The Unspecified Use of Demonstrative *are* in Japanese Everyday Talk


by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts




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# Abstract

Japanese distal demonstrative *are* 'that' has long been examined mostly with regard to its spatial use and overt expression in discourse by using constructed sentences. With regard to spatial use, *are* is used to refer to something far from both the speaker and the addressee (Sakuma 1992 [1936], etc.). As for anaphoric use (Kuno 1973 etc.), *are* is used to refer back to a referent previously introduced in the discourse. Recently, the cataphoric usage of *are* in conversation has been highlighted, i.e., cataphoric *are* serves as a 'dummy' to project a subsequent specification (Hayashi 2004). However, in examining conversations, I have found that speakers sometimes use *are* without having a specific referent in the discourse (hereafter, unspecified *are*); this type of *are* occurs when the speaker does not have an exact referent yet still recognizes its presence. It is interesting to note that the addressee has no trouble in continuing the conversation while leaving the referent unspecified, suggesting that the conversation can carry on without having an exact identification of the referent. Unspecified *are* occurs in three structural configurations in the data of this study, suggesting that these expressions have been grammaticized as prefabs (e.g., Bybee 2010) for serving this unspecified function. By exploring unspecified *are*, this study thus highlights the importance of using conversation to investigate actual language use.

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# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ACC | accusative |
| BE | copula |
| CAU | causative |
| COP | copula |
| FP | final particle |
| GEN | genitive |
| N | noun |
| NP | noun phrase |
| NOL | nominalizer |
| NOM | nominative |
| PRT | particle |
| PTCL | particle |
| TAG | tag question |
| TOP | topic marker |
| V | verb |

# List of Transcription Symbols

[ ]           overlap

@             laughter

<@ @>         laugh quality

..            short pause

...           long pause

-             truncated

=             lengthening

<X X>         unintelligible segment

[(H)]         inhalation

%             glottal stop

<% %>         creaky segment

(0)           latching

# Chapter 1  Introduction

## 1.1.  Demonstratives

In the field of Linguistics, researchers have traditionally dealt with constructed sentences to examine grammatical rules detached from actual context (Kuno 1973; Martin 1975; Shibatani 1990; Vance 1991, 1993; Tsujimura 1996, etc.). However, more recent research has revealed the importance of investigating actual language use in context, in particular spoken language, in order to scrutinize how grammar works in natural settings (Ono and Suzuki 1992a, b; Ford 1993; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Fox 2007; Mulder and Thompson 2008; Cumming, Ono and Laury 2011, etc.). This usage-based approach to grammar is based on the assumption that everyday speech is a fundamental human activity as people speak everyday to communicate with others (e.g., Schegloff 1996). Through daily interaction, people learn how to use language in conversation, and also learn many different language uses suitable for various contexts and relationships with others such as teacher-student, mother-child, friends, and colleagues.

Viewing everyday speech as a fundamental human activity, researchers have pointed out various features of language use in conversation. It is traditionally assumed that a 'sentence' is generated using some grammatical rules, however some researchers have found the fixed nature of language use by investigating the frequency and distribution of grammar (Mulder and Thompson 2008; Ono and Jones 2008; Ono and Suzuki 1992a, b, 2018, etc.).[1] Through their findings, these researchers have highlighted the importance of language in context. That is to say, language use is created by its context, and at the same time, a particular use tends to occur in a specific context. Similarly, when language is used in a

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[1]  For more detailed discussions about these findings, please refer to Cumming, Ono and Laury

particular way, people are able to easily infer what the context is. As a result, a deeper understanding of language use can only be gained by examining this language usage in an actual context instead of examining constructed sentences.

One of the linguistic categories for which context is necessary for comprehension is deictic expression. Deictic expressions include words such as *this*, *that*, *I*, *you*, *here*, *there*, *now*, and *then*, which are 'tied directly to the circumstances of utterance' (Levinson 1983: 54). For example, Levinson (1983), defines the term deixis as follows:

> Essentially, deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticize features of the **context of utterance** or **speech event**, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance. (ibid.: 54)

As a deictic expression, demonstratives and their usage are one of the major categories which have been cross-linguistically investigated from various perspectives. Specifically, research has focused on how demonstratives are used for a referent in a physical space (e.g., Fillmore 1982), how demonstratives produce coherence in texts (e.g., Halliday and Hasan 1976), and how demonstratives create their deictic fields (e.g., Hanks 1992, 2005).

## 1.2. Japanese demonstratives

The study of Japanese demonstratives has a long history, especially since the European grammar system was introduced to Japan in the 1830s (Furuta 1992[1980]). Research pertaining to the study of Japanese demonstratives has long focused on which demonstrative can be used to refer to something in a particular situation and place, what kind of uses

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(2011).

Japanese demonstratives have, and how these demonstratives are different from or similar to English demonstratives, all while using constructed sentences (Kuno 1973; Martin 1975; articles in Kinsui and Takubo 1992; Iwasaki 2013; Hasegawa 2015, etc.). Japanese demonstratives typically have three series: *ko-* (proximal; this), *so-* (medial; that) and *a-* (distal; that over there) as listed below:

| *ko*-series (proximal) | | *so*-series (medial) | | *a*-series (distal) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kore | 'this (one)' | sore | 'that (one)' | are | 'that (one there)' |
| koitsu | 'this guy' | soitsu | 'that guy' | aitsu | 'that guy over there' |
| kono | '(of) this' | sono | '(of) that' | ano | '(of) that over there' |
| konna | 'like this' | sonna | 'like that' | anna | 'like that over there' |
| koko | 'here' | soko | 'there' | asoko | 'over there' |
| kochira | 'this way' | sochira | 'that way' | achira | 'that way over there' |
| koo | 'in this way' | soo | 'in that way' | aa | 'in that way there' |

(Kuno 1973:282)

Traditionally it has been suggested that, in terms of physical distance i.e. spatial use, the *ko*-series is used to refer to something near the speaker, the *so*-series is used to refer to something near the addressee, and the *a*-series is used to refer to something far away from both the speaker and the addressee. This distance model is suggested by Sakuma (1992 [1936]), and, as shown above, members of each series are used to refer to items such as places, people, and ways.

In addition to spatial use, demonstratives are used to refer to something introduced in the discourse. Researchers have examined the usage of demonstratives to refer to something in the discourse from various perspectives. For example, Kuno (1973) suggests the territory model which proposes that the usage of the three demonstrative sets depends on whether the

speaker assumes that the addressee also knows about the referent. In his study, Kuno suggests that the *a*-series is used to refer to something that the speaker assumes that both the speaker and the addressee know. He also suggests that the *so*-series is used when it is assumed that only either the speaker or the addressee knows the referent, while the '*ko*-series is used semianaphorically as if the object being talked about were visible and were at the speaker's side' (Kuno 1973: 290). Kuno (1973) notes that when the speaker uses the *ko*-series, the addressee cannot use this same series to refer to the same object.

Among these three series, the *a*-series has recently gained researchers' attention. The next section reviews some important examinations of the *a*-series with a focus on *are* 'that'. The section first addresses the traditional examination of Japanese demonstratives based on constructed sentences by Kuno (1973), followed by some important works based on usage in actual discourse.

## 1.3.  Distal demonstrative *are* 'that'

In this section, I will go over some important research on the demonstrative *are* focusing on its referent in the discourse. First, I will introduce two examples of *are* having a referent in the discourse. Then, I will introduce a different type of *are*, which will be a primary focus of this thesis.

The uses of the demonstrative *are* 'that' have long been discussed with regard to its anaphoric use (Kuno 1973; Martin 1975; articles in Kinsui and Takubo 1992; Iwasaki 2013; Hasegawa 2015, etc.) along with its spatial use.In terms of anaphoric use, a referent is introduced in the discourse and demonstrative *are* is then used to refer back to it. In the following example constructed by Kuno (1973), A is talking about a fire which s/he saw the other day:

(1)

1 A:  watashi      mo      choodo        Harvard Square no        soba    niite
      I            also    exactly       Harvard Square GEN       near    in   COP
      'I also happened to be in the Harvard Square area and'

2 → [sono kaji]  o          mimashita.
      that  fire  ACC        saw
      'saw **that fire**.'
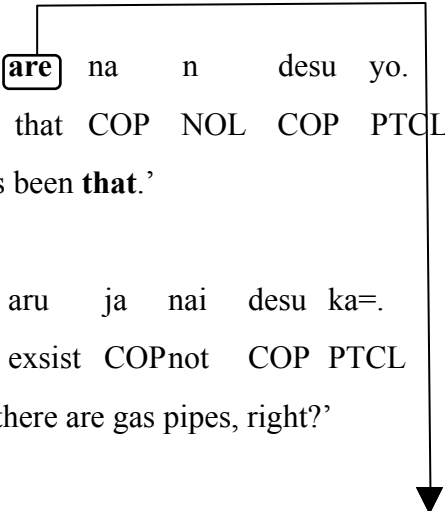
3 └─ [are]  wa      hidoi      kaji      deshita      ne.
      that  TOP    terrible    fire      COP.PAST     PTCL
      '**That** was a terrible fire, wasn't it?'

<div align="right">Kuno (1973: 286)</div>

A says to the addressee *watashi mo choodo Harvard Square no soba ni ite **sono kaji** o mimashita* 'I also happened to be in the Harvard Square area and saw that fire' in lines 1-2. Then s/he comments on it in line 3, saying ***are** wa hidoi kaji deshita ne* 'That was a terrible fire, wasn't it?' The antecedent of this *are* 'that' is *sono kaji* 'that fire' in line 2.

Recently, the demonstrative *a*-series has been discussed with regard to how it functions and how it shapes conversational sequence (e.g., Hayashi 2003, 2004; Kenchu 1996; Kitano 1999; Hamaguchi 2001; Naruoka 2006) from several perspectives such as Conversation Analysis and a sociolinguistic approach. These researchers also use actual discourse data to investigate the distal demonstrative. Although the anaphoric use of *are* has been the main focus in literature, its cataphoric use has recently been highlighted by Hayashi (2004), who suggests that *are* can serve as a 'dummy' to project a subsequent specification. In the example below, the speaker A is talking about gas pipes:

(2)

```
1 A:  sono=  saikin   [are]  na    n      desu   yo.
      uh      recently  that   COP   NOL    COP    PTCL
      'Uh, recently (it)'s been that.'


2      ano=, gasu  kan   aru    ja   nai   desu  ka=.
       uhm   gas   pipe  exsist COPnot     COP   PTCL
       'Uhm, you know there are gas pipes, right?'


3      [are zenbu   ima   purasuchikku ni  naritsutsu  aru]     n      desu   yo=.
       that all      now   plastic        to  is.becoming exsist  NOL    COP    PTCL
       'They've all been changing to plastic pipes now.'
```

(Hayashi 2004)

In line 1, A begins by saying *sono= saikin **are** na n desu yo* 'uh, recently (it)'s been **that**'. Then A introduces gas pipes in line 2 by saying *ano=, gasu kan aru ja nai desu ka=* 'uhm, you know there are gas pipes, right?' Then in line 3, he continues *are zenbu ima purasuchikku ni naritsutsu aru n desu yo=* 'they've all been changing to plastic now'. According to Hayashi (2004), the phrase in line 1 ***are** na n desu yo* '(it)'s been **that**' projects the subsequent specification of *are*. That is, the addressee is 'instructed' that its specification is coming. In line 3, the speaker says *are zenbu ima purasuchikku ni naritsutsu aru* 'they've all been changing to plastic pipes now' to specify the *are* from line 1.[2]

The two examples above illustrate how *are* is used with an overt referent in the discourse. In examining the conversational data of this study, however, I have found that *are* is used in other ways. Specifically, *are* can often be seen being used even when it does not have an overtly expressed referent in the discourse. In the following excerpt, H and his

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[2] Please note that *are* in line 3 is anaphoric; it refers back to *gasu kan* 'gas pipes' in line 2.

