

# Roles in Interaction and Sentence-ending Particles: some differences between two casual interviews

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## Abstract

To examine interaction, Tanaka (2001) proposed three categories: ‘societal roles’, ‘interpersonal roles’ and ‘activity roles’. Then, she applied this categorization to actual data and analyzed the interaction from some different perspectives (See Tanaka, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010).

This paper will apply the same categorization to two casual interviews: a daughter interviews her mother and her father. The interaction begins as the daughter asks her mother/father to tell her what s/he would like to say to the younger generations. One of their ‘societal roles’ of the mother, the father and the daughter is a homemaker, a pensioner, and a teacher respectively. And their gender role (a woman and a man in the society) can be considered another ‘societal role’. One ‘interpersonal role’ is mother/father-daughter, and another can be woman/man-woman. Their ‘activity roles’ are regarded as the interviewer (daughter) and the interviewee (mother/father).

To examine how these roles affect their linguistic choices, this paper will focus on Japanese sentence-ending particles. I hope the results will show us how their role differences are reflected in their use of sentence-ending particles, and will be of some use for the researchers who are interested in this field.

## 対話における役割と終助詞の使用について — 2つの略式インタビューに見られる違いから —

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### 要旨

筆者は、田中（2001）において、会話でのやりとりを分析する際に考察する必要があると考えられる3つの役割、「社会役割」「対人関係役割」「活動役割」を提案した。その後、このカテゴリーを実際の会話に適用し、それらの役割がどのようにコミュニケーションに影響を与えるかを様々な視点から調査してきた（田中 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010 参照）。

本稿では、同様のカテゴリーを2つの略式インタビュー（母と娘、父と娘）に適用する。それぞれのインタビューは、娘が父／母に、若い世代に話しておきたいことを語ってほしいと依頼することから始まる。父、母、娘の「社会役割」のひとつは、各々、退職後の年金生活者、主婦、教員であるが、その社会のひとりの男性、女性というジェンダー役割も「社会役割」のひとつと見ることができる。また、娘との「対人関係役割」は「父／母と娘」であるが、「男性と女性」「女性同士」もそのひとつであろう。「活動役割」は、娘はインタビュアー、父／母はインタビュイーと考えることができる。

これらの様々な役割が彼らの言語における選択にどう関わるかを調べるに当たり、ここでは各々の終助詞の使用に焦点を当てて分析する。この結果が、参加者が持ちうる多様な役割と言語的選択との関係をより明らかにし、この分野に興味をもつ研究者の一助となれば幸いである。

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In my previous study (Tanaka 2010), I focused on face-to-face interactions between a father and his daughter (myself) and analyzed what politeness strategies the daughter employs to agree, disagree, and avoid disagreement with her father. In the analysis, I sometimes referred to other studies of mine (Tanaka 2005, 2006, 2009) and compared the father-daughter talk with the mother-daughter talk. The comparison revealed some interesting differences, and one of them was their different use of sentence-ending particles (See Tanaka 2010: 122-124).

However, because of the different types of the data source (the mother-daughter talk is from their telephone conversation, while the father-daughter talk is from face-to-face interaction), the data are not exactly comparable and it may rather difficult to interpret the results. To have more parallel data to compare, I conducted a casual face-to-face interview to my mother. As I did to my father, I asked my mother what she wants to say to her younger generations and let her talk freely. I hope that the comparison between these casual interviews with my father and my mother will show us how their role differences are reflected in their use of sentence-ending particles.

## 2. RESEARCH DESIGN

### 2.1 Data

Data 1 and Data 2 are shown in Chart 1 and 2 below. According to the typology by Silverman (2006: 110), their talks can be categorized into ‘open-ended interviews’. Adapting from Noaks and Wincup (2004), Silverman gives required skills for open-ended interviews: flexibility, rapport with the interviewee, and the interviewer’s active listening. These skills were actively used in my interviews.

With the interviewees’ permission, their interviews were recorded on the dates shown in the charts below, and all their interactions were transcribed for analysis. (The age of the participant is of the interview time.)

**Chart 1. Data 1: Father-Daughter Interview**

Type of interaction		Open-ended interview
Date of Recording		3 November, 2001
Time length		41 minutes 16 seconds
Participants	Father (F)	82 years old
	Daughter (D)	47 years old

**Chart 2. Data 2: Mother-Daughter Interview**

Type of interaction		Open-ended interview
Date of Recording		26 March, 2010
Time length		43 minutes 17 seconds
Participants	Mother (M)	79 years old
	Daughter (D)	56 years old

## 2.2 Roles of the Participants

To the data shown above, I will apply the categorization of roles which I developed in Tanaka (2001): the basic definition of each role is explained in each section below. I hope that the categorization will make the characteristics of their roles and relationships clearer. The possible roles of F-D and M-D are shown in Chart 3 and 4 below. Roles are varied and changeable as the interaction proceeds, and the roles shown below are simply some possibilities:

**Chart 3. Roles of the Participants: F-D**

	SOCIAL ROLE				
	SOCIETAL ROLE	INTERPERSONAL ROLE		ACTIVITY ROLE	
		Role Focus	Main Role	Main Role	Speech Act Role
F	Pensioner (Retired office worker) <u>Man</u>	elderly	<u>Father</u>	Interviewee	answer giver
D	Teacher Woman	working	Daughter	Interviewer	question asker

**Chart 4. Roles of the Participants: M-D**

	SOCIAL ROLE				
	SOCIETAL ROLE	INTERPERSONAL ROLE		ACTIVITY ROLE	
		Role Focus	Main Role	Main Role	Speech Act Role
M	<u>Homemaker</u> <u>Woman</u>	elderly	<u>Mother</u>	Interviewee	answer giver
D	Teacher Woman	working	Daughter	Interviewer	question asker

### 2.2.1 Societal role

*Societal role* is defined as ‘a role which the individual occupies in society, regardless of the relationship with another interactant in the current interaction’ (Tanaka 2001: 70). For example, if a person is a teacher by occupation,

s/he may be regarded as a ‘teacher’ by another interactant, even when the interactant is not her/his student.

