

PRAGMATICS OF DISCOURSE MODALITY: A CASE OF THE JAPANESE EMOTIONAL ADVERB *DOOSE**

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1. Introduction

What are the relationships among the speaker's cognitive mode, the linguistic signs the speaker chooses and the world these signs create? This question comes into sharp focus when we examine specific linguistic signs which do not have obvious referential functions. One such category of signs is the Japanese chinjutsu fukushi 'modal adverbs,' one example of which is doose--normally translated as 'anyway,' 'anyhow,' 'at any rate,' 'at best' and so on.

For example, consider sentence (1).¹

- (1) Doose ashita no paatii wa taikutsu daroo.
anyway tomorrow LK party T boring will be
'Tomorrow's party will be boring anyway.'

The interpretation process of this sentence requires evoking its appropriate situational context and its attitudinal meaning. By using doose, the speaker communicates his or her belief that what will happen at tomorrow's party is predetermined and therefore unavoidable. Additionally doose expresses a certain personal attitude and feeling about this inevitability, often tinged with a negative sense of resignation. It seems intuitively correct to assume then that doose implies something beyond the traditional sense of semantic utterance content; but what is that something?

In this paper I have two interrelated goals. First, to answer the specific question; what does doose mean--in the broadest sense of the term? And second, to confront the theoretical issues related to an analysis of doose and other functionally similar linguistic signs. In the process I will propose a theoretical framework which focuses on Discourse Modality, and I will analyze the modal adverb doose as an example of D(iscourse) M(odality) indicator. I

will argue that doose operates primarily in characterizing Personal Emotion, one of the aspects of Discourse Modality.

Primary data used for this study consists of 110 tokens of doose appearing in both narrative and conversational segments of 18 contemporary Japanese works of fiction listed in the data references appearing at the end of this paper.²

2. Background

Modal adverbs such as doose explain the very manner of how the speaking self perceives, epistemologically and emotionally characterizes, and contextualizes the propositional content within a given discourse framework. Through modal adverbs, the speaking self directly reveals his or her personal view, level and degree of commitment toward the statement, and the cognitive mode involved in the verbal expression. These modal adverbs differ in quality from those linguistic devices which primarily describe facts and non-facts--as in the case of manner adverbs.

Traditional and contemporary Japanese language studies have for a long time grappled with the distinction between the two dimensions of language; objective (or, referential, or designative) versus subjective or expressive as it relates to a number of linguistic devices in Japanese including modal adverbs. The distinction between shi (roughly translated as content words, and therefore more "objective") and ji (function words which express "subjective" voice), for example, associated with the works of the Edo period Japanese grammarians such as Suzuki (1824) and later reintroduced to the field of Japanese language study by Tokieda (1931, 1950) and others, is one such example. And it was Suzuki's (1824) recognition of speaker's personal kokoro no koe 'voices from the heart' that has become the source of inspiration for many linguists to view language as more than a mere body of logically connected propositions. According to this traditional view, in language lies the essential function of "expressiveness" which is the power of the speaking subject.

It is undeniable that certain proponents of objectivist theories of language believe that only an objective account of language is truly satisfactory. Equally as strong a belief, however, is that language may not be reduced to propositions and truth functions, thereby offering justification to the view that language "expresses" rather than merely "designates." Specifically there has been a tradition in linguistics, especially in Europe, that explores modality and subjectivity in language. Works by Benveniste (1971), Lyons (1977, 1981, 1982) and Halliday (1970) exemplify this tradition. Linguistic analyses of

German particles have also inquired into modality, for example, Harden (1983) and Doherty (1987). More recently Stubbs (1986) introduces "a modal grammar of English" and he analyzes English in light of modality which he considers a primary organizing principle in language. Yet it is fair to say that analysis of language with modality and subjectivity as the primary focus is yet to be fully explored and it is precisely this shift in focus that I pursue in this study. I will follow the tradition outlined above and explore an analysis of language with modality and the speaker subjectivity as the primary focus.

Although my analysis is limited to the Japanese language, my intention is not to emphasize the commonly alleged "uniqueness" of Japanese. Rather, I explore the analysis of Japanese with a discourse modality-centered view as opposed to the more frequently chosen proposition-centered approach with the intention of showing that the discourse modality-centered approach has considerable merit.

