

Discourse Functions of the Japanese Epistemic Modal DESYOO

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Discourse functions of the Japanese epistemic modal DESYOO  
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1. Introduction

The uses of the Japanese epistemic modal desyoo [1], defined by Jorden with Noda (1987:150) as the "TENTATIVE equivalent of desu [the copula] ... indicating probability, lack of certainty, imprecision and/or indirectness", have been characterized by Tanomura (1990) and Hasunuma (1992) in terms of a number of semantic-pragmatic uses. Building on these previous studies of desyoo and recent research by Herring (1991) on the grammaticalization of rhetorical questions in Tamil, I present an analysis of the discourse uses of desyoo in actual Japanese conversations and discuss the grammaticalization of desyoo in light of Herring's (1991) mechanisms for discourse-based grammaticalization and Hopper's (1991) grammaticization principle of "layering."

2. Previous research on desyoo

Tanomura (1990) analyzes desyoo in terms of three semantic-pragmatic uses. First, desyoo is often used for "simple inference" (tanzyun suiryoo) in utterances such as (1). Japanese grammarians have referred to this usage as the epistemic modal auxiliary (suiryoo zyodoosi). The information presented in the utterance that precedes desyoo is an inference about knowledge not in the speaker's direct experience. This use of desyoo is usually pronounced with falling intonation.

- (1) 多分、今晚、雨が降るだろう。 (Tanomura 1990:70)  
Tabun, konban, ame ga huru DAROO.  
It will probably rain tonight.

Tanomura characterizes the second usage of desyoo as a "request for confirmation of an inference" (suiryoo kakunin yookyuu). In this usage, the speaker requests confirmation from the hearer that the speaker's inference is correct and the proposition is usually related to the hearer's direct experience as in (2), or something for which the hearer has direct evidence [2].

- (2) 疲れているんでしょう。(もう寝なさい。) (Tanomura 1990:71)  
Tukarete iru n DESYOO. (Moo nenasai.)  
It's that (you)'re tired, aren't you. (Go to sleep now.)

Tanomura's third usage is a "request for confirmation of a fact" (zizitu kakunin yookyuu). In this usage the speaker uses desyoo to request the hearer's confirmation of information which the speaker believes is a fact and directs the hearer's attention to that fact as in (3).

- (3) 駅や地下街によくいるだろう、ああいう男が。 (Tanomura 1990:71)  
 Eki ya tikagai ni yoku iru DAROO. Aa iu otoko ga.  
 They're often in the station and underground markets, aren't they.  
 Those kinds of men.

Hasunuma (1992) is basically in agreement with Tanomura's analysis of the three uses of desyoo except that she points out that his third usage is not necessarily a request for confirmation of fact because this construction can be used to confirm a hypothetical situation as well. Hasunuma recharacterizes Tanomura's third usage as an "evocation of shared knowledge" (kyootuu ninsiki no kanki or ninsiki kanki). According to Hasunuma, the speaker, who has a cognitive advantage over the hearer, evokes a world of shared knowledge with the hearer based on the expectation that the hearer can naturally make the same cognitive judgement as the speaker. Thus, when one uses desyoo, she/he is in effect saying "I am right in thinking that you have the same perception as I do, aren't I?"

Hasunuma further points out that the types of knowledge evoked by this construction include 1) shared past experience, 2) observable/cognitively salient information in the speech situation, 3) general knowledge/common sense and conclusions that can be drawn from it (in this case the inference is that the hearer can make a cognitive evaluation similar to that of the speaker) and 4) narrative internal knowledge. A narrator may use desyoo to evoke narrative internal knowledge by presenting previously introduced information as well as new information. The latter use of desyoo with new information compels the hearer to be drawn into the narrative.

I build on these previous analyses in my analysis of the discourse functions of desyoo. In particular, I have found that Tanomura's second and third uses can be used to structure a text in similar ways and are only distinguished in some cases by the interactional role of the participant using them.

