

# A CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDY ON EMOTION AND LINGUISTIC AFFECT: JAPANESE VS. AMERICANS

by  
Junko Baba

This empirical study compares how Japanese and Americans express affect in two different spoken discourses, i.e., role-play and monologue. Data from both discourses are based on the same story. The data indicate that overall, the Japanese show a greater use of linguistic affect than do Americans. The breakdown of ten linguistic variables studied in the role-play data reveals that the Japanese outnumber Americans in the use of most linguistic variables, except for blame words. Conversely, Americans use most of the variables in monologue more often (except for mimetic and modal verbs). Some qualitative difference was found in their respective uses of inversion and weakeners. The Japanese use inversions to accentuate, while Americans use it for dramatization. Weakeners are found to positively correlate with the use of intensified complaints for the Japanese.

## *0. Introduction*

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Japanese and Americans employ linguistic affect in different types of spoken discourse which vary in emotive level. Two types of spoken discourse, role-play and monologue, are elicited from the same comic strip (Appendix 1), with a comparable context in which the overt manifestation of emotional expression is appropriate. Speech genres of monologue and role-play are different in terms of emotive level, depending on the availability of immediate interaction: role-play has one while monologue does not. The story-telling situation in the monologue is free from socio-cultural constraints (such as politeness) on the display of affect because the narrator can freely express the emotional state of the protagonist. In an attempt to make the role-play comparable to the monologue in its socio-cultural context, a situation was chosen in which both Japanese and Americans are relatively free to overtly express their emotion.

Past studies in language and emotion mostly focused on the lexicon, including emotional words (Imada 1989; Imada, Araki and Kujime 1991; Doi 1973; Lebra 1973); the intensity of linguistic affect was studied focusing on prosodic cues such as intonation and

loudness of speech (Labov and Fanshel 1977; Tannen 1984; Selting 1994). But all of these studies studied the variables out of context and without regard to discourse structure. Therefore, this study investigates the issue of affect exclusively from the area of the lexicon and morpho-syntactic variables within the discourse context. A total of ten lexical and morpho-syntactic linguistic affect variables that are commonly used in American English and Japanese are identified and extracted from the data collected for this study. For the analysis, the lexicon and morpho-syntax are further broken down into the two semantic functions of intensifier and specifier. The current study is supplemented with a direct data analysis, focusing on the variables studied.

In the following, the theoretical construct of linguistic affect is discussed first, followed by a brief review of the past study of linguistic affect variables. Later, the results of the experiment will be discussed using both quantitative and qualitative data.

### 1. Linguistic Affect

Linguistic affect or 'emotivity' has been the subject of serious scholarly study in the last decade or so (Irving 1982; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989; Besnier 1990; Iwasaki 1993; Volek 1987; Arndt and Janney 1991). The major claim of these studies is that linguistic affect or emotivity permeates any speech at any linguistic level (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989; Volek 1987). Scholars are interested in finding lexical, phonological, morpho-syntactic, and semantic linguistic variants to encode affect in unspecified generic contexts of discourse.

In this study, two major components that determine the conscious and unconscious control of linguistic affect will be examined in terms of the lexicon vs. morpho-syntax dichotomy (Volek 1987; Hübler 1998) and the two semantic functions of intensifiers and specifiers (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989). Both lexicon and specifiers are subject to the speaker's conscious control of affect, whereas morpho-syntax and intensifiers are unconsciously encoded in linguistic variables. In addition, the intensity level of speech in terms of complaints is discussed.

Regarding lexicon and morpho-syntax, Volek (1987) and Hübler (1998:8) suggest a consciousness/unconsciousness hierarchy among linguistic affect variables. Hübler (1998:8) calls them *mode pur*

(geometric-technical mode) and *mode vécu* (physiognomic mode) and postulates that conscious notional control of emotion is encoded more likely in the lexicon<sup>1</sup>, whereas more unconscious or subtle nuances may be encoded in morpho-syntactic variants. In this regard, morpho-syntactic variables encode affect more directly than the speaker is aware of. On the other hand, the lexicon, being subject to more conscious control, is manipulated by the speaker according to the cultural rules regarding display of emotion. It should be noted that there is some marginal lexicon between these two categories of the lexicon and the morpho-syntactic conscious/unconscious dichotomy: due to their directness, lexical items used in interjection or mimesis are higher in emotivity than emotional words. In this study, six lexical and four morpho-syntactic linguistic variables are studied across the different spoken discourses of each group. The six lexicon variables include emotional words, cursing/blaming words, mimetics, interjections, strengtheners, and weakeners. The four morpho-syntactic variables are modal, passive, left/right dislocation, and repetition.

Regarding intensifiers<sup>2</sup> and specifiers, the former modulate the intensity of the tone of the affect, whereas the latter encode particular 'affective orientations of utterances such as pleasant surprise, pity, or irritation' (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:14).<sup>3</sup> The crucial difference in semantic function between these two is that intensifiers have little or no referential or cognitive meaning, whereas specifiers have a referential role<sup>4</sup> to encode the meaning or subtle emotional nuances without necessarily intensifying or attenuating the intensity level of the affect. Due to their referential meaning, most specifiers are encoded in the lexicon, although some are encoded in the morpho-syntax area, such as the Japanese adversative passive.

The intensifiers of affect include word order, reduplication, repetition, empathic particles and affixes, intonation, and a variety of other prosodic devices (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989). The affective specifiers include verb voice (adversative passive in Japanese), affixes that encode negative or positive orientations, particles that convey negative affect, as well as widespread use of lexical items and affective speech acts such as complaints, accusations, and praises (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:15). In my data, affect intensifiers include five variables: interjections, strengtheners, weakeners, dislocation, and

repetition. The affect specifiers also include five variables: emotion words, blame words, passive, modal, and mimetics.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, although there is no exact one-to-one correspondence between speech act and emotion, it is quite possible that some speech acts may be accompanied by certain emotional tones, but not vice versa. For example, the speech act of griping, or complaining indirectly, performed between intimates in this study, is most likely accompanied by the emotional display of anger. However, the emotional tone of anger can accompany other speech acts, such as requests. Austin (1962) regards the mismatch of emotion and the speech act as a violation of sincerity conditions.<sup>6</sup> Even though indirect complaints towards outsiders are different from direct complaints, in which the speaker confronts the complainant, underlying anger or aggression is present in both situations. Thus, to measure the intensity of the requisite feeling feeding into the display of anger behind indirect complaints in this study, I will adopt and modify the aggression intensity scale of complaints used by Olshtain and Weinbach (1993:111),<sup>7</sup> in order to show how the intensified aggression of complaints may vary from group to group.

- (1) Below the level of reproach  
'Such things happen.'
- (2) Expression of annoyance or disapproval  
'Such a lack of consideration!'
- (3) Explicit complaint  
'He/she is inconsiderate!'
- (4) Accusation and warning  
'Next time I'll let him/her wait for hours!'
- (5) Immediate threat  
'I'm not moving one inch until he/she changes my appointment.'

The analysis of the speech act is only relevant to role-play, as it contains socio-cultural context and appropriateness. Thus, monologue is excluded from this analysis. Furthermore, the co-occurrence

of the use of weakeners with highly intensified affect will be discussed.

Regarding the emotive level of the discourse, past studies suggest that the theoretical constructs of subjectivity, politeness, and involvement could be determinants of the emotive level of discourse. The most distinctive features of the manifestation of subjectivity in language behavior (Iwasaki 1993; Benveniste 1971; Bolinger 1971; Kuroda 1979; Kuno 1989) are observed in the use of the first-person and third-person subject in narration. The use of the first-person subject indicates the 'subjectivity' of the speaker, which indicates higher affect than the use of the third-person subject. The grammatical constraint on the use of emotional or sensational words in reportive speech with a third person subject has been an especially controversial issue among Japanese linguists (Kuroda 1979; Kuno 1989; Iwasaki 1993; Kamio 1995; Asano 2002, this issue). Kuroda (1979) and Kamio (1997) observed that the speaker cannot describe a third party's feelings in reportive speech. Thus, a sentence such as *Mary wa sabishii* 'Mary is sad' is ill-formed, unless it takes the indirect form of *Mary wa sabashii rashii* ('It seems Mary is sad') or *Mary wa sabishiin datte* ('I heard Mary is sad'). However, the exception to this rule is literary mode (Iwasaki 1993) or nonreportive speech (Kuroda 1979), in which the omniscient narrator adopts the point-of-view of the third-person subject:

Yamadera no kane o kiite, Mary wa kanashikatta.  
 mountain-temple bell hearing Mary was sad  
 Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary was sad.  
 (Kuroda 1979:384)

Accordingly, when the omniscient narrator empathizes with the character, the aforementioned constraint on the third-person does no longer apply, because the narrator identifies him/herself with the character, as in the case of first-person narrator. Since monologue in this study takes the non-reportive form, the subjectivity level of the speaker is comparable to the first-person in role-play.

With respect to politeness level and affect, Brown and Levinson (1987:28) claim that the display of affect in interaction can be subsumed under their politeness theory. It should be noted that Brown and Levinson clearly specify the display rule of affect as a matter of positive politeness strategies. Unlike negative politeness strategies,

which are characterized by distancing and redressive action to mitigate the force of a Face Threatening Act (FTA) in a formal context, positive politeness strategies are associated with intimate language in an intimate relationship, and the participants' solidarity is enhanced by the use of exaggeration (Brown and Levinson 1987:103).

Contrary to the commonly shared view of emotion as a biological phenomenon that is universally observed, yet idiosyncratic in nature, anthropologists and sociologists regard emotion as a cultural construct that is expressed through the cultural display rules pertaining to different social variables and situational contexts (Urban 1988; Irving 1990; Lutz 1990).