3. Doose's Distributional Characteristics

As a preliminary step for the analysis, I concentrate on four syntactic and discourse distributional characteristics of doose; (1) doose is exempt from sentential anaphora, and (2) occurrence of doose is normally limited to certain types of speech acts, and (3) doose assumes known or shared information and (4) the use of doose is limited to direct discourse.

Regarding the first point, examine data set (2).

- (2) Doose sono paatii wa hayaku owaru daroo.
anyway that party T early end will probably

'The party will end early.'

sore wa yoku aru koto de minna
that T often there are fact BE everyone

shoochishite-iru.

is aware

'That happens often and everybody knows it.'

In (2) the pronoun sore 'that' refers to the semantic content, the party will end early. Notice that doose's meaning is excluded from what is anaphorically referred to by sore. This fact implies that doose is a residual of the propositional meaning; it falls outside the scope of truth conditional semantics. Thus, we must look for its meaning elsewhere.

Second, doose cannot cooccur with utterances which Bach and Harnish (1979) categorize as Directives and Acknowledgment Communicative Illocutionary Acts. Rather, doose sentences fall under Constative Communicative Illocutionary Acts. See, for example, utterance types (3) through (5).

- (3) *Doose Tookyoo e ikimasu ka?
 anyway Tokyo to go Q
 'Are you going to Tokyo anyway?'
- (4) *Doose Tookyoo e ikimashoo.
 anyway Tokyo to let's go
 'Let's go to Tokyo anyway.'
- (5) *Doose arigatoo gozaimasu.
 anyway thank you
 'Thank you anyway.'

All these Japanese sentences are inappropriate. Notice that in each example, the state or action referred to is something yet to be realized or to be self-controllably performed as an action. Here doose does not seem appropriate because doose requires the speaker to express his or her attitude toward some fact already acknowledged as state or an action and that is beyond the speaker's control.

This point can be further illustrated by (6).

- (6) Doose Tookyoo e iku n deshoo?
 anyway Tokyo to go NOM won't you
 'You are going to Tokyo anyway, aren't you?'

Although syntactically (6) is a question, the speaker does not straightforwardly question the truth value of the addressee going to Tokyo; rather, the speaker requests confirmation of the assumption, i.e., that the addressee is going to Tokyo. This request for confirmation is made as a result of the speaker's acknowledging the assumption and then expressing a personal view about this assumption.

The third point. When using doose, the speaker normally assumes some information commonly shared among the participants. In an utterance that makes an unexpected announcement, for example (7), doose cannot usually occur.

- (7) *Doose kaji da!
 anyway fire BE!'

The utterance kaji da 'Fire!' provides a new and often surprising piece of information against the discourse background where such information is least expected. Doose is not appropriate under this circumstance.

Doose exhibits an additional distributional behavior, which is our fourth point. In Japanese, as stated by Kuroda (1973), epistemology controls the lexical selection of emotional adjectives. Observe (8).

- (8) Sasaki wa doose okane o hoshigatte-iru ni
Sasaki T anyway money O desire

nichiganinai

must

'Sasaki undoubtedly wants money anyway.'

When (8) is interpreted to describe Sasaki's desire as reported by the speaker, i.e., when the speaker uses doose to reflect his or her own perspective, it poses no cooccurrence problem. However, if we attempt to interpret doose to reflect Sasaki's perspective as in Sasaki wa (doose okane o hoshigatte-iru) ni chigainai--with doose's scope limited to the subordinate clause only--, the utterance becomes inappropriate. This is because two conflicting perspectives are reflected in the latter reading of doose okane o hoshigatte-iru ni chigainai.

This point can be further illustrated by sentences (9) and (10) given below.

- (9) Doose paatii wa taikutsu daroo.
anyway party T boring will be
'The party will be boring anyway.'

- (10) *Paatii ga taikutsu daroo to yuu koto wa doose
party S boring will be QT say fact T anyway

da.

