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AFFECT IN JAPANESE WOMEN'S LETTER WRITING: USE OF SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES NE AND YO AND ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS¹

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1. Introduction

1.1. Affect-encoding and epistolary interaction

Recent inquiries demonstrate that emotion and affect, despite their seeming irrationality, are highly logically organized, and thus subject to scientific investigation (G. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; G. Lakoff 1987; Holland and Quinn 1987). More and more linguists have come to appreciate the grammatical realization of affect in language. Also, data accumulate suggesting that discourse is shot through by numerous affect-carrying devices such as word order, verb voice, pronominal reference, mood, tense/ aspect, and case/ number/ gender/ animacy marking. (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989; Besnier 1990 for an extensive review).

On the other hand, many discourse analysts have also tried to explicate specific properties of the written and spoken in terms of grammatical and rhetorical aspects (e.g. Chafe and Danielewicz 1987; Biber 1986; Halliday 1987). Recently, research interest has developed in how features of the spoken language are incorporated into writing, and how these are mediated, as with the activation of involvement by imagery (Tannen 1982, 1992). The encoding of affect in writing needs here again to be captured in terms not only of syntactic features but also of socially motivated intentions of the writer. Much as in face-to-face communication, the interaction and text creation between the message sender (speaker, writer) and the receiver (reader, hearer) is increasingly being emphasized (Rubin 1984; Bruner 1986; Nystrand 1989; Camitta 1993). All of these trends challenge the dichotomous view of speaking as the affect-laden mode and writing as the opposite.

Insofar as people take the trouble to communicate their message via such an

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inconvenient (though often cheaper) means as writing, there should be some kind of special intention, and/or reward, for taking up the channel.² Besnier's studies (1988, 1989, 1991) in Nukulaelae are thus quite suggestive. There personal letter writing is considered to be a cathartic communicative event, and has acquired specific local cultural meanings. Besnier suggests in his Nukulaelae studies that the written mode is intrinsically heteroglossic and more affective than the spoken. Seen in this way, the written mode can present another possible field of research into immediate, affect-laden interaction.

1.2. Properties of ne and yo

This study concerns a written form, the letter, as a social-interactive means of text creation - in particular, the affect-encoding devices employed by young Japanese women who use this form. Especially interesting is the disproportionate use of

KANJI: is originally borrowed from the Chinese and can at least be read in two completely different ways based on the Japanese and modified Chinese pronunciations. While Kanji characters represent morphs (sound + meaning) on one hand, the appropriate pronunciation of a given character is often determined by the context where it is used. When it was introduced into Japan, it was a privilege only for highly intelligent Buddhist monks, high officials and aristocrats, that is, mostly for elite males. Kanji characters are traditionally used in combination with two syllabaries: Hiragana and Katakana.

HIRAGANA: One type of *Kana* 'Japanese syllabary' is called Hiragana whose function is to represent grammatical signals such as postpositions, particles, inflectional endings, affixes as well as indigenous ideas and objects. Historically, Hiragana were invented by modifying the most simplified form of three types of Kanji characters already prevalent in the Nara Period (710 A.D. - 794 A.D.). Since Hiragana was a simplified form of Kanji, it was easier to master, even for those who had limited proficiency in Kanji. Besides, in Nara Period, since literacy was necessary even for women to write letters and poems, Hiragana writing eventually flowered into the brilliant women's literature of the Heian Period (794 A.D. - 1192 A.D.).

KATAKANA: The other type of Kana is Katakana, which developed from preceding Man'yoogana (Japanese writing system of the Chinese) and was initially used for adding grammatical relationships and enabling the reader of Chinese literature and Buddhists to 'transread' original Chinese canons. Katakana were widely used as a substitute for Hiragana before World Ward II, but currently, Katakana are mostly used for spelling loan words, Furigana (Kana for telling readers how to read characters), slang, adverbs, and onomatopoeias. They can also be used to represent some sort of emphasis.

ROMAJI: Finally, Japanese people use Romaji (Roman alphabet) quite often in everyday writing. It was originally Portuguese missionaries that first started writing Japanese with a Latin alphabet. However, because of the attempts to suppress Christianity by the then-government, it was not until the Meiji Period (1868-1912) that the official introduction of Romaji into academic fields set in. At that time, a proposal was even made that Japanese be written in Roman letters instead of the other writing systems. After the defeat in WW II, Romaji was incorporated into the curriculum of the primary school, but now it is taught only for a short period in the primary school mainly for understanding the transcription of Japanese into Roman alphabets, such as in transcribing names and places. Since its main function in Japanese is merely transcription, it tends to be seen as child-like and non-authentic.

² Japanese has four types of writing systems, which are respectively Kanji (Chinese characters), Hiragana, Katakana, and Romaji (Roman alphabet). Each has specific history and associations.

sentence-final particles³ (henceforth SFP) *ne* and *yo* in their writings addressed to intimates. Both particles represent affect appropriate for a specific proposition and context. In this study, my questions particularly concern the SFPs *ne*, *yo*, and their combinatory form *yone*.

These SFPs are generally associated with affective closeness to the addressee, although each has its own set of connotations. Researchers have accounted for the properties of ne in terms of contextual function (Cook 1992), psychological distance and 'territory' of information (Kamio 1994), and relative modal difference in interactional and informational load (Izuhara 1993; Maynard 1993; Kinsui 1993). For example, Cook (1992) found out that ne can indirectly index several functions such as in 'requesting confirmation,' 'getting attention,' 'introducing a new topic in conversation, 'keeping the floor,' 'socializing children,' 'mitigating face-threatening acts,' and 'marking intimacy,' drawing on the well-acknowledged view that ne functions as a signal which directly indexes 'affective common ground' (Cook 1992). Kamio's (1994) influential theory of 'territory of information' currently postulates a gradable and continuous notion of interaction between the speaker's territory of information and the hearer's. In particular, ne is construed as representing the locus in which the information is equally in the speaker's and the hearer's territories (direct-ne form) or falls completely in the hearer's territory (indirect-ne form), constituting degrees of shared information. Maynard (1993) more strictly characterized its function as 'interaction-focused' and 'information-defocused'.

Although the properties of yo have so far been less investigated than those of ne, Izuhara (1993), Maynard (1993), and Kinsui (1993) have considered its functions in relation to ne, and defined it in terms of its information relevance to, and focusedness on, the utterance with yo attached. Along the same lines is Shirakawa (1992) who hypothesized that the function of yo is to emphasize that the utterance to which yo is attached is exclusively directed to the hearer. In other words, it is addresser-oriented and 'interactionally defocused'. Their generalizations sound reasonable because yo is usually, though not necessarily, used with imperatives and statements that are hearer-new. Thus, when yo is used in interactional situations, it functions as an attention-getter, warning, and so on (Masuoka & Takubo 1989). It can also imply pushiness, or even a slight threat depending on the context.

