg please Ms. Seki and Mr. Takada also
 'please don't write any more. Ms. Seki and Mr. Takada,'
 03 *kanoo da to iu hi o moo ichido kaite kudasai* (.)
 possible Cop Qt say day O again write please
 'please write another day that you can (perform the day duty)'
 04 *ato no kata wa nikai o mokuhyoo ni kaite kudasai.*
 rest Lk people T twice O goal as write please
 'the rest of you, please write twice if you can.'
 05 *onegaishimasu.*
 ask
 'I'm asking you.'

The difference between Doi's request formulation in Excerpts (3) and (4) cannot be explained by static social variables such as age and status of the participants since he is addressing the same group. What is different is the status of his original request. Prior to Excerpt (4), Doi's initial request (to sign up for day duty during the exam period) was approved. This approval granted Doi with strong entitlement to request further individualized details concerning the sign-up.

In Excerpts (3) and (4), Doi's entitlement negotiation contributes to maintain his institutional face. In Excerpt (3), Doi's acknowledgement of low entitlement to issue the request simultaneously suggests that he knows that the requested activity is divergent from the routine procedure, and that he is fully aware of the imposition his request would cause. His claim of high entitlement in Excerpt (4) is the result of the already granted approval of his original request. Having one's own request approved is in itself face enhancing, and Doi's claim of high entitlement in Excerpt (4) is accompanied by his display of knowledge regarding member's sign-up status.

4.2.2 Confirmatory (already-agreed-upon) requests

The comparison among Excerpts (2)–(4) reveals that one of the factors connected to the speaker's strong display of entitlement may be the already agreed-upon nature of the requested action (or the members' understanding of such nature). Doi's request is first issued with *-te itadaketara to omoimashite* with other mitigating elements such as apologies in Excerpt (3), while he issues the *-te kudasai* requests in Excerpt (4) after his original request was approved. In Excerpt (2), the chairperson framed Fujii's request as a report. Generally, the term "report" is used for something that has already happened or been agreed upon by another group. Fujii states that the deadline related to his request has been decided by the SLD, further underlining the agreed-upon nature of the requested action.

Let us look at a similar "confirmatory" or already agreed-upon request. In the present data, the chairperson frequently confirms and reiterates previously approved proposals and requests, using *-te kudasai* 'please do...,' as seen in Excerpt (5). Prior to Excerpt (5), the members discussed and reached an agreement about how to go about the assignments during the upcoming summer vacation.

(5) (3-2-474)

- 01 Mukai: *ja kadai ni tsuite wa ii desu ne?*
 then assignment about T good Cop FP
 'then, you are OK with the assignments, right?'
- 02 *kaku kyooka kara dasu tte koto de,...*
 each subject from put-forward Qt thing Cop
 'that (the one responsible for) each subject put forward
 (the assignment)'
- 03 *hitsuyoo nara ireru tte koto de,*
 necessary if include Qt thing Cop
 'that you include (the assignment) if you think it is necessary'
- 04 *ja to iu koto de,*
 then Qt say thing Cop
 'then, that's what it is.'
- 05 *shukudai ni tsuite wa kangaeteoite kudasai.*
 homework about T think-in-advance please
 'please think in advance about the assignment.'
- 06 *amari hutan ni naranai yooni tte koto desu yo ne?*
 not-so-much burden become-Neg so-that Qt thing Cop FP FP
 '(we are aiming at) not overburdening (our students), right?'
- 07 *kore wa,*
 this T
 '(by) this (the assignment)'
- 08 (1.5)
- 09 Mukai: *hai jaa konaida horyuu ni natteta hoshuu ni tsuite wa ...*
 yes then last-time on-hold became extra-lesson about T
 'OK, then, as for the extra lessons that we didn't discuss
 last time...'

Mukai, a female chairperson in her 40s, summarizes the details of the agreed-upon proposal (that the instructors responsible for each subject should give an assignment if they think that it is necessary) in lines 2 and 3. In doing so, she uses the *-tte*

koto de format, which can mark a confirmation or request. In the present data set, details of the previously approved requests are often reiterated in this format. Mukai uses a similar format (*to iu koto de*) in line 4. Then she issues a confirmatory request with the *-te kudasai* form in line 5, followed by another request for confirmation in lines 6 and 7, stating that the amount of assignment should be monitored so that it would not overburden students. After a 1.5 second pause (during which confirmation was understood to be granted nonverbally), the chairperson introduces a new agenda item in line 9. The confirmatory request in line 5 does not display the speaker's orientation to the contingency of this request nor does it include any mitigating elements such as apology, thereby displaying the speaker's high entitlement to issue the confirmatory request. In this excerpt, the chairperson presents her competence and authority (as a part of her institutional face) by succinctly presenting the key decisions arrived at in the prior discussion and by assuming strong entitlement to issue the confirmatory request.

So far, we have seen that the speaker's entitlement is based on members' shared understanding that there already exists agreement on the requested activity. Such requests are unproblematic and non-contingent; the issuer is merely restating what has already been decided.

4.2.3 *Whose request is it?*

Another feature observed in Excerpts (2)–(4) is the question of whether the issuer of the request frames it as his or her own, as in Excerpt (3), or whether the issuer indicates that it comes from another source inside or outside of the group (e.g., the SLD), as in Excerpt (2). In Excerpt (3), Doi states that the content of his request deviates from standard practice and that he himself has formulated it. It is issued with the expression *-te itadaketara to omoimashite* and several mitigating elements (e.g., apology). Several other requests observed in the data are framed as the requester's own, co-occurring with the display of weak entitlement. Excerpt (6) is one such example.

Sato, a male chairperson in his 40s, asks for help to write a report about *hutookoo* or 'non-attendance' (students who are absent from school for a long period of time).

(6) (2-2-313)

- 01 Sato: *ato ikken* (.) *ano* (.) *hutookoo* *no choosa* *wa* (.) *ano*,
 and one well non-attendance Lk investigation T well
 'another thing, well, as for the report on non-attendance,'
 02 *watashi ga kaku koto ni natteru n* *desu kedo*,
 I S write thing became Nom Cop but
 'I am supposed to do the write up, but'
 03 *jookyoo ga wakaranai nde*,
 situation S know-Neg so
 '(I) don't know the situations (of the cases of non-attendance),
 so'

- 04 *kantanna memo de ii nde,*
 brief memo suffice so
 'a brief memo would suffice, so'
- 05 *kantanna mono kaite itadakereba tte*
 brief thing write for-me-if Qt
 'it would be (great) if you could write a short one'
- 06 *omou n desu kedo (.) yoroshii desu ka?*
 think Nom Cop but OK Cop Q
 '(that's what) I'm thinking, but is it OK?'
- 07 (1.0)
- 08 Haga: *etto (.) sore itsu goro gurai made,*
 well that when about about by
 'well, by about when (should we write) that?'
- 09 Sato: *un (.) jaa raishuuchuu gurai de,*
 uh then by-the-end-of-next-week about and
 'well, then, by the end of the next week.'
- 10 ? > hai<
 yes
 'OK.'
- 11 Sato: *ja (.) yoroshiku onegaishimasu*
 then good ask
 'then, I'm asking you.'

Sato first states that he is the one who is responsible for the composition of the report in lines 1 and 2. By assuming responsibility for the report, he frames the request as his own. He then provides the reason for his request (that he does not know the situation of each case) in line 3, followed by the qualification of the weight of his imposition (that he only needs a brief memo from other teachers) in line 4. In line 5, he repeats the qualifying element *kantanna* 'brief' in his request. These qualification elements confirm the speaker's weak entitlement. The request itself is issued with *-te itadakereba tte omou ndesu kedo* (roughly translated as 'I wonder if you could ...') in lines 5–6. Included in this statement is the auxiliary verb *itadaku* (to receive something or a favor from a person of higher standing), similar to Doi's request in Excerpt (3).

Another similarity to Excerpt (3) is the manner in which Sato's entitlement negotiation contributes to maintain his institutional face. His acknowledgement of low entitlement shows that he is a considerate and capable member who takes responsibility and who is aware of the imposition his requests will cause and therefore tries to minimize it.

Contrary to these true requests with which the issuers themselves run the risk of impinging upon the recipients, Fujii's *-te kudasai* requests in Excerpt (2) co-occur with the indication that the original request comes from the SLD. In the current data, there are several occasions on which a participant issues a request on behalf of a group outside of the faculty group, as in Excerpt (7). In these cases, strong entitlement is constructed based on the participants' understanding that the request is issued on behalf of an external institution.

Prior to Excerpt (7), members discussed students' behavioral issues. Most students are doing well, but some have started to show signs of delinquency. In the excerpt, Ando, a male chairperson in his 30s, asks other homeroom teachers to tell their students to come earlier to school and be seated at the beginning of the morning assembly at 8:30. In lines 1–2, he frames his request as one that the SLD will issue the next day.

(7) (1-1-578)

- 01 Ando: *ato ashita tabun seekatsushidoobu kara*
and tomorrow probably Student-Life-Division from
'also, the Student Life Division will probably'
- 02 *detekuru to omou n desu kedo,*
come-out Qt think Nom Cop but
'announce tomorrow, I think, but'
- 03 *tannin no hoo kara koe o kakete*
homeroom-teachers Lk side from tell-and
'homeroom teachers should tell (the students)'
- 04 *hayame ni ganbatte koyoo tte koto TO::*
early try-and come Qt thing and
'that they should try to come early and'
- 05 *chikoku no are ga aimai ni natteru nde,*
being-late Lk that S lenient became so
'(the rules) concerning being late has become rather lenient, so'
- 06 *sono hen kakunin shite,*
that around confirm do-and
'about that we should confirm, and'
- 07 *sanjuppun ni wa seki ni tsuku tte koto o*
thirty by T seat at sit Qt thing O
'that they should be seated by (eight) thirty'
- 08 *ashita ano asa demo kakunin shite kudasai tte koto de*
tomorrow er morning like confirm do please Qt thing Cop
'please confirm that tomorrow morning is what'
- 09 *soo iu koto ni natte masu nde.*
so Qt thing became so
'has been decided, so'
- 10 *yoroshiku onegaishimasu. (.)*
good ask
'I'm asking you.'
- 11 *de (.) ato (.) natsuyasumi no koto de...*
and and summer-vacation Lk thing Cop
'and, about summer vacation...'

Ando first reveals background information concerning the request (that the SLD will issue the request the next day) in lines 1–2, framing the request as SLD's rather than his own. At the same time, he indicates that he possesses insider information regarding this request (he knew beforehand about SLD's plan to issue it). By affirming this knowledge Ando underlines his connection to the SLD, which in turn reinforces his entitlement to issue the request on behalf of the SLD.

In his request, Ando first explains the requested action (homeroom teachers should inform their students) in line 3, followed by the two items the teachers should convey (to come to school early and be seated by 8:30) in lines 4 and 7. The request formation used in line 8 is *-te kudasai* followed by *-tte koto de*. Syntactically, in this combination of two request forms SLD's request is stated with *-te kudasai* and is embedded as a quoted speech ending with another confirmation form *-tte koto de*. Ando further adds *soo iu koto ni natte masu* in line 9. The expression *-koto ni natteiru* is used to state that something has already been decided. Even though the original request by SLD is not yet issued in reality (it will not be issued until the next day), by describing the content of the request as already decided, Ando stresses the fact that it is not his own and that it is unproblematic or non-contingent. The members' understanding of the institutional identity of the speaker (i.e., his connection to the SLD) supports the speaker's strong entitlement. He ends the request with the explicit request marker *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* in line 10 and without audible acceptance from the other members he moves on to another topic in line 11.

Similar to Fujii and Arai's face-work in Excerpt (2), Ando's claim of entitlement in Excerpt (7) strengthens his institutional face. He presents himself as someone with prior information concerning the request and with connections to another unit (the SLD).

5. Conclusion

By investigating request sequences observed in faculty meetings at Japanese secondary schools, this study has shown that participants' linguistic choices in issuing requests are related to the evaluation of their entitlement to make such requests. In the analyzed instances, the evaluation of entitlement was based on participants' understanding of the issuer's institutional identity and on the nature of the requested activities (e.g., if they had already been agreed upon).

The diverse linguistic formats observed in request sequences have previously been discussed in terms of different degrees of politeness and indirectness. According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) original politeness theory, the speaker chooses the appropriate degree of politeness to avoid threatening the hearer's face, and the seriousness of the face-threat caused by a certain action depends on the speaker's assessment of social distance between speaker and hearer, the hierarchical relationship between them, and the absolute ranking of impositions a certain act causes in the particular culture. The notion of "entitlement" discussed in this study seems to be most relevant to the absolute ranking of impositions, since the decision about whether someone is entitled to issue a request or not partially depends on

the content of the request and how imposing it would be. Rather than focusing on variations of the absolute ranking of imposition across different cultures, however, the discussion in this chapter concerns moment-by-moment negotiations of entitlement and contingency concerning requests.

Through the analysis of various requests in this study, we have seen how the speaker's strong or weak entitlement to issue a request is related to members' understanding of institutional procedures (knowledge of duties, channels of agreement), their respective roles at the institution, and the relationship among them (their connection to the original issuer of requests). The *-te kudasai* format was frequently observed for requests originally issued by an outside entity and for requests whose content had already been agreed upon. Other forms of request (e.g., *-te itadaketara to omotte*) were more often observed when issuers framed their request as their own. In the latter cases, issuers tend to provide other mitigation elements (e.g., qualification of requested actions and apologies). At times, as in Excerpt (7), an original request is presented in the *-te kudasai* format and then embedded in another request format (*-tte koto de*).

The two dimensions of members' understanding of entitlement to make requests discussed in this study (i.e., the speaker's institutional affiliations and the agreed-on status of requests) are not completely separate criteria: if a member issues a request on behalf of a group, the content of such a request has inevitably been decided by the same group in advance.

Throughout the analysis, we have seen that local demonstration of entitlement (showing rights and capacities concerning the issued request) can be considered as face-work (i.e., displaying and negotiating one's positive self-image). For instance, participants' claim of strong entitlement in Excerpts (2) and (7) strengthens their positive self-image (face) as they present themselves as informed and institutionally connected individuals. When issuers of a request acknowledge their low entitlement, their entitlement negotiation also contributes to maintaining face, as observed in Excerpts (3) and (6), since the issuers display that they are considerate and capable and that they are aware of the imposition their requests will cause.

This study explored the varied linguistic practices involved in issuing requests in an institutional setting from a discursive perspective. More data from diverse contexts are needed to gain a more comprehensive view of requests in Japanese.

Appendix

Transcription conventions

[	the point where overlap begins
]	the point where overlap ends
=	latched utterance
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	a short untimed pause within an utterance
.	a stopping fall in tone
,	a continuing intonation
?	a rising intonation
-	a halting or an abrupt cutoff of sound
<u>underline</u>	an emphatic stress
CAPS	spoken louder
:	lengthened vowel sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)
° °	spoken softly
hhh	aspirations
ˈhhh	inhalations
(())	comments on quality of speech and context
> <	spoken quickly
(segment)	uncertain transcription
()	transcription impossible (Adapted from Atkinson and Heritage 1984)

Abbreviations used in word-for-word translations

Cop	copula
FP	final particle
Lk	linking nominal
Neg	negative morpheme
Nom	nominalizer
O	object marker
Q	question marker
Qt	quotation marker
S	subject marker
T	topic marker

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From subjectivity to intersubjectivity

A discourse-pragmatic study of the Japanese epistemic marker *kamo* (*shirenai*)

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This study investigates the discourse-pragmatic functions of the Japanese sentence-final expression *kamo* (*shirenai*) ‘maybe’ in natural conversations. By investigating 72 cases of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in sequential contexts, my study demonstrates that showing epistemic uncertainty is not the only function that *kamo* (*shirenai*) carries in conversational discourse; rather, it mainly serves for intersubjective purposes to downplay the assertiveness of statements, or to present non-full approval in a noncommittal manner. Further, I suggest that *kamo* (*shirenai*) shows a new tendency of usage in contexts when the speaker attempts to express personal emotions in a less ego-focused manner.

Keywords: epistemic, mitigator, intersubjectivity, emotion, Japanese, pragmatics

1. Introduction

The focus of recent linguistic studies on epistemic markers or epistemic modality has shifted from the classical distinction between “objectivity” and “subjectivity” to “intersubjectivity” (e.g., Kärkkäinen 2006; Nuyts 2001; Pizziconi 2009).¹ Many studies agree that the epistemic stance is not “a static and isolated mental position or interior state” (Kärkkäinen 2006: 700) situated within the minds of individual speakers, but rather emerges from interaction between the speaker

1. The origin of the distinction between objectivity and subjectivity can be traced back to Lyons (1977). As Nuyts (2001: 33) elaborates, “objective epistemic modality expresses an objectively measurable chance that the state of affairs under consideration is true or not, while subjective epistemic modality involves a purely subjective guess regarding its truth.” In other words, when a conclusion can be logically drawn by anyone based on their observation or shared knowledge, it is objective epistemic modality; when a conclusion is drawn by the speaker based on his/her own knowledge of the state of the world at the moment of speaking, it is subjective epistemic modality.

and the addressee, or the writer and the reader in particular sequential contexts. In other words, epistemic markers are not merely reflection of the speaker's isolated or "pure subjective" state of knowledge, but primarily reveal the speaker's active, interactive and intersubjective state of mind that reflects the communicative social reality. Aligned with such arguments, my study will demonstrate that the Japanese sentence-final epistemic marker *kamo shirenai* and its abbreviation *kamo* 'maybe' serve as an intersubjective marker since its semantic meanings as well as its discourse-pragmatic functions would not be fully understood unless it were examined in the domain of intersubjectivity. I claim that *kamo (shirenai)* is not only an epistemic marker, but also a pragmatic mitigator. Instead of merely marking the speaker's epistemic judgment or belief, it is frequently used to mitigate the force of speech acts, such as confirmation, disagreement, compromise, suggestion or disapproval in an evaluative tone. In fact, it seems that *kamo (shirenai)* has lost its original epistemic meanings in some particular contexts as shown in the following excerpt, where K responds to H's suggestion of the conversation topic with *kamo* attached to the emotive morpheme *tai* 'want'.

(1)

- 01 K: *Jaa, wadai o kime-mashoo.*
then topic ACC decide let's
'Let's decide the topic.'
- 02 H: *Nani ga ii n daroo.*
What NOM good NML would
'What would be good?'
- 03 K: *Jaa, ano Madison de ichiban umai meshi↗*
then FL Madison at the most delicious food
'Then, the best restaurant in Madison↗'
- 04 (0.3)
- 05 H: [Aa:::
'oh:::'
- 06 K: [*Resutoran wa doko ka.*
restaurant TOP where Q
'Where the restaurant is...'
- 07 H: *Sore wa chotto shiritai kamo*
that TOP a little know-want maybe
'Maybe I sort of want to know that'

Personal feelings or emotions are beyond the measurement or judgment of evidential factuality, and they are normally neither uncertain for the speaker nor do they call for pragmatic mitigation.² The use of *kamo (shirenai)* to qualify emotive

2. Native Japanese speakers pointed out that in Japanese there exist expressions such as *bikkuri shichatte, ureshii no kadooka jibun demo wakarani* 'I am so shocked that I myself don't know whether I am happy or not.' In such cases the speaker may have difficulty finding appropriate expressions to describe his/her complex feelings, or for some interpersonal reason, the speaker may have purposefully chosen not to define his/her mixed feelings with a single emotive lexicon.

lexicons such as *iya* ‘hate,’ *tai* ‘want,’ *ureshii* ‘happy’ is often observed in internet discourse such as personal blogs, Facebook/Twitter postings. I suggest that the on-going change of the *kamo* (*shirenai*) usage may reflect the grammatical trend of intersubjectification noted by Traugott (2003: 130), whereby “meanings become more centered on the addressee.”

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 2 reviews relevant previous studies on *kamo* (*shirenai*); Section 3 discusses the grammatical features and semantic meanings of *kamo* (*shirenai*); Section 4 briefly explains the data used for the current study; Section 5, which is the major part of this study, analyzes the current discourse-pragmatic functions of *kamo* (*shirenai*); Section 6 discusses the grammaticalizational tendency of *kamo* (*shirenai*); and Section 7 concludes the chapter.

2. Previous studies

There have been two major trends in the previous linguistic studies of *kamo* (*shirenai*), both of which are mainly based on sentential analyses. For some researchers (Johnson 1999; Teramura 1984), *kamo* (*shirenai*) expresses the speaker’s low degree of certainty or weak confidence in the possibility of realization of the proposition. Opposing that, other linguists (Masuoka 1991, 2002; Nitta 1991; Noda 1984) argue that *kamo* (*shirenai*) indicates a low degree of probability of the proposition’s occurrence rather than the speaker’s subjective or epistemic attitude about the truthfulness of the proposition. The classical evidential sentence to support their arguments is *Are wa hontoo kamo shirenai ga, watashi wa soo wa omowanai* ‘That may be true, but I don’t think so’ (Yoon 1998: 50).

Among the second group, some researchers (Kawaguchi 2003; Mitaku 1995; Moriyama 2002; Suga 1995) emphasize that *kamo* (*shirenai*) merely signals the existence of a possibility itself rather than showing a low degree of probability. The argument is supported by the fact that *kamo* (*shirenai*) can be used when there is an equal probability of occurrence or non-occurrence of the proposition, as in *Yaku ni tatsu kamo shirenai ga, yaku ni tatanai kamo shirenai* ‘Maybe it is useful, and maybe it is not useful’ (Yoon 1998: 625).

On the other hand, Nitta (1991) points out that *kamo* (*shirenai*) may also have changed from a mere suppositional expression to a hedging or mitigating expression. In recent years, many researchers have turned to investigate the pragmatic

Therefore, in particular contexts as those, it is not impossible for the speaker to show uncertainty about the existence of his/her own certain emotion. However, that would not be a case in a default conversational situation. Emotions belong to the category of “direct experience” and normally do not involve evidential or conditional modifications. (cf. Kamio 1997).

functions of *kamo* (*shirenai*) rather than merely focusing on its semantic meanings. For instance, Huang (2006) regards *kamo* (*shirenai*) as an *enkyoku* ‘hedge, indirect or euphemistic’ expression to mitigate various speech acts such as evaluation, disagreement, and self-justification, and to avoid expressing personal judgment or opinions directly. Hirata (2001) analyzes *kamo* (*shirenai*) in the framework of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory and suggests that *kamo* (*shirenai*) is used to avoid potentially damaging the addressee’s or the speaker’s own face.

Most of the previous studies take a cognitive functional approach and rely only on isolated constructed sentences or written data taken from newspapers or fiction. Pizziconi (2009) is one of the very few studies that analyze *kamo* (*shirenai*) based on natural conversational data. She uses *kamo* (*shirenai*) as a case study to draw linguists’ attention to epistemic markers in transition from subjectivity to intersubjectivity. Accordingly, the speaker’s attitude toward the situational and the interactive social relationship between him/herself and the addressee carries more weight than his/her belief about the factuality of the proposition.

The present study adds to Pizziconi’s (2009) study by providing a systemic analysis of the various discourse-pragmatic functions of *kamo* (*shirenai*) and using a larger conversational database that reveals the new usage as shown in (1). Moreover, while Pizziconi (2009) takes a social-anthropological approach that focuses on social relationships between the speakers in sequential contexts where *kamo* (*shirenai*) is used, I offer a linguistic analysis based on an investigation of the discourse-pragmatic functions of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in conversational contexts. Social relations and identities are merely regarded as part of the contextual factors that influence the usages of *kamo* (*shirenai*).

3. Semantic meanings of *kamo* (*shirenai*)

According to previous studies, *kamo* (*shirenai*) expresses meanings of “possibility,” “low possibility,” and “uncertainty.” I argue that those semantic meanings of *kamo* (*shirenai*) originate in its syntactic formation. *Kamo* (*shirenai*) syntactically consists of a question particle *ka*, the particle *mo* ‘too,’ the verb *shireru* ‘know,’ and the negation form *nai*. According to historical studies (e.g. Harima 1998; Yamaguchi 1998), since the early Edo period, *shirenu*, the negation of the intransitive verb *shireru*, has indicated the speaker’s uncertainty, and often appeared in grammatical structures that contain interrogative words and the question verbs *ka*, such as in (2):

- (2) *Donna koto o suru ka shirenu he*
 what kind thing ACC do Q know-NEG FP
 ‘I don’t know what to do.’

From *Sesetsu Shingoza*, written by Ota Nanpo (1749–1823),
 cited in Yamaguchi (1998: 2)

The particle *mo* highlights an item from a group of similar entities, and thereby implies the existence of other possibilities (Harima 1998: 203). Historically, the structure of *mo shirenu* has been used to show the speaker's judgment about possibilities, as in (3):

- (3) *Watakushi wa zonzimasenu ga, nyorai sama ga agatta*
 I TOP know-NEG FP tathagata Mr. NOM rise
mo shiremasenu.
 too know-NEG

'I don't know, but maybe Tathagata has come.'

From *Kotoshi Warai*, written by *Narutakino Otondo* (1778),
 cited in Harima (1998: 198)

Therefore, the syntactic structure and etymology of *kamo shirenai* give it the semantic meanings of "uncertainty" and "possibility," which make it qualified to be a device for the speaker to present information or opinion in a seemingly objective way while showing the speaker's noncommitment to the factuality. As Pizziconi (2009: 274) notes, *kamo (shirenai)* indicates "the speaker's lack of certainty about, or unwillingness to commit to the factuality of the proposition." My study shows that the "unwillingness" to commit plays a more important role in the actual usage of *kamo (shirenai)*, and that the reason for the "unwillingness" is the speaker's intersubjective consideration.

4. Data

The data of this study consist of 18 audio-/video-recorded casual conversations among native Japanese speakers, collected in 2004 and 2009.³ Seventeen of them are two-party conversations at natural or "semi-natural" settings between friends, colleagues, or previously unacquainted people, and one conversation occurred at a three-party meeting of Japanese teachers. The "semi-natural" setting refers to the setting where the participants were invited by the researcher to have a free-topic conversation for research purposes. The participants were not informed about the research topics before the conversation and neither the researcher nor data collectors were present while the conversation was recorded. Two of those conversations occurred at a university in Western Japan, while the others were recorded at universities in the Midwest region of the United States.

3. I gratefully acknowledge the support of Professor Maki Kawada (Shimotani), who permitted me to use the data that she collected and transcribed primarily for our previous joint research projects.

In the approximately 5.3 hours of conversations, 72 tokens of *kamo* (*shirenai*) were found, including 39 tokens (54%) of *kamo shirenai* and 33 tokens (46%) of its abbreviated variant *kamo*, as illustrated in Table 1. In this quantitative data, *kamo shirenai* and *kamo* display different distributions; for instance, in the conversations between participants who were not well-acquainted, *kamo* only appears 2/33 times (6%), while *kamo shirenai* occurred 7/39 times (18%). However, except for the slight difference in formality, the present study did not find clear distinction between *kamo shirenai* and *kamo* in terms of pragmatic-discourse usages.

Table 1. Distributions of *kamo shirenai* and *kamo* in conversational data

The relations of the speakers	Length of data (approx.)	Number of <i>kamo shirenai</i>	Number of <i>kamo</i>
Close	71 min	7 (18%)	10 (30%)
Well-acquainted junior-senior	219 min	25 (64%)	21 (64%)
Not well-acquainted	30 min	7 (18%)	2 (6%)
Total	320 min	39 (100%)	33 (100%)

5. The functions of *kamo* (*shirenai*)

The semantic meanings and usages of *kamo* (*shirenai*) can only be recognized and understood in the interactional contexts where it occurs. Based on the analysis of the uses of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in various contexts, this study proposes that *kamo* (*shirenai*) has four major discourse pragmatic functions:

- I. to mitigate the speaker’s epistemic certainty of the factuality of the information he/she is providing;
- II. to mitigate assertiveness of the speaker’s statements that may potentially threaten the addressee’s face such as in confirmation/disconfirmation, weak agreement, pre-disagreement;
- III. to present the speaker’s personal evaluative stance that tends to be noncommittal or not entirely approving;
- IV. to express the speaker’s personal emotions or feelings in a less ego-focused manner.

The distributions of the 72 tokens of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in the current data are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The functions of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in conversational discourse

Functions	Number of tokens (%)
I. to mitigate propositional certainty	12 (17%)
II. to mitigate assertiveness of statements	32 (44%)
III. to present an assessment in a noncommittal fashion	23 (32%)
IV. to express emotion in a less ego-focused manner	5 (7%)
Total	72 (100%)

5.1 To mitigate propositional certainty

To show the speaker's epistemic judgment or belief about the factuality of the proposition is the essential usage of epistemic markers. However, only 17 percent of the 72 tokens of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in my database fall into this category. It mainly appears in contexts when a speaker presents information about the state of affairs of a third party or information retrieved from long-term memory. According to Kamio's (1997) theory of Territory of Information, such information either fails to fully fall into the speaker's territory of knowledge or has been distanced by time. This usage of *kamo* (*shirenai*) may be seen as purely epistemic or subjective since it seems not to have much to do with the addressee. Yet, I would argue that as long as the speaker is interacting with another person, the epistemic usage is always motivated by both cognitive and interactional considerations.

Excerpt (4) contains such an example. Prior to this sequence, H tells Y his trouble with his former roommate.

(4)

- 01 H: *Boku wa dochira ka tte iu to sono::*
 I TOP which Q QT say if that
 'If you ask me which one...'
- 02 Y: *U:::n*
- 03 H: *Hayaku neru hoo datta n desu yo [hhhhhh nande::*
 early sleep side COP-PST NML COP FP so
 'I was early to bed type.'
- 04 Y: [aa hhhhhhh sokka::: hhhhh
 oh I see
- 05 H: *Ruumumeeto wa sore ni yowatteta KAMO shirenai(.)*
 roommate TOP that to weak-PST maybe
 'Maybe my roommate was troubled by that.'
- 06 *Wakannai [desu kedo*
 know-NEG but
 'I don't know'
- 07 Y: [A:::so na no sokka sokka sokka sokka
 oh that COP Q that Q that Q that Q that Q
 'Oh, I see, I see, I see.'

H says that maybe his roommate was troubled by his early bedtime habit. With *kamo shiremai*, H presents the information merely as a possibility instead of a fact. On the other hand, the dynamic interaction between H and Y may also play a role to trigger *kamo shirenai*. In line 4, Y's laughter and minimal backchannel fail to reveal her attitude toward H's story. By adding *kamo shirenai*, H avoids a strong assertion that might offend Y or disagree with Y's opinion. H's concern for Y is further suggested by the subsequent sequences. The short pause after *kamo shirenai* reveals H's expectation of Y's feedback or comments. Hearing no uptake from Y, H adds *Wakannai desu kedo* 'I don't know' as a follow-up to further overtly disclose his noncommittal stance to the truthfulness of his own statement.

Therefore, uncertainty of knowledge indicated by *kamo (shirenai)*, as observed in the case above, is not merely a subjective issue. Rather, the speaker's intersubjective concern for the addressee's reaction also contributes to the speaker's decision to choose *kamo (shirenai)* in such interactions.

5.2 To mitigate assertiveness of statements

Kamo (shirenai) also serves as a hedge device to mitigate the assertiveness of the speaker's utterance while presenting it as an "objective" possibility. Speech acts that may potentially damage the interactional rapport or threaten the addressee's face especially call for the speaker to employ hedge strategies to mitigate the potential damage or conflict. Close to half (44%) of the uses of *kamo (shirenai)* in my database serve to mitigate such speech acts by reducing the assertive force of the utterances. This usage of *kamo (shirenai)* is most likely observed in the second part of "adjacency pair" (Schegloff 2007), where the speaker responds to the prior speaker's statement with confirmation/disconfirmation, weak or compromised agreement, or pre-disagreement.

5.2.1 Confirmation or disconfirmation

Excerpt (5) shows a case in which the speaker uses *kamo* to confirm the addressee's self-deprecating question. This conversation occurs at a Japanese TA (teaching assistant) meeting, where the participants are discussing the grammatical item *ippoo* 'on the other hand.' Note that K is a senior to M and Y.

(5)

- 01 M: *Tatoeba* (1.0) *Watashitachi wa::*
 for example we TOP
- 02 Y, K: *n*
 'Uh-huh'
- 03 M: *Tii-ee* *de nihongo o oshieteiru ippoo de::*
 Teaching assistant COP Japanese ACC teaching meanwhile COP
- 04 Y, K: *un*
 'Uh-huh'

- 05 M: *Daigakuin de benkyoo-shiteimasu toka::*
graduate school at studying etc.
'For example, like 'we as TAs are teaching Japanese, and at
the same time studying at graduate school''
- 06 K: *un*
'Uh-huh'
- 07 M: *Muzukashii kana:: motto- motto wakari-yasu-*
difficult FP more more understand-easy
'I wonder if it is difficult... (Is there anything) easier to
understand...'
- 08 K: *un*
'Uh-huh'
- 09 M: *Wakari yasuku-nai kana huh*
understand easy-NEG FP
'I wonder if it is not easy to understand.'
- 10 K: *(.....) dakara::*
so
'...so'
- 11 M: *Chotto chigau kana*
a little different FP
'I wonder if it's a little different.'
- 12 K: *Chotto chigau KAMO ne::*
a little different maybe FP
'It is maybe a little different, right?'

In this sequence, M suggests an example of the usage of *ippoo* 'meanwhile.' There being no uptake from other participants, M follows up with three "self-addressed questions" marked by *kana* 'I wonder' (cf. Matsugu 2005) to show her self-doubt and seek confirmation from other participants. Finally, responding to M's *kana*-question "I wonder if it (the example) is a little different," K confirms, "That is maybe (*kamo*) different." K is probably reluctant to straightforwardly affirm it since it is a dispreferred speech act that indirectly rejects M's suggestion. According to Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, this confirmation may damage M's positive face and therefore requires a politeness strategy to reduce the potential damage. Both sentence final expressions *kamo* and *ne* 'right?' are such strategies with different functions. While *ne* indicates that K shares M's self-evaluation or doubt, *kamo* implies the possibility that K's confirmation might be wrong and M's suggestion might be right. Moreover, semantically, *kamo* carries the meaning that the proposition is just a possibility, which the speaker is unable or reluctant to commit to. Therefore, it adds an "objective" tone to K's assertion and thus distances K from her own statement that in effect denies M's suggestion.

