Subordinators as Interactional Resources: A study on Stand-Alone Adverbial Clauses in Japanese Conversation

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Outline

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  - What are Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?
  - What are problems with Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?

- **Data & Methodology**

- **Analyses**: Prominent interactional patterns

- **Discussion**: Subordinators as Interactional Resources

- **Concluding remarks**

What are
Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?

What are Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?

- "Canonical" structure of Sentences featuring Adverbial clauses

[adverbial clause]-subordinator, [main clause]

[高い]から、 [買えません]
[It's expensive]-*kara*, [we can't buy it].

[体は小さい]けど、 [力は強い]
[He is small]-*kedo*, [he is strong].

What are Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?

- A subordinator, or *setsuzoku-joshi*（接続助詞）is attached at the end of one clause and marks it as an adverbial clause
  - Kara
    - Marks a clause as evidence/rationale for its main clause
  - Kedo
    - Marks a clause as contrastive and backgrounded information with respect to its main clause

What are Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?

- Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses
  - Occur without their main clauses
  - Appear frequently in Conversation

What are Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?

- ## Example: Stand-alone Kara Clause

1 → B: =**.h** あたし（>ちょと<）, 十一月と十二月<u>さ:</u>,
    I, well, during December and November,

2   A: うん.
    Uh-huh

3 → B: 先輩と一緒に住むから.
    ...am gonna live with Sempai -kara.

4   (0.7)

5   A: は?
    What?   *(CF1684)*

What are Stand-alone Adverbial Clauses?

- Example: Stand-alone Kedo Clause

1   B: あ:そうなんだ.
      Oh, really.

2   A: [そ う .]
      yeah

3 → B: [ポールは]なんか受かったって聞いたんだけど.
      *(I) heard that Paul passed some audition **-kedo**.*

4   A: え, ポール:?.
      Paul?   *(CF1684)*

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What are problems with SACs?

What are problems with SACs?

- Syntactically incomplete but functionally complete
  - Cf. Independent use of subordinate clauses
    - Widely reported in various languages in the world
    - Called "insubordination" (Evans, 2007)

- Unique pragmatic effects
  - Seemingly irreducible to lexical properties of subordinators (Ohori, 1995; Takahashi, 1993)

- Previous studies tend to treat SAC as a distinct construction from "canonical" complex sentence featuring *kara/kedo*.
  - Multiple functions in each linguistic form?

What are problems with SACs?

- In real-time conversation, we can't tell whether the AC is used as a part of a complex construction or as a stand-alone construction at the point which it is produced

((Talking about smell of Kendo uniforms))

1   A: すごい酸っぱい[香りがしそう]   *Sounds like it smells sour.*

2   B: [あ::   *yeah.*

3   C: [すごいよね]= *It surely does.*

4   C: =えでもあたし酸っぱいハ- (0.2) 香りってよくわかんないんだけど.
                But I don't quite know what "sour smell" is like -kedo.

5   →   (1.0)

6   C: 酸っ[ぱいの:]? ***Is it sour?***

7   B: [う ：]ん *Well, (chiba0332)*

What are problems with SACs?

- Research Questions
  - How can we capture the pragmatic effects of stand-alone *kara/kedo* clauses?
  - How do stand-alone *kara/kedo* clauses relate to "canonical" usages of *kedo/kara* in complex sentence?

Data & Methodology

Data

- Recordings of naturally-occurring, everyday conversations among native speakers of Japanese

- Three data sources
  - Corpus constructed by the author
  - "CallFriend" Corpus (MacWhinny, 2007)
  - "Chiba-U Three Party Conversation Corpus" (Den & Enomoto, 2007)

- 18 hours in total

Methodology

- Qualitative Analysis
  - Using several findings from studies in Conversation Analysis as analytic tools

- Find prominent patterns
  - Patterns of interactional sequence
  - Patterns of co-occurring linguistic element (as indices of the interactional context)

Analysis (1):
Stand-alone *kara* clauses

Stand-alone *kara* clause

- Prominent patterns
  - Offering explanation answering to participants' puzzlement