Applying the category to my data, their societal roles of Data 1 are Pensioner and Teacher (Chart 3), while those of Data 2 are Homemaker and Teacher (Chart 4). In the sense that F had already retired but has a long experience of working, F and D may have something in common as a worker. On the other hand, M and D may have some empathy to each other, as they share the same gender role in Japanese society.

### 2.2.2 Interpersonal role

*Interpersonal role* is defined as ‘the personal relationship obtaining between one interactant and another’ (Tanaka 2001:71).<sup>1</sup> Unlike *societal role*, *interpersonal role* is based on the actual relationship between the interactants: e.g. teacher – student.

In Data 1, their interpersonal roles are Father and Daughter (Chart 3), while they are Mother and Daughter in Data 2 (Chart 4). The role of mother and father probably differ from each other in Japanese society, and the difference may affect D’s reaction to each.

### 2.2.3 Activity role

*Activity role* is defined as ‘the relationship obtaining between one interactant and another in that particular *activity type* (See Levinson 1979) where the interaction occurs’ (Tanaka 2001: 73-76). For example, a teacher plays the activity role of ‘teacher’ in class, which affects her/his linguistic choices.

As mentioned above, the activity type of my data is regarded as an open-ended interview. In this activity type, they mainly play the activity role of ‘interviewer’ and ‘interviewee’. Focusing on the speech acts they make, the interviewer (D) plays the role of ‘question asker’, and the interviewee (F and M) plays the role of ‘answer giver’ (for the details, see Tanaka 2005). The activity roles may constrain their linguistic behavior as Tanaka (2001) points out as follows:

‘Activity roles’ constrain all their moves in interaction. ‘The interviewer’ is supposed to take the initiative in controlling the talk (e.g. initiating a topic, guiding a topic in a certain direction), and being ‘polite’ to ‘the interviewee’ who is considered a guest in this activity type. (Tanaka 2001: 74)

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<sup>1</sup> In Tanaka (2001), I termed it ‘personal relationship role’. Following Thomas (2001), I changed the term into ‘interpersonal role’.



## 2.3 Points of Analysis

Considering the roles discussed above, I would like to see what role affects their language use in what way. To examine this, I will focus on one linguistic aspect, Japanese sentence-ending particles: ‘ne’ ‘no’ ‘yo’ ‘sa’ and ‘wa’. They play important roles in Japanese conversation, and I believe that examining their use will show us some relationship between our roles and the language use.

## 3. RESULTS

Considering the roles discussed above, I will investigate how each role affects their use of sentence-ending particles: ‘ne’ ‘no’ ‘yo’ ‘sa’ and ‘wa’. The following charts show the total number of each sentence-ending particle in the interactions between F and D (Chart 5) and between M and D (Chart 6). (The particles were counted only at the end of the turn, not in the middle of their utterance.)

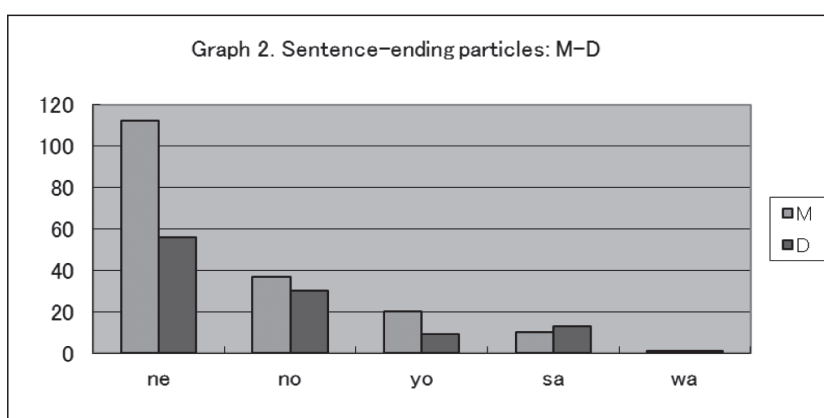
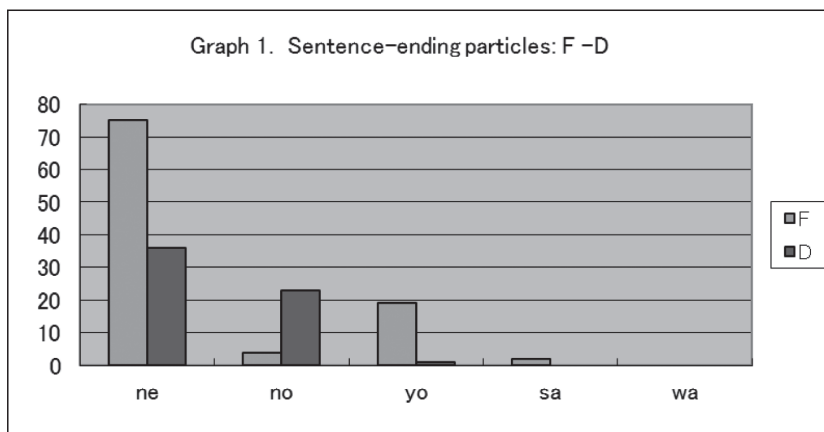
**Chart 5. Distribution of sentence-ending particles: F-D**