BE

In (9) the speaker expresses that--despite whatever wishes of people in general or of the speaker himself/herself--the party will end up being boring anyway. When (9) is expressed with the koto nominalization as in (10), however, doose cannot cooccur. This stems from the conflict between two contradictory forces, i.e., one, the more objective strategy of nominalization and two, the more direct and speaker subjective expression that doose implies.

The four distributional characteristics pointed out here attest to doose's inherent characteristic, i.e., the direct expression of personal feelings and attitude. Doose is an expression utmost and foremost attributed to the expression of the speaking self. An objectively inclined descriptive statement with a defaced speaker does not

readily take doose. And I propose that here lies the pragmatic motivation for using doose, i.e., to foreground the speaker's subjectivity.

4. Meanings of Doose

So far we have noted doose's distributional and pragmatic characteristics. But we have yet to answer the essential question: what does doose mean? I propose that doose signals the pragmatically and semantically significant linkage between the propositional content (P) and the speaker's belief of the world that defines the possible world for (P), i.e., (P-W). More specifically, in doose sentences, a speaker conveys that (P) is certain to exist or to happen simply because (P) is part of the (P-W). In other words, the semantic source of doose lies in the speaker's epistemological positioning toward and between two pieces of knowledge (P) and (P-W), i.e., the possibility of (P) is undeniable and unavoidable because it is defined by (P-W). By using the expression [doose P], the speaker confirms the unavoidable existence of the fact (P). When the speaker assumes that the listener already shares this knowledge, the confirmatory action functions to encourage the increased level of the shared world view, which encourages emotional involvement. When the speaker assumes that the listener does not know the unavoidable nature of the fact (P), the speaker uses the expression [doose P] to reveal--for the first time--the speaker's personal attitude to the fact (P), thereby hoping to share the emotional involvement and personal voice with the listener.

In actual discourse, doose offers three related but distinguishable meaning types, all adding attitudinal information of confirmation. These three types, whose sample data are given in (11) through (13), are:

1. Surrendering unto Fate

- (11) "Onaji koto da yo, doose ore wa wakai onna
 same thing BE IP anyway I T young woman
muki ia-nai."
 suitable BE-NEG
 "All the same, women don't see me as suitable,
 anyway."

--(Morimura 1977:92)

2. Confirming Fate

- (12) "Moo doose kaeru tokoro-datta" to yuu yoona koto o
 soon anyway return was about to QT say such fact 0

itte, chirarito udedokei o kazashita.
 say quickly wrist watch O held up
 'He said something like "I was about to leave anyway,"
 and he quickly held his wristwatch (to check the
 time).'

--(Natsuki 1981:112)

3. Facing Fate Bravely

- (13) Sono hen o kokoroete-ite, doose nara sunao ni
 that fact O realize anyway if honestly

shabette shinshoo o yokushi, ikkokumo hayaku
 say impression O improve one moment early

hoomen-shite moraoo to yuu shinsoko ga
 have released QT say bottom line S

mite-toreta.'

could sense

'He seems to know this fact and one could sense his
 bottom line--I have to confess anyway, so I might as
 well tell the story honestly and give a good impression
 (to the police officer) and get released as soon as
 possible.'

---(Natsuki 1981:261)

All three types express different speaker attitudes when faced with an undeniable and unavoidable fact which the speaker feels predetermined. For the lack of better term I use "fate" to mean this undeniable and unavoidable fact defined by (P-W) which the speaker confirms. The term "fate" therefore implies more than the sense of destiny or doom. In "Surrendering unto Fate," the speaker surrenders to (P-W) which he or she feels to be an overwhelming or overpowering fact. The speaker feels it is a fate simply impossible to avoid. Although the speaker's wish may be such that it is within possibility as defined by (P-W), often this reading assumes the speaker's wish to contradict the (P-W). In the "Confirming Fate" category, the speaker presents (P) as he or she concedes that (P) exists or is about to happen simply because (P) is a part of (P-W).

