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**Male Use of
Sentence-Final Particles
in Japanese**

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of Hiroko Asano (Asano-sensei). In the early stages of this thesis she provided invaluable comments and suggestions, and even when she became very ill, she never failed to ask about my progress and show genuine interest in my findings. Her constant courage and enthusiasm have been an inspiration for me.

ABSTRACT

Sentence-final particles in Japanese are a class of particles that are used at the end of a surface form of a sentence, and indicate a speaker's attitude, emotions, feelings or strategy in presenting information to an addressee. The focus of this study has been to examine the male use of sentence-final particles, in particular those associated with the male gender (and hence 'masculinity'). Recent studies in Japanese sentence-final particles have focused on 'feminine' sounding particles. There is a need to examine the subtle nuances and implications of the use of 'masculine' particles and their combinations. This will address a poorly understood area of Japanese conversational techniques among foreign learners.

The use of sentence-final particles in informal Japanese dialogue was assessed by collecting examples which occurred in contemporary Japanese novels, comics and television drama scripts. These provided data from a cross-section of the Japanese community in a wide range of contexts. The examples were analysed according to a number of criteria including the social relationship of the speaker and addressee, the emotional state of the speaker, the type of strategy adopted, and any response to the utterance.

The particles examined in this study are divided into three categories depending on the type of force involved:

1. Coercive force (including *zo*, *ze*, *yo* and *no* when used as a command)
2. Emotive force (including *i*, *na*, *wa*)
3. Requestive force (including *ka*, *ne* and *no* used in questions)

The particles in each of these categories were then sub-divided further based on the type of strategy adopted, the common speech acts referenced, and the gender of the speaker. The particle clusters are seen to be combinations of these strategies, and reflect the nature of the individual particles.

This study establishes that Japanese males tend to use particles associated with coercive force, and more direct strategies, more frequently than females, although the precise choice of particle will vary considerably from individual to individual. The direct approach in Japanese is often associated with coarseness, and so the more direct particles are restricted to particularly intimate conversation amongst friends.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in giving translations of the example sentences.

| | |
|----------|---|
| ACC | ACCusative case marker (<i>o</i>) |
| ADD | term of ADDress (e.g. older brother) |
| CAUS | CAUSative |
| COND | CONDitional form |
| COP | COPula (<i>da</i>) ¹ |
| EP | Extended Predicate (<i>no da</i>) following Jorden (1987) |
| IMP | IMPerative |
| N | Nominal (<i>no</i>) |
| NOM | NOMinative case marker (<i>ga</i>) |
| PASS | PASSive form |
| POL | POLite form of verb |
| PROH | PROHibitive command (<i>na</i>) |
| Q-marker | Question marker (<i>ka</i>) |
| SFP | Sentence-Final Particle |
| Tag-Q | Tag Question marker (<i>ne</i>) |
| TOP | TOPic marker (<i>wa</i>) |
| * | ungrammatical / unacceptable |
| ? | awkward |
| [] | omitted (but assumed) in the original |

¹ There is some debate as to the best term to refer to '*da*' in Japanese. The term 'copula' does not adequately describe the role of '*da*', while a translation of the Japanese term *jodooshi* as 'auxiliary verb' is not satisfactory in English because auxiliary verbs cannot occur as the sole verb in a sentence in the way '*da*' does. For a discussion on these points refer to Makino & Tsutsui (1986) and Martin (1975). For convenience the term COPula is adopted in this study.

NOTE ON ROMANISATION

A hybrid system of romanisation is used throughout for Japanese terms and examples. Consonants follow the hepburn system, but vowel length is indicated by doubling the vowel.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the purpose of study

The purpose of this study is to collect and analyse a range of examples of male sentence-final particle usage in Japanese, in a variety of contexts. Particular focus will be placed on those particles which have traditionally been considered ‘masculine’, and an attempt made to determine the factors involved in their selection and use by native speakers. This includes relative social status, speech acts, emotions, purpose, and the response of the addressee.

This study primarily aims to help address the imbalance which has seen a number of studies in recent years (e.g. Ide et. al, 1986; McGloin, 1990) on the so-called ‘feminine’ particles of Japanese, and virtually none on the more masculine-sounding particles, especially in English. The study also aims to provide a range of examples, in as natural a context as possible, to aid foreign learners of Japanese in coming to terms with their usage.

1.2 Particles

Particles have been defined as “comprising all invariable elements [of a sentence] which are not prepositions, conjunctions or adverbs.” (Asher, 1994). The term “particle” thus covers words which can have a wide range of functions in different languages. Lakoff (1972) states that particles do not add to the ‘information content’ of the sentence, and this may lead one to think that they are ‘meaningless’. As she points out, however, if this were really the case, it would be impossible to use them incorrectly, while in fact they are commonly misused by non-native speakers.

In the following two examples from English, the underlined words are considered to be particles. They do not add to the ‘information content’ that is being conveyed (i.e.

losing the keys, or how big the person has grown), but instead suggest the speaker's attitude.

[1.1] *Oh Dear*, I've gone and lost the keys again.

[1.2] *My*, how big you've grown.

In [1.1], '*Oh dear*' conveys the surprise and annoyance of the speaker at having lost the keys, while in [1.2] '*My*' indicates the speaker's (pleasant) surprise. While neither particle adds directly to the information content, they cannot simply be exchanged, as the examples below show. While [1.2'] is possible, the idea conveyed is quite different (in fact almost opposite) from [1.2].

[1.1'] **My*, I've gone and lost the keys again.

[1.2'] ?*Oh Dear*, how big you've grown.

In Japanese, particles are used to indicate grammatical case, or to show direction or position. One of the common uses of particles is to convey the feelings and attitudes of the speaker. It is the last function that this study is concerned with.

1.3 Sentence-final particles

Japanese sentence-final particles (SF particles) are a particular type of particle which occur in the sentence-final position, and cannot generally be followed by any other part of speech.¹ Uyeno (1971:50) says that these SF particles are

essential in conversations where person to person communication is intended. Who the speaker is, i.e. his social status and sex, who the

¹ Exceptions may occur when the utterance is part of reported speech, or in expressions which involve afterthought, where the usual word order has been reversed.

e.g. Ore wa nokoru zo, koko ni.

I TOP stay SFP here at
'I'm staying here!'

In these cases, the particle which follows the predicate, (*zo* in the above example), is considered to be semantically in the sentence-final position. Other particles may appear in the syntactic SF position in these utterances (e.g. *ni* in the above example), but they are not considered in this study.

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.

There are a number of SF particles in Japanese, and they have been described in various ways, as signaling the speaker's sentiments (McGloin, 1990), conveying the speaker's judgment and attitude (Oishi, 1985), and as primary tools for creating and maintaining social and psychological worlds among interlocutors (Cook, 1988). In line with this, Ward (1987) states that in addition to expressing the attitude of the speaker, they play an important part in establishing and maintaining relationships, by creating positive or negative rapport. This idea is taken one step further by Cook (1988) when she states that

The speaker's identity in society may partly determine how s/he uses particles, and at the same time his/her identity may be created by the use of particles.

SF particles are almost exclusively confined to spoken language, and are generally restricted to face-to-face conversations between people in an informal relationship. Indeed, the more intimate the relationship, the more likely SF particles will be used. This is due to the nature of SF particles, which tend to be closely connected with personal information and emotional states, information which is generally avoided in formal situations. The wide use and importance of these particles can also be understood in the social context. Ward (1987) claims that Japanese society does not encourage one to directly express emotions, but that SF particles provide a way to achieve the expression of emotions to some degree, indirectly.

From the above summary, it can be concluded that Lakoff's (1972:908) assertion that if one is to teach second language use successfully - so that a non-native speaker can use the language s/he is learning in a way reminiscent of a native speaker rather than a

robot - then the situations in which forms of this type are usable in a given language must be identified.

1.4 Male/Female speech and sentence-final particles

Sentence-final particles have been of considerable interest to Japanese linguists for some time, partly because they are one of the more obvious examples in Japanese in which differences occur between male and female speakers. There are differences in language use between male and female speakers in most languages (particles are often good examples²), but the differences are particularly pronounced in Japanese. Words such as *atashi* ('I'-female), and *boku* or *ore* ('I'-male), directly identify the speaker as of female or male gender respectively. While SF particles do not directly index male or female gender (Cook, 1988)³, some of the particles and their combinations, (for example *zo*, *ze*, *kai*, *ka yo*), are used almost exclusively by males, while others, (*wa*, noun + *yo*, *no*), are largely restricted to female speech.

A significant amount of study has been done in recent years on the use of sentence-final particles by females, and in particular those particles considered to sound 'feminine'. This can perhaps be attributed largely to the women's movement, and a growing awareness of the relationship between language and social status. At the same time, the study of male use of sentence-final particles and the so-called 'masculine' particles has largely been ignored, resulting in a lack of information, particularly in English, on the role which these particles play.

One reason why there may have been less study done on the masculine sounding particles, is that data seem to be much harder to come by than for the more commonly used particles such as *wa*, *yo*, and *ne*. Cook (1988) has suggested that this is due to a decline in use of the more 'masculine' particles in recent years, because of the changing role of the male in Japanese society. She suggests that these particles are

² For example, [1.2] above is much more likely to be uttered by a female than a male.

³ As evidenced by the fact that most of the 'masculine' particles were freely used in pre-modern Japanese by females, and vice-versa.

associated with coarseness, whereas the present Japanese male is seen to be more refined, and less likely to use coarse language. It seems likely, however, that the very nature of these particles will limit their usage to somewhat specific social situations (for example informal male socialising), and the absence of such particles from mother/father to child dialogue (as Cook's largely is), is due to the social situation, rather than a distinct decline in usage.

The data collected for this study would suggest that in informal situations, males are at least still perceived as using 'masculine' particles, and that therefore they must at least have an understanding of the usage and social function played by the particles, even if they do not use them themselves. A study in sentence-final particle acquisition by Sakata (1991) found that among two year-old children, 'masculine' particles *zo* and *na* did occur in male children's speech, while 'feminine' particles *no*, noun + *yo* occurred more frequently in the female child's speech. A reason for this usage may lie in the fact that mothers tended to use 'masculine' particles to male children when they were involved in certain activities which were considered masculine, thus reinforcing the social application of gender particles.

These particles are thus acquired early in a child's language development, and clearly still play an important role in establishing social and gender identity. Consequently, they should not be ignored by the foreign learner of Japanese who wishes to go beyond a superficial level of conversation.

1.5 Purpose of study

While there have not been any studies aimed exclusively at male sentence-final particle use, and 'masculine' particles, *zo*, *ze*, *ka yo*, etc., are frequently excluded from general studies, there have been several attempts to determine the semantic function of these particles. These studies have been concerned with finding a general explanation to account for all the different variety of usage. One of these particles alone may, however, be used with a range of speech acts and emotions, and attempts to confine the meaning to one or two words have generally proven unsuccessful.

Cook's (1988) study focuses on indexicals, and includes a brief analysis of the 'masculine' particle *zo*, based on the twelve examples which occur in her data, although she does not look at other 'masculine' particles. Her conclusion was that *zo* directly indexes 'coarse intensity', and indirectly indexes male gender or fearful creatures, and speech acts such as self-determination, threatening, excitement and encouragement. Terms such as 'coarse intensity' do not have much meaning for a non-native learner of Japanese, however, especially since all SF particles have been associated with levels of intensity (e.g. Kendal, 1985), and the social implications and associations of coarseness are often difficult to discern or understand. Even the more context dependent indirect indexicals are of little help to the learner of Japanese, when one considers that most of those attributed to *zo* also apply equally to other SF particles, including *yo* and *ze*. Further, the minimal number of examples in Cook's data do not provide an adequate basis for close study of the speech acts involved.

In the absence of a single, specific, definable meaning for these particles, a different approach is needed to aid the student in coming to terms, and feeling comfortable, with their usage. A survey of commonly available text-books for teaching Japanese in New Zealand schools⁴, shows that while SF particles *yo* and *ne* are generally covered (if somewhat briefly, and without reference to male/female differences), *zo* occurs only in one text-book. *An Introduction to Modern Japanese* (Mizutani & Mizutani, 1977) explains *zo* as "similar in emphasis to *yo*, but used only by men, and only in familiar speech." The other 'masculine' particles and clusters examined in this study, including *ze*, *ka yo* and *ka ne*, did not occur in any of the text-books at all.

It can be argued that SF particle usage can only be understood in context, and that once students come into contact with informal Japanese conversation, they will gradually develop a feeling for the correct usage. This method seems, however, to produce rather unreliable results, particularly in the early stages. The use of these

⁴ See appendix I for a list of those examined.

particles also varies considerably among native speakers, and dialectal usage is not uncommon.

I have therefore concluded that the best method to facilitate the learning of these particles, is to analyse a large number of examples of occurrence over a wide range of contexts, to compare and isolate the major themes and emotions which appear to be involved, and to present a range of sentences in as natural a context as possible to illustrate this.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a general overview of the methods used in previous studies to classify and define the meaning of SF particles. It then gives an outline of the methods used in this study to analyse the various particles, and concludes by giving an account of methods used for collecting speech data, and the method adopted for this study.

2.2 Review of previous methods of analysis

Various linguistic methods and analyses have been used to classify SF particles in general, and to clarify individual SF particles. Here the more important ones will be discussed, and problems with them identified.

Traditional Japanese grammarians have often been concerned with classifying particles into categories, or on a scale, rather than explaining individual particles in detail. They have tended to rely more on their own intuition when analysing particles, rather than on linguistic analysis. It is worth examining several of these theories here, however, in order to gain an overview of the area covered by SF particles and how they relate to each other.

Tokieda (1951) claims that sentence-final particles function mainly to help form interpersonal relations between speaker and addressee. He says the particles *zo* and *yo* are expressions to force the will and judgment of the speaker onto the addressee. The particles *ne* and *na* try to treat the addressee as at the same viewpoint as the speaker.

Following in the tradition of earlier Japanese scholars (e.g. Yamada, 1936), Saji (1956) divides SF particles into *kantoojoshi* (particles of emotion), and *shuujoshi*

(final particles).¹ He includes *ne/na*, *yo/ya/i* and *sa* in the former, and *wa*, *tomo*, *zo/ze* and *ka* in the latter. Saji argues that because *kantoojoshi* can be inserted in the sentence-initial or mid-sentence position, they relate feelings or emotions directly to the addressee rather than towards the content of the sentence. The different particles are then shown to indicate different feelings. *Ne/na* are used in requesting information, or in seeking confirmation or sympathy. *Yo*, on the other hand, is used by the speaker with a feeling of forcing something onto the addressee. *Sa* is used to let the addressee know that the speaker thinks he should already be aware of the information conveyed.

Saji (1956) argues that the true *shuujoshi* (which occur only at the end of a sentence) relate to expressions of judgment on the part of the speaker. He sub-divided these by 'strength' of feeling or conviction about the statement, and found that *wa* was the strongest, followed by *tomo*, *zo/ze* and *ka*. The first three are used in pressing information on the addressee, while *ka* is used in requesting information.

While Saji (1956) gives a good overview of the general area in which SF particles operate, he does not deal with finer distinctions, and several problems remain with his analysis. He does not explain why *wa*, (which is used by females) generally sounds softer than *zo/ze* (used by males), if *wa* does indeed carry a stronger feeling or conviction. Further, he does not explain why *ka*, supposedly the weakest of the *shuujoshi*, can sound strong and direct, particularly when used with informal forms. Perhaps most important for this study, he treats *zo* and *ze* together, although in fact they show considerable variation in relation to the data which Saji analyses.

Watanabe (1968) classifies sentences into two parts - *jojutsu* [description], and *chinjutsu* [comment], and he places SF particles firmly into the second category. He focuses mainly on the differences between *ka*, *sa*, *yo* and *ne*. He feels that the use of *ka* places the judgment clearly in the territory of the addressee. *Sa* assumes that there is no need for judgment on either part (because the judgment is obvious, or should be,

¹ The division is not necessarily the same, however. Yamada (1936) classifies *zo* as a *kantoojoshi*, but *ze* as a *shuujoshi*, while Saji classifies them both as *shuujoshi*.

to both). *Yo* is even further removed from the judgmental process, and refers only to the speaker's relationship with the content, while *ne* relates only to the addressee. This is summarised in the chart below (from Watanabe, 1968:133).

| | TYPE ONE *cannot follow 'da' | TYPE TWO *cannot follow nouns |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| JUDGMENT | KA | ZO ZE |
| ↓ | SA | WA |
| FOCUS ON CONTENT | *follow both 'da' and nouns YO | |
| ↓ | FOCUS ON HEARER NE | |

Fig 2.1 Watanabe's (1968) classification of sentence-final particles. The particles are classified according to the object of focus; the speaker's own judgment, sentence content, or the addressee. In this model, the strongly masculine-sounding particles (*zo* and *ze*) are associated with focus on the speaker's own judgment.

Uyeno (1971) analyses SF particles using a generative framework and performative analysis. In this method, the underlying structure of a sentence is believed to contain a performative verb, such as STATE, ASK, ORDER, SUGGEST, etc. which may or may not appear syntactically in the surface structure. These performative verbs form the basis for the illocutionary force (i.e. conventional force in saying something such as informing, ordering, warning). She claims that SF particles are derived from the underlying performative verb with the interaction of presuppositions. The presuppositions include factors such as the gender of the speaker, the social relationship between the speaker and addressee, and their relative social status. It is the combination of the performative verb and presuppositions which determine the function and choice of the particles in context. On the basis of this, she further divides SF particles into two categories (p140):

1. Those which express the speaker's insistence on forcing the given

- information on the addressee. (Includes *wa*, *zo*, *ze*, *sa*, *yo*)
2. Those which express a request for compliance with the given information, leaving the option of confirmation to the addressee. (Includes *ne*, *na*, *ne(e)* and *na(a)*)

Uyeno's study is useful in that it identifies certain social factors, as well as speech acts, which determine the usage of SF particles. By focusing on the performative verb and social status, however, she has not identified in any detail the emotional factors which also play an important role in the choice of particles. Furthermore, Tsuchihashi (1983) has shown, based on a model devised by Givon (1982), that speech acts cannot be classified discretely, but instead form a continuum. Tsuchihashi claims that Japanese SF particles serve to show this continuum from interrogative to declarative. At the most uncertain (interrogative) end, she has *janaikashira*, *janaika*, *daroo*, *ka*, and at the declarative end, *yo*, *wa ne*, \emptyset^2 , *sa*, *wa*. She does not include masculine particles *zo*, *ze*, *kai*, etc., in her study, presumably owing to a lack of data.

Oishi (1985) uses a technique known as linguistics of particularity, or ethnomethodology, to analyse two SF particles, *yo* and *ne*. His method basically consists of examining an extended discourse between two participants, which he recorded on video tape. The analysis consisted largely of showing the video tape of the conversation to the participants, having them comment in detail on what their feelings were at the time that an utterance was made, and what they were attempting to achieve by using a particular particle. These responses were then further examined by Oishi himself, to draw conclusions as to the intention of the speaker when particular particles were used. He concluded that SF particles function to "make conversation go ahead, ...towards a speaker's goals, safely."(Oishi, 1985:195).

This method, as Cook (1988) points out, reveals relations between the use of particles and the participants' strategies and/or feelings, but does not clarify the fine

² Bare verbal, with falling intonation.

distinctions of the particles in their meanings. Further, it does not provide a broad base of data with which to compare usage in different contexts.

Cook (1988) examines three SF particles; *yo*, *ne*, and *no*, using an indexical approach. Indexicals are defined as linguistic features which carry social meaning (e.g. Cook, 1988:9). This can include affect (feelings, moods, attitudes), epistemology (speaker's attitude towards the knowledge, for example, do they authorise it themselves, or is it hearsay), speech acts (ordering, requesting, congratulating), and social activities (e.g. meetings, story-telling). Affect can create, or attempt to elicit and express fear, devotion, solidarity etc., while epistemology can create the idea that a certain statement is true, valid, doubtful etc. The exact interpretation of indexicals is dependent on the context. Ochs (1988) claims that indexicals directly index affect and epistemology, and Cook (1988) claims that SF particles can be analysed in this way.

One of the shortcomings of Cook's analysis is that she does not compare in detail the different effects which occur when more than one particle may be used interchangeably (at least on the syntactic level). As pointed out in the introduction, several of the particles may index the same speech act, but other factors may determine which one will be chosen by the speaker. It is therefore important to look at specific examples in which the particles are syntactically interchangeable, but may in fact carry quite different connotations.

Maynard (1993) looks at *yo* and *ne* in relation to discourse modality. She claims that *yo* puts the information into the foreground, and thus focuses attention onto it, while *ne* foregrounds the interaction between the participants in the conversation, and information content is backgrounded. The foregrounding of information content by *yo* can explain why many of the indirect indexicals attributed to *yo* by Cook (1988), occur, simply because acts of warning, advice, instruction, announcement, explanation, report, request/command etc., require specific focused information. *Yo* provides a mechanism to do this.

Maynard does not, however, look at other particles which seem to carry a similar focusing effect, such as *zo*, *ze*, and *wa*, so there is no clear explanation as to how they differ in their focusing effect.

2.3 Method of analysis for this study

The procedures and methods of analysis for this study are outlined below.

For analysis of gender-neutral particles (*yo*, *ne*, *na* and *sa*, chapter three), data were not specifically collected for this study, except for comparative analysis with the masculine particles. The neutral particles have been extensively studied, and a range of examples to illustrate usage can be found in other works. The focus in this study, then, was to provide only a brief summary of the theories as to the role these particles play, and to focus on what, if any, differences exist between male and female usage. Further, if males used the particles in a way which differed from females, to look at any explanations which may account for this.

In the case of males using the feminine-sounding particles (*wa*, *no*, etc.), or clusters involving these particles (chapter four), examples were collected and analysed to identify any differences in nuance or meaning from the more common female usage. Also, in the case of the clusters *wai* and *no ka* which, although containing feminine particles, are used largely by males, a more detailed analysis of function was carried out, using a similar method to the one outlined below for the masculine-sounding particles.

For the particles *zo*, *ze*, and the clusters *ka ne*, *kai dai*, and *ka yo* (chapter five), all the examples which occurred in the examined texts were collected and analysed. This was carried out based on the following criteria wherever possible.

1. Age, gender, and social status. This includes any particular relationship between the speaker and addressee (e.g. older brother to younger brother, boss to employee), or where appropriate the speaker's own feelings or wishes regarding the

relationship (e.g. the speaker feels obligated to the addressee for a favour done in the past).

2. The type of speech act. For example, threat, warning, announcement, instruction, order, request, question. This is similar to Uyeno's (1971) performative analysis. However, her analysis was limited in the depth of distinction that it made between these speech acts. Uyeno's broad analysis proves inadequate in distinguishing the more subtle nuances of the particles. Furthermore, as Tsuchihashi (1983) shows, there is a certain amount of overlap between questions and statements, and the confidence which the speaker shows in his or her utterance. A similar continuum pattern can be seen, for instance, between threats, warning, and advice. A finer distinction within speech act categories, for example, immediate physical threat, as opposed to psychological threat, can also be helpful in distinguishing contexts in which particles can alter or affect the nuance or feeling behind the utterance.

3. The speaker's own emotional or psychological state at the time of making the utterance - for example, is he angry, excited, disappointed, confused? This includes both verbal and non-verbal signs when applicable.

4. The speaker's immediate feelings towards, or expectation of reaction from, the addressee - for example, does the speaker feel his utterance is likely to be disregarded, or obeyed without question?

5. The type of strategy the speaker adopts in presenting the information to the addressee - is it intended to be direct, convincing, forceful, etc?

6. How the speaker feels about what they are saying - do they believe the information completely, disbelieve it, rely on someone else's opinion, etc?

7. Addressee response. How, if at all, did the listener respond (including verbal and non-verbal responses) to the utterance? For example, did they accept, disagree, defy, respond violently, or have no opportunity to respond at all?

8. Comparison. In cases where a speaker had a choice as to which particle he or she wished to use, a comparison is made between the two or more options, to see how the particle affects the nuance or meaning of the sentence.

2.4 Selection of data

One of the biggest considerations with respect to methodology is the acquisition of data. Traditional Japanese grammarians have relied largely on sentences of their own making, or on dialogue taken from contemporary novels. The validity of this method has been questioned in more recent studies, because such sentences tend to reflect the author or writer's own perception of how language is used, and this does not necessarily correspond to naturally occurring speech.

