

**6. Rethinking "Power" and "Solidarity" in Japanese Discourse:
A case of *no*, *tte* and *to yuu* +nominal *wa***

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Abstract:

Since Brown and Gilman's 1960 pioneering study, and the subsequent contribution of Brown and Levinson (1987), the notion of power and solidarity has been fundamental to sociolinguistic theory. "Power" is generally characterized by non-reciprocal forms of address, asymmetrical relationships in which one party is subordinate to another. In contrast, "solidarity" is associated with reciprocal forms of address, symmetrical relationships characterized by social equality and similarity. As the notions of "power" and "solidarity" (or distance and closeness) appear to be opposing concepts, some researchers associate certain linguistic forms with a show of power or solidarity. However, this paper argues the danger of simply linking linguistic forms with such interactional intentions. This paper first briefly reviews research findings on the use of the discourse modal marker *no* in the context of gender and dominance. It then analyzes *tte* and *to yuu* +nominal (*wa*) to show that the same linguistic material can express either solidarity or power depending on the linguistic and pragmatic context. By examining utterances which include both *no* and *tte* or *to yuu* + nominal *wa*, this paper attempts to shed light on the complexity of the interrelationship between these two concepts in human interactions.

1. Introduction

As the notions of "power" and "solidarity" (or distance and closeness) appear to be opposing concepts, some researchers associate certain linguistic forms with a show of power or solidarity. However, this paper argues the danger of simply linking linguistic forms with such interactional intentions. This paper first briefly reviews research findings on the use of the discourse modal marker *no* in the context of gender and dominance. It then analyzes *tte* and *to yuu* +nominal (*wa*) to show that the same linguistic material can express either solidarity or power depending on the linguistic and pragmatic context. By examining utterances which include both *no* and *tte* or *to yuu* + nominal *wa*, this paper attempts to shed light on the complexity of the interrelationship between these two concepts in human interactions.

2. Power and Solidarity

Since Brown and Gilman's 1960 pioneering study, and the subsequent contribution of Brown and Levinson (1987), the notion of power and solidarity has been fundamental to sociolinguistic theory. "Power" is generally characterized by non-reciprocal forms of address, asymmetrical relationships in which one party is subordinate to another. In contrast, "solidarity" is associated with reciprocal forms of address, symmetrical relationships characterized by social

dimensions to gender other than power" (Thorne, Kramarae, & Henley, 1983, p. 15, cited in Uchida, 1992, p. 551). Although gender structures and power structures are inter-connected, they are not one and the same. Ide, in her interview with Sandra Buckley (1997, p. 42) states that while power and authority are central concepts in much feminist analysis in the United States, Japanese feminists do not seem to place as much emphasis on questions of power. Although Western feminists might view Japanese women's willingness to value, and work within the structure of *boseiai* ('maternal love') as an acceptance of a low-power position, Japanese women tend to consider power "as something that is in process or negotiation, something that shifts levels and balance from context to context rather than remaining static." Hengeveld (1984) explains that power, or *kenryoku*, in Japan is less an attribute of the individual than of role and position. 3

In fact, researchers such as Hori (1986), upon examining the use of some honorific markers by Japanese men and women, concluded that the apparent gender difference in the use of Japanese results mostly from the different interactional domains in which each sex is placed. In other words, linguistic differences between genders are based on social roles rather than on the speaker and interlocutor's sex per se. This was followed by a move away from viewing women's speech as powerless, and toward appreciating and celebrating women's communication in a positive light in feminist scholarship, both Western and Japanese. The "cultural-difference approach" has since emerged, claiming that differences in linguistic behavior between American men and women are the product of interactions with same-sex peers during childhood. Accordingly, some researchers (Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1992) have pointed out that indirectness (which is often associated with women) yields the pleasant experience of getting one's way not because one demands it (power), but because others want the same thing (solidarity). In other words, those women who feel entitled to make demands may choose not to, because they would like to see a payoff in improved rapport.

To my knowledge, no prior research has rigorously analyzed the use of *no* in female-female interactions or compared the results to those from male-male or cross-sex interactions. However, McGloin argues that *no* used in declarative sentences such as (2) is still largely characteristic of female speech.

(2) *Yuube denwa ga atta no yo.*

last night telephone was
'There was a telephone call last night.'