5.2.2 Weak agreement or compromise

Huang (2006) suggests that *kamo* (*shirenai*) is often used in disagreement or self-justification. My data do not contain any instance of *kamo* (*shirenai*) being used directly in the utterance of disagreement; instead, it tends to appear in contexts where the speaker withdraws from an initial stance of disagreement with the

addressee and shows weak agreement or compromise after the addressee elaborates his/her argument. It often ends a sequence of argument, as shown in Excerpt (6), where the Japanese teachers, M and Y, are discussing an upcoming Japanese speech contest.

(6)

- 01 M: *Ima oshieteru* [*kurasu no naka de*.
now teaching class NM inside at
'Among the classes that we are teaching now'
- 02 Y: [*Un::: desoona hito wa :::*
participate-seem person TOP
- 03 M: [*Un*
- 04 Y: [*Ima n toko inai yo?*
now NM moment there is-NEG FP
'Right now there is no one who may participate (in the speech contest.)'
- 05 M: *A- inai no?*
oh there is-NEG Q
'Oh, there is no one?'
- 06 Y: *Rikkooho wa inai*
candidate TOP there is-NEG
'There is no candidate.'
- 07 M: *A::: (0.3)*
'Oh'
- 08 *Demo- hisokani kaiteiru hito toka isoo* [*janai*
but covertly is writing person FL there is-seem COP-NEG
'But- Isn't there anyone who is writing secretly?'
- 09 Y: [*Iru KAMO ne.*
there is maybe FP
'Maybe there is...'
- 10 M: *U::n*
'Yeah'

Responding to M's question, Y says that there is no candidate for the speech contest yet in lines 4 and 6. After a pause in line 7, M disagrees with Y's assertion by suggesting that there might be students who are writing their speech secretly. At this point Y recedes and compromises with a minimal agreement, "Maybe (*kamo*) there is (such a student)." *Kamo* indicates Y's acknowledgement that M's assumption could be true; yet on the other hand, *kamo* allows M to partially maintain her original stance, since it also admits the existence of the opposite possibility; that is, there may not be any students who are secretly working on a speech. Thus *kamo* makes it possible for Y to avoid further nonalignment with M while keeping herself from completely losing her original stance and fully yielding to M.

5.2.3 Pre-disagreement

Weak agreement utterances are also observed as the preface to the so-called “pseudo agreement” (*gijiteki dooi*) (Hirata 2001; Huang 2006) that mitigates the force of the following disagreement. Excerpt (7) is an example of such an exchange. In the conversation prior to this excerpt, H says that spoken foreign language is very difficult to master, and to further support his own opinion, he points out that he does not understand spoken English on the radio.

(7)

- 01 H: *Rajio toka jikkyoo chuukee ni*
radio FL on-the-spot broadcast at
'The on-the-spot broadcasting on the radio'
(0.9)
- 02
- 03 Y: *A:::u::n*
'Oh... Yeah'
- 04 H: *Nani itten no ka mattaku wakannai.* [hmm hmm
what saying NM Q at all understand-NEG
'I have no idea what they are talking about at all... '
- 05 Y: [E demo- waka-
but know
- 06 *kikitorenai KAMO SHIRENAI kedo sa::*
hear-NEG maybe but FP
- 07 *bunpoo ga mita koto mo nai yoona-nanka henna yatsu toka*
grammar NOM see-PST thing even NEG like FL strange ones FL
janai no?
COP-NEG Q
'Huh? But- understand- Maybe you cannot understand, but isn't
that because there is strange stuff like grammar that you have
never seen before?'
- 08 H: *Bunpoo tte wake wakan naku-temo nantoka nan*
grammar QUO reason understand-NEG-even if somehow become
- 09 *janai ?*
COP-NEG
'Even with incomprehensible grammar, you can manage (to understand),
right?'

Responding to H's statement, in line 5, Y first produces the interjection *E* to indicate her surprise and then produces *demo* 'but,' which foreshadows an upcoming disagreement. While she begins to produce the verb *wakaru* 'understand,' she cuts off in the middle, and produces a pre-disagreement, *kiki torenai kamo shirenai kedo* 'maybe (*kamoshirenai*) you cannot understand but...' Afterwards, she suggests an alternative interpretation for the difficulty of understanding that is different from Y's opinion, pointing out that understanding is difficult because of the grammar rather than the spoken aspect of the language. *Kamo shirenai* accepts that H's claim is possibly true and thereby shows Y's attitude of being willing to align with H, but on the other hand, it leaves room for Y's actual disagreement to follow.

5.3 To present an assessment in a noncommittal fashion

Offering evaluation, assessment or comment on someone's act or speech is potentially a sensitive action. An evaluative remark reveals the speaker's subjective stance or attitude toward the matter discussed. Depending on what is evaluated, the speaker often needs to be cautious about expressions since it may offend or create a misalignment with the addressee. About 32 percent of the 72 tokens of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in my data mitigate such evaluative utterances, which typically include adjectives such as *ii* 'good,' *yabai* 'terrible,' *sugoi* 'great,' and *-yasui* 'easy to.' The epistemic interpretation of possibility seems not exactly applicable to this type of *kamo* (*shirenai*). That is, whether the matter discussed is good or bad, terrible or terrific, or easy or hard, is the speaker's personal opinion, which cannot be evidentially or objectively measured or judged. In other words, evaluation is not an epistemic possibility, and it is impossible to judge whether the evaluation marked by *kamo* (*shirenai*) is factual or not. Then why does the speaker add the epistemic marker *kamo* (*shirenai*) to his/her personal evaluative utterance? What are the functions of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in evaluative acts?

My data show that most of the evaluative *kamo* (*shirenai*) tokens appear in contexts when the speaker provides a certain non-positive comment on or non-full approval of the new information provided by the prior speaker. Such comments or evaluations are not explicitly negative; however, they reveal the speaker's reserved or unenthusiastic attitude even if it appears as a positive assessment on the surface.

Observe the following two excerpts. Prior to the segment shown in excerpt (8), A had told F his experience at the orientation for international students, which F did not attend.

(8)

- 01 F: *Gomen- nannin gurai na no? sono* [orien-
sorry how many people about COP Q that orientation
'Excuse me- About how many people? That orientation...'
- 02 A: [nijuu nin gurai.
twenty people about
'About 20 people'
- 03 F: A- *soo na n da. Ma- demo [ii KAMO ne*
Oh so COP NML COP well but good maybe FP
'Oh, is that so. Well- but that is maybe good, isn't it.'
- 04 A: [*Maa(.) Soo desu ne.*
well so COP FP
'Well- that's right.'
- 05 F: *Nakayoku nariyasui.*
relation good become easy to
'It is easy to make friends.'
- 06 A: *Hai*
'Yes.'

After hearing from A that only 20 students showed up at the orientation, F first responds with a less enthusiastic acknowledgment, “Is that so.” Then she adds a seemingly positive comment, “But (*demo*) maybe (*kamo*) that was good.” The conjunction *demo* ‘but’ is used to introduce something contrasting with what has been already mentioned or can be surmised. This indicates F’s comment serves as a make-up or cover-up of her slight disappointment. Moreover, F’s comment is preceded by the filler *ma*, which, may soften the speaker’s tone of disagreement or reduce his/her commitment to statements with shocking, negative, or embarrassing contents (Fukada-Karlin 2003). *Kamo*, which is attached to the evaluative adjective *ii* ‘good,’ hints F’s noncommitment to her own evaluation. In particular, by implying the size of 20 students is fine with the mitigator *kamo*, F skillfully lets A know that she is not really impressed by this number. After receiving A’s supporting response, in line 5, F further justifies why the small number of 20 students is okay, “It is easy to make friends.”

Excerpt (9) contains an additional example.

(9)

- 01 F: *Docchi kara gaarufurendo ni naru- nareru- nattari,*
 which from girlfriend to become become-can become-like
 02 [*booifurendo ni naru n daroo.*
 boyfriend to become NML would
 ‘So, who first said to become girlfriend or boyfriend?’
 03 A: [*shiranai rashii*
 know-NEG seem
 ‘They don’t seem to know.’
 04 *Wakannai tte ittemashita.*
 know-NEG QUO say-PST
 ‘They said they did not know.’
 05 F: *ne::*
 FP
 ‘Right?!’
 06 A: *Nanka:: nantonaku isshoni iru yooni naru tte itte::*
 FL somehow together be like become QUO say
 ‘They said they just began to spend time together’
 07 F: *Maa sore ga ichiban risoona no KAMO SHIRENAI kedo- demo sa::*
 well that NOM the most ideal NML maybe but but FP
 ‘Well, maybe that is the most ideal. But...’
 08 A: (sniff) *Nanka ano:: kokuhaku (.) suru no wa ajia no bunka [rashii*
 FL FL confess do NML TOP Asia GEN culture seem
 09 *desu yo.*
 COP FP
 ‘Confessing love seems to be Asian culture.’
 10 F: [Soo
 so
 11 *na n da yo.*
 COP NML COP FP
 ‘That is right.’

In this sequence, when A tells F the story of how one couple among their friends got to be together somehow without a declaration of love, F comments: “Well, maybe that is the most ideal, but...” Although F does not explicitly reveal her attitude after *demo* ‘but,’ she probably suspects that the “ideal” style was not the true case with this couple, and one of them must have somehow initiated some kind of indication of affection when they started the relationship. Her speculation is hidden in the seemingly positive evaluation by using *kamo shirenai* to objectify it as a general viewpoint; namely, “Maybe it is ideal (for most people),” while distancing herself from this seemingly objective or general view. This utterance is similar to the often-cited *kamo*-sentence, *Are wa hontoo kamoshirenai ga, watashi wa soo wa omowanai* ‘That may be true, but I don’t think so’ (Yoon 1998: 50). In this case, the second part of the sentence is not overtly presented. F’s hesitation to express a straightforward suspicion could be driven by her concern for the addressee A’s attitude or knowledge about this particular couple that they are talking about.

In some cases, as in Excerpt (10), the speaker chooses *kamo* (*shirenai*) to adopt an ambiguous stance in a complex interactional context where the speaker has sensed the addressee’s hesitant or reluctant attitude. Y and M are searching for conversation topics from the list provided by the researcher. Prior to this sequence, in the initial sequence of the searching, when M first mentioned the topic of “tips,” Y did not show much interest. When they failed to come up with a different topic, Y brought up “tips” back to the table in lines 5 and 7.

(10)

- 01 Y: *Nani ga ii*
 what NOM good
 ‘What would be good?’
- 02 (0.) *Meccha (...)*
 extremely
 ‘It is extremely...’
- 03 (5.0)
- 04 M: *Fu n:::Nani ga ii desshoo?*
 what NOM good would
 ‘Yeah, what would be good?’
- 05 Y: *Jaa sakki no::*
 then before GEN
 ‘Then the topic you just mentioned...’
- 06 (4.0)
- 07 Y: *Chippu ne::*
 tip FP
 ‘tips’
- 08 M: *Chippu? (.) Hanashi yasui KAMO ne hhh*
 tip talk-easy to maybe FP
 ‘Tips? (.) It is maybe easy to talk about, right’
- 09 Y: *Atashi wa (...) demo ii kedo*
 I TOP even good but
 ‘It would be fine with me.’

However, the long pause (4.0) in line 6 reveals Y's hesitation and reluctance about this topic. M understands that Y is not happy with the topic of "tipping" and that she brings it up merely because there is no other choice. Therefore, M adds *kamo* to the positive evaluation *hanashi yasui* 'easy to talk about,' which disguises her utterance as if it were an objective fact rather than a personal comment. It supports Y's unenthusiastic suggestion, which was originally M's own suggestion, by displaying an uncertain stance. If M fully approved of this topic with a strong assertion without mitigating it with *kamo*, it would be like declaring, "See, I have already told you so! 'Tipping' is a good topic, isn't it?!" which would certainly have made Y uncomfortable.

Kamo (shirenai) is also a useful expression allowing the speaker to make tactful suggestions, which typically appear as *ii kamo (shirenai)* 'Maybe it would be good to...' It presents a suggestion as if a commentary or evaluative statement. Excerpt (11) is from a meeting where the Japanese teachers were discussing a reading material about the Japanese education system of the 1980s.

(11)

01 Y: Yomi kaki chuushin datta(.) kanji desu yone[:kore o miru to.
reading writing center COP-PST feeling COP FP this ACC see if
'This seems focused on reading and writing. If we look at this.'

02 K: [u::n
'Yeah'

03 (2.0)

04 Y: De- watashitachi no ima yatteru kurasu to hikaku shi temo ii KAMO
so we GEN now doing class with compare even if good maybe
'Maybe it would be good to compare with the classes we are
teaching now.'

05 K: Un...
'Yeah'

In line 4, Y broke the silence by making a suggestion of teaching this reading material and comparing the education system in the article with their current classes. She uses the structure of “Maybe it is good to...” instead of commonly used suggestion patterns such as “How about...” or “It is better...” Giving a suggestion is considered as an action showing the speaker’s knowledge. As Pizziconi (2009: 266) suggests, “knowledge is seen as a metaphorical extension of authority over a physical domain.” It implies the speaker has more knowledge than the addressee and thereby has the authority to take such an action. Using *kamo* (*shirenai*) to give suggestion softens its assertive force and mitigates the potential threat to the addressee. It allows the speaker to present his/her personal idea in an objective and unconfident tone.

5.4 To express personal emotion in a less ego-focused manner

As an epistemic marker, *kamo* (*shirenai*), in the traditional view, is supposed to mark the speaker's certainty or judgment of the truth value of a proposition. However, we have observed in the prior section that in conversational discourse, it can also mitigate the speaker's subjective evaluation, which is different from a piece of information or assertion that can be judged by evidential factuality. In a similar vein, *kamo* (*shirenai*) can modify even more "subjective" expressions—the speaker's personal feelings or emotions.

Personal feelings or emotions are beyond the measurement or judgment of evidential factuality, and they are normally neither uncertain for the speaker nor do they call for mitigation of certainty. Emotive words such as "like," "hate," "want," "happy" and "sad" directly describe the speakers' internal feelings, which are also neither true nor false. Usually speakers express their own feelings with "direct forms" (Kamio 1997). Speakers choose to use the epistemic marker *kamo* (*shirenai*) not because they wish to present their own emotion or feeling as just one possibility, but rather its use is triggered by certain intersubjective considerations. As Suzuki (2006: 2) points out, "emotive communication is viewed not just as a personal psychological phenomenon, but as an interpersonal social act."

Maynard (1997: 194) states that participants often predict, respond to and accommodate other's feelings in a context where participants' emotions and attitudes strongly color the perspective. Markus and Kitayama (1991) classify emotion in to "ego-focused" and "other-focused," and define empathy as one of the typical examples of "other-focused" emotion. Empathy is regarded to lead to favorable attitude for most members of collectivist cultures such as Japanese and Chinese, since it tends to "involve others' feelings or attributes as a primary referent, fostering friendly feelings, feeling of affiliation and connectedness." (Aaker and Williams 1998: 244) Therefore, in Japanese culture, when a speaker shares a strong emotion or feeling with someone, the preferred response is one indicating empathy. On the other hand, the speaker who expresses personal emotion would also prefer to downplay the force of ego-focus and reduce the burden that would be put on others by his/her own emotion.

In Excerpt (1), repeated here as (12), *kamo* (*shirenai*) is more than an epistemic marker, serving as an emotional softener to reflect the speaker's interpersonal consideration; that is, to avoid seeming "ego-focused" and to reduce the potential pressure for the addressee to respond to the speaker's feeling.

(12)

- 01 K: *Jaa, wadai o kime-mashoo.*
 then topic ACC decide let's
 'Let's decide the topic.'
- 02 H: *Nani ga ii n daroo.*
 What NOM good NML would
 'What would be good?'
- 03 K: *Jaa, ano Madison de ichiban umai meshi ↗*
 then FL Madison at the most delicious food
 'Then, the best restaurant in Madison' ↗
- 04 (0.3)
- 05 H: [Aa:::
 'oh:::'
- 06 K: [Resutoran wa doko ka.
 restaurant TOP where Q
 'where the restaurant is...'
- 07 H: *Sore wa chotto shiritai kamo*
 that TOP a little know-want maybe
 'Maybe I sort of want to know that'

In order to play down the “personalness” and reduce the risk of making K feel pressured to respond, the speaker H adds *kamo* to *tai* “want.” Here *kamo* has lost its original meaning of epistemic uncertainty. This *kamo* cannot be interpreted as showing a possibility. It would sound rude, if H intended to imply that he might not want to know what K had just suggested. Here, *kamo* seems to have shifted from an epistemic marker to an emotive marker that mitigates the intensity of the emotion.

Due to the limitation of my data, there are only five cases of *kamo shirenai* as emotional mitigator in my database. Yet, this new change can be found fairly frequently in the internet discourse such as personal blogs or Facebook postings, in which *kamo* (*shirenai*) is observed after emotive lexicons. I have encountered 55 such internet examples of *kamo* (*shirenai*) (11 cases of *kamo shirenai* and 44 cases of *kamo*), which are attached to emotive adjectives including *hoshii* ‘want (something),’ *tai* ‘want (to do something),’ *zannen* ‘pitiful,’ *ureshii* ‘happy,’ *kanashii* ‘sad,’ and *sabishii* ‘lonely.’ Below are some of these examples:

- (13) a. *Li mimi kaki ga hoshii kamo shirenai*
 good ear pick NOM want maybe
 ‘I want a good ear picker, maybe.’
- b. *Chibetto ni iki tai kamo*
 Tibet to go want maybe
 ‘I want to go to Tibet, maybe.’
- c. *Eeto Geitsu neage enchoo da soo de, chotto zannen kamo*
 eight gates price-up extend COP QUO COP a little pity maybe
 ‘Eight Gates will continue the price increase. That is a little disappointing, maybe.’

- d. *Kyoo kaimono o shitara okaikee ga 666 datta.*
 today shopping ACC do-when bill NOM 666 COP-PST
Nanka chotto ureshii kamo
 FL a little happy maybe
 ‘When I shopped today, the bill was ¥666. I was somehow a little happy, maybe.’
- e. *Omise no fun’iki ga zannen kamo*
 shop GEN atmosphere NOM pitiful maybe
 ‘The atmosphere of the restaurant is a pity, maybe.’
Ohiru ni ukagai-mashita. shun no ozen o itatadki,
 noon at go-PST season GEN dish ACC eat
oishikatta no desu ga, omise no fun’iki ga
 delicious-PST NML COP but restaurant GEN atmosphere NOM
zannen deshita.
 pitiful COP-PST
 ‘I went (there) for lunch. I ate the seasonal food. It was delicious, however, the atmosphere of the restaurant was a pity...’

It would be odd to translate the *kamo* (*shirenai*) in the examples above to be “maybe” or “may,” especially in cases such as (13d) and (13e), in which *kamo* marks the writer’s personal feeling about a past event that is unlikely to be interpreted with epistemic uncertainty. Then why do these cyber writers use the epistemic marker *kamo* (*shirenai*) to modify their personal emotive expressions? Maynard (2005: 27–28) suggests that youth-language tends to use self-alienating, objectified, excessively self-conscious, vague expressions. Maynard (2005: 29) elaborates further:

These manipulations give the impression that the speaker is being solicitous of and considerate to the partner. In other words, by using youth language, speakers “soften” their statements. The motivation for adding this softening effect, however, is not limited to accommodating others’ feelings. As Satake (1997) notes, *sofutoka* “softening” is a rather aggressive strategy that the speaker, vulnerable and fearful of the partner’s possible criticism, uses to silence potential disagreement.

According to the latest data of statistical surveys conducted in 2014 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2015: 77), 61.1% of the Facebook users and 53.8% of Twitter users in Japan were in their 20’s. Hur (2011), based on 120 posts from Japanese celebrities’ personal blogs between 2008 and 2009, points out that the hedge expressions *kamo shirenai* and *kamo* primarily appear in the blogs of people in 20s and 30s. In such internet discourse, *kamo* (*shirenai*) is often observed as a strategic device for the young adults to express personal feelings in a less ego-focused way to avoid drawing too much attention to the writer’s internal

world, thereby to protect themselves from potential cyber attacks. Although website readers do not directly speak with the writers in person, I would argue that in some sense, cyber interactions are more intense, more personal and more sensitive than actual face-to-face conversations. In an example such as (13d) the writer cannot help sharing her joy when she found out that the amount showing on her receipt turned out to be 666 yen. However, at the same time, she realizes that this small incident may not be worthy of being characterized as *ureshii* 'happy' for other people. *Kamo*, like other hedges such as *chotto* 'a little' (cf. Matsumoto 1985), downgrades the intensity of her emotion by indicating that this personal happiness is nothing strong or significant and thereby shows the writer's reluctance to bother other cyber readers with her personal feeling on trivialities. This strategic device, on the other hand, may block potential criticism from readers toward her trivial sharing. Here again we see that the new usage of *kamo (shirenai)* in marking emotion is driven by interpersonal or intersubjective consideration.

6. Potential grammaticalization of *kamo (shirenai)*

Section 5 has analyzed the following discourse-pragmatic functions of *kamo (shirenai)* in conversational discourse:

- I. To mitigate propositional certainty
- II. To mitigate assertiveness of the speaker's statement
- III. To present an assessment in a noncommittal fashion
- IV. To express personal emotion in a less ego-focused manner

In the usages of Type I and II, which occupy approximately 61% of the total cases, *kamo (shirenai)* marks the proposition [X] as a possibility. "[X] *kamo (shirenai)*" indicates: First, the speaker expresses his/her attitude of epistemic uncertainty; namely, "I am not sure whether [X] is really true or not." Second, the speaker implies that [X] might be false, or that [-X] could be actually true. The epistemic meanings of *kamo (shirenai)* and its implications make it a perfect hedge expression in contexts when the speaker either is uncertain about whether [X] is true or not, or is reluctant to make a commitment to the factuality of [X]. Note that despite the fact that *kamo (shirenai)* in Type I and II indicates the speaker's epistemic modality, their usages are often driven by intersubjective/interactional consideration or concern; for instance, because the speaker believes the addressee may have more knowledge than him/herself, or because the speaker is afraid that his/her statement may misalign him/herself from the addressee or may threaten the addressee's face.

However, the same formula does not readily apply to the *kamo* (*shirenai*) of Types III & IV, which mitigates evaluative utterances such as *sugoi* ‘great,’ *yabai* ‘terrible’ and *ii* ‘good,’ or emotive expressions such as *tai* ‘want,’ *iya* ‘dislike’ and *ureshii* ‘happy.’ As indicated in Table 3 below, an alternative proposition, [-X] *kamo* in which *kamo* (*shirenai*) is attached to evaluative or emotive expressions (Type III and IV), seems to be less common in default situations, compared to Type I and II. Although merely 38 percent of the *kamo* (*shirenai*) in my database belong to categories III and IV, there is a possibility that those examples may signal a new tendency of grammaticalization of *kamo* (*shirenai*), which, in a certain sense, has slightly moved away from its original epistemic meanings.

Table 3. The semantic implications of four types of *kamo*

	[X] <i>kamo</i>	[-X] <i>kamo</i>
Type I	[My roommate was troubled by	[My roommate was not troubled by
Example (4)	that] <i>kamo</i>	that] <i>kamo</i>
Type II	[That is wrong] <i>kamo</i>	[That is right] <i>kamo</i>
Example (5)		
Type III	[That is good] <i>kamo</i>	[That is bad] <i>kamo</i> (?)
Example (8)		
Type IV	[I want to know] <i>kamo</i>	[I don’t want to know] <i>kamo</i> (?)
Example (1)	[I am a little happy] <i>kamo</i>	[I am not happy] <i>kamo</i> (?)
Example (13d)		

For instance, as in Excerpt (1), it is unlikely that *shiri tai kamo* ‘maybe I want to know’ indicates the speaker’s hesitation or unwillingness to hear the information about the good restaurants that is offered by the addressee. Furthermore, this kind of *kamo* (*shirenai*) contains no sense of truth or falsehood, since it is just speaker’s subjective desire instead of an objective statement. My study has demonstrated that the use of *kamo* (*shirenai*) in such cases is mainly motivated by the speaker’s intersubjective or interactional considerations toward the addressee rather than subjective or epistemic judgment toward the proposition.

If we place the various usages of *kamo* (*shirenai*) on a continuum, as illustrated in Figure 1, moving from Type I to Type IV, the epistemic meaning or subjectivity of *kamo* (*shirenai*) gradually decreases while the affective indication or intersubjectivity increases.

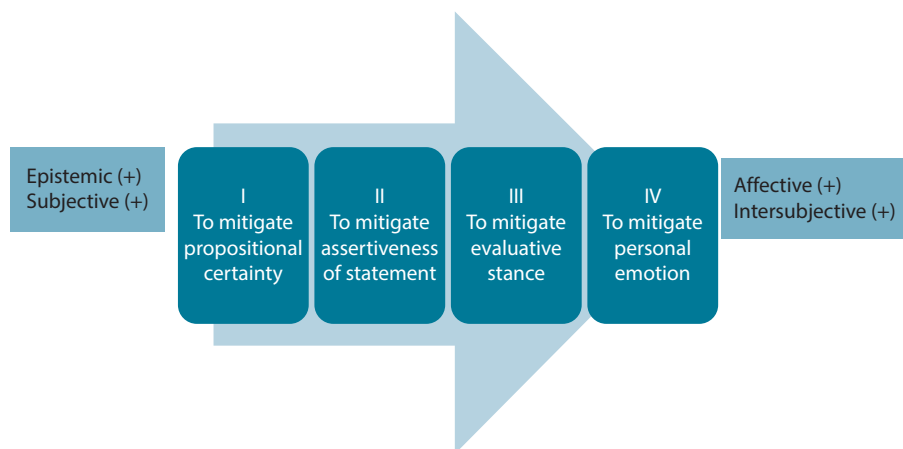


Figure 1. A continuum of the four types of *kamo* (*shirenai*)

The continuum above may signify a potential grammaticalizational tendency of *kamo* (*shirenai*), which would be consistent with Traugott's (1982, 1989) hypothesis on semantic change, i.e., shifting from less to more personal or expressive, and from subjective to more intersubjective. In order to affirm this hypothesis, however, historical data investigation is required, which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

7. Conclusion

Kamo (*shirenai*), as pointed out by many previous studies, is “a marker of non-factuality, which indexes the speaker's belief about the possibility of existence/occurrence of a certain state of affairs while admitting alternative possibilities as well” (Pizziconi 2009: 278). The semantic meanings are closely related to its syntactic structure where the proposition is being marked as uncertain, but a possibility.

My study demonstrates that the semantic meanings of uncertainty, objectivity and possibility make *kamo* (*shirenai*) a convenient mitigating device in various interactional contexts. In modern Japanese conversation, this epistemic marker does not merely indicate the speaker's belief about whether the proposition is true or not. Rather, it is developing to be a modality marker to mitigate the assertiveness of statements, to present non-full approval in a noncommittal way, and to express personal emotions in a manner less ego-focused and more focused on the addressee and the interpersonal relations. The social relationship between the interlocutors, the speaker's judgment of the addressee's knowledge, the shared

social understanding on “face” and “politeness” (Brown and Levinson 1987), the unfolding conversational dynamics, and so on, are all potential factors that trigger the occurrence of *kamo* (*shirenai*). It allows the speaker to either deliver information, assertions or suggestions to the addressee in a non-domineering manner or to respond to the addressee’s statement with a non-full agreement or approval in a softened and detached manner. Further, the usages observed in internet discourse, where *kamo* (*shirenai*) is used to modify emotional expressions, may signal a new tendency of grammaticalization of this epistemic marker, which awaits future studies with more in-depth discourse analysis and a wider variety of data sources.

Appendix

List of abbreviations

ACC	accusative
COP	copula
FL	filler
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive
NEG	negative
NML	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
PST	past
Q	question
QUO	quotation T
TOP	topic

Transcription notations

(.)	A short, untimed pause
(0.0)	A timed pause
[]	Overlap
hh	Audible breath
::	Lengthened syllable
=	Latched utterances, a continuation of talk
?	High rising intonation
::	Elongated speech, a stretched sound
↗	A rise in intonation

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Ne as an “impoliteness” (“detachment”) marker?

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The sentence-final/interactional particle *ne* in Japanese is typically used when the speaker assumes the information in the sentence is shared with the hearer, expressing request for confirmation or agreement. Although such *ne* is obligatory, there are “optional” types of *ne* as well (e.g., Kamio 1994, 1998). This chapter examines one type, used when the speaker has full information and the hearer has none. It is pronounced short and crisp in low pitch, often followed by a glottal stop, and indicates “self-confirmation” (Takubo and Kinsui 1996a). The present data show that this type of *ne* carries a detached or even impolite tone. Although a one-to-one mapping between a linguistic form and politeness (or impoliteness) is untenable, we must not ignore connections completely.

Keywords: detachment, impoliteness, information status, interactional particle *ne*, Japanese, optional *ne*, pragmatics, self-confirmation, sentence-final particle *ne*, theory of information territory

1. Introduction

The sentence-final/interactional particle *ne* in Japanese is typically used when the speaker assumes that the information in the sentence is shared with the hearer, expressing request for confirmation or agreement. It is thus often likened to a tag question marker in English and other languages. Although such *ne* is obligatory, there are “optional” types of *ne* as well. The present chapter examines one type of “optional *ne*” (Kamio 1994, 1998), used when the speaker has full information and the hearer has none. It is pronounced short and crisp in low pitch, often followed by a glottal stop. It will be shown that the use of this type of *ne* carries a detached or even impolite tone. The main data are from student responses to questions in interviews with a professor (the author), a situation in which a fair amount of politeness is expected. Obviously, politeness is affected by various verbal and nonverbal factors, such as the content discussed, phrases used, tone of voice, intonation, posture, eye contact and, most of all, the speaker’s attitude (e.g., Ide et al. 1992). Although

a one-to-one mapping between a linguistic form and politeness (or impoliteness) is untenable, we must not ignore connections completely.

The type of optional *ne* to be investigated is exemplified in (1) and (2) below, in which a student is responding to the professor's questions. In the examples taken from the college student data, "Prof" stands for "professor," and "S" for "student" (participant). In the participant ID such as "06-F2," the first number refers to their ID number, "F" means female, and "2" means 2nd-year student.

- (1) Prof.: *Furansugo no sensee tte Furansugo no bogo-washa*
 French GEN teacher TOP French GEN native.speaker
desu ka?
 COP Q

'Is your French teacher a native speaker of French?'

- S (06-F2): *Nihonjin desu NE.*

Japanese COP

'She's Japanese NE.'

- (2) Prof.: *Supootsu mo nasaru n desu ka?*
 sports too do[HON] EP COP Q

'Do you do [HON] sports, too?'

- S (06-F2): *Chuugaku no toki wa basuke yattemashita NE.*

jr.high.school GEN time TOP basketball played

'I played basketball in junior high school NE.'

Such *ne* is distinguished from other types of optional *ne*, like the one appearing in the response in (3), in which the speaker (student) is responding to a request for confirmation. She knows that the hearer (professor) already has the information, at least to a degree. It is pronounced differently from *ne* in (1) and (2); i.e. softly and often elongated. Furthermore, optional *ne* like the one in (3) can be interpreted to express speaker's "admiration," meaning 'wow!; indeed!'

- (3) [After the student listed classes she is currently taking, which were all in linguistics]

Prof.: *Gengogaku suki na no ne?*

linguistics like COP EP TQ

'You like linguistics, don't you.'

- S (09-F2): *Suki desu ne.*

like COP

'I do ne.'

Optional *ne* used in response to questions, as in (1) and (2), gives a "detached" (*tsuki-hanashita*) or sometimes even "brusque" (*bukkiraboo na*) impression, hence, the characterization as an "impoliteness"/"detachment" marker. It is interesting that, while true tags have the effect of intensifying the level of hearer "involvement"

(Chafe 1982), it has the opposite effect. In what follows, the cause of the ‘impolite’ tone will be explained by Kamio’s (1990, 1994, *inter alia*) theory of information territory. Actually, a combination of three elements is responsible for the tone: the presence of *ne*, its pronunciation, and the information status of the sentence (i.e., the information solely belongs to the speaker and not shared by the hearer).

The remainder of the present chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 gives a brief account of the particle *ne*, and Section 3, the definition of “impoliteness.” Section 4 discusses the data and participants, and Section 5 offers my analysis. Section 6 is the conclusion.

2. Particle *ne*

There have been many studies on *ne* from various perspectives over the years including performative (Uyeno 1971), functional (Izuhara 2003; Martin 1975), interactional (Cook 1990, 1992; Maynard 1989, 1993; Morita 2002, 2005, 2012; Ohta 1994; Tanaka 2000), gender (McGloin 1990), cognitive (Hasegawa 2010; Hayano 2013; Kamio 1990; Ohso 2005; Takubo and Kinsui 1996a, 1996b), acquisition (Sawyer 1992) and pedagogical (Nazikian 2005). Among the sentence-final/interactional particles, *ne* is reported to occur most frequently in casual conversation in Japanese (Maynard 1989).

According to Kindaichi (1957: 170; 1988: 211), “The speaker of Japanese hates to let a sentence end on a note of finality.”¹ Martin (1975: 914) states that this “accounts for the tendency to attach a FINAL PARTICLE to impart some additional hint of the speaker’s attitude toward what he [sic] is saying – doubt, conviction, caution, inquiry, confirmation or request for confirmation, recollection, etc.” According to Martin (1975: 914–916), *né[e]* is used:²

- to involve both speaker and hearer in what is being said [e.g., “you know,” “you see” in English]
- to express “endearment” like a vocative or some substitute [e.g., “And that’s what happened, Tom/my dear.”]
- to express “conversational intimacy” [e.g., *Soo shitara omoshiroi née* “Now THAT would be fun.”]
- to soften a statement and invite confirmation on the part of the hearer [“..., don’t you think?”]

1. The original quote appears in Japanese. The translation is from Martin (1975: 914).

2. In Martin (1975) intonation is not indicated. The use of capital letters is original. The Romanization spelling has been changed to the Hepburn system to be consistent with the rest of the chapter; i.e., *si* → *shi*.

He also adds:

- Sometimes *né* expresses a concession [e.g., *Soo na n desu né* “That’s true, all right”], but the force of the interjectional particle is often carried in English and other languages by GESTURES – a smile, a frown, a shrug, a jab, a wag.

