

# Functional Variety of *Toka* as a Quotative Marker in Conversational Japanese

Ryoko Oikawa  
ryoko77@prodigy.net

[Key word]

quotative markers, *toka*, discourse type, formality, narratives

## 1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to show the functions of the quotative marker *toka*<sup>1</sup> in conversational Japanese, and how the functions of *toka* are related to different types of discourse, comparing *toka* to other quotative markers, such as *tte* and *to*. A quotative marker is a particle which marks a quotation or sound (see example (1) below). In order to examine the real function of quotative markers, it seems important to consider discourse type, as suggested by Hopper (1987). Hopper argues that grammar comes out of discourse and is shaped by discourse. If this is so, then an examination of discourse type will explain why a certain quotative marker is chosen in a discourse and how the marker functions in the discourse.

Previous studies of quotations in Japanese have focused mainly on two types of quotative markers: *to* and *tte*. Some previous studies (Kuno 1973, McCawley 1978, Nakau 1973, Shibatani 1978) have examined the function of *to* as a complementizer, relying heavily on constructed data, rather than natural productions. In order to examine the difference between direct quotation and indirect quotation in Japanese, both *to* and *tte* in constructed data have been examined (i.e., Coulmas 1986, Endo 1982, Hirose 1988, Kamada 1988).<sup>2</sup> Other studies, which relied on conversational data, illustrated several functions of quotative markers *to* and *tte* (i.e., Hayashi 1996, Okamoto 1995, Suzuki 1999). From the point of view of language education, the function of the quotative marker *tte* in

---

\* I am grateful to Tsuyoshi Ono for his comments on this paper. I also thank to Kimberly Jones for her valuable comments on the early version of this paper. My thanks extend to Misumi Sadler for her help to my interview project, and to Rumi Terao and Takahiro Sanui for use of their transcript for this study.

conversational data has been examined (i.e., Horiguchi 1995, Hui 1999).

The typical complementizers used in a quotation, which have been examined in many previous studies, especially in the studies using constructed data, are shown in (1).

(1) Hanako ga [okashi o tabeta] *to*/*tte* itta.

Hanako-NOM snacks-ACC eat-past Q-PTCL say-past<sup>3</sup>

Hanako said '(I/someone) ate some snacks.'

Hanako said that she/someone ate some snacks.

The quotation in (1) consists of a quotative marker *to* or *tte* and a verb of hearsay. As the English equivalents indicate, the quotation in (1) can be taken as either a direct quotation or as an indirect quotation. The distinction between direct quotation and indirect quotation is an issue that Japanese linguists have discussed extensively (i.e., Coulmas 1986, Endo 1982, Fujita 1988, Hirose 1988, Kamada 1988, Maynard 1984 & 1986). Although each linguist has attempted to show how direct quotation and indirect quotation are distinguished, many studies have examined quotation in isolation. It is difficult to make a distinction between direct and indirect quotation without considering how the quotation is used within the discourse (i.e., Bakhtin 1973).

In addition to *to* and *tte*, the complementizer *toka* is used as a quotative marker in actual conversations (Maruyama 1996). *Toka* is a combination of the quotative marker *to* and the question marker *ka*. An example of *toka* as a quotative marker is given in (2) below. 'Zeitaku (luxury)' is the title of the conversation, and the capital 'K' in (2) indicates the speaker's name. The English translation is provided line by line. It is therefore not authentic in terms of word order, due to the word order difference between English (SVO) and Japanese (SOV).

(2) Zeitaku (luxury)

K: ningen wa hotondo,  
neru jikan ga,  
ooinda toka itte.

K: 'human being is most of (the time),  
sleeping time,  
a lot,' (he) said something like that.

What is the difference between *toka* and the other quotative particles? According to *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, the most comprehensive dictionary of Japanese to date, both *to* and *tte* are defined as particles demonstrating quotation. *Tte* is described as a colloquial variant of *to*. *Toka* is defined as indicating either uncertain imagination or hearsay<sup>4</sup>. These dictionary definitions, which directly indicate the function of the quotative marker, clearly demonstrate that Japanese speakers have choices between quotative markers, based on the degree of certainty about the quotation. When the degree of certainty about a quotation is weak, *toka* is used. However, the functional difference between *toka* and *tte* defined by the dictionary is not necessarily reflected in real usage. Although the dictionary says that *toka* indicates uncertain hearsay, *tte* is used instead of *toka* in (3).

(3) Report 3

H: haikingu ga=,	H: 'Hiking took
O: un,	O: uh-huh.
H: nijikan gurai,	H: about two hours,
.. kana,	(I) wonder,'
<b>tte</b> itte ta yoona,	(It) seems that (she) said so.
O: un,	O: uh-huh.
H: ki ga shi masu.	H: (I) guess.

In (3), 'yoona (seem)' and 'ki ga shi masu (guess)' apparently demonstrate the speaker's uncertainty about the quotation. However, the speaker did not choose *toka*, which indicates uncertain hearsay, and instead choosing to use a combination of *tte* and hedges. It is, of course, possible that *tte* itself can indicate uncertain hearsay. If this is so, however, why do we also need *toka*? It seems difficult to explain why *tte* is used in the example if we only focus on the degree of uncertainty (certainty) of each quotative marker. Why do we have these various quotative markers, *to*, *tte* and *toka*? What is the functional difference between the markers? Although the various functions of *to* and *tte* in discourse have been discussed in previous studies, it seems that the functions of the quotative marker *toka* in discourse have rarely been explored. Although Maruyama's (1996) study includes *toka* as a quotative marker, her focus is on the structural features of utterances in which *toka* and other particles are used. This paper focuses on

the questions above, as well as, on the variety of functions that *toka* has in different types of discourse.

I will suggest that *toka* in actual conversations has two functions, in addition to the previously defined function of indicating uncertain hearsay. These are: 1) to show the informality of conversations; and 2) to show an event in a narrative, and contrast the event with the peak of the narrative.

## 2. Method

I will count the number of quotations in my data and examine the types of quotative markers and the frequency with which each quotative marker occurs. In order to study the relationship between the function of *toka* and discourse, I will divide the conversations in my data into three groups, based on the features of discourse, such as formality, and examine how *toka* functions at each type of discourse (see 2-2 below).

### 2-1. Data

The data for this paper comes from 19 transcribed segments of conversations in Japanese, including six interviews. Eleven of the transcripts used and their tapes are taken from the Japanese conversation corpus at the department of East Asian Studies at the University of Arizona. The others are my colleagues' and my own recordings. These segments range from 2 minutes to 30 minutes with an average length of 7 minutes. In total, this data set is about 150 minutes long. All speakers are native speakers of Japanese, and 34 of the 39 participants speak Tokyo dialect. Other dialects include Kansai (3 speakers) and Tohoku (2 speakers). The conversations include a variety of participants whose ages range from 20 to 48, with a majority of people being in their 20's and 30's. Thirty women and nine men are involved in the conversations. The relationships between speakers in my data are divided into four groups: 1) friends (26 people); 2) family (4 people); 3) spouses (2 people); 4) acquaintances (7 people). The degree of closeness among friends is varied. In 6 interviews, the relationship between the interviewer and each interviewee is not close. They were meeting for only the second time when the interviews took place.