In contrast to the stereotype of Japanese people as being inscrutable and reticent, not expressing much emotion, Maynard (1997:97) observed contexts in which cultural display rules allow the Japanese to 'vent their anger and frustrations' among intimates. Matsumoto (1996:86) also found that expressing anger towards strangers or members of an outer group is one of the very few areas in which the Japanese intensify their emotional expressions because 'it solidifies one's role and place within one's in-group'. Thus, the role-play of the current study adopts the context of griping between intimates, as being free from the cultural constraint that hinders the overt expression of affect.

Regarding involvement, Chafe (1982) claims that 'face to face' contact with the audience is what makes spoken discourse fundamentally different from written discourse. Due to the presence of immediate interaction, spoken discourse is typically characterized by 'involvement' with the audience, and the written discourse of a spoken monologue by 'detachment' from the audience. In this study, the monologue is comparable to written discourse, as it shares the latter's lack of immediate interaction. In this sense, the involvement level and affective level of monologue discourse are hypothesized to be lower than that of the role-play. In an attempt to show how the use of linguistic affect can vary in discourse, this study compares the emotive levels in monologue and role-play.

## 2. Past studies of linguistic variables

This section is a brief review of each lexical and morpho-syntactical linguistic variable.

## 2.1. Affect Lexicon

Table 1 shows examples of six linguistic affect variables (blame words, emotion words, strengtheners, weakeners, interjections, and mimetics) in the American English and Japanese lexica attested in the data.

	American English	Japanese
blame words (including cursing)	jerk, mean, malicious, rude, horrible, bad, stupid, nuts	<i>baka</i> (stupid), <i>ijiwaru</i> (mean), <i>oyaji</i> (old fart) <i>hidoi</i> (terrible)
emotion words	mad, upset, pissed, disgusted, furious	<i>iyada</i> (hate it) <i>mukatsuku</i> (irritating), <i>haratatsu</i> (upsetting) <i>kowai</i> (scary), <i>atamanikite</i> (mad)
intensifiers	really, very, all, such a, so, just	<i>suggoi</i> , <i>choo</i> , <i>hontoni</i> , (really) <i>zettai</i> (absolutely) <i>mecha mecha</i> (extremely)
weakeners	kind of, or something	<i>-tte kanji</i> (feel like) <i>nanka</i> (somewhat) <i>chotto</i> (a little)
interjections	darn! oh	<i>mooo!</i> (gosh!) <i>soo!</i> (right on!)
mimetics	honk honk, whew, beep	<i>puu puu</i> (honk honk) <i>mukah</i> (pissed) <i>bibiru</i> (scared)

Table 1. Examples of Affect Lexica

Volek (1987) hypothesized a kind of continuum in the lexicon from notationality to emotivity. Accordingly, some lexical items such as 'table' or 'run' have exclusively notational components that only

refer to rationality and concept and are at the notational end of the scale, while an element such as the interjection 'wow' is at the emotive end of the continuum. Some evaluative words such as 'good' and 'bad', 'beautiful' and 'ugly', or words 'denot[ing] or nam[ing] emotions through the mediation of notation or concept (love, hate, surprise, etc.)' are notional signs with strong emotive connotations and fall in the two extreme ends of the continuum (Volek 1987:28). Volek's (1987) taxonomy of notationality and emotivity is comparable to what Hübler (1998:8) calls *mode pur* and *mode vécu*.

While the *mode pur* consists of topicalizing an inner state through referentially appropriate descriptions resulting in a report of one's inner sensations, as in 'I am getting mad', the *mode vécu* results in a live performance of the sensation at issue, as in 'Damn it'.

Synthesizing both views, the amount of emotivity in the lexicon can be determined by its immediacy in the direct, unconscious expression of emotion, so that a lexical item may be more emotionally charged than its semantic meaning, which has a notional conception subject to the conscious control of the speaker. Applying Volek's (1987) hypothetical continuum scale, blame words and emotion words are more notational than strengtheners, weakeners, interjections, and mimetics in this study.

Epithets, or 'nouns with a figurative meaning expressive of (subjectivity)' (Banfield 1982:54) such as 'idiot, bitch, bastard, fool' are commonly used for blaming or cursing in English and are regarded as highly affective lexicon due to their figurative meaning (Iwasaki 1993:7; Volek 1987; Hübler 1998). Iwasaki (1993) believes this type of figurative speech is not abundant in Japanese language, except for the marginal use of *baka* 'fool'. Instead, he observes that the Japanese use a wide variety of evaluative, descriptive words such as *namaikinai* (insolent), *ijiiwaru na* (mean) and others (Iwasaki 1993:7). Thus, those evaluative, descriptive words used to criticize or blame others are included, along with cursing words, in the category of blaming words in the current study.

Emotion words are considered to contain an objective, notional component that encodes rational thought instead of an emotion (Volek 1987; Hübler 1998), because certain emotions are cognitively labeled. Besnier (1990:423-4) categorizes onomatopoeia and ideo-

phones as linguistic affect devices that encode the emotional tone of the speaker:

Certain marginal areas of the vocabulary of many languages, such as ideophones (i.e., words, not necessarily onomatopoeic, whose phonological structure itself encodes meaning) and onomatopoeias, exclamations, expletives, interjections, curses, insults and imprecations are rich in affective meaning. Shonan ideophones, for example, have been described as 'dramatizations of actions or states'.<sup>8</sup>

The exact number of commonly used mimetic words is unknown; however, there are approximately 1200 or more Japanese mimetic words recognized by lexicographers, compared to the 267 onomatopoeic English words collected from a standard dictionary. Due to the wide variety of mimetics in Japanese, it is plausible that they are used more often than is the case for English onomatopoeia; however, how much they are actually used in the spoken discourse under the given situational context of the current experiment is unknown.

Of the three discourse markers (strengtheners, weakeners, and interjections), strengtheners and weakeners can be subsumed under the category of 'hedges'. Brown and Levinson (1987:145) define a hedge as

a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership that is partial or true only in certain respects, or that is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected (note that this latter sense is an extension of the colloquial sense of a 'hedge').

By defining 'hedge' as a speaker's modification of illocutionary force in general, Brown and Levinson (1987:147) further divide 'hedges' into strengtheners (emphatic hedges such as 'really', 'very', and 'extremely') and weakeners ('sort of' and 'kind of'). In this paper, the terms 'strengtheners' and 'weakeners' are used instead of 'intensifier' and 'hedge'.

Unlike strengtheners and weakeners, interjections are used independently and do not modify the lexicon. Noticing the semantic invariant of interjection, Wierzbicka (1992:163) argues that interjections are language specific and meaningful. For example, some interjections have the meaning of expressing pleasure or

surprise ('wow'), or disgust ('yuck'). Wierzbicka (1992:165) postulates three kinds of interjections:

- 1) Emotive ones (those which have in their meaning the component 'I feel something', e.g., the English 'Ouch!')
- 2) Volitional ones (those which have in their meaning the component 'I want something', e.g., the English 'Sh!')
- 3) Cognitive ones (those which have in their meaning the component 'I think something' or 'I know something' or 'I understand', e.g., the English 'Aha!')

The function of interjections is similar to that of Japanese mimetics in terms of semantic variants (as pointed out above) and spontaneous responses to situations (Ameka 1992:109). In this sense, both mimetics and interjections are rich in emotivity. Volek (1987:28) claimed that interjection is 'the purest representation of emotivity on the code level', because 'these words express an emotional experience of the speaker as a psycho-physical experience without a notional generalization of it on the level of the meaning'.

## 2.2. Morpho-Syntax

Table 2 shows five linguistic affect variables of morpho-syntax: modal verbs (historical present and auxiliary), final particle/discourse marker, get-passive/adversative passive, inversion, and repetition. Both American English and Japanese examples appear in the data.

	American English	Japanese
<b>modal verb</b>	could have + pp He could've killed me.	<i>-te shimau (-chau)</i> (to my regret) <i>kokete shimatate</i> (unfortunately fell off)
<b>final particle / discourse marker</b>	y' know This guy in a car comes up behind, you know.	<i>-ne</i> (you know) <i>kono baka kaan nante yatte kite nee,</i> (This stupid came behind me, you know?)
<b>get-passive / adversative passive</b>	get hit by the car	<i>paa to ikarete</i> (I was passed by like pswee)
<b>inversion</b>	N/A	<i>chotto miteyo! Kono kasabuta</i> (Hey look at it, this scab)
<b>repetition</b>	horrible, horrible man	<i>abunai abunai</i> (dangerous, dangerous)

Table 2. Affect Variables of Morpho-Syntax

Although Volek (1987) did not include morpho-syntactic affect in her rational-emotivity scale, it seems that this affect is higher in emotivity than any lexicon affect, because it does not relate to semantic meaning at all and thus is totally beyond the speaker's conscious control.<sup>9</sup>

2.3. Auxiliary (would/*-te shimau* and *chau*)

Both Japanese auxiliaries of the *-te shimau* form (*-chau* as the reduced form) and English modals such as 'would' or 'could' have similar functions in that they both reflect the speaker's negative or passive attitude toward an event. In Japanese, the *-te shimau*, or its contraction, *-chau*, either have the meaning of completion of some action, or express the speaker's regret about something which should not have occurred (Makino and Tsutsui 1986:405), though the latter meaning is more commonly used.

Although both the adversative passive and the *-te shimau-chau* construction have negative connotations of the speaker's regret, Iwasaki (1993) warns that the *-te shimau-chau* construction is more direct than passive because of the overt manifestation of the speaker as a subject, with the theta role assigned to the experiencer rather than to the passive patient (Iwasaki 1993:11).