### 3. Research on the grammaticalization of rhetorical questions

Herring's (1991) research on the grammaticalization of rhetorical questions in Tamil is relevant to this study because the textual functions of rhetorical questions in Tamil are similar to some of the textual functions of desyoo in Japanese. In addition, the mechanisms that Herring proposes for discourse-based grammaticalization are also relevant for this study.

Herring has found that grammaticalization is not necessarily unidirectional with objective referential meanings becoming more subjective. "[S]ubjective pragmatic-based meanings are not always late concomitants of grammaticalization; rather, ... they may constitute the very roots of grammar" (Herring 1991:278). Herring includes three types of rhetorical questions in her study; 1) CRQ (classical rhetorical questions), 2) TRQ (thematizing rhetorical questions) (e.g., the Tamil equivalent of "And then what happened?" or "What did X do next?"), and 3) RTQ (rhetorical tag ques-

tions). TRQ and RTQ function similarly to the uses of desyoo that I have found in my data.

Herring notes that rhetorical questions in Tamil have evolved textual uses from pragmatic ones, and in some cases rhetorical questions have become grammaticalized as clausal morphology. Pragmatically, these rhetorical questions have origins which are interactive and expressive; CRQ evoke listener involvement and are persuasive, TRQ create suspense and RTQ evoke solidarity with the listener.

These uses have given way to textual cohesive discourse organizational functions. TRQ are used to introduce new information in a pragmatically "focused" way and provide a broad organization to the discourse. Thus, TRQ relate short independent clauses to a single focus or theme. Herring also demonstrates that RTQ participate in a "retrieval and predication function," i.e., speakers introduce old information in an RTQ and add new information about this old information in subsequent clauses.

Finally, the RTQ in particular, has become grammaticalized as an informal relativizing construction, as shown in (4)a. The informal paratactic relativizing construction in (4)a is used in a similar way to the formal embedded relativizing construction in (4)b.

(4)a. Informal paratactic relativizing construction (RTQ)

Nēttu oru payyaṅ vantāṅ-ē avan iṅṅekkuṁ vantāṅ.  
yesterday a boy come-P3sgMS-TAG he today-also come-P3MS  
'A boy came yesterday, you know, he came today also.'

b. Formal embedded relativizing construction

Nēttu vanta payyaṅ iṅṅekkuṁ vantāṅ.  
yesterday came-PAJP boy today-also come-P3MS  
'The boy who came yesterday came today also.' (Herring 1991:275)

Herring concludes that the mechanisms that drive discourse-based grammaticalization are

[p]ragmatic unmarking, or the process whereby a stylistically or expressively-marked usage loses its marked value as a result of frequent use; reanalysis of function, e.g., from one functional/semantic component to the other; and, in the sense employed by Givón, syntacticization of loosely conjoined structures into syntactically unified ones. (Herring 1991:279)

#### 4. The discourse functions of desyoo

Building on Tanomura and Hasunuma's analyses, I demonstrate that the uses of desyoo that evoke a sense of solidarity have acquired textual functions. Desyoo functions to 1) retrieve information for further predication (similar to Herring's "retrieval-predication function"), 2) provide a focus/theme for subsequent utterances (Herring's

broader organizational function... [which relates] entire sequences of short, syntactically independent clauses to a single focus or theme, thereby creating loose structural unities reminiscent of paragraphs in written discourse (Herring 1991:266)),

and 3) provide a basis for subsequent discourse. I also demonstrate that the semantic-pragmatic distinctions between Tanomura's "request for confirmation of an inference" and "request for confirmation of a fact" may not be that significant when considered from the point of view of textual functions.

In contrast with previous studies which tended to be based on made-up sentences (Tanomura 1990) and play scripts (Hasunuma 1992), the conversational data for this study come from tapes from actual telephone conversations, face-to-face conversations and interviews on television talk shows. It is also important to note that Tanomura's "request for confirmation of a fact" which Hasunuma refers to as "evocation of shared knowledge," tends to be found in conversations between speakers of equal status or in utterances of a superior speaking to a subordinate [3]. For a subordinate to "evoke shared knowledge" with his/her superior, i.e., presume that the superior would have similar perceptions, is probably not appropriate.

