談話標識 'you know' の機能について

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要旨:一般に会話やくだけた口語的な文章で使用される談話標識 (discourse marker) you know は,情報としての価値はほぼ皆無に等しい (Fowler (1974) は'meaningless words'と呼んだ)が,聞き手と面と向かって行う言葉のやり取り (face-to-face interaction) においてとても重要な役割りを果たす。それは通常,主節 (main clause) との結びつきが弱いが,文の有機的集合体である談話の各部分を相互にリンクさせる「つなぎ語」(filler) のひとつとして談話展開上,全体を組み立てる手助けをする,と同時に聞き手の注意を話し手の方に向けさせておく「引き付け役」(floorholder) (Wales, 1989: 131) としても機能する。では一体,談話標識 you know は具体的にどのような機能を有しているのだろうか。この小論において様々なテキストを考察・分析してその機能を探ってみた。

キーワード:談話標識 (discourse marker), you know, テキスト, 共有知識 (shared knowledge)

1. はじめに

談話標識は節の外側にあって、話し手が談話を「モニター(監視)」(monitoring)・「組織化」(organizing)・「管理」(managing) することにより談話の各部分(segments of the discourse)を有機的にリンクさせる。そしてそれは会話が漸進し、話し手・聞き手・メッセージが相互に結びついていることを合図し、自然な話し言葉(spontaneous speech)では無意識に使われることが多い。しかしながら、談話標識の中には例えば、「状況副詞」(circumstance adverb)と呼ばれる副詞的機能を持つ now や well などが含まれていて、実際のところ両者の判断が難しくなる場合もある(Biber et al., 1999: 1086; Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 208; McCarthy & Carter, 1994: 68)。

口語テクスト 500 万語からなる CIC (the Cambridge International Corpus) によれば、語形式 (word-form) で現れる頻度として'I' (第 2 位) と'you' (第 4 位) が上位を占めている (因みに、1 位が'the', 3 位が'and' そして5 位が'it') (Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 12) が、これは向き合って行なう会話本来の姿を考えれば容易に推測できる。また'know'が 14 位にランクされていることから、必然的に'you'と'know'の組み合わせである談話標識 you know の出現する頻度は高いと推し量ることができる。実際、出現頻度のリスト (Jucker & Smith, 1998: 176; Biber et al., 1999: 1096) を見ると、節形式(clausal form)の談話標識では、*I mean、oh yeah、oh*

really を抑えて you know の頻度が圧倒的に高い(なお, Jucker & Smith は, you know, I mean, well, like を 'presentation marker'— to accompany and modify the speaker's own information — と,そして聞き手の反応のトークンとして用いられる(oh) yeah, (oh) really, oh, okay を 'reception marker'— to signal a reaction to information provided by another speaker — と呼んで区別している)。また、単一語(single word)では、well, yeah, oh, okay の頻度が高いが、Biber et al.は like と(oh) really を談話標識に入れていないのが少し気にかかる。

ところで、会話の中でたびたび you know と I mean が 共起して(you) know what I mean (,which functions primarily to check comprehension and to indicate that the speaker and the hearer share a point of view)が使われるこ とがある:

ex. She's very nervous, *you know what I mean*, she just can't concentrate properly.

(下線は筆者,以下同じ)

(Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 108)

ex. But my mum's pretty good, <u>you know what I mean</u>, she
— as long as I can arrange it around her she'll arrange her arrangements around me sort of thing.

(Biber et al., 1999: 1005)

また, (you) know what I mean は, 話し手の口癖 (personal speech habit) として多用される場合もある:

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ex. ... you know, you don't know who ... who was who, <u>you know what I mean</u> ... Yes, I know, well ... I never thought of danger, really, <u>you know what I mean</u>, it never struck me ... you know.

(Hughes & Trudgill, 1987: 85)

ex. Yeah, well <u>you know what I mean</u>, for no reason — and you're not really — you feel guilty for being snappy, but then you er — <u>know what I mean</u>?

(Biber et al., 1999: 1005)

このように、 $what\ I$ mean を含む you know wh-clause は談話標識として機能することがあるが、本稿ではこれには言及しない。

2. 辞書による you know の記述と問題点

先ず,所謂, 'Big Four' (*COBUILD (2001*), *LDOCE (2003)*, *OALD (2000)*, *CIDOE (1995)*) の辞書は, *you know* の機能をどのように分類しているのか観察してみることにする:

- (1) UNCERTAINTY (話していること,あるいは次に話 そうとしていることが明確でない)
- He's generous and, <u>you know</u>, very nice, very polite. (COBUILD)
- I thought I'd, *you know*, have a chat with you. (")
- Well, <u>you know</u>, we've got a job to do here. (LDOCE)
- Well, you know, it's difficult to explain. (OALD)
- Well, I just thought, <u>you know</u>, I'd better agree to it. (CIDOE)
- (2) SUPPLEMENTARY EXPLANATION FOR CLARIFICATION (話している内容を明確にする為に, 補足的に説明を加える)
- Wear the white dress, <u>you know</u>, the one with all the black embroidery. (COBUILD)
- That flower in the garden, <u>you know</u>, the purple one, what is it? (LDOCE)
- What's the name of that guy on TV <u>you know</u>, the American one with the silly voice? (CIDOE)
- (3) EMPHASIS (話している内容を強調する)
- The conditions in there are awful, <u>you know</u>. (COBUILD)
- You know, it does worry me. (")
- There's no excuse, you know. (LDOCE)
- That road is very dangerous, <u>you know</u>. (OALD)
- I'm not stupid, <u>you know</u>. (")
- (4) CONFIRMATION (話している内容を聞き手が理解 していることを示す)

