Quotative Particles *to* and *tte* in Formal Japanese Conversations

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Abstract

The Japanese language involves several quotative particles (similar to *that* in *He said that …* in English). Among these particles, two particles *to* and *tte* the most frequent ones. Previous studies have described that formality of conversation distinguishes these two particles (*to* is used in formal conversations, and *tte* in informal). However, it is observed that both particles are frequently used in informal conversations by Japanese native speakers (Nilep, 2017). The present study explores Japanese formal conversations. It observes that both particles are also frequently used in the same formal context, which suggests that formality might not be the single factor to determine the choice of *to* and *tte* in Japanese conversations. Furthermore, these particles appear to form more or less fixed combinations with specific verbs: *to* is used with *omou* ('think'), and *tte* with *iu* ('say'), and their uses might be lexically determined. A small number of other combinations of verbs and quotative particles (*tte omou* and *to iu*) may be accounted for by considering the speaker's uncertainty toward the quoted contents, which is shown by final particles used in the quotes.

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

COP: Copula

FP: Final particle

NOM: Nominative

OBJ: Object

TOP: Topic

SUB: Subject

QT: Quotative particle

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Japanese language involves several quotative particles (similar to *that* in *He said that …* in English). Among these particles, the two particles *to* and *tte* are the most frequent ones. Previous studies have described that formality of conversation distinguishes these two particles (*to* is used in formal conversations, and *tte* in informal). However, it is observed that both particles are frequently used in informal conversations by Japanese native speakers (Nilep, 2017). The present study explores Japanese formal conversations to confirm if formality is the only factor to determine the choice of *to* and *tte*. We will see that both particles are also frequently used in the same formal context, which suggests that formality might not solely determine their choices. Additionally, these particles appear to form more or less fixed combinations with specific verbs: *to* is used with *omou* ('think'), and *tte* with *iu* ('say'), which suggests that lexical fixedness might be a more important factor to determine their choices. A small number of other examples are also observed, that is, the combinations of *tte omou* and *to iu,* and their uses appear to be accounted for by considering the speaker's uncertainty toward the quoted contents, which is shown by final particles used in the quotes. This study will shed light on the new aspects of Japanese quotative particles in actual formal conversations.

1.1. Quotation

Quotations are generally defined as "the act or practice of repeating a phrase, sentence, or passage from a book, speech, or other source, an occasion of doing this, and

the words used" (McArthur, Lam-McArthur & Fontaine, 2018).[1] Saka (2013)

overviewed the previous research on quotations and wrote that quotation "is a

remarkably complicated phenomenon" (p. 935). A great number of linguistics studies

have been done to analyze English quotations so far. However, many of them have

focused on syntactic and semantic analyses of quotations through constructed examples

(Davidson, 1968; Partee, 1973; Saka, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1974, Vandelanotte & Davidse,

2009). This is pointed out by Holt (1996). He observed these studies, which are not

based on actual conversation, and wrote that they "have not carried out a systematic

analysis of its use in interaction; instead, they have tended to work with either invented

examples or extracts from novels" (p. 221).

More recently, scholars dealing with English discourse and pragmatics have

become interested in quotations (Clark & Gerrig, 1990; Wilson, 2012; Yule & Mathis,

1992). Researchers focusing on the issues of pragmatics in language have increased our

understanding of the properties of various quotations. Thompson and Mulac (1991)

examined the optional *that* in conversation and cast a new light on the "*that*-deletion" of

English grammar (e.g., "She said that she wants to eat it." vs. "She said she wants to eat

it."). Buchstaller (2014) provided both qualitative and quantitative accounts for the

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[1] It is well-known that when reporting a previous utterance in reality, one can rarely

remember the exact wording of utterances of even one's own utterances, and the

original expressions are recreated to some extent by the speaker's intention (Hasegawa,

2014).

functions of *be like* in English conversations. His study demonstrated that the use of *be like* differs depending on age, era, and region (such as the USA and the UK).

Baynham (1996) also provided discourse-pragmatic accounts regarding how speakers quote utterances in a particular classroom context. Baynham looked at non-narrative data in classroom contexts to examine how speakers used quotations and their various pragmatic functions in the context. Through their research results, he emphasized the importance of discourse context to understand spoken quotations, arguing that understanding how speakers use quotations could only be achieved by examining the actual speech context (p.79).

These studies have contributed significantly to a better understanding of how to identify and communicate information in English. The present study will follow these studies above and explore the use of multiple quotation particles in Japanese conversations.

1.2. Quotations in Japanese

1.2.1. Structure of Japanese quotations

In examples of Japanese quotations, quoted utterances are typically marked with the postpositional quotative particle *to*. *To* is followed by speech verbs (such as *iu* 'say' and *yobu* 'call') or mental verbs (such as *omou* 'think' and *kangaeru* 'consider'). In the example of (1), the quotative particle *to* is placed between the quoted content (= *Mary wa kashikoi*, 'Mary is smart') and the main verb (= *omou* 'think'), as shown below.

(1)   *Mary*   *wa*   *kashikoi*   **_to_**   *omou*

Mary   TOP   smart   **QT²**   think

'I think **that** Mary is smart.'

(Itani, 1994, p. 386)

Historically, *to* has been the most widely examined quotative particle in many studies (Itani, 1994; Kuno, 1973; Okutsu, 1970; Saito, 2015), yet, *to* was explored primarily based on examples constructed by the researchers.

However, as scholars began more recently to pay closer attention to actual Japanese conversation, there has been an increasing interest in quotative particles other than *to* in studies such as Itani (1994), Maynard (2005), Oikawa (1999), and S. Suzuki (2000). The following section will overview the other quotative particles: *tte*, *toka*, and *mitaini*.

1.2.2. Other Japanese quotative particles

tte: Another Japanese quotative particle, which frequently appears in Japanese conversation, is *tte*. Oikawa (1999) wrote that *tte* and *to* have been considered as the

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² Various glosses are given to show quotative markers such as QT in Maynard (1996), Q-PTCL in Oikawa (1999), and QUOT in Hasegawa (2014). This study will uniformly use QT as the gloss. Except for QT, I adopt the other glosses found in the original sources.

most typical quotative particles in the Japanese language by previous studies (p. 82).

She also showed that *tte* could be replaced with *to* as seen in the following example.

(2)	*Hanako*	*ga*	*okashi*	*o*	*tabeta*	***to/tte***	*itta*
	Hanako	NOM	snacks	ACC	eat-past	**QT**	say-past

'Hanako said that she/someone ate some snacks.'

(Oikawa, 1999, p. 78)

There has been a considerable attention to the distinctions between these two quotative particles. Scholars have said that *tte* is a colloquial variant of *to* (Hasegawa, 2014; Makino and Tsutsui, 1986; R. Suzuki, 2000; Yonekawa, 2001). On the other hand, other studies have written that *tte* has been frequently identified as an informal variant of *to* (e.g., Iwasaki, 2002; Kodama, 2019; Shibasaki, 2007; S. Suzuki, 1998). Although "formality" and "colloquialism"[3] might refer to different dimensions of language use, these scholars do not clearly distinguish these terms. In fact, these terms might not be conflicting concepts for these scholars. For instance, Itani (1998) wrote that *tte* is a "colloquial version" (p.379) of *to*, but at the same time she also said that *to* and *tte* differ in terms of the formality level (p. 387). Similarly, Matsui and Yamamoto (2013) referred to *tte* as a more "colloquial" particle than *to*, and *to* as more "formal" than *tte*

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[3] Bandov (2017) defines "colloquialism" as "a word, a phrase, or other lexical form used in informal, conversational language and expressing something other than the literal meaning of the word" (p.13).