McGloin (1990, p. 33)

She contends that the femininity associated with the aforementioned Japanese particle *no* stems from the function of *no desu* which presents an utterance "as relevant to the hearer," in order to establish rapport between the speaker and the hearer. She compares the following two sentences to make this point (p. 33). While (3a) simply agrees with the addressee's assumption, (3b) would be used to respond to a statement such as (4).

(3a) *Soo desu.*
'That's right.'

(3b) *Soo na n desu.*
'Really! (=That's really the case!)

(4) *Anata wa Tanaka-san deshita ne.*
you T Mr. Tanaka CP-PAST
'You are Mr. Tanaka, right?'

(McGloin, p. 35)

McGloin concludes that "women tend to be more positively polite [by] pay[ing] more attention to the hearer's desire to be liked, to be positively regarded" (p. 35). The sentence-final *no (desu)* may thus be considered as a discourse modal marker reflecting the speaker's attitudes toward what he or she is saying and signifying solidarity.

Among many studies on the use of *no (desu)* (e.g., Kuno, 1973; Miura, 1976; Maynard, 1997). Miura argues that when a clause is nominalized with *no*, the attribute is treated "as if it [were] a fixed unit of knowledge or concept, as if it [consisted] of a "physical object" (1976, p. 117, Maynard's translation 1997, p. 387). Maynard (p. 387) cites Miura's (p. 118) conclusion that "nominalization describes the event in a 'mediated manner of description.'" Maynard further proposes that nominalization shifts the speaker's perspective from the event to "the segmented and framed region as an identifiable concept" thus creating something like a still picture (p. 389). In Sentence 5, the nominalized clause which means 'The fact of the matter is, I did it,' *watashi ga yatta* 'my having done it' is now perceived as an objectively identifiable concept.

(5) *Watashi ga yatta n desu.*
I S do-PAST NM CP
'It's that I did it.'

Such a view is in agreement with Kunihiro's (1984) contention that nominalization (sentence + *no desu*) makes the statement distant and less direct which, he argues, may have resulted in the feminine quality of this marker.

Although we can see general agreement that a nominalized clause may sound more distant and less direct as compared to an active description (compare 6a and 6b), the use of *tte* or *to yuu* may signal even more distance when we consider the original meaning of these markers (compare 6b through 6e).

- (6a) *Haha no karada ga furuete iru.*
 mother LK body S trembling
 'My mother's body is trembling.'
- (6b) *Watashi wa haha no karada ga furuete iru no o kanjita.*
 I T mother LK body S trembling NM O felt
 'I felt my mother's body trembling.'
- (6c) *Watashi wa haha no karada ga furuete iru to kanjita.*
 I T mother LK body S trembling QT felt
 'I felt that my mother's body is trembling.'
- (6d) *Watashi ni wa haha no karada ga furuete iru to yuu kanji ga shita.*
 I to T mother LK body S trembling Q T call feeling S did
 'The feeling that my mother body's was trembling came to me.'

As *no* is generally used "when the preceding clause expresses something rather concrete or perceptible,"⁴ sentence (6b) sounds more factual and tangible than (6c) in which the quotation marker *to* separates the quotation from the verb of feeling. In other words, it is possible that the speaker of (6b) may even have been hugging his or her mother. The expression *to yuu* in (6d) is a combination of a quotation marker *to* and the plain form of the verb *yuu* 'say,' and thus *to yuu kanji ga shita* can be translated to "I had a feeling that can be described as trembling." Although the translation alone may give an impression of greater distance than all of the preceding sentences, it can be substantiated by the fact that, while sentences (6b) and (6c) would sit well even if the word *chokusetsu* 'directly' is inserted before the main verb, (6d) would not.

Suzuki (1996, p. 325) points out that a combination of the quotation marker *to* and the verb of speaking *yuu* expresses the speaker's distancing him/herself from the content of the

quotation, since "quotations represent what somebody says happens rather than what happens" (see sentence 7).

- (7) *Kare wa "moo zettai sore o yaritai" to yuu kara.*
he T really absolutely that O want-to-do QT say because
'Because he says "I really want to do that.'"