More recent studies have attempted to analyse 'natural' speech data. Oishi (1985) bases his study on one dialogue between two participants, which, while consisting of (possibly) more natural speech, can hardly be considered to represent a range of contexts and individual speaker's preferences. As Alfonso (1966:1143) says,

These particles are subject to the vicissitudes of individuals speakers' conversational mannerisms...Some people tend to use these particles of sentiment often, some hardly ever use them. Some will nearly always use one particle...

This would suggest that a wider range of speakers is needed, to ensure that the data are not biased towards any particular speaker's mannerisms.

Cook (1988) uses data recorded between a number of parent/child conversations. Maynard (1993) also obtained data by video-taping conversations between university students, but these were planned and carried out in a room. The unnatural setting and the presence of a video camera must, to a certain extent, negate the benefits of recording actual spoken dialogue.

The nature of the particles in this study meant that there were several difficulties in obtaining data through recording of dialogue, as Cook and Maynard have done. Firstly, it is relatively easy to record 'natural' conversation between children and parents, because children are less likely to be inhibited by the presence of a tape (or video) recorder, and the nature of the conversation is unlikely to be perceived as embarrassing or threatening. With the more masculine particles, however, obtaining 'natural' data is much more difficult. Because of the nature of the particles, the social contexts in which they occur, and the speech acts which they reference, short of dubbing conversations without the participants' knowledge, it is next to impossible. If participants are aware of the recording, they are likely to be more wary of using strong language, and if they are aware of the nature of the data being sought, the risk is that participants will artificially create situations to use these particles, in order to facilitate the research. Maynard's method also has the drawback of excluding situations such as threats and warnings, which may occur in more 'natural' settings. By selecting to record only the dialogue of university students, she also limits the breadth of data she obtains to higher educated and more refined speech, which may result in a paucity of masculine particles being present.

With these factors in mind, the best option seemed to be to revert to the traditional approach of using dialogue from novels. While this approach is not ideal, for the reasons given above, Lakoff (1975:4) points out that

In some ways, the speech heard, for example, in commercials or situation comedies on television mirrors the speech of the television watching community. If it did not (not necessarily as an exact replica, but perhaps as a reflection of how the addressee sees itself or wishes it were) it would not succeed.

A similar truth holds in relation to dialogue in novels. As long as such dialogue is treated with caution, there is no reason to treat it as completely useless in terms of 'natural' data. Furthermore, written sources provide us with much insight into

monologue and soliloque³ which are unlikely to occur in recorded conversation, but which can be important in distinguishing functions of particles.

In order to provide the widest range of contexts, the sources of data are not restricted to contemporary novels; examples have also been taken from comics and television drama scripts.⁴ The novels and comics cover a range of topics and characters. In the case of comics in particular, it would seem that not only are they a reflection of how speech is perceived, but that they also help form the type of speech which children will adopt. If the speech of their role model or hero in the comics contains a large number of masculine particles, children are also likely to pick up on these. Comics also provide us with the opportunity to observe the emotions associated with certain particles, through the non-verbal signs provided in the drawings.

Sentences which included SF particles were selected only from identifiable dialogue, monologue or soliloque sequences, and only in the sentence-final position, except in the case of afterthought. In this case, the SF particle is semantically in the final position, and so has been treated as such. The particles *zo*, *ze*, *kai*, *ka yo*, *ka ne* are restricted to the SF position anyway⁵, but males do use *yo* and *na* in mid-sentence positions. As noted earlier, particles occurring in this position are generally referred to as '*kantoojoshi*', or particles of emotion. There are a number of studies which have classified particles by whether they can occur in mid-sentence or not, and there is sufficient evidence to show that the conditions appropriate for their usage in mid-sentence position may be quite different from those required for their occurrence in the sentence-final position (Uyeno, 1971). While it seems likely that the particles are closely related, because the particles which are the main focus of this study occur only in the sentence-final position, the study will be restricted to this occurrence.

Wherever possible, sentences in modern standard speech have been used, except in specific cases noted in the text. Occasionally, sentences have been used from works

³ See Ch.5 note 4 (pg52)

⁴ For a list of those used refer to appendix II

⁵ Except in cases of reported speech and afterthought. See Ch1 note 1 (pg2).

outside those used for the collection of data (for comparison, or to show examples of dialectal usage), but all such sentences have been identified in the text.

CHAPTER 3 'NEUTRAL' PARTICLES

3.1 Introduction

Gender-neutral particles are those which are used freely by both male and female speakers. This chapter is restricted largely to summarising the nature of the particles, *yo*, *ne(e)*, *na(a)* and *sa* from previous studies, and highlighting ways in which males use them when this varies from female or general usage. These particles (in particular *yo* and *ne*) are the most extensively studied of all Japanese sentence-final particles, due to their wide use throughout Japan in both formal and informal conversation. *Ne* and *na* are frequently classified separately from the other sentence-final particles, due to their focus on personal interaction, rather than on content or judgment.

3.2 The particle *yo*

Yo is one of the most frequently used sentence-final particles in Japanese, and is usually one of the first (after *ka* and *ne*) introduced to foreign learners of Japanese. It is generally associated with emphasis, and drawing the listener's attention to what the speaker has to say (e.g. Alfonso, 1966; Cook, 1988; Maynard, 1993; Uyeno, 1971). It is also associated with assertiveness (e.g. Martin, 1975; Tanaka, 1977), and the presentation of new information (Kitagawa, 1984; Matsushita, 1930).

In order to examine these theories more closely, to see how they affect the use of the particle by male and female speakers, it is necessary to look at the use of *yo* with specific sentence types. Uyeno (1971) says that *yo* following the plain style in declaratives is normally used by male speakers. Perhaps as a result of this, such sentences have taken on a masculine sound (Martin, 1975). These sentences are used when the speaker wishes to force the information on the addressee (Uyeno, 1971), or wishes to have the statement accepted directly (Nakano, 1993). When the speaker is female, the plain declarative will take the form of either *da + wa + yo*, *wa + yo* or a

noun + *yo*. According to Tanaka (1977), these do not sound as forceful as the male utterances, being light and somewhat formal.

Similarly with imperatives, males will place *yo* following the informal imperative, while females use it following the formal imperative, and the same applies to requests (Uyeno, 1971). Lakoff (1972) claims that although *yo* may be used with an imperative by both males and females, the effect is different. The use by a male suggests something like “I’m telling you, and you’d better obey!” Its use by a female, however, means something like “I really hope you will...please don’t forget.” Lakoff claims that the effect of *yo* in the female example, seems to be an attempt to express the idea that the speaker wishes she had the status to insist.

Yo may also be used in sentences containing an interrogative word, as in the following example.

[3.1] Nan da yo.
 what COP
 ‘What is it?!’

The use of *yo* here suggests the speaker’s annoyance, or anger at something (usually something the addressee has said or done), and as such is not a true request for information (cf. 5.5.3, *dai*). This usage is largely confined to male speech. The use of *yo* with rhetorical questions (in the form *ka yo*) is discussed in detail in 5.6.

Alfonso (1966) claims that intonation in the pronunciation of *yo* also frequently distinguishes between male and female speakers. Males more frequently use *yo* with a falling intonation, while females will often use a rising intonation. Tanaka (1977) combines this information to a certain degree with sentence types, giving the following examples of male usage with a falling intonation (the translations are mine).

[3.2] Sono hon, yonda yo.
 that book read
 ‘I’ve read that book (already)!’

- [3.3] *Motto yukkuri hanase yo.*
 more slowly speak-informal IMP
 ‘Speak more slowly, will you!’
- [3.4] *Moo kuru na yo.*
 again come PROH
 ‘Don’t come any more!’
- [3.5] *Renshuu ga iya na no ka yo.*
 practice NOM hateful ATTR N Q-Marker
 ‘Don’t you like practice?!’

He says that this type of usage is restricted largely to use among friends and close acquaintances.

While differences in usage between male and female speakers definitely exist, it is not possible to ascribe this solely to the role of the particle *yo*. The plain form imperative and prohibitive, and the use of *ka* following a nominal, are all features of male speech anyway, as the use of *wa*, *no* and a particle following a nominal¹ (other than *ka*) are generally considered feminine. The use of *yo*, then, does not serve to identify the speaker as of a particular gender, but the function it plays differs slightly depending on the gender and social status of the speaker.

3.3 The particles *ne(e)* and *na(a)*

3.3.1 Introduction

The particles *ne(e)* and *na(a)* are considered to have basically the same meaning (e.g. Alfonso, 1966; Uyeno, 1971), and although Kitagawa (1984) makes a case for difference based on first- or second-person focus, they are discussed together here, in order to facilitate comparison.

¹ noun + *yo* is identified as female speech (e.g. Mio, 1958). Sakata (1991) found in two-year-old children that males also tended to use noun + *yo* fairly frequently, but this usage was restricted to the context of pointing to an object and naming it. The function of the particle here seems to be to draw the attention of the hearer. This usage does not normally occur in older male speakers in standard dialect.

3.3.2 Interaction

Both *ne* and *na* are associated with interaction, adding a gentle, emotional touch to the sentence (Alfonso, 1966). *Ne* in particular is used in seeking agreement from the addressee, or in signalling mutual agreement. Maynard (1993:208) 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.”

Kamio (1979, 1990) discusses the role of *ne* with regard to ‘territory of information’. He claims that if the speaker is aware that both the speaker and addressee already share in territory of information (i.e. knowledge), then the use of *ne* is obligatory when referring to this knowledge. Similarly, if the speaker assumes the addressee has more information than the speaker on a topic, then he or she will also use the particle *ne*. *Ne* may also be used in cases where the addressee does not possess the same (quality of) information, and Kamio (1990) explains this by saying that in these cases, the speaker wishes to express solidarity or camaraderie.

As with *yo*, differences in the use of *ne(e)* between men and women are largely a result of whether the particle follows a bare verbal (in plain form)(male), or directly follows a noun or a ‘feminine’ particle such as *wa* (female). The difference with *ne* is not so obvious, however, and Ide (1979, cited Cook, 1988) found that female university students were as likely to use the form *da* (plain COP) + *ne* as males.² The use of *ne* in questions and statements following *ka* (largely confined to male speech) is discussed in detail in 5.4.

² The bare verbal followed by *ne* occurred 226 times in male (university student) speech and 242 times in female speech. The equivalent figures for bare verbal + *yo* were 295 for male and 157 for female.

This data presumably makes no distinction between the use of *da* + *ne* in plain statements, and when it occurs with an interrogative word (e.g. *nani* [what] or *dare* [who]). The latter combination appears to be largely a male phenomenon. Refer to section 5.5 for detail.

3.3.3 Male and female use of *na(a)*

While *na(a)* is very similar in usage to *ne(e)*, females will only use *na(a)* when the addressee is the first person (i.e. themselves) (Uyeno, 1971). Nakano (1991) adds that in some sentences which are half addressed at the first person, but also intended for a second person addressee, as in the following example (my translation), females may also use *na*.

[3.6] -Sakagibara- san wa nani shite [i]ru no? Ie de
 (name) TOP what doing SFP house at
 ‘What’s (Mr.) Sakagibara doing, at home?’

-Betsu ni futsuu yo. Tada kono goro anmari benkyoo suru ki ni
 specially usual SFP only this time much study do mood
 nannakute
 not
 ‘Just the usual. Only, recently he hasn’t been able to get in the mood
 to do much study.’

-Surampu ne
 Slump, SFP
 ‘A slump, eh’

-Atashi soo iu iikata anmari suki ja nai *na*.
 I (fem.) that kind of saying much like not
 ‘I don’t (think I) like that kind of phrase much.’

Nakano (1991) also adds that in the case of arguments or cursing, females may occasionally use *na* to a second person.

Males, on the other hand, frequently use *na* when talking to a second person addressee, as in the following examples ([3.7] is from from my data, [3.8] is from Kitagawa, 1984:32, my translation).

[3.7] Oyaji ga Tookyoo eki e tsuku jikan wa wakatte [i]ru *na*.
 father NOM Tokyo station to arrive time TOP know
 ‘You know what time Father is arriving at Tokyo Station, don’t you?!’

- [3.8] Ashita ore Yokohama ni iku n da ga, omae mo iku *na*.
 tomorrow I Yokohama to go EP but you too go
 'I'm going to Yokohama tomorrow, you'll come too, won't you.'

Kitagawa (1984) claims that the difference between *na* and *ne* is that *na* is addressed towards the first person, while *ne* is addressed towards the second person. He explains sentences such as the ones above, by claiming that they treat the second person as a member of the speaker's circle of intimate friends or relations (*miuchi*). The sentences are thus addressed towards the first-person plural, rather than a second person. These differences can be even more clearly seen in the use of the derivative forms *nee* and *naa*, as in the following examples from Chikamatsu (1979:18 cited in Ward, 1987:36).

- [3.9] Ryokoo ni ikitai *nee*.
 holiday on go-want
 'I want to go on holiday (and you do too, don't you).'
- [3.10] Ryokoo ni ikitai *naa*.
 holiday on go-want
 'I want to go on holiday.'

The particle *na* is also used by males following the polite verb endings, as in the following examples (from Uyeno, 1971:115).

- [3.11] Kekkoo na otenki de gozaimasu *na*.
 fine weather be-POL
 'Good spot of weather we're having.'
- [3.12] Sake ga nomitai desu *na*.
 Sake NOM drink-want to POL
 'Wouldn't a drink of *sake* be nice.'³

Matsushita (1930) says that these are the most formal sounding sentences when used by males. Females, however, will not usually use *na* following the polite form of the

³ This use of *na* following the formal form of the verb is reminiscent of the (old) British use of 'what' at the end of a sentence, as in 'A good spot of weather we're having, what?' or 'A drink of sake would be good, what?' This too, is a somewhat formal, manly expression, used in soliciting agreement. There does not appear to be a close equivalent in New Zealand English, however.

verb, except with requests and commands. In this case, females will use *na* only following the formal form. These sentences then take on a feminine sound which does not occur with the use of *ne* (Uyeno, 1971).

We can see that the particles *na* and *ne* behave differently with respect to male and female usage. *Ne* behaves in a similar way to *yo*, forming such combinations as *wa ne*, *no ne* and noun + *ne* when used by females, and following plain form imperatives when used by males. The use of *na*, however, is more complex. Martin (1975) claims that *na* sounds more rustic and vigorous than *ne*, and is therefore used more by males than females. In fact, females will normally only use it when talking to themselves, or after a formal request or command. Males, on the other hand, will use *na* when addressing their close friends, or following the formal form of the verb in statements.⁴

3.4 The particle *sa*

The particle *sa* is generally explained as indicating that something is obvious, established fact, or beyond doubt (e.g. Alfonso, 1966; Kitagawa, 1984). Watanabe (1968) claims this results because *sa* indicates that no judgment is necessary on the part of the speaker or the addressee. In other words the answer is clear, and there is no room for judgment or interpretation on any participant's behalf.

The nature of the particle means that it sounds vigorous and ego-assertive (Martin, 1975), and it may even be interpreted as an insult or expression of contempt (Uyeno, 1971). It may also be used in questions with a nominal predicate, to indicate the speaker's insistence on getting an answer. Uyeno (1971) claims that *sa* may be used with either a first or second person addressee, and by both males and females. It would seem, probably due to the ego-assertive nature of the particle, that it is used much more frequently by males than by females, but there is no definite restriction on

⁴ In some dialects, particularly in Western Japan, females may use *na* more freely in addressing friends and family. Amongst males, the use of *na* may be much more common than *ne* in these dialects.

its use by members of either sex. The particle *sa*, then, does not indicate whether the speaker is male or female, although it is used only in familiar speech, the speaker being either of equal or higher status than the addressee.

CHAPTER 4

‘FEMININE’ PARTICLES

4.1 Introduction

Several SF particles in Japanese are referred to as ‘feminine’ particles. It has been claimed (e.g. McGloin, 1986; Mio, 1958) that the use of these particles gives the sentence a softer, more feminine tone, and they are generally accepted to be used exclusively, or at least largely, by females. Suzuki (1976) for example, found that male speakers did not use either of the most typically feminine particles, *no* or *wa*, at all. More recent research, however, has shown that even these particles can be used by males in certain circumstances, although with somewhat different intonation or nuance.

4.2 The particle *wa*

4.2.1 Review of previous research

Wa, as used by females, has been identified as expressing familiarity, friendliness, or insistence (Ward, 1987). There has been some debate over the level of insistence, some feeling that quite strong insistence is involved (Saji, 1956; Tsuchihashi, 1983), while others explain it as gentle or mild insistence (e.g. Uyeno, 1971). The level of insistence can perhaps be explained in terms of intonation, for as McGloin (1990) points out, females can pronounce the particle using either a high rising tone, or a level tone. Her examples show that when a level tone is used, the feeling will likely be one of anger or finality, while *wa* with a rising tone is more gentle and friendly.

Mio (1958) was one of the earliest to identify male use of the SF particle *wa* in modern Tokyo (standard) dialect. He found that male use of the particle was restricted to several circumstances; firstly, to utterances in which there is a sound change from *-ru wa* to *raa*, as in the following example from Mio, (1958:409), translations are mine.

- [4.1] Soryaa makeryaa nao komaru ni kimatte- *raa* [-iru *wa*].
 that lose-COND more trouble be certain [to be]
 ‘Well of course it’ll be more difficult if you lose.’

The other circumstances identified by Mio involve the repetition of words or phrases followed by *wa*, as in the following, from Mio (1958:409).

- [4.2] Aru *wa*, aru *wa*, monosugoku aru.
 exist exist tremendous [lot] exist
 ‘There are, there are! There are heaps!’
- [4.3] Are mo hoshii *wa*, kore mo hoshii *wa*, dewa komaru.
 that too want this too want as for trouble
 ‘“I want this one too, I want that one too” just won’t do.’

Mio also says that he does occasionally hear a male speaker using *wa* in other ways, but that these give the impression of being dialectal (i.e. not Tokyo dialect). Certainly, *wa* does appear to be used extensively by male speakers of some dialects, and this is discussed further with reference to my own data in 4.2.2 below.

Uyeno (1971) also states that the particle *wa* is one used by a female speaker, although she notes the following circumstances in which males may use *wa* (1971:135): A boy child who is exposed mainly to his mother’s Japanese but very little to his father’s, tends to use the particle as his mother does. This, however, will normally be abandoned as soon as the child is exposed to playmates of both sexes. An adult male may also use *wa* when imitating or playing a female role¹, and Uyeno also attributes the use of *wa* by homosexual male speakers to an instance of this. While this may be true, the intonation is also likely to be a direct imitation of the female speakers, and thus should be distinguished from the distinct male use of *wa* as identified below.

Kitagawa (1984) was the first to distinguish the female use of *wa* from the male use by means of differing intonation between the two. He claims that the male utterance

¹ In this case, although the speaker is of male sex, he has adopted a female gender role, so the use of feminine particles is not surprising.

is accompanied by a falling intonation, while the female version has a high rising tone. He attributed a similar meaning to both the male and female usage, and argued that the femininity came from the rising intonation. As we saw above, McGloin (1986, 1990) argues that females can also pronounce *wa* with a level tone, and so argues that the femininity of *wa* comes rather from its semantic property. She states that this property is to assert a proposition with emotional emphasis. In the case of females, this is used to create positive rapport with the listener. Male usage, however, does not project this emotional emphasis onto the listener.

Martin (1975) also identified an important characteristic of male use of *wa*. He found that following polite² verb-endings, middle-aged men may use *wa* when delivering an assertion with a certain air of assurance or authority. McGloin found that older men often append *wa* in this way when they are recalling certain past events with some emotion, for example McGloin's (1990:32 (21)).

[4.4] Ano koro wa yoku tsuri o shita mono desu wa.
 that time often fishing do used to
 'I used to go fishing often in those days.'

This usage, in which *wa* follows the polite form of the verb, needs to be distinguished from the use by males of *wa* following the plain form, which appears to be largely dialectal.

Ward (1987) says that men have also been found to use *wa* in another traditionally thought of 'feminine' area, the *wa ne* particle cluster (although with differing intonation), and also to have their own cluster, *wa na*. Males have not been found to use clusters including *wa* and *yo*, e.g. *wa yo*, *wa yo ne*. She also notes that male use of *wa* is not necessarily restricted to following the formal form of the verb, as Martin claimed.

² desu/masu stylisation

4.2.2 Analysis of *wa* based on data from this study

The nature of the data used for this research placed several limitations on conclusions which could be drawn. Intonation could not be distinguished from the written words, so any distinction was observed. Native informants, however, felt that male intonation was quite distinct, with a definite falling tone. It was also often hard or impossible to tell the difference between native Tokyo speakers and residents of Tokyo who had grown up in other regions, who were inclined to lapse into dialect on occasion.

Occurrences of *wa* in the data collected for this study have here been divided into three categories. The first category corresponds to Mio's (1958) example of contraction. There was, in fact, only one example of this in the entire data examined, as given below.

[4.5] Kane datte, kusaru hodo a *raa* [aru *wa*].
 money as for rot than have
 'I've got money to burn!'

The speaker is an adult male to his lover. He has just invited her to come with him to Hawaii to live, and she asks him, rather doubtfully, if he has sufficient money. In this instance, the speaker feels the need to insist that he does have plenty of money (because this has been questioned). The particle *wa* here, may also indicate self-assurance - that is, there is no doubt in the speaker's mind that he has the money. This can further be an indication that the speaker wishes to treat the potential problem lightly, as if it were not even worth mentioning. A similar nuance is seen in the first two sentences of the next category (below).

The second category consists of instances of *wa* which occur following the polite form of the verb. There are examples of this usage among both standard (Tokyo) speakers, and among dialect speakers. As stated above, it was often difficult to tell whether a speaker was from Tokyo or another part of Japan, but in the absence of

other indicators of dialectal speech or evidence of origin, I have assumed the utterance to be standard speech.

[4.6] Yoso ga beikoku no saiken o kau nara, uchi mo!! to iu
 other NOM America of bonds ACC buy if us too
 teido no koto desu wa.
 degree of thing COP-POL
 'If the others buy American bonds, then so do we, that's all.'

[4.7] Tada kowai no wa doru no booraku tte yatsu desu wa.
 only scary of TOP dollar [US] of slump thing COP-POL
 'The only scary thing would be if the US dollar should drop
 dramatically.'

These examples are both from older men, and this usage appears to be restricted largely to middle aged to older men. These two examples seem to follow Martin's (1975) assertion that this *wa* indicates self-assurance - and further, as we saw above, treating a problem lightly (as evidenced by the words *to iu teido* and *tada*). This self-assurance also fits with McGloin's (1990) theory that males do not project the emotional emphasis towards the addressee in order to create rapport.

The following two examples come from a native of Hiroshima prefecture.

[4.8] Tetsukuzu ni shite, uru n desu wa.
 iron scraps into do sell EP-POL
 'You make them into scrap iron and sell it.'

[4.9] Mainichi mainichi gunkan o sagashite umi e moguru n desu wa.
 everyday [daily] warship ACC search for sea to dive EP-POL
 '(I) go out diving in the sea day after day looking for (sunken)
 warships.'

Both the above examples are spoken by an elderly man from Hiroshima prefecture, to a group of people (both male and female). Here he seems to be explaining something that he is closely attached to emotionally. In fact, this has always been the speaker's dream, to raise sunken ships and make money from them, although he has not been able to realise this dream. This usage is closely related to McGloin's (1990) example of a man remembering a past event with emotional emphasis, although in this case it is not a past event, but an unfulfilled wish or desire.

The third category consists of instances of the plain form followed by *wa*, and these examples appear to be used almost exclusively among speakers of Western Japanese dialects, rather than natives of the Tokyo area or in modern standard speech.

- [4.10] Washa tsukareta...chotto neru *wa*.
 I tired a little sleep
 'I'm tired, I'm going to get a little sleep.'
- [4.11] Iine, sono ichi bubun no hanashi, mitchiri kikasete moritai
 good that one part of story fully hear-CAUS receive
 n da *wa*.
 EP
 'O.K. then, let's hear that one part of the story in full, shall we.'
- [4.12] Chieko no wakasa de sonna koto ga suki yattara
 (name) of youth with that kind of thing NOM like COP-COND
 sue ga anjirareru *wa*.³
 future NOM worry-PASS
 'If you like such a thing at your young age, then your future is a real worry.'

