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**Functional Variety of
the Particle *shi*
in Japanese Conversation with
Particular Reference to Kansai Dialects**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of
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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family.

ABSTRACT

Conjunctions in Japanese are usually described as a class of particles which function to link clauses. Recently many so-called conjunctions can be found at sentence-final position exhibiting characteristics similar to those of a sentence-final particle. Sentence-final particles in Japanese are a type of particle used at utterance-final position, and indicate a speaker's attitude, emotions, feelings or strategy reflecting the speaker's stance towards the content of the information being uttered. In other words, they exhibit a variety of discourse-pragmatic functions. The focus of this study has been to examine the conjunction *shi* at sentence-final position in naturally occurring conversations observing any functional change/shift away from the traditional usage with particular reference to Kansai dialects.

The use of sentence-final *shi* in informal Japanese dialogue was assessed by collecting examples which occurred in conversations of native speakers. These provided data from a cross-section of people, ages, predominantly residing in the Kansai area. The data was analysed according to a number of criteria including the response of the interlocutor, the extent inference is necessary to understand the intended message, and the pragmatic effects caused by sentence-final *shi*.

This study establishes that there is an emergence of a new usage of *shi* in Japan from the traditional conjunction (clause linking particle) to that of a sentence-final particle. The traditional usage has not disappeared but coexists with the new usage. Previous studies have suggested sentence-final *shi* is associated with a negative tone; while for the most part, *shi* at sentence-final position expresses the speaker's observation with a negative stance, there are times observed in this study when *shi* is used in ways that do not necessarily express the speaker's negative view. This represents a significant new finding of the study. The observations made in this study are based on Kansai dialects, and whether they are true of standard Japanese is beyond the scope of this study.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the analysis of the data.

ACC	ACCusative case particle (<i>o</i>)
CAUS	CAUSative
COND	CONDitional form
CONJ	CONJunctive particle
COP	COPula (<i>da</i>)
DAT	DATive particle (<i>ni</i>)
GEN	GENitive particle (<i>no</i>)
INFL	INFLection
LAT	LATive particle (<i>ni</i>)
NOM	NOMinative case marker (<i>ga</i>)
NOMI	Nominaliser
NEG	NEGative
PASS	PASSive
PAST	PAST tense
SFP	Sentence-Final Particle
TOP	TOPic Marker
Q	Question Marker
QUOT	QUOTative particle

NOTE ON ROMANISATION

A hybrid system followed by many Japanese linguists for romanization is used in this thesis for the author's Japanese data and examples. Consonants follow the Hepburn system, but vowel length is indicated by doubling the vowel. However quotations of examples from other authors will retain the romanisation of the original.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND ANALYTIC CONVENTIONS

The transcription system uses standard English orthographic symbols, together with some additional symbols and follows Conversation Analytic Standards (e.g. Atkinson and Heritage, 1984). Quotations of examples from other authors will retain the analytical method of the original.

When all or part of an utterance, or the speaker identification, is in parentheses, this indicates uncertainty on the transcriber's part, but represents a likely possibility. Empty parentheses indicate that something is being said, but no clarification could be achieved. If the empty parentheses are where speakers are identified, it indicates that no identification of the speaker could be achieved. Full stops indicate the end of an utterance. Punctuation in examples from other authors will retain the form of the original. All conversations are numbered according to the order in which they present in the chapter, even if this differs from the numbering of their original source.

The grammatical analysis of the particle *shi* is not included in the examples presented. Rather, *shi* is presented in italics and in bold font.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Study

This thesis examines the functional variety of the Japanese conjunction *shi*¹ in naturally occurring conversations with particular reference to Japanese spoken in the Kansai area. Traditionally, the conjunction *shi* occurs at clause-final position and connects two clauses in a sentence. According to Makino and Tsutsui (1986, p. 395), the conjunction *shi* is used to indicate the English conjunctive ‘and’ in an emphatic way by linking two or more clauses. Depending on the context of the sentence Makino and Tsutsui state that *shi* can also be translated as ‘and what’s more’, or ‘not only, but also’, and ‘so’. Their example *koko wa natsu wa atsui shi, fuyu wa samui desu* (‘Here it is hot in summer, and what’s more, it’s cold in the winter.’) is an example of the traditional usage of the particle *shi*. However, personal experience suggests that there are occasions in spontaneous Japanese conversation where the conjunction *shi* occurs at the end of the sentence, in utterance-final and sentence-final position exhibiting characteristics similar to that of a sentence-final particle. Japanese sentence-final particles (SFPs) are a type of particle which occurs in sentence-final or utterance-final position. An utterance-final particle is a particle found in final position of a complete unit of speech in spoken language bounded by breaths or pauses but which does not have to be grammatical. There are a number of SFPs in Japanese and they have been described in many ways, as signalling the speaker’s sentiments (McGloin, 1990), conveying the speaker’s attitude and judgment (Oishi, 1985), and to express the attitude of the speaker to the interlocutor (Cook, 1990). More detailed discussion of SFPs and conjunctions can be found in Chapter 3.

This study will examine instances of conversational data, including data from a radio talk show, KBS Kyoto, that carry the conjunction *shi* at sentence-final or utterance-final position. An utterance can be any vocally produced sound, but a sentence can be either written or spoken. Simply, a sentence is a group of words that expresses a complete

¹ In some sources *shi* is also described as a conjunctive particle.

thought or idea. The main focus of this thesis is to investigate and determine whether the function of the conjunction *shi* has taken on the function of a sentence-final particle and to explore the internal effects of the use of *shi* at utterance-final position. Since the data was mainly collected from speakers of Kansai dialects, whether the observations made in this thesis are also true of standard Japanese is beyond the scope of the present study. Data will be analysed to test the hypothesis that the speakers use the particle *shi* as a strategy or a device for saving face, addressing problems, or getting out of an uncomfortable situation (e.g. a contradiction or disagreement, a request, or a rejection).

The research questions in this thesis are the following:

- (1) In what way does the conjunction *shi* exhibit functional variety in the present sample of conversational Japanese?
- (2) Has the conjunction *shi* gained characteristics of a sentence-final particle?
- (3) What are the pragmatic effects of using the conjunction *shi* to end an utterance?
- (4) How does the use of *shi* at utterance-final position affect the response of the interlocutor?
- (5) To what extent is inference necessary to understand what the speaker wants to express by ending the utterance with *shi*?

These questions are significant for discussion as *shi* in spoken corpora clearly exhibits characteristics and has acquired discourse functions that appear similar to those of sentence-final particles, and at variance with its traditional function. Research questions one and two are integral to this thesis as it is important to determine the specific ways that *shi* exhibits functional variety at sentence-final position; this in turn will help to illuminate the variety of discourse-pragmatic functions of *shi* in sentence-final position. Examining the pragmatic effects of *shi* will also help to understand whether it has an influence on what the speaker is actually intending to say (the implicit message), and the influence on the response of the interlocutor. Examples will be provided to clearly illustrate that the speaker's inference is interactively constructed. I hope to show that syntax and the conventionalisation of the pragmatic meaning is crucial to the description of the development of *shi*. I suggest that *shi* be classified as a 'pseudo' final particle as, in a sense, sentence-final *shi* can be seen as diverging from a conjunction in meaning and acquiring new discourse-pragmatic functions. I have used the term 'pseudo' final particle as *shi* is still used in its traditional form in both spoken

and written Japanese, yet when it is found at utterance or sentence-final position with no connecting clause it cannot be considered to be a true conjunction. Rather, it appears to be ‘imitating’ a sentence-final particle.

An example of the type of usage of *shi* under investigation is given by SturtzSreetharan (2004) in her study of Japanese men’s register. The following is a part of a conversation between three friends who have been inseparable since entering a prestigious university in the Kansai area the previous year. SturtzSreetharan notes that all of the three men are second-year students of the same age, sharing similar friends and network affiliations. Participant Y demands repayment of the money that he lent to K. What follows is a healthy discussion mainly between Y and K on the benefits of having a part-time job, with Y threatening to expose K’s loan to his mother. The third participant Ki is listening to the banter between his two friends and eventually participates almost unwillingly in the conversation.

(1)

1	Y	...	<i>kikitakunai</i>	<i>kara,</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>betsu ni</i>
			Listen.want.neg	so	good	SFP	particularity

‘I don’t want to hear it, it’s ok, I don’t care.’

2	K	<i>Ano</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>kinoshita,</i>	<i>ore</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>na</i>
		Um	COP	Kinoshita	I	TOP	SFP

‘hey Kinoshita, you know I ...’

3	Ki	<i>Ore</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>betsu ni</i>	<i>kiitemo</i>
		I	TOP	especially	even if listen

4	<i>sha</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>mon.</i>
	can’t help	thing	

‘I can’t help you even if I listen.’

3	F6	<i>Ne, detekuru mon ja nai shi ne.</i>
		SFP appear thing neg SFP

‘Right. That kind of expression never appears in textbooks.’

In line 1 M6 criticizes English teaching in Japan by suggesting that common expressions such as ‘See you’ are not taught and F6 immediately agrees. The *shi* in utterance-final position in line 2 used by F6 is interesting as it is followed by the sentence-final particle *ne*. Traditionally another clause is expected to follow *shi*, however in this case the sentence is completed not only with *shi* but also sentence-final particle *ne*, showing agreement. This use of *shi* in particular can be likened to a specific pragmatic strategy that is used for the benefit of the speaker and interlocutor. Conversational implicature or the transmission of meaning depends not only on the context of the utterance, but also on the inferred intent of the speaker. M6 is trying to share his knowledge on English teaching in Japan and F6 responds in agreement with a statement that uses the conjunction *shi*, and the sentence-final particle *ne*. In addition, the fact that *shi* is combined directly with *ne* also indicates its acceptance as a ‘de facto’ final particle, syntactically tolerated in the same way as sentence-final particles *yo* or *wa* which can combine directly with *ne*. I argue that participants in conversational interaction using *shi* in sentence-final position as in the above examples have specific informational, interactional and communication goals that are set by the speaker as part of a conversation strategy.

1.2 Review of the Literature

Although limited research has been conducted on the conjunction *shi* the function of other conjunctions *kedo* (‘but’), *ga* (‘but’) and *kara* (‘so’) have been closely examined (Iguchi, 1998; Nakayama & Ichihashi-Nakayama, 1997; Ohori, 1995; Park, 1998). These studies are also concerned with certain conjunctions being found in utterance-final position and the proposal of the emergence of new discourse-pragmatic functions. However, to my knowledge very little research until recently has been published solely on the conjunction *shi*. As will be explained in more depth in Chapter 4, articles concerning *shi* have been mainly limited to definitions that focus on examples of usage as a conjunction and maintain that the function of *shi* is to list attributes or facts or indicate a causal relationship. Nonetheless in recent years significant new research has

started to emerge on non-traditional facets of *shi*. Shimamoto (2008) states that sentence-final *shi* can be replaced with the particles *kara* and *yo*. She maintains that the conjunction *shi* at one stage exhibited functions similar to that of a sentence-final particle that expressed a reason. However, she argues that this usage together with the traditional usage is not as common compared to before and suggests that these functions are weakening. I argue *shi* at sentence-final position cannot be considered a traditional conjunction. My argument will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Sakakibara (2008) claims that sentence-final *shi* is similar to other Japanese sentence-final particles as it shows the speaker/writer's epistemic or affective stance. Sakakibara's is one of the first studies to point out that *shi* has distinct functions as a sentence-final particle. However as Sakakibara does not use natural conversational data but mainly data from internet blogs there are limitations with her research. This thesis will build on Sakakibara's research to determine whether this function also is observed in natural conversation.

McGloin and Konishi (2010) in their study on the sentence-final *shi* propose that the core function of *shi* is to add an emotional overtone to an utterance. They examine the relationship between the conjunctive usage and the new sentence-final usage by using both written and spoken data. McGloin and Konishi argue that the new usage of *shi* represents an independent grammatical status and therefore it functions as a sentence-final particle. I agree with McGloin and Konishi's research and argument that the new usage of *shi* shows an independent grammatical status and functions in a way similar to a sentence-final particle. However, I will show that while for the most part *shi* at sentence-final position expresses the speaker's observation with a negative stance, there are times when *shi* is used that do not necessarily express a negative view. In this area my research differs from McGloin and Konishi.

As has been indicated above, there has been a lot of interest and extensive research conducted on other conjunctions such as *kara* ('because'), and *kedo* ('but'), which are comparable to *shi* as each can exhibit characteristics of sentence-final particles. Traditionally the only function of *kara* and *kedo* was to connect clauses so the majority of this literature concentrates on the functional variety and semantic change observed in the usage of these conjunctions. Several researchers, such as Iguchi (1998), Park (1996,

1998), Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) have even suggested that these conjunctions have developed a more abstract meaning which is an indication of grammaticalisation as further explained in Chapter 3. The functional variety found in conjunctions other than *shi* will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The central inference that I was able to make as a result of the current research, namely that the function of the conjunction *shi* varies and exhibits characteristics in a similar way to that of a sentence-final particle, is I believe of special value as this is one of the first times that this hypothesis has been formally proposed using natural discourse data. The conversational data I was able to collect first-hand has supplied ample evidence on which to build a case for this proposition. The use of natural discourse data is already recognized as important and necessary for a better understanding of the particular form beyond its traditional concept. The study also contributes pedagogically: expressions that are found only in spoken language are frequently considered to be deviations from the norm, or written language (Suzuki, 1995), and so are not often taught in the language classroom. But as Suzuki points out, “Studying the language of conversation will enrich our understanding of how language works, since it reflects the changing nature of language more than written language” (p. 55). This study is thus of value to teachers and students in that it introduces a pragmatic norm with numerous examples in natural Japanese language to be aware of. It may assist foreign language teachers and learners of Japanese in understanding current language trends and usage of the particle *shi*. Language is constantly changing and it is important for students and teachers of Japanese to be up to date with the language, especially as particles are often misused by non-native speakers (Lakoff, 1972). The actual speech of Japanese men and women often diverges from what is learned in textbooks and does not necessarily conform to certain expectations. Lakoff (1972, p. 908) suggests that new forms or usages must be identified and taught by teachers in order that non-native speakers can use the language in such a way that is reminiscent of a native speaker. Pragmatic competence is an important part of fluency and solely studying Japanese by textbook will not enable the Japanese language learner to achieve fluency or to fully understand what is really being conveyed. Pragmatic awareness is considered to be one of the most challenging areas of language learning and comes only through experience and knowledge. This analysis

of *shi* may serve as a resource for teachers and learners of Japanese to help shed some light and solve some of the inconsistencies of views regarding the function of *shi*, as well as assist in the mastery of ‘natural’ Japanese.

1.4 Research Approach

The target of this thesis is the examination of the sentence-final *shi* as it occurs in casual speech. It was about five years ago when I first came across the way some people (in particular young people) in Japan finished their sentences with this particle. There were times when I was not sure of the exact message that the person wanted to convey and was not sure how I should respond. After discussions with many Japanese friends I realized that I was not the only one who felt like this – native Japanese speakers also were not sure on occasion. As expressions that occur only in spoken language are often not considered to be the norm (written language) I decided to see what I could find written about the conjunction *shi*. As Fillmore (1976, p. 91) states, the language of conversation is the basic use of language and studying natural conversation will enrich our understanding as it reflects the changing nature of language.

I first examined literature concerned with the definition and function of the conjunction *shi*. The literature was limited to definitions and did not discuss any recent new function or observations. Articles discussing the functional variety of other conjunctions and changes noticed were examined, and similarities and differences to the conjunction *shi* were noted. The discovery of some recent articles concerning *shi* found at sentence-final position shed some light on my own personal theories but in my view did not quite capture the current function of *shi*. Due to this revelation, I collected and examined my own data and have drawn my own conclusions regarding the current function of *shi* discussed in Chapter 6 in this thesis.

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 will examine the Japanese communication style in general. The characteristic communication style of the Japanese people will be reviewed and this will be followed by a brief discussion of the youth in Japan and their unique communication style, in particular, youth-specific grammar or strategies to enhance conversation. Sentence-final particles together with Kamio's Territory of Information (1979, 1990) will be examined and sentence-final particles *ne* and *yo* will be discussed in Chapter 3. Similar phenomena found in other conjunctions will also be examined to determine if *shi* has analogous functions. Chapter 4 discusses existing definitions of *shi* and looks at current research on non-traditional facets of the conjunction *shi*. The methodology for the data collection and analysis is examined in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 consists of the analysis and interpretation of the data collected. Chapter 7 is the discussion and conclusions drawn from this study.

CHAPTER 2

JAPANESE COMMUNICATION STYLE

It is important to discuss conversation style, as the way people communicate varies widely between, and even within cultures due to different styles of interaction. For example, a high-context communication style which can be found in a homogeneous and group-orientated society (like Japan) is one in which communication styles are intuitive, indirect, and rely heavily on non-verbal behaviour, therefore often proving to be confusing for outsiders. This is virtually the opposite in the western world where frankness and clarity are considered to be paramount to successful communication. Japanese vague talk is rooted in a conflict-averse culture that tries to maintain a sense of calmness, avoiding direct references to unpleasantness and topics which may alarm. Some of that mentality can be observed from the communications of the Japanese officials who refused to confirm what turned out to be a very serious situation at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant in March 2011 after the Tohoku earthquake. They were extremely slow in acknowledging some of the dangers and have come under pressure for not admitting earlier how serious the radiation leaks were. Pragmatic strategies to weaken the validity claim, shirk the responsibility to some extent, and to mitigate speaker's commitment to the interpersonal relationship established by his/her speech act can also be found in the language of the youth. It is a truism that language, race, and culture are inseparably linked and using *shi* at sentence-final position is only one area of the language that is an example of this. Aspects of Japanese communication style relevant to this thesis will be discussed in depth in this chapter.

2.1 Communication Style

The Japanese language is rife with examples of subtle vagueness, evident even in the simplest forms of self-expression. Rarely are direct words of persuasion, intention or opinion used, rather, *aimai*, or vagueness, together with inference form a significant part of communication in Japanese society. *Wa*, the notion of harmony within a group, requires an attitude of cooperation and a recognition of social roles. Sentences are often left unfinished and tacit messages during conversations filled with hinting and circumlocutions are expected to be understood. This type of communication is called

ishin denshin ('communication by heart') and consequently, this involves communication using so-called mental telepathy. *Sasshi* ('surmise or guess') also refers to the Japanese way of trying to understand the real meaning of a message by guessing.