Although there is no exact equivalent of the *-te shimau-chau* form in English, the closest comparable modal auxiliary might be the following: would/could/should + have + past participle as in 'I should not have done it'. James (1986: 99) explains that the English subjunctive mood with 'would' might be counterfactual or express something which is against the speaker's wishes.

Because *-te shimau-chau* refers to the speaker's regret or negative feelings about what happened to the speaker, both modals can express that the happening goes against the speaker's wishes or expectations – in both cases the result is out of the speaker's control.

## 2.4. Get-passive/Adversative passive

Kuno (1973) found that the Japanese adversative passive, in addition to sharing the three regular functions of direct passives (topicalization, impersonalization, and de-transitivization),<sup>10</sup> implies an adverse affect connected with someone or some event. Characteristic of the Japanese adversative passive, in particular, is its passivization of the intransitive verb construction:

Mary wa kodomo ni nak-are-ta.  
Mary TOP children by cry-PASS-PAST  
Unfortunately for Mary, the children cried.

Perhaps the English form most comparable to the Japanese adversative passive is the 'get-passive', although the latter mostly restricted to the colloquial, informal level of communication (Svartvik 1966:92-93) and may not have many intransitive verb equivalents (except for the example 'I've gotten rained on').

Lakoff (1971:154) observes the emotional involvement of the speaker in the English get-passive:

The get-passive in English, unlike the be-passive, is frequently used to reflect the attitude of the speaker toward the events described in the sentence: whether he feels they are good or bad, or reflect well or poorly on him or the superficial subject of the sentence (for whom he thus expresses implicit sympathy).

Although Lakoff commented above that the get-passive has both positive and negative effects for the speaker, the more salient semantic implication of adversity in the get-passive has been discussed widely (Lakoff 1975; Chappel 1980; Sussex 1982; Matthews 1993; Carter and McCarthy 1999). Hübler (1998:183-5) in particular found a predominant use of the get-passive in encoding concerns and suffering (e.g., 'I am getting fired because I am different'; compare the humiliations in work situations in Studs Terkel's book of interviews with American working class people). Especially since the get-passive is reported to be used more frequently by North American than by British or Australian speakers of English (Sussex, 1982:90), affective use of the get-passive in the current data is worth studying.<sup>11</sup>

In both the English get-passive and the Japanese adversative passive, the same theta-role of 'experiencer' is assigned semantically, with a lack of 'agent in its active voice, which is an attribute of regular be-passive' (Kuroda 1979:320). Kuroda also observed that the *niyotte* passive cannot be used for adversative passive, as shown in (1) and (2) below, and explains that a *ni*-passive is semantically a more 'direct experience', high in affectivity, whereas a *ni-yotte* passive is used for more neutral, objective points of view of the speaker:

- (1) Hanako ga sensei ni wara-ware-ta.  
Hanako-nom teacher-by laugh-pass-past  
'Hanako was adversely affected by her teacher's laughing at her'.

- (2) Hanako ga sensei ni-yotte wara-ware-ta.  
 Hanako-nom teacher-by laugh-pass-past  
 'Hanako was adversely affected by her teacher's laughing at her'.  
 (Kuroda 1979:309)

In a similar vein, Hatcher (1949:436) refers to the general syntactic restriction stipulating the absence of a by-agent with the get-passive, though she herself found one counter-example, 'He got killed by the other four' in an echo question of a here-and-now situation:

- What happened to him?!  
 a. He got killed.  
 b. He got killed by the other four.

In sum, both the Japanese adversative passive and the English get-passive encode the specific negative emotional attitude of the speaker, while being rich in the here-and-now orientation of the speaker's immediate affective expression.

### 2.5. Dislocation/Repetition

Right and left dislocation are commonly observed in both Japanese (Clancy 1985; Fujii 1989; Oono and Suzuki 1992) and English (Ochs, Keenan and Schieffelin 1977; Bolinger 1979; Chafe 1982). While the normal canonical form of Japanese is a verb – or predicate – ending sentence, Oono and Suzuki (1999) found two basic patterns of right-dislocation in Japanese taking place in different types, according to differences in intonation patterns either with or without an intonation break. The first case, with a break in intonation, is for repair, when the speaker had not planned to add the second half of the utterance after the pause. This case is excluded from the present study in both the Japanese and the American data, since it does not serve to express affect. Thus, only the discourse pragmatic type and emotive type (the second case) are counted as affective devices.

### 3. Research Questions

The first question is whether linguistic affects are used more often in role-play or in monologue. Second, the frequency of the sub-categories of lexicon and morpho-syntax, specifiers and intensifiers, and of linguistic affect need to be examined for role-play and monologue (indicating conscious and unconscious control of affect respectively). As to morpho-syntactic variables, these are more unconscious and less notational since they are not directly connected to semantic meaning, while for the lexicon Volek (1987) suggests a scale of conscious emotivity from notational to least notational interjections. The comparison of specifiers and intensifiers shows that intensifying aspects encoding the speaker's attitude or nuances of speaking may increase when the emotive level of discourse increases due to interaction with the audience. Thus, this contrast shows how each group may encode linguistic affect either on an unconscious or a conscious level. Third, a detailed breakdown of linguistic affect variables is studied exclusively in the role-play data. Some of the findings will be supported with discourse data. Furthermore, the correlation of the use of weakeners with an intensified aggression level in the speech act of griping in role-play data is compared among groups.

#### 3.1. Methodology

This study elicits its data from a comic strip which I created for the study. As seen in Appendix 1, the protagonist is a college student who is harassed by rowdy teenagers while he or she is hurrying to class and who misses a test as a result.

After the comic strip had been studied carefully, a monologue and role-play were performed. First, the informants were told to perform the monologue as if they were narrating a story on a radio show with the comic strip in hand, whereas the other persons were told to perform the role-play without referring to the comic strip. During the time the monologue was performed, the informants were left alone in a small room with a tape recorder.

All data were tape-recorded and transcribed for analysis. The transcripts introduced in this study use the following glosses and coding:



COP= Copula  
 SUB = Subject marker  
 MIM = Mimetic  
 EMP = Emphatic marker  
 ASST = Assertion marker  
 COMP = Complementizer  
 ACC = Accusative marker  
 TOP = Topic marker  
 Q = Question marker  
 AFFT = Affect marker  
 ? = Glottal stop

### 3.2. Subjects

A total of twenty four subjects participated in this study. The subjects were both graduate and undergraduate American and Japanese students studying at a university in the United States. The age of the subjects ranges from their early to mid-twenties. The subjects consist of two groups: Japanese and American native speakers of English. The numbers and gender of each group are listed in Table 3:

	Total # of subjects	Male #	Female #
American	12	6	6
Japanese	12	6	6

Table 3. Number of Subjects and Gender Ratio

### 3.3. Analysis of Results

First, the mean total words uttered in the monologue and role-play were computed for each group and then divided by the mean total numbers of words (as shown in Table 4).

	monologue	role-play
American	2267/12=188.9	2806/12=233.8
Japanese	2171/12=180.9	2500/12=208.3

Table 4. Word Count Comparison

Further analysis was conducted by means of: (1) speech register, monologue versus role-play, (2) linguistic categories of lexicon versus morpho-syntax, and (3) linguistic semantic types, i.e., intensifiers versus specifiers. All numbers in the following data are the means of the percentage of use of linguistic affect out of the total number of words uttered in the monologue and role-play respectively.

### 3.4. Monologue vs. Role-play Comparison

As shown in Figure 1, the Japanese show a remarkable increase in role-play (2.5 times) compared with Americans (1.1 times). It should be noted that Americans also show more frequent use of affect in monologue, while the use of linguistic affect in monologue was more prominent among Americans. The repeated ANOVA test shows that the difference in each variable across the groups is significant at  $p = 0.01$  ( $< 0.01$  level). The results indicate that the Japanese are influenced by the increased emotive level in discourse, due to interaction, more than are their American counterparts. (See Table 5).

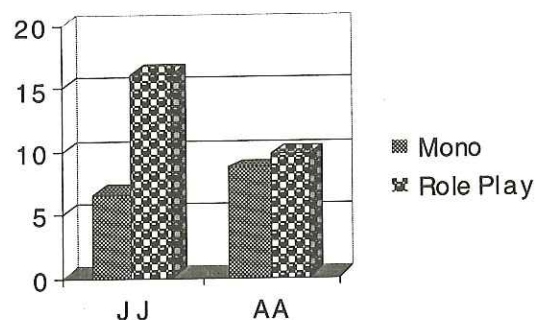


Figure 1. Monologue vs. Role-play

	monologue	role-play
Americans	6.46%	6.6%
Japanese	4.8 %	12.2%

Table 5. Monologue and Role-play Comparison

### 3.6. Lexicon versus Morpho-Syntax Comparison

Linguistic categories comprising six lexicon variables (interjections, strengtheners, weakeners, emotion words, blame words, and mimetics) versus four morpho-syntactic variables (dislocation, repetition, passive, and modal verbs) were compared for each group. As shown in Figure 2, both Americans and Japanese indicate some increase of morpho-syntactic variables in the role-play, as compared to the monologue. Conversely, Americans show almost no increase (0.1% ) in the use of lexicon in role-play, while their Japanese counterparts show a remarkable increase of 3.7 times in the role-play, compared to the monologue. (See Table 6)

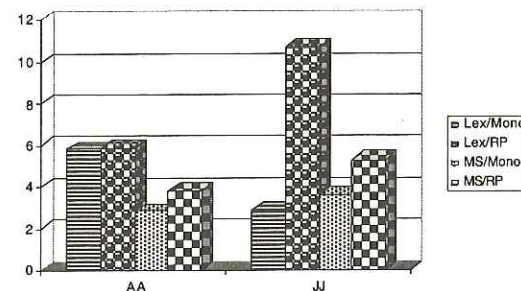


Figure 2

	Lex Mono	Lex/RP	MS/Mono	MS/RP
American	4.96%	5.9%	0.78%	0.97%
Japanese	2.9%	10.7%	1.8%	3.1%

Table 6. Lexicon and Morpho-Syntax Comparison

The repeated ANOVA test shows that the difference in the use of lexicon variables is more significant across groups, at  $p = 0.019$  ( $< 0.05$  level), than for morpho-syntactic variables between two groups, found to be statistically very significant at  $p = 0.034$  ( $< 0.05$  level). The drastic increase of the lexicon in role-play data for the Japanese suggests a conscious effort to dramatize affect when immediate interaction is available.