Generally, both *ne* and *yo* are seen to best function in face-to-face contexts (Clancy, 1982) in order to manipulate mutuality and emotional closeness. For

³ I will stick to this traditional term in this study since the occurrence of non-clause-final particles in my data was negligible (less than 2% of the total SFP occurrence) in spite of the fact that *ne*, in particulaar, (and less so with other SFPs,) can appear not only at the sentence-final position but also at every phrase boundary of a clause. I excluded those tokens from my analysis because my basis of analysis is the clause, not the segment. For example:

Watashi (ne) kinou (ne) tomodachih to (ne) eiga ni (ne) ita (no) (yo). I yesterday friend(s) with movie to went (I say) I went to a movie with my friend(s) yesterday.

Ne sometimes sounds childish when used too often. According to Hori's study (1981), use of ne is abundant in SFPs of elementary school children.

example:

- (1) Aitsu no yuu koto wa shinyoo deki nai ne.
 'We can't trust what he says ne, (don't you think?)'
- (2) Aitsu no yuu koto wa shinyoo deki nai yo.
 'I say I can't trust what he says (he is a liar) yo.'

As we will see later, however, the functions of these particles are not so clear-cut, and are also variable depending on the propositional content.

1.3. Research questions

The use of these SFPs strikingly fills every nook and cranny of the letters and cards written by young Japanese women. My first question here is to look at the way in which ne and vo reflect the emotional stance of the encoder, which is usually culturally and contextually organized (e.g. Ochs and Schieffelin 1989; Besnier 1989; Irvine 1990), and also how these SFPs are related to two aspects of social relations most crucially tied to emotion discourse: Sociability and power relations (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990: 13-14). My rationale for selecting these specific SFPs is the following. First, the SFPs ne, yo are a very important part of self-representation. According to Hori (1981), the use of SFPs permeates the utterances of Japanese women of 20 years of age and older living in suburban areas of Tokyo, and most likely prevails across other regions and dialects. Interestingly, ne always tops the list of SFPs across ages including teenagers and younger, but the use of yo climbs up to the second place in frequency only after the twenties. It alternates in frequency with other SFPs such as no, na, and sa up through the teens. In any case, ne and yo are two most widely used SFPs throughout the lifespan. Overall, Hori (1981) concludes that the high frequency of use of SFP implies informality, solidarity, and politeness among discourse participants. Speakers are expected to gradually broaden their repertoire of SFPs as they are meshed into the society (attested by the use of age-specific SFPs), acquiring interpersonal/identity management skills and adult forms of sociability.

The second question concerns this increasing stability of use of *ne* and *yo*, which I assume is influenced by covert normalizing pressure from peers and seniors at workplaces and from the society in general. These factors may play a role in solidifying their use. (See Nakane 1970; Okonogi 1981; Doi 1973 [1971] for age-/status-related expectations and hierarchical educational systems at workplaces in Japanese society.) Because of this assumption, most of my data consist of letters written by female junior high/high school students and young females from 20 to 34 of age who have had some occupational experience. Brief analyses will be done between the uses of *ne* and *yo* by these age groups. I will also break down the data according to the addressee's age, a factor often connected to *power relations* in Japan.

2. Analysis of sentence final particles ne, yo, and yone

2.1. Informants and data

In this section, the analysis focuses on the specific use of some SFPs gathered from 65 letters and cards written by young Japanese women. There are 20 writers in their teens, 9 in their early 20's, 22 in their late 20's, and 14 in their early 30's and older. The breakdown of types of addressees is as follows: 37 letters to same-sex close friends, 3 letters to opposite-sex close friends, 15 letters to same-sex friends, 6 letters to opposite-sex friends, and 4 letters to sister. (I judged the 'closeness' according to their self-report.)

2.2. Factors and procedure

This analysis should be made in relation to the oft-discussed cultural themes of Japan. The variables generally embraced as necessary for consideration in studies of Japanese society are basically *group identity*, *gender*, and *age* (Loveday 1986), intricately intertwined with the considerations and manipulations of *uchi* 'inside'/*soto* 'outside' and self/other relationship. (See Doi (1973 [1971]); Kondo (1989); Bachnik (1992) for a detailed discussion.) However, we can eliminate the first two factors here since the data gathered for this analysis all came from correspondence between intimates or friends, that is, an 'unmarked' *uchi* case in terms of *group identity*. I tentatively assume that the 'unmarked' population consists of intimate or close friends, whether the addressees are male or female, as long as the letters are written by females.

As for the *gender* factor, considering the distribution and the data gathered (all letters were written by females, and addressed to unmarked addresses), gender difference of the addressee will not be addressed in this study - the number of tokens obtained from male-addressee cases is rather small (475/2125 = 22.4%). Therefore, in the next section, I will pay close attention to how the *age* factor is crucial for the use of certain particles.

As for the basic analytical framework, the dependent variable is the presence or absence of particular SFPs. Although the focus of this study is to investigate the use of SFPs ne, yo and yone, I also looked at other SFPs for comparison, and also cross-analyzed some of the factors as necessary. The SFPs investigated are ne, yo, yone, na, no, wa, sa, ka, and roughly defined others for the sake of convenience. In cases of combinations of these oft-used ones (except yone) such as wane, kane, kana, nano, nanoyo, nanoyone, etc., I classified them under others (the frequency of these SFPs was relatively small). Since as Hori (1981) observed, there are more than thirty types of SFPs including combinatory forms, I had to narrow them down to the most relevant ones.

The independent variables are what I take to be the four most relevant factors that might influence the (non)occurrence of the dependent variable. They were 1) locus of occurrence, 2) co-occurrence of affective / evaluative devices, 3) adult / juvenile affiliation, and 4) direction of address. 'Locus of occurrence' has four levels: a) topic boundary minus 1, b) topic boundary, c) topic boundary plus 1

(= an initial position of the next topic), and d) mid-topic. The reason for this distinction will be discussed with relation to Labov's model of narrative structure (1972). My assumption is that *ne*, *yo*, and *yone* are especially concerned with specific narrative components and tend to serve as contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1982) governed by the structure.

By 'affective / evaluative devices' I mean pictorial signs and unconventional punctuation that represent the writer's affect in a different way from what mature writers are supposed to employ in a conventionally appropriate manner. I employed Tanizaki's (1975) essential axioms for writing Japanese to define this 'mature' style. Because of my focus on this metalinguistic aspect of writing, I did not analyze syntactic features of expression manifested by lexical and grammatical organizations. It is highly plausible that these metalinguistic features function hand-in-hand with some affect-laden SFPs. I will discuss this topic in more detail elsewhere (Kataoka 1995).

I classified the letters according to the two age cohorts: *Adult* and *juvenile*. It is arguable what constitutes adultness and juvenileness, and presumably it is highly psychologically, economically, and legislatively defined. Here I tentatively define them according to whether the writer has ever had a rigid occupational experience, because of my assumption that the implicit normalizing force of Japanese society plays a role. Consequently, *adult* here corresponds to females at 20 years of age or older with an occupational experience, and *juvenile*, to junior high / high school and junior college students who lack such. Labov (1972), Eckert (1988), and Shaw (1994) claim that juveniles have their own norms of interaction based on specific social identities and subcultural meaning. In fact, in our case, they seem to have quite a different perception about the use of *yo* from their adult counterparts.