(p. 11). For the discussion of this study, we will not focus on this issue and consistently assume that "formality" is suggested to distinguish *to* and *tte*. [4]

Overviewing the previous studies on *to* and *tte* so far, Nilep (2017) points out that there is little empirical examination on these particles (p.87). Looking at other functions that *tte* serves, Suzuki (1998) claimed that Japanese speakers often use *tte* to report hearsay information from an outside source, marking the speaker's psychological distance from the event. Nilep (2017) also found that Japanese speakers frequently use *tte* with speech verbs.

toka: According to Oikawa (1999), *toka* is another quotative particle that appears in actual speech, originally a combination of *to* and the question marker *ka* (p. 78).

(3)

amari	*muite*	*nai*	*mitai*	*desu*
very much	for	not	seem	COP
toka	*itte*	*sa*		
QT	say-past	SFP		

'(Someone)[5] said that I am not very good (for this).'

(Oikawa, 1999, p. 83)

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[4] In the Japanese language, the formality is basically marked by *desu*/*masu* sentence endings. Therefore, it is generally not difficult to see at which formality level (formal vs. informal) *to* and *tte* is used. For more information, see Maynard (1993) that discussed the discourse modality and styles determined by these utterance endings.

[5] The Japanese language is well known to often encode the arguments in the fully attenuated zero form, which is called 'zero anaphora' (Shimojō, 2005, p.1).

Oikawa (1999) argued that although the dictionary definition of *toka* is a marker of uncertain hearsay (p. 101), it has two pragmatic functions in Japanese conversations: (1) to show the informality of the discourse, and (2) to describe an event in narratives. Examining the quotative particles (*to*, *tte*, and *toka*) used in conversational Japanese, Oikawa (1999) concluded that the more informal the discourse is, the more *toka* is chosen by the speaker. Oikawa's study contributed to understanding a wider array of pragmatic functions of *toka.*

Mitaini: Another quotative particle is *mitaini*. It is placed at the same position as other quotative particles mentioned above.

(4)   *kaerunara*   *isshoni*   *ikanai*   ***mitaini***   *iware-te*

           go back : if   together   go : not   **QT**   say

           'I was (told) like, "If you go back home, why don't you go with me?"'

                                                    (I-JAS, JJJ-18)

Here, *mitaini* is used to mark the quoted clause *kaerunara isshoni ikanai* "If you go back home, why don't you go with me?". Although *mitaini* serves as one of the quotative particles which appears in Japanese conversations, to my knowledge, there is a lack of research on this particle. Further research is necessary to understand precisely how speakers use *mitaini* in conversations.

1.2.3. Two studies on Japanese quotations in conversations: Kodama (2019) and

Nilep (2017)

As we have seen so far, studies have identified that the Japanese language has several forms of quotative particles. Yet, not much is known about the use of these particles in actual speech. Among the previous studies on quotations so far, two studies provide concrete, quantitative data on the frequencies of Japanese quotations: Kodama (2019) and Nilep (2017). They show connections between the choices of quotative particles and the types of quotations marked by different verbs in two different types of data: spoken narratives and conversations.

Kodama (2019) explores *to* and *tte* in Japanese first-person spoken narratives by taking a quantitative approach. The study found that the quotative particles *to* and *tte* are frequently followed by mental and speech verbs, respectively. The following table presents a summary of her results.

Table (1)

Adapted from Kodama (2019)

Quotation type	*to*	*tte*	Total
Speech	22 (16%)	232 (89%)	254 (64%)
Mental	116 (84%)	29 (11%)	145 (36%)
Total	138 (100%)	261 (100%)	399 (100%)

This table shows that the quotative particle *to* with mental verbs (such as *omou* 'think')

shows a high frequency of 84%. In contrast, the frequency of *to* with speech verbs, such

as *iu* 'say', shows only 16%. On the other hand, *tte* with speech verbs shows 89%, while

tte with mental verbs is only 11%. With these research results, Kodama concludes that

to and *tte* have different distributions in her data. This study shows that *to* and *tte* may

be preferred in different types of quotations in Japanese spoken narratives.

Similar findings are reported by Nilep (2017), who provides a quantitative study

of informal Japanese conversations. In contrast to Kodama (2019) which examines

categories of verbs (mental or speech), Nilep looks closer at a specific set of verbs. The

following table compares the frequencies of *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say' in quotations.

Table (2)

Adapted from Nilep (2017)

Quotation type	*to*	*tte*	Total
iu 'say'	286 (4%)	3,631 (73%)	3,917 (30%)
omou 'think'	7,670 (94%)	558 (11%)	8,228 (63%)
Other verbs	158 (2%)	818 (16%)	976 (7%)
Total	8,114 (100%)	5,007 (100%)	13,121 (100%)

In this table, the quotative particle *to* occurs with the verb *omou* 'think' (94%) more frequently than the verb *iu* 'say' (4 %). All the other verbs such as *kaku* 'write' only account for 2% in total. In contrast, the other quotative particle *tte* occurs with the verb *iu* 'say' (73 %), and *omou* 'think' has a low frequency (11 %). While table (2) shows 16% for "other verbs", no verb in fact solely shows more than 1% in his data. It appears that *to* is very much preferred to be used with the mental verb *omou* 'think'. On the other hand, *tte* is also highly preferred with the speech verb *iu* 'say'. Overall, the results of this table can be summarized as follows: (1) the great majority of verbs following *to* or *tte* is *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say'. (2) *to* tends to be used with *omou* 'think', and *tte* with *iu* 'say'.

These past studies have improved our understanding of Japanese quotations by showing that the Japanese language has multiple quotative particles, which seem to be chosen differently by some factors. Most scholars, such as Itani (1994), Kuno (1973), and Okutsu (1970), have only focused on the syntactic behaviours of *to* in constructed examples. Some scholars, on the other hand, have paid attention to the differences between *to* and *tte*. As mentioned previously, studies have written that *to* and *tte* are typically known to be distinguished by formality (e.g., Iwasaki, 2002; Oikawa, 1999; Shibasaki, 2007). More specifically, they argued that *to* is used in formal contexts and *tte* in informal. Several recent studies (e.g., Matsui & Yamamoto, 2013; Okamoto& Ono, 2008; Suzuki, 1998), however, have explored more diverse pragmatic functions of *to* and *tte*. Nevertheless, they have not conducted empirical studies about the verbs used with *to* and *tte* with frequency data. On the other hand, Kodama (2019) and Nilep (2017) provide the data about the frequencies of the verbs following *to* and *tte* and show that the choice of *to* and *tte* might be tied to the specific type of verbs (mental or speech, or even *omou* 'think' or *iu* 'say'). These studies are noteworthy to show that factors other than formality might determine the choices of *to* and *tte*. However, they have the following limitations: (1) limited amounts of data, (2) limited types of data, and (3) unclear amount of contributions by individual speakers.