These sentences are all from dialectal speech (the first two are Hiroshima speakers, the last from Kyoto), and appear to be announcing the speaker's intention or personal opinion. This use appears to be close to another SF particle, *yo*. The utterances with *wa* seem to be more self-focused, and less concerned with drawing the addressee's attention, however. As this use of *wa* is largely restricted to dialectal speech, and this study is concerned with standard speech, these sentences will not be analysed further.

Finally, instances in which *wa* occurred with other particles were examined. Only two examples of *wa* occurring with other particles in male speech (excluding *wai*, which is looked at in more detail below), were found. Both of these were the *wa na* cluster. Again, both these appear to be dialectal usage. There were no examples of *wa ne*, or *wa yo*.

³ This sentence is taken from *Koto* by Kawabata Yasunari.

[4.13] De, demo doru ga kyuusoku ni sagareba taihen na koto ni
 bu...but dollar NOM rapidly fall-COND serious thing
 naru wa na.
 become

‘Bu...but if the [US] dollar should fall sharply, it would be serious,
 wouldn’t it.’

[4.14] Boku to deeto ni kuru yoo ja akan wa na.

I with date to come way no good

‘I don’t suppose you should come on a date with me, eh.’

The particle *na* (see 3.3.3) makes even more clear that these sentences are thoughts expressed aloud, rather than attempts to elicit a response from the addressee. It should be noted that this particular cluster also appears among female speakers of some dialects (Ono - personal communication).

The data from this study clearly show that under certain circumstances, male speakers do use the particle *wa*. This usage (with the exception of a few imitative examples) can be distinguished from the female utterances by the distinct falling intonation which accompanies it. It also appears possible to conclude that while adult male speakers of standard dialect may use *wa* following the polite form of the verb, instances of *wa* following the informal form are restricted to male speakers of western Japanese dialects. (According to a native informant, plain form + *wa* occurs regularly in male speech in the Nagoya area as well).

The meaning of the particle *wa* in male speech appears to fall into three main categories:

1. Remembrance or recollection with particular emotion, either of events which have occurred in the past, or of unfulfilled desires or dreams.
2. Self-assurance or assertion, often making light of a problem or difficulty.
3. Announcing intention or personal opinion. This is similar to *yo*, with less emphasis on forcing information onto the addressee. Largely restricted to dialectal usage.

The data also appear to support McGloin's (1990) theory that males' use of *wa* does not place the emotional emphasis towards the addressee in an attempt to establish positive rapport.

4.2.3 The particle cluster *wai*

While *wa* has generally been confined to female speakers, when it is followed by the particle *i* to form *wai*, it becomes a male particle cluster. The Nihon Kokugo Daijiten (1972) gives two definitions for this cluster:

1. Expresses confirmation with a sense of admiration, slightly stronger than *wa* alone. This usage was common in the Edo and Meiji periods, but in modern Japanese is largely confined to elderly male speakers.
2. To express a feeling of emotion or to gently insist on an idea. This usage is identified as dialectal.

Martin (1975) suggests that this form has developed from *wa + yo*. The Nihon Kokugo Daijiten (1972) confirms that *i* has developed from *yo*, but it would seem unlikely that *wai* has developed directly from the modern *wa yo*, given that *wa yo* does not appear to exist in pre-modern dialogue (e.g. Komatsu, 1988), while *wai* is common from the Muromachi period⁴ (Matsumura, 1971).

There were eight instances of the *wai* cluster in the data for this study, most of which appear to be dialectal usage, and all but one by older men. There is one example which seems to fit exactly into the first definition given above.

- [4.15] Onushi ni byooki o naoshite moroota mono ga kono naka ni
 you by illness ACC cure receive people NOM this inside in
 ippai oru *wai*. Onushi o sonkei saret[e] oru zo.
 a lot are you ACC respect be-PASS SFP
 'There are a number of us who have had diseases cured by you. We
 respect you.'

⁴ The muromachi period was from 1338-1573.

However, this also appears to be western Japanese dialect rather than Tokyo dialect. Several examples seem to involve gentle insistence and instruction, as in the following.

- [4.16] Kantan ni shitomerareru nara ima madeni dareka ga
 easily shoot down-can if now until someone NOM
 shitomete oru *wai*.
 shoot down be
 ‘If it could be shot easily, someone would have shot it down before now.’
- [4.17] Hinotori datte dokonidatte iru *wai*.
 fire-bird as for anywhere exist
 ‘Fire-birds can be found anywhere (not just here).’

In [4.16], the speaker is an old man to a young boy, whose brother has gone off to attempt to shoot the fire-bird. The boy has been boasting that his brother will shoot the bird, and the old man tries to gently inform him that it is not as easy as he thinks. In [4.17], the speaker is again an older man to a boy. The boy is refusing to leave until he shoots the fire-bird, but the older man thinks they need to leave to escape capture. The older man is insisting that the birds can be found anywhere, so there is no need for them to stay.

In western Japanese dialects in particular, *wai* tends to be associated with expressions of particular emotion or enjoyment, as in the following example.

- [4.18] Kyoo wa nami ga takoote dame jatta. Daisuke to sakana
 today TOP waves NOM high useless was (name) with
 tsutte asonde shimoota *wai*.
 fishing play did
 ‘The waves were too high today so it was no good. I went fishing with Daisuke (his grandson) instead.’

There is one example of a young (high school age) boy using *wai*, as given below.

- [4.19] Fun, taisoo wa sonna ni amakunai *wai*.
 huh gymnastics TOP that easy - not
 ‘Huh, gymnastics is not as easy as that!’

In this case, another boy has walked into the gymnastics club at school for the first time, and says he will perform a difficult gymnastics feat. The use of *wai* here may be to create humour, making the boy speaking sound old and stuffy.

4.3 The particle *no*

4.3.1 Introduction

The sentence-final particle *no* is classified as a typically feminine particle. There is some debate over whether *no* should be considered a sentence-final particle at all, and earlier studies only dealt with *no* as an abbreviated form of *no desu*. The plain form *no da* is frequently seen to be the male equivalent of *no*. However, several recent studies (e.g. Cook, 1988; Okamoto, 1995) have shown that there is considerable merit in treating *no* in the sentence-final position as a sentence-final particle. Furthermore, as we shall see, *no* on its own is now being used (at least in some instances) by males, as well as females.

4.3.2 Review of previous studies

There are a number of theories as to the meaning of the *no da* construction, including indirectness and softening (Jordan, 1963), politeness and reservation (Martin, 1975) and shared knowledge (McGloin, 1980). Cook (1988) defines the direct indexical as one of group authority, as opposed to individual authority for knowledge. All these theories have dealt with *no* in general, but when considering the particle in relation to its use by males, it is important to point out that *no* can be used with three different sentence types, namely, questions, statements and commands. Tanaka (1977) shows that these three can be distinguished by the tone and stress which is put on the particle, as in his following (p 438) examples (my translations).

gogo kara renshuu suru no ! (stressed).....command
 noon from practice do
 'You should do your practice in the afternoon.'

gogo kara renshuu suru no? (rising tone)...question
 'Are you going to practice in the afternoon?'

gogo kara renshuu suru no. (falling tone)..statement
 'I am going to practice in the afternoon.'

It is particularly notable that children acquire *no* earlier than *ka*, (the particle generally associated with questions in Japanese), and use it much more frequently in formulating their questions (Clancy, 1985). This appears to be true of male as well as female children.

As noted above, Suzuki (1976) found no examples of males using *no*. However, his data came only from novels. Sakuma (1983) found that adult males did sometimes use *no* in conversations with their children, and Cook (1988:39) claims that in naturally occurring speech data, males do use *no*, as in her following example.

[4.20] Husband: Itsu kuru no?
 when come
 'When [are they] coming?'

Wife: Raishuu no suiyoobi.
 next week of Wednesday
 'Wednesday next week.'

It should be noted that the examples given by Cook of male use of *no*, are questions, while there are examples of both questions and statements ending in *no* among her female examples. Further, as almost all her data come from family conversation, it may be doubted that males will use the particle outside the immediate family situation, or amongst close friends.

McGloin (1986, 1990) points out that while men do use *no* in questions, they seldom use it in statements, and would never use it after polite endings, as females sometimes do. McGloin (1990) does state that she has heard younger men using plain form + *no* (presumably she is referring to both questions and statements here), and that the status of this *no* may be in the process of change. Komatsu (1988) says that in modern Japanese, *no* in questions, while still used more frequently by females, is being

used more by males as well. However, this usage is still largely a phenomenon found in children and students up to university age.

It is generally accepted that *no* used in combination with *ne* or *yo* is restricted to female speech. Tanaka (1977) does state that when the *yo* of *no yo* is pronounced with a rising tone, the statement is definitely feminine, but when it is pronounced with a low tone, it may be a male utterance. Males will normally only use this cluster when giving commands to children or younger siblings, however, and not in normal statements, as females do.

4.3.3 Present data and analysis

The data collected for this study confirm that while males do sometimes use *no* in asking questions, there are a limited number of examples of male use of *no* in statements and commands, and those which do occur are almost all attributable to children of school age. At the same time, there are innumerable examples of females using *no*, *no yo*, and *no ne*.

In children's comics, it is quite common to find boys using *no* both in questions and in statements, as in the following examples from my data.

[4.21] Mama, kyoo mo oshigoto itchau no?
 mother today too job go-regret
 'Are you going to work again today mum?'

[4.22] Nandaka genki ga nai mitai dakara.... nanika atta no?
 somehow energy NOM not seems therefore something happened
 'You don't seem very lively, is something wrong?'

[4.23] Kimi mo 0 (rei) ten no tooan kakushite [i]ta no?
 you too zero score of answer hiding-were
 'You were hiding a zero (in a test score) too?'

[4.24] Sore, kowarete [i]ru no.
 that broken-is
 'That's broken.'

The absence of a large number of examples of male *no* in these data must be treated with caution, because as Cook (1988) shows, speech recorded in novels and comics does not necessarily reflect the latest trends in modern speech, and may reflect more the writer's own image of what male/female speech should be like. Using a range of different sources to obtain data from a number of contexts, does give the advantage of a wider view, however, and it certainly seems likely that adult male use of *no* is still largely confined to domestic conversation and dialogue with children.

4.3.4 The particle cluster *no ka*

In contrast to *no yo* and *no ne*, the particle cluster *no ka* did appear frequently in male speech, and not at all in female speech (although it may occur in the speech of females in some dialects, sounding unrefined, perhaps even a little vulgar (Ono - personal communication)). The cluster *no ka* is of interest, because its use seems to be restricted to rhetorical questions, or questions to which the answer has already been inferred from evidence. Three main semantic categories have been identified, and features and examples are given below.

1. Impossibility or disbelief
2. Censure
3. Conclusion based on evidence

The first two categories consist almost entirely of rhetorical questions; that is, no answer is expected, although the utterance is ostensibly posed as a question. Rhetorical questions usually indicate that the speaker is already in possession of the information, but utters the sentence in the form of a question to achieve a certain effect - in these cases, to stress disbelief, or to force the addressee to realise that he should already know the answer (hence, censure). The large majority of the third category were also rhetorical, but in cases where the evidence available was insufficient or unclear, the utterance could take the form of a true question (i.e. a request for information from the addressee).

These three categories correspond quite closely to three of the categories given by Matsushita (1930) for the particle *ka* alone. Matsushita identified them as *Hambaku* [refutation], *Nankitsu* [Censure], and *Tongo* [Self-realisation]. Examples here which fall into the first category, do not only include refutation of statements, but refutation of what one sees before one, or simple disbelief at what one is seeing. The importance of evidence leading to the conclusion in category three, also seemed important enough to include in the title. It should be noted that *ka* occurs in a number of other circumstances and speech acts as well, while *no ka* is restricted to these three.

Examples from the first category are given below. It should be noted that they frequently include words such as *masaka* [impossible!], and exclamations of disbelief, such as *e!* and *nani!*

- [4.25] Honoo no ugoki ga waku *no ka*.
 fire of movement NOM understand
 ‘Can he possibly know what the fire is going to do?’
- [4.26] Seikoo suru to demo omotte [i]ru *no ka*.
 succeed even thinking
 ‘Does he think he’s going to succeed or something?’ [of course he won’t]
- [4.27] Masaka konna toko de soonan shita *no ka*.
 surely [not] this kind of place at met disaster
 ‘How can we have run into trouble in this kind of place?’
- [4.28] Aho na!! Mo[o i]kkai ano naka e itte kaette koi iu *n ka*⁵.
 idiot once more that inside to go come back-IMP say
 ‘Idiotic! Is he ordering us to go back in there again?’
- [4.29] Nani! Kimi wa teki o kabau *no ka*.
 what you TOP enemy ACC protect
 ‘What! Are you going to protect the enemy?!’
- [4.30] Omae, sore honki de itte [i]ru *no ka*.
 you that honestly saying
 ‘Do you really mean that?’ [I can’t believe it.]

⁵ *no* is frequently shortened to *n* in colloquial speech. This sentence is in Osaka (or vicinity) dialect.

Examples from the second category include the following.

- [4.31] Jibun ga maneita okyakusan o tochuu de hopparakashi ni
 self NOM invited guest ACC on the way leave alone
 shite oite owabi mo sen no ka.
 apology even not do
 ‘You went and left your own guests all alone on the way here, and you
 haven’t even apologised?’
- [4.32] Soo made shite kachitee no ka. Hazukashii to omowanai no ka.
 that until do win-want to embarrassing think-not
 ‘Do you want to win so much you’ll even do THAT? Aren’t you even
 embarrassed?’
- [4.33] Jibun wa suki katte yatt[e] oite, hito ni tasukete morau ki
 self TOP like as do people by help receive mind
 na no ka.
 ATTR
 ‘Are you of a mind to do as you like, and then be bailed out by
 someone else?’
- [4.34] Kono tesuto no ten ga boku no ikite kita shirushi da to
 this test of score NOM I of live come symbol COP
 demo iu no ka.
 even say
 ‘Are [they] trying to tell me that this test score represents my life so
 far?’
- [4.35] Guraundo ni tatsu shikaku wa aru no ka.
 ground on stand right TOP have
 ‘Does he (even) have a right to be on the pitch? (NO!)’

The third category, conclusion based on evidence, can be further divided into three sub-categories, depending on the quality of evidence available to the speaker. The first sub-category consists of cases where the speaker can actually see the evidence. In this case, the speaker is not so much drawing a conclusion as confirming what they see.

- [4.36] Mata hi ga deta no ka, hiruma no ano sobaya.⁶
 again fire NOM arisen noon of that noodle shop
 ‘It’s on fire again - that noodle shop we went to at noon.’ [The
 speaker can see flames.]

⁶ These sentences may also contain a degree of disbelief or surprise.

- [4.37] Kasa, nai no ka.
 umbrella not
 ‘Don’t you have an umbrella?’ [The speaker can see the addressee sitting in the rain.]
- [4.38] Sooji shite [i]ru no ka.
 cleaning doing
 ‘Oh, so they’re doing the cleaning.’ [He can see that is what they are doing.]

The second sub-category is instances of conclusions drawn from indirect (or circumstantial) evidence.

- [4.39] Ike ni ochita no ka.
 pond in fell
 ‘Oh, it fell in the pond, did it?’ [He assumes that is where his golf ball is, as can’t see it on the grass.]
- [4.40] Inai no ka.
 not present
 ‘Oh, they’re not here?’
- [4.41] Dooshite mo awanakya naranai no ka.
 no matter what meet-have to
 ‘I guess I have to meet him then.’

The last sub-category consists of cases in which the speaker considers the evidence insufficient to draw a definite conclusion, and the utterance could be treated as a question.

- [4.42] Takuya, ano ko, dokoka karada no guai ga warui no ka.
 (name) that child somewhere body of condition NOM bad
 ‘Takuya, is there something wrong with that child? [She looks very pale.]
- [4.43] Nanda, ii otoko demo dekita no ka.
 oh good man even made
 ‘Oh, have you found yourself a decent man or something?’ [You seem unusually happy.]
- [4.44] Shikashi myoo ni omae, Shimizu no kata motsu na... nanika
 but strangely you (name) of shoulder hold SFP something
 an [aru] no ka.
 have
 ‘But, you seem to be sticking up for Shimizu for some reason. Is there something going on (between you and her)?’

These categories are not mutually exclusive. The same sentence, depending on context, could fall into any one of the categories, or could even include ideas from more than one of the categories.

[4.45] Mite [i]ta *no ka.*
 watching-were
 ‘Did you see?’

This could be taken to mean that the addressee has shown knowledge that they wouldn’t otherwise have, so the speaker concludes that he or she saw whatever it was. It could, on the other hand, be a reproach, as if to imply ‘How could you watch?!’

Cook’s (1988) theory (and other similar theories) state that *no* indicates “group authority” for knowledge, and this can account for the use of *no* in all of these categories, more or less comfortably. For example, the use of *no* in expressing disbelief can be attributed to the fact that common (or shared) knowledge says that this cannot be true, and yet the evidence before one would seem to contradict this. Similarly, in reproach or censure, the use of *no* can be seen as an attempt to make the addressee realise that their words or actions are not acceptable to others (or defy common sense), and the censure consequently does not rely solely on the speaker’s own judgment.

A more context dependent and specific analysis of *no* when used in combination with *ka*, as given above, provides a more practical guide for foreign language learners, however.

4.4 Other feminine particles

There remain for discussion a few less common ‘feminine’ particles which can occur in the sentence-final position, namely, *mono*, *koto* and *kashira*. Of these, *koto* is particularly feminine and no examples were found in the data for this study of male

usage, even in children's speech. *Kashira* (similar in meaning to English 'I wonder'), was also largely restricted to female speakers, although there were a small number of examples of young (pre-teenage) children using this form. This is similar to the phenomenon observed for the particle *no*, and may be a result of the strong influence that the mother has on young children's language development, (see Sakata, 1991 for example).

Mono also has been seen as a particularly feminine particle (in sentence-final position) (e.g. Mio 1958), similar in nuance to the more common *no*. As with *no*, however, when *mono* is followed by *ka* to form the cluster *mon(o) ka*, it becomes a male cluster. Sakuma (1983:92) claims that *mon(o) ka* indicates strong denial, absolute impossibility, or circumstances completely against the speaker's wishes. These definitions correspond closely to the first two categories identified above for the cluster *no ka*. The use of *mon(o) ka* appears to be much less frequent in modern Japanese, however, and only a few examples of usage among children were identified for this study.

- [4.46] Anna no ataru mon ka.
 that kind of hit
 'You'll never win one of those kind!' [worthwhile prizes in a raffle]

CHAPTER 5 'MASCULINE' PARTICLES

5.1 Introduction to the 'masculine' particles

The so-called 'masculine' particles and clusters (here including *zo*, *ze*, *kai*, *ka ne*, *dai*, and *ka yo*) have largely been ignored in previous studies, perhaps due to the difficulty in acquiring data. The coarse-sounding nature of the particles restricts their usage to very informal situations, for example in bars, at parties, or amongst close school or workmates. They are more frequently associated with the 'rough' jobs and characters in society, and have even been seen as symptomatic of a society in which males are seen as superior, dominant, all-powerful figures (e.g. Cook, 1988). While it may be true that the use of the particles reflects this to a point, we shall see that these particles are also associated with particular intimacy and camaraderie.

Some males may, as Uyeno (1971) suggests, avoid the use of these particles, due to the coarse image they portray, but others still use them freely, and there is no doubt they form an important link between language and gender identity.

5.2 The particle *zo*

5.2.1 Introduction

A total of 507 examples of the particle *zo* were collected for this study. Although precise figures are not available, *zo* appears to occur considerably less frequently than *yo* or *ne*. Occurrence was sufficiently common to make a study worthwhile, however, in the belief that students encountering informal spoken Japanese will sooner or later encounter instances of the particle in a variety of contexts.

5.2.2 Review of previous studies

There have been very few studies which have dealt with the particle *zo* in any detail. Uyeno (1971) provides by far the most detailed account. She found that *zo* was used

by speakers of both sexes, but that while male speakers could use it with either a first or second person addressee, females were restricted to using it with a first person addressee (i.e. when talking to themselves), or in direct quotes of male speech. According to Uyeno, *zo* is restricted to plain style sentences. Polite sentences are not possible except in joking, where the strong insistence normally associated with *zo* is no longer applicable. Uyeno treats this usage as anomalous. As we shall see in the discussion of the data for this study, this assertion appears to be inaccurate. There are a number of examples of men using *zo* after the polite form of the verb, and it is difficult to dismiss them simply as anomalous.

Uyeno (1971:74) concluded that *zo* implies the speaker

has an attitude of strong insistence in stating a piece of information to the addressee. When a speaker strongly insists on his idea with the addressee, he should be in a social position which allows him to do so [i.e. of higher or at least equal social standing], in addition to being aware that his insistence is necessary in the context [i.e. in situations when insistence is not necessary (for example if the speaker has direct authority over the addressee), the use of *zo* is inappropriate].

She concludes by saying that *zo* may, furthermore, be a warning or threat, depending on the context. The level of insistence is too strong to be used with formal associates.

While Uyeno does identify some important points about the use of *zo*, her analysis suffers from over-generalisation and simplification. While the use of *zo* may indicate a warning or threat, it may also indicate a number of other contexts, and warnings and threats can equally well be indicated by other particles, or simply by tone of voice. The attitude of strong insistence also has much in common with other particles, and needs further analysis.

As noted in the introduction, Cook (1988) includes only a brief analysis of *zo* using indexicals, based on only twelve examples.¹ She identified the direct indexical as being ‘coarse intensity’ and several indirect indexicals as shown in the diagram below (from Cook, 1988:118)

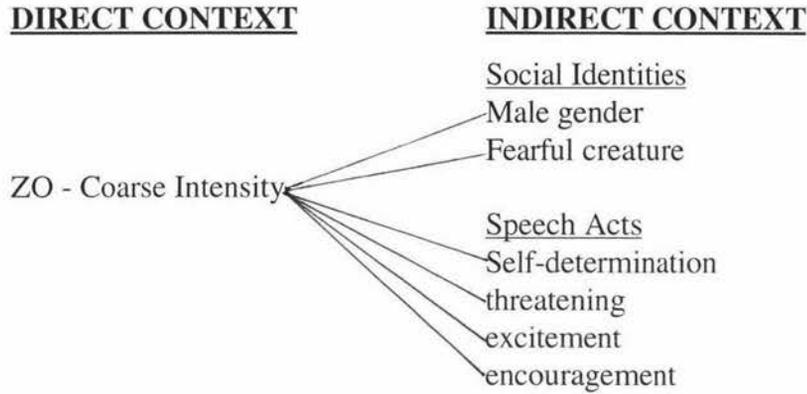


Fig 5.1 Direct and indirect indexicals for *zo*. The direct context (on the left in this diagram) indicates the main function of the particle. As a result of this function, *zo* also becomes associated, depending on the particular context, with a social identity and one or more of the speech acts (as shown on the right). From Cook (1988:118).

While the indexical approach is very useful, there is a need to examine the speech acts identified in more detail, to discover differences in nuance between particles which indicate similar usage, and to compare *zo* with other particles, in particular *ze* and *yo*.

Alfonso (1966) also looks briefly at *zo* and *ze* together, and says that they have the same fundamental connotation of emphasising the speaker’s point of view, and that they are used in a spirit of camaraderie. He claims that although they can in most cases be used without any difference in meaning, *ze* is somewhat less rough than *zo*.

Makino & Tsutsui (1995) claim that *zo* expresses a speaker’s strong feeling, or strong desire to draw the hearer’s attention to something. According to them, it is only used in informal speech and only by males. They further add that *zo* can be distinguished from *yo* in that the latter is much less persuasive and informal, and that *yo* cannot be used in monologue as *zo* can.

¹ The particle *zo* was used to show the scope of the indexical approach, and was not the main focus of her work.

5.2.3 Social status and *zo*

Hendry (1987) states that there is no doubt that hierarchical differences affect interaction between Japanese people in their daily lives. This is clearly reflected in the Japanese language, for example the use of *keigo*, or respect language. The relative social status of the speaker and addressee is also relevant to the choice of SF particle. In order to examine the relation between social status and the SF particle *zo* in more detail, it is first necessary to look briefly at the assumptions and basis used for determining relative social status in modern Japanese society.

Within the family, relations between members were traditionally hierarchically organised based on age, sex and expectation of permanency in the house. Children were made aware of their relative ages at a very early stage, younger siblings addressing the older ones by a title, 'older sister' or 'older brother', while younger ones were addressed by name. This tendency to address superiors by title and inferiors by name occurs throughout the society, including place of work, school, etc. (Hendry, 1987).