  - Correction of other participants' wrong assumption

  - Making announcement with a large epistemic gap

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Offering explanation answering to participants' puzzlement

- Pattern of interactional sequence

    [participants' puzzlement is manifested]

    ↓

    [explanation]-*kara*

Offering explanation answering to participants' puzzlement

1   A: 7時- 7時半で予約してんのに (0.5) けえへん.
     Although (I) reserve (seats) at 7 or 7:30, (she) doesn't show up.

2   (0.4)

3   B: hahahaha

4   E: hahahah

5   C: お:::. *WOW.*

6   (0.5)

7 → B: 営業は↑^ね_ 残業がつきものですから. ((gaze at C))
     For sales people, you know, it is usual to work overtime -kara.

8   C: う:::::ん. *Hmmmmm*

9   D: う:::ん. *Hmmmm* *(Three Couples)*

Correction of other participants' assumption

- Pattern of interactional sequence

  [other participants' some assumption is manifested]

  ↓

  [contradicting information]-*kara*

- Patten of co-occurring linguistics elements
  - Frequently prefaced by *Iya* (token of resisting to recipients' presupposition; cf. Kushida & Hayashi, 2000)
  - Can be paraphrased using particle *tte* without significant difference

Correction of other participants' assumption

1   A: 「げろの匂い[がす [る」ってゆった]ときさ, 向こうの[:,
When you said "it smells like vomit,"

2   C: [uhhh[huh

3   B: [uhuhu   ]   [.hh

4   A: .hh 方で店員さんが, いきなり包丁研ぎ始める°（の）°.「シュッ」
A staff in the kitchen starts sharpening a knife, like "Shhuh"

5   (0.2)

6   C: ha[hahaha]

7   A: [「シュッ」] *"Shhuh"*

8   (.)

9 →B: いやい[や. そんなホラーな, [話じゃないか[ら.
No no, it's not such a horror story -kara.

10   A: [「シュッ」   [「シュッ」   [「シュッ」
"Shhuh"   *"Shhuh"*   *"Shhuh"*   *(chiba0432)*

Announcement with a large epistemic gap

- Pattern of interactional sequence

    (no preceding "target" of the stand-alone kara clause)

    ↓

    [announcement]-*kara*

    ↓

    [display of interest/concern]

    ↓

    [storytelling]

- Patten of co-occurring linguistics elements

    – Frequently **1st person pronouns**, which are syntactically optional in Japanese, are explicated in utterance initial position

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Announcement with a large epistemic gap

1 　　　B: 電話した?=前.
　　　　　　(Did you) call (me)? The other day.

2 　　　A: （だ）Bさんとこもした. あたしはBさんとこにはメッセージのこさな- =
　　　　　　(I) also called you. I didn't leave you a message--

3 　　　　　=先輩とこも残さなかったの:_=
　　　　　　(I) didn't leave Sempai (a message), neither.

4 　　　B: =は:ん.　　　*OK.*

5 　　　A: どっちも:,=　*Both.*

6 　　　B: 　　　　　=あ:ん.　　*OK.*

7 　　　A: .hでも:, たいがいちょっとあれだな:と思って[:,　]
　　　　　　But (I started to) feel it's a bit awkward, so,

8 　　　B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[うん.] *uh-huh*

9 　　　A: anghah[もういいや. メッセージでも,] =一つでも残しとこうとか[思って,]
　　　　　　"All right, (I) try to leave just a message"

10a 　　B: 　　　　[ちょっと残してみた?　　　]　　*Left a bit?*

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Announcement with a large epistemic gap

10b　　B: [本当:?] >どうも[どうも.]< = 　　*Really? Thanks.*

11　　　A: 　　　　　　　　　　　[hh　]

12　→　B: =.h あたし(>ちょと<), 十一月と十二月さ:,
　　　　　　I, well, during December and November,

13　　A: うん.　　*Uh-huh*

14　→　B: 先輩と一緒に住むから.　　*...am gonna live with Sempai -kara.*

15　　　(0.7)