ending	ne							no	yo				sa	wa
variety	ne nee	yo -ne	no -ne	wa- -ne	no -yo -ne	wa -yo -ne	total	no	yo	no -yo	wa -yo	total	sa saa	wa
F	72	2	1	—	—	—	<b>75</b>	4	18	1	—	<b>19</b>	2	—
D	33	3	—	—	—	—	<b>36</b>	<b>23</b>	1	—	—	<b>1</b>	—	—

**Chart 6. Distribution of sentence-ending particles: M-D**

ending	ne							no	yo				sa	wa
variety	ne nee	yo -ne	no -ne	wa -ne	no -yo -ne	wa -yo -ne	total	no	yo	no -yo	wa -yo	total	sa saa	wa
M	96	7	2	1	5	1	<b>112</b>	<b>37</b>	12	7	1	<b>20</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>
D	46	8	1	1	—	—	<b>56</b>	<b>28</b>	9	—	—	<b>9</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1</b>

Sentence-ending particles can form a cluster like ‘no-yo-ne’. Focusing on the very ending of the cluster, the numbers of ‘ne’ (the total) ‘no’ ‘yo’ (the total) ‘sa’ and ‘wa’ are shown in Graph 1 and 2 below. I would like to discuss the results of each particle in detail below.



### 3.1 The Use of ‘ne’

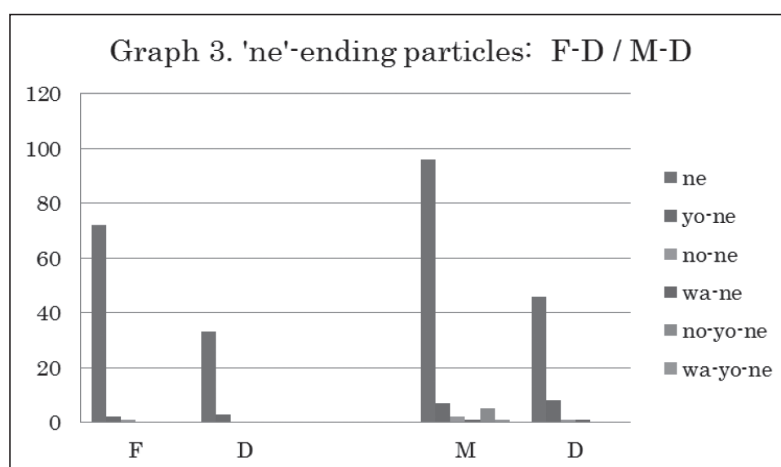
Chino (1991) mentions the basic functions of the particle ‘ne’ as follows:

- ne*:
1. Indicates emotion or feelings of admiration.
  2. Indicates agreement with the other person.
  3. Softens a request.
  4. Indicates a request for confirmation.
  5. Indicates a mild assertion of, or variance in, option.
  6. Indicates a mild assertion.

(Chino 1991: 110-112; my underlining)

These functions indicate that the particle ‘ne’ plays various important *affec-tive* roles in Japanese conversation. As Tanaka (2009, 2010) suggests, ‘ne’ is probably most often used in conversation among Japanese sentence-ending particles. Graph 1 and Graph 2 above also support this.

When we compare these two data, however, we find some differences in the frequency. Graph 3 shows the frequency of ‘ne’ and ‘ne’-ending particle clusters (e.g. ‘yo-ne’ ‘no-ne’ ‘no-yo-ne’) which are used in F-D (Data 1) and M-D (Data 2) interactions. As seen below, they are more used by M than F. What explains the difference?



### 3.1.1 Societal role: woman

One cause of the different frequency may be attributed to one of the societal roles of M: ‘woman’. Lakoff (1975), a pioneer in the linguistics on gender differences, points out that women use tag questions more than men:

When we leave the lexicon and venture into syntax, we find that syntactically too women’s speech is peculiar. To my knowledge, there is no one syntactic rule in English that only women may use. But there is at least one rule that a woman will use in more conversational situations than a man. (...) <sup>2</sup> This is the rule of tag-question formation.

(Lakoff 1975: 47 <sup>3</sup> my underlining)

On the other hand, referring to Lakoff (1972), Brown and Levinson (1987) mention the function of the Japanese particle ‘ne’:

R. Lakoff (1972, following Uyen0 1971) describes how the Japanese particle *ne* suspends the sincerity condition on assertions, the preparatory condition of coerciveness on orders, and the essential condition on questions – operations that are syntactically done in English with tags

<sup>2</sup> (...) indicates that this ellipsis was made by myself, not by the author.