There has been considerable change in the make-up of the family, and society in general, in Japan over the last fifty years, and this has been reflected in personal relationships as well. While the distinctions between older and younger children may not be as clear as they were traditionally, there is sufficient evidence (e.g. the fact that younger children still call their older siblings 'older sister' or 'older brother') that some distinction in status has been maintained. According to Confucian principles which applied to the traditional family system, men were superior to women, and Hendry (1987) claims that even now the husband will almost always be accorded slightly more status than the wife.

Difference in status is also clearly reflected at school. While classmates will be among the most equal relations a Japanese person will ever encounter, relations between different grades are marked, and 'seniors' and 'juniors' will address each other and

behave appropriately for their relative status (Nakane 1970). Similar relations occur within the workplace.

In light of these findings, the results have been analysed on the basis of the following criteria, and graphed below.

1. Older siblings were of higher status than younger.
2. Husband was of higher status than wife.
3. Fiancé (male) was higher than fiancée (female).
4. Male and female classmates were treated as of equal status.
5. In the case of a retired head of the household, the son (present head) ranked higher.²

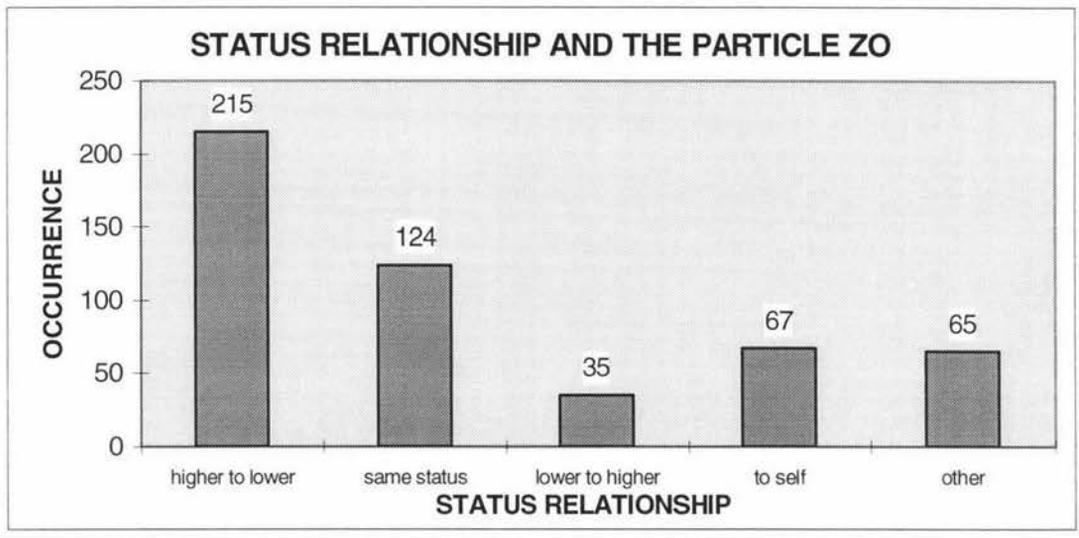


Fig 5.2 This graph shows that a speaker who utters a sentence ending in *zo* will normally be of higher status, or at least of equal status, in relation to the addressee. The 'other' category includes utterances to mixed groups (of higher and equal or lower status), and utterances in which the relationship could not be discerned from the data. Data are from novels, comics and T.V. drama scripts as collected in this study.

These data clearly show that *zo* is primarily used by those of higher or equal status, as claimed by Uyeno (1971). There are a number of cases which fall into the lower to higher status category, however, and it is necessary to look at these in more detail.

² See Ide (1982) and below for a discussion of the relationship between power and status in Japanese.

It was found that instances of lower to higher status usage fell into three main categories, as follows:

1. Within the family

- [5.1] Aniki, hanashi ga chigau zo, hanashi ga...
 older brother (ADD) story NOM different story
 'That's not what you said, it's not...'
- [5.2] Daisuke ga mukoo ni torareru kadooka no setogiwa na
 (name) NOM other [person] by take-PASS or of crisis ATTR
 n da zo.
 EP
 'I'm serious! It'll keep her from snatching Daisuke away from me!'
 [Younger brother to older brother.]

The examples here occurred among adult family members, although Sakata (1991) notes an instance of a young boy using *zo* to his mother. It is possible restrictions on particle use are less strict among immediate family members than in other areas of society.

2. To show defiance

- [5.3] Ore wa zettai, zettai ni shinjinai zo.
 I TOP definitely definitely believe-not
 'I will never, never believe you.'
- [5.4] Watasanai zo. Kono tori wa ore n da, ore no mono da zo.
 give over-not this bird TOP I of COP I of thing COP
 'I'm not giving it to you. This bird is mine, it's mine!'
- [5.5] Sonna koto yatcha nee zo.
 that kind of thing do not
 'We did no such thing!'

This particular usage was the most distinct, and it is likely that the feeling of defiance comes about partly because of the use of *zo* to someone of higher status, whom one would not normally address in such a way. This also suggests that *zo* can imply considerable force of feeling behind the speaker's utterance.

3. Older men in advisory positions (with polite form)

- [5.6] *Soo sureba endaka o kurofune ni shite, ikki ni*
 that do-COND stronger yen ACC blackship into make at one stroke
wagakuni no keizai henkaku ga dekimasu zo.
 our country of economy reform NOM can do-POL
 'In that case, we can make the strong yen into a Black ship³ and reform
 the country's economy at one stroke.'

This presents an unexpected situation in which the age of the speaker would normally give him higher status than the addressee, but because of the social or political position of the addressee, the speaker is of lower status. The result is something of a compromise, in which the polite form of the verb is maintained to respect the status of the addressee, but the use of *zo* is permitted. It has also been noted that in Japanese society, status and power are not necessarily directly reflected in language, and that in situations where age would normally confer higher status, forms may be adjusted to reflect this (e.g. Ide, 1982). An example from the data occurs when the younger brother of ruler Himiko, who has power over the day to day running of the country, still uses the polite form in addressing his older sister, but as in the case above, he does use *zo* following the polite form.

- [5.7] *Aneue, Aneue, watashi no kotoba ga tadashii to wakaru*
 older sister (ADD) I of words NOM correct understand
hi ga kitto kimasu zo.
 day NOM surely come-POL
 'There will surely come a day when you will realise that what I have
 said is right.'

5.2.4 Age, gender and *zo*

The data for *zo* were further analysed on the basis of age alone, to clarify the relationship between age and usage. Similar assumptions were used as for status above, however siblings of a similar age were considered as such.

³ The Black ships were militarily strong ships from Europe and America which appeared off the coast of Japan in the mid 19th century, and forced Japan to open its ports to foreign trade, to which it had been closed for over 200 years. The impact of the arrival of the Black ships had great political and economic implications for Japan.

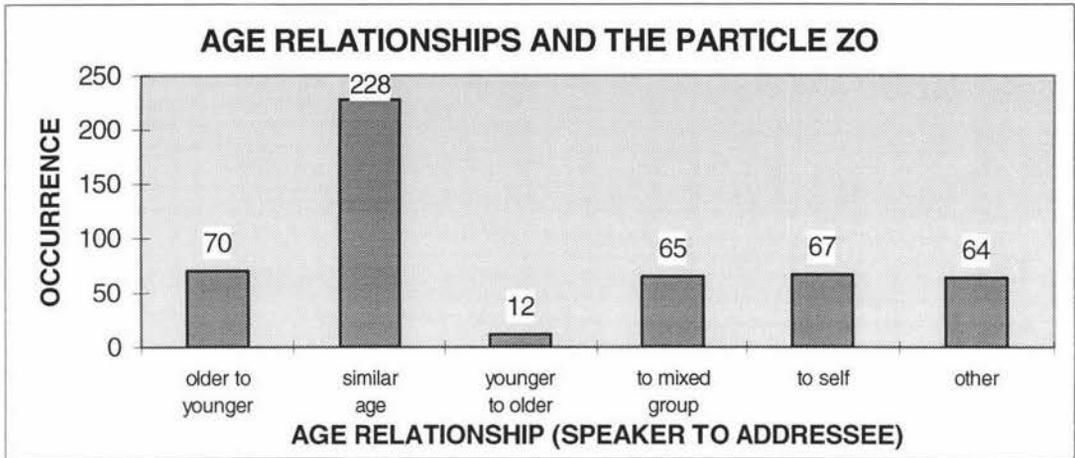


Fig 5.3 Age relationship and *zo*. This graph shows clearly that *zo* is most frequently used among those of a similar age, and seldom from younger to older people.

There are only twelve examples of (significantly) younger to older use of *zo*, all of which fall into the categories outlined under lower to higher status usage above. It should be noted, however, that a large majority of occurrences were among people of a similar age, rather than from older to younger people. This could suggest that those of a much higher status or age have no need to use *zo* in their utterances, but it is also possible this reflects the fact that the large majority of informal conversations occur among people of a similar age.

Uyeno (1971) identified the fact that females use *zo*, but only in addressing themselves. The data for this study bear out her assertion, but even in addressing themselves, males appear to use *zo*, at least in the authors' eyes, much more frequently than females. Utterances of *zo* to self⁴ occurred sixty-seven times, about thirteen per cent of the total occurrence, but only six of these were attributed to females.

⁴ This includes monologue (speech addressed to oneself) and soliloquy (speech addressed to no-one, i.e. thoughts spoken out loud). I include also utterances which are linguistically addressed at a specific addressee, but in which the addressee has no possibility of hearing the utterance, and is never intended to.

One example does occur of an elderly woman addressing her son with *zo*, but this usage appears to be restricted to older women of rural districts, and sounds somewhat old-fashioned.⁵

- [5.8] Nan[i] mo kaachan ni kakusu kota nee *zo*.
 nothing mother from hide thing not
 ‘There’s nothing to hide from your mother [me].’

The definite masculine associations of the particle can be played on at times to create humour, as in the following example.

- [5.9] Warawa ni kuchigotae shita na. Yurusan *zo*.
 I to answer back did SFP forgive-not
 ‘You answered me back, huh. I won’t stand for it!’

Here the speaker is a legendary Japanese female ruler, Himiko, but in the comic strip she is drawn to closely resemble Hitler. The humour comes in part from the fact that a female seen to be dictating in such a way is socially unacceptable or even absurd.

5.2.5 Verb forms and *zo*

In modern standard Japanese, *zo* is restricted to following verbs, auxiliary verbs and adjectives, and cannot follow imperatives or supposition involving *daroo*.⁶

Uyeno (1971) found that *zo* could only follow the plain form, and not the polite form of the verb, except in a few ‘anomalous’ cases of joking, where the forceful nature of

⁵ The particle *zo* was used by females and males in classical and Edo period Japanese, but its use by females had largely disappeared by the end of the Meiji period (1912), at least in standard spoken Japanese (Komatsu, 1988; Morino, 1992)

⁶ Note that in some dialectal usage, *zo* does appear following nouns, as in the following examples - ‘Kore wa Yamaguchigumi no okata *zo na*’ [He is from the Yamaguchi faction, isn’t he?], and ‘Kore wa ee otoko *zo na*.’ [He’s a good man, eh.] (from *Yamaguchigumi San-dai me*) In T.V. dramas depicting life in the Edo period (1600-1868), one may occasionally hear the use of *zo* following the first-person plural imperative form (e.g. *shimashoo zo* [let’s do it!]) but this usage appears to have dropped from modern Japanese.

zo is lost. Data collected for this study suggest, however, that there are some cases of polite form + *zo*, and analysis seems to show that not all of these can be treated as light-hearted, or as having lost their force. It is hard to see how the following situations could be interpreted in this manner, given the circumstances in which they are uttered, and the nature of their content.

- [5.10] Tadashi sore o mita nara kongo issai Takachiho no
 however that ACC saw if now on completely (place name) of
 honke ronsoo wa mueki de aru to shoochi shite moraimasu *zo*.
 original debate TOP useless COP accept receive-POL
 ‘However, if I show it to you, you will have to agree that further
 debate as to which of us is the original Takachiho is completely
 useless. [We are the original].’
- [5.11] Anta nee, sonna yuuchoo na koto o itte [i]ru baai ja nai
 you that kind of easygoing thing ACC saying place not
 deshoo ga. Karinimo hito ga futari shinde iru no desu *zo*.
 be at least people NOM two dead EP-POL
 ‘I don’t think you’re in a position to say things so lightly, two people
 are dead, you know.’
- [5.12] Joodan ja nai, kotchi wa asonde iru hima wa nai n da.
 joke not us TOP playing leisure TOP not EP
 Anta mo juuyoo sankoonin to shite keisatsu ni iru gurai
 you too important witness as for police at be degree
 no tsumori de ita hoo ga yoroshii desu *zo*.
 of intention with be had better COP-POL
 ‘This is not a joke, we don’t have time for fooling around. You had
 better realise that you are also here at the police station as an
 important witness.’
- [5.13] Soo da, sore ga nani yori mo taisetsu desu *zo*.
 that COP that NOM more than anything important COP-POL
 ‘That’s right, that is more important than anything else.’ [the school’s
 reputation.]

The number of examples of this kind are limited (19 out of 507, or about 4 per cent), and this kind of usage appears to occur largely among older men in more formal situations, when the speaker is at least of equal, if not higher status or age than the addressee(s).

There are two examples which do fit the pattern identified by Uyeno (1971):

[5.14] Shiranai hito ga kiitara honki ni saremasu zo.
 know-not person NOM hear-COND honest take as-PASS-POL
 'If they didn't know better, anyone'd think you're serious.'

[5.15] Mamonaku Namiki Koohei no teitaku ni toochaku desu zo.
 soon (name) of residence in arrival COP-POL
 'We will soon be arriving at the residence of Mr. Namiki Koohei!'

5.2.6 Threats and *zo*

One of the major areas in which *zo* has been identified as occurring, is in the expression of threats. Threats are a special type of warning in which the speaker warns of harm which will occur as a direct result of the speaker's own actions if certain conditions are not met.

Not all threats have the SF particle *zo* as part of their structure; they may occur without any SF particle, with *yo*, *ze* etc. Firstly, however, we will examine the threats which did occur with the particle *zo* in the data, and identify particular features which they have in common, and any categories into which they can be subdivided.

1. Direct physical threat

[5.16] Totto to kaere! Kaeran ka!! Kaeranu to minagoroshi
 quickly go back-IMP return-not Q-marker return-not then all kill
 ni suru zo.
 do
 'Go back now! You won't? If you don't get back now, we'll kill you all!'

[5.17] Kiru zo.
 cut
 'I'll cut off your head!'

[5.18] Tomaranai to buttobasu zo.
 stop-not then be blown away
 'If you don't stop, I'll blow you away!'

[5.19] Koko de omae o koroshita tte ii n da zo.
 here at you ACC kill even O.K. EP
 'I'm quite prepared to kill you right here (if you don't do as I say).'

[5.20] Kimitachi ga nawabari toka nantoka itte iru to daijin
 you-plural NOM dispute or something saying then minister
 o hajime, nannin mo no jookyaku ga shinu koto ni
 ACC begin a number of people of passengers NOM die fact
 naru zo.

become

'If you continue talking and arguing (with me), the minister and a number of other passengers are going to die.'

[5.21] Oboete [i]ro Kamiyashiro, kono kari wa kitto kaesu zo.
 remember-IMP (name) this debt TOP surely return
 'Remember this, Kamiyashiro, you'll get pay-back for this debt (of beating me up).'

[5.22] Dame da to ittara dame. iu koto kikanai to hitori
 no good COP say-COND no good say thing listen-not then one
 zutsu tsukamaete tabechau zo.⁷

each catch eat up

'If I say no, I mean it. If you don't listen, I'll catch you all one by one and eat you up!'

2. Indirect threat

[5.23] Kanben shinai zo.
 forgive do-not

'I won't forgive you (for this)' [The addressee has ruined the speaker's picture. The speaker chases the addressee with clenched fists raised and gritted teeth, as if threatening to give him a beating.]

[5.24] Katte na mane wa sasenai zo.
 selfish play TOP do-CAUS

'You won't get away with this.' [Aliens have threatened to destroy life on earth. The speakers (from earth) threaten physically by running at the aliens with raised arms and clenched fists, and shouting in loud voices.]

3. Implied threat

[5.25] Kore kara wa boku no kobun ni natte iu koto kiku n da zo.
 this from TOP I of disciple become say thing listen EP
 'From now on, you'll be my disciple and listen to what I say!' [The speaker holds a hammer to addressee's head.]

⁷ The lengthening of the vowel commonly indicates particular stress or fervour on the part of the speaker with regard to the statement. A similar phenomenon can be observed in English as in a cry for help - 'Heeeelp', or in the face of something undesirable - 'Noooo!'

- [5.26] Genin wa nan da to kiite [i]ru n da zo.
 reason TOP what COP asking EP
 'I'm asking you what the reason is!' [The speaker shouts and points
 as if he will beat it out of the addressees if they do not answer his
 question (as to how the ruler has died).]

Most of the examples of *zo* with threats fall into the direct physical threat category, and involve serious physical damage (or death) for the addressee if the conditions are not met. The seriousness of the threat and consequences, is a common feature of all the examples. Even in the case of the 'empty' threat [5.22], the proposed action is the eating of the addressees. It thus seems reasonable to conclude that *zo* plays an important part in determining the nature of the threat. There also appears to be considerable force involved on the part of the speaker, in line with Uyeno (1971).

In all the examples there is a threatening, angry or determined look on the part of the speaker associated with the utterance, and thus the non-verbal signs also agree with this interpretation of the use of *zo*. Non-verbal or extra-linguistic signs often prove important in determining the difference in nuance between particles. It is worth comparing at this point the use of *ze* in giving threats. In fact there are only six instances in the data which could be construed as giving threats, four of which are associated with the *yakuza* or Japanese Mafia-like organisation (see 5.3.6 for detail). The other two examples are given below.

- [5.27] -Haru ni naru to hajimaru tte... koko no byooki ka
 spring become then begin as for here of sickness Q-marker
 -Naguru ze.
 punch
 -'Sickness that happens in spring - this kind of sickness? (points to
 head)
 -'I'll hit you!'
- [5.28] Sono terebi kashite kuretara yurushite yaru ze.
 that T.V. lend give-COND forgive give
 'If you loan me that T.V., then I'll forgive you.'

[5.27] may seem similar to the use of *zo* seen above in that it implies a direct physical threat to the addressee. In this case, however, the two participants are good friends, and it is obvious from the body language and context that this is a mock threat, never

intended to sound serious or elicit any action on the part of the addressee. [5.28] appears very similar to the implied threats using *zo*, although here the emphasis is placed on forgiving the addressee if he complies, rather than on the harm which will eventuate if he does not. The nature of this use of *ze* will be discussed in more detail in 5.3.6.

If we replace *zo* with *yo* in the utterances of direct physical threats to kill someone, the result is strange or takes on a different nuance. Consider the following examples which are reproductions of [5.16] and [5.20] with *zo* replaced by *yo*.

[5.16'] * Totto to kaere! Kaeran ka!! Kaeranu to minagoroshi ni suru yo.

[5.20'] * Kimitachi ga nawabari toka nantoka itte iru to daijin o hajime,
nannin mo no jookyaku ga shinu koto ni naru yo.

Yo sounds oddly out of place and too soft when compared to the nature or character of the threat and the language in the rest of the sentence.

If we look at this from the opposite perspective, instances in which *yo* may be used simply to announce one's intention, are liable to sound rather threatening if *zo* is used. For example,

[5.29] Iku yo / zo.
go
'Here I go.'

Where *yo* may announce to one's partner that one is about to serve in tennis, the use of *zo* may be used at the beginning of a sword fight. There is, of course, a certain amount of overlap between the two, and some people may use *zo* in the first instance as well, when among intimate friends. However a general tendency can be established in which the more serious the threat to the addressee, and the more angry or threatening a stance the speaker adopts, the more likely the speaker is to use *zo*. Similarly, the weaker the threat and more like advice the utterance is, the more likely the speaker is to use *yo* (or another form).

5.2.7 The use of *zo* with warnings and announcements

Uyeno (1971) identified warning, as well as threat, as one of the most common speech acts associated with the use of *zo*. Of the data collected for this study, 23 per cent (116 examples) involved some kind of warning to an addressee. This compares with about 17 per cent (37 examples) for *ze*. Thus, warnings form an important part of the role for both *zo* and *ze*. A closer look at the type of warning and non-verbal signs involved in the two cases, however, shows that they differ considerably in their usage.

The most notable feature of warnings which involve *zo*, as we saw with threats, is the serious nature of the consequences if the warning is not heeded. This commonly includes a danger to the life or physical well-being of the addressee, to their livelihood, or future way of life.

- [5.30] Uzume, dame da, Ninigi wa omae o korosu *zo*.
 (name) no good COP (name) TOP you ACC kill
 'It's no good, Uzume, Ninigi will kill you!'
- [5.31] -Oretachi minkanjin wa doo naru?
 we civilians TOP how become
 -Makeru tte koto wa minagoroshi tte koto da *zo*.
 lose as for thing TOP all kill thing COP
 - 'What will happen to us commoners?'
 - 'If we lose, we will all be killed.'
- [5.32] Sotchi e iku to wareme e ochikomu *zo*.
 that way to go then fissure to fall
 'If you go that way, you'll fall down a fissure!'
- [5.33] Yamero, Takamizawa, muri suru to ashi ga ugokanaku naru *zo*.
 stop-IMP (name) overdo then leg NOM move-not become
 'Stop it, Takamizawa. If you overdo it, your leg will seize up!'
- [5.34] Oi, kaze hiku *zo*.
 oy cold catch
 'Oy, you'll catch a cold!'
- [5.35] Kore de kimi wa shoku o ushinau kamo shirenai *zo*.
 this with you TOP job ACC lose possibility
 'You could lose your job over this!'

This danger to life can be extended to the life or well-being of an institution or place of work, which is typically seen as the basis for living in Japan (Nakane, 1970).

- [5.36] Jiyuuminseitoo no nairan ni naru zo, heta sutto
 (name of political party) of internal fight become mess do-then
 ‘If we’re not careful, there could be infighting within the party.’

Uyeno (1971) claims that if the danger in a warning is serious or immediate, the particle *zo* will be used rather than the particle *ze*. While the data for this study basically confirm this theory, it is not necessarily the case, as the following example using *ze* shows.

- [5.37] Namiki san, isoganai to yatsura ni shinamono osaerare-chimau ze.
 (name)(Mr.) hurry-not then them by goods seized-PASS
 ‘Mr. Namiki, if we don’t hurry, those guys will seize the stuff off us.’

The nature of this usage of the particle *ze* will be examined further in 5.3.7.

Examining the non-verbal signs can give further insight, and it was found that when the particle *zo* was used in giving a warning, the speaker invariably shows considerable involvement or feeling towards the addressee, as seen in signs of worry, anger, horror, or determination. The emphasis is placed on getting the seriousness of the danger across to the addressee. This can be contrasted with warnings in which the particle *ze* occurred. Here, over half were light-hearted warnings or challenges among friends, in which the speaker is frequently grinning or smiling to indicate this further. Even in cases in which the warning is serious, the speaker often seems to be somewhat detached or indifferent towards the addressee - as if it may be his duty to warn the addressee of a danger, but whether the addressee acts on this or not is no concern of his.

Zo may still be used in giving a light-hearted warning, although there is only one example in the data which can be construed in this way. When such warnings are used, however, they still tend to involve some serious-sounding consequences.

- [5.38] Omae no hara wa kisei kanwa no shisugi da zo.
 you of stomach TOP rules relaxation of overdo COP
 'Your stomach has relaxed the rules too much (so you eat far too much)!' [They have been discussing, over a meal, the relaxation of economic controls.]

As with threats, the idea of force is quite strong, and it appears stronger than with either *ze* or *yo*. With *zo*, the idea is to force the danger or worry onto the addressee so that he will realise that he has to act. With *ze*, as we saw from the sometimes detached nature of the speaker, this force is not always so obvious.

The difference between *yo* and *zo* in giving warnings appears to be one of degree, and as with threats, the more serious the speaker feels the danger to be, the more likely he is to use *zo*. Compare the following examples.

- [5.39] Iku zo...Chikoku suru zo.
 go late do
 'I'm going, we'll be late!'

- [5.40] Iku yo...Chikoku suru yo.