6

colleague T are talking about their work. Just before this excerpt, T tells H how hard his new

job is going to be. H then starts advising T:


(3)

1 H:  yoo   wa=,
      point  TOP
      'The thing is,'


2     ... dondake,
          no.matter.how


3     ... so=no=   shisutematikkuni  yatte  sono,
          uh       systematically    do     uh
      'no matter how systematically (you) do and uh'


4     joohooka                shakai   ni   yappa   [are]  shitemo,
      information-oriented     society  to   after all  that  do.if
      'even if (you) do **that** to an information-oriented society after all,'


5     yaru  no   wa   ningen  da   kara=
      do    NOL  TOP  human   COP  so
      'it's humans who do (the job), so...'


6 T:  un.
      'Yeah.'


In this example, there is no expression in the conversation which specifies the referent for the

*are* used in line 4. In spite of that, the participants do not have trouble continuing the

conversation. This type of *are* (hereafter, unspecified use/*are*) appears to occur when the

speaker may not have an exact referent but still recognizes its presence.[3] Interestingly, even those who are not in the conversation, like the present author, can easily come up with candidate interpretations as follows:


(4)     ***are*** *shitemo* 'even if (you) do **that**'

taioo shitemo     'even if (you) adapt (to an information-oriented society)'

tekioo shitemo     'even if (you) adjust (to an information-oriented society)'.

awasetemo     'even if (you) assimilate (to an information-oriented society)'


Although a large number of research on the distal demonstrative *are* has been done (Kuno 1973; Martin 1975; articles in Kinsui and Takubo 1992;Iwasaki 2013; Hasegawa 2015, etc.), only a few prior studies (e.g., Kenchu (1996), Kitano (1999), Seraku et al. (2017)) have discussed this type of unspecified use. Furthermore, this unspecified use has also not been focused on in other languages except for a few exceptions (Himmelmann 1996[4]; Diessel 1999; Enfield 2003). Thus, the present study aims to contribute to the existing data of this understudied unspecified usage of Japanese demonstratives by examining actual conversation data. The next section reviews previous work on unspecified *are* and discusses the problems found with individual studies.

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[3] Some researchers have discussed a similar kind of demonstrative called recognitional use (Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999; Enfield 2003). But there seem some structural and functional differences between unspecified and recognitional use, which I will discuss in the last chapter.

[4] Himmelmann (1996) examines five languages, which are English, Ik, Nunggubuyu, Tagalog, and Indonesian.

## 1.4. Previous research on unspecified *are*

This section focuses on the Japanese unspecified *are* 'that'. As mentioned earlier, the unspecified use of *are* has not been widely discussed (for a few exceptions, Kenchu (1996), Kitano (1999), Seraku et al. (2017)) though there are a large number of studies on the distal demonstrative. Furthermore, this type of usage has not been highlighted in the study of demonstratives in other languages (Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999; Enfield 2003). Thus, it is important to examine this type of unspecified use not only to gain a better understanding of Japanese demonstratives, but also to contribute to a cross-linguistic understanding of this type of demonstrative. In this section, I will review Kenchu (1996) and Kitano (1999) and their work on unspecified *are*.[5]

Kenchu (1996), who briefly discusses the unspecified *are*, suggests that unspecified *are* is used to avoid expressing something directly to the addressee, using just one example as follows. In the excerpt, speaker A, who is an English teacher at a junior high school in Japan, and her friend B are talking about an English song used in a TV advertisement. The lyrics of the song are composed in simple English. Just before the excerpt, A has explained that her colleagues seem to show the advertisement to their students during class.

(5)

1 B:  de nani yaru no? sore  de    jugyoo  de.
      so what do   FP  it    with  class   in
      'So what do they do by using it in class?'

---

[5] Seraku et al. (2017) appears to deal with examples which are similar to the unspecified *are*. Their article came to my attention while I was finalizing this thesis. Hence, I will not go into the detail about the article in the current study.

2 A:  watashi wa  ⟦are⟧ da    kedo renshuu  saseru  n     janai?

      I       TOP that BE    but   practice  CAU    NOL TAG

      'I don't use it, but (the teachers make the students) practice (singing), I guess.'


3 B:  huun.

      I.see

      'I see.'

<div align="right">(Kenchu 1996, slightly modified)</div>


In line 1, B asks A the purpose of showing the commercial to students, saying *de nani yaru no*? *sore de jugyoo de* 'So what do they do by using it in class?' In line 2, A responds to the question, saying *watashi wa **are** da kedo renshuu saseru n janai*? 'I don't use it, but (the teachers make the students) practice (singing), I guess'.[6] Kenchu (1996: 124) speculates that 'A does not want B to draw her attention to the referent' and *watashi wa are da* 'I am that' which comes before a conjunction *kedo* 'although, but' is 'not important information to B who asks how they use the song' (ibid.: 124). Kenchu then briefly mentions that the intended meaning of *watashi wa **are** da* 'I am **that**' can be 'I don't use the song' or 'I don't know it well'.

Here, let us discuss some problems of Kenchu's (1996) discussion of the above example of unspecified *are*. First, she argues that the referent of *are* in line 2 is 'clearly shared' between the two participants, and that 'A uses *are* because she thinks that B will understand what she means from context and social knowledge' (Kenchu 1996: 124). However, she does not provide any explanations as to the reason why she knows the referent is clearly shared and what A thinks about B. Furthermore, she only uses one conversational

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[6] Kenchu (1996) translated *watashi wa **are** da kedo* as 'I don't use it but', but the literal translation should be 'I am **that** but'.

segment to examine this usage, which suggests that further research on unspecified *are* is necessary.

Having reviewed Kenchu (1996) and discussed some issues with the study above, let us now turn to Kitano (1999), who tries to reveal how morphosyntax works in interaction by examining *are*. Kitano groups together some uses of *are* as 'interactional use', by using 18 recordings (approx. 90 min.) with its transcripts and 49 transcripts (approx. 552 min.) without recordings. Similar to Kenchu (1996), unspecified *are* is also one of the several functions that Kitano (1999) looked at. He suggests that the interactional use of *are* has three functions: 1) as a filler for searching an appropriate expression; 2) to hold the turn for further elaboration (cataphoric use in the present thesis); and 3) to avoid verbalization of a certain utterance (similar to unspecified use in the present thesis). Focusing on his third function, Kitano (1999) suggests that *are* functions as a filler to fill in a slot of an expression that the speaker does not verbalize. In this case, he argues that unlike function 1, the speaker does not search for any particular word.

In the following example used by Kanto (1999), K and her friend M, who works for a company that organizes parties, are talking about a party which M organized. Before the excerpt, K has just asked M if she ate a lot of food at the party, and M answered no. K then continues with her utterance in line 1:


(6)

1 K:  hito    o    [are]   [shite]   tara,
      people  ACC  that     doing    if
      'If you were doing **that** for people,'

11

2 M:                         [un].
                            um
                            'Mm.'


3 K:    taberarenai  ne.
        can't.eat      PRT
        'you can't eat.'

                                        (Kitano 1999: 396, slightly modified)


According to Kitano (1999), 'K seems to be simply avoiding the verbalization of a certain

verb since she starts with *hito o* ('people' + accusative case particle), which must be followed

by some verb' (Kitano 1999: 396). He also suggests that *are* in line 1 'is used to fill in a slot,

but there are several possible alternative ways she could choose in this context' (Kitano 1999:

398):


(7)    hito    to    taioo/ootai  suru
       people with reception     do
       'receive/deal with people'

       hito    no    taioo/ootai  o      suru
       people GEN  reception   ACC  do
       'receive/deal with people'

       uketsukeru
       receive/welcome
       'receive/accept'

uketsuke    o    suru

reception    ACC    do

'give reception'

Kitano (1999: 397) argues that K 'must select an appropriate transitive verb' because the utterance starts with *hito o* 'people' followed by the object particle *o*. However, she does not choose a specific verb and produces a progressive + conditional form of *are suru* 'to do that' instead. These possible alternative expressions to the actual utterance proposed by Kitano (1999) do not grammatically fit with the utterance *are suru* 'to do that'. Kitano (1999) discusses how the utterance in line 1 starts with *hito o* ('people' followed by the object marker *o*), but *hito* is not followed by the object marker *o* in the first two alternatives that he proposes by himself.

Kitano (1999: 397) also argues that although participants 'may not have a complete view of the lexical development of their utterance in advance, they seem to have something like morphosyntactic skeletal frames' for the expression where *are* occurs. Skeletal frames are usually called constructional schemas (e.g., Ono and Thompson 1996), which are defined as schemas that 'do not represent particular expressions, but serve as templates for producing real expressions' (Kitano 1999: 384).

Going back to the conversation, Kitano argues that K probably does not have an exact wording in her mind when she produces the utterance, but it is likely that she has a particular skeletal frame such as one of the following, which is used to say *hito o **are** shitetara* 'if you were doing **that** for people':

(8)  a. N-*suru*            (verbal noun + verb 'do')

     b. V-*tetara*          (conditional form of a verb)

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c. NP-*o* V              (direct object + accusative case particle + verb)

(Kitano 1999: 397)

Kitano (1999) does not exactly explain how these frames are used to create the actual utterance. As a result, the study discusses some possibilities here. In the case of the first skeletal frame N-*suru* (verbal noun + verb 'do'), *are* fits in N to make ***are**-suru* 'to do **that**'. As for the second skeletal frame V-*tetara* (conditional form of a verb), the conditional form of the light verb *suru* 'do' fits in the frame. In the third skeletal frame NP-*o* V (direct object + accusative case particle + verb), based on his discussion, Kitano (1999) seems to regard *are* as a direct object followed by a grammatical object marker *o* and the verb *suru* 'do'. According to Kitano, these skeletal frames help the speaker produce a well-formed utterance even though s/he might not have a lexical development of their utterance in advance.

As mentioned earlier, there seem to be some problems with Kitano's (1999) study regarding unspecified *are*. First, looking through Kitano's (1999) four examples of possible alternatives to ***are** shitetara* 'if (you) are doing **that** for people' in line 1 in (7), some of them do not grammatically fit the original utterance. Hence, it is hard to justify why these expressions are the alternatives of the actual utterances. For example, even if the genitive marker *no* in the second example is replaced with the object marker *o*, it sounds unnatural or even ungrammatical:

(9) **actual utterance**  **possible alternative expression based on Kitano (1999)**

| hito | o | **are** | suru | | *hito | o | | taioo/ootai | o | suru[7] |
|------|---|---------|------|---|-------|---|---|-------------|---|------|
| people | ACC | that | do | | people | ACC | | reception | ACC | do |

'do that for people'

In this example, both of the nouns *hito* 'people' and *taioo/ootai* 'reception' are followed by the grammatical object marker *o*, which makes the expression sound peculiar.