Another age factor is the direction of address. *Upward* means here that the letter was written to a senior friend (someone with a higher status in terms of age relationship), *Level*, to a peer, and *Downward*, to a junior friend, respectively. There is, of course, a case in which someone can be a senior at a workplace even if s/he is younger than others. I excluded this 'reversed' case because in it self-identity management seems to be situational and thus unstable, although I admit people can be psychologically peers even if they are different ages as long as they are on the same seniority relationship in Japanese *tate shakai* 'vertical society' (See Nakane 1970).

In this study, I used GOLDVARB version 2.0 developed by Rand and Sankoff (1990) to carry out a variable rule analysis. The result is represented by the numbers called factor *weights* indicating the degree to which certain factors promote or demote the operation of the rule, thus favoring or disfavoring the dependent variable, which has a neutral weight of .50. Put another way, larger values above .50 (.51 to .99) imply stronger promoting effects, and smaller values below .50 (.01 to .49) imply stronger inhibitory effects.

2.3. Identification of topic

The basis of the analysis is the topic-bounded clause. In reality, how to decide a topic boundary is a very complicated matter. I first relied on the conventional boundaries such as *Zenbun* 'introductory remarks', *Honbun* 'body', *Matsubun*

'concluding remarks'. As for Honbun (Body), as is often pointed out, there is a well-known rhetorical organization called Ki-Sho-Ten-Ketsu, which roughly corresponds to Introduction - Development - Unexpected twist - Conclusion. This style was originally imported from China more than 10 centuries ago with the introduction of Chinese characters and gradually came to be used in formal expository writings. In addition to this convention, an ordinary letter usually has salutation, complimentary close, and signature. I treated these as distinct elements that manifest structural salience because, although SFPs rarely appear with them, salutation and signature (that is, channel open/close signals) and complimentary close (most relevant to the Gricean maxims of truthfulness and politeness) are usually highly affect-laden although fairly conventionalized to some extent. Further, many writers added postscript(s), which I included in my analysis as a distinct segment.

One way I could have bounded clauses was this kind of rhetorical structure, but, except in some relatively long letters, many writers do not seem to observe this style at all. Partly because they did not sufficiently exploit this rhetorical organization, or partly because they had too much to say in a limited space, they ended up reporting one after another what had happened to them without any sense of building up a coherent whole as prescribed by Japanese rhetorical norms. In any case, the pervasive practice of not relying on the style is a common feature of their writings. Thus we have to figure out how to sort out the clustered chunk into topics as reasonably and emically as possible.

Brown and Yule (1983) point out the arbitrariness in defining the notion of 'topic' and its boundaries in ordinary conversation analysis. In most cases the decision of topic boundaries is made intuitively based on two types of broadly defined topics: sentence topic and discourse topic. In this study, I mainly followed van Dijk's notion of discourse topic and macrostructure (van Dijk 1980, 1982; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983) and occasionally referred to Givón's (1983a, 1983b) and Hinds' (1983, 1984) notion of sentence topic for dubious cases.⁴ The number of

⁴ According to van Dijk, episodes, that are usually minimum sets of text, can be semantically defined and bounded by a distinctive beginning and end. Such episodes can also be theoretically bound up in terms of what he calls a 'macroproposition'. It is usually equivalent to what is generally termed as topic, theme, or gist. He stipulates that this thematically and intuitively bound chunk of text is marked by linguistic 'breaking points' or grammatical 'signals' that specify the prepositional boundaries (van Dijk 1982: 181; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983: 204). He proposes the following criteria for detecting such points and signals: 1) Change of possible world, 2) Change of time or period, 3) Change of place, 4) Introduction of new participants, 5) Full noun phrase reintroduction of old participants, 6) Change of perspective, 7) Change of frame of script, 8) Pauses and hesitation phenomena in spoken discourse, 9) Paragraph indentations in written discourse. Thus us a general strategy, if a sentence can no longer be subsumed under a current macroproposition, a new macroproposition must be set up.

We can find numerous articles devoted to the notion of topic continuity, action/event continuity, and clause chaining mainly done from the Functional perspective (e.g. Givón 1983a, 1983b; Hinds 1983, 1984; Myhill and Hibiya 1988; Watanabe 1994). However, although these types of considerations are fit for looking at information flow and cohesion, they are not helpful to the bounding practice in this study because they tend to capture the continuity/discontinuity continuum with various syntactic and typological organizations. One criterion I have adopted form their studies is Hinds' notion of distance and decay in Japanese (1983, 1984), with which he claims the gradient topic continuity among case-marker deletion, (subject case-marking) particle ga and wa; Deletion

broadly defined topics was counted following these criteria.

Table 1 indicates the breakdown of number of topics that form each 'Direction of address' and 'Adult / juvenile orientation' factors. In the sections below, I will first consider the 'Adult' row, comparing the differences in the direction of address, and then the 'Level' column to look for particular features associated with the two types of age cohorts.

Table 1.

NUMBER OF CLAUSES IN EACH 'DIRECTION' FACTOR

Numbers in parentheses indicate the total # of SFPs used in each category.

Age relationship	Upward	Level	Downward	Total
Adult Juvenile	640 (85) N/A	738 (133) 621 (186)	748 (109) N/A	2126 (327) 621 (186)
Total	640 (85)	1359 (319)	748 (109)	2747 (513)

2.4. Ne, yo, yone and other particles

Here I will briefly compare the contextual uses of SFPs *ne, yo, yone* and others, referring to Shibamoto's spoken data (1987) and Clancy's written data (1982). First, as Shibamoto (1987) points out, these lexical (or morphological) features can be used in both male and female speech but are used in different conditions, such as that men use these forms immediately after plain and polite forms of the copula, adjectives, and verbs, but women obey combinatory rules which considerably restrict the use of these forms (Shibamoto 1987: 34). However, in the case of letter-writing

> wa > ga, in terms of continuity. For dubious cases, I relied on his findings and judged on the topic boundaries.

The general rules are:

when $ga \longrightarrow ga$; $\phi \longrightarrow wa$; $\phi \longrightarrow ga$; $wa \longrightarrow ga$: New Topic

When $wa \rightarrow wa$; $\phi \rightarrow \phi$; $ga \rightarrow wa$; $wa \rightarrow \phi$: Continuous

E.g. If a boundary is vague and the first clause in the expected new macroproposition is marked by ga and followed by wa or deletion, OR marked by wa and followed by deletion and preceded by deletion (that is, less 'marked' on the continuum), I took this to be 'discontinuous' and thus a boundary. (It seems that this means tends to make a topic segment smaller than what van Dijk considers to be a macrostructure.)

⁵ With the 'combinatory rules,' Shibamoto (1987: 34) takes up following examples:

⁽M) Iku *yo*. (go)

⁽F) Iku wa yo. (Go): 'I'm going.'