In "Facing Fate Bravely," the speaker acknowledges the inevitability of (P); and then attempts to make the best of it, often turning the negative situation into a positive one. This type often occurs with the conditional nara. The clause, X nara 'if X' presents X as something that the speaker accepts X (as if) it were fact. Thus, there is a similarity in speaker's judgment when using nara and when using doose. The pair of devices (doose X nara) 'if X anyway' reinforce each other in what Halliday (1970:331)

terms "concord," and both are cumulative in semantic effect. In language, devices representing different grammatical categories jointly realize the utterance-as-a-whole modal effects. Focusing on the concept of Discourse Modality enables us to functionally unite seemingly unrelated linguistic devices.

The characteristics of doose proposed here all originate in the speaking self's view toward an event or a state. Doose resides in the very relationship between (P) and (P-W), i.e., between the linguistically coded information and evoked mental image. Through this personal evaluation mediated by the adverb doose, the doose-marked utterance succeeds in conveying a distinctive evaluative and emotional tone. Interactionally doose functions as a seeker of what I call "emotional resonance." By evoking (P-W), the speaker appeals to the listener to share the same world view (P-W) which controls his or her cognitive process. Sharing the same world view reinforces and is reinforced by psychological and emotional identity. In doose one hears the speaker's inner voice that intends to communicate on an emotional level--the ultimate goal of which is to enjoy the mutual acknowledgment of shared emotion, i.e., "emotional resonance."

Before concluding this section, I should briefly mention the difference between doose and its English translation 'anyway.' Let us reexamine (3) and (8) reproduced here for convenience. For (8) we discuss here the case where doose's scope is limited to the subordinate clause only.

- (3) *Doose Tookyoo e ikimasu ka?
 anyway Tokyo to go Q
 'Are you going to Tokyo anyway?'
- (8) *Sasaki wa [doose okane o hoshigatte-iru]
 Sasaki T anyway money O desire
ni chigainai.
 must
 'Undoubtedly Sasaki wants money anyway.'

In (3), the use of anyway in English translation does not pose innappropriateness since anyway can express the attitude of either the speaker or the addressee. One can interpret anyway in (3) as expressing the attitude of the addressee, although it is impossible to do so in the Japanese use of doose. Similarly while in (8) we cannot interpret doose as expressing the attitude of Sasaki in Japanese, this interpretation is possible for anyway in the English translation. The fact that the use of the English

adverb anyway is not limited to direct discourse while the Japanese doose is reflects the difference in epistemology between two languages. While in English one uses the attitudinal adverbs to describe the world as well as the speaking self, the Japanese modal adverbs are devoted to describe the speaking self more than to describe the world. This difference reflects the basic structural difference between the two languages. While English is a subject-predicate prominent language with the dominant role of language being to describe the world in terms of proposition, the Japanese language is topic-comment prominent with the dominant role of language being to offer the speaker's often personal comment about an identified set of topics.

5. Cognitive and Social Sources of Doose

Given the fact that doose functions as a seeker of "emotional resonance," one may ask why it is necessary at all in Japanese interaction. I believe the social necessity of doose lies in the way the Japanese understands "self," and consequently the relationship between self and other. It is often said that the Japanese concept of "self," and consequently the essence of the relationship between self and other differs from those typical of the Western view. Of particular interest to our present concern are the thoughts supporting this view represented by two modern Japanese philosophers, Watsuji and Mori.

In his work Watsuji (1937) develops the concept that the social human relationship is that of aidagara 'betweenness.' The term aida 'betweenness' literally means a spacial distance that separates two items. The concept of space which makes the notion of betweenness operative was developed earlier in his work, Huudo 'Climates and Cultures: A Philosophical Study' (1935). In Huudo Watsuji proposes that a person is realized as he or she closely interacts with huudo 'climates' and this process of interaction and integration serves as the basis for human ontology. A person for Watsuji is also a betweenness in the social network found in social space, as reflected in the Japanese word for person, i.e., ningen (literally meaning nin 'person' and gen 'between'). Watsuji emphasizes that "self" cannot be defined without sufficiently considering the social relationship between the self and others, which in fact are definable only in their 'betweenness.'