(Suzuki, p. 325)

Such a distancing strategy when making rather strong statements is well illustrated in the following examples. The use of sentence-final *tte kanji* (a contraction of *to yuu kanji*) appears in recent colloquial Japanese, and it exhibits functional similarities to the English "like." Sentence (8) is taken from a television drama series *Kagayake, Rintaroo* aired in 1996. Michiru tries very hard to please her prospective mother-in-law, only to fail. She then turns to her fiancé, and says:

- (8) *Chikushoo tte kanji.*
damn QT feeling

Sentence (9) appeared in the email message addressed to this researcher. The writer expressed amazement at and disapproval of a fellow instructor who had chosen very difficult reading materials for students of Japanese. She conveyed sarcasm by describing her feelings when she first looked at the syllabus. The use of "like" by this particular Japanese-English bilingual parallels that of *tte kanji*.

- (9) *I was like WOW tte kanji.*
QT feeling

Although there has been a tendency among linguists to regard highly colloquial expressions and code-mixing as deviations from the norm, one cannot deny that they do reflect systems of current linguistic behavior and that *tte* or *to yuu* may be used to distance the speaker from the content of a quotation. Having reached this conclusion, I will now analyze the functions of *tte* and *to yuu+* nominal (*wa*) to demonstrate that the same linguistic means can create solidarity and distance depending on the context.

Suzuki (1996) agrees with Takubo (1989) in describing *tte* or *to yuu no wa* as meta-use of language, since these locutions refer only to the name of the linguistic sign and not the semantic properties or the referent of phrases used by the interlocutor.

- (10) A: *Tanaka-san ni atta yo.*
Mr. Tanaka O met FP
'I saw Mr. Tanaka.'
- B: *Tanaka-san tte dare.*
Mr. Tanaka who
'Mr. Tanaka, who is he?' (Takubo, p. 225)
- (11) A: *Kimi mo bochibochi nengu no osame-doki ja nai no.*
you also soon land-tax LK time-to-pay TG NM
'Isn't it about time for you to pay the land tax?'
- B: *Nengu no osame-doki to yuu no wa, doo yuu imi da.*
land-tax LK time-to-pay how say meaning CP
'Time to pay the land tax, what do you mean?' (Takubo, p. 226)

Suzuki (1996) uses the notion of the "territory of information" in the sense used by Kamio (1990), to characterize the entities encoded by meta-forms as information that does not belong to the speaker's territory. In other words, a particular piece of information should not fulfill the following criteria with regard to the speaker:

- (12) a. The information is gained by the speaker's direct experience.
- b. The information expresses personal facts about the speaker's past life or possessions.
- c. The information concerns the speaker's future projects and plans that are certain to happen.
- d. The information expresses important personal facts related to the speaker's kin or very close people.
- e. The information is about future projects and plans of the speaker's kin that are certain to happen.
- f. The information is basic to the speaker's professional field or his/her specialty.
- g. The information is about places with which the speaker is deeply involved.
- h. The speaker is deeply involved in some sense with the information.

(adapted from Kamio, 1990, p. 33 cited in Suzuki, p. 324)

The proposed analysis is convincing when dealing with examples such as this from *Situational Functional Japanese* developed by Tsukuba Language Group.

- (13) Suzuki: *Kurabu no konsaato ga aru n da kedo sa.*
 club LK concert S exist NM CP but FP
 'Our club is having a concert.'
- Tanaka: *Ee.*
 'Yes.'
- Suzuki: *Yokattara, Risa-san to futari de konai.*
 good-if Lisa with two people won't come
 'Won't you come with Lisa, two of you?'
- Lisa: *Ara, kurabu tte nani yatteru n desu ka.*
 oh club QT what doing NM CP Q
 ' "Club?" What do you do?'
- Suzuki: *Gasshoobu na n da.*
 chorus club NM CP
 'It's a chorus club.'
- Tanaka: *E. Suzuki-san tte, uta joozu na n desu ka.*
 what Mr. Suzuki QT song skillful NM CP Q
 'What? You mean you? Are you good at singing?'

(Situational Functional Japanese, p.2)

In Lisa's utterance, *kurabu* 'club' is marked by *tte*. Because it refers to the club to which Suzuki belongs, it satisfies criterion (g) above. The information can be said to belong to Suzuki's territory rather than Lisa's. Likewise, in Tanaka's utterance, *tte* follows *Suzuki-san* "Mr. Suzuki," the name of her interlocutor, which clearly belongs to Suzuki's territory rather than Tanaka's. Thus these sentences can even be translated to: 'You say "club," but what do you do?' and 'You mean "You"? Are you good at singing?'