⁽M) Ikimasu ne. (Go-polite)

⁽F) Ikimasu no ne. (Go-polite): 'I'm going.'

of young Japanese females, the difference in incidence of SFPs seems to be as important as the grammatical conditions on which they are supposed to take place. An interesting result arises when my written data are put into the SFP classification from Shibamoto's (1987) spoken framework (Table 2). Other sentence-final particles such as wa and no, which Shibamoto (and others) classifies as particularly womanly particles, occurred less frequently than ne and yo, which she mentions are 'neutral' gender markers.

Clearly in young Japanese females' letters, ne (37.3%) and yo (16.6%) are more indexical of female gender than widely acknowledged female particles such as wa (1.8%) and no (3.1%). Moreover, some supposedly male-specific particles (ze, sa, and na) were confirmed to be more frequent than some female-specific ones. This result suggests that any gender-indexicality in SFPs is highly sensitive to context. Shibamoto's data came from natural conversation conducted by, and TV drama scenarios scripted for, 'womanly women'. My data concerns informal written communication between intimates.

As for written data, Clancy (1982) reports that based on her sample (20 narratives written by young Japanese women in response to a short film) there was total agreement among the writers that none of them ever used *ne*, *yo* or *sa* in their writing, and concludes that these particles serve as a means of supporting and maintaining a 'face-to-face' interaction. The extreme gap between the use of SFPs in her data and that in my own has apparently come from the different purposes for which the writings took place: Formal expository prose or informal letter writing. Both of these results suggest a great variability in contextual and purposive use of these particles and integration of the spoken features into casual letter writing.

Table 2. INCIDENCE OF SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES NE, YO, YONE AND OTHERS BASED ON SHIBAMOTO'S CLASSIFICATION Note: N and % are those obtained in my data.

		Neut	ral		Fen	rale		N	1ale	
 ,	ne	yο	vonc	ka	wa	110	5 <i>C</i>	50	NO	Hel
	24	-1	4	18	2		()	()	.3	6
Adi. Downward	41	17	.3	15	1	.3	()	1	()	6
Adt. Level	68	1.1	.3	16	3	.5	4	()	2	.5
Juve. Level	58	53	3	()	3	7	5	1	8	7
Total	191	85	1.3	58	()	16		2	13	24
G in total SEP	37.3	16.6	2.5	11.3	1.8	3.1	1.8	.4	2.5	4.7

As can be seen, men use particles directly after plain and polite forms of the copula, adjectives, verbs, and so on. On the other hand, women's usage is based on the combination with other particles (e.g. -no ne). Prescriptively speaking, this observation is correct, but many of the Japanese women in my data did not necessarily follow these rules.

2.5. Analysis of ne, yo, yone and age factor

I will consider the use of *ne*, *yo* and their combinatory form *yone* based on two factors. One is the 'Direction of address' and the other is the functional differences of *ne* and *yo* in 'Adult / juvenile orientation'. I will also connect my first discussion to a narrative structure, and my second one to a writing system switch.

Labov (1972: 369-370) identified the complete narrative structure as starting with Abstract ('what was this about?') or Orientation ('who, when, what, where'), and leading to Complicating Action ('then what happened?'), Resolution ('conclude'), Result ('what finally happened?'), and finally to Coda ('signal change of topic'), with Evaluation ('so what?') appearing in various forms throughout the narrative. As far as the narrative event (or 'topic' in this study) is concerned, the average number of clauses in one narrative is approximately 7 (2658/388 = 6.85...) after the exclusion of non-narrative 'topics' such as salutation, complimentary close, and signature. Since the essential part of the narrative structure is Complicating action (as long as the narrative is *reportable*), we will see that this structure also applies to a narrative event typical of letter writing of Japanese females in a more simplified framework. Just reading their 'narratives' impresses us that some of the events are not so reportable from our point of view. However, they are reportable for the communicators themselves in their specific ways. That is why they decided to take up this onerous means of communication, using their time and energy, whether their purpose is merely phatic or one of obligation. Letter writing is almost always heavily evaluated because the evaluative portion of a narrative indexes this reportability, highlighted by the contextualizing functions of particular SFPs. To take up an instance from the data:

(3) Okaa-san ya onee-san kara wa yoku o-hanashi o ukagatte masu ga / ('iroiro ganbatteru wayo' /) nante kikuto / aratamete ('Yayoi-san , tanomoshii') to kanshin shite imasu. / 'I no naka no kawazu' ttena watashi niwa (Yayoi-san ga kaette kuru /) hi ga tanoshimi. / Kondo wa shibaraku taizai dekiru to no koto. / Amerika de no koto (etc.) yukkuri kikasete kudasai ne. / Matteru yoooon. /

I hear a lot about you from your mother and sister, and I really admire you like 'Yayoi, great!' when I especially hear that 'she seems to be doing great yo.' For a person like me, who is narrow-sighted (don't know the world), it is a great pleasure to have you back here. I heard you are going to stay a while this time. You must tell me things about America and etc. ne. I am looking forward to seeing you agaaaaain yo!!!

Also, a topic sometimes consists just of a few clauses, that are either Complicating action or Evaluation.

(4) Kono 'binsen' kawaE raa. / Okkaa ga katte kite kureta no. / Maa² desho. Don't you think this writing pad is cute? Mom bought this for me no. It's 'so-so', don't you think?

We see from these examples that vast background knowledge is shared, and much of the Abstract / Orientation, Result and Coda is simply presupposed, thus

rendering the content a bare sequence of actions/events and affect, mostly consisting of brief Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, and omitted Resolution and Coda - the skeleton of a narrative. This is roughly what most of the topics comprise, and this makes it reasonable why one topic on average consists of only about 7 clauses.

The GOLDVARB analysis of the adult population (Table 3) demonstrated their distributions for 'Locus of occurrence', 'Direction of address', and 'Co-occurrence of affective / evaluative devices'.

As is evident from the table, *ne*, *yo* and *yone* have distinct functions suggested by the factors of each independent variable. They seem to have functionally complementary distributions and are closely connected with the narrative structure, allowing for the structural correspondence between the narrative structure and preferred loci of occurrence. Table 4 presents a rough schematization of this correspondence.

First, since *ne* implies emotional closeness and affective common ground (Cook 1992), it usually helps to consolidate common feelings toward a narrated event at the end of a topic, ultimately establishing solidarity between the addresser and addressee. It also helps to capture the addressee's attention with its evaluative tone and give a clue to usher him/her into a new topic. We could thus say that *ne* indirectly indexes certain narrative components in the overall structure of discourse (c.f. Cook 1992; Ochs 1992).

Table 3.