(1) Limited amount of data. Perhaps due to the general unavailability of a large corpus of spoken Japanese, most previous studies have not provided enough data to explore Japanese quotations in conversation in-depth. Many of the earlier studies, such as Itani (1994), rely on the constructed examples made on their own, and they are not based on actual language use. Oikawa (1999) explored 19 Japanese conversations totaling approximately 150 minutes, which seems rather small. More recently, large-scale

conversation data sets such as the I-JAS (International Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language) have become available. Nilep (2017), for example, examines 129 informal Japanese conversations totaling 100 hours and 28 minutes. With the exception of Nilep (2017), however, only a few studies have utilized the availability of such corpora.

(2) Limited types of data. In addition, discourse genres of Japanese conversations are limited in previous studies, and much remains unexplored regarding quotations in formal conversations with a large amount of data. Kodama (2019) explores quotations in Japanese first-person narratives, and Nilep (2017) examines only informal conversations. Oikawa (1999), on the other hand, analyzed both formal and informal Japanese conversations. However, her study only explored three formal conversations. Her discussion mainly focused on the other 16 informal conversations. Thus, we do not have much data which demonstrates the use of quotations in formal conversations in depth. As seen in Shibasaki (2007), it has been long described that Japanese native speakers use *to* for formal speech and *tte* for informal. If *to* and *tte* are used as described, it is expected that in formal Japanese conversations, speakers would mainly use the more formal quotative particle *to*, and the informal variant *tte* would not be very often used. Against these expectations, Kodama (2019) and Nilep (2017) explicitly show that both *to* and *tte* appear in spoken Japanese (spoken narrative by Kodama, and informal conversations by Nilep), which suggest that formality might not solely determine their uses. To further explore this issue, further studies must explore the actual uses of the quotative particles in formal Japanese conversations. My study will look at the conversations where speakers spoke mostly in formal style. This exploration is possible because the formality of Japanese can be independently established by the

two dominant sentence-ending forms, *desu/masu*. If a sentence ends with *desu/masu*, the sentence is understood as formal style.

(3) Unclear length of each conversation. It should be noted that previous studies on Japanese quotations have not revealed the length of each conversation they examined; we have no way of knowing if the characteristics of some longer conversations might have influenced the overall results of the studies. Kodama (2019) looks at spoken narrative talks from 44 Japanese native speakers. However, her study does not reveal the time spent in each conversation. The same issue can be found in Oikawa (1999) and Nilep (2017). Oikawa examined 19 Japanese conversations, but the study says that the time spent on each conversation ranged from 2 to 30 minutes, and she did not reveal the exact time of each conversation. Nilep (2017) explores Japanese informal conversations in a large-scale corpus. However, his study does not specify the exact time spent in each conversation. Further studies should address this issue to gain a more precise analysis of spoken data. My study will therefore overcome this issue by examining Japanese conversations recorded within similar time settings (approximately 30 minutes for each conversation).

1.3. Objectives of this study

To explore the issues above, this study attempts to answer the following research questions.

How are the Japanese quotative particles used in formal Japanese conversations? More specifically,

> (1) Are there any preferred uses of several different Japanese quotative particles? If so, are these preferences tied to the formality of conversations, as claimed by previous studies that examine other discourse types including informal Japanese conversations?

> (2) Are there any connections between the quotative particles and verbs in formal Japanese conversations as shown by previous studies that examine other discourse types? Particularly, are the main verbs (mental vs. speech) used with specific quotative particles?

As mentioned in the previous section, it has been claimed that *to* is a quotative particle typically used in formal context, and *tte* is the informal variant of *to*. However, as Nilep (2017) shows, these quotative particles are frequently observed in the same context (informal Japanese conversation). At present in linguistics studies, only informal conversations have been explored in terms of Japanese quotative particles so far, and the actual uses of *to* and *tte* have yet to be confirmed in Japanese formal conversations. Thus a study focusing on formal conversations would greatly contribute to the expanding of our understanding of the relevance of formality to the choice between the two quotative particles. To this end, through exploring Japanese formal conversations, this study will examine further if formality is the factor to determine the uses of these quotative particles, as claimed by earlier studies. If both of these quotative particles are used also in formal conversations, that would exemplify that formality

might not be the factor which determines the choice between them. Instead, there might be other factors playing roles in the choice. In this sense, this study could provide new details on the functions of Japanese quotative particles with data from actual conversations.

To explore how discourse affects the use of Japanese quotative particles, this study takes a usage-based approach (Ford, 1993; Ford, C. E., Fox, B. A., & Thompson, S. A 2014; Ono & Suzuki, 1992); by closely examining the uses of the quotative particles in actual conversation, this study attempts to reveal how their uses are determined by some pragmatic factors such as formality.

Chapter 2: Data and Methods

To answer the research questions presented above, this study will explore the data which involves Japanese formal conversations by 50 Japanese native speakers. This section will provide an overview of the corpus data and research methods.

2.1. Corpus overview

This study uses the existing International Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language (I-JAS), which is composed of Japanese conversations recorded from 2019 to 2020. This is the first large-scale corpus that involves spoken data from native and non-native speakers of Japanese, compiled by Professor Kumiko Sakoda at the National Institute Japanese Language and Linguistics. The conversations we will explore are one-on-one interview style conversations by Japanese native speakers in relatively formal speech styles. As mentioned in the previous chapter, formality in Japanese conversations is typically established by the two dominant sentence-ending forms, *desu*/*masu*. The data involves 50 conversations in total, and the speakers mostly speak with *desu*/*masu* endings. Each conversation is approximately 30 minutes, resulting in a total of 25 hours of oral data.

The I-JAS corpus is available on the website[6], which provides the transcriptions and audio files of the conversations. Since it is important for spoken language studies to examine the prosodic information embodied in speech, this study will also utilize the audio files in addition to the transcripts.

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[6] Website: https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/static/ijas/about.html

The corpus also provides the background information of the interviewees, such as age, gender, and their place of birth. The speakers' ages range from 18 to 50. Out of 50 speakers, the proportion of male:female speakers is 23:27.

2.2. Interviewer's facilitation and questions

Each conversation in the I-JAS is conducted by one interviewer with one interviewee. The interviewers first ask the interviewees what they did the day before the recording day. Next, the interviewers ask about the speakers' backgrounds, such as their hometowns and the sightseeing places there. Next, interviewers begin to ask topics about the interviewees' past events, such as their childhoods. After that, the interviewers move on to ask what the interviewees would like to do in the future (e.g., career plan). Next, the interviewers ask several conversation topics, such as "Which do you prefer to live in, a big city or countryside?" Lastly, the interviewees are asked about what they will do after the recording, and the interviews are completed. During the interview, the interviewers seem to play the role of a friendly conversational partner for the interviewees by actively interacting with them, using many expressions such as *aa, soudesuka* ("Oh, really?"), and *doudeshitaka* ("How was it?"). Note that this study will only focus on the utterances produced by the interviewees and exclude those by the interviewers. That is, this study only examined the total 50 speakers who participated in the I-JAS corpus project as interviewees.

To answer the research questions presented above, this study will first explore the frequencies of all the quotative particles used in the data and examine whether these particles are tied to the formality of conversations as claimed by earlier studies. Next, this study will take a closer look at their co-occurrences with the specific main verbs.