16　　A: hは:? ((with aspirated voice quality)) *What?*

17　　B: ってかね, クミチャンがさ, ナルミんとこいっちゃったんだよもう.
　　　　　I mean, Kumi-chan left to Narumi's place

18　　A: あ:::やっぱり:?　*Oh, I expected it.*

19　　B: う:ん.　　　　　*Yeah.*

20　　A: (0.2) h::m

21　　B: <だか^ら>:, .hhhh あ, 今はまた別の人が住んでんのね:?あそこに:.
　　　　　SO, .hhh different person lives there now, you know.

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22　　A: うん　　　　*uh-huh.*　　　　　　　　　(CF1684)

Stand-alone *kara* clause

- Prominent patterns
  - Offering explanation answering to participants' puzzlement

  - Correction of other participants' wrong assumption

  - Making announcement with a large epistemic gap

Analysis (2):
Stand-alone *kedo* clauses

Stand-alone *kedo* clause

- Prominent patterns
  - "Response Cry" against "deviance from expectations"

  - Soliciting further description/explanation

  - Consulting about a present problem

"Response Cry" against "deviance from expectations"

- Pattern of interactional sequence

  [some event/state is deviant from speaker's expectation]

  ↓

  [describing the event/state]-*kedo*

  ↓

  [attention from people co-present]

- Patten of co-occurring linguistics elements
  – Prefaced by disjunction marker (e.g. え、でも)
  – Occur with Intensifiers （e.g. まじ、超、めっちゃ） [28]

"Response Cry" against "deviance from expectations"

1   G: ((drops a cutlery basket from their table))

2   B: ((Walking back from the entrance of the restaurant))
            ていうか土[砂降り↑じゃ↓ない?]
            I mean, isn't it raining awfully hard?

3   G: [eh heh heh heh   ]

4   E: かなり, ^すごいよ.=   *Pretty awful.*

5   G: =失礼いたしました. hh ((mimicking a voice of a restaurant staff))
            So sorry about that.

6   →   B: ((Walking back to her seat)) え, まじ土砂降りなんだけど.
            ***Wow, it's really raining awfully hard -kedo**.*

7   E: (0.3)すごい[よ:?]   *It is.*

8   B: [^す]んごい土砂降り. ((Sitting down))
            It's raining awfully hard.

9   E: (0.8) [ほんとすごいよ?   ]   *It surely is.*

10   B: [>ありがと<ございま]:[す.] ((Passing a card back to G))
            Thank you very much.

Soliciting further description/explanation

- Pattern of interactional sequence

  [topic talk on "B-event"] (Labov & Fanshel, 1977)

  ↓

  [Hearsay/Evaluation]-*kedo*

  ↓

  [further description/explanation]

- Patten of co-occurring linguistics elements
  - Hearsay-verb
  - subjective/evaluative predicate

Soliciting further description/explanation

1   A: ナショナルツアーにも受かってんのよ:. (0.3) [あの人.]
        Passed an audition for a national tour.   She.

2   B: [だれ:?] *Who?*

3   A: (0.2) だい- アイビー.   *Ivy.*

4   B: (0.7) あ. スゴい[ね：＿]   *Oh, awesome.*

5   A: [だから]二月もニューヨークにリハーサルで=
        =来るしもちろん, 四月からロスで, (0.2) オープンする^し:,
         So, (she) will come to N.Y. for her rehearsal in February and
        (the show) will start in L.A. April.

6   B: (0.4) あ:そうなんだ.   *Oh, really.*

7   A: [そ う．   ]   *yeah*

8   → B: [ポールは]なんか受かったって聞いたんだけど.
        (I) heard that Paul passed some audition -kedo.