<sup>3</sup> As I quote the text from Bucholtz (ed.) (2004), the page number may be different from the original version.

or with expressions like *I wonder*:

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 147 my underlining)

If both arguments are true, the more frequent use of ‘ne’ by M than F may be attributed to their gender difference. (Yet, D actually uses ‘ne’ less than F, and we need another explanation for this)

The gender of the participants seems to be reflected also in the use of ‘ne’-ending particle clusters: ‘yo-ne’ ‘no-ne’ ‘wa-ne’ ‘no-yo-ne’ and ‘wa-yo-ne’. They are all used more often in M-D interactions. Among them, ‘wa-ne’ ‘no-yo-ne’ and ‘wa-yo-ne’, in particular, sound feminine, and these are only seen in M-D interaction. Furthermore, as M uses them more than D, we may say that they are used more by women in older generations: M is 23 years older than D.

### 3.1.2 Interpersonal role: woman-woman

Another interesting point we can see here is that D uses ‘ne’ and ‘ne’-ending particle clusters more when she talks with M, than with F. This difference cannot be explained by D’s societal role, ‘woman’. Instead, we should probably focus on another interpersonal role which D has toward M: ‘woman-woman’. According to Tannen (1990), women have different purposes in conversation from men’s:

I, on the other hand, was approaching the world as many women do: as an individual in a network of connections. In this world, conversations are negotiations for closeness in which people try to seek and give confirmation and support, and to reach consensus.

(Tannen 1990: 25 my underlining)

In M-D interactions, we can see the characteristics of ‘woman-woman’ talk. In the following interaction, for example, they talk about their shared memories:

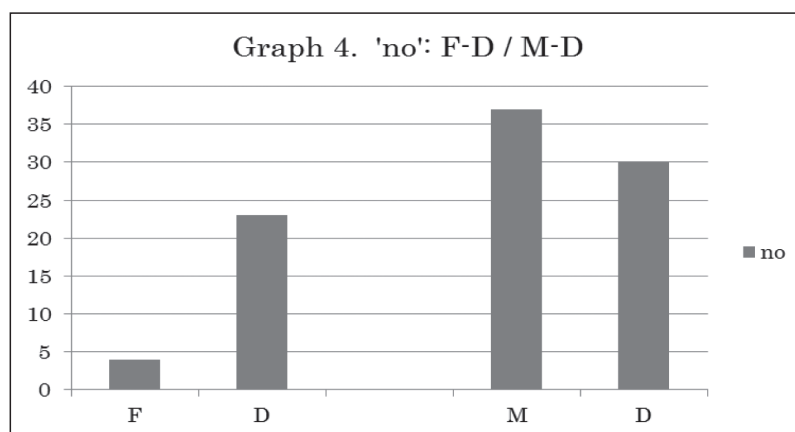
184 M:	(2s) どうかでみんなで会ったねえ？、 (2s) dokka de minna de atta <u>nee</u> ? ((2s) We all got together somewhere, didn’t we?)
185 D:	うん、何か集まつ、たよね、 un, nanka atsuma, tta <u>yo-ne</u> , (Yes, we got together somehow, didn’t we?)
186 M:	そう、話したねえ？、 soo, hanashita <u>nee</u> ? (Yes, we talked together, didn’t we?)
(…)	
193 D:	何かほんとに、あつという間にいろんなことが過ぎたねえ、 nanka honto ni, atto iu ma ni ironna koto ga sugita <u>nee</u> , (Things really passed so fast, didn’t they?)

The tendency to seek ‘connection and intimacy’ (Tannen 1990: 42) in conversation may be facilitated by the social and historical view they have in common. In the following interaction, M-D talk about women’s position in Japanese history, and they often use ‘ne’ here:

248 D:	そんな時代だったら、いないよね私みたいな <u>ね</u> sonna jidai dattara, inai yo ne atashi mitai na <u>ne</u> (In such a time, women like me couldn’t exist, could they?)
249 M:	勉強なんかしてたらもう売れ残りだよ <u>ね</u> 、 benkyoo nanka shite tara moo urenokori da <u>yo-ne</u> , (If you study or something, you couldn’t get married, could you?)
250 D:	そうだろう [ <u>ね</u> 、] soo daroo [ <u>ne</u> ,] (I suppose so.)

### 3.2 The Use of ‘no’

Let us consider another sentence-ending particle ‘no’. When this particle appears at the end, it does not make clusters with other particles before: that is, clusters like ‘ne-no’ ‘yo-no’ ‘sa-no’ or ‘wa-no’ do not appear. The number of use in F-D and M-D interaction is shown in Graph 4 below.



Chino (1991) gives three functions of sentence-ending particle ‘no’:

- no*:
1. Indicates a question (colloquial usage).
  2. Imparts a softer tone to a statement (usually used by women).
  3. Indicates a mild command. (Chino 1991: 60-61)

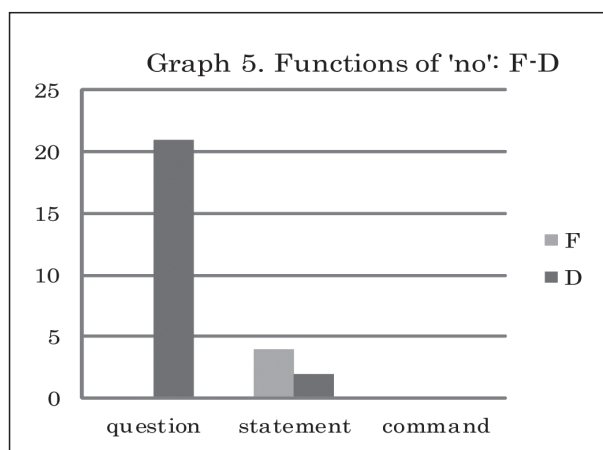
This means that ‘no’ can be a question marker and a softener to a statement or a command. Let us see how they can be related to the roles of participants.