### 3.7. Intensifier versus Specifier Comparison

Five linguistic intensifiers (strengtheners, interjections, weakeners, inversion, and repetition) and four linguistic specifiers (emotion words, blame words, modal verbs, mimetics, and passives) were totaled for each group. (See Figure 3)

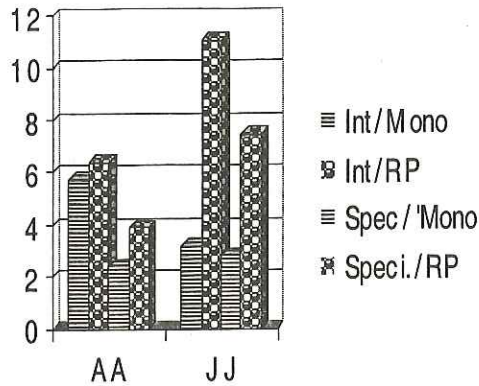


Figure 3

	Int/Mono	Int /RP	Spec / Mono	Spec / RP
American	4.0	3.9	2.4	3.01
Japanese	1.6	5.5	2.9	6.5

Table 7. Intensifier and Specifier Comparison

Table 7 shows the comparison of specifiers and intensifiers. The Japanese and Americans show similar patterns in the use of specifier between monologue and role-play. While both groups show an increase in intensifiers in role-play data, the Japanese increased 5.4 times, compared to the Americans (1.43 times). Because of the fact that the Americans use an even higher frequency of intensifier in monologue (5.72%) than do their Japanese counterparts (3.18%), it can be said that Americans have a general tendency to consciously intensify or attenuate the intensity level of affect, regardless of the availability of interaction or speech genre. On the other hand, the Japanese exaggerate or control the affect more in role-play than do their American counterparts, while the encoding of the speaker's attitude or nuances of speaking is similar.

Repeated measures of the ANOVA test also show the mean of intensifier use between monologue and role-play to be more significant at < 0.01 level ( $p = 0.003$ ) than the use of specifiers, which is not found to be significant at < 0.05 level ( $p = 0.12$ ).

### 3.8. Analysis of Linguistic Variables in Role-Play

In this section, the discussion is focused on the variables that are identified as correlating the most with the intensity level of affect. Table 8 provides a summary of the mean percentage of each variable used by each group for monologue and role-play data respectively.

		Streng	Inter	Weak	Blame	Emtion	Mim	Modal	Passive	Disloc	Rept
M O N O L O G U E	AA	2.18	0.34	0.96	0.63	1.2	0.34	0.05	0.2	0.07	0.37
	223	(n=11)	(n=3)	(n=5)	(n=7)	(n=9)	(n=4)	(n=1)	(n=2)	(n=1)	(n=7)
O R O L E P L A Y	JJ	0.8	0.31	0.09	0.5	0.67	0.4	1.5	0.09	0	0.23
	167	(n=10)	(n=4)	(n=1)	(n=5)	(n=6)	(n=5)	(n=2)	(n=1)	(n=0)	(n=3)
R O L E P L A Y	AA	2.3	0.32	0.64	2.02	0.84	0.63	0.23	0.1	0.03	0.37
	318	(n=1)	(n=5)	(n=8)	(n=8)	(n=9)	(n=12)	(n=4)	(n=2)	(n=1)	(n=4)
P L A Y	JJ	3.14	3.04	1.5	0.65	1.4	2.6	2.3	0.55	1.08	0.36
	168	(n=10)	(n=12)	(n=7)	(n=8)	(n=12)	(n=12)	(n=7)	(n=6)	(n=10)	(n=6)

Table 8. Summary of the Use of 10 Linguistic Affect Variables

Note:

n = number: parentheses in each column indicate the number of informants who used the variables

## Abbreviations:

Streng: Strengtheners

Inter: Intensifier

Weak: Weakener

Blame: Blame words

Emtion: Emotion words

Mim: Mimetics

Modal: Modal verbs

Passive: Get-passive and adversative passive

Disloc: Right or Left dislocation

Rept: Repetition

As indicated in Table 8, the most frequently used linguistic affect variables are strengtheners for both the Japanese (3.14%) and the Americans (2.3%), followed by blame words (2.02%) for Americans, interjections (3.04%), mimetics (2.6%), inversions (1.08%) and weakeners (1.5%) for Japanese in role-play data. It should be noted that except for the most frequently used strengthener, Americans use blame words more, which shows their conscious manifestation of affect.

Table 9 shows how each variable increases between monologue and role-play. It should be noted that, while the Japanese show a remarkable increase in use of all of these frequently used variables (2.2%-2.73%), the Americans show no increase of these variables (0.02 % for interjections and 0.12% for strengthener; the exception being blame words (1.39%)). Among the variables that are responsible for the use of increase in role-play for Japanese are: interjections (2.73%), mimetics (2.2%), followed by weakeners (1.41%) and dislocation (1.08%). In contrast, the Americans show a decrease in the use of linguistic affect in the area of weakeners (-0.32%), passives (-0.1%), and dislocation (-0.04%).

	Streng	Inter	Weak	Blam	Emtn	Mim	Modl	Pass	Dislc	Rept
AA	0.12	0.02	-0.32	1.39	0.36	0.29	0.18	-0.1	-0.04	0
JJ	2.34	2.73	1.41	0.15	0.73	2.2	0.8	0.46	1.08	0.13

Table 9. Increase in Linguistic Variables between Monologue and Role-play.

Note: Bold type indicates the variables in which the mean percentile is higher than 1% in role-play.

While modals are one of the most frequently used variables for Japanese, they are also used with relatively high frequencies in role-play and monologue, as shown in Table 8.

#### 4. Direct Data Analysis

##### 4.1. Strengthening

Now, let me discuss, using direct analysis methods, how the aforementioned variables are responsible for the intensified emotive level in qualitative ways. First, observe how the Japanese use interjections, strengtheners, and mimetics in role-play (Data 1), whereas these variables are used less in monologue and replaced by regular lexical items (Data 2). The interjections used most often in Japanese role-play are *moo* 'gosh', and the strengthener *sugoi*.

##### Data #1: JJ ROLE-PLAY

- 1-> Y: *nanka* ongaku GANGAN ni kaketa kuruma dee,  
somewhat music MIM-to play car and  
it was the car in which they played the music very loud and
- 2 shigonin gurai notteta no kanaa,  
four or five about rode NOM I wonder  
probably there were like for or five people in the car
- 3 *sugoi* sawaideru yatsu de,  
extremely noise guys and  
they were making a lot of noise and
- 4 *nanka* jitensha ni butsukatte kita no nee,  
somewhat bicycle to bump into came NOM you know,  
they bumped into me you know.

- 5 M: MAJI DEE  
serious in  
No kidding
- 6 Y: SOO!  
Yep  
Yep
- 7 M: jiKOTTA no  
accident-FIN  
so you ran into a car accident
- 8 Y: so so so  
right
- 9-> dakara moo sugoi jitensha moo kowareru shi  
so INTJ INT bicycle darn broken and  
so the bicycle got broken and
- 10 watashi wa futtobasareru shi  
I TOP fly-PASS and  
And I was blown away and
- 11 moo CHOO taihen datta  
INTJ STGTH hard COP  
gosh it was terrible

## Data #2: JJ MONOLOGUE DATA

- 1 ooisogi de jitensha o koide iru to  
hurry QT bicycle ACC pedalling COP QT  
While he was bicycling in a big hurry
- 2 oozeino wakamono ga notta kuruma ga  
many young people SUBJ ride car SUBJ  
There was a car with a lot of young people

- 3 chikazuite kimashita  
approaching came  
came closer
- 4-> karera wa ookina onryo de  
they TOP big volume in  
they were playing music with a loud volume
- 5 rajio o kiki nagara  
radio ACC listening while  
listening to the radio and
- 6 Kaoru ni chikazuite kimasu  
Kaoru to approach came  
came close to Kaoru
- 7 Karera wa ranboo na unten de  
They TOP hectic driving and  
They drove hectic and
- 8 tsui ni Kaoru o hanetobashi-te shimaimashita  
finally Kaoru ACC hit did-MODAL  
finally hit Kaoru
- 9 karera wa ayamaroo tomo sezu ni  
They TOP apologize even without and  
They did not even apologize and
- 10 sonoba o tachisari  
that place ACC left  
left that place and
- 11 Kaoru wa kega o shiteshimai  
Kaoru TOP injured ACC did-MODAL  
Kaoru got injured and
- 12-> jitensha mo kowarete shimaimashita  
bicycle also broken MODAL  
bicycle was also broken

As shown in Data 1, the mimetic *GANGAN*, preceded by the weakener 'nanka' (line 1 in Data 1), is replaced by the description *ookina onryo de rajio o kikinagara* in line 4 of Data 2. The emotional emphasis on how the bicycle is badly broken was exaggerated with the combined use of the interjections *moo* and *sugoi* in line 9 of Data 1 to modify the way the bicycle is broken; this corresponds to the use of less overt affect, expressed by the modal *-teshimau* (line 12) in Data 2 to show the speaker's regret that the bicycle is broken.