Setting for the interviews is as follows. Six interviewees were asked to observe a conversation between a Japanese language instructor and her students

in a classroom at a university in the U.S. The students asked the instructor a couple of questions (e.g., her interests and her vacation plans), and the instructor answered them. The questions were prepared by a researcher in advance. The conversation took place right after the language class was over in the classroom. The interviewees did not know this procedure and just heard the conversation. Therefore, they believed that they were observing a language class. After observing the conversation, the interviewees were asked to report what they had heard. The interviews were held in a small room at the university, and the reports were tape-recorded.

The settings for the other conversations are of two types. In some cases, researchers went to a location of the speaker's choosing (e.g., the speaker's apartment) and left the tape-recorder after setting it to record. In other cases, the speakers came to a location of the researchers' choosing (e.g., a building at the university), and the researcher left the tape-recorder after setting it to record. In one case, the researcher was involved in the conversation as one of the speakers.

Transcribing conventions follow Du Bois, et al. (1991 & 1993); utterances are divided into intonation units, which are stretches of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour (Du Bois, et al., 1993). The transcription conventions are given in an appendix.

## 2-2. Genre

My data include both interviews and casual conversations. Because this data includes a variety of types of discourse, there may be complicating factors affecting the choice and function of the various quotative markers. In order to tease these factors out, I have divided the data into two groups, based on formality level of the conversation: formal vs informal. The formal conversations in this study are the interviews, and the conversations other than interviews are considered informal. Informal conversations, then, are divided into two groups, conversation-type and narrative-type, based on the degree of one speaker's dominance in a conversation. The relationship between the functions of quotative markers and formal-type conversation is examined, and compared to the relationship between quotative markers and narrative-type conversation. Conversation-type conversations are not examined in this study.

### 2-3. Definition of quotation

A quotation typically consists of the content that the speaker is quoting, a quotative marker, and a verb of saying/hearing. An example of a quotation is shown in (4) below.

(4) [kireena hana] (tte) (itta).

Pretty flower Q-PTCL say-past

(I/someone) said '(this/that) is a pretty flower.'

(I/someone) said that (that) was a pretty flower.

The square brackets [ ] indicate the content that the speaker quoted.

The parentheses ( ) indicate that the element inside the parentheses is optional.

In Japanese both the quotative marker and the verb are optional. That is, it is possible for speakers to quote what they heard without using a quotative marker and/or a verb of saying/hearing. In order to judge whether an utterance is a quotation, when neither quotative marker nor a verb were used, the context of the conversation and speakers' tone of voice were more carefully examined than in the cases where both are used. Although a person's thoughts (including the speaker-self) can be indicated using the same quotative markers, these thought-related utterances are not included in this study.

### 3. Types and frequency of quotative markers

I found 270 quotations which were accompanied by one of the four types of quotative marker shown in Table 1.

Table 1.

The number and frequency of quotative markers

Category	<i>tte</i> type	<i>toka</i> type	<i>to</i> type	zero-marking	Total
Number (%)	132 (48.9%)	125 (46.3%)	6 (2.2%)	7 (2.6%)	270 (100%)

Although *to* and *tte* have been treated as the typical quotative markers in previous studies, my data show that the marker *toka*, which has received little

focus as a quotative marker, is used 46.3% of the time. *Tte* is used only slightly more often: 48.9% of the time. The complementizer *to*, which is typical in constructed data, occurs far less often: only 2.2% of the time. The last category of quotative markers is actually not a marker, but rather a quotation without any quotative marker or a saying/hearing verb. This type of quotation is found seven times in my data. Examples of quotations using each quotative marker are demonstrated in (5)-(8) below.

- (5) The quotative marker ***tte*** and the verb of saying *yutta*.

Aum zoo (an image of the occult group)

T: u=n.	T: Yea.
demo ne=,	But,
are wa= ne=,	(regarding) that (occult group),
damasareru <b><i>tte</i></b> yutteta yo.	(people) are tricked, (someone) said so.

- (6) The quotative marker ***toka*** and the verb of saying *itte*.

Bukatsu (club activity)

U: ... amari,	U: '... very much
muite nai mitai desu.	(I'm) not for (this)'
<b><i>toka</i></b> itte sa,	said something like that,

- (7) The quotative marker ***to*** and a polite form of verb *itte iru*.

Report 1

Y: kanojo,	Y: She
tsukareta,	'(I) was tired,'
<b><i>to</i></b> itte imashi ta kara,	said, therefore,

- (8) **Zero-marking** quotation '*nomeyo* (drink(this))'

Hoomuresu (homeless)

K: ... ojisan,	K: ... 'you,
sa- --	al-
... sake nai ne,	(we have ) no alcohol, do we?'

tte itta ra [ne],	said so. Then,
E: [un],	E: uh-huh,
..[[un]].	uh-huh.
K: [[koo ya]] tte,	K: (He) did like this,
poketto kara sa,	from (his) pocket,
.. Wankappu Oozeki,	One Cup Oozeki
dashite sa,	pulled out,
E: .. @	E: .. laughter
K: .. <b>nome yo.</b>	K: 'drink (this).'
.. n=	nn,
E: (0)<@ na @>,	E: na (laughing),

Table 1 and the examples in (5)-(8) show speakers' use of at least four types of quotative markers in conversations in my data. How do speakers use these quotative markers? What is the functional difference of the markers? In order to examine the function of each quotative marker, it seems important to consider the type of discourse each is used in, as claimed by Hopper (1987). I will examine the relationship between quotative markers and discourse type.

#### 4. Types of discourse and selection of quotative markers

##### 4-1. *Toka* in formal/informal type conversations

Formality is one of the important features for examining the selection of certain grammatical elements in Japanese conversations. For example, it has been argued that grammatical elements in conversations, such as the *desu/masu*<sup>5</sup> morpheme, are affected by the degree of formality of the social conditions involved in a conversation (Hinds 1976a, Ide 1982, Ikuta 1983, Sukle 1994). In formal conversations, the *desu/masu* form is often used, whereas fragments without a predicate are often used in casual conversations (Jordan 1987). It is possible that degree of formality also affects the choice of quotative markers. In order to determine the degree of formality in each conversation in my data, the three factors of Ikuta (1983) were used: 1) the in-group/out-group distinction of the interlocutors; 2) the social setting of the conversation; 3) the nature of the information discussed in the conversation.

The six interviews and the other conversations in my data are very different

in terms of formality. In the interview setting, the interviewer asked some questions about the conversations that the interviewees listened to, and the interviewees had to answer the questions in front of a tape recorder after signing a consent form. The following three factors contributed to a high degree of formality in the interviews: 1) the interviewer was in the out-group member for the interviewees; 2) the social setting was an interview for an academic research, and the interviewees were required to report to an unfamiliar interviewer; 3) the nature of the information is formal, since the interviewees were reporting events that occurred in a classroom.

