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EMOTIVITY IN JAPANESE YOUTH'S CONVERSATIONAL INTERACTIONS

(diplomová práce)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ANOTACE / ANNOTATION	iii
PREFACE	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
NOTE ON THE TEXT	2
1 INTRODUCTION.....	3
1.1 Theoretical framework	5
1.1.1 Japanese youth language	5
1.1.2 Conversational interaction.....	7
1.1.2.1 Face-to-face conversational interaction.....	8
1.1.2.2 Online conversational interaction.....	8
1.1.3 Emotivity	10
1.1.4 Socio-cultural context	16
1.2 Prior studies	19
1.3 Purpose of the study	26
1.4 Organization of the thesis	27
2 DATA COLLECTION AND RESEARCH METHODS.....	29
3 SELECTED EMOTIVES	34
3.1 Non-predicate-final constituent order.....	34
3.2 ‘Quotations’ framed by <i>mitai na/mitai-na</i>	47
3.3 Question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form	57
3.4 ‘Despecification’ of utterance ending	66
4 CONCLUSION.....	75
SHRNUTÍ	81
WORKS CITED.....	82

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Abstrakt / Abstract

Cílem práce je pokusit se o identifikaci, analýzu a popis několika produktivních prostředků vyjadřování emotivity v konverzačních interakcích mladých Japonců. Emotivita je zde definována jakožto aspekt jazyka vyjadřující postoje mluvčího k obsahu promluvy, komunikačnímu partnerovi a komunikačnímu aktu. Konkrétně se práce zaměřuje na: (1) postpozice, (2) „citace“ přímých řečí a postojů pomoci výrazu *mitai na/mitai-na* („něco jako“), (3) záporné adjektivní formy se specifickou stoupanou intonací vyjadřující žádost o potvrzení sdílení postoje a (4) prostředky „despecifikace“ konce výpovědi se zaměřením se na eliptická nominální zakončení. Práce je založena na primárním empirickém výzkumu konverzačních interakcí mladých Japonců, a to jak v jejich formě mluvené, tak i ve formě textové komunikace prostřednictvím počítačové sítě.

The purpose of the study is to attempt to identify, analyze and describe several productive means of the linguistic encoding of emotivity in contemporary Japanese youth's conversational interactions. The study defines emotivity as an aspect of language which encompasses the speaker's attitudes towards the contents of the utterance, the partner and the act of communication. In particular, the study addresses: (1) non-predicate-final constituent order, (2) 'quotations' of speech and attitudinal stance framed by *mitai na/mitai-na* ('something like'), (3) question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form, and (4) 'despecification' of utterance ending with a special focus on the utterances containing nominal phrases used utterance-finally. The study is based on primary empirical research of Japanese youth's face-to-face and text-based computer-mediated conversational interactions.

PREFACE

The present work is a result of my keen interest in human communication, processes involved in conversation, spoken language, and Japanese language in general. Subsequently, the idea to attempt to identify and describe several common means of linguistic encoding of emotivity in contemporary young Japanese native speakers' conversational interactions grew out of the extensive research I carried out while working on a grant project, whose main outcome was a monograph aiming at a comprehensive description of contemporary Japanese youth language (see Barešová and Zawiszová 2012).¹

The research of Japanese youth language led me to acknowledge the essentiality of conversational interactions in Japanese youth's everyday lives and the central role expressive and social functions of language play in them. However, the study of literature on Japanese youth language I undertook proved a distinct lack of research on 'higher levels' of language description. Subsequently, the study of scholarship that in one way or another concerns the relationship of non-referential meaning and language made me realize that even though no unified or at least widely accepted theoretical and methodological approach to the affect-related meanings in language exists, the vital importance of non-referential meanings in interpersonal communication generally seems to be appreciated.

Hence, having recognized the enormous potential of the study of non-referential meaning for the research of interpersonal communication, the present research was undertaken. In fact, the abovementioned monograph deals with several characteristics of young Japanese speakers' discourse, too. However, its aspiration to provide a general overview of the main features typical of Japanese youth language at all levels of language description precludes in-depth research, detailed analysis, and more focused discussion. Thus, while most of the features examined here are mentioned in the book as well, the approaches taken in the two studies differ markedly and the given phenomena are looked at from quite different perspectives.

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NOTE ON THE TEXT

For the transcriptions of Japanese throughout the document, the so-called revised Hepburn romanization system is used. The names of the Japanese authors whose works are written in English are provided in the same form as on the original.

Conventions observed in the transcriptions of audio data are listed at the end of Chapter Two.

Unless stated otherwise, the translations of any Japanese language data throughout the document are mine.

Japanese names are given in the western order, that is, given name first, family name last.

1 INTRODUCTION

Japanese youth language constitutes an intriguing subject of linguistic inquiry. However, the hitherto conducted studies are almost exclusively of lexicological or lexicographic character or deal with a few selected phenomena of the Japanese youth's language use, usually those that agitate the older public. Comprehensive research on the features of Japanese youth language at the level of discourse has not yet been undertaken. Indeed, despite the fact that conversational interactions play such a crucial role in the contemporary young Japanese people's everyday lives that their culture could be dubbed *oshaberi bunka* (Kinda'ichi 2003), 'chitchat culture', the subject of the Japanese youth's linguistic behaviour in interpersonal communication has largely been neglected. Likewise, although "[i]t has become increasingly clear that affective-relational aspects of language constitute an integral part of the linguistic system" (Suzuki 2006b:1), studies devoted to the means of expression of non-referential meanings in language remain surprisingly rare.

The present study stems from the conspicuous lack of research in both abovementioned fields. It emphasizes the importance of the investigation of actual language use in interpersonal communication and the need of an integrative, systematic, dynamic, functional and context-based approach. The approach adopted here is based on the assumption that "[t]alking, or using language expressively and/or communicatively in general, consists in the continuous making of linguistic choices, consciously or unconsciously, for linguistic or extra-linguistic reasons" (Verschueren 2009:2). The choices are made by both the momentary speaker and the momentary listener. Consequently, the meanings of the choices constitute the dynamic outcomes of the complex process of negotiation taking place in the broad context of the given act of interpersonal communication.

In everyday conversational interactions, which can be considered the most basic type of interpersonal communication, the referential functions of language are often somewhat subdued, while its expressive and social functions seem to play the central role (cf. Biber 1988:71; Maynard 2002:8; Tannen 1985:125). Accordingly, there seem to be two major motivational factors that can be distinguished in the Japanese youth's linguistic choices in course of the conversational interactions with their peers. One is represented by their pressing need for self-expression. The other one is formed by their desire to maintain harmonious relationships, which generally accentuate such values as closeness, solidarity and unity. In addition, their linguistic behaviour in conversational interactions clearly reflects the context of

the Japanese socio-cultural norms, values, preferences, and expectations with regard to interpersonal relations and communication.

The present thesis proposes the concept of ‘emotivity’ as a useful means to approach the linguistic behaviour of young Japanese in conversational interactions. Emotivity is defined here as an aspect of language that encompasses the speaker’s attitudes towards the contents of the utterance, the partner and the act of communication. The study of emotivity thus concerns the communicative and interactional linguistic behaviour of the speakers. More specifically, it investigates the linguistic means the speakers consciously or unconsciously use in order to express their attitudinal stance (in a broad sense of the term) in course of interpersonal communication regardless of the fact whether the expressed attitudes are based on genuine feelings, used discourse-strategically, or socio-culturally motivated.

Defined in this way, the concept of emotivity is intimately related to such concepts as politeness, subjectivity and intersubjectivity, expressivity, (discourse) modality, evidentiality, stance, affect and involvement. Consequently, it is argued that the study of the linguistic manifestations of emotivity can explain a wide range of lexical devices, grammatical structures, prosodic patterns and discourse strategies typical of Japanese youth’s conversational interactions. Accordingly, investigating emotivity enables a systematic approach to the Japanese youth language on the level of discourse.

By proposing the concept of emotivity this thesis attempts to integrate some of the existent approaches to the non-referential functions of language in interpersonal communication and modestly contribute to the growing body of research accentuating expressive and social functions of language. The study also hopes to shed some light on Japanese youth’s linguistic behaviour in conversational interactions. It couples original research with prior studies of individual phenomena and attempts to identify, analyze, and offer a description of several productive means of linguistic encoding of emotivity in contemporary Japanese youth’s face-to-face and online conversational interactions. Owing to the spatial limitations, the present thesis is designed as a preliminary study, which rather than to offer definitive results aims to prepare the ground for further research.

This introductory chapter first provides a theoretical framework upon which this study is based. The following subchapter briefly summarizes relevant up-to-date scholarship in the related fields. Subsequently, the objectives of the study are stated, and finally, an overview of the organization of the rest of this thesis is presented.

1.1 Theoretical framework

This subchapter consists of four sections which explain the central premises and theoretical basis for this thesis. First, the term ‘Japanese youth language’ is defined and the subject of the present study situated within the context of the (Japanese) youth language research. Next, the term ‘conversational interaction’ as applied here is briefly explained. ‘Emotivity’ – the key concept for this study – is expounded in the ensuing section. The concluding section of this subchapter discusses the significance of Japanese language data for this study as it considers the Japanese socio-cultural values, norms, preferences, and expectations with respect to interpersonal relations and communication.

1.1.1 Japanese youth language

In the last decades of the 20th century, youth language² established itself as one of the popular subjects of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, lexicology, and other, usually interdisciplinary fields of linguistics. Although youth language is most commonly defined in relation to ‘standard language’ – that is, the language used in educational, governmental, financial, business, and other such public institutions (Eckert 2004:369) or, in other words, the language used by the dominant social group (Bourdieu 1977:651-53) – approaches and definitions vary markedly. Prescriptive linguists and a segment of the general public consider youth language a deviant form of the standard, which thus needs to be corrected (see, e.g., Küpper 1961:188). Many researchers view it as slang or sociolect and often rely on extensive ethnography in order to study youth language within youth culture. Some prefer to regard it as a distinct speech style or register while others consider it a variant of colloquial language.³

Nonetheless, regardless of their theoretical stance, all researchers to greater or lesser extent operate with some social variables, such as sex, social class, ethnicity, place of origin and residence, and, above all, age. Despite some opposing views (e.g., Schlegel 1995), there appears to be general agreement that youth (or adolescence) as a life stage situated between childhood and adulthood is a social construct, identifiable in modern industrialized societies only (e.g., Eckert 2004:362). It thus seems crucial to distinguish among chronological, biological, and social (Eckert 1997) or contextual (Rubin and Rubin 1982; Coupland 1997:34)

² Depending on the approach, the researchers refer to the language young people use variously. Some other commonly used terms in English include, for instance, ‘teenage talk’ and ‘adolescent speech’. Since the present study does not concern the language used by teenagers or adolescents only, a broader term was selected.

³ See Androutsopoulos (1998, 2005) for a general overview of the research on youth language.

age, the last one mentioned reflecting social, economic, and legal status of an individual. Furthermore, most of the researchers in one way or another address the issue of identity, generally conceived of in a post-structural sense, that is, as a dynamic ever-changing product of the interaction of discourses (cf. Androtsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003). The use of youth language can be understood as an act of identification with what it is thought to represent, and hence, it plays a significant role in the process of the individual's identity negotiation.

In the field of Japanese youth language research, it is Akihiko Yonekawa who has produced what seems to be the largest and most consistent body of research and theoretical thinking on the subject. He proposes to use the term *wakamonogo* (or alternatively, *wakamono kotoba*), 'youth language', to refer to the totality of language used by the young Japanese, that is, the people from the age of junior high school students until the age of about thirty (1996:12-14; 1998:15-18).⁴ Yonekawa offers a pragmatic definition of Japanese youth language by virtue of identifying its main functions and motivations for its use. He lists: (1) making the interaction entertaining and fun (*goraku*), (2) accelerating the tempo of conversation (*kaiwa no sokushin*), (3) expressing solidarity, membership, and closeness (*rentai*), (4) transmitting meanings as images by means of visually and acoustically strong expressions (*imēji dentatsu*), (5) concealing meaning from the non-members of the in-group (*inpei*), (6) softening the expressions so as not to hurt the partner's feelings (*kanshō*), and (7) purifying oneself from negative emotions (*jōka*) (1996:16-27; 1998:19-25).

In this study, Japanese youth language is conceptualized as a colloquial variant which is preferentially used by the young Japanese all over Japan (especially) in course of informal interactions with their peers (cf. Barešová and Zawiszová 2012). Defined in this way, it might be understood as *kyōtsūgo*, 'common language', of the young Japanese. Although the category of the Japanese youth refers to social/contextual age of the speakers, in general, it is in accord with Yonekawa's definition, for it might be assumed to include especially adolescents, post-adolescents, and young adults. Japanese youth language can be variously modified depending on the dialect region of the speakers. In addition, depending on their personality, lifestyle, and general social situation, the speakers employ it to various extents. Nonetheless, the typical features, processes, and practices it involves are generally common to the linguistic behaviour of its users nationwide.

⁴ Yonekawa attempts thereby to distinguish *wakamonogo* from *wakamono no kotoba*, which he defines as youth slang words (1996:12).

Cross-linguistic analyses of the studies of youth languages indicate that there are numerous features that seem characteristic of youth language across cultures and can thus be considered universal (cf., e.g., Albrecht 1993; Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2008; Barešová and Zawiszová 2012; Radtke 1992; Zimmermann 1993). In general, young people's approach to language is remarkably playful, creative, and innovative. Their language is replete with phonological, morphological, lexical, semantic and other linguistic modifications and code or style play. Affective and evaluative expressions, intensifiers, exaggeration, and other affectively laden expressive linguistic means are extremely popular. Besides, young people seem to emphasize harmonious in-group relations, group identity, the sense of belonging and unity. Their talk exchanges are thus imbued with intertextual references and a great variety of devices marking sharedness and creating rapport.

All the abovementioned features can be related to young people's need for greater expressivity and their desire for frictionless and pleasant interpersonal relations. Indeed, the expressive and bonding functions of language in the youth's interpersonal communication seem to be assigned with primary importance. While all the 'universals' of youth language are identifiable in Japanese youth language, too, the influence of Japanese socio-cultural norms and values is also quite appreciable. The concept of emotivity, which concerns the expressions of a variety of attitudes regardless of their motivation, thus seems to form a useful tool for dealing with the typical features of Japanese youth language at the level of discourse.

1.1.2 Conversational interaction

The term 'conversational interaction' is employed in this thesis in order to embrace both face-to-face (spoken) conversational interaction and online text-based conversational interaction. The one-word term 'conversation' was avoided on account of its traditionally virtually exclusive application to spoken talk exchanges. In addition, the term 'conversational interaction' can better emphasize the interactivity of the process in question, that is, the mutual influence and interdependence of the participants and the context (in the broad sense of the term). The attribute 'conversational' then explicitly specifies the type of interaction the study concerns.

1.1.2.1 Face-to-face conversational interaction

Despite (or probably because of) the fact that conversation can be regarded “as the central or most basic kind of language usage” (Levinson 1983:285), which presumably comprises over 90% of all speech (Svartvik and Quirk 1980:11, quoted in Warren 2006:3), there does not seem to exist a single universally accepted definition of conversation (cf., e.g., Aijmer 1996; Beattie 1983; Eggins and Slade 1997; ten Have 1999; Svennevig 1999). In order to place conversation in the context of other types of communication, it might be viewed as an unmarked form of interpersonal communication in relation to which specialized discourse types are defined (cf. Warren 2006).⁵

The working definition of conversation for this thesis is as follows. Conversation is a spontaneous (i.e., naturally occurring and unprepared), informal (i.e., casual), interactive (i.e., jointly managed and cooperatively constructed) social activity in course of which – via the medium of language (accompanied by other means of communication) – information of various kinds (e.g., referential, expressive, social) is exchanged and meanings negotiated. It involves constant alteration of the speaker-listener roles of at least two participants who have potentially equal interaction control rights and responsibilities. In comparison to other types of interpersonal communication, the conversation flow is fairly flexible and relatively unpredictable as it develops interactively and dynamically reacts to a number of factors. Nonetheless, it is not entirely unpredictable for it is not only bounded by its location in time, space, and the broad context of the given act of communication, but it also conforms to the socio-cultural norms, preferences, and expectations regarding the patterns of interpersonal communication and interactional conduct.

1.1.2.2 Online conversational interaction

Informal texting, emailing, chatting, Instant Messaging, blogging, communicating on online social networking sites (such as Mixi, Twitter, Facebook), Internet forums (such as 2channel), video sharing sites (such as Niko Niko Dōga), and other forms of text-based computer-mediated communication (CMC)⁶ play a tremendously important role in the

⁵ The category of specialized discourse includes, for instance, scientific discourse, technical discourse, academic discourse, legal discourse, workplace discourse, classroom discourse, patient-doctor discourse, business transactions, etc. (see, e.g., Flowerdew and Gotti 2006; Gotti 2008; Gotti and Giannoni 2006).

⁶ Other terms referring to this type of communication include, for instance, ‘electronic communication’, ‘interactive written communication’, ‘computer-mediated discourse’, and ‘Netspeak’ (see, e.g., Androutsopoulos 2006; Baron 2008; Crystal 2001; Ferrara et al. 1991; Georgakopoulou 2003; Herring 1996).

contemporary Japanese youth's everyday lives. The language the young Japanese generally use while interacting through these media shares all the general characteristics of Japanese youth language (as defined in 1.1.1) but displays a specific mixture of the features pertaining to spoken, written, and electronic language and communication.⁷

Despite it being an interesting topic of inquiry, it is outside the scope of the present study to define the status and discuss the characteristics of the CMC. In the most general terms, however, the CMC can be divided into synchronous and asynchronous modes (e.g., Herring 1996). While synchronous modes of the CMC, such as chatting and instant messaging, share relatively many features with spoken interactions, asynchronous modes of the CMC, such as emails and blogging, share relatively many features with other types of written communication. Besides, both modes take advantage of the medium and display a variety of features generally not present in other but electronic means of communication. Although it is important to keep in mind that the distribution of the characteristics depends considerably not only on the mode and genre of the CMC but also on the individual users and the communicative situation, some general differences and similarities of the CMC and face-to-face communication can be pointed out.

On the one hand, at the lexical, morphological, and syntactic levels, the language the young Japanese use in their informal computer-mediated interactions generally corresponds to the language they use in their everyday spoken informal interactions. On the other hand, owing to the difference in the medium, apart from the patently obvious distinctions with regard to the use of graphic, suprasegmental, and nonverbal features, the two forms differ significantly when it comes to discourse flow and interactivity patterns.⁸ One of the greatest differences is the lack of other but visual channel in the text-based CMC, which is compensated for by means of a wide range of devices (emoticons, pictograms, and other graphic manipulations). Another substantial difference regards the temporal and spatial aspects of the interaction.

Nonetheless, in order to provide a more comprehensive overview of the linguistic encoding of emotivity in the Japanese youth's conversational interactions, it was judged valuable to at least marginally consider the linguistic manifestations of emotivity in the CMC, too. While the text-based CMC genre most similar to face-to-face conversational interaction seems to be Instant Messaging, obtaining such data is quite problematic. Hence,

⁷ Cf. Satake's (1995) term *shin genbun itchitai*, lit. 'new style of unity of speaking and writing'.

⁸ For a discussion on some specifics of the interactivity of CMC, see, for instance, Garcia and Jacobs (1999), Herring (1999), Murray 1989, and Schönfeldt and Golato (2003).

conversational strands on the profile walls on online social networking sites were assessed adequate enough for the purpose of the present study. Apart from the spatiotemporal aspect, the conversational interactions on online social networking sites generally satisfy the working definition of conversation for this thesis. For the sake of convenience, the term ‘online conversational interaction’ is applied throughout this study to refer to the conversational interactions on online social networking sites.

Online conversational interaction thus represents a type of text-based computer-mediated interaction which enables both synchronous and asynchronous mode of communication. The difference with regard to interactional patterns in the face-to-face and online conversational interaction is considerable. Nevertheless, the strands of online conversational interactions were not analyzed for their overall structure, that is, with respect to turn-taking, adjacency pairs, topic development, etc. The attention was paid to what could be called ‘logical adjacency pairs’, that is, the pairs of an initiative turn and a turn including a reaction (not necessarily a reply) to it. Although the subject would deserve much more detailed scrutiny, for the purpose of the present study this largely simplified approach should suffice.

1.1.3 Emotivity

In addition to the general prerequisites for human communication, what seem to make conversational interaction possible are its participants’ cooperative efforts. These were seminally described by Grice (1967, publ. 1975) as the conversational partners’ reasonable (rational) behaviour conducted in accordance with the Cooperative Principle (CP): “Make your conversational contribution such as is required at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (1975:45). Accordingly, he distinguished four maxims (Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner), whose observance is assumed to produce results conforming to the CP. Since the speakers are believed to generally observe the CP and the maxims, and the listeners expect it to be so, flouting (i.e., blatantly failing to fulfil) a maxim can lead to conversational implicature (1975:49). This observation is significant for the present study in that the propositional meaning of the utterance is recognized as admittedly at variance with its meaning in the context of interaction.

However, Grice’s approach, focused on “a maximally effective exchange of information” (1975:47), was judged insufficient to describe the actual language use and has

thus been followed by numerous reconceptualizations and, notably, a series of studies on politeness (e.g., Lakoff 1973; Leech 1983). Even the most influential hitherto approach to politeness, Brown and Levinson's model (1978, rev. ed. 1987), is linked to Grice's work as it views politeness principles as "principled reasons for deviation" from the "rational efficiency" of the CP (1987:5). Brown and Levinson (1987) regard politeness as strategic interactional behaviour to achieve certain goals, the central concern of the interactants being the maintenance of 'face' (i.e., "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (61)). They distinguish two types of 'face wants': (1) 'negative face' (the desire not to be imposed on or impeded by others) and (2) 'positive face' (the desire to be approved of and have one's needs appreciated by others) (61-62). Hence, in situations when a potentially face-threatening act seems to be involved, speakers may carelessly perform the act and cause conflict, avoid the act, or employ positive politeness, negative politeness, or off-record strategies in order to minimize the harmful effect it could have.