Additional functions of *ne* have been proposed in the literature, such as to seek agreement, to express admiration (McGloin et al. 2013), empathy or “rapport” (Uyeno 1971), to signal “an affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee” (Cook 1990), and as “a turn management device” (Tanaka 2000). It is often difficult, however, to distinguish one function from another, and the same *ne* can serve more than one function at the same time. The function of optional *ne* under discussion is related to Martin’s (1975) last characterization above, or to express “concession.” A “shrug,” in particular, represents the kind of attitude typically associated with it. Note that the particle in this usage is specifically indicated as short *né*, as opposed to *né[e]* elsewhere.

It is generally agreed that *ne* is used when the speaker believes that the information in the foregoing portion of the sentence (or the knowledge) is “shared” by the hearer (e.g., Hayano 2013; Kimura and Moriyama 1992; Makino and Tsutsui 1986; Masuoka 1991). The type of optional *ne* under discussion does not confirm to this since the speaker (*ne* user) is answering the other party’s question and knows that the latter does not share the information/knowledge.

The theory of territory of information, proposed by Kamio (1990, 1994, *inter alia*), is based on the notion of psychological distance between a given piece of information and the speaker/hearer. The closeness of information is “relative and gradable,” and “a given piece of information [may belong] to the speaker’s territory to some degree, and to the hearer’s to some other degree” (Kamio 1994: 81). The speaker’s information is defined as follows (Kamio 1994: 77):

- a. information obtained through the speaker’s direct experience
- b. information about persons, facts, and things close to the speaker, ... and information about places to which the speaker has a geographical relation
- c. information embodying detailed knowledge which falls within the speaker’s professional or other expertise

In this theory’s notations, “S” stands for “the speaker,” “H” for “the hearer,” “0” for “no information,” and “1” for “full information.”³ According to Kamio (1998: 236), there are two types of *ne*, obligatory and optional. Obligatory *ne* is noted as [H = 1]

3. In the theory of territory of information, “n” is used to indicate a “value between 0 and 1.” For example, optional *ne* is notated as $S \geq H < n$ in Kamio (1994: 96) and revised as $H < n \ \& \ S \geq H$ in Kamio (1998: 236). It is omitted here as it does not concern the discussion at hand.

(hearer has full information), and optional *ne* as [S≥H] (the speaker has an equal or larger amount of information as does the hearer). Examples in (4) are taken from Kamio (1994, 1998). The translations and grammatical judgments are his. (Glosses, an underline and boldface for *ne(e)* have been added.)

- (4) a. Obligatory *ne* (Kamio 1994: 89)
Kimi wa doitsu-go ga dekimasu nee.
 you TOP German NOM can.do
 ‘You are competent in German!’
- b. Optional *ne* (Kamio 1994: 97)
 A: *Kore, ikura desu ka?*
 this how.much COP Q
 ‘How much is this?’
 B: *Gohyaku-en desu **ne**.*
 500-en COP
 Lit. ‘(It) is 500-yen.’
- c. Optional *ne* (Kamio 1998: 234)
 A: *Goshujin no onamae wa?*
 husband GEN name TOP
 ‘(What is) your husband’s name?’
 B: *??Akira desu **ne**.*
 Akira COP
 ‘(His name) is Akira.’

According to Kamio (1998: 234), optional *ne* is used when the information cannot readily be provided by the speaker, such as the type requiring “an elaborate process of recalling or a detailed investigation in advance.” This explains why the use of *ne* in the response in (4b) is felicitous, but not that in (4c). Although the part about “a detailed investigation in advance” may be unnecessary, the rest seems valid.

Rejecting views that make any reference to the speaker’s assumption about the hearer’s information status, Takubo and Kinsui (1996a) state that *ne* is “a marker that shows that the speaker is in the middle of computing the appropriateness of the proposition.”⁴ The use of *ne* as in (5B) is analyzed as follows: there is no assumption about hearer knowledge, and what is relevant is “self-confirmation maneuver” (*jiko kakunin soosa*).

4. Takubo and Kinsui (1996a) is written in Japanese, and the translation is mine. The original language is: 当該の命題の妥当性を計算中であるという標識 *toogai no meedai no datoosee o keesanchuu de aru to iu hyooshiki*. See also Takubo (1995) and Takubo and Kinsui (1996b).

- (5) A: *Ima nanji desu ka?*
 now what.time COP Q
 ‘What time is it now?’
 B: [while looking at a watch]
Shichi-ji desu NE.
 seven.o’clock COP
 ‘It’s 7 o’clock NE.’

Although Kamio’s analysis of optional *ne* does utilize the concept of information status, his view that optional *ne* is used when “an elaborate process of recalling” is required is not inconsistent with Takubo and Kinsui’s (1996a) characterization that *ne* shows “that the speaker is in the middle of computing the appropriateness of the proposition.”

As mentioned in Section 1, the present study is concerned with optional *ne* used when the speaker has full information and the hearer none, as in (4b) and (5B) above. Below is a classification of the major functions of *ne(e)*, with examples from the present data. Note that ‘↑’ indicates rising intonation, and ‘→,’ level intonation.

Obligatory types

- (6) Request for confirmation

Prof.: *Ninensee desu ka. (S: Hai.) Toyuukoto-wa, ano, rainen*
 sophomore COP Q yes that.means FIL next.year
no sangatsu ni owaru n desu ne?↑
 GEN March in finish EP COP TQ
 ‘So, you’re a sophomore. (S: yes) That means that, um, you’ll be finished in March next year, right?’
 S (01-F2): *Hai.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

- (7) Request for agreement⁵

Prof.: *Haa, mezurashii namae desu ne.→*
 hmm unusual name COP TQ
 ‘Hmm, it’s an usual name, isn’t it?’

5. *Ne(e)* in an exchange like the following is obligatory. The instances of *nee* can both be interpreted to express ‘admiration, rapport,’ as well as ‘request for agreement.’

- A: *Kyoo wa ii tenki desu nee.→*
 today TOP good weather COP TQ
 ‘Nice weather today, isn’t it.’
 B: *Soo desu nee.→*
 so COP TQ
 ‘It is, isn’t it.’

- S (03-F2): *Hai. A, demo, gonin gurai ima madeni attemasu.*
 yes oh but 5.people about now until have.met
 ‘Yes. Oh, but I’ve so far met about five people (with the same name).’

Optional types

(8) Softening/rapport/endearment/reminder

- Prof.: *Kaabu miraa? toka chanto mite yatte*
 curve mirror or.whatever be.sure.to look.and do.it
kudasai ne.↑
 please OK?
 ‘Be sure to look at the traffic mirror? or whatever it’s called and ride
 (a bicycle), OK?’

S (09-F2): *Hai.*

yes
 ‘Yes.’

(9) Recollection/admiration

[about the city where the student had studied]

- Prof.: *Chotto samui n ja nai n desu ka?*
 a.little cold EP COP NEG EP COP Q
 ‘Isn’t it a little cold (there)?’

- S (08-F2): *A, samukatta desu ne.→*
 oh was.cold POL
 ‘Oh, it was cold ne.’

(10) Self-confirmation

- Prof.: *De, sakki ichijikan to osshatta?*
 and while.ago 1.hour QT said [HON]
 ‘And, a little while ago did you say [HON] it takes an hour?’

- S (11-F4): *Densha ni noru no wa ichijikan to, ato chikatetsu*
 train LOC ride NML TOP 1.hour and also subway
ga nijuppun gurai na n desu kedo, norikae toka
 NOM 20.min. about COP EP COP but transfer like
hokano, ie made no basu toka iretara
 other home to GEN bus like include.if
nijikan-han desu NE.→
 2.hours.half COP

‘The train ride is one hour, and also the subway ride is about 20 minutes, but, if I include other things like the transfer time and the bus ride to my home, it takes two and a half hours NE.’

The type of *ne* in (10) is the central focus of the present study. The sentence plainly illustrates “an elaborate process of recalling” (Kamio 1998) and that the speaker has completed “computing the appropriateness of the proposition” (Takubo and Kinsui 1996a).

3. “Impoliteness”

While research on linguistic politeness has been “going strong since the 1970s,” that on impoliteness “has only recently picked up momentum” (Locher 2011: 187). Research on impoliteness in Japanese seems to lag even more behind, with the notable exception of Haugh (2015). Culpeper (2010: 3232) states: “It is only in recent years that there has been a concerted effort to explore the language of social interactions which might be labeled ‘impolite’ or ‘rude.’” The definition of “impoliteness” adopted in the present study is that from Culpeper (2010: 3233):

Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. ... Situated behaviours are viewed negatively when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. ... Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be, including for example whether one understands a behaviour to be strongly intentional or not.

“Impoliteness” being a subjective judgment, great individual variation is expected whether or not a certain behavior (or utterance) is regarded as such. Furthermore, it would not be surprising if there were an age factor; that is, a certain behavior (or utterance) that is interpreted “impolite” by an older generation may not be by a younger one. I leave this question for future research.

Fraser and Nolen (1981: 96) contend, “no sentence is inherently polite or impolite. We often take certain expressions to be impolite, but it is not the expressions themselves but the conditions under which they are used that determines the judgment of politeness.” Similar views are expressed by others, such as Locher and Watts (2008: 78). I agree, however, with Culpeper (2010: 3232), who states:

it is not the case that any particular linguistic form guarantees an evaluation that it is impolite in all contexts; moreover, people may disagree about how impolite a linguistic form is. However, the current tendency to emphasize the context rather than linguistic form risks throwing the baby out with the bath-water.

Let us consider a relatively clear case of “impolite” *ne*, taken from a TV program *Hitoshi Matsumoto no suberanai hanashi* [Hitoshi Matsumoto’s Unfailing Stories] (broadcast on January 10, 2015).⁶ A comic named Bakarizumu tells a story entitled *Keibi-in to no yaritori* [An Exchange with a Guard], which took place at a TV station’s receptionist desk about 10 years ago. The guard is in his mid 30s, and his job is to check visitors’ names in a book when they come in. In the story, Bakarizumu characterizes the guard as *bu-aisoo* ‘unfriendly.’ The relevant portion appears in (11) below (0:28 to 1:28 of the video clip 4:34).

6. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q0yPeTHfzTs>, accessed on July 20, 2015

- (11) [‘B’: Bakarizumu; ‘G’: Guard]
- 01 B: *Ano, Toranomom no neta-mise ni kita Bakarizumu desu.*
FIL Toranomom GEN audition to came Bakarizuu COP
‘Um, my name is Bakarizumu; I’m here for the Toranomom audition.’
- 02 G: *E? Dare?*
huh who
‘Huh? Who?’
(Bakarizumu’s short comment here is omitted.)
- 03 B: *Toranomom no neta-mise de kita Bakarizumu desu.*
Toranomom GEN audition for came Bakarizuu COP
‘My name is Bakarizumu; I’m here for the Toranomom audition.’
- 04 G: *Aa, chotto nai desu NE.*
oh a.little not.here COP
‘Well, it (your name) isn’t here NE.’
- 05 B: *Iya, sonna wake nai to omou n desu kedo...*
well such possibility not QT think EP COP but
‘Well, I don’t think that’s possible, but...’
- 06 G: *E? Bangumi-mei wa?*
huh program.name TOP
‘Huh? The name of the program?’
- 07 B: *Ano, Toranomom desu.*
FIL Toranomom COP
‘Well, it’s Toranomom.’
- 08 G: *Namae wa?*
name TOP
‘Your name?’
- 09 B: *Bakarizumu desu.*
Bakarizuu COP
‘It’s Bakarizumu.’
- 10 G: *Sutaffu no namae waku?*
staff GEN name know
‘Know the name of the staff?’
- 11 B: *Dare-dare-san desu.*
Mr/Ms.so.and.so COP
‘It’s Mr/Ms. so-and-so.’
- 12 G: *Sss..., yappa nai desu NE.*
well as.expected not.here POL
‘Well, as expected, it’s not here NE.’

At this point the guard closes the book, and starts to ignore Bakarizumu. Bakarizumu complains to the guard about his “consistently unwilling (lit. ‘too-much-trouble’) attitude,”⁷ and gives a lecture about work attitude. It turns out that he was at the wrong

TV station, which was why his name did not appear in the guest book. He realized this halfway, but did not let on. Granted that the guard’s whole attitude is impolite, lines 4 and 12 represent quintessential sentences with “impolite” (or “detached”) *ne*, despite the fact that the addressee-honorific (“polite”) form *desu* is used.

4. Data and participants

The main data used in the present study consist of twenty dyadic conversations between a student and the author, collected in June 2012 at two schools, one in Kanto, and the other in central Japan. A total of twenty students (F19, M1) participated, all native speakers of Japanese and undergraduates at the time. The participants came individually to a quiet room on their campus to have a face-to-face interview. Although they met the author for the first time, the tone of all the interviews was informal, with many laughs throughout. The participants were compensated for their time by a small amount of money. The average length of an interview is about 27 minutes. The whole data, total of 8.6 hours, were audio- and video-recorded, and later transcribed. Each interview consists of three portions: chat, role-plays, and conversations while students filled out a post-interview questionnaire. Only the chat portion is used in the present study. Topics include participants’ major field of study, extracurricular activities, part-time jobs, and study abroad experience. The participants and the length of the interviews are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Participants and the length of interviews

College	ID*	Length		College	ID*	Length	
		min.	sec.			min.	sec.
A	01-F2	17	32	B	11-F4	28	42
A	02-F2	32	10	B	12-F3	18	10
A	03-F2	24	30	B	13-M4	23	44
A	04-F2	30	40	B	14-F4	29	21
A	05-F2	36	23	B	15-F4	25	15
A	06-F2	24	59	B	16-F3	29	14
A	07-F2	32	39	B	17-F3	31	0
A	08-F2	21	35	B	18-F3	27	33
A	09-F2	26	4	B	19-F3	21	3
B	10-F3	27	25	B	20-F3	31	18

Average: 26.95 min.

* F: female; M: male; ‘01-F2’ means ‘ID #1, female, 2nd-year student’

Excerpts (12)–(17) provide examples of optional *ne* in response to questions.

- (12) Prof.: *Jaa, etto, senkoo wa?*
 then FIL major TOP
 ‘Then, (what is) your major?’
 S (20-F3): *Senkoo wa Nihongo kyooiku desu NE.*
 major TOP Japanese education COP
 ‘My major is Japanese language education NE.’
- (13) Prof.: *Ano, jaa, shumi wa?*
 ‘Um, then, (what is) your hobby?’
 S (10-F3): *Shumi wa, etto, piano o zutto narattete, (P: Un)*
 hobby TOP FIL piano ACC long.time have.learned uh-huh
sore ga shumi desu NE.
 that NOM hobby COP
 ‘My hobby, um, I’ve been taking lessons in piano, and that’s my hobby NE.’
- (14) Prof.: *Eigo no sukiru tteyuu no wa*
 English GEN skill what.you.call one TOP
tatoeba donna?
 for.example what.kind
 ‘What kind of skills do you mean by “English skills,” for example?’
 S (03-F2): *Tatoeba riidingu toka (P: Aa) raitingu toka (P: Un) ato*
 for.example reading etc. oh writing etc. uh-huh also
dibeeto toka (P: Huun). Hai, sooitta gijutsu desu NE.
 debate etc. hmm yes that.kind.of skill COP
 ‘For example, things like reading, writing, and also debate. Yes, those kinds of skills NE.’
- (15) [Talking about *fuudo faitaa* ‘food fighter’ at the school festival]
 Prof.: *Haa, nani o taberu n desu ka?*
 hmm what ACC eat EP COP Q
 ‘Hmm, what do they eat?’
 S (01-F2): *Etto, kyonen wa hottodoggu deshita NE.*
 FIL last.year TOP hotdog COP-PST
 ‘Um, it was hotdogs last year NE.’
- (16) Prof.: *Demo, jitensha de ano saka noboru no?*
 but bicycle by that hill climb Q
 ‘But, you would climb that hill on a bike?’
 S (19-F3): *A, kitsui desu.*
 oh tough COP
 ‘Oh, it is tough.’

- Prof.: *Ne? Yatta n desu ka? demo.*
 TQ did EP COP Q
 ‘Isn’t it? But, you did it?’
- S (19-F3): *Yattemashita NE, zutto.*
 did long.time
 ‘I did NE, for a long time.’
- (17) Prof.: *Ryuugaku toka shimashita ka?*
 study.abroad etc. did Q
 ‘Have you done study abroad?’
- S (17-F3): *Iya, shite-nai desu.*
 no haven’t.done POL
 ‘No, I haven’t.’
- Prof.: *A, soo?*
 oh really
 ‘Oh, really?’
- S (17-F3): *Etto, ryokoo de kaigai iku no wa suki na n desu*
 FIL vacation on abroad go NML TOP like COP EP COP
kedo, (P: Un) amari ryuugaku toka wa... chotto
 but uh-huh not.much study.abroad etc. TOP exactly
shitenai desu NE.
 haven’t.done POL
 ‘Um, I enjoy going abroad for vacation, but something like study abroad... I haven’t exactly done it NE.’

5. Analysis

Among the linguistic elements of an utterance, prosody plays an important role in affecting the tone. Even polite expressions such as *keego* ‘honorifics’ would sound rude if pronounced harshly; e.g., *Mooshiwake gozaimasendeshiTA!* ‘I’m sorry [hyperpolite]!’ As mentioned in Section 1, sentence-*ne(e)* can be uttered softly or harshly, and with rising, falling or level intonation, expressing different meanings.⁸ Optional *ne* under discussion is pronounced short and crisp in low pitch, often followed by a glottal stop. Some may argue that it is this prosody, rather than *ne* itself, that is contributing to the “impolite” or “detached” tone. Although there is no denying that prosody is influential, that cannot be the whole explanation. I contend that it is the *combination* of the linguistic form *ne*, the prosody, and the

8. See Jorden (1987: 42–43) and Izuhara (1994) regarding differing views on the pitch level variation of *ne*.

information status [$S = 1$, $H = 0$] that contributes to the particular connotation of the optional *ne* in question.

Consider (18) and (19) below, for example, in which original sentences with *ne* ((2), (12) above) are compared with their counterparts without it.

- (18) [In response to ‘Do you do [HON] sports, too?’]
 a. *Chuugaku no toki wa basuke yattemashita NE.* = (2)
 b. *Chuugaku no toki wa basuke yattemashita Ø.*
 ‘I played basketball in junior high school *NE/Ø*.’
- (19) [In response to ‘What is your major?’]
 a. *Senkoo wa Nihongo kyooiku desu NE.* = (12)
 b. *Senkoo wa Nihongo kyooiku desu Ø.*
 ‘My major is Japanese language education *NE/Ø*.’

Clearly, the *ne* sentences (18a) and (19a) sound less polite than (18b) and (19b), respectively. In fact, *ne* makes it sound as though the speaker wishes to shun a further conversational engagement with the addressee or about the current topic.⁹ This is likely related to the fact that optional *ne* utterances, functioning to self-confirm, are targeted at the speaker her/himself, at least partly.

To use Martin’s (1975: 914) terms, *ne* is attached to impart “some additional hint of the speaker’s attitude toward what he [sic] is saying.” In the present case, the additional hints or suggestions seem to be tentativeness (‘let’s say for now’), uncertainty (‘if I remember correctly’), realization (‘come to think of it’), or a combination thereof. See Examples (20)–(24), in which the *ne* responses presented earlier are repeated, with additional hints or suggestions added in parentheses.

Tentativeness

- (20) [being asked the nationality of her French professor]
 S (06-F2): *Nihonjin desu NE.* = (1)
 ‘(Let’s say for now that) she’s Japanese *NE*.’
- (21) S (20-F3): *Senkoo wa Nihongo kyooiku desu NE.* = (12)
 ‘(Let’s say for now that) my major is Japanese language education *NE*.’

Uncertainty

- (22) S (06-F2): *Chuugaku no toki wa basuke yattemashita NE.* = (2)
 ‘(If I remember correctly,) I played basketball in junior high school *NE*.’

9. The sentence-final/interactional particle *yo* is typically used to assert new information or to remind the hearer of purportedly shared information. When pronounced in low pitch and used in response to questions, it carries the same type of impolite/detached tone as does the optional *ne*. When it is pronounced with high pitch, it sounds less impolite, but is still inappropriate to a social superior. Unlike *ne*, it never indicates “self-confirmation.”

Realization

- (23) S (10-F3): *Shumi wa, etto, piano o zutto narattete, (P: Un) sore ga shumi desu NE.* = (13)
 ‘My hobby, um, I’ve been taking lessons in piano, and (come to think of it,) that’s my hobby NE.’
- (24) S (17-F3): *Etto, ryokoo de kaigai iku no wa suki na n desu kedo, (P: Un) amari riyugaku toka wa... chotto shitenai desu NE.* = (17)
 ‘Um, I enjoy going abroad for vacation, but something like study abroad... (come to think of it,) I haven’t exactly done it NE.’

When the speaker responds to a question with optional *ne*, as in above, it sounds as if s/he were being *musekinin* ‘irresponsible’ (e.g., (20)) or as if the content were *hitogoto* ‘someone else’s business’ (e.g., (21)–(24)). Impressions like these may well be part of the reason for the “impolite”/“detached” tone of the sentences.

Needless to say, there are many ways to express tentativeness, uncertainty, and realization, without using optional *ne* and not sounding impolite at all. This is shown in (20’)–(24’), which clearly show that such implications themselves are not responsible for the tone.

- (20’) [being asked someone’s nationality]
Nihonjin da to omoimasu.
 ‘I think she’s Japanese.’
- (21’) *Senkoo wa ima no tokoro Nihongo kyooiku desu.*
 ‘My major is Japanese language education for the time being.’
- (22’) *Tashika, chuugaku no toki wa basuke yattemashita.*
 ‘If I remember correctly, I played basketball in junior high school.’
- (23’) *Shumi wa, etto, piano o zutto narattete, sore ga shumi to ieru kamo shiremasen.*
 ‘My hobby, um, I’ve been taking lessons in piano, and I might say that’s my hobby.’
- (24’) *Etto, ryokoo de kaigai iku no wa suki na n desu kedo, (P: Un) amari riyugaku toka wa... soo ieba, chotto shitenai desu.*
 ‘Um, I enjoy going abroad for vacation, but something like study abroad... come to think of it, I haven’t exactly done it.’

Let us now examine the cause of the impolite tone from the perspective of information status, or in the framework of the theory of territory of information (Kamio 1990, 1994). *Ne* typically marks information that the speaker assumes is shared between her/himself and the hearer. It is reasonable to assume that attaching *ne* to information that solely belongs to the speaker and not shared by the hearer makes

it sound as though the speaker implies that the hearer should know it as well. This is analogous to answering questions with *of course* or *you know* in English to someone who has no idea, which sounds “impolite” or “odd.” Consider the responses in (25).

- (25) Q: *What’s your hobby?*
 A: *It’s music, of course.*
 A’: *’It’s music, you know.*

Östman’s (1981: 17) characterization of *you know* in English seems to hold true for the prototype of Japanese *ne*: “[when using *you know*], the speaker strives towards getting the addressee to cooperate and/or to accept the propositional content of his [sic] utterances as mutual background knowledge.” Gaudy-Campbell (2013: 206) states: “Under the guise of politeness, *you know* is rather subversive. It forces agreement, which makes it a coercive tool if not a forceful marker that thereby drifts away from politeness.” The latter observation regarding *you know* seems applicable to optional *ne* in Japanese as well.

It is assumed herein, however, that none of the “impolite”/“detached” tone of *ne* responses was “intentional,” because there was no reason for the participants to be impolite to me, a professor 40+ years their senior and their professor’s friend. Moreover, their demeanor was polite throughout the interview. They spoke mostly in polite (*desu/masu*) style, and even used referent honorifics occasionally (cf. Hudson 2014). It is possible that the speakers added *ne* to avoid a definitive ending, or “a note of finality” (Kindaichi 1957: 170, 1988: 211). In other words, the addition of *ne* may have been intended for a “softening,” or even “politeness,” effect, although the hearer may not interpret it as such.¹⁰

Another possible effect of optional *ne* is to show “informality.” I once asked a street vendor for the price of a bag of oranges in Tokyo. He answered jokingly, *Oneesan nara 600 en desu NE* ‘(If it’s) for you, young lady, they’re 600 yen NE.’ The ostensibly tentative nature of the price is captured by the phrase *oneesan nara* (Lit. ‘if it is for you, big sister’), as well as by the optional *ne*. It is doubtful for salesclerks at a pretentious store, who normally keep distance from their customers, to attach *ne* (pronounced short and crisp in low pitch) in a similar situation, as it would sound too familiar; e.g., *#Sore wa 600 en de gozaimasu NE* ‘That is [HYPERPOLITE] 600 yen NE.’

10. Hasegawa (2014: 317) states: ‘Optional *ne* functions to soften the locution and, therefore, expresses politeness.’ Unfortunately, the motivation for this characterization is not provided.

6. Conclusions

Optional *ne* appearing in responses to questions can be regarded as an “impoliteness”/“detachment” marker, though not necessarily intended by the speaker. This characterization may be too harsh, and some people, especially young people, may object. However, when the linguistic form *ne*, a particular pronunciation (short and crisp with low pitch), and the information status [S = 1, H = 0] are combined, it does seem to contribute to “impolite” or “detached” tone, with the speaker appearing somewhat *musekinin* ‘irresponsible’ or his/her information appearing as *hitogoto* ‘someone else’s business.’ Optional *ne* of this type is used for “self-confirmation” (Takubo and Kinsui 1996a) when the question is such that the speaker cannot readily respond or when s/he wishes to give a tentative response; e.g., *Etto, kyonen wa hottodoggu deshita NE* ‘(If I remember correctly,) um, it was hotdogs last year NE’; *Senkoo wa Nihongo kyooiku desu NE* ‘(Let’s say for now that) my major is Japanese language education NE.’ It is also possible that one uses this type of *ne* to avoid a definitive ending, or for a softening (i.e., politeness) effect. Recently this type of *ne* seems to be on the increase, especially among young people. That would be actually understandable considering that it is a handy means to make an utterance sound “soft” (cf. Hudson 2012 on *kata* ‘person [POL]’) or “informal.”

In future work, it will be good to investigate the usage of optional *ne* considering factors such as gender, age, and native language. It will also be interesting to compare the rates of obligatory and optional *ne* occurring in different genres; e.g., formal and informal conversations, and online language such as blog and twitter postings. Furthermore, spectrographic analyses of the prosody of *ne* will be worthwhile.

Appendix

Abbreviations used in the gloss

ACC	accusative	NML	nominalizer
COP	copula in non-past tense	NEG	negative
COP-PST	copula in past tense	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	POL	polite
EP	extended predicate; ‘it is that...’	Q	question
FIL	filler	QT	quotative
GEN	genitive	TOP	topic
HON	honorific	TQ	tag question
LOC	locative		

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PART III

Culture

Genre and the cultural realms of taste in Japanese, Korean, and U.S. online recipes

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This chapter investigates the language, culture, and the discourse of food in Japan, Korea, and the United States, as prototypical exemplars of Western culture (U.S.) and Eastern culture (Japan and Korea). We compare and contrast patterns of discursive representations of food and social interaction using the broad analytic unit of *genre*. The online cooking recipe contains complex discourse about food as well as reader/user commentary. Genre analysis of this type, including the socially organized interactional exchanges between members of socio-cultural groups, provides insights into *praxis* – and can serve as robust resources for socialization of novices e.g., students of foreign language, as they come to understand the macro and micro levels of discourse *qua* social practice.

Keywords: discourse of food, genre, high- and low-context cultures, individualism/collectivism, Japanese, mimetic expressions, pragmatics, publics

What one eats, how one eats, when and with whom are guided
by understandings of one's identity within society...
alimentary conduct helps to define one's identity within society.
(Ochs, Pontecorvo, and Fasulo 1996: 8)

1. Introduction

Food: it nourishes us, sustains us, brings us together, and sets us apart. It provides energy, pleasure, comfort, and security. It is essential to our daily lives. We eat alone and in the company of family, friends, business associates, and acquaintances. What constitutes food as food; what is deemed edible or inedible, tasty or tasteless; how food is prepared, displayed, served and eaten is shaped and re-shaped

by culture (Errington, Gewerts, and Fujikura 2013; Han 2010; Jurafsky 2014; Kim 2015; Levi-Strauss 1965; Mintz and DuBois 2002, *inter alia*). The linguistic repertoires of the world's languages provide verbal resources for speakers and writers to describe flavors and colors and textures of foods; to appreciate them as tasty, delicious, savory, and succulent; and to share culinary and gastronomic experiences with others (Backhouse 1994; Ochs, Pontecorvo, and Fasulo 1996; Strauss 2005a; Strauss and Chang (in preparation); Strauss, Chang, and Eshghavy (in preparation); Szatrowski 2014, *inter alia*).

In this chapter, we investigate language, culture, and the discourse of food in Japan, Korea, and the United States. We chose these countries as prototypical exemplars of Western culture (the U.S.) and Eastern culture (Japan and Korea), with a view to compare and contrast the various patterns of the discursive representations of food and the relevant patterns of social interaction. We investigate issues of language (i.e., discourse) and culture using the broad analytic unit of *genre*. We have selected the genre of the online cooking recipe because of its complexly robust discourse about food, from cooking instructions and the step-by-step procedures, to discussions of doneness by color and texture, and photos displaying the dishes at their various stages of preparation. The genre of the online recipe contains another crucial component, i.e., threads of personal commentary by both the online providers of these recipes and the individuals who view them, posting publicly visible evaluative comments about the dishes and their personal culinary and gastronomic experiences.

By holding constant the construct of *genre*, and by comparing and contrasting this singular construct across the three different language/cultural groups, we gain access into the finer, more subtle micro-level components of discourse. Through a comparative and contrastive study of genre, we discover patterns of language and patterns of cultural practice that allow us to pinpoint distinctive norms, preferences, and expectations in the discourse of food preparation in the three language and cultural groups under investigation. Specifically, in the case of the online recipes from Japan, Korea, and the United States, we observe the ways in which the various discursive patterns reflect the tastes and preferences of each group as they relate at once to the ingredients, cooking procedures, qualities and appearances of food, and the socially constructed activity of sharing culinary and gastronomic experiences with others, e.g., spouses, children, friends, guests, and the community of users of these recipe websites. By focusing on food, taste terms, cooking lexicons, and the construction of the online "public" (Warner 2002), this study builds on Strauss (2005a), which compares and contrasts so-called Western (U.S.) and Eastern cultures (Japan, Korea) and the respective tendencies of "individualism" and "collectivism" typically associated with each (e.g., Gudykunst et al. 1996; Hall 1976, 1983; Ting-Toomey 1991).

2. Genre as analytic category of discourse: The recipe and the discourse of cooking procedures

Studies of the recipe as discourse genre in cookbooks and in print have investigated the syntax, culinary and gastronomic lexical items, and generic structures of recipes and other epicurean texts in French, Portuguese, English, Italian, German, Spanish, Russian, and Hungarian (Bacon 1996; Bender 1999; Brdar-Szabo and Brdar 2009; Engel 1997; Negro Alousque 2010; Odoriso 2011). Some focus on culinary lexicons and terminology as these relate to glossing and translations across specific languages (Bacon 1996; Brdar-Szabo and Brdar 2009; Odoriso 2011). Others examine syntactic structures and generic elements of the recipe as instructional discourse, isolating such features as null object constructions (e.g., *serve ∅ chilled*) (Bender 1999), conditional *if*-clauses in English (Nall 2008), and iconicity principles of cooking procedures based on sequences, procedures, and outcomes (Koch 2008).

Martinec (2003) presents an insightful analysis of procedural discourse, comparing British English software manuals and cooking recipes with those in Japanese. Martinec (2003: 46) isolates a notable linguistic/cultural distinction between procedural discourse from Britain and procedural discourse from Japan, in that recipes and software manuals from Japan tend to include “interpersonally oriented expressions.” Such linguistic devices, together with detailed photographs of the various steps within the discourse of step-by-step procedures establish a sense “engagement” with the reader, a sense of interpersonal closeness and connection. We note similar tendencies in the Japanese and Korean recipes in our database.

From the combined points of view of structure, content, and purpose, the cooking recipe is a relatively stable genre. Textual regularities minimally include: the name of the dish, a designation of ingredients, and procedural descriptions. Procedures are often expressed in the form of directives, including imperatives, modals, conditionals, and a potential array of culinary and gastronomic terms relating to food preparation, seasoning and flavor, texture, shape, and aesthetic presentation of the dishes. Photographs, drawings, or other graphic illustrations at times accompany recipes for purposes of desired outcomes, e.g., preparation explanations and presentation suggestions, and undesired outcomes, e.g., what to avoid during the preparation stage, how not to present a dish, and so forth (Martinec 2003).

2.1 Genre as analytic category of discourse

Genre as a discursive category has been discussed in the literature from the dual points of view of “structural frame” (Bakhtin 1986; Bhatia 1993; Swales 2009) and “social action” (Bazerman 1997; Miller 1984). From an applied linguistics

perspective, genres are “metaphorical frames of discourse that are both shaped and constrained by socio-cultural conventions of practice, and re-shaped and re-created through discourse and social practice” (Strauss and Feiz 2014: 52). Genres are the foundations for discursive meaning creation, the essential media through which thoughts are shaped and ideas are communicated, and loci of the familiar within which we venture into the unfamiliar (Bazerman 1997). As such, genres “exhibit culturally recognizable discursive patterns for the conveyance of essential propositional content to some form of audience or hearer (imagined or real) within a particular context, with a view to accomplish a particular communicative purpose” (Strauss and Feiz, 2014: 52).

The online recipe is a newly emerged, hybrid genre of discourse. It essentially mirrors the structure, content, and purpose of the conventional cookbook recipe, with ingredients lists, cooking instructions, and photos of the dishes depicting the different preparation stages, and especially the finished products. It also mirrors communicative genres within social media, whereby private and at times visceral reactions are made public, as expressions of subjective opinions and personal commentary responding to news items, e-tail products, restaurants, hotels, entertainment venues, and even in dialogic reply to posts by other users of the same informational product or service or venue (Landert and Jucker 2010; Moore 2011). Different from the cookbook recipe, online recipes are often prefaced by bits of personal information by the individual poster, ranging in length from a line or two about the dish and its significance to the individual, to lengthy personal narratives and poetic musings about the weather and friendship, in explicit or implicit connection with the recipe itself. Such commentary is indicative of the emergence of a new hybrid genre, combining narrative of personal experience, and such speech acts as compliments, declarations of future plans, all as means of establishing solidarity and common ground (See Strauss and Chang, in preparation).