Suzuki points out that there are some uses of *tte* and *to yuu no wa* in which the entities marked by these expressions belong to the speaker's territory of information. However, rather than treating them as counter examples, she regards them as extensions of the canonical form.

- (14) *Soo yuu ishiki ga sugoku tsuyoi n desu keredomo, arukooru-izonshoo to yuu no wa sono ishi no mondai janakute, kekkyoku byooki da kara.*
 (that-kind consciousness S very strong NM CP but alcohol-dependency FL will LK matter CP-not after-all sickness CP so)
 'That kind of feeling is very strong, but *alcohol dependency* is, uh, not a matter of will, but it is after all a sickness.'
 (Suzuki, p. 326)

In (14), the speaker is giving information about alcohol dependency that is marked by the meta-form for the benefit of the hearer who does not know or is less familiar with this subject matter. Thus, it clearly belongs to the speaker's territory of information. Suzuki argues that the full form *to yuu no wa* tends to occur when the information belongs to the speaker's territory, while the contracted form *tte* tends to be seen when the information belongs to the addressee's territory. She attributes such a distributional pattern to the lexical meanings of these forms. While *X to yuu no wa* 'the thing that is referred to as X' is more indicative of the distance between the speaker and the entity marked by this phrase, the contracted form *tte* obscures the separation.

Suzuki's argument can be summarized as follows: when information belongs to the addressee's territory, the distance that the speaker feels with regard to the entity in question is already known to the addressee, thus there is no reason to emphasize the fact. In contrast, when the information belongs to the speaker's territory, the speaker wants to increase the distance between himself and the entity in order to establish solidarity with the addressee, by viewing the entity from the addressee's standpoint.

However, it is also possible that the speaker uses the contracted form *tte* regardless of whose territory the information belongs to, as long as the speaker is referring to what the addressee has just said (e.g., Lisa's utterance in 13), or the speaker is making a comment regarding the addressee based on the new information (e.g., Tanaka's utterance in (13); or the speaker is saying something in response to the addressee's reaction as in (15) below.) Makino and Tsutsui (1986, p. 485) also observe that the abbreviated form *tte* used "to present topics in informal conversation" can follow any sentence element, and "that element is usually a part of the conversation partner's previous utterance." In all of the aforementioned instances, the contracted form may be used since the act of speaking is understood from the immediate context. Thus, it is not necessary to emphasize the act of speaking by using the full form.

In (15), taken from a television drama based on Hayashi Fumiko's *Hoorooki* (aired on January 9, 1997), the information regarding Uno Kooji is encoded by the reduced form although it does belong to Hayashi's territory.

- (15) Hayashi: *Uno Kooji no mane shite ne harabai ni natte kaitara*
nanka kubi ga... (touching her neck)

(Uno Kooji LK copy-do FL on-belly to become wrote-if

somehow neck S...)

'When I was laying on my stomach and wrote like Uno Kooji, my neck somehow...'

Hirabayashi: ? (puzzled look)

Hayashi: *Anata shiranai no. Uno Kooji tte ne, itsumo ne harabai ni natte shoosetsu kaite n no. Watashi ga Kikusaka hoteru ni tazunete itta toki mo soo yo.*

(You don't now FP Uno Kooji QT FL always FL on-belly to become novel writing NM FP. I S Kikusaka Hotel to visit went time too so L)

'Didn't you know? Uno Kooji always writes novels laying on his stomach. He was doing so even when I visited him at the Kikusaka Hotel.'

Hirabayashi: *Aa yuu daisaakka to shiriai na n desu ka.*
(that-kind great author with acquainted NM CP Q)
'Are you acquainted with such a great author?'

Here, the use of the reduced form also signals the closeness that Hayashi feels towards Uno Kooji. This is because substitution of the *Uno Kooji tte ne* for *Uno Kooji tte yuu no wa ne* would accentuate the psychological distance between not only Hayashi and Uno, but also Hirabayashi and Uno because Hayashi said this particular sentence directly after the statement meaning "Didn't you know?" spoken in a condescending manner. Thus, merely substituting the abbreviated form for the full form may not create solidarity.