Second, similar to Kenchu (1996), Kitano (1999) also does not give any explanations as to how he developed these four possible alternatives. Third, 'interactional use' as defined by Kitano (1999) includes several uses such as cataphoric and unspecified uses, yet he does not provide any quantitative information regarding how common these different types of uses are used in conversation.

Lastly, as mentioned earlier, Kitano (1999) uses just 18 conversations with recordings and 49 with no recordings. This means that he had only 18 conversations that he could listen to and his analysis had to rely mainly on the transcripts, which obviously did not allow him to check the accuracy of the transcription.

## 1.5. Objectives of the study

The previous section introduced two studies on unspecified *are* and discussed their shortcomings. As we have seen so far, although these studies deal with unspecified *are*, their focus is not on the unspecified usage of *are*. In addition, the dataset they use tends to be small, and some of them do not have original recordings. This causes the researcher to completely rely on the transcripts. For this reason, the current thesis focuses on unspecified *are* 'that',

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[7] The symbol * indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical.

and examines the usage of this unspecified *are* in more detail by employing a larger data set which has audio and/or video information. I will take a usage-based approach to grammar (Ono and Suzuki 1992a, b; Ford 1993; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Fox 2007; Mulder and Thompson 2008; Cumming, Ono and Laury 2011, etc.), i.e., examining unspecified *are* in actual discourse both quantitatively and qualitatively, in order to explore:

1    how common the usage of unspecified *are* is in Japanese everyday talk using a larger dataset

2    how unspecified *are* is used in conversation where we will see participants achieve shared understanding of what is conveyed by unspecified *are* using various factors available in the talk *are*, and

3    if there are any specific grammatical features that co-occur with unspecified *are*

The content of this study is as follows: chapter 2 introduces the data and methodology used in the present thesis while chapter 3 discusses how unspecified *are* is used in detail from the following three aspects: 1) the frequency of unspecified *are* in conversation; 2) how participants successfully achieve shared understanding of what is conveyed by unspecified *are* in conversation; and 3) the grammatical environment in which unspecified *are* is used. Lastly, chapter 4 summarizes the findings of this study, suggests some implications that the study has for the future study of grammar in discourse, and discusses some limitations of the study.

# Chapter 2  Data and Methodology

This chapter will go over the types of data used and the methodology of the analysis in this study. As for the data, this study uses two corpora which are described in section 2.1 while section 2.2 illustrates the steps taken for analyzing *are*.

## 2.1.  Data

This thesis uses two types of conversational corpus data. The first is referred to as the Corpus of Japanese Everyday Talk, and the second is referred to as the Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation. This section goes over each of them.

## 2.1.1. Corpus of Japanese Everyday Talk (CJET)

The Corpus of Japanese Everyday Talk (hereafter, CJET) was collected by Japanese researchers in North America and Japan.[8]  The conversations are recorded from the 1980s to 2015. The study examines 51 conversations (audio- or video-recorded) totaling 8.5 hours of talk from CJET. This corpus contains various situations and sequences from everyday talk such as dinner talk, telephone talk, arguments, narrative telling, and making appointments. The conversations are between participants engaged in a variety of social relationships: between friends, family members, and teachers and their students. The age of the speakers ranges from mid-teens to 80s. The total number of speakers is approximately 140 (male: 55, female: 83). Most of the talk in this dataset is done in Standard Japanese, but some speakers use dialects including Kansai dialect and Tohoku dialect.

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[8]  The Japanese corpus consists of audiotaped face-to-face and telephone conversations collected and transcribed by researchers at the Universities of California, Santa Barbara, Arizona, Alberta, and Keio University. It is currently housed in the Spoken Discourse Research Studio at the University of

## 2.1.2. Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation (CEJCV)

The Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation (hereafter CEJCV where V stands for visual data) is a test corpus that is currently being compiled by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. All the recorded conversations have video data. These conversations were recorded in 2016 in the Tokyo area. The study examines 36 video-recorded conversations, totaling 16 hours of talk, from CEJCV. The conversations consist of various conversations including dinner/lunch talk, PTA meetings, parties, and talk during driving. The social relationships between participants of the conversations are family members, mothers, friends, colleagues, and a teacher and his students. The age of the speakers ranges from 5 years old to 90s. The total number of the participants is approximately 75 (male: 23, female: 51).

Most of the participants in these conversations speak in Standard Japanese. Some speakers who are from different parts of Japan, however, use their dialects. I have removed a conversation which included a speaker whose first language was not Japanese in order to focus on the uses of the demonstrative *are* produced by native speakers of Japanese.

Table 1 summarizes the information of the two conversation corpora that used in this study. It contains the numbers of talk, hours of talk, the time the conversations were recorded, the number of participants, and the age range of the participants.

Alberta and Keio University.

**Table 1: The dataset used in this study**

| Name of corpus | Number of talk | Approx. Hours | Year recorded | Number of participants | Age of the participants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CJET | 51 | 8.5 | 1980s ~ 2015 | Approx.140 (male: 55, female: 83) | Mid-teens ~ 80s |
| CEJCV | 36 | 16 | 2016 | Approx.75 (male: 23, female: 51) | Around 5 ~ 90s |
| Total | 92 | 24.5 | | Approx.215 (male: 78, female: 134) | |

## 2.2. Methodology

This section outlines the steps taken by this thesis in order to analyze *are*. I first identified all the *are* that appeared in both CJET and CEJCV while listening to the data with its transcripts. It is very important to listen to the audio with the transcripts as the transcripts are not perfect and often have errors in the transcription. In addition, the transcripts do not provide enough prosodic information about the way the speakers speak despite having symbols. This information sometimes matters when categorizing *are*.[9] As for the video data in CEJCV and CJET, it was reviewed after having identified all the occurrences of *are*. Watching the video data is also important when identifying whether a specific referent exists in a physical space, and when analyzing other resources such as hand and head movements.

Inaudible cases of *are* were excluded from both corpora even though they were transcribed as *are*. I also excluded potentially cataphoric uses where a subsequent specification was unsuccessful because another participant took the turn before the specification occurred. Interjection *are* 'oh' was also excluded from both of the corpora

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[9] Prosodic information is sometimes necessary when differentiating anaphoric use and interjection *are* 'oh'. Without prosodic information, some cases of the interjection *are* seem to have an anaphoric referent according to the context.

because dictionaries list the category in a separate entry from demonstrative though it derives from the demonstrative *are* (e.g., Sanseido Kokugo Jiten [Sanseido Japanese Dictionary] 2004). In the case of CEJCV in particular, for the purpose of privacy protection, utterances which include personal information such as names and the participants' living areas are hidden by beeps, which makes it difficult or sometimes impossible to analyze these utterances.[10] Only transcripts that made it clear that language was produced were included in the analysis.

Second, I categorized *are* into four types based on the position of where the referent occurred, i.e., spatial, anaphoric,[11] cataphoric,[12] and unspecified uses.[13]As for spatial use, I

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[10] Names of people and places where these people live are changed into different names in the transcripts in order to anonymize the participants' private information, which makes it easier to make sense out of the talk.

[11] As for anaphoric use, I have found a similar use, which the referent can be traceable from the information shared between the participants, but is not overtly expressed in the current discourse. This is known as recognitional use (Himmelmann 1996, Diessel 1999). While discussing recognitional use, Himmelmann (1996) admits that this type of demonstrative sometimes has a referent when it is strictly tracked, and it is hard to make a clear borderline between anaphoric and recognitional uses depending on how strictly the referent of the demonstrative is tracked. The study regards this type as a subtype of anaphoric use, but is excluded from the examination.

[12] In the case of cataphoric use, the study has also found usage similar to that of a word search (Hayashi 2003). The following example from the study shows that *are* functions as word search. In this example, N is asking his friend if she has a kitchen at her apartment that she is using for her job. She wants N to use the apartment when she is not in because she only uses the room twice a week.

    1 N:  **are**    aru    no=,

           that    exist   PTCL

           '(Do you) have **that** (in the apartment),'

    2       ano=, nan   da.

           er      what  PTCL

           'er, what is (that).

have this category only for CEJCV. This is because many of the conversations in CJET have

audio data only, and I could not clearly identify the referent for probable cases of spatial use

without visual information. After all the cases of *are* are categorized, I have made a close

analysis of unspecified *are*.

This chapter has introduced the conversation corpora and steps taken to analyze

unspecified *are*. In the next chapter, I discuss some findings from this quantitative result, how

unspecified *are* is used in conversation, and some grammatical environments in which

unspecified *are* occurs.

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3    **daidokoro**   aru   n     da     kke.

     kitchen        exist  NOL  COP  PTCL

     '(Did you) have a **kitchen**?'

In line 1, N is trying to ask if his friend has 'something' in the apartment, saying *are aru no* '(Do you)

have **that** (in the apartment)'. But he seems to have some trouble in coming up with an exact word,

and he uses *are* 'that'. In line 2, he still tries to come up with what he means by keeping his turn by

using what Hayashi (2003) calls a 'delaying device' *ano=*, *nan da* 'er, what is (that)'. Then in line 3,

N finally succeeds in expressing the exact word *daidokoro* 'kitchen', and asks his friend again if she

has a kitchen, saying *daidokoto aru n da kke* '(Did you) have a kitchen?' In this case, following

Hayashi's (2003) account, *are* in line 1 projects the further specification, that is, *daidokoro* 'kitchen'

in line 3. In his study of cataphoric use of *are*, Hayashi (2004) mentions that cataphoric and word

search uses are similar in that both uses project further specifications after *are* is used.

[13] In both CJET and CEJCV, a few cases of other uses of *are* were found yet they were not included

in this thesis because they are not the main focus.

# Chapter 3   Analysis

This chapter will discuss the findings of the study from three different aspects. Section 3.1 discusses the frequency of unspecified *are* in the conversational data via quantitative analysis, section 3.2 examines how unspecified *are* is used in interaction. Section 3.3 focuses on some grammatical features associated with the use of unspecified *are* while the summary of this thesis is presented in section 3.4.

## 3.1.  Frequency of unspecified *are*

In this section, I discuss some findings regarding the frequency of *are*. Table 2 below shows the frequency of *are* in the dataset.

**Table 2: *are* in different categories**

| Corpus<br>Categories | CJET | | CEJCV | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percentage | Frequency | Percentage | Total[14] |
| Spatial | | | 14 | 3.3 | 14 |
| Anaphoric | 139 | 61.5 | 224 | 53.6 | 363 |
| Cataphoric | 44 | 19.5 | 78 | 18.7 | 122 |
| Unspecified | 43 | 19.0 | 102 | 24.4 | 145 |
| Total | 226 | 100 | 418 | 100 | 644 |

The identification of *are* resulted in a total of 644 cases consisting of spatial (CEJCV only), anaphoric, cataphoric, or unspecified. Out of these 644 cases of *are*, I identified 14 cases of

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[14]  The total percentage of each category in the two corpora is as follows: spatial (2%), anaphoric (56%), cataphoric (19%), and unspecified (23%). I did not list the percentages because it seemed inconsistent to list them without identifying spatial use in CJET.

spatial (CEJCV only), 363 cases of anaphoric, 122 cases of cataphoric, and 145 cases of unspecified *are*.