#### 4.1. The use of desyoo to retrieve information for further predication

In the conversation in (5), T uses an utterance ending in desyoo in 15T to retrieve information which she predicates on in 17T to 20T [4]. This usage is similar to what Herring has found with RTQ in Tamil.

In (5), T is explaining some renovations that are being done around her house. After setting a time frame of "after some other work is finished" in 11T, T mentions "the dirt on the outer side" in 12T. Then in 14T Ano, ippai yamamotte ru toko to ka, 'Uhm, the places that are piled up high or' and 15T Ano, hikui toko aru DESYOO? 'uhm there are low places, aren't there?', she uses an utterance ending in desyoo to introduce the concept of the land around her house. Subsequently she adds that she is planning to call the escavator and have him/her flatten the land.

- (5) 11T   そして、今度は、あの、それが済んだら  
TIME FRAME   Sosite, kondo wa, ano, sore ga sundara  
                  Then, next, uhm when that's finished,  
12T   外側の土がねえ?  
                  Sotogawa no tuti ga nee?  
                  The dirt on the outer side, you know?  
13S   ええ。  
                  Ee.  
                  Yes.  
14T   あの、いっぱい山もってるところか、  
RETRIEVE   Ano, ippai yamamotte ru toko to ka,  
INFORMATION   Uhm, the places that are piled up high or

- 15T あの、低いところあるでしょう?  
ano, hikui toko aru DESYOO?  
uhm there are low places, aren't there?
- 16S ええ。  
Ee.  
Yes.
- 17T そこを、エスカベーターの人に、うん、来てもらって、  
PREDICATION Soko o, esukapeitoo no hito ni, un, kite moratte,  
That, we will have the escavator person come and
- 18T 平らげるのね?  
Tairageru no ne?  
It's that we'll flatten it, you know?
- 19S あらまあー。  
Ara maaa.  
Oh my!
- 20T 平らくして。  
Tairaku site.  
We'll make it flat.
- 21S んー。  
Nn.  
Yeah.

#### 4.2. The use of desyoo to provide a focus/theme for subsequent utterances

The second textual function of desyoo is to provide a focus or theme for subsequent utterances. This usage is similar to the use of desyoo to retrieve information for further predication but it provides a sentence theme rather than a nominal theme and functions on a larger scale. I demonstrate this use of desyoo using an example where the main speaker (the narrator) uses desyoo in (6), and an example where the support speaker uses desyoo in (7). The example where the main speaker uses desyoo in (6) is similar to Tanomura's "request for confirmation of a fact" and the example where the support speaker uses desyoo in (7) is similar to his "request for confirmation of an inference."

In (6), G is telling a story about how he used to clean his white shoes when they were dirty; he would wash them and rub toothpaste on them to make them white. He tells this story in the context of a discussion of how conscientious he was as a child. (6) begins with G's statement that he took the responsibility for washing his socks in 1G. After setting a time frame for his story, i.e., "the day before a schooltrip" in 2G, he uses the desyoo pattern in 3G Sono siroi kutu nanka yogorete ru DESYOO? 'Those white shoes and whatever are dirty, right?' to provide a focus or theme for his subsequent story. G's utterance ending in desyoo in 3G has the effect of saying here's a story about what I did when I had dirty white shoes. G goes on to tell the story in the subsequent discourse in 4G-10G and concludes that he was a child that did not require much attention in 10G.