VARBRUL ANALYSIS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Locus of occurrence has four levels: a) topic boundary - 1, b) topic boundary, c) topic boundary + 1 (= topic initial), and d) mid-topic. : value x > .50 = > facilitative; x < .50 = > inhibitory

Direction of address: Upward (to seniors); Downward (to juniors); Level (to peers)

		Lo	cus			Direction	1		Co-oc	currence
	a	h	c	d	Up.	Down.	Level		yes	no
nc	.56	.72	.52	.42	.35	.50	.63		.62	.49
	Total	Chi-squa	re = 25.0	9	Chi-square/co	ell = .64		N = 133		
	.24	.67	.34	.54	.24	.68	.57		.74	.47
	Total	Chi-squa	re = 10.5	()	Chi-square/co	:11 = .27		N = 32		
vone	.68	.4()	.65	.46	.64	.46	.42		.67	.48
	Total	Chi-squa	are = 23.0	8	Chi-square/ed	= .59		N = 9		•

Table 4.

CONTEXTUALIZING FUNCTIONS OF NE, YO, AND YONE
IN RELATION TO THE FACTORS IN 'LOCUS OF OCCURRENCE'

	Components\SFP	пе	,yo	yone
/ Evalu-	Abstract/Orientation (c) Complicating action (a / d)	X	X	X
ation \	Resolution (a / b) Result/Coda (b)	X X	X X	X

(5) Sate ware ware mo 28-sai ni narimashita ga, / nanka kodomo-ppoi yonee~~~!! / (Demo Yamada wa kono natsu sukoshi otona ni natta kedo ne!!!) / Demo fukekomu koto wa nai! / Itsu made mo kimochi wa 10-dai de ganbaroo ne!

By the way, we have turned 28, but we are still kind of childish $yonee \sim \sim \sim$, don't you think? (But Yamada (you) has become a little more 'mature' woman this summer ne, haven't you?) We don't have to feel senile. Let's keep on going with the heart of a teenager ne.

This common practice explicates the relative higher weight of *ne* at the loci 'a (topic boundary -1: .56)' and 'c (topic boundary +1: .52)', and the significant value at 'b (topic boundary: .72)', all of which (especially 'b') serve to constitute a topic boundary (Table 3). Further, such mutual feelings are most likely to be shared by peers, thus displaying the highest preference for 'Level' factor in 'Direction of address', with a weight value of .63.

Second, yo seems to have at least two functions: One similar to ne, but with a stronger connotation of the addresser's intention, and the other quite different from ne. As many Japanese grammarians point out, in addition to the emphasized directedness to the utterance to which yo is attached (e.g. Shirakawa 1992; Kinsui 1993), yo is particularly used when the addresser presents information to which the addressee have not had access. This functional distribution is shown in Table 5:

Table 5.
DISTRIBUTION OF NE AND YO IN TERMS OF MUTUAL KNOWLEDGE.

==========	Addressee (+)	Addressee (-)
Addresser (+)	ne	уо

Because of this epistemological difference, using yo in this sense almost always concerns introducing new information. Thus, yo helps to create an implicit power relationship, the function of which Maynard (1993) summarized as 'information-focused' and 'interaction-defocused'. This inherent function reasonably relates to the higher frequency of yo in factors 'd (.54)' (roughly, Complicating action, or presentation of new information) and 'b (.67)' (Resolution or Result / Coda), and to significantly higher weight (.68) for 'Downward' in VARBRUL analysis of 'Direction of address'. It seems to me quite natural that seniors tend to use more yo's toward their juniors because they are usually endowed with more authority and power in hierarchy-based Japanese society, whether they are conscious of this or not. In other words, yo cues 'new information' and also overtly marks power-laden evaluation. Example (6) demonstrates these uses.

(6) Soosoo, uchi no shachoo no Toomasu ga kekkoo Kyooko no koto o kikun da yo. Imooto-san doo shiteru?' -tte. LEXIS no sutaffu ni, nante kangaete iruno kamo shirenai shi, saikin uchi mo kyooiku kankei ga nobiru kanoosei ga mienai demo nai shi. Izure ni seyo, hirakeru michi wa ikura demo arun dakara, shikkari ganbare yo.

You know what? Our president, Mr. Thomas, often asks me about Kyooko (you) yo, saying, 'How is your sister doing?' He may be thinking of recruiting you for LEXIS (the writer's firm). . . . It is true that there is a possibility that our education-related business is going to develop. Anyway, there are as many ways as you wish (if you try hard), so you must keep up a good work yo.

Finally, *yone* seems to be more ambiguous partly because of the paucity of essential data here and partly because of its mitigating function between *ne* and *yo*. As Table 4 shows, *yone* is most relevant to 'Resolution' and 'Abstract / Orientation'. Examples are rare, but typical patterns of occurrence are seen in (7) and (8):

(7) Sore ni shitemo hataraite mierun deshita-kke? / Doo yatte kurashite irun daroo / to, soboku na gimon ga attari shite, / koo yuu no yokei na osewa/ -tte iun desu yone.

By the way, do you have a job? I have a simple question about how your family is (economically) getting along. This is like 'Mind your own business!' *yone*, I know.

(8) Toshi o toru ni tsurete / tairyoku ga ichiban otoroeru yone(e),/ nante, kyoo mo Sachi to saikai shite / hanashite kita tokoro desu. / Kodomo mo kotoshi 3-sai ni narimasu. / Sorosoro futari-me o to kangaete iru no desu ga

'As we get older, we lose physical power most of all *yone(e)*.' This is what we talked about when I met with Sachi (her friend) today. My son is turning 3 years old, and (my husband and) I am (are) thinking of having a second baby.

Since *yone* is a combination of *yo* and *ne* (see Kinsui (1993) for an explanation of why the *neyo* form does not exist.), it implies that the utterance is particularly directed to the addressee and also to her/his intention to share affective common ground: A mitigated form of speaker orientation / hearer orientation and power / solidarity. It is very suggestive that the GOLDVARB analysis demonstrates, despite its low frequency, a high promoting effect 'Upward'. (Close attention to the actual use of *yone* in the data shows that it is always preceded by polite forms such as *desu* or *masu* when used to write to seniors. Also, it is mostly used in a consultative or persuasive tone.) On the basis of these data, we could say that *yone* is mainly used to introduce a new topic by eliciting addressee's involvement with the consultative tone, and by confirming mutual affective orientation with its affirmative tone, especially when addressing seniors.

So far, I have not separately considered "Co-occurrence of affective / evaluative devices'. The common finding across these three SFPs is that these devices are closely related to the occurrence of the SFPs. At this point I can only say that these devices are most likely to co-occur with negatives, futures, and modals, which Labov (1972: 380-1) assumes typically occur at the point of evaluation. They are also syntactically placed at the end of a clause since Japanese is an SOV (subject-object-verb) language, and thus typologically, tense, aspect, and mood come at the clause-final position (if not deleted), accompanied by such devices.

2.6. Comparative analysis of adult and juvenile use of SFP

I will compare adult and juvenile uses of *ne*, *yo*, and *yone* in this section. I will look only at the 'Level' population from adult and juvenile groups partly because there were not sufficient data from juveniles in the other categories and mainly because Japanese females used most SFPs in that category. (See Table 1 and 2.) The results from the GOLDVARB analysis are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6.