Mori (1979) takes a step further in characterizing the nature of Japanese ontology and develops the concept which he calls "binary combination" or "binary rapport" (1979:66). According to Mori "binary combination" refers to the combination such that two persons construct an intimate

relationship in the process of life experience, and that "relationship" itself serves as the ontological basis for each person. In his words:

Essentially, among Japanese, what opposes 'thou' is not the 'self,' but rather, what opposes 'thou' is also a 'thou' from the point of view of your 'thou.' For example, if we consider parents as 'thou,' it might seem obvious to consider the child 'self.' But this is far from the truth. The child is not the 'self' which has its ontological root in its 'self,' but rather, the child experiences self as 'thou' from the perspective of parents, who in turn are 'thou' from the child's point of view. (Mori 1979:64) (my translation, original emphasis)

Mori characterizes the Japanese self as "thy thou" (Nanji no Nanji), the thought which places utmost importance in the awareness of "you." Perhaps it is because of this preoccupation of "betweenness" and "thy thou" that encourages the Japanese self to communicate on the attitudinal and emotional level as depicted by modal adverbs such as doose.

One may also recall Doi's (1973) notion of amae 'dependence' here. Speech participants can realize the desire for emotional dependence by using phrases such as doose which often point to the emotional evaluation between reality and desire. Emotional exposure eventually leads to the exposure of human vulnerability in general which encourages the dependence relationship.

6. Discourse Modality and Doose

Having described the specifics of doose, we now turn to the theoretical issue. As argued at the outset of this paper, we have seen that the meaning of modal adverbs express the speaker's personal epistemological stance and evaluative attitudes. Specifically I mentioned that doose operates in personal emotion, one aspect of Discourse Modality.

Since we are focusing on Discourse₃ Modality, clarifying the concept of modality itself is in order.³ Although in the past the term 'modality' has been used by linguists in different ways, more dominant views may be represented by the following. First, Lyons (1977:452) defines modality as "the speaker's opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes." Lyons' view is reminiscent of Benveniste (1971) in which he discusses the subjectivity

indicators as "devices whereby the speaker, in making an utterance, simultaneously comments upon the utterance and expresses his attitude to what he is saying."

Second, Halliday (1970) defines modality more specifically. For him (1970:329-330) English modality is expressed by "either or both of two elements, one verbal and the other non-verbal," and the verbal forms are the modal auxiliaries will would can could may might should must ought to and need. In Halliday (1970:349) modality is defined as "the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability," and modality "is external to the content, being a part of the attitude taken up by the speaker, in this case, towards his own speech role as 'declarer.'"

In traditional Japanese language studies, the term chinjutsu is often used to represent a concept similar to modality. In fact one can trace the sources of the concept of modality in Tenihai Daigaishoo (Ca. 1200) presumably (but disputed by many) written by Fujiwara Teika. But perhaps the broad concept of modality owes most directly to Suzuki Akira's Gengyo Shishuron (1979, originally 1824). In this work Suzuki introduces four categories of words; tai-no-shi 'nominals,' keijoo-no-shi 'adjectivals,' sayoo-no-shi 'verbals,' and te-ni-o-ha 'te-ni-o-ha particles.' What is significant to our present task is that he groups the first three categories as one large category, i.e., shi 'referential words,' and te-ni-o-ha 'te-ni-o-ha particles' as an opposing category. This division is based on the recognition that fundamental qualitative differences exist between these two categories--the former being referential, and the latter representing kokoro no koe 'voices from the heart.'

It is the term 'voices from the heart,' however, that proves to be bothersome to Yamada (1908) who is critical, if not seriously dissatisfied with, Suzuki's work. Yamada (1936) views chinjutsu as the function of copula, logically connecting subject and complement (or object), which is perhaps best translated 'predicate.' In contrast to this view, Tokieda (1941) reintroduces the concept of "voices from the heart" and incorporates it into his theory of language, gengokateisetsu 'theory of language as a process.' Tokieda (1941, 1950) takes the view that language is the very process in which a speaking subject expresses ideas. According to him, more than anything else, language expresses the speaking self's attitude through ji 'function words' whose role is to convey "subjective" voice. Tokieda (1950) finds that the function of chinjutsu is primarily performed not by (copulative) verbs but by auxiliary verbs (and zero auxiliary verbs, if they are not overtly expressed).