## (6) MAIN SPEAKER'S UTTERANCES

- 1 G で靴下ぐらい自分でちゃんと洗いますしね。  
De kutusita gurai zibun de tyanto araimasu si ne,  
And socks at least I can wash properly by myself and, you know.
- 2 G 明日遠足というとね?  
Asita ensoku to iu to ne?  
When they say tomorrow there's going to be a school trip, you know?
- 3 G その白い靴なんか汚れてるでしょう?  
Sono siroi kutu nanka yogorete ru DESYOO?  
Those white shoes and whatever are dirty, right?
- 4 G そうすと、こう、洗ってね?  
Soo su to, koo, aratte ne?  
Then, like, I wash (them), you know?
- 5 G それで革、あのう、あと歯磨き粉でこう塗るんですよ。  
Sore de kawa, anoo, ato hamigakiko de koo nuru n desu yo.  
Then, leather, uhm, afterwards it's that I like rub on toothpaste, you know.
- 6 K 白く。  
Siroku.  
(Make them) white.
- 7 G そうすと乾くとね?  
Soo su to kawaku to ne?  
Then, when they dry, you know?
- 8 G 真っ白になるんです。  
Massiro ni naru n desu.  
It's that they are all white.
- 9 K あ  
A.  
Oh.
- 10G そういう手のかからない子供だったんですかなあ。  
Soo iu te no kakaranai kodomo datta n desu ka naa.  
It's that I was that kind of a child that doesn't require attention, I guess.  
(Tetsuko no heya- television interview program)

The use of desyoo in (7) also provides a focus or theme for subsequent utterances. This use is an example of Tanomura "request for confirmation of an inference" about the hearer's direct experience. What distinguishes the usage in (7) from (6) is that desyoo is used by what I refer to as the "support speaker" (kyooryokusya) rather than the "main speaker" (zyoohoo teekyoosya) in this part of the conversation (Szatrowski 1993:154). In my analysis I view Japanese conversation as co-produced by all the participants involved, each taking on different interactional roles as main speakers or supporting speakers. Support speakers support the main speaker(s) in his/her presentation and tend to use a high number of back channel ut-

terances. In addition, more active support speakers also support the main speaker with utterances ending in desyoo like 6S in (7).

(7) SUPPORT UTTERANCE

- 1 S Tさんの方はなかなかいらっしやらないのねー。  
T-san no hoo wa nakanaka irassyanai no nee.  
As for you T, it's that you're not home much, are you.
- 2 S お、あの、お忙しいですか？  
O, ano, oisogasii desu ka?  
Uhm, are you busy?
- 3 T わたし？  
Watasi?  
Me?
- 4 S んー。  
Nn.  
Yeah.
- 5 T すごく忙しい。  
Sugoku isogasii.  
(I)'m really busy.
- 6 S お家の方、まだ片付かないんでしょう。  
Outi no hoo, mada katazukanai n DESYOO.  
It's that your house still hasn't gotten cleaned up, has it.
- 7 T んー。まだうちの中ねー？  
Nn. Mada uti no naka nee?  
Yeah. Still inside my house, you know?
- 8 S んー。  
Nn.  
Uh huh.
- 9 T 箱、ボール箱いっぱい (かさな) あの一重なってー？  
Hako, boorubako ippai (kasana) anoo kasanattee?  
boxes, cardboard boxes are (stack) uhm stacked up high and,
- 10 S ええ。  
Ee.  
Yes.
- 11 T 少しずつ開けてるんだけど？  
Sukosi-zutu akete ru n da kedo?  
It's that I'm opening them up a little at a time but,
- 12 S ええ。  
Ee.  
Yes.

FOCUS/THEME

STORY

The example in (7) is taken from a telephone conversation where S calls T to chat. In this section, S is trying to find out how T is doing. She starts with a comment that T is not home much in 1S and then asks T if she is busy in 2S. T requests confirmation that she is the topic of these questions with her utterance in 3T Watasi? 'Me?', to which S agrees in 4S. Then T answers that she is very busy in 5T. Up to this point, the conver-

sation is not very lively; S is asking questions and T is contributing minimally. Next, S uses an utterance ending in desyoo in 6S Outi no hoo, mada katazukanai n DESYOO. 'It's that your house still hasn't gotten cleaned up, has it.' This utterance suggests a focus or theme for T to build on. Subsequently, T does build on this theme in 7T, 9T and 11T, where she describes the condition of her house and what she is doing about the situation.

In 3G in (6) and 6S in (7), G and S, the main speaker and support speaker, respectively, use utterances ending in desyoo to provide a theme for the main speaker to expand on in subsequent conversation. Thus, Tanomura's "request for confirmation of a fact" (3G) and "request for confirmation of an inference" (6S) can have similar textual functions although the interactional role of the speaker may differ.