Accordingly, the speaker may use the full form *to yuu* when the speaker wants to emphasize distance from the entity marked by this meta-form, whether the information belongs to the speaker's territory as in (14), or the addressee's territory as in (16). In considering "distance and closeness," I will examine both the speaker's distance from the entity in question, and the speaker's distance from the addressee. In (16) T is a woman doctor and M is a male patient in a television drama series called *Otona no otoko* aired in September 1997.

(16) T1: *ichido naishikyoo no kensa nasattara ikaga desu ka?*
once LK exam do-HON how about CP Q
'How about having an endoscopy sometime?'

M1: *Yokunai n deshoo ka?*
not good NM probably Q
'Are you saying that I'm not well?'

T2: *Hontoo no tokoro wa naishikyoo de naka miteminai to*

wakarimasen node...

(truth LK place T endoscope with inside try to see-NEG when
clear-NEG because)

'To tell you the truth, we won't know unless we look inside using an endoscope.'

M2: *Naishikyoo to mooshimasu to...*

(endoscope QT say-HM QT)

What is the thing called "naishikyoo" (endoscope)?

T3: *Ee, gezai o kakete shitakara faibaa sukoopu...chiisai kamera
desu ne sore o irete choo no naka chokusetsu mimasu.*

(Yes, purgative O use below from fiber scope....small camera

CP FL that O insert intestine LK inside directly look)

'Well, we use a purgative.... and then insert a fiber-optic scope from below...a
small camera you know, and look directly inside the intestine.'

M3: *Shitakara to mooshimasu to...*

(below from QT say-HM QT)

'What does it mean, "from below"?'

T4: *Koomon kara desu.*

(anus from CP)

'By way of the anus.'

M asks the doctor the meaning of *naishikyoo* 'endoscope' in M2 and *shitakara* 'from below' in M3. In both instances, the information encoded by *to mooshimasu* (a quotation marker + a humble and polite form of the verb *yuu* 'say') belongs to the doctor's territory of information. M could have said something like *naishikyoo tte* and *shitakara tte* instead of *naishikyoo to mooshimasu to* and *shitakara to mooshimasu to*, which would have been more consistent with Suzuki's observation. It is possible to attribute the use of the full form (as opposed to the abbreviated one) to M's desire to show respect to his doctor by using honorifics. If that were the case, he might have said, *naishikyoo to osshaimasu to* and *shitakara to osshaimasu to*, using an exalting form of the verb "to say." Instead, he used the form that includes *mooshimasu* which can be interpreted as either a polite verb (*teineigo*) or humble form (*kenjoogo*) according to the *Koojien*. If we interpret *mooshimasu* as a polite form of "to say," *naishikyoo to mooshimasu to* sounds more like 'what people in general call an "endoscope"' or 'the thing that is called (by people) an "endoscope"' rather than 'what you have just called an "endoscope."' If we consider *mooshimasu to* to be a humble form, *shitakara to mooshimasu to* sound more like 'what I hesitate to call "from below."' Although further studies would be required to be more conclusive on this

matter, it may be possible to consider M as distancing the entity from the doctor, either by placing this medical procedure in a more general context, and/or by representing this medical process as something that impinges on his reality though frightened by what he will have to go through. 4

It would complicate the matter even more if the speaker were to comment on the addressee's behavior or personality. Unlike the question arising from Tanaka's surprise in (13), *E, Suzuki-san tte, uta joozu na n desu ka* 'What? You mean "you"? Are you good at singing?,' it is difficult to say that the information encoded in the following short exchange belongs solely to the addressee's territory. (17) is taken from the television drama series *Otona no otoko*. Oda has just served tea to her male colleague Naruse. Oda tells him that the tea is a seconded-flush Assam. Naruse notices that it is blended with Earl Gray. Oda looks surprised and says, "You are the kind of person who would notice that," meaning "I didn't know that you knew so much about tea."

- (17) Naruse: *Oishii.*
 'Delicious'
 Oda: *Assamu no sekando furasshu.*
 Assam LK second flush
 'It's a second-flush Assam.'
 Naruse: *Soreto Aaru Guree no burendo.*
 and Earl Gray LK blend
 'And blended with Earl Gray'
 Oda: *Naruse-san tte soo yuu hito na n da.*
 QT so say person NM CP
 'You are the kind of person who would notice that.'

This particular statement refers to the information that expresses personal facts about Naruse's past life (satisfying criterion 12b of Kamio), however it can be regarded as information gained by Oda's direct experience (satisfying criterion 12a of Kamio).