Conversely, observe how Americans use strengtheners in a similar way between role-play and monologue in Data 3 and 4. In both monologue and role-play, the strengthener 'right' is used in role-play to indicate the immediate closeness (line 3, Data 3 and line 2, Data 4), in the same way as in monologue. The hyperbolic expression of the bike 'flying off' is also used in the role-play (line 6, Data 3) as well as monologue (line 4, Data 4). While the descriptive account of how the bike got broken was given, by saying 'my bike was in pieces' (line 9, Data 3) and 'bent' (line 11) in the role-play, the same speaker used the strengthener 'totally' to modify the verb 'ruined' in line 8 of Data 4.

#### Data #3: AA ROLE-PLAY

- 1 And then, I heard this **really** loud music,  
 2 and finally I tried to get around them,  
 3-> and they drove their car **right** into my bike!  
 4 Z: Dang!  
 5 R: My bike was flying and  
 6 I **flew off the bike**  
 7 **and onto the sidewalk-**  
 8 Z: What happened to your bike  
 9 R: my bike was in pieces and-  
 10 Z: oh NO!  
 11 R: and it was bent, so I couldn't get it back together.

#### Data #4: AA MONOLOGUE

- 1 And the boys drove  
 2-> **right** up next to her

- 3 and bumped into her bike,  
 4-> which sent her **flying off** onto  
 5 the shoulder of the road.  
 6 She landed on the shoulder,  
 7 and her bike flew out from underneath her  
 8-> and it was **totally** ruined,  
 9 there is no way she could ride it the rest of the way to  
 school.

#### 4.2. Affect

Next, let me discuss the areas in which Japanese and Americans behave differently in terms of the use of linguistic affect between role-play and monologue. As mentioned earlier, the areas in which Americans show a decrease of linguistic affect in role-play compared to monologue are (1) dislocation, (2) passives, and (3) weakeners. The qualitative differences in the use of dislocation and passives are discussed in this section; as for the use of weakener, it is discussed in conjunction with the speech act of complaining in section 4.4.

Japanese use dislocation exclusively in role-play, while there is no instance of its use in monologue. In monologue, all the sentences are in canonical order, descriptively. Conversely, Americans use less dislocation in role-play (-0.04%; see Table 9), compared with monologue, though they use it infrequently; their usage of dislocation is qualitatively different from that of Japanese: while the Japanese use dislocation to accentuate emotional intensity, the Americans use it to highlight an event in order to make the story more interesting.

The way the Japanese use dislocation as an intensifier is twofold: (1) as in attention-getter, and (2) in order to highlight the importance of the event. First, observe how the inversion is used as an attention-getter with high affect:

#### Data #5

- 1 Y: shimaini wa hiKARETE shimatte  
 finally TOP run over did-MODAL  
 finally I was run over

- 2 M: HEH  
gosh  
oh my gosh
- 3-> Y: miTE KORE MOO  
look this INTJ  
look at this
- 4 M: [daijYOOBU  
okay?  
are you okay?

The canonical order of the phrase *kore o mi-te*, the verb phrase *mi-te* followed by the accusative case *kore* (o), is inverted, so that the verb phrase *mite-yo* is placed before the accusative case in line 3, Data 5. The hearer immediately responds in a sympathetic tone, saying *Daijyooibu?* in line 4. Two of the informants use exactly the same inversion *Mite(yo) kore* to call the hearer's attention by showing how badly they are injured by the accident. In other instances, a similar technique was used as a conversation opener:

## Data #6:

- 1 Y: honto moo, sAIAKU ya, kyoowa,  
today Intj worst COP really  
it was the worst day today really
- 2 MOO SAIKU sAIAKU ya, kyoowa,  
Intj worst worst COP today-COP  
it was the worst day today, really
- 2 M: nANI ga  
what-SUBJ  
what is it?
- 5 Y: kyoo tesuto attanyan kaa,  
today test existed-you know  
6 you know I had a test today

In line 2 of Data 6, Yuji attempts to open conversation by appealing for sympathy from the hearer, though the hearer is not ready to respond with sympathy without knowing what is going on in line 5. Thus, Yuji starts telling the story from line 6.

In other instances, inversion takes place when the speaker wants to emphasize how he or she was annoyed or aggravated by some action by the assailants. Data 7 indicates this anger, the speaker using inversion:

## Data #7

- 3 Y: soshitara,  
then  
and then
- 4 ushirokara, henna kuruma ga  
behind-from strange car SUBJ  
from behind, a strange car
- 5 yoningumi no otoko ga yo,  
four-group of men SUBJ you know  
there were group of four men who came
- 6 M: un  
yeah  
yeah
- 7-> Y: kaRAN de kite,  
teased-and-came  
came to tease me and
- 8 M: Karande,  
teased  
teased me and
- 9 Y: ore no koto o yoo,  
me of thing OBJ you know  
you know about me

- 10 Y: un  
yeah
- 11-> aTAMA ni kichatta yo  
head to came ASSRT  
I got really upset
- 12 ore  
I
- 13 de, karan da ue ni ore no charinko  
and teased-COP on-in my bicycle  
and in addition to teasing me, my bicycle was
- 14 buKKOwashi te  
totaled and  
totaled and
- 15 M: Maji de?  
serious in  
No kidding?

In the above example, the pent-up emotion of anger escalates when the immediate cause of the anger that is depicted in lines 6 and 9 is inverted. The speaker was aggravated by the aggressors' taunting action towards him in line 6 which triggers his anger that inverts the subject *ore* 'I' in lines 11 to 12. It should be noted that both annoyance and anger were expressed in the form of inversion in the above instance. Other instances of inversion showing annoyance include *karakai yagatte ore no koto* ('they teased me'), *koronjyatte:: jitensha, nanka hito no koto WARATTEN dayoolhiita ato* ('they are laughing at me after they hit me').

In contrast, American instances show a qualitative difference by simply using inversion to highlight the event in the narrative in an effort to make the story interesting for the hearer; a strategy which is appropriate for any story-telling or narration.

Observe how the same strategy is used for lines 1-2 in the role-play in Data 8 and lines 4-6 in monologue in Data 9.

## Data #8

- 1-> B: ...I start running. *Halfway there* I realize that my arm is  
2 all flopping about, all gimpy and useless.  
3 T: Oh, GOD!

## Data #9

- 1 He wasn't paying much attention to the  
2 traffic on the road,  
3 which was unfortunate.  
4-> Because, *from behind*  
5 all of a sudden,  
6 a car drove up really fast.

## 4.3. Passives

Another way in which Americans indicate the decrease of linguistic affect in role-play is through the use of passives. Although Japanese use the modal verb *-te shimaui-chau* much more frequently than they do passives, they still show an increase in the use of passives in role-play, compared with their American counterparts. While the modal verb *-te shimaui-chau* can be used interchangeably with passives, it is also found that male informants use passives more often (n=5/6), compared with their female counterparts (n=2/6). Females use the *-te shimaui-chau* slightly more (n=5/6), compared with their male counterparts (n=4/6) in their role-play data.

## Data #10

- 1 Y: attatta?  
hit?  
you mean the bike was hit?
- 2 M: wakannai  
not sure  
I am not sure



3        aterare        tan-no        ne  
hit-PASSIVE COP-ASSRT you know  
the bike was being hit

4-> M: jitensha made kowasare-te  
bicycle even hit-and past-Question  
and was the bicycle also broken?

When Yukio, one of the conversants, asks Masashi about the bicycle in the prior turn, using the active voice *atta-tta* (line 1), this implies that either the assailants' car hit him or that they hit each other. The ambiguity of Masashi's speech in line 1 is made possible because the subject can be typically dropped in Japanese. In order to clarify a possible misunderstanding, Masashi uses the passive voice to show that he is the victim. Further, he maintains the same passive voice to show the adversity in line 4, where he says *jitensha made kowasarete*.

In the case of monologue, where the passive is used minimally (0.09%; see Table 8), some limited usage of the passive is observed when the narrator of the monologue either empathizes or sympathizes with the protagonist of the story.

Data 11 illustrates this point:

#### Data #11

1        sono kuruma wa Kaoru o aoritate kimashita  
that car TOP Kaoru ACC tease came  
that car was teasing Kaoru

2        Kaoru wa 'Abunai! to omoi' tossa ni yoketa  
nodesuga  
Kaoru TOP dangerous TOP think suddenly dodge  
NOM-COP-but  
Kaoru thought it was dangerous and tried to dodge the car  
but

3->    sono hazumi de jitensha wa kowarete shimaimashita  
that clash with bicycle TOP broken did-MODAL  
his bicycle was broken because of the impact

4        sono kuruma wa sonomama Kaoru o warainagara  
that car TOP remaining Kaoru ACC laughing  
that car passed by Kaoru while laughing away

5        dokka itte shimaimashita  
somewhere went did-MODAL  
went somewhere

6->    kawaiiso ni Kaoru wa jitensha ga kowarete shimai  
poor thing Kaoru TOP bicycle SUB broken MODAL  
Poor Kaoru's bicycle was broken and

7        gakko ni isoide ikukotoga dekimasen  
school to hurry go-NOM-ACC cannot  
could not go to school

The dramatic moment of the encounter with the car starts in the active: *aoritate kimashita* in line 1. However, when the narrator switches the perspective from the aggressor's to the protagonist's standpoint by using a direct quote in line 2, the passive case with the modal form *-te shimau* is used. In line 4, the narrator shifts the perspective back to an objective description of the aggressor by using the active voice: *dokka itte shimaimashita*. However, it should be noted that the narrator shifts the perspective back to Kaoru and uses the passive voice in line 6, following the empathy expressed towards the protagonist by saying *kawaiiso ni* 'poor thing' in line 6.