#### 4.3. The use of desyoo to provide a basis for subsequent discourse

The third use of desyoo to provide a basis for subsequent discourse is particularly common in situations of potential conflict. I will illustrate this usage in examples of a negative answer to a question in light of a possible invitation refusal in (8), a refusal of a suggestion in (9) and an invitation refusal in (10). The example Tanomura gives for a "confirmation of an inference" in (2) also illustrates this usage.

Example (8) is taken from an invitation conversation. In my research on Japanese invitations (Szatrowski 1991, 1993), I have found that invitations consist of a series of invitation and answer stages. Both speakers co-produce each of these stages, i.e., both the inviter and invitee co-produce an invitation stage, then they co-produce an answer stage, then an invitation stage and so on, throughout the conversation. Prior to the section of the conversation given in (8), B, the invitee, has indicated a negative attitude towards A's invitation to come out drinking. Nonetheless, B begins another invitation stage in 1B. Thus, B, the invitee, puts A, the inviter, into a position where she can either continue her invitation or accept B's previous attitude as an indication that B does not want to go.

- (8) Negative answer to a question in light of a possible invitation refusal (BASIS for answer)

1 B なに、もう帰るのー?

Nani, moo kaeru no:?

What, are you going home soon?

→ 2 A (0.3) だから、まだ9時でしょ?

(0.3) Dakara, mada ku-zi DESYO?

(0.3) So, it's still 9:00, isn't it?

3 B

うん。

Un.

Yeah.

BASIS

4 A (0.5) もう少しいると思うけど、  
 NEGATIVE ANS (0.5) Moo sukosi iru to omou kedo:,  
 (0.5) I think we'll be here a little longer, but...

5 B うん。  
 Un.  
 Yeah.

6 A 出てこれるー？  
 INVITATION Dete koreru?:  
 Can you come out?

After B opens up the invitation stage with her question in 1B about whether A is going to go home soon, A is cautious in responding to B's question. She pauses for 0.3 seconds and starts by requesting confirmation of a very obvious fact about the time, something that she is guaranteed to get agreement on, with her utterance which ends in desyoo in 2A (0.3) Dakara, mada ku-zi DESYO? '(0.3) So, it's still 9:00, isn't it?' After getting B's agreement in 3B, A goes on to answer B's original question in 4A and finally makes her invitation more explicit in 6A. Thus, in (8), A uses desyoo to buffer a face-threatening act, in this case pursuing an invitation in a situation where the invitee has indicated that she is not very interested.

In (9), T uses desyoo to refuse S's suggestion that T have the children at the school where T teaches come to her home rather than T driving out to the school every week. T uses a very common pattern consisting of an utterance ending in desyoo followed by dakara, a connective meaning 'so' three times in her refusal of S's suggestion. Each time T uses an utterance ending in desyoo to introduce a reason for why she does not want to take S's suggestion followed by the connective dakara 'so' and a statement that directly opposes S's suggestion.

(9) Refusal of a suggestion (BASIS for refusal)

- 1 S つい [つぎ] からきてもらうようにしたら方が楽なんじゃないですか？  
 Tui [tugi] kara kite morau yoo ni sitara hoo ga raku na n zya nai desu ka?  
 From next time on if you have them come (to your house) won't it be easier for you?
- 2 T でもむこからこっち連れてくんの、  
 De mo muko kara kotti turete kun no,  
 But (for the parents) to bring them here from over there,
- 3 T あの子供連れてきたり  
 ano kodomo turete kitari  
 uhm bringing the children
- 4 S ああつ。  
 Aat.  
 Oh.