Through this process, we will examine whether these quotative particles have particular verb-particle connections as claimed by previous studies such as Nilep (2017)'s informal conversations. [7]

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[7] This study will exclude the cases where the quotative particles are used in sentence-final positions. Japanese quotative particles in sentence-final positions are well-known as topic markers or final particles that have various pragmatic functions (see Okamoto & Ono, 2008; Suzuki, 1999).

Chapter 3: Analysis

With the data and methodology outlined above, this section will explore the research results about Japanese quotative particles. First, it will examine the total frequencies of all quotative particles. Next, it will explore the frequencies of the verbs that follow these particles. Based on these results, it will focus on the two most frequent quotative particles, *to* and *tte*, and their co-occurrences with the two most frequent verbs, *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say'.

3.1. Quotative particles

Let us first look at the overall frequencies of the quotative particles used by the 50 speakers in my data. This study has identified all the quotative particles mentioned above and counted their frequencies.

Table (3) Total frequencies of quotative particles

Quotative Particles	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequency per speaker	N of speakers
to	778	75%	15.6	50 (100%)
tte	232	22%	4.6	44 (88%)
toka	30	3%	0.6	20 (40%)
mitaini	2	0.2%	0.0	2 (4%)
Total	1,042	100%	20.8	50 (100%)

First, the results above reveal that *to* is the most frequent of all quotative particles. It has 778 cases, comprising 75 % of all cases. Each speaker produced 15.6 instances of *to* on average. Note that all the 50 speakers used *to* at least four times in their conversations. This supports the claim of previous studies such as Nilep (2017) that *to* is frequently used in formal conversations.

Regarding the frequency of *tte*, my data shows 232 cases constituting 22% of all quotative particles used. Each speaker used 4.6 cases of *tte* on average. In fact, 44 speakers out of 50 used *tte* at least once in the data. These results counter the claims by earlier studies about *tte,* such as Kodama (2019) and Shibasaki (2007). These authors have written that *tte* has been often described as an informal variant of *to*. According to this claim, it is expected that speakers might not very often use *tte* in formal conversations. However, its frequency is in fact substantial and does not support the claim.

These new findings suggest that some factors other than formality might affect the use of these quotative particles in conversation, considering the fact that *tte* has been explained to be used mainly in informal conversations, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Compared with *to* and *tte*, the other quotative particles, *toka* and *mitaina,* show small numbers (3 % for *toka*, and 0.2% for *mitaina*). Their results show that Japanese speakers mostly use *to* or *tte* in their quotations, which suggests that these two particles are the two primary particles to mark quoted materials in the Japanese language. Therefore, I will focus on *to* and *tte* from the following section.

3.2. Verbs used with *to* and *tte*

Next, this study will take a closer look at how *to* and *tte* are used in formal conversations. More specifically, I will examine the main verbs proceeded by the main quotative particles, *to* and *tte*. The table below shows the results.

Table (4) Total main verbs (proceeded by *to* or *tte*)

Verbs	Total	Percentage	Frequency per speaker	N of speakers
omou 'think'	854	84%	17.1	50 (100%)
iu 'say'	128	13%	2.6	40 (80%)
Others	35	3%	0.3	24 (48%)
Total	1,017	100%	20.3	50 (100%)

Table (2) shows that the verb *omou* 'think' is the most frequent verb, showing 854 cases and 84% of the total. Each speaker produced 17.1 instances on average. In my data, all 50 speakers used this verb in their conversations (the lowest frequency is 3 instances in one conversation session).

The second most frequent verb is *iu* 'say', which has 128 cases, constituting 13% of the total. On average, each speaker used 2.6 instances. This verb is used by 40 speakers at least once.

"Other verbs" such as *kaku* 'write', constitute only 35 cases and 3% of the total. From these results, it is revealed that Japanese speakers in my data mostly use the two

verbs, *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say', in their quotations. Therefore, I will focus on these two verbs used with *to* or *tte* in the rest of this study and put the other verbs aside in the discussion.

3.3. *Omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say' used with *to* or *tte*

3.3.1. Verbs *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say' with *to* and *tte*

Next, this study will examine more closely how the two main verbs, *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say', are used with the two main quotative particles *to* and *tte*, respectively. To this end, I will count the frequency of their co-occurrences. Table (3) provides the results.

Table (5) Total main verbs (proceeded by *to* or *tte*)

Verbs	*to*	Percentage of *to*	*tte*	Percentage of *tte*	Total frequencies	Percentage of total frequencies
omou 'think'	749	88%	105	12%	854	100%
iu 'say'	20	16%	108	84%	128	100%
Total	769	78%	213	22%	982	100%

In this table, clear co-occurrence patterns between the verbs and quotative particles are shown. That is, *omou* 'think' is clearly preferred to be used with *to*, and *iu* 'say' with *tte*. We will examine these patterns one by one.

3.3.2. *Omou* 'think' and *to* as a fixed combination

First, the results show that the verb *omou* 'think' has a high frequency with *to*. It appears in 749 cases, constituting 88% of the total. Note also that as we saw in table (2) above, all the 50 speakers used *omou* 'think' in my data. All of them in fact used *to omou* in their conversations (the lowest frequency was 3 cases by one speaker).

These results are consistent with the previous studies such as Kodama (2019) and Nilep (2017), who show that *omou* 'think' is the most common verb used after *to*. Kodama (2019) explores quotations in first-person spoken narratives and Nilep (2017) in informal conversations. Their results are in fact similar to my results.

Based on these results, it can be concluded that *omou* 'think' appears to have a strong connection with *to*. That is, the co-occurrences of *to* and *omou* 'think' is a general pattern observed in several data types, and the high frequency suggests that they might form a more or less fixed combination.

However, what is interesting in this table is that the speakers used *omou* 'think' with *tte* with a certain frequency. It shows 105 cases and 12% of all. As mentioned earlier, the verb is used by all 50 speakers in my data. Among them, 30 speakers used *tte omou* at least once, which shows that the use of *tte* is not uncommon for them. This finding indicates that Japanese speakers might use the combination of *tte* and *omou* 'think' with some motivations that earlier studies have not discussed. This combination has been already observed in their research results. Nilep (2017), for instance, shows

that approximately 2 percent of *tte* is used with *omou* 'think' (p. 90). However, they

have not explained why Japanese speakers, in some cases, use *tte omou* over the

primary combination of *to omou.*

3.3.3. *Iu* 'say' and *tte* as a fixed combination

The verb *iu* 'say', occurs with *tte* with an overwhelmingly high frequency. It

shows 108 instances, constituting 84% of all cases (128 cases). Note that as we saw in

table (2), 40 speakers used *iu* 'say' at least once in their conversations. Among them, 35

speakers used it with *tte.*

These findings are not surprising considering the findings by Kodama (2019)

and Nilep (2017), who show that *tte* is highly preferred with *iu* 'say' in spoken

narratives (Kodama) and informal conversations (Nilep).

These results show that *iu* 'say' has a strong connection with *tte*. This highly

frequent co-occurrence suggests that *iu* and *tte* might form another fixed combination.