3. Data and methodology

The data for this study are based on “everyday” family recipes or typical dishes commonly associated with and prepared as everyday fare in each cultural group. We selected the everyday, common recipe, as a means of avoiding linguistic and social semiotic features of connoisseurship, associated with high levels of epicurean distinction and specialized culinary expertise. Such types of recipes and culinary descriptions might, in and of themselves, create levels of “in-group” users and posters, inclusive of some readers by virtue of expertise and specialized skills, and thus exclusive of others. For this study, we sought to restrict our analysis to the

gastronomic simplicity of everyday life, of the everyday individual, in the everyday interaction about food, taste, and cooking.

For this chapter and the larger project of which it is a part (See Strauss and Chang, in preparation), we analyze the online recipe as a locus for the intersubjective evaluation of food – as nutrition, as sustenance, and as a hub of family activity and family practice. Not only does the online recipe provide ingredients lists, preparation instructions, photographs, and serving suggestions, it engenders a particular kind of public – a sphere of discourse created and maintained and perpetuated by a self-organized group of strangers that are brought together by text (Warner 2002: 413–417). In general terms the broad notion of the “public” is created by the online recipes in each country and shared in the language and common discourse of that country. Now, the members of this “public” interact and communicate in the same language, using the same discursive features and characteristics of that of the initial recipe posters.

Such groups interacting with a common space, with common interests, and a common goal have over the decades been referred to as “speech communities” (Bucholz 1999; Duranti 1988; Gumperz 1968; Hymes 1967), “communities of practice” (Eckert 2006; Lave and Wenger 1991; Meyerhoff 2008; Wenger 1998), and “affinity spaces” (Gee and Hayes 2010). In the case of the online posters for the recipe websites under investigation, the contributions to this virtual community are made in the same language as that of the recipe. The respondents’ commentaries in each language reflect similar patterns in terms of preferred norms of referring to food, taste, and preparation techniques as well as norms of praising, thanking, and even criticizing. As we will illustrate in the sections that follow, the U.S. commentary in this database reflects U.S. lingua-cultural norms; the Japanese commentary, Japanese lingua-cultural norms; and the Korean commentary, Korean lingua-cultural norms.

Our database consists of 10 recipes of everyday mealtime items from each country (30 recipes in total), with comments from five users of each recipe (150 comments in total). We use the following websites for each country: Cookpad.com for the Japanese recipes (as one of the most popular sites for Japanese housewives in March, 2014), Kitchen.Naver.com (as the most popular food and recipe website in March 2013) for the Korean recipes,¹ and Allrecipes.com for the U.S. recipes (as

1. Naver is a South Korean search engine, essentially the Korean counterpart to Google or Yahoo. It was established in 1999, and as of February, 2013, was reported as the information source for 73% of all Korean search queries, averaging in excess of 130 million queries per day. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naver> (accessed 3/24/13), <http://www.koreanclick.com/> (accessed 3/24/13), <http://searchenginewatch.com/article/2070244/Search-Marketing-Guide-to-Naver-Koreas-Most-Popular-Search-Engine> (accessed 3/24/13)

number 1 ranking online recipe website in March 2013 and still currently).² The 10 recipes from each cultural group were selected using the above guidelines. The recipes from the Japanese database appear in Figure 1.

The recipes were collected from their respective websites in March, 2013 (Korean and U.S. recipes) and March 2014 (Japanese). The selection criteria at the time of our data collection for each of the ten recipes and commentary postings were: “most recently posted” and commentary that exceeded four sentences in length for the U.S. posts and commentary that exceeded 11 words for the Korean and Japanese posts. In this way, we sought to collect food, taste-related, and preparation-based commentary that extended beyond a just a single word (e.g., “Delicious!”) or a one-to-two line expression of simple praise, thanks, or criticism. The excerpt sample size was also sufficiently large such that it allowed us to assess the contributors’ posts as “native” or “nativelike” for the three countries/groups under investigation, from the combined points of view of grammar, lexicon, and pragmatic expectations.

-
- 牛丼～吉野家風 *gyuudon*
Beef rice bowl, Yoshinoya style
 - とろとろ！簡単おいしい親子丼 *oyakodon*
Torotoro! Easy and delicious chicken and egg rice bowl
 - だしも水もいっさい使わない肉じゃが *nikujaga*
Simmered meat and potatoes that uses neither stock nor water
 - 簡単★お好み焼き★広島県人も関西風が好き *okonomiyaki*
Simple *okonomiyaki* – People in Hiroshima also love Kansai style
 - プロの味！の豚汁 *tonjiru*
Professional taste pork miso soup
 - 一番簡単★しょうが焼き *shoogayaki*
The simplest ginger-flavored pork
 - 切り干し大根の煮物 *kiriboshi daikon*
Simmered dry shredded radish
 - ブリ大根 *buri daikon*
Simmered yellowtail with daikon radish
 - ＊簡単美味＊かぼちゃの煮付け *kabocha*
Easy, Delicious Simmered pumpkin
 - 絶品☆照り焼きチキン☆ *teriyaki chicken*
Excellent teriyaki chicken
-

Figure 1. Japanese recipes from Cookpad.com

2. <http://online-recipe-websites.no1reviews.com/allrecipes.html> (accessed, 3/24/13; 11/11/14)

The Korean recipes from Kitchen.Naver.com appear in Figure 2.

-
- 김밥 *kimpap*
Korean sushi – rice, vegetables, meat rolled in dried seaweed)
 - 김치볶음 *kimchipokkum*
pan-roasted kimchi
 - 김치부침개 *kimchipwuchimkay*
Korean-style (thin, savory) pancake with *kimchi*
 - 된장찌개 *toencangccikay*
pot stew made with fermented soybean paste
 - 떡볶이 *ttekpokki*
cylindrical rice cakes with spicy red sauce
 - 불고기 *bwulkoki*
Korean marinated (and sometimes barbecued) beef
 - 떡국 *ttekkwuk*
rice cake soup
 - 양푼비빔밥 *yangphwunpipimpap*
rice dish mixed with vegetables and meat
 - 잔치국수 *janchikwukswu*
thin noodles in light anchovy or beef broth
 - 잡채 *capchay*
sweet potato noodles with soy sauce, garlic, sesame oil, and greens
-

Figure 2. Korean recipes from Kitchen.Naver.com

The recipes from the U.S. database appear in Figure 3.

-
- Old Fashioned Mac and Cheese
 - The Best Chicken Fried Steak
 - Oven Fried Chicken III
 - Baked Pork Chops I
 - Chicken Pot Pie
 - Speedy Spaghetti
 - Best Tuna Casserole
 - Lasagna Alfredo
 - Simple Whole Roasted Chicken
 - Meatloaf
-

Figure 3. U.S. recipes from Allrecipes.com

Example (1) below is a typical recipe from the Japanese database Cookpad.com. It is a recipe for 肉じゃが *nikujaga* ‘simmered meat and potatoes.’ The recipe opens with photos of the dish (deleted here due to permissions issues), and is then followed by a personal anecdote by the poster, りよっぴー *Ryoppii*, about her experience with this particular recipe. The recipe posts in Cookpad.com are typically preceded by a set of

コツ、ポイント *kotsu, pointo* ‘tips and points,’ containing helpful hints and/or friendly greetings addressed to individuals who have posted comments on prior recipes, as in this exemplar. Cookpad.com recipes also typically include a section called このレシピの生い立ち *kono reshipi no oitachi* ‘the story behind this recipe,’ which provides additional personal information concerning the connection between the recipe poster and the dish being presented. These sections typically provide additional narratives of specific culinary and gastronomic experiences shared by the recipe poster with others involved in his/her life.

The ingredients list provides precise details concerning the food items and seasonings to be used, as well as precise information about their quantities. This is followed by the brief step-by-step cooking procedures, with directives typically expressed using the stem forms ‘do... and,’ e.g., 鍋にサラダ油を熱し、切り干し大根を炒め (*nabe ni saradayu o nesshi, kiriboshi daikon o itame*) ‘heat cooking oil in a pot, and stir fry the *kiriboshi daikon*, and ...’ and dictionary forms of the verb, e.g., 切る (*kiru*) ‘cut,’ 12分煮る (*juuni fun niru*) ‘simmer for 12 minutes.’ In addition to the procedural information, recipe posters in this instructional section also often include brief hints to enhance cooking success. There is a tonal element of emotional emphasis in the body of these recipes, evinced by the frequent use of exclamation points (as noted below) and other types of emoticons expressing laughter, which appear to serve at once as reader-engaging techniques as well as FTA (“Face Threatening Act”) (Brown and Levinson 1987) mitigating devices.

(1) Typical Japanese recipe sample

だしも水もいっさい使わない肉じゃが

‘Simmered meat and potatoes (*Nikujaga*) that uses neither stock nor water’

by りよっぴー

‘by Ryoppii’

((deleted photo))

この肉じゃがは友達のお母様からおしえてもらいました。今ではこのレシピを知った友達全員がこの肉じゃがを作ってます。じゃがいものホクホクした仕上りとなんといつても簡単でもう肉じゃがはコレっ！

My friend’s mother taught me this *nikujaga* recipe. Now, all of my friends who know this recipe cook this *nikujaga*. The potatoes are soft (*hokuhoku*) and most importantly the recipe is simple. If it’s *nikujaga*, this is it!



コツ、ポイント

たくさんコメント頂きましてありがとうございます!!! 気に入って頂いて本当に嬉しい〜!!! 最近忙しくてお返事ができません・・・試して頂いた方々に感謝★です！

Tips & Points

Thank you for the many comments!!! I am indeed happy that many people like this!!! Because I have been busy recently, I cannot reply to your posts... I appreciate ★ the people who tried this recipe.

材料 ‘Ingredients’:

(2~3人分) ‘for two-three portions’

牛肉	150グラム	‘150 g beef’
じゃがいも	中2~3コ	‘2~3 medium potatoes’
たまねぎ	1コ	‘1 onion’
にんじん 1本 (別になくてもよい)		‘1 carrot (optional)’
醤油	大さじ2と1/2	‘2½ tablespoons soy sauce’
砂糖	大さじ1~2	‘1-2 tablespoons sugar’
酒	大さじ1	‘1 tablespoon sake’

1. 牛肉は薄切りのものを一口大に、玉葱はくし型に、にんじんとじゃがいもは乱切りにそれぞれ切っておく。
‘Cut thinly-sliced beef into bite-size chunks, slice onion into wedges, and chop carrot and potatoes into coarsely cut pieces.’
2. 鍋に油大1を熱し、牛肉を炒め、砂糖と醤油、酒を入れる。(スキヤキよりちょい濃いめの味になっていればOK)
‘Heat one tablespoon cooking oil in a pot; stir-fry beef, and add sugar, soy sauce, and *sake*. (When the taste becomes a little stronger than *sukiyaki*, it should be ok).’
3. 2の鍋に玉葱、じゃがいも、にんじんを加え、中火でフタをして約20分ほどで出来上がり！もちろん、ときどき底からかき混ぜて、火加減も調節して下さいね。
‘Add onion, potatoes, and carrot into the pot (from the 2nd step), cook over medium heat, covered, for about 20 minutes, and then it’s ready! Of course, during this process, please stir from the bottom of the pot and adjust heat from time to time.’

Example (2) illustrates a typical Korean recipe from Kitchen.Naver.com. It is a recipe for 된장찌개 *toencangccikay* ‘pot stew with fermented soybean paste.’ Due to space constraints, we have abridged the sample, deleting some of the lines in the cooking procedure. This recipe, as in the Japanese recipe in (1), also opens with personal commentary by the poster. Similar to the Japanese recipes, the Korean samples are punctuated with exclamation points, emoticons, and symbolic laughter tokens, as shown in the excerpt in (2). The laughter tokens ㅎㅎㅎ ‘heh heh heh’ and ㅋㅋ ‘kke kke,’ imitate the sounds of soft laughter and chuckling, respectively. The list and specifications of ingredients is typically less precise than those of the Japanese and U.S. samples, naming the ingredients but often not specifying size or

exact measurements. The directives in the cooking procedures in all 10 recipes exhibit a wide variety of grammatical forms, including polite pseudo-benefactive imperatives (lit. 'do x [for me]' similar to the literal translation of the Japanese request from *-te kudasai*), e.g., 청량고추도 총총총 **썰어 줍니다** *cenglyangkochwuto chwung chwung chwung sselo cwupnita* 'also cut [chop chop chop adv.] the hot pepper.' The directives in the Korean recipes also take the form of polite declaratives with addressee honorific -시 -si, e.g., 이쁘게잘라주시구요 *ippukeycallacwusikwuyo* '[you] cut it beautifully [like this]', conditional expressions 'if you do X it is good,' and a number of other grammatical constructions expressing "indirect directives." The overall structure and tone of the Korean recipes is the most reader-engaging of the three socio-cultural groups. Further, as noted in (2), and as is pervasively evident in the Korean recipes in our database, we note the Korean preference for visual aesthetics in basic culinary procedures: 이쁘게잘라주시구요 *ippukeycallacwusikwuyo* 'cut it beautifully,' and 양파는 껍질을 이쁘게깎뒤에 *yangphanun kkepcilul ippukeyk-kantwuiue* 'after peeling the onion beautifully...'

(2) Typical Korean recipe sample

된장찌개 *toencang* stew 'pot stew with fermented soybean paste'

오늘은 어제 말씀드렸던것처럼된장찌개 만드는 법을 알려드릴게요~ ㅎㅎㅎ

Today, as I said yesterday, I will tell you how to make *toencang* stew~ ㅎㅎㅎ

된장찌개 생각보다 어렵지 않더라고요 저도 처음 끓여보는건데...

It was not as difficult as I thought. I made it for the first time...

생각보다 맛도 있고...괜찮은것 같아서 이렇게 올려봅니다

It was good and more delicious than I thought, so I am posting it.

우선 준비물!!

First, ingredients!!!

된장, 청양고추2개, 두부 반모, 애호박 반, 달래, 양파, 파 1개

Fermented soy bean paste, 2 hot peppers, ½ piece of tofu, ½ young zucchini, wild rocambole, onion, 1 green onion.

된장찌개 준비물은 간단하죠??? 보통 집에 양파와 다진마늘 등...

The ingredients are pretty simple, right? We usually have onion, crushed garlic, etc. at home.

기본 적인것들은 있으니 구매할 필요도 없구요. ㅎㅎㅎ

Since we usually have basic ingredients, we don't have to (go out to) buy them.

우선 된장찌개에 들어갈 야채 손질부터 할까요??

First, shall we start by trimming the vegetables for the *toencang* stew??

(photo)

애호박의 경우 이렇게 반달 모양으로 이쁘게잘라주시구요

For the young zucchini, cut it beautifully into a half moon shape like this.

청양고추도 총총총 썰어 줍니다.

Also, 총총총 (chop chop chop) cut the hot pepper.

(photo)

양파는 껍질을 이쁘게깎뒤에. 반토막을낸후,

After peeling the onion beautifully, cut it in half,

((skipped lines))

그뒤 한 10분정도 바글바글 끓이면 달래 된장 찌게 완성~~ㅎㅎㅎㅎ

And then after about 10 minutes, the *toencang* stew is done~~

된장찌게는 오래 끓이면 끓일수록 진하면서 맛이 좋네요...ㅎㅎ

The more you boil the *toencang*, the richer and better the taste is.

참고하시길...ㅋㅋ

You can consider this...ㅋㅋ

오늘도 된장찌게와밥한끼 똑딱...ㅋㅋ

Today I also ate *toencang* stew with a bowl of rice똑딱. ← ‘guzzling it’

ㅋㅋ

배가 부릅니다.ㅋㅋ

I am full.ㅋㅋ

Example (3) illustrates a typical recipe from Allrecipes.com for tuna casserole. Again, as is common for the online recipe, the actual cooking instructions portion of the recipe is preceded by personal commentary by the individual who posted the recipe to the site. Also, as is common to the genre, there is at least one photo of the dish, and again, we have not included it here because of permissions limitations. The U.S. recipes are precise in terms of ingredients specifications, including size and quantity of the food items listed. They also provide highly detailed information concerning the size of the cookware needed for the dish, e.g., 9 × 13 inch baking dish. As is common in the cookbook recipe and all throughout the online recipes from the U.S. database, the directives for the cooking instructions are overwhelmingly expressed using the bald imperative form, e.g. *bring to a boil*, *cook*, *preheat*, *mix*, and so forth.

(3) Typical U.S. recipe sample

Best Tuna Casserole

“This is a tuna casserole that even my picky family loves”

[photo of the dish, plus 54 other photos (all showing the food already prepared, in a casserole/baking dish, on a plate, etc.)]

Ingredients

Original recipe makes 6 servings

1 (12 ounce) package egg noodles 2 (6 ounce) cans tuna, drained

1/2 cup chopped onion

2 (10.75 ounce) cans condensed cream of mushroom soup

2 cups shredded Cheddar cheese ½ (4.5 ounce) can sliced mushrooms

1 cup frozen green peas 1 cup crushed potato chips

Directions

1. Bring a large pot of lightly salted water to a boil. Cook pasta in boiling water for 8 to 10 minutes, or until *al dente*; drain.
2. Preheat oven to 425 degrees F (220 degrees C).
3. In a large bowl, thoroughly mix noodles, onion, 1 cup cheese, peas, tuna, soup and mushrooms. Transfer to a 9 × 13 inch baking dish, and top with potato chip crumbs and remaining 1 cup cheese.
4. Bake for 15 to 20 minutes in the preheated oven, or until cheese is bubbly.

The excerpts in (1)–(3) above capture the essence of all recipe tokens from the full database for all three language and socio-cultural groups with respect to overall structure and content. We reviewed all recipe tokens and accompanying commentary within our database and identified categories of discourse that were particularly salient—categories that provide us with foundations upon which to compare and contrast the exemplars from each language and socio-cultural group. We summarize a portion of those categories in Figure 4 below.³

-
- Recipe structure
 - Introductory comments preceding recipes
 - Ingredients
 - Directives
 - Imperatives, modals, declaratives
 - Procedural adverbs and adjectives (specifying procedure, measurements/quantities, temperature, color, texture)
 - Commentary
 - Positive assessments, negative assessments
 - Determinants for success of recipe
 - Expressions of taste, flavor, texture
 - Fidelity to recipe, modifications
 - Expressions of visual aesthetics
 - Expressions of emotion connected to food, dishes
-

Figure 4. Discursive features for comparison and contrast

3. These categories were first designed as part of a larger, ongoing study (See Strauss and Chang, in preparation).

4. Findings

4.1 Recipe content and structure

Overall, we find that the recipe and commentary discourse from the three distinct language/cultural groups reveals much about cultural practice from the perspectives of individual and collective identities as they relate to taste, flavor, visual aesthetics, affect, public expression of the private, and the building of virtual community through food and culinary practice. The data shed light on the socio-culturally shaped practices, preferences, expectations and tastes of their uses, where “taste” refers dually to “the faculty of immediately and intuitively judging aesthetic values...and the capacity to discern the flavors of foods, which implies a preference for some of them” (Bourdieu 1984: 99).

In general, the U.S. recipes in our database are the most procedurally driven of the three, exhibiting the highest degree of specificity concerning ingredients (quantity, size) and cookware (exact size, designated shape). The content centers squarely on the task of preparing the dish. The Japanese recipes are also procedurally driven, replete with numbered instructions on how to prepare the dishes, where one procedural clause follows the other, in a step-by-step fashion, from the preliminary preparatory actions until the final stage of cooking. In contrast with the U.S. online recipes, which are essentially objective and informational (with the exception of the one-to-two line prefatory comments), the Japanese recipes contain explicit tokens of affect. Indices of affect here include personal expressions of stance and attitude through punctuation, symbols, and emoticons, as well as an empathic orientation toward the needs and feelings of “the other.” Affect tends to be expressed in the form of deep appreciation to recipe commenters and anticipated results by the recipe, in considering ease or difficulty in procedural steps or in consuming the food. For example, the recipe of 肉じゃが *nikujaga* ‘simmered meat and potatoes’ inserts the recipe poster’s strong affective reaction to commenters, 気に入って頂いて本当に嬉しい〜!!! *Ki ni itte itadaite hontooni ureshii!!!* ‘I am indeed happy that many people like this!!!’ Furthermore, the recipe of 豚汁 *tonjiru* ‘pork miso soup’ includes ちょっとしたコツ *chotto-shita kotsu* ‘a small tip’ which allows readers of this recipe to cook it easily and effectively. The comment also includes the poster’s cognitive/affective reaction, 目からウロコ! *Me kara uroko!* ‘scales fell from my eyes!’ (‘suddenly I understood!’). This particular Japanese expression entails a sense of strong affect, namely a great, *unexpected* surprise in response to something that rarely happens. This signals a cognitive/affective state that the audience may also experience by trying this recipe. This is in line with Martinec’s (2003) observation that Japanese procedural discourse tends to contain more “interpersonally oriented expressions” and is more engaging than the English language counterparts. Our

results also reflect such contrasts in terms of degree of reader “engagement.” As will be shown, food and food appreciation for the Japanese is also deeply intertwined with cultural history, familial history, and nation.

In the analysis of the Korean recipes, we note an even higher degree of engagement. Of the three datasets, the Korean recipes are, by far, the most hybridized in terms of structure, content and style – a generic amalgam of graphics (photographs, emoticons, affective symbols), highly personal narratives, poetic musings, and instances of seemingly direct-address conversation (우선 된장찌게에 들어갈 야채 손질부터 할까요?? *Wusen toencangccikeyey tulekal yachay soncilpwuthe halkkayo?* ‘First shall we start by trimming the vegetables for the *toencangccikeye*?’). Clearly we see that the purpose of the Korean online recipe is not simply to impart specific and precise information in a step-by-step fashion. It serves dually to establish and maintain a sense of personal connection with the online visitors to the site.

In sum, from the point of view of basic structure and purpose, the U.S. online recipes represent a genre of discourse designed to instruct through lean and seemingly affect-free sequences of steps and culinary procedures. The Japanese and Korean online recipes are more dialogically structured, in that the reader and potential user of the recipe is transparent as an addressee in the discourse. In all three databases, we observe the inextricable relationships between food and identity – identity as individual, as host, chef, guest, as family member, as member of society, and, in the cases of the Japanese and Korean recipes, as member of a nation.

4.2 Commentary content and structure

The relationships between food and identity are salient in the commentary sections of the online recipes. The contents and structure of the commentary reflect identities of individual posters as: agents of their own success, as victims of poor cooking instructions, as loyal followers of the recipe itself and of particular recipe posters, as grateful users of information, and even as vicarious experiencers of food-related pleasures through only the website-based verbal and visual representations of food.

4.2.1 U.S. commentary

U.S. recipe commentary typically opens with an immediate evaluation of the success or non-success of the recipe, the cooking process, or the ingredients. The evaluations are overwhelmingly positive, and often hyperbolically so. They typically refer to the recipe (or food prepared using the recipe) using the overt *high focus demonstrative* marker (Strauss, 2002) “this” or “this recipe,” as well as superlative characterizations, similar to what Pomerantz (1986) refers to as “extreme case formulations,” as in (4). These comments are based on using the recipe exactly as posted, and the focus is on the self as “agent of success.”

- (4) Positive comments from U.S. recipes
 - a. This is by far the BEST mac & cheese I've ever made.
 - b. This is by far the best chicken fried steak I've ever had. I've made it numerous times for my picky eater son and my southern-raised better half... I get nothing but rave reviews each time.
 - c. Success! I have a terrible history with oven fried (and pan fried) chicken. This turned out perfect.

Of the 50 comments analyzed for this study, only a handful were negative. Example (5) below was the most straightforwardly and explicitly negative comment.

- (5) Negative comment from U.S. recipes
 This might be okay for someone who has never eaten well seasoned food with flavor, but not acceptable at my house. The steak was terribly bland... no flavor. I was so turned off, I didn't even bother making the gravy, which should complement the steak, not provide ALL the flavor. In the garbage can it went.

However, of the 50 recipe comments posted here, 44 users (88%) explicitly specified changes that they had made to the recipe to adapt it to their own palates, diets, their families' tastes, and so forth, as in (6):

- (6) Comments responding to U.S. recipes, modifications to the recipe:
 - a. ...*I made a couple of small changes*. Instead of frozen veggies I used a large can of All Veggies drained, because all of the frozen veggies in the store have a sauce with them...
 - b. ...*I made three small changes*. The first one was using chicken and pork italian (sic) sausage browned with the onions (which I sliced instead of chopped) instead of beef...
 - c. ... I omitted the tomato soup and used only 1/3 cup ketchup and added a little salt and pepper...
 - d. ... I personally always add a teaspoon of my better than boullion (sic) base to my sauces. Just my preference...

22 of the 50 (44%) commentary posters indicated that they would use the recipe again in the future: 'I will use this recipe again and again'; 'Will make again. As is'; 'Will be doing this again for company.' Such commentary serves dually in the U.S. database as an evaluative opinion of the recipe as well as an implied compliment to the original poster. Explicit expressions of compliments, praise, and thanks exist in the commentary database, but are more rare than what we find in the Japanese and Korean commentary.

4.2.2 Japanese commentary

The commentary for the Japanese recipes focuses less on the cook or the individual preparing the dish as agent of success (as we note in the U.S. examples above), and more on the product – especially its flavor (as delicious). The predominant descriptors used here are 簡単 *kantan* ‘simple’ and 美味しい *oishii* ‘delicious’ (with variations including うまい! *umai* and うまうま! *umauma*!). 52% of the Japanese comments in our database include a descriptor meaning ‘delicious.’ The excerpts in (7) will illustrate:

- (7) Positive comments from Japanese recipes
 - a. 定番です! うまうま!!
‘(This is) standard. Delicious!’
 - b. おいしくできました! ありがとうございます
‘I was able to make it delicious. Thank you very much!’
 - c. 美味しかったです! また作ります!
‘It was delicious! I will cook it again!’

Often, the descriptor 美味しい *oishii* ‘is delicious’ extends beyond the simple domain of gustatory flavor, and appeals to other domains of experience couched within the commentators’ personal, social, and national identities. That is, the foods prepared using these online recipes are described having ‘heartwarmingly delicious flavor’ (優しい味ホクホク美味しい *yasashii aji hokuhoku oishii*), and being mouthwateringly and auditorily scrumptious (パクパク *pakupaku*), ‘delicious enough to make one feel relieved’ (ほっとする美味しさです *hottosuru oishisa desu*), ‘the classic taste of Japan’ (和の味 *wa no aji*), ‘the regular taste of [our] home’ (我が家の定番の *wagaya no teeban no*), and ‘the nostalgic taste of [my] mother’ (懐かしい母の味 *natsukashii haha no aji*). Illustrative excerpts appear in (8) below:

- (8) Beyond 美味しい *oishii* ‘delicious’:
 - a. 優しい味ホクホク美味しい! 3歳と1歳の息子達パクパク! ありがとう
‘heart warming taste, *hokuhoku* (soft) and delicious! My sons, ages 3 and 1 *pakupaku* [phenomime (mimicking motion/action) ‘to gulp down, eat a lot’] (enjoyed eating it). Thank you.’
 - b. とろとろの半熟卵の親子丼は誰でもほっとする美味しさです!
‘This chicken rice with *torottoro* eggs is delicious enough to make one feel relieved!’
 - c. 行程を丁寧に作りました。和の味、美味しかったです
‘I cooked the dish thoroughly following each step carefully. It’s the taste of Japan, which was delicious.’

- d. 「うまい！もうこの味変えないで！」と旦那に言われてからずっと 我が家の定番の味で ♪
 ‘Since my husband said “Delicious! Don’t change this taste any more!” it is now the regular taste of our home.’
- e. 懐かしい母の味
 ‘The nostalgic flavor of [my] mother.’

The dialogic nature of the Japanese recipe and commentary discourse is also evident in the explicit and implicit expressions of thanks. Explicit expressions of thanks and gratitude are common and appear in such varying forms as *ありがとう arigatoo* ‘thank you,’ *ありがとうございます arigatoo gozaimasu* ‘thank you very much [polite],’ *感謝 kan-sha* ‘I am grateful,’ and *おかげさまで okagesamade* ‘thanks to you...[polite].’

Commentary in the Japanese database, then, typically focuses on the delicious taste of the dish, extending well beyond the flavor of the food. Responding comments are replete with expressions of thanks, and 40% indicate a future plan to use the recipe again (e.g., *またリピします mata ripi shimasu* ‘I will use it again (lit. ‘repeat’), *また作ります ! mata tsukurimasu* ‘I will cook it again’), similar to what we noted in the U.S. commentary database.

As for fidelity to the original recipes, we observed the overwhelming tendency for users of the U.S. recipes (88%) to modify procedures, ingredients, and so forth, with a view to better match the tastes and preferences of the individual users and their families. The Japanese tendency, instead, is either to follow the recipe instructions verbatim or to simply not mention modifications. Note that extreme fidelity to the recipe is expressed by one respondent in (8c) above. In the rare cases where modifications are made or discussed in the Japanese data, they are typically expressed less directly than those of the U.S. respondents. The excerpts in (9) reveal a gradation of directness by the Japanese respondents, where the (a) version is the most direct (and uncommon in these data), the version in (b) is mitigated by the epistemic modal ending *かも kamo* ‘might, maybe,’ and (c) illustrates a portion of the actual dialogic communication between the respondent and the original poster of the recipe for *okonomiyaki*, where the novice cook is requesting advice concerning both ingredients and quantities of ingredients used:

- (9) Comments from Japanese recipes, modifications to the recipe:
- a. [direct] 片栗粉でパリッと美味しく！甘かったので次回は調節します
 ‘Using potato starch it becomes *paritto* (onomatopoeia: ‘crispy’). *I will adjust* next time, because it was sweet.
- b. [mitigated suggestion] いつも作ってますブリだけでなく、お肉でもおいしいかも
 ‘I always cook this, not just using yellowtail, but meat *might* also be good.’

- c. [requesting poster's input] 本日作らせて頂き大好評でした。有難うございました。作ってるときに5人家族なのでネギが5~7.5本となり「このネギはもしかして小ネギとか万能ネギとかいうものだろうか？」と疑問に思いながら無かったので白ネギ4本で作りました。とても美味しかったです、料理に不慣れなもので最初はレシピ通りに作らないと気がすまなく質問させて頂く次第です。

‘Today I cooked this and it was popular (among my family). Thank you very much. While I was cooking it, I wondered whether the green onion should be 5 to 7.5 stalks for five people,⁴ and whether “this green onion might be a small green onion,” but *I didn’t have any small green onions, so I used 4 stalks of white leeks*. It was very delicious, but I wanted to ask you this question since I wanted to prepare the dish for the first time exactly as you provided it; I’m not yet accustomed to cooking.’

The recipe in the Japanese database appears to be treated by commentary posters as the recipe posters’ personal “extensions of self.” That is, they overwhelmingly demonstrate a respect for each recipe as if it were the person him/herself, careful to protect his/her face, to not offend or insult. The personal connection and concomitant discourse between the commentary posters and the recipe posters in the Japanese database is both grammatically and pragmatically dialogic. This contrasts sharply with the characteristics of the recipe and commentary discourse in the U.S. database, where commentary posters may or may not display a sensitive, empathic orientation toward “the other,” responding simply to the recipe as a product of discourse and not necessarily as a product of “self.”

4.2.3 Korean commentary

The Korean commentary is qualitatively different from both the U.S. and the Japanese commentary in that 39 of the 50 (78%) Korean respondents explicitly indicate they have *not* actually tried the recipe. Thus, the majority of the Korean respondents target not the recipe as a vehicle for the preparation of a dish, but rather the recipe *qua* recipe – simply its verbal procedures and deeply personal narratives, its poetic reflections, and its photographs of delicious looking foods at various stages of their preparation.

As such, the commentary is predominantly positive, since the majority is responsive to words and images only. There is a sense of vicarious pleasure, derived only from reading and seeing, and not from immediate tasting. As such, the Korean commentary is replete with expressions of compliments and praise. The basic taste term, 맛있다 *mas issta* ‘is delicious’ [lit. ‘has flavor’], appears in 40% of the comments (20/50), and is similar in meaning and function to Japanese美味しい *oishii* ‘is delicious.’ Here, the commentary is often framed as “looking delicious,” where

4. This recipe is designed as a two-portion (two person) recipe.

the taste descriptors co-occur with a number of modal and evidential markers (e.g., 겠 ‘must’ [epistemic modal], 네 [mirative evidential of newly perceived information],⁵ and 나봐 ‘it seems’ [evidential]). Also, 8 of the 50 respondents (16%) exhibit a keen sensitivity to the visual aesthetics of the photographs, using a variant of the descriptor 예쁘다 *yeypputa* ‘is beautiful,’ as also noted in Excerpt (2). Illustrative tokens appear in (10):

- (10) Comments from the Korean recipes: 맛있다 *mas issta* ‘is delicious’ and 예쁘다 *yeypputa* ‘is beautiful’:
- a. 맛있겠네요. 요리도 잘 하시나봐요.^^
‘It looks delicious. It looks like you’re a good cook.’
 - b. 어쩜 이렇게 떡국을 이쁘게 담으셨어요~~^^
‘Wow! How did you make *ttekkwuk* so beautifully.’
 - c. 어쩜~~ 김밥도 넘 예쁘게 돌돌 마셨어요...
‘Wow-(You) also rolled up *kimpap* very beautifully.’

Similar to what we observed in the Japanese recipes above, the notion of ‘deliciousness’ in the Korean culinary and gastronomic contexts extends well beyond taste and flavor. That is, the Kitchen.Naver website users articulate their experiences of vicarious partaking of meals, only described and pictured online, using sharply personal even intensely private details, shared here in full public view, as expressions of deeply emotional appreciation for the words and photos of the food items in question. Just a handful of these types of reactions from the Korean respondents are represented in (11):

- (11) Beyond 맛있다 *mas issta* ‘delicious’: into the realm of the sharply personal and privately sensory space of the Korean respondents as experiencers of food preparation descriptions and photos.
- a. 오늘 눈오는데... 눈오늘날도 부침개 생각나요~ 김치전은 매콤해서 느끼하지도 않고 말예요.
It is snowing today. *pwuchimkay* comes into my mind also on snowy days. *Kimchi* pancake is peppery, so it does not taste greasy.
 - b. 유기에 담으니 더 군침돌고 맛나보여요^_^*
‘Since you serve it in the brassware, it makes me salivate even more and it looks more delicious ^_^*’
 - c. 보여지는 것만으로도... 그 맛의 향기로움을 입안 가~득 느껴진대네요~~...^^
‘The appearance alone makes me feel the flavor’s aroma fully inside my mouth.’