In contrast, the degree of formality is lower for the other conversations. The factors defining these conversations as informal are as follows: 1) the relationship of participants varied: friends, family, spouses, and acquaintances. Although the degree of closeness between participants also varied, participants were not out-group members; 2) regarding the settings, the speakers were either at their homes or at other locations chosen by the researchers. The researchers left the location after setting the tape-recorder to record. In one case, one of researchers participated in the conversation, as the friend of another participant. In any case, an unfamiliar researcher was never with the speakers during the conversation; 3) the nature of the information discussed was basically light. The participants talked about whatever was of interest to them at that time. These factors differentiate between degree of formality in the six interviews and the other conversations.

As I mentioned earlier, my data is divided into two groups, formal conversations and informal conversations. The formal conversations in my data are interviews. As shown in (9) and (10), the *desu/masu* endings and some honorific forms in formal conversations provide evidence of the formality of the conversations in this category. In (9) and (10), the interviewees report what they have heard in the classroom, after the instructor has talked about her academic interests and vacation plan, in answer to her students' questions.

(9) Report 4

O: aa,

hisutorikaru chenji,

R: .. chenji,

O: aa,

Historical change,

R: Change,

.. tte iuno ni,	the thing called so,
... kyoomi ga <i>oari ni naru</i> .	(she) is interested in.
.. to <i>osshatte mashi</i> ta.	(She) said so.
O: un un.	O: uh-huh uh-huh.
aa,	aa,
soo <i>desu</i> ka.	I see.

(10) Report 2

O: doo yatte sugosu tte itte <i>mashi</i> ta.	O: What did (she) say about (her summer plan)?
K: e sensee-, ano, .. sensee wa,	K: e the teacher-, well, the teacher,
O: un.	O: uh-huh
K: penshirubania ni iku, .. tte itte <i>mashi</i> ta.	K: would go to Pennsylvania, (The teacher) said so.

In contrast, in the informal conversations, the participants chatted whatever they wanted to. The topics of conversations are varied, and the relationship of participants is closer. There are many uses of final particles<sup>6</sup>, such as *no* and *yo*, and some blunt endings without predicates, showing the informality of the conversations (Jordan 1987), as shown in (11) and (12).

(11) Age

M: .. [ata]shi to okaasan, onnaji burajaa ga dekita no.	M: My mother and I, could share the same brassiere.
A: [2 ee 2] [3 =].	A: Ee,
B: [2 un 2].	B: Yea,
M: [3 saikin 3] wa, ... kitsukute hairanai.	M: These days, '(this brassiere is) too tight and does not fit'
tte iu no.	(my mom) says so.

(12) Ryuugaku (study abroad)

T: [mata] nanka,	T: again, well,
... n=,	nn,
oota nante,	Ota
gorufusetto katta [ttsutteta yo] <sup>7</sup> .	said that (he) bought a golf set.
K: [hee=],	K: Hmm,
... uso[[=]].	You are kidding.

As shown in Table 2 below, the frequency of each type of quotative marker differs between the two degrees of formality. In six formal conversations, fifty-six quotations are found, which is about one fourth of the total number of quotations in my data. Table 2 indicates the high frequency (73.2%) of the quotative marker *tte* and the low frequency (16.1%) of *toka* in formal conversations. The marker *to* is only used in the formal conversations.<sup>8</sup> Nine instances of *toka* are found in the formal conversations, only 7.2% of total use of *toka* in my data.

This tendency is opposite to Matsumoto's (1999) interpretations about the use of hedges among young people. She argues that young people show their politeness to other people by not showing strong opinions. She suggests that young people use many hedges, such as *toka* and *mitaina* (look like), in order to show their politeness. Although participants in the interviews in my data

Table 2.

The frequency of quotative markers and discourse type

Quotative Marker Discourse Type	<i>tte</i> N (%) [%]	<i>toka</i> N (%) [%]	<i>to</i> N (%) [%]	zero-marking N (%) [%]	Total N (%) [%]
<b>6 Formal</b>	41(73.2) [31.1]	9 (16.1) [7.2]	6 (10.7) [100]	0 (0) [0]	56(100) [26.2]
<b>13 Informal</b>	91(42.5) [68.9]	116(54.2) [92.8]	0 (0) [0]	7 (3.3) [100]	214(100) [73.8]
Total	132 [100]	125 [100]	6 [100]	7 [100]	270 [100]

The square brackets [ ] show percentage across formality level, for each marker, and the parentheses ( ) show percentage across marker type, for level of formality.



conversations are roughly common conversations, in which the interlocutors each take equal part in the conversation, to some degree. In contrast, in narrative conversations, one speaker dominates the floor. To determine which conversations in my data were of the narrative type, I used two criteria: 1) whether the speaker told a story which consisted of time-sequential events; 2) whether the addressee took part in the conversation by giving only short back-channels<sup>9</sup>, such as *un* (yea/uh-huh) and laughter. That is, in narrative conversations, the storyteller dominated the conversation. I came up with these criteria because a clear definition of narratives, which fits for interactional conversations, has not been given in previous studies.

Many studies have examined monologue type storytelling as narratives, which are talked by native Americans or any other native people in many areas (i.e., Hopper 1979, Jones & Jones 1979, Sams 1993). Narratives in Clancy's studies (1980, 1982, 1987), in which she focused on Japanese, are monologues based on a participant's memory about a movie. Clancy did not define how narratives were determined in her study. In her study the interactions between the participant and the interviewer are not given, although the interviewer was in front of the participant as the participant talked about the movie's story. Clancy's focus is only on what the participant said about the movie. Szatrowski (1985, 1987) used conversational narratives which were recorded from both live television talk shows and natural conversations. She did not define what conversational narratives were, although she (1987) used the definition of narrative events introduced by Labov and Waletzky (1967), Labov (1972) and Schiffrin (1981), for examining the relationship between tense-aspect forms and narrative event features in her data. The definition that she used is that narratives are events which occur in time-sequential order. Although the detailed definition<sup>10</sup> suggests a correspondence between narrative clauses (see Note 10) and narrative events both in English and Spanish, Szatrowski pointed out that these criteria cannot be applied in an objective manner to Japanese conversational narratives. Her study indicates the dynamic nature of narratives in interactional discourse. She writes that narrative can be presented differently, "depending on the impetus in the pre-narrative discourse and the interaction between speaker and hearer as the narrative develops (p. 425)." Nakayama & Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) used some speeches in a wedding reception, made by guests in the

reception, as narratives. They did not give the definition of narratives. Soga (1983) discussed the relationship between narratives and tense and aspect, also without defining what a narrative was.

It seems that the notion of narrative is quite broad. One aspect of narratives that these previous studies share, with the exception of Szatrowski's (1985, 1987) studies, is that one person (author/storyteller) tells a story dominantly. For Szatrowski, in conversational narratives the interaction between the storyteller and another speaker is very active, and the other speaker's questions are occasionally elicited as a part of story. Under this condition, the time sequence of events can be changed easily, and the narrative itself can be stopped by another speaker's topic change. In most previous studies, time-sequence is one of the most important features of narratives (i.e., Hopper 1979, Jones & Jones 1979, Labov 1972). In Szatrowski's study, however, the other speaker's question about a previous event in the story can actually disturb the order of events in the stream of time. Therefore, I chose monologueness (the dominant speaker being uninterrupted by the listener) as one of the criteria to select narrative conversations from my data. Another criterion is storytelling in the conversation. In the cases that a conversation met only one of these conditions, either monologue or storytelling, the conversation was considered conversational, rather than narrative. In this way, I found two narratives in my data. The example in (13) below is a narrative.