In the American data, the get-passive appears in role-play, as shown in line 11 of Data 12; it does not show any qualitative difference in its encoding of adversity, compared with line 1 of Data 13, its monologue counterpart, where the speaker uses more empathy, followed by a direct quote in line 7.

#### Data #12

1    C: You wouldn't believe...  
2        You wouldn't believe it.  
3        I was riding my bike,  
4        I was on the way to school today.

- 5 I had a very important test,  
 6 So, anybody that's late,  
 7 he gets mad and fails them for the test.  
 8 So, I was in a hurry to get there,  
 9 And these *guys* pulled up in a car,  
 10 and they drove up--what a couple of maniacs--  
 11 there was four of them in the car, and they *sideswipe* me,  
 12 and knock me off my bike,  
 13-> and I get *scraped* up.  
 14 That wasn't the worst,  
 15 The worst was my *bike* wasn't fit to ride again!  
 16 T: Oh my goodness!

## Data #13:

- 1 and she gets *knocked off* balance and  
 2 crashes on the side of the street.  
 3 As the car drives off,  
 4 um, all she hears as  
 5 she's falling to the ground are  
 6 the guys laughing and snickering behind her.  
 7 'Ha ha ha we got you,  
 8 ha ha ha, Pat.'  
 9 And, as, um,  
 10 as she's recovering,  
 11 shaking her head,  
 12 and trying to get up,  
 13 um, she's all out of sync,  
 14 she doesn't realize what's going on at the moment.  
 15 Then, she glances at her clock  
 16 and realizes that she's really,  
 17 really late for her exam.  
 18 So, she decides to leave the broken bicycle  
 19 on the side of the road,  
 20 and just really run to get to her class,  
 21 and try to make it there on time.

Regarding the use of the Japanese modal *-te shimau*, there is no significant difference in frequency between role-play and monologue, even though the modal verb *-te shimaul-chau* form is the most frequently used linguistic expression of affect by Japanese (role-play: 2.3 %; monologue: 1.3%), as shown in Table 8 and Table 9. The only difference in the usage is that the formal form *-te shimau* is used for the monologue, as shown in line 6, Data 11, and *-chau* for role-play in the same context of the story (line 6, Data 14).

## Data #14

- 1-> M: soo nigeteicchatta  
 yeah ran away-MODAL  
 yeah, they ran away
- 2 Y: honto NEE  
 really right  
 really!
- 3 moo yurusenai yo NEE  
 Interj forgive-NEG ASSRT right  
 you cannot forgive them really
- 4 nanbaa toka oboete nai no  
 number etc remember NEG Question  
 you don't remember their license number or anything?
- 5 M: un  
 yeah (=no)
- 6-> jitensha wa koware chau shi  
 bicycle-TOP broken MODAL and  
 the bicycle was broken and

## 4.4. Intensity Level of Complaints

The levels of intensity of complaints in role-play are coded from 1 to 5, as defined earlier. The intensity levels of each informant complaints are tabulated and summated for each group. Table 10

shows how many informants used each level of blame words, regardless of frequency of use. Americans and Japanese show a different distribution pattern on each level, as seen in Table 10.

	AMERICANS (22)	JAPANESE (21)
5	1 (4.5%)	2 (9.5%)
4	8 (36.4%)	5 (23.8%)
3	1 (4.5%)	2 (9.5%)
2	7 (31.8%)	12 (57%)
1	5 (22.7%)	0
Total	22	21

Table 10. Intensity Level of Complaints in Role-play

Note: Numbers show the occurrence of complaints by the informants in each group. Some informants use complaints more than once.

The most frequently used level of intensity in the American group is level 4 (36.4%); for the Japanese group, it is level 2 (57%). The American informants' frequent use of level 4 (which is a direct accusation of the aggressor) is partly due to the fact that English has a large variety of curse words, including 'idiots, bastards, jerks, maniacs, stupid, obnoxious punks', all used by the American informants. As to the Japanese, five informants also used accusatory words towards the aggressor; however, the variety of curse words is limited to *boke no yatsura* 'stupid guys'; other descriptions are more moderate such as *henna yatsura* 'strange people', and *garano warui wakamono* 'rowdy young men'. It is also worthy of note that all the Japanese informants in most of the cases used level 2, annoyance, by expressing irritability (including *mukatsuku* 'feel vexed', *saikaku* 'when the worst comes to the worst, terrible', *atamani kuru* 'mad'). Conversely, only two out of the remaining seven expressed anger using words such as 'mad' or 'I was so angry'. The rest only showed their annoyance indirectly by expressing emotions of 'fear' or 'stress', etc.

While two Japanese informants and one American informant used the highest intensity level, 5, some qualitative difference was observed in the way they expressed emotions.

Data 15 illustrates how Japanese may employ weakeners when they present a high intensity of aggression. The data is an extreme example of intensity scale 5, used exclusively by the Japanese female speaker:

#### Data #15

1-> H: un, honmani, moo, (hh) nanka moo, koroshite  
 yeah really INTJ somewhat INTJ kill-and  
 Yeah, really gosh, somehow gosh, I wanted to

2 yaritait-te iu kanji  
 give-and-QT say feeling  
 kill him or something like that

It should be noted that both the interjection *moo* and the weakener such as *nanka* ('somewhat') alternate in line 1, followed by the aggressive phrase *koroshite yaritai* ('want to kill him'), which is again followed by the weakener *-te iu kanji* ('something like that') in line 2. This sentence represents a good example of how Japanese embed aggression within the indirect expression of the weakener. Syntactically, the sentence *koroshite yaritai* is embedded into the main sentence verb phrase *-te iu kanji*.

In another instance in which level 5 is used, the male speaker softens the force of his comment, making it sound like a kind of joke by using mimetics:

#### Data #16

1 T: kore wa moo keisatsu ni kayotte  
 this TOP INTJ police to commute  
 I should visit the police station a lot and

- 2 hayame ni tusmakaete moratte  
early in back-and-forth give  
go there early in the day to
- 3 charinko mo naoshite moratte  
bicycle also fixed given and  
have my bicycle fixed and
- 4 moo zettai iino katte moratte  
INTJ absolutely good one bought and  
have them buy me an absolutely good bicycle and
- 5 A: maa soregurai shinai to ne  
well that much do-NEG QT right  
you should go that far, right
- 6 T: soreka moo akai musutangu mitsuketara  
and INTJ red mustang found-if  
if I found the red mustang then
- 7 BOKO [BOKO ni suru ghh ghh  
bashed up to become  
I would tear it up into pieces
- 8 A: [ghh ghh

Note that when T emphasizes the mimetic word *Boko boko* in line 7, A started to laugh, and they end up laughing together.

Conversely, not only do Americans use a wider variety of blame words ('stupid, crazy, horrible, nasty, mean, jerk'), as compared to the Japanese's *baka* 'stupid', *oyaji* 'old fart', they seem to further intensify these aggressive expressions instead of hedging them, as shown in line 1 and 2 of Data #17.

## Data #17

- 17 C: I don't know, man, but I tell you...I really want to get these

- 18 guys...I'd really like to, man, pour sugar in their gas tanks,  
19 slit their tires or something.
- 20 T: Oh, that's *also* a very good idea.
- 21 C: I-I even thought about throwing bricks through the  
windows  
22 of their houses. I tell you, I'm ticked off!  
23 I'm not happy.
- 24 T: I'll help you decide how we can pay them back.  
25 We'll think of something, that's for sure.  
26 In the meantime, you may want to try calling the  
professor.

Data 18 also illustrates the good example of American directness in blaming expressions:

## Data #18

- 1 Z: I FAILED the CLASS!  
2 R: That's it?  
3 Z: Not only that,  
4 but I paid for it and I failed it.  
5 R: And your bike...  
6 Z: I know... And my bike...  
7 Those are **stupid jerks!**  
8 I wish I had gotten the license plate number.  
9 I just rode over home  
10 as fast as I could

It should be noted how the speaker uses both 'stupid' and 'jerks' to intensify the blame in line 7 of Data 18.

In addition to the above example, other strategies that Americans use to intensify blame appeared in my data, including repetition of adjectives with negative connotations (e.g., 'this HORRIBLE, HORRIBLE, HORRIBLE man), and the simultaneous use of the strengthener to modify the curse word such as in 'the really nasty person in the car'.

This American tendency of intensifying blame (as seen especially in the use of curse words or criticism) is also observed in their exclusive use of exaggeration and hyperbole. Some examples of typical hyperbole in English that have no Japanese equivalent are furnished by the way Americans maximize numbers, as in the example of the *car* 'is doing like HUU::Ndred fifty miles an hour around the corner', or express analogy, using metaphorical shift, as in 'I felt like I was riding on an egg', to show how the bike felt bumpy after it was bashed up.

While Japanese are found to display higher levels of aggression through their simultaneous use of weakeners or softening devices, Americans tend to intensify such devices through frequent use of strengtheners and of hyperbolic expressions that have no equivalent in Japanese.