However, table (3) also shows that the speakers used '*to iu*' with a certain

frequency. Their co-occurrence has 20 instances, constituting 16% of all (128 cases).

Among the 40 speakers who used *iu* 'say', 12 speakers in fact used *to iu.* Although this

figure is much smaller than that of *tte iu*, it is not negligible and we need to examine

why these speakers used *to iu* with a certain frequency.

3.3.4. Summary and further questions

To sum, these findings explicitly show that formality might not be the best

determiner for Japanese speakers to choose *to* or *tte*. Rather than formality, they might

use *to* and *tte* depending on the following verbs (more specifically, *to* is used with *omou*

'think', and *tte* with *iu* 'say'). A common understanding, as in Iwasaki (2002) and Shibasaki (2007), has been that *to* is used in formal speech and *tte* in informal speech. Nilep (2017) challenges this explanation and argues that Japanese speakers frequently use both *to* and *tte* in informal conversation. Similar findings are reported by Kodama (2019), who shows that these two quotative particles are commonly used in first-person spoken narratives. My data supports their claims by providing similar results that both *to* and *tte* frequently appears in formal conversations, which suggests that speakers might use these quotative particles with other factors rather than the formality. Based on these findings above, it is more likely that speakers mostly use these particles based on the verb (*to* with *omou* 'think', and *tte* with *iu* 'say').

Yet, it has not been revealed why two minor patterns occur (*tte* with *omou* 'think', and *to* with *iu* 'say') with small but not negligible frequencies, which do not follow the majority patterns (*to omou* and *tte omou*). While the data from previous studies, such as Kodama (2019) and Nilep (2017), also show that Japanese speakers used these combinations, it has not discussed what distinguishes their uses.

Therefore, this study will explore in-depth how these verbs *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say' are used with *to* and *tte,* respectively, in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: Further Analysis of *tte omou*

In the last section, this study showed that *to* and *tte* are the major quotative particles in my data of formal Japanese conversations. It also revealed that among the verbs used with these quotative particles, *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say' are used with overwhelming frequency. Looking at the verb-particle preferences, we have observed that *to omou* and *tte iu* are the most frequent patterns and concluded that both might form more or less fixed combinations. These findings suggest that verbs might determine the choice of the quotative particles in Japanese conversations, which has been claimed by previous studies (e.g., Nilep, 2017; Shibasaki, 2007). However, other minor combinations are also observed in my data with small but sizable frequencies (*tte omou* and *to iu*). In this section, we will examine more closely how the verb *omou* 'think' is used with *tte*. While examining actual uses of *tte omou* found in the data, I discovered one characteristic that might distinguish it from *to omou*, which is the most common particle-verb combination we have observed above. Since final particles (FPs henceforth) are often observed as a potential factor to distinguish *to omou* and *tte omou*, this study will focus on them and provide descriptive studies about verb-particle preferences in Japanese quotations.

4.1. Japanese final particles (FPs)

At this point, we have seen that the main verb *omou* 'think' is used with the quotative particle *to* with an overwhelming frequency. This skewed distribution is in fact already found in Kodama (2019) for Japanese first-person spoken narratives and Nilep (2017) for informal Japanese conversation. For this reason, I suggested in the last

chapter that the combination of *to* and *omou* 'think' is more or less a lexically determined choice for Japanese speakers.

However, we have also seen that another pattern, *tte omou*, occurred with a certain frequency. We have not yet revealed what motivates the speakers to use 105 cases of *tte omou* over 749 cases of *to omou*. Although the frequency of *tte omou* is much smaller than *to omou*, it is still significant. This raises a question of why some speakers use *tte omou*. Therefore, we will examine what distinguishes *to omou* and *tte omou* in this section.

In my data, it is shown that Japanese speakers frequently use final particles (FPs) before *tte omou*. Japanese FPs are small lexemes such as *kke, sa*, and *wa* that are placed at the utterance-final position in spoken Japanese, as exemplified below.

(5)   *Ganbaru*   **zo!**

             try hard   **FP**

             "I'll try hard/keep going!"

             "I won't give up!"

<div align="right">(Hasegawa, 2014, p. 299)</div>

In this example, Hasegawa (2014) explained that the FP *zo* above shows the speaker's strong determination.

These particles have been widely discussed by many studies (Cook, 1992; Kamio, 1994; Maynard, 1993; Morita, 2018; Suzuki, 1990) and are understood to have a rich array of pragmatic functions that show the speaker's different degrees of attitudes, modality, or "illocutionary force" (Hasegawa, 2014, p.293). Ogi (2014) also

wrote that Japanese FPs are one of the most frequently used lexical items in spoken Japanese, and "it is difficult and unnatural to have a conversation without using these particles" (Ogi, 2014, p.72). Regarding the functions of these FPs in Japanese conversation, Morita (2018) also writes that the importance of FPs for Japanese conversation is "immeasurable" (p. 588). In fact, Maynard (1997, p.88) reported that in her sixty-minute conversation data, FPs occur once in every 2.5 phrase-final positions. An example of FPs is shown below that includes the FP *kana*, which is typically translated as English "(I) wonder…" and sometimes called "a doubt marker" (Asano-Cavanagh, 2016; Chino, 2005; Kawashima & Kawashima, 2005; Matsugu, 2005).

(6)

(The speaker was asked which she cherished more, money or time. She answered the question by citing what her co-worker at the hospital had said previously, and continued as follows)

1	*yappari*	*okane*	*ga*	*attemo*	*asobu*
	after all	money	SUB	have	enjoy (one's time)

2	*jikan*	*ga*	*nai*	*tte*	*ittete*
	time	SUB	do not have	QT	said

'(One of my co-workers is) saying that after all even though sha has money, (she) does not have much time to play.'

3	*yappari*	*sokono*	*baransu*	*ga*	*chotto*
	after all	that	balance	SUB	a little

4	*toreta*	*hou*	*ga*	*ii*	*no*	**kana**	**tte**	**omoimasu**
	have	than	SUB	good	NOM	**FP**	**QT**	**think**

'(I) think that after all (it) might be better to be able to have that balance (between money and time).'

(I-JAS, JJJ06)

In this example, the speaker placed *kana* after the quoted utterance that shows her idea about the topic. The PF *kana* has been typically described to indicate "a tentative question or uncertainty at the end of the sentence" (Chino, 2005, p.54). Several studies have argued that the function of *kana* is not limited to expressing doubt. Matsugu (2005) argued that based on her conversation data, speakers use *kana* to "mitigate various aspects of talk" (p. 426), that is, to reduce the certainty of information. Asano-Cavanagh (2016) also wrote that *kana* is one of the most frequent Japanese FPs to express "indecisiveness" (p.64), in other words, one's uncertainty or indecisiveness. In summary, we might be able to suggest that *kana* has been commonly described to display uncertainty that the speaker has toward the quoted information.

4.2. Frequencies of FPs used with *tte omou*

Examining instances of *tte omou* that occurred in my data, I have noticed that FPs are often used before *tte omou*. Therefore, I have counted the frequency of FPs before *tte omou*. Table (1) below shows the results.