(13) Shoorinji (Syorinji-kenpo)

- |    |                                    |                                    |
|----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1  | B: ore sa=,                        | B: I,                              |
| 2  | nanka=,                            | well,                              |
| 3  | ... ano daigaku haitta toki ni,    | when I entered the university,     |
| 4  | .. ore zutto sa=,                  | I continued                        |
| 5  | .. chuugaku n toki kara kookoo no, | from my junior high school days to |
| 6  | sotsugyoo suru made=,              | graduation from highschool,        |
| 7  | zutto doojoo kayotteten ya,        | (I) regularly went to              |
|    |                                    | the exercise hall of               |
| 8  | shoorinji no=.                     | Syorinji-kenpo.                    |
| 9  | A: a soo nan da.                   | A: uh-huh, (I) see.                |
| 10 | B: un.                             | B: yea.                            |

11 A: fuun.	A: hum.
12 B: sonde,	B: So,
13 ichioo,	at least
14 kuroobi mo motten nen ya=,	(I) have gotten my black belt.
15 A: aa.	A: aa.
16 B: honde=,	B: and,
17 .. nanka=,	.. well,
18 .. itta toki ni sa,	.. when (I) went (to the university),
19 <Q kimi nanka=,	(A person said), 'you have
20 ii karada shiteru ne= Q>,	a nice body.'
21 toka itte=,	something like that, and,
22 nan-<Q kakutoogi toka=,	'Martial art,
23 yaranai? Q>,	don't (you) try?'
24 toka [iwarete sa=],	(I) was told something like that,
25 A: [@@@].	A: laughter
26 B: de sono shoorinjikenpoobu no yatsu ni=?	B: That member of Syorinji-kenpo club
27 .. nanka,	.. well,
28 ikanimo,	just like
29 kuroobi totta bakkari desu,	just got his black belt
30 mitai na kanji no yatsu ni [sa=],	(he) appeared like that.
31 A: [un un].	A: uh-huh uh-huh.
32 B: iwarete sa=,	B: (I) was told (by such a person).

In (13), speaker B dominantly talks about his experience and speaker A responds with short comments. A's response in line 9 is a little bit longer than other responses. But it does not change B's story at all.

An example of a conversational type is shown in (14) below. In contrast to the narrative type in (13) above, both speakers N and E participated almost equally in the conversation. Their questions and responses affected the flow of the conversation. First N asked E if she had been to Florida, and talked about Florida. E's question in line 14 changed the topic of the conversation.

(14) Tucson

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1  | N: .. furorida itta koto aru?                   | N: Have you ever been to Florida?               |
| 2  | E: .. e?  | E: What?  |
| 3  | N: .. furorida.                                 | N: Florida.                                     |
| 4  | E: .. furorida wa nai.                          | E: No, (I) haven't.                             |
| 5  | N: ... sugoi ii wa yo.                          | N: (It) is extremely good.                      |
| 6  | .. mae chotto itta koto aru[no=].               | (I) have been (there) before<br>for short time. |
| 7  | E :   | [aa]honto ni? E: Aa, yea?                       |
| 8  | N : un.   | N: Yea,   |
| 9  | ... watashi moo anna nanka=suteki na toko na=i. | To me no place is so wonderful.                 |
| 10 | ... dakara nanka amerika ni kita toka,          | therefore, (I) came to the US.                  |
| 11 | omotta kurai nanka,                             | As (I) thought like that,                       |
| 12 | sugoi ii no.                                    | (it) is extremely good.                         |
| 13 | E: .. aa,                                       | E: Aa,  |
| 14 | .. dakedo nande kocchi ni <@ iru no @>,         | But why are (you) here? (laughing)              |
| 15 | N: @@   | N: laughter                                     |

These examples are excerpts from longer conversations. One question may arise about these examples, which is whether or not the conversation in (14) has a narrative-like part before or after the excerpt. It has. From my data, it appears that the narrative type and conversational type are not discrete categories but gradient ones. However, the narrative-like part in which only one person speaks dominantly is short in the 'Tucson.' Therefore, it is difficult to say that one person continuously keeps the floor as a whole. As for the conversation in (13), speaker A occasionally says a longer comment or question, which could change the flow of B's talk. However, the opportunities for this are few, and speaker B dominantly speaks throughout the transcript of the conversation.

Table 3 below indicates the frequency of each quotative marker in both conversational type and narrative type. Table 3 clearly illustrates the high frequency of *toka* in narratives. As the second column indicates, *toka* is used 116 times in total. More than half (55.2%) of the occurrences of *toka* were used during only two narrative conversations (total time is about 27 minutes). The remaining occurrences of *toka* appear in 11 conversational type discourses (total

Table 3.

The frequency of quotative markers in informal conversations

Quotative Marker Discourse Type	<i>tte</i> N (%) [%]	<i>toka</i> N (%) [%]	zero-marking N (%) [%]	Total N (%) [%]
<b>11 Conversational</b>	87(61.7) [95.6]	52(36.9) [44.8]	1 (1.4) [14.3]	140(100) [65.4]
<b>2 Narratives</b>	4 (5.5) [4.4]	64(87.7) [55.2]	6 (8.1) [85.7]	74(100) [34.6]
Total	91 [100]	116 [100]	7 [100]	214 [100]

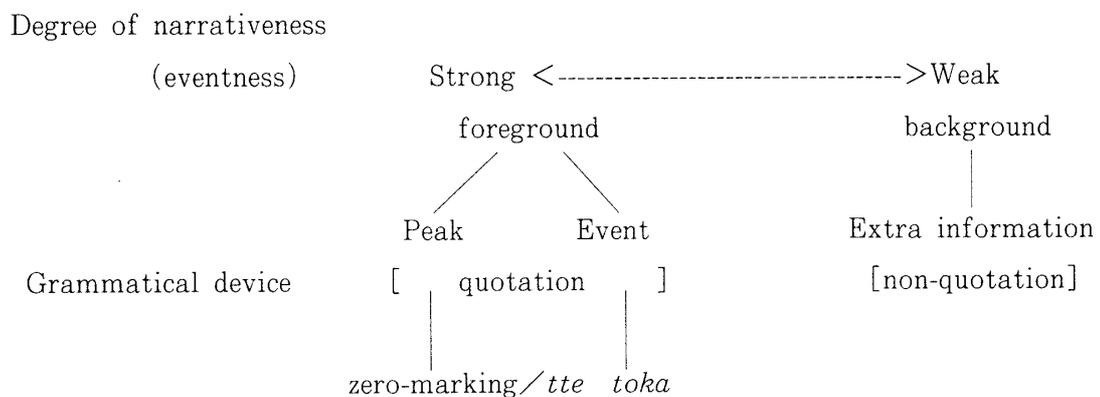
The square brackets [ ] show percentage across discourse type, for each marker, and the parentheses ( ) show percentage across marker type, for each discourse type.

time is about 67 minutes). In the narrative type, 87.7% of the quotations are made using *toka*. In addition, most of the zero-markings are used in the narrative type. One zero-marking, which appears in a conversational type is used in a narrative-like part of the conversation (see example (8)). However, the conversation as a whole is not categorized as a narrative. Therefore, one of the zero-markings appears in a conversational interaction. It seems that the use of *toka* and zero-marking is characteristics of narratives in my data.