5. See Lee (1993), Strauss (2005b), and Strauss and Ahn (2007).

As for expressions of gratitude, the Korean database, like the Japanese database, contains a range of expressions of thanks and gratitude, though the Korean repertoire centers squarely on the term 감사 *kamsa* (lit. 'appreciation'): 감사해요 *kamsaheyyo* 'I thank you,' 감사드립니다 *kamsatulpnita* 'I humbly thank you,' 감사히 받아갑니다:D *kamsahi patakapnita* 'I gratefully receive your recipe,' differing only in terms of degree of politeness and corresponding honorific speech level. Similar to the Japanese commentary, the Korean respondents also demonstrate an orientation toward the recipe as a personified version of the initial recipe poster.

5. Mimetic expressions related to food Japanese and Korean

The final category that we address here is that of the mimetic expressions in both the Japanese and the Korean online recipes and commentary. These expressions are also key to understanding the language-culture connection, especially since little research exists that examines such lexical items within specific genres of discourse.⁶ The degree of intersubjectivity necessary to understand and produce such morpho-semantically weak verbal expressions is exceptionally high and presupposes a history of common use of these terms in context. Such expressions are abstractly complicated in that they denote not simply concrete meaning, but meaning derived from a combination of experiences from multiple domains of sensory perception, e.g., taste and flavor (gustatory domain) with texture (tactile domain), or taste and flavor (gustatory domain) with sound (auditory domain), and so forth. Knowing precisely which domains combine to express meaning in particular contexts requires a deeply shared understanding of language, culture, and the contextual situatedness of when and how to use such expression.

Interestingly, we find divergent patterns in the Japanese and Korean online recipe data in terms of both quantity of tokens and referential descriptions. That is, there are far fewer mimetic expressions in the Japanese data than in the Korean data. Further, the Japanese mimetic expressions in this database refer primarily to particular qualities of food, often denoting desired textures of particular food items and doneness. The full list of these expressions appears in (12):

6. For work on mimetic expressions and sound symbolism in Japanese see (Backhouse 1994; Ivanova 2006; Hamano 1998; Smolinsky 2002), and for Korean, see (Yu Cho 2006; Smolinsky 2002).

(12) mimetic expressions from the Japanese database:

ほくほく	<i>hokuhoku</i>	‘soft, steamy’	potatoes, <i>kabocha</i>
ふわふわ	<i>fuwafuwa</i>	‘soft, airy’	eggs, bonito flakes, <i>okonomiyaki</i>
ふっくら	<i>fukkura</i>	‘soft, spongy’	eggs, <i>okonomiyaki</i>
とろとろ	<i>torotoro</i>	‘soft, runny’	eggs
パリッ	<i>pari</i>	‘crispy’	chicken
パクパク	<i>pakupaku</i>	‘gulp down with gusto’	children eating squash
ザクザク(切る)	<i>zakuzaku (kiru)</i>	‘cut into larger pieces’	<i>kiriboshi daikon</i>

Four of these tokens are represented in English with the word ‘soft,’ denoting some element of physical texture that contrasts with such antonymous meanings as ‘hard, tough, solid, impermeable.’ In the case of ほくほく *hokuhoku* ‘soft, steamy,’ the reference is to food items that start out as ‘hard’ and then transform through the cooking process to the desired quality of softness, as with potatoes or *kabocha* squash. ふわふわ *fuwafuwa* denotes a quality of softness combined with ‘airiness’ and ‘lightness’ as with eggs, *katsuobushi* ‘dried bonito flakes,’ and *okonomiyaki*. The type of softness denoted by ふっくら *fukkura* combines the quality of ‘sponginess’ or ‘springiness,’ as with eggs and *okonomiyaki*. And the quality of softness denoted by とろとろ *torotoro* combines a viscous ‘runniness,’ as in the case of half-boiled eggs. The more generic descriptor for ‘soft,’ 柔らかい *yawarakai* typically denotes the desired texture for beef and pork in this database.

In contrast with the Japanese collection of onomatopoetic expressions, the Korean database yields a far greater number, spanning a far broader range of use. An abridged list of these expressions appears in (13). Note that, in contrast with the majority of terms in the Japanese database in (12) which serve adjectival functions (except for パクパク *pakupaku* ‘eat with gusto in a lip-smacking way,’ and ザクザク *zakuzaku* ‘cutting daikon into edible sized pieces’), these serve as adverbials, describing with precise clarity through the combinations of sounds and actions, the ways in which chefs and everyday cooks prepare food items.

(13) Onomatopoetic expressions from the Korean database (abridged list):

조물조물	<i>comwulcomwul</i>	‘squish squish’ in squeezing ingredients to mix together with hands.
충충충	<i>chwungchwung</i>	‘chop chop chop’ – quickly and into small pieces.
송송송	<i>songsong</i>	‘chop chop chop’ – quickly and into small pieces.
살살살살	<i>salsalsal</i>	‘the motion of doing something lightly and slowly.’
보글보글	<i>pokulpokul</i>	‘the sound/sight of boiling water.’
팔팔	<i>phalphall</i>	‘the sight of liquid at full boil.’
탁탁탁탁	<i>thathathatha</i>	‘sound of hitting lightly; in cooking context, it evokes the sound of stir-frying.’

The fact that such expressions are as frequently distributed across all recipe and commentary tokens in our Korean database underscores all the more the level of interpersonal sensory detail that pervades the Korean database.

6. Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter, we have examined the discourse of 30 exemplars of online recipes with 150 tokens of website-based user commentary: 10 everyday recipes from each country and five comments in response to each. We have demonstrated an approach to cross-linguistic, cross-cultural, and cross-pragmatic research that is based on holding constant the construct of genre, such that the generic stability will allow for the dynamic and active emergence of language/culture specific patterns of discourse. These patterns index norms, preferences, and expectations of the socio-cultural groups under investigation.

The online recipe is a complexly robust hybrid genre of discourse that combines the basic elements of the traditional cookbook recipe and elements of social media commentary. We have examined the discursive features of this genre on a macro and micro level, with a focus on the information-reader relationship, reader engagement and other orientation, and the discursive construction of identity (personal, social, national), all through these dialogic exchanges of culinary and gastronomic experiences.

We have outlined some significant differences between the U.S. recipes and those of Japan and Korea, in terms of individual vs. collective identities (e.g., family, society, nation), agency of success (U.S. recipes) and orientations to “the other.” The Japanese and Korean recipes and commentary reflect a strong “other orientation,” and reveal the value of *omoiyari* – the ability to understand and empathize with “others” (Lebra 1976; Nakane 1972).

Genre analysis of this type, including the socially organized interactional exchanges between members of socio-cultural groups, provides insights into *praxis* – and can serve as robust resources for socialization of novices (Ochs 1996), e.g., students of foreign language, as they come to understand the macro and micro levels of discourse *qua* social practice.

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Metapragmatic discourse in self-help books on Japanese women's speech

An indexical approach to social meanings

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Drawing on the indexical view of language (Agha 2007; Eckert 2008, 2012; Silverstein 1979, 2003), I reexamine the notion of (normative) linguistic femininity by analyzing metapragmatic discourse in self-help books on Japanese women's speech. My analysis demonstrates that what is taught as ideal speech for women by self-help books is broader and more complex than the scholarly characterization of *joseego* 'women's language.' Based on the findings, I discuss the role of language ideology in the process of linking linguistic forms and social meanings, the multiplicity and variability of indexical meanings, the importance of sexuality for linguistic femininity, the coordination of multiple linguistic and extra-linguistic features to index social meanings, and the use of linguistic (and extra-linguistic) features as creative indexes.

Keywords: metapragmatic discourse, indexical meanings, gender and language, language ideology, Japanese, Japanese women's language, pragmatics

1. Introduction

Since early 1990s research on language and gender in English and other languages has begun to critically examine the characterization of the binary categories of men's language and women's language – a focus of earlier research – as representing stereotypical differences, or linguistic gender norms, and to investigate within-gender diversity in language use and its meanings (see, for example, Coates 2004; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2013; Mills and Mullany 2011; and Talbot 2010 for summary reviews). In line with this trend, Japanese language and gender research also has shifted its approach from the "description" of differences between *joseego* 'women's language' and *danseego* 'men's language' to a more critical approach, recognizing that *joseego* and *danseego* reflect the (prescriptive) gender norms for speech rather

than the description of how they actually speak (e.g., Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2004). Subsequently, the field has been increasingly examining diverse actual speech practice, including non-normative one (e.g., Abe 2010; Matsumoto 2004; Miyazaki 2004; Okada 2008; Okamoto 1995) and also investigating how linguistic gender norms have been constructed and disseminated in the long history of Japan (e.g., Bohn and Matsumoto 2008; Endo 1997; Inoue 1994, 2006; Nakamura 2001, 2006, 2007; Okamoto 2013; Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2016; Satake 2003; Washi 2004).

However, while *joseego* and *danseego* (in modern Japanese) are said to represent gendered speech norms, the content of “norms” itself has not been under close scrutiny. Are *joseego* and *danseego* in fact what ordinary Japanese understand as norms? The present study addresses this question, which has implications for the interpretation of indexical meanings pertaining to gender. In this study, I focus on women’s speech norms, because in the long history of Japan, women’s speech has been particularly regulated as compared to men’s (e.g., Endo 1997; Nakamura 2001, 2007; Washi 2004). Even today, women’s speech norms are disseminated through home and school discipline and through the media. Especially, the media plays a significant role in prescribing women’s speech both directly and indirectly. TV dramas, anime, romance fiction, etc. present model speech, or *onna-/josee-rashii hanashi-kata* ‘feminine ways of speaking,’ repeatedly through the speech of female characters, in particular that of heroines (e.g., Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008, 2016; Satake 2003). Such presentations serve as indirect prescriptions, which may have powerful effects in naturalizing and internalizing the underlying ideology through the repeated message (Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008). There are also genres that provide direct prescriptions. These include self-help books and classes on women’s speech and comments about women’s speech expressed in readers’ columns in newspapers, magazines, and online blogs.

The question is whether what has been taught to ordinary Japanese women as ideal speech corresponds to the scholarly characterization of *joseego*. I address this question by analyzing the instructions given in self-help books on women’s speech as instances of native speakers’ metapragmatic discourses and comparing them with *joseego* features, which are typically characterized in terms of general stylistic features and specific linguistic features, as summarized in Table 1.

In analyzing the data, I draw on an indexical view of language and social meanings, paying special attention to the creative aspect of indexical signs, the role of ideology in indexical process, and the variable and multiple social meanings of indexical signs (e.g., Agha 2003, 2007; Eckert 2008, 2012; Johnstone 2011; Silverstein 2003). I examine the kinds of speech patterns recommended by self-help books in terms of three kinds of features: general stylistic features like polite and gentle ways of speaking, specific linguistic features like honorifics and sentence-final particles,

and extra-linguistic features like facial expressions and demeanors. This three-way distinction will be shown to be helpful for understanding the ideological nature of indexical process for the construction of linguistic femininity.

Table 1. Scholarly characterizations of *joseego*

General stylistic features		
Most frequently noted	Polite; gentle/soft; refined/elegant	
Other	Conservative; verbose; indirect; unassertive; imprecise; emotional; empathetic	
Specific linguistic features		
Most frequently noted	Lexical:	1st-person pronouns (e.g., <i>atashi</i>); 2nd-person pronouns (e.g., <i>anata</i>)
	Morphological:	SFPs (e.g., <i>wa</i> , <i>kashira</i>); honorifics (e.g., <i>o-verb-ni naru</i>); ‘beautification’ prefix <i>o-</i>
Other	Phonological:	high voice pitch; large pitch range; rising intonation at sentence final; avoidance of particular phonological reductions (e.g., <i>umee</i> for <i>umai</i> ‘delicious’)
	Lexical:	interjections (e.g., <i>ara</i> ‘oh,’ <i>maa</i> ‘oh’); avoidance of “vulgar” expressions (e.g., <i>kuu</i> ‘eat,’ <i>chikushoo</i> ‘damn’); avoidance of Sino-Japanese words
	Morphological/Syntactic:	indirect directive forms (e.g., verb- <i>te</i>); use of question for statement; incomplete sentences

(Adopted from Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008: 92)¹

My analysis reveals that while there are many similarities between the *joseego* features and the speech patterns prescribed in self-help books, there are also many important differences, and that the speech patterns taught by self-help books as ideal women's speech are much broader and complex than the features of *joseego*. A close analysis of metapragmatic discourse in self-help books allows us to understand more adequately the intricate relationship between language and social meanings.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses theoretical issues important for this study, issues concerning indexical signs. Section 3 demonstrates that self-help books illustrate the treatment of Japanese women's speech as requiring special regulatory attention. Section 4 discusses how self-help

1. Table 1 is based on the examination of ten previous studies on gendered speech in Japanese (see Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008 for details.)

books treat ideal speech patterns for women as creative indexes. Section 5 focuses on the indexical process for the construction of linguistic femininity and the role of ideology in this process. Finally, Section 6 presents a conclusion.

2. Indexicality, language ideology, and metapragmatic discourse

Before presenting my analysis, I first discuss the indexical view of language, as it pertains to gender, and its related notions – the notions of language ideology and metapragmatic discourse. As can be seen in Table 1, the scholarly characterization of *joseego*, largely based on the framework of descriptive linguistics or early sociolinguistic research, is typically given as a list of features directly and uncritically linked to women. In other words, a linguistic form is assumed to “mean” that the speaker is a woman. But as noted by Johnstone (2010: 392), “relations between form and meaning do not pre-exist discourse but are rather evoked and created in discourse.” That is, linguistic forms *index* meanings rather than *having* meanings (Johnstone 2010: 392; Silverstein 2003). According to the indexical approach, then, a linguistic form does not straightforwardly reflect a social variable like the speaker’s gender. Moreover, depending on the context, a single linguistic form may be construed as indicating a number of context-related (that is, indexical) meanings, such as the relationship between the speaker and addressee or the speaker’s own persona or identity.² Eckert (2008: 455) argues that the very fact that the same linguistic forms as “variables may stratify regularly with multiple categories – e.g., gender, ethnicity, and class – indicates that their meanings are not directly related to these categories but to something that is related to all of them. In other words, variables index demographic categories not directly but indirectly (Silverstein 1985), through their association with qualities and stances that enter into the construction of categories” (see also Ochs 1992 for a discussion of indirect index). As will be demonstrated in this study, in the case of women’s speech, such “qualities” and “stances” as politeness and gentleness (related to general stylistic features) are regarded as constitutive of femininity and specific linguistic forms considered to express such qualities and stances (e.g., honorifics or certain sentence-final particles) are linked to femininity.

This indexical process (of linking social categories, qualities/stances, and linguistic forms) cannot be adequately understood without considering the role of language ideology. As is well known, Silverstein (1979: 193) defines language

2. The term ‘identity’ is understood here not as one’s permanently fixed attribute, but as something variable according to the context (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall 2005). I use it as interchangeable with the term ‘persona.’

ideologies as “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use.” Kroskrity (2000: 21) defines their role as a mediating link “between social structures and forms of talk.” Irvine (1992: 252) further explicates this point stating that forms of talk and forms of social structure cannot be correlated straightforwardly; rather, the relationship between the two “is more productively sought in cultural ideologies of language – those complex systems of ideas and interests through which people interpret linguistic behaviors.”

As discussed below, honorifics in Japanese, for example, are ideologically linked to a variety of meanings through the process of “indexical order” (Silverstein 2003). That is, honorifics normatively used to index a feature of the relational context (e.g., the participants’ status difference) through indicating politeness is further reinterpreted as indexing the speaker’s own persona as refined, which may be further reinterpreted as femininity (cf. Agha 2005 for the notion of resemiotization and Irvine and Gall 2000 for the notion of “fractal recursivity”). Each reinterpretation is mediated by the (cultural) ideology. For example, the ability to use complex honorifics appropriately to show politeness (“1st-order Addressee-focus of indexical forms,” to use Silverstein’s term) is construed as the speaker’s refinement or class status (“2nd-order Speaker-focus of indexical forms”), as in the case of Japanese honorifics discussed by Silverstein (2003) (see Section 5 for further discussion with examples).

Thus, depending on the context, honorifics in Japanese may index a variety of meanings, such as the relation between the speaker and addressee, the speaker’s persona as polite, refined, feminine, or even contrary meanings like impoliteness and aloofness (see Section 5 for examples; see also Okamoto 2011). This illustrates the variability and multiplicity of meanings associated with indexical signs (Agha 2005; Eckert 2008, 2012; Johnstone 2011). (Note that the n -th and $n + 1$ indexical meanings are “not simply linear or one-dimensional, like a temporal ‘before’ and ‘after’ to an indexical event” (Silverstein 2003: 195)). Eckert (2008: 453) argues that: “the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings—an *indexical field*, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable.” Johnstone (2011: 393) further discusses this multiplicity and variability in relation to the nature of language being only partially shared:

Particular forms can index multiple meanings at the same level and at multiple levels of abstraction. This is a consequence of the fact that language is never completely shared and that different individuals experience the linguistic and sociolinguistic environment in different ways, depending on the context (who is talking, in what circumstances) and the co-text (what else is being said or done at the same time), and meaning can change.

The nature of indexical meanings as variable and multiple also implies another important aspect of indexicality, namely the possibility of using linguistic forms as creative indexes (Eckert 2012; Silverstein 1976) – a view of language fundamentally different from the referential view underlying the characterization of *joseego*, which assumes that a linguistic form directly reflects, or refers to, an aspect of the context (e.g., that a *joseego* form means that the speaker is a woman). The idea that a linguistic form does not directly reflect a feature of the context (e.g., the speaker's gender), as discussed above, entails that it can be linked to a contextual feature that is not normative. For example, a woman may not use *joseego* forms to construct a persona different from stereotypical femininity or a man may use *joseego* forms to construct his sexual identity (e.g., Abe 2010; Matsumoto 2004; Miyazaki 2004; Okamoto 1995). That is, linguistic forms as indexical signs can be used to create a desired context, including interpersonal relationships and identities, or personae (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Eckert 2012; Silverstein 1976, 1979). Distinguishing this view from the earlier approach in sociolinguistic variation studies, Eckert (2012: 94) characterizes the use of creative indexes as “linguistic practice in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice.” In the case of self-help books, women who normally do not use stereotypical feminine speech may use the speech styles recommended by these books in order to present themselves as feminine if they think that is effective in certain social situations.

As discussed above, for an adequate account of indexical processes, we need to take language ideologies into consideration. For this purpose, examining native speakers' metapragmatic comments is helpful. Kulick (1992: 295) argues that: “language ideologies seem never to be solely about language – they are always about entangled clusters of phenomena, and they encompass and comment on aspects of culture like gender and expressions and being civilized.” Informed by language ideologies in a given society, native speakers engage in metapragmatic activities, making evaluative comments (e.g., good/bad, appropriate/inappropriate, refined/vulgar, feminine/unfeminine) about particular linguistic forms and their users (e.g., women), which often resorts to essentialism (through the process of “erasure,” as discussed by Irvine and Gal 2000). Kroskrity (2000: 5) argues that: “the concept of language ideology is the offspring of a union of two neglected forces: the linguistic “awareness” of speakers and the (nonreferential) functions of language.” Johnstone (2010: 401) thus emphasizes the importance of examining native speakers' metalinguistic activities, as “they have to come to be part of people's sociolinguistic world and cannot be dismissed as ‘inauthentic’ or evaluated as only ‘second-best.’” Self-help books on women's speech offer excellent examples of native speakers' metapragmatic comments on women's speech that help us understand the interpretation of linguistic forms and the role of ideology in this process.

3. Self-help books and women's speech as a special case

I now turn to the discussion of self-help books on women's speech. First, in this section, I consider the abundance of self-help materials on women's speech to show how women's speech is treated as requiring special regulatory attention. My search on Amazon Japan for *josee no hanashi-kata* 'women's ways of speaking' yielded 67 books published before April 2014. For this study, I examined the titles of these 67 books and also the contents of 29 books (see Appendix for the list of these 29 books) that were randomly selected.³ Some example titles are shown in Example (1) (due to limited space, I present examples only in English translations except for key words):

- (1) a. Ways of Speaking and Manners of Cute, Adult Women (*otona- kawaii josee*)
(Ogata 2013)
- b. *Petit Lessons (puchi-ressun)* toward a Language Beauty (*kotoba-bijin*)
(Sugiyama 2005)

There are also numerous self-help books that are not specifically focused on speech, but teach women how to become attractive as women. These books often include one chapter that concerns speech. For example, Bando's (2006) bestseller book *Onna no hinkaku* [*Women's Dignity*] that sold more than 3 million copies has one chapter entitled "Dignified (*hinkaku no aru*) language and ways of talking." Another book entitled *Miryoku-teki na otona no onna* [*A Book (that Helps You) to Become an Attractive Adult Woman*] (Fujimoto and Minami 2004) has a chapter called "A nice woman has a good command of language manners." These examples are all good indications that speaking is considered highly important for women's attractive personae.

Like self-help books on women's speech, are there also such books specially targeted at men? My search for *dansee no hanashi-kata* 'men's ways of speaking' on Amazon Japan yielded only two books: one about how to become popular among women (Uekusa 2014) and the other about speeches at weddings (Sayama 1985). This scarcity, however, does not mean that books on men's speech do not exist. Such books are designated for "general" use, as illustrated in Example (2):

- (2) a. Skillful ways of speaking that *can be used from today* (*kyoo kara dekiru*)
(Usui 2008)
- b. A person (*hito*) can change 90% by the way of speaking (Fukuda 2006)

3. While some of the authors of these books are linguists or scholars (e.g., Kitahara 2008; Toyama 2008), most others are writers who are currently and formerly flight attendants, newscasters, office workers, etc. Their recommendations about women's speech are largely based on their subjective evaluations, although their expertise is often attributed to their experience when they worked with clients, supervisors, etc.

In these titles, the target readership is either not specified at all (Example 2a) or referred to by generic references like *hito* ‘person’ (Example 2b). For example, in (2b) Fukuda (2006) uses *hito* ‘person,’ but he has another book specifically for women that is entitled “A woman (*josee*) can change 90% by the way of speaking” (Fukuda 2008).

There are also many comments in self-help books that suggest that women’s speech is thought to possess unique qualities that deserve special attention, as illustrated in Example (3):

- (3) a. Men and women are equal. We must not discriminate them, but I think it is better to recognize each other’s sex-based characteristics ... It may be argued that it is not wrong for men to go to work wearing a skirt and makeup. In order to prevent such a situation from occurring, I hope that at least language will maintain its *feminine gentleness* (*josee-rashii yasashisa*).
(Kanakubo 2005: 18–19)
- b. Men worked outside and women protected the home. This was how gender roles were assigned at one time. Women used *domestic language* (*shitsunai-go*) and were the transmitters of *beautiful Japanese language* (*utsukushii Nihongo*). It has been thought that *beautiful language is feminine* (*Utsukushii kotoba wa joseeteki da*).
(Toyama 2008: 96)

Before the quoted passage in (3a), this (male) writer complains that there are many women who use men’s language and even filthy (*kegarawashii*) language. He believes that women are naturally different from men and recommends that women should speak gently. The author of (3b) states that women’s roles are different from men’s and that women use domestic and beautiful language. These comments are subjective and highly ideological, or patriarchal, and present “essentializing, even naturalizing, ethno-metapragmatic explanations” (Silverstein 2003: 212), treating women’s language as something only women (naturally) possess.

4. Ideal speech patterns for women as creative indexes

The abundance of self-help books on women’s speech suggests that these books sell well and that there are many women who wish to improve their speech by learning from these books. In other words, language is viewed by the producers and consumers of these books as resources, or “linguistic capital” (Bourdieu 1977), to improve women’s personae. Agha (2005: 55) characterizes different ways of saying the same thing, or registers, as a form of “semiotic capital” and notes that: “to be able to speak the register is to be able to perform an image of social personhood as one’s own image,” using language as a creative index. This treatment of language is evidenced in many book titles, as illustrated in Example (4).

- (4) a. You will Become a Cool Adult Woman (*kakko ii otona no onna*)!: Speaking lessons (Watanabe 2012)
- b. Ways of Speaking that Help You to Become Beautiful (*bijin*) in Only 3 Minutes (Oshima 2006)

The titles of these books promise women that learning good, or feminine, ways of speaking will enhance their personae by making them cool, beautiful, etc. Likewise, the chapter/section headings and instructions in these books are replete with statements similar to those in Example (4). Dunn's (2011: 3652) study of Japanese business etiquette training notes a similar point that the training instructions, while emphasizing the importance of learning honorifics and other strategies as social norms, is framed in terms of accomplishing individual goals.

This view of language as a resource for changing one's persona differs fundamentally from the view that underlies the characterization of *joseego*, which assumes that language straightforwardly reflects the context without recognizing its possibility to create a context. Self-help books on women's speech encourage women to learn "proper" ways of speaking to improve themselves, assuming that not all women speak "properly" as women. Thus, they recognize and exploit (to sell their books) the creative aspect of indexical linguistic forms as linguistic commodities.

It has been pointed out that *joseego* as a linguistic norm for women, has in effect served as a women's behavioral constraint (e.g., Suzuki 1993). Instructions in self-help books for women's speech may contribute to the reproduction of such linguistic norms that constrain women's behavior. I argue, however, that while these books prescribe "ideal" feminine speech styles, it is up to the woman whether to adopt them. Not all women may accept them as ideal, yet depending on the situation, some may strategically use them if they think they can help achieve certain social goals, while others may not in similar situations.

With regard to the use of linguistic forms as creative indexes, one other aspect observed in these self-help books is that their main focus is on the use of language for constructing certain kinds of the speaker's own persona (i.e., higher-order indexicality) rather than a relational context. While a linguistic form may be interpreted as having multiple social meanings, self-help books are primarily interested in indexical values assumed to improve women's quality, as indicated by the examples above (see below for further discussion on this point).

5. Ideology and the construction of linguistic femininity

What kinds of speech patterns do these self-help books recommend for the construction of ideal femininity? How are they similar to or different from *joseego* features? In this section, I consider these questions by closely examining the titles

of 67 books and the contents of 29 self-help books specifically targeted at women. I examine the ways of speaking recommended by self-help books in terms of three kinds of features: general stylistic features (5.1), specific linguistic features (5.2), and extra-linguistic features (5.3) (cf. Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2008).

5.1 General stylistic features and femininity

General stylistic features concern qualities or stances, such as “polite” and “gentle” that can be expressed by a variety of specific linguistic features. For example, a polite way of speaking may be achieved by the use of honorifics, indirect speech acts, hedges, backchannels, etc. According to Table 1, the general stylistic features of *joseego* include “polite”, “gentle/soft”, and “refined/elegant” ways of speaking. These styles are also recommended frequently by self-help books, but other styles such as *utsukushii* ‘beautiful’ and *kiree na* ‘beautiful’ are also emphasized as particularly important.

Let us first discuss the features that overlap with the *joseego* features.

- (5) a. If you want to become *beautiful* (*utsukushiku*), use *polite and beautiful language* (*teenee de utsukushii kotoba*) consciously. (Sato 2007: 41)
- b. When you think you are right, your words inadvertently tend to become *sharp* (*tsuyoku*). ... Especially when you present your sound argument, try to make the *tone gentle* (*yasashii kuchoo*). (Ogata 2013: 7)

As illustrated in Example (5), ways of speaking characterized as *yasashii* ‘gentle’ and *teenee ni* ‘politely’ occur extremely frequently in these books.⁴ In the same vein, these books also instruct not to use *ramboo na* ‘rough,’ *soya na* ‘vulgar,’ *kitsui* ‘harsh,’ or *zonzai na* ‘sloppy’ expressions. These instructions indicate that qualities such as gentleness and politeness are not inherently associated with women, as they are told to make an effort to acquire them. That is, the association of femininity and certain stylistic features is not a given or natural, but reflects the ideology that women should behave/talk politely, gently, etc.

Another set of general stylistic features frequently recommended in self-help books that also overlap with *joseego* features concern women’s class status. They

4. Speech styles such as polite, gentle, and elegant were also recommended in manner and discipline books for women in pre-modern Japan. In this respect, today’s Japanese (normative) women’s speech, which is based on Standard Japanese cannot be regarded as completely newly created in modern Japan (cf. Inoue 1994, 2006). Rather, I argue that it is a result of the process in which the modern standard language ideology is incorporated into the pre-modern ideology of linguistic femininity (see Okamoto 2013 and Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2016 on this point).

include characteristics such as *jōhin na* 'refined,' *hin no aru* 'dignified,' *hinkaku ga aru* 'dignified,' *kyōyōo no aru* 'educated,' and *ereganto na* 'elegant,' as illustrated in Example (6):

- (6) Even if you have a perfect hairdo and wear top-brand clothes and expensive accessories, if you carry on a *sloppy* (*zonzai na*) conversation in a loud voice, people will not see you as an *educated* (*kyōyōo no aru*) woman who grew up in a *refined* (*jōhin na*) family. (Kanakubo 2005: 18)

Such comments assume that qualities such as refinement and dignity are not natural traits of women, but must be acquired through learning.

Qualities like gentleness and politeness seem to be related to the historically lower status of women, as compared to men. On the other hand, qualities such as refinement and dignity seem to suggest women's class status. That is, women have been expected to be simultaneously subordinate (in gender arrangement) and superior (in class status) (Okamoto 2013). Note that it is unlikely that men are instructed to use polite, gentle, and refined language in order to become beautiful. They may be instructed to speak, for instance, politely to higher-status persons, but that is not linked to masculinity. This asymmetry also indicates the ideological nature of the association between femininity and qualities such as politeness, gentleness, and refinement.

Let us now look at the general stylistic features recommended by self-help books that do not appear in the characterization of *joseego*. One feature that stands out concerns beautiful ways of speaking. Words such as *utsukushii* 'beautiful' and *kiree na* 'beautiful' are repeated extremely frequently in these books. In the 67 titles of self-help books, words related to beauty (e.g., *utsukushii* 'beautiful,' *kiree* 'beautiful,' *kotoba-bijin* 'language beauty,' and *hanashi-kata-bijin* 'speaking beauty') are used 24 times (Example 7). These words also appear repeatedly in chapter headings (Example 8):

- (7) Ways of Speaking that Help You to Become *the Most Beautiful Woman in the World* (*sekai-ichi no bijo*) (Nomura 2012)
- (8) A truly *beautiful* (*utsukushii*) person is a person whose language is *beautiful* (*utsukushii*) (Ito 2013: 3)

Note also that the word *bijin* 'beauty' is used in many compound nouns: e.g., *kotoba-bijin* 'language beauty,' *hanashi-kata bijin* 'speaking beauty,' *kaiwa-bijin* 'conversation beauty,' *koe-bijin* 'voice beauty,' *denwa-bijin* 'telephone beauty' and *keego-bijin* 'honorifics beauty.'

This enormous attention to beautiful ways of speaking indicates how important it is considered for women to be beautiful, which seems to suggest the underlying

ideology that regards women's aesthetic features, as a significant part of women's attractiveness (for men). We cannot imagine a book title like "Men's beautiful ways of speaking and conversation skills." But for women, language, like their makeup, is considered an equipment for making them beautiful. This special emphasis on women's beauty assumes hetero-normativity and illustrates the importance of sexuality, that is, heterosexuality, in the construction of normative gender (e.g., see Cameron 1997 and Talbot 2010 who discuss the importance of heterosexuality for the construction of masculinity). That is, sexuality and gender are intricately related to each other (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). Except for a few studies (e.g., Lunsing and Maree 2004 and Nakamura 2006), the relation of sexuality, that is, heterosexuality, to the concept of linguistic femininity in Japanese is usually overlooked in the characterization of *joseego*. But it deserves a close examination, as the use of gendered speech in Japanese itself assumes heteronormativity, as has been discussed by studies concerning the language use of gays and lesbians (e.g., Abe 2010; Maree 2013).

Furthermore, the premise of instructions in self-help books is that beautiful ways of speaking are not naturally associated with women, as illustrated in Example (9):

- (9) Like the beauty of facial expressions and the beauty of demeanors, I think that *beautiful ways of speaking* (*utsukushii hanashi-kata*) are valuable because it is *the beauty you earn by polishing it* (*migaki-agete te ni ireru utsukushisa*).

(Sugiyama 2005: 139)

Instructions like this assume that women should develop beautiful ways of speaking as resources for improving their worth as women.

5.2 Specific linguistic features and femininity

Self-help books thus instruct women to acquire general speaking styles characterized as polite, gentle, elegant, beautiful, etc. What kinds of specific linguistic forms then are thought to bring about such speaking styles? I now examine this question.

The paramount features of *joseego* include: first- and second-person pronouns, sentence-final particles, and honorifics (including the "polite" prefix *o-*). However, in self-help books, such pronouns and sentence-final particles are mentioned only infrequently.⁵ For example, Oshima (2006: 190) recommends the use of the most formal form *watakushi* 'I' instead of *watashi* "if you want to present yourself as intelligent and refined." But this is an exception. The use of these pronouns is not emphasized, perhaps because it does not require special training, although it is shown through example sentences.

5. Other *joseego* features hardly mentioned in self-help books are: high voice pitch, large pitch range, avoidance of Sino-Japanese words, and interjections.

Likewise, sentence-final particles are mentioned only infrequently. Oshima (2006: 127–128), for instance, has one section entitled ‘Sentence-endings that can increase the *degree of your beauty* (*bijin-do*) and instructs the readers to use such forms as (*wa*)*yo*, (*wa*)*(ne)*, (*da*) *wa*, and *kashira*, if they wish to emphasize their femininity. Enomoto (1995: 58) makes similar recommendations. But these explicit instructions are exceptions. Instead, the use of sentence-final forms is illustrated by way of example sentences. Moreover, it is often pointed out that ending a sentence with a “feminine” form may not sound feminine depending on how it is said (see below for further discussion on this point).