Table (6) Frequencies of FPs followed by *tte omou*

FP	Frequency	Percentage
na	38	36%
kana	35	33%
Other FPs	7	7%
Total FPs	80	76%
No FP	25	24%
Total	105	100%

Table (1) shows 105 total cases of *tte omou*. Among these examples, the FP *na,* which is also often described to have the effect of showing speakers' uncertainty (Chino, 2005; Ogi, 2014), has 38 cases, constituting 36% of all 105 cases. *Kana* comes in second place with 35 instances, constituting 33% of all cases. Other FPs follow them, but they amount to a small proportion (the largest particle is an interrogative particle *ka* that has 3 cases and 3% of all). This table strikingly shows that the cases of *na* and *kana* account for the majority of all instances of *tte omou*. There are 80 instances of *tte omou*, constituting 76% of the total. Especially striking, two FPs *na* and *kana* show 73 instances, constituting approximately 70% of all cases of FPs used with *tte omou*.

Let us examine the FP *na,* the most common FP used with *tte omou* in table (1).

(7)

(The speaker was asked which is better for him to live in, a city or countryside. He answered that he would choose a city and showed the reason as follows)

1	*inaka*	*dato*	*doushitemo*	*kuruma*	*o*	*untenshite*
	countryside	if	surely	car	OBJ	drive

2	*chotto*	*hanareta*	*tokoro*	*no*	*omise*	*made*	*itte*
	a little	far away	place	of	shop	to	go

3	*kaimono*	*o*	*shitette*	*shinaitoikenai*	*node*
	shopping	OBJ	do	have to do	because

'If (one lives in) the countryside, (one) surely has to drive to do shopping at a shop (which is) a little far away so.'

4	*sore*	*ni*	*kuraberuto*	*ano*	*tokai*	*wa*	*omise*	*ga*
	it	to	comparing	well	city	TOP	shopping	OBJ

5	*ippai*	*atte*	*benri*	*da*	**na**	**tte**	**omoimasu**
	many	exist	convenient	COP	**FP**	**QT**	**think**

'Compared to that, well, (I) think that a city has many stores and is convenient.'

(I-JAS, JJJ44)

In example (6), the FP *na* occurs after the quoted material ("a city has many stores and is convenient") with the ending of the copula, *da*. In the Japanese language, *da* is understood as a form of copula and typically described as *danteishi*, or "judgment/assertion" auxiliary verb (Narahara, 2002, p. 6), sometimes called "abrupt form" (Maynard, 1993, p.150). In example (6), the quoted material ends with *da*, which might sound too direct of itself for the listener. However, *na* comes after it, which has been understood to have the effect of making utterances sound "friendly" or "intimate" (Ogi, 2014, p.75). Therefore, the speake

r appears to have placed the FP *na* after the *da* to make the statement sound less certain.

It is noteworthy that *tte omou* frequently occurs with the FPs such as *na* and *kana*, which are often linked to the speaker's less-certain attitude. Maynard (1997, p.88) examined sixty minutes of conversation data and counted a total 863 FPs. Among them, the most frequent particle was *ne* (42.18%), which is often translated as English "…right?" (Kawashima & Kawashima, 2005, p. 116). It is followed by other particles such as *sa* (17.15%) and *no* (15.99%). However, *na* only constitutes 5.68% of her cases, and *kana* is not even shown in her data. These findings show that although the FPs we often observed in my data are in fact not common in Japanese conversations, they are

frequently chosen by speakers when they use *tte omou*. This suggests a unique function of *tte omou,* which occurs when speakers feel uncertainty. To sum, the result of table (1) suggests that Japanese speakers might use *tte* and *omou* 'think' mostly with the FPs, especially with *kana* and *na*. These two FPs are widely understood to have the effect of showing less certainty of speakers. This suggests that *tte omou* might be linked to this speaker's less certain attitude toward the quoted materials.

4.3. FPs and *to omou/tte omou*

The last section has shown that Japanese speakers use *tte omou* with FPs with high frequency. However, we have not yet examined how frequently *to omou* is used with FPs. Unless this study observes that frequent occurrences of FPs are not the case with *to omou*, the high frequencies of FPs with *tte omou* in the last section will not contribute to a new understanding of the differences between *to omou* and *tte omou*. In order to examine more precisely whether FPs is an indicator of the distinctions between *tte omou* and *to omou*, this section will examine FPs used with *to omou* and give an explicit comparison of *tte omou* and *to omou* in terms of their FPs. To this end, this study has counted all FPs followed by *to omou*. Table (2) shows the results

Table (7) Frequencies of FPs used with *to omou*

FP	Frequency	Percentage
kana	104	14%
na	97	13%
Other FPs	33	4%
Total FPs	234	31
No FP	515	69%
Total	749	100%

Out of 749 total cases of *to omou*, the most frequently used FP is *kana*, showing 104 instances and constituting 14% of all cases. The second most frequent one is *na*, showing 97 cases and constituting 13% of all 749 cases. "Other FPs", on the other hand, accounts for a small proportion, having only 33 instances and constituting 4% of all cases (the most frequent item being the interrogative FP *ka* with 30 instances and approximately 4% of all cases). What is intriguing is the high frequency of "No FP", which shows 515 instances and constitutes 69% of all cases. These results suggest that Japanese speakers normally do not use FPs with *to omou*.

To examine the differences between *tte omou* and *to omou* more clearly, let us see table (3), which compares the data from table (1) and (2)

Table (8) Frequencies of FPs used with *to omou* or *tte omou*

FP	*to omou*		*tte omou*	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
na	97	13%	38	36%
kana	104	14%	35	33%
Other FPs	33	4%	7	7%
Total FPs	234	31%	80	76%
No FP	515	69%	25	24%
Total	749	100%	105	100%

As seen in this table, "Total FPs" with *to omou* shows 234 instances, constituting 31% of the total, and "No FP" shows 515 instances, constituting 69% of the total. Meanwhile, "Total FPs" with *tte omou* shows 80 , constituting 76% of the total. The percentage here is much larger than 25 instances and 24 % of "No FP." Especially, the total percentage of *kana* and *na* used with *tte omou* is overwhelmingly higher than *to omou* (69% and 24%, respectively).

To support these findings, I have conducted a chi square test on the choice of *to omou*/*tte omou* and (non-) use of FPs. The tested variables are presented in the table below. There is a significant relationship between the two variables at .01 level.

Table (9) Frequencies of the (non-) use of FPs with *to omou*/ *tte omou*

FP	*to omou*		*tte omou*	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Total FPs	234	31%	80	76%
No FP	515	69%	25	24%
Total	749	100%	105	100%

$\chi 2 = 80$, df=1, $P < 0.01$

In summary, these findings indicate that regarding the use of FPs in the quoted materials that constitute my data, the two quotative particles *to* and *tte* exhibit quite different profiles.

These findings shed new light on the different uses of Japanese quotative particles *to* and *tte*. The present study first saw that speakers choose the quotative particle *to* with the verb *omou* 'think' very frequently. This result in fact has been already seen by prior studies about spoken Japanese in a different formality (informal conversations by Nilep (2017)) and genre (spoken narratives by Kodama (2019)). This consistency suggests that more than formality of conversation, the use of *to* might be determined by lexical choice, that is, the verb (= *omou* 'think'). However, this study also found that another quotative particle *tte* is also used with a certain frequency over the major combination of *to omou*. Taking a close look at how Japanese speakers use the particle, I have revealed that the frequent occurrences of particular types of FPs might be linked to the use of *tte*, which do not happen to the major combination of *to*

omou. Based on the fact that these FPs are generally understood to show a speaker's uncertainty, it is likely that different from the verb-determined combination of *to omou*, Japanese speakers might be motivated to use *tte omou* when they appear to feel less certain toward the quoted materials. These results have been supported by a statistical test.