9   A: え, ポール:?.   *Paul?*

10   B: うん． *Yeah.*

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Soliciting further description/explanation

11   A: なにに:. *Which one?*

12   B: ニューヨーク. *N.Y.*

13   (0.9)

14   B: に行くって私は引越し[するって聞いたよ:?]
         I heard he is moving to N.Y.

15   A: [＜そ れ が あ]なた行くって＞本人も言ってたのよ:.
                         Yeah, he SAID so.
         .hh（ちゃ）この間ダニエルに電話したらさ:, .h[h   ]「Aちゃ:ん,=
                         (But), when I called Daniel, he said

16   B: [うん.] *yeah*

17   A: =.h 僕とポールはオーシャンドームに戻ることを考えています」だって.
         "Listen, Paul and I are thinking to go back to the Ocean Dome"

                                                                      (CF1684)

Consulting about a present problem

- Pattern of interactional sequence

  [asymmetry in responsibility on a topic become evident]

  ↓

  [describing a present problem]-*kedo*

  ↓

  [coping with a problem / account for not do so]

- Patten of co-occurring linguistics elements
  - Prefaced by vocative expressions (e.g. ねえねえ、すいません)

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Consulting about a present problem

1   C: う:^お:,(.) やばいこれ. (0.5) >どうしよ<.
Ooops! No! What should we do?

2   D: (0.5) あ::, 結構いってる? *Oh, is it quite bad?*

3   C: (.)いっちゃったいっちゃった. (0.8) あこれやばいやばい.
Bad, bad.   Oh, this is terrible.

4   (0.7)

5   F: [^ん:]. *Yeah.*

6   B: [s :]し[み ?   ] *Spot?*

7   E: [**>すませ**]ん[ちょと< **^このへんも**]:,ワインが,
Excuse me, here too, wine is a bit spilled -kedo.

8   (0.7)

9   E: こぼれちゃったんすけど.

10   D: (0.3) huh hu hh ((looking at around E's glass))

11   F: [^ん:].

Consulting about a present problem

12   (1.1)

13   C: あ, あ. *Oh, oh.*

14   (2.0) ((E is wiping table. D is looking at him.))

15   D: もうね:, やっぱここ, (.) h人が住んでる家なんでね:この:,
               You know, this house is owned by someone else, so,

16   (0.5)

17   B: 確か[に][ね:?]
               Right.

Stand-alone *kedo* clause

- Prominent patterns
  - "Response Cry" against "deviance from expectations"

  - Soliciting further description/explanation

  - Consulting about a present problem

Discussion: Subordinators as Interactional Resources

Subordinators as Interactional Resources

- Markings by subordinators
  - *Kara*
    - Marks a clause as evidence/rationale for its main clause
    - -> **indexing that the speaker can draw some conclusion based on that information**
  - *Kedo*
    - Marks a clause as contrastive and backgrounded information with respect to its main clause
    - -> **indexing that the information as contrastive and backgrounded**

Claiming Absolute Epistemic Primacy

- Kara: indexing that the speaker can draw some conclusion based on that information

=> Resource for claiming the speaker's **Absolute Epistemic Primacy** over the recipient

- The speaker knows about that matter much better than the recipient.
- The speaker knows rightly, while the recipient's assumption is wrong.

Claiming Absolute Epistemic Primacy

- Claiming the speaker's <u>Absolute Epistemic Primacy</u> over the recipient
    - Offering explanation answering to participants' puzzlement

    - Correction of other participants' wrong assumption

    - Making announcement with a large epistemic gap

Contrasting speaker's cognition against recipients' cognition

- Kedo: indexing the information as contrastive and backgrounded

=> Resource for **contrasting <u>the speaker's cognitive state</u> against the recipients' cognitive state**

Contrasting speaker's cognition against recipients' cognition

- Contrasting the speaker's cognitive state against the recipients' cognitive state
  - "Response Cry" against "deviance from expectations"

  - Soliciting further description/explanation

  - Consulting about a present problem

Concluding remarks

Concluding remarks

- Japanese subordinators such as *kara* and *kedo* are also used as utterance final particles

- Lexical properties of *kara/kedo* are employed to achieve various interactional jobs

=> Subordinators as Interactional Resources

Thank you!