The view of politeness as an intentional situation-based and goal-oriented strategy has been criticized especially by some non-Western researchers, who maintain that politeness is not always volitional and strategic but also exists as an obligatory social norm. This type of normative politeness used in case of (presumably) non-face-threatening acts is referred to as 'discernment' or '*wakimae*' in Japanese (e.g., Hill et al. 1986; Ide 1992; Matsumoto 1988). It is defined as "the almost automatic observation of socially-agreed-upon rules" (Hill et al. 1986:348) or as "sets of social norms of appropriate behavior people have to observe in order to be considered polite in the society they live" (Ide 1992:299). Indeed, although it can be argued that the actual linguistic manifestations of politeness cannot be so unequivocally differentiated, the acknowledgement of both volitional and social-norm-based politeness, at least in Japanese interpersonal communication, seems crucial for the understanding of the speakers' linguistic behaviour and the non-referential meanings involved.

Apart from politeness, several other notions have often been discussed in relation to the non-referential meanings expressed in language. A sentence has often been assumed to consist of a proposition, that is, the core element, and modality, which has been defined in a great variety of ways.⁹ Nevertheless, linguistic modality seems to always have been viewed as expressing some kind of the speaker's assessment of or attitude towards the proposition (e.g., Palmer 2001). Modality thus seems to be related to the concept of stance. According to

⁹ Cf. the distinctions Japanese scholars make between propositional and modal meanings, such as *shi* and *ji* by Tokieda, and *jojutsu* and *chinjutsu* by Yamada, Watanabe, and Haga (quoted in Maynard 1993 and/or Shinzato 2006).

Biber and Finegan (1988), for instance, stance includes the speaker's "attitudes towards their messages, as a frame of reference for the messages, an attitude toward or judgment of their contents, or an indication of the degree of commitment towards their truthfulness" (2). In contrast, Kiesling's definition of stance is considerably broader for it includes "[a] person's expression of their relationship to their talk (their epistemic stance [...]), and a person's expression of their relationship to their interlocutors (their interpersonal stance [...])" (2009:172).

Accordingly, modality and stance seem to be related to subjectivity, too. Finegan (1995), for instance, describes subjectivity as the "expression of self and the representation of a speaker's (or, more generally, a locutionary agent's) perspective or point of view in discourse" (1). Similarly, Lyons (1982:102) maintains that subjectivity in language refers to "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his own attitudes and beliefs" (quoted in Maynard 1993:13). Hence, it appears necessary to acknowledge that "whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it: whether they think it is a reasonable thing to say, or might be found to be obvious, questionable, tentative, provisional, controversial, contradictory, irrelevant, impolite, or whatever" (Stubbs 1986:1).

Subsequently, a wide range of expressions of subjectivity have been subsumed under the notion of the 'expressive meaning' in language, which Lyons (1995), for instance, defines as "the kind of meaning by virtue of which speakers express, rather than describe, their beliefs, attitudes and feelings" (44). Expressive meaning of language thus defined constitutes an extremely pervasive aspect of interpersonal communication for, as pointed out above, the expressions of subjectivity seem to be ubiquitously present in language when it is used in communication. In addition, expressive meaning seems to at least partly encompass such notions as 'affect' and 'involvement', too (cf. Caffi and Janney 1994). Both have been defined in a number of ways. However, affect tends to be used as an umbrella term, "broader [...] than emotion, [...] includ[ing] feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes associated with persons and/or situations" (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:7). Involvement, on the other hand, has often been regarded as a prerequisite for successful interpersonal communication (e.g., Chafe 1982; Daneš 1994; Tannen 1985). Nevertheless, it generally seems to remain "a pre-theoretical, intuitive, rather vague, unfocused notion" (Caffi and Janney 1994:345).

In order to differentiate between naturally and socially motivated affective expressions, Marty (1908) chooses to use the term 'emotive expressions' (*emotive Äußerungen*) to refer to "the intentional, strategic signalling of affective information in speech and writing (e.g.,

evaluative dispositions, evidential commitments, volitional stances, relational orientations, degrees of emphasis, etc.) in order to influence partners' interpretations and reach different goals" (Caffi and Janney 1994:328). He contrasts them with 'emotional expressions', which he describes as spontaneous cathartic outbursts of emotion (*ibid.*).¹⁰ Hence, while emotional communication is viewed as psychologically-based and revealing the speaker's genuine feelings, emotive communication is considered inherently social and interactional, displaying the affect judged as advantageous, desirable or appropriate for display in the context of the given communicative situation.¹¹

Asserting that the established linguistic theories, generally centred on the propositional meaning, are unable to account for the "'expressiveness' of language in discourse and interaction" (6), Maynard (1993) expands the concept of sentential modality to the level of discourse and proposes the concept of Discourse Modality (DM). DM, according to her definition, "refers to information that does not or only minimally conveys objective propositional message content" but "conveys the speaker's subjective emotional, mental, or psychological attitude toward the message content, the speech act itself or toward his or her interlocutor in discourse" (38). DM thus "operates to define and to foreground certain ways of interpreting the propositional content in discourse" by means of "directly express[ing] the speaking self's personal voice" (38-39). She explains that her view of language is "modality-centred", that is, "interaction-based, subjectivity-conscious and textuality-bound" (21) and insists that "language, at least some part of its property, serves the primary purpose of expressing subjectivity and emotion" (257).¹²

Still unsatisfied with the ways mainstream linguistics approaches language, Maynard (2002) introduces a comprehensive theoretical construct, the Place of Negotiation theory. Consequently, drawing on Aristotle's notions, she calls for "a paradigmatic shift from the linguistics of *logos* to the linguistics of *pathos*" (xii), that is, the "linguistics that focuses on expressivity and explores emotive meaning on the center stage of inquiry" (xi). The key premise of her theoretical stance is the assumption that "meanings are interactionally negotiated, being indexically linked to the place of communication" (xii). Specifically, she distinguishes six linguistic functions (recognition of objects, construction of proposition,

¹⁰ Cf. Daneš's distinction between 'spontaneous' and 'strategic' employment of emotion (1994:261).

¹¹ Jakobson (1960) uses the attribute 'emotive' rather than 'emotional' in the name of his emotive/expressive function, which, while "focused on the addresser, aims a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about. It tends to produce an impression of a certain emotion whether true or feigned" (354).

¹² Specifically, Maynard (1993) examines the "non-referential, i.e., emotionally expressive, personal and interpersonal, meanings" (4) of five selected Japanese 'DM indicators', that is, "non-referential linguistic signs whose primary functions [as Maynard claims] are to directly express emotion and personal voice" (6).

expression of emotional attitude, communication of attitudes toward others, management of participatory action, and coordination of joint utterances), which are associated with three dimensions of place (cognitive, emotive, and interactional). Projections onto these places are then connected to five kinds of meanings: potential, informational, emotive, interactional,¹³ and negotiative, the last one mentioned being the result of the negotiation of the other four in *topica*, the place of negotiation, within which, speaker, object, and partner interact (53-72).

Maynard (2002) focuses on ‘linguistic emotivity’. Her definition of the concept is, however, rather vague. She claims that it refers to “the emotion-related meanings expressed in language” (xi), such as “emotional attitude and response, the feeling of being moved, as well as culture-based feelings and sentiment” (3), and basically all “human emotions and attitudes specifically expressed by linguistic strategies of emotives” (xi). ‘Emotives’ are then the “linguistic and related signs” (3) which express “the speaker’s attitude toward the speech act, toward the content of what is conveyed, feelings toward partners, emotions associated with interaction, as well as the general mood, feelings, and sentiment the speaker and the partner experience and share in communication” (*ibid.*). Her conception of linguistic emotivity thus seems to encompass virtually all the meanings that cannot be considered solely propositional as long as they are expressed via language (or “related signs”).

While the notion of linguistic emotivity appears to be broader than the notion of DM, a closer look at both their conceptualization as well as the devices Maynard (1993, 2002) examines as their linguistic expressions proves that the distinction between the two notions is far from clear-cut.¹⁴ In fact, Maynard herself attempts to explicate how the two notions differ by stating that “[l]inguistic emotivity concentrates on the emotional aspect of language more closely than the concept of [DM]. It also focuses more intensely on the negotiative process of meaning under the Place of Negotiation theory” (2002:58). In addition, Maynard claims that unlike the study of DM, “the study on linguistic emotivity includes analyses of seemingly emotionless signs and strategies in broader discourse genres” (*ibid.*). All in all, Maynard’s theoretical frameworks seem to be somewhat ambiguous and too excessively focused on

¹³ The potential meaning includes the dictionary meanings and senses provided for each lexicon in the utterance; the informational meaning refers to the propositional meaning of the utterance; the emotive meaning consists of the “emotional attitude” manifested in the linguistic devices; and the interactional meaning refers to “the speaker’s socially sensitive [...] attitude toward the partner” (Maynard 2002:84).

¹⁴ In addition, Maynard (2007) introduces the notion of ‘linguistic creativity’, which “refers to the use of language and discourse in specific ways to foreground personalized expressive meanings beyond the literal proposition-based information” (4). Such personalized expressive meanings “fall into the broad definition of modality and [DM]”, however, in Maynard’s understanding of the term, “linguistic creativity encompasses broader meanings and effects realized in discourse, such as feelings of intimacy or distance, emotion, empathy, humor, playfulness, persona, sense of self, identity, rhetorical effects, and so on” (*ibid.*).

emotions, 'personal voice' and the 'feeling self'. Nonetheless, her contribution to the study of non-referential meanings in language is notable. Her approach is built on a wide range of both Western and Japanese scholarship and accentuates the interdependence of the variety of non-referential meanings of language in discourse. The approach and the definition of emotivity proposed in this thesis are strongly influenced by Maynard's works and many of the premises she advocates, although often with certain reservations, are embraced here as well.

By means of this long, yet still far from comprehensive, introduction the study attempted to demonstrate the plurality of approaches to other than propositional meanings in language. In general, the definitions of various concepts seem to overlap substantially and their linguistic manifestations are often identical. It is not within the scope of the present study to attempt to define the relationship of the abovementioned concepts. However, the study proposes a concept of emotivity as one of the possible means of an integrative approach to the linguistic expressions of a variety of other than propositional meanings. In what follows a (working) definition of the concept is provided. Nonetheless, it should be reminded that rather than attempting at definitive conceptualization and results, the present study is of an exploratory and preliminary character, designed in hope to be followed by more in-depth research.

In this thesis, 'emotivity' is conceptualized as an aspect of language which encompasses the speaker's attitudes towards the contents of the utterance, the interlocutor and the act of communication as a whole. 'Attitudes' can be defined as "transitory feeling states with partly uncontrollable subconscious psychobiological components and partly controllable expressive components, which are said to be instrumental in maintaining social and psychological equilibrium and adapting to different situations" (Caffi and Janney 1994:328). Emotivity, as defined here, refers to the expressive component, that is, to the speaker's communicative and interactional linguistic behaviour. The study of emotivity thus concerns the means the speakers (consciously or unconsciously) employ in order to express a variety of attitudes in course of communication, whether they be genuine, discourse-strategically motivated, or socio-culturally determined. Emotivity can hence be viewed as intimately linked to a number of other concepts discussed under the heading of non-referential meaning of language in interpersonal communication, such as politeness, (discourse) modality, expressivity, subjectivity and intersubjectivity, stance, affect and involvement.

With regard to the inherently social nature of language and communication, it is assumed here that all elements of language are potentially capable of expressing emotivity.

Therefore, emotives,¹⁵ that is, the linguistic devices employed to express emotivity, can be considered to range from such explicit means as interjections and lexical units, via still rather overt encoding of emotivity by virtue of suprasegmental features, to more implicit means of conveying emotivity through grammatical structures and discourse patterns or strategies. Linguistic signs are thus regarded as potentially multifunctional (cf. Besnier 1990:429; Caffi and Janney 1994:358; Maynard 2002:63) as their meaning is dynamically determined in the context of the interaction. Moreover, assuming that emotivity in more or less obvious ways permeates all interpersonal communication (cf. Maynard 2002:3; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:22; Suzuki 2006b:1), its absence being marked by an “emotionally distinctive aura of affectlessness” (Goffman 1978:813, quoted in Besnier 1990:431; cf. Daneš 1994:258), it appears necessary to understand it as a gradient aspect of interpersonal communication, describable in terms of degree rather than presence-absence dichotomy (cf. Daneš 1994:257).

1.1.4 Socio-cultural context

“[E]very language embodies in its very structure a certain world-view, a certain philosophy” (Wierzbicka 1988:169), and hence, the interdependent and mutually influential relationship of language, culture, society, and an individual has constituted a popular subject of scholarly inquiry (e.g., Jourdan and Tuite 2006; Salzmann 2007).¹⁶ Since the speakers’ linguistic choices are embedded in the broad context of the interaction, an inquiry into the nature of emotivity in the interpersonal communication in the given language should be accompanied by an investigation of the socio-cultural place of the categories involved (cf. Besnier 1990:429-30; Daneš 1994:259). Therefore, in what follows a brief discussion of some general Japanese socio-cultural norms, values, and preferences regarding interpersonal relations and communication is presented.

The Japanese are traditionally regarded as highly group-conscious people.¹⁷ The patterns of their contemporary interpersonal relations are generally thought of as stemming

¹⁵ Although our definitions differ, the term is borrowed from Maynard (2002).

¹⁶ Cf. also theories concerning the relationship between language and thought. While some consider the two to be identical in that neither can exist without the other, other theories can generally be divided into two extreme poles. These are: (1) ‘mould theories’ (such as the famous linguistic relativity hypothesis known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis), which view language as “a mould in terms of which thought categories are cast” (Bruner et al. 1956:11), and (2) ‘cloak theories’, which regard language as “a cloak conforming to the customary categories of thought of its speakers” (*ibid.*).

¹⁷ In Japanese society, *shūdan ishiki*, ‘group consciousness’, or *ittaikan*, ‘feeling of oneness’, seems to be generally emphasized and the Japanese people’s social outlook is often referred to as *shūdan shugi*, ‘collectivism’ (e.g., Lebra 1976; Hasegawa and Hirose 2005; Shimizu and LeVin 2001). Notably, Lebra (1976) coins the term

from the past social organization system of *ie*, lit. ‘households’, Japan’s insular position, climatic conditions, and Confucianism (cf. Davies and Ikeno 2002). The central principle which seems to govern their social behavior appears to be the collective strife for *wa*, ‘harmony’. Consequently, the group consciousness and the efforts to attain and maintain harmonious social relations are clearly reflected in Japanese communicative and interactional behaviour.

Contemporary scholars generally agree that one of the central concepts necessary for the understanding of the Japanese interpersonal relations is *amae*. *Amae* is “an emotion which partakes of the nature of a drive and with something instinctive at its base” (Doi 1973:166) and can roughly be translated into English as “depending on the benevolence of others” (Doi 1973:17). However, the possibility of such interdependence of society members presupposes the society members’ sensitivity to each other’s needs and their readiness to cooperate and help each other. One of the concepts reflecting these qualities is undoubtedly *omoiyari*, usually translated as ‘empathy’. *Omoiyari* refers to “the ability and willingness to feel what others are feeling, to vicariously experience the pleasure or pain that they are undergoing, and to help them satisfy their wishes” (Lebra 1976:38; cf. Travis 1997).¹⁸ *Omoiyari* requires individuals to suppress their own feelings, opinions, and desires if they are at variance with those of their Other. *Omoiyari* thus exerts a profound impact on the Japanese linguistic behaviour in interpersonal communication for “Ego tries not to assert himself unless Alter is found to agree with him” (Lebra 1976:38).¹⁹

Indeed, Japanese communication strategies reveal the interlocutors’ very strong intuitive awareness of their partner. In particular, in order to mitigate all speech acts that could somehow threaten either their partner’s or their own face,²⁰ the Japanese have developed a marked preference for reticent, vague, indirect, and non-assertive way of interpersonal communication.²¹ When engaging in interpersonal communication, the Japanese assess their

‘social relativism’ so as to refer to the specific combination of Japanese ‘social preoccupation’ and ‘interactional relativism’, that is, two orientations that “imply each other, the one being conducive to the other”, which together “characterize the Japanese ethos” (9).

¹⁸ The cultural importance of *omoiyari* seems to be so outstanding that Lebra admits being “tempted to call Japanese culture an ‘*omoiyari* culture’” (1976:38).

¹⁹ See Kuno and Kaburaki (e.g., 1977) for a linguistic theory of empathy.

²⁰ See Matsumoto (1988) for a critique of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) conception of the universality of face. Matsumoto (1988) asserts that “[t]o the extent that a Japanese speaker must always convey an attitude towards the social relationship, and to the extent that, in consequence, each utterance can potentially cause embarrassment [*sic*] and loss of face, we could say that all utterances in Japanese can be considered face-threatening” (419).

²¹ Cf. also two specific types of Japanese indirect communication, *haragei* and *ishin denshin*. While *haragei* refers to the intentional attempts to communicate and/or decode the meanings ‘between the lines’, *ishin denshin* denotes a form of intuitive communication, based on the mutual understanding of the interlocutors even without the use of words (e.g., Davies and Ikeno 2002:103-108).

partner's relationship to themselves, that is, for instance, whether the partner belongs to *uchi* (in-group) or *soto* (out-group),²² and consequently, considering the communicative situation, decide what speech style they should employ and, for instance, whether it is appropriate to use *honne* or *tatemae*. While *honne* refers to the private, subjective, 'genuine' self and its attitudinal stance (feelings and opinions), *tatemae* refers to the socially acceptable, desirable, or expected public persona of the self and the linguistic behaviour considered socially appropriate with respect to the communicative situation (cf., e.g., Grein 2008).

In the Japanese society, to maintain comfortable interpersonal relations and smooth, pleasant interactions, the implicit communication of attitudinal stance seems crucial while the overt display of both positive and negative *honne* seems to be distinctly rare.²³ On the one hand, the speaker depends on the sensitivity of their partner to the meanings implied rather than stated; on the other hand, the receiver of the message is, in a sense, indebted to the speaker for their indulgence and softening possibly unpleasant, uncomfortable, or hurtful contents. Indeed, in Japanese interpersonal communication, there is generally little information transmitted at the propositional level of the utterances as a great variety of meanings is not explicitly stated but have to be inferred (cf. Clancy 1986; Lebra 1987).²⁴

Consequently, Japan is rightfully considered an example of a high context culture (Hall 1976).²⁵ In Japanese interactions, it seems that "[c]omplex meanings are attached to conventional patterns and protocols" (Ide 1992:303). The Japanese thus seem to heavily rely on the established patterns of appropriate social and interactional conduct and the partner's reactions can generally be viewed as quite predictable. Put differently, should cultures be divided into those that prioritize 'information oriented mode' of communication and those that foreground 'socially oriented mode', Japan would tend clearly towards the socially oriented mode of communication (Aoki and Okamoto 1988, quoted in Suzuki 2006b:5).

While all languages possess the means to express emotivity, Japanese seems to provide "a prime example of the significance of emotive communication as it has grammaticalized a wide variety of expressions to convey affective information" (Suzuki 2006b:1). Therefore, even though the basic Japanese communicative strategy seems to

²² The concepts of *uchi* and *soto* are generally recognized as "a major organizational focus for Japanese self, social life, and language" (Bachnik 1994:3).

²³ Cf. also two famous Japanese proverbs: *kuchi wa wazawai no moto* ('the mouth is the origin of trouble') and *iwanu ga hana* (lit. 'not saying is a flower', that is, 'silence is golden').

²⁴ Maynard (2002) refers to the overall rhetorical preference manifested in Japanese discourse as the Rhetoric of *Pathos* (111-14). She contrasts it with the Rhetoric of *Logos* and lists such characteristics as the relative unimportance of language, less trust placed in language, the importance of the context of place, essentiality of modality effect, and the emphasis on sympathy and co-experience, especially through shared perspectives (112).

²⁵ See Gudykunst (2003) and Hofstede (2001) for a discussion on the relationship of culture and communication.

involve such qualities as indirectness, vagueness, and non-assertiveness, in Japanese, the linguistic devices expressing emotivity are so pervasive that it appears that “when speaking Japanese, one simply cannot avoid expressing one’s personal attitude toward the content of information and toward the addressee. Such personal voice echoes so prominently in Japanese communication that often in Japanese, rather than information-sharing, it is subtextual emotion-sharing that forms the heart of communication” (Maynard 1993:4). To prove this point, Suzuki (2006b:6) points out that even such seemingly neutral utterance as “It is a nice day today” cannot be realized in Japanese without signalling attitudinal stance (cf. Matsumoto 1988:414-19).

Japanese expectations and preferences regarding communicative and interactional behaviour and Japanese socio-cultural norms and values are clearly reflected in each other. While genuine affective stance is generally expected to be conveyed implicitly, more socially oriented expressions of attitudes tend to be displayed in a quite overt manner. Thereby, the study of emotivity in Japanese should allow us to develop a relatively well-grounded idea of how emotivity might be encoded in language and employed by its speakers.

1.2 Prior studies

In what follows, a brief review of the hitherto studies related to the theme of the present thesis is offered in order to locate the present study in the context of the existent body of research. First, an overview of the research on Japanese youth language is presented. Since the subject was well reviewed in Barešová and Zawiszová (2012), the section roughly follows it, but mentions only some major contributions and directions of inquiry. The latter half of this subchapter deals with several studies that emphasize the importance of the study of what could be dubbed affect-related meanings in language. In fact, the section could include a vast number of studies dealing with the variety of concepts (some of which were listed in 1.1.3) which can be considered related to the concept of emotivity. Such an overview would, however, have to be extremely extensive. Considering the scope of the present study, it seems adequate enough to list several seminal works that have influenced the contemporary approaches to the affect-related meanings in language and provide a brief review of a few contemporary attempts at the theorization of such meanings.