Chapter 5: Further Analysis on *to iu*

In the last chapter, this study examined two QT-verb combinations of *to omou* and *tte omou,* and the frequencies of FPs used with these verbs. Based on these results, I have concluded that *to omou* might be a lexically determined combination. On the other hand, this study has also shown that *tte omou* is used with a high frequency of FPs, which suggests the speakers' uncertainty toward the contents of the quoted materials. Next to *omou* 'think', the verb *iu* 'say has the second-highest frequency among the verbs preceded by *to* or *tte*, as shown in chapter three. As we saw, unlike the verb *omou* 'think' which is overwhelmingly used with *to* (749 cases and 88%), the verb *iu* 'say' mostly occurs with *tte* (108 cases and 84%). Since the particle *tte* has an overwhelming frequency with this *iu* 'say', it is likely that they might form a lexically determined combination similar to what we have seen in *to omou*. However, there are some minor cases where speakers use *iu* 'say' and *to* together (20 cases and 16 percent). For these cases, one might raise a question of why some examples of *to iu* occur over the most frequent combination of *tte iu*. As observed in the previous chapter, FPs appear to show us a key distinction between two quotative combinations, *to omou* and *tte omou*. Similar to this case, FPs might show us a hint of the motivation of speakers to use *to iu* over the major combination of *tte iu.* To examine this, we will explore the frequency of FPs that occur with *to iu*. Based on the finding in chapter four that the frequency of the co-occurrences of *to omou* and FPs is much lower than *tte omou*, the present study expects that *to iu* tends not to occur with FPs.

5.1. Frequency of FPs with *to iu*

To examine the question above, I have counted the frequency of FPs used with *to iu*.

Table (1) shows the results.

Table (10) Frequencies of FPs used with *to iu*

FP	Frequency	Percentage
na	1	5%
Total FP	1	5%
No FP	19	95%
Total	20	100%

Table (1) shows a total 20 cases of *to iu*. Among them, only one case is used with *na,* which is often understood as a particle to show the uncertainty of speakers (Chino, 2005; Ogi, 2014). This finding shows that speakers hardly use FPs with *to iu.* In the previous chapter, I have revealed that *to omou* occurs with FPs less frequently than *tte omou*. The small frequency of FPs in table (1) thus appears to be consistent with what we have seen in *to omou*. That is, both *to omou* and *to iu* are less likely to co-occur with FPs.

To sum up, table (1) shows that speakers hardly use FPs with *to iu.* Based on the evidence that *tte iu* occupies a great majority among several quotative particles with the verb *iu* 'say', the co-occurrence of *tte* and *iu* appears to be lexically determined. On the other hand, some *to iu* occur in my data. Since we have observed that *to iu* is hardly used with FPs, I would like to suggest that speakers use it when they have more certainty toward the content of the quoted materials. However, because the rare use of

FPs might not be particular to *to iu*, I can make this suggestion only after examining the

use of FPs with *tte iu.* Hence the following sections will explore the frequencies of FPs

which speakers used with *tte iu*.

5.2. Frequencies of FPs used with *tte iu*

Let us look at the frequencies of FPs used with *tte iu* in table (2).

Table (11) Frequencies of FPs used with *tte iu*

FP	Frequency	Percentage
ne	12	11%
na	7	6%
ka	7	6%
Other FPs	3	3%
Total FPs	29	27%
No FP	79	73%
Total	108	100%

Table (2) shows 108 total cases of *tte iu*. Among these examples, there are 12 instances

of *ne*, constituting 11% of the total, which is widely understood to request confirmation

or show agreement (Hasegawa, 2014, p.299). Therefore, *ne* is often translated as

English "…right?" (Kawashima & Kawashima, 2005, p. 116). Following *ne*, *na* has 7

cases and 6 % of all, which is often described to have the effect of showing the

speaker's uncertainty (Chino, 2005; Ogi, 2014). The interrogative particle *ka* shows the

same frequency as *na* (7 cases and 11 %). "Other FPs" has only 3 instances, constituting 3% of all cases.

In my data, many examples with the FP *ne* appear to show the speakers' negotiation to establish a common ground with the addressee. Let us briefly overview the FP *ne*. Studies have explained that *ne* is used when the speaker attempts to express a relative sharedness with the addressee in terms of the information being conveyed (Cook, 1999; Hasegawa, 2014; Maynard, 1993; Morita, 2018).

(8)

(The speaker spoke about her life plan in the future. She said that she had an agreement with her husband that they would not want life-support treatment if either side receives a medical diagnosis for a condition with no hope for recovery).

(Interviewer)

1	*goshujin*	*toka*		*wa*	*nagaikishite*	*hoshii*	*toka*
	husband	like		TOP	live long	want	QT

2	*omotterunja*	*nai*	*desu*	*ka*
	think	not	COP	FP

'Your husband wants you to live long, doesn't he?'

(Speaker)

3	*iyaiya*	*mou*	*otagai*	*ano*	*byoki*	*o*
	No no	already	each other	well	disease	OBJ

4	*shitara*	*ne*	*enmei*	*wa*	*yameyou*	***ne***
	did: if	FP	life support treatment	TOP	avoid	**FP**

5	***tte***	***ittemasu***
	QT	**has told**

'No no, (we) are already telling each other that if (one) is diagnosed (with some) disease, we would avoid life support treatment.'

(I-JAS, JJJ-30)

In this example, the speaker used *ne* after the quoted utterance, which states that she sought for confirmation from her husband that they would not opt for life support treatment at the end of their lives. The usage of *ne* here thus shows that the speaker was negotiating a plan with her husband by saying, 'If either of us gets sick, let's not have a life support treatment.' In short, *ne* was used to establish "affective common ground" (Cook, 1997, p. 42) with her husband. This use of *ne* appears consistent with the findings of previous studies.

My data regarding the usage (and non-usage) of FPs show that, in 29 instances out of 109 total, or 27 percent of cases, FPs are used in quotations. "No FP" shows 79

instances, constituting 73 percent of cases. Overall, these results show that Japanese speakers do not normally use FPs with *tte iu*.

In the next section, I will compare differences between the usage of FPs with *tte iu* and *to iu* in order to assess whether or not there are significant differences between their co-occurrences.

5.3. Frequencies of FPs used with *to iu* and *tte iu*

In the last two sections, we looked at the use of FPs for *to iu* and *tte iu* individually. In this section, I will compare the usage of *tte iu* and *to iu* in order to examine the differences between the distributions of FPs

Table (12) Frequencies of FPs used with *to iu* and *tte iu*

FP	*to iu*		*tte iu*	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
ne	0	0%	12	11%
na	1	5%	7	6%
ka	0	0%	7	6%
Other FPs	0	0%	3	0%
Total FPs	1	5%	29	27%
No FP	19	95%	79	73%
Total	20	100%	108	100%

Table (3) combines the results of table (1) and (2). Overall, this table shows that it is rare for speakers to use FPs with *to iu*, while *tte iu* has a relatively high frequency. As we can see in this table, the total FPs used with *to iu* is only 1 case of *na* (5% of all), which is an extremely low frequency. In contrast, *tte iu* shows 29 cases and 27 % of total FPs.