In [5.39], the nuance is that the speaker foresees very negative consequences if they are late; for example being made to stand outside the door during class. With [5.40], this fear of negative consequences is not nearly so strong, presenting a more objective sounding statement.

A comparison between *zo* and *no ka* (refer to section 4.3.4) in censuring an addressee may be of benefit at this stage. We saw that with *no ka*, the speaker clearly appeals to the common knowledge or common-sense of the addressee in censuring his or her behaviour. With the use of *zo* however, the censure is simply stated directly as fact, as attested by the speaker. Whether the addressee is aware of his or her wrong-doing or not, is not the speaker's concern in this case. The result also tends to be (or is intended to be) different. With *no ka* the speaker tries to shame or embarrass the addressee in order to force action, while with *zo* the focus is simply on stopping whatever action is going on that should not be.

In addition to warnings, *zo* also occurs frequently in certain types of announcement. These include instances such as lookouts announcing the arrival or sight of something of importance. This can be a warning, or can be the arrival or occurrence of something eagerly awaited.

[5.41] Uraji ga kaette kita zo.⁸
 (name) NOM return come
 'Uraji's come back!'

[5.42] Takamizawa ga kita zo.
 (name) NOM come
 'Here comes Takamizawa!'

[5.43] Ikite [i]ru zo, omae no booru.
 alive you of ball
 'Your ball's still alive!' [in golf]

Similarly an announcement of shock or surprise may occur with *zo*.

[5.44] Me ga aita zo.
 eyes NOM opened
 'He's opened his eyes!' [He had been unconscious]

[5.45] Aa, nandaka attakaku natte kita zo.
 ah somehow warmer become
 'Ah, it seems to have warmed up somewhat.' [unexpectedly as it is mid-winter]

5.2.8 Zo in requests

Uyeno (1971) states that *zo* cannot occur with statements of request, and while it is true that *zo* cannot follow such forms as *kudasai* ['please'] in the way that *yo* does, it can follow the verb *tanomu* [request, ask a favour] in the plain form. This verb is frequently used in asking favours of others, and as the particles *ze* and *yo* also occur

⁸ See Ch 5 note 7 (pg.56)

following it, it offers a further opportunity to examine the different contexts in which they are used.⁹

The use of *zo* following *tanomu* appears to be largely restricted to situations in which someone's life is at stake, or a life-time request to look after someone dear to the speaker. It may sometimes be used as in [5.49] below, where the outcome of a result which the speaker holds dear, depends entirely on the actions of the addressee.

[5.46] Hidari kara mitsu me no uchi ni washi no tsuma ga iru n da.
 left from third of house in I of wife NOM be EP
 Tsuma dake wa zettai korosu na yo... tanomu *zo*,
 wife only TOP definitely kill PROH SFP request
 kuregure mo tanomu *zo*.
 earnestly too request
 'My wife is in the third house from the left. Please don't kill my wife,
 I ask you please not to kill her (even if you kill all the others).'
 [Invading soldier to his commander, who has promised to kill all the
 villagers.]

[5.47] Shizu-chan no koto tanonda *zo*.
 (name) of thing requested
 'Please take care of Shizu for me!' [as I am inadequate]

[5.48] Son [sore] made omae ga daiji ni motte kure. Tanonda *zo*.
 that until you NOM important keep give-IMP requested
 'Take good care of it until that time. I'm relying on you!' [The
 speaker has given evidence of his innocence to his son before he is sent
 to jail.]

[5.49] Tanonda *zo*, Hirota.
 requested (name)
 'It's all up to you, Hirota!' [The last chance to win the baseball game
 is if Hirota has a safe hit.]

When *yo* follows *tanomu*, the request does not usually have the same 'importance' attached to it. This does not mean that the request is a joke, but that not everything is

⁹ In addition to the points noted here, the choice of particle is also dependent on the social relationship between the speaker and addressee; if the request can be expected to be obeyed anyway, *tanomu* alone may occur. Women may also use *tanomu wa*, or *tanomu wa yo*. Requests of this kind using *tanomu* are not usually appropriate to people of higher status.

dependent on the action. It is often used in work situations in which an underling may be assigned a particular task.

[5.50] *Sotchi mo tanomu yo.*
 that too request
 ‘Make that one for me too, please.’ [Boss to secretary requesting the appropriate appointment to be made.]

[5.51] *Tanomu yo.*
 request
 ‘Do this please...’ [Superior inspector to underling. The request is for the addressee to carry out an assigned investigation. The task is an ordinary one, not seen as vitally important for the investigation as a whole.]

[5.52] *Tanomu yo.*
 request
 ‘Take care of (her)’ [The speaker addresses a younger man who is about to marry the speaker’s daughter.]

[5.52] may seem similar to [5.47] above where *zo* is used, but here the addressee has already confirmed that he will look after her, so there is no need for the speaker to stress or insist on the importance of the request.

The instances of *ze* following *tanomu* occur in similar situations to *yo*, although the accent tends to be more on a request on behalf of a group to which the addressee already belongs, or on the particular character of the person. This aspect will be discussed further in 5.3.8.

5.2.9 The use of *zo* when addressing oneself

The particle *zo* may also be used when addressing oneself, or in simply expressing thoughts aloud. These expressions fall into four categories as identified below.

1. Self-determination
2. Fulfillment of hope, desire or expectation
3. Contrary to hope, desire or expectation

4. Self-reminder or caution

Determination may be expressed either to oneself or to a second person addressee (as encouragement). When these utterances are aimed at the self, the force normally aimed at an addressee is used to dispel any doubt which may be in one's own mind as to whether the goal is really achievable. The effect is to convince oneself (or at least try to) that one really can do it.

- [5.53] Aitsu o dooshite mo shitomete yaru zo.
 it ACC no matter what shoot give
 'I'm going to shoot it, no matter what it takes.'
- [5.54] Yooshi, yuushoo o mezashite kutabaru made hashiru zo.
 right top ACC aim for fall dead until run
 'Right, let's look to win...I'm going to run until I drop.'
- [5.55] Kore kara wa omoikiri yaritai koto yaru zo.
 this from TOP to one's heart's content do-want thing do
 'From now on, I'm going to do all the things I want to do.'

Fulfillment of a hope, desire or expectation here, is seen as intense excitement, and may be close to what Cook (1988) identified as 'intensity' and 'excitement' in her indexical analysis. The third category occurs largely with adjectives such as *okashii* [strange, odd], and indicates that things are not as they should be, and that the speaker is very suspicious of the addressee's actions, or of his own sense-perceptions.

- [5.56] Waai, kaette kita zo!
 wow return come
 'Hey, he's come back!!'
- [5.57] Deta zo, hinotori-me!
 come out fire-bird damn
 'There it is, that damn fire-bird!'
- [5.58] Okashii zo, zettai okashii.
 strange definitely strange
 'That's strange, there's definitely something strange going on!'
- [5.59] U..kore wa nanika aru, ura ni nanika aru zo.
 this TOP something is behind at something is
 'There's something going on here, there's something behind all this.'

The final category is simply the repetition aloud of a warning which has been given to one, or a danger which one has seen, and feels that a verbal reminder to keep alert is necessary.

[5.60] Ame ga futte kita zo.
rain NOM fall come
'It's started to rain!'

[5.61] Wakarimashita to wa itta mono no, kore wa taihen na koto da zo.
understand even say thing this TOP serious thing COP
'Whatever he says about understanding, this is a serious matter.'

It is worth noting that the particle *yo* does not appear to be used in addressing oneself in these ways. *Yo* can be used in talking to oneself in utterances such as commands (e.g. *Mate yo*, [wait a minute!]), where *zo* cannot occur. However, when *yo* is used to indicate self-determination, fulfillment of expectation, or warning as in the examples with *zo* above, the sentence appears to be addressed to a second person addressee rather than oneself. In cases of utterances addressed at a person who is not present, however¹⁰, *yo* may be used.

The fact that *yo* cannot be used in these cases in addressing oneself, may help to explain why this is the only case in which females are free to use the particle *zo*. Where *yo* is available, it may be considered more appropriate for a female to use, but in these cases there is little choice. In any case, the force is directed not at a second person but at the self, so is unlikely to offend others.

5.2.10 Intensity of feeling and emotion

We have seen above that when *zo* is used with threats and warnings, the speaker is invariably emotionally involved or attached to the outcome of the action. These feelings or emotions can also be expressed as statements with *zo*, in sentences which do not involve a warning. When *zo* is used in this way, it serves to indicate the intensity or immediacy of the emotion. The feeling is thus stressed to a degree not

¹⁰ See Ch.5, note 4 (pg.52)

usually associated with other particles. It should be remembered, however, that some Japanese speakers use *zo* much more frequently than others, and where one person may use *zo* to indicate a particular level of emotional attachment, another may use *yo* to indicate a similar level. We can generalise, however, that the higher the intensity of feeling or emotion, the more likely a male is to use the particle *zo*.

Cook (1988:139) states that *yo* is “a tool for defending a person’s basic desire not to be denied or ignored.” This statement would seem to be equally, if not more, applicable to the particle *zo*. If a speaker feels he or his ideas are being ignored, or his integrity is being questioned, he is likely to respond with denial or defensive statements. *Zo* here is used when a speaker feels the need to insist on the denial (either because he feels he won’t be believed otherwise, or possibly because he is in fact responsible, but doesn’t wish to appear so). It may give the addressee the idea that the speaker feels a sense of injustice in the charge made against him, as in the following examples.

- [5.62] Nisemono ja nai *zo*, nisemono ja...
 fake not fake
 ‘It’s not a fake, it’s not...’ [The speaker’s brother has claimed it is a fake.]
- [5.63] Ore [w]a shiran *zo*.
 I TOP know-not
 ‘I know nothing about it!’ [In fact he does, but doesn’t want to appear to.]
- [5.64] Oi, baka ni suru na *yo*. Kore demo kimi hitori gurai
 oy fool to do PROH SFP this even you one just
 kuwashite yareru *zo*.
 eat-CAUS give-can
 ‘Hey, don’t make a fool of me. Even (a poor person like me) can manage to pay for us to eat out.’ [The speaker’s fiancée has offered to go dutch, as he doesn’t have a lot of money...]

Fear and anger are the emotions most frequently associated with *zo*, and indeed in a large number of the examples collected for this study, the speaker showed signs of anger, frustration or worry. This is perhaps closely linked to the defense mechanism mentioned above. However, the intensity is not limited to these negative emotions, and may indicate high excitement, delight, triumph or enthusiasm.

5.2.11 Other uses of zo

There are a few other uses of *zo* which have not yet been identified, but which occurred within the sample data. The most obvious of these, identified also by Cook (1988), is in giving encouragement to an addressee. This is closely related to the use of *zo* in expressing self-determination, but here the force is aimed at helping the addressee to overcome some difficulty.

- [5.65] Ato hyaku meetoru da *zo*. Faito.
 after 100 metres COP fight
 'Only 100 m to go, come on, fight!' [In a relay race]

Zo also occurred in a limited number of examples involving goading or teasing addressee into an action he or she would not otherwise do. This is an extension of the use involving encouragement as seen above.

- [5.66] Hehehe, moo kaesanai *zo*.
 (laugh) again return-not
 'Hahaha, you're not getting them back again!' [roller skates which the speaker has just borrowed]

5.2.12 Response to the use of zo

Tsuchihashi (1983) suggests in her analysis that the more definite and forceful a statement is, the less likely it is to be challenged by the addressee. Since it has frequently been claimed that *zo* is one of the most forceful and insistent of the SF particles in Japanese, it can be hypothesised that the instances of challenge to the speaker's assertion will be few or non-existent.

The responses gathered from the data have been divided into four main categories, and then sub-divided into several more specific ones in order to determine whether such a hypothesis is valid. The first category consists of instances in which no response was detected - either the sentence was addressed to oneself, the speaker

continued on talking giving no opportunity for response, or the addressee showed no sign of responding in a particular way. Close to 60 percent of all occurrences of *zo* fell into this category, reflecting the ‘announcement’ or self-addressed nature of *zo* quite clearly.

The results of the next two categories, positive or negative response, are of significant interest. Positive responses include obeying or acting on a warning or instruction (reluctantly or not), agreeing with the speaker’s assertion, or expressing delight or similar emotions. This category accounted for 17.9 per cent (91) of the total occurrence. The negative response category, including defiance, disagreement, violence, anger, disbelief or deliberately ignoring a warning or instruction, accounted for 21.5 per cent (109) of the total. Other responses (including further questioning etc.) accounted for only 1.8 per cent (9) of the total database.

These data show that a definite negative challenge to the speaker’s assertions occur as regularly as a definite positive response. A closer look at the negative responses shows that defiance (3.8%), disagreement (5.7%) and deliberately ignoring (7.1%) all occur in significant numbers. This suggests that contrary to the expectation based on the idea that more definite statements will not be challenged, such challenges (both verbal and non-verbal) are possible and do occur regularly.

This can perhaps best be explained by the fact that, as we saw with threats and warnings involving *zo*, the particle expresses a very forthright, almost confrontational approach. While this definitely shows insistence or assertiveness on the part of the speaker, it leaves open the opportunity for the addressee to respond to this ‘confrontation’ by defying, arguing or simply ignoring the speaker. Thus, while it is the speaker’s intention to force the importance or correctness of his statement onto the addressee, the approach adopted gives the addressees, if they are strong enough, the possibility of confronting the statement (or speaker) head on.

5.2.13 Zo and yo - compared

It may be helpful at this stage to recap briefly on the areas in which either *zo* or *yo* can be used, but not both, before we sum up the differences in areas in which both can occur. As Uyeno (1971) points out, *zo* cannot occur following requests (except as noted above), commands, or first-person plural commands, while *yo* can. On the other hand, as we saw above, *yo* is not used in addressing the first person when indicating self-determination etc., where *zo* can be used. It should also be pointed out here that *yo* may occur in rhetorical questions, either following *ka* or alone, while *zo* cannot occur with any type of question.

In cases in which either *zo* or *yo* may occur, the difference appears to be largely one of degree. The more serious, dangerous, immediate or intense the threat or feeling is, the more likely a male speaker is to use *zo*. Instances of threat or danger to life or life-style are regularly expressed with *zo*, as are intense feelings of anger or frustration. The choice between *zo* and *yo* depends to great extent on the individual speaker's preference, and his relationship to the addressee - the more intimate the relationship, the more the speaker is likely to be uninhibited and to express his feelings in such a manner. This may also explain why *zo* is not found to nearly the same extent as *yo* in normal everyday conversation.

5.3 The particle ze

5.3.1 Introduction

The first notable point in relation to *ze* in this study, is that considerably fewer examples were found than for *zo* above (227 compared to 507). The data were taken from the same basic source material, and this would suggest that *ze* is used considerably less frequently than *zo*. The spread of the particle was somewhat uneven, but the sample covers a range of contexts and situations, and should provide a sound basis for analysing the role of *ze* in modern Japanese.

5.3.2 Review of previous studies

The only study available in English that deals with *ze* in any detail is that of Uyeno (1971). Her findings are summarised briefly here.

Uyeno found that *ze* was used only by males and only to a second person addressee (i.e. not to oneself). While this is largely confirmed by the findings of this study, it will be shown that there are a number of examples of *ze* being used in talking to oneself or thinking aloud, in a way similar to *zo*. Uyeno also found that, in contrast to *zo*, *ze* could be used following the polite form of the verb. As we saw in 5.2.5, *zo* does in fact occur following the polite form. In this study, there were only two examples of *ze* following the polite form of verbs, suggesting that this usage is quite rare or restricted to a specific group of speakers.

In using *ze*, Uyeno felt that the addressee and speaker normally maintain a “buddy” relationship, or the so-called “boss-henchman” relationship, and in certain cases a speaker may use the particle to indicate the wish to be accepted into one of these relationships. These relationships are investigated more closely in the analysis of the data for this study below.

In terms of sentence type, *ze* may occur in declaratives and first-person plural imperatives (the latter is not possible for *zo*). It may also occur with *daroo* [suppose]. In conclusion, Uyeno found that *ze* implies a speaker’s insistence in uttering a statement, but that the insistence is not as strong as *zo*, rather similar to *yo*.

Alfonso (1966) and Martin (1975) both note that *ze* may be used to indicate a sense of disdain, which is not a function of *zo*, but as mentioned earlier, they maintain that *zo* and *ze* may be used interchangeably in most cases.

Information about the nature of *ze* appears to be similarly hard to locate in Japanese works. Sakuma (1983) comments briefly on the origin of the particle¹¹, but not on the nature of its present usage. Tanaka (1977) also comments briefly on the coarse nature of sentences in which *ze* is used, but does not go into further detail. Matsushita (1930) says that *ze* adds the expression of announcement or notification [*kyooji*] to the instructing or warning sense conveyed by *zo*. Most other studies have chosen to leave *ze* out all together.

5.3.3 Status and the use of *ze*

As with *zo*, the data from this study were categorised according to the nature of the status relationship, and the findings are summarised in the following graph.

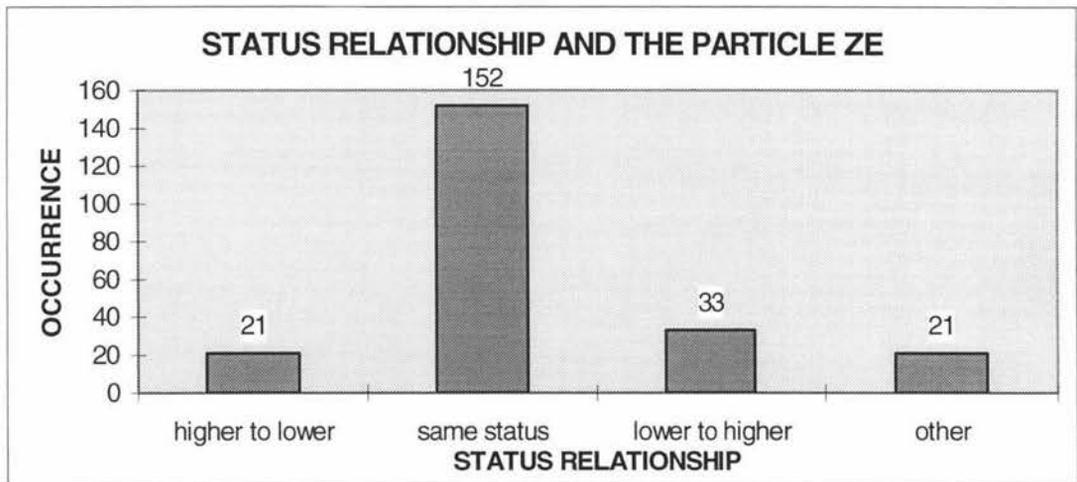


Fig 5.4 Status relationships in the use of *ze*. This graph clearly shows that in contrast to *zo*, *ze* is normally used between a speaker and addressee of the same status.

These results can be compared with those for *zo* given in figure 5.3. We can see that while *zo* is used primarily by those of higher status to those of lower status, *ze* is used almost overwhelmingly by those of the same status.

¹¹He finds it is derived from *zo ya* or *zo yo* through *zo e* or *zo i*. It was widely used in the works of the Edo period, for example *Ukiyo buro* where it was more coarse, but also more intimate than *zo*. Komatsu (1988) also notes that in the Edo period women used *ze*, but that examples of male usage were far more common, and there were no examples of higher class women using it.

Despite Uyeno's (1971) assertion that unlike *zo*, *ze* can be used by people of lower status to those of higher, the data for this study suggest that this is rare. A closer examination of examples in the lower to higher status category, reveals that over half (18) are examples of younger brother to older brother/sister relationships (which, as we saw with *zo*, do not appear to be as restrictive as other status relationships in use of SF particles). Of the others, three are of a school pupil addressing his teacher, and the use of *ze* here appears to be a deliberate attempt at disrespect (see 5.3.9 for further discussion of this point). There is only one example of the "henchman-boss" usage which Uyeno identified.

The number of examples of higher to lower status use is also small, and of a specific nature. Seven are of men to their fiancée (or ex-fiancée). With the modern trend towards equality of the sexes, these can perhaps be treated as of similar status as well. The other examples are of *sempai-koohai*¹² relations, at school or work. These relations are of great importance in Japanese society, and as Doi (1973) suggests, *sempai* frequently treat their *koohai* in a manner of indulgence. It also suggests that *ze* may be related to feelings of attachment and belonging, which are common to both these relations and friendships among peers. This will be explored further with reference to examples in 5.3.8 below.

¹² *Sempai* are one's 'seniors' in the general sense of the word - those in the years above one at school, or who entered an institution or place of work before one, etc. *Koohai* is the 'junior' equivalent.

5.3.4 Age, gender and *ze*

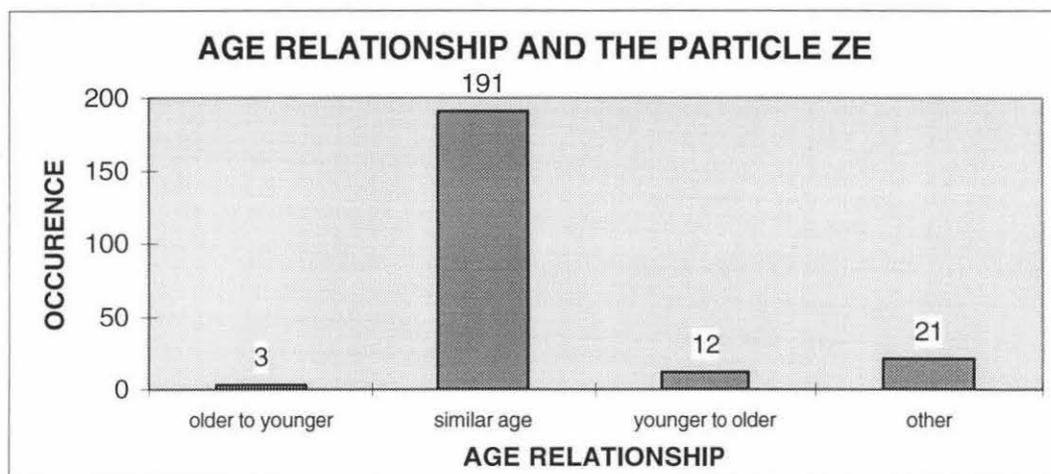


Fig 5.5 Age relationships with the use of *ze*. This clearly shows the horizontal nature of the relationships in the use of *ze*. Both speaker and addressee will be of a similar age.

This graph shows even more clearly the horizontal nature of the relation between speaker and addressee when *ze* is used. Those in the lower to higher age category came from only two speakers, one, as we saw above, a school pupil to his teacher. The other is a comic character based in a legendary period of Japanese history, and it is possible this reflects a more traditional use of the particle. A similar use of *ze* by children in addressing their master can be seen in historical novels such as *Miyamoto Musashi*, set in the middle ages, particularly among the rougher characters.¹³

As with other sentence-final particles in Japanese, there does not appear to be any restriction on males using *ze* to females, although examples of males using *ze* amongst themselves were much more common. Contrary to Uyeno's (1971) claim that females cannot use *ze*, there were four examples of female use of *ze* in the data. However, these can probably be considered anomalous, and used only to create humour.¹⁴

¹³ e.g. [after being holed up for a number of days due to heavy rain and flooding, the boy finally announces to his master:

Sensei, moo ikeru *ze*.
 teacher already go-can
 'We can go out now!'

¹⁴ In some dialects, *ze* (or a dialectal equivalent) may be used by females, however.

5.3.5 Individual character and the use of *ze*

One of the characteristics of *ze* is its selective use by some characters. Certain characters tend to use *ze* regularly, and often more frequently than *zo*, while others will hardly ever use it. Coarseness or roughness of character alone does not appear sufficient to explain this, given that many of the characters who freely use *zo* hardly use *ze* at all. If we accept Alfonso's (1966) claim that *ze* is not as rough as *zo*, this would seem surprising.¹⁵

Particularly notable is the frequent use of *ze* among gang members and *yakuza*.¹⁶ These characters are normally associated with very rough speech, and this would suggest that *ze* may in fact be coarser than *zo* in some situations. Even amongst these characters, however, the use of *ze* will be restricted to intimate conversations among friends and colleagues. Furthermore, a character who begins a conversation using *ze* will normally only resort to *zo* in crisis situations. *Ze* is also a common indicator of a *furyoo* or 'bad character' at school, that is, one who tends to disregard rules and shows little respect for his elders. Among workers, examples in these data at least also suggest usage is far more common among labourers than white-collar workers.