Arguably the most influential figure in the field of Japanese youth language research is the already mentioned Akihiko Yonekawa. He provided the definition of Japanese youth

language (see 1.1.1) and in his numerous works on the subject (e.g., 1989, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2001) consistently approaches Japanese youth language as a serious and intriguing subject of linguistic inquiry. Yonekawa also offers a description of diachronic development of Japanese youth language (e.g., 1996:111-36; 1998:184-278) and situates it thus in the Japanese socio-cultural context. Despite his definition of *wakamonogo* as a totality of language used by the young Japanese, his research almost exclusively focuses on the young Japanese speakers' creativity on the lexical level of language description. Another drawback of his studies is the fact that they tend to concern a fairly limited group of speakers, such as young women from the Kansai area.

Another important researcher in the field is Fumio Inoue (e.g., 1986, 1991, 1998, 2000, 2003), whose research usually concerns the process of language change and the so-called *shinhōgen* ('new dialects'), that is, new nonstandard linguistic forms created and used in informal situations especially by young speakers. His studies have contributed substantially to the destruction of the myth of the 'dialectlessness' of Tokyo and have explained the origin of a number of features characteristic of Japanese youth language.

Although they do not explicitly concern youth language but some of the most typical phenomena of contemporary colloquial Japanese in general, such as changing intonation, syntactic patterns, verbal system, and the system of honorifics *keigo*, some other linguistic studies, such as Himeno et al. (2005), Jinnouchi (1998), and Kinda'ichi (2003), are also worth mentioning.

Apart from the academic research works, there exists a seemingly much larger body of what could be called popular scientific literature on the subject (e.g., Akizuki 2005; Endō and Sakurai 2010; Hashimoto 2005; Higuchi 2006; Kitahara 2004, 2005, 2007; Yamaguchi 2007). The authors generally address the most publicly discussed issues regarding the contemporary Japanese youth's linguistic behaviour. They discuss such issues as the mistakes in *keigo*, the changes in pronunciation, the neutralization of 'male' and 'female' speech styles, the affluence of vague expressions, *ryūkōgo* ('fashionable words') and *shingo* ('neologisms').

There are also numerous dictionaries and lexicons, composed by both academics and non-academics, not only consisting of Japanese youth slang (e.g., Kamei 2003; Katō 2005; Yonekawa 1997, 2001), but also *shingo*, *ryūkōgo*, on-campus slang, etc. Many of them offer some kind of semantic classification of the included items, providing thus the readers with valuable insight into young Japanese people's lifestyles, interests, concerns, etc.

All in all, Japanese youth language has almost exclusively been approached as youth slang and the studies dealing with levels other than lexical are markedly rare. Besides, the

studies which concern other than purely lexical characteristics of Japanese youth language generally tend to focus on the phenomena that are viewed negatively by the older public. A rather unique attempt at a holistic approach to Japanese youth language is represented by Barešová and Zawiszová (2012). However, the aspirations to attend to all the levels of language description precluded detailed analysis and discussion. By virtue of focusing on the linguistic expressions of emotivity in Japanese youth language, the present study attempts to provide a close analysis of selected phenomena that belong to the hitherto largely ignored area, the Japanese youth's discourse.

Often considered “too slippery an area of language for ‘scientific’ investigation” (Besnier 1990:420), the expressions of affect (in the broad sense of the term) have comparatively rarely constituted a subject of Western linguistic inquiry. Nevertheless, a number of linguists in one way or another have distinguished some kind of affect-related meaning or function in language. In addition, especially the past three decades witnessed a significant shift towards a more comprehensive theory of language, that is, one that recognizes the impact of affect on cognition and various kinds of social behaviour.

Among the most often cited sources²⁶ of important insights for the contemporary research of affect-related meanings in language are, for instance, Aristotle's distinction among *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*; Marty's (1908) differentiation between emotive and emotional expressions; Sapir's (1927) study of speech as a personality trait; Bühler's (1934) organon model of language; Jakobson's (1960) model of language functions, Stankiewicz's (1964) study of emotive language, and other studies by both members of Prague Linguistic Circle and later scholars whose approach is rooted in the Prague School's linguistic functionalism. Great relevance is also attached to Bally's (e.g., 1909, 1913) linguistic stylistics and his theory of complementary (scalar) notions of the intellectual mode (*mode pur*) and the affective mode (*mode vécu*).

Among other significant influences a number of scholars in such fields as psycholinguistics, interactional psychology, interactional sociolinguistics, and social psychology can be mentioned (e.g., Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Osgood et al. 1957). Similarly, the researchers advocating the ethnographic approach to affect, such as Irvine (1982), who considers the manifestations of affect at verbal, non-verbal, and interactional level of communication, can be noted as well. In addition, studies in the fields of cognitive

²⁶ All the works listed in this paragraph are discussed or at least mentioned in Besnier (1990), and/or Caffi and Janney (1994), and/or Maynard (2002), and/or Ochs and Schieffelin (1989).

linguistics and semantics dealing with affect-laden expressions can also be considered of some relevance to the theme (e.g., Athanasiadou and Tabakowska 1997; Harkins and Wierzbicka 2001; Niemeier and Dirven 1997; Wierzbicka 1997, 1999).

Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) insist that “beyond the function of communicating referential information, languages are responsive to the fundamental need of speakers to convey and assess feelings, moods, dispositions and attitudes” and emphasize that “[t]his need is as critical and as human as that of describing events” (9). They offer a rather modest yet illuminating cross-linguistic approach to the expressions of affective meaning through linguistic means in everyday talk. They stress grammatical and discourse organization and list such linguistic resources capable of expressing affective meaning as pronouns, reflexives, determiners, particles/affixes, intonation, voice quality, case/number/gender/animacy marking, verbal voice/tense/aspect, word order, code switching, etc. Pragmatically they distinguish two main functions of affect markers, namely, ‘affect intensifiers’ and ‘affect specifiers’, and consider the linguistic features that intensify or specify affect to function as ‘affect keys’ (15).

In order to capture the prior linguistic research on affect, Ochs and Schieffelin (1989:10-11) distinguish four main research orientations and note some representative studies (some of which are presented here as well). They list: (1) approaches rooted in the Prague School of functionalism (e.g., Jakobson 1960; Stankiewicz 1964); (2) studies of intonation (e.g., Bolinger 1948, 1978, 1982; Crystal 1969; Halliday 1975); (3) analyses of narrative, poetry, etc. (e.g., Bakhtin 1981; Burke 1962) and sociolinguistic research of narrative discourse structure (e.g., Labov 1984; Schiffrin 1987; Tannen 1982); and (4) approaches derived from child language development research (e.g., Ochs 1986; Schieffelin 1986).

Besnier (1990) provides a review of the research on the relationship between language and affect in various languages. He emphasizes “the prevalence of affect in all aspects of linguistic structure” and maintains that “the task of writing a ‘grammar’ of affect is equivalent to describing the structure and use of a language” (422). He also briefly addresses the semiotic status of affect in language and the relationship between language, affect, culture, and social structure, accentuating the essentiality of ethnographic study of language use in context.

Regarding affect as a multichannel phenomenon, Besnier (1990), in a similar manner to Ochs and Schieffelin (1989), offers a survey of linguistic and other communicative devices used to convey affective meaning. He mentions, for instance, some components of lexicon (such as address terms, kinship terms, and pronouns), lexical processes (such as synecdoche and metonymy), metaphorical processes, onomatopoeia, ideophones (such as exclamations,

expletives, interjections, curses, and insults), sound symbolism, evidentiality, diminutive and augmentative affixes, mood, tense, modality, case marking, syntactic features (clefts, passives, word order), acoustic phenomena (such as intonation), nonverbal devices and communicative activities (such as laughing or weeping).

A critical overview of the scholarship on emotivity and of the issues that supposedly need to be addressed was offered by Caffi and Janney (1994) so as to prepare the ground for the pragmatics of emotivity. In their review of prior literature on the subject they pay special attention to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Marty's distinction between emotive and emotional affective uses of language, linguistic stylistics of Bally, and Prague School members' approaches to affective meaning. They emphasize the significance of Bally's stylistics for the pragmatic study of emotivity "mainly because, in it, affective values are embedded in the linguistic system itself, and not simply added to, or superimposed on, the linguistic system" (333). They offer a discussion of such issues as the possible perspectives of analysis, units of analysis, and *loci* of analysis, and briefly deal with the psychological dimensions of affect, too.

Although Caffi and Janney (1994) do not generally suggest solutions but only list the issues of potential concern, they seem to prioritize interactional (dynamic) view of emotivity as they centre on such issues as how emotive meaning can be recognized and interpreted and propose some possible linguistic, contextual, and cotextual anticipatory schemata that can be involved in the signalling and interpreting of emotive contrasts. Furthermore, not unlike the two abovementioned studies, they also name a number of devices that can be expected to bear emotive meaning. They distinguish evaluation devices, proximity devices, specificity devices, evidentiality devices, volitionality devices, and quantity devices, which can be expressed, for instance, by morphological and lexical choices, choices of determiners, pronouns, and verbal tense/aspect, sound duration, or prosodic stress.

In a similar way to Besnier (1990), Daneš (1994) insists that emotion, which he considers the most conspicuous manifestation of involvement, "does not constitute a level or layer [...], but an aspect – and a substantial and omnipresent one – of the message conveyed by an utterance" (262). He reminds us of Mathesius's emphasis on understanding language as "something living" and Trnka's notion of "experiencing language" and focuses on the notion of "involvement with and in language", which he considers "an absolutely fundamental aspect of our linguistic awareness and conduct" (253). He suggests that involvement should be thought of as a "degree-concept" for "any stimulus has both factually informative and emotional values" (257). Accordingly, "any utterance or higher discourse unit has an *emotional value* in its communicative situation, both on the producer's and the receiver's side"

(*ibid.*). Significantly, he admits that while involvement tends to be “identified with emotion”, “volitional and conative elements play an important part in involvement as well” (256). Furthermore, he asserts that, provided it is in an appropriate verbal and/or situational context, any language form can bear “emotive connotations” (260). He thus maintains that it is crucial to study the utterances as embedded in their context. Finally, since the expressions of emotions are governed by socio-cultural norms (262), he maintains that the study of the manifestations of involvement requires the study of socio-cultural context, too (259).

Daneš’s (1994) theoretical outlook constitutes one of the chief influences on what seems to be the hitherto most comprehensive work on emotivity in language, or more specifically, in Japanese, that is, the already mentioned Maynard’s *Linguistic Emotivity: Centrality of place, the topic–comment dynamic, and an ideology of pathos in Japanese discourse* (2002).²⁷ Maynard’s approach is based on a wide range of both Western and Japanese scholarship on the relationship of language and affect in various fields of study. It especially seems to be indebted to Japanese traditional thinkers and contemporary linguists, the scholars whose approach is rooted in the Prague School’s functionalism, and the insights and methodology of such disciplines as semantics, pragmatics, and rhetoric.

Apart from providing a detailed survey of Western ideas about the affective meaning in language, Maynard (2002) emphasizes that the emotion-related expressions were considered of fundamental importance to traditional *kokugogaku* studies, that is, the Japanese studies of language produced in the Edo period (1603-1868). In fact, as Maynard (2002) explains, traditional Japanese language scholars were often concerned with issues related to the composition and appreciation of *waka*, a traditional Japanese poetic form. Therefore, they quite commonly viewed “language as emotion” (21; cf. 32-38) and assigned the expressive function of language a central position in their studies. In particular, Maynard concentrates on two Edo scholars: Nariakira Fujitani, the author of a notable attempt at the classification of Japanese words, and Akira Suzuki, who famously referred to the emotional dimension of Japanese language as “*kokoro no koe*”, ‘voices from the heart’ (quoted in Maynard 2002:34).

In addition, Maynard (2002) also presents an overview of several contemporary Japanese linguists’ approaches to expressive meaning in language. She mentions, for instance, Yamada’s approach to ‘the study of grammar’ (*bunpōgaku*) as to “the study of methods in which people express their ideas and emotions linguistically” (1936:888, quoted in Maynard 2002:36, my transl.). Furthermore, she reviews Kuno and Kaburaki’s theory of empathy,

²⁷ The work was originally published in Japanese as *Jōi no gengogaku – “Ba-kōshōron” to Nihongo hyōgen no patosu* (2000). The English version is differently organized and includes additional chapters and observations.

which aspires to explicate the relationship between the speaker and syntactic organization.²⁸ She also discusses Nakamura's (1975) socio-cultural view of emotions, Kamio's (1990, 1997) theory of territory of information, Iwasaki's (1993) concept of the perspective principle, which distinguishes between two types of subjectivity, depending on whether the speakers describe their own (S-perspective) or other person's (O-perspective) experience, and a number of other Japanese scholars, such as Kuroda (1973, 1976) and Watanabe (1953, 1971), whose works seem to be relevant to the study of linguistic emotivity.

Nonetheless, Maynard (2002) does not only review past literature and suggest issues for further problematization, but also proposes a theoretical construct, the Place of Negotiation theory, for dealing with linguistic emotivity (see 1.1.3). The framework she offers is based on two main premises: (1) meanings are determined in the process of negotiation performed by the participants of the interaction, and (2) emotive meanings have indexical character, that is, they are crucially linked to the place of communication. She emphasizes that "in each expression, *logos* and *pathos* intermingle, integrate, and reconcile", hence, "language always reveals personal aspects of the speaker" (395).

More specifically, she insists that ignoring the 'feeling self', "present behind every expression" in Japanese discourse, "results in a distorted picture of Japanese language and culture" (395). In practice, she attempts to focus especially on those linguistic devices that have not been traditionally considered as bearing emotive functions in Japanese. She concentrates on emotive topics (vocatives, emotive nominals, quotative topics, and emotive *nan(i)*, 'what') and emotive comments (*da*, 'copula', and *ja nai*, 'negative form of copula', interrogatives, and stylistic shift). While her approach cannot be judged unproblematic, its undivided focus on the non-referential meaning and the emphasis placed on the context and the process of interaction is significant for the future development of the field.

In its broad outlines, Maynard's understanding of emotivity seems to have been adopted by the scholars whose studies are collected in Suzuki (2006a). They too generally seem to endeavour to analyze those linguistic expressions and strategies that have not been conventionally associated with affect-related meanings. Whereas one part of the studies deals with the process of grammaticalization of emotivity in Japanese, the other is primarily concerned with the semantic-pragmatic dimensions of the notion. Since the studies often refer

²⁸ They regard empathy as "the speaker's identification, which may vary in degree, with a person/thing that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence" (Kuno 1987:206, quoted in Maynard 2002:39). Therefore, empathy is viewed as linking the affective or attitudinal stance of the speaker with the syntactic structures of their utterances.

to non-Western theoretical frameworks, in the context of Western mainstream linguistics, they can offer a fresh perspective.

Admittedly, numerous other studies, which in one way or another deal with affect-related meanings in language, would deserve to be at least mentioned here. However, considering the spatial limitations of this thesis, this rather cursory overview seems sufficient. In a similar way to the abovementioned works, the present study wishes to emphasize the importance of the investigation of other than propositional meanings in language. The present thesis proposes the concept of emotivity as one of the possible means to create an integrative approach to such meanings by accentuating the interconnectedness of a number of previously discussed concepts. Consequently, the present study should not be regarded as an attempt to offer any definitive answers, but rather as an exploratory study attempting to join in the ongoing debate.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this thesis is to identify, analyze and describe several productive means of expression of emotivity in the contemporary young Japanese native speakers' conversational interactions, and concurrently, by means of doing so, explain some of the most typical features of their interpersonal communication.

The study emphasizes the importance of the investigation of the actual language use and proposes the concept of emotivity as a useful means to approach expressive and social functions of language in interpersonal communication. One of the basic premises of the present study is the assumption that expressions of emotivity play a fundamental role in the Japanese youth's conversational interactions. Therefore, by means of studying the expressions of emotivity in the Japanese youth's conversational interactions a wide range of lexical devices, grammatical structures, prosodic patterns, and discourse strategies typical of Japanese youth language can be explained. Consequently, it is assumed that by virtue of the analysis of the expressions encoding emotivity some of the most typical features of the young Japanese people's interpersonal communication can also be elucidated.

While the study primarily explores face-to-face conversational interactions (as defined in 1.1.2.1), in order to provide a more comprehensive overview of linguistic expressions of emotivity, it concerns itself, although (apart from 3.4) rather marginally, with online conversational interactions (as defined in 1.1.2.2) as well. Accordingly, a complementary objective of the present research is to attempt to determine the relative degree of

comparability of linguistic manifestations of emotivity in the Japanese youth's face-to-face and online conversational interactions. Thereby, the study also hopes to modestly contribute to the ongoing debate regarding the status and properties of computer-mediated communication.

All in all, the present thesis addresses several fields of linguistic inquiry, which have not yet been given enough scholarly attention. These include, for instance:

- (1) the expressive and social functions of Japanese language in the process of interpersonal communication,
- (2) Japanese youth's linguistic behaviour in interpersonal communication,
- (3) the comparison of face-to-face and computer-mediated interpersonal communication.

The present study is thus highly exploratory in nature. Moreover, considering the spatial limitations of the thesis, it does not aspire to provide definitive conceptualizations and results. It attempts to join in the debate on the importance of affect-related meanings in language. It proposes the concept of emotivity as a possible means that can facilitate integrative approach to expressive and social functions of language in interpersonal communication and tests the approach on the Japanese youth's conversational interactions. It provides an analysis of several emotives that seem to be productively used in the Japanese conversational interactions and tries to illustrate that by studying the expressions of emotivity in Japanese youth's conversational interactions, some of the main features typical of their linguistic behaviour in interpersonal communication can be expounded as well. Finally, it hopes to show the usefulness of such an approach and prepare the ground for further research.

1.4 Organization of the thesis

The thesis consists of four chapters. Chapter One introduced the theoretical framework for the present study, provided an overview of the prior scholarship on the topics related to the theme of emotivity in Japanese youth's conversational interactions, and presented the main objectives of the thesis. Chapter Two outlines the data collection methods used and the research procedures followed. Chapter Three presents an analysis and discussion of several selected emotives productively used in the Japanese youth's conversational interactions. The chapter is divided into four subchapters.

The first subchapter addresses the phenomenon of non-predicate-final constituent order and argues that a majority of postpositions in the Japanese youth's conversational interactions are emotively motivated. The following subchapter examines 'quotations' of own or another person's speech and attitudinal stance framed by *mitai na/mitai-na* used as a quotative marker. As the major motivational factors to use such a discourse strategy the young Japanese people's wish to dramatize their narration and directly express their attitudinal stance but immediately mitigate the force of such an utterance were delineated.

Subsequently, a negative adjectival form with a specific rising intonation pattern used to request the partner's agreement with the speaker is discussed. It is argued that the form represents one of the possible strategies the young Japanese employ in order to express their attitudinal stance in such a way so as to make the partner co-responsible for the contents of the utterance. The final subchapter briefly addresses three types of means used to 'despecify' the ending of an utterance, but focuses on one of them, namely, utterances containing noun phrases used utterance-finally. It concludes that while utterance-final vague expressions and *te*-form are used to mitigate the impact of (assertive and other) statements, utterances containing nominal phrases used utterance-finally can signal the speaker's highly subjective, assertive, insistent, and committed attitude towards the utterance.

Finally, Chapter Four concludes this thesis with a résumé of the results of the research presented in Chapter Three, a discussion of their implications, and suggestions for further research.

2 DATA COLLECTION AND RESEARCH METHODS

In what follows, the data collection methods and the methodological procedures used in the present thesis are briefly explained. The study is exploratory and descriptive in nature, and hence, the methods applied are primarily those pertaining to qualitative research. Owing to the interdisciplinary subject matter, the thesis adopts a pluralistic approach and apart from ‘traditional’ linguistic disciplines, draws on the insights and procedures of a number of other disciplines such as pragmatics, (interactional) sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, the ethnography of communication and discourse studies.

The data used in the present study can be divided into two types, namely, (1) the data collected for the purpose of analysis and (2) the data collected for the purpose of consequent confirmation of the results and reasoning. The first type included audio recordings of young Japanese native speaker’s conversations and strands of conversations from online social networking sites. The second type comprised of several small experiments and a series of informal interviews carried out in order to confirm the accuracy of the analysis and reasoning.

As mentioned in the Preface, the present study was undertaken as a result of the realization of the essential role of conversational interactions in the Japanese youth’s everyday lives and the central role the expressive and social functions of language are allotted in these interactions. Following the examination of the linguistic devices discussed in prior studies as emotive (expressive, emotional, affective, etc.), a preliminary conceptualization of emotivity, which was subsequently repeatedly reconsidered on the basis of the analysis of empirical language data, was devised. When a working conceptualization of emotivity for this study was achieved, the analysis of audio recordings of Japanese youth’s conversations was performed in order to select the linguistic devices that recurrently seemed to be employed by the speakers to express emotivity. When determining the expressions of (marked) emotivity, the linguistic, contextual, and cotextual anticipatory schemata, such as those described in Caffi and Janney (1994:351-53), were used. Subsequently, out of the wide range of linguistic devices four examples were selected for further analysis. Some of the reasons for their selection are listed in the introduction to Chapter Three.

The main body of the research is built on the analysis of audio recordings of Japanese youth’s conversations. In the preparatory stage of the present research, a part of the recordings of the Japanese youth’s speech obtained in Japan in the year 2011 for the purpose of the grant project mentioned in the Preface was examined. These recordings were altogether over 30

hours long, however, only a small part of them was suitable in both quality and type for the present study. The samples which were used in the final stage of the analysis, and which are thus quoted in Chapter Three, were obtained in Japan in January 2012. The samples contain over 900 minutes of recordings, which seems representative enough, considering the purpose of the present study.

All the speakers satisfied the definition of ‘young Japanese’ assumed in this thesis. Women and men were approximately equally represented. The majority of the speakers were currently living in the Kantō region, however, their places of origin varied substantially and influences of dialects are often recognizable. Although the recordings include both dyadic and multi-person conversational interactions, for the reason of their relative orderliness and easier transcription, only parts of dyadic or triadic conversational interactions were transcribed in the longer examples used to illustrate the phenomena in question.