Recent works in Japanese language studies and linguistics offer an array of similar yet different views on modality in Japanese. These include among others Watanabe (1971), Onoe (1973), Nakau (1979), Haga (1954, 1982) and Nitta (1989). While the issue of modality is far from being resolved, the large volume of scholarly work surrounding this issue attests to the fact that it continues to be an important aspect of the Japanese language.

In this study, incorporating some of the characterizations offered by the scholars mentioned above, I define Discourse Modality in its broad sense as follows:

Discourse Modality refers to information that does not or only minimally conveys objective propositional message content. Discourse Modality conveys the subjective emotional, mental or psychological attitude of the speaker to the message content, to the speech act itself or toward his or her interlocutor.

Within the expanse of meaning of Discourse Modality, I introduce four basic categories, each of which includes subcategories given in parenthesis; (1) Information Qualification (Perspective, Information Status, Epistemic and Deontic Modality, Discourse Cohesion, Frame), (2) Discourse Action Qualification (Action Qualification, Speech Act Declaration and Qualification), (3) Participatory Control (Exchange Structure, Designing Speaker Turns), and (4) Interactional Appeal (Personal Emotion, Sociolinguistic Style). These categories represent different aspects of Discourse Modality, although they are not meant to be mutually exclusive or exhaustive. I present these aspects with the purpose of clarifying the different types of information which contributes to the overall effect of Discourse Modality. Doose is a modality marker which contributes primarily in the area of Personal Emotion under the category Interactional Appeal, as expressed by the term 'emotional resonance' discussed earlier.

I view this broad notion of modality as a contextual framework within which the propositional content is interpreted. Let me call this contextual framework a scene. Scene is a conceptual as well as emotional space established and activated by participants of interaction within which states and events are identified, described and interpreted. To establish a scene, the speaker's perspective must be recognized, and the subjects must commit themselves to certain modes of expression. These include not only evaluation, assessment and personal opinions of the message conveyed, but also the speaking self's emotions, intentions, and feelings toward the content and toward the partner. Discourse Modality which includes all these

attitudinal aspects of communication contextualizes the propositional information; this process I refer to as Modal Contextualization. In short the scene provides modal constraints within which the meaning is interpreted through the process of Modal Contextualization.

The reader at this point may recall that the concept of "scene" and other similar concepts such as script, frame, schema are not new in linguistics. I should point out, therefore, the differences between the "scene" introduced here and other notions. Obviously it is beyond my task to review all these related notions; I limit my discussion only to Fillmore (1977, 1982) partly because he is one of the few linguists who actually uses the term "scene." Fillmore (1977) introduces the concept of scene in relation to his notion of "perspective." However, Fillmore is specifically concerned with the (deep) case relations of participants and related items and not as concerned with the modality in the way I am. Fillmore (1977) proposes, as a solution to the difficulty of assigning deep case to each and every item in a proposition, that semantic interpretation depends on the perspective. According to Fillmore (1977) since meanings are relativized to the "scenes," assigning a logical case to a noun phrase in a sentence is not sufficient, to say the least. Various sentences may be created to describe a "scene" depending on the different perspectives a speaker may take. Although Fillmore does not define the term "scene," I take it to be similar to what I envision, except that Fillmore's view is rather concrete and he is far more concerned with what happens in the scene than with what goes into creating the scene. Notice also that Fillmore's "scene" does not include the speaker's emotional and psychological elements which are our major concern in this study.

The process of how doose ultimately builds a piece of modal scene is shown in Figure 1. As Figure 1 suggests, I recognize a central meaning of doose, i.e., its semantic source. The [doose P] expression refers to the semantic source meaning "P will conform to the world defined by P-W." The semantic characterization here is attitudinal and general. In actual discourse one interprets the semantic source in three different meaning types; Surrendering unto Fate, Confirming Fate and Facing Fate Bravely. These are context-activated interpretations of doose, and yet each retains the general semantic source. Specific interpretation of doose is achieved by searching an appropriate context for it. In other words, from a body of information in context specific relevant contextual information is chosen to match with the particular use of a linguistic sign. Once the use and its context are matched,

an interpretation of doose is realized. Each specific meaning of doose contributes in defining the scene by mapping certain aspect(s) of Discourse Modality.