### 3.2.1 Activity role: interviewer

In Graph 4 above, it is interesting to note that the use of ‘no’ significantly differs from F to D in F-D interaction: F uses ‘no’ only 4 times, while D uses 23 times. Tanaka (2010) attributes this difference to their activity roles as follows:

As Chino (1991: 60) points out, one of the main functions of ‘no’ is to indicate a question colloquially. In the interaction of F-D, D plays the role of an interviewer, and the activity role makes her ask questions frequently. (Tanaka 2010: 125)

Based on Chino (1991) above, let us analyze further the functions of ‘no’ in F-D interaction (Graph 5). Then, it is found that almost all of ‘no’ used by D are categorized into ‘question’: 21 (question), 2 (statement). In other words, the activity role of D (the interviewer) is certainly reflected here as Tanaka (2010) points out above.



The examples are seen in D’s utterances below:

408	D:	場所はどこにいたの？ basho wa doko ni ita <u>no</u> ? (Where were you then?)
430	D:	東京の大空襲があったのはお父さん、その〔召集される〕前なの？ tookyoo no daikuushuu ga atta no wa otoo-san<father>, sono [shooshuu sareru] mae <u>nano</u> ? (Was Tokyo attacked before you <father> were drafted?)
505	D:	じゃあの辺、あの、何にもなくなっちゃったの？ ja ano hen, ano, nani mo nakunat-chatta <u>no</u> ? (Then, nothing was left around there?)

On other hand, F, whose activity role is ‘interviewee’, uses ‘no’ only 4 times, and all of them are categorized into ‘statement’. For example:

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35	F:	(...)人を教える人が、あんなこと、やっていいのかねまったくおれー、もうそういう点が憤慨してんの、 (...) hito o oshieru hito ga, anna koto, yattete ii no ka ne mattaku ore, moo sooyuu ten ga fungai shite-n-no, (...) Is it OK that people who teach someone do such a thing? I really feel angry about it.)
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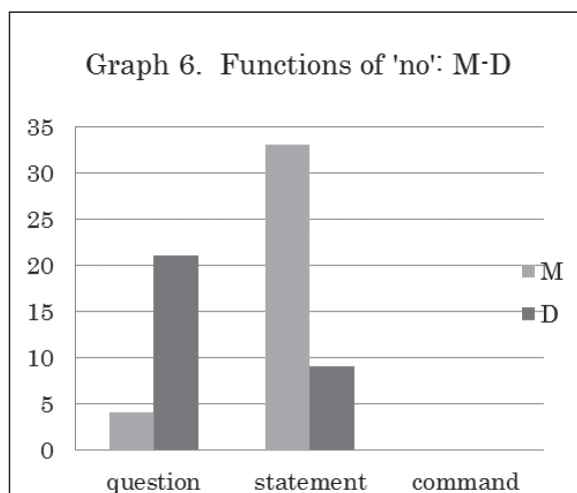
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111	F:	今の先生は知らん顔して、時間が来るまでこんなことやってんの、 ima no sensei wa shiraan-kao shite, jikan ga kuru made konnakoto yatte-n-no, (teachers in these days ignore them, and simply keep teaching until the time is up.)
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### 3.2.2 Societal role: woman

Next, let us see the interaction between M and D (Graph 6). D, whose activity role is ‘interviewer’, uses ‘no’ 30 times, and 21 are categorized into ‘question’. In this sense, D’s activity role also seems to be reflected in the function. However, M, whose activity role is ‘interviewee’, uses ‘no’ quite often: 37 times. What explains this? Examining the function, most of them (33/37) are categorized into ‘statement’.



M’s frequent use of ‘no’ may be explained by the following parenthesized part of Chino (1991): ‘no’ imparts a softer tone to a statement (usually used by women). M, one of whose societal roles is ‘woman’, uses ‘no’ more often than F, probably because she imparts a feminine softer tone to a statement. M’s generation seems to employ such a feminine use of ‘no’ more than D’s generation. The examples are seen below:

424 M:	で、あたしなんかはバケツ持って、 de atashi nanka wa baketsu motte (then, someone like me has a bucket, and)
425 D:	うん、 Un (um)
426 M:	夕方、小さい船が、帰ってくるとこに買いに行く <u>の</u> 、 yuugata, chiisai fune ga, kaette kuru toko ni kaini iku <u>no</u> , (goes to buy [fish] when small boats come back in the evening.)

In some discourse as below, D uses ‘no’ as a question indicator, while M responds it with ‘no’ as a statement softener:

760 M:	そこにこうね (0.5 s) あの、砂を固めて、 soko ni koo ne (0.5s) ano, suna o katame te (then like this (0.5) um, making some sand very hard,)
761 D:	何そのそれ、武器、武器な <u>の</u> ?、 nani sono sore, buki, buki na <u>no</u> ? (What’s that? Is it a weapon?)
762 M:	武器な <u>の</u> 、 buki na <u>no</u> . (It is a weapon.)

### 3.3 The Use of ‘yo’

Chino (1991) gives the basic functions of the sentence-ending particle ‘yo’ as follows:

- yo: 1. Urges a course of action.
2. Indicates a request (somewhat stronger than *ne*.)
3. Indicates a statement of certainty.
4. Indicates scolding or contempt.