### 5. Conclusion

Between the genres of monologue and role-play, Japanese showed sharper contrast in the increase of linguistic affect in role-play, compared with their American counterparts. The result indicates that the higher emotive level of the discourse, due to the availability of interaction with the audience, does in fact affect Japanese more than it does Americans in their use of linguistic affect in general. Regarding the use of lexical and morpho-syntactic variables, Japanese show a more drastic increase in the amount of lexicon in role-play than do their American counterparts, whose increase of the same variables may be subtly due to the higher use of affect in monologue than is the case in Japanese; a similar pattern of increase was observed for the morpho-syntactic variables. As for the greater use of intensifiers in role-play than in monologue, Japanese showed an increase compared to their American counterparts. In contrast, the use of specifiers is similar across the speech genres between Americans and Japanese. The drastic increase of the use of lexical items and intensifiers in role-play for the Japanese may indicate their conscious effort to dramatize the affective expression, exaggerating and attenuating its force more than do their American counterparts, while the encoding of nuances or subtle expression encoded in morpho-syntax does not show much difference in the pattern. However, upon closer examination of each variable, it is found that

among the lexical items used by the Japanese are also strengtheners, interjection, and mimetics, which are considered more marginal vocabularies, closer to direct emotional expression; compared with this, the Americans use blame words (referring to the conscious cognitive processing) in order to label the emotion. On the other hand, it can be said that a relatively high use of lexicon and intensifiers indicates that Americans in general tend to use a relatively high affect even in story-telling monologue, in which no immediate interaction with the audience is available.

Some qualitative differences are observed in the American use of inversion and weakeners. While Japanese use inversion as an attention-getter strategy or to accompany emotion words, Americans use these devices to highlight an important incident in order to make the story interesting. In a similar way, Japanese use weakeners to attenuate a high level aggression of complaints, while Americans intensify them instead with strengtheners.

The results of this study suggest Americans are more expressive than Japanese in narrating the story in monologue form, whereas Japanese show significant conscious effort to intensify the affect level in role-play, in which immediate interaction is available.

The current study limits its scope to spoken variables; however, different varieties of written form (such as e-mail correspondence and formal writing) should be also studied in terms of availability of interaction.

*University of South Carolina  
Department of Germanic, Slavic and  
Oriental Languages and Literatures  
Columbia, South Carolina 29208*

### Notes

1. The degree of consciousness or emotivity varies within the lexicon, and interjection or mimesis are higher in emotivity than emotional words; they are a marginal case in this sense, as I will discuss later.
2. Labov (1984) regards intensity on a continuum scale of zero as unmarked expression in a context free situation and positive as 'aggravated or

intensified' and negative below zero as 'disintensified' (Labov 1984:44). Labov's linguistic variables (1984) are:

Prosodic contrast: stress on the quantifier beyond that predictable from phrase and sentence structure; also laughter.

Negative concord: the incorporation of negative particles in indeterminates, such as *any, ever, either* following the first negative of the sentence.

Adverbs of intensity: *really* and other adverbs of intensity with scope including the universal quantifier.

Repetition: usually in the form of the repetition of whole clauses in rapid succession.

Inversion: shift of placement of the quantifier from its normal position after the first tensed member of the auxiliary: *I never will forget this*.

In addition to the above list, Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) include emphatic particles; Besnier (1990) includes the use of marginal areas of vocabularies such as onomatopoeia as linguistic intensifiers.

The affective specifiers include verb voice, (e.g. adversative passive in Japanese), and affixes and particles as well as other widely used lexical items, including adjectives of affect that encode the negative or positive attitude and emotion of the speaker (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:15).

3. In addition to the above function of intensifiers, Labov (1984) defines 'intensity' as 'the emotional expression of social orientation toward the linguistic proposition: the commitment of the self to the proposition'. Labov (1984:44) points out that 'intensifiers such as 'really' make little contribution to cognitive or representational meaning, unless it is directly opposed to the unreal or the insincere'.
4. Besnier (1990) also pointed out that having a 'referential meaning' is crucial in distinguishing whether or not the linguistic affect is solely an 'affect-encoding' device such as 'interjection'.
5. Besnier (1990) includes the use of marginal areas of vocabularies, such as onomatopoeia or 'ideophone', as 'rich in affective meaning'. While mimetics have a 'marginal area of vocabulary' (Besnier 1990:423), they may also have an 'intensifying' function; they are basically included as specifiers in my data because they have meaning, compared to strengthener, interjection, or other intensifying devices which have little or no meaning.
6. An example of 'not having the requisite feeling' is: 'I congratulate you', said when I do not feel at all pleased, perhaps even am annoyed (Austin 1962:40). Of course, we never know what the speaker really feels; sometimes, however, I would argue that once the feeling is displayed as an emotion, most likely

it is processed appropriately according to the situation and socio-cultural context. Otherwise, the mismatch can cause problems in interpersonal relationships, as it actually happens in real life. In this sense, the cognitive processing of emotion to match the appropriate display for the speech act can explain this mismatch.

7. It should be noted that while the display of anger in direct complaint confronting the person should be mitigated by cultural display rules, it is rather exaggerated in indirect complaint, due to the solidarity function among intimates, as I discussed earlier.
8. With regard to Shonan ideophones, Hamano (1998) claims that Japanese mimetic words 'sound symbolic rather than onomatopoeic' because 'they symbolize manners, or psychological conditions' (Hamano 1992:2). While it is true that Japanese mimetics are used to dramatize actions or emotions, they can be also used to express details. Although it is not fully explained, Hamano (1998) also compared about seventy various uses of Japanese mimetics (Hirose 1981) to express similar 'expressiveness' and 'explicitness' of English equivalents that are expressed in a variety of different verbs such as *toddle, strut, plot, stroll, stomp*, etc. (Hamano 1998:2). While 'expressiveness' may correlate with the intensity of 'affect', the function of 'explicitness' may be more relevant to the context in which details are called for.
9. Based on Shibamoto's (1987) assumption that gender differences in emotivity are best expressed in syntactic form because they are out of the speaker's conscious control, Lutz (1990) investigated if there is any gender difference in the use of syntactic affect. She found that there is no significant difference between men and women in syntactic use of affect, though women informants consciously talk about emotional control twice as much as do male subjects.
10. Tsujimura (1996) warns that the adversative interpretation is mandatory in indirect passive, because there are some cases which imply positive effects on subjects as in *Taro wa sensei ni musuko-o homerareta* ('Taro had his son praised by his teacher') (Tsujimura 1996:240). It seems to me, however, that the use of the adversative passive in a context which implies positive effects on the subject is an expression of humbleness, as in the use of humble form in honorifics, by showing that the speaker is still adversely affected by the praise, because he/she was embarrassed to receive undeserved praise in this particular context. In this case, the pragmatic meaning of adversativity is created culturally, and a positive effect on the speaker can be cross-cultural, as in the case of English.
11. Sociolinguistically, Weiner & Labov (1983) also observed that get-passive is a stigmatized variant which is used more frequently by males, especially

teenagers and blacks (Labov 1983:43; gender differences are beyond the scope of this study).

### References

- Ameka, Felix. 1992. Interjections: The universal yet neglected part of speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18.101-118.
- Arndt, Horst & Richard W. Janney. 1991. Verbal, prosodic, and kinesic emotive contrasts in speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 15.521-549.
- Asano, Yuko. 2002. How to be indirect in Japanese. *RASK: International Journal of Language and Communication* 17.23-52.
- Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Baba, Junko. 1999. *Interlanguage pragmatics: Compliment responses by learners of Japanese and English as a Second Language*. Berlin: Lincom Europa.
- Baba, Junko. (In preparation). *Cultural Constraints on the Use of Mimesis in Japanese Discourse*.
- Banfield, Ann. 1982. *Unspeakable sentences: Narration and representation in the language of fiction*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Barnlund, Dean. 1974. The Public Self and the Private Self in Japan and the United States. In: John C. Condon & Mitsuko Saito (eds.), *Intercultural encounters with Japan: Communication-contact and conflict, 27-96*. Tokyo: Simul Press.
- Benedict, Ruth. 1946. *Chrysanthemum and sword: Patterns of Japanese culture*. New York: New American Library.
- Besnier, Niko. 1990. Language and Affect. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19.419-31.
- Blyth, Carl. 1994. C'est bon ça!: Conversationalized displays of affect in French. *Proceedings SALSA-II*, 1-11. Austin: University of Texas.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1979. Pronouns in discourse. In: T. Givón (ed.), *Syntax and semantics, vol.12: Discourse and syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Briggs, Jean. 1980. *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Brown, Roger & Albert Gilman. 1989. Politeness Theory and Shakespeare's Four Major Tragedies. *Language and Society* 18.159-212.
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Carter, Ronald & Michael McCarthy. 1999. The English get-passive in spoken discourse: description and implication for an interpersonal grammar. *English Language and Linguistics* 3(1).41-58.
- Casparis, Christian Paul. 1975. *Tense without time: The present tense in narration*. Bern: Francke.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1982. Integration and involvement in speaking, writing and oral literature. In: Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex. 35-53.
- Chappel, Hilary. 1980. Is the get-passive adversative? *Papers in Linguistics* 13.411-52.
- Clancy, Patricia M. 1985. Written and spoken style in Japanese narratives. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18.119-158.
- Clancy, Patricia M. 1999. The socialization of affect in Japanese mother-child conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31.1397-1421.
- Cook, Haruko Minegishi. 1990. The sentence-final particle *ne* as a tool for cooperation in Japanese conversation. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 1.29-44.
- Corsini, Raymond J. & Alan J. Auerback. 1996. *Concise Encyclopedia of Psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Daneš, František. 1994. Involvement with language and language. *Journal of Pragmatics* 22.251-264.
- Doi, Takeo. 1986. *The anatomy of self*. Tokyo: Kodansha.
- Eckman, Paul. 1975. *Unmasking the Face*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. The case for Case. In: E. Bach & R.T. Harms (eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1-88.
- Fujii, Yoko. 1989. *Right dislocation in Japanese discourse*. MA thesis, University of Oregon.
- Fujitani, Naritaka. 1938 (originally 1767). *Kazashishoo*. Edited by K. Hukui. *Kokugaku taikai: Gohoo sooke, Vol. 1*. Tokyo: Kooseikaku.
- Gall, Susan. 1996. *The Gale Encyclopedia of Psychology*. Detroit & New York: Gale.
- Gruber, J.S. 1965. *Studies in lexical relations*. Ph.D dissertation, Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Guo, Jiansheng. 1999. From information to emotion: The affective function of right-dislocation in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31.1103-1128.
- Harris, Grave. 1978. *Casting Out Anger: Religion among the Taita of Kenya*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Herold, R. 1986. A quantitative study of the alternation between BE- and GET-passives [paper read at the 25th NWAVE Conference, Stanford University, October, 1986].