PROBABILITIES OF NE, YO, AND YONE FOR ADULT AND JUVENILE 'LEVELS'

Note: Factor 'b' in yone's row was not available because of its non-occurrence in
the cell. Tokens marked 'b' thus was excluded from the analysis of 'Adult
/ Juvenile orientation' and 'Evaluative device' for yone.

	Locu	s of rrence			Adult	/ Juvenile	Evaluative device	
	a	b	С	d		juvenne	yes	no
ne	.61	.60	.59	.43	.51	.49	.56	.48
yo	.47	.47	.46	.53	.31	.73	.52	.49
vone	.59	N/A	.55	.47	.55	.44	.68	.45

The overall pattern for this 'Level' population seems to be almost completely the same as that of the overall adult population (see Table 3) except for yo's inhibitory effect in 'b' of 'Locus of co-occurrence' (.47) and its dramatic reversed effect, or juvenile preference with a significant weight value of .73 in 'Adult / juvenile orientation'. However, if we pay closer attention to each SFP from the same data base, a different picture emerges. Table 7 indicates the weights of SFPs from each category of orientation. ('Locus' and 'Evaluative' factors are not repeated here to avoid redundancy.)

Table 7. WEIGHTS OF SFPs BY ADULT/JUVENILE ORIENTATION General gender preference is based on Sakata (1991) and Ogura (1985). N = neutral; M = male; F = female.'N/A' refers to the tokens in which SFPs did not occur.

Gender Pref.								others =)	N/A
Adult	.52	.15	.61	.37	.35	.58	.25	.39	.54
(Juvenile	.48	.85	.39	.63	.65	.42	.75	.61	.46)
Overall total 1	N = 13	50						Chi-squaquare/ce	are = 67.42 dI = 1.23

This SFP-specific analysis demonstrates an occupation-related and/or age-related tendency to use particular SFPs among intimates. Adults obviously tend to use more addressee-oriented, that is, affectively softer and more sociable SFPs (hence, relatively higher preference for *ne* and *yone*, but extremely low preference for vo), including one that smacks of femininity and maturity (wa). Juveniles, on the other hand, tend to use more affectively stronger SFPs like yo, more male-sounding ones like na and sa, and more female ones like no, characterized by cherishing. (See Sakata 1991, which revealed that no is more frequently used than ne and yo by mothers when they socialize children.) As far as these SFPs are concerned, adults seem to be more norm-conscious and sensitive to societal expectations, making use of the SFPs typical of the 'womanly woman' (Shibamoto, 1987). On the other hand, juvenile females' writing is characterized by their use of harsh, male-like, and 'childish' SFPs.

2.7. Katakana and its connotation: Katakanization of ne and yo

Related to the manipulation of SFP-specific features by young Japanese females is the writing system variation in their letters. Traditionally (in a broad sense) there are three types of writing systems: Hiragana, Katakana, and Kanji (Chinese characters). Currently, a fourth type is acknowledged, adding Romaji (Roman alphabet) to the three. (See Note 1 for more explanation of these systems.) Among the possibilities for a writing system switch, the most avidly exploited is that between Hiragana and Katakana. I will look below at how frequently the switch takes place and what kind of tendency it represents in terms of 'Direction of address' and 'Adult / juvenile orientation'.

Table 8.

OVERALL FREQUENCIES OF NE AND YO IN HIRAGANA (H) AND KATAKANA (K)

Bare numbers indicate 'Tokens observed / Total # of tokens' in each 'Direction' factor, and those in parentheses are the percentage.

				Adult				Juvenile
		Upward		Downwa	ard	Level		Level
NE	Н	24/640	<	41/748	<	68/738 (9.2)	<	58/621 (9.3)
	K	3/640	<	10/748	<	11/738 (1.5)	<	14/621
YO	Н	4/640 (.6)	<	17/748	>	11/738	<	53/621 (8.5)
	K	()/64() ((),())	<	5/748 (.7)	>	4/738 (.5)	<	7/621 (1.1)

The general picture is evident: Table 8 shows that there is a complete parallel in the frequency order for Hiragana and Katakana with respect to both *ne* and *yo*. This is conventionally inexplicable because, if Hiragana and Katakana were used according to what the convention tacitly impels - that is, if Hiragana was used only to write *wago* 'words of Japan origin' and particles (e.g. SFPs and case markers), and Katakana, only to transcribe foreign words, onomatopoeia, slang, etc. - there should never be a functional parallel like this. The convention predicts no or little occurrence of Katakana in SFPs. In fact, however, there was a time when Katakana was used instead of Hiragana as the major syllabary, but that was true before the Second World War and the generation at issue has never had such an experience at least in school grammar, although they might have heard about it.

This phenomenon suggests that writers attach some kind of meaning to a Katakanized expression, and they possibly exploit it in order to reflect their sociability and power relations with the readers. I will summarize in the order of frequency the percentages of Katakanization out of the total tokens of *ne* and *yo* (Table 9), although it might be speculative to make the following analyses since the number of tokens of Katakanized *ne* and *yo* is small.

	Table 9.
PERCENTAGE OF KATAKANIZATION	OUT OF TOTAL OCCURRENCE OF NE AND YO

NE	Adt. Downward 10/41 (24.4)	≥	Juve. Level 14/58(24.1)	>	Adt. Level 11/68 (16.2)	>	Adt. Upward 3/24 (12.5)
YO	Adt. Level 4/11 (36.4)		Adt. Downward 5/17 (29.4)		Juve. Level 7/53 (13.9)		Adt. Upward 0/4 (0.0)

We have already seen that *ne* was most likely to be used by levels and *yo*, by superiors. If this finding is always the case, this implicit power relationship should also be, ideally, reflected in the use of Katakanized SFPs. The reality is, however, not this simple. Although the writer's intention is not only manifested by SFPs, of course, but also by many other grammatical and semantic features that I have not considered here, I will particularly refer to the propositional content of clauses to which Katakanized *ne* and *yo* are attached.

First, Katakanized *ne* can be summarized to have a function to augment addresser's 'cherishing' feelings toward, and implication of 'cuteness' of, the target addressee. Table 9 demonstrates that a major difference in 'Direction of address' is that seniors (adult Downward) tend to use Katakanized *ne* for the sentences that are suggestions, encouragement, and requests (24.4%), which are actions people with relative power are often privileged to enjoy in the Japanese society. For instance:

- (9) Yukkuri kikasete kudasai ne. 'Why don't you tell me in detail ne?'
- (10) Mata TEL kudasai ne. 'Why don't you give me a call again ne?'
- (11) *Jinsei ni charenji shite kudasai* **ne**. 'I wish you to have a challenging life *ne*.'
- (12) O-karada ni ki o tsukete osugoshi kudasai ne. 'Take good care of yourself ne.'

On the other hand, peers (adult and juvenile Levels) are likely to use Katakanized *ne* more for sharing information, establishing camaraderie, and asking for confirmation of their utterance (24.1% and 16.2%, respectively), which are the most exploited functions of *ne* intended to enhance 'positive politeness' (Brown and Levinson, 1987):

(13) Sochira wa atsui yoo desu ne.