Mizutani Osamu (1981, p. 53) in his discussion of the concept of *haragei*, literally 'stomach to stomach art', or non-verbal communication states: "For the Japanese, the ideal form of communication seems to be that found in a close relationship where one's wishes can be conveyed by using *are* 'that', or by subtle signs in one's facial expression and demeanor alone." All of these concepts show that non-verbal communication is an integral part of the Japanese way of communication and indicate that vagueness in conversation is rampant. The former Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan was no exception to using vague language during formal speeches. Kan promised early in 2011 during a speech (ANNnewsCH, 2011) to retire once a 'certain degree of progress was made' using the expression "*ittei no medo ga tsuita dankai de.*" This expression is so vague that no one, not even those politicians closest to him, knew when he was going to step down. Arguments continued over the meaning of Kan's statement as nobody was sure exactly what he meant by 'certain degree of progress', or even exactly when his retirement would be. Differences emerged within the ruling party about a timetable for Kan's resignation as his promise to resign was vague and not explicit.

The tendency of Japanese people to avoid confrontation with others is articulated in the Japanese proverb *deru kui wa utareru* 'the nail that sticks up must be hammered down'. Henshall (1999, p. 115) argues that western children are taught very early on to become assertive and independent, whilst Japanese children are taught to become passive, mindful of others and interdependent. Verbal expression is often fragmentary and using communication styles that are performed non-logically, empathetically and non-verbally obviates the need for explicit communication. Yoshino (1992, p. 13) states that "The unique Japanese patterns of communication are often characterized by comparatively light emphasis on overt linguistic expression and logical presentation."

Examples of Japanese vagueness and indirectness include phenomena such as incomplete sentences which typically but not always occur at the end of the speech act of refusal. This is known as *chuutoshuuryoobun*, omission of the end of the sentence, or incomplete sentences. Japanese refusal expressions are frequently left incomplete with the interlocutor often having to infer the intended refusals. Native speakers of

Japanese use direct refusals less frequently than western counterparts and Japanese excuses are also less specific. Commonly used structures of incomplete refusals in Japanese are *te/de*, *node/kara*, *ga/kedo* and *shi*, and the interlocutor often has to infer the intended refusal. Conveying hesitancy and the frequent use of indexicals are strategies employed to lessen the assertion and to mitigate the responsibility of what one is saying.

Observe an excerpt from journalist Takahashi Uesugi at a press conference with officials from Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) on March 27th 2011. Uesugi asked whether or not a plutonium leak was detected from the stricken nuclear plant after the Tohoku earthquake and subsequent tsunami on March 11th. After one of the officials from TEPCO initially said that they did not have a detector to check for plutonium, he continued to discuss TEPCO's response using a lot of conjunctions such as *ga* or *kedo* at utterance-final position. In the excerpt below he finishes with *node*, another conjunction, but it is at utterance-final position. This seemingly is to weaken the sentence and gives rise to an implicit message like 'don't worry'. In this case the speech act is implicated:

(1)

<i>...Ganma sen</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>kakushi</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>bunseki</i>
gammaray	GEN	nuclear particle		ACC	analyse
<i>suru</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>sangatsu</i>
Do	QUOT	say	NOMI TOP	March	
<i>juukunichi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>yatto</i>	<i>ichiban</i>	
19th	DAT	um	finally	number one	
<i>saisho ni</i>	<i>dekita</i>	<i>jookyoo</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>arimasu</i>	<i>node.</i>
First DAT	could	condition	DAT	have	so

'On March 19th we were in a situation to be able to analyse the gamma rays for nuclear particles for the first time so.'

(movie2424, 2011)

A large number of studies concerning linguistic politeness and the notion of face have been published in the last few decades. In most of the studies, the politeness has been conceptualized especially as strategic conflict-avoidance or co-operative social interaction (Watts, 2003, p. 47; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 1). Brown and Levinson (1978) established a universal politeness theory based on the theory of the notion of face first discussed by Goffman (1967) in which acts that threaten face are called face threatening acts or FTA. According to Brown & Levinson (1978, p.70) an FTA is when an act of verbal or non-verbal communication "...runs contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker." Brown and Levinson divide face into two separate but related aspects and define these as 'positive' and 'negative' face. The definition of positive face as determined by Brown and Levinson (1978, p. 61) is the positive consistent self-image that other people have of themselves, together with the desire to be appreciated; compliments provide an example of behaviour which reinforces positive face. Negative face is observed in the desire not to infringe on the other person and manifests itself in strategies such as including an out for the listener or through distancing styles like apologies. Negative politeness strategies are oriented towards the hearer's negative face and emphasize the avoidance of imposition on the hearer. These strategies presume that the speaker will be imposing on the listener and there is a higher potential for awkwardness or embarrassment. It has been suggested that the Japanese use of sentence-final particles is one strategy to ensure that both parties maintain 'face', an important aspect of communication.

Many East Asian linguists however have strongly criticized this theory of positive and negative face (Matsumoto, 1988) and claim that Brown and Levinson's initial assumption that all people in society have both negative and positive face is in fact not universal. Some Japanese researchers however are in agreement with this theory (Fukushima, 2000) and suggest that the importance of this positive and negative face is important in Japanese society. While Brown and Levinson's work is enlightening there certainly are some limitations with the theory. The data for the theory is only based on three languages, English, Tamil and Tzeltal, which undermines the credibility of their 'universal' politeness theory. Many Asian cultures believe that confrontations or impositions are to be avoided at all costs but in the United States confrontation is not necessarily considered to be rude (Watts, 2003, p. 17). However, the use of sentence-final particles to maintain face or soften an expression (Maynard, 1989) is certainly a

strategy employed by most native Japanese speakers and can be observed in the natural data.

As Hasegawa and Hirose note, ‘certain linguistic subsystems of a particular language cannot be accounted for without considering the social organizations of the speech community.’ (2005, p. 221).

2.2 Language of the Youth

Currently in Japan an increasingly widening gap exists with regard to language use (Ackerman, 2004; Maynard, 2005). Concerns are mounting over what is seen as a declining Japanese language aptitude among Japanese youth and their inability to correctly utilize their native language. As has been widely discussed (Labov, 1994), adolescents are the leading force in the progress of language change and there is ample evidence of Japanese youth-specific language and grammar usage; thus is important to examine this language use to gain insight into how the language is changing. Significantly, five pages of new terms created by Japanese teenagers can be found in the *Gendai yoogo no kiso chishiki* (2006), ‘Encyclopedia of Contemporary Words.’ Ackerman (2004, p. 72) found that expressions used by young people are composed of specific expressions that are used and understood only by youth. “...(L)anguage, to them, is a way of keeping outsiders, and particularly the older generation, apart from one’s own realm of discourse.” Maynard (2005) discusses youth-specific grammar use and has examples of verbs coined by youth and used only by teenagers or young people. For example: *makuru* (‘to go to MacDonalds’), *nezumi shibaku* (‘go to Disneyland’). Maynard’s examples show again just how wide the gap that exists with regard to language use is. Gottlieb (2005) discusses the abrupt style of young female university students, conspicuous for the use of sentence-final particles that traditionally have only been used by males (*zo*, and *sa*). An article by W. Penn in the Daily Yomiuri Newspaper (2005) suggests that television networks are showing *kokugo* (‘Japanese-language variety shows’) on television to assist with stopping the decline of the nation’s language:

Perhaps the networks are feeling guilty about their contributions to the deterioration of the Japanese language. The silly comedians, Crayon Shin-chan, screeching idol singers and talents who can offer a

vocabulary of little more than “*saa*, *gyaa*, *waa*, and *dah*” have all helped move the decline along at a frightening pace.

(Penn, 2005)

Traditionalists blame irreverent television variety shows for this so-called deterioration of the nation’s spoken and written language and attribute this to the connection young people have with these television personalities, comedians and talent stars. Allegedly these television personalities are unable to correctly utilize their native language on national television and this usage in turn is mimicked by their often young viewers.

Ackerman (2004, p. 71) in his research on Japanese youth has found that they see language “as a means to conceal rather than enhance communicative exchange.” The use of *mitai na* (‘like’) by youth at utterance-final position has been observed since the early 1990s (Maynard, 2005). Traditionally a noun would be expected to follow the pattern *mitai na*. However, it is also common to find this suffix in utterance-final position, leaving a feeling of incompleteness, similar to the particle *shi* in utterance-final position. Maynard suggests that by using *mitai na* the speaker is disassociating himself/herself by talking from a third person perspective. This creates an element of distance which means that the speaker does not have to commit completely to what is being said and can save face. (Maynard, 2005, p. 850) Using ambiguous and soft sounding language is a strategy to help enhance communication.

There are parallels between *mitai na* and the English use of the word *like*: as Suzuki (1995) suggests, the speaker’s distance is the common element and using *mitai na* or *like* in an extreme or unusual statement shows that the speaker is distancing himself/herself from the content of the statement. The colloquial ‘like’ in contemporary English and the colloquial *mitai na* are similar “...in that they both signal that the speaker is detaching himself/herself from the comment of the unit they mark and that this sense of the speaker’s distance can be traced back to the original functions of the expressions” (Suzuki, 1995, p. 71). Significantly, the strategy of using ambiguous and soft language is noted in the *Gendai yoogo no kiso chishiki* (2006, p 1239-1240), ‘Encyclopedia of Contemporary Words’ under the section Popular Language for Youth, in a sub-section titled *Aimai* (‘vagueness’). The section contains an example of sentence-final *shi* and states that it is used to portray a negative feeling.

(2)

Shika mo risutora da shi
 Moreover downsizing COP

‘What is more the company is downsizing.’

Gendai yoogoo no kiso chishiki, (2006, p. 1241)

2.3 Tanabe’s Study on Gyarū (‘Gal’) Language

Kazuko Tanabe (2005) in her study on Japanese *gyarū* (‘Gal’)² language suggests that this particular group of young Japanese women have their own linguistic signature which includes morphological, syntactic, and discourse change. She provides typical examples of language used by this group to illustrate these changes. According to Tanabe, a common feature found in language used by Japanese *gyarū* is the conclusion of a conversation with an incomplete sentence; furthermore she observes that such sentences tend to be finished with a conjunction. This distinct phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, in the context of *shi*.

² The term *gyarū*, a transliteration of the English word ‘gal’, is a loanword in Japan and applies to the younger generation of females in Japan (although recently there are also *gyarū* styles for older Japanese women). *Gyarū* is a certain style, covering attitude, behaviour, trend, and the latest fashion specific to the *gyarū* clientele (Miller, 2004, p. 227). *Gyarū* originated around the late 70s/early 80s from a brand of jeans called ‘Gal’. It all started with *yamanba* (literally, ‘mountain witch’), who adopted a highly contrasted look which rebelled against Japanese society’s ideal of beauty.

CHAPTER 3

SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES AND CONJUNCTIONS

KARA and *KEDO*

Particles fulfil several distinct central roles in language and have been defined as “comprising all invariable elements which are not prepositions, conjunctions, or adverbs” (Asher, 1994). Lakoff (1972) states that particles do not add to the ‘information content’ of the sentence; each particle has a grammatical function. In Japanese, particles are used not only to indicate grammatical case, direction or position, but to convey the feelings and attitudes of the speaker which can affect the way a conversation is played out. Conjunctions on the other hand, according to Matsumoto (1988, p. 345), are characterized as “bound grammatical markers” that connect two clauses into a ‘sentence’. However, it has been widely recognized that a subordinate clause does not necessarily have to be accompanied by a main clause in colloquial Japanese. Iguchi (1998, p. 99) gives an example of a causal clause which has a conjunction and yet is not followed by a main clause:

- (1) *Demo mada gakusei-san desu kara ne*
 But still student is because SFP

‘(Lit.) but because you are still a student.’

She also states that “utterances which end with a conjunction are frequently observed in colloquial Japanese.” This phenomenon was discussed in Chapter 2 as a strategy employed by the participants in the conversation to maintain the notion of ‘face’ and enhance communication, to sound ambiguous and vague and mitigate the strength of the sentence. It has been suggested (Iguchi, 1998; Ohori, 1995) that conjunctions occurring in sentence-final positions indicate the emergence of new discourse-pragmatic functions, which cannot necessarily be regarded as being associated with the function of the conjunctive.

This chapter will build a paradigm for conjunction *shi* behaving as a sentence-final particle through a discussion of scholarship surrounding other conjunctions which can

exhibit similar functions to sentence-final particles. First, however, it is necessary to clarify the role of sentence-final particles.

3.1 Sentence-Final Particles

Japanese sentence-final particles (SFPs) are a type of particle which occur in sentence-final position. Generally, these sentence-final particles cannot be followed by another part of speech although often more than one sentence-final particle can be found at sentence-final position. There are many sentence-final particles in Japanese, for example: *ne*, *yo*, *sa*, *wa*, and while frequently found in spoken Japanese between people in an informal relationship, they are rarely found in written Japanese. The more intimate the relationship the more sentence-final particles are used. These SFPs are said to be instrumental in ensuring that conversations are smooth and non-confrontational. SFPs can add a tone of friendliness, and are used to solicit agreement or confirmation and show the speaker's stance towards the content of the information being uttered. In other words, they exhibit a variety of discourse-pragmatic functions (Cook, 1990; Makino & Tsutsui, 1986; Maynard, 1993, 2005).

Since the publication of Kamio's (1979) *Territory of Information* which explains the use of specific sentence-final particles, a considerable amount of time has been spent examining the semantics and pragmatics of SFPs by both native and non-native scholars of Japanese. There is considerable debate regarding the exact nature of these particles.

Together with final particles, fillers, among other devices, offer an important source for achieving the effect of "social packaging" one's speech. Social packaging, which constitutes a part of contextual transformation, is a socially motivated act to construct the content of the utterance in such a way as to achieve maximum agreeableness to the recipient. Just as packaging a product hides the content in a visually pleasing form, frequent use of sentence final particles and fillers help hide the message, delaying and softening its delivery until the speaker is certain that the interpersonal feelings are intact when the semantic content is conveyed to the other interactant.

(Maynard 1989, p. 31)

Specific communication goals determine exactly which sentence-final particle will be used in conversations. Uyeno (1971, p. 50) states that these SFPs are:

...essential in conversations where person to person communication is intended. Who the speaker is, i.e. his social status and sex, who the addressee is, i.e. his social status, what the relative social status and relationship of the speaker and addressee are, and how the speaker intends to convey a message, are decisive factors for the selection of sentence particles.

Cook (1990) agrees and states that the function of sentence-final particles is not only to show social information, but also to show the attitude of the speaker toward the interlocutor. Particles not only play an important role in establishing relationships, but also express the speaker's emotion by creating either positive or negative rapport (Ward, 1987). The classifications of SFPs by these researchers all point toward a common usage: SFPs are used specifically or intentionally by the speaker to convey an attitude or emotion towards someone or something. Sentence-final particles perform the function of anticipating the hearer's reaction to a statement, and are also a modality that expresses that speaker's attitude toward a proposition that he/she is making (Ward, 1987). Using sentence-final particles does not change the referential meaning of the sentence, but sentence-final particles carry a social meaning, namely to clarify a speaker's intention (Cook, 1990).

Sentence-final particles are necessary in conversation and Cook (1990) argues that conversation in Japanese is difficult to conduct without them. The proper use of sentence-final particles is crucial in fluent speech. The above researchers have investigated sentence-final particles or expressions in conversational discourse and the social meaning expressed. Sentence-final particles are opinion markers that show the speaker's opinion and judgment in a conversational setting (Makino & Tsutsui, 1986, p. 45). Makino and Tsutusi mean that by using a sentence-final particle the speaker is trying to pass on an indirect message to the interlocutor. Conversation participants use sentence-final particles as a tool to obtain a specific target or goal in the conversation and this is a strategy often found in spontaneous conversation.

3.1.1 Particles *ne* and *yo*

The sentence-final particles *ne* and *yo* according to Dunbar (1996) are the most extensively studied of all Japanese sentence-final particles due to their wide use in formal and informal conversation. Both *ne* and *yo* are gender-neutral particles and are two of the most frequently used sentence-final particles in Japanese.

Yo is usually associated with not only capturing the listener's attention and emphasis (Alfonso, 1966; Maynard, 1988; Uyeno, 1971), but with assertiveness (Martin, 1975). Uyeno (1971) also states that *yo* is used when the speaker wants to force the information on the interlocutor. According to Dunbar (1996, p. 21) the function of the particle *yo* differs slightly "depending on the gender and social status of the speaker."

Alfonso (1966) states that *ne* adds a gentle, emotional touch to a sentence, and is associated with interaction, in particular when searching for agreement from the interlocutor, or when confirming mutual agreement. Cook (1990, p. 23) has proposed that *ne* is an indication of affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee, and that it helps set up a context in which the speaker is seeking cooperation from the interlocutor. Maynard (1993, 2005) classifies *ne* and *yo* as interactional particles. Maynard (1993, p. 203) says that "both participants engage primarily in the interpersonal act of co-solicitation and granting of approval. Interaction is foregrounded...and information exchange is backgrounded." In other words, these particles are very important in spoken Japanese to ensure smooth and non-confrontational conversation. Morita (2005) explains using various examples of natural data that the placement of these particles allows speakers to understand the status of what is being said, their position toward it, and to negotiate such issues with the listeners while actively negotiating the conversational next action. Both Maynard and Cook agree that *ne* is used as a tool or strategy to achieve various communication goals.

Kamio (1979, 1990) on the basis of the 'theory of the territory of information' discusses the role of *ne* and claims that if the speaker is aware that the speaker and the interlocutor share identical information, then he or she will use the particle *ne* when discussing this

information. However, *ne* may also be used when the interlocutor has no knowledge of the topic, and Kamio (1990) suggests that this emphasizes common grounds with the hearer and the atmosphere of camaraderie or solidarity results.

The table below shows the frequency of sentence-final forms in three-minute segments of conversation.

Table 1 Frequency of sentence-final forms in three-minute segments of conversation among twenty pairs (Maynard, 1997, p. 119)

Type	Number	%
Final Particles	436	35.05
Nominals	204	16.40
Taglike auxiliary forms	121	9.73
Verb (simple nonpast)	103	8.28
Verb (gerund)	93	7.48
Conjunctions	70	5.63
Adverbial phrases	69	5.55
Grammatical particles	47	3.78
Verb (simple past)	46	3.70
Fillers	42	3.38
Nominalization	13	1.05
	1,244	100.03

The above table supports the claim that sentences in conversational data do not always finish with a verb suggesting that verbs are followed by other items including what were traditionally classified as conjunctions. The function of some conjunctions in conversation seems to have been conventionalised as they are used to show emotion or a speaker's feeling on the topic and are exhibiting characteristics similar to that of a sentence-final particle.

3.2 Similar Phenomena Found in Conjunctions

Although limited research has been conducted on the conjunction *shi* the function of other conjunctions, *kedo* ('but'), *ga* ('but') and *kara* ('so') have been closely examined

(Iguchi, 1998; Nakayama & Ichihashi-Nakayama, 1997; Ohori, 1995; Park, 1998). Functional variety of these conjunctions, similar to that which the particle *shi* is exhibiting can be observed in conversational data. These studies are also concerned with certain conjunctions being found in utterance-final position and the proposal of the emergence of new discourse-pragmatic functions.