The question is why *toka* is used frequently in narratives, and what functional difference there is between *tte*, *toka* and zero-marking. I will argue that the choice of quotative marker is influenced by two factors that have been discussed in previous studies. One function is the multiple levels of significant information in narratives, as discussed by Jones & Jones (1979). A second factor is a vividness effect, as discussed by Hinds (1976), Soga (1983), Swan (1999), and Szatrowski (1985). First, I will focus on the multi-level structure hypothesized by Jones & Jones. Their claim is based on Longacre's (1976) and Hopper's (1979) arguments that narratives include two levels of information, more significant information (foreground) and less significant information (background). These two levels are marked by grammatical devices, such as tense-aspect markers. Developing the argument, Jones & Jones (1979) claim that more than two

levels of information in narratives are grammatically marked in all languages. They suggest a minimum of three levels: background, events, and peak (the basic three-level structure). Foreground consists of at least two categories, event and peak. Each level is explained as follows. Background information is less significant than events. It is essentially elaboration or extra information, such as descriptions of scene or characters, or minor events concurrent with major events (Jones & Jones 1979), and it is not sequenced (Hopper 1979). Event generally gives a very plausible abstract or summary of the narrative (Jones & Jones 1979). Foregrounded events are introduced in the same order as their succession in the real world (Hopper 1979). That is, events demonstrate the main story line. The peak is defined as the single most significant event or sequence of events in a narrative. It is marked by special grammatical devices (Jones & Jones 1979).

Following their hypothesis, I will examine the following point that the choice of quotative marker in narratives is related to the level of significance of the information. The event is introduced with *toka*, and either *tte* or zero-marking is used for the peak. For background information, quotation is not used. That is, background and foreground in narratives is distinguished by whether or not quotation is used in my data. If quotation is not used, it indicates background information<sup>11</sup>. If quotation is used, it indicates foreground information; event is marked by *toka*, and the peak is marked by either *tte* or zero-marking. The relationship between the degree of narrativeness and the choice of quotative marker is represented schematically as follows.



The typical usage of quotative markers in narratives in my data is shown in (15) below. This excerpt starts a little bit after example (13) above. In this example, speaker B dominantly keeps the floor and introduces the story, based on his experience, to the person A. When B was a new college student in Japan, he was scouted as a new member of a Syorinji-kenpo (a type of martial arts) club. The senior college student, who scouted B, did not know that B had had training in Syorinji-kenpo and that B's grade of the martial arts was superior to the senior's grade. The senior thought that B was a beginner, and so the senior student asked B to come to the Dojo (the exercise hall) and tried to train B. The example (15) indicates what happened in the Dojo.

(15) Shoorinji (Syorinji-kenpo)

- |    |                            |                                 |
|----|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1  | B: keru wa nee,            | B: 'Kick is,                    |
| 2  | koo yatte yaru n da yo=,   | do it this way.'                |
| 3  | toka itte,                 | (he) said something like that.  |
| 4  | wakatte ruwa.              | I know (such a thing).          |
| 5  | A: @@@@                    | A: laughter                     |
| 6  | B: XXX kette tara sa=,     | B: when (I) kicked,             |
| 7  | nanka,                     | well,                           |
| 8  | o,                         | 'Oh,                            |
| 9  | kimi nakanaka suji ii ne=. | you have quite good capability, |
|    |                            | don't you?                      |
| 10 | joozu ya=n.                | (you) are skillful.'            |
| 11 | A: @@@                     | A: laughter                     |
| 12 | B: toka iu --              | B: (He) said something like --  |
| 13 | iu kara sa,                | because (he) said so,           |
| 14 | iya ore,                   | 'Well, I                        |
| 15 | ichioo yatteta n su yo=.   | did (it) once at least.'        |
| 16 | toka itte=,                | (I) said something like that,   |
| 17 | A: @@@@                    | A: laughter                     |
| 18 | B: e nani o=?              | B: 'Hum? What (did you do)?'    |
| 19 | toka iu kara,              | because (he) said something     |
|    |                            | like that,                      |
| 20 | a=                         | 'well,                          |

21	ore mo,	I, too
22	shoorinji yatte mashita=.	did Syorinji-kenpo.'
23	a soo nan da=.	'Oh, I see.'
24	toka itte,	(he) said something like that,
25	he= sugoine= toka itte,	'Oh, amazing' (he) said something like that.
26	e doregurai yatteta no=?	'Well, how long did (you) do?
27	... chaobi=?	(Do you have) the brown belt?'
28	toka iu kara=,	Because (he) said something like that,
29	iya ore ichioo,	'No, I, at least,
30	ano,	well,
31	nidan motteru n desu kedo.	have the second degree (of Syorinji-kenpo)'
32	A: @@@	A: laughter
33	B: soitsu shodan ya nen ya=,	B: That person has the first (inferior) degree.
34	A: @@@@	A: laughter

The story is introduced with many instances of *toka iu/itte* (say something like). The summary of the story is as follows. First the senior student showed B how to kick the sandbag. Then, B kicked the sandbag. The senior student came to see B's practice, and commented on how skillful B was. Therefore, B explained that he had learned Syorinji-kenpo. Then the senior student asked how long B had studied the martial arts and whether B had the brown belt. B answered that he had the second degree of the martial art, which is much superior degree to the degree that the brown belt indicates. These main lines of the story are basically indicated by quotations marked by *toka*.

Four utterances are not marked by *toka*: line 4, line 22, lines 29-31, and line 33. Both utterances in line 4 and 33 are not the events of the story, but are comments. We understand the story without these utterances. Therefore, these are categorized into background information. The rest of B's utterances, which contain two zero-marked quotations, demonstrate the story line. However, they are not marked by *toka*. A close examination of the content of this excerpt

shows that these two utterances are the peak of the narrative. The story demonstrates the funny aspect of the senior student's misunderstanding. The funniest point of the story is the moment that the senior student found that he had tried to train his superior in the martial arts. The reversed relationship between the senior and B became clear when B said, '*ore ichioo nidan motteru n desu kedo*' in lines 29-31. B's other utterance on line 22 is also an important turning point toward the main point of the narrative, because the senior student begins to be aware of B's experience in the martial arts, which reverses their relationship. As shown above, the peak is the highest level of significant information in the narrative, and is marked by a special grammatical device. The correlation between the significance of information and use of special grammatical device (no mark for the quotations) in the example illustrates that the zero-marked quotations are the peak of the narrative. The only difference is that there are two peaks here, whereas Jones & Jones hypothesize that there is only one peak.