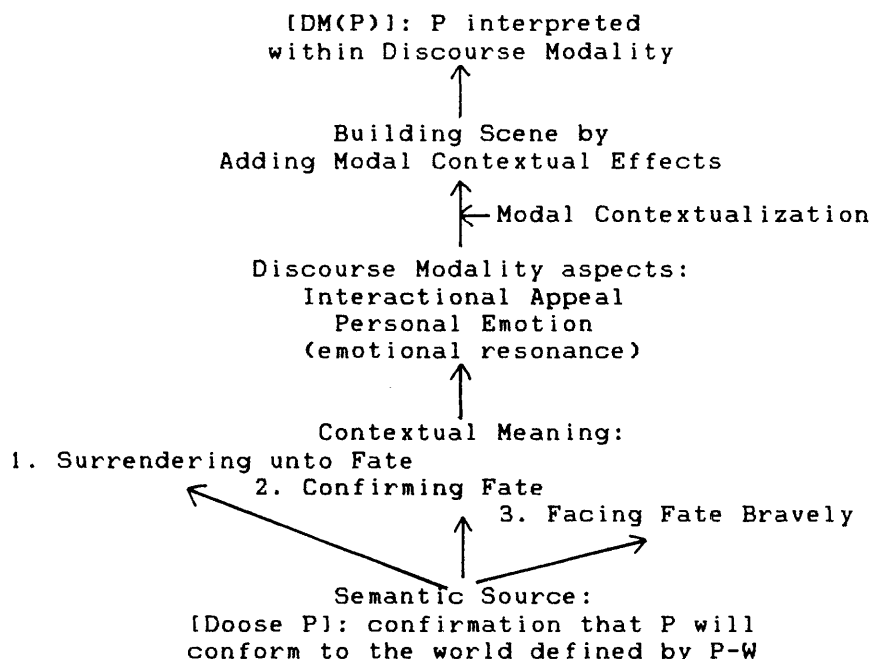


Figure 1. Meanings and Functions of Doose as Contribution to Scene

In the case of doose, the personal emotional attitude is the primary aspect as shown in Figure 1. This attitudinal information adds to the contextual information to be integrated into the interpretation of [P] and therefore increases the level of Modal Contextualization. Modal Contextualization adds in building the modal scene by changing the quality or the level of information constituting the scene. This process adds to a richer contextualization of (P). The closer the understanding of contextualization, i.e., sharing as similar as possible the conceptual scene, the more accurate the understanding of (P) itself becomes.

In order to achieve different aspects of Discourse Modality, different devices are used. These devices, i.e. Discourse Modality indicators--ranging from particles, auxiliary verbs and adverbs--all contribute in establishing

the scene. As proposed elsewhere (Maynard 1990), for example, the Japanese attitudinal adverb yahari/yappari 'after all,' 'as expected' contributes to the aspects of Information Qualification (specifically Discourse Cohesion aspect) and Participatory Control (specifically Designing Speaker Turns aspect). Yahari/yappari functions in signaling discourse anaphoric relations and on the interactional level it offers conversational strategies such as rapport seeker, hesitation marker, filler and planner.

Other devices such as discourse connectives and what Schifffrin (1987) calls discourse markers contribute to Discourse Modality.⁶ In Japanese as mentioned elsewhere (Maynard 1989), the conjunction dakara 'therefore' contributes to the aspects of Information Qualification and Participatory Control. One can also understand the functions of the stylistic strategy of so-called formal and abrupt verb endings in Japanese from the Discourse Modality framework. As proposed elsewhere (Maynard, to appear), the meanings of the style manipulation lie in the aspects of Discourse Modality, specifically Perspective and Discourse Cohesion within the Information Qualification category.