3.2.1 Iguchi's Study on *kara*

Iguchi (1998) states that many researchers acknowledge the fact that *kara* is often found in utterance-final position but that only in recent years have researchers started paying attention to this particular functional variety of *kara* ('because', 'so'), and other conjunctions. Iguchi argues that *kara* in utterance-final position is used by the speaker to achieve certain pragmatic effects, and these effects influence the listener. In her work Iguchi (1998, p. 113) presented examples of utterances finishing with *kara*:

(On receiving a phone call from Shuichi saying that his girlfriend, Natsue, has cut her wrist in an attempted suicide, Yoshio and his friend Harue, rush to their apartment. Harue, who is a nursing student, examines the cuts on Natsue's wrist.)

(2) 1. Y. *Byooin e ikanakute ii?*
Hospital to go.neg good
'Is it ok if she doesn't go to the hospital?'

2. H. *Daijoobu. Kusuriyasan kinjyo*
O.K. pharmacy neighbourhood
ni arimasu?
in exist

'Yes. Is there a pharmacy in the neighbourhood?'

3. S. *Aru kedo, shimeru no hayai kara.*
Yes but close NOMI early so

'Yes there is but they close the store early.'

4. Y *sonna no, akete morau yo.*
 That NOMI open receive SFP

Nani kattekitara ii
 What buy come.if good

‘I’ll ask them to open (the store). What shall I buy?’

5. H *kaku mono, aru kashira?*
 Write something exist wonder

‘Do you have something to write with?’

Even though Shuichi in line 3 has used *kara* to finish the utterance the message is very clear that the pharmacy in the neighbourhood is probably closed. Iguchi (ibid) classifies this as an ‘epistemic-conjunction interpretation’ even though the conclusion is not directly stated. Shuichi’s knowledge of the closing time of the pharmacy forces the conclusion to be made that the pharmacy is already closed. The utterance in line 3 by Shuichi provides the interlocutor with “the cause of the speaker’s belief, or conclusion and leaving the interpretation of the speaker’s belief or conclusion up to the addressee” (Iguchi, 1998, p. 114). Other possible implicatures have been presented by Iguchi (1998, p. 125) as follows:³

The pharmacy near S’s house may be closed already.

→ So either it is useless to go to the pharmacy now

→ So we had better find another way

→ So let’s call a doctor.

It is quite clear that the *kara* in this position is not functioning as a conjunction connecting a clause of reason to a main clause. Rather it can be seen as functioning to connect the utterance ending with *kara* to an implication given by the speaker.

The following example of a telephone conversation from Iguchi (1998, p. 116) is an

³ Iguchi refers to any message implicitly but not explicitly communicated as an implicature.

example of a speech act where the speaker asks or promises the person on the receiving end to do something:

- (3) A. *Soo, kore ga saigo no shigoto na no*
 So this NOM last GEN job SFP NOMI

yo. Owattara sugu kaeru kara.
 SFP Finish.after soon return because

‘Yes, this is the last job. Because I will come home as soon as I finish it.’

Iguchi notes that it is possible to infer more than one meaning from the utterance. Possible meanings that Iguchi (ibid) argues can be inferred from (3) include, ‘be waiting’, ‘don’t worry about me’, or ‘forgive me’ (i.e. reassurance). She suggests that these types of speech acts with *kara* in utterance-final position are quite common in spoken conversation. Iguchi (1998, p. 117) also refers to “(a) speech act [involving *kara*] in which the speaker threatens the addressee.” An example of a speech act in which the speaker seems to threaten the addressee can be found in Iguchi’s following example:

- (4) A. *Sono kotoba ni wa, gojitsu sekinin*
 That word DAT TOP after responsibility

totte morau kara na.
 take get so SFP

‘Because I will ask you to take responsibility for those words later...’

(p. 117)

Iguchi (ibid) suggests that the meaning of *kara* in this case might be inferred as ‘so watch out for your words/deeds’, or ‘so be careful with your words/deeds.’ The listener must know that the speaker is implying that there will be consequence for those words later. Other examples where the meanings, though vague, can be inferred are given as in the example below:

- (5) A. *Tomoko, minna de soodan shita n*
 Tomoko everyone with discuss PAST NOMI
- da kedo, ashita no kekkonshiki,*
 COP CONJ tomorrow GEN wedding ceremony
- minna de utau koto ni shita kara*
 everyone with sing decide on do.past so

‘Tomoko, we’ve all discussed it and (Lit) because we decided to sing a song (for you) at the wedding reception tomorrow.’

- B. *arigatoo*
 Thank you

‘Thank you.’

(p. 118)

The meaning that can be inferred from the above conversation is much vaguer than the previous examples. Iguchi regards the utterance ending with *kara* as being complete in itself as it is impossible to infer any more meaning from the utterance. The main points from Iguchi’s (1998) work that are relevant to this study on the conjunction *shi* are:

- (1) When found in sentence-final position *kara*’s function is not to connect clauses.
- (2) Using *kara* in sentence-final position is a deliberate strategy the speaker employs to avoid statements that are explicit.
- (3) *Kara* in utterance-final position occurs in the ‘speech act domain’. That is the association of the *kara* clause with an implicit message.

The conclusion that Iguchi (1998) has made based on the analysis of *kara* is significant as it will be seen later in this thesis that some of the evidence provided by Iguchi can also be applied as reasoning for the functional variety of *shi*.

3.2.2 Park's Study on *kedo*

Park (1998) examines the use of the conjunctives *nuntey* in Korean and *kedo*⁴ ('but') in Japanese. The study focuses specifically on the functional variety of the Japanese conjunction *kedo* that can be found in utterance-final position. Park (1998) argues that not only does *kedo* soften the sentence and make it less direct, but that by being at utterance-final position it invites the listener to use inference about what is being stated, which Park (1998, p. 47) calls an "accountability-relevance point." This is the point in the conversation where the listener uses inference to comprehend what the speaker is trying to say. The speaker does not directly come out and state their feelings, but rather relies on the listener to use inference to determine what is being said. According to Park, *kedo* is not just a softening device used by speakers, but the use of *kedo* at utterance-final position enables the interlocutor to infer that something next is required, hence playing a part in setting up an interactive conversation between the speaker and the listener. The following example is a telephone conversation between two people. Kuwahata (K) is phoning to ask if Ayako is in.

- (6) 1 K: *a Kuwahata to iimasu kedo.*
 Oh Kuwahata QUOT call CONJ
- 2 *Ayakosan kyoo irasshaimasu ka?*
 Ayako today exist Q
- 'Oh this is Kuwahata. Is Ayako there?'
- 3 H: *Iya gakkou e ittemasu kedo*
 no school to go CONJ
- 'No she's at school.'
- 4 K: *a gakkoo desu ka.*
 Oh school COP Q
- 'Oh school?'

⁴ The Japanese particle *kedo*, ('but'), is commonly referred to as a concessive or contrastive conjunction. (Martin, 1975; Makino and Tsutsui, 1986)

5 H: *Hai*
Yes

‘Yes.’

6 K: *Wakarimashita* *sumimasen*
understood thank you

‘I see. Thank you.’

(p. 48)

The interlocutor, K, is left to try to understand any connection between what H is saying in line 3 and the consequent action that K must then take. Park suggests that the speaker is hinting at the possibility of taking a message. Native speakers on hearing this therefore, would “naturally reconstruct after clauses marked with these connectives” (p. 48). *Kedo* at utterance-final position is a linguistic device that has allowed the speaker to not be so direct. Park says that it is inaccurate to call *kedo* at utterance-final position only a ‘softener’ as this does not take into consideration the interaction with the interlocutor and the interactional context that takes place next.

The ‘accountability-relevance point’ suggested by Park does appear to more accurately capture the interactional phenomenon that has been observed. This is important to bear in mind when dealing with *shi* to see if evidence of an ‘accountability-relevance point’ can be observed here as well.

3.2.3 Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama’s Study on *kedo*.

Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) argue that the concessive conjunction *kedo* is exhibiting signs of grammaticalisation. They suggest that *kedo* at utterance-final position indicates that the function of this particle is different to the traditional usage which is to indicate contrastive meaning. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama argue that “clauses connected by *kedo* do not necessarily indicate contrastive meaning, the second part of the sentence is not unexpected in view of the first one, and that sometimes the particle does not even necessarily connect two clauses” (p. 608). In the spoken data

that was collected by Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 47% of the usage of *kedo* consists of the non-contrastive usage and 27% were examples with *kedo* not followed by a main clause. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama argue that these particles at utterance-final position have specific functions that can be considered a conversation strategy and should be treated and analysed independently.

Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama also agree that *kedo* at the end of an utterance softens the assertion, enabling the speaker to avoid confrontation even when making a point, or stating an opinion that differs from the interlocutor. *Kedo* is not only a softening tool but the speaker, by using *kedo*, can manipulate the way the assertion is represented. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama mean that the function of *kedo* is no longer just having to connect clauses but can be attached to any independent clause. The next example is where the speakers are gossiping about a student who had been recruited by their department but had turned down the offer. The example is a response to a speaker asking “Wasn’t she from UCSD?”⁵

(7) The speakers are gossiping about a student.

Y: *San Diego* *State* *tte* *uwasa*
 San Diego State QUOT rumor

o *kiita* *kedo*
 ACC heard but

‘I heard (she) is from San Diego State (University).’

(p. 612)

The above example shows that not only is *kedo* in this case used to soften the sentence but that Y is asserting that this person is from San Diego State University contrary to what the other participants might have heard. The assertion here is softened enabling the avoidance of direct confrontation between the speaker and the listener. The use of *kedo* is also found in conversation where no such conflict or difference of opinion is obvious. In this case *kedo* functions more like a sentence-final particle as it displays the emotion of the speaker. Maynard (1989) also maintains that the function of *kedo* is like other sentence-final particles as it reflects the speaker’s interpersonal concerns.

⁵ UCSD=University of California, San Diego.

Consider the following example:

- (8) T: *tabemono ni yoru sa tte*
 diet according.to difference QUOT
- no mo ookii toshite jinshu sa*
 NOMI also big as racial difference
- mo aru kamoshirenai kedo.*
 also exist maybe but

‘Granted that difference in diet is a significant factor, I presume racial difference is also a factor.’

(p. 613)

The above example is where T states his opinion about reasons why stomach cancer is more prevalent among Japanese. T is a physician specialized in cancer treatment, and there is no other speaker who T could be in conflict with. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (p. 613) suggest that *kedo* is used here to soften the assertive tone of the utterance and avoid being imposing. With this example, Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama maintain that the use of *kedo* alleviates the force of illocutionary acts in order to maintain harmony among speakers.

This phenomenon of using a conjunctive particle at sentence-final position to enhance communication in a variety of ways indicates the emergence of new discourse-pragmatic functions. The particle *shi* also exhibits similar functional variety in conversational data that cannot necessarily be regarded as being associated with the traditional function of the conjunctive. The traditional and non-traditional facets of *shi* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

TRADITIONAL AND NON-TRADITIONAL FACETS OF *SHI*

In literature to date, conjunction *shi* has been analysed for the most part as a connector of two or more clauses (a subordinate clause to a main clause) and has not figured in examples of sentence-final particles. However, as we have seen in the previous chapter, it is widely recognized that some subordinate clauses do not always have to be followed by a main clause, especially in spoken Japanese (Iguchi, 1998 p. 99). In this vein Haugh (2008, p. 426) comments that when conjunctions are found in sentence-final position they have other functions that “...go beyond canonical intra-sentential usage as traditionally outlined in the literature.” As observed from examples of conjunctions exhibiting a functional change in Chapter 3, they play an important role in spoken Japanese to ensure smooth and non-confrontational conversation, implying that a conjunction may indeed function beyond its traditional role as a ‘connector of two or more clauses..’. This chapter will discuss the traditional definitions and explanations of *shi*, and conclude by examining examples and literature relating to its non-traditional facets.

4.1 Existing Definitions and Discussions of the Function of *shi*

Kenkyusha’s 5th edition of the *Kenkyusha New Japanese-English Dictionary* (Masuda, 2003, p. 1109) provides the following definitions for *shi*: ‘and’, ‘besides’, ‘moreover’ and ‘what with’. The examples all show *shi* as a connector of two or more clauses:

(1) *Karada* *mo* *warui shi* *shinpaigoto* *mo*
 body also bad worry.thing also

aru shi *kare wa mi o irete*
 exist he TOP body ACC insert

benkyoo *dekinakatta.*
 study could not

‘Between illness and worries he couldn’t concentrate on his studies.’

The explanation given by formal linguists such as Makino and Tsutsui (1986) is that *shi* is similar to other words such as *sorekara* ‘and then’. They suggest alternative meanings such as ‘and what’s more’, ‘not only, but also’ and ‘so’.

(2) *Asobitai n desu ga ashita wa shiken*
 play.want NOMI COP but tomorrow TOP exam

da shi asobenai.
 COP play.can't.

‘I would like to play, but there is an exam tomorrow, and I can’t fool around.’

(3) *koko wa natsu wa atsui shi fuyu*
 Here TOP summer TOP hot winter

wa samui desu.
 TOP cold COP

‘The summers here are really hot, and the winters are cold.’

(Makino and Tsutsui 1986, p. 395)

The above examples clearly show how each sentence finishes with a main clause and that the function of the *shi* is to connect the two clauses. The main clause in (2) is *asobenai*, ‘I can’t fool around’, prior to which the speaker has clearly expressed the reasons for not being able to go out. Example (3) shows how the speaker has summed up attributes about a place using the conjunction *shi* to connect them together and concludes with a final clause. In this example *shi* can be translated as the equivalent to the English conjunctive ‘and’.

In the textbook *Situational Functional Japanese* (Volume 2, p. 213), *shi* is also classified as “connecting two or more states of a similar kind.” In other words, when using *shi* in its traditional function as a conjunction it is necessary to have two or more states to connect, as examples (4) and (5) indicate:

- (4) *Suzuki san wa Eigo mo hanasu shi*
 Suzuki TOP English also speak

Furansugo mo hanashimasu.
 French also speak.

‘Suzuki-san speaks English, and French too.’

- (5) *Atama mo itai shi netsu mo arimasu.*
 Head also sore fever also have

‘I have a headache, and a fever, too.’

Situational Functional Japanese (Volume 2, p. 213)

Authors of other textbooks also observe that *shi* emphasizes items in a list, and can be used to give reasons or basis for another action or condition (Kawashima, 1999, p.180; Teramura, 1984, p. 33). For example, one of the most popular Japanese textbooks today, the Japan Times *Genki* series (Banno, Ohno, Sakane, Shinagawa, Tokashiki, 2011) explains ‘when you want to mention not just one but two (or more) reasons, you can use *shi* in place of *kara*. You can use just one *shi* clause, implying that it is not the only reason for the situation. Sometimes the *shi* clause follows the description of the situation explained.’ It is the conventional form of *shi* which *Genki* introduces, and no allusion is made to *shi*’s transition in colloquial speech to sentence final particle status. One example is given where *shi* appears in sentence final position, following the description of the situation explained, but here too, apart from the inversion of usual sentence order, its usage is conventional:

- (6) *Yamashita -sensei wa ii sensei desu.*
 Yamashita teacher TOP good teacher COP

Oshieru no ga joozu da shi
 Teach NOMI ACC good COP

Shinsetsu da shi.

Kind COP

‘Professor Yamashita is a great teacher. He is good at teaching, and he is kind.’

It is significant however that *shi*’s function of implication or inference is signalled, with the following example supplied:

- (7) *Bukka ga yasui shi, kono machi no*
 Price NOM cheap this town GEN
seikatsu wa raku desu.
 Lifestyle TOP easy COP

‘Life in this city is an easy-going one. Things are inexpensive, for one thing.’

Hinds (1986, p. 86) classifies *shi* as a verbal coordination and clearly notes that the first conjuncts are a part of a series of statements that are presented to lead to a final conclusion. The examples given are the following:

- (8) *Yukie wa atama mo ii shi (sono-ue)*
 Yukie TOP head also good moreover

bijin desu.
 beautiful COP

‘Yukie is smart, and (moreover) she’s beautiful.’

Hinds (1986, p. 86)

Significantly for the present study, Hinds does state that in conversational Japanese the final clause is often left out, leaving the listener to infer the meaning of the utterance. However, I suggest that this ellipsis may often create ambiguity even if we had heard it in context as the following example from Hinds (*ibid*) demonstrates:

- (9) *kyoo wa atsui shi,*
 today TOP hot and

‘It’s hot today, and (moreover)...’

(p. 86)

If this example had been in response to an invitation to go to the beach there would be two possible ways to infer the meaning: (1) that it is hot and so the person does not want to go to the beach; or (2) that it is hot and so the person does want to go to the beach.

Maynard (2005) and Makino & Tsutsui (1986) argue that *shi* at utterance-final position softens or weakens the sentence, and that there is a meaning/consequence implied when a statement ends with *shi*. The evidence presented by the example above and later on in this thesis suggests this is true.

However, it has also been acknowledged that *shi* clauses do not necessarily have to imply cause or meaning (Martin, 1975) and examples in our data also show this. Example (5) is an example of a case where the interlocutor would have to determine the meaning of the *shi* clause, if the main clause were missing. Unless we have the rest of the sentence, exactly what the speaker is trying to convey is not clear to the interlocutor.

Martin (1975, p. 977) gives an example of *shi* marked sentences that do not need to be interpreted as implying cause or reason or connecting two or more states:

- (10) *Setsu o kikeba naruhodo to*
 theory ACC listen.COND I see QUOT
- omou shi, kotchi no hoo no*
 think this way GEN way NOM
- iu koto o kikeba naru hodo*
 say things ACC listen.cond understand

<i>to</i>	<i>omou</i>	<i>shi.</i>
QUOT	think	

‘When I hear that man’s theory I think how true, and when I hear what that man has to say I think how true.’

These utterances ending with *shi* might be regarded as being complete in themselves since we cannot infer any more meaning that already exists in the utterance itself. If anything, the implicit message after the utterance would be something like ‘take notice of this theory which I present to you.’ This sentence can be considered as supplying the interlocutor with the speaker’s belief and leaving this interpretation up to the interlocutor. The *shi* in this instance also seems to soften the utterance but definitely the interlocutor is aware of what the speaker is implying. Example (10) is an example of a sentence merely stating a fact though with an emotional nuance. The *shi* in this case can be said to be softening the sentence, at the same time as ensuring that the interlocutor knows exactly what the speaker thinks in regard to that man’s theory. The speaker may merely want acknowledgement of what was stated, especially if there is prior knowledge that the interlocutor is in agreement with what has been stated. Another possibility is that by using *shi* at utterance-final position the speaker is gently letting the interlocutor know that he is in agreement with the theory, which means that the interlocutor can then carefully plan a response. Even with a second sentence suppressed, reason or cause can still be implied.