'Looks like it 's hot over there ne.'

- (14) Umare tara shiraseru kara ne.
 - 'I promise I will let you know when (the baby is) born ne.'
- (15) Asa kara kibun ga waru katta n daroo ne.

'I guess he got up on the wrong side of the bed ne, don't you think?'

(16) Itsu ni natta ra aeru n daroo ne(?)

'I wonder when we can get together again ne, don't you know?'

(17) Soshitara baka-ppoi ne.

'If so, it's sort of stupid ne, isn't it?'

Therefore, when Katakanized, *ne* might most suitably represent seniors' cherishing feelings toward juniors, who are the most likely target of affective attachment. At the same time, peers tend to use Katakanized *ne* for reciprocity. Each population obviously makes use of Katakanized *ne* with a different intention. Seen this way, they might have manifested their affect in a two-dimensional framework: One by managing the frequency of use of *ne* (that is, a horizontal or syntagmatic dimension: c.f. Table 8), and the other by manipulating the intensity of affect itself through writing system switching such as Katakanization (that is, a vertical or paradigmatic choice among scripts).

In the first dimension, for example, we could say that seniors are constrained to a more societal norm that seniors should always be staid and not easily succumb to emotional swings, thus using fewer affect-laden SFPs (but more appropriately and economically at evaluation points) than their juniors. However, this lack of intimacy can be complemented in the second dimension by relying on emphasis devices such as Katakanization, hence its higher ratio (typically for 'adult downward').

Second, the particle yo gives us a different and more ambiguous picture. Katakanized yo is generally used to intensify locutionary / illocutionary force of utterance and the addresser's semantic intention. When it is used in Katakanized form by peers (adult: Juvenile = 36.4:13.9%), the propositional content is almost always concerned with vivid manifestation of affect, friendly demand / command, and emphasized camaraderie, the cases close to what Brown and Levinson (1987: 94-101) call urgency and FTA-oriented bald-on-record usage (e.g. welcomings, farewells and offers).

- (18) Watashi tachi mo okaa-san ni natte ikun da na-tte omoi mashita yo. '(I say) I thought we are also going to be a mother yo!'
- (19) Demo kinchoo shinde (sic: = shinaide) mazu ochitsukin yo.(sic: = ochitsuki nasai yo).

'But don't get nervous. You must be relaxed first yo.'

(20) Dewa ganbarunda yo.

'Well, you try hard yo!'

(21) Tesuto dame datta nante yuuna yo.
'Don't say you did bad on the test yo.'

(22) *Gomen* **yo.**

'I'm so sorry yo.'

What is more complex is a juvenile Level category, in which, in spite of their high number of tokens (N=53), Katakanization ratio is rather low (13.9%). If 'Levels' tend to use a more solidarity/camaraderie-oriented yo, this population could have used the highest ratio of Katakanization through its emphasis-oriented property, but they did not. I can only mention at this point that, in addition to Katakanization, juveniles have many more evaluative devices available than adults have resorted to. This might have led to the lower Katakanization ratio.

In the second highest category (adult downward), seniors used Katakanized yo (29.4%) in a different context. Although there are only five tokens in my data, four of them accompany the sentences that simply inform the addressee of events, happenings, and news, creating unequal power relations in terms of knowledge.

- (23) Futari tomo oozake o nonde iru yoosu desu yo. 'Both of them seem to be drinking a lot yo, I say.'
- (24) Sutoreeto de (daigaku ni) haitta soo yo.
 'I heard that she entered a university straight yo (= without spending an additional year).'
- (25) Iroiro ganbatte ru wa yo.

 '(I say) She is trying hard at everything yo.'
- (26) Genki shite (sic) iru yoosu yo.

 'It seems to me she is very well yo.'

So far, it looks reasonable to assume that Katakanization intensifies the encoded meaning and inherent function of some SFPs, but it is also probable that it is often controlled by the writer's aspiration for sociability, or power, or both. In our sense, Katakanization is contextual and dynamic, contextual because the writers took into consideration not only age factors but also, probably unconsciously, affective intensity similar to what we see in the choice of SFPs. It is also dynamic partly because it is in some situations unconventional, and thus requires that the writer should re-define her social identity about whether or not she is a norm-abiding person. It also implicitly reflects the affiliation to a specific (age) group depending on the type of addressee. They make situational use of writing style, frequency of SFPs, and ratio of Katakanization, drawing on the immediate need of identity management.

In sum, it appears that Katakana system tends to intensify the sound image

⁶ These include such devices as unconventional punctuation, pictorial signs, sub-codeswitching among indegenous writing systems, and other form and content related strategies. They are discussed in more detail in Kataoka (1994).

and connotation of the word which was transcribed into the code. Seen from this point of view, not only the lexicon itself but also the choice of a certain orthographic code or script can encode particular affect through an appropriate channel if properly managed. Borrowing the phrase 'Language has a heart (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989),' we can also say that 'Script has a heart, too.' Seen this way, the function of (writing) system switching in our data may be compared to the tense switching observed by some conversation analysts (Wolfson 1978; Schiffrin 1981; Silva-Corvalán 1983). They convincingly demonstrate that the switch into the historical present tense is a means of internal evaluation (Labov 1972; Fleischman 1990) in that reporting in the tense allows the narrator to tell the event as if it is taking place in front of the hearer, increasing the modality of the narrative and evidentiality of the event reported.

Table A
KATAKANA OR HIRAGANA PREFERENCE FOR GISEIGO AND GITAIGO

'giseigo' (sound)			
Romanization	Katakana	Hiragana	meaning
[gangan]	8	0	strike, hit
[kachikachi]	7	1	click, tick
[korokoro]	7	1	roll, tumble
'gitaigo' (state/mann	*	Wasana	
Romanization	Katakana	Hiragana	meaning
		C	- C
[jimejime]	2	6	humid, damp
[jimejime] [nurunuru]	2 2	C	- C
15 7 1	2 2 0	6	humid, damp
[nurunuru]	2 2 0 0	6 6	humid, damp slippery, slimy

lwabuchi (1982) summarizes the functions of Katakana as 1) intensify sound image, 2) special effect (emphasis), and 3) intensify encoded meaning, although he did not provide supporting evidence. This perceptual difference seems to be motivated by distinctive cognitive processes. Hatta and Ogawa (1983) found in their experiment using the repeated effect paradigm in which, when Japanese words were presented twice both or either in Hiragana and/or Katakana, the subjects presented lower level of facilitation for the mixed pairs (Katakana-Hiragana and Hiragana-Katakana.) They conclude that these two types of *kana* seem to share the common structural features but their lexical representations do not completely overlap. Besides, Hatta (1985) further observed large Stroop-effects for Kanji and pictograph conditions, whereas Katakana and English conditions did not show any such effect. These studies suggest the possibility that Hiragana and Katakana utilize completely different processing mechanisms.