In contrast, the use of honorifics is one of the most frequently mentioned features in self-help books. Many books have one special chapter or section on honorifics (e.g., Enomoto 1995; Isoura 1992; Kanai 1994; Ogata 2013; Oshima 2006; Shimodaira 2004; Yoshikawa 2013) with a heading like the one in Example (10):

- (10) To use *honorifics* (*keego*) properly is a necessary condition for a *beautiful woman* (*bijin*).
(Kanai 1994: 229)

There are also three books entirely devoted to honorifics – e.g., “*Intelligent* (*chi-teki*) honorific use of a *language beauty* (*kotoba-bijin*)” (Kitahara 2008). We have also seen the expression *keego-bijin* ‘honorific beauty’. Example (11) illustrates the instructions about honorifics.

- (11) For whom do you use honorifics? It is for expressing your beauty properly. ... Honorifics are not used only for superiors. For beautiful women the use of honorifics means more than that. That is to show their dignity and high educational level.
(Oshima 2006: 174)

On the other hand, some of the books also warn that honorifics must be used judiciously because they could be perceived as rude, distant, insincere, etc., as illustrated in Example (12):

- (12) You may think that as long as you use honorifics, you are not rude, but you are mistaken. Being careful about sentence endings is to consider the other's feelings just like using honorifics. By using expressions that are neither decisive nor assertive, you can make others feel that you are a calm and gentle person.
(Toyama 2008: 115)

This example suggests that honorifics may not be perceived as polite unless they are used with an appropriate tone.

Instructions such as these examples concern two important issues regarding the indexicality of honorifics: (a) the multiplicity and variability of indexical meanings of honorifics and (b) the ideological basis for the relationship between honorifics and social meanings. In the above examples, we can see multiple meanings of

honorifics in the manner of indexical order (Eckert 2008, 2012; Silverstein 2003). That is, Japanese honorifics are typically thought to express politeness or deference for the relevant addressee or referent (e.g., one's superior), which, as discussed earlier, can be further construed as the speaker's refinement, beauty, etc., which is further linked to femininity. These links, or series of (re)interpretations, are mediated by ideological assumptions like "honorifics express politeness (for one's superiors)," "women who speak politely using honorifics are refined and beautiful," and "women who are linguistically refined and beautiful are feminine."

Moreover, as indicated by Example (12), depending on the context, honorifics may be perceived as rude, insincere, distant, etc. This illustrates the view that social meanings such as politeness, refinement, and beauty are not inherently associated with honorifics (e.g., Eelen 2001; Glick 1996; Okamoto 1999, 2013; Pizziconi 2011), but may be considered their stereotypical meanings and may vary over time and across contexts (see Agha 2005, 2007 and Pizziconi 2011 for discussions of stereotypical meanings of indexical signs). Thus the indexical meanings of honorifics are variable and multiple. And among the multiple potential meanings in the indexical field (Eckert 2008, 2012), those that concern the speaker's own persona are given special emphasis in self-help books.

Besides honorifics, there are also other specific linguistic features strongly recommended by self-help books. These include: avoidance of vulgar words, carrying out particular speech acts appropriately, becoming a good listener, topic management, and the use of positive expressions. These are hardly mentioned in the characterization of *joseego* except for avoidance of vulgar words, which is related to the idea of speaking politely, beautifully, and in a refined manner. (Note that indirect directives, a feature of *joseego*, and hedges are mentioned in relation to ways of carrying out speech acts, as discussed below.)

With regard to speech acts, many books emphasize the importance of using three speech acts, namely, praise, apology, and thanking, as illustrated in Example (13).

- (13) "I'm sorry (*gomennasai*)."
Apologies (shazai) that give a refreshing (*sawayakana*) impression are a basic requirement for a language beauty.

(Josee no Seekatsu Manaa Kenkyuukai 2001: 143)

As this example indicates, a particular speech act (e.g., apology) is ideologically assumed to make the speaker beautiful and feminine. This kind of interpretation depends on who the speaker is (in this case, a woman). It is unlikely to hear expressions like "Apologies are a basic requirement of a beautiful man."

In addition, these books also devote enormous space for instructions about how to carry out a variety of speech acts (e.g., request, refusal, offer, criticism) appropriately. These instructions are often quite detailed, as illustrated in Example (14).

- (14) When you say “no (NO)” to an invitation. ... If you say outright, “*I can’t (Dame na n desu)*,” it will hurt the other person. ... [You should say] something like “*Thank you very much. I’m pleased, but I’m sorry. It’s regrettable (Arigatoo gozaimasu. Ureshii n desu kedo gomen nasai. Zannen desu)*.” Then you offer an alternative idea or convey the reasons for your decline. These are also good means to let the other person feel your *sincerity (seejitsu-sa)*.

(Sugiyama 2005: 26)

In Example (14), the author tells the readers not to decline an invitation directly and gives a model of decline, which consists of expressions of thanking, appreciation, and apology, followed by an offer of an alternative idea and an explanation of the reasons for the decline. Similar instructions are plentiful. They suggest that one speech act can be realized by combining a number of different speech acts, which as a whole is believed to constitute a polite, refined, and hence feminine way of speaking. Similarly, Dunn (2011) observes that business manner training emphasizes that politeness cannot be achieved by the use of correct honorifics alone, but rather by a combination of honorifics and other verbal and non-verbal strategies.

Many self-help books also emphasize the importance of becoming a good listener. As part of its strategy, the readers are advised to use *aizuchi* ‘backchannels’ appropriately, as illustrated in Example (15).

- (15) Backchannels are signs of support from the listener’s side in order to make it easier for the speaker to talk. ... If you become a “*good listener (kiki-joozu)*,” you can also become a “*good speaker (hashi-joozu)*.” (Fukuda 2008: 35)

This instruction recommends women to be supportive of the current speaker by using backchannels. Another author writes, “When I talk with Mrs. A, I feel that backchannels are truly beautiful words” (Sugiyama 2005: 112). It would be awkward if “Mrs. A” is replaced by “Mr. A.” These examples indicate that backchannels are ideologically linked to supportiveness, beauty, and femininity. The emphasis on being a good listener is consistent with the idea that women’s role should be passive and supportive of others, which reminds us of Fishman’s (1983) claim that women do conversational maintenance work.

Other features that self-help books underscore include: the importance of using positive expressions to make the receiver happy or comfortable (e.g., Fukuda 2008: 38; Kamba 2006: 71) and the importance of good topic management – e.g., choosing lighthearted topics and topics that interest the addressee (e.g., Isoura 1992: 34; Shimodaira 2004: 34; Toyama 2008: 122).⁶ Note that instructions about

6. There are also other features that some self-help books refer to – for example, taciturnity (e.g., Fukuda 2008) and voice quality (e.g., Oshima 2006), but these are not as frequent as the other features discussed in this section.

listening, topic management, and the use of positive expressions all apply to a conversation globally rather than to individual linguistic items locally.

The foregoing observations indicate that linguistic femininity is constructed through a complex indexical process in which linguistic forms are ideologically linked to social meanings. They also suggest that femininity is achieved not only by the local use of specific individual linguistic features, but also by combining a variety of linguistic features or features applicable globally in a conversation so that it is important to be able to coordinate those features as a whole in order to achieve ideal femininity – a topic further explored in the ensuing section.

5.3 Extra-linguistic features and the meanings of “feminine” forms

In addition to general stylistic features and specific linguistic features, self-help books also offer numerous instructions about extra-linguistic features such as facial expressions, demeanors, and sincerity. These features are not included in the characterization of *joseego*, but they are considered highly important in self-help books. That is, these books frequently emphasize that linguistic expressions they recommend will not be effective or feminine if they are not accompanied by appropriate extra-linguistic features, as illustrated in Example (16).

- (16) If you can use “*cushion words* (*kushon kotoba*, i.e., hedges),” your interpersonal relationships will become smooth. Of course, even if you say *osoreirimasu* ‘I’m sorry to trouble you (a cushion word)’, if it is not accompanied by your (true) *feelings* (*kimochi*) and (appropriate) *facial expressions* (*hyoojoo*), it may become counterproductive. (Isoura 1992: 146)

Example (16) first instructs the readers to use a hedge like *osoreirimasu* ‘I’m sorry’ when conveying unpleasant information, but then notes that even if one uses a hedge, if it is not said sincerely and with appropriate facial expressions, it will bring about a negative effect. Another author (Hirose 1984: 44–45) underscores that honorifics can offend the addressee by being too polite or by conveying it brusquely.

There are also numerous instructions that concern specific speech acts, as illustrated in Example (17).

- (17) a. When you *apologize* (*owabi o suru*), are you *bowing* (*atama o sagete*) and *apologizing sincerely* (*kokoro kara shazai-shite*)? If you *apologize* (*shazai*) with a *perfunctory tone* (*nageyarina kuchoo*), the addressee will feel that “you are *not apologizing sincerely* (*kokoro kara wa ayamatte inai*).” (Kamba 2006: 187)

- b. In order to be able to speak *beautifully* (*utsukushiku*), the key is how well you can praise others. If you give *exaggerated compliments that sound insincere* (*ha no uku yoo na oseji*), your words of praise (*home-kotoba*) will not work. (Toyama 2008: 78)

Example (17a) points out that in order for an apology to be accepted as an apology, it must be supported by sincerity and bowing. Likewise, (17b), an advice about praising, warn the reader that too much praise may be undesirable, because it may not sound sincere.

These instructions illustrate the view that meanings such as politeness and femininity are not inherently associated with specific linguistic features and can be “detached” from them depending on the manner of delivery, and hence that the meanings of “gendered” linguistic forms are context dependent and variable. Indexicality is often considered with regard to individual linguistic forms as variables, but my analysis suggests the need for paying more attention to the combination and coordination of a variety of linguistic and extra-linguistic features, that is, multi-modal features, as part of a broader semiotic system (Eckert 2012: 97), that as a whole are construed as indexing meanings such as politeness, refinement, beauty, and femininity.

6. Conclusion

Drawing on an indexical approach, I have examined metapragmatic discourse in self-help books on Japanese women's speech by comparing it with the scholarly characterization of *josego*. The results of my analyses reveal that what self-help books teach as ideal speech for women is much broader and more complex than *josego* and that its close examination helps us better understand the nature of linguistic femininity and the relationship between linguistic forms and social meanings.

The findings demonstrate that the construction of femininity involves a complex process in which linguistic and extralinguistic forms are ideologically linked to general stylistic features (e.g., polite and gentle ways of speaking) as indexicals of the speaker's stances and qualities, which are further ideologically linked to femininity. As shown with examples, this linking, or interpretive process, may be iterated in the indexical order (Eckert 2008; Silverstein 2003), illustrating the multiplicity and variability of indexical meanings. We have also seen that self-help books often emphasize that linguistic forms supposed to be interpreted as polite, gentle, refined, feminine, etc. may not be interpreted as such if they are not accompanied by appropriate extra-linguistic features. This emphasis nicely illustrates the idea that social meanings are not inherently associated with linguistic forms. Rather,

the relationship between the two is mediated by cultural ideologies (e.g., Silverstein 1985; Irvine 1992; Kroskrity 2000).

The present analysis has also revealed how important it is deemed for women to be beautiful. A variety of linguistic features (e.g., honorifics, speech acts, backchannels) are ideologically construed as beautiful and feminine ways of speaking. This finding suggests the importance of considering (hetero)sexuality for understanding linguistic femininity, although this issue requires further research.

Furthermore, self-help books often instruct readers to utilize a set of linguistic and non-linguistic, or multi-modal, features to convey intended social meanings, suggesting that social meanings are indexed not only by local individual linguistic items, but also by a combination and coordination of multiple linguistic and extra-linguistic features as part of a broader semiotic system. This finding indicates the need for examining indexicality not simply in terms of individual linguistic forms, but also in terms of a set of linguistic and extra-linguistic features.

Lastly, we have seen that self-help books tout learning good ways of speaking as a means to become attractive. That is, these authors and consumers believe that linguistic forms are not simple reflection of aspects of the context, but can be used as (creative) indexes to construct a desired context. In particular, self-help books highlight the function of language for constructing the speaker's own persona.

Further research is called for to examine native speakers' metapragmatic discourse closely, as it gives more focus on the interpretive aspect of linguistic forms and allows us to deepen our understanding of the complexity involved in the interpretation of social meanings.

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Linguistic nationalism and fictional deception

Metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese in Japan

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In Japan many subscribe to linguistic nationalism expressed in propriety terms: only the ethnically Japanese possess the Japanese language and can speak it competently. This means, conversely, a metapragmatic stereotype regarding non-Japanese exists: non-Japanese cannot speak the language perfectly. While many representations of non-Japanese characters in fiction reflect this stereotype, this chapter analyzes a novel in which the author deliberately exploits the stereotype for dramatic effect. He has a non-Japanese character speak in a casual, natural, and gendered manner, and successfully deceives readers into believing the character is Japanese. When the true identity of the character is revealed, it comes as a complete surprise. The surprise serves as a wake-up call for readers to reflect on their sense of exclusivity.

Keywords: cultural nationalism, Japanese, language ideologies, linguistic nationalism, media representation, metapragmatic stereotype, non-Japanese, pragmatics

1. Introduction

Ore ga gaijin da to wakattara, aite ni shinakatta daro?
'If you had known that I was a foreigner,
you would not have taken me seriously, right?'
(Isaka 2009: 292)

A graduate student from an Asian country says this to a Japanese college student in a mystery novel, *Ahiru to kamo no koinrokkaa* [*The Foreign Duck, the Native Duck and God in a Coin Locker*]¹ written by Kotaro Isaka. The Asian student's remark

1. This translation of the title is taken from that of the film based on the book, which is found on the website called Nippon Cinema.

is intriguing on two accounts. First, it points out the Japanese student's (and perhaps by extension Japanese readers') unconscious prejudice against foreigners in general. Second, the style of his speech is not at all typical of how non-Japanese characters' speech is depicted in contemporary Japanese fiction. It is highly gendered and sounds natural, which plays a crucial part in the mystery of the novel. In this Chapter I will attempt to show that the sense of exclusivity among the Japanese implied in the above quote is crucial in understanding how media represent non-Japanese individuals' speech in Japan.

Metapragmatic stereotypes arise when "many persons typify criterial speech-forms in the same way, assigning the same metalinguistic predicates (e.g., "is slang," "is polite," "is used by older persons," etc.) to the forms at issue" (Agha 2004: 26). Numerous such stereotypes can be found in Japan. For example, using certain first-person pronouns and utterance-final forms in Japanese is stereotypically associated with female speakers. In this paper, however, I shall be concerned with a specific metapragmatic stereotype that is applied to non-Japanese individuals. Previous studies of non-Japanese individuals' speech in Japanese include Kinsui (2003, 2007, 2008) and Yoda (2011).²

Both Kinsui and Yoda discuss what they refer to as *yakuwari-go*, or 'role language,' a concept which corresponds to the notion of the metapragmatic stereotypes.³ With regard to *yakuwari-go* of non-Japanese, Kinsui (2003, 2007, 2008) details historical developments of the varieties of Pidgin Japanese that have been associated with Chinese speakers, while Yoda (2011) is concerned with the contemporary situation, dating from the post-war period, and examines the representation of non-Japanese characters of diverse backgrounds.

I have conducted two studies that follow up on Yoda (2011). The first study (Suzuki 2014) investigated the representation of non-Japanese speech in contemporary novels. The purpose of the study was to examine whether the characteristics of non-Japanese characters' speech that Yoda (2011) observed in comic books and animation films were represented differently in novels and, if so, how. The analysis included quantitative data comprised of speech from 123 non-Japanese characters found in 31 novels.

2. There have been many more studies, including Yoda (2007), Ota (2011), Hasegawa (2012), and Nakamura (2013), which investigate how non-Japanese individuals' speech is translated into Japanese from other languages such as English. This study, however, as well as Kinsui (2003, 2007, 2008) and Yoda (2011), are concerned with how the speech of non-Japanese individuals who communicate *in Japanese* is represented.

3. Kinsui (2003, 35) remarks: "role language is nothing but linguistic stereotype (*yakuwari-go to wa gengo-joo no sutereotaipu ni hoka naranai*).” The concept of metapragmatic stereotypes discussed in Agha (2004) corresponds to what Kinsui refers to.

In the present study, I am looking at the relationship between metapragmatic stereotypes and language ideologies. Broadly defined, language ideologies are “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds” (Kroskrity 2004: 498). I intend to contribute to the body of scholarship investigating the connections between language and ideology in Japanese society such as Matsumoto and Okamoto (2003), Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith (2004), Sato and Doerr (2008), Nakamura (2007, 2013), and Fukuda (2014). More specifically, I am interested in connecting the metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese individuals’ speech with linguistic/cultural nationalism in Japan (Miller 1986, 1995; Niyekawa 1991; Creighton 1991, 1997; Yoshino 1992; Komori 1998, 2003; Levy 2001; Kayama 2002; Yano 2004; McVeigh 2006; Perkins 2010; Yasuda 2011).

The data used in this study come from a contemporary novel, *Ahiru to kamo no koinrokkaa* [The Foreign Duck, The Native Duck and God in a Coin Locker] (Isaka 2003). Previously, Yano (2004) and Perkins (2010) have examined television programs that uncritically expose the metapragmatic stereotype regarding non-Japanese individuals. The present study, by contrast, demonstrates that the novelist is *conscious* of the metapragmatic stereotype and intentionally uses it for dramatic effect, and may well have intended to alert his readers as to their unconscious prejudices.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Section 2 discusses the concept of linguistic nationalism, which underlines the prejudices mentioned above. Section 3 reviews recent scholarship that examines media representations in Japan. Section 4 connects metapragmatic stereotypes of non-Japanese individuals discussed in previous studies to linguistic nationalism. In Section 5, I provide a detailed analysis of relevant characters’ speech in Isaka’s novel and demonstrate that the novelist intentionally manipulated the speech to reveal the readers’ prejudices. In the final section, I relate the analysis presented here to my previous study (Suzuki 2014) and refer to the possibility that Isaka’s work and his critical assessment of linguistic nationalism might signal a new era in Japan, which is more cognizant of its diverse inhabitants and multiculturalism.

2. Linguistic nationalism in Japan

Niyekawa (1991: 24) observed: “many Japanese have a mystical belief in “blood,” and feel that anybody who has Japanese blood flowing in his body should think, speak, and behave the Japanese way.” More recently, Takamori (2010: 226) also observes the assumption pervasive in Japan “that people with Japanese blood would be able to assimilate readily into Japanese society.” Japanese Americans she interviewed described their Japanese language teachers as expecting Japanese American students

to “naturally” possess advanced linguistic proficiency. Robertson (2005: 329) explains how blood “remains an organizing metaphor for profoundly significant, fundamental, and enduring assumptions about Japaneseness and otherness.”

This link between blood and Japaneseness suggests, conversely, that unless you are ethnically Japanese, you are not likely to speak or behave in the Japanese way. Creighton (1991) recognized exactly this assumption. She notes that there is a belief among the Japanese that “Japanese life, customs and language are too difficult for foreigners” (Creighton 1991: 707). In another study (Creighton 1997), she observes that when Caucasian foreigners are used in advertisements, they are often presented as being inept at pursuing traditional Japanese arts or habits. She notes that the projections of these non-Japanese individuals’ awkwardness “with Japanese customs, or in using the Japanese language, reinforce a sense that there is something about these cultural identity markers that is solely for the Japanese” (Creighton 1997: 221). Miller (1995), in her analysis of the *gaijin tarento* ‘foreign celebrities’ phenomenon in the 1980s, finds that speaking in Japanese is considered an uncharacteristic behavior for foreigners and that there is a folk belief among the Japanese that “individuals who are not ethnically Japanese should not properly speak Japanese” (Miller 1995: 191).⁴ These beliefs reflect a pervasive cultural nationalism. In the present study I will focus on linguistic nationalism, a subset within the broader notion of cultural nationalism.

Many forms of cultural nationalism may qualify as “banal nationalism” (Billig 1995) or “everyday nationalism” (McVeigh 2006). When we hear the word “nationalism,” we tend to associate it with fundamentalist attitudes, military actions, territorial disputes, and xenophobic rants. However, more muted, mundane, and less obvious forms of nationalism also exist. Cultural nationalism is one such form.

An example of cultural nationalism in Japan is expressed in *Nihonjinron* (theories of Japaneseness) writings, which describe Japan as a uniquely homogeneous society.⁵ Befu (1992: 43–44) observes:

What is common to the wartime *Nihonjinron* and postwar *Nihonjinron* is that both rely heavily on primordial sentiments inherent in the presumed ‘ethnic essence’ of the Japanese – blood, purity of race, language, mystique – which are the basic ‘stuff’ of *Nihonjinron*, pre- and post-war.

As such, the Japanese language is an important theme in the *Nihonjinron* writings and is “frequently regarded as the essential element in making the Japanese ‘Japanese’” (McVeigh 2006: 197). In perhaps the most extreme claim of Japanese

4. See Suzuki (2015), a follow-up study to Miller (1995), for a discussion of non-Japanese individuals on contemporary Japanese television and comic books.

5. See McVeigh (2006) for other examples of cultural nationalism in Japan.

uniqueness, Tsunoda (1978) claimed that Japanese brains work differently from the brains of other nationalities/ethnicities due to speaking Japanese.⁶

Yoshino (1992) observes that some Japanese feel that they exclusively own Japanese culture. As the language is part of the culture, some Japanese also express the exclusive sense of ownership of the Japanese language. In Japan, thus, linguistic nationalism does not focus on promoting the use of Japanese by non-native speakers or on worrying about the purity of the language. Rather, it is expressed “in propriety terms” (McVeigh 2006: 197): only ethnically Japanese individuals are supposed to exhibit ownership of Japanese and therefore speak Japanese proficiently. The quotes from Niyekawa (1991), Creighton (1991, 1997), Miller (1995), and Takamori (2010) above address this form of cultural/linguistic nationalism.

Although this may be obvious, I should mention that not all Japanese individuals share this cultural/linguistic nationalism. The Japanese naturally differ from each other in their feelings and ideologies. However, cultural/linguistic nationalism is a noticeable, pervasive sentiment that is observed by many scholars mentioned above. It is prevalent as well as habitual. McVeigh (2006) points out that most people, if pressed, could see the irrational nature of such nationalism that links ethnicity with linguistic ability. It is obvious, if one thinks clearly, that people of Japanese ancestry raised outside of Japan could not “naturally” possess competence in the Japanese language. However, “since most of our thinking is unsystematic, habitual, and instinctive, we often make unfounded assumptions and mistaken connections” (McVeigh 2006: 147). Linguistic nationalism belongs to such habits of thought.

3. Recent scholarship that alludes to linguistic nationalism in Japan

One might argue that Japan has become more open to diversity and multiculturalism than before and that nationalistic ideas about Japanese culture or language are dying out. However, recent scholarship on Japanese television programs (Yano 2004; Perkins 2010) observes that an implicit determinism between ethnicity and linguistic competency still persists. Yano (2004) describes how Japanese Americans are depicted on a Japanese television drama and how Japanese-American viewers reacted to this portrayal. The program, *Sakura*, was broadcast from April through October in 2002, not only in Japan but also in 41 other countries. It was clearly primarily intended for the Japanese audience, given that it was produced by Japan’s national broadcasting organization, Nihon Hoso Kyokai (NHK). Yano’s work is based on interviews with NHK producers in Tokyo as well as Japanese American (Nikkei) viewers in the United States.

6. See Miller (1986) for a discussion of Tsunoda’s (1978) claim.

The title, *Sakura*, refers to the main character, a young female *yonsei* ‘a fourth-generation Japanese American,’ played by a Japanese actor Shiho Takano. NHK presumably, at least initially, searched for a young Japanese American actor, but ended up hiring Takano. The reactions of Japanese American viewers to the drama ranged from amusement to disappointment and anger. Those who were disappointed thought that the program vastly misrepresented Japanese Americans. Many cited linguistic inaccuracy in NHK’s depiction. Yano observes, “Sakura and her family are far too fluent in Japanese to be credible to anyone who has spent even the briefest amount of time with the Nikkei, especially of the *sansei*⁷ and *yonsei* generations” (Yano 2004). The following are some of the quotes from the interviewees:

The Japanese she [Sakura] spoke was too perfect. My friend, *nisei*⁸ cannot speak Japanese at all. (said by a third-generation Japanese American)

I have two children and even if I have taken them to Japan and they have studied Japanese, they soon forget the language. *Sakura* is not the reality. *Sansei* and *yonsei* in Hawai’i can’t speak Japanese. (said by a first-generation Japanese American)

Yano notes that careful attention to detail and thought went into the NHK’s production process, and argues that the fact that they still ended up with an inaccurate portrait suggests that the linguistic aspect was deliberately ignored for the benefit of Japanese audiences. NHK’s decisions to hire a Japanese rather than a Japanese American actor and to have her speak fluent Japanese indicate that they were “willing to stretch the truth to the extent that a Japanese audience will accept” (Yano 2004). Yano further says, “it is easy for viewers in Japan to naturalize Japanese as the default language [and therefore, a set of linguistic expectations] for anyone with Japanese blood” (Yano 2004). In other words, the NHK producers’ decisions to ignore the linguistic reality of fourth-generation Japanese Americans and to have the actor speak in fluent Japanese reflect linguistic nationalism, which ties people, language, and nation.⁹ Recall Niyekawa (1991) and Takamori’s (2010) comments about “Japanese blood.”

Perkins (2010) also examined a Japanese television program on which linguistic nationalism has an effect. As in Yano (2004), the selection of actors and their

7. *Sansei* is a third generation Japanese-American.

8. *Nisei* is a second generation Japanese-American.

9. The editors pointed out that another character, a Caucasian, also spoke fluent Japanese in the drama. This calls for a careful examination of the relevant speech. For example, did this character speak fluently but with a noticeable accent, similar to how *gaijin tarento* ‘foreign celebrities’ in the 1980s discussed in Miller (1995) spoke? It would be interesting to make such an inquiry and revisit what Yano (2004) discussed, but it is beyond the scope of this chapter.

linguistic behavior are crucial. Perkins examined a television comedy series entitled *Nodame Kantaabire* [Nodame Cantabile]. Nodame, the main female character, is a music student in Japan who ends up in an “alternative” orchestra with other misfit students. A German conductor named Franz Strezemann has thought of setting up the unconventional orchestra. Interestingly, a Japanese comic actor, Naoto Takenaka, plays the role of Strezemann. In order to “pass” as a German, Takenaka puts on a large prosthetic nose and a long gray-gold wig. In addition to these visual markers, he manipulates his language to express the character’s non-Japaneseness. Although he speaks Japanese fluently as Strezemann, he puts on a “Western” accent by lengthening vowel sounds and placing stress on syllables that are usually not stressed. He also frequently uses loan words and makes distinctly non-Japanese utterances. At one point in the first episode, he makes a mistake in his word choice and apologizes for his poor Japanese.

Such blatantly stereotyped linguistic performance is presumably for comic effect, but it also reinforces preexisting linguistic nationalism, the idea that only the Japanese speak the language naturally and perfectly. Perkins notes that “as long as TV producers shy away from presenting material that openly challenge social stereotypes and expectations, it may be argued that representations of foreigners will continue in this vein” (Perkins 2010: 398).

4. Metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese and linguistic nationalism

Takenaka’s outrageous performance fits Yoda’s (2011) descriptions. Based on her investigation of comic books and animations, Yoda reports that non-Japanese characters’ Japanese speech has the following characteristics:

- a. Non-Japanese characters misuse the sentence-final particle *ne*, which is used for confirmation; they use it to mark information that is new for the addressee.
- b. They make mistakes in pronunciation; they either lengthen or shorten a vowel.
- c. They incorporate phrases from their native language into Japanese utterances.
- d. Utterances are orthographically represented in *katakana*, which is usually used to write Western loan words and onomatopoeic expressions.¹⁰

10. Non-conventional use of *katakana* can be interpreted in diverse ways (Hudson and Sakakibara 2007; Ezaki 2010), but in this context it seems to mark foreignness or indicate non-conventional intonation or pronunciation. See Nakayama (1998), which classifies thirteen types of non-loanwords appearing in *katakana* in newspapers, including Japanese spoken by non-Japanese.

Yoda (2011) sums up these characteristics by calling non-Japanese individuals' speech depicted in comic books and animation films as *katakoto nihongo* 'broken Japanese.'¹¹

The metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese individuals that emerges from these observations as well as Takenaka's performance in *Nodame Kantaabire* is that their Japanese speech is flawed in some way or another. It may be imperfect because of their grammar, pronunciation, or vocabulary. In print media it is often orthographically marked as "foreign." Although Yoda (2011) does not discuss the ideological implications of her observations, this metapragmatic stereotype directly reflects Japanese linguistic nationalism: "only the Japanese own the Japanese language; only the Japanese speak the language naturally and perfectly."

Kinsui (2003) observes that one most often finds stereotypical language use in general (and not just of non-Japanese individuals) in children's literature and comic books. He also notes that peripheral characters tend to engage in speaking stereotypically. These observations make sense because simplistic (and not so nuanced) characters populate children's literature and comic books. Also, creators/authors tend to describe their main characters more extensively while peripheral characters are not as well developed. Stereotyping is an easy instrument for creators/authors to use in order to depict peripheral characters. Readers know right away whether these characters are old, male, etc.

Many creators/authors of comic books, children's books, and animation films who allot stereotypical language to their non-Japanese characters do so without any critical perspectives. They, along with the creator of *Nodame Kantaabire*, seem to use stereotypical language simply to mark characters' non-Japanese ethnicity or to create comical effects. For example, in a children's book called *Nanja Hinata-maru* (H. Saito 1989), the main character Hinata-maru encounters a vampire from Europe. The vampire character speaks with lengthened vowels and ungrammatical sentences, which accentuates his exotic background. Comedians also frequently use stereotypical language to play non-Japanese characters. For example, one of the members of *Daburu Datchi*, a comedian pair popular in the mid to late 2000s, portrayed a non-Japanese woman named *Rajibandarii* by donning a wig and speaking broken Japanese.¹² The comedian exaggerated non-conventional intonation and used sociolinguistically inappropriate utterances to get laughs. To these authors, creators and comedians, stereotyping is just a convenient tool, as Kinsui (2003) discusses. In other words, they use it uncritically.

11. *Katakoto nihongo* is more literally translated as 'fragmented Japanese,' but here I adopt Yoda's translation.

12. Yoda (2011) discusses the *Rajibandarii* character. *Daburu Datchi*'s performance is available on Daily Motion.

5. Critical novelist with an awareness

In this Section I discuss a novel in which the author seems to have an awareness of and a critical eye towards the metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese speakers. The novel in question is a mystery entitled *Ahiru to Kamo no Koinrokkaa* [The Foreign Duck, The Native Duck and God in a Coin Locker] (*Ahiru*, for short from here on). Its plot includes animal abuse, HIV, romance, friendship, and discussions of reincarnation. Bob Dylan's song, "Blowing in the wind," figures prominently in the novel.

Ahiru starts with a preface followed by a chapter entitled *genzai* 'the present' 1 and then a chapter entitled *ninen-mae* 'two years ago' 1. The *genzai* and *ninen-mae* chapters alternate until *ninen-mae* 13. The last two chapters are *genzai* 14 and *genzai* 15. Thus, events happening in the present and events that happened two years earlier are juxtaposed until the end. Most of the characters appear in both sets of chapters. A male character named Shiina narrates the *genzai* chapters while a female character, Kotomi, narrates the *ninen-mae* chapters.

At the beginning of the novel, both Shiina and Kotomi meet somebody for the first time. Shiina, a naïve first-year college student, is moving into an apartment. While unpacking, he meets Kawasaki, a tall neighbor with dark skin dressed completely in black, who makes him think of a devil. In their first meeting Kawasaki asks Shiina to help him rob a bookstore, which obviously shocks him. Kawasaki is depicted as a wild, charismatic, and mysterious character. Fascinated and intimidated by Kawasaki, Shiina agrees to help him.

Compared to Shiina, who refers to himself as *boku* and uses mostly gender neutral sentence forms, Kawasaki's self reference form is *ore*. Personal reference forms in Japanese have strong associations with gender. Although both *boku* and *ore* are considered masculine, the two pronouns are worlds apart in terms of the impressions they give. Mukai (1998: 42) observes that when one uses *ore* in a discourse, the discourse tends to give the impression of roughness, spiritedness, and coarseness. On the other hand, *boku* is described as having the feeling of youth, dependence, and sentimentality (M. Saito 2002: 225).

Speakers in Japan have a metapragmatic awareness of these differing overtones. Miyazaki (2004: 265) reports that among seventh grade students she interviewed, the groups of boys who used *ore* were regarded as stronger and more powerful than those who used other forms of self-reference. *Boku*, on the other hand, was considered to be for weaker boys or for "mama's boys." Kinsui (2003) recounts an informal survey among college students in which female students said they preferred men who use *ore* because of the associated masculinity.

Returning to the novel, the character Kawasaki uses the self-referential form, *ore*, whose images are that of roughness and (wild) masculinity. In addition, he

uses an assortment of other linguistic forms associated with strong or moderate masculinity (Okamoto and Sato 1992).¹³

- (1) *Saa, iku zo.* (Isaka 2003: 115)
OK go FP
'OK, we are going.'
- (2) *Shiina yori sukoshi toshiue da na.* (Isaka 2003: 22)
[name] than a-little older CP FP
'He is a little older than Shiina (you).'
- (3) *Soko no tenchoo ni ki-o-tsukero.* (Isaka 2003: 55)
that GN shop-owner to watch-out
'Watch out for the shop owner.'
- (4) *Ki ga kawattara, oshiete kure.* (Isaka 2003: 54)
mind SB if-change tell give
'If you change your mind, let me know.'
- (5) *Moshi au koto ga attemo shinjiru-na.* (Isaka 2003: 55)
if meet chance SB even-if-exist don't-believe
'Even if you have a chance to meet her, don't believe her.'
- (6) *Yobisute-ni-suru to, shitashiku kikoeru daro?* (Isaka 2003: 19)
call-by-name-only if close sound right
'When you call me by my name only, it sounds as if we were close, right?'

In (1) and (2) Kawasaki uses the sentence-final particles, *zo* and *na*, respectively, which are supposed to signal strong masculinity (Okamoto and Sato 1992: 481). In (3), (4), and (5), various forms of direct imperative forms are used while in (16) the sentence-ending form *daro* is used. The former is linked to strong masculinity whereas the latter is associated with moderate masculinity (Okamoto and Sato 1992: 481). In combination with the use of the self-reference form *ore*, these forms help to conjure up a coarse, masculine, and forceful image for the character, Kawasaki.