Likewise, an utterance that begins with *anata tte* ('you'+ quotation marker) can be followed by both positive and negative comments as seen in (18). However, a sentence which starts out as *anata tte (yuu) hito wa* or *omae tte (yuu) yatssu wa* is usually followed by something negative. This is substantiated by the fact that one does not usually complete the sentence when expressing anger as in (19).

- (18) a *Anata tte igai to yasashii no ne.*
 you QT unexpectedly kind NM FP

'You are kinder than I expected.'

- b *Anata tte saitei.*
you QT worst
'You are the worst.'

- (19) a *Anatta tte (yuu) hito wa!*
you QT (say) person T
'Ooh, you!'
b *Omae tte (yuu) yatsu wa!*

It is interesting to note that the full form *tte yuu* +person, meaning 'a person who is referred to as you' is used when making negative comments. It may be because the speaker is trying to be less direct, or wants to create a psychological distance from the addressee when experiencing dissatisfaction with the addressee.

As mentioned earlier, it is more common to find *tte*-marked phrases when the speaker is referring to what the addressee has just said, commenting on the addressee based on the newly acquired information, or when saying something in response to the addressee's reaction. In these instances, the speaker may rely on other linguistic means to distance herself from the message content rather than using the *to yuu* form. Consider (20), also taken from *Otona no otoko*.

- (20) O: *Haite oshitaoshitari shinai kara.*
enter and throw do things like will not do because
'I'm not going to do something like come in and throw you down on the bed.'
- N: *betsu ni oshitaosaretemo ii n da kedo...*
particularly be-thrown-if good NM CP but...
'I don't mind especially if I were thrown down on the bed.'
- O: *E? Naruse-san tte sonna koto yuu hito na n da.*
What? Mr. Naruse QT that-kind things say person CP NM CP
'What? I see that you (Mr. Naruse) are a person who would say things like that.'

Oda, a thirty-one year old working woman in this drama, comments on her male colleague Naruse, who is interested in dating Oda. Because Naruse, a bachelor, still lives with his mother at the age of thirty-nine, Oda somehow thought that Naruse was a mama's boy. A little surprised, Oda says, *E? Naruse-san tte sonna koto yuu hito na n da* 'What? I see that you are a kind of person who would say things like that.' Blurring the one-to-one correspondence between the comment and who is commented upon in this manner has recently become popular in the speech of young Japanese.⁵

In examining Oda's comment on Naruse's character, the difficulty in linking a linguistic element with either power or solidarity alone becomes apparent. There is an element of distancing created by the use of "the person who says X"; an element of rapport introduced by Oda's affirmation of Naruse's character in presenting her comment as shared knowledge through the use of *no*; and perhaps an element of Oda's assertiveness in her use of *da*. However, one must also remember that every utterance occurs in a culturally determined context.

As Firth (1957, p. 225) contends, the meaning of the utterance is the sum of its contribution to "the maintenance of appropriate patterns of life" in the society in which the speaker lives and to the affirmation of the speaker's role and personality within the society. As far as any characteristic of an utterance can be said to contribute to a recognizable part of the entire meaning of the utterance (e.g., words, phrases, speech sounds, paralinguistic and prosodic features of utterances), it can be said to be significant (Lyons, 1997, p. 607).

Furthermore, the pragmatic context should not be neglected. Because *no* presents the information as shared by the speaker and the hearer, it can and often does create "a feeling of closeness, empathy, understanding, and warmth" as Jorden (1988, p. 242) points out. However, there are instances in which the creation of such impressions is highly inappropriate. An excellent illustration of this kind, which has a significant pedagogical implications, is found in Jorden (p. 242). When meeting a Japanese dignitary arriving after a long flight, although it is appropriate for the receiving host to show concern that the dignitary must be tired, the use of *n(o) desu* would imply something like, "Is it that you are tired?" and "Is that why you look the way you do?"

Likewise, the use of *to yuu no wa* may be used to establish rapport with the addressee when one is explaining a term or commenting on a person for the benefit of the addressee from the addressee's standpoint, as Suzuki pointed out (e.g., Example 14). However, depending on the context, the use of *to yuu no wa* may be interpreted as somewhat condescending. Consider (21).