Only a small part of the recordings was taken surreptitiously so as to obtain such linguistic data that unquestionably represent the speakers’ natural linguistic behaviour. The majority of the recordings were taken non-surreptitiously. However, no significant changes in the linguistic behaviour of the participants in the interaction were noticed. It seemed to have been affected only in that they referred to the recording device from time to time and wondered about the purpose of the recordings. The participants were not informed of the exact purpose of the recordings so as not to influence their behaviour. Two methods of both surreptitious and non-surreptitious recording were employed: (1) I recorded own groups of Japanese friends; and (2) Japanese informants were asked to record the conversations of their groups of friends. In all cases, the permission to use the data for the purpose of the present study was obtained. I as a participant-observer did not attempt to control the flow of the interaction in any way and my turns and the responses to them were not analyzed.

While some researchers in order to overcome the ‘observer’s paradox’ (see Labov 1972:61-62ff.) reject the non-surreptitious methods of data collection, the data collected for this research in non-surreptitious way were (same as the surreptitiously obtained data) recorded in the natural environment where the speakers had already been gathered and spontaneously conversing. Therefore, the impact of the recording was, as noted above, very low. In addition, since the present study does not attempt to examine the overall structure or topical content of the conversations but the expressions of emotivity regardless of their motivation, the combination of the surreptitious and non-surreptitious methods of data collection seems unproblematic or even useful in that it proved that the speakers’ expressions of emotivity are present both in case of entirely natural situations and when under observation.

After some of the most common linguistic expressions of emotivity in the Japanese youth's spoken conversational interactions were identified, the analysis of the Japanese youth's online conversational interactions on Facebook and Mixi was performed. The analysis was generally carried out with a view to attempt to determine whether comparable means of expressing emotivity are employed. Therefore, while the analysis of the recordings was largely exploratory, the analysis of the online conversational interactions was selective as the expressions of emotivity comparable to those that had been determined as commonly employed in the spoken conversational interactions were sought. The only exception to the pattern is the subchapter 3.4, which was primarily motivated by the occurrence of the phenomenon in online conversational interactions.

The analysis included the examination of the conversational strands on about 100 young Japanese people's 'profile walls'/'diaries' on the two online social networking sites. These were not analyzed for their overall structure but with respect to what could be called 'logical adjacency pairs', that is, the pairs of (1) a post made by A and (2) a post made by B including a reaction to A's post. The interactions on the profile walls/diaries, which are generally visible to all the people the users are friends/MyMixi with, are basically assumed to be seen by other people than the participants of the interaction, too. Nonetheless, to ensure ethicality of the data collection method, the authors of the posts quoted in this study were asked for permission.

Concurrently, in order to test the results of the analysis and the reasoning in progress, several small informal experiments and a series of informal interviews were carried out. In the preparatory stage of the present research, parts of the recordings and online conversation strands were transcribed and the elements tentatively determined as emotives were underlined. The task of the young Japanese respondents was to comment on the underlined elements and, if possible, give some examples of meaningful substitutions. In addition, a few small experiments, such as those mentioned in 3.2 and 3.3, were carried out. Finally, a series of informal interviews was realized especially with a view to ascertain some issues that could not be clarified by the small written experiments and to find out how far young Japanese native speakers are aware of the role emotivity plays in their linguistic behaviour.

Altogether twenty young Japanese native speakers participated in at least one of the abovementioned activities. In general, the respondents fully agreed with the analysis. They, however, often showed surprise at realizing the frequency with which they and their friends use the devices determined in the analysis as emotively motivated. This seems to suggest that

the expressions of emotivity are generally unconscious and conventionalized. Although more formally devised experiments could prove useful in the future research, with regard to the preliminary nature and the scope of the thesis as well as considering the fact that the information sought through these methods was of confirmatory rather than investigatory character, these largely informal methods were assumed to be appropriate enough.

Only a small fraction of the recordings and the online conversation strands that were analyzed was transcribed in order to illustrate the discussed phenomena. The aim of the Japanese data is to provide the examples of the emotives used in the context of the utterance or a longer string of conversational interactions. Hence, the information contained in the transcriptions is kept to the minimum necessary to satisfy this purpose.²⁹ For the transcriptions of Japanese, the so-called revised Hepburn romanization system is used. The non-falling intonation signalling continuation is marked by a comma. Depending on the utterance-final intonation pattern, a period for falling tone, a question mark for rising tone, and an exclamation mark for non-falling animated tone are used. A longer pause is marked with a double slash (/ /), laughter with an at sign (@), and ellipsis, unless accompanied by one of the three abovementioned utterance-final intonation patterns, with three dots (...). Glottal stop is marked as a hyphen (-) and nonstandard elongation of vowel sounds is signalled with a double colon (::). The speakers are identified by upper case letters (A, B, C).

The data throughout the following chapter are displayed in the following way: first, romanized transcription of Japanese is presented, and second, a rather casual translation into English is provided. Although the translations generally try to reflect the mood of the given conversational interactions, they may sometimes sound rather cumbersome for they also try to mirror the Japanese originals with respect to the ordering of elements and interactional linguistic behaviour. In case of the data taken from online conversational interactions, the original Japanese form (including nonstandard punctuation and graphemics, ‘grammatically incorrect’ sentences, emoticons, pictograms, etc.) is placed above the line/section containing romanized transcription. For the sake of greater lucidity, the phenomena discussed are written in bold type.

Since the present research concerns young Japanese native speakers’ language use, it makes an implicit comparison with the speakers who belong to other age groups or

²⁹ Ochs (1979), for instance, asserts that “[o]ne of the important features of a transcript is that it should not have too much information” (44). In accordance with such an approach, in the examples containing utterances of more than one speaker, such phenomena as overlaps or relatively insignificant backchannel activity are not marked.

generations. Nevertheless, even though the phenomena discussed in this study were selected so as to represent the linguistic behaviour that seems to be more typical of young than other speakers, it is outside the scope of the present study to determine whether the given emotives are age- or generation-specific or rather age- or generation-preferential.³⁰

Finally, it must be noted that unlike the majority of youth language studies, which generally rely on a wide range of sociolinguistic variables, on account of the definition of Japanese youth language adopted in this thesis, such variables are not considered here at all. However, future research on emotivity which would take into account such variables as gender or dialect region seems potentially quite fruitful.

³⁰ See Cheshire (2005) for a discussion on age- and generation-specific features in language.

3 SELECTED EMOTIVES

This chapter forms the practical research part of the present thesis. It deals with four selected linguistic means used by young Japanese native speakers to express emotivity in their conversational interactions. In course of the selection process, the attention was paid to the relative frequency of occurrence (i.e., productivity and general popularity) of the given linguistic forms. The linguistic forms that are intrinsically emotive (such as emotion words, interjections, etc.) were not considered. The study focuses on those linguistic forms whose emotivity-related function constitutes the result of their (repeated) contextualization in discourse. Such linguistic forms are thus generally regarded as marked, redundant and/or ungrammatical from the point of view of sentence grammar or ‘standard’ Japanese. Finally, it should be noted that so as to illustrate the rich variety of linguistic means of encoding emotivity, emotives belonging to distinct linguistic categories were selected.

The chapter is divided into four subchapters. The first subchapter concerns the phenomenon of non-predicate-final constituent order as a form often reflecting the speaker’s need to express emotivity. The second subchapter discusses ‘quotations’ of own or another person’s speech and attitudinal stance framed by *mitai na/mitai-na* as a strategy used to dramatize narration, directly express own attitudinal stance and immediately mitigate the effect. In the following subchapter, a question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form used to express the speaker’s attitudinal stance in such a way so as to engage the partner in the responsibility for the contents of the utterance is examined. The final subchapter then briefly discusses some means of ‘despecification’ of the utterance ending and focuses on the utterances containing nominal phrases used utterance-finally as on a form that can signal the speaker’s attitude of closeness towards the partner and a highly subjective, assertive, insistent, and committed attitude towards the utterance.

3.1 Non-predicate-final constituent order

Japanese is traditionally regarded as a representative example of a predicate-final language, generally prioritizing the SOV constituent order (e.g., Shibatani 1990:257). However, in the actual spoken discourse, especially in conversational interactions (as defined in 1.1.2.1), non-predicate-final utterances, that is, utterances displaying ‘non-canonical’ constituent order, are extremely common (cf. Tanaka 2005).

The phenomenon when a typically pre-predicate element is moved to a post-predicate position has usually been referred to as a postposition, right-dislocation, or increment and has attracted considerable attention of scholars (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007; Kaiser 1999; Matsumoto 2003:63-67, 84-86; Ono 2006; Ono and Suzuki 1992; Takita 2011). Postposition has usually been addressed with regard to the given and new information, theme and rheme, focus and background, topic and comment, information structure or information packaging. Numerous studies have also attempted to account for the restrictions on what kind of elements can be postposed and how it is done, for instance, from the point of view of transformative grammar.

Nevertheless, it seems that the majority of cases of postposing in Japanese youth's conversational interactions cannot be adequately explained without referring to emotivity-related factors. Besides, even the types of postpositions usually accounted for as afterthought, repair, specification or clarification can actually be linked to emotivity. The phenomenon is very common in Japanese and thus, it is outside the scope of the present study to address all types of postposition that can be found in Japanese. In order to illustrate the important role emotivity seems to play in this type of syntactic construction, in what follows, five types of postposition and one special type of a postpositional echo phrase are distinguished and discussed. The first two types are viewed as largely interactionally and cognitively motivated. The two following types constitute discourse-pragmatically motivated examples of non-predicate-final constructions that clearly reflect emotivity. The fifth type of postposition discussed here is an example of a strategic constituent movement, intentionally used so as to highlight the non-canonically ordered element. Finally, a special type of a postpositional echo phrase used to intensify the expressivity of the utterance is presented. Henceforth, the remnant clause up to the matrix verb will be referred to as a 'host' and the postposed element(s) as a 'postposed phrase'.

Frequent occurrence of postposition in spoken Japanese interactions is often attributed to their dynamic development in real time. That is to say, since the speakers do not have time to think their utterance through beforehand, they often seem to start the utterance and consequently judge it inadequate or insufficient (in relation to the partner, the message they wish to communicate and the communicative situation as a whole) and decide to add some information. It seems that two types of postposition can be described by virtue of the abovementioned interactional and cognitive motivation: one could be said to result from context-based ellipsis, the other one from cognitively-based ellipsis. Since Japanese is a pro-

drop language, which allows for a high degree of ellipsis, the hosts produced in this way are (generally) not ungrammatical.

In case of the first type of postposition distinguished here, the postposed phrase contains the information already known from the context. Therefore, it functions as an afterthought, usually clarifying or specifying the information contained in the host. Scholars generally tend to agree that in this kind of postposition the host is put into the focus and the postposed phrase is defocalized as its information value is very low (cf. Kaiser 1999). While Nakagawa et al. (2008) claim that postposed phrases containing old information are usually uttered in the same intonation unit as the host, Ono and Suzuki (1992) and Ono (2006) maintain that postposed phrases which function as afterthought or repair are generally preceded by a prosodic break and constitute a separate intonation contour. The analysis of the recordings obtained for this study proved that if the postposed phrase that contains discourse-old or hearer-old information functions as a ‘pure’ afterthought (rather than following affectively laden host), it tends to be pronounced with a separate pitch accent.³¹

Example (1) demonstrates the phenomenon. The speaker B was telling A about an English test she took. Therefore, A’s question regarding the results could be anticipated. Nevertheless, the speaker decides to clarify it by explicitly referring to the results.

- (1) A: Mō wakatteru? **Kekka.**
B: Mada.
A: Mada ka:: Maji iya da ne::
- A: Do you already know? The results?
B: Not yet.
A: Not yet? That’s freaking annoying...

The second type of postposition that can be differentiated is quite similar to the first one, yet it differs in that the postposed phrase contains discourse-new information. The information value of the postposed phrase, which again can be viewed as an afterthought, repair or further specification, is thus generally subordinate to the host but not as low as in case of the postposition of the first type (cf. Eguchi 2000). The host and the postposed phrase tend to be pronounced under separate intonation contours.³² Interestingly, even though case-

³¹ The reason why Nakagawa et al. (2008) obtained different results is probably that the examples they present in their study would actually fit into the two emotive types of postposition discussed here.

³² This view is supported by Nakagawa et al. (2008), who claim that if the postposed phrase contains new information, the host and the postposed phrase tend to be pronounced under separate intonation contours, as well as by Ono and Suzuki (1992) and Ono (2006), who maintain that the postpositions containing an afterthought or

and topic-marking particles tend to be omitted in informal spoken interactions, in postposed phrases, they seem to occur relatively often (Fujii and Ono 2000, quoted in Ono 2006:141).

This type of postposition is illustrated in example (2). The utterance quoted here was voiced out of the blue as a reaction of the speaker to his partner's saying that he does not watch television anymore and is thinking of getting rid of it. The information 'on a motor bike' is discourse-new and seems to be added to emphasize the roughness of the task. Notice also the postposed phrase '*omae*', which is an example of a postposition that is dealt with below.

- (2) Dondon dondon nanka, yaseijika shiteru ze, omae. @ Are, Nihon issū shinai no?
Baiku de.
You're getting wilder and wilder, bro. (laugh) Aren't you going to make a trip around Japan? On a motorbike?

The two types of postposition seem to be explicable as interactionally and cognitively motivated (cf. Ono and Suzuki 1992:436). The postposed phrases seem to be added as a result of the speaker's interactional concern, that is, their consideration for the partner and the effectiveness of the interaction. In fact, since these postpositions typically contain a pause between the host and the postposed phrase, the postposed phrase appears to be "planned independently from the preceding clause" (Ono and Suzuki 1992:435). Moreover, as illustrated in example (3), the partner tends to display some back channel activity in between the two elements (cf. Ono and Suzuki 1992:432-35). The postposed phrase thus might be regarded as resulting either from the speaker's realization of the partner's lack of reciprocity based on the partner's reaction or from the speaker's anticipation or inference of the plausibility of lacking shared knowledge or understanding.³³

In example (3), A is telling B about their mutual friend C. It seems impossible for C to take any vacation and he has to do a lot of overtime work, too. Thereupon B somewhat jokingly comments with the words quoted below. B adds '*sore de*' to clarify his question, however, A still does not seem to understand his question. Therefore, B reformulates his question by integrating the parts from his original postpositional utterance into a new utterance. Nevertheless, he again fails to include all the information, and thus creates another postposition by means of adding the word '*shigoto*'.

- (3) B: Aitsu tanoshii no? **Sore de.**

repair are pronounced as two intonation units. For a further discussion on prosodic and syntactic qualities of postpositions see, for instance, Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007).

³³ Another relatively common type of postposition is represented by a postposition that is jointly constructed by the participants of interaction (cf. Hayashi 2003).

A: E?
B: Sore de tanoshii no? **Shigoto.**
A: Iya:: mō iyada tte itteta yo.

B: He likes it anyway?
A: Hum?
B: He likes it anyway? The job?
A: No way. He told me he's got enough.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that these kinds of 'pure' cases of postpositions, resulting from afterthought or repair, seem to be markedly rare. It seems much more common for postpositions to serve more clearly emotivity-related functions. The analysis of the recordings suggests that the overwhelming majority of the postpositions in the Japanese youth's conversational interactions consist of a host that expresses some kind of expressive, evaluative, or otherwise affective meaning. In other words, the hosts tend to function as means of expressing and foregrounding the speaker's attitudinal stance. Apart from the overall expressive meaning, the hosts tend to include certain elements that primarily serve to communicate attitudinal meanings, such as interactional particles, evaluative adjectives, and other linguistic means overtly encoding emotivity (including, for instance, exclamations and commands). The information included in the postposed phrases of such postpositions can be both discourse- and hearer-old and new. The following examples illustrate the type of the postposition in question.

- (4) Kue yo, **ore tsukutta kara.**
Eat! I made it [so come on and have some].
- (5) Kanojo wa mō shūshi katei da tte itta jan, **kono aida.**
I told you she's already doing her Masters. Just the other day.
- (6) A: Ne::, hōshanō tte sa::, nani sonna, are nan desho ne. Kowai ne.
B: Gan, gan ni narussu ne::
C: Gan ni naru ne::, **hōshanō.**
A: Nanka, umarete kuru kodomo ni are desu yo ne, **nanika.**
C: Byōki nariyasuku naru kamo ne.
B: Sugoissu ne::
A: Cherunobīru to onaji gurai na n desho ne, **Fukushima wa.**
B: Maji nyūsu natteta ne.
- A: You know, that radioactivity is like, like, like scary, isn't it?
B: You get cancer, right?

- C: Yeah, you get cancer. Because of the radioactivity.
 A: Yeah, the babies that will be born will be like that, something, right?
 C: They'll probably get ill easily...
 B: It's really horrible, isn't it?
 A: It's almost the same as Chernobyl. Fukushima, I mean.
 B: It was all over the news, right?

Significantly, this type of emotively motivated postposition commonly occurs in online conversational interactions, too. Since online conversational interactions allow the speakers time to plan and construct their utterances, it is not possible to explain the postpositions as an afterthought or repair. Consequently, this supports the argument that the speakers use these non-predicate-final constructions in order to express emotivity. The hosts contain affect-related contents, whose effect is thereby intensified. This type of postposition can thus be viewed as a syntactic structure motivated by the speaker's expressive needs and used so as to foreground the emotive aspects of the utterance. Despite being the so-called 'non-canonical' constituent order, it is used productively in both face-to-face and online conversational interactions to express affect-laden messages.

Examples (7) – (9) are taken from online conversational interactions. (7) was used as a comment on the speaker's friend's picture of her family on holidays. (8) was used in a discussion of a group girl friends about their day out. Finally, (9) was used as a comment on the speaker's friend's post. In that post, the speaker's friend, who lives abroad, announces her return to Japan for the New Year's holidays.³⁴

- (7) いいな～親子で
 ii na:: **oyako de**
 That's so nice! Parents and kids together.
- (8) また行きたいわーあの店
 Mata ikitai wa:: **ano mise**
 I really want to go again. To that restaurant.
- (9) へえー! 是非是非是非会おうよ、今年こそ!
 He::! Zehi zehi zehi aō yo, **kotoshi koso!**
 Really? We really really really have to meet! This year for sure.

³⁴ Example (9) was used in Barešová and Zawiszová (2012), too. It is reproduced here on account of its exemplary emotive quality.

The fourth type of postposition distinguished here is actually fairly similar to the one just discussed. However, it differs with respect to the postposed phrase and as a consequence its degree of grammaticalization (cf. Ono and Suzuki 1992; Ono 2006). The host again functions as “a slot for expressing emotion” (Ono 2006:146). It either contains element(s) that express(es) “some emotion or feeling of the speaker or it is expressed with some emotion” (Ono 2006:145). The postposed phrase then either provides a referent for the emotive information included in the host or presents the speaker’s attitude towards the emotive information conveyed in the host.³⁵ Accordingly, the postposed phrase tends to be very short and contain either old or inferable information. It usually contains demonstratives,³⁶ pronouns, or proper nouns (and nouns serving similar function) or an adverbial expression which modifies the host.

This type of postposition is extremely common. Examples (10) – (13) illustrate the case when the postposed phrase provides a referent for the information contained in the host. Examples (14) – (17) demonstrate the postpositions in which the postposed phrase contains an element that reframes the host.

- (10) A: Nan, nanka ne, kakeibo tsukehajimeta n da yo.
B: Kimoi **omae**.

A: You know, I started to keep an accounts book.
B: Disgusting, you are.

- (11) A: Ore no okage de.
B: Un. Omae no okage de. Un, yoku wakaranai na::
Un. Ii no kai, warui no kai **kore wa**.

A: Thanks to me.
B: Yeah. Thanks to you. Well, I don’t really know. Well. It’s good or bad, that.

- (12) Mendokuse:: na:: **aitsu**.
He’s a pain in the ass, that guy.

- (13) Piza kuenai yo **watashi**.
I can’t eat pizza, [I].

- (14) Ii jan **betsu ni**.

³⁵ Ono (2006:146) claims that the postposed phrase (‘tail’) either “relates the attribute expressed in the host to a certain referent” or “presents the speaker’s re-framing of the attribute”. It appears, however, that rather than being related to a single word (‘attribute’) in the host, the postposed phrase often relates to the host as a whole.

³⁶ Naruoka (2006) discusses emotive motivation underlying the speaker’s choice of demonstratives in Japanese. A similar approach to demonstratives in postposed phrases could prove a fruitful topic for future research.

It's OK, [I don't think there's any particular problem with that].

(15) Dame da na:: **shoujiki ni**.
That won't work, honestly.

(16) A: Tabun, kekkō kangaete mo::// mō wakannai janai kedo,
kitta hō ga hayai kana:: **tashika ni**.
B: Tashika ni.

A: Probably, even if we think much more about it // Well, I really don't know
anymore, but it'll probably be faster to cut it, definitely.

B: Definitely.

(17) Saisho wakannai yo **maji de**.
I don't get the beginning, really.

Ono (2006) argues that these kind of non-predicate-final constructions have been “grammaticized to express emotion” (139) and assumes that “they might be counter-examples to the predicate finality of Japanese” (142; cf. Ono and Suzuki 1992). Since the host and the postposed phrase tend to be realized as a single intonation unit, this type of postposition appears to have been (unconsciously) planned as non-predicate-final before the actual utterance started (Ono and Suzuki 1992:365). Moreover, the postposed phrase does not contribute much to the host at the semantic level. Significantly, the non-predicate-final constituent order in case of these utterances not only generally sounds more natural in the context of the given conversational interactions, but also “the semantics of some examples of the non-predicate-final order seems to be different from what their predicate-final version would provide” (Ono 2006:148). That is to say, the non-predicate-final constituent order is employed by the speakers with a view to convey certain meaning which their predicate-final counterparts could not communicate.