In CJET, I identified 226 cases of *are*. Out of 226 cases of *are*, 139 are categorized as anaphoric (61.5%), 44 as cataphoric (19.5%), and 43 as unspecified (19.0%). In CEJCV, I identified 418 cases of *are*. Out of 418 cases, 14 cases are categorized as spatial use (3.3 %), 224 as anaphoric (53.6 %), 78 as cataphoric (18.7 %), and 102 as unspecified use (24.4 %).[15] These ratios in both corpora show that unspecified *are* is fairly common in everyday talk and underscores the importance of studying this particular usage. I conducted a qualitative analysis of the 145 cases of unspecified *are* which is the sum of unspecified *are* found in CJET and CEJCV (43 and 102 respectively). The following section discusses how unspecified *are* is used in conversation by examining some representative examples.

## 3.2. How unspecified *are* is used in conversation

This section examines how unspecified *are* is used from the perspective of both speakers and addressees. I go over several representative examples of unspecified *are* to show ways in which speakers and addressees behave in connection with the use of unspecified *are* in the data. In addition, I will discuss some intriguing cases, which occur much less frequently in my dataset, where the speaker and the addressee collaboratively achieve a shared understanding of *are*.

In the most typical use of unspecified *are*, the addressees show their understanding by using a backchannel or longer responses. A backchannel is 'a non-lexical vocalic form, and serves as 'continuer' (Schegloff 1982; such as *hm*, *huh* and *oh* in English), display of interest, or claim of understanding' (Clancy et al. 1996: 359). We will also see cases where the

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[15] Interestingly, spatial use, which is generally considered as a basic use of demonstratives, only occurs at a rate of 3% in the CEJCV corpus.

addressee shows his/her understanding by providing a longer response (e.g., phrases and clauses). The difference between situations where addressees employ one or the other type of response when faced with the usage of unspecified *are* is not clear, but it does seem that we can observe the addressee's understanding more clearly in the longer responses. I will discuss it in more detail in the next section.

My dataset also includes a few other cases where the participants collaboratively achieve a shared understanding of what might be referred to by unspecified *are*. We will see two examples of this type; in the first example, the speaker seems to seek more information using unspecified *are*. In the second example, we will see that the speaker sometimes uses their body to provide a hint for understanding a possible referent of unspecified *are*.

Throughout these examples, I suggest that the speaker's utterances involving unspecified *are* help participants allow the conversation to continue. In particular, we will see cases in which grammatical elements used in the speaker's utterance play a role in the addressee's understanding of what s/he tries to say using *are*. I will mainly focus on discussing these features, but will also show that not only grammatical elements but also various other factors such as the speech context, socially shared knowledge, and relationships between participants play important roles in understanding unspecified *are* in conversation.

## 3.2.1. Typical usage of unspecified *are*

This section examines some examples of a typical usage of unspecified *are*. The first example from CJET is a typical use of unspecified *are*. The speaker produces unspecified *are* with no pause and hedge in the utterance. Addressees show their understanding by producing a backchannel response. In this conversation, A and B are talking about *hanami* 'flower viewing' event. In spring, people in Japan customarily assemble to watch cherry blossom trees bloom and drink with their friends and colleagues, which is called *hanami* 'flower

viewing'. As this event is very popular, people compete to get the best viewing spot by arriving earlier. Here, A is talking about his experience of the event:

(10) CJET

1 A: ore=    wa .. sono hi    baito         ga      atta      kara
    I        TOP that  day  part-time job NOM   exist     because
    'Because I had a part-time job that day,'

2    are   na    n    da     [kedo=],
     that  COP  NOL  COP      but
     '(I) am (in) **that** (situation), but'

3 B:                         [nn].
                             'Uh-huh'

4 A:  ore no   tomodachi toka   ga  <@ sa= @> mae   no    hi    kara  itte  sa=,
      I   GEN  friends    etc.  NOM PTCL   before GEN  day  from  go    PTCL
'my friends, among others, went (to the place) the day before (to get a good spot for *hanami* the next day),'

5 B:  <@ n @> @.
         'Yeah'

In lines 1-2, A explains that he was in 'that' situation, which is expressed by the unspecified *are* in *ore= wa .. sono hi baito ga atta kara **are** na n da kedo=* 'because I had a part-time job that day, (I) am (in) **that** (situation), but'. The demonstrative *are* in line 2 is used with the copula *na n da* 'be'[16] in the predicate position as in ***are** na n da*, and its referent is not overtly stated in the rest of the conversation. B, however, seems to have no trouble understanding A's

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[16] The copula *na n da* 'be' is morphologically separated into three parts: copula, nominalizer, and copula. This sequence as a whole serves as a single copula.

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utterance as can be seen in B's response *nn* 'uh-huh' in line 3 produced even before A's

utterance is completed in line 2. Right after B's response, A continues describing what had

happened in line 4, saying *ore no tomodachi toka ga <@ sa= @> mae no hi kara itte sa=*

'my friends, among others, went (to the place) the day before (to get a good spot for *hanami*

the next day)'. B, again, responds to A with a backchannel *n* 'yeah' with laughter in line 5

right after A's utterance, which also suggests that B understands what A has said.

 The reason why B has no trouble understanding A's utterance even though the referent

of *are* is unspecified is likely because A's utterance gives enough information for the

addressee to gain a general understanding of the referent. This is seen in the fact that even

people who are not directly involved in this conversation, like the present researcher, can

rather easily come up with several similar candidate understandings for the unspecified *are* in

***are** na n da kedo*. For example:


(11) Some candidate understandings for ***are** na n da kedo* '(I) am (in) **that** (situation), but'

  a. ikenakatta n  da kedo
    could.not.go NOL COP but
    '(I) couldn't go, but'


  b. ikanakatta n  da kedo
    did.not.go  NOL COP but
    '(I) didn't go, but'


  c. inakatta n  da kedo
    was.not NOL COP but
    '(I) wasn't (there), but'       etc.


It seems that the structure of A's utterances, as well as the speech context, help one

understand what A is saying. The particle *wa* is known for its contrastive function (e.g., Kuno

1973; Maruyama 2003), and *wa* on *ore* 'I' in *ore= wa .. sono hi baito ga atta kara* 'because I had a part-time job that day' in line 1 contrasts its referent (i.e., A himself) with *ore no tomodachi toka* 'my friends, among others' introduced in line 4. In addition, the contrastive connective particle *kedo* 'but' in line 2 contrasts what A did (expressed with the unspecified *are*) with what his friends did (they went to the *hanami* 'flower viewing' place the day before the event to get a good spot). These contrasts help us grasp a general idea that A did/could not go to the place or he was not there the day before the event.

The actual utterance and the social knowledge also seem to play important roles in making the contrast discussed above. By the utterance *ore= wa .. sono hi baito ga atta kara* 'because I had a part-time job that day' in line 1, A seems to tell some reasons for the situation expressed in ***are** na n da kedo=* '(I) am (in) **that** (situation)' in line 2. This utterance, in conjunction with what B seems to know about the life of university students in Japan, probably helps him understand what *are* means in this example. That is, they usually have a part-time job and need to manage their schedule depending on their shift work. A's utterance *ore= wa .. sono hi baito ga atta kara* 'because I had a part-time job that day' in line 1 might imply that, some of his activities were affected by it. This kind of contextual information and social knowledge appears to help the addressee come up with some general understanding of what *are* means in the context.

Let us look at another similar example. In this example the addressee again uses a backchannel response to show his understanding after the speaker uses unspecified *are*. An interesting point here is that, focusing on the utterance in which unspecified *are* occurs, it is used as part of a fixed expression. In the following excerpt from CJET, which is the extended version of (3), H and his colleague T are talking about their work. H is giving some advice to T:

(12) CJET

1 H: yoo   wa=,
     point  TOP
     'The thing is,'


2     ... dondake,
        no.matter.how


3     ... so=no=  shisutematikkuni yatte   sono,
        uh       systematically   do      uh
     'no matter how systematically (you) do and uh'


4     joohooka              shakai   ni  yappa    [are]  shitemo,
     information-oriented   society  to  after all  that  do.if
     'even if (you) do **that** to an information-oriented society after all,'


5     yaru  no   wa   ningen  dakara=
     do    NOL  TOP  human   COP   so
     'it's humans who do (the job), so...'


6 T:  un.
     'Yeah.'


7 H:  hito  to   hito  to-  to  no    kankee       tte  [iu]   no   wa   ne,
     human and  human  and GEN   relationship  that  say   NOL  TOP  PTCL
     'The relationship between people,'


8 T:                                           [ne].
                                               'Right'


9 H:  .. moo  kore   zettai      tachikire  nai  kara,
        uh   this   absolutely  break.off   not  so
     'uh (we) can't break off this (relationship),'


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10    yaru  no    wa    ningen    na    n    da    kara.
      do    NOL   TOP   human     COP   NOL  COP   so
      'so, it's humans who do (the job), so...'


In lines 1-5, H starts talking about the importance of human power, saying *yoo wa= ... dondake ... so=no= shisutematikkuni yatte sono joohooka shakai ni yappa* **are** *shitemo yaru no wa ningen da kara=* 'the thing is, no matter how systematically (you) do and uh even if (you) do **that** to an information-oriented society, it's humans who do (the job), so...'. The unspecified *are* in line 4 occurs as the predicate with the light verb *suru* 'do'. The referent for the demonstrative is not specified in the entire conversation. In spite of that, T seems to have no trouble understanding H's utterance as he immediately responds to it, saying *un* 'yeah' in line 6. H continues giving advice focusing on the importance of human relationships, saying *hito to hito to- to no kankee tte iu no wa ne .. moo kore zettai tachikire nai kara yaru no wa ningen na n da kara* 'The relationship between people, (we) can't break off this (relationship), so, it's humans who do (the job), so...' in lines 7, 9 and 10. Again T shows his understanding, saying *ne* 'right' in line 8 even before H is done with his utterance.

Part of the reason why T can respond to H appears to be that the unspecified referent is more or less clear from H's utterance *joohooka shakai ni yappa* **are** *shitemo* 'even if (you) do **that** to an information-oriented society' in line 4. Intriguingly, as discussed in chapter 1, one can easily come up with several similar candidate understandings such as the following for the utterance involving unspecified *are*:


(13)   Some candidate understanding for ***are shitemo*** 'even if (you) do **that**'

       a.    taioo  shitemo
             adapt  do.if
             'even if (you) adapt (to an information-oriented society)'

b.  tekioo  shitemo

adjust  do.if

'even if (you) adjust (to an information-oriented society)'

c.  awasetemo

assimilate.if

'even if (you) assimilate (to an information-oriented society)'                 etc.