Not all instances fit neatly into these categories, however, and there seems to be considerable variation among speakers as to appropriate situations to use the particle. There also appears to be some correlation between the intention of the speaker in using *ze*, and the roughness with which it is associated. This is looked at in more detail with reference to specific examples below.

¹⁵Note however that according to Komatsu (1988) in Edo Japanese *ze* was coarser than *zo*.

¹⁶ Japanese Mafia type organisation

5.3.6 Threats

We looked briefly at two examples of *ze* occurring in threats earlier, and found that they were associated with lighter or mock threats, rather than real threats involving bodily harm. Apart from these, there were four other examples which involved threats, all from the same source, and linked with yakuza-type characters,

- [5.67] Hikkonde na. Samonai to kega suru koto ni naru *ze*.
 withdraw-IMP if not then injure thing become
 'Leave her alone. If you don't, you might end up getting hurt.'
- [5.68] Anta, uchi no kumiin o itametsukete kureta soo da na.
 you us of member ACC hurt gave seems COP SFP
 Sono uchi, tappuri rei o sasete morau *ze*.
 that inside fully reward ACC do-CAUS receive
 'I hear you hurt one of our members. You will receive your full
 reward before long.'
- [5.69] Hakkiri kotaenai to kibori no zoo wa watasanai *ze*.
 clearly answer-not then wooden-carved elephant TOP give-not
 'If you don't give me a clear answer, I won't give you the elephant
 carving.' [which contains drugs the addressee is relying on to avoid
 financial ruin.]
- [5.70] Butsu o watasanai to inochi o morau *ze*.
 drug ACC give-not then life ACC receive
 'If you don't give me the drugs, I'll have to take your life.'

We saw that threats in which *zo* occurred invariably involved immediate physical threat to the addressee. These examples show that *ze* can also be used to convey a similar threat. [5.67] and [5.70] in particular involve an immediate threat to the addressee's well-being. [5.68] is not immediate, although certainly appears to include a serious threat. While [5.69] is not a physical threat, the contents of the carving contain the financial security of the addressee, so this is also a weighty threat. Thus, there does not appear to be a large degree of difference in the seriousness of these threats, compared to those involving *zo*.

There is, however, a clear difference in the manner in which these threats are presented, when compared to those with *zo*. In these utterances, the speaker

invariably presents (or at least tries to) a calm, self-assured face, rather than an angry, threatening one. Here, the speaker does not try to force the seriousness of the threat onto the addressee by physical action, but rather allows the force of the idea, and his own self-assured nature, to convince the addressee that the outcome is inevitable.

Uyeno (1971) has suggested that the nature of the particle *ze* is ‘friendliness’ or ‘closeness’. While at first glance these threats may sound more friendly than those using *zo*, this is more the result of the self-assurance and calm attitude which the speaker has adopted, rather than any show of friendliness towards the addressee. In fact, threats such as these can often be more dangerous than physical bluffing, because the speaker has no need to give an outward show of force.

Ze has been associated here, then, with two different kinds of threat, those which are mock threats among friends, in which both participants are aware of the light-hearted nature of the threat, and those which involve the speaker threatening verbally, while maintaining a self-assured, calm, or detached stance. This difference in strategy and effect between *zo* and *ze* contrasts with the difference between *zo* and *yo*, which is largely one of degree (of seriousness).

5.3.7 Warning and challenge

Warnings form an important part of the role of *ze*, as they did with *zo*. As with threats, however, the nature of the warning or strategy, and feelings of the speaker differ markedly from those with *zo*.

In terms of the nature of the warning, in contrast to *zo*, most did not involve immediate danger to the addressees or their property. The only exception to this in the data was given in 5.2.7, and is repeated here for convenience.

[5.37] Namiki-san, isoganee to yatsura ni shinamono osaerare chimau *ze*.
 (name) (Mr.) hurry-not then them by goods seized-PASS
 ‘Mr. Namiki, if we don’t hurry, those guys will seize the stuff off us.’

Here both parties take off at great speed, so the immediacy of the threat must have been apparent to the addressee as well. It is possible that this is a situation in which the underling does not feel comfortable in addressing the boss using *zo*, although the fact that the immediate threat appears to be to their property, rather than body, may also play a role in the choice of particle.

There are also a number of examples which involve a real threat to the addressee(s) in the less immediate future. The difference here, as with threats, appears to be in how the speaker presents the warning, and his attitude towards the addressee. In these cases, the warning is presented in a way which makes it sound as if the speaker is unconcerned, or indifferent, as to whether the addressee takes heed of the warning or not. There may also be a hint of disdain or contempt for the addressee (see 5.3.9 for further detail on this).

- [5.71] Kari wa chuushi shita hoo ga ii *ze*.
 hunt TOP cancel had better
 ‘You’d be better to call the hunt off.’ [The speaker is advising of the danger of leaving troops on a volcano in danger of imminent eruption. However they are not the speaker’s troops, and he is not responsible for their safety, so whether the addressee takes note or not does not concern him greatly.]
- [5.72] Ano kumo o miro, ki ni naru kumo da *ze*.
 that cloud ACC look-IMP concerning cloud COP
 ‘Look at that cloud, it looks rather threatening.’ [The battle strategy calls for the use of fire to frighten horses. The speaker is not directly concerned with the fight.]
- [5.73] Sukoshi ochitsuite kudasai yo... hito ga mite [i]masu *ze*.
 a little relax please SFP people NOM looking-POL
 ‘Calm down a little please, people are watching you.’ [The addressee is threatening to punch the speaker.]

The non-verbal signs associated with *ze* also help to identify differences in nuance. Anger, frustration, and worry were the most common feature with warnings expressed using *zo*. With *ze* this is reversed, smiles and grins becoming commonplace. There are still instances in which the speaker is frowning or looking worried or confused when using *ze*, but these are the exception rather than the rule.

Whether the character has a pleasant smile or disdainful grin can also be of help in determining the nature of the warning - there are a number of “friendly” warnings among friends which use *ze* in a similar manner to the mock threat seen above.

One of the most common types of warning among friends or associates is one in which a speaker challenges an addressee. This involves warning the addressee of a negative consequence, and challenging him to accept the negative consequence, and do what he has said he will anyway. This use is particularly common amongst schoolmates, and can generally be considered to be an example of the “friendly” nature of the particle. Here the speaker is usually hoping the addressee will be strong enough to ignore the warning, but it may also be used as a way of testing the addressee’s resolve.

[5.74] Booru nanka ketcha idai wa dame da *ze*.
 ball something kick med. school TOP no good COP
 ‘If you start playing soccer, you’ll never get into medical school.’

[5.75] Tekagen wa shinai *ze*.
 go easy TOP do-not
 ‘I won’t go easy on you.’ [friendly competition, but..]

[5.76] Sakkaa bu o tsukuroo... seiseki ochiru *ze*.
 soccer club ACC make-let’s grades fall
 ‘Let’s form a (school) soccer club....but your grades will drop.’

Challenges, of course, need not take the form of warnings, and *ze* may be used in issuing a genuine challenge, as the following example shows.

[5.77] Ippon me iku *ze*.
 one (first) go
 ‘Here comes the first one!’ [ready to shoot the ball, addressee is in goal]

Warnings in which the speaker as well as the addressee is threatened, also tend to be expressed using *ze* rather than *zo*, particularly when the speaker wants the addressee to agree with him that a particular result is undesirable.

- [5.78] Honki ka, aitsu...konkuuru wa hitotsuki go da *ze*.
 really Q-marker him contest TOP one month later COP
 'Is he serious? The contest is only one month away.' [A member had threatened to leave the band.]
- [5.79] Dakedo sutechimattara moo Bitto ni aenaku naru
 but throw away-COND already (name) meet-cannot become
 n da *ze*.
 EP
 'But if you throw it away, we won't be able to meet Bitto any more.'
 [Bitto is a girl whose 'physical form' is contained on a floppy disk, which the addressee has threatened to throw away.]

5.3.8 Solidarity and belonging

It has been noted (e.g. Uyeno, 1971) that *ze* can follow the first-person plural imperative, while *zo* cannot.

- [5.80] Minna, hitori nokorazu, buki o totte soitsura to
 all one leave-not weapon ACC take them with
 tatakaoo *ze*.
 fight-lets
 'Each and every one of you, get a weapon, and let's fight them!'
- [5.81] Oo, Sakurano, gambaroo *ze*.
 hey (name) do best-let's
 'Hey, Sakurano, let's do our best (to pass the examination).'
- [5.82] Tsukamaeyoo *ze*.
 catch-let's
 'Let's get him!'
- [5.83] Yooshi, 1A no sokojikara, gakkoo no yatsura ni misetsukete
 right (class) of hidden strength school of people to show
 bikkuri sasete yaroo *ze*.
 surprise-CAUS give-let's
 'Right, let's show the people at school the hidden strength of our class, and give them all a surprise.'

Here, the sense of belonging to a group, or solidarity (in the sense of oneness of interests or aims) among members, is used by speakers to gain support for their suggestion. The sense of belonging to a group has long been identified as an important feature of Japanese society (e.g. Benedict, 1946; Nakane, 1970), and here this is used to encourage other members to play their part in the team effort.

Similarly, this may be used to appeal to the common interest of speaker and addressee in order to get the addressee to change his opinion or go along with an idea.

- [5.84] Choi[to] hara hetta, nanka ire ni ikoo ze.
 a little stomach empty something put in go-let's
 'I'm a bit hungry, let's go get something to eat.'
- [5.85] Naa aniki, kangaenaosoo ze.
 hey older brother (ADD) re-think-let's
 'Hey, let's think this through again.'

The sense of solidarity, or belonging to a group, may also be appealed to in sentences involving *ze* which do not use the first-person plural imperative.

- [5.86] Mura de ikinokotta no wa neesan to boku dake
 village at remain alive N TOP older sister (ADD) and I only
 na n da ze.
 ATTR EP
 'You and I are the only ones from the village still alive.'
- [5.87] Kore wa dare ni mo naisho na n da ze.
 this TOP everyone secret ATTR EP
 'Don't tell anyone else about this!' [Members of the family run into each other at a restaurant when they are supposed to be on a diet.]
- [5.88] Itsu made mo konna akajaketa fuukei no tokoro ni
 forever this kind of red-brown scenery of place in
 shibararetecha atama ga hen ni natchimau ze.
 be restricted to head NOM strange become
 'If we're stuck in this place with this reddish-brown scenery forever, we'll end up mad.' [Japanese working in America]

The nature of *ze* seen above is evident in a variety of other situations as well. The sense of sharing an experience is particularly strong when the speaker and addressee are accomplices in a crime, or in trouble together.

- [5.89] Jaian no ki ga kawaranai uchi ni kaeroo ze.
 (name) of mood NOM change-not before go home-let's
 'Let's get out of here before Jaian changes his mind.'
- [5.90] A, iki ga tomatte [i]ru ze.
 aa breath NOM stopped
 'Oh no, he's stopped breathing! (I only gave him a light punch, but...)'

This attitude also helps to explain the use of *ze* following *tanomu* in requests. In this case, the emphasis is on requesting on behalf of a group to which both speaker and addressee belong, or appealing to their common attitudes or feelings, in order to get acquiescence to the request. These requests can sometimes sound more like encouragement than true requests.

- [5.91] *Tanomu ze, Takamizawa.*
 request (name)
 'It's all yours, Takamizawa.' [hands over relay batten to addressee]
- [5.92] *Ore wa hoka no yatsura mite ku[ru] kara chibi wa tanonda ze.*
 I TOP other of guys look come so shorty TOP requested
 'I'll go and check on the others, so you keep an eye on shorty.'

The feeling of solidarity is also closely related to the sense of challenge identified above. If the addressee did not feel the need to belong, or respond to prove belonging, the challenge would not work and the effect would be lost. Similar effects can be seen with teasing amongst group members, or in members joking amongst themselves about someone who does not belong to their particular group. Teasing amongst male classmates at school will frequently involve the use of *ze*, as seen below.

- [5.93] *Oo, Koseki mo genki datta ka, omae futotta ze.*
 oh (name) too healthy COP Q-marker you got fat
 'Hey, Koseki, you're O.K too, huh. You've put on weight!' [after not seeing each other for a while.]

Uyeno (1971) saw the main role of *ze* as offering friendly advice, and while this usage does not appear to be as frequent as Uyeno suggested, it can also be seen as an extension of this sense of solidarity. In addition to advice, this may include gentle chiding, reproach or instruction.

- [5.94] Ashita wa jugyoo sankan da. Hayame ni kaette neta
 tomorrow TOP lesson visit COP early return sleep
 hoo ga ii *ze*.
 had better
 'Tomorrow is class inspection day. You'd better go home early and
 get some sleep.' [male teacher to female colleague]

5.3.9 Disdain and contempt

Both Alfonso (1966) and Martin (1975) indicate that *ze* can be used to show disdain. Neither, however, explores this usage further or offers any explanation for it. On first inspection, disdain or contempt would appear to be totally unrelated to the previous use of *ze*, in giving friendly advice or forming or appealing to solidarity, but closer examination reveals an important link between the two.

A number of social anthropologists and psychologists (e.g. Benedict, 1946; Doi, 1973) have emphasised the importance of the concepts of *uchi* and *soto* in Japanese relationships. The concept of *uchi* or 'inside' is closely related to group belonging and solidarity, and may include classmates or a group of friends, the company one works for, as well as family. In fact the sense of belonging among classmates and workmates of the same age is particularly strong, and often lasts a lifetime (Benedict, 1946).

The use of *ze* which we have looked at until now, with the exception of a few examples of threat and warning, consists of usage within members of one group or another. *Ze* is not restricted to use only among these people, however, and it is generally when it is used to those who do not belong to one's group (or to one towards whom no sense of solidarity is felt) that the note of disdain or contempt arises. This occurs precisely because an attitude of solidarity or friendliness is adopted in a situation in which it is not appropriate, thus sounding patronising or condescending in nature.

The most striking instance of this contempt occurs when a person of much lower rank uses it to someone of higher rank. As noted in 5.3.3, there are three examples of a pupil using this form to his (female) teacher.

- [5.95] -Ja jjitsu na no ne
 -well truth ATTR N SFP-tag Q
 -Aa, soo da yo, omoshirokatta ze, aitsu massao ni natte sa.
 -yeah that COP SFP interesting-was him pale become
 'So it's the truth then?'
 'Yeah, that's right. It was really fun, ya know, he went pale as anything...'
- [5.96] Koko dake no hanashi sa. Atode kikasareta tte hitei suru ze.
 here only of speech SFP later asked-PASS even deny
 'This is only for in here. If they ask me later, I'll just deny it.'
- [5.97] Ja, moo yoo ga nakya iku ze.
 well already business NOM not-COND go
 'Well, if you've finished, I'll be off.'

Here, the author may be deliberately creating this feeling of contempt, in order to highlight the change in character of the boy, who until this point has appeared to be a model pupil.

This attitude of disdain is not restricted to lower to higher status relationships, however, and may occur amongst members of a group, to ostracise somebody who does not conform to expectations. In the following example, a boy is being ostracised because his classmates believe he is responsible for injury to one of their fellow members.

- [5.98] Minna moo shitte [i]ru ze.
 everyone already knows
 'Everyone knows (what you've done, that you're responsible).'
- [5.99] Kyoo mo kesseki da ze.
 today too absent COP
 'He's away again today (which proves his guilt).'

It may also be used in getting back at someone who has done something to hurt the speaker, or in other forms such as warnings. The non-verbal signs are invariably a derisive grin or smirk on the face of the speaker.

It is worth comparing briefly what happens when SF particles are used in contexts opposite to their normal usage. Here, we have seen that *ze* tends to express disdain or contempt when used in situations in which solidarity or comradeship are inappropriate. Similarly, *zo* becomes an expression of defiance when used to those of higher status, contrary to its usual usage of establishing authority over those of equal or lower status. Closely related to this is the use of the particle *ne* in circumstances in which it creates distance or negative rapport, as opposed to seeking agreement or positive rapport with which it is normally associated.¹⁷

5.3.10 Self-assurance and confidence

When we examined the use of *ze* in threats, we discovered that it was associated with a particular stance adopted by the speaker - namely, a calm, self-assured or detached (at least outwardly) manner. This feature of the particle is not restricted to instances of threats, however, and appears frequently when the speaker is announcing his (or his group's) plans or intentions to a second person.

[5.100] -Ippun gurai nara tomerareru kedo...
 one minute about if stop-can but...
 -Ore wa ippun han wa jishin aru *ze*.
 I TOP one minute half TOP confidence have
 'I can stop (breathing) for about one minute, but...'
 'I reckon I can do it for a minute and a half.'

¹⁷ e.g. (from Maynard 1993:206)

X: Doo, isshoni ikanai?
 How together go-NEG
 'How about going together?'

Y: Iya, ore wa ikanai *ne*
 no I TOP go-NEG
 'No, I'm not going.'

or

A: Ima nanji?
 now what time is it?
 'What time is it now?'

B: Goji da *ne*.
 5 o'clock
 'It's 5 o'clock'

The use of *ne* in these sentences gives "disengaged feelings" to the interaction (Maynard 1993:207).

- [5.101] *Ii ze, konnan nante koto nee yo. Dekiru ze.*
 O.K. this kind nothing SFP can do
 'It's all right, this is nothing, I can do it.'
- [5.102] *Yooshi, kore nara aniki wa ichikoro da ze.*
 right this if older brother TOP walkover COP
 'Right, with this my brother won't have a chance.'

Here once again, we can contrast this with instances in which *zo* is used in announcing intent. *Zo* is frequently associated with self-determination or defiance, in which the speaker has to adopt a strong defiant attitude as much to convince himself as to convince the second person. With *ze*, on the other hand, the speaker does not need to convince himself, and as has been pointed out (Uyeno, 1971), *ze* cannot normally be used in addressing the first person (note however 5.3.11 below).

This sense of self-assurance and confidence in one's own ability, may also take the form of pride or boasting of one's own achievement, or in defending the ability of another (close to the speaker) when this has been questioned.

- [5.103] *Konna no utte [i]nai ze.*
 this kind of one selling-not
 'They don't sell this kind (of T.V. in the shops).'
- [5.104] *Niisan no yumi wa kaiwaikite no udemae na n da.*
 older brother of bow TOP region of skillful ATTR EP
Kuma datte ichiya na n da ze.
 bear as for one arrow ATTR EP
 'My brother is the best shot in the region with the bow. He can shoot a bear with just one arrow.'

5.3.11 *Ze* and the first person addressee

Uyeno (1971) clearly states that *ze* cannot be used in addressing oneself, in contrast to *zo* which can. While this statement is largely confirmed by this study, there are a small number of examples in which *ze* does appear to be used in talking to oneself, and these will be examined below.

Firstly, *ze* can be used in talking to oneself if the statement is addressed at a second person. This kind of musing occurs when the second person being addressed is clearly not present or unable to hear the speaker. The speaker's intention here seems similar to one of self-determination using the particle *zo*, but there is perhaps less stress on convincing oneself that the action is possible, and more simply confirming verbally one's own resolve or thoughts.

- [5.105] Taira me... kuchisaki dake no bake no kawa, hagashite yaru *ze*.
 (name) (curse) mouth only of fake appearance remove give
 'Damn Taira, I'll wipe that fake show off his face.'
- [5.106] Kyoo wa koko made tsukete kita n da. Ootoboke wa
 today TOP here until follow come EP feign innocence TOP
 nashi ni shiyoo *ze*.
 not do-let's
 'I've followed you this far today, let's have none of your feigned
 innocence.'

It can be argued that the above examples are not true examples of a first person addressee, at least not syntactically. There are, however, a small number of examples in which the speaker appears to be addressing himself, or even no-one at all.

- [5.107] Zettai dooka shite [i]ru *ze*, koitsu.
 definitely something doing this guy
 'There's definitely something wrong with this guy.'
- [5.108] Shinjirarenai mon misetsukerareta *ze*.
 unbelievable thing shown-PASS
 'I've seen something unbelievable here.'
- [5.109] Chittomo wakaran, chimpun kampun da *ze*.
 at all understand-not gibberish COP
 'I don't understand a word of it, it's all just gibberish.'

These examples are clearly addressed to the speaker himself, or to no-one, as there is no relevant addressee within hearing distance.¹⁸ The examples all occurred among young people in comics, so it is possible that this is a more recent extension of the traditional usage of *ze*. This may also be related to the individual preference for one

¹⁸ They may, however, still be addressed at a second person addressee in the speaker's mind (i.e. psychologically). It is also possible they are intended to be addressed at the reader of the comic.

particle over another, as those characters who use *ze* in addressing others were the ones who used it in talking to themselves, while those who tended to use *zo* more frequently in addressing others, did not then use *ze* in addressing themselves. It is interesting to note the example of a girl using *ze* here, in a way reminiscent of that in which females use *zo* when addressing themselves.

[5.110] Shikashi gookaku shite mo mainichi kore ja tamannai *ze*.
 but pass (exam) even everyday this then unbearable
 ‘But even if I pass the exam, putting up with this everyday would be unbearable.’ [packed into a crowded commuter train]

5.3.12 Other uses of *ze*

We noted briefly in 5.2.7 that *zo* could be used to express one’s feelings of shock or surprise. *Ze* may also indicate surprise, although not usually a shocking discovery. It is frequently used to indicate some mild surprise, particularly amongst friends and classmates.

5.3.13 Response to the use of *ze*

When the difference between *zo* and *ze* was examined in various functions, it was found that *ze* presented a more circumspect, or indirect, approach in eliciting agreement than *zo*. At the same time, the speaker often still had a degree of insistence in his voice. We could expect these findings to be reflected in the response of the addressees as well. We could predict that there would be less outright defiance or anger, and less reluctant approval. We might also expect to see a higher percentage of agreeable responses, although this is not necessarily the case, as a more circumspect approach is not necessarily more successful.

In fact, overall percentages did not differ greatly from those of *zo*. 52.9 per cent saw no detectable response (*zo* 58.8%), 22.5 per cent positive response (*zo* 17.9%), and 19 per cent negative response (*zo* 21.5%). There is only a slightly more positive response for the particle *ze* than for *zo*. If we break these categories down further,

however, we can see evidence for the different strategies mentioned earlier. There were no examples of reluctant agreement with *ze*, and almost twice as many (14.5% as opposed to 8.3%) examples of positive agreement than for *zo*. Similarly with the negative responses, defiance, disagreement, and ignoring accounted for 3.8%, 5.7% and 7.1% respectively for *zo*, but only 1.7%, 2.6% and 4.5% for *ze*. In fact the only area in which *ze* occurred more in the negative category was in expressions of disbelief (*ze* 8.8%, *zo* 2.4%). This expression of disbelief may be viewed in many cases less as a challenge to the speaker's statement, and more simply as surprise at the totally unexpected nature of the utterance.

The nature of the response on the part of the addressee provides further evidence for a difference in strategy in the use of the two particles. The more confrontational nature of *zo* leads to more confrontational responses on the part of the addressee. This is not to say that one strategy is more effective than another. When a speaker chooses to use *zo*, it may be because they feel that a confrontational or forthright approach is the only means of getting a response from the addressee. When a speaker chooses *ze*, on the other hand, they may feel that direct confrontation in order to get a response is unnecessary, or even rude. This would be particularly true in use amongst peers. This can also explain why, in times of immediate danger, a more direct approach is necessary. The difference in strategy also reflects the expectation on the part of the speaker as to the type of response the addressee will give.

5.3.14 *Ze, zo* and *yo*

The major difference between *zo* and *yo* was identified as one of degree rather than of quality. Uyeno (1971) states that the degree of insistence for *ze* is close to that of the particle *yo*. This finding was largely confirmed by this study, in that the types of information and immediacy involved in warnings, announcements or statements was similar to that of *yo*. The difference then, must be looked at as one of quality rather than degree.

Yo involves the speaker insisting (in a similar way to *zo*) on an idea directly. *Ze*, on the other hand, tends to appeal to shared values or attitudes, in order to elicit agreement with the speaker's arguments. This sense of 'appeal' is not strong in the case of *yo*, which has a much wider range of usage. *Yo* may be used with only casual acquaintances, and frequently occurs with the polite form of the verb. *Ze* cannot appear with imperatives (except the first-person plural), as one would expect with a more circumspect, appealing strategy, while *yo* frequently does.