The expressions that seem to be already fully grammaticalized in their ‘non-canonical’ constituent order include expressions consisting of ‘*nani*’ (‘what’) and a demonstrative pronoun, such as *sore* (‘that’), *sorya* (‘that’), *kore* (‘this’), *korya* (‘this’), etc. (cf. Ono and Suzuki 1992:439-40; Ono 2006:148-49). These expressions seem to have “acquired the connotation of surprise, disgust or insult as a whole chunk” (Ono and Suzuki 1992:440). In their non-predicate-final form, these expressions can thus usually be translated as ‘What?!’, ‘Seriously?’, ‘You’re kidding me, right?’, ‘What the heck is this?’ etc. Therefore, their non-postposed counterparts, which would generally signal genuine question regarding the referent,

would sound rather unnatural in the given contexts or at least they would not be able to convey the same meaning.

The use of the postpositions which seem to have been grammaticalized to express the emotive meaning described above is illustrated in the two following examples. In (18), B is playing on the table with a damp washcloth, making some shapes. A, in fact, wishes to know what B is making, however, he also wants to express both his disgust at his friend's playing with the cloth and his (friendly) condemnation of B's skills. In example (19), A tells B that since he started going to work, he has never taken any day off. B then expresses his surprise and disgust at hearing that.

- (18) A: **Nani kore**, sakana?
B: Ha?
A: Kore sakana?
B: Oppai.
A: Oppai ja ne::! Uruse:: yo.
- A: What the heck is that? Fish?
B: What?
A: Is that fish?
B: Breast.
A: It's not breast! Shut up.

- (19) A: Ikkai mo tsukatta koto nai.
B: Maji de.
A: Issai tsukatta koto nai.
B: **Nani sore**.
A: Tsukaenai.
B: Ii no? Sore.
- A: I haven't taken a single day off.
B: Really?
A: Not a single one.
B: You're kidding me, right?
A: I can't take any.
B: Is it OK like that?

This type of postposition relatively often occurs in online conversational interactions, too. Consequently, this can serve as a proof of the productivity (and the ongoing process of grammaticalization) of this non-predicate-final construction used to express emotivity or to intensify emotive contents. The following examples illustrate the use of this type of

postposition in online conversational interactions. The only one that seems to need contextualization is example (21). It is a reply to the speaker's friend's wall post, in which she complains that the boss in her part time job makes her stay at work after her scheduled hours.

- (20) もうつまらない冗談いう筋合いないな、俺
Mō tsumaranai jōdan iu sujiai nai na, **ore**.
I'm in no position to tell boring jokes any more[, I].
- (21) させねーまぢで
Sasene:: **maji de**
You can't let him do such a thing to you, seriously.
- (22) A: レインマンめっちゃよかったわー！
B: いいよね、あれ♪(ε`)
A: Rein man mecha yokatta wa::!
B: Ii yo ne, **are**

A: "Rain Man" was totally awesome!
B: It's really good, right, that [film].
- (23) てか、どんだけ不真面目キャラなんですか俺。
Teka, dondake fumajime kyara na n desu ka **ore**.
How an extremely insincere character I am.
- (24) A: ジュエリーコーディネーターの試験合格したあーー\ (; ▽ ;) /
B: なにそれー？ なんか名前的にすごそう！！(笑)
A: Juerī kōdinētā no shiken gōkaku shita::
B: **Nani sore::?** Nanka namae-teki ni sugosō! (warai)

A: I passed the exam for being a jewelry coordinator!
B: What's that? Telling from the name, it sounds like something awesome! (laugh)
- (25) また突然の湿疹ーなんだこれー。
Mata totsuzen no shisshin – **nanda kore::**
Sudden rash (eczema) again! What the heck!³⁷

It appears possible to view the non-predicate-final constituent constructions as iconic (cf. Matsumoto 2003:65; Ono 2006:147). Whereas the information contained in the host expresses the speaker's most subjective, immediate, and urgent reactions, attitudes and

³⁷ The example was used in Barešová and Zawiszová (2012), too. It is reproduced here on account of its representativeness.

concerns, the postposed phrase relates them to the more objective world of the Other. The information in the host seems thus to function as an expression of the speaker's 'subjectivity', whereas the postposed phrase constitutes an expression of 'intersubjectivity', performing thence discourse-interactional function. Interestingly, this is, in fact, the preferred order of subjective and intersubjective modality in Japanese (see Shinzato 2006), as can be illustrated, for instance, on the use of interactional particles *ne* and *yo*. While *yo* asserts the speaker's subjectivity (opinion, feelings, etc.), *ne* often functions as an expression of intersubjectivity as it is employed in order to establish common ground or rapport with the partner. Consequently, while it is very common to order the two particles in the utterance-final position as '*yo ne*', the ordering '*ne yo*' does not seem to be acceptable.³⁸

Although it is admittedly much less common than the other types of postposition described above, one more type motivated by emotivity-related reasons will be differentiated here. As pointed out by Eguchi (2000), this type of postposition seems to be intentionally planned. Moreover, in contrast to the emotive types of postposition described above, in this type of postposition, the speaker moves an element, which would not be given prominence in the canonical constituent order, to the post-predicate position so as to highlight it and guide the partner's attention towards it. Therefore, this type of postposition constitutes an emotively motivated highlighting structure assigning the postposed phrase with prominence. This structure seems to be employed in order to invoke the partner's emotive reactions, which is an effect that could not be achieved if the canonical constituent order was observed. While Eguchi (2000) demonstrates that this kind of postposition is employed in literature as well, it can be added that young Japanese speakers' occasionally use it in their online conversational interactions, too.

Example (26) illustrates the use of this postposition in a face-to-face conversation, whereas example (27) is an example of a profile-wall post on online social networking site.

(26) Ore mita yo, **futari ga kissu shiteru toko**.
I saw it, when you two were kissing.

(27) はいー！久しぶりに来ました **NHK 受信料催促訪問** 一笑
Hai::! Hisashiburi ni kimashita **NHK jushinryō saisoku hōmon warai**
Here it is! It hasn't come in a while, NHK [Japan Broadcasting Corporation]
licence fee request of payment call. (laughter)

³⁸ Interestingly, Japanese children are reported to acquire interactional particles in the order *yo*, *no*, and *ne* (Okubo 1967:84, quoted in Hasegawa 2010:81), which corresponds with their location on the subjective-intersubjective scale.

Not only in the type of postposition described above but also in the other abovementioned types of postposition the postposed phrase can be used contrastively and receive special emphasis in the given context. In addition, there exists a special type of a postpositional construction in which the postposed phrase is given prominence. In fact, the postposed phrase in this construction does not actually form an element moved to the post-verbal position but an element which echoes (repeats) an element which occurs in the host.³⁹ Interestingly, it appears that this kind of a postpositional echo phrase often includes first person and second person pronouns. Since it seems to be a norm in Japanese not to use these pronouns as long as their verbalization can be avoided, overt expressions of these pronouns can be considered marked and emotively motivated linguistic behaviour.⁴⁰ Consequently, the postpositional echo phrases appear to be used to intensify the emotive effect of the utterance.

In (28), A and B are in a pub together and B unexpectedly takes out his new camera and starts taking a movie. In (29), the speaker declares his enthusiastic attitude to friends' suggestion that they should organize a friendly football game. For a greater lucidity, the phrase that is repeated is underlined.

- (28) A: Nande omae koko de shashin totta n da yo:: **omae**.
 B: Shashin janai, shashin janai. Ano:: dōga.

A: Why the heck did you take pictures in here, you.
 B: I'm not taking pictures. It's, like, a movie.

- (29) Maji de yarō yo:: **maji de**.
 Seriously, let's do it, seriously.

In this subchapter, several arguments for emotive motivation and emotive interpretation of utterances containing non-predicate-final constituent order in young Japanese native speakers' conversational interactions were presented. The two types of interactionally or cognitively motivated postpositions that can be accounted for as 'pure' afterthoughts or repairs can also be considered the results of the speaker's sensitivity to the partner's knowledge and the context of the communicative situation. However, while the recordings

³⁹ There seems to exist a similar type of a construction in English, for instance. Geluykens (1994:113-17) discusses emotive right dislocation (i.e., non-repair right dislocation) in British English and gives such examples as: "that was a bit of a swine that", "she's brilliant that girl", and "it was jolly funny the whole thing".

⁴⁰ See Lee and Yonezawa (2008) for a discussion on overt expressions of first and second person subjects as a useful tool for signalling the interlocutors' social relationship, such as difference or intimacy.

obtained for the purpose of this study are peppered with non-predicate-final utterances, these two types do not seem to be very common, as there generally tends to be some expression of the speaker's attitudinal stance present in the host.

In the non-predicate-final constructions containing hosts including the expressions of the speaker's attitudinal stance, the subjective elements presented in the host are consequently specified and thus related to the world of the partner by means of the postposed phrase. Same as the two types of the interactionally or cognitively motivated postposition, the structure of the emotively motivated postposition thus also manifests the speaker's consideration for the partner and their awareness of the context of the given communicative situation. Subsequently, a seemingly fully intentional strategy carried out in order to highlight the postposed phrase and induce the partner's emotive reaction by means of postposition was also presented. Finally, a special type of a postpositional echo phrase was noticed and explained as a strategy employed so as to intensify the effect of affect-laden utterances.

Significantly, the non-predicate-final constructions described here as primarily serving emotivity-expressive function occur in online conversational interactions as well. Therefore, they can be regarded as productive means for conveying emotively charged messages. What is more, as illustrated in examples (18), (19), (24) and (25), some cases of non-predicate-final expressions already appear to have been grammaticalized to express certain attitudinal stance. Their substitution by predicate-final utterances would thus produce utterances either unnatural or inappropriate in the given context of an interaction or unable to convey the meaning the speaker wishes to communicate.

All in all, it seems justifiable to conclude that the constituent order in the Japanese youth's conversational interactions reflects their expressive needs as well as their concern for the effectiveness and smoothness of their interpersonal communication. It was demonstrated that non-predicate final constructions serve as a vital resource for expressing the attitudes of the speakers. In addition, it was shown that emotively motivated postpositions are extremely common and that it is the 'non-canonical' (or grammatically marked) constituent order what often seems to be the preferred order for the expression of emotively laden messages in Japanese youth's conversational interactions.

3.2 ‘Quotations’ framed by *mitai na/mitai-na*

One of the popular means employed by young Japanese speakers in order to dramatize their narratives and foreground emotivity in course of their conversations is using ‘quotations’ of speech or attitudinal stance (thoughts, feelings, etc.). They often frame such ‘quotations’ by *mitai na/mitai-na* used as a quotative marker and attribute the ‘quotations’ either to their own (usually past) selves or to some other characters that appear in their narratives. The so-called quoted or direct speech can actually be considered a creative reconstruction of the speech event rather than a verbatim account of what someone said at some point in the past (cf. Tannen 1986:311). Subsequently, ‘quoting’ (or rather verbalizing) own or someone else’s attitudinal stance involves even more sophisticated processes. Since using ‘quotations’ does not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance (cf. Macaulay 1987:2), it clearly reflects the speakers’ expressive needs. In what follows, it is argued that young Japanese use ‘quotations’ of speech or attitudinal stance framed by *mitai na/mitai-na* as a strategy to dramatize their narration and directly communicate attitudinal stance in a mitigated manner.

From the morpho-syntactic point of view, the expression *mitai na* (‘[something] like’) is a prenominal form, used in such constructions as [NP *mitai na* NP]. It is derived from the expression *mitai da*, which is defined in various dictionaries as used to express (1) resemblance or approximation, (2) exemplification, and (3) uncertain judgement or speculation, that is, epistemic modality (e.g., *Daijisen, Nihongo Bunkei Jiten*). Sometimes a function of a euphemistic expression used to soften a critical statement is added as well (e.g., *Meikyō Kokugo Jiten*). In colloquial Japanese, the copula *da* is often left out. In addition, in early 1990s, young Japanese started to use the prenominal form *mitai na* utterance-finally (e.g., Tsuji 1999:21), as illustrated in (1). The phenomenon has been dubbed one of the typical features of Japanese youth language and using it has become a sign of the identification with the youth (cf. Maynard 2005:848). In fact, the head noun has been omitted so frequently that utterance-final *mitai na* appears to be undergoing the process of grammaticalization.

- (1) A: E? Mō ichinichijū kadō shiten no?
B: Un, sonna kanji.
A: E:: ja:: osoban to hayaban **mitai na**?
B: Sō sō, sonna kanji.

A: Really? So it [your factory] is in operation for the entire day?
B: Yeah, something like that.

A: So, well, it's like a late night shift and an early shift?

B: Yeah, yeah, something like that.

The focus of this subchapter, however, is the use of *mitai na/mitai-na* as a quotative marker. Even though this function of the expression does not seem to be included in the dictionaries yet, the expression *mitai na/mitai-na* serving this function can frequently be heard in young people's conversations. Significantly, even when it is used as a quotative marker, the expression retains all four meanings mentioned above as associated with *mitai da/na* (cf. Fujii 2006:58; Maynard 2005:848). What is more, it seems to be precisely because of them why the quotative use of *mitai na/mitai-na* has become so popular. In fact, all the uses of the expression *mitai da/na* are very common in the Japanese youth's discourse and thus seem to reflect some of their basic preferences regarding interpersonal communication.

As for the syntactic properties of the utterances when *mitai na/mitai-na* is used as a quotative marker, it seems possible to distinguish four main productively used structures, namely:

- [1] [Q + mitai na + NP]⁴¹
- [2] [Q + mitai na (+ NP)]
- [3] [Q + mitai-na]
- [4] [Q + mitai na + tte itte/te/etc.]

In case of [1], *mitai na* is used in front of a noun, which is thus modified by the 'quotation', as in example (2), or in front of a general noun, such as *kanji* ('feeling'), *mono* ('thing'), *koto* ('thing'), as in example (3), which is thus specified by the 'quotation' (cf. Maynard 2005:857). The speaker 'directly quotes' own or another person's attitudinal stance (feelings, thoughts, etc.) rather than overtly describing the situation, and hence, leaves the interpretative work to the listener. On the one hand, the speaker appears to convey the situation more objectively by appealing to the 'authenticity' of 'quotations'; on the other hand, the 'quotations' clearly express subjective attitudes.

- (2) Soshite, mō dame da na:: **mitai na** kao o shite...
Then he made this face like "I can't take that any more" and...
- (3) Yappari, hayaku sotsugyō shitai na:: **mitai na** kanji kana::
After all, she's probably [feeling] like "I want to graduate soon!"

⁴¹ Q stands for a 'quotation' and NP stands for a 'noun phrase'.

In case of [2], *mitai na* occurs utterance-finally, but there is a noun that may function as its (remote) head noun in the immediate verbal context. This type seems to have been pointed out by Fujii (2006), who refers to it as to a “context-bound use of utterance-final *mitai-na*” (79) and claims that it “serves as a conceptual bridge between the true noun-modifying *mitai-na* construction and the truly headless *mitai-na* construction” (82). Accordingly, this type of *mitai na* structure reflects the participants’ cooperation on the joint construction of the conversation and seems to emphasize their mutual attitudes of understanding and closeness.

In case of [3], *mitai-na* appears at the end of the utterance. There is no noun that could function as its head noun available in the immediate verbal context, yet the utterance containing it usually does not sound elliptical. Moreover, the users seem to use this utterance-final *mitai-na* productively to express certain type of meanings (to be discussed below) and to signal certain grammatical function (i.e., quotative). In one of the small experiments carried out for the purpose of the present research, young Japanese informants were asked to explain when they use utterance-final *mitai-na* and they all were able to delineate the function and meaning of the expression without any further specification of the context. Therefore, this type of *mitai-na* is written throughout this subchapter with a hyphen⁴² so as to signal that it functions as an independent unit, which appears to have been undergoing the processes of grammaticalization and pragmaticalization (cf. Fujii 2006:84-85).⁴³

Finally, in case of [4], *mitai-na* is neither used in prenominal position nor quite utterance-finally as it is followed by a quotative marker such as *tte* or *tte itte*.⁴⁴ This additional quotative marker generally seems to be used in order to specify that the ‘quotation’ marked by *mitai-na* represents ‘real’ quoted speech. *Mitai-na* alone is ambiguous regarding the question whether the ‘quotation’ it marks represents a (re)constructed speech or attitudinal stance. It seems that when the speakers wish to include the meanings conveyed by *mitai-na* but also clarify that the ‘quotation’ represents ‘real’ quoted speech, they tend to add a less ambiguous quotative marker. The utterance-final *mitai-na* (discussed in the previous paragraph) thus

⁴² Unfortunately, there is no consensus on how to spell the expression in English, and thus quotations from other authors’ will include variant spellings.

⁴³ Maynard (2005) maintains that being a prenominal form, utterance-final use of *mitai-na* “creates the impression that a nominal is missing” (849). She maintains that it “may represent a shortened form of *mitaina koto o yuu* ‘to say things like’, *mitaina kanji da* ‘to have a feeling like’, or *mitaina jookyoo da* ‘to be in a situation like’” (*ibid.*). Indeed, *mitai-na* could be substituted by these expressions. However, the fact that the speakers clearly tend to use it as an independent unit is significant. Besides, as will be discussed below, the choice not to specify the head also seems to be meaningful.

⁴⁴ Both quotative markers mentioned here, *tte* and *tte itte*, are forms of ‘*to iu*’ (quotative particle *to* + ‘say’).

primarily seems to function to express (re)constructed attitudinal stance or a fairly approximate quotation of speech.⁴⁵

Subsequently, with respect to the content of the ‘quotation’ framed by *mitai na/mitai-na*, it seems possible to differentiate three main types. Namely, ‘quoting’:

- [1] one’s own or another person’s (re)constructed speech,
- [2] one’s own (usually past) self’s (re)constructed attitudinal stance,
- [3] another person’s (re)constructed attitudinal stance.

In case of [1], *mitai na/mitai-na* is relatively often followed by another quotation marker or a nominalizer and a quotation marker, such as *tte*, *tte itte*, and *koto o itta*, so as to signal that the ‘quotation’ represents ‘real’ quoted speech. There are, however, many instances when the speakers use utterance-final *mitai-na* only. By marking the ‘quotation’ of own or someone else’s speech with *mitai na/mitai-na* the speakers avoid committing themselves to the exactness of the wording of the ‘quotation’. In addition, in case of utterance-final *mitai-na*, it is often virtually impossible to tell whether the ‘quotation’ refers to speech or verbalized attitudinal stance, and hence, it is unclear whether the contents of the ‘quotation’ were actually verbalized by the person they are attributed to or not.

In example (5), the speaker recounts his conversation with another friend and expresses rather than describes his reaction to his friend’s surprising news. Example (6) is taken from a lengthy friendly argument in which two friends are teasing each other. The speaker cited here reminds his friend of what he said a moment ago. In order to do that, he uses ‘quotation’ and frames it by *mitai ni itteta* (‘you said something like’), that is, an adverbial form of *mitai na*. This example thus demonstrates that while the quotative function of *mitai na* is already well rooted, not all speakers use it as a grammaticalized (fixed in its prenominal form) expression. Example (7) is taken from a conversation in which the speaker cited here retells another person’s positive reaction to her suggestion. This example illustrates the difficulty one has in telling whether the ‘quotation’ represents speech or inferred attitudinal stance of the person to whom it is ascribed.

- (4) Sore de, ore ga, a:: sō nanda **mitai na** tte // itte...
And then, I said something like, “Ah, right.”

⁴⁵ This conclusion is in accord with the informal experiment mentioned above. While some of them included other uses of the expression, all the informants stated that they use utterance-final *mitai-na* so as to mark verbalization of the thoughts or feelings they had at the time their narratives concern.

- (5) Zenzen yokatta jan, **mitai ni** itteta jan, sakki.
You said something like “It’s totally OK” just a moment ago.
- (6) Soshite, Yu-chan wa, a-, ii na:: ii na:: ii naa:: **mitai na**.
And then, Yu was like “That’s good, good, good [Let’s do it].”

In case of [2], the speakers reconstruct and verbalize their own (usually past) self’s attitudinal stance. The ‘quotation’ in this case does not convey something that was actually uttered in the past, and therefore, cannot be marked by a quotative marker which explicitly states the act of communication. Even though the speakers have direct access to the information (it is their own states of mind these utterances concern), they use indirect evidentiality marker (*mitai na*) and ‘quote’ their own states of mind so as not to “express own feelings directly, but objectively through the point of view of a third person” (Satake 1997:59, my transl.; cf. Maynard 1996:208).⁴⁶ By ‘quoting’ (i.e., verbalizing) their attitudinal stance, the speakers are able to foreground it and distance from it at the same time. Consequently, by framing it with *mitai na/mitai-na* they present it as if it were a third person’s conjecture about their own state of mind, which they do not grant total reliability. The speakers thereby attempt to present their attitudinal stance but objectify it by distancing themselves from it and claiming it a mere approximation by virtue of marking it with *mitai na/mitai-na*.

In (7) the speaker A is recounting his friend B about his recently acquired new lifestyle which is based on attempting to spend as little money as possible. The utterance cited as (8) appears a little while later on in the same conversation. The speaker describes his satisfaction and happiness upon realizing how little money he managed to spend on a single meal. In fact, in neither example the speaker talks about one specific moment in the past when he felt the way he ‘quotes’. He illustrates his general feeling upon such realizations. Besides, in both examples, it is interesting to notice that the speaker also uses a quotative marker *tte* several times. *Tte* seems to be the most popular contemporary Japanese quotative marker (see, e.g., Itani 1994). It can be assumed that its popularity stems from the fact that it, too, is extremely ambiguous and can thus mark a vast array of quotative contents.

- (7) A: Sūpā itte, yoshi kyō, gohyakuen shika tsukawanai tte kimete, de, katte, keisan shite, kago n naka no mono, ato hyakunijūen ka::: Kore yamete, kotchi ni shiyō tte.
B: Omae ichinichi tanoshii na::: Hontō ni tanoshii na:::

⁴⁶ Cf. Macaulay (1987), who studied direct reported speech in southwester Scotland, and concludes that self-quotation is employed as “a kind of distancing” (22) whereby the speaker presents himself or herself “as an actor in a scene” (*ibid.*).

A: tte yatteru.
 B: Ryōri sun no?
 A: A:: kore yameru **mitai-na**.
 B: Ryōri sun no?
 A: Ryōri suru yo.