One of the factors which enable us to understand the utterance *are shitemo* 'even if (you) do **that**' seems to be H's utterance itself. In lines 4 and 5, in these utterances, two aspects of society, *joohooka shakai* 'information-oriented society' and human involvement in society (as in *yaru no wa ningen da* 'it's humans who do (the job)') are contrasted. It is interesting that the expressions involving *joohooka shakai* 'information-oriented society' such as *joohooka shakai ni taioo suru* 'to adapt to an information-oriented society' given in (13) seem to be fixed to some extent.[17] Such expressions nicely fit with the contrast the utterance is making. As a result, line 4 can be understood to mean 'even if you adjust to an information-oriented society (or other similar understandings), it's humans who do the job'. Thus the presence of such fixed expressions might also help the speaker produce such an utterance and the addressee interpret *are* in it.

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[17] In order to investigate if these expressions are to some extent fixed, I searched *joohooka shakai ni* 'to an information-oriented society' on Google. I collected the first 100 results and checked the verbs preceded by *joohooka shakai ni*. As a result, I identified 15 cases of *joohooka shakai ni taioo suru* 'to adjust to an information-oriented society' as the most frequent verb, 12 cases of *joohooka shakai ni ikiru* 'to live in an information-oriented society' as the second frequent, and 7 cases of *joohooka shakai ni mukete* 'to direct toward an information-oriented society' as the third frequent. I also identified 3 cases of *sankaku suru* 'to participate' and 2 cases of *tekioo suru* 'to adjust'. These results suggest that the expressions listed in (13) are to some extent fixed.

It might also be important to consider the time when the conversation was recorded. It was recorded in 1990, when the word *joohooka shakai* 'information-oriented society' was frequently used in Japan. At that time, people in Japan were not familiar with computers, but there was social pressure for Japanese people to learn how to use them because the society was rapidly becoming 'IT-oriented', hence *joohooka shakai* 'information-oriented society'. In that technological climate, people were more or less under pressure to adjust to the coming information-oriented society. Under such social circumstances in 1990, H's utterance *joohooka shakai ni yappa **are** shitemo* 'even if (you) do **that** to an information-oriented society' in line 4 and *yaru no wa ningen da kara=* 'it's humans who do (the job), so...' in line 5 might make a clear contrast between an information-oriented society and human involvement in society.

Examples (10) and (12) have illustrated that general understanding of the referent of unspecified *are* can be relatively easily reached by participants, and even by those who are not in the conversation, based on the speaker's particular utterance. This is likely because some information provided in the speaker's utterances, including contrast markers as in (10) and fixed expressions as in (12), make it possible to come to certain understandings such as those given above. I have also discussed that some other information that contributes to the understanding of unspecified *are* such as contextual information and social knowledge.

Let us now discuss cases where the addressee shows his/her understanding by providing a longer response (e.g., phrases and clauses). The next example shows a case in which the addressee expresses her understanding by responding to the speaker's utterance which includes *are*. The speakers Y and N care about diet. Throughout the recording, they talk about what they eat and do not eat to stay healthy. In the excerpt (14) from CEJCV shown below, N is talking about his in-laws who always eat meat. Just before the excerpt, he has said that his in-laws do not eat low-quality meat. N does not specify any particular type

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of meat such as beef, pork, or chicken, but he uses the terms *shimofuri* 'well-marbled' and *eego ranku* 'grade A5' in the following excerpt, which are used in particular for beef in Japan.[18] Thus it can be assumed that they are mainly talking about beef without overtly expressing the type of meat.

(14) CEJCV

1 N: dakara eego ranku no    sa     nanka    shimofuri    mitaina   yatsu toka.
     so     A5 rank GEN PTCL like      marbled      like      thing like
   'So, (they eat,) like, marbled one or something, which is graded as A5, you know,'

2 Y: a= a= a=.
   'Oh I see.'

3    un.
   'Yeah.'

4 N: nanka shimofuri ga    ii      ka      tte   yuu   to   [are]   na     n      da   kedo.
     like     marbled    NOM good PTCL that say   if     that    COP    NOL COP but
   'Like, when it comes to whether marbled (meat) is (always) good, (it) is **that** but.'

5 Y: maa ne.
   well PTCL
   'Well, yeah.'

6    abura ga      ooi   yo    ne.
   fat      NOM   much PTCL PTCL
   '(It contains) a lot of fat.'

---

[18] The finest Japanese well-marbled beef, which is called wagyu beef, is graded as A5.

7 N:  so    so.
      yeah  yeah
      'Yeah right.'


In line 1, N continues explaining what kind of meat his in-laws eat, saying *dakara eego ranku no sa nanka shimofuri mitai na yatsu toka* 'so, (they eat,) like, marbled one or something, which is graded as A5, you know'. Then in lines 2-3, Y shows her understanding by saying *a= a= a=, un* 'Oh I see, yeah'. In line 4, N seems to express his cautious feeling about marbled meat such as A5 beef, *nanka shimofuri ga ii ka tte yuu to **are** na n da kedo* 'uhm when it comes to whether marbled (meat) is (always) good, (it) is **that** but'. The demonstrative *are* in line 4 is used in the predicate position and followed by copula *na n da* and the connective particle *kedo* 'but'.[19] The referent of *are* is not overtly expressed in the surrounding discourse context. However, Y shows her understanding in line 5, saying *maa ne* 'Well, yeah'. Then in line 6, she directly responds to what N has just said in line 4, saying *abura ga ooi yo ne* '(it contains) a lot of fat'. This relatively longer response suggests that she understands what he means by *nanka shimofuri ga ii ka tte yuu to **are** na n da kedo* 'uhm when it comes to whether marbled (meat) is (always) good, (it) is **that** but'. Right after her utterance, N agrees with Y's utterance that marbled meet contains a lot of fat, saying *so so* 'Yeah right' in line 7. In this type of example with a longer response, we can observe that the understanding of the referent of *are* is interactionally achieved.

It seems that Y understands, from N's utterance ***are** na n da kedo*, that the fact that well-marbled beef is always good. In fact, it is also easy for us who are not in the speech context to come up with some candidate understandings:

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[19] The connective particle *kedo* is not connected to the main clause but regarded as utterance-final,

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(15) Some candidate understandings for *arena n da kedo* '(it) is **that** but'

    a.   yoku nai   n   da   kedo
          good  not   NOL COP  but
          '(it is) not good but'

    b.   soo  iu    wake  de   wa   nai  n   da   kedo
          such  say   reason COP  TOP  not  NOL COP  but
          'it is not necessarily the case (that marbled meat is always good for health) but'

    c.   bimyoo  na      n   da   kedo
          subtle   COP    NOL COP  but
          '(it is) subtle but (i.e., it's not all that clear but)'.

The utterance *nanka shimofuri ga ii ka to iu to* 'uhm when it comes to whether well-marbled (meat) is good' in line 4 seems to help Y understand N's utterance including unspecified *are*. The study of a written corpus shows that *ka to iu to* 'when it comes to whether (or not)' used at the end of this utterance is typically followed by a further utterance which negates the content of the first part.[20] This suggests that the form [~ *ka to iu to ... nai* 'when it comes to~, (it is) not (always the case)'] is to some extent fixed. That is, in this utterance due to the fixed

and this is usually called 'suspended clause' (e.g., Ohori 1995).

[20] I have searched what kind of expression follows the expression *ka to iu to* 'when it comes to whether (or not)' using the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese provided by National Institute of Japanese Language and Linguistics, which allows us to randomly take out sentences which include a particular expression. Out of randomly sampled 110 cases, 94 segments (85%) which follow the expression *ka to iu to* 'when it comes to whether (or not)' occur with the negative form *nai* 'not'. This suggests that the form [~ *ka to iu to ... nai* 'when it comes to~, (it is) not (always the case)'] is to some extent fixed. In the other 16 cases, the segments include some words which express some problem with the preposition of the [*ka to iu to* clause] such as *muzukashii* 'difficult', *bimyoo* 'subtle' and *gyaku* 'opposite'. I also found the expression *ka to iu to* in a textbook for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (Yamada 2012), which explains that the expression tends to be followed by

expression *ka to iu to* 'when it comes to whether (or not)', the idea *shimofuri ga ii* 'well-marbled (meat) is good' is expected to be negated in the upcoming utterance.

In addition, what has been previously said in the conversation also seems to play a part in understanding unspecified *are* in line 4; both N and Y mention, before and after the excerpt, that they rarely eat meat, fat, and oil since they think it is unhealthy. This information also seems to help the addressee understand *are* in *shimofuri ga ii ka tte yuu to **are** na n da kedo* 'when it comes to whether marbled (meat) is (always) good, (it) is **that** but' in line 4, which allows her to make her own contribution to the ongoing talk in line 6.

Let us now look at another similar example where the addressee shows his agreement with what the speaker has said by producing a longer response. In the following example from CEJT, R and her friend T, who is working for a Cancer Center, are talking about T's work environment. Right before this excerpt, T has said that his workplace has a good environment for medical staff:

(16) CJET

1 R: ...yappari,
    after.all

2    gan     sentaa   ga,
    cancer  center   NOM

3    toppu reberu   no,
    top   level   GEN

4    ...are   o     tamotteru,
    that  ACC   keeping

---

*nai* 'not', and translates the meaning as 'not necessarily' in English.

5    ... himitsu ga    soko ni    attari    shite ne.
        secret NOM    there in    might.exist do    PTCL
'After all, the Cancer Center's secret of keeping the highest level of **that** might be there.'

6    [@@@].

7 T:    [iya=],
        well

8    honto boku  mo   soo  omoimasu yo.
     really I    too  so   think    PTCL
     'Well, I really think so, too.'

After R has listened to T describe his good work environment, she concludes that that might be the secret for the Cancer Center's keeping the highest level of *are* '**that**' (i.e., something) in lines 1-5. Interestingly, in lines7-8, T responds to R by strongly agreeing with her, saying *iya= honto boku mo soo omoimasu yo* ' Well, I really think so, too' immediately after her utterance even though the referent of *are* is not specified. Similar to example (14) about marbled meat, with the longer response, understanding of the referent of *are* in this example is also interactionally achieved.

The modifier *toppureberu no* 'the highest level of' in line 3 as well as the speech context appear to give enough information for the addressee to gather a general understanding of the referent for unspecified *are*; there are a number of candidate referents of *are* in line 4 that one can relatively easily suggest such as follows:[21]

(17)    Some candidate understandings for *toppu reberu no are* 'the highest level of **that**'

---

[21] Interestingly, Kitano (1999), who uses partly the same data as mine, also discusses that there are some candidate expressions for *are* such as *kenkyuu* 'research', *hyooban* 'reputation', *ichi*

a.  shitsu       'quality'

b.  rankingu     'ranking'

c.  suijun       'standard'

d.  gijutsu      'skill'              etc.