⁷ This function of emphasis of katakanized form is also verified by another survey in which I asked several informants to choose from the two types of codes (Hiragana or Katakana) one that they think is more proper to present fundamental meaning and feeling of the designated words (Table A). The words are all onnomatopoeias representing sound ('giseigo') and state or manner ('gitaigo') because they are types of expressions most frequently Katakanized in Japanese, although not so conventionally as, and more subtly than, the loan word. Here again, eight words and eight informants is too small a sample on which to base our judgment, but we may infer from this result that 1) informants preferred using Katakana for 'giseigo' and Hiragana for 'gitaigo', 2) they used Katakana for implying stronger feelings and emotional states, and Hiragana for describing much less intensive state or manner.

In our case, *ne*, *yo*, and *yone* seem to have similar contextualizing functions, but functions of Katakanized forms are just beginning to be known. At least, we can modestly conclude that they can visually carry out internal evaluation in contexts where the writer wants to put some kind of emphasis, whether emotional or functional. In addition, we can now say that those writers take up the most pertinent stance within a three-, rather than two-, dimensional paradigm. They first have a syntagmatic choice about when and where to use such SFPs in a sentence or topic, drawing on the simplified narrative structure. Second, they have a paradigmatic choice about what writing system to be used for a specific SFP (and also for other lexicon). We looked at only Hiragana-Katakana switch in this study, but some writers also switched between Hiragana and Romaji. (That is, *ne*, *yo*, *ze*, etc. were written in Roman letters just as we see in this English text.)

Finally, they represent their historically and culturally created reality via their community-based discursive strategy of how to present themselves in the situated discourse (Urban 1991). Their interpretation and manifestation of self is constrained by, and created upon, the backdrop of temporally and historically structured meaning of SFPs and writing systems. We have seen that there seem to be stable dominance for the use of *ne* across genres and ages, but the full-fledged functioning of *yo* might be more developmental, and thus need 'maturation' from the conventional perspective. Although I have tended to emphasize their disjunction, a longitudinal and diachronic follow-up study will help to figure out what properties of SFPs are, and are not, persistent and developmental in order to interpret cultural continuity and 'macroparallelism' (Urban 1991).

2.8. Summary of functional distribution of ne, yo, and yone

To summarize the discussion about *ne*, *yo*, and *yone* in Hiragana and Katakana, (although there were few tokens of Katakanized *yone*) the following schema (Figure 1) emerges in terms of power / solidarity (and even to the extent of 'cherishing') relationship and of sociability orientation of discourse participants, as far as informal letter writing is concerned.

Some of the functions of these SFPs apparently do overlap, hence some expressions used with *ne* can also imply the same intensity of power and addresser's intention as those used with *yo* depending on the propositional content. It is hard to decide which sentence is more power-laden or addresser-oriented for the following cases (although in spoken language much of it depends on prosodic features, which would be projected onto shape, size, choice of script, legibility, and so forth in the written):

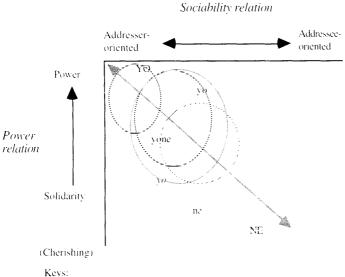
⁸ The fact that sentence-final particles tend to cluster around the topic/segment boundaries was also observed by Polyani & Martin (1990) in their study on Mocho storytelling. See also Bakker (1993) for Greek particle $d\acute{e}$ as a boundary marker, and Hill (1991) for the interaction between Labovian narrative structure and other possible contextualizing factors such as theme and self-coherence in ritual weeping.

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- (27)sono ko no omutsu o kaete ne. 'Please change his (this boy's) diaper ne, OK?'
- (28)sono ko no omutsu o kaeyoo yo. 'Why don't we change his diaper yo?'

However, there are always some areas where ne and yo can never overlap even if the semantic content is essentially the same:

- Kinoo no eiga wa saikoo datta ne. (29)'Yesterday's movie was great ne, (wasn't it?)'
- Kinoo no eiga wa saikoo datta yo. (30)'Yesterday's movie was great yo, (I say.)'

Figure 1. DISTRIBUTION OF NE, YO, AND YONE IN TERMS OF SOCIABILITY AND POWER RELATIONS



ne; Hiragana ne, NE; Katakanized ne yo; Hiragana yo, YO; Katakanized yo. vo : juvenile yo

The first sentence implies that the addresser must have been the person with whom the addresser went to the movie or at least s/he knows the addressee saw the movie: A case of mutual knowledge and reciprocity. In the second case, the addressee cannot be the person with whom the speaker / writer went to see the movie or who the addresser knows went to see the movie because yo stands only for the addresser's subjective knowledge and intention, and can never attain full reciprocity. Likewise, ne cannot fully function in the strongest addresser-oriented and power-related situation. When ne is used in an imperative, it implies a mild order, strong suggestion, and imploration, but never extreme imperative power like yo. Since ne always implies reciprocity, it cannot appear in bare imperatives.

- (31) Sugu kono heya kara dete ike yo.
 *Sugu kono heya kara dete ike ne.
 'Get out of this room pretty soon yo/*ne!'
- (32) Sugu kono heya kara dete itte yo. 'Get out of this room pretty soon yo, OK?'
- (33) Sugu kono heya kara dete itte ne.
 'Get out of this room pretty soon ne, will you?'

One thing that is very interesting along the lines of generation gap is that juveniles do seem to use *yo* more in a reciprocal and solidarity situations where adults preferred using *ne*. It seems to me that this aspect of use of *yo* may be one of the causes of the adult-held impression that younger people do not know how to talk /write to seniors, since they tend to take such a use of *yo* as implying pushiness and challenge to their authority. This is why the functional area of juvenile *yo* is stretched toward solidarity and addressee-orientation in Figure 1.

3. Conclusion

We have seen young Japanese women's letter writing in terms of their devices for encoding affect in the letters addressed to their (close) friends. Their letters were particularly characterized by the disproportionate incidence of sentence-final particles *ne* and *yo*, both of which have been suggested to be relatively 'neutral' markers of gender in spoken language rather than specifically 'female', unlike other particles such as *wa*, *no*, and *te*. All of them are said to be much more 'female', but rarely appeared in these data. I have pointed out that the contextualizing functions of *ne*, *yo*, and *yone* are highly indexical of power / solidarity relations to the extent which they can be connected to such emotions as 'familiarity,' 'reciprocity,' and 'pride' of having access to a cryptic code indicative of a certain membership. This aspect of practice was found to be exclusively utilized by juvenile writers. The choice of writing system (Katakana or Hiragana) also contributes to the better management of expressed affect. At the same time, a writer can draw on a three-dimensional paradigm of culture manifested through culture-specific means of representing affect, which should be a continuing agenda for future study. Also

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interesting is that the female writers incorporated in their creation of text several realities such as age difference, politeness, and the degree of solidarity on one hand, and affective / emotional strength and other metalinguistic intentions on the other.

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