- 5 T 仕事終わってからくんの大変でしょ。  
Sigoto owatte kara kun no taihen DESYO.  
coming after finishing work is rough, isn't it.
- 6 S  
ああ。  
Aa.  
Oh.
- REFUSAL1 7 T だから、わたしが向こう行った方が、あの、簡単だから、  
Dakara, watasi ga mukoo itta hoo ga, ano, kantan da kara,  
So, it's easier for me uhm to go there so,
- 8 S  
あ {LAUGH}  
Ah. {LAUGH}  
Oh. {LAUGH}
- BASIS2 →9 T どうせわたし、あの、あの(0.4)Dとこ寄るでしょう？  
Doose watasi, ano, ano (0.4) D toko yoru DESYOO?  
In any case I, uhm, uhm stop by D's place, you know?
- 10 S  
ああそうねー。  
Aa soo nee.  
Oh that's so, isn't it.
- 11 T 1週に1度はね？  
is-syuu ni iti-do wa ne?  
once a week at least, you know?
- 12 S  
んー。  
Nn.  
Uh huh.
- REFUSAL2 13 T だから、行ったって別に、うん、構わないしー？  
Dakara, itta tte betu ni, un, kamawanai sii?  
So it's not any particular trouble to go and,
- 14 S  
ああそう。  
Aa soo.  
Oh, is that so.
- 15 T そいで、お天気が悪ければ  
Soide, otenki ga warukeba  
Then, if the weather is bad
- 16 T キャンセルできるし？  
Kyanseru dekiru si?  
I can cancel and,
- 17 S  
んーふん。  
Nn hun.  
Uh huh.
- BASIS3 18 T そいで、帰りがちょっと、怖かったら  
Soide, kaeri ga tyotto, kowakattara  
And if the return is a bit scary
- 19 T Dんとこ泊まれるでしょう？  
D n toko tomareru DESYOO?  
I can stay over at D's place, you know?



desyoo to provide the basis for her refusal but does not go on to make a direct refusal. After D invites C to go with him on a trip (which would involve missing several days of classes) in 1D, C acknowledges that she would like to go in 2C and continues with the connective de mo 'but' in 3C. She then refuses indirectly with her utterance that ends with desyoo in 4C Hutu-ka no asa ni kaette kuru no tte tyotto sore muboo DESYO. 'coming back on the morning of the second, that's a bit reckless, isn't it.' This utterance which gives the basis for her refusal is sufficient to convey her refusal which is never made explicit.

(10) Refusal of an invitation (BASIS for a refusal)

1 D カモン。カモン。{笑い} 一緒に行きませんか?

Kamon. Kamon. {LAUGH} Issyo ni ikimasen ka?

Come on. Come on. {LAUGH} Won't you go with (me)?

2 C うーん。行きたいな。

U:n. Ikitai na.

Yeah. I want to go.

3 C でもさ、

De mo sa,

But

→ 4 C 二日の朝に帰ってくるのってちょっとそれ無謀でしょ。

BASIS

Hutu-ka no asa ni kaette kuru no tte tyotto sore muboo  
DESYO.

coming back on the morning of the second, that's a bit reckless, isn't it.  
(Ishida 1992)

5. Conclusion

Uses of desyoo follow the two patterns shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1[6]

DESYO01 (simple inference)

DESYO02

PRAGMATIC	+ / →	TEXTUAL	→ ?	CLAUSAL MORPHOLOGY
evocation of		1. retrieval/predication		relativizing clause
shared knowledge		2. focus/theme		
(solidarity)		3. basis		causal clause

The first use, DESYO01, as illustrated in (1), has been documented by Teramura (1984), Tanomura (1990) and others and is used for situations of simple inference. DESYO01 is roughly equivalent to English "probably," and indicates the likelihood of an uncertain event or a situation for which the speaker lacks direct evidence. The second use, DESYO02, the focus of the analysis in this paper, covers Tanomura's "request for confirmation of an inference" and "request for confirmation of a fact" and Hasunuma's "evocation of shared knowledge." DESYO02 is used to structure the discourse in

three ways; 1) to retrieve information for further predication, 2) to provide a focus/theme for subsequent utterances, and 3) to provide a basis for subsequent discourse, which is often introduced by the connective dakara 'so.'