One of the factors which make it possible for us to come up with these candidate

understandings seems to be R's utterance itself. She says *toppu reberu* 'the highest level' in

line 3, which implies that the Cancer Center is keeping high level of something. In general,

special medical institutes like Cancer Center are regarded as a No. 1. Also, R says the center

is keeping the highest level of something. Some possible understandings of *are* in line 4 can

be ranking, level, etc. as listed in (17).[22]

Examples (14) and (16) are cases where addressees show their understandings to the

speaker by longer responses. In (14), we have seen that the addressee's longer response

seems to mention a reason for why marbled meat is not always 'that', which shows that the

addressee understands the speaker's utterance involving unspecified *are*. In the case of (16),

we have seen that the addressee shows his understanding by fully agreeing with the speaker's

utterance including *are*. We have also seen that a specific form such as the fixed expression

[~ *ka to iu to ... nai* 'when it comes to~, (it is) not (always the case)'] as well as the speech

context helps the addressee understand the unspecified *are*. In both cases, I have also

highlighted that, similar to examples (10) and (12) where the addressees use backchannels to

respond, the researcher who is not even in the speech context can also come up with some

---

'position/status'. Yet he does not discuss why these are the candidate expressions.

[22] I consulted the speaker R about the conversation. According to her, she did/does not have

knowledge abut medicine, but she had an impression that the Cancer Center is an advanced or

high-level medical institute. She also told me that the utterance which involves *are* was produced

based on the impression.

candidate understandings of *are*. I suggest that in examples with longer responses, the understanding of *are* is collaboratively achieved by the speaker and the addressee. In the next section, we will see some other cases where unspecified *are* is used in somewhat a different way from the typical usage. We will continue to see cases where participants collaboratively achieve a shared understanding of *are* in more detail. Collaborative achievement, which will be discussed in the next section, is even clearer and more dynamic.

## 3.2.2. Another use: collaborative achievement of a shared understanding of *are*

In the preceding section, I have discussed the typical cases where the addressees show their understanding by backchannels and longer responses to the speakers' utterances which involve unspecified *are*. This section focuses on how unspecified *are* is used in a somewhat different way from the examples discussed above. In the examples shown in this section, the participants collaboratively achieve a shared understanding of unspecified *are*. In cases where the addressee produces longer responses as shown above, I have also briefly discussed similar interactions. However, in the following examples, I will further discuss somewhat different cases by going over two examples. Example (18) from CJET below shows a case where the speaker manages to solicit information from the addressee by using unspecified *are*. Example (20) from CEJCV shows a case where the speaker's body movements help the addressee come up with an understanding of *are*.

In example (18) from CJET below, K and M are talking about K's friend's marriage. M has just asked why K's friend agreed to an arranged marriage even though she already had a boyfriend, and K starts to explain:

(18) CJET

1 K:  ..oya        wa    susumeteta           n     da    kedo=,
      parents      TOP   were.recommending  NOL   COP   but
      '(her) parents were recommending (the arranged marriage) but,'


2     ..ma,
       well
       'well,'


3     shinai   toka   itte.
      do.not   like   say
      'She said like 'I won't'.'


4     ..oya        mo=,
       parents      too
       '(her) parents also'


5     ..dakara=,
       well
       'well,'


6     ... sono   hora,
       uh      you.know
       'uh, you know,'


7     (1.0)


8 M:  toosan         shi[te],
      bankruptcy   do.and


9 K:                  [suko]-

10 M: ...[are][da    kara],
        that  COP  because
'Because (her parents' company) went bankrupt, and (it) is **that**'


11 K:        [n .. u=n].
              'uh.. yeah'.


12 M: tte    koto?
      that   thing
      'you mean?'


13 K: (0) sukoshi  demo   hora,
          a.little  even   you.know
      'even (if it's) just a little bit, you know'


14    ... mada ne,
          still   PTCL


15    ..n= me- .. namae  toka     mo   aru  uchini=,
       uh          name   etc.     also  exist  while
       'while (the company) still has a good reputation,'


16    ... chanto,
          properly


17    ..kekkon     shite  hoshii,
       marriage   do     want


18    tte   yuu   ka   ne.
      that  say   PTCL  PTCL
'(the parents) want (the daughter) to get married properly (with a person from a proper family), you know'

In lines 1-3, K explains what her friend and her parents were saying before K's friend agreed to the marriage, saying *oya wa susumeteta n da kedo=*, .. *ma*, *shinai toka itte* '(her) parents were recommending (the arranged marriage) but, well, she said like 'I won't''. As indicated by the multiple pauses and fillers *dakara=* 'well' and *sono hora* 'uh, you know' in *oyamo=*, .. *dakara=*, ... *sono hora* '(her) parents also, well, uh, you know' in 4-7, K has trouble continuing the explanation. In line 8, perhaps remembering what K had previously told her about this friend's family situation, M breaks the pause to say *toosan shite*, ... ***are da kara***, *tte koto*? 'Because (her parents' company) went bankrupt, and (it) is **that**, you mean?' in lines 8, 10, and 12. This turn contains a clause ***are da kara*** 'because (it) is **that**' in which *are* is the predicate followed by the copula *da* and the causal clause connector *kara* 'because'.

Again, there is no referent overtly expressed in the context which *are* refers to. Yet M appears to have gathered that there is some condition resulted from the bankruptcy which leads to K's friend's agreement to the arranged marriage 'Because (her parents' company) went bankrupt, and (it) is **that**', which she checks as seen in her utterance *tte koto* 'you mean?' in line 12. That is, M does not have a specific referent but still recognizes its presence, which is pointed to by *are*. The researcher, who is not even in the speech context, can also come up with some candidate understandings of *are* in *are da kara* '(it) is that':

(19)  Some candidate understandings for *are da kara* 'because (it) is that'

   a.   taihen  da    kara
        hard    COP   so
        'Because (it) is hard'

   b.   kurushii     kara
        tough        so
        'Because (it) is tough'

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c.   komatteru   kara
in.trouble   so
'Because (they) are in trouble'

I have discussed in the previous examples that specific grammatical elements play a part in understanding unspecified *are*, but in this example, the information for understanding its referent might lie more in the previous utterances and social knowledge. Throughout this recorded conversation, K explains her friend's hard time dealing with the problem of the arranged marriage. Also, we can easily understand the situation when a company has a bankruptcy even though we might not have experienced it. When a company has a bankruptcy, people in the company are expected to be in such situations as listed in (19).

K has no trouble interpreting M's utterance and specifies this condition in lines 13-18, saying *sukoshi demo hora, ... mada ne, .. n= me- .. namae toka mo aru uchi ni=, ... chanto, .. kekkon shite hoshii, tte yuu ka ne* 'even (if it's) just a little bit, you know, while (their family) still have a good reputation, (the parents) want (the daughter) to get married properly (with a person from a proper family), you know'. Note that marriage in Japan is strongly linked with the wealth of families. At the time when this data was recorded,[23] parents often arranged marriage for their children to ensure the stability of their future. M's *are* for the unspecified referent thus manages to solicit information from K, which interactionally achieves a shared understanding of the reason for the friend's agreement to the marriage.

Let us look at another example where participants collaboratively achieve a shared understanding of *are*. I have found several cases in the CEJCV data where unspecified *are* is used with some body movements. In this excerpt, S and O are talking about the time when pyramids were built. According to the conversation before and after this excerpt, it is apparent that S has more knowledge about this area than O.

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[23] This conversation was recorded in 1989.

(20) CEJCV

1 S: ano  koro  no  piramiddo  tateru no  mo,
     that  time  GEN  pyramid  build NOL  also
     '(When) building pyramids at that time'

2    chanto     nanka,
     properly     like

3 O:  un.
     'yeah'

4 S:  shukkinhyoo     ka    nanka     tsukete,
     attendance.book  or    something keep
     '(people) properly, like, kept (records to) an attendance book or something and,'

5 O:  a=.
     'yeah'

6: S:  nanka,
     'like,'

7    kyoo wa   yasumimasu  toka  yuu,
     today TOP  absent          like  say

8 O:  un.
     'yeah'

9 S:  sh-are ga    nokotteru n    desho,
        that NOM  remaining NOL COP.PTCL
'(there) remains **that** (thing which) says like, "(I will) be
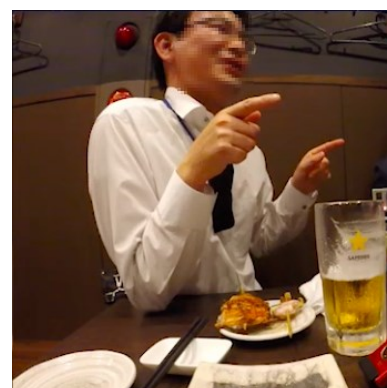absent today" or something, you know'



Figure 1: S is making a
rectangle with his index fingers

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10    nanka.
      'like.'

11 O: kiroku ga    deta     n   su   yo     ne.
      record NOM came.out NOL COP PTCL    PTCL
      'A record came out, right?'

12 S: nanka  soo yuu  no   wa   nooktteru    mitai ssu   yo.
      like    that say  NOL  TOP  remaining   seem COP  PTCL
      'like, (it's said that) that kind of thing remains.'


In lines 1-2 and 4, S starts explaining about the time pyramids were built, saying *ano koro no piramiddo tateru no mo, chanto nanka shukkinhyoo ka nanka tsukete* '(When) building pyramids at that time, (people) properly, like, kept (records to) an attendance book or something and'. As S talks, O shows his listenership by producing backchannel responses in lines 3 *un* 'yeah' and 5 *a*= 'yeah'. S continues his talk as *nanka, kyoo wa yasumimasu toka yuu sh- **are** ga nokotteru n desho nanka* 'like, (there) remains **that** (thing which) says like, "(I will) be absent today" or something, you know, like' in lines 6, 7, 9 and 10. The unspecified *are* in line 9 is modified by *kyoo wa yasumimasu toka yuu* 'saying like, "(I will) be absent" or something' in line 7, and followed by the grammatical subject marker *ga* and the predicate *nokotteru n desho* '(there) remains, right?' Let us closely look at the structure here.


(21) [kyoo  wa     yasumimasu toka yuu] **are**  ga      nokotteru  n      desho
      today TOP  absent      like say that NOM   remaining NOL   COP.PTCL
     '(there) remains **that** (thing which) says like, "(I will) be absent today" or something, you know'

As shown in (21), the expression *kyoo wa yasumimasu toka yuu* 'saying like, "(I will) be absent" or something' modifies *are*, which serves as the head of the noun phrase *kyoo wa yasumimasu toka yuu* **are** '**that** (thing which) says like, "(I will) be absent today" or something'. The noun phrase is followed by the grammatical subject marker *ga*, then the predicate *nokotteru n desho* '(there) remains, right?' follows.

Then in line 11, O appears to express the intended referent of *are*, i.e., *kiroku* 'record', saying *kiroku ga deta n suyo ne* 'A record came out, right?' After that S continues his utterance *nanka soo yuu no wa nokotteru mitai ssu yo* 'like, (it's said that) that kind of thing remains'. Through this sequence, it seems that S and O collaboratively achieve a shared understanding of *are* 'that' in *are ga nokotteru* 'that (item) remains'.

Let us now focus on the speaker's body movement. Figure 1 below shows S's body movement during the utterance **are ga nokotteru n desho** 'that (item) remains, you know' in line 9. Interestingly, during this utterance, in particular when he uses unspecified *are* in line 9, S makes a rectangle using his index fingers. Apparently the shape expresses a square object such as *shukkinhyoo* 'attendance book'. This type of body movement where the shape of the gesture expresses an object is generally known as iconic gesture (e.g., McNeill 1997). By making the shape, he appears to be making the shape of an attendance book which would have contained such a record.