A: I go to shop, decide something like, “OK, I won’t use more than 500 yen today,” then, I do the shopping, do the counting, “What? The stuff in the basket is still 120 yen over [than what I decided for the day]?” I’m like, “I’ll return this, and get that”.

B: Your everyday life sounds fun! Really fun.

A: That’s how I do it.

B: Do you cook?

A: I’m like, “Right, I’ll return this.”

B: Do you cook?

A: I cook.

- (8) A: Uwa:: isshoku gojūen da:: tte, yatta ze:: **mitai-na**.
 A: I’m like “Cool! 50 yen for a meal! Good job!”

The case of the ‘quotation’ marked by *mitai na/mitai-na* designated above as [3] is even more elaborately constructed. The speaker presents the attitudinal stance of somebody else who figures as a character in their narration as a ‘quotation’. These ‘quotations’ constitute, therefore, utterances fully constructed by the speaker at the time of the narration. They may represent the attitudinal stance the speaker inferred from the behaviour of the person they ascribe the ‘quotation’ to, nevertheless, they always are the results of the speaker’s guess work or projection. Borrowing the terms from narratology to describe this narrative technique the speaker as a narrator engages in, we can say that the narrator, as the voice of the narrative, decides to narrate their story in a manner of showing rather than telling by virtue of using a character in their narrative as a reflector/focalizer. By means of doing so, the narrator can distance themselves from the contents of the ‘quotation’ and thereby claim objectivity for their narration while at the same time emphasizing the subjective value of the ‘quotation’.

In both examples below, the speakers narrate a story and use ‘quotations’ containing an expression of attitudinal stance of the person they ascribed them to. While it is not quite possible to judge whether the ‘quotations’ really represent thought rather than speech, as assumed here, the main point is the fact that rather than describing the person’s attitude, the speakers prefer to act it out.

- (9) Kinō mo sa, kare n toko ni itta n da kedo sa, mō dōshō mo nai na:: **mitai na**.

You see, I paid him a visit yesterday, but, you see, he's all like, "There's nothing I could do about it anymore."

- (10) *Watashi wa ne, omae nanda yo ne tte itta ne. De, kare wa ne, iya iya iya mitai na. Iya ja nai?*
And I was like, "Who the heck do you think you are?" And he was all like, "No no no [I didn't mean to offend you]." Isn't that annoying?

As mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, the use of 'quotations' does not contribute to the propositional meaning of the utterance, but rather constitutes marked linguistic behaviour. By using 'quotations' the speakers choose to resort to the mode of showing rather than telling. Instead of describing and explaining the situation, they relive or stage it and invite the partner to enter their narratives and interpret the reactions they voice "rather than create their own attitude towards the situation" (Maynard 1996:209). The relationship between the speaker and the listener and such qualities as understanding, empathy, and solidarity are thus often emphasized. Besides, the speakers tend to pronounce the 'quotations' with vocal and stylistic modifications so as to imitate or act out the person to whom the utterance or the attitudinal stance is attributed. All in all, the use of 'quotations' seems to function as a dramatization strategy, foregrounding emotivity, and effectively creating 'involvement' (cf. Tannen 1985).

The choice to use *mitai na/mitai-na* and not a different evidentiality marker is also significant. As is probably clear from the discussion above, regardless of the syntactic properties of the utterance or the semantic content of the 'quotation', *mitai na/mitai-na* as a quotative marker retains the propositional meanings (or connotations) pertaining to *mitai da/na*. It signals approximation or exemplification, marks the speaker's attitude toward the 'quotation' as rather noncommittal and softens the force of the 'quotation'. Hence, *mitai na/mitai-na* represents an innately ambiguous quotative marker. By using it, the speaker can "leave it ambiguous whether the quoted utterance is what was said or what was felt" (Fujii 2006:91). Subsequently, the question whether the 'quotation' represents the speaker's reconstruction of 'actual' past speech/attitudinal stance or a mere interpretation or construction thereof can also be left unanswered.

A number of commentators have noticed the distancing and objectifying functions quoted speech performs (e.g., Fujii 2006:91; Macaulay 1987:22; Maynard 2005:839; Satake 1997:59). For instance, by quoting another person the speakers can reduce their responsibility for the contents of the quoted utterance. By 'quoting' their own attitudinal stance, the

speakers can portray themselves as actors on the scene viewed from the point of view of a different person (cf. Macaulay 1987:22; Satake 1997:59). The properties of *mitai na/mitai-na* can further aid in this process. Maynard (2005), for instance, claims that *mitai na/mitai-na* used as a quotative marker “indicates the speaker’s separation from the just expressed attitude” (851). Fujii (2006), on the other hand, seems to be more concerned with the epistemic modal meaning, which the expression seems to retain, and assumes that by marking the ‘quotations’ with *mitai na/mitai-na* the speakers signal that they are “distancing [themselves] from the *authenticity* of the quoted speech or thoughts” (91).

Although the quotations of speech often contain fairly expressive contents, too, ‘quotations’, or rather verbalizations, of own (or another person’s) attitudinal stance include straightforward and unmediated expressions of emotively motivated contents by definition. The ‘quotations’ of this type include such linguistic devices and structures as interactional particles, interjections, questions, commands, and exclamations (cf. Macaulay 1987:31). Subsequently, these direct expressions are ‘softened’ by being framed by *mitai na/mitai-na* used as a quotative marker. A number of commentators seem to explain the popularity of this construction with the Japanese youth by referring to their desire to avoid commitment to the contents expressed in the ‘quotation’ (e.g., Maynard 2005:848; Satake 1997:59). However, there seem to be other motivating factors as well. For instance, it is interesting to notice that these constructions again seem to reflect the iconic ordering of subjective and intersubjective elements and thus illustrate the speaker’s desire to express emotively motivated contents but also not to be too direct, assertive, intimate, or confessional.⁴⁷

If unmitigated, such overtly subjective expressions would make the speaker extremely vulnerable and dependent on the benevolence of the partner, which seems to be in contrast with the contemporary Japanese youth’s preference for rather *karui*, ‘light’, relations (see Tsuji 1999). In addition, since such direct expressions can often be viewed as displaying *honno* (the speaker’s ‘real intentions/attitudes/etc.’), they also seem to be incompatible with the Japanese socio-cultural preference for rather subdued expression of such meanings. Therefore, ‘quoting’ enables the speakers to express emotively motivated contents directly and concurrently distance themselves from them. Framing the ‘quotation’ by *mitai na/mitai-na* further objectifies the contents of the ‘quotation’. It not only marks the ‘quotation’ as a mere approximation of the speaker’s ‘real’ attitudinal stance, but it also signals that the

⁴⁷ It is also interesting to notice the similarity between this strategic communication of attitudes through ‘quotation’ and the use of reported speech, for instance, by a Polynesian community on Nukulaelae Atoll, which was studied by Besnier (1993). Besnier (1993) maintains that “affect is communicated through keys which allow speakers to present themselves as minimally accountable for the content of their talk” (161).

speaker cannot guarantee its accuracy by presenting it as if from another person's point of view.

Indeed, marking the 'quotation' by *mitai na/mitai-na* seems to be often used as an objectifying and "distancing strategy [that] helps [to] soften the possibly excessive assertiveness" (Maynard 2005:856) of the 'quotation'. As such, it can be considered a politeness strategy employed to cater for both own and the partner's face wants. On the one hand, the speakers may thus quote their own negative attitudes and consequently mitigate their force by framing them with *mitai na/mitai-na*, distancing themselves thereby from their contents. On the other hand, as illustrated in example (11), the speakers can also use the construction to express 'quotations' containing positive attitudes toward themselves, such as praise by others or own satisfaction and happiness. If the speakers conveyed such attitudes in the ordinary descriptive way, they could be perceived negatively as boasting (cf. Macaulay 1987:28). 'Quoting' other people as expressing favourable attitudes towards the speaker or 'quoting' own positive judgements about themselves and consequently framing the 'quotations' by *mitai na/mitai-na* thus serves as a useful strategy for socially acceptable communication of such emotivity.

- (11) De::, chotto hiitemitara, nanka::, kekkō umai na:: **mitai na**.
And then, I tried to play [the piano] a little, and, you see, he was like, "You're quite good, aren't you?"

Interestingly, virtually the same type of a quotative marker, namely, [be + like + Q], has been steadily gaining in popularity since the 1990s among young English native speakers (e.g., Andersen 2001; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Ferrara and Bell 1995; Romaine and Lange 1991). Same as quotative *mitai na/mitai-na*, it introduces a 'quotation' of speech or previously unexpressed attitudinal stance that the speaker attributes either to the speaker's past self or to another person. In addition, both expressions signal the meanings of approximation, exemplification, and the speaker's noncommittal attitude regarding the preciseness of the 'quotation' (cf. Andersen 2001:250). Besides, as Andersen (2001) aptly notices about the quotative *like*, and as may be said about the quotative *mitai na/mitai-na* as well, "the quotative use constitutes a special case, in that what is loosely rendered is a case of interpretive use of language, where *like* provides an explicit signal that the following material must be construed as a representation of another representation that may or may not have been explicitly uttered" (250).

As for the use of the construction discussed here in written sources, Maynard (1996) concentrates on various types of self-quotation in literary discourse to illustrate the concept of ‘multivoicedness’. Maynard (2005) studies the use of *mitai na/mitai-na* as a device marking ‘inserted conversation in discourse’ on the data comprising of printed interview dialogues, posts on an Internet bulletin board, essays and explanatory text. Although her data contained written texts only, she claims to have been able to identify numerous instances of *mitai na* (and other devices) used as a quotative marker. Nevertheless, despite intensive search on online social networks (Facebook and Mixi), no instance of the quotative use of *mitai na/mitai-na* could be found.

It appears that the functions the construction embodies, and which were discussed above, are not necessary or useful in online conversational interaction. The reason why quotative *mitai na/mitai-na* occurs in the texts studied by Maynard (1996, 2005) seems to be twofold. First, they all aspire to ‘sound’ colloquial (cf. Satake’s (1995) term *shin genbun itchitai*, lit. ‘new style of unity of speaking and writing’). Second, (apart from Internet bulletin board posts) they are narrative rather than conversational in nature. The only use of *mitai-na* Maynard (2005) quotes from the Internet bulletin board, that is, the non-narrative genre, is the use of *mitai-na* as a mitigation technique after ‘quoting’ one’s critical view (disappointment).

To sum up, in this subchapter, the young Japanese people’s use of ‘quotations’ of own or another person’s speech or attitudinal stance framed by *mitai na/mitai-na* used as a quotative marker were discussed. It was argued that these constructions are generally used by young Japanese speakers in narrative parts of their conversations as a strategy to dramatize their narration, directly communicate attitudinal stance and immediately mitigate its effect. By means of using ‘quotations’ the speakers are able to present their attitudinal stance in an unmediated way and concurrently distance themselves from it. Furthermore, the meanings the expression *mitai na/mitai-na* bears allow the speakers to present the ‘quotation’ as if from an objective point of view of a third person.

The ‘quotation’ is thus emotively charged but the speaker presents it as an approximation or exemplification, which may or may not be reliable. In addition, ‘quoting’ makes the interaction more vivid. By engaging the listener more effectively that descriptive narration it also emphasizes the speaker’s and the partner’s attitudes of closeness and cooperation. This strategy is hence clearly motivated by expressive needs of the speakers as well as their wish for frictionless interpersonal relations. Consequently, it serves as a good example of the effect emotivity has on the use of language in actual interaction.

3.3 Question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form

As mentioned in 1.1.4, the Japanese markedly prefer indirect, non-assertive and empathetic manner of interpersonal communication. They generally display heightened consideration for and awareness of their partner and tend not to express their attitudinal stance directly, but rather use various means of implicit or euphemistic communication. Young Japanese speakers' linguistic behaviour usually reflects all these characteristics as well. Moreover, since their relations generally emphasize closeness, sharedness and solidarity, the features of Japanese language that accentuate such qualities seem to be of primary importance to them.

Nevertheless, young Japanese speakers' linguistic behaviour is also strongly motivated by their expressive needs. Whether it is a result of western influence (or the 'globalizing world' in general) or not is a question that will not be addressed here, however, it seems that the young Japanese are admittedly more self-centred and wish to express their personal attitudes more overtly than older generations. Yet, concurrently, they also seem to fear their partner's negative reactions (seemingly especially) towards their affect-related expressions as well as the possibility of hurting their partner and endangering thus their relationship and the flow of the interaction (cf. Satake 1995). Therefore, as illustrated in the previous subchapters, too, they tend to use a variety of strategies to soften the force of such expressions.

One of the possible strategies employed by them to achieve such an effect is presenting their own attitudinal stance as if existing somewhat independently of their subjective worlds. They seek the partner's agreement, request their confirmation, solicit for their sympathy and understanding, and mark the contents of their utterances as commonsensical or shared. In other words, rather than straightforwardly and self-assertively express their attitudinal stance, young Japanese speakers often prefer to engage the partner in the responsibility for the contents of their utterances.

While this type of interpersonal communication stems from the general Japanese preferences, some young Japanese speakers seem to overuse it. In effect, although they employ various means that could be categorized as positive politeness strategies, they can be perceived as acting in a quite assertive and imposing way. Indeed, by virtue of using such alignment strategies, although in a somewhat mitigated manner, some young Japanese speakers tend to force their own attitudinal stance onto their partner and make them accept it as shared without really asking for their confirmation or agreement. Hence, the utterances containing such devices could be understood as framed by the consciousness that could be

glossed as ‘you think/feel so, too, don’t you?’ or ‘it’s a common sense to think/feel this way so I’m sure you think/feel so, too’.

Japanese language disposes of a wide range of linguistic devices which the speakers can use to solicit their partner’s ‘participation’ (in the form of agreement, confirmation and sympathy) on the responsibility for the contents of their utterance. Among the means that are most commonly discussed by Japanese language scholars are *ne*, *yo ne* (and some other interactional particles⁴⁸), *darō/deshō*, and *janai (ka)* (e.g., Miyazaki 2000; Segusa 2003; Wungpradit 2006; Zhang 2004; Zhang 2009). All these expressions, when serving the functions discussed here, can often be translated into English as tag questions, however, their meaning and function depending on the context can vary substantially.

While a comparative in-depth study on the use of the abovementioned expressions and some other means employed to perform similar functions by young Japanese speakers from the point of view of emotivity would surely be interesting, it is a topic for a monograph-length research. Therefore, this subchapter briefly deals with a different and more specifically pertaining to the Japanese youth’s discourse device used to achieve similar effect. More specifically, the following paragraphs concern a specific question-like intonation pattern applied to a negative adjectival form so as to communicate attitudinal stance and solicit for the partner’s agreement.

Since the early 1990s, there appears to have been a new type of rising intonation pattern used by young Japanese native speakers in order to convey their attitudinal stance (e.g., Tanaka 1993, quoted in Tsai 1996, for instance). They seem to use this form so as not to sound too self-assertive, and thus vulnerable to the partner’s negative reaction. By means of demanding the partner’s agreement with the contents of their utterance, they seem to create the sense of shared ‘responsibility’ for them. Consequently, this form enables the young Japanese to express attitudes towards the referent of their utterance as well as towards the partner. In addition, the popularity of this strategy seems to stem from the fact that its use creates an image of youthfulness of the speaker (cf. Tsai 1996:45) as well as the sense of unity and solidarity, which are some of the core values for the contemporary young Japanese.

The following excerpts from ‘dinner table’ conversations illustrate the phenomenon. (1) was uttered by a young female speaker while browsing the menu. (2) was uttered by a female speaker A as a comment on the looks of Ayumi in a photograph that the speaker’s

⁴⁸ These particles have usually been referred to as sentence-final particles. However, with regard to the fact that some of them are used in other positions as well, the term ‘interactional particles’ (used, e.g., in Maynard 1993), which refers to their function rather than position is adopted here.

friend B was showing to A. Ayumi is a mutual friend of A and B. She was not present at the time of the interaction but was posing in a picture together with B. (3) was used by a female speaker, who, however, uses rather masculine speech style, while offering her friend a sip of her drink. (4) was uttered by a male speaker A who had just recounted his friend B about his (A's) friend C. Example (4) includes also an emotively motivated postposition (discussed in 3.1), which further supports the interpretation of the utterance as emotively charged.

- (1) Ne ne, kore **yabakuna::i?**
Hey look! Doesn't this look awesome?
- (2) Wa:: Ayumi chan **kawaikuna::i?**
Wow! Doesn't Ayumi look cute [here]?
- (3) Kore, **umakune::?**
Isn't this good?
- (4) **Omoshirokunai?** aitsu tte.
Isn't he cool? That guy.

While Tanaka (1993, quoted in Tsai 1996, for instance), not quite accurately, refers to this phenomenon as *tobihane onchō* (lit. 'jumping-up-and-down tone'),⁴⁹ Tsai (1996) prefers not to label the phenomenon but tentatively refers to it as *dōi yōkyūteki gimonbun* ('agreement requesting question'), and Wakuda (2003), for instance, approaches it as *dōi motome* ('request of agreement'). All three, however, address the issue as a part of the accent change observable in young Japanese speakers' pronunciation of *i*-adjectives, namely, the so-called *akusento no heibanka* ('pitch accent flattening').⁵⁰

Indeed, it is the intonation contour of such utterances as (1) – (4) what makes them so specific. As Tsai (1996), for instance, demonstrates on a prosodic analysis, declarative utterance such as '*kore omoshirokunai*' is pronounced by young Japanese speakers with two accents: one on '*shi*' or '*ro*' and the other one on '*na*'. However, if the utterance is used as agreement-requesting form, young Japanese speakers pronounce it either with a single accent on '*shi*' or '*ro*' or without any of the two accents,⁵¹ which, in fact, appears to be a much more

⁴⁹ English version of the abstract available online gives a more adequate term as a translation for it refers to the pattern as 'new rising intonation'.

⁵⁰ For a discussion on the phenomenon, see, for instance, Inoue (1998, 2000) and Jinnouchi (1998).

⁵¹ Tsai (1996) distinguishes between the loss of the accent on '*na*' (i.e., a part of the negation morpheme) only, *kōhankaku hakaigata* (後半核破壊型), and the complete 'destruction' of pitch accents, *zenkaku hakaigata* (全核破壊型).

common variant. In addition, while real declaration of negation is pronounced with a falling tone, agreement-requesting negative form has a rising tone, and thus the intonation pattern similar to a question. Consequently, it is distinguished from the negative statement and real negative question by means of lacking the accent(s) and having a steady rising tone, rather than being uttered with a steep short rise typical of interrogative utterances.

To illustrate the phenomenon, the pitch contour (and the spectrogram) for the utterance ‘*omoshirokunai?*’ when used as an agreement-requesting form (i.e., ‘it’s interesting, isn’t it?’) by a female speaker is shown in Figure 1 below.⁵²

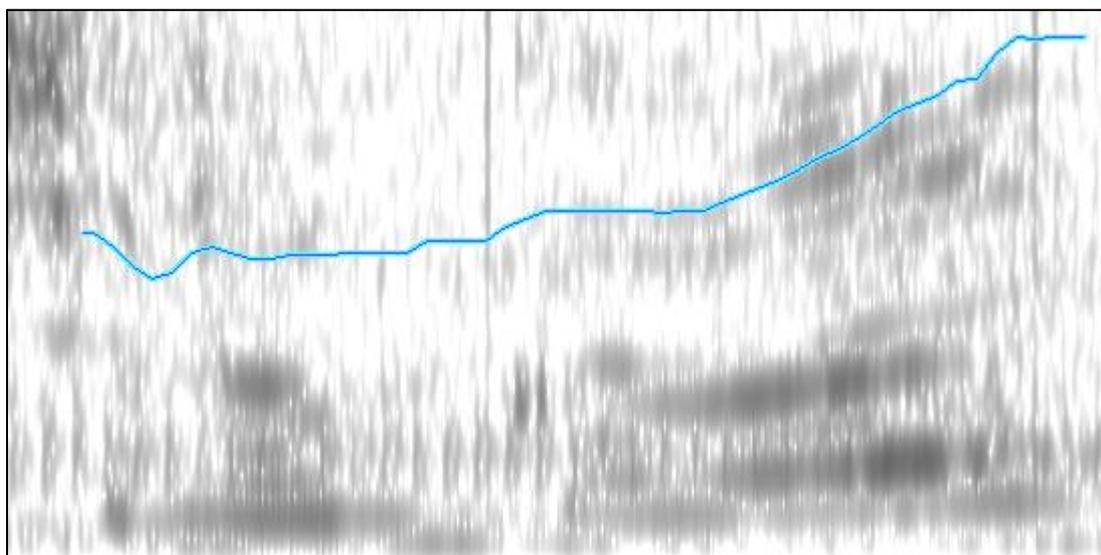


Figure 1: The pitch contour (and spectrogram) for ‘*omoshirokunai?*’ (pitch/time)

By using this agreement-requesting negative adjectival form young Japanese speakers combine negative politeness strategies (e.g., using question and minimizing the imposition) with positive politeness strategies (e.g., seeking agreement, presupposing and asserting common ground) and cater thus for both their own and the partner’s face wants. Hence, the form in question seems to serve as a *prima facie* example of the young Japanese people’s wish to express their attitudes towards the referent of the utterance but also to do so in as unassertive and partner-friendly way as possible. Nevertheless, a close observation of the use of these utterances in their context suggests that rather than genuinely seeking the partner’s agreement or confirmation, the speakers use them to convey quite strong assertions.

Despite the fact that the strategy in question is based on the specific intonation pattern, and thus, its use in written texts would seem rather unlikely, instances of the use of the form

⁵² The analysis was carried out using the Praat program, which is available for free download at <www.praat.org>. The sample presented here was obtained experimentally for the analysis of the instances in the recordings was difficult on account of excessive background noise and poor quality of the recordings.

can be found in online conversational interactions as well. The fact that the agreement-requesting negative adjectival form is, although rather sporadically, used by young Japanese speakers in their text-based interactions, too, indicates that the form is used productively to signify certain meanings of which the speakers are already aware. Example (5) cites a female speaker who enters a heated discussion in which a couple of friends are making fun of their friend's old picture. In (6), a male speaker comments on a friend's holiday picture. The person in the picture seems to have badly sunburned his legs.