Martin also gives an example of when a single *shi*-marked sentence can be followed by *sa*, *ne*, or *na* with or without the implication of cause or reason, as shown below in example (11). There are possibly no indirect causes or reasons that the speaker is trying to imply in the below example. Rather I propose that by adding *shi* to the end of the sentence the speaker’s attitude or emotion is revealed and the sentence comes across as less direct.

- (11) *Uchi ni kaettemo tsumaranai*
 Home DAT return home even boring

shi ne
 SFP

‘I am bored if I go home.’

(p.977)

The function of relating an utterance ending with *shi* to an implicit message is much weaker in the above example. Also the inferred meaning can be regarded as trying to express the speaker’s attitude towards the above situation, similar to that of a sentence-final particle. In some cases, and it is clear in example (12), the sentence with *shi* implies reason, cause, leading to a summary or a generalisation elaborated on in the following clause:

- (12) *Boku dake ja nai daroo shi*
 I only not probably
- (hoka no hito mo ochita n dakara)*
 other GEN person also failed NOMI so
- daijyobu desu.*
 alright COP

‘It’s OK- I’m not the only one (who failed)’.

(p. 977)

It has been claimed that sentences are finished with *shi* as a strategy to weaken the sentence to ensure that interpersonal communication remains non-confrontational (Makino & Tsutsui, 1986; Maynard, 1989; Maynard, 2005). Other researchers have suggested that Japanese speakers add connectives such as *ga*, or *kedo* to avoid using a tone of finality in speech (Makino & Tsutsui, 1986). The use of such connectives gives the impression that the utterance is not finished and by avoiding finality makes the statement less direct and hence less offensive. Maynard (2005, p.236) suggests that for Japanese people “it is advisable to add, at the end of one’s thought, phrases that can potentially disarm a negative impact.” In this instance Maynard is talking about

(14) Mrs. Okubo is talking on the phone with her mother about her children and their recent behaviour.

- 1 Mother *Mitsuo* *wa?*
 Mitsuo TOP
- ‘How about Mitsuo?’
- 2 Mrs. Okubo *Aikawarazu* *shotchuu,* *neboo o shite*
 as ever often sleep in.and
- 3 *chikoku ni* *narisoo* *ni* *naru.*
 late DAT become.seem DAT become
- ‘He constantly oversleeps and is almost late for school.’
- 4 *Heya* *wa* *itsumo* *kitanai shi.*
 Room TOP always messy
- 5 *Kookoosei* *no kuse ni,* *mada oya ni*
 High school student even though still parents DAT
- 6 *okoshite morattari* *heya mo* *kirei ni* *dekinai*
 wake up.get room also clean cannot
- 7 *nante* *hazukashii* *to* *omowanai* *no*
 Surprise embarrassed QUOT think.neg NOMI
- 8 *kashira.* *Sono kuse ni,* *watashi wa sooji o*
 Wonder That even though I TOP clean ACC
- 9 *shioo to suru* *to* *sugoku* *okoru* *shi.*
 do try when very angry

‘And his room is always a mess... Doesn’t he think it shameful to be woken up by his parents and not be able to keep his room clean even though he’s a high school student? All the same he goes mad when I try to clean it.’

10	Mother	<i>Sore de</i>	<i>mina,</i>	<i>anata ga</i>	<i>kodomo</i>	<i>datta</i>
		Those	all	you	NOM child	was
11		<i>koro,</i>	<i>watashi</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>itte itta</i>	<i>koto</i>
		when	I		NOM say.PAST	things
12		<i>to</i>	<i>sukkari</i>	<i>onaji</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>wa</i>
		and	exactly	same	COP	SFP

‘Those are exactly the same things I said when you were a kid.’

(Tanahashi & Tashiro 2004)

Maynard (1999, p. 436) in her studies on Japanese connectives asserts the importance of analysing linguistic devices in interactional context: “The traditional view of connectives as logically connecting clauses has been shown to be untenable once conversations are examined.” In line 4 of the above conversation the adjective *kitanai* or ‘messy’ is followed by a conjunctive *shi*. It is obvious to the mother that Mrs Okubo is listing Mitsuo’s faults, and by not finishing the sentence with a final clause is hinting that there are more things to complain about but does not want to continue directly listing them. In this conversation Mrs Okubo continues complaining about Mitsuo without waiting for confirmation or sympathy from her mother but is distancing herself from the statement in the fact that she does not want to be blamed in any way for Mitsuo’s behaviour. In line 9 Mrs Okubo uses *shi* at the end of the sentence, *sugoku okoru shi*. By finishing without a final clause, the speaker leaves the listener (the mother) feeling like a reply of some sort is necessary, almost required. The feeling here is that Mrs Okubo would like sympathy for the fact that her son becomes angry when scolded about his behaviour and that this is an excuse for perhaps the reason why she is not able to do any more to control his behaviour.

In Maynard's (1997, p. 118) research on Japanese sentence structure, she recognizes that verbs are placed at the end of a sentence. However, she notes that in spoken Japanese verbs seldom appear alone at the end of a sentence, and are usually accompanied by extra items, such as particles or auxiliary forms. Maynard (1997, p.119) has found that in conversational data sentence-final expressions do not often finish in verb forms. "This strategy of ending sentences with elements other than verbs helps make the sentence less final, implying that it remains open for interpersonal negotiation."

4. 2 Regional Differences

Previous studies on regional differences of the Japanese language have produced some interesting definitions of the conjunction *shi*. It has been claimed that in the speech of young Osaka women, sentence-final *shi* is an emphatic marker used in a way corresponding to the use of the female sentence-final particle *wa*,⁶ and that *wa* is considered to be a polite particle in Tokyo (Maeda, 1977, p. 173-4). McGloin (1990) suggests that this use of *wa* at sentence-final position is a conversational device used to direct the proposition towards the addressee, and that it shows a strong emotional feeling. Moreover Makino and Tsutsui (1986) claim that *wa* shows the speaker's intimacy or friendliness. It is interesting to refer back to Maeda's claim (1977, p. 173) that *shi* and *wa* are interchangeable and have the same meaning. As an example Maeda (ibid) compares the following sentence in Kansai dialect *ee shi* ('That's good') to standard (Tokyo) Japanese *ii wa* ('That's good') and asserts that both sentences have the same meaning. More examples from Maeda show the similarity of both particles when used at the end of an utterance, for example *uchi wa iya ya shi* (Kansai dialect, 'I don't like it') which Maeda likens to *iya da wa* (standard Japanese, 'That's not good'). *Iyaharu shi* in the sentence *ano hito, omoshirokoto bakkari iyaharu shi* ('That person says only interesting things') can be replaced with *ossharu wa* with no major change in meaning. Whilst there is some weight to Maeda's claim that both particles are interchangeable and have the same meaning, *shi* in particular seems to be associated with interaction, adding a tinge of emotion to the sentence, thus leaving the interlocutor

⁶ The sentence particle *wa* is generally associated with feminine speech, used in weak assertive sentences. *Wa* is usually attached to the end of a predicate, the predicate either in the plain form or even a polite ending. In these cases the utterances are more formal.

a message to be inferred.

The following example is from Okamoto's study (1998) on honorifics in sales talk, and it is interesting to notice *shi* at utterance-final position. This could be an indication that *shi* at utterance-final position is in fact a politeness marker as Maeda (1977) claims, or that it is functioning in a similar way to a sentence-final particle. The following example is at a dry goods shop in the market in Kyoto where a female vendor is talking to a female customer:

(15) A: 1 *chotto yoko ni ne, oka-hattara*
 a little side DAT SFP put.if

kiree ya shi ne
 pretty COP SFP

‘If you put them a little bit by the side, it’s pretty.’

 B: 2 *soo ka. Kore to kore to, nanka*
 so Q This and this and somehow

kiree ne
 pretty SFP

‘Oh I see. This and this, it’s kind of pretty, isn’t it?’

(p. 148)

The use of the conjunction *shi* in examples (15) by salespeople suggests that *shi* could serve also as a politeness particle. In the above example Okamoto notes that there are no actual honorific forms present. Whether or not the *shi* is employed here to add politeness to the statement, it definitely ensures a less direct, less offensive, less pushy feeling.

4.3 Non-traditional Facets of *shi*

Shimamoto (2008) examines *shi* at sentence-final position with particular reference to young people. She gives examples of the type of usage found in natural conversation and also provides examples that show particular grammar which is not compatible with the more common occurrences of sentence-final *shi* in natural conversation, as below:

(16)

A: *Kono keeki mazui yo ne*
This cake tasteless SFP SFP

‘This cake is tasteless right!?’

B: *Oishii shi*
Delicious

‘It is delicious!’

(17)

A: *Kore shitte ru?*
This know

‘Do you know about this?’

B: *Shiran⁷ shi*
Know.negative

‘I don’t know about it.’

(Shimamoto, 2008, p. 1)

Shimamoto claims that sentence-final *shi* and sentence-final *yo* can be interchanged with sentence-final *kara*. Sentence-final *kara* is also classified as a conjunction but often occurs in sentence-final position in conversation. This idea of similar phenomena occurring in other conjunctions has been discussed in Chapter 3. As mentioned in

⁷ This is an example of Kansai dialect. Standard Japanese would be ‘*shiranai*.’

Chapter 1, Shimamoto's study maintains that the conjunction *shi* at sentence-final position at one stage exhibited functions of a sentence-final particle as it was employed to express a reason. Now, she argues, this role has become less obvious or distinct; although sentence-final *shi* is still a conjunction, it is a weaker conjunction. I would go so far as to claim that *shi* at sentence-final position should not be considered a traditional conjunction as the function of this particle in this position is less to connect the *shi* clause with an implicit main clause than to fulfil other functions.

Sakakibara (2008) also analyses *shi* at sentence-final position. She claims that sentence-final *shi* is similar to other Japanese sentence-final particles such as *yo* and *ne* as it shows the speaker/writer's epistemic or affective stance. Her focus is also the usage of the particle *shi* among young people; she states that its main function in sentence-final position is to agree with the addressee, make an excuse, and to reproach someone/something indirectly. She also argues that *shi* functions as a kind of softening device. Sakakibara's is one of the first studies to show that *shi* has distinct functions as a sentence-final particle. However, as Sakakibara mainly uses data from internet blogs as opposed to natural conversational data, there are limitations with her research. Online interactions offer more freedom and flexibility but often there is a lack of discussion or interaction. Language use is informal with the use of acronyms, or "online language" that would not be used in face-to-face spoken conversation.

McGloin and Konishi (2010) propose that the core function of *shi* is to add an emotional overtone to an utterance as well as creating a mitigating or softening effect. They take a much more detailed and comprehensive look at the various usages of *shi* at sentence-final position. The relationship between the connective usage and the new sentence-final particle usage is examined by using both written and spoken data. Examples are provided but McGloin and Konishi (2010, p. 567) claim that "all instances of the sentence final particle *shi* showed a negative stance such as a complaint, mild criticism, or simply the sense of being troubled." McGloin and Konishi argue that the new usage of *shi* represents an independent grammatical status and therefore it functions as a sentence-final particle. They also state that it is an instance of subjectification and intersubjectification (Hopper and Traugott, 1993, 2003), and that it strengthens that speaker's emotional stance, expresses the speaker's observation/ feeling with a negative stance, and offers a light criticism of the interlocutor's action with a teasing tone.

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 125) subjectification “tends to become increasingly based in the SP (speaker)/W’s (writer) subjective belief state or attitude to what is being said and how it is being said.” While subjectivity points to speaker attitude or viewpoint, intersubjectivity shows intersubjectification, in the sense of the development of meanings that encode speaker/writers’ attention to the cognitive stances and social identities of addressees, and arises out of and depends crucially on subjectification (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). I agree with McGloin and Konishi’s research and argument that the new usage of *shi* shows an independent grammatical status and functions in a way similar to a sentence-final particle. However, I will show that while, for the most part, *shi* at sentence-final position expresses the speaker’s observation with a negative stance, there are times when *shi* is used in ways that do not necessarily express a negative view of the speaker. In this area my research differs from McGloin and Konishi.

Kazuko Tanabe (2005) in her study on Japanese *gyaru* (‘Gal’) language has observed linguistic features peculiar to this group and observes that often the *gyaru*’s sentences tend to be finished with a conjunction, frequently *shi*. She gives the following examples ending with *shi* (p. 3):

- (18) A: *Kinoo Rikako to eiga ika-na-katta n da.*
 Yesterday Rikako with movie go.NEG PAST NOMI COP

‘Yesterday you didn’t go to the movies with Rikako, did you?’

- B: *Unn, atama itakatta shi.*
 Yes head ache PAST

‘Yes, (it was) because I had a headache.’

- (19) *Tte hageshiku imasara desu shi*⁸.
 QUOT fierce after such a long time COP

‘As the above shows, it is fierce after such a long time.’

⁸ Tanabe’s translation does not make sense especially as the previous discourse is not available to view.

(20) *Aitsu dare da shi.*

That guy who COP

‘Who is that man, (then)?’

(21) *Koitsu nan da shi.*

This guy what COP

‘What is this (man), (then)?’

Tanabe (2005) agrees with other linguists in the definition of the traditional usage of the particle *shi*, as a sort of conjunction used for creating clauses, which is adopted when a speaker wants to present reasons by adding more information before giving a conclusion. She provides the following example of the standard usage of *shi*:

(22) *Ano mise wa yasui shi oishii shi ikuto ii yo.*

That shop TOP cheap nice go-recommend SFP

‘As that restaurant is cheap and also tasty, it would be nice to go.’

However, it is evident from Tanabe’s above examples that in the Japanese ‘Gal’ speech its function appears to deviate from the standard use. Especially conspicuous is Ex. (21); as Tanabe notes, even more interesting than *shi* being in utterance-final position is the interrogative word in the middle: *koitsu nan da shi*. This is not a structure that is familiar to Japanese speakers and Tanabe suggests that inconclusive feeling results:

In the standard usage ...*(s)hi* is a sort of conjunction used for creating clauses, which are adopted when a speaker wants to present reasons for adding more information before telling his/her conclusion. However, in the Japanese Gal’s speech it is employed as the ending mitigating of utterance. ...*shi* is simply attached to the final position of a sentence which has an interrogative word in the middle of it. It is not set in the standard question style which should be accompanied with the particle ...*ka* at the end of a sentence. Instead, the Gals adopts the conjunction

...*shi* as a non-standard question marker ...*ka*. The result is that this usage makes the end of the utterance seem vague and inconclusive rather than interrogative.

(Tanabe, 2005, p. 5)

Shi appears to be functioning as a kind of pragmatic particle which weakens the force of the sentence making it vague and indirect.⁹

Tanabe's work is interesting as it describes Japanese Gal's language and analyses its formation as a social dialect. However, she does not explain the use of the language in terms of its social function. The social function of this language use is vital for communication in Japan today and this thesis will focus on this aspect during the data analysis in Chapter 6.

It is clear from the discussion in this chapter that *shi* in spoken conversation is deviating from its traditional usage of a connector of two or more clauses. Increasingly *shi* is associated with interaction, adding a tinge of emotion to the sentence, thus often leaving the interlocutor a message to be inferred. As observed from examples of other conjunctions exhibiting a functional change, *shi* may indeed function beyond its traditional role as a 'connector of two or more clauses.' The proposal of the emergence of new discourse-pragmatic functions is feasible as *shi* is functioning in a plurality of ways.

⁹ As our data shows, this usage of *shi* is not only peculiar to the language of young Japanese females, but also young males as well. This generational uptake will be further explored in the analysis of data in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

Conversation analysis provides practical tools for analysing patterns in talk, especially in the discussion and documentation of the emergence of new language patterns as observed in the discussion in Chapter 4 of non-traditional facets of *shi*. Using conversation analysis, this study reveals that *shi*-clauses often occur without main clauses in actual conversations. This chapter will discuss the methodology underwriting the conversation analysis of present study, ranging from theoretical standpoints to practicalities such as accessing subjects, the circumstances and environments of data collection and the transcription process. Detailed information about the subjects, their status and mutual relationships is also provided in table form.

5.1 Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis is the study of talk in interaction that focuses on practices of speaking that recur across a range of contexts, settings and social situations. Ten Have (1999, p. 48) endorses the following overall approach to Conversation Analysis and suggests that it involves four phases of:

1. getting or making recordings of natural interaction
2. transcribing the tapes, in whole or in part
3. analysing the selected episodes
4. reporting the research

According to ten Have the transcription process should not follow these stages in a step-by-step fashion, but rather in a “spiraling fashion” with observations from data leading to evaluation and subsequent polishing of analysis of earlier data. Ten Have (1999, p. 44) also suggests the inclusion in the transcript of: words as spoken; sounds as uttered; inaudible or incomprehensible sounds or words; silences; overlapped speech and sounds. It is important to use recordings of natural conversations between two or more people from real environments with minimal interference to perform conversation analysis. Ten Have (1999, p. 48) in his discussion on conversation analysis states that “the general CA recommendation for making recordings is that these should catch ‘natural

interaction' as fully and faithfully as is practically possible." These conversations are then transcribed in a very detailed manner that reflects pauses, emphasis and intonation changes, all of which are important details. Sacks (1984), agrees that recorded data are rich in empirical detail, which could never be produced by the imagination of anybody. I intend to follow ten Have's approach where possible to accurately record the natural interaction of the participants. I have not noted intonation changes but have reflected pauses and emphasis in the transcription of the data.

Conversation analysis is very helpful in that the analysis of natural Japanese conversation in natural environments enables first-hand observation of the various subtleties that are notoriously difficult for non-native speakers to learn. Conversation analysis can help spell out rules or certain meanings that otherwise would be extremely difficult for learners to figure out on their own. However, as ten Have (1999, p. 77) argues, these comments should be tempered by an awareness that transcriptions are not raw data but rather "... selective, theory laden renderings of certain aspects..." of that data.

5.2 Data Collection Methodology

As stated earlier in this thesis language samples were obtained from a range of participants of different ages, gender, and occupations to ensure differentiated data samples of a wide variety were obtained: obviously, examining as broad a discourse as possible is important. Data consist of examples from multiple genres, but mainly interview dialogues were chosen to ensure natural data. Thus the data are drawn from twenty-two conversations and one radio show, with a total of twenty-eight participants. They were recorded mainly in Oomihachiman City, Shiga Prefecture, Japan, and in Christchurch, New Zealand, from February 2004 to February 2006. Six of the conversations were recorded in Japan with the other three conversations recorded in New Zealand.

The author invited conversational participants who were personally known to her, and asked them to approach one or two other people to participate in the conversation. All participants were over the age of eighteen and not all of the participants knew each other on a personal basis. Some were acquainted with one another prior to being

recorded, but others were not. There were no rules or requirements given to the participants; only that they had to have a conversation with the other person or people in the room. If the participants did not know each other topics were suggested before the recording started to ensure natural conversation could take place. The participants were requested to use natural, spontaneous Japanese, discussing the topic of their choice to encourage free conversation with no restrictions, and no uneasy silence.