Both *ze* and *yo* may occur with the first-person plural imperative. The difference here appears to be that when using *ze* the speaker is interested in achieving a result by appealing to the group's sense of common desires or obligations, while *yo* appeals more for the sake of speaker's individual desires. The speaker who uses *ze* generally assumes that the addressee(s) will agree and want to join, while a speaker using *yo* tends to feel the addressee(s) may be reluctant, and thus feels the need to stress his suggestion.

Ze is used largely among intimate friends and class or workmates, and when used to those outside these groups, tends to carry a feeling of disdain or contempt. This role is largely absent from *yo*, which can be used much more freely to those of a similar age or younger, in simply stressing the speaker's opinion or suggestion.

The sociolinguistic implications of these differences in strategy are discussed further in chapter six.

5.4 The particle clusters *ka ne* and *kai*

5.4.1 Introduction

Perhaps less well known as 'masculine' particle combinations than *zo* and *ze*, *ka ne* and *kai* occur with relative frequency in modern standard Japanese, but like *zo* and *ze* are largely confined to male speech. Like *zo* and *ze*, *ka ne* and *kai* do not appear in standard Japanese language text-books used in New Zealand, although *ka* and *ne* are treated separately. The particle cluster *kai* is a combination of *ka* and *i*, and *i* is

usually considered to be derived from *yo* (e.g. Nihon Kokugo Daijiten 1972). In its usage, however, *kai* more closely resembles *ka ne* than *ka yo*, so they are treated together here.

5.4.2 The particle *ka* - a summary

Ka is usually the first SF particle taught to foreign students of Japanese. It has commonly been described as a question-marker (e.g. Martin, 1975). Martin further clarifies this by saying that *ka* may be a self-directed question, or a rhetorical question. Matsushita (1930) claims that *ka* denotes question or doubt. He also includes categories such as refutation, censure, invitation, and self-realisation under this definition. We saw earlier that the cluster *no ka* includes examples from three of the latter four categories.

Watanabe (1968) shows that *ka* does not necessarily denote a question or doubt, and claims instead that it marks the fact that the speaker is unable to make any judgment on the content of the sentence, and thus relies totally on the addressee's judgment. While the most common way in which this is expressed is as a question, this explanation can also account for instances in which the speaker merely echoes the addressee's previous statement, as shown in the following example (from Itani 1988).

[5.111] -Ichijikan kakarimasu yo.
 one hour will take SFP-assertive
 'It will take an hour.'
 -Ichijikan kakarimasu *ka*? Ja, moo dekakenakya.
 one hour will take Then now must leave
 'It will take an hour? I have to leave now then.'

Here the speaker shows that they do not doubt the statement, by following it up by proposing to act upon it.

Sakuma (1983) notes that the use of *ka* sounds as if the speaker is demanding or cross-questioning the addressee. This directness is clearly reflected in the use of the particle and its clusters. While *ka* is freely used by both men and women in asking

questions when following the polite form of the verb, women will seldom use *ka* following the plain form of verbs, or directly following nouns and adjectives in the sentence-final position (preferring alternative methods such as *no*). Sakuma (1983) adds that even men tend to avoid using *ka* alone following the plain form in sentence-final position, preferring to use clusters such as *kai*, *ka ne* or *ka na*, which are examined further below.

5.4.3 Review of *ka ne* and *kai*

Uyeno (1971) states that when a question is asked (using *ka*), the speaker assumes that the addressee can answer the question and that he will reply with an answer. When the particle of rapport *ne* is appended to a question, however, this basic assumption is modified, so that a speaker can expect an answer, and yet the option of answering is left for the addressee. It therefore means 'I wonder...' rather than 'I ask you...'. She also notes that if the speaker is female, the tendency is for *ka shira* to replace *ka* when *ne* follows (to form *kashira ne*). This substitution is obligatory when the interrogative sentence is in the informal (plain) style.

Martin (1975) states that the particle cluster *ka ne* is a softer way to ask a question. In place of *ka ne* many people use what is said to be an abbreviation, *kai*. *Ka ne* can also follow the first-person plural imperative (e.g. *ikoo ka ne*, [Shall we go?]). Sakuma (1983) compares instances of *kai*, *ka ne*, and *ka na*, and concludes that *kai* is the most intimate, and that *ka ne* and *ka na* are respectively that much less intimate.

5.4.4 *Ka ne* and *Kai* - status, age and gender

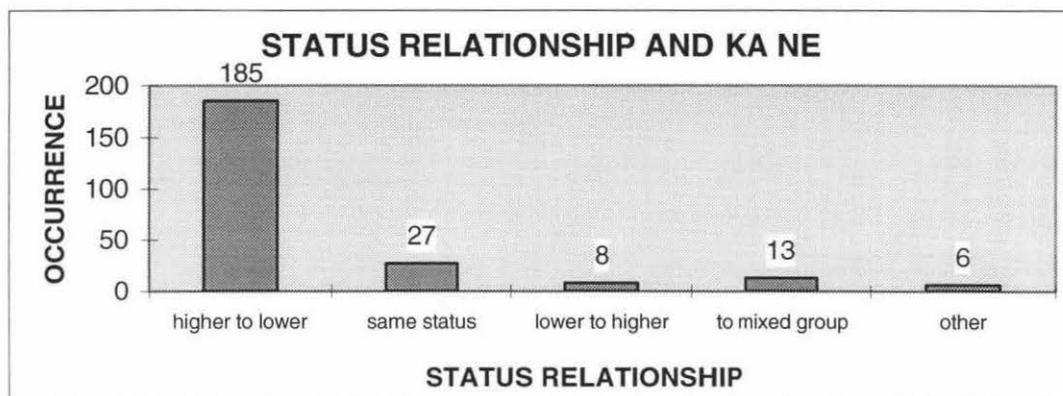


Fig 5.6 Status relationship and *ka ne*. This graph shows that the speaker who uses *ka ne* is most likely to be of higher status than his addressee. It is further frequently associated with superior-underling conversation in the workplace.

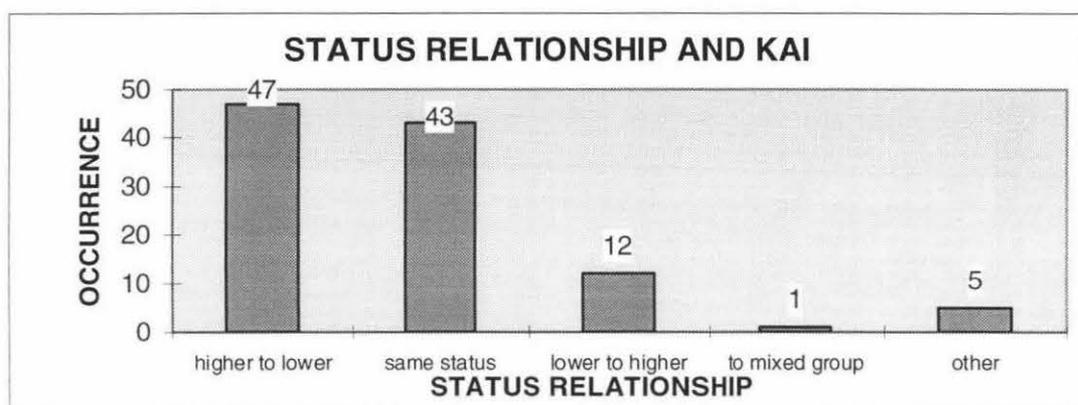


Fig 5.7 Status and *kai*. In contrast to the above graph, the speaker using *kai* may be either of higher or equal status to the addressee and is frequently in an intimate relationship with them.

The results clearly show that *ka ne* is primarily used by a speaker of higher status to a person or people of lower status. Furthermore, almost half (104 of 239) are instances which occur between superior and underling in an employment situation. There was also a high incidence among police inspectors when talking to suspects in criminal cases. It should be noted that there were virtually no instances of *ka ne* used within families or amongst close friends¹⁹, and the use of *ka ne* does seem to create a feeling of distance between the speaker and the addressee. When used to those of similar

¹⁹ There is one exception where a husband says 'soo *ka ne*' [I wonder...] to his wife, but this falls into the category discussed in 5.4.6, indicating thought or doubt rather than a question.

status, *ka ne* can create a slightly condescending attitude towards the addressee. A number of instances of a speaker of lower status using *ka ne* to a person of higher status, or between speaker and addressee(s) of similar status, occur following the polite form of the verb. In this case, the meaning or emphasis changes and the statement is less a question than an expression of thought or doubt to the addressee, in a way similar to *ka na* (see 5.4.6 for detail).

Kai, on the other hand, was used in almost equal numbers between speakers of higher status to those of lower, and between those of the same status. Furthermore, over half of the occurrences of *kai* among participants of similar status were friends or lovers, while a number of higher to lower status occurrences were among family members. Instances of speakers of a lower status using *kai* in talking to those of higher status were also largely among siblings or family members. There does not appear to be any restriction on superiors using *kai* to underlings, but the sentence takes on a more friendly, rather than objective nuance. The objective, detached nuance which occurs with the use of *ka ne*, may explain why it is widely used in the speech of inspectors, policemen, etc.

The most significant factor as far as age is concerned, is the very small number of examples of *ka ne* amongst children. There are four examples of a child using *ka ne(e)* in a way reminiscent of *ka na* (see 5.4.6) but no other examples at all. This may be due to several factors. Firstly, as we saw above, *ka ne* is used largely by superiors to their underlings and is thus less likely to occur among children of a similar age. One might expect it to be used by older children to younger ones, as we saw with the particle *zo*. There does not appear to be any evidence that this usage is common, however. Perhaps a more important factor, is that *ka ne* tends to be associated with more reserved situations, while children use more intimate language, even among those of different ages. *Kai* is used more frequently among classmates than *ka ne*, and also occurs among siblings.

Kai is generally seen to be used exclusively by male speakers, and while this is largely the case, there are a limited number of examples in which females use this particle

combination. Female dialectal speakers, particularly from country areas, may also have retained the use of this cluster in their speech. The speakers who do use *kai* are generally portrayed as ‘rough’ characters - that is, female prisoners, as in the following example between two female prison inmates, prostitutes, or females in traditionally male professions, e.g. policewomen.

[5.112] Itai *kai*? Itai daroo ne.
 hurt hurt probably SFP-tag Q
 ‘Does that hurt? I suppose it does, eh?’

Women are sometimes also portrayed as using *kai* in order to create humour, as we saw with *zo*.

5.4.5 Questions and rhetorical questions

Ka ne and *kai* may occur in ‘genuine’ requests for information from the addressee(s), in yes/no questions, or in rhetorical questions, in the same way as *ka*.²⁰ Evidence from these data suggest that yes/no questions form the most frequent usage for both *ka ne* and *kai*, and although rhetorical questions occur with both, they occur much more frequently with *kai*.

It is worth comparing *no ka ne* here with the *no ka* cluster looked at in chapter four. When it follows *no*, *ka ne* tends to indicate one of two things; either that the speaker has reached a conclusion based on the evidence available, and is seeking confirmation of that conclusion, or that the speaker doubts or disbelieves the statement or prediction of the addressee. Unlike *no ka* alone, however, *no ka ne* may be used in asking ‘genuine’ questions when the question is based on evidence or information previously available.

²⁰ Note that when *ka ne* or *kai* are used the answer will normally be a verb rather than simply *hai/ie* [yes/no]

[5.113] Doko ga okashii no ka ne?
 where NOM strange
 ‘What doesn’t fit?’

[5.114] *Doko ga okashii no ka?

In some cases, both *no ka* and *no ka ne* are possible, but will be interpreted differently.

[5.115] Kimi wa Takada ga notte inai to omou no ka.
 you TOP (name) NOM on board not think
 ‘So you don’t think Takada’s on board eh?’

[5.116] Kimi wa Takada ga notte inai to omou no ka ne.
 you TOP (name) NOM on board not think
 ‘So you think Takada’s not on board then?’

In the first sentence, the speaker implies that he doubts or disbelieves the conclusion previously stated or assumed by the addressee. In the second example, the speaker is assuming this is the opinion of the addressee, but is seeking confirmation. There may be a hint of doubt as to the validity of the conclusion, but this is not directly implied.

The feeling of doubt or disbelief can, on occasion, come across in an expression with *no ka ne*, and will sound very similar to one with *no ka*.

[5.117] Takada ga anata o urande neratte iru kara ki o tsuke-nasai
 (name) NOM you ACC grudge go after so look out
 to demo iu no ka ne.
 even say
 ‘Would you have me say (to the minister) “Takada’s after you because of a grudge, so you’d better watch out”?’

The use of *no ka ne* tends towards asking a genuine question, while *no ka* tends more towards disbelief or censure. Thus in this case the sentence with *ne* sounds softer and less direct a challenge than simple *no ka*. Because *ne* is generally used in addressing a second person, *ka ne* is not usually used in self-addressed conclusions as *no ka* may be. If *ka ne* is used in addressing the self, it sounds as if the speaker is still seeking an answer to his own question.

[5.118] Inai *no ka.*
 not present
 'Oh, no-one's here.'

[5.118'] Inai *no ka ne?*
 'Isn't anyone here?'

No kai may be used in a similar way to *no ka ne* in yes/no questions, but often occurs in instances in which the speaker is sure of the answer, and is used in a light-hearted manner.

[5.119] Yuuko, kimi no haya-tochiri ja nakatta *no kai?*
 (name) your jump to a conclusion wasn't it
 'Yuuko, wasn't it just you jumping to a conclusion?'

It is important to note at this point that, even though yes/no questions frequently involve an assumption on the part of the speaker as to the answer, in all of these cases the addressee is free to answer in either the affirmative or negative, and it is not rare for the answer to differ from the one expected.

Sakuma (1983) found that *ka na* created a more distant and reserved feeling than *ka ne / kai*. He appears to be talking here, about the use of *ka na* in addressing a second person addressee, rather than in the much more common usage (used by both males and females) of addressing oneself or one's thoughts aloud. There are a few examples of *ka na* being directed more at a second person addressee, as in the following.

[5.120] Inspector: Kao o oboete iru *ka na?*
 face ACC remember
 Underling: Ee, oboete [i] masu.
 yes remember POL
 'Do you remember what his face looked like?'
 'Yes I do.'

5.4.6 Thought and supposition

While *ka ne* and *kai* are generally considered to indicate a question, real or rhetorical (usually distinguishable in spoken language by rising or falling intonation), this is not always the case. Consider the following example.

- [5.121] Inspector: Kega no teido wa?
 injuries degree TOP
 ‘What is the extent of his injuries?’
 Doctor: Zenchi issuuukan to iu tokoro desu *ka ne*.
 complete recovery one week situation POL
 ‘He will be completely recovered in a week, I should think.’

In this example the inspector has requested information from the doctor, and the doctor is providing that information. The doctor cannot, therefore, be requesting information, nor would he appear to be seeking confirmation, given that the inspector has just asked him for the information, and so clearly does not possess it. The use of *ka ne* here appears to be quite close to the English ‘...I should think.’, in which the speaker is giving an informed opinion, but cannot give a guarantee of exact accuracy. This use of *ka ne* is quite close to the use of *ka na* in uttering a thought, but in this case it is a direct response to a question, and as such is aimed directly at the addressee, not the expression of an original thought as in ‘I wonder...’ which *ka na* usually indicates. In this usage, *ka ne* cannot be replaced by *kai*.

In fact, the use of *ka ne* following the polite form of the verb is rarely an indication of a real question. This suggests that *ka ne* used in asking questions is not appropriate in addressing those of higher status. Instead it indicates doubt or thought expressed aloud in a way resembling *ka na*. This also occurs following the plain form, but usually in the form *ka nee*. Uyeno (1971) says that *nee*, as opposed to *ne*, is used when the speaker is not expecting a yes/no answer, and this would tend to be backed up by the evidence here.

The use of *ka ne(e)* in offering thoughts or doubts usually concerns a proposition, opinion or worry expressed by the addressee or another participant in the

conversation, and is thus a response to this. As such, the thoughts are addressed at the addressee rather than to oneself. *Ka na* on the other hand, is usually used when the speaker simply offers up their own thoughts or doubts, and is often not addressing or intending to address anyone in particular. *Ka na*, therefore, rarely follows the polite form of verbs to indicate thought in the way *ka ne(e)* does.

There are a small number of examples which tend to contradict this theory. In these, a child uses *ka ne* when they are clearly addressing themselves rather than a second person addressee.

[5.122] Motto ii hoohoo wa nai *no ka ne*.
 more good method TOP not
 'Isn't there a better way than that?'

[5.123] Tame ni naru *ka nee*...boku ni totte koo iu hon wa...
 useful I for this type book TOP
 'Could this kind of book possibly be useful to ME???'

In the first example it can be assumed that the boy is addressing himself as if he were a second person - that is, he is really questioning himself as to whether there isn't a better way, rather than just expressing thoughts. The second example is more problematic, in that here he simply seems to be expressing his doubts as to what his father has told him, rather than really seeking an answer. Note, however, that in this case his father has told him that the book will be useful for him. It is a serious looking book, and he is not a good student. Thus, here, he is uttering this doubt in response to something his father has told him, rather than as an 'original' self-doubt, as the use of *na* would tend to indicate.

[5.123'] Tame ni naru *ka na(a)*...boku ni totte koo iu hon wa.
 'I wonder if this kind of book can be of any use to me?'

5.5 The combination *dai*.

5.5.1 Introduction

Dai is not a true particle cluster, instead consisting of the auxiliary *da* (see Makino & Tsutsui, 1986; Martin, 1975 etc. for a discussion on the role of *da/desu*) followed by the particle *i*. The combination bears resemblance to other particle clusters, however, and so can be examined in a similar way. *Dai* is far less common than *kai* in modern standard Japanese, and is quite restricted in its usage. It is perhaps becoming even rarer, but it is still one of the clusters which tend to identify a speaker as masculine, and so will be examined in some detail below. I am not aware of any works in English or Japanese which deal with *dai* in any more than a cursory way, but the Nihon Kokugo Daijiten (1972) gives the following definition:

1. In interrogative sentences, the sense of question is strengthened.
2. In children's speech, may be used to strengthen an assertion.

5.5.2 Status, age and gender

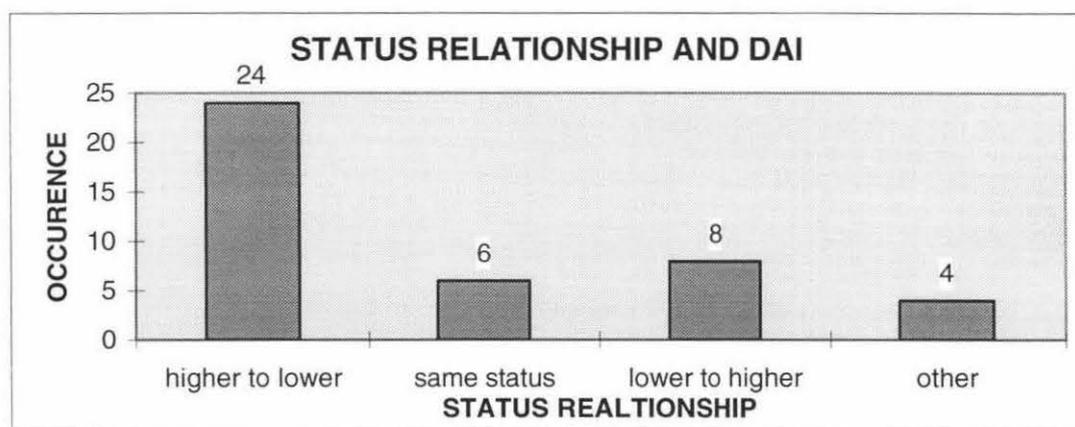


Fig 5.8 Status relationship and *dai*. *Dai* appears to be used more from a speaker of higher status to one of lower, but also among family and friends.

Dai, like *kai* is used both by superiors to underlings at work, and among family members and friends of similar status. As with *kai*, it appears to be used in a more intimate way than *da ne* which it closely resembles. The use of *dai* in modern Japanese does appear to be very restricted, however, and does not occur frequently in any of the social situations examined in the data for this study. There are very few examples among younger males, the only ones being in a comic set in an historical

period of Japanese history, which may reflect past usage rather than modern Japanese usage. One may expect *dai* to resemble *kai* in other respects as well, and thus expect there to be examples of ‘rough’ female characters using it. There is only one example in the data of this type of usage, by a female prison inmate.

- [5.124] Nan *dai*, yaru kai?
 what do SFP (Q-marker)
 ‘What’s up, are you going to fight (me)?’

5.5.3 Questions and statements

It has long been noted (e.g. Hinds, 1986) that Japanese questions which contain an interrogative word (e.g. *nani*, *dare*, *do*) do not require a question marker. The sentence may simply end with the verb, but in some cases may be followed by a sentence-final particle, in particular *ne*, as in the following examples.

- [5.125] Dare *da ne*?
 who
 ‘Who is it?’

- [5.126] Nan *da ne*?
 what
 ‘What is it?’ (in the sense of ‘what is it you want to say?’, or ‘what are you thinking?’)

The data for this study suggest that *dai* can be substituted for *da ne* in this type of construction, with a similar change in nuance to that observed between *ka ne* and *kai*, and that, in fact, this is virtually the only type of construction in which *dai* is used in modern Japanese.

- [5.127] Dare *dai*?

- [5.128] Nan *dai*?

It may be useful to contrast these sentences with ones in which *yo* occur, given that *i* is frequently seen to be derived from the particle *yo*.

[5.127'] Dare *da yo*?!
 'Who IS it?!'

[5.128'] Nan *da yo*?!
 'What IS it?!'

The sentences in which *da ne* is used sound as if the speaker is quite sure of his superior position, but is not using this position to censure the person who has interrupted or dared to express a desire to say something. The sentences with *dai* are very similar to the ones with *da ne*, but here the speaker sounds more friendly or intimate towards the person. The sentence using *da yo* (with falling intonation here), however, sounds as if the speaker is quite annoyed at being interrupted, and that the addressee should have known better than to disturb him. In this case, the speaker is almost censuring the addressee for daring to interrupt, and is not really interested in who the addressee may be, or what they may have to say. Thus, the difference in nuance between *dai* and *da ne* is much less than the difference between *dai* and *da yo*.

This use of *ne* following *da* with interrogative words in questions, is only one of the roles *ne* performs, and it may equally occur following *da* in other situations.

[5.129] Myoo na hanashi *da ne*.
 strange story
 'It's a strange story, this one.'

Here, *ne* is indicating thought, and is expressing rapport. There is no request for information from the addressee as there was above. This usage, or the use of *ne* in seeking confirmation, is much more common than the use of *da ne* in interrogatives. *Dai* on the other hand, appears almost exclusively with interrogative sentences (38 of 42 or 90 percent in the data for this study). Furthermore, all the sentences which are not interrogative are spoken by children. If we look at the sentences in which no interrogative occurs, we see that *dai* more closely resembles *da yo* than *da ne*.

[5.130] Muriyari tomerareta n *dai*.
 against my will was made to stay N
 'You MADE me stay here - it wasn't my idea!'

- [5.131] Boku ga saki *dai*.
 I NOM before
 'I'm before you!'
- [5.132] Uso da. Are wa pikapika *dai*. Boku hoikuen de
 lie is that TOP twinkle I day-care centre at
 naratta mon.
 learnt
 'No it's not. That's a twinkle (star)! I learnt it at day-care.'
- [5.133] Himiko daka nan daka kusokkurae *dai*.
 (name) what go to hell
 'Himiko, or whoever, can just go to hell!'

It would thus seem likely that the two different types of usage have derived from *da ne* and *da yo* respectively. The second type was far more common in pre-modern Japanese than it is in standard Japanese today, and may be declining further.

5.6 The particle combination *ka yo*

5.6.1 Review

Uyeno (1971) comments only briefly on *ka yo*. She claims that as well as being used only by males, it is used only in rhetorical questions, and reflects the speaker's insistence. She says it may even be interpreted as an insult.

Ward (1987) explains the use of *ka yo* in rhetorical questions in the following way.

The idea behind the rhetorical question ...is the speaker's assumption that everyone, including the speaker, already knows the answer to the question. The addition of *yo*[↘]²¹ then serves to give more emphasis to the speaker's assumption that all know the answer.

These studies have identified the main feature of *ka yo*, that is, the rhetorical nature of the questions, but a comparison with other sentence-final clusters which can indicate rhetorical questions (e.g. *no ka*, *kai*) may help to distinguish them further.

²¹ Indicates falling intonation.