S's utterance along with the rectangular shape he creates appears to help O understand the intended referent of unspecified *are*. The expression in line 4 *shukkinhyoo ka nanka tsukete* 'people kept (records to) an attendance book or something and', which literally means 'to keep an attendance book' or translated as 'to keep (record in) an attendance book' implies that people keep 'records'. Thus, the verbal expression together with his rectangular shape seem to help participants come up with an understanding of unspecified *are* in line 9.

This section has discussed some cases where participants collaboratively achieve a shared understanding of unspecified *are*. In (18), we have seen that the use of *are* results in obtaining more information about the arranged marriage. In (20), we have seen that the speaker uses his fingers to make a shape of the item which would have included the intended referent, which appears to help the addressee understand the intended referent of unspecified *are*.

### 3.2.3. Summary

Section3.2 has investigated how unspecified *are* is used in conversation. It seems that various factors including fixed expressions, e.g., [*ii ka to iu to … nai* 'when it comes to whether (it) is (always) good, (it is) not (the case)'] in (14) and some grammatical features in the speaker's utterances, e.g., contrastive marker *wa* and the connective particle *kedo* 'but' in (10), along with its speech context help participants continue the conversation without identifying the referent of unspecified *are*. As for the addressees, they show their understandings of *are* in what the speakers have just said through several ways such as backchannels and longer responses. I have also discussed some examples where the participants collaboratively achieve a general understanding of *are*. In the next section, I will focus on the structural aspect of unspecified *are*, and discuss how unspecified *are* is used in some specific grammatical configurations.

### 3.3. Structural aspects of unspecified *are*

In the last two sections, we saw how unspecified *are* is used by discussing some representative examples. We have observed how unspecified *are* is used in everyday talk, and suggested that the utterances surrounding *are,* along with its speech contexts and sometimes

non-verbal resources, provide the addressee with enough information to allow them to understand what the speaker means.

This section focuses on the structural aspects of unspecified *are* from two areas. First, I will discuss specific grammatical configurations in which unspecified *are* is used. Second, I will discuss types of clauses in which *are* is used, focusing on connective particles. By discussing these structural characteristics, I suggest that unspecified *are* is grammaticized as prefabs (Bybee 2010, etc.) and that these utterances might not be constructed from scratch by using grammatical rules, but are produced based on formulaic expressions.

## 3.3.1. Three grammatical configurations

In this section, I discuss how unspecified *are* is used in specific grammatical configurations. Interestingly, in reviewing unspecified *are* in my data, I have found that this type of *are* appears in three configurations: a) *are* as a predicate followed by the copula 'be', b) *are* with the light verb *suru* 'do', and c) *are* as the head of a NP where it is preceded by a modifier such as *toppu reberu no **are*** 'the highest level of **that**'.

Here, I go over each configuration one by one. The following examples show the first configuration [*are* + copula 'be']:

(22)   [*are* + copula 'be']

    a.   ***are***   *da*   *kara*
          that   COP   because
          'because (it) is **that**' (example (18))

    b.   ***are***   *na*   *n*   *da*   *kedo*
          that   COP   NOL   COP   but
          '(I) am **that** but' (examples (10) and (14))

In this configuration, example (22a) *are da kedo* 'because (it) is **that**' consists of *are* followed by copula *da* 'be'. In example (22b), *are* is used in a predicate position with copula *na nda* 'be' as in *are na n da kedo* '(I) am **that** but', which is used in (10) and (14), and *are da kara* 'because (it) is that', which is used in (18).[24]

Some of the examples of the second configuration [*are* + verb *suru* 'do'] are as follows.

(23) [*are* + verb *suru* 'do']

    a.    ***are***   *shitemo*
          that   do.if
          'even if (you) do **that**' (example (12))

    b.    ***are***   *shiteru kedo*
          that   doing  but
          '(I) am doing **that** but'

Example (23a) *are shitemo* 'even if (you) do **that**', which occurs in (12), consists of *are* followed by the conjunctive form *shite* of *suru* 'do'. Example (23b) *are shiteru kedo* '(I) am doing **that** but' is followed by the progressive form of *suru* 'do'.

The third configuration is somewhat different from the first two.

(24) [modifier + *are*]

    a.   [kyoo wa    yasumimasu toka yuu]  **are**
         today TOP   absent      like say   that
      '**that** (thing which) says like, "(I will) be absent today" or something' (example (20))

_____

[24] Please see footnote 16 for the morphology of *na n da* 'be'.

b.    [toppu  reberu  no]      **are**

   top    level    GEN    that

   'the highest level of **that**'(example (16))

As we have seen in (20), the example, which is expressed as (24a) here, consists of the head *are* 'that' modified by the expression *kyoo wa yasumimasu toka yuu* '(which) says like, "(I will) be absent today" or something'. In example (24b), which is from (16), *are* serves as a head of the noun phrase and is modified by the expression *toppu reberu no* 'the highest level of'.

Let us now focus on the frequency of each configuration. Table 3 shows the numbers and ratios of the three grammatical configurations that occur in my dataset.

**Table 3: Three specific grammatical configurations for unspecified *are***

| Configurations | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *are* + copula 'be' | 68 | 46.9% |
| *are* + light verb *suru* 'do' | 23 | 15.9% |
| Modifier + *are* | 28 | 19.3% |
| Modifier + *are* + *da* 'be' | 15 | 10.3% |
| Other | 11 | 7.6% |
| Total | 145 | 100% |

Out of 145 cases of unspecified *are*, 68 cases are used in the configuration [*are* + copula 'be'] (46.9%), 23 cases are used in the configuration [*are* + verb *suru* 'do'] (15.9%), 28 cases are used in the [modifier + *are*] configuration (19.3%), and 15 cases are used in the combination of modifier and copula [modifier + *are* + copula 'be'] (10.3%). Intriguingly, most examples of unspecified *are* (134 out of 145) in my data (92.4%) are found in one of these three and the

combination version of grammatical configurations. It is intriguing that in my data, unspecified *are* does not occur in many possible combinations of lexical items which are allowed by grammatical rules. In fact, a great majority of cases are found only in these three specific structural configurations. This suggests that these configurations might actually be fixed (Wray 2008; Bybee 2010, etc.) to serve the function of continuing to talk without fully specifying the referent.[25]

Focusing on the second configuration [*are* + *suru* 'do'], one might assume that the configuration is a verb phrase and that *are* is regarded as the direct object of the verb *suru* 'do' without an object marker *o*.[26] When examining cases where *are* is followed by the object marker *o* I noticed that, interestingly, the marker *o* never occurs in the [*are* + *suru* 'do'] configuration as *are o suru* 'to do that'. In fact, I identified 13 cases of *are* followed by the object marker *o* in my data, and all of them are anaphoric use. This suggests that the configuration [*are* + *suru* 'do'] has lost one feature as a clause, and that *are suru* may have been lexicalized into a single verb.

Let us now look at the third configuration [modifier + *are*] in comparison with the other two. In the first two configurations [*are* + copula 'be'] and [*are* + *suru* 'do'], unspecified *are* seems to have become grammaticized/fixed (Wray 2008; Bybee 2010, etc.) in a predicate position to allow the speaker to keep talking without fully specifying the referent.

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[25] Suzuki and Thompson (2016) also suggest that, using not only their intuition but also Google search, the expression *moshi are dattara* 'if it is okay' is regarded as a fixed expression.

[26] Japanese has a noun category called verbal nouns, which refer to an action or event (Iwasaki 2013 etc.). For example, Iwasaki (2013) discusses the category using a word *benkyoo* 'study'. When a verbal noun *benkyoo* 'study' is followed by the light verb *suru* 'do', the word *benkyoo-suru* as a whole is treated as a single verb. When the grammatical object marker is inserted between the two words, *benkyoo o suru* 'to do studying' forms a clause. However, in Japanese everyday talk, since people often do not use object marker (Fujii and Ono 2000), we cannot clearly identify if every [NP + *suru*] is [object noun + verb] or just a single verb.

Similarly, in the third configuration [modifier + *are*], the structural feature of the configuration seems to help the addressee come up with some candidate understandings. However, the grammatical status of *are* is different from the first two configurations. In the [modifier + *are*] configuration, unspecified *are* has a status as the head of a noun phrase, which is shown in *toppu reberu no* **are** 'the highest level of **that**' in (14) and *kyoo wa yasumimasu toka yuu* **are** '**that** (thing which) says like, "(I will) be absent today"' in (18).

### 3.3.2. Frequently used connective particles

So far, I have discussed three grammatical configurations in which unspecified *are* tends to occur. Along with that, I have found one more intriguing feature with regard to connective particles which follow unspecified *are*. Table 4 below shows the types and the frequency of connective particles that occur with unspecified *are* in my dataset.

**Table 4: Connective particles which occur with unspecified *are***

| Connective particles | Frequency | Percentage | Examples |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-kedo* 'but' | 42 | 60.0 | *are da kedo* '(it) is **that** but' |
| *-kara* 'so' | 9 | 13.0 | *are da kara* '(it) is **that**, so' |
| *-tara* 'if' | 8 | 11.4 | *are datara* 'if (it) is **that**' |
| *-temo* 'even if' | 3 | 4.3 | *are shitemo* 'even if (you) do **that**' |
| *-to* 'if' | 3 | 4.3 | *are shinaito* 'if (you) do not do **that**' |
| others | 5 | 7.0 | *are shiteru yorimo* 'rather than doing **that**' |
| | | | *are na n de* 'because (it) is **that**' |
| | | | *are datta noni* 'though (it) was **that**' |
| | | | *are da shi* '(it) is **that** and' |
| total | 70 | 100 | |

Out of 145 cases of unspecified *are*, 75 cases (52 %) are used in a main clause, 22 cases (15%) are used in a subordinate clause, and 48 (33%) cases are used in a suspended clause. A

suspended clause is a clause which is marked with one of the so-called subordinate forms, but appears without the main clause, and is thus regarded as utterance-final (Ohori 1995). Since both subordinate and suspended clauses usually occur with connective particles, I identified all the connective particles in these 70 cases, which is a sum of subordinate and suspended clauses in my data. Interestingly as the table shows, within the 70 cases with connective particles, 42 cases are used with the connective particle *kedo* 'but' (60%), 9 cases with *kara* 'so' (13%), 8 cases with *tara* 'if' (11.4%), 3 cases with *temo* 'even if' and *to* 'if' (4.3%). The 'other' category (7.0%) consists of 2 cases of *yorimo* 'rather than', 1 case of *node* 'because', *noni* 'thought' and *shi* 'and' respectively. This shows that when unspecified *are* is used with a connective particle, *kedo* 'but' is the most commonly used.[27]

With regard to *kedo* 'but', it is supposed to be a marker of subordination, which means that a main clause is suppose to come after the *kedo* clause. Interestingly, however, in 36 cases (86%) of the 42 cases the connective particle is not connected to the main clause, but can be regarded as an utterance-final (suspended clause (Ohori 1995)). Let us look at the following example which was used in (15).