All of the participants in the conversation were native Japanese speakers, and the participants that were recorded in New Zealand had only been living in New Zealand less than three months or were visiting for a period of up to one week. The participants were not required to speak *hyoojungo* ('standard Japanese'). However, as twenty-one of the twenty-eight people were from the Kansai area, the data contains many examples of the Kansai dialect.

As tape recorders and other devices ultimately hinder the production of spontaneous conversation, a small inconspicuous portable recording device was used and placed in close proximity to the speakers; the author was not present during any of the recording sessions. The conversations were all carried out in comfortable places, such as coffee shops, restaurants, staffrooms, and in some participants' homes.

All data for the project was gathered in accordance with the Massey University code of ethical conduct for research, teaching and evaluations involving human participants. All participants signed a consent form and all of the subjects were eighteen years or over.

TABLE 2: Data Information for Conversations

PARTICIPANTS	LOCATION	INFORMATION	LENGTH
<i>Conversation 1</i> Su, Ta	At a coffee shop	Su, Ta are two female friends who have known each other for a long period of time.	15 minutes
<i>Conversation 2</i> Ju, Mi	In a classroom	Ju and Mi are high school students. They have known each other for more than three years.	15 minutes
<i>Conversation 3</i> Ku, Aki	In a private residence	Ku and Aki are acquaintances from the gym. They have known each other for about one year.	15 minutes
<i>Conversation 4</i> Oka, Su	A coffee shop Shiga Prefecture	Oka and Su met at a gym and have been friends for about one year.	15 minutes
<i>Conversation 5-6</i> Oga, Ta	Omi Brotherhood Senior High School Staffroom, Shiga Prefecture	Oga and Ta are two female colleagues who have worked together for two years.	15 minutes
<i>Conversation 7-8</i> Mo, Yo, Ko	Private residence	Mo, Yo and Ko attended high school together and have been friends for more than ten years.	18 minutes
<i>Conversation 9-10</i> Hi, Su, Shi	Omi Brotherhood Senior High School Staffroom, Shiga Prefecture	Su is a male senior student and Hi and Shi are female teachers. They have known each other for about three years.	15 minutes

PARTICIPANTS	LOCATION	INFORMATION	LENGTH
<i>Conversation 11</i> Ba, Aso	Omi Brotherhood Senior High School, Classroom	Aso is a teacher and Ba is a student. They have known each other for three years.	15 minutes
<i>Conversation 12-15</i> Ma, Yo	Christchurch Public Library	Yo has been in New Zealand for two months and Ma is visiting for five days. They have just met.	30 minutes
<i>Conversation 16</i> Yu, Ma	At Yu's home.	Yu and Ma are good friends.	15 minutes
<i>Conversation 17-21</i> Ryo, Ta, Ok, To	At Ryo's home, Christchurch, New Zealand	Ryo, Ta, Ok, To have been friends for about six months.	1 hour and 30 minutes.
<i>Conversation 22</i> Yu, Ma	A private room	Yu and Ma have been work colleagues and friends for three years.	10 minutes

TABLE 3: Data Information for KBS Kyoto Radio Station show

PARTICIPANTS			
<i>Conversation 1</i> Suga, Iwa	KBS is a commercial broadcasting station with headquarters in Kyoto. The radio station serves Kyoto and Shiga Prefecture and is a member of National Radio Network (NRN). Its television station serves Kyoto Prefecture and is a member of the Japanese Association of Independent Television Stations. This show was recorded in the morning at approximately 10.30 a.m.	Suga is a female broadcaster approximately 40 years old. Iwa is a male broadcaster, approximately the same age.	1 hour

5.3 Participants

There were twenty-eight participants altogether, not including those featuring in the data from the radio show. Of the twenty-eight participants, seventeen were female and eleven were male. The participants in the conversations, except in conversation 11, were all friends and accustomed to interacting socially with one another on a regular basis. The participants in conversation 10 were used to interacting with each other but in a more formal relationship, i.e. student and teacher. Despite the nature of the relationship between the participants the language used was informal and there was no sign of any morphologically honorific forms. In fact, none of the conversations have any instances of honorific forms (*keigo*). However, as the participants in conversation 11 had not met until that day, instances of linguistic formality were observed such as the *desu/masu* form which is ‘polite language’. Nonetheless, during the conversation it was apparent that they quickly became friendly and used language on an intimate level by dropping the *desu/masu* form and using plain forms. Table 4 below provides the biographical information for the participants in the conversations.

TABLE 4: Speakers' Biographical Information.

PARTICIPANTS	GENDER	BIRTHPLACE	RESIDENCE	AGE	OCCUPATION
<i>Conversation 1</i>					
SU	Female	Shiga	Shiga	57	Housewife
TA	Female	Shiga	Shiga	58	Housewife
<i>Conversation 2</i>					
JU	Female	Gifu	Shiga	18	Student
MI	Female	Shiga	Shiga	18	Student
<i>Conversation 3</i>					
KU	Female	Shiga	Shiga	28	Housewife
AKI	Female	Shiga	Shiga	29	Nurse
<i>Conversation 4</i>					
OKA	Female	Shiga	Shiga	38	Housewife
SU	Female	Osaka	Shiga	40	Receptionist
<i>Conversation 5/6</i>					
OGA	Female	Shiga	Shiga	55	Teacher
TA	Female	Shiga	Shiga	45	Teacher
<i>Conversation 7/8</i>					
MO	Male	Shiga	Shiga	18	Student
YO	Male	Shiga	Shiga	18	Student
KO	Male	Shiga	Shiga	18	Student
<i>Conversation 9/10</i>					
HI	Male	Shiga	Shiga	18	Teacher
SU	Female	Shiga	Shiga	19	Student
SHI	Female	Shiga	Shiga	18	Teacher
<i>Conversation 11</i>					
BA	Female	Shiga	Shiga	25	Teacher
ASO	Male	Shiga	Shiga	18	Student
<i>Conversation 12-15</i>					
YO	Male	Nara	Kyoto	21	Student
MA	Male	Shiga	Shiga	23	Hairdresser
<i>Conversation 16</i>					
YU	Male	Osaka	Osaka	25	Manager
MA	Male	Chiba	Chiba	24	Chef
<i>Conversation 17-21</i>					
RYO	Male	Hyogo	Osaka	32	Salesman
TA	Female	Shizuoka	Shizuoka	36	Shop Assistant
OK	Female	Tokyo	Tokyo	25	Waitress
TO	Male	Tokyo	Tokyo	29	Instructor
<i>Conversation 22</i>					
YU	Female	Shiga	Shiga	37	Waitress
MA	Male	Fukuoka	Shiga	39	Instructor

5.4 Conversation Analysis Methodology

For the present study, all conversations were transcribed into Japanese script by native speakers of Japanese and then examined by the author. Instances of the particle *shi* were then singled out by the author at the beginning of the analysis process. The transcriptions presented to the author were romanized according to the modified Hepburn system, but using doubled vowels instead of macrons. These recordings were complemented by notes the author had taken with contextual information about the participant's occupation, gender, place of residence and place of birth. This is important to identify as the usage of *shi* may be influenced by any of these factors.

The conversation analysis follows Conversation Analytic standards (e.g. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). Conversation examples are normally divided by speaker turns and are numbered accordingly. The analysis was informed by the following perspectives wherever possible. Examples are first shown in romanized transliteration, followed by an English translation. Expressions with *shi* are presented in bold, so that the reader's attention can be easily directed. Explanations about specific data are included when they appear, for example:

1. Age, gender, social status, and relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor.
2. The type of speech act. For example: threat, warning, announcement, request, and invitation.
3. Addressee response. How did the interlocutor respond to the utterance? What kind of verbal responses could be found?
4. Comparison. A comparison is made with the sentence-final particle *ne* to determine whether *shi* is demonstrating similar interactional functions in dialogue.

5.5 Survey Methodology

To determine native speakers' views on the use of the conjunction *shi* at sentence-final position during conversation, a survey was also conducted. Residents of Shiga, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya and Fukuoka completed the majority of the surveys. Most of the surveys were completed at institutions, such as universities, high schools and a few companies. In addition many surveys were completed by people with no relation to any of these institutions. The main purpose of the survey was to determine attitudes towards the conjunctive *shi*, and to determine in what situation and by whom it is used.

5.5.1 Survey Materials

A 19-question multi-choice and short answer questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was created for the survey. It contains a background questionnaire and a main part consisting of questions regarding the use of the conjunction *shi*.

The background questionnaire asked for the following information: a) the age of the participant, b) the participant's gender, c) the area with which the person most identifies. Only native Japanese speakers were asked to complete this survey, as it is concerned with natural language use. The respondents found the survey straightforward and simple to complete. Most of the people unrelated to an institution took the survey away and brought it back at a later date; however, the respondents at the institutions completed the survey under the observation of the author.

5.5.2 Survey Participants

The survey was conducted between January and March 2005 with a total of 200 survey forms distributed. A total of 94 people responded to the survey giving a response rate of 47%. Participants in the survey ranged in age from eighteen to over seventy years old, and they came from a wide variety of backgrounds and different professions, including high school students, university students, retirees, housewives, gym instructors and teachers. The two largest age groupings of respondents were 18-30 years and 30-40 years with a combined total of 58%. The next largest age group was 50-60 years at

16%. The majority of the respondents (85%) identified with the Kansai area; however, there were some people (15%) from Tokyo, Kyushu, Hokkaido, and Tohoku areas. The majority of respondents (68%) were female.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

Based on my proposal that the particle *shi* functions not only as a conjunctive particle but also exhibits characteristics of a sentence-final particle in conversations, I will observe and analyse a variety of discourse pragmatic functions of *shi* functioning as a sentence-final particle in the present section. Dik (1997, p.310) defines pragmatic functions as: “functions which specify the informational status of the constituents in relation to the wider communicative setting in which they are used.” In the examples when *shi* appears in sentence-final position the final clause can sometimes be found earlier in the conversation. However, if there is no main or final clause identified, the listener often has to use inference to determine exactly what the speaker is trying to convey. Depending on the context, sometimes it is very clear to infer what is implied after a sentence ending with *shi*, but there are times when the message is too vague to be inferred. In natural data it is common to find examples of incomplete sentences (Otori, 1995) and some of these incomplete sentences with particle *shi* in sentence-final position exhibit functional variety. In this section, I will present such examples found in the data and will distinguish the times when *shi* is similar to a conjunctive particle or is exhibiting characteristics more like a sentence-final particle. I am not suggesting that there has been a complete change in function but am suggesting that the conjunctive particle *shi* has more than one function than that of the traditional conjunctive particle. This is called “layering” (Hopper, 1991). The data is presented below in random fashion: typological organisation was not possible as often each dialogue contains examples of *shi* functioning in a plurality of ways.

6.1 Analysis of Data

(1)

This is an excerpt from a conversation between two friends¹⁰ who are discussing where to eat lunch. The speaker's use of *shi* invites the hearer's reasoning and inference.

1 Su *Onaka* *suita* *ne.*
 stomach empty.PAST SFP

‘I’m hungry.’

2 Ta *Honma* *yan*¹¹. *Moo* *juunijihan* *yo.*
 Really SFP already twelve thirty SFP

‘That’s right! It’s already twelve thirty.’

3 Su *Hiru* *taberu?*
 Lunch eat

‘Do you want to eat lunch?’

4 Ta *Un* *soo* *ne.*
 Yes that is right. SFP

‘Yes’

5 Su *Koko* *saikin* *dekita* *n* *desu* *yo* *ne.*
 here recently completed NOMI COP SFP SPF

‘This place has recently opened right?’

¹⁰ Please refer to the table in Chapter 5 for further participant details.

¹¹ *Yan* is spoken in the Kansai area, and used instead of *ja nai desu ka* (‘isn’t it that?’). It is very colloquial.

6 *Oishii* *ka* *na.*
 Delicious Q SFP

‘I wonder if it is delicious?’

7 Ta *Demo chotto* *takai* *shi.*
 But a little expensive

‘but it is a little expensive and’

8 Su (...) *Ja,* *kapurichiosa* *ni suru?*
 Pause then, Capriciossa decide?

‘...Then, shall we go to Capriociossa?’

9 Ta *Aa* *ii* *ne.* *Soko ni* *shioo.*
 Oh good SFP. There to go.lets.

‘Oh that’s good. Let’s go there.’

In (7), Ta’s utterance ending with *shi* may be interpreted as giving Su, her friend, a reason for not eating at that restaurant. The discourse would be understood as “It is expensive so I do not want to go here.” Su pauses briefly while contemplating how to reply to Ta’s utterance and has then found a solution by suggesting another place to eat at. If Ta wanted to be direct she could have finished her sentence with a final clause as in the following example: ‘*Asoko wa chotto takai shi, chigau tokoro ni shinai?*.’ ‘That place is a little expensive, how about we go somewhere different?’ The most obvious scenario is that Ta, in a subtle way, is trying to convey to Su that she is not keen to go to that particular restaurant. In (7), the use of the word *demo* (‘but’) also projects a negative sentiment (disagreement) hence we can determine in this case the use of *shi* at sentence-final position has softened the sentence and ensures that Ta is not directly disagreeing with Su but showing her attitude towards Su’s suggestion. Compare *asoko wa takai desu* ‘That place is expensive’ to *asoko wa takai shi* ‘That place is expensive and’. The first sentence is very direct and leaves the listener knowing exactly the

speaker's feeling towards the restaurant. However, the second clause leaves the listener with the feeling that there are some implicit reasons other than the restaurant being expensive which are not being directly stated. The speaker has included emotion in the *shi*-ending utterance and this alone illustrates the fact that *shi* is used in a similar way to a sentence-final particle. Su on hearing the sentence finishing with *shi* has noticed this, decides to avoid disagreement and after a pause offers an alternative place to go and eat ensuring that both parties have reached an eventually amicable agreement over where to eat lunch. I propose that this use of *shi* is showing the evolvement of *shi* from a conjunctive particle with a meaning of 'and' to a pragmatic particle associated heavily with the speaker's reasoning process/negotiating stance or inference. The reasoning process requires the listener to comprehend, or have explained, a situation based on a fact in the previous clause, discourse or context. The speaker uses reasoning and is able to appeal to the hearer that there was a reasoning process between the *shi* clause and the previous discourse. The conversation participants have used *shi* in the above example as a tool to achieve various goals and also to ensure that the message conveyed is not too direct. It functions in a similar way to sentence-final particle *ne*, which Cook (1990, p.32) suggests constitutes various speech functions and speech acts which call for the co-operation of the addressee. In this case the co-operation was clearly called for with the use of the *shi* clause. Cook (1990) also argues that if *ne* signals affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee, then it is used to elicit and maintain the addressee's involvement in the speaker's talk, thus mitigating the fact that the speaker is keeping the floor. In this sense, *ne* is similar to "you know" in English. The use of "you know" in English helps ensure the interlocutor remains as an active participant in the conversation. With this in mind, then even if it is not common knowledge to Su that the restaurant they are talking about is expensive (7), Su uses inference to determine that Ta wishes to go somewhere else. The particle *shi* here in this case lets the interlocutor know the speaker's point of view. This is a powerful tool that can be used to avoid confrontation or disagreement and this strategy is consistent with the Japanese cultural values of avoiding confrontation (Reischauer, 1977), valuing restraint and devaluing assertiveness (Mizutani, 1981). The function of *shi* can be said to indicate the relationship between an utterance ending with *shi* and an act or content in the preceding segment of the discourse, which is different from that of the conjunctive particle in that it does not connect two or more clauses. In this way it can be said speakers like Ta may exploit *shi* in utterance-final position in order to guide the

interlocutor to interpret utterances in the way he or she wants.

(2)

Following is an excerpt from a conversation between two high school girls talking about school. Both girls speak with a Kansai dialect.

1 Ju *Onaji kurasu ni natta ya de.*
 same class DAT become.PAST COP COP

‘I am in the same class.’

2 Mi *Mecha ii yan.*
 very good SFP

‘that’s great.’

3 Ju *Unn. Mecha ureshii n ya kedo.*
 yes very happy NOMI COP SPF

‘Yes I am really happy but.’

4. Mi *Un.*
 yeah

‘Yeah.’

5 Ju *Ashita kurabu katsudoo iku no?*
 Tomorrow club activities go COP

‘Are you going to club tomorrow?’

6	Mi	<i>Aa</i>	<i>chotto asoko</i>	<i>ikanakan</i>	<i>shi.</i>
		Oh	a little there	go.must	

‘Ah I have to go to that place.’

7	Ju	(...)	<i>Ja</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>kondo</i>	<i>ne.</i>
			Well	again	next time	SFP

‘Well next time ok?’

Sentence-final *shi* often occurs when expressing the speaker’s response (usually negative) to an invitation or a question as in the above example. McGloin (1991, p.37) recognizes that Japanese woman’s speech is well known for the abundance of politeness strategies and notes that some of these strategies are the use of sentence-final particles, incomplete sentences, and the use of *kedo*, and *shi* as tools to soften the sentence. Instances of almost all of these can be found in the conversation excerpt above. By finishing her sentence with *shi* in (6), Mi is stating in a vague manner that she will not be present tomorrow. Ju automatically replies *mata kondo ne* ‘next time then’ almost like a natural reflex on hearing the particle *shi* at the end of the sentence. The main information that Mi wants to convey is that she cannot go and has done this with little explanation perhaps to ensure that the interlocutor’s feelings are not hurt. The two girls are of high school age and friendly so the conversation is very informal yet Mi still softens her sentence with the use of the particle *shi*. This is reflected in the survey results as 50% of the respondents agreed that this is a good way to directly avoid saying an opinion. Perhaps a reason for this is that Japanese people tend to shy away from direct refusals more frequently than native English speakers.

According to data examined for the purposes of this study, *shi* clauses without a final clause in conversational discourse are observed in more interactionally-oriented sequence organisations, such as requests or invitations, or sharing information which is not favourable. I argue that the use of *shi* in conversations of this type is a linguistic feature that indicates affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee and a tool that is used to establish a cooperative relationship between each participant in the conversation like the sentence-final particle *ne*. Mi does not wish to offend Ju in any

way and has shown this by providing this type of *shi*-ending clause instead of a complete sentence. Ikoma & Shimura (1993) have found that native speakers of Japanese tend to use direct refusals less frequently than native speakers of American English, and suggest that these incomplete sentences typically occur at the end of the speech act of refusal. Clauses ending with *shi* carry a feeling of interaction and provide a common background to be shared for further interaction.

(3)

This is an excerpt between Ku and Aki, friends in their late twenties.

1 Ku *Nanka ii hito to nakanaka*
 Somehow good person to quite

2 *deawanai ne.*
 meet.neg SFP

‘It is so hard to find someone these days isn’t it?’