- (21) A: *Nee, moo nagai aida Amerika ni sundeiru kara, eigo nanka
moo zenzen mondai nai n deshoo?*
(well, already long duration America in living because English things like
no longer at all problem no NM CP-probably)
'Well, since you have already been living in America for so long, you no longer
have any problems with English, right?'

- B: *Eigo tte yuu no wa ne, oku ga fukakute sonna omotteru hodo kantan ni masutaa dekiru mon ja nai no yo.*
 (English QT say NM T FL, depth S deep-and that think extent
 easily master can thing CP-NEG NM FP)
 'English is something that is really deep and cannot be mastered as easily as you might think, you know.'

B's use of *tte yuu no wa* here accentuates the distance between A and English. By distancing English from A, B may be implying something like, "You may not realize the nature of English, so let me explain," which may appear as "talking down" to B.

Furthermore, a combination of *tte* and *no*, such as *X tte~ n desu ka* or *X tte ~ n da* often express surprise (e.g., 13, 17, 20), and may be inappropriate to use when speaking to a social superior. Displaying one's surprise by emphasizing what is in the "quotes" may not be appropriate since it would imply prior disbelief. Compare (13) and (13').

- (13) *Suzuki-san tte uta joozu na n desu ka.*
 You mean "you"? Are you good at singing?
 (13') *Suzuki-san uta joozu na n desu ka.*
 Is it the case that you're good at singing?

We have observed that the same linguistic material can exhibit a sense of either power or solidarity, depending on the context. We have also seen the importance of a certain distancing which results in deference (or *wakimae*), an integral part of Japanese politeness. Moreover, "power" and "solidarity" are not mutually exclusive but rather mutually constitutive. As Tannen (1992:136) points out "any show of solidarity necessarily entails power, in that claiming similarity and closeness limits freedom and independence. At the same time, any show of power entails solidarity by involving participants in relation to each other." In other words, in even the closest of relationships, there is a hint of power; and even in the most formal, public interactions, there is the potential for establishing rapport.

3. Conclusion

We have reached the point where we need to develop a new model that allows for the coexistence of different interactional functions. The same linguistic form can fulfill a variety of functions such as creating distance to demonstrate power and/or solidarity. By virtue of nominalization, one may shift the addressee's perspective and view the action as an event to create distance, or present information as shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee to establish rapport. Also, *to yuu no wa* (as opposed to the contracted *tte*) may be

strategically used by the speaker to exhibit her power or solidarity, depending on the context. Different interactional intents may be interwoven in a single utterance. Because of the rarity of the consistent domination by only one function of a given linguistic element (e.g., femininity resulting from the creation of rapport by the use of *no*, a condescending tone resulting from the use of *to yuu no wa*), an analysis of linguistic elements in a much larger context becomes necessary to better understand the interactions of power and solidarity (e.g., gender, age, social roles/status of the speakers and hearers).

It is also important to compare usage in female-female interactions with that found in male-male interaction, not to mention cross-sex interactions if one were to make a generalized statement about the femininity or masculinity associated with certain linguistic elements. Just as the meaning of "power" is culture specific as discussed earlier, we need to take into consideration the fact that the construct of femininity or masculinity is also culturally specific at any given point in time. 6

List of Abbreviations

CP=Copula	FL=Filler	FP=Final particle
HON=Honorific	HM=Humble form	LK=Linker
NM=Nominalizer	PN=Pronoun	O=Object marker
Q=Question marker	QT=Quotation marker	S=Subject marker
T=Topic marker	TG=Tag expression	

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Notes

1 Both men and women use the sentence-final *no* in informal questions, such as *Kore katta no?* 'Did you buy this?'

2 Maynard (1997) argues that the copula *da* is a discourse modal marker in that it reflects the speaker's attitude toward what he or she is saying.

3 Cited in Wetzel (1990, p.125).

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5 The 1996 edition of the *Gendai yogo no kiso chishiki* (Basic Knowledge of Contemporary Terminology) lists several indirect utterances: "*~toka* "among other things," *mitai na* (sentence-final 'like'), *tte yuu ka* "rather than saying," and *~shi* which is used to enumerate facts leading to a conclusion.

Watashi tte kaji dekinai hito dashi...

'I am a person who cannot do housework...'

(*Gendai yogo no kiso chishiki*, 1996, p. 1034)

6 For a discussion of the the definition of femininity in recent years, see Matsumoto (1997).