(Chino 1991: 112-113 my underlining)

Comparing with the function of ‘ne’, Muzutani and Mizutani (1987) also explain about ‘yo’,:

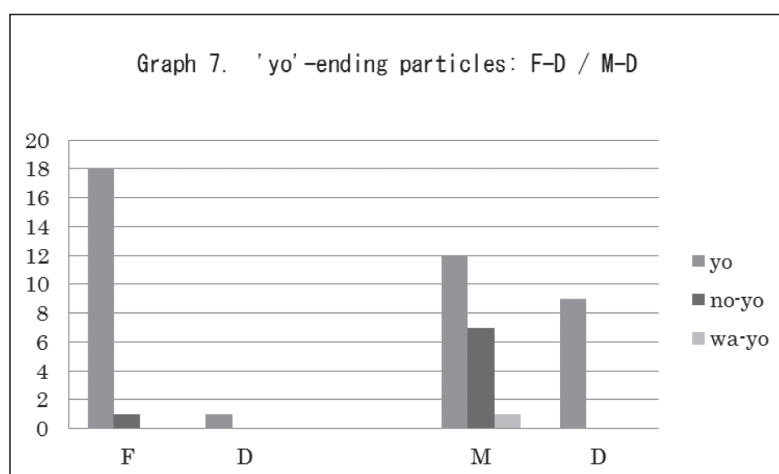
While “ne” indicates that the speaker feels the same way as the listener, “yo” shows that the speaker wants to emphasize his or her own judgment regardless of how the listener feels. (···) While saying “ne” the speaker is emotionally going closer to the listener; while saying “yo,” the speaker is emotionally pulling the listener toward himself.

(Mizutani and Mizutani 1987: 135 my underlining)

In other words, ‘yo’ is basically used when the speaker shows some power over the other person.



Let us see how it is reflected in the interaction of F-D and M-D. Graph 7 below shows the frequency of ‘yo’ and ‘yo’-ending particle clusters (‘no-yo’ and ‘wa-yo’).



### 3.3.1 Activity role: interviewee (F, M)

Focusing on F-D interaction in Graph 7, ‘yo’ is dominantly used by F (total: 19: ‘yo’ 18; ‘no-yo’ 1). This may be explained by his activity role. The interviewee, as an information giver, has some kind of power on the interviewer, and he may quite often emphasize his statement or opinion. For example:

78	F:	日本人はね、あの一規則は立派に作るけど実行がないんだよ、 Nihon-jin wa ne, anoo kisoku wa rippa ni tsukuru kedo jikkoo ga nai-n-da yo, (Japanese people make good rules, but they don't follow them.)
253	F:	こんな時代じゃあ、もう、お父さんほんーとにね、がっかりしちゃうよ、 kon-na jidai jaa, moo, otoo-san honnto ni ne, gakkari shichau yo, (With the current trend of the time, I <lit.:father> really feel disappointed.)
422	F:	これね、外地、もってかれちゃったら、もうお父さん死んでるよ、 kore ne, gaichi, motte'karechattara, moo otoo-san<lit.: father> shinderu yo, (If I had been sent abroad, I would have been dead.)

In M-D interaction, the total frequency of ‘yo’ and ‘yo’-ending particles is also higher on M (total 20: ‘yo’ 12, ‘no-yo’ 7, ‘wa-yo’ 1) than on D (total 9: ‘yo’ 9). Like F above, M also uses them especially when she gives D some information which is new to D. In this sense, M’s activity role, the interviewee, also seems to affect the use of the particles. In the following examples, M is talking about her younger age:

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617 M: もうこっちは眠いんだけど、1人[でね]、寝るのが、怖いのよ、  
 moo kotchi wa nemui-n-dakedo, hitori[de ne], neru no ga, kowai no-yo.  
 (I was so sleepy, but I was afraid of sleeping alone, you know.)

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1285 M: よく五郎さんとは遊んだよ  
 yoku goroo-san to wa asonda yo  
 (I used to play with Goro.)

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### 3.3.2 Societal role: woman (M)

The particle ‘no-yo’ sounds rather feminine, though men may use it as the following example shows:

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513 F: だから農学部sのキミ子のうちは今残ってるのよ、  
 dakara noogakubu no kimiko no uchi wa ima nokotteru no-yo.  
 (Then, Kimiko’s house near Agriculture Department is still there.)

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In contrast, M uses ‘no-yo’ much more than F (M 8; F 1), and the societal role of M, a woman, seems to be reflected here. For example:

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720 M: そいでもうー、バスもないの [よ、]  
 soide moou, basu mo nai no-[yo]  
 (and even a bus didn’t run at that time, you know.)

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877 M: (・・・) 2年の時に終戦、になつ、3年に[復学]して (0.5 s) で教科書がおかしいのよ、  
 (・・・) ninen no toki ni shuusen, ni natt, sannnen ni [fukugaku]shite (0.5s)  
 de kyookasho ga okashii no yo,  
 ((・・・) when I was in the second year, the war ended, and I went back to the third  
 year (0.5s) and the textbooks were not suitable for us, you know.)

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Generation difference is also seen here. While M uses ‘no-yo’ (7) and ‘wa-yo’ (1), D uses none of them. ‘Wa-yo’ and ‘wa’ sound quite feminine, and such feminine use of sentence-ending particles may be declining in younger generations.