The narrator of the *ninen mae* 'two years ago' chapters, Kotomi, meets Dorje, a 23 year old man from Bhutan, when she witnesses him rescue a drunken man from being run over by a car. Dorje is doing research at a university in Japan and is portrayed as a mild-mannered, polite, and thoughtful man, who is destined to become Kotomi's boyfriend. Another characteristic of Dorje is that he does not speak

13. The following abbreviations will be used: CP-copula, DO-direct object marker, FP-final particle, NM-nominalizer, GN-genitive marker, QT-quotation marker, SB-subject marker, TG-tag expression, TP-topic marker.

Japanese fluently. Kotomi and Dorje communicate mostly in English,¹⁴ and only occasionally in Japanese. When Dorje speaks in Japanese, his Japanese is described as *gikochinai* ‘awkward’ by Kotomi (Isaka 2003: 32). The awkwardness is expressed in various ways in the writing. One way to express it is orthographically. In (7) *soo desu ne* ‘that’s right,’ which Dorje often uses, is written in *katakana* rather than the conventional *hiragana*.

- (7) *Soo desu ne* (ソウデスネ rather than そうですね). (Isaka 2003: 35)
 right CP FP
 ‘That’s right.’

The awkwardness is also expressed with frequent pauses (punctuated with commas in the writing) as in (8) and (9), ungrammatical sentences such as (9), and mispronunciations such as *mo* ‘again’ instead of the correct *moo* (with a long vowel) and *ite* ‘say’ instead of *itte* (with a double consonant) as in (10).

- (8) *Mada, hanashi, shitai desu.* (Isaka 2003: 132)
 still talk want-to-do CP
 ‘I want to, still, talk.’
- (9) *Koko, haireru, desu ka.* (Isaka 2003: 33)
 here can-enter CP FP
 ‘Here, I can enter, is it?’
 [The grammatical equivalent would be *Koko hairemasu ka* ‘Can I enter here?’]
- (10) *Mo ichido ite kuremasen ka.* (Isaka 2003: 92)
 again once say not-give FP
 ‘Could you *sai* it once *mo*?’
 [instead of ‘Could you *say* it once *more*?’]

Thus, Dorje’s Japanese fits exactly what Yoda (2011) describes as *katakoto nihongo* ‘broken Japanese.’

In addition to the impression of awkwardness accentuated by frequent pauses and grammar or pronunciation mistakes, Dorje’s Japanese is characterized by linguistic politeness. In all of the examples above, he is using the *desu/masu* style, the polite sentence-ending forms. He uses this polite style even with Kotomi, his girlfriend, which is sociolinguistically inappropriate. The more socially appropriate style to talk to one’s close friend is the *da/ru* (plain) style. Combined with the awkwardness, this signals Dorje’s lack of competence in Japanese. In short, Dorje fits perfectly the metapragmatic stereotype of a non-Japanese individual.

14. Their English conversations are presented in Japanese in parentheses.

In the *ninen mae* ‘two years ago’ chapters, there is a character with the name Kawasaki, who is Kotomi’s former boyfriend. He is described as irresponsible and flamboyant. Readers assume this Kawasaki is the same Kawasaki from the *genzai* ‘now’ chapters, partly because of the same name and partly because their style of speech is similar. This Kawasaki refers to himself as *ore*, and uses forms that are closely associated with masculinity.

- (11) *Ore no tomodachi o bakanisuru-na yo.* (Isaka 2003: 125)
 I GN friend DO don’t-ridicule FP
 ‘Don’t ridicule my friend.’
- (12) *Hayaku dete ike yo. Kaere.* (Isaka 2003: 125)
 quickly leave go FP go-home
 ‘Leave quickly. Go home.’
- (13) *Kangaete oite kure.* (Isaka 2003: 95)
 think leave give
 ‘Think about it.’
- (14) *Ichijiteki-ni hinansuru, to yuu te mo aru zo.* (Isaka 2003: 218)
 temporarily take-refuge QT say option also exist FP
 ‘You can take refuge temporarily, that is also an option.’
- (15) *Kotomi nara, shinu shunkan ni mo maemukina koto o*
 [name] if die moment in also positive thing DO
kangaesoo da na. (Isaka 2003: 258)
 might-think CP FP
 ‘If it is you (Kotomi), you might think positive thoughts even at the moment of death.’
- (16) *Ore wa wazawaza, Kotomi no irai ni kotaete, ano Wakui-san*
 I TP bother.to [name] GN request to respond that [name]
to shabette kita n da ze. (Isaka 2003: 159)
 with talk came NM CP FP
 ‘I went out of my way to talk with that Miss Wakui at your request, you know.’

In (11) and (16) Kawasaki refers to himself as *ore*. (11), (12), and (13) show various direct imperative forms, which signal strong masculinity (Okamoto and Sato 1992: 481). In (14), (15), and (16), Kawasaki uses sentence-final particles linked with strong masculinity, *zo*, *na*, and *ze* (Okamoto and Sato 1992: 481), respectively. Because of these linguistic gender-markers prominently used in both Kawasakis’ speech, readers assume that they are the same person.

However, as the story unfolds, readers find out that the Kawasaki in the *ninen mae* ‘two years ago’ chapters has died and that the character who introduced himself as Kawasaki to Shiina in the *genzai* ‘the present’ chapters was pretending to be

Kawasaki and is actually Dorje. This comes as a complete surprise. Shiina (as well as the readers) have been deceived by Dorje (and of course by the author) into believing that he is Japanese and that his name is Kawasaki. This deception was successful partly because Dorje looks Japanese in the story, but also because he speaks perfectly natural Japanese. As noted above, his speech is as stereotypically masculine as that of the real Kawasaki's was.

The writer has, in short, exploited the metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese individuals to produce the novel's drama. The stereotype is that non-Japanese individuals are not likely to master Japanese, and speak imperfect Japanese. The utterances of Dorje in the *ninen mae* chapters, shown in (7)–(10), fit this stereotype. His Japanese is awkward, unnecessarily polite, and full of mistakes. The utterances of the new Dorje, who introduces himself as Kawasaki in the *genzai* chapters (e.g., (1)–(6)), are not compatible with the stereotype. His speech is fluent, colloquial, and markedly gendered.¹⁵ In the story, one learns that during the two years that had passed between the *genzai* chapters and *ninen mae* chapters, Dorje had learned Japanese from Kawasaki and that his spoken Japanese had improved immensely from this contact. Without this knowledge and with the metapragmatic stereotype that non-Japanese individuals' speech is flawed, readers are taken by surprise when they find out that the character whom Shiina believed was Kawasaki is in fact Dorje.

The author thus uses the metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese individuals to produce the surprising conjunction of the two characters, and generates the novel's main drama. Would it be reasonable to also assume that the author, Kotaro Isaka, is tacitly criticizing (linguistic) nationalism? In fact, Isaka does seem to criticize the sense of exclusivity among the Japanese. There is a short scene in the earlier part of the novel in which Shiina is riding a subway with two of his new college friends, when they notice an individual wearing an article of South Asian clothing. This triggers a conversation among them about foreigners. Both of Shiina's newly-acquired friends express their aversion to them. In reply to Shiina's question about their antipathy, one of them says the following:

It's not as if I look down on them, but it [talking with foreigners] is a hassle. There are certain implicit understandings among fellow Japanese that you do not have to explain. To go out of one's way to talk with foreigners who do not share such understandings is a hassle. (Isaka 2003: 111, my translation)

15. All of Dorje's utterances in the *ninen mae* chapters end with polite-form endings, which do not show any gender markings. As discussed in Itakura (2009), the use of gendered speech is considered to be a sign of linguistic competence in Japanese. See Suzuki (2014) for elaboration on this issue.

Shiina is not comfortable with this statement, but decides to go along with it partly because he can understand the sentiment and partly because he does not want to be excluded from his newly-acquired friends.

Further, later on in the novel, when Dorje reveals to Shiina that he is in fact not Kawasaki and that he is from Bhutan, he says to Shiina what I quoted at the beginning of this chapter, *Ore ga gaijin da to wakattara, aite ni shinakatta daro?* ‘If you had known that I was a foreigner, you would not have taken me seriously, right?’ (Isaka 2003: 292). In reply, Shiina starts to say that is not true, but stops himself, since he is not completely sure how he would have reacted if he had known that Dorje was not Japanese. This exchange, as well as the exchange in the subway, indicates that there is an underlying theme in the novel that critically questions some Japanese people’s attitude toward non-Japanese.

This suggests that the author Isaka is well aware of the metapragmatic stereotype about non-Japanese and its nationalistic implications, utilizes it quite effectively to deceive readers, and by the deception and eventual revelation, is seeking to make his readers aware of their unconscious prejudices in this regard.

6. Concluding remarks

In *Ahiru* the author takes advantage of the metapragmatic stereotype that many readers have about non-Japanese individuals. By having a non-Japanese character speak in a fluent, casual, and gendered manner, the author deceives readers into believing that the character is Japanese. When readers find out the identity of the character, it comes as a complete surprise, which significantly contributes to the mystery and drama of the novel. At the same time, the surprise serves as a kind of wake-up call to readers who may not have questioned their sense of exclusivity regarding the Japanese language. The author is well aware of linguistic nationalism.

In this manner, *Ahiru* represents a departure from the uncritical portraits of non-Japanese characters found in Yano (2004), Perkins (2010), and Yoda (2011). As Kinsui (2003) notes, an unexamined and unconstrained use of metapragmatic stereotypes could be hurtful to those involved. The novelist Isaka avoids such a pitfall.

As mentioned earlier, one often finds blatant and uncritical use of stereotypical language in children’s books, comic books, animation films, and comedians’ performances. Did the author write *Ahiru* critically due to its genre? In other words, did he successfully address this issue because the genre is a novel for adult consumption? Does the lack of visual images in novels also help?

The lack of the visual does enable Isaka to deceive the readers (i.e., they do not see what Dorje/Kawasaki looks like).¹⁶ However, more importantly, the fact that novels' target audience is adults facilitates more thoughtful treatments of non-Japanese characters. In Suzuki (2014) I examined utterances of 123 non-Japanese characters found in 31 contemporary novels aimed at adult audiences, which includes *Ahiru*. Of 123 characters, 53 were depicted speaking in Japanese. Among them, only 23 (43%) spoke in what Yoda (2011) would call *katakoto nihongo* 'broken Japanese.' The other 30 (57%) spoke fluently, with rich vocabulary and grammatical sentences. This suggests that novelists portray non-Japanese characters as more diverse and multi-layered individuals than the monolithic and stereotyped figures found in Perkins (2010) and Yoda (2011).

Even among the novels I examined, however, *Ahiru* is exceptional. It is the only one among the 31 novels which deliberately deals with the metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese and challenges the readers' prejudice. In fact, Kotaro Isaka seems to be quite exceptional in his treatment of non-Japanese characters. In Suzuki (2014) I discuss how linguistic nationalism and gender norms in Japan influence the depiction of non-Japanese characters. One of the major findings is that novelists very rarely assign gendered language to male non-Japanese characters when they speak in Japanese. In my data only 5 out of 37 (14%) male characters use gendered expressions when speaking Japanese while 42 out of 51 (82%) male characters do so when speaking in another language such as Mandarin.¹⁷ As gendered expressions are often equated with superior or native fluency (as we saw in the case of Dorje pretending to be Kawasaki and using very masculine expressions), I argue that linguistic nationalism, which claims only the Japanese speak the language naturally, factors into this depiction of male non-Japanese characters. Of the rare 5 characters who speak Japanese in a gendered manner, some are professional spies while others are pretending to be Japanese (one of them is Dorje). One speaks fluently and in a gendered manner only when discussing finances. Thus, only one character (named Anderson) speaks in gendered Japanese in ordinary circumstances. Interestingly, Anderson has Japanese citizenship, but was originally European American. Who created this character? Kotaro Isaka did in his 2005

16. In this respect, it is interesting to see the film adaptation of *Ahiru*. The director and screen co-writer, Yoshihiro Nakamura, successfully hides the true identity of Dorje (who is pretending to be Kawasaki) in the earlier part of the film by using black and white footage to depict events from two years ago, which is presented to the viewers as the past imagined by Shiina. Another actor plays Dorje in the black and white footage, which is contrasted with the color footage depicting reality.

17. Utterances in another language are represented in Japanese presumably so that Japanese readers can understand them.

novel *Maoo* [The Devil]. Anderson quite naturally moves between gendered, casual expressions and more formal ones. Thus, Isaka created a non-Japanese character who starts out in awkward, broken Japanese and develops into a user of casual and gendered Japanese in *Ahiru*, and another character who has multi-layered linguistic resources in *Maoo*. This novelist has clearly given much thought to the depiction of non-Japanese characters and the exclusivist attitudes that many Japanese exhibit.

Intellectuals in Japan have often had academic or semi-academic discussions problematizing the correlations among Japan, Japanese people, Japanese culture, and Japanese language. For example, Komori (1998: 17) calls the correlations among the four “*yonmi ittai* ‘the holy quadrinity’” and observes that the mentality based on this equation promotes exclusionary discourses. Levy (2001: 47), an American novelist who writes in Japanese,¹⁸ remarks: “In all of the books I have ever written, I have not written a single page in which I did not resist the common perception that only the Japanese own the Japanese language.”¹⁹ Both Kayama (2002) and Komori (2003) critique the nationalistic sentiments implied in the Japanese language boom observed in the late 1990s and early 2000s.²⁰ More recently, Guo (2013) discusses a diverse body of writing called *Nihongo bungaku* ‘Japanese-language literature,’ literature written in Japanese by ethnically non-Japanese writers.²¹

Although these discussions are invaluable, they may not reach individuals in Japan who are not engaged in academic discourse and are instead exposed to stereotyped descriptions of non-Japanese on a daily basis. In this regard, it is significant

18. See Makino (2013; this volume) for detailed analyses of Levy’s writing style.

19. The translation is mine. The original Japanese is as follows:

Imamade kaita hon no naka de, nihongo wa nihonjin toshite umareta mono tachi no dokusenteki shoyuubutsu dearu toyuu jooshiki ni teekooshiteinai peiji wa hitotsu mo nai.

20. The Japanese language boom refers to the popularity of books on Japanese language. Publishers produced a number of books that deal with Japanese language, some of which continue to be popular. Many bookstores set up sections devoted to Japanese language books. They are intended for native speakers of Japanese, not for learners of Japanese. The best-known were *Nihongo Renshuuchoo* [Japanese Practice Notebook] by Susumu Ono (1999) and *Koe ni Dashite Yomitai Nihongo* [Japanese Language that One Wants to Read Aloud] by Takashi Saito (2001).

21. Not all intellectuals problematize the correlations among Japan, Japanese people, Japanese culture, and Japanese language. For example, Yasuda (2011) observes that Masahiko Fujiwara, well known for his best-selling books such as *Sokoku towa Kokugo* [Homeland is the National Language] (2003) and *Kokka no Hinkaku* [The Dignity of the Nation] (2005), presumes and promotes the correlations. A linguist Shigehiko Toyama suggests to Japanese readers that they be proud of the Japanese language and embrace cultural nationalism in his book *Kokugo wa Suki desu ka* [Do You Like the National Language?] (2014). It is telling that both Fujiwara and Toyama use *kokugo* ‘national language’ rather than *nihongo* ‘Japanese language’ in their book titles. See Makino (2013) for a discussion of the distinction between *kokugo* and *nihongo*.

that Kotaro Isaka wrote *Ahiru*, a mystery novel, and challenged readers with regard to their preconceptions about the Japanese language and ethnicity. The novel received *Yoshikawa Eiji Bungaku Shinjin-shoo*, a literary prize given to new *taishuu bungaku* ‘popular literature’ writer in 2004, was adapted to a film in 2007, and its DVD was released in 2008. The film’s promotional material states it had the longest run of all Japanese films (19 weeks) in Ebisu Garden Cinema Theater in Tokyo.

Did Isaka’s message come across to audiences? I searched the internet for clues. The majority of book and film reviews, including those written by novelists who selected *Ahiru* for the literary prize, do not mention anything about non-Japanese and instead write about the novel’s overall structure or Isaka’s writing style. Many impressionistic reviews are concerned with the more impactful story of animal abuse. However, some reviews do discuss the issue of non-Japanese in Japan. For example, one reviewer writes that the novel points out contemporary Japan’s narrow mind-set of discriminating others based on small linguistic differences (Lawson Net Shopping Roppai: Arupaka Books). Another reviewer says:

Soshite, Isaka-shi no sakuhin dewa itsumo omou n da kedo, seken no henken ni taishite sugoku binkan de, konkai wa gaikokujin ni taisuru henken ni tsuite watashi wa mata naisee shimashita.

‘And, I always think about this when I read Mr. Isaka’s work. He is very sensitive to prejudices in society. This time again I thought about my own prejudice against foreigners.’
(*Hon o yomu onna: Kaitee-ban*)

Although these reviewers do not discuss linguistic nationalism per se, it is clear that Isaka’s work made them reflect on the treatment of non-Japanese individuals in Japan.²²

In the introduction to the book they co-edited, *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within* (Graburn, Ertl, and Tierney 2008), Graburn and Ertl (2008: 5) write, “multiculturalism has become a pervasive ideology in Japan that varies widely in terms of its form, content, and manifestations.” In the latest edition of his book, *An Introduction to Japanese Society*, Sugimoto (2014: 197) also writes:

Grassroots Japan is undergoing a process of irreversible globalization. This has sensitized some sectors of the Japanese public to the real possibility of making Japanese society more tolerant and free from bigotry.

22. Another internet reviewer suggests that Bob Dylan’s “Blowing in the Wind,” a song popular during the Civil Rights movement in the US, figures prominently in the novel and the film in order to hint at the parallel between the situations of minorities in the US back then and Dorje’s alienation in Japan, and that the author intended to draw analogies between those who abuse animals and those who discriminate against others based on race (*Butaneko no Torauma*).

The novelist Isaka's deliberate use of the metapragmatic stereotype of non-Japanese characters, which implies his critical assessment of (linguistic) nationalism, perhaps indicates the possibility of this new era in Japan, which is more fully aware of its diverse demographics and multiculturalism.

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How does a non-native Japanese literary writer dissimulate and diversify the Japanese language?

A case study of Hideo Levy

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This chapter addresses an issue of linguistic dissimulation and diversity created by *Nihongo Sakka* with an exclusive focus on Hideo Ian Levy. My working hypotheses are: (i) the linguistic differences between the *Nihongo Sakka*'s native language and the Japanese language should provide him/her conflicting viewpoints that allow the writer to produce something newly amalgamated; (ii) trans-bordering *Nihongo Sakka* who mentally and physically move from *Uchi-Language Space* into *Soto-Language Space* are constantly engaged in trans-lation; (iii) their individual styles are likely to bring in a fresh Japanese style that contributes to dissimulation and diversification of the Japanese language and its style; (iv) the Japanese language has already diversified itself diachronically and synchronically within its social milieu like any other human language.

Keywords: bilingualism, complex syntax, dissimulation, diversification, *Nihongo Sakka* (non-native writer of Japanese literature), border-crossing, *Soto-Language Space*, tense-shifting, *Uchi-Language Space*, Japanese

1. By way of introduction

Since the 1971 publication in the U.S. of a journal called *Papers in Japanese Linguistics* under the editorship of Masayoshi Shibatani, the linguistic study of the Japanese language ceased to be *Kokugo-gaku* (lit. 'study of the national language'). It became the study of Japanese language within the Chomskyan universal paradigm of human language (Chomsky 1966). In the field of literature, Roger Thomas and Eiji Sekine at Purdue University organized the first conference of the Association of the Japanese Literary Studies in the fall of 1992. Japanese literature is no longer

Kokubun-gaku (lit. ‘study of the national language’). In addition to it, we have reached a point where we reject the notion of a rigid boundary of nationality. And as a result of the growing consciousness of borderless ideas, it has made it possible for a new breed of non-native writers of Japanese literature to write Japanese literary work in Japan. About five years back, they began to be called *Nihongo Sakka*, a writer who writes his/her novel or poetry in Japanese, although his/her native language isn’t Japanese. But as I explain later, *Nihongo Sakka* can be a native speaker of Japanese, as long as he/she has a pluri-lingual mindset. I don’t know exactly how many *Nihongo Sakkas* exist in Japan, but their number has been on the increase. In addition to the non-native Japanese writers, there are native Japanese writers such as Minae Mizumura, Kenzaburo Oe, Haruki Murakami, and Yoko Tawada, whose first language is Japanese but whose second language serves to reconstruct their first language. Cognitively they have “voice” and “concept” of the amalgamated *third* language and culture. Haruki Murakami, one of the most popular writers in the world, has kept writing novels with his deep understanding of the English language and American literature, and has been successful in producing literature with his bilingual competence in Japanese and English. In his case, it is noteworthy that he has kept translating American literature into Japanese, and in that process, he has succeeded in enriching his creative literary product.¹

2. Working hypotheses

It was in 2008 that Yi Yan (楊逸 1964–), a native Chinese who lived in Japan, was awarded the most coveted Akutagawa Prize for her *Toki ga nijimu asa* [*The Morning When Time was Blurred*]. Her success was sensational because the majority of Japanese people had believed that a non-native writer of Japanese could not possibly write a piece of literature in Japanese, let alone produce an award winning work. One of the eight selection committee members, Nobuko Takagi, commented: “She has written something that a writer cannot see unless he or she has crossed the border.”² I could have chosen Yi Yang as a targeted case study of *Nihongo Sakka*, but I have chosen another *Nihongo Sakka* Hideo Ian Levy (1950–), a native speaker of English born in the U.S., for my research for the following two reasons: (i) he was the earliest, persistent *Nihongo Sakka*; (ii) he deeply understands writing a novel in

1. For my detailed analysis of Murakami’s style, see Makino (2014).

2. Original text: 国境を越えなければ見えないものが書かれている。

bilingual and border-crossing terms. Below are Levy's thoughts on what is involved in writing literary work in Japanese.³

When I simply look back upon the 20th century I wonder if writing literature is to write about one community or one culture using one language. I have often used the keyword "Border Crossing," so an alternative way to look at literature writing is to move back and forth between one culture to another, and if I may put it in extreme terms, *literature should be written with almost bilingual mentality*. In modern literature, these two models have been mixed. And I would say that the latter is considered to be very "innovative."⁴

(Levy 2007: 9; translation and emphasis by S. M.)

Before I became a Japanese language writer I was doing research on Japanese literature in the States. I was first a reader of Japanese before I became a Japanese language writer. *And when I was moved by Japanese I read, I sometimes translated it into English.*⁵

(Levy 2004: 1; translation and emphasis by S. M.)

For Levy, to be a *Nihongo Sakka* is to be a bilingual speaker/writer who crosses borders in all sorts of ways in his act of communication of writing in a non-native exophonic culture.

The following are four research hypotheses about Levy's Japanese writing. For each I will give comments before I go to the next section to give evidence that each hypothesis is indeed supported by hard evidence. The comments I give are presumably applicable universally to literary writings by all *Nihongo Sakkas*.

3. Here is Hideo Livy's short biography. He was born in Berkley, California in 1950. Spent his boyhood in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan. Received his B.A. and Ph.D. (1984) in Japanese literature from Princeton University. His Ph.D. thesis was published as *Hitomaro and the Birth of Japanese Lyricism* (1984, Princeton University Press). After teaching at Princeton and Stanford, he decided to become a *Nihongo Sakka* in Japan.

4. Original text: そこで簡単に二十世紀を振り返ると、文学を書くということは、一つの共同体、一つの文化を一つの言葉のなかで書くということなのか、それとも、僕はよく「越境」というキーワードを使っているのですが、一つの文化ともう一つの文化とのあいだの動き、極端に言う、バイリンガルに近い感覚で書くことなのか、現代文学にはこの二つのモデルが混在している。そして後者は非常に「新しい」と考えられているわけです。

5. Original text: 日本語の作家になる前に、ぼくはアメリカで日本文学を研究していた。日本語の書き手になる前に、まずは日本語の読み手だった。そして読んだ日本語で感動をおぼえるとそれを英語に翻訳することもあった。

The first hypothesis:

The linguistic differences between the *Nihongo Sakka*'s native language and the Japanese language should provide him/her conflicting viewpoints that allow the writer to produce something newly amalgamated.

Nihongo Sakka can advantageously use the difference between their own native language and the target language (i.e., Japanese). In other words, they can diversify the target language through a process of amalgamation of their first language and the target language.

The second hypothesis:

Trans-bordering *Nihongo Sakka* who mentally and physically move from *Uchi-Language Space* into *Soto-Language Space* are constantly engaged in translation.

Uchi-Language Space and *Soto-Language Space* are used to mean "one's native language space" and "one's non-native language space," respectively. *Uchi-Language Space* is where *endophonic* language is spoken, while *Soto-Language Space* is where *exophonic* language is spoken.⁶ Let's imagine a realistic situation where a mother speaks in her *endophonic* language (e.g., Japanese) to her child, and father speaks only in his native language (e.g., English) to the same child. The child naturally acquires a mixed language that is much richer than a non-mixed language, because the child's first language based on his/her mother's language must have been diversified by the father's language. In the same way, a *Nihongo Sakka* constantly gets across the border of his/her own native language into an acquired exophonic space. What he does is simply an act of translation taken in a wider sense.

Hideo Levy is also known as a translator and a researcher of *Man'yōshū* (万葉集), an anthology of approximately 4,500 short and long poems of the eighth century. *Man'yōshū* gave Levy strong motivation to begin writing novels in Japanese. In his dialogue with Kenzaburo Oe, a recipient of the Nobel Prize in literature in 1994, he told Oe that Yamano(u)e no Okura (山上憶良) experienced "Bilingual Excitement" because Okura immigrated to Japan when he was an infant and acquired three languages, that is, Korean, Japanese and Chinese. Evidently Levy, a bilingual speaker of English and Japanese, compared himself to Okura, because he likes border-crossing and pluri-lingualism, just like Okura. Oe reacted very positively to Levy's use of "Bilingual Excitement." He said:

6. The term "endophonic" is a term I have coined. It means "inside-sound." So "an endophonic space" is a space where native language can be used or heard. I have been trying to avoid using "native" or "non-native" which carry a strong connotation of border-oriented mindset. As for "exophonic" or "exophone," I don't know who started to use the term, but it appears in Tawada (2012: 3).

That's a marvelous expression. In my case I feel the *bilingual excitement* when I read French as a Japanese and can replace a certain French expression by an appropriate Japanese and realize very excitedly that Japanese didn't have such expressions. Japanese has been using *ruby*⁷ to indicate contrast between a foreign language and Japanese.⁸ (Levy 2007: 159; translation by S. M.)

What Levy and Oe have said can be rephrased as follows. Any *Nihongo Sakka* who is pluri-lingual experiences excitement from reconstructing either *Uchi*-Language Space or *Soto*-Language Space. Haruki Murakami is an unusual Japanese writer who has been producing creative literary work while translating long and short novels written in English. It is well known that when he wrote his first novel, *Kaze no uta o kike* [*Hear the Wind Sing*] in 1979, he started to write it in English using an old typewriter. It is true that his style is so anglicized that people often criticize his work saying, "It smells like butter (*bata-kusai*)."⁹ But by going back and forth between English and Japanese, he has acquired the power to mesmerize his readers – especially young and vibrant readers – with his dissimulated, fresh style. There are a lot of *Nihongo Sakka* who are writing Japanese literary work through an intricate process of translation.

The third hypothesis:

Individual style is likely to bring in fresh Japanese style that contributes to dissimulation and diversification of the Japanese style.

Akira Nakamura (2007) defined the notion of style as follows.

Style is an individual's idiosyncrasies based on their differences with others. Roughly speaking, style is divided into two kinds depending on whether one interprets it typologically or individually. In reality it is used multi-semantically in the following way.¹⁰ (Nakamura 2007: 365–366; translation by S. M.)

7. *Ruby* is small *hiragana* or *katakana* readings of Chinese characters usually placed above or on the side of the Chinese character.

8. Original text: それは、すばらしい表現。ほとんどの場合バイリンガル・エクサイトメントを感じるの日本人としてフランス語を読んでいる自分があるフランス語を日本語にうまく置き換えることができ、しかもこういう表現ができる日本語はなかったと感じる興奮なんです。日本人は、その外国語と日本語の対比をルビで表現しました。

9. At an international symposium on Murakami, organized by the Japan Foundation, Jay Rubin, one of the key translators of Murakami's work, commented on Murakami's style as follows. "Murakami's style has been influenced by English so much that it 'smells like butter.' I have said translation of his work is simple, but the translation totally loses the butter-like smell. Murakami's fresh style, the most important part of his style, will be gone" (Shibata et al. (eds.) 2006: 84; translation by S. M.).

10. Original text: 文章の表現上の性格を他と対比的にとらえた特殊性。文体を類型面にとらえるか個性面にとらえるかによって大きく二分され、現実には次のように多様な意味で用いられる。

Nakamura further classified style into 17 categories in terms of differences in vocabulary, sentence-final expressions, discourse types, among others. To translate Nakamura's words into Saussure's dichotomy of *langue* and *parole* (Saussure 1916), it is possible to define individual *parole*-style as the idiosyncratic use of linguistic *langue*-based rules (comparable to the rules of chess which one can use in his/her own way at an actual game) available to all the members of a linguistic community. In other words, individual style is firmly based on *langue*, and can hardly deconstruct socially established *langue*. *Nihongo Sakka* create their own *parole*-based, hybridized style based on the Japanese *langue* and their own *langue*. They are capable of giving "bilingual excitement" to the minds of the *Uchi*-based and *Soto*-based Spaces.

The fourth hypothesis:

The Japanese language has already diversified itself diachronically and synchronically within a social milieu like any other language.

I am well aware that for the majority of the readers the fourth hypothesis is no longer a hypothesis, but I just wanted to remind everyone that any human language in any community is as diverse as any other language elsewhere. Because the Tokyo dialect was selected as the standard language it looks as if Japanese were a monolithic language, but both regional and social dialects are impressively multi-faceted. The Japanese society is moving in the direction of a pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural society like any other language and culture on earth. What I want to stress, however, is that most of the current diversification of the Japanese language occurred passively or autogenetically due to the change in society without much human intervention. That is why the active roles of *Nihongo Sakka* as pluri-lingual/cultural innovators for diversification of any language and culture is important.

3. Hideo Levy's novels used for verifying the hypotheses

I am now getting into the complex question of how Levy's novels are related to the dissimulation and diversification of the Japanese language while keeping the four hypotheses in mind. Below is a list of Levy's novels I have used. Levy (2007) listed at the end isn't a novel but a book of his essays and his stimulating dialogues on border-crossing with seven Japanese writers Yoko Tawada, Minae Mizumura, Tamotsu Aoki, Koichiro Toyooka, Mitsuyoshi Numano, Mo Yan (莫言) and Kenzaburo Oe.¹¹

11. Among seven writers, Tamotsu Aoki is the only person who isn't a man of literature. He is a cultural anthropologist.

Seejooki no kikoentai heya [A Room Where The Star-Spangled Banner Cannot be Heard] (Levy 1992; English translation by C. D. Scott 2011)
Nobenbaa [November] (Levy 1992; English translation by C. D. Scott 2011)
Nakama [One of the Guys] (Levy 1992; English translation by C. D. Scott 2011)
Tenanmon [Tian'anmen] (Levy 1996)
Pekin ekkyooki [Crossing Border in Beijing] (Levy 1996)
Chiji ni kudakete [Crashed into Pieces] (Levy 2005)
Koosoku kooro [The Expressway] (Levy 2008)
Kari no mizu [Fake Water] (Levy 2008)
Rookokudoo [Old National Highway] (Levy 2008)
Wo shiru [I am ...] (Levy 2008)
Ekkyoo no koe [Voices of Border-Crossing] (Levy 2007)

Levy's novels are essentially autobiographical although his main character has not been referred to as "I." In Levy's novels the main male character has always been referred to in the third person either as "Ben" in Levy (1992) or as "*kare*" ('he') in other works. To make a long story really short, his ultimate motivation for literary creation was his complex identity issues that originated from his multi-cultural experience in the U.S., Taiwan, Hong Kong and Yokohama as a young child and from his relationships with his father, who was Jewish and a U.S. diplomat, his mother, who was a Catholic, and his Chinese stepmother and half-brother. And his post-adolescent years' concentration on his study of *Man'yōshū* has given him the intellectual and psychological motivation to pursue writing about his complex personal experience using his own style.

4. Levy's literary style and dissimulation and diversification of the Japanese language

Now I will discuss the following three areas of Levy's style. They are stylistic issues that pertain to (i) bilingualism, (ii) cognitive tense shifting, and (iii) complex syntax.

4.1 Bilingualism

Let me quote Levy (2007: 9), which I have already used in Section 2. Here I will discuss it more in detail, because I want to show how *bilingualism* has been of pivotal importance for Levy as the intellectual tool for enriching modern Japanese literature. For your convenience, I will reproduce the quote below.

When I simply look back upon the 20th century I started to wonder if writing literature is to write about one community or one culture using one language. I have often used the keyword “Trans Bordering,” so an alternative way to look at writing literature is to move back and forth between one culture to another, and if I may put it in extreme terms, *literature should be written with almost bilingual mentality*. In modern literature these two models are mixed. And I would say that the latter is considered to be really “innovative.”

(Levy 2007: 9; translation and emphasis by S. M.)

When Levy stated, “literature should be written with almost bilingual mentality,” it wasn’t a mere abstract argument. He often compares his choice of Japanese lexical or phrasal elements against those of English or Chinese. He sometimes goes beyond *bilingualism* into *trilingualism*. For example, the entire narrative space in which *Kari no mizu* [*Fake Water*] (2008) is narrated occurs in Mainland China. His writing is in Japanese, but it is written in a trilingual perspective, that is, Japanese, English and Mandarin Chinese. Let me quote an intriguing example in which the main character “*kare*” (‘he’) suddenly noticed that he couldn’t say, “My father was Jewish” in Mandarin Chinese although he could express it in Japanese and English. Throughout the novel “he” kept remembering the Japanese version when “he” spoke in Chinese.