3 Aki *Soo ne.*
 yes SFP

‘Yes.’

4 Ku *Moo konna toshi ni natte*
 Already this kind age DAT become

5 *hayaku kareshi o tsukuranai to ne.*
 Soon boyfriend ACC make.neg if SFP

‘I am already at this age, and I must find a boyfriend soon.’

6 Aki *Ano eguzasu no insutorakutaa wa*
 That XAXS GEN instructor TOP

7 *doo desu ka?*
 how COP Q

‘How about that instructor from XAXS?’

8 Ku *Dare?*
 Who

‘Who?’

9 Aki *Tookyoo kara kita hito. Tanaka Koochi.*
 Tokyo from come person Tanaka Coach

‘The person from Tokyo. Coach Tanaka.’

10 Ku *Aa shitte iru. Kurasu o ni kai uketa.*
 Ah know. Class ACC two times took

‘Oh yes I know. I took his class two times.’

11 Aki *Kare wa seikaku ga ii shi,*
 He TOP character NOM good

12 *yasashii shi, omoshiroi shi.*
 kind interesting

‘He has a nice personality, and is kind, and is interesting and..’

3 *kaeru* *yo.* *Tsukareta.*
 Go home SFP tired

‘Yeah. Today I was just going to do Pump then go home. I’m tired.’

4 Su *Demo, saikin* *ganbatteiru* *yan.*
 but recently try hard COP.

‘But you have been working hard recently haven’t you?’

5 Oka *Maa shuu ni san kai* *gurai kuru yoo*
 well week two three times about come try to

‘Well I try to come here about two or three times a week.’

6 *ni* *shite iru* *yo.*
 DAT do SFP

8 Su *Konbatto*¹³ *wa?*
 Combat TOP?

‘How about Combat?’

9 Oka *Dete iru* *yo.*
 Participate SFP.

‘I’m taking part in it.’

¹³ Body Combat is also the name of an aerobic exercise class at a sports club in Japan.

10 Su *Getsuyoo to suiyoo ni haitte iru no?*
 Monday and Wednesday DAT participate Q

‘Are you taking part on Monday and Wednesday?’

11 Oka *Getsuyoo ni rokuji no kurasu to*
 Monday DAT six o’clock GEN class and

12 *Suiyoo no ichiban osoku haitteiru.*
 Wednesday GEN latest participate

‘I take part on Monday in the six o’clock class and Wednesday in the latest class.’

13 Su *Osoi ne!*
 late SFP

‘That is late, isn’t it.’

14 Oka *Demo, yamada san ya shi.*
 But Yamada Mr. COP

‘But it is Mr. Yamada so....’

15 Su *A soo nan da.*
 Oh I see COP

‘Oh I see.’

In (14), Oka’s utterance ending with *shi* is interpreted as giving Su, her acquaintance, the reason why she participates in the late class. The function of *shi* in this example can be said to show the relationship between an utterance ending with *shi* and an act (of going to a late gym class) in the preceding segment of the discourse. If Oka did not use the *shi* in this context then the relationship between what she said and her act would not

be explicit. Even though Oka is not directly stating that the reason she takes the late class is because of the instructor the use of *shi* at the end tells us that this is the case. Oka knows that the interlocutor (Su) knows Coach Yamada to some degree or has heard about him; otherwise she would not use *shi* in this time. Sentence-final *shi* helps the addressee understand the relationship between the utterance and the preceding act. These particular *shi*-ending utterances can be regarded as providing the reason of an act described in the discourse.

By having *shi* at utterance final position (*demo yamada san ya shi*) the speaker is thus stating the reason for participating in the late class and is showing her emotion and feelings. Ellipsis and incomplete sentences are a sign of both speakers having an understanding of the situation without requiring a great deal of clarity or detailed description. This can be seen as a positive politeness, which emphasizes the fact the both speakers share commonality. The function of *shi* in utterance final position is different from its function as a conjunctive particle because in this case it is indicating the relationship between clauses extending over turns and is indicating the speaker's epistemic stance. According to Iguchi (1998, p. 122), the function of a sentence-final particle is showing the attitude or emotion of the speaker toward what is being stated in the sentence. The above example is consistent with this as the interlocutor is very clear of Oka's attitude and emotion toward Coach Yamada.

(5)

The following is taken from a conversation between two high school teachers talking about an upcoming English recital. The English recital is an annual event and the two teachers are discussing ways to improve it.

1	Ta	(...)	<i>Jibuntachi</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>chikara</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>atte</i>	
			Themselves		NOM	effort	NOM	have
		<i>sokosoko</i>	(...)	<i>de</i>	<i>saigo</i>	<i>tsuppashireru</i>	<i>kedo</i>	
		moderate		And	last	go all out	CONJ	
2	<i>aite</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ugokasu</i>	<i>tte</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>wa</i>		
	partner	ACC	move	QUOT	NOMI	TOP		

Again, the sentence is not complete as it is finished with the particle *shi*, however Oga has clearly shared her opinion without directly stating it. The *shi* in this case is showing Oga's attitude toward the work they are undertaking and leaves Ta in no doubt as to Oga's stance. Oga's use of *shi* invites Ta's reasoning/inference. The 'reasoning' process means to make sense of a situation based on a fact described in the preceding clause/discourse context. (Suzuki, 1995, p. 77) The use of *shi* at the end of the sentence has given it a softer feeling perhaps to take into account a difference of opinion. *Shi* here provides ground to be shared, and on this common ground, it invites the interlocutor to make an inference, not about what was said, but this, the speaker's projected action. The interlocutors respond to this invitation to share the ground and make an inference on the action projected by supplying the relevant responses to the action. Using *shi* without a final clause saves the speaker from having to directly express his or her needs or opinion, a fact reflected in the answers (refer to appendix 3) of the survey. The majority of respondents to question six, "Do you think that the person listening to a conversation can understand what the person is trying to say from the content?" agreed that this was generally the case. Despite this general agreement about ten percent of the respondents cited examples of *shi* being used in sentence-final position that they had no idea of what the speaker trying to convey. Almost all agreed however, that inference was often necessary to determine the message trying to be conveyed.

(6)

The following is a continuation of the conversation between two high school teachers talking about the upcoming English recital.

1	Oga	<i>Oboeru</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>shindoi</i>	<i>shi.</i>
		Remember	NOMI	TOP	tiring	

'It's a pain to remember.'

2	Ta	<i>Ee.</i>
		Yes

'Yes'.

3	Oga	<i>Moo iya ya tte omou kamoshirenai</i>
		Already annoying QUOT think probably
4		<i>kedo, kekkyoku nannen nannen ato</i>
		But after all how many years after
5		<i>nannen mo shita ato ni, aa to</i>
		Many years also do.PAST later DAT oh QUOT
6		<i>omoi ukandari hontoo ni jibun tsukawahen</i>
		Think.reflect really myself use.neg
7		<i>wa to omottemo, nanka no</i>
		SFP QUOT think.even somehow GEN
8		<i>hyooshi de tsukau koto ni nattari suru</i>
		that time at use thing become
9		<i>toki ni(...) dokokade ano toki tte</i>
		Time at that place that time QUOT
10		<i>no wa zettai aru to omou shi.</i>
		NOMI TOP definitely exist QUOT think

‘Maybe but, after many years later, many years later even if you think you really don’t use English you will realise that there will be times where you have to use it, and somewhere there will be a time or place I think where you recall “that time.”

8	Ta	<i>un.</i>
		Yeah

‘Yeah.’

In (1) the use of *shi* here seems to soften the speaker's utterance. The speaker is saying that she knows how tiring it is to memorize everything; through the function of sentence-final *shi* in (1), she has effectively shown her empathy toward the interlocutor at the same time as stressing that the hard work is a good experience for the students. *Shi* at the end of this sentence does seem to soften the sentence but calling it only a softener marker is an incomplete account as it does not take into consideration of the overall interaction nor does it attribute any responsibility to the interlocutor. Using *shi* in (10), the speaker leaves it up to the interlocutor to decide what the appropriate response is but has clearly indicated her opinion as sentence-final *shi* in (10) is justification of the experience that the students will have. Here in fact it expresses the speaker's feeling or subjective evaluation and has the effect of adding emphasis to this feeling. *Shi* in sentence-final position in this example no longer functions as a marker connecting clauses. However, in the sense that it can be functioning to relate the utterance ending with *shi* to an implicature, it is not implausible to say that the function of connecting is still present but that the speaker's emotion and attitude have also been conveyed to the interlocutor. Also, since the inferred meaning associated has something to do with the speaker's attempting to influence the interlocutor, the function of *shi* in sentence-final position can be regarded as expressing the speaker's attitude toward the interlocutor or the situation stated in the utterances, similarly to that of a sentence-final particle.

(7)

This excerpt is from a conversation between three boys while playing a computer game.

1	Mo	(...)	<i>Matte</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>sa,</i>	<i>nenda</i>	<i>shitetara</i>
			Wait	now	SFP	hit	do. COND
2			<i>nenda</i>	<i>shitetara</i>	<i>kieta</i>	<i>shi.</i>	<i>Maji ukeru</i>
			Hit	do. Cond	disappear.PAST	really	receive

‘After I hit the joystick it disappeared. This is great.’

3 *to* *omou.* *Hora koitsu* *sugee.*
 QUOT think. Look he great.

‘Look, that guy’s great.’

4 Yo *Dekiru.*
 Can do.

‘I can do it.’

5 Mo *Reesu wa muzukashii.*
 Race TOP difficult.

‘It’s difficult to race.’

6 Yo *Aa ochita.*
 Ah fell down.

‘Oh I have fallen down.’

7 Ko *Okotteru shi.*
 Angry
 ‘You are angry’

The meaning of (2) is too vague to infer and could be regarded as being complete in itself as it is impossible to infer any more meaning than already exists in the utterance itself. The implicit message after the utterance would be something like “take notice of what I have done”. *Shi* is acting almost like an emphatic marker, similar to the sentence-final particle *yo*. In (7), after a slight pause Ko, based on his observation of the situation, comments that Mo is angry. Usually this could be considered a Face Threatening Act to the interlocutor but the utterance is softened by his use of *shi* thus mitigating the FTA. Here, Ko’s *shi*-ending sentence is simply an observation and is not connected to any other overtures in the conversation. This type of sentence-final *shi* can be classified as a sentence-final particle. McGloin and Konishi (2010, p.13) note that

when *shi* is used to comment on what the interlocutor is doing, the speaker offers a mild criticism of the action, but in a somewhat teasing tone.

The function of *shi* in sentence-final position in this example is more similar to that of a sentence-final particle in the following ways. First, it does not connect clauses. Secondly, the function of relating an utterance ending with *shi* to an implicit message is weak and what is implicated is so vague that the utterance cannot be considered to be connected to anything at all.

(8)

This next conversation is a continuation of the conversation above between the three boys. This time they are trying out a new computer game one of the participants recently purchased.

1 Mo *Mecha mezurashii wa kore.*
 Very rare TOP this

2 *Aisukuriimu iru?*
 Icecream need

‘This is really unusual. Do you want icecream?’

3 Yo *Omae, ore ichiban kirai ya sore.*
 You I most hate COP that

4 *Koji ijoo ni kirai ya shi.*
 Koji more than hate COP CONJ

‘Hey you, I hate that the most. I hate it more than Koji.’

5 Mo *Nande kore uta dake dete kun nen.*
 Why this song only appear come COP

‘Why can we only hear the music?’

(4) is another example of showing grounds to share from. Both Yo and Mo are watching and playing a video game. In this case sentence-final *shi* is expressing the speaker's feeling or subjective evaluation. The effect here is to add emphasis to this feeling or evaluation. The response to Mo's utterance in (2), asking if he would like some ice-cream is not related at all; in fact Mo has changed the subject completely. By being vague, Yo can avoid making a verbal commitment and thus risking the loss of face since the sentence is left open-ended and in a teasing manner. McGloin and Konishi (2010) note that this teasing factor associated with sentence-final *shi* is common and mitigates the face threatening act, softening the sentence.

(9)

This is an excerpt from a conversation which took place in an empty lecture room. The three friends are preparing for a presentation.

1 Hi *Yamashita nani sun no ja.*
 Yamashita what do Q well

‘So what will Yamashita do?’

2 Su *are shoki to ka konaida na.*
 That scribe or recently SFP

3 *Nakayama ni kakashita.*
 Nakayama DAT write.made

‘I made Nakayama be the secretary the other day.’

4 Hi *Hahahaha.*
 Hahahaha.

‘Ahahaha.’

5 Shi *Hahaha. Ee yan shoki wa nakayama de.*
 Hahaha. Good SFP secretary TP Nakayama COP.

‘Hahaha. That’s fine with Nakayama being the scribe.’

6 Hi *Boku kaku no osoi shi, shiranai kara to ka*
 I write GEN slow CONJ don’t know so or

7 *tte iu shi.*
 QUOT say

‘He will say I am slow at writing and don’t know what to do.’

8 Su *Sore ja ano hito nani mo nashi ya na.*
 That TOP that person nothing neg SFP SFP.

‘Well then does that person have nothing to do?’

9 Shi *Aitsu shabatteru.*
 That person talking.

‘He’s doing the talking.’

10 Hi *un, shabatteru.*
 Yeah talking.

‘Yeah, he’s doing the talking.’

In this sequence, the *shi* clause provides what the speaker knows to be shared information and signals the interlocutor to make an inference based upon it. These clauses provide common grounds such as a ground on which the speaker shares his/her stance; an evidential ground; and a factual ground. The use of *shi* in (7) enables the interlocutor to infer what was not said, which is the action or emotion that the speaker projects. The first *shi* in line (6) is clearly insinuating that there are other reasons for B

being slow, but the second *shi* is acting like a sentence-final particle in the fact that it is taking the responsibility away of what is being said, softening the sentence and sounding less assertive. The pragmatic effect of the second *shi* is more like a sentence-final particle in this respect.

(10)

This is a continuation of the conversation above.

1 Hi *Jaa honnara shaberi yaku na.*
 Well well speaking role SFP.

‘Well then he is the narrator role.’

2 Su *Shabbetteru un.*
 Talking yeah.

‘The narrator role, yeah.’

3 Hi *Chanto shabette na.*
 Properly talk SFP.

Make sure you talk properly.

4 *Kopii o morai.*
 Copy ACC get.

‘Get a copy.’

5 *Moto wa aru un, un, moto wa aru.*
 Original TOP have yeah yeah original TOP have

‘I have got the original yeah I have the original.’

6 *Dare ka ni karitoite karirahen. Ima.*
 Someone DAT borrow borrow.neg now.

You can't borrow it now. Borrow it from somebody later.'

7 Su *Shii. (Laughter). Nan de . (Laughter)*
 Hmm. Why?

'Hmmm. Why?'

8 Hi *Laughter*

9 Su *Laughter.*

10 Shi *Laughter.*

11 Su *Nanka shaberikata toka mo*
 Somehow way of talking or also

12 *Omoshirokatta shi, nanka.*
 Was interesting somehow

'Well his way of talking was so interesting, somehow or other.'

13 ALL *Laughter.*

Again the above in (12) is expressing the speaker's attitude toward the utterance or the addressee. The function of this *shi* in this case is pragmatic, indicating the speaker's attitude, i.e., reasoning, towards the utterance, that the person has a funny way of talking. McGloin and Konishi (2010, p. 8) comment, "The connective *shi* does not express a strong subjective stance like the sentence-final particle does." In this example it is clear that (Su) is expressing his opinion, or evaluation of the person discussed with a slight negative stance. McGloin and Konishi (2010) have shown that sentence-final *shi* does strengthen the speaker's emotional stance and they argue (2010, p. 577) "the

negative sentiment that is associated with the sentence-final particle *shi* originates in the context where *shi* is often used”.

(11)

This is an excerpt from a conversation between a teacher and a student.

1 Aso ... *Kono* *hi* *ni* *kaichau* *no* *kore mo.*
 This day DAT write.completely GEN this also

‘Do we also write this on this day?’

2 Ba *moo* *soko made susumetara,* *kaichatte ii* *shi.*
 Already here until advance.if write.completely.ok

‘If you have already got to this stage is is fine to write it.’

3 Aso *Muri* *yattara.*
 Impossible do.if

‘If that is impossible?’

4 Ba *Tsugi no kakimashoo toka, sore made ni*
 Next GEN write.lets or that until DAT

5 *kaitokoo* *to ka.*
 write.advance or

‘Write the next one or write this until then.’

6 Aso *Konna* *kanji,* *owari.*
 This kind effect finish

‘Like this, and then we finish.’

7 Ba Hai yoku dekimashita.
Yes well do.PAST

‘Yes, well done.’

8 ALL Silence

9 Aso Ore atama ii shi.
I head good

‘I am clever.’

The particle *shi* in (2) shows some characteristics of a sentence -final particle. The first and the most obvious reason is the location of the conjunctive. The conjunctive *shi* is found at the end of the sentence, and contributes to the overall meaning and implication of an utterance. Here the speaker is telling the listener to finish writing up something, but by finishing the sentence with a *shi* it has softened the overall meaning allowing the listener to not feel as if it was a direct order. *Shi* is adding emphasis to the speaker’s expressed sentiment yet in a softened manner. Aso’s second utterance ending with *shi* in (9) is almost said to himself as there is neither a corresponding main clause nor any relevant act appears in the discourse. Sentence-final *shi* in this case is not connecting clauses. The function in this case is to relate the utterance ending with *shi* to an implicature as in the reason why he has been able to complete the work is because he is clever. We may interpret this as giving rise to implicit messages like “that is why I was so quick, or I am so clever.” In this case native Japanese speakers (personal correspondence) have suggested that using *shi* at the end of an utterance sounds “cool” and that is why many young people use *shi* in this manner.

(12)

This conversation between Ma and Yo initially starts off using relatively polite language. They both have never met before and begin the conversation about studying abroad.

1 Ma *Watashi wa hayaku kara*
I TOP early from

2 *hataraitte shimatta kara amari*
Work. Completely.PAST so not much

3 *jikan o tsukurehen shi.*
Time ACC make.canNEG

‘I started work young so I can’t get a lot of time off and.’

4 Yo *Hoo. Demo hataraitetara hataraitteiru nanka.*
Hmm. But workCOND working somehow

‘Hmm. But if you work, working is somehow.’

5 Ma *Tanoshii kedo ne.*
Enjoy. SFP SFP.

‘It is fun but.’

6 Yo *Tanoshii nanka chigau yaroo*
Fun somehow different probably

7 *zenzen.*
never

‘It cannot be that much fun, can it?’

8 Ma *Ironna hito to shabereru shi.*
 Various people to talk

‘I get to talk to various people and.’

9 Yo *Un. Daigakusei tte asonde iru dake*
 Yeah university students QUOT playing only

10 *to ka kekkoo iru shi na. Yonenkan.*
 Or a few exist SFP four year period

‘Yeah, there are many university students who just only muck around. For four years.’