- (5) そうやね一髪 of 毛もほんまにかわいくない? (笑)
 Sō ya ne:: kaminoke mo honma ni **kawaikunai?** (warai)
 Yeah, that's right! Isn't his hairstyle really cute, too? (laughter)
- (6) わぁ一足、やばくない?
 Wa:: ashi, **yabakunai?**
 Gee! Aren't your legs totally screwed?!

As mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, there are numerous other devices available in Japanese to solicit agreement, confirmation or approval from the partner and to create rapport by virtue of establishing common ground. Consequently, the question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form discussed above could be, in theory, substituted by such expressions as the following sentences demonstrate on example (2), reproduced here in a slightly edited form as (a).

- (a) Ayumi chan kawaikunai?
 (b) Ayumi chan kawaii ne::/ne.
 (c) Ayumi chan kawaii yo ne/yo ne::.
 (d) Ayumi chan kawaii deshō/desho/darō/daro.
 (e) Ayumi chan kawaii ja nai (ka).
 (f) Ayumi chan kawaii jan.⁵³
 (g) Ayumi chan kawaii to omou yo ne::/ne.
 (h) Ayumi chan kawaii to omowanai?
 etc.

⁵³ The origins of *jan* can be found in the phrase *de wa nai (desu) ka* (e.g., 'isn't it so?'). It is assumed that this form started to be used in central Japan and through Yokohama reached Tokyo in the 1980s, wherefrom it spread nationwide with the exception of some dialect regions, such as the greater Kansai area where an analogically developed form, *yan*, is used. The particle *ka* signaling question was often left out, *de wa* was commonly contracted into *ja* and the form *ja nai* was contracted into *jan* analogically to negative verbal forms, such as *wakaranai* into *wakaran* ('I don't know') (e.g., Inoue 1983:366, 1986:78, 2000:198).

Nonetheless, each of these devices has specific nuances, different pragmatic restrictions and is generally used in somewhat different contexts. In order to at least marginally compare and contrast the form this subchapter concerns with other devices serving alike functions, young Japanese informants were asked to comment on the sentences listed above. In what follows, a brief summary of the results of the survey are presented and commented on. It should be noted that the following paragraphs by no means attempt to provide definitive results or generally valid conclusions. They only try to illustrate the linguistic consciousness of a group of young Japanese speakers and some possible explanations of the results.

As for the general comments, the informants agreed that all these sentences could be used in an interaction of close friends, when the speaker, although to various degrees, believes that Ayumi is cute. Subsequently, all the sentences in their own way seem to mix the functions of the request for agreement or confirmation, the establishment of common ground, and the assertion of the speaker's opinion. Furthermore, the informants admitted that even though there seems to be some kind of default meaning associated with the given devices, depending on the context of the interaction and the manner of the realization of the sentences, they could be interpreted in a number of different ways. Presumably on account of this fact, the informants not always agreed on the relative strength of assertion or agreement request of the given sentences. Nevertheless, bearing these reservations in mind, it appears possible to divide the abovementioned sentences into three groups: (1) containing (b), (c), and (g), (2) containing (d), (e), and (f), and (3) including (a) and (h).

The first group consists of sentences ending in the interactional particle *ne* alone (b), the particle *ne* in combination with the interactional particle *yo* (c), and the particle *ne* following the verb *omou* ('think') (g). All three sentences were commented on as requesting the partner's agreement on the basis of the presumption that the partner shares the same opinion. Indeed, the particle *ne* has been described as "a marker of affective common ground" between the speaker and the interlocutor (Cook 1990:37). Accordingly, it has been recurrently noticed that it "indicates the speaker's attitude of inviting the involvement of the partner in an 'incorporative' manner" (Lee 2007:367), that is, it is used to seek sympathy, create rapport (McGloin 1990) and "solicit confirmation or agreement from the addressee" (Hayashi 2003:53; cf. Kamio 1997:53). In addition, it is also described as a particle focused on the interaction (Maynard 1993:183-220), "geared toward the performance of a turn-management operation" (Tanaka 2000:1136) and "the achievement of intersubjectivity" (*ibid.*:1135).

Therefore, it is not surprising that the sentences marked with the particle *ne* were assessed as unequivocally soliciting the partner's agreement but also strongly presuming that the partner will agree with the speaker. The sentence including the particle *ne* only was pointed out as clearly yet very mildly requesting the partner's agreement. The sentence ending in *yo ne* was judged as an intermediately strong agreement request as well as an assertion of own opinion. This seems to be due to the fact that *yo ne* carries the combination of the assertive and partner-sensitive meaning, which could be expressed as "I know this, I think that you know the same" (Asano 2008:9). The strongest request for agreement and the most directly self-assertive statement out of the three sentences seems to be represented by (g). It seems to be used as a means to establish common ground for apart from the particle *ne* and the particle *yo* it also features explicit reference to the state of the speaker's and/or the partner's mind conveyed by the verb '*omou*' ('think').

On the basis of the informants' comments, the sentences ending in *darō/daro/deshō/desho*, *janai (ka)*, and *jan* (i.e., (d), (e), and (f) respectively) were listed together in the second group. The meaning of these sentences seems to be even more heavily dependent on the context than that of the sentences listed in the first group. For instance, such information as the relationship of Ayumi, the speaker, and the partner seems to crucially influence the interpretation of the sentences.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the informants congruently stated that even though these sentences do seek the partner's agreement, too, they are used primarily so as to assert the speaker's opinion. Unlike in case of the sentences marked with the particle *ne*, the speaker does not seem to feel certain about the partner's agreement with their opinion. On the contrary, the partner can be expected to have their own strong opinion on the topic and the sentences could thus be used in an argument concerning Ayumi's qualities.

Darō/deshō seems to bear the assumption that the partner can be expected to agree with the speaker most strongly. Asano (2008), for instance, claims that *deshō* consists of such components as "I think: I can say that I know this. I think that you know the same" (8). *Janai (ka)* seems to convey less certain assertion or inference, which could be glossed as "I think that it is like this" (Asano 2008:11). Finally, *jan* is not only the most colloquial (cf. Maynard 2007:82) but also seems to be the most self-assertive out of the three. On the other hand, *jan* also seems to connote youthfulness, closeness and heightened emotional state and thus

⁵⁴ Cf. Kamio's territory of information theory (e.g., 1997). According to this theory, *darō/deshō* is used when the information is in both the speaker's and the listener's territories, but to a greater extent in the territory of one of them. It seems that when the information is more in the speaker's territory, *darō/deshō* is used to soften the speaker's assertion or establish common ground, whereas if the information is more in the territory of the partner, it is used as an epistemic modality marker.

function as a marker of alignment that can soften the directness of the statement. In addition, while *darō/deshō* can also, for instance, signal the speaker's assumption that Ayumi is cute, *janai (ka)* and *jan* can also signal sudden recognition of her cuteness (cf. Hasunuma 1995, quoted in Asano 2008).⁵⁵

Finally, the last group of sentences, including (a) and (h), consists of question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form, which this subchapter focused on, and an interrogative sentence including negative form of the verb *omou* ('think'). Both sentences were judged as rather strongly expecting and urging the partner to agree with the speaker and accept their opinion. They could therefore be glossed as 'I think that it is like this. I want you to think that it is like this, too.' While neither of them seems to presuppose pre-existing common opinion, their assertive force seems to be undeniable. Several informants stated that these forms have a similar basic effect to utterances containing *yo ne*. That is to say, they are interpreted as quite strongly assertive but strongly partner-oriented, too. The verb *omou* ('think') in (h), unlike the verb *omou* in (g), which can refer to the cognition of both the speaker and the partner, directly appeals to the partner's cognition. Consequently, the sentence (h) was pointed out as either the most or the second most emphatically soliciting for agreement and forcing the speaker's opinion onto the partner by appealing directly to their thoughts. Those informants who assigned (h) with the second place claimed that the sentence including '*to omou yo ne*' (i.e., (g)) was even stronger.

In this subchapter negative adjectival form pronounced with specific rising intonation used by young Japanese speakers as a strategy to express their attitudinal stance was presented and briefly compared to other devices which seem to be used to serve similar functions. It was argued that the strategy in question clearly reflects young Japanese speakers' need for self-assertion and self-expression as well as their apprehensions about self-assertive linguistic behaviour and fear of the contents of their emotively motivated expressions not being accepted by others. In addition, it was speculated and consequently confirmed in a small survey that even though the type of the utterances discussed in this subchapter might seem extremely partner-sensitive, they often are quite assertive.

The question-like negative adjectival form, on which the subchapter focused, seems to have been pragmaticalized to express the speaker's request for the partner's agreement with or approval of the attitudinal stance expressed in the utterance. Therefore, in this case, it seems

⁵⁵ *Darō/deshō* in different contexts functions as a modal auxiliary to express uncertainty, supposition, or prediction. *Janai (ka)* and *jan* originate in negative interrogative form *de wa nai desu ka* (e.g., 'isn't it so?'). Their interactional functions, which are discussed here, seem to stem from these functions.

to be the intonation what informs the listeners of the need to interpret the utterance as bearing emotively charged meaning. Nevertheless, it was demonstrated that the strategy is (although rather sporadically) used by young Japanese speakers in text-based online conversational interactions as well. The language users thus appear to be able to infer the specific intonation pattern even without having any other but visual channel available. In fact, in the survey carried out for the purpose of this subchapter, the intonation pattern of the sentences was not specified (and was referred to in course of the subsequent interviews only). Nonetheless, none of the informants had any trouble with commenting on the function and meaning of the sentence including the phenomenon addressed here.

The strategy was briefly compared with several other linguistic devices that can function in a similar way. Although it seems impossible to make any definitive conclusions regarding the functions of these devices at this point, they usually cannot be considered interchangeable. However, it can be noticed that since these devices are generally used utterance-finally, Japanese language preference for the ordering of linguistic elements in such a way that the partner- and interaction-oriented information follows the expressions of subjectivity was exemplified again. The results of the survey suggest that the question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form is most similar to other agreement-requesting negative questions and the utterances containing the combination of the interactional particles *yo ne*.

The existence of such a remarkable plurality of means to express nuances of very similar meaning and to serve analogical functions reflects the centrality of these meanings and functions in the Japanese people's interpersonal communication. All in all, the strategy this subchapter concerned most closely, as well as the other devices mentioned, seem to be inextricably related to the concept of politeness as well as the Japanese socio-cultural values and norms regarding interpersonal communication. They aid young Japanese speakers to express their attitudinal stance in such a manner so as not to threaten their or their partner's face in the process. Although unnecessary at the level of sentence grammar, these devices seem to be virtually indispensable in actual interpersonal communication for the utterances lacking them would often sound too direct, assertive, declarative, and insensitive to the partner and the flow of the interaction. Consequently, using such strategies reflects the speaker's attitudes not only towards the contents of their utterance and the partner but also the interaction.

3.4 ‘Despecification’ of utterance ending

One feature of Japanese youth language that seems to have been pointed out by all commentators is the abundance of vague expressions (e.g., Lauwereyns 2002:254-55; Satake 1995; Tsuji 1996; Yonekawa 1996, 1998). Many of the most commonly mentioned devices, such as *toka*, *-tari (shite)*, and *shi*, occur at the end of the utterance. While all these expressions are used by other users of Japanese as well, young Japanese speakers tend to use them in a modified way so as to serve different functions. In general, they all seem to be employed to mitigate the assertive force of statements, discount their importance, and mark them as not quite definitive. By means of such devices the speakers can convey their attitude towards the utterance as rather noncommittal and their attitude towards the partner as non-imposing and friendly.

Accordingly, this manner of interpersonal communication seems to function as *shinteineigo*, ‘new polite language’, (Yonekawa 1996:96-97) as these devices enable the speakers to avoid possible conflict caused by threatening the partner’s or own face wants. The literature on Japanese youth language deals with vague expressions quite extensively. Therefore, so as to illustrate the use of vague expressions in the hitherto largely neglected context, the two examples below are taken from online conversational interactions. Both demonstrate the use of *kedo* (‘but’) employed not as a conjunction but as a mitigating device, which is a very common yet, to my knowledge, scholarly underinvestigated function the expression performs.

In example (1) the speaker frames his surprise at and evaluation of the situation by ‘*kedo*’. Interestingly, he also puts an exclamation mark at the end of the utterance containing ‘*kedo*’, which even more emphasizes the non-logical use of the expression. In (2), the speaker reacts to a friend’s comment on her picture taken in a *rāmen* noodle restaurant. The friend said that the food he had in that chain of *rāmen* noodle restaurants quite a long time ago was not tasty at all. The speaker explains why she went there and marks the expression ‘*ikitaku natta*’ (‘I began to feel like going’) with ‘*kedo*’.

- (1) え？今起きて外見たら雪やばいんだけど！宇都宮でこの雪の量初めてかも
E? Ima okite soto mitara yuki yabai n da **kedo!** Utsunomiya de kono yuki no ryō
hajimete kamo
What the heck? Just woke up, looked outside, it’s snowing like mad [KEDO]! It
might be the first time there’s so much snow in Utsunomiya.

- (2) 私も食べてもう行かないって思ったよ！でもアメトークの天下一品芸人見
て行きたくなかったけど w
Watashi mo tabete mō ikanai tte omotta yo! Demo Ametōku no Tenkaippin geijin
mite ikitaku natta **kedo** w[arai]
Me too, after eating there, I thought I would never go there again! But seeing the
special comedy series of Ametōku [a talk show] about Tenka ippin [a rāmen noodle
restaurant chain] made me want to go there again [KEDO]. (laughter)

Another extremely popular means used by young Japanese speakers to avoid marking their utterances as definitive is using *te*-form (sometimes referred to as gerund or participle) utterance-finally. From the point of view of sentence grammar *te*-form should be used to link two predicates or clauses together. Hence, its utterance-final use is, prescriptively speaking, ungrammatical. However, it is productively used by young Japanese speakers as a discourse strategy. The popularity of this form is not surprising for *te*-form can be viewed as the most ambiguous verbal form available in Japanese as it, among others, does not express tense and can signal a variety of semantic relationships. By using *te*-form, the speaker can mark their utterance as ‘incomplete’, and hence, make the utterance sound less definitive. In example (3), for instance, the speaker A explains to his friend B that he (A) cannot take part in a race because it has been filled up. The speaker prefers to end his sentences by using *te*-form rather than a definite utterance-final form, which would be perfectly appropriate here, as well.

- (3) B: Ippai?
A: Isshūkan de, sō.
B: Maji de?
A: Mō, sugu owatchatta rashikute. Entorīsū ga hanpa nakute.
B: Ima datte, jitensha ninki da mon ne::
- B: It’s filled up?
A: Within a week, yeah.
B: Seriously?
A: Yeah, they say it [the registration call] ended in no time [-TE]. The number of places was hopelessly low [-TE].
B: Well, you can’t really be surprised, right? Cycling’s popular these days.

In addition, many young Japanese speakers tend to use *te*-form as a device that enables them to keep the floor and encourage the partner’s backchannel activity.⁵⁶ Thereby, *te*-form

⁵⁶ Notice also the use of interactional particles *ne* and *sa* in phrase-final position (e.g., Squires 1994) and a special type of phrase-final rise-fall intonation, usually referred to as *shiriagari intonēshon* or *gobiage* in

can signal not only the speaker's attitude towards the contents of the utterance and the partner but also towards the interaction. Utterance-final *te*-form does not seem to be frequently employed in online conversational interactions and its use as an interaction-management device appears not to be represented at all. Owing to the obvious difference in turn-taking, the speakers do not have to fear losing their turn and the partner's reaction can be expected to occur only after the end of the speaker's turn (i.e., after posting a comment).

The abovementioned type of unassertive, noncommittal and non-definitive communication realized by means of 'despecifying' the endings of the utterances, is, indeed, extremely common and typical of contemporary Japanese youth's interpersonal communication. Moreover, it represents a phenomenon that is clearly motivated by the speakers' attitudinal stance, and thus could form yet another topic for further inquiry within the study of linguistic expressions of emotivity. Nevertheless, an in-depth study of the emotively motivated use of vagueness in Japanese youth language is without the scope of this thesis. Therefore, in what follows a distinct phenomenon, which is also characterized by 'despecified' ending but used to achieve different effects, is discussed. More specifically, the rest of this subchapter offers a short discussion on the topic of the utterances containing nominal phrases used utterance-finally.

In other parts of this thesis, the discussion was primarily based on and motivated by the occurrence of the given phenomenon in spoken conversational interactions. However, the impulse that prompted this topic came from the investigation into the Japanese youth's language use on online social networking sites. The language the young Japanese use in course of online conversational interactions shares a number of characteristics with the language they use in face-to-face conversational interactions, vagueness and avoidance of definitiveness included. However, there is also one particularly noticeable difference, which even a cursory look at their linguistic behaviour in online conversational interactions can reveal. Namely, the utterances used by them on online social networking sites tend to display less mitigated expressivity, higher proportion of straightforwardly self-assertive statements and generally much more direct language use. Nominal phrases used utterance-finally represent one of the examples of this tendency.

Consider, for instance, example (4). The speaker is a female and the sample is a copy of a post she wrote on her profile wall.

Japanese (e.g., Inoue 1998, 2005), which all form means that are used by young Japanese speakers in a similar way to *te*-form so as to signal the speaker's wish to keep the floor and engage the partner.

- (4) 行動派の血が騒ぐー。遠出したいー！呼ばれると行きたくなるー。でも、たまには大人しく机上に向かわなきゃー。やっぱー超葛藤！！
 Kōdōha no chi ga sawagu:: Tōde shitai::! Yobareru to ikitakunaru:: Demo, tama ni wa otonashiku kijō ni mukawanakya:: Yabba:: chō **kattō**!!!
 My blood stirs (!). I want to go on a trip (!)! If you call me, you'll make me want to go (!)! But, from time to time I have to quietly face the top of my desk (!). [What an] abso-bloody-lutely complicated situation!!!

The post includes plain verbal forms (*sawagu, naru*), plain desirative form (*shitai*), plain imperative form (*mukawanakya*), exclamatorily used intensifying evaluative adjective (*yabba::*), and finally, a phrase containing a noun (*kattō*) modified by an intensifier (*chō*) and used as an exclamatory form. Moreover, with the exception of the last one, all the utterances included in this post contain a dash, which is usually used to signal expressive lengthening of vowels or is used in a similar way to exclamation mark. Therefore, the places where the dashes occur in the original are marked in the translation as exclamation marks in round brackets. In addition, the use of forms (such as ‘*mukawanakya*’ instead of ‘*mukawanakute wa ikenai*’ or ‘*yabba::*’ instead of ‘*yabai*’), which are typical of spoken colloquial language, can be noticed. The speaker did not use any mitigating devices, such as those mentioned above or interactional particles, which would make the utterance more partner-sensitive.

A post reproduced in (5) represents a similar example of the phenomenon in question. The author of the post is a singer who seems to have some trouble at work. Half of the utterances contain a nominal phrase used utterance-finally. Besides, there is an imperative (*koi*), a volitional (*sagasō*), and a plain verbal form (*matteru*). The post clearly appears to be emotively motivated. It seems to signal the speaker’s commitment to its contents, and evokes the sense of assertiveness, conclusiveness and determination.

- (5) まず今の仕事をやめる前に次の仕事を探そう。無駄な労力は使わない主義。稽古、深く反省。次は前進！早く声よ戻ってこい！待ってる。そして今夜もてくてくとウォーキング。
 Mazu ima no shigoto o yameru mae ni tsugi no shigoto o sagasō. Muda na rōryoku o tsukawanai **shugi**. Keiko, fukaku **hansei**. Tsugi wa **zenshin**! Hayaku koe yo modotte koi! Matteru. Soshite konya mo tekuteku to **wōkingu**.
 Before quitting the job I have now, I’ll look for the next job. A principle not to spare my efforts in vain. The rehearsal, deep reflection [gave me much to think about]. Next comes a movement forward. Quickly, my voice, come back to me! I’m waiting. And then, tonight, too, a plodding walk.

Nouns in Japanese do not have predicative capabilities. Therefore, utterances containing utterance-final nominal phrases lack sentence-final modality, which is often represented in the form of the copula *da* or, if used as a part of a Sino-Japanese predicate, the verb *suru*. Hence, the instances of utterance-final nominal phrases addressed here could be considered the results of ellipsis. Nevertheless, even though the form in question could thus also be considered a type of ‘despricification’ of utterance ending, the motivation to use the utterances ending in a nominal phrase appears to be quite different from the motivation to use utterance-final *te*-form and vague expressions. Lacking modality and implying stativity, a noun phrase used utterance-finally seems to signal the speaker’s conclusive, assertive or indisputable attitude towards the contents of the utterance. In addition, such structure seems to encode the sense of immediacy and heightened expressivity.

It appears that the utterances containing nouns used utterance-finally most frequently express contents which concern solely the speaker and cannot be expected to influence the partner in any significant way. Therefore, the speakers do not have to feel obliged to manifest consideration for the partner by means of ‘interpersonal modality’ markers or strategies mitigating the illocutionary force of the utterance. Consider, for instance, sample (6) taken from an online conversational interaction again. The speaker A has just arrived in Hanoi, Vietnam, and expresses his feelings about it. Even though he does not use any devices that could relate his utterance to the potential partners, three people replied to the post. However, B and C express their own desires and do not really react to the contents of the utterance but rather to the situation as a whole (the trip to Vietnam). D, on the other hand, clearly reacts to the contents of the utterance and expresses her concern for A.

- (6) A: すっごく都会。バイク・・・すごく危険。
 B: 俺も行きたいぜえー
 C: 早く写真みたいだよー
 D: ひかれないように(‘_’)

- A: Suggoku **tokai**. Baiku...sugoku **kiken**.
 B: Ore mo ikitai ze::
 C: Hayaku shashin mitai da yo::
 D: Hikarenai yō ni

- A: Enormous city. Motorbikes... extremely dangerous.
 B: I want to go, too!
 C: I want to see the pictures soon!
 D: Take care not to get hit.