### 3.3.3 Interpersonal role: mother-daughter / woman-woman

Another interesting thing in Graph 7 is that D uses ‘yo’ to M (9) much more than to F (1). This can be explained neither by D’s societal role nor by D’s activity role, as both roles are the same (e.g. woman / interviewer) in these interactions. The interpersonal roles may be the cause of the difference. One of their interpersonal relation is father-daughter/mother-daughter. The interpersonal roles may affect D’s use of ‘yo’.

Referring to American families, Holmes (1995) points out the differences of children’s way of talking to their mother and father:

(...) a study of directives in middle-class American families found that children used less polite imperatives to their mothers, and more mitigated directives to fathers. (Ervin-Tripp et al. 1984). The researchers suggest that these studies reflect the fact that mothers are perceived as less powerful than fathers, and as less deserving of respect or negative politeness. (Though it is worth noting that unmitigated directives are normal between intimates. The children may feel closer to their mothers.) (Holmes 1995: 159 my underlining)

As the underlined part above points out, children may show more respect to their father than to their mother. It may be the case also in Japanese society. D's less use of 'yo' to her father may be explained in the same way, as the particle indicates some power over the other person.

On the other hand, I would also like to focus on another interpretation which Holmes (1995: 159) gives: 'unmitigated directives are normal between intimates. The children may feel closer to their mothers'. In the same way, we may understand that D uses more 'yo' to M because D may feel closer to her mother, M.

We may further focus on another interpersonal roles between D and M: woman-woman. Tannen (1990) mentions that women seek 'intimacy' in conversation, while men seek 'independence'.

If intimacy says, "We're close and the same," and independence says, "We're separate and different," it is easy to see that intimacy and independence dovetail with connection and status. The essential element of connection is symmetry: People are the same, feeling equally close to each other. The essential element of status is asymmetry: People are not the same; they are differently placed in a hierarchy.

(Tannen 1990: 28 my underlining)

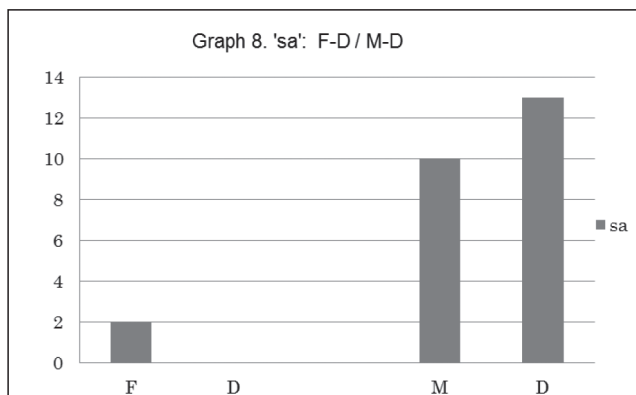
This may explain the symmetrical (M-D) and asymmetrical (F-D) use of 'yo', which we can see in Graph 7.

### 3.4 The Use of 'sa'

Chino (1991) gives the basic functions of the sentence-ending particle 'sa' :

- sa: 1. Softens an assertion. Used mostly by men.
2. Indicates a critical response to something.

(Chino 1991: 118 my underlining)



Seeing the results in Graph 8, we notice that this particle is mostly used in M-D interaction. That is, the results are contradictory to Chino's explanations above: 'Used mostly by men'. I would like to consider the relation between their roles and the use of this particle below.

### 3.4.1 Societal role: man (which is not clearly seen here)

Despite Chino's explanation above, F's uses of 'sa' are only two cases and his societal role of 'man' does not particularly seem to affect the use of this particle. In the first case, F criticizes the present state in Japan, and attributes the problems to families. Referring to his own utterance before (177), F tries to explain the cause of the problems. A slight irritation is felt in the use of 'sa': implying 'I told you'. This use of 'sa' may be categorized into No. 2 in Chino (1991) above: 'Indicates a critical response to something'.

177	F:	(...) うーんやっぱり、家庭からだろうね、 (...) uuun yappari, katee kara daroo ne, ((...)) well, families are the cause, I think,
192	D:	どして昔はそれができたのかしらね？ doshite mukashi wa sore ga dekita no kashira ne? (I wonder how it was possible in the past.)
193	F:	うんいやだから、 <u>さ</u> un iyaa dakara, <u>sa</u> (Umm because, as I told you,)
194	D:	家庭が？ katee ga? (because of the families?)

The other case of 'sa' appears when F talks about his childhood. In his days, even when their wooden sandals were broken, children had to wear the repaired ones until a new year came. This use of 'sa' may be categorized into No 1 in Chino (1991): softens an assertion. Yet, his societal role of 'man' is not particularly felt. Rather, in talking about F's younger days, their interpersonal role, 'father-daughter' seems to emerge here.

218	F:	もうーそれ履いてさ、 mooo sore haite <u>sa</u> , (we were wearing them [repaired ones], you know)
219	D:	うん、 un (um)
220	F:	あー、お正月が早く来ねーかなー早く来ないかなって言ったもんだよ、 aa, oshoogatsu ga hayaku konee ka naa hayaku konai ka natte itta mo-n-da yo, (longing for the new year to come)

M also uses ‘sa’ to indicate a critical response to something. In the following discourse, M talks about how marriages were in her younger days.