In this table, a Fisher's exact test was conducted on the choice of *to iu*/ *tte iu* and (non-) use of FPs. Table (4) below presents the tested variables. There is a significant relationship between the two variables at .05 level.

Table (13) Frequencies of the (non-) use of FPs with *to iu/tte iu*

FP	*to iu*		*tte iu*	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Total FPs	1	5%	29	27%
No FP	19	95%	79	73%
Total	20	100%	108	100%

The Fisher exact test statistic value is 0.0423. The result is significant at p < .05.

Prior research has shown that those FPs that we observed in my data, such as *kana* and *na*, mark the speaker's uncertainty or indecisive feeling toward quoted materials (Asano-Cavanagh, 2016; Chino, 2005; Matsugu, 2005), Based on the results of table (4) above, I argue that the speaker's presentation with more certainty toward the quoted utterances—which is shown by the rare use of FP—promotes the use of *to iu*.

We have found that the combination of the particle *tte* and the verb *iu* 'say' is used with a very high frequency, which suggests that *tte* and *iu* might form a more or less fixed combination. However, we have also found that another particle *to* and *iu* 'say' also co-occur with a certain frequency. Based on the finding that *to iu* rarely involves the FPs which mark the speaker's uncertainty, it is likely that Japanese speakers might use *to iu* when they feel more certain toward the content of quoted materials than using the major combination of *tte iu*.

It should be noted, however, that the present study has a limitation in terms of the amount of data. My data only involves 108 cases of *tte iu* and 20 cases of *to iu*, which is not large. However, a statistical test supported my findings.

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

6.1. Summary

Quotation is a common expression in human communication, and the Japanese language uses several different quotative particles to indicate quotations. This study has examined these particles. My data has shown that among these particles, *to* and *tte* have high frequencies in formal conversation. According to previous studies (e.g., Iwasaki, 2002; Oikawa, 1999; Shibasaki, 2007), it has been widely recognized that formality distinguishes *to* and *tte* (*to* is used in formal conversation, and *tte* in informal). However, Kodama (2019) and Nilep (2017) counter this understanding by showing their quantitative results (first-person spoken narratives in Kodama, and informal conversations in Nilep), arguing that formality is not the best determiner to distinguish these quotative particles. The present study contributes to this argument by looking at formal conversation data compiled in the I-JAS corpus.

My study first revealed that among several different quotative particles, *to* and *tte* has high frequencies compared to other possible particles. With regards to the main verbs, it has found that *to* occurs with the verb *omou* 'think' with a high frequency, which suggests that *to omou* might compose a more or less fixed combination. On the other hand, the study shows that speakers also used minor cases of *tte omou*. Upon closer inspection, this study suggests that speakers might use *tte omou* to convey a presentation with less certainty toward the quoted materials. This suggestion is supported by the high frequencies of FP, which are often understood to show the speaker's uncertainty (Asano-Cavanagh, 2016, Chino, 2005, Matsugu, 2005).

Furthermore, based on the frequency results, this study shows that *tte* and the verb *iu* 'say' co-occur with an extremely high frequency. This high frequency suggests that the combination of *tte iu* appears to be a more or less fixed combination, as seen in the case of *to omou*. However, this study also shows some occurrences of *to iu* with an extremely low frequency of FPs. Based on these results, I concluded that speakers might be motivated to use *to iu* over *tte iu* to express a quoted utterances with a higher level of certainty.

With these research results, this study provides new empirically grounded contributions to a recent scholarly conversation about Japanese quotative particles through a quantitative methodology. It explored how speakers use Japanese quotative particles by showing the frequencies of *to*, *tte*, and their co-occurring verbs. Prior studies such as Oikawa (1999) and Kodama (2019) have not revealed the time length of each spoken data they examined. My corpus data, on the other hand, was recorded within similar time settings (one-on-one interview, approximately 30 minutes for each). In spoken data, some special factors such as the duration of the conversation could influence the overall results. This study has been able to avoid this potential problem by examining conversations whose time lengths are approximately the same. Overall, the present study expands our knowledge of Japanese quotations from a usage-based perspective by identifying new empirical results on the use of *to* and *tte* based on the corpus data.

6.2. Limitations and future studies

To conclude, I will discuss the limitations of the present study and make suggestions for future studies. One limitation in this study has to do with the context of

the conversation. The conversations in the I-JAS were recorded in controlled environments in which trained interviewers asked several questions prepared in advance to the speakers within a similar time (approximately 30 minutes). Although we can examine how speakers speak in the controlled discourse, obviously, this setting is far from what we know as natural conversation. Therefore, we must acknowledge that our research results might show different uses of quotations from everyday conversations.

Further study could challenge these issues by researching naturally occurring conversations in both formal and informal contexts. In many cases, conversations in real-life context appear to involve more complex grammatical constructions and discourses that are built through a dynamic flow of interactions between the interlocutors. Research on formal and informal conversations in real-life contexts would provide new understandings of Japanese quotations.

Moreover, further studies could contribute to a new understanding of Japanese quotations by examining quotative particles at utterance-final positions, which have been excluded from the present study. We have explored the quotative particles followed by the main verbs. However, it has been shown that Japanese quotative particles sometimes occur at the utterance-final position without any following main verbs. Especially, *tte* has been described to have some pragmatic functions at the end of utterances, often referred to as a FP (Cheong, 2019; Okamoto & Ono, 2008; Suzuki, 1998). It is exemplified in the following sentence.

(9)

(The speaker is talking about a student new to the ESL program where the speaker and the addressee study.)

ano	*hito*	*Nebada*	*ni*	*itanda*	***tte***
that	person	Nevada	in	be[8]	**QT**

'He was in Nevada (I heard).'

(Okamoto & Ono, 2008, p. 206)

In (9), the sentence ends with *tte*, but it is not followed by any verbs, which is different from what we have seen so far in this study.

By expanding the focus of this study to include these final particles, further analysis might capture a much wider picture of Japanese quotations and provide new insights into their usage. For the purpose of this thesis, I have only focused on the quotative particles followed by the verbs and excluded these examples. Further studies involving the final use of *tte* will undoubtedly provide us with a clear picture of how multiple quotative particles in Japanese are used in conversation. As demonstrated in the last two chapters, we could also expand our understanding of these quotative particles by examining the use of FP such as *kana* and *na*, which have been often understood to show the speaker's uncertainty toward the expressed content (Asano-

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[8] In Okamoto and Ono (2008), '*itanda*' is represented as '*ita-nda*' with the gloss of 'be PAST-AUX'. However, this present study takes it as a single lexical item '*itanda*' and glosses it as 'be'.

Cavanagh, 2016; Chino, 2005; Matsugu, 2005). Although my study has revealed that they are often used with quotative particles, further studies might observe a different pattern for *tte* which appears at the utterance ending position. Such further examination might provide new descriptive data on how Japanese speakers use quotative particles with other lexical items, such as FPs as well as different ways that speakers present quoted utterances.

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