11 Ma *Un un.*
 Uh.huh.

‘Uh huh.’

12 Yo *Sore yattara shuushoku shita hoo ga.*
 That do.COND employment did should

‘If that is the case then they would be better to get a job...’

13 Ma *Un.*
 Yeah.

‘Yeah.’

In (3) Ma has discussed how she started working at a young age and so that is why she does not have a lot of free time. The *shi* clause is indicating that there is an implicature and that is why she has never studied abroad or stayed in another country for a long period of time. By finishing with *shi* Ma lets the listener know that there is a feeling of regret for this and perhaps jealousy for Yo. In this example, the *shi* utterance projects

the sense that Ma is troubled, that she wishes she had more time. In fact, Ma is almost suggesting to Y to travel while he has the opportunity

In (8) the message of the consequent clause is inferable: Ma enjoys her work as it enables her to talk to a variety of people. Sentence-final *shi* is used so that Yo is sure of Ma's feeling and to keep the conversation harmonious. Yo quickly realizes this and agrees in the next sentence with *un* 'yeah' and explains that there are many university students who just muck around for four years. In (10), Yo has used sentence-final *shi* as it has certain pragmatic effects. One of the functions of a sentence-final particle is described as that of expressing various different attitudes of the speaker toward the situation described in the sentence. When trying to convey disagreement or to pursue agreement it is often found that the speaker provides a disclaimer to back down. In this case *shi* is used to deliver the speaker's disclaimer. This is an interactionally rich context and *shi* is used to help the interlocutor make inferences. McGloin and Konishi (2010, p. 13) suggest that "sentence-final *shi* predominantly projects a negative tone, while connective *shi* is neutral." The reason that they give for this is that *shi* is frequently associated with a context which manifests a negative stance. The use of *shi* at sentence-final position helps to defer confrontation such as requests, disagreements and denials and allow the speaker to avoid explicitly stating their intentions. In this way the speaker and the listener can save face and the speaker can avoid saying the final intention and can be indirect.

(13)

This is another excerpt from the conversation. The topic has changed to discussing travelling plans.

1 Yo *Kaigai* *wa* *hajimete*.
 Overseas TOP first time.

'Is this your first time overseas.'

2 Ma *Iya* *ryokoo* *de* *wa* *nankasho* *itta*
 No trip with TOP some place went

- 3 *n ya kedo.*
 NOMI COP SFP
 ‘No I have been to a few countries for travel but.’
- 4 Yo *Un.*
 Yeah.
 ‘Yeah.’
- 5 Ma *Ryuugaku toka shita koto nai shi.*
 Study abroad or done things not
 ‘I have never studied abroad and..’
- 6 Yo *Un. Ja puran tateteru?*
 Oh. Well plan build.
 ‘Yeah. So have you got anything planned?’
- 6 Ma *Kyoo? Konkai no nyuujiirando?*
 Today. This GEN New Zealand.
 ‘Today? This time in New Zealand?’
- 7 Yo *Yokka kan.*
 Four days.
 ‘During your four days here.’

8 Ma *Mattaku.*
 Nothing.

‘Not at all.’

The conversation is interesting here as in (5) we have Ma explaining to Yo that she has visited a number of overseas countries but has never studied abroad. By finishing with *shi* Ma is expecting Yo to offer some kind of advice for her trip and it has softened the sentence. The ellipsis here has taken place because the message of the main clause is inferable as Ma is talking about something relevant to her current situation, along the lines of giving an excuse or deferring to Yo who has studied abroad while she has not. The function of *shi* in this example indicates the relationship between the utterance ending with *shi* and a comment in the segment before, which is different from that of the conjunctive particle in that it does not connect two clauses.

(14)

Ma and Yo continue their discussion with the topic changing to shopping and souvenirs.

1	Ma	<i>Dokka</i> Anywhere	<i>susume</i> recommend	<i>aru.</i> have	<i>Nanka</i> Somehow	<i>ne,</i> SFP
2		<i>kaimono</i> shopping	<i>mo</i> also	<i>shitakute.</i> want to and		

‘Do you have anywhere that you recommend? I really want to go shopping

3	Yo	<i>Kaimono</i> Shopping	<i>nante</i> and the like	<i>suru</i> do	<i>tokoro</i> places
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4 *nai* *de* *koko.*
 Neg COP here

‘There are no places here for shopping!’

5 Ma *Nai. (...)* *Nanka* *omiyage* *omiyage*
 No Somehow souvenirs souvenirs

6 *mo* *ya* *shi.*
 also COP

‘No? Well souvenirs, I want to also buy souvenirs.’

7 Yo *Omiyage* *kaitai* *tte* *koto?*
 Souvenir buy want QUOT thing.

‘You want to buy souvenirs?’

8 Ma *Nanka* *furugiyasan* *ni* *itte mitai*
 Well second hand clothes to go.try.want

9 *to* *omotte.*
 QUOT think and

I think I want to go to a second hand clothes store.’

10 Yo *amari* *soo* *iu* *no* *ni* *kitai*
 Not much that QUOT DAT hope

11 *shitara* *akan.*
 do.cond negative

‘Don’t get your hopes up for that.’

The function of *shi* in (6) might be regarded as being complete in itself since we cannot infer any more meaning from the utterances other than the fact that Ma would like to buy souvenirs during her stay in New Zealand. Yo has to ask for clarification for this in (7) and then proceeds to explain that she shouldn't expect too much especially if she is after clothes from a second hand store. Ma appears to be minimising speaker accountability for what is being said as she feels inferior to Yo who has had more experience in New Zealand than she has.

(15)

The conversation about souvenirs continues and Ma and Yo discuss the concept of buying greenstone in New Zealand as a souvenir to take back to Japan.

1 Yo *Are wa maori no yatsu de jibun*
That TP Maori GEN thing COP yourself GEN

2 *no tame ni kau n ja nakute dare ka*
for buy NOMI negative somebody

3 *no tame ni kawanakan shi.*
for buy.negative

‘It’s Maori, and you don’t buy it for yourself but you have to buy it for someone else.’

4 Ma *Hee.*
Oh.

‘Oh.’

5 Yo *Dakara, katte morawanakan hoshikattara.*
Therefore buy get.have to want if.

‘So you have to get someone to buy it for you, if you want it.’

- 6 Ma *Hee.*
Really?

Really?
- 7 Yo *Dakara tomodachi ni agetari*
Therefore friend to give
- 8 *suru no wa ii kedo,*
Do NOMI TOP good but
- 9 *jibun no tame ni kau no wa.*
Yourself GEN for buy NOMI TOP

So it is ok to give it to friends, but buying it for yourself is...'
- 10 Ma *Amari (...)*
Not really.

'Is not really...'
- 11 Yo *Nanka amari tte kanji.*
Somehow not really QUOT like.

'It's not really appropriate.'
- 12 Ma *Ee.*
Right.

'Right.'
- 13 Yo *Yakara tomodachi dooshi de kau*
Therefore friends together with buy

14 *hito mo kekkoo iru shi.*
 people also a lot exist

‘So that’s why lots of friends buy it for each other.’

14 Ma *Hee. Aa soo nan ya.*
 Oh. Oh that COP SFP.

‘Oh, I see.’

15 Yo *un.*
 Yeah.

‘Yeah.’

This type of *shi* in (3) indicates the speaker’s explanatory attitude toward the utterance. Yo has distanced himself from directly telling Ma not to buy a piece of greenstone for herself. *Shi* serves here to soften the abruptness of a direct statement and to index the speaker’s attitude at hand. The function of *shi* is to indicate that the speaker’s attitude is relevant to the communicative goal of the moment and shows the speaker’s affective stance. The implication of his utterance is “so you cannot buy greenstone for yourself”, or “you cannot buy greenstone if you are buying it for yourself.” In this example, *shi* seems to exhibit characteristics similar to that of other sentence-final particles in Japanese. However, the assertion of the sentence has been lessened by the use of *shi* as Yo does not wish to ‘come across too strong.’ The *shi* clause is also indicating a connection to the next utterance and is expected to be interpreted in relation to that utterance similar to sentence-final particle *ne*. Sentence-final particles reflect the speaker’s interpersonal concerns (Maynard, 1989), and also help cool down the force of illocutionary acts (Yo telling Ma that she cannot buy greenstone for herself) in order to maintain harmony among speakers. Many researchers argue that Japanese wish to maintain a harmonious conversation, shown by a preference for agreement with the speakers (Maynard, 1989) rather than individualized self-expression. Yo wants to show his knowledge about New Zealand customs but also does not want to appear too arrogant hence a reason for his use of sentence-final *shi* in (3). In (13), Yo is again

quietly asserting that Ma should not buy greenstone for herself. In fact, Yo's implicit message is that "you should know what to do if you take notice of what has been said in the *shi* clause," and that is not to buy greenstone unless you are buying it for someone else. In the latter case he is not explicit in his message but Ma must infer what is implicitly meant.

(16)

The following is an excerpt from a conversation of two friends.

1. Ma *Ashita* *ikanai* *yo* *ne.*
 Tomorrow go.neg SFP SFP

'You are not going tomorrow right?'

2. Yu *Ee* *doko* *ni?*
 Ah where DAT

3. Ma *Suzuki* *kun* *no* *soobetsukai.*
 Suzuki Mr GEN farewell party

4. Yu *Iku* *shi.*
 Go

'Yes I will go!'

5. Ma *Aa.*
 Ok

'Ok.

The function of *shi* in (5) is clearly not that of a conjunctive particle. It is used as an intensifier to strengthen the statement that Yu will attend Suzuki's farewell party. Here, Yu's *shi*-ending utterance has the effect of adding emphasis to the statement

similar to that of sentence-final *yo*. McGloin and Konishi (2010, p. 567) found that all instances of the sentence-final *shi* in their spoken data projected a negative tone such as complaint, mild criticism, or the sense of being troubled. They do note that they have observed some cases where sentence-final particle *shi* does not project a negative tone but not in spoken data. The above example (4) is not projecting a negative tone but is just emphatically stating a point. I have found a number of these of examples in spoken discourse where sentence-final *shi* is not projecting a negative tone and propound that *shi* is being increasingly used to intensify positive or neutral feelings, as a least emphatic alternative to *yo*. This is backed up by the responses received in the survey in question nine. The majority of the respondents strongly disagreed that sentence-final *shi* is used in only a negative way.

(17)

The following is a conversation between four friends. They are discussing visiting Australia.

1 To: *Dakara anoo goorudo koosuto doko ittara ii?*
Therefore um Gold Coast where go.cond

‘So, um where should I go in the Gold Coast?’

2 Ta: *Soo.*
Yes

‘Yeah.’

3 Ryo: *Shoojiki, shidonii wa tsumaran.*
Honestly Sydney TOP boring

‘To tell the truth, Sydney is boring.’

4 To: *Paasu nani ga aru?*
Perth what have

‘What’s in Perth?’

5 Ryo *Kirei ya shi (...)* *nanka sumi yasui.*
Beautiful COP well live.easy

‘It’s beautiful and...somehow or other it’s a nice place to live in.’

6. Ta: *Umi haireru?*
Sea enter.potential

‘Can we swim?’

7 Ryo: *Haireru ima. Mukoo nukui shi na.*
Enter.potential now Over there warm SFP

‘You can swim at the moment. I think it’s warm there.’

8 *Nukui to omou shi.*
Warm QUOT think

‘I think it is warm and.’

9 Ta *Ii na.*
Good nice

‘That is so nice right.’

10 All *Hahahahahaha.*
Laughter.

‘hahahahahaha.’

Tanaka (1999, p. 43) argues that ending a turn with a conjunctive particle results in the consequence of an action being unstated. Ryo has used *shi* in (7) and it occurs with

another sentence-final particle *na* (similar to sentence-final particle *ne*) which shows the speaker wants confirmation or agreement of the statement. In fact, this example is an incomplete listing of reasons and the *shi* clause implies this. It is interesting to see the next sentence (8) is again repeating what has been said but with less confidence, expressing the speaker's feeling or subjective evaluation using the quotative *to omou* ('I think/feel that...'). This sentence does not carry a negative connotation as being warm is considered a good thing; however Ryo seems to be backtracking from his original statement as he is not entirely sure that Perth is warm at the moment and wants to minimise his responsibility for the implied conclusion. In this situation the use of *shi* could be considered an afterthought: it is still retaining part of its sense 'on top of that' and indicates that the comment ending with *shi* (Perth is warm) relates cumulatively with the other comments earlier on in the discourse. Furthermore the particle may be used to signal the end of a turn and select others as potential next speakers, like *ne* which can be utilised as an "exit technique" much like tag questions in English. This device however differs from other techniques mentioned above, since tags in themselves do not necessarily designate a particular next speaker.

(18)

The conversation continues.

1:	To	<i>Ryo kun no ryooshin nani yatte ru?</i>
		Ryo GEN parents what doing?

'What are your parents doing?'

2	Ryo:	<i>Ore?</i>
		Me?

'Me?'

3	To:	<i>Hai.</i>
		Yes.

'Yes.'

- 4 Ryo: *Oyaji gakusei.*
Old man student

'My old man's a student.'
- 5 To: *Aa kikimashita.*
Ah heard.

'Oh yeah I had heard that.'
- 6 *Daigakuinsei.*
Graduate student.

'A graduate student?'
- 7 Ryo *Daigakuinsei.*
Graduate student.

'A graduate student.'
- 8 To *Sore wa sugoi shi.*
That TP great

'That is great.'
- 9 Ryo *Maa.*
Well

'Well.'

In (8) sentence-final *shi* is functioning pragmatically as a sentence-final particle. To has

been talking about Ryo's family and has just found out that Ryo's 'old man' is a graduate student. To (8) shows his apparent awe at this. There is no real meaning to this utterance with *shi*. It is encoding the speaker's emotional stance toward what has just been said about Ryo's father. The emotional stance in this example is not a negative one but is a positive one. McGloin and Konishi argue (2010, p. 568) *shi* is frequently associated with a context which manifests a negative stance. The example above is an indication that sentence-final *shi* does not always manifest a negative stance.

(19)

Ryo is finishing telling a story about the security guard at his school.

1	Ryo	<i>De... Soo iu koto ga atta shi.</i>
		And that thing NOM had

‘That kind of thing happened and...’

2	To	<i>Ojisan datta?</i>
		Old man COP

‘Was it an old man?’

3	Ryo	<i>Ojisan de reepu to lake wa issho.</i>
		Old man rape and lake TOP same

‘The old man thought that lake and rape were the same.’

The example above suggests that there is a functional shift from a conjunctive particle to a sentence-final pragmatic particle. Ryo is showing his emotion and attitude but again wants to soften the sentence in order not to sound arrogant. That is, the causal meaning of the *shi* clause is construed pragmatically and it is used to indicate epistemic reasoning. In (1), it has worked as a pragmatic particle which has softened the force of the assertion and has seemed to regulate listenership among the participants. However *shi* in this context does seem to have a negative connotation as if the speaker was troubled or annoyed by the events in some way, unlike the previous example.

(20)

The topic has changed between the participants and they are discussing Ryo's high school days. Ryo originally started school in the general course but decided that he wanted to study abroad one day and to do that needed to enter the international course at his school.

1 Ryo *Yamemasu wa. Ichinen de yameta.*
Quit SFP one year in quit

'I quit. I quit after one year.'

2 To *Nyuujirando de ryuugaku suru tame?*
New Zealand in study abroad do purpose

'To study abroad in New Zealand?'

3 Ryo *Nyuugaku shiki nikaime desu.*
Entrance ceremony two times COP

'I had the entrance ceremony twice.'

4 *Koochoo no aisatsu mo mattaku issho.*
Principal GEN greetings also completely same

'The Principal's greetings were also completely the same.'

5 To *Soo desu. Wakannai mon ne.*
Yes COP. Understand.neg thing SFP

'That is right. Nobody would know.'

- 6 Ryo *Sore wa soo nen. De iroiro atte ne*
That TP that COP. And varioushave SFP
- 7 *kono ichinenkan, atama no warui to*
This one year period head GEN bad QUOT
- 8 *iu retteru o hararete ne.*
Say bias ACC have SFP
- ‘That is right. Anyway a lot happened that year.’
‘They thought that I was not clever.’
- 9 To *Wakaranakunai?*
Don’t know.Neg
- ‘Isn’t it that they don’t know?’
- 10 Ryo *Sensei issho. Kikai no seiseki o*
Teacher same hard tech Gen grade ACC
- 11 *toottara kore ii shi to iwareru.*
Pass.cond this good QUOT said
- ‘The teacher was the same. I was told that it would be fine if I passed the hard tech class.’
- 11 *Sonna koto ittara mi mo futa mo nai.*
That kind of thing say. self lid also neg
- ‘It is brutally frank to say that.’

12 *Moo yameru shi tekitoo de ii.*
 Already quit here and there COP good.

‘I already quit, whatever

13 To *Chooshi notteru.*
 Carried away

‘Are you getting carried away?’

14 Ryo *Nani mo shitehen shi.*
 Nothing do.neg

‘I am not doing anything.’

In this conversation there are three tokens of sentence-final *shi*. In (11), *shi* is functioning as an intensifier but also it is clearly showing there is more to the story regarding Ryo’s transfer to a different course at high school than he is saying. It would be reasonable to interpret the utterance in (11) as providing the interlocutor with the cause of the speaker’s belief or conclusion but leaving the interpretation of this up to the interlocutor. The implicit message in (12) is that Ryo is expressing his complaint (this time about his school) in the utterance. The implication here is that Ryo will quit school and so ‘you had better take notice of this.’ The degree of inferability of the unexpressed message varies according to the context. In (14), Ryo is telling To that he is not doing anything to warrant To suggesting he is getting carried away with his story. Even though this is a negative sentence the sentence-final *shi* is functioning in the same way as sentence-final *yo*, like an intensifier. ‘I am not getting carried away.’ However it is also showing Ryo’s emotion which allows To to understand that Ryo does not want him to suggest that he is being carried away again.

(21)

This conversation is between friends. They are discussing a recent party which Ryo attended.

1 Ta *kasoo paatii no shashin?*
 costume party GEN photo

‘Are those the costume party photos?’

2. Ryo *Un. Kono aida no.*
 Yeah The other day GEN

‘Yeah. The one the other day.’

3. Ta *Are tte Jun kun da yo ne.*
 That QUOT Jun COP SFP SFP

‘That is Jun right?’

4. Ryo *Ore ya shi.*
 I COP

‘It is me!’

5. Ta *Hee*
 Wow

‘Wow.’

6. *Chotto sore misete.*
 A little that show

‘Sorry can you please show me that?’

7. *kono hito nan de kasoo shinakatta daroo.*
 This person why costume do.neg COP

‘Why didn’t this person dress up?’

- 8 Ryo *Shiranai.*
 Don’t know

‘I don’t know.’