233	M:	キミコ姉さんなんて 20 ぐらいで結婚したんじゃない？、 kimiko-neesan nante hatachi gurai de kekkonn shita-n-ja nai? (My sister, Kimiko, probably got married when she was about 20, I think.)
234	D:	うーん？、 uun? (well?)
235	M:	晩婚とか言うとき、 bankon to ka yuu to <u>sa</u> , ( in later marriages, you know)
236	D:	うん、 un (um)
237	M:	ろくな [縁談] がないとかって言ってさ、 rokuna [endan] ga nai tokatte itte <u>sa</u> , (there are no good marriages, they said.)

On the other hand, D seems to use simply to soften her assertion, or to make her utterance rhythmical. In the beginning of the interview, D asks M to talk about any messages to younger generations:

57	D:	何か、ない、私へのメッセージとか（笑）何かこう、 nanka, nai, watashi e no messeeji to ka (laugh) nanka koo, (Isn't there anything, any message to me or (laugh) anything you know,)
58	M:	ああ今、 aa ima, (oh just now,)
59	D:	わっか、若い人へのメッセージとかさ、 wakka, wakai hito e no messeeji toka <u>sa</u> , (messages to younger generations, for example)
64	D:	私へのじゃなくても（0.5 s）うん、前お父さんにさ、 watashi e no ja nakutemo (0.5s) un, mae otoosan ni <u>sa</u> , (not necessarily to me but (0.5s) um, I asked Father before, you know.)
65	M:	うん、 un (Umm)

66 D:	何かこう (0.5 s) 話をしてもらったの (0.5 s) 採ってあるんだけど [さ] nanka koo (0.5s) hanashi o shite moratta no (0.5s) totte aru-n-dakedo [sa] (I asked him to talk(0.5s) about something (0.5s) that I recorded, you know.)
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Seeing D's use, we should say that 'sa' is used quite often by women. As far as our results show, Chino's explanation, 'Used mostly by men', is not the case.

### 3.4.2 Interpersonal role: woman-woman

As we have considered in 3.1.2 above, women tend to seek closeness in conversation and the particle 'ne' plays an important role for that purpose. We may see the similar function in 'sa', which is often used to facilitate conversation. D, who does not use 'sa' to F, uses this particle very frequently to M. This may be caused by the relation between D-M: D may express less respect to M because of their closeness and intimacy. They seem to enjoy the conversation, using the particle 'sa' as below:

708 M:	軍需工場に、 gunju koojoo ni, (in a military supply factory,)
709 D:	うんー、 unn, (huh)
710 M:	大変だったよ横須賀のさあ、 taihen dattayo yokosuka no saa, (It was a hard work, you know, in Yokosuka.)
711 D:	うん、 un (huh)
712 M:	造船、今も造船所になってるけど、 zoosen, imamo zoosenjo ni natteru kedo (a dock, it is also a dockyard now, though.)
836 M:	で (0.5 s) あのトシオさんの家だって、何？、あの兄さんの家族が de (0.5s) ano toshio-san no uchi date, nani?, ano niisan no kazoku ga, (and (0.5s) the family of Toshio-san also, um, his brother's family)
837 D:	うん、 un (uh)
838 M:	東京から疎開してきてさ、 tookyoo kara sokai shite kite sa, (evacuated from Tokyo, and stayed there)
839 D:	うん、 un (uh)
840 M:	私たちが入るところがなくて、[畑]のまんまん中に、あのお堂が建ってたの、 atashitachi ga hairu tokoro ga nakutte, [hatake]no manman-naka ni, ano odoo ga tattetano (so no place was for us to stay, and there was a shrine in the middle of the [field],)

### 3.5 The Use of ‘wa’: woman

As Chino (1991: 113) mentions that ‘*wa* is used mainly by women’, this particle is regarded as a feminine marker, though it can be occasionally used by men. Our result shows that ‘*wa*’ is used only in M-D interaction, and supports Chino above. It should be also noted, however, M and D use it only once each. It may suggest that the use of such a feminine marker may decline these days.

### 3.6 Summary

We have seen what roles the participants may have in their interaction, and what role affects their use of sentence-ending particles. Chart 7 below summarizes our discussion.

**Chart 7. Sentence-ending Particles and Roles of Participants**

Roles Sentence-ending Particles		SOCIETAL ROLE	INTERPERSONAL ROLE	ACTIVITY ROLE
ne	ne(e) yo-ne no-ne wa-ne no-yo-ne wa-yo-ne	woman (3.1.1)	woman-woman (3.1.2)	
no		woman (3.2.2)		interviewer (3.2.1)
yo	yo no-yo wa-yo	woman (3.3.2)	mother-daughter (3.3.3) woman-woman (3.3.3)	interviewee (3.3.1)
sa(a)		man/woman: not clearly seen (3.4.1)	woman-woman (3.4.2)	
wa		woman (3.5)		

## 4. CONCLUSION

We have seen what sentence-ending particles are used in F-D and M-D interactions, and considered how their uses reflect their ‘societal role’ ‘interpersonal role’ and ‘activity role’. Of course, the roles discussed above are not exclusive, and the possible roles they may have are much varied. In this sense, we examined only some aspects of their interactions. Yet, the results show us that the roles we may have in interaction affect our linguistic choice. I hope this small research will be of some use for other people who are interested in this field.

## TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS (in Japanese excerpts)

- F, D = speaker identification
- 、 = parcelling of talk; breathing time
- ? = rising tone
- = prolonged sound
- [ = start of overlapping speech
- ] = end of overlapping speech
- ( \* ) = the speaker's contribution is indistinct
- (laugh) = non-verbal contribution
- ( s ) = approximate seconds of the pause

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