This contrast between the use of *toka* and zero-marking in the narrative is also analyzed with respect to the vividness effect (Hinds 1976b, Soga 1983, Swan 1999, Szatrowski 1985). According to Szatrowski (1985), the definition of vividness is *Rinjookan* (Presence Feeling) and *Genjitsukan* (Actuality Feeling). The notion of vividness effect has been discussed in terms of use of the tense-aspect marker. Soga (1983) argues that the foreground event is marked by a *ta*-form, which is associated with past tense or completion, whereas the background event is marked by a *ru*-form, which is associated with present tense or incompleteness, in written narratives in Japanese. However, the *ru*-form could also be used for foreground, in order to show vividness. Just as the contrast between *ta*-forms and *ru*-forms in foreground information creates the vividness effect in written narratives, the contrast between *toka* and zero-marked quotations can also demonstrate vividness. The utterance in the past is presented as a bare zero-marked utterance, as if it were said in the ongoing conversation.

The example in (15) does not have any instance of *tte*. The quotative marker *tte* does not appear, not only in this specific excerpt, but in the entire conversation of 'Shoorinji (Syorinji-kenpo).' However, *tte* is used in another narrative conversation, 'Bukatsu (club activity),' as shown in (16). In 'Bukatsu,' speaker U talks about his experience as a member of a Judo club in his high

school days. Although he wanted to enter the handball club, which had many female members, and was therefore a lot of fun, U was forced to join the Judo club by the instructor of the Judo club. The example in (16) is from the beginning of his story in which he tells how he became a member of the Judo club. He was an assistant of physical education in his high school. One day, the instructor of physical education as well as the Judo club asked him to stay in the exercise room after class. Although there were two assistants, only U was asked to stay in the room. The example (16) indicates the conversation between U and the instructor in the room.

(16) Bukatsu (club activity)

- |    |                                    |                               |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1  | U: ... de,                         | U: and,                       |
| 2  | ... omae,                          | 'You, despite the fact that   |
| 3  | taiikuiin na no ni,                | (you) are an assistant for    |
|    |                                    | physical education,           |
| 4  | bukatsu,                           | club activity                 |
| 5  | nanimono,                          | anything,                     |
| 6  | haitte nai no ka,                  | (you) haven't joined?'        |
| 7  | toka itte.                         | (the teacher) said like that. |
| 8  | M:un.                              | M: uh-huh.                    |
| 9  | U: .. korekara,                    | U: 'From now,                 |
| 10 | hairoo to omotte masu toka it[te]. | (I) will join (a club),'      |
|    |                                    | (I) said like that.           |
| 11 | M:                                 | [un]. M: uh-huh.              |
| 12 | U: ... nan ni,                     | U: 'What (club),              |
| 13 | hairun__ (/hain/) da.              | are (you) joining?'           |
| 14 | ... handobooru ga ii ka na,        | 'The handball club might      |
|    |                                    | be good,                      |
| 15 | toka omotte toka itte sa.          | (I) think like that' (I said) |
|    |                                    | something like that.          |
| 16 | M:un.                              | M: uh-huh.                    |
| 17 | U: ... juudoo ni,                  | U: 'Judo club,                |
| 18 | hairu ki wa,                       | don't you feel like           |
| 19 | nai ka,                            | joining?'                     |

20	tte iwareta <X wake X>.	(I) was told.
21	M:u=n.	M:Yeah.
22	U: ... de,	U: and,
23	hairu ki ga,	there is no reason
24	aru wake,	that (I) feel like
25	<@ nee jan,	joining
26	sonna no] @>	such (a club). (laughing)

In this example, *toka* illustrates the main lines of the story. The teacher asked U whether he had joined any club. U replied that he would probably join the handball club. U's comment about the Judo club in lines 22-26, which is not directly related to the flow of the event, is background information. This comment is introduced with a non-quotation. Both zero-marking and *tte* are used for describing the instructor's utterances. In lines 12-13, the instructor's question is zero-marked, when he asked which club U was joining. In lines 17-20, the instructor asked whether U felt like joining the Judo club. This utterance is marked with *tte*. In the process that U became a member of the Judo club, these utterances are significant because these questions are the starting point of U's Judo life in his school. The person who asked the questions was the instructor of the Judo club, and this means that it was almost impossible for U to reject the instructor's implicit expectation. Students are supposed to respect instructors in general in Japan, although this tendency is lessening. The implicit pressure that students should follow their superiors, such as their instructors, is still strong in Japan. In addition, the instructor in the story was the chief of Judo club, who was physically strong. The instructor's utterance in lines 12-13 and 17-20 had a strong impact on U, and both zero-marking and *tte* may function as the markers of the peak in this example.

It seems that the peakness in (15) and (16) is a little different. Although both excerpts (15) and (16) are almost the same length, the length of the whole story and the structure of the two conversations, from which these examples are excerpted, are very different. 'Shoorinji' consists of several different short stories, and the story in (15) is one of them. In contrast, 'Bukatsu' is a long story, and the excerpt in (16) is just part of a longer story. Therefore, the peak in (15) is that of the entire story, whereas the peak in (16) is only the peak of an

episode. The entire story of 'Shoorinji' has only 90 intonation units, whereas 'Bukatsu' consists of about 700 intonation units. This factor might affect the degree of peakness in the narrative. That is, the peak in (15) is more clearly focused than that in (16).

In addition, the functional difference between *tte* and zero-marking is unclear. My intuition is that '*juudoo ni hairu ki wa nai ka* (Don't you feel like joining the judo club?)' is more important in the discourse than '*nan ni hairun da* (What club are you joining?)' in (16). That is, the *tte*-marked utterance is more important than the zero-marked utterance. If so, it seems that the example in (15) does not have a peak since the quotative particle *tte* is not used in either the excerpt or in the entire story. It is possible that both *tte* and zero-marking can mark the peak. In the rest of the story in 'Bukatsu', both *tte* and zero-marking are used for demonstrating significant information in the story. On the other hand, zero-marking is dominantly used for indicating the peak in other short stories in 'Shoorinji.' The speaker's personal preference might be related to the choice of these quotative markers. In order to differentiate between *tte* and zero-marking as a peak marker in narratives, further investigation is necessary.

In sum, through an examination of narrative-type conversations, the function of each quotative marker becomes clearer. Narrative-type conversations in my data, which consist of many quotations, are basically divided into three levels: background, event and peak. The background is not sequential and tends to amplify or comment on the main narrative events. This level is indicated by non-quotations in the narratives of my data. Both event and peak are demonstrated using quotations. The quotative marker *toka* is used to indicate event in Jones & Jones' sense, and the main event in Hopper's sense. Therefore, *toka* is frequently used in narrative-type conversations in my data. The peak is the most significant event in a narrative. Both zero-marking and *tte* are used for demonstrating peak in one narrative, while only zero-marking is used for the peak in another narrative. The degree of peakness that both particles can show is not clear at this point. They could be the same, but they might be different. It is also possible that we have a multiple-level structure, of narrative-type conversations, having more than three levels, as suggested by Jones & Jones. In this structure, significant information is divided into four levels at the most : 1) peak; 2) pivotal