Nevertheless, as demonstrated in (7), which is a comment on a photograph, the speakers can also use an utterance with an utterance-final nominal phrase to express their attitude towards something that belongs to the world of the partner rather than their own. This kind of utterances again seems to serve an exclamatory function and encode the speakers' personal attitudes towards the referent and their commitment towards the contents of the utterance. In addition, it might be argued that such unmitigated form reflects the speakers' attitude towards the partner as well. By choosing not to use any of the wide range of mitigating devices available in Japanese the speakers can express their closeness to the partner.

- (7) すごおい☆かわいい写真♪
Sugo::i kawaii **shashin**
Fantastic! What a cute picture!

Indeed, it seems that by virtue of not specifying the sentence-final modality and using unmitigated expressions in the form of bare nominal phrases the speakers are able to encode their attitudes towards the referent of their utterance, the utterance, as well as the partner. Accordingly, using utterance-final nominal phrases can thus encode the good relationship between the speaker and the partner, the expressive character of the contents of the utterance, and the speaker's commitment to the contents of the utterance.

Interestingly, noun-ending utterances often occur at the beginning of the posts and are subsequently followed by utterances containing more interaction- and partner-oriented/ conscious expressions. Hence, the noun-ending utterance seems to function as an expressively presented affect-laden topic which is consequently elaborated on in a more intersubjective manner. In effect, the structure of such posts once again seems to reflect the overall preference of placing the most subjective and immediate elements before the intersubjective ones. Moreover, it can also be noticed that the style of the utterances containing utterance-final nominal phrases resembles the style of the headings in Japanese newspapers, which also generally tend to be nominal.

The following examples demonstrate the structure of the posts in which an utterance containing an utterance-final nominal phrase is presented first and subsequently followed by an elaboration on it.

- (8) 今日は14時~23時までバイト。さすがにこの雪じゃちゃりで行きたくないけれど、車はスタッドレス履いてないし、バスは帰る頃にはなくなってしまふ(◊◊)泣 おーのー(◊◊)泣

Kyō wa 14 ji – 23 ji made **baito**. Sasuga ni kono yuki ja chari de ikitakunai keredo, kuruma wa sutaddoresu haitenai shi, basu wa kaeru koro ni wa naku natte shimau. (naku) ō nō (naku)

From 2 p.m. till 11 p.m. today: part time job. I really don't want to go on a bike in such snow but my car doesn't have studless tires and there're no buses at the time when I finish work. (crying) oh no (crying)

- (9) 今日の夜ごはん~♥ ピーマンの肉詰め作ろうと思って、お肉かご入れて野菜入れてついでにおかしも入れてみておうち帰ってピーマン買い忘れたことに気づいた

Kyō no yoru gohan – pīman no nikuzume tsukurō to omotte, oniku kago irete yasai irete tsuide ni okashi mo iretemite ouchi kaette pīman kaiwasureta koto ni kizuita

Today's dinner – I decided to make green peppers stuffed with meat so I [went to the shop and] put meat in the basket, and I put vegetables in the basket, and I got some sweets, too. Then I got home and realized I'd forgotten to buy the peppers.

- (10) わあー——AKB の曲のカバー！なんか、雰囲気変わって、かっこいいよねー！！

Wa:: **AKB no kyoku no kabā!** Nanka, fun'iki kawatte, kakkoi yo ne:!!

Wow! The cover of the [new] AKB [a Japanese pop group] song! Somehow the atmosphere is different and it's really cool, right?

In spoken conversational interactions, the use of nominal phrases utterance-finally is considerably less common. Most of the instances that could be found in the recordings were of markedly less expressive character than the utterances discussed above. Using the means which suggest the speaker's consideration for the partner and interaction is unequivocally more common. Nevertheless, same as in case of the instances of the utterance-final nominal phrases identified in online conversational interactions, when the construction is used in face-to-face conversational interactions, it seems to signal the speaker's commitment to the contents of the utterance, evoke the sense of conclusiveness, assertiveness, and determination, and mark the speaker's friendly attitude towards the partner.

In example (11), for instance, A, who had been using his phone a moment ago, suddenly decides to show B the picture of his family which he has as wallpaper on the screen of his phone. In (12), three friends are in a pub, thinking about what to order. In both examples using nouns utterance-finally rather than using some utterance-softening expressions emphasizes the good relationship of the speakers as well as their attitude towards the contents of the utterances.

- (11) A: A:: sore jikka no, kāchan to, aniki n chi no inu to, oyaji to, **ore**.
B: **Shashin**?
A: **Shashin**.
B: A:: **hasukī**?
A: Un, **hasukī**.
B: Itteta ne, hasukī tte.
A: Sō sō sō.

A: Mm, this is of my family, my mum, my older brother's dog, my father and me.
B: A photo?
A: A photo.
B: Mm, a husky?
A: Yeah, a husky.
B: Right, you told me before that it's a husky.
A: That's right.

- (12) A: Nani ni suru?
B: Ore wa **bīru**.
C: Nnn//ja:/://Ore mo. Bīru de.

A: What will you have?
B: I'll have beer.
C: Mmm//well//Me too. I'll go with beer.

It seems that young Japanese speakers tend to act more self-assertively and display their subjectivity and attitudinal stance more directly in online conversational interactions than in face-to-face conversational interactions. The reasons for this tendency seem to be manifold. The difference in the 'interactionality', or the entirety of the context of the communicative situation, seems to be an especially important factor. When communicating on online social networking sites, the speakers often do not seem to feel compelled to engage the partner or attend to their face wants as urgently as in face-to-face conversational interactions. Moreover, the posts on own profile walls on online social networking sites are often used specifically for self-presentation. The use of more straightforwardly self-assertive and expressive utterances is thus not surprising. Finally, the electronic text-based (or rather, visual-channel-based) medium represented by the computer-mediated communication generally encourages 'condensed' manner of communication. The elaborate strategies used in face-to-face conversational interactions in order to maintain frictionless interpersonal relations hence seem to be neither necessary nor efficient in online conversational interactions.

Young Japanese speakers' linguistic behaviour seems to be strongly motivated by their concern for the relationship with their partner. Vague expressions can serve to mark the speaker's noncommittal attitude towards the contents of their utterances and avoid thus responsibility for their contents. Utterance-final *te*-form can be used to signal that the utterance is not meant as something definitive. Therefore, it enables the speakers to distance themselves from the contents of the utterance. In contrast, the utterances containing nominal phrases used utterance-finally can signal the speaker's personal, assertive, insistent, committed attitude towards the contents of the utterance. In effect, the use of nominal phrases utterance-finally is indicative of a high degree of subjectivity and/or immediacy. By using this construction the speakers can thereby further show their friendly attitude towards the partner. 'Despecification' of the utterance ending can thus serve various functions and encode a range of attitudes. Nonetheless, all the cases of the 'despecification' of utterance endings mentioned above seem to reflect the speaker's need for the expression of attitudinal stance as well as their concern for the relationship with their partner.

4 CONCLUSION

The present thesis has been designed as a preliminary study preparing the ground for further research on the topic of emotivity in Japanese youth's conversational interactions. It first outlined the basic premises of the theoretical framework adopted, briefly reviewed prior scholarship on the related topics, and presented the objectives of the research. Chapter Three then constituted an attempt at the application of the approach. Its purpose was to identify, analyze and describe several productive means of expression of emotivity in contemporary young Japanese native speakers' conversational interactions and, concurrently, by virtue of doing so, explain some of the most typical features of their interpersonal communication. It provided the analysis of four linguistic forms which frequently occur in Japanese youth's conversational interactions, illustrated the central role emotivity plays in them, and pointed out some recurring tendencies.

The study emphasized the importance of the investigation of the actual language use in interpersonal communication and the need of an integrative, systematic, dynamic, functional and context-based approach. It was based on the assumption that it is necessary to acknowledge the fact expressive and social (bonding) functions of language occupy a vital role in conversational interactions and that attitudinal factors considerably influence the shape of language in interpersonal communication. The study attempted to join in the debate on the importance of affect-related meanings in language by proposing the concept of emotivity (influenced especially by Maynard (1993, 2002, 2007)) as a possible means that can facilitate an integrative approach to expressive and social functions of language in interpersonal communication.

In particular, the concept was proposed as a means to deal with young Japanese native speakers' linguistic behaviour in conversational interactions. Emotivity was defined as an aspect of language that encompasses the speaker's attitudes (i.e., momentary feeling states) towards the contents of the utterance, the partner and the act of communication. The study of emotivity thus concerns the linguistic means the speakers consciously or unconsciously employ in order to express their attitudinal stance in course of communication regardless of the fact whether the expressed attitudes are based on genuine feelings, used discourse-strategically, or socio-culturally determined. As illustrated in Chapter Three, such an approach can take into consideration the underlying socio-cultural context as well as draw on the insights of the studies on such concepts as politeness, subjectivity and intersubjectivity, expressivity, (discourse) modality, evidentiality, stance, affect and involvement.

To test the approach, the present research focused on four linguistic forms which frequently occur in Japanese youth's conversational interactions and illustrated their explicability by virtue of referring to emotivity.

First, non-predicate-final constituent order was discussed. It was argued that the majority of postpositions in Japanese youth's conversational interactions can best be explained by means of referring to their affect-related motivation. Indeed, even the hosts of the postpositions which are usually accounted for as afterthought often contain some expressive elements. However, the seemingly most common type of postposition in Japanese youth's conversational interactions consists of a host which contains an overt expression of the speaker's attitudinal stance and a postposed phrase which provides either a referent for what the host concerns or the speaker's attitude towards the contents of the host. It thus seems accurate to claim that the constituent order reflects young Japanese speakers' expressive needs as well as their concern for the effectiveness of their interpersonal communication. Moreover, it was demonstrated that such constructions occur in online conversational interactions, too, which proves their productivity as means for conveying emotively charged messages. Furthermore, it was noticed that there exist several non-predicate-final expressions which appear to have been grammaticalized to express certain attitudinal stance and whose substitution by their predicate-final counterparts without affecting the meaning of the utterance seems impossible. The subchapter was concluded by an observation that it seems that non-predicate-final constituent order, despite being 'non-canonical', often constitutes the preferred constituent order when it comes to communicating affect-laden messages.

Second, 'quotations' of own or another person's speech and attitudinal stance framed by *mitai na/mitai-na* used as a quotative marker were addressed. It was argued that this strategy is often used by young Japanese speakers in course of the narrative parts of their conversations so as to dramatize their narration, directly express emotively charged messages and immediately mitigate their force. The use of 'quotations' enables the speakers to create the effect of authenticity, immediacy, and directness, as well as it allows them to distance themselves from the contents of the 'quotations'. In addition, framing such 'quotations' by the expression *mitai na/mitai-na* allows the speakers to present the 'quotation' as a mere approximation or exemplification or as if it were an objective point of view of a third person. Besides, by using 'quotations' the speaker engages the listener more effectively than in case of a descriptive narration. Therefore, the strategy also emphasizes the speaker's and the partner's attitudes of closeness and interactional cooperation. Consequently, it can be viewed

as clearly motivated by the expressive needs of the speakers as well as by their wish for frictionless interpersonal relations.

Third, negative adjectival form with a specific rising intonation pattern used to request the partner's agreement was examined. It was argued that the form represents one of the possible strategies the young Japanese employ in order to express their attitudinal stance in such a way so as to make the partner co-responsible for the contents of the utterance. In effect, the strategy reflects young Japanese speakers' need of self-assertion and self-expression as well as their apprehensions about self-assertive linguistic behaviour and the fear of their attitudinal stance not being accepted by others. In addition, the use of such a communicative strategy seems to be inextricably related to the Japanese socio-cultural values and norms regarding interpersonal communication. The question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form was briefly compared to several other devices which seem to perform similar functions. While the devices were proved as generally not interchangeable, it seems that the form in question is most similar to the utterances marked by the utterance-final combination of the interactional particles *yo ne*. It presents the speaker's strong self-assertion, however, it also manifests their heightened awareness of the partner and their unfailing expectations that the partner will agree with them. Interestingly, even though it is the intonation what distinguishes it from a negative statement or a negative question, the form occurs in online conversational interactions, too. Hence, it might be assumed that young Japanese speakers are already accustomed to it and productively use it to serve the function described above.

Finally, the last subchapter addressed the issue of the 'despecification' of utterance ending. It briefly considered utterance-final vague expressions and *te*-form but concentrated on the utterances containing utterance-final nominal phrases, that is, the utterances lacking sentence-final modality in a broad sense of the term. It was argued that while utterance-final vague expressions and *te*-form are used to mitigate the impact of (both self-assertive and other) statements by enabling the speaker to distance themselves from the contents of the utterances, the utterances containing utterance-final nominal phrases can signal the speaker's highly subjective, assertive, insistent, and committed attitude towards the contents of the utterance. Moreover, the form is also indicative of the speaker's attitude of closeness and friendliness towards the partner as well as of a high degree of immediacy. It was concluded that the 'despecification' of utterance ending can thus serve several functions and encode a variety of attitudes. Nonetheless, it always seems to reflect the speaker's urge to express attitudinal stance as well as their concern for the relationship with their partner.

In course of the analysis of the ways in which the abovementioned linguistic forms encode emotivity, some recurrent patterns of young Japanese speakers' linguistic behaviour in conversational interactions became clear. Indeed, as it was hypothesized in Introduction, young Japanese speakers' linguistic behaviour seems to be strongly influenced by their pressing need for self-expression and, concurrently, by their profound concern for the maintenance of harmonious relations with their partner. Accordingly, their conversational interactions seem to be moulded primarily by these two factors. It thus comes as no surprise that in Japanese youth's conversational interactions the expressive and social (bonding) functions of language are generally emphasized and the utterances are imbued with a variety of linguistic devices by means of which the speakers can express their attitudes towards the contents of their utterances, the partner, as well as the interaction.

The order of information in the constructions the young Japanese frequently use generally seems to display iconic pattern. That is to say, the intersubjective elements, that is, the elements which relate the utterance to the world of the partner, tend to follow the more subjective elements. Therefore, it appears that, in general, the need to express own attitudinal stance the young Japanese speakers experience is very strong, yet their wish for good relations seems to be of even greater importance. Hence, the speakers often express their attitudinal stance but immediately frame it with an expression that can relate it to the world of the Other and mitigate the overtly subjective or assertive expression. This type of linguistic behaviour is distinctly based on the Japanese socio-cultural norms, values, preferences, and expectations regarding interpersonal relations and communication. In addition, it can also be related to the rules of politeness in general.

The study primarily focused on face-to-face conversational interactions, however, it considered the use of the given emotives in online conversational interactions, too. Moreover, the topic of the last subchapter (i.e., 3.4) was inspired by the frequent occurrence of the phenomenon in online conversational interactions. By taking into account both face-to-face and online conversational interactions the study was not only able to provide a more comprehensive description of the given emotives, but also to prove their productivity and/or better explain the context of their use.

The productivity of non-predicate-final constructions as means for expressing affect-laden messages was confirmed by their frequent occurrence in online conversational interactions. Since online social networking sites enable the speakers the time to thoroughly consider what they wish to communicate, the explanation that the postpositions occurring in

online conversational interactions are the results of an afterthought or repair is untenable. In contrast, the quotative use of *mitai na/mitai-na* was not found in online conversational interactions at all. The main reason for this conspicuous absence seems to be the fact that the construction tends to be used in the narrative parts of conversational interactions, which are rather uncommon for the interactions on the online social networking sites.

On the other hand, the question-like agreement-requesting negative adjectival form was determined as present, although rather sporadically, in online conversational interactions, too. This was a surprising outcome considering the fact that the strategy is based on the intonation pattern. Its occurrence in online conversational interactions thus suggests that the users are already quite familiar with the form and its function and can infer the intended meaning from the context. Finally, the last subchapter focused on the utterances containing nominal phrases used utterance-finally. The impulse to study the phenomenon came from its frequent occurrence in online conversational interactions. While it is possible to find instances of such a construction in face-to-face conversational interactions as well, it is definitely much less common.

Indeed, it seems that on account of the difference in ‘interactionality’, or the context of communicative situation, young Japanese speakers tend to act more self-assertively and display their attitudinal stance more straightforwardly in online conversational interactions than in face-to-face conversational interactions. Probably due to the fact that the partner’s presence is not felt as immediate, when communicating on the online social networking sites, the speakers often do not seem to feel compelled to appeal to the partner or to attend to their face wants to the extent they do in course of face-to-face conversational interactions. In addition, online social networking sites often seem to serve as some of the main places for self-expression and self-presentation young people have. Therefore, the use of markedly expressive and assertive language in online conversational interactions is rather natural. Besides, when used for the purposes of informal interaction, the computer-mediated communication generally tends to encourage the use of ‘condensed’ manner of communication rather than elaborate strategies typical of face-to-face interactions.

The thesis did not aspire to provide definitive conceptualizations or results. It attempted to emphasize the need for the study of expressive and social functions of language in actual interpersonal communication and tried to demonstrate that the speakers’ attitudinal stance significantly influences the structure of their utterances. For the future research, both the theoretical framework of emotivity and the methodological procedures used in analyzing

and describing the given emotives should be further developed. For instance, it seems useful for the future study to create annotated corpuses containing the transcriptions of both spoken and online conversational interactions. In this way, the methods of quantitative research could also be applied and the popularity of the phenomena in question could be more objectively assessed. In addition, a detailed analysis of prosodic features should also be carried out for it appears that prosody represents one of the principal means of emotivity encoding. Similarly, a more detailed inquiry into the socio-cultural background of the speakers (i.e., the context of Japanese youth culture) could also prove beneficial.

The study confirmed that although a number of features of Japanese youth language seem to be common to both face-to-face and online conversational interactions, there also exist substantial differences. Therefore, it can be expected that a future closer analysis of the means of expression of emotivity used specifically in online conversational interactions will bring fruitful results, too. By applying the approach to four linguistic forms typical of young Japanese speakers' conversational interactions, the thesis offered an example of what kind of phenomena can be studied and what kind of results can be achieved. It is hoped that the study of other phenomena will follow. By virtue of providing an analysis of a greater variety of linguistic phenomena, the future study should attempt to answer such general questions as what kind of linguistic means the young Japanese productively use in order to express emotivity in course of their conversational interactions and on the basis of what criteria they opt for such means. In effect, the future study should be able to more comprehensively describe how emotivity influences the structure of the Japanese youth's language in conversational interactions.

Finally, by the way of conclusion, it is possible to list several areas of investigation the future research could address. Further study on emotivity in Japanese youth language could, for instance, consider the differences between the masculine and feminine speech styles as it can be expected that both the extent of expressing affect-related contents and the preferred means for their encoding differ across genders. Furthermore, a comparative inquiry into the ways of expression of emotivity in the conversational interactions of the speakers belonging to different age-groups or generations could also be rewarding. The study of the ways in which language learners' express emotivity could constitute yet another subject for further inquiry. In addition, a cross-linguistic research on emotivity in various (youth) languages would allow us to determine the degree of universality and relativity of emotivity encoding. Last but not least, the study of emotivity could further be extended to the non-verbal means of expressing the speaker's attitudinal stance in course of interpersonal communication.

SHRNUTÍ

Předkládaná diplomová práce je koncipována jakožto přípravná studie pro další teoretizaci a zkoumání emotivity v konverzačních interakcích mladých Japonců. Práce sestává ze čtyř kapitol. V úvodní kapitole jsou představeny teoretický rámec a základní východiska, přehled literatury související se zkoumanou problematikou a cíle práce. Druhá kapitola obsahuje krátký popis metod sběru dat a analýzy. Třetí kapitola představuje praktickou část práce. V závěrečné kapitole jsou shrnuty výsledky výzkumu a jejich implikace a jsou navrženy možnosti dalšího zkoumání.

Práce je založena na primárním empirickém výzkumu konverzačních interakcí mladých Japonců, a to jak v jejich formě mluvené (*face-to-face*), tak i ve formě textové komunikace prostřednictvím počítačové sítě (*computer-mediated communication*). Hlavními zdroji jazykových dat byly nahrávky spontánních konverzací mladých Japonců a jejich konverzační interakce na online sociálních sítích (Facebook a Mixi).

Cílem výzkumné části práce bylo pokusit se o identifikaci, analýzu a popis několika prostředků, jež mladí Japonci produktivně používají k vyjadřování emotivity v konverzačních interakcích se svými vrstevníky. Prostřednictvím zaměření se na tyto prostředky bylo zároveň možné vyzorovat několik základních tendencí jejich komunikačního a interakčního jazykového chování.

Emotivita je v této práci definována jakožto aspekt jazyka vyjadřující postoje mluvčího k obsahu promluvy, komunikačnímu partnerovi a komunikačnímu aktu jako celku. Objektem zájmu jsou tudíž jazykové prostředky, jež mluvčí vědomě či nevědomě používají k vyjadřování těchto postojů v průběhu konverzačních interakcí nezávisle na tom, zda jsou komunikované postoje založené na skutečných pocitech, strategicky použité v kontextu dané interakce, či socio-kulturně podmíněné. Při popisu daných jevů proto práce pracuje s pojmy, jako jsou např. socio-kulturní kontext, zdvořilost, expresivita, subjektivita a intersubjektivita, modalita apod.

Práce se zaměřila na čtyři vybrané jevy, jež jsou pro konverzační interakce mladých Japonců typické, a pokusila se o jejich objasnění pomocí konceptu emotivity. Konkrétně se jednalo o: (1) postpozice, (2) „citace“ přímých řečí a postojů (připisovaných buď mluvčímu samotnému anebo jiné osobě, která vystupuje v jeho vyprávění) pomocí výrazu *mitai na/mitai-na* („něco jako“), (3) záporné adjektivní formy se specifickou stoupanou intonací používané k vyjádření žádosti o potvrzení sdílení komunikovaného postoje a (4) prostředky „despecifikace“ konce výpovědi se zaměřením se na eliptická nominální zakončení.

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