5.6.2 Status, age and gender

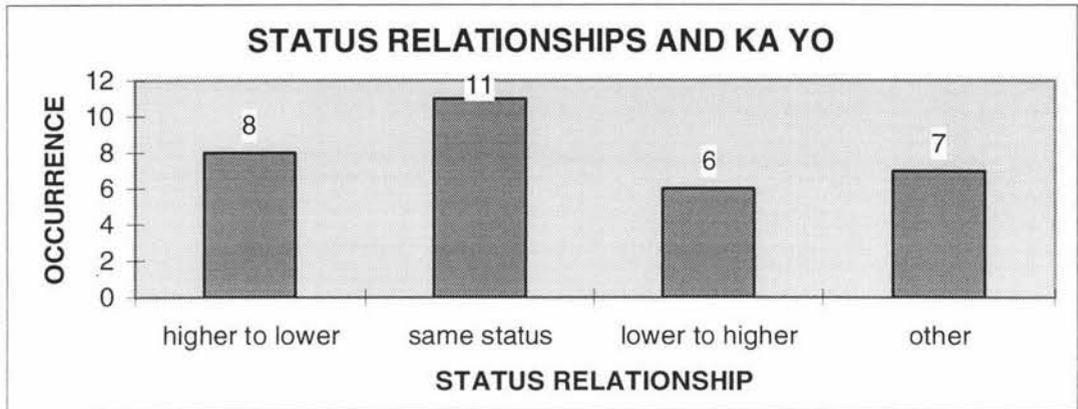


Fig 5.9 Status relationship and *ka yo*. *Ka yo* may be used only among intimates, but both from higher to lower status and among those of equal status.

Unlike *ka ne*, *kai*, and *dai*, *ka yo* occurs more frequently among friends of a similar age and status than from those of higher status to those of lower status. Even when used from those of higher to lower status, it occurred largely among family members or between lovers. It is thus clear that *ka yo* is used almost exclusively among those in an intimate relationship. This may be due to the fact that, as Uyeno (1971) noted, *ka yo* may be interpreted as an insult. While joking or even intended insults may be forgiven amongst family members or close friends, such may not be the case among less intimate acquaintances, and its use may lead to an argument or fight.

Ka yo also occurs in the speech of boys, unlike *ka ne* which rarely does. There are two examples of a female prison inmate using *ka yo* to a new prisoner in a way obviously intended to be insulting, again indicating that 'coarse' female characters do use 'masculine' particles in some situations. Females are unlikely to use it in family or friendly conversations, however, in the way that males do.

5.6.3 Rhetorical questions and censure

As Uyeno (1971) and Ward (1987) point out, *ka yo* occurs in straightforward rhetorical questions as in the following example.

- [5.34] -Anata ichioku (en) hoshikunai?
 you 100,000,000 not want ?
 'Would you like a hundred million (yen)?'
 -Hoshikunai yatsu ga kono yo ni iru ka yo.
 not want man NOM this world in exist
 'Is there anyone who wouldn't?'

It is not the use of *yo* here which turns the sentence into a rhetorical one, however, as the sentence without *yo* can be interpreted in the same way. As Ward (1987) points out, the *yo* simply stresses that the speaker is sure he is right in his assumption. *Ka yo* can also be used to indicate doubt, as in the following example.

- [5.135] Hontoo ni junia ka yo?!
 really junior
 'Is he really only a junior (level competitor)?'

Here the speaker is using the rhetorical question to show his disbelief in how good the person is - he is not really disbelieving here, however, but rather showing his surprise and delight.

There is a close relationship between rhetorical questions and censuring. Ward (1987) points out that in rhetorical questions, the speaker assumes both addressee(s) and speaker already know the answer. With censuring, however, the speaker observes that the addressee does not seem to be aware of the answer, or is ignoring it, and thus uses the rhetorical question as a way of indicating that he or she should know the answer. A large proportion of the use of *ka yo* is in this type of rhetorical questioning, as in the following examples.

- [5.136] Sakkaa booru o te de toru yatsu ga iru ka yo.
 soccer ball ACC hand with take guy NOM exist
 'Is there anyone who catches a soccer ball in their hands? (of course not)'

- [5.137] Ochitsuite iru baai ka yo!! Kuruma mo hikooki mo fune
 calm case cars also planes also boats
 mo minna tomatchau n da zo.
 also all come to a halt EP SFP-intensity
 ‘Is this a time to be calm?! All the cars, planes, boats will stop!!’
- [5.138] Aniki, sore demo kyoodai ka yo.
 older brother (ADD), that even brothers
 ‘How can you do that - aren’t you my brother?!’

In the first example *ka yo* could be replaced with *kai* and the sentence would still make sense, but the use of *yo* brings out the annoyance, frustration, or anger of the speaker that the addressee appears not to know something everyone should. The use of *kai* makes the sentence sound more like friendly teasing than real censure. *Kai* cannot replace *ka yo* in the other two sentences, presumably because of the intensity of feeling apparent both from the nature of the utterance and the non-verbal signs of distress or anger.

If *ka yo* in these sentences is replaced with *no ka*, the sentence fails to convey the intensity of feeling on the part of the speaker, and thus (*na*) *no ka* sounds strange in either of the latter two sentences. The combination *no ka yo* does occur, as in the following example.

- [5.139] Omae, yakyuu-zuki ja nee no ka yo.
 you baseball like aren’t
 ‘Weren’t you really keen on baseball?! (so how can you quit now?)’

Here the speaker is using *yo* to insist that he is right in his assumption, having heard the addressee say so herself. The sentence is quite possible without *yo*.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The main focus of this study has been in providing a detailed description of the Japanese male use of SF particles in a range of contexts, and identifying linguistic and extra-linguistic features which determine the use and choice of SF particles. Although reference has been made to social factors which play a role in the choice of particle in specific contexts, it will be of benefit to look in more detail at some of the social realities of Japanese society which are reflected in the use of SF particles in general, and how the particles in turn interact and help form social realities.

This chapter is divided into four parts, which examine the gender roles, the role of hierarchy and solidarity, the concepts of *uchi* and *soto*, and verbal and non-verbal strategies respectively.

6.2 Gender roles and sentence-final particles

Several studies have attempted to explain why 'feminine' SF particles sound feminine, and (less frequently) why 'masculine' particles sound masculine. McGloin (1986) found that the masculinity of particles *zo*, *ze*, *sa* and *na* comes from the stronger degree of assertive force implied by these particles. The assertive force of the (feminine) particles *wa* and *no*, she found, was considerably weaker. McGloin (1986) also claims that the 'feminine' particles create a sense of conversational rapport with the addressee absent from the 'masculine' particles.¹

It is important to remember, however, in looking at correlations between gender roles and language, that neither is ever static. Iwao (1993) claims that among the populace (except among the ruling Samurai class) gender relations in Japan were relatively

¹This of course does not entail that masculine speech has no sense of rapport.

equal until the Meiji period (1868-1912). It was only with the abolition of the rigid class distinctions, that the samurai values penetrated the entire society, and women as a whole lost the power and equality they had enjoyed. Iwao (1993) claims that along with Meiji modernisation, the male-dominated, vertically structured society became firmly established.

There is an interesting correlation between Iwao's theory and the development of gender differences in the use of SF particles. Several studies (e.g. Komatsu 1988) have found that prior to the Meiji period, there was little difference in the use of SF particles between men and women, although upper (samurai) class women were less likely to use the 'coarser' sounding particles (corresponding roughly to the 'masculine' particles discussed in this study). The difference in usage by males and females was firmly established by the end of the Meiji period (1912), however, and roughly corresponded to those of modern Japanese. In some rural areas, women may still use the 'masculine' particles in their speech today.

The status of males and females is constantly going through changes, and in recent years, social discrimination in favour of males has reduced considerably (Christopher, 1983). Christopher maintains, however, that boys are still led to believe that maleness automatically endows them with superiority, and that in the majority of Japanese families, the husband is still the unchallenged boss. Perhaps of more relevance to the use of SF particles today, is Iwao's (1993:276) claim that "while men have lost many of the privileges they formerly enjoyed under the male-dominated society, they are still expected, by both men and women, to act masculine..." An example of this is given by Salamon (1986:138), as shown below.

While at home many husbands may make themselves problematic by calling into question their wife's competence...the fact that the acting out of TK (Teishu Kampaku²) behaviour relates to qualities of maleness is recognised by both men and women. (A wife) complaining extensively about TK (may be) really boasting about what a man (her husband) was.

² roughly translated (by Salamon) as "petty tyrant".

Similarly, men may use SF particles which sound 'masculine' to express their masculinity. This will usually occur when such speech is socially expected (e.g. informal male socialising after work), in order that a sense of masculine identity is maintained.

The male gender role is often seen as giving decisive authority, brave leadership, or rational organisation (from Rosenberger, 1994). As such, men will often communicate status-based authority, ordering and categorising. This may be seen to be a partial explanation as to why males will use SF particles, such as *zo* and *ze*, which are associated with giving orders, warning, threatening, etc. If we consider *ka* and its combinations (following the plain form of the verb) to be rather direct (and thus possibly embarrassing or threatening) means of asking questions or of censuring, and thus unacceptable to the feminine ideal of sensitivity and the creation of rapport, we can account for most of the 'masculine' particles examined in this study. Gender roles alone, however, are insufficient in explaining the relationship between society and the use of SF particles, and several other important factors are discussed below.

6.3 Hierarchy and solidarity.

Japanese society has commonly been described as vertical or hierarchical (e.g. Nakane, 1970) and language is seen to reflect this. Since the gender role of the male is often described as providing authority and leadership, it can be expected that male language will also reflect this. The 'masculine' SF particles have been used as evidence that this is in fact the case (e.g. Ide, 1982), but based on the data from this study, the relationship appears to be a more complex one, and several issues involving these difficulties will be discussed below.

Rosenberger (1994:109) states that

Hierarchy is best understood as a process. The process has energy that people can shape. If they emphasise the differences in hierarchy, they generate an

energy of ordered authority, but if they stress the commonalities of the valued difference, they generate an energy of nurturative consolidation. Other processes could be generated at the extremes - uninhibited anger or tyranny for example.

This description of the role of hierarchy provides a good model from which to view the role of the SF particles *zo* and *ze*, *kai* and *ka ne*. We saw in chapter five that *zo* was generally used from those of higher status to those of lower, and that it commonly indexed anger or frustration. We may therefore propose, that in the above description, *zo* places the emphasis in a statement on the difference in hierarchy or on establishing authority. In extreme cases (for example when Himiko is drawn to resemble Hitler [5.9]), it may index tyranny. Even when used among equals, then, the focus is on the speaker establishing authority (through the fact that they are better informed, or want to force a point) over the addressee. The latter case, however, is a temporary one assumed for the purpose of a situation, and does not necessarily reflect a permanent state of authority. This attempt to create authority may be questioned by the addressee in a number of ways, although this is more likely to occur when the addressee is normally in an equal relationship with the speaker.

The particle *ze*, on the other hand, was used largely among equals or immediate superior to underling dialogue. It thus seems to correspond closely to the placing of focus on nurturative consolidation, or in the case of equals, on solidarity. Solidarity, as Ide (1982) describes it, is formed amongst participants who have interests and responsibilities in common, and forms in such groups as the same family, those in the same school, institution, or those from the same native region, or between people who share the same ideology or the same field of interest. This feeling creates closeness and intimacy among participants, and can help to explain why *ze* is usually seen as more friendly than *zo*. When *ze* is used from someone of higher status to someone lower, the speaker will be focusing on the common ground between himself and the addressee, rather than on authority or hierarchy, as is the case with *zo*. If *ze* is used in a situation inappropriate to emphasising solidarity, then a sense of disdain or a condescending attitude is indexed.

A similar distinction can be described between the particle clusters *ka ne* and *kai*. *Ka ne* was used almost exclusively by those of higher status to those of lower, particularly in the work situation, and can thus be seen to focus on the feeling of authority, or in extreme cases may even convey contempt for the addressee. The particle *ka* can be seen to be a direct request based on authority, the particle *ne* being added to gain confirmation or agreement based on this authority. *Kai* on the other hand, was used more freely amongst equals, as well as from superior to underling. In the latter case, the sentence takes on a more friendly, intimate sound than is the case with *ka ne*. This can be seen to reflect the nature of the particle *i*. While focus on the speaker's authority (from *ka*) is still present, *i* focuses on an emotional bond or places emotional force into the appeal, thus making the question sound more friendly and intimate.

6.4 *Uchi* and *soto* and sentence-final particles

The terms *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) were discussed briefly in the section on *ze*, but it is worth looking at these concepts in relation to SF particles in general as well. These concepts have often been associated with group formation and a sense of solidarity and corporate identification (e.g. Loveday, 1986), but it has been shown in recent studies that they can also be applied to many facets of Japanese society, including gender and hierarchy (Rosenberger, 1994), the sense of self and identity (Kuwayama, 1992), and grammar (Quinn, 1994).

SF particles are generally associated with intimacy, empathy, sympathy, love, etc. (Ide, 1982) and it may thus be assumed that they are only associated with *uchi* situations. The concepts can, however, be useful in establishing boundaries for the use of the particles, and in some cases the attitudes implied by the use of the particle may vary depending on whether the speaker intends to reference an *uchi* or *soto* relationship.

The former can be particularly useful in explaining the male use of the particle *na* when addressed to a second person. This usage is generally confined to use among intimate acquaintances, and Kitagawa (1984) suggests this is possible because in Japanese the tendency is to identify with a group as well as with the individual. The strategy used by the speaker in this case could be described, then, as placing the addressee in the same situation (*uchi*) as the speaker, in order to get their agreement. If the addressee wishes to disagree, they are then forced to deny this association. The intimacy needed to assume the right to place the addressee in the same position as the speaker is such, that it will not be used outside the circle of one's immediate friends. It would certainly be inappropriate to assume such a relationship with someone of higher status than oneself.

The role of the particle *ze* also seems to be closely tied to the concept of *uchi*. As we saw above, the strategy adopted is one of 'forcing' the addressee by assuming a common goal. The use, then, will be largely limited to use in *uchi* situations in which such a common goal can be assumed. The use of *ze* to people outside (*soto*) such relationships, results in a disdainful sounding utterance. The reason the utterances given in chapter five by the school pupil to his teacher [5.95-97] sound so disdainful and patronising, is because they break two of the rules of this chapter; firstly, the pupil assumes a 'forceful' strategy to his superior, and secondly, he adopts an *uchi* relationship in inappropriate circumstances.

The relationship between *zo* and the *uchi/soto* concepts is more difficult to define, other than to say that under normal circumstances, a direct approach in Japanese society is only appropriate in the most intimate (and thus *uchi*) relationships, although this rule may be ignored to a certain extent in crisis situations.

As we saw in the section on hierarchy, *ka ne* focuses more on the establishment of authority, while *kai* focuses more on establishing an attitude of emotional involvement on the part of the addressee. These can also be related to the concepts of *uchi* and *soto*, *ka ne* creating an atmosphere of detachment and authority, more associated with *soto* relations (Bachnik, 1994), while *kai* creates a more intimate *uchi* feeling.

6.5 Strategy

The relationship between *zo* and *ze* described above is also reflected in the type of strategy they respectively index. As one might expect, authority needs to be established in cases of crisis, or when immediate action is necessary, and as we saw in chapter five, it is in precisely these instances that *zo* will be chosen ahead of *ze*. If immediate authority is not established, the danger will be greater, or chaos may result. Thus in a situation of crisis, a person who would not normally act in an authoritative way, may use *zo* with a warning in order to get prompt action. If *ze* is used in such situations, the focus is taken off establishing authority, and the sentence may consequently sound as if the speaker is detached from the outcome of the crisis or danger. This may also sound as if the speaker is self-confident in the case of threats, because it implies that the speaker feels no need to establish authority (because they are in a situation to carry out their threat anyway).

The use of *zo*, then, creates a sense of directness, a confrontational approach to the situation based on establishing the authority of the speaker. This can explain why *zo* is frequently seen to introduce new information. Further, Iwao (1993) claims that in Japanese culture, directness can seem “ugly and repulsive”. This also helps to explain why *zo* is often seen to be coarser in nature than *ze*.

Both *zo* and *ze* are used when the speaker attempts to force his own will onto the addressee so that the addressee will act in a certain way, and it has been stated (Uyeno, 1971) that the force involved with *zo* is much stronger than with *ze*. This can be explained if we look at the way in which the force is applied in each case. As we saw above, when *zo* is used, the effect is very direct, that is, the force is used directly against the addressee in order to establish or exercise authority. When a speaker uses *ze*, the force is used in a different manner. In this case the emphasis is on establishing common ground or solidarity in order to convince the addressee to conform to the speaker’s wishes. The force then, is used as if the speaker comes around behind the addressee and pushes him or her in the direction the speaker wishes to go. The force

necessary to succeed will be greater in the case of the direct approach used with *zo* than the more indirect *ze*.

The choice of strategy will, of course, depend on how the speaker judges the situation in a particular context. *Ze* will necessarily be restricted to cases in which the speaker feels the establishment of common ground or purpose is possible, and will therefore be limited in use. *Zo* has wider possibilities, but the avoidance of directness in Japanese limits its use to informal male conversation, or crisis situations where directness is deemed necessary. In contrast to these two particles, *yo* has a much wider usage. Uyeno (1971) comments that the force involved with *yo* is similar to that of *ze*, but less than that of *zo*. *Yo*, however, is used in a similar manner to *zo* in that it places the force against the addressee. The speaker will choose *yo* then, when the force necessary to convince the addressee is considered to be much less than that for *zo*, but when he feels the need to press his wishes (or theory etc.) on the addressee.

The particle *ka*, as Sakuma (1983) states, can also sound very direct, and this can be seen as an indication that the force being applied (in this case the request for information, etc.) is directed straight at the addressee. This may create a threatening or embarrassing situation for the addressee, and will thus be avoided except in intimate (and male) conversation. The use of the polite form before *ka* appears to reduce the impact of the particle considerably, and *ka* is used much more freely in this way.

The direct approach of *ka* can be contrasted with the more indirect approach adopted when *ne* is used. Here the emphasis is on soliciting agreement, so the force is applied in a similar way to *ze* in an attempt to establish common ground. The type of force involved in requesting will, of course, be less threatening than the coercive type (to which *ze* can be attributed), and *ne* is thus more freely used by both male and female speakers.

The particle *no* is described by Cook (1988) as indexing group authority. This can be reinterpreted in terms of force as 'dispersed'. The force is associated with sharing or groups, and thus has less direct force against any one individual. As noted earlier, *no* may be used in giving commands to children (coercive force), making statements (emotive force) and questions (requestive force). Because the force is dispersed and the impact weaker, the sentences will sound much softer (and consequently more feminine).

The theories presented here can be summarised in the following table. This table represents the most likely associations when the SF particle follows the plain form of the verb, and is addressed towards a second person.

| TYPE OF STRATEGY | COERCIVE FORCE | EMOTIVE FORCE | REQUESTIVE FORCE |
|--|---|--|--|
| (Commonly associated speech acts) | threat, warning, instruction, advice, directive etc. | soliciting agreement confirmation expressing feeling | question, doubt rhetorical question confirmation |
| Direct, strong force (confrontation) ➡ (individual authority) | <i>ZO</i> $(A \Rightarrow B)^*$ | <i>-I</i> $(A \Rightarrow B)$ | <i>KA</i> $(A \Rightarrow B)$ |
| Inclusive/common ground ↗ ↘ ↖ ↙ (solidarity) | <i>ZE</i> $(\nexists B \ A \downarrow)$ ↖ ↙ | <i>NA</i> $(\nexists B \ A \downarrow)$ ↖ ↙ | <i>NE</i> $(\nexists B \ A \downarrow)$ ↖ ↙ |
| Direct mild force → (insistence) | <i>YO</i> $(A \rightarrow B)$ | <i>WA</i> $(A \rightarrow B)$ | |
| Dispersed force ↗ → ↘ (group authority) | <i>NO</i> (command) ↗ $(A \rightarrow B)$ ↘ | <i>NO</i> (statement) ↗ $(A \rightarrow B)$ ↘ | <i>NO</i> (question) ↗ $(A \rightarrow B)$ ↘ |

* Note: In the above table speaker A attempts to force the addressee B towards the right of the page.

Fig 6.1 Strategy, force and sentence-final particles. The particles are divided into co-ercive, emotive and requestive force, and further sub-divided based on strategy associated with individual particles. The dark line (from top right to bottom left) shows the approximate male/female divide.

Gender roles are also reflected in this table. The more assertive, coercive particles (on the left) and the stronger, more direct strategies (towards the top) are used largely in masculine speech. The softer, more conciliatory particles (towards the bottom right) are more feminine sounding. An approximate dividing line is shown by the darker line from the top right to the bottom left of the table. The restrictions do not apply to the same extent when the addressee is the first person (i.e. in talking to oneself), and the particles *ka* and *yo* are used freely by females following the polite form.

The use of this table can be illustrated by looking at the speech act of censuring which may occur with several of the particles discussed or their combinations.

Zo can create a feeling of censure because the speaker uses an authoritative approach to tell the addressee of their wrong-doing. In this case, the speaker simply states that what the addressee is doing is wrong, and relies on the creation of his individual authority to stop the addressee. The focus is on stopping the action in process, as soon as possible.

No, on the other hand, indexes group, or shared authority (e.g. Cook, 1988), and may be used (particularly by mothers to their children) to censure, by informing that their behaviour is not acceptable to the group (or society, etc.). In this case, the authority comes not from the individual speaker, but is jointly authorised. In the case of *no* alone, the speaker does not necessarily assume that the addressee (usually a child) is aware that what they are doing (or saying) is wrong. Males may also use this type of censuring to children or younger siblings.

Ka is defined by Watanabe (1968) as placing the judgment firmly in the territory of the addressee, although we saw in ch. 5.5 that *ka* can also be used to indicate a conclusion arrived at by the speaker based on evidence available. We can explain this if we place the judgment outside of the speaker's territory, but not necessarily in the possession of the addressee.

The use of *ka* in censoring implies that the addressee should be able to judge for himself or herself that the activity is inappropriate. In this case, the speaker says that the addressee is not using his or her faculty of discrimination properly, and it may sound offensive. This is particularly true when *yo* is added to give force to the argument, and as we saw, *ka yo* is used almost exclusively among close intimates, where such statements are less likely to be interpreted as insults.

Finally, we shall consider the combination *no ka*. We have seen that *no* indexes group (or common) authority for knowledge, and indicates that such knowledge should be possessed by the addressee. When *no* is used alone in giving censure, it is assumed that the addressee is not aware of the convention (as is often the case with a child). When *ka* is added, placing the judgment outside the speaker's sphere of influence, the effect is to imply that not only is it common or shared knowledge, but also that the addressee should be aware of this. The effect is much stronger than when *no* is used alone, and thus is not normally used by females, or outside the circle of close acquaintances.

6.6 Conclusion

This study has looked in detail at the Japanese male use of sentence-final particles and clusters as a whole for the first time. It has sometimes been mentioned in passing that males occasionally use 'feminine' sounding particles, but this study provides a range of examples to illustrate the particular nature of the male use of these particles.

The 'masculine' particles *zo* and *ze* and the clusters *kai*, *ka ne*, *ka yo*, *dai* and *no ka* have been examined in detail with relation to social factors (age, gender, social status), the emotional state of the speaker, type of strategy, response, etc. and a wide range of examples are given to illustrate these points. Furthermore, the finer distinctions between particles and clusters which at first appear to be (and until now have generally been treated as) interchangeable, have been elucidated. The differences between the particles indicating co-ercive force (*zo*, *ze*, *yo*) have been shown to be of both degree (between *zo* and *yo*) and of quality (between *zo/yo* and

ze). Similarly the finer distinctions in usage between *ka ne*, *kai*, *ka yo* and *da ne/dai* have been explained in terms of relationships and strategy.

These particles have then been related to social factors influencing their usage, and a table drawn up to show the relationship between contextual usage, strategy, social factors, and the type of force implied, to clearly show the fine distinctions between all of the particles and clusters. Finally, an example of how this table can be useful in distinguishing nuances, when several particles may be used to indicate the same speech act, is given for the case of censure.

There remain a number of areas associated with the particles which it has not been possible to examine in this study, for example, the ways in which masculine SF particle usage has developed among women in authority, research on ways in which foreign speakers use and misuse these particles, and the use of these particles among speakers from rural Japan or in dialects. These topics will have to remain for future research.

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APPENDIX I

HIGH SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS SURVEYED FOR SF PARTICLES

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