event; 3) background event; 4) ordinary event. Pivotal events are very crucial or significant events of a narrative, marked by a specific grammatical element. In this structure, zero-marking could mark peak, and *tte* could mark pivotal events, or vice versa. In any case, *toka* indicates event, and zero-marking and *tte* are related to the peak or peak-like significant information.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper first examined the types of quotative markers and frequency of each quotative marker in conversational Japanese. Although only two quotative markers, *tte* and *to*, have been extensively examined in previous studies, two more markers, *toka* and zero-marking are used in conversations in my data. The frequency of the use of *toka* is especially high, occurring in about half of the quotations in my data. The complementizer *to*, which is typical in constructed data, is rarely used in my data. After examining the types of quotative markers and their frequency, the relationship between discourse genre and function of the four types of quotative marker was explored. Although the dictionary definition of *toka* introduces its meaning as a marker of uncertain hearsay, not all uncertain hearsay are marked by *toka*. In order to study functions of each marker, my data was divided into different levels of formality. As Hopper (1987) claims, grammar is decided in discourse. The comparison of formal conversation, interviews for academic purposes, and informal type conversations including narratives, demonstrates that *toka* indicates less formality, and *to* indicates more formality. *To* is used only in formal conversations. The relationship between the formality of conversations and choice of quotative marker is basically that the more informal the discourse, more *toka* is chosen.

Next genre I examined is narrative type conversations. Since the definition of narratives in previous studies did not fit my data, I created my own criteria for selecting narrative conversations. One criterion is storytelling, which consists of time-sequential event, in a conversation. Another criterion is the storyteller's domination of the conversation. Two narrative conversations were chosen from the informal conversations, and the functions of three quotative markers were examined. Based on Jones & Jones (1979) and Hopper (1979), I divided the narratives into three levels: background, event and peak. For background information, which is not sequential, non-quotation is used. For event, which is a significant

line of story, *toka*-marked quotation is used. For peak, which is the most significant event, either *tte* or zero-marking is used.

Two types of discourse, formal conversations and informal, narrative conversations, were examined regarding the function of quotative markers. Each genre showed a different function of each quotative marker. *Toka* in actual conversations has two functions, other than indicating uncertain hearsay, depending on the genre of the discourse: 1) to show the informality of the conversation; and 2) to show an event in narratives. My study in this paper demonstrates the relationship between discourse and grammar, as claimed by Hopper (1987). *Toka* does not always demonstrate uncertainty about a quotation. It can be used even if the speaker is certain about what s/he quotes. Conversely, *to* can be used when the speaker is uncertain about the quotation, in order to show, for example, formality. It is difficult to know the true function of the quotative markers when they are isolated from their real usage in a context. We should also examine the function within the context in which the marker is used. As Hopper argues, grammar is shaped by discourse as much as it shapes discourse.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Although in previous studies (i.e., Maruyama 1996, Matsumoto 1999), it has been pointed out that *toka* is used as a hedge, especially among young people, I focus on the functions of *toka* as a quotative marker in this study. The previous studies show the tendency of frequent use of *toka* among young people and the interpretation that *toka* is used as a hedge. I agree with this interpretation intuitively. However, it seems that these studies show no evidence for why *toka* is often interpreted as a hedge.
- <sup>2</sup> Coulmas and Kamada used both constructed data and conversational data.
- <sup>3</sup> Abbreviations used in glosses: ACC=accusative, NOM=nominative, Q-PTCL= quotation particle.
- <sup>4</sup> *Toka* has another definition, too, which is to list some matters or items or events as inexhaustive examples.
- <sup>5</sup> *Desu* is the polite form of the copula *da*. *Masu* is the polite form of the verbal ending (Jordan 1987, Makino and Tsutsui 1994).
- <sup>6</sup> Final particles are generally associated with affective closeness to the addressee, although each has its own set of connotations (i.e., Cook 1992, Maynard 1993).
- <sup>7</sup> *Ttsutte* in my data is treated as the shortened form of *tte itte*. Therefore, the quotation marker in this example is counted as *tte*.
- <sup>8</sup> Three of the six interviewees used *to* in the formal conversations.
- <sup>9</sup> I basically followed Maynard's (1989) definition: a short message which is sent by a listener during the other's speaking turn. Although she includes head movement as a back-channel, I did not include it.
- <sup>10</sup> The criteria she cited are as follows: Narratives are an oral version of an experience in which events are related in the order in which they presumably occurred. Their defining characteristic is the relationship of TEMPORAL JUNCTURE between at least two clauses: if a change in the order of the two clauses results in a change in the interpretation of what actually happened, then those two clauses are NARRATIVE CLAUSES, and the events reported are NARRATIVE EVENTS. (Labov and Waletzky 1967, Labov 1972) (Schiffrin 1981:47)
- <sup>11</sup> In the case that a narrative does not include quotations, other grammatical elements, such as tense-aspect markers, can show the distinction between foreground and background. In my data, there are only two narratives, and both narratives contain quotations. However, not all narratives contain quotations. Some narratives may contain only non-quotations. It is also possible that narratives contain both quotations and non-quotations for indicating significant information. It is very interesting to examine what grammatical elements are used for showing the distinction between foreground and background in those narratives which include both quotations and non-quotations for indicating significant information.

## References

- Aoki, Haruo. (1986). Evidentials in Japanese. In Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. 223-238. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. (1973). *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Translated by Ladislav Matejka and I.R. Titunik. New York: Seminar Press.
- Clancy, Patricia. (1980). Referential choice in English and Japanese narrative discourse. In Wallace Chafe (ed.), *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, Cultural, and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*. NJ: Ablex.
- , (1982). Written and spoken style in Japanese narratives. In D. Tannen (ed.), *Spoken and Written Languages*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Clancy, P.M. & Dowling, P. (1987). The use of Wa as a cohesion marker in Japanese oral narratives. In J. Hinds, S.K. Manyard, & S. Iwasaki (eds.), *Perspectives on Topicalization: The Case of Japanese 'Wa'*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Cook, Haruko, M. (1992). Meanings of non-referential indexes: A case study of the Japanese sentence-final particle *ne*. *Text* 12 (4). 507-539.
- Coulmas, Florian. (1986). Direct and indirect speech in Japanese. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *Direct and Indirect Speech*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Du Bois, John., Susanna Cumming, Stephan Schuetze-Coburn, and Danae Paolino. (1991). *Discourse Transcription*. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- , (1993). Outline of discourse transcription. In Jane A. Edwards and Martin D. Lampert (eds.), *Talking Data: Transcription and Coding in Discourse Research*. 45-89. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Endo, Hiroko. (1982). Nihongo no wahoo. *Gengo*. vol. 11(3). 86-94.
- Fujita, Yasuyuki. (1988). "In,yoo" ron no sikai. *Nihongogaku*. vol. 7 (9). 30-45.
- , (1999). In,yoobun no koozo [The structure of quotations]. *Kokugogaku* vol. 198. 1-15.
- Hayashi, Makoto. (1996). An exploration of sentence-final uses of the quotative particle in Japanese spoken discourse. In Ho-min Sohn & John Haig (eds.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* vol. 6. Stanford : CSLI, Stanford University.
- , (n.d.) On the sentence-initial and sentence-final occurrences of the quotative particle *to* in Japanese.
- Hinds, John. (1976)a. *Aspects of Japanese Discourse Structure*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.
- , (1976) b. A taxonomy of Japanese discourse types. *Linguistics*. 184. 45-54.
- Hirose, Yukio. (1988). Gengo-hyoogen no reberu to wahoo. *Nihongogaku* vol. 7 (9). 4-13.
- Hopper, Paul. (1979). Aspect and foregrounding in discourse. *Syntax and Semantics*