I also demonstrated that the semantic-pragmatic distinctions between Tanomura's 'request for confirmation of an inference' known to the hearer and 'request for confirmation of a fact' both take on similar textual functions and their differences in some cases can be explained in terms of the interactional roles of the participants using them in the conversation. This distinction relates to the structure of Japanese conversation as co-produced by main speakers and support speakers. Thus, Tanomura's 'request for confirmation of an inference' was observed when a support speaker used DESY002 to provide a focus/theme for the main speaker's subsequent utterances in (7) and Tanomura's 'request for confirmation of a fact' was observed when the main speaker used DESY002 to provide a focus/theme for his own subsequent utterances in (6). Examples of Tanomura's second use, as in (2), and third use, as in (8) through (10), show that these uses of desyoo can both be used by a main speaker, i.e., without differentiation according to the interactional role of the speaker, to provide a basis for subsequent discourse.

Herring's (1991) pragmatic unmarking and reanalysis mechanisms for grammaticalization and Hopper's (1991) grammaticization principle of 'layering' are helpful in explaining the use of DESY002 in Japanese conversation. DESY002 is primarily used in conversations between participants of equal status or utterances of superiors to subordinates. In particular, frequent use of DESY002 in conversations between participants of equal status, where solidarity is the norm, has led to pragmatic unmarking. In these contexts, the expressive solidarity effect of DESY002 is less marked and DESY002 is free to be used for textual functions [5]. Textual patterning suggests that DESY002 is undergoing a reanalysis from semantic-pragmatic to textual uses. However, until these textual uses are used by subordinates to superiors one would not expect DESY002 to have lost its solidarity effect altogether. Hopper's (1991) grammaticization principle of 'layering' accounts for the coexistence of pragmatic and textual uses of DESY002 in Japanese conversation.

Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers.

(Hopper 1991:22)

Finally, Herring's (1991) syntacticization mechanism may also prove relevant in the subsequent evolution of DESY002. It predicts that the use of DESY002 to retrieve information for further predication may lead to the development of informal relativizing constructions as is the case in Tamil and the use of DESY002 to provide the basis for subsequent discourse may become further grammaticalized as a causal clause construction. Further

investigation of the intonation contour and the statistical frequency of these constructions from a historical perspective is required to substantiate these predictions.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] I will use the form desyoo to refer to formal variants with rising intonation, desyo(o)?, and with falling intonation, desyo(o)., and their informal equivalents, daroo? and daroo., respectively. Desyoo and daroo can be added to finite imperfective and perfective forms of verbals and adjectives, nominals, nominals + phrase particles, and nominals + phrase particles + copula in the perfective form (Jordan with Noda: 1987).

[2] The use of the extended predicate n before desyoo, translated 'it's that' in the gloss in (2) is worthy of further study but is not treated here.

[3] This was first pointed out to me by Misao Okada and further confirmed by observations and discussions with native speakers. Maynard (1990) warns

The use of -deshoo and -daroo should be avoided when speaking to one's social superior. This is because these phrases ask for confirmation of something that your superior is assumed to already know. Using these phrases gives the impression that you are challenging the depth and the extent of your superior's knowledge; it carries a condescending tone. (Maynard 1990:144)

Other speakers claim that they would use Tanomura's second or third usage of desyoo to a superior with an honorific-polite verb, when the subject of the proposition was the superior, or a neutral-polite form in other cases. (My use of the terms "honorific-polite" and "neutral-polite" follows that of Jordan with Noda (1987).) These intuitions of native speakers await empirical confirmation from data of conversations between speakers of different statuses.

[4] In the conversations transcribed for this study, underlined capital letters are used to indicate participants who are women and capital letters which are not underlined, indicate men. Thus, the conversation in (5) is between two women. Aizuti 'minimal responses' are shifted to the right in the transcription. Rising intonation is indicated by '?', falling intonation by '.', and uncertain utterances are in ().

[5] Similarly, I have found that the Japanese non-past V-(r)u forms are free to be used for participant tracking rather than vividness in inherently vivid contexts in narratives about past experiences (Szatrowski 1985).

[6] + indicates coexistence of the function on the left with the function on the right, → indicates the development of the function on the right from the function on the left, →? indicates a possible predictable future development.

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