---

[27] It might be assumed that the connective particle *kedo* might simply occur the most frequently in everyday talk even without unspecified *are*. In order to investigate whether the frequency of *kedo* with unspecified *are* in the table 4 is a striking feature, I conducted a simple examination of connective particles in my dataset. First, I randomly selected 30 transcripts from my dataset (15 transcripts from both CJET and CEJE). Second, I identified all the cases of *kedo* 'but', which is the most frequently occurring connective particle in Table 4, and all the cases of *noni* 'though', which occurs just once and is categorized as 'other' in Table 4, in order to investigate if the approximate ratio of the frequency of *kedo* and *noni* is 40:1 as shown in the table. As a result, I identified 530 cases of *kedo* and 52 cases of *noni*, which means that the ratio of the two connective particles is approximately 10:1. Through comparing these two ratios, this simple investigation seems to suggest

(25) shimofuri  ga    ii    ka   tte   yuu  to **are** na   n    da   kedo.
     marbled      NOM good PTCL that  say   if that  COP  NOL COP but
     'When it comes to whether marbled (meat) is (always) good, (it) is **that** but.'

Out of the 42 cases of *kedo* clauses, only 6 cases (14%) are subordinate clauses that occur with a main clause and 36 cases (86%) are suspended clauses. Moreover, 32 cases out of the 36 suspended clauses occur with the copula 'be' (89%). The clustering of specific forms involving *are* suggests that the configuration [*are* + copula *da* + *kedo* (suspended)] might be fixed to some extent.

### 3.3.3. Summary

Section 3.3 has focused on the grammatical environment in which unspecified *are* occurs. First, I have pointed out that unspecified *are* is used in three specific grammatical configurations: 1) [*are* + copula 'be'], 2) [*are* + verb *suru* 'do'], and 3) [modifier + *are*], which suggests that these configurations have been grammaticized as prefabs (e.g., Bybee 2010) for the use of unspecified *are*. Second, I have pointed out that when *are* is used with a connective particle, *kedo* 'but' tends to be used more frequently compared to other connective particles. The high frequency usage of *kedo* 'but' suggests that the combination of unspecified *are* and the connective particle *kedo* is fixed.

### 3.4.  Summary of this chapter

Chapter 3 has discussed the uses of unspecified *are* from three perspectives, i.e., its frequency, how it is used, and structural aspects. With regard to frequency, I have used two corpora (CJET and CEJCV) and shown the frequency of the four categories of *are* as spatial (CEJCV

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that the connective particle *kedo* tends to be used with unspecified *are*.

only), anaphoric, cataphoric, and unspecified usages. Among these cases, 19% (CJET) and 24% (CEJCV) of *are* occurrences are categorized as unspecified. This ratio suggests that unspecified *are* is fairly common in everyday talk.

In addition, I have discussed how *are* is used in conversation. We have seen four examples of the typical usage of unspecified *are*, and discussed that participants seem to show their understanding by responding with backchannels and longer responses. In addition, we have seen that the participants sometimes collaboratively achieve an understanding of *are*. With regard to the speakers' utterances, I have discussed that this type of *are* is used in some grammatical features such as fixed expressions. Along with these, I have discussed that other factors such as the speech context and social knowledge seem to help the addressee come up with some general understandings of *are*. I have also pointed out that based on these kinds of factors, the researcher who is not in the speech context can also come up with a general understanding of *are*.

With regard to the structural composition of *are* clauses, I have discussed two grammatical environments where unspecified *are* tends to occur. First, I have found that unspecified *are* tends to be used in three grammatical configurations: [*are* + copula 'be'], [*are* + *suru* 'do'], and [modifier + *are*] (and sometimes the combination of modifier and copula [modifier + *are* + copula 'be']). I have also discussed that, in the first two configurations [*are* + copula 'be'] and [*are* + *suru* 'do'], *are* serves as a predicate of an utterance, and *are* seems to be fixed in these two configurations. In the case of the third configuration [modifier + *are*], *are* serves a head of a noun phrase. Hence, it seems that unspecified *are* is grammaticized as prefabs (e.g., Bybee 2010) in these three grammatical configurations. Second, I have also found that when unspecified *are* is used with connective particles, *kedo* 'but' is frequently used, and in most of the cases copula 'be' tends to occur between *are* and *kedo* 'but', i.e., [*are*

+ copula 'be' + *kedo* 'but']. This also suggests that the configuration [*are* + copula 'be' + *kedo* 'but'] is fixed.

In the next chapter, by way of conclusion, I will first summarize the findings of this study. I will then suggest some implications for the future study. Lastly, I will discuss some limitations of this study.

# Chapter 4  Summary and Conclusions

## 4.1.  Summary

This study has examined the unspecified usage of distal demonstrative *are* in Japanese everyday talk. Traditionally, distal demonstrative *are* has been analyzed in relation to its referent in a physical space, it refers to something far from both speaker and addressee. It has also been discussed in connection with the referent mentioned in the discourse context, i.e., anaphoric (e.g., Kuno 1973) and cataphoric uses (Hayashi 2004). Along with those uses, my conversational data have revealed a different type, unspecified *are*, for which no overt mention of the referent is found in the surrounding discourse.

By closely examining examples of unspecified *are* from various conversational data, I have found that this type of *are* is frequently used, suggesting the importance of examining this usage in actual conversation. I have also found that in using *are,* the speaker appears to have some referent in mind though s/he does not overtly express it. The addressee has no trouble allowing the talk to continue because s/he also gains some general understanding of the unexpressed referent based on the contextual information and what is given in some grammatical structures used in the speaker's utterances. In addition, I have found that unspecified *are* is frequently used with two grammatical characteristics. First, this type of *are* occurs in three grammatical configurations which appear to have been grammaticized for this function: [*are* + copula 'be'], [*are* + verb *suru* 'do'] and [modifier + *are*]. Second, I have also found that when unspecified *are* is used with connective particles, it is typically with *kedo* 'but'.

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## 4.2. Implications and limitations

## 4.2.1. Implications

In this section, I will discuss some of the larger implications that the results of this thesis suggest for future studies. In linguistics, it is traditionally considered that demonstratives have a specific referent either in a physical space or discourse based on constructed sentences (Kuno 1973; Martin 1975; articles in Kinsui and Takubo 1992; Iwasaki 2013; Hasegawa 2015, etc.). My examination of actual spoken data, on the other hand, has allowed us to discover another type, unspecified *are*, which escaped the attention of research previously. As such, the analysis of conversational data is of great importance in that it helps us reach a more comprehensive understanding of how the demonstrative *are* is used in real life. My study has thus given support to usage-based approaches to grammar (Ono and Suzuki 1992; Ford 1993; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Fox 2007; Mulder and Thompson 2008; Cumming, Ono and Laury 2011, etc.) which aim at achieving a better understanding of how humans use language as part of their everyday activity.

In addition, the traditional way of research has examined grammatical rules which generate sentences based on their own intuition. By contrast, as this thesis has pointed out, unspecified *are* appears in specific grammatical configurations, suggesting that actual utterances involving unspecified *are* might not be generated using some grammatical rules but instead put together based on some fixed expressions. This study has also added a new piece of data to the examinations of the fixed nature of language (Pawley and Syder 1983; Wray 2008; Bybee 2010; Ono and Suzuki 2018, etc.) by investigating a specific linguistic expression, unspecified *are*, in actual discourse.

It is also important to examine unspecified use from different perspectives. For example, an examination of this type of demonstrative would contribute to typological understanding of demonstratives. As I have mentioned several times, little attention has been

paid to this type of demonstrative in languages around the world (See Himmelmann 1996;

Diessel 1999; Enfield 2003 for exceptions). In order to have a deeper understanding of

demonstratives cross-linguistically, it is important to study this type of demonstrative in

various languages. In fact, some researchers have investigated a similar use of unspecified

demonstratives which refer to as recognitional use (Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999;

Enfield 2003).[28] Both unspecified *are* and recognitional demonstratives have some similar

features such as the demonstrative does not have a specific referent in the discourse. However,

comparing the two uses, they also have some differences in grammatical features. For

example, Diessel (1999) argues that recognitional demonstratives occur only adnominally, i.e.,

the demonstratives modifying nouns. On the other hand, unspecified *are* that I have discussed

in this thesis does not modify nouns. Furthermore, Himmelmann (1996) and Diessel (1999)

argue that the intended referent of a recognitional demonstrative is shared privately with the

participants; but in the case of unspecified *are*, as I have discussed in the last chapter, not

only can the participants come up with some general understandings of the unspecified *are,*

but people outside the conversation like the present author as an analyst can as well. Thus, in

the future study, it is important to closely examine both the interactional and structural

features of the two types of demonstratives to achieve a better understanding of the use of

demonstratives without overt reference.

## 4.2.2. Limitations

Finally, let us close this thesis by discussing some limitations. First, since the purpose of this

study is to describe the use of unspecified *are*, I did not discuss the possible motivations for

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[28] Himmelmann (1996) examines narrative discourse in five languages, which are English, Ik,

Nunggubuyu, Tagalog, and Indonesian. Diessel (1999) discusses the use based on Himmelmann's data.

They also cite other languages examined by other researcher such as German conversation by Auer

using it. Kitano (1999), for example, speculates that the speaker uses unspecified *are* when the speaker cannot come up with the appropriate expressions to produce, and produces unspecified *are* in order to have the conversation go smoothly. Other features such as politeness might also be part of the motivation based on Kenchu's (1996) discussion. In order to examine some possible factors in depth and in addition to what Kitano (1999) and Kenchu (1996) have discussed, we need to examine unspecified *are* in more detail focusing on various factors such as the relationship between the participants, and the situation or condition of each conversation.

Second, the size of the data used in this study is clearly not large enough as our general goal is to capture the use of *are* produced in the everyday lives of Japanese speakers. It is not possible to reach such a goal just with 24.5 hours of talk that I examined. Since it takes a significant amount of time to record and transcribe spoken language to prepare data which can be used in linguistic analyses, we need to be constantly making efforts to add new data to the set of data which is currently available, and a long-term approach is needed to establish a more comprehensive and detailed understanding of this use of *are*.

Third, concerning types of data, it has been discussed that use of grammar differs depending on which genre it is used in, such as spoken and written, and conversation and narrative (e.g., Iwasaki 2015). In fact, Kitano (1999) points out that uses of *are,* including the unspecified one, are only found in spoken discourse; however, in my experience as a Japanese native speaker, I have frequently encountered unspecified *are* in some written discourse types such as social networking sites, Japanese online news website, and an online messaging application. Thus, it is important to investigate demonstratives in various discourse genres to determine if there are any differences depending on genres, and if so, to determine what the possible motivation for this is.

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(1984).

Lastly, recent research has been highlighting the importance of taking prosodic and non-verbal features into an examination of language use (e.g., Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001). I did some analysis of video data when discussing the usage of unspecified *are* in conversation, but more detailed analysis is needed to understand its prosodic and non-verbal features. Future work should also try to conduct these kinds of analysis of *are* in order to see how some of these factors might be connected to various uses (esp. the unspecified use) of *are* observed in language activities where Japanese speakers engage.

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