- vol. 12. 213-241.
- (1987). Emergent of grammar. *Proceedings of the thirteenth annual meeting*. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Horiguchi, Sumiko. (1995). Kaiwa ni okeru in,yoo no “~tte” ni yoru shuuketsu ni tsuite. *Nihongo Kyoiku*. vol. 3. 85. 12-24
- Hui, Harling. (1999). Bunmatsu no [tte] no imi to danwa kinoo. *Nihogo Kyoiku*. vol. 7. 101. 81-90.
- Ide, Sachiko. (1982). Japanese sociolinguistics politeness and women's language. *Lingua* 57. 357-85.
- Ikuta, Shoko. (1983). Speech level shift and conversational strategy in Japanese discourse. *Language Sciences* 5 (1). 37-53.
- Iwasaki, Shoichi. (1993). The structure of the intonation unit in Japanese. In Soonja Choi (ed.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* vol 3. Stanford: CSLI, Stanford University.
- (1993). *Subjectivity in Grammar and Discourse. Theoretical Considerations and A Case Study of Japanese Spoken Discourse*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Jones, Larry and Jones, Linda. (1979). Multiple levels of information in discourse. In Linda Jones & Robert E. Longacre (eds.), *Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics & University of Texas at Arlington.
- Jorden, E. H. and Noda, Mari. (1987). *Japanese: the Spoken Language*. Connecticut: Yale University.
- Kamada, Osamu. (1988). Nihongo no dentatsu hyoogen. *Nihongogaku*. vol.7 (9). 59-72.
- (1990). Reporting messages in Japanese as a second language. In Kamada, O., & Jacobsen, W. M. (eds.), *On Japanese and How to Teach It: in Honor of Seiichi Makino*. Tokyo: Japan Times.
- Kuno, Susumu. (1973). *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Labov, William. (1972). *Language in the Inner City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, William and Waletzky, Joshua. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In June Helm (ed.), *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*. Seattle: Washington University Press. 12-44.
- Longacre, Robert E. (1976). *Discourse Grammar: Studies in Indigenous Languages of Colombia, Panama and Ecuador*. Tex: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Makino, Seiichi and Tsutsui, Michio (1994). *A Dictionary of Basic Japanese Grammar*. Tokyo: Japan Times.

- Maruyama, Naoko. (1996). Hanashi kotoba no joshi [toka][nanka][nante]. *Nihon Bungaku*. Tokyo: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku
- Matsumoto, Yoshiko. (1999). Sedai to kotoba no sentaku. *Gengogaku to Nihongo Kyoiku*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishing.
- Mayes, Patricia. (1990). Quotation in spoken English. *Studies in Language*. vol. 14 325-363.
- Maynard, Senko K. (1984). Function of *to* and *koto-o* in speech and thought representation in Japanese written discourse. *Lingua* 64. 1-24.
- , (1986). The particle -o and content-oriented indirect speech in Japanese written discourse. In Coulmas (ed.) *Direct and Indirect Speech*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- , (1989). *Japanese Conversation: Self-Contextualization through Structure and Interactional Management*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- , (1993). *Discourse Modality: Subjectivity, Emotion and Voice in the Japanese Language*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- McCawley, N. A. (1978). Another look at *no*, *koto*, and *to*: Epistemology and complementizer choice in Japanese. In John Hinds & Irwin Howard (eds.), *Problems in Japanese Syntax and Semantics*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.
- Nakada, Tomoko. (1991). Kaiwa ni arawareru kurikaeshi no kenkyu. *Nihongogaku*. vol. 10 (10). 52-62.
- Nakau, Minoru. (1973). *Sentential Complementaion in Japanese*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.
- Nakayama, Toshihide and Ichihashi-Nakayama, Kumiko. (1997). Japanese *kedo*: discourse genre and grammaticization. In Ho-min Sohn & John Haig (eds.), *Japanese / Korean Linguistics*. vol. 6. Stanford: CSLI, Stanford University.
- Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* [The dictionary of the Japanese language]. (1975). Tokyo: Shogakkan.
- Nihon Bunpoo Daijiten* [The dictionary of Japanese grammar]. 1971. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Okamoto, Shigeko. (1995). Pragmaticization of meaning in some sentence-final particles in Japanese. In M. Shibatani and S. A. Thompson (eds.), *Esseys in Semantics and Pragmatics: Honor of Charles J. Fillmore*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Sams, Greg. (1993). *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Schffrin, Deborah. (1981). Tense variation in narrative. *Language* 57. (1) 45-62.
- Shibatani, Masayosi. (1978). *Nihongo no bunseki*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Soga, Matsuo. (1983). *Tense and Aspect in Modern Colloquial Japanese*. Canada: University of British Columbia.

- Sukle, Robert. J. (1994). Uchi/soto: choices in directive speech acts in Japanese. In J. M. Bachnik and C. J. Quinn, Jr., (eds.), *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society, and Language*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 113-142.
- Sunakawa, Yuriko. (1988). In, yoobun ni okeru ba no niyuusei ni tsuite. *Nihongogaku* vol. 7 (9). 14-29.
- Suzuki, Ryoko. (1999). *Grammaticization in Japanese. A Study of Pragmatic Particle-ization*. Santa Barbara: University of California. dissertation.
- Suzuki, Satoko. (1996). A study of the sentence-final *mitai na*. *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*. vol. 29 55-78.
- Swan, Syoko. (1999). Tegamibun ni mirareru [ru-kei] to [ta-kei]. *Koza Nihongo Kyoiku* 31. 230-239
- Szatrowski, Polly. (1985). The use of Japanese tense-aspect forms for vividness effect and participant tracking in conversations about past experiences. *Journal of Asian Cultures*. vol. 9 102-124.
- (1987). "Pastness" and "narrative events" in Japanese conversational narratives. In R. S. Tomlin (ed.), *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Tsuchihashi, Mika. (1983). The speech act continuum: An investigation of Japanese sentence final particles. *Journal of Pragmatics* vol. 7 361-387.
- Underhill, Robert. (1988). Like is, like, focus. *American Speech* vol. 63. 234-246.
- Watanabe, Yasuko. (1984). A study of complementization in Japanese: *To, koto, and no*. *Papers in Linguistics* vol. 17 351-368.

## Appendix

### Symbols in the transcripts

{ carriage return } intonation unit  
-- truncated intonation unit  
- truncated word  
[ ] speech overlap  
: speaker identity / turn start  
, continuing  
. final  
? appeal  
...(N) long pause  
... medium pause  
.. short pause  
(0) latching  
(H) inhalation  
(Hx) exhalation  
@ laughter  
<Y Y> quality  
<@ @> laugh quality  
<Q Q> quotation quality  
<X X> uncertain quality  
X indecipherable syllable