Given the broad definition of Discourse Modality, every aspect of language and all other extralinguistic signals function in adding to Discourse Modality aspects in one way or another. However, the signs that express Discourse Modality most directly and effectively are those that do not have primary referential functions and therefore are dedicated to express the very relationship among items and thoughts. Modal adverbs such as doose and yahari are primary examples. These Discourse Modality indicators all add in specifying the relevant aspect(s) of D(iscourse) M(odality) until an appropriate interpretation of [DM(P)] is obtained. In other words, the interpretation of (P) is possible only to the extent that the relevant Discourse Modality allows its interpretation. A part of linguistic expression must always be interpreted as the speaking subject's voice, and as long as no conflicts--semantic and pragmatic or otherwise--exist between the activated DM and (P), one reaches a pragmatically contextualized meaning.

7. Concluding Remarks

Linguists until recently have concentrated on the structure of propositional content all too often to the near exclusion of modality. I have demonstrated in this study that one cannot fully analyze doose without appealing to the concept of Discourse Modality and to the notions of subjectivity and emotionality. While every language is equipped with different devices for achieving "emotional resonance," Japanese is rich with devices to express nuances

of emotion and personal voice. As suggested by Watanabe (1985), Japanese is most Japanese-like when expressions describing the speaking self are richly inserted. When emotional adverbs are interposed in various expressions, they give a personal and emotional tone to the interaction which encourages interactional involvement.

The degree of importance Discourse Modality plays may differ from one language to another. Even within one language, depending on different genres, certain aspects of modality will play more significant roles. For example, propositional content is far more prominent in explanatory discourse, while Discourse Modality--especially personal feelings toward the partner--becomes a major concern in face-to-face conversation. The novelist is preoccupied with his or her view toward the fictional world created, which is expressed in part by choice of Discourse Modality indicators. Historical factors may also play a role in shifting language to be more or less modality- or proposition-centered. For example, as Onoe (1982) suggests, in modern Japanese the decline of the grammatical kakarimusubi 'grammatical adverb-predicate correspondence' which was abundant in classical Japanese attests to the fact that the same language may shift between the polarities of modality versus proposition.

In past, due to the lack of a more comprehensive understanding of the (Discourse) Modality framework in general, many independent studies on Japanese adverbs have remained *ad hoc*, unrelated and therefore, theoretically only marginally impactful. Closer examination of other modal adverbs will contribute to a better understanding of Discourse Modality itself. Through this process we will achieve a more detailed and complete picture of the makings of the Japanese Discourse Modality which will add to our understanding of pragmatics of language.

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Notes

1. For glossing Japanese data the following abbreviations are used: BE (various forms of copulative verb be), IP (interactional particles), LK (linker, linking nominals), NEG (negative morpheme), NOM (nominalizer), O (direct object marker), Q (question marker), QT (quotative marker), S (subject marker) and T (theme marker).
2. The selection of this type of data automatically excludes the possibility of phonological analysis. Although phonological features are likely to prove important in analyzing doose, such an analysis must await future studies.
3. A term similar to "modality," i.e., "mood" has also been used sometimes interchangeably with modality. Classic definition of "mood" is by Jespersen (1924:313): "they express certain attitudes of the mind of the speaker toward the content of the sentence..." Mood is often used as a grammatical category in a narrower sense than 'modality'; it frequently refers to various verb forms of the language and not to other devices. In brief, as Halliday (1970:325) states, the system of modality is concerned with probability and possibility whereas the system of mood is concerned with grammatical categories such as declarative, interrogative and so forth. I focus on "modality" rather than "mood" since I need a concept with broader application.
4. The translation of Japanese grammatical terms is problematic. Particularly the term chinjutsu has been used by linguists in so many different ways that it is difficult to find one appropriate English equivalence. Chinjutsu has been translated as 'predicate' and 'modal' or 'modality' most frequently. In order to avoid confusion, I will consistently use chinjutsu to mean 'modal' or 'modality,' unless stated otherwise.

5. I selected the term "Discourse Modality" to make a clear distinction from the concept of "modality" which is most readily associated with modal auxiliaries in English.

6. A word regarding the difference between Schifffrin's (1987) "discourse marker" and the Discourse Modality indicator I am proposing here. In a word DM indicator refers to a larger body of devices that include discourse markers. As explained throughout this paper a DM indicator may have functions represented by discourse markers but it may also have non-discourse-organizational functions such as Perspective, Information Status, Personal Emotion and Sociolinguistic Style.

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