He began to say “My father was ...” (我的父親是). The standard Chinese was about to come out of his mouth, but the *Islands’ language* (= Japanese) echoed in his head. All of a sudden he noticed that he couldn’t say the past tense “was” (*deshita*) in the *Continent’s language* (= Mainland Chinese). In the midst of the dusk he didn’t know how to get the past tense that didn’t exist. He was confused. He couldn’t find “was” (*deshita*). He produced broken Chinese. “My father Jewish. Same as your husband.” The old woman’s expression on her long face changed slightly, as if she wanted to understand what he said. His father, too, had died one year ago at a Japanese hospital. The old woman’s husband was also no longer there.¹²

(Levy 2008: 140–141; translation by S. M.)

In *A Room Where The Star-Spangled Banner Cannot Be Heard* (1992) (Translated by Christopher D. Scott, 2011) the main character “Ben” was asked by a Japanese college student: “Why are you speaking in English in Japan?” The question sharply penetrated into Ben’s mind and he began to study the Japanese language and

12. Original text: 我的父親是 (ウォデフチンシル) と言いかけた。自分の口から大陸の標準語が出ようとしたときに、頭の中で島国の言葉も響いてしまった。私の父は、その瞬間、大陸の言葉では「でした」が言えないこと、突然気がついた。かれは薄暗い空気の中でありもしない過去形をつかもうとして、あわてふためいた。「でした」がみつからない。かれはたどたどしい言葉をつむいだ。私の父はユダヤ人 あなたのご主人と同じ。老女の細長い顔で、そのことを確かめるように表情がわずかに動いた。かれの父はその前年、日本の病院で亡くなった。老女の夫もいない。

eventually reached a stage of bilingualism of Japanese and English. Later on Ben was introduced to Japanese culture by Ando, another college student older than him. The main character in any of Levy's novels has a border-crossing mindset which enables him (actually Levy himself) and the reader to at least think bilingually.

As Kenzaburo Oe often uses the so-called *ruby*, using small *katakana* representation on the right side of the Chinese compound (in vertical writing) in order to let the reader know the semantic gap between the compounds created in Japan (e.g. 民主主義 created for 'democracy') and the transliteration of the English word (デモクラシー democracy).¹³ It is another case of bilingualism in writing at the lexical level. In order to present amalgamated bilingual sound and meaning, a Japanese writer often uses the bilingual *ruby*-representation. When Oe used English *ruby* for 民主主義 he was aware that Japanese democracy and American democracy are not identical and he created a new "bilingual" word.

Levy, too, has been using it as a part of his style. The following are some of the examples of Levy's bilingual words created by rubies taken from his novels.

(1) Japanese + English

- a. ヴィジテーション・ライト
面接権 (*vijiteeshon raito* [visitation right])
- b. ディペンデント・ヴィジター
扶養家族訪問者 (*vijitaa* [dependent visitor])
- c. ブランチ
朝昼兼用食 (*buranchi* [brunch])
- d. チャーコール・グレー
消し炭色 (*chaakooru guree* [charcoal gray])
- e. ナパーム
油脂焼夷弾 (*napaamu* [napalm (bomb)])
- f. ホワイト・スプレマシー
白人優越 (*howaito supuremashii* [white supremacy])

(2) Japanese + Chinese

- a. ルーベン
日本 (*ruuben* [Japan])
- b. レンミン・ジェフアング
人民解放 (*renmin jefangu* [people's liberation])
- c. ゲミング
革命 (*geming* [revolution])
- d. トングジー
同志 (*tongujii* [comrade])
- e. シャオジェ
小姐 (*shaoje* [girl])
- f. ミングチャオ
明朝 (*minguchao* [tomorrow morning])

13. During the Meiji era Japan not only borrowed English words from Britain but also the size of printed letters. In Britain the size of the individual alphabetic letter used jewels such as diamond for 4.5 point, pearl for 5.0 point, ruby for 5.5 point and emerald for 6.5 point.

Levy's bilingualism is not limited to such *ruby*-representations. Each step Levy's main character takes in Japan is a border-crossing, especially his running away from his father's Consulate General's room into Shinjuku where the Star-Spangled Banner cannot be heard. Levy said in essence that for him reading *Man'yoshu* was his first border-crossing in his life. He said the following in his dialogue with an anthropologist Tamotsu Aoki.

I don't have even an ounce of traditionalism nor can I discern whether I am traditional or not. *If there is something that has influenced me it is probably the fact that I have read Man'yoshu in the U.S.*¹⁴

(Levy 2007: 123; translation and emphasis by S. M.)

Why is his experience of having read *Man'yoshu* of the late seventh through eighth century so important for Levy? Apparently his first interest in *Man'yoshu* was more academic-oriented than otherwise, judging from the title of his published Ph.D. dissertation at Princeton University entitled *Hitomaro and the Birth of Japanese Lyricism* (1984). He stated the following in the preface for his book, *Ego de yomu Man'youshuu [Reading Man'yoshu in English]* (2004), written in Japanese.

Before I became a Japanese language writer I was doing research on Japanese literature in the States. I was first a reader of Japanese before I became a Japanese language writer. And when I was moved by Japanese I read, I sometimes translated it into English.¹⁵

(Levy 2004: 1; translation by S. M.)

Let's read the following quote from his dialogue with Yoko Tawada, a bilingual writer living in Hamburg, Germany. Levy discussed the bilingual nature of Yamano(u)e no Okura, mentioned in Section 2, in connection with "bilingual excitement."

I was impressed that even during the Nara period (710–794) there were people who had border-crossed from outside. After I became a writer in the country of a magical spirit of language (言霊 *kotodama*), I began to understand that what's important isn't nationality nor one's birth place. *What's important was the fact that Okura wrote poetry bilingually.*¹⁶

(Levy 2007: 45–46; translation and emphasis by S. M.)

14. Original text: ぼくのなかには、ひとかけらも伝統主義はないし、自分で伝統的であるかも判断できない。しかし何かの影響があるとするならば、それはたぶん万葉集をアメリカで読んでいたということだと思います。

15. Original text: 日本語の作家になる前に、ぼくはアメリカで日本文学を研究していた。日本語の書き手になる前に、まずは日本語の読み手だった。そして読んだ日本語で感動をおぼえるとそれを英語に翻訳することもあった。

16. Original text: 奈良時代にも「外」から越境した人間がいたんだ、と。でもそのあと、自分が言霊の国の作家になってから、本当は「国籍」の問題ではなく、何々人に生まれたということではなくて、むしろ憶良がバイリンガルの的に書いていたということが大切なんだとわかってきた。

Yamano(u)e no Okura (山上憶良, ca 660–733) was a government official and a major poet whose poems are included in *Man'yōshū*. He was a member of the mission to visit the court of the T'ang Dynasty China in 702. Levy, who studied *Man'yōshū* in the 1970's under the tutelage of Susumu Nakanishi at Princeton, learned from him that Okura must have been a naturalized Japanese citizen (帰化人 *kikajin*). Nakanishi stated the following in his book entitled *Yamano(u)e no Okura*.

Okura was born in 660 in Kudara (百濟 Paekche (백제)) and left for Japan on the 25th of September at the age of four during the stormy period of the fall in his country... His father, Oku'nin (憶仁), arrived at Town of Otsu (大津) and started to work as a court physician for Emperors Tenchi & Tenmu and resided in a mountainous area of Koka (甲賀) located close to Town of Otsu.¹⁷

(Nakanishi, 1973: 43–44; translation by S. M.)

Nakanishi's theory of Okura's naturalization as a Japanese citizen must have been a crucial piece of knowledge during Levy's first exposure to *Man'yōshū*. What is significant to us is that without *Man'yōshū* Levy couldn't have identified his *Soto*-oriented philosophy with Okura's border-crossing bilingualism and biculturalism.

4.2 Cognitive tense shifting

Let's move on to discussion of the cognitive shift in the Japanese language to show how Levy has contributed to diversifying *langue*-based Japanese style. In this section, I would like to deal specifically with cognition-based *tense shift* (abbreviated as *TS* hereafter).

Makino (1983, 1996) analyzed *TS* in significant detail and explained conditions under which Japanese *TS* takes place in discourse. Since I don't have space to discuss how I have reached my conclusion, let me simply present my current generalization. The *unmarked tense* for a sentential predicate in a Japanese fictional story is "past" tense. However, any predicate of a Japanese sentence in the story can shift into *marked* "non-past" tense, if the writer recognizes the sentence doesn't describe an "event."¹⁸ Since we are dealing with a continuous scale of *event-ness* it is hard to pinpoint exactly when a sentence in narrative description is [+ event] or [–event].

17. Original text: 憶良は義慈王の二十年 (660) に百濟の地に生を享け、故国滅亡の嵐の中を四歳の身で日本に渡航した。(中略) 大津京に到った父親憶仁は天智・天武の朝廷に侍医として仕え、大津京にほど近い甲賀の山郷に居を定める。

18. Hopper (1979) does not specifically focus on tense shift, but he gave sufficient evidence that language often has a set of markers to distinguish foreground and background information. According to him the foregrounded parts are only actual narrated parts and the rest are backgrounded parts that express the narrator's comments. Notice that the notion of backgrounded information doesn't exactly correspond to my notion of non-event-ness.

Generally speaking, if the agent of a given sentence is animate, then, *TS* will not occur. If a given narrative sentence describes something autogenetic or stative or environmental, it will be interpreted as [–event] and will trigger making *TS*.

Let's examine (3), a passage taken from Yasunari Kawabata's *Yama no oto* [*The Sound of the Mountain*] (1954). The main character Shingo suddenly heard the sound of the mountain and felt terrified as if he had a premonition of death. The original text is provided below along with Edward Seidensticker's translation (1970). Predicates in non-past tense are all underlined and appear in bold, and predicates in past tense are put in square brackets and appear in bold. (Note: All the English predicates in the translation are in past tense, but I used the same marking distinctions as the ones for the original Japanese text. Each sentence is numbered based on the original text. This note is applicable to Excerpts (4) and (5) as well.)

- (3) [1] 八月の十日前だが、虫が鳴いている。
 [2] 木の葉から木の葉へ夜露の落ちるらしい音も聞こえる。
 [3] そうして、ふと信吾に山の音が[聞こえた]。
 [4] 風はない。
 [5] 月は満月に近く明るいが、しめつぱい夜気で、小山の上を描く木々の輪郭はぼやけている。
 [6] しかし、風に動いてはいない。
 [7] 信吾のいる廊下の下の下のだの葉も動いていない。
 [8] 鎌倉のいわゆる谷の奥で、波が聞こえる夜もあるから、信吾は海の音かと疑ったが、やはり山の音[だった]。
 [9] 遠い風の音に似ているが、地鳴りとともいう深い底力が[あった]。
 [10] 自分の頭の中に聞こえたようでもあるので、信吾は耳鳴りかと思って、頭を[振ってみた]。
 [11] 音は[やんだ]。
 [12] 音がやんだ後で、信吾ははじめて恐怖に[おそわれた]。
 [13] 死期を知らされたのではないかと[寒けがした]。
 [14] 風の音か、耳鳴りかと、信吾は冷静に考えたつもり[だったが]が、そんな音などしなかったのではないかと[思われた]。
 [15] しかし、確かに山の音は[聞こえていた]。(p. 12)
- [1] Though August had only begun autumn insects were already singing.
 [2] He thought he could detect a dripping of dew from leaf to leaf.
 [3] Then he [heard] the sound of the mountain.
 [4] It was a windless night.
 [5] The moon was near full, but in the moist, sultry air the fringe of trees that outlined the mountain was blurred.
 [6] They were motionless, however.

- [7] Not a leaf on the fern by the veranda was stirring.
 [8-1] In these mountain recesses of Kamakura the sea could sometimes be heard at night.
 [8-2] Shingo [wondered] if he might have heard the sound of the sea.
 [8-3] But no – it was the mountain.
 [9] It was like wind, far away, but with a depth like a rumbling of the earth.
 [10] Thinking that it might be in himself, a ringing in his ears, Shingo [shook his head].
 [11] The sound [stopped], and
 [12] he [was suddenly afraid].
 [13] A chill [passed over] him, as if he had been notified that death was approaching.
 [14] He [wanted] to question himself calmly and deliberately to ask whether it had been the sound of the wind, the sound of the sea, or a sound in his ears.
 [15-1] But he [had heard] no such sound, he [was] sure.
 [15-2] He [had heard] the mountain.

Kawabata used non-past tense predicates to express different degrees of [-event] in [1] to [7] towards the beginning of the passage. [8] and [9] have non-past tense in the first conjunct of a coordinated sentence, but they have past tense in the second conjunct. All the non-past predicates and past predicates are used for [-event] and [+ event], respectively. The English translation uses nothing but past tense, and loses the cognitive distinction of [-event] versus [+ event] in the original text.

Now look at (4) taken from Levy's *Seejooki no kiko enai heya* [*A Room Where The Star-Spangled Banner Cannot Be Heard*] (1992), followed by Christopher D. Scott's translation (2011).

- (4) [1] はじめて日本人といっしょにさまよう東京の街に、ペンは[魅せられた]。
 [2] 歩いても歩いてもいつまでも解けない謎の道を、大またで熱心に歩く安藤の黒い学生服姿の後ろについて通り抜けると、とつぜん二人の頭上に空が広々と開ける。
 [3] 並木通りの交差点をせっせと横断している、安藤と同じ学生服のかたまりと、その黒一色を紫や格子縞のドレスで斑にした女学生の群れの上で、くすんだ紺碧の中で石盤色の雲が絶え間なく北へ流れてゆく。
 [4] 「日本が狭い」という嘘に反駁するように大きな空が視野に入ってくる広い並木通りの両側に沿って、安藤の世界が[続いていた]。(p. 53)

- [1] Wandering the streets of Tokyo with a Japanese person for the first time in his life, Ben [**was fascinated**] by what he saw.
- [2-1] He was perpetually confused, unsure where he was.
- [2-2] As they navigated those mazelike backstreets, the sky **would suddenly appear** above them.
- [3-1] Out of nowhere Ben would see crowds hurrying across the tree-lined avenue – the swarms of schoolboy uniforms, just like Ando's, and the throngs of female students in lavender and checkered dresses like islands in a sea of black.
- [3-2] Above them, a steady stream of slate-colored clouds **flowed** northward against a dark blue background.
- [4] Ando's world [**stretched**] as far as the eye could see, along either side of the wide avenue, with its panoramic view of the sky that seemed to refute the myth that Japan was small.

Here Levy used past tense in the initial [1] and the last [4] and used the non-past tense in [2] and [3]. [1] and [4] describe the most significant psychological events that occurred to the main character Ben. The translator Scott couldn't create a linguistic shift in English, simply because the *langue*-based style of the English language doesn't allow him to do it. In other words, both Scott and Levy followed the rule of tense shift in narrative discourse of their target languages Japanese and English, respectively. In short, there is no surprise here.

In the following passage from *Kari no mizu* [*Fake Water*] (2008), the main character “*kare*” (‘he’) is in a car traveling in Mainland China, looking at the outside scenery with great curiosity.

- (5) [1] 落ち着かなくなつて、また右側の窓に視線を[移した]。
 - [2] 麦畑に覆われた陸と化した元の川底が絶え間なく北へつづき、無限に東へも[広がっていた]。
 - [3] 細長い航路を想わせるように平原の中には小道が[延びていた]。
 - [4] その上には小さな人群れが点在していたが、どこにも家屋は[なかった]。
 - [5] かれは躊躇したが、やがて運転手に、すこしゆっくり、と[頼んだ]。
 - [6] 運転手はだまって速度を[落とした]。
 - [7] 落としたとき、うしろから小型トラックが追い越そうとしてきたのが左側の窓に[見えた]。
 - [8] トラックの後部には十人程の男と、三人の女がぎゅう詰めで[乗っていた]。
 - [9] 窓のスモークガラスと変わらない灰色の色彩の作業服を男も女も[着ていた]。
 - [10] 前との車間距離が広がり、先へと走ってしまったトラックも、人も、[小さくなった]。
- (pp. 8-9)

- [1] He got uneasy and [turned] his eyes towards the right window.
- [2] The original river bed that had turned into land covered with wheat fields [continued] northward, and it also [extended] endlessly toward the east.
- [3] A narrow pathway that reminded me of a lean sailing route extended itself.
- [4] A group of people were gathered here and there, but no houses [were to be seen].
- [5] He hesitatingly [asked] the driver to slow down.
- [6] The driver [reduced] the speed without saying anything.
- [7] At that moment, through the left window, he [saw] a small truck catching up from behind.
- [8] In the back area of the truck were about ten guys and three women [packed] like sardines.
- [9] Both male and female workers were wearing gray color work clothing – the same color as the smoky color of the window glass.
- [10] As the truck ran ahead of him it widened its distance from his car and people [became] smaller and smaller. (Translation by S. M.)

The first paragraph of the passage starts with [1] that has a past tense predicate. And the small event of [1] can trigger the non-past tense in the subsequent nine sentences (from [2] to [10]), but Levy didn't shift the tense from past to non-past at all because he wanted to keep the perspective in the "objective" past tense without expressing the main character's (and the author's) subjective cognition. Levy wrote every image of the passage entirely in the past tense. In other words, Levy has ingeniously presented each tableau of happening not as the main character's stream of consciousness but as a set of objective events. Such use of non-shifting (i.e., just past tense) is surely an unmarked use for English writers, but it should be a highly-marked use for a Japanese writer. If Levy uses only past tense in all of his stories, my interpretation of (5) is vacuous, because I have to assume that Levy has just followed the English discourse grammar, but the fact that Levy used *TSs* effectively in (4) presents evidence that in (5) he has attempted to create new rhetorical/cognitive meaning to the continuous use of past tense. Any native Japanese writer could write exactly like Levy, but to my knowledge very few native Japanese writers write the way Levy does, unless he or she is an "exophonic" *Nihongo Sakka*.

It is noteworthy that in sharp contrast to (3) in which Kawabata used non-past tense to describe natural environments, Levy seldom includes descriptions of natural environments that can easily be described in the non-past tense. Another interesting fact is Levy's choice of tense shift correlates with the choice of grammatical person for the main character. *TSs* occur most frequently in *Pekin ekkyooki* [*Crossing Border in Beijing*] in which the main character is referred to as "*boku*" ('I') and the lowest rate is found in *Tenanmon* [*Tian'anmen*] (1996) and *Kari no mizu* [*Fake Water*] (2008), where the character is referred to as "*kare*" ('he'). The

rate of tense shifting is in the middle in *Seejooki no kiko enai heya* [A Room Where The Star-Spangled Banner Cannot Be Heard] (1992). Overall Levy has succeeded in diversifying and dissimulating the use of TSs.

4.3 Complex syntax

Every language has its system with which to generate syntactic complexity. Japanese language is no exception to the generalization. What distinctively characterizes Levy's *parole*-based style is his use of complex modificational structures, by which I mean a structure like the following. I will quote it from Kuno (1973: 7).

- (6) [[[John ga katte-iru]s1 **neko** ga koroshita]s2 **nezumi** ga tabeta]s3 **chiizu** wa kusatte-ita.
(The cheese that the rat that the cat that John keeps killed ate was rotten)
[s = sentence]

(6) shows that Japanese is a left-branching language. Every modifier comes to the left of its modifying element (i.e., *neko* ('cat'), *nezumi* ('rat'), *chiizu* ('cheese') [all appearing in bold]). The long clause from *John* up to *tabeta* modifies the noun *chiizu*.

One of the current trends among Japanese literary writers is "colloquialization" and "simplification" of written Japanese. They write as if they were speaking. Haruki Murakami, Banana Yoshimoto, Gen'ichiro Takahashi, among others, belong to the group. Look at the following words by Murakami on simplification of linguistic expression.

Then I decided to write using simple structure nobody has ever come up with. By using simple language layer after layer I will create simple language, and eventually I will create non-simple reality by repeated use of simple language.¹⁹

(Murakami 1990; translation and emphasis by S. M.)

Such literary style should remind us of the *Genbun'itchi* (言文一致 Unification of the Written and Spoken Language) during the Meiji period. *Ukigumo* [Floating Clouds] by Futabatei Shimei (二葉亭四迷) was the first novel written in a colloquial style. We may perhaps say that Murakami et al. are now advocating for the second movement of *Genbun'itchi* through their work, but in sharp contrast Levy has been steadfastly seeking for a rhetorical style unique to written Japanese rather than rhetorical style close to the style of spoken Japanese. I strongly suspect that for him *de-colloquialization* is tied in with his initial exciting exposure to *Man'yōshū*, the oldest written anthology of traditional poetry of Japan.

19. Original text: じゃあもっとシンプルに書いてみようとは僕は思った。これまで誰も書いたことが無いくらいシンプルに。シンプルな言葉を重ねることによって、シンプルな文章を作り、シンプルな文章を重ねることによって、結果的にシンプルではない現実を描くのだ。

The current writers who have been making the ultimate use of complex Japanese syntactic structure are Kenzaburo Oe, Kenji Nakagami, Jun'ichiro Tanizaki, among others.²⁰ Apparently they are highly critical of the current trend of colloquialization or *phono-centricism* (*onsei-chushinshugi* 音声中心主義), in consonant with Jacques Derrida's anti-phonocentrism as discussed in his *De la Grammatologie* in 1967. And importantly as a lover of *Man'yōshū*, Levy wants to revive the complex syntax of *Man'yōshū*'s long poems (*Chōka* 長歌). Let's take a look at a few out of the many examples of Levy's complex syntax.

- (7) a. が、半旗の硫黄島戦記念像の前に立っている角刈りの、ベンよりも倍ほどの背高の男が、その大きくて不器用な手で目を拭っている光景を目撃したときアストロノートが地球を憂えている希有な瞬間を思わずのぞいてしまったような気がした。
(Levy 1992: 119)

But then he witnessed something extraordinary; a man nearly twice Ben's height, with a crew cut, was standing in front of the Iwo Jima memorial and wiping tears from his eyes with large, clumsy hands. For Ben this was a rare glimpse of an astronaut grieving for Earth. (Translated by Scott 2011: 69)

- b. 人間の声の、暗黒の奥底から生まれた熱情的で韻律正しい聖歌は、しかししんじゅくの朝に濾されたとき、カトリック教会の陰影が引いて、生者が逃亡の願いを唱えているように聞こえてきた。
(Levy 1992: 96)

It was a passionate and rhythmical hymn, born from the darkest depths of the human voice. Filtered through the morning light of SHIN-JUKU, however, it lost the aura of a Catholic church and came to sound like a cry for escape by the living. (Translated by Scott 2011: 56)

20. Levy discussed Kenji Nakagami's style in his essay, *Nihongo o Kaku Heya* [A Room Where I Write Japanese] (2001: 161). He quoted the opening passage of Nakagami's *Sennen no Yuuraku* [Pleasure of One Thousand Years] (1982).

明け方になって急に家の裏口から夏芙蓉の甘いにおいが入り込んで来たので息苦しく、まるで花のにおいに息をとめられるように思っオリュウノオバは眼をさまし、仏壇の横にしつらえた台に乗せた夫の礼如さんの額に入った写真が微かに白く闇の中に浮き上がっているのをみて、尊い仏様のような人だった礼如さんと夫婦だった事が有り得ない幻だったような気がした。

Levy actually translated this Nakagami's short story into English. Levy's English translation follows. Notice that he imitated the original Japanese in the translation. Note also that Levy translated this using as complex as the Nakagami's original text.

The sweet stifling fragrance of summer mallows had suddenly crept in from the back door with the first wisps of dawn, and Oryu, thinking the blossoms' smell would choke her, opened her eyes and, seeing the photograph of her husband Reijo looking faintly white in the darkness from where it had been placed on a stand next to the family altar, had a feeling that her marriage to Reijo, a man like a noble Buddha, must have been an impossible illusion.

- c. ネオクラシカル、というか、そんな英語を久しぶりに日本語で思いだしながら、何となく十九世紀イギリスの地方都市の公館を連想させるような、造りが物々しいのに大きさが足りないという印象の美術館の入口に入った。それも十九世紀の郷土の館の玄関を想像させる、広くはない前室にある広々とした階段の下には、「特別展は二階へ」という立て看板があった。 (Levy 2005: 28)

While remembering the English word “neo-classical” for the first time after many years thanks to a Japanized version, I entered an art museum which vaguely gave me an impression that the building wasn’t big enough in spite of its pompous construction that reminds me of a civic center at a 19th century British local town. At the bottom of the wide stairs that was located in a small drawing room that looked like a hallway of the 19th century house in his native land stood a sign-board which read: “Special Exhibition Upstairs”. (Literal translation by S. M.)

Syntactic ramification in (7) is in essence Levy’s intentional choice. He repeatedly and painstakingly defines each modified word to establish his *parole*-based style of (not spoken but) written Japanese. His style which is sharply contrasted with that of Haruki Murakami and Banana Yoshimoto and their cohort is contributing not to the creation of new style but the revitalization process of *de-colloquialization* of the Japanese *langue*-based style with the cooperation of a cohort of *de-colloquialization* of the Japanese language.

5. By way of summary

In this Chapter I have attempted to make it known that Levy’s conscious linguistic efforts with other *Nihongo Sakka* which led to some dissimulation and diversification of Japanese *literary* language and deconstruction of the Japanese common view that the Japanese literary language is possessed by native Japanese writers alone. I believe that the reading of Levy’s work should awaken both native and non-native speakers and writers of any language to the possibility of creating a trans-lingual literary language.

The following Levy’s view is worthy of quoting.

Korean writers born in Japan – above all Lee Hoesung (李恢成), who has been awarded the Akutagawa Prize has strong voice in literary circles – are my precursors. But I wonder if the *colorless* majority of Japanese people are writing novels by imitating them or using their work as model. I’m really curious about it. If there is indeed any impact at all, Japanese should imitate the Japanese language written by foreigners. But it has never happened. If Japanese begin to imitate foreign writers, it should bring about not just award of the Booker Prize, but a real impact, that is, expressions that are connected with what exist inside the language. It is important

that the majority will conform to it. In this respect what is impressive about Kenji Nakagami is that people who didn't come from "back alley" started to imitate him.²⁴ (Levy 2007: 101; translation by S. M.)

It is very true that we have failed to feel the real impact of *Nihongo Sakka* upon us, but naturally Japanese have to read their work with a more positive, inquisitive mind before we dismiss them as *Soto*-writers. It is extremely hard for a single writer to generate diversity and dissimulation of Japanese or any language. But if bi-lingual and pluri-lingual *Nihongo Sakka* work together we can be more optimistic about the future of diversity and dissimulation of the Japanese language.

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Subject index

- A**
amari/anmari/anma 49–51, 54
- B**
backchannel 259
bare predicate 103
bifurcation 64–65, 69–70
bilingual excitement 292–294, 298
bottom-up model 22
- C**
CA, *see* Conversation Analysis
clause chaining 22, 39, 41
cleft construction 35, 42
cognitive constraint 18
collocation 57
colloquialization 304
complement 18
complementizer *koto* 22
conjunctive function 31
constructed speech 84–85, 87–88
Construction Grammar 88
 see also constructionalization
constructionalization 88–89, 93–94
contingency 150, 155
Conversation Analysis 100
corpus-based 53
counter-expectation 61–63, 67
creative index 250, 252–253
CS, *see* constructed speech
cultural ideology 249
cultural nationalism 270
 see also nationalism
culture 220
 see also Eastern culture
- D**
dangling *toyuu*
 construction 91–94
de-colloquialization 304
detached 208–212
detachment 197–198
directive 125–138, 149–150, 152–157
 see also non-procedural directive
 see also procedural directive
discernment 125–128, 144–148
discourse 88, 220
 marker 88
 of food 220
discourse-pragmatic function 173–176, 191
divergence 64, 70
- E**
Eastern culture 219–220
ecological view on grammar 17
ego-focused 188
embedding 35–36, 38, 40–41
endophonic 292
entitlement 150, 155, 158, 160–168
epistemic 77, 88
 markers 173
 modality expression 107, 111
epistemically 87
evidential 77, 88
exophonic 291–292, 303
- F**
face 152–154, 161, 163, 166, 168, 176, 178, 180
face-work 150, 153
femininity 260–261
food 219
 see also discourse of
form-meaning pairs 89
formulaic expressions 22, 29–32, 36, 43
- G**
gaze 99
 see also recipient's state of gaze
 see also speaker's gaze
 in social interaction 103
 shift 104, 106, 108, 111, 114, 116
gender 275
genre 219–222
grammar 17
 see also multiple grammar model
grammatical construction 76, 94
grammaticalization 88–89, 191–192
- H**
hedge 260
heterosexuality 256
honorifics 249, 257–259
- I**
ideological 257–258
ideologically 49, 258–262
ideology 246
 see also cultural ideology
 see also language ideology
impolite 197, 204, 208, 210
increment mechanism 41
incremental reasoning 27
indexical 245–250, 253, 257–258, 260–261, 263, 265
 field 249
 meaning 246, 257
 order 249
 process 248
indexicality 261
intersubjective 88
intersubjectivity 173
- J**
joseego 245, 247, 253, 255, 258, 260

K

kamo (shirenai) 173–175
katakoto nihongo 277

L

language ideology 248
 late projectability 102
 left-branching language 304
 linguistic 252–253, 267, 271
 capital 252
 nationalism 267, 271
 norm 253

M

masculinity 275, 278
 metapragmatic 245–246
 comment 250
 discourse 245–246
 stereotype 268, 277, 279–280
 mimetic expression 238
mitaina 75–91
 multiple grammar model 18

N

nationalism 270
ne 197, 199
 see also obligatory *ne*
 see also optional *ne*
 negative polarity item 49–50
 see also positive polarity item
 nominalization 18
 non-committal 184
 non-full approval 184, 193
 non-Japanese 268–270, 273–275, 277, 279–280
 non-native Japanese 289–290
 non-procedural directive
 128–129, 136–138
 see also directive
 see also procedural directive
 NPI, *see* negative polarity item

O

obligatory (*ne*) 200–202
 see also optional (*ne*)

online “public” 220
 optional (*ne*) 197–198, 200–203

P

paradigmatic (relationship) 63
 particle *ne*, *see ne*
 politeness 125–128, 130, 132, 138,
 144, 149–153
 strategy 140, 146, 181
 positive polarity item 49–50,
 63
 see also negative polarity item
 postpositional structure 101
 PPI, *see* positive polarity item
 pragmatic effect 90–91
 pragmatically 88
 pre-disagreement 183
 pre-possible completion 103
 predicate-final structure 101,
 110
 procedural directive 128–129,
 133–135
 progressivity 39–40
 projectability 100, 102

Q

quasi-quotation 93
 quotative 76, 89
 quoted speech 79, 82

R

reason 17
 recipe 221–224
 recipient’s state of gaze 104
 request 149, 151
 retroactivity 39–40
ruby 293, 297

S

schemas 20
 self-confirmation 201, 203
 semiotic capital 252
 sentence-final particle 22, 257
 sexuality 256
Soto-Language Space 292–293

speaker’s gaze 104, 107
 speech act 258–260
 stance 76, 86–87
 structural reanalysis 63, 69
 subjective 88
 subjectivity 84, 173
 suspended clause 28
 construction 89–91, 94
 syntagmatic reanalysis 63

T

TCU, *see* turn completion
 TCU-final projectability 113
te kudasai 151, 158
 tense shift 299, 302–303
 theory of territory of information
 200, 210
 third language and culture 290
 totemo/tottemo 49–51
 transition relevance place 100
 transition space 103, 116
 TRP, *see* transition relevance
 place
 turn completion 116–117
 turn projection 101–102, 106
 turn-constructional unit 100
 turn-final projectability 117

U

Uchi-Language Space 292–293
 UFE, *see* utterance-final element
 usage-based model 19, 22
 utterance-final element
 102–103

V

Volition 126–127, 144

W

Western culture 220
 women’s language 245
 workplace 125–130
 written language bias 43

Name index

A

Agha, A. 252

B

Bazerman, C. 221–222

Billig, M. 270

Bono, M. 100, 104, 106, 111, 116

Brown, P. 152, 168, 176, 181

C

Craven, A. 155, 160

Culpeper, J. 204

Curl, T. 155

D

Drew, P. 155

Dunn, C. 127, 253

E

Eckert, P. 248–250, 261

Enomoto, M. 102, 113, 117

F

Fujii, S. 75, 82–83

G

Geyer, N. 127, 146

Goffman, E. 152–153

I

Irvine, J. 249

Iwasaki, S. 29, 31, 39, 41

J

Jefferson, G. 100

Johnstone, B. 248–250

K

Kamio, A. 179, 188, 197,

200–201, 210

Kaneyasu, M. 29

Katagiri, Y. 100, 104, 106, 111,
116

Kinsui, S. 201–202, 268, 274

Kroskrity, P. 249–250

Kulick, D. 250

L

Levinson, S. 152, 168, 176, 181

Levy, H. 289

Linnell, P. 43

M

Martin, S. 199–200, 209

Maynard, S. K. 75, 82–84, 87,
188, 190

McGloin, N. H. 49, 67, 82

McVeigh, B. 269–271

Miller, J. 18, 26

N

Nagano, M. 23

O

Ochs, E. 219–220, 240

Ono, T. 39, 41

Östman, J. 211

P

Pizziconi, B. 173, 176–177, 187,
193

Potter, J. 155, 160

S

Sacks, H. 100

Saito, J. 126–127, 131, 145

Saussure, F. 294

Schegloff, E. A. 100

Silverstein, M. 248–249

Strauss, S. 219–220, 222–223,
230, 232, 237

Suzuki, S. 75, 82–83

T

Takano, S. 127, 130–131, 145

Takubo, Y. 201–202

Tanaka, H. 99, 102–103, 110,
113, 116–117

Traugott, E. C. 88, 90, 175, 193

Trousdale, G. 88, 90

V

Vine, B. 128–129

W

Warner, M. 220, 223

Weinert, R. 18, 26

Y

Yoda, M. 268, 273

Yoshino, K. 271

Yu Cho, Y. 238

Bringing together the latest studies on Japanese pragmatics, this edited volume showcases the breadth of research conducted in this ever-expanding, interdisciplinary field, with the introductory chapter providing a useful summary of developments in the field in the past decades. The twelve chapters address a variety of traditional and emerging topics by adopting diverse theoretical and methodological frameworks and presenting a range of perspectives on grammar, interaction and culture. They demonstrate a wide scope of pragmatics research informed by, as well as informing, usage-based grammar, cognitive linguistics, conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and literary and cultural studies. Chapters also consider future directions as to how the study of Japanese language in use will continue to offer critical data and analyses to the field dominated by the study of English and other European languages. This volume is certain to be of interest to students and scholars engaged in pragmatics in general and the Japanese language in particular.

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