In (4), the sentence-final *shi* is clearly not exhibiting characteristics of a conjunctive particle. Here the particle *shi* has been used more like the particle *yo*. It is an emphatic particle to emphasize the fact that it is Ryo in the picture. Sentence-final *shi* serves as an intensifier but also to imply to Ta that he should have known who he was in a teasing kind of way.

(22)

This is taken from a conversation between two ladies in their early thirties. They are talking about a possible love interest. Ma was born in Fukuoka and is currently residing in the Shiga area. Although Ma speaks with a Fukuoka dialect as she is residing in the Kansai area this may be influencing the way that she speaks.

- 1 Ma *Kekkon shite to iwaretemo komaru shi.*
 Marry me QUOT be told even annoying

It will be annoying if he says marry me.

- 2 Yu *Aa. Maa ne.*
 Oh. Well SFP.

‘Oh, well yes.’

3. Ma (..) *misete. Tanabe san kore.*
 Show Tanabe this

‘Show me. Is this Tanabe?’

- 4 Yu *Un.*
 Yeah

‘Yeah.’

- 5 Ma *Oshare da shi.*
 Fashionable COP

‘Tanabe is fashionable.’

- 6 Yu *Un soo soo.*
 Yeah that is right

‘Yeah so true.’

In (1), *shi* is used after an utterance which presents the speaker’s knowledge or opinion, and seems to be in order to indicate self-reflection, or knowledge of and insight into one’s own feelings. Adding *shi* at the end of the utterance has the effect of making the tone of the assertion more attenuated and in this case clearly shows the speaker’s annoyance or frustration. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) argue that this is also the case for *kedo*, as it reduces the assertiveness of the utterance and avoids the speaker coming across as arrogant. This can be seen in (1), in an effort to sound less assertive or less pretentious. (5) is another example of *shi* being used in a positive manner and not in a negative way. This can be compared to sentence-final *ne* as Ma is almost seeking agreement from Yu and although it does infer that there are other good qualities about Tanabe there is no other clause in the discourse that is connected to this statement. The speakers are relatively young and perhaps this use of *shi* is becoming more conventionalised between younger speakers.

The rest of the data was taken from KBS Kyoto Radio Station. The conversations are all highly interactive with many sentence-final particles employed during each conversation.

(23)

The topic has turned to baseball players and fashion.

1 Suga *Yappari* *ima no wakamono tte*
 As expected now GEN young people QUOT

2 *kanji shimasu ne.*
 feeling seems SFP

‘He just looks like a young person right?’

3 Iwa *Soo desu ne. Ano fasshon mo jiyuu desu shi.*
 That COP SFP. That fashion also free COP

‘That is right isn’t it? Especially as that fashion is his own kind of style’

4 Suga *Wari to ano yakyuu senshu tte*
 Relatively that baseball player QUOT

5 *kakkoi dakedo, wafuku*
 handsome but clothes

6 *wari to dasai deshoo.*
 relatively unfashionable COP

That baseball player is relatively handsome but his Japanese clothes are not really fashionable.

7 Iwa *Sonna koto nai yo.*
 That thing neg SFP

‘That is not true.’

Sentence-final particle *shi* in (3) not only implies agreement with Suga regarding the baseball players but also adds a tone of friendliness to the conversation. The speaker's stance towards the content of the information being uttered is obvious and Iwa's attitude towards the information is clearly expressed. The conversation is interactive with both participants frequently using sentence-final particles. The frequent use of sentence-final *ne* and *shi* ensure that the conversation is successful and non-confrontational.

(24)

The conversation moves on to discuss athletes and the impact of having a World Cup event in Japan.

- 1 Suga *Ima no wakamono no yappari daihyoo*
 Now GEN young people GEN after all represent
- 2 *tte iu kanji wa tashika ni shimasu ne.*
 QUOT TOP sure DAT do SFP

‘They are kind of representatives for young people aren’t they.’

- 3 Iwa *Soo desu ne. Uun.*
 That COP SFP. Yeah

‘That is right. Yeah.’

- 4 Suga *Demo yokatta desu ne.*
 But great.past COP SFP

‘But that is great isn’t it.’

- 5 Iwa *Yokatta desu. Kore de maa waarudo kappu*
 Great.past COP This well world cup

- 3 *Sore de kansai no hoo ni mo.*
 Then Kansai GEN direction LAT also
- 4 *Sore koso intaanetto tsunaidemo*
 This emphatic particle Internet connect.even
- 5 *ii wake da shi.*
 Good reason COP

‘We asked children in Tokyo to investigate and also children in Kansai.
 They can even use the Internet.’

(26)

The topic changes to working outside in the summer months.

- 1 Iwa *Natsu demo makkurogi kite atsui desu yo.*
 Summer even black clothing wear hot COP SFP

‘It is really hot even in summer if you wear black clothes.’

- 2 Suga *Aa taiyoo ne. Kyuushuu shimasu shi ne.*
 Oh sun SFP Absorb do SFP

‘Oh the sun right. It absorbs the heat right.’

In (2), Suga agrees with Iwa’s statement about wearing black clothing in winter. Combined with *ne*, known as a pragmatic particle which expresses the speaker’s attitude of confirmation (Suzuki, 1995, p.68), *shi* in (2) contributes not only to the propositional meaning but also to the pragmatic aspect of this utterance. The instance of *shi* in (2) shows supporting evidence to the statement in Line 1 its use undoubtedly has a mitigating effect on the utterance, reducing the responsibility of what the speaker is saying.

The data from the radio station differs from that of the other data in that the

conversations are noticeably less casual. Linguistically this is shown through the predominant use of the *desu/masu* forms during the radio show except in conversation 22; this could be because the presenter is not really participating in a conversation but rather communicating in a leader-like style showing assertiveness and decisiveness. Both participants maintain this style to show politeness and *desu/masu* is not readily associated with gender. In radio interviews interlocutors have to introduce a topic within a limited period of time. Both participants share the responsibility to develop the conversation hence the use of *shi* to ensure things remain smooth and non-confrontational by letting the other person know their emotion.

6.2 General Results

The data has shown that the conjunction *shi* is functioning in a way similar to that of a sentence-final particle. The multi-functioning *shi* serves many purposes; the main areas which have demonstrated a functional change are the following:

- 1) That *shi* adds an emotional tone or effect to the sentence by reflecting the speaker's interpersonal concerns, functioning in a way similar to that of sentence-final particle *ne* in particular.
- 2) That *shi* is used to show a kind of agreement with the interlocutor, or to softly suggest the speaker's way of thinking. This is consistent with the Japanese strategy of ensuring the conversation is harmonious and non-confrontational. The use of sentence-final *shi* with this effect was found in conversations 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15: each time *shi* was employed to soften the statement making sure the interlocutor knew the speaker's affective stance/ thoughts on the subject. Interestingly, many (86%) respondents to the survey also commented that the use of *shi* is a strategy to indirectly suggest the speaker's way of thinking and pointed out the expectation of the interlocutor upon hearing this to show agreement or sympathy.
- 3) The use of sentence-final *shi* in many cases means that the interlocutor has to infer the intended message. Occasionally the message is too vague to infer (conversations 7-8) and it is in these cases that *shi* can be considered to be acting in the same manner as a sentence-final particle. Approximately ten percent of the respondents to the survey cited examples of *shi* being used in sentence-final

position which caused confusion in understanding the speaker's message. Almost all (94%) agreed however, that inference was often necessary to determine the exact message trying to be conveyed.

- 4) Sentence-final *shi* works to intensify a statement in a positive or negative way. There are a number of instances in the data where sentence-final *shi* was used to create a positive tone. However, this was mainly found in the data of the younger participants compared with participants over the age of fifty. Interestingly, this usage was not exclusive to the female participants. Ninety percent of the survey respondents also stated that sentence-final *shi* is used positively and not only in negative situations. A reason for this particular survey result could be that people do not want to think of *shi* as a device with negative connotations but rather as a commonly used politeness strategy. Although many of the samples collected for data showed *shi* mostly used in a negative way, there were a number of examples where sentence-final *shi* was used in a positive way and this was especially common in the speech of young people

In the above data, the usage of *shi* correlates with age and gender. It is true that more females tend to use this pattern than males but it is not exclusively used by females. The male survey respondents (98%) admitted to occasionally using *shi* in conversation. However, many commented that this is more commonly found in female speech. Some respondents in the comment section of the survey suggested that the younger generation may finish a sentence with the conjunctive particle *shi* when writing on a social networking site such as Mixi, or on a personal blog, but never in a piece of formal writing.

Further studies are necessary to determine whether new usages of *shi* as observed in this thesis are also reflected in standard Japanese, particularly in view of the fact that the majority of respondents to the survey agreed that the use of sentence-final *shi* was not confined to one specific area in Japan. Additional studies will be needed to establish any geographical patterns. Even though a reasonably good return (47%) of the survey resulted, it is not large enough to apply rigorous statistical techniques to the sample data for the purpose of making estimates of population values at given probability levels. The values from the sample are the best estimates currently available. However, the

findings should serve as an important matrix for making future inferences, developing new hypotheses and reaching tentative conclusions.

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CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The main focus of this study has been in providing a detailed description and analysis of the conjunction *shi* in naturally occurring conversations. Through the close analysis of these conversations, this thesis has demonstrated that the conjunction *shi*, traditionally classified as a conjunctive particle, has assumed a variety of discourse-pragmatic functions when it appears at sentence-final position. These functions cannot necessarily be seen as being associated with the canonical function of the conjunctive particle.

Such evolution and propagation of modern or new use of language is inevitable. Change is inevitable for all cultures and most words carry cultural baggage, and must be considered against a broader context of culture. As Shibatani (1990, p.93) observes:

Japanese, as in the case of writing and lexical choice, permits, or in fact requires, a greater variation in the form of an expression. The form of an expression in Japanese is affected far more than seems to be the case in many other languages by contextual factors such as the means of communication (writing or speaking), the formality of the setting, and the sex and the social-status of the speech-act participants as well as of the person being talked about.

Thus pragmatic strategies such as devices to weaken the validity claim, shirk the responsibility to some extent, and mitigate the speaker's commitment to the interpersonal relationship established by his/her speech act are conspicuous in the language of Japanese people, including the youth. It is a truism that that language, race, and culture are inseparably linked and the evolving use of *shi* at sentence-final position is only one area of the language where this holds true.

Iguchi (1998, p. 99) states that "utterances which end with a conjunctive particle are frequently observed in colloquial Japanese." It has also been suggested (Iguchi, 1998, Ohori, 1995) that conjunctions occurring in sentence-final position indicate the emergence of new discourse-pragmatic functions, which diverge from the traditional function of the conjunctive. The present study has demonstrated that *shi* is one such

conjunction which exhibits a variety of discourse-pragmatic functions when in sentence-final position (Iguchi, 1998), diverging from its traditional function. Sentence-final particles are employed for a variety of reasons, but also to ensure a smooth and non-confrontational conversation. Sentence-final particles can add a tone of friendliness, and are used to solicit agreement or confirmation and show the speaker's stance towards the content of the information being uttered. In other words they exhibit a variety of discourse-pragmatic functions. One of the functions of a sentence-final particle is described as that of expressing various different attitudes of the speaker toward the situation described in the sentence. To convey disagreement or to pursue agreement it is often found that the speaker provides a disclaimer or self-qualification to back down. In this case *shi* is used to deliver the speaker's disclaimer. Just as *kedo* (Park, 1998) is used to invite the interlocutor to make inferences in interactionally rich contexts, and not solely as a softener, so does *shi* serve in an analogous way.

By using *shi* as a sentence-final particle the speaker intends the utterance to be taken for granted and anticipates an appropriate response to the sentence in the next turn. This effect has been shown in this thesis through analyzing conversation data with occurrences of *shi* at sentence-final position. The use of *shi* at sentence-final position, whether it be as a politeness strategy or not, often necessitates some sort of reply or agreement or understanding by the interlocutor, similar to that of a sentence-final particle. This is a strategy to indirectly express the speaker's certainty or affective stance toward the previous clause or content.

The youth of Japan frequently end utterances with a conjunctive particle, including *shi*, to sound ambiguous and vague, mitigating the strength of the sentence. The speaker can thus avoid saying the bottom-line and achieve 'being indirect'. It is then possible for the speaker to avoid direct confrontation with the other speaker who seems to have a different opinion. However the use of *shi* at sentence-final position is not only confined to these situations but is also found in contexts where no possible conflict of opinion is present. *Shi* is added to soften the assertive tone of the utterance.

McGloin and Konishi (2010) argue that *shi* is frequently associated with a context which manifests a negative stance and suggest that through repeated negative use, a negative tone or evaluation of the situation has become conventionalised as part of the

meaning of the sentence-final particle *shi*. Contrary to this, as observed in the examples of data in Chapter 6, I would argue that *shi* is used to show positive feelings as well. It is interesting that cases where the sentence-final particle *shi* does not project a negative tone featured relatively young participants in the conversation. *Shi* was used in a similar manner to the sentence-final particle *yo* as an intensifier and to emphasize one's feeling.

The function of *shi* in sentence-final position resembles a sentence-final particle more than a conjunctive particle for the following reasons. The main reason is that it does not connect clauses. The function of connecting *shi* to the previous clause is often not directly obvious and inference must be used in order to understand what is trying to be conveyed. *Shi*, as seen in the examples taken from natural conversation, can be said to express the speaker's attitude or thoughts towards the listener or the situation discussed in the conversation, in a manner similar to that of a sentence-final particle. The use of *shi* in sentence-final position can thus be said to have been conventionalised: it is a common strategy employed by speakers to indirectly state an implicit message.

In conclusion, the examples of varying functions of *shi* presented in this study point to the evolution of a new usage of *shi* in Japanese from the traditional conjunction (clause-linking particle) to that of a sentence-final particle in which are embedded the delicate workings of social interaction. The traditional usage has not disappeared; rather *shi* has enhanced its own properties to become a helpful particle when strategically placed at the end of a sentence. The coexistence of both functions (conjunction and sentence-final particle) can be viewed as another instance of gradual and on-going process of language change. Further research based on a broader set of data is necessary to explore in more detail the development of *shi* as a sentence-final particle and to examine other conjunctives in Japanese for similarities in discourse. For this purpose the examination of grammatical structures in naturally-occurring conversation is essential for understanding the grammar. This presents a significant avenue of future research. The recent phenomenon of the positive use of sentence-final *shi* also suggests another area in which to progress the research. There also remain a number of other important areas associated with sentence-final *shi*, which have not been possible to examine fully in this study, for example, the ways in which the use of sentence-final *shi* is affected according

to the dialect, age, or gender of the speaker. These topics will have to remain for future research.

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APPENDIX 1: COPY OF SURVEY

アンケート

最近“し”を末尾に使った会話をよく聞くようになりました。

例 1：このアパートはきれいだ し。

例 2：このアパートはきれいだ し、安いです。

このことについてどう思われるか、今日は、その使い方について、お尋ね
したいと思います。以下の質問に対して当てはまる番号を選んで下さい。

1. かなり思う／当てはまる
2. 少しそう思う／やや当てはまる
3. どちらでもない
4. あまり思わない／やや当てはまる
5. 全く思わない／当てはまらない

1. 話している時“あのレストランは高いし、まずいし、違うところにしようか。”
というように、文の中に“し”を使っても、最後は“し”で終わらないです か。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

2. 書く時はどうですか。文章の最後は“し”で終わらないですか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

3. 最近、下の例文と同じように“し”だけで終わる文章が増えています。

これは正式な日本語だと思いますか。

例：あそこ、高いし。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

4. これは話し言葉なら大丈夫だと思いますか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

5. これは直接自分の意見を言いたくないときに便利な表現だと思いますか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

6. 聞いている人は内容で言いたいことがわかりますか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

7. 目上の人と話すとき、これを使わないですか

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

8. この表現は女の人しか使わないと思いますか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

9. ほとんど否定の意味で使いますか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

10. この表現は文法的にまちがっていると思いますか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

11. “し”に加えて、文の最後に ね／よ／な／さ／を使うときもありますか。

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

12. “ね／よ／な／さ”の中どれを一番よく使いますか。○で囲みなさい。

ね よ な さ

1 3. どんなときに使いますか。下を書いてください。

1 4. 今の日本語は乱れていると思います。どうしてでしょうか。

1 5. 日本語ではあいまいな表現が多いと言われます。招待を断るときなど、理由を言わなければならないと思いますか。

16. 以下の方々に対して、どういうふうに招待を断りますか。

例を書いて下さい。

断る場合の例

目上の方

友達

家族

年寄りの方

年下の方

17. 下にある文章を読んでください。その人は何を言うつもりでしょう。

“あした、あそこに行かなければならないし。

18. この表現は日本中のどこでも使っていると思いますか？

19. もし、“し”だけで会話を済ますなら、どんなふうに使うでしょうか。
“し”を使った文章を書いてください。

コメント：

Participant Information

下の質問を読んで、答えを○で囲んで下さい。

1. 年齢
- 18-20 才
20-30 才
30-40 才
40-50 才
50-60 才
60-70 才
70-80 才
80-90 才
2. 性別
- 男 女
3. ご出身
- 北海道
東北
関東
北陸
中部
関西
中国
四国
九州／沖縄



ありがとう
ございました

APPENDIX 2: TRANSLATION OF THE SURVEY

Participants were asked to circle a number from 1-5. in most questions.

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Neutral 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree

1. Even if you use the conjunction *shi* in the middle of a sentence, can you finish the sentence with *shi*?
2. How about in written Japanese? A sentence is never finished with the conjunctive *shi*?
3. Recently the number of sentences ending with the conjunction *shi* is increasing. Observe the following example. Do you think this is “correct” Japanese? E.g. That place is expensive and....
4. Do you think it is acceptable to finish a sentence with *shi* in a conversation?
5. Do you think this is a good way to avoid directly expressing your opinion?
6. Do you think that the person listening to a conversation can understand what the person is trying to say from the content?
7. Do you use this when speaking to a superior?
8. Do you think that only girls use this expression?
9. Do you think it is used when trying to express a negative idea?
10. Do you think that this is grammatically correct?
11. Are there times when you add something on to the end of *shi*?
12. Which do you use the most after *shi*; *ne*, *yo*, *na*, or *sa*?
13. When do you use this pattern? Write an example.
14. It is often said that the Japanese language of today is “corrupted”.
If yes, why do you think this?
15. It is often said that there are many vague expressions in Japanese.
When you are declining an invitation do you think it necessary to give a reason?

16. Depending on the person in the example, how would you decline an invitation from the following people?

Please write an example.

A boss, a friend, a family member, an older person, a younger person.

17. Please read the sentence below. What do you think the person is trying to say?

Tomorrow, I have to go there and...

18. Do you think this expression is used throughout the whole of Japan?

19. If you finish a sentence with *shi*, what kind of sentence would it be? Please write an example.