- Holmes, Janet. 1986. Functions of 'you know' in women's and men's speech. *Language in Society* 15.1-22.
- Hübler, Axel. 1998. The expressivity of grammar: Grammatical devices expressing emotion across time. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hymes, Dell. 1972. On communicative competence. In: J.B. Pride (ed.), *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. 269-293.
- Imada, Hiroshi. 1989. Cross-language comparison of emotional terms with special reference to the concept of anxiety. *Japanese Psychological Research* 31.1.10-19.
- Imada, Hiroshi, M. Araki & Y. Kujime. 1991. Comparisons of concepts of anxiety, fear, and depression in English and Japanese Language. Unpublished manuscript, Kansai Gakuin University, Department of Psychology, Hyogo, Japan.
- Irving, Judith T. 1982. Language and Affect: Some cross-cultural issues. In: Heidi Byrnes (ed.), *Contemporary Perceptions of Language: Interdisciplinary dimensions*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 31-48.
- Irving, Judith. T. 1990. Registering affect: heteroglossia in the linguistic expression of emotion. In: Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 31-48.
- Iwasaki, Shoichi. 1993. Subjectivity in grammar and discourse: Theoretical considerations and a case study of Japanese spoken discourse. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Jackendoff, Ray. S. 1972. *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1960. Concluding statement: linguistics and poetics. In: T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 350-377.
- James, Francis. 1986. *Semantics of the English subjunctive*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1931. *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Jordan, Eleanor H. 1987. *Japanese: The spoken language, Part 1*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University.
- Kagan, James. 1978. On emotion and its development: a working paper. In: Lewis L. Rosenblum (ed.), *The development of affect*: 11-12. New York: Plenum. 1-41.
- Kamio, Akio. 1990. *Jyohoo no Nawabari Riron (The theory of territory of information)*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Kamio, Akio. 1995. Territory of information in English and Japanese psychological utterances. *Journal of Pragmatics* 24.235-264.

- Kasper, Gabriele & Kenneth R. Rose. 1999. Pragmatics and SLA. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 19.81-104.
- Keenan, Elinor Ochs & Bambi Schieffelin. 1977. Topic as a discourse notion. A study of topic in the conversations of children and adults. In: Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press, 335-384.
- Kita, Sotaro. 1997. Two-dimensional analysis of Japanese mimesis. *Linguistics* 35.379-415.
- Kobayashi, Yoshiharu. 1938. Joshi ga no hyoogenteki kachi [The expressive value of the particle ga.] *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 15(10).1456-71.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The structure of the Japanese language*. Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1987. *Functional syntax: Anaphora, discourse and empathy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuroda, S. Y. 1973. Where epistemology, style and grammar meet: A case study from Japanese. In: S.R. Anderson & P. Kiparsky (eds.), *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, 377-391. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kuroda, S. Y. 1979. On Japanese passives. In: G. Bedell, E Kobayashi & M. Muraki (eds.), *Explorations in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Kazuko Inoue*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.
- Labov, William & David Fanshel. 1977. *Therapeutic discourse*. New York: Academic Press.
- Labov, William. 1984. *Intensity*. Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics.
- Lakoff, George. 1977. Linguistic gestalts. In: W.A. Beach, S.E. Fox & S. Philosph (eds.), *Papers from the thirteenth regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. April 14-16, 1977. Chicago: University of Chicago, 236-287.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1975. *Language and woman's place*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Lakoff, George & Zoltan Kövecses. 1987. The cognitive model of anger inherent in American English. In: D. Holland & N. Quinn (eds.), *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 195-221.
- Lebra, Takie Sugiyama. 1976. *Japanese patterns of behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 1971. *Meaning and the English verb*. London: Longman.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 1983. *Principles of pragmatics*. London and New York: Longman.
- Levy, R.I. 1984. Emotion, knowing and culture. In: R.A. Shweder & R.A. Levine (eds.), *Culture theory*, 214-237. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



- Lutz, Catherine. 1987. Goals, events and understanding in Ifaluk emotion theory. In: D. Holland & N. Quinn (eds.), *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 290-311.
- Lutz, Catherine A. & Lisa Abu-Lughod. 1990. *Language and the politics of emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Makino, Seiichi. 1981. Tense switching in Japanese written narrative discourses. In: S. Makino (ed.) 1981. *Papers from the Middlebury symposium on Japanese discourse analysis*. Urbana, Ill.: Toyota Foundation.
- Makino, Seiichi & M. Tsutsui. 1986. *Dictionary of basic Japanese grammar*. Tokyo: The Japan Times.
- Marks, Joel. 1991. *Emotion East and West: Introduction to a comparative philosophy*. *Philosophy East and West*. Vol. 41, 1991.
- Martin, Samuel E. 1987. *The Japanese language through time*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Matthews, Richard. 1993. *Papers on semantics and grammar*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Matsumoto, David, Tsutomu Kudo et al. 1988. Antecedents of and reactions to emotions in the United States and Japan. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. 267-287.
- Maynard, Senko K. 1997. *Japanese communication: Language and thought in context*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Nelson, William Allan (ed.). 1958. *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*. Springfield, Mass.: Merriam.
- Ochs, Elinor & Bambi Schieffelin. 1989. Language has a heart. *Text* 9.1.7-25.
- Ohta, Amy Snyder. 1994. Socializing the expression of affect: An overview of affective particle use in the Japanese as a Foreign Language Classroom. *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 5.2.
- Oono, Tsuyoshi & Ryoko Suzuki. 1992. Word order variability in Japanese conversation. *Text* 12.3.
- Olshain, Elite & Liora Weinbach. 1993. Interlanguage features of the speech act of complaining. In: G. Kasper & S. Blum-Kulka (eds.), *Interlanguage Pragmatics*, 108-122. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 1981. *You know: A discourse functional approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Radford, Andrew. 1988. *Transformational grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rintell, Ellen. 1990. That's incredible: Stories of emotion told by second language learners and native speakers. In: Ronin C. Scarcella, Ellene S. Anderson & Stephen D. Krashen (eds.), *Developing Communicative Com-*

- petence in *Second Language*. Boston, Mass.: Heile & Herine Publications. 225-247.
- Rosenzweig, Saul. 1978. *Aggressive behavior and Rosenzweig picture-frustration study*. New York: Praeger.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1981. Tense variation in narrative. *Language* 57.46-62.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse markers*. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Schourup, L.C. 1983. *Common discourse particles in English conversation*. Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University.
- Selting, Margret. 1994. Emphatic speech style with special focus on the prosodic signaling of heightened emotive involvement in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 22.375-408.
- Slugoski, Ben R. & William Turnbull. 1988. Cruel to be kind and kind to be cruel: Sarcasm, banter and social relations. *Journal of Language and Psychology* 7(2).101-121.
- Solomon, Robert C. 1988. On emotions as judgments. *American Philosophical Quarterly* 25.183-191.
- Stein, Gabriele. 1979. *Studies in the function of the passive*. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.
- Sussex, Roland. 1982. A note on the get-passive construction. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 2.83-95.
- Suzuki, Akira. 1977 (originally 1824). *Gengyo shushuron*. Edited by K. Toshio & M. Tsuboi. Benseisha, Bunko 68. Tokyo: Benseisha.
- Suzuki, Ryoko. 1999. Language socialization through morphology: The affective suffix -CHAU in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31.1423-1441.
- Svartvik, Jan. 1966. *On voice in the English verb*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Szatrowski, Polly E. 1985. The use of Japanese tense-aspect forms in Japanese. *The Journal of Asian Culture (ULA)* 9.102-124.
- Szatrowski, Polly E. 1989. 'Pastness' and 'narrative events' in Japanese conversational narratives. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 19.409-433.
- Tanaka, Hiroko. 2000. The particle *ne* as a turn-management device in Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32.1135-1176.
- Tannen, Deborah. 1982. Oral and literate strategies in spoken and written narratives. *Language* 58(1).1-21.
- Tannen, Deborah. 1984. *Conversational style*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Tatsuki, Donna Hurst. 2000. If my complaints could passions move: An interlanguage study of aggression. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32.1003-1017.
- Tokieda, Motoki. 1950. *Nihon bunpoo [Japanese grammar]*. Tokyo: Iwanami.
- Trosborg, Anna. 1995. *Interlanguage Pragmatics: Requests, Complaints and Apologies*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Tsujimura, Natsuko. 1996. An introduction to Japanese linguistics. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Terkel, Studs. 1985. Working people talk about what they do all day and how they feel about what they do. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Urban, Greg. 1988. Ritual wailing in Amerindian Brazil. *American Anthropologist* 90.385-400.
- Valentine, Charles A. 1963. Men of Anger and Men of Shame: Lakai ethnopsychology and its implications for sociopsychological theory. *Ethnology* 1.441-77.
- Volek, Bronislava. 1987. Emotive signs in language and semantic functioning of derived nouns in Russian. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Weiner, E. Judith & William Labov. 1983. Constraints on the agentless passive. *Journal of Linguistics* 19.29-58.
- White, Geoffrey M. 1990. Moral discourse and the rhetoric of emotions. In: Catherine A. Lutz & Lisa Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the politics of emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-24.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1992. The semantics of interjections. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18.159-192.
- Wolfson, Nessa. 1979. The Conversational Historical Present Alternation. *Language* 55.168-182.