- I felt very upset, <u>you know</u>? (LDOCE)
- Guess who I've just seen? Maggie! <u>You know</u> Jim's wife. (OALD)
- <u>You know</u> that restaurant round the corner? It's closed down.
- (5) OPENING (話し始める時, 聞き手に注意を向けさせる)
- You know, I sometimes feel I don't understand him at all. (LDOCE)

上記 you know の機能の分類は、特に(1),(3),(4),(5) についてもう少し談話としてまとまった文章が提示されないと明確には判断し難く、また(3)の 'emphasis'(強調)は(3)だけに留まらず、発話の文脈においては他の文にも当てはまる可能性があり、その分類方法にやや問題があるように思われる。また、(4)の3番目の文(You know that restaurant ...)の you know は目的語を伴う伝達動詞(reporting verb)として機能しており、談話標識と見なすには少し無理があるのではないだろうか。

談話標識 you know は文頭 (initially), 文中 (medially), 文末 (finally) に現れ、メッセージに対する話し手または書き手の態度を表現する。文中や文末にある時は、節の外にある周辺的要素 (peripheral element) で談話的な機能を果たすが、文頭の場合は外見上、埋め込み名詞節を伴う主節 (その場合、補文標識 (complementizer) 'that'の挿入可) に類似し双方の区別が難しい場合がある。以下の例文 (Biber et al., 1999: 197) を比較してみる:

- You know, there's no money to be made out of re-, recycling.
- You know (that) there's no money to be made out of recycling.

最初の文は、話し手が聞き手のたぶん知らない事柄を伝えていて、you know の役目は伝達内容の真実性を強調することであり、その意味で談話の中でその機能を果たしている。それに対して2番目の文は曖昧(ambiguous)で、you know を談話標識('that'の挿入不可)の他に、主節('that'の挿入可)と捉えれば 'you are aware that ...'とパラフレーズすることができ、その点で両義性(ambiguity)がある。一方、談話標識としてのyou know は、実際の発話においては通常、you know の後に少し沈黙があったり一息入れたりする(... there is a brief silent pause or breath pause after the expression, e.g. You know 〔pause〕 she didn't like it.)(Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 211)。そして、概してスピードが速くなり音量が

下がる韻律的特徴がある (... generally marked prosodically by increased speed and lowered volume) (Quirk et al., 1985: 1113)。しかしながら、書かれたテクストではコンマやハイフンを用いて挿入する工夫などして, you know を視覚的に判別可能にする必要がある,と思われる (... when inserted parenthetically within a sentence, then its function as a discourse marker is clearer) (Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 210)。

それ故, you know を含む文は,主節と談話標識の区別を踏まえて翻訳する必要がある。次の映画のシナリオ Casino Royale は,それを考慮して翻訳されている:

(主節の例)

Bond: You've heard the term? Then *you know* that you play your opponent, not your hand.

よく知ってるじゃないか。じゃあ、ポーカーは持ち 手と勝負するんじゃなくて、相手と勝負するものだ。 それも知ってるだろ。

(談話標識の例)

Vesper: Oh, you are. I like this poker thing. And that makes perfect sense since M16 looks for maladjusted young men that give little thought to sacrificing others in order to protect Queen and country. <u>You know</u>, former SAS types with easy smiles and expensive watches. Rolex?

やっぱりね。はったりのゲームって楽しいのね。女王や国を守るためなら人の命なんかお構いなしの,世間からつまはじきにされた若者を雇うM16ですもの。うってつけよね。それから空軍出のスパイはにやにやして高い時計をしてるっていうけど ... それ,ロレックス?

(週刊 ST (以下, ST), 「ST シネ倶楽部」, Dec. 1, 2006)

しかしながら、実際には画一的な判断が難しい場合がある。次のシナリオ Charlotte's Web では、Bitsy (話し手)のせりふと訳語の間に微妙なずれがある。また、Betsy (聞き手) は Bitsy の談話標識と思われる you know に、'I know'と反応している。この you know は、もはや談話標識として機能していないのかもしれない:

Bitsy: Disgusting! They eat their men folk, <u>you know</u>? 気味悪いな。クモって、だんなを食っちまうんだろ。 Betsy: I know! そうよ!

(ibid., Dec. 8, 2006)

3. J. Holmes (1986) による you know の分析と問題点

先行研究の中で、Holmes (1986: 7-11) は談話標識 you know の機能を体系的に分析している。先ず、3.1「話し

手の確信と自信」(the speaker's certainty and confidence)を表すカテゴリーと、3.2「多様な種類の不確かさ」(uncertainty of various kinds)を表す2つのカテゴリーに大別し、それぞれ下位範疇を設定し具体例を挙げて解説している(なお,例文の you\know,you\know,you\know,you\know,大心下:, $\frac{1}{1}$ はポーズの長さを表す):

3.1 EXPRESSING CERTAINTY (話し手の確信を表わす)

... you know expresses the speaker's certainty and confidence concerning the addressee's relevant background knowledge and experience, attitudes, and anticipated response ... it serves to positively reassure the addressee of the validity of the proposition ...

(Holmes, 1986: 7)

3.1.1 Conjoint knowledge (話し手と聞き手による知識の共有)

... the speaker knows the addressee already knows the information being asserted in the proposition ... making it difficult to distinguish in some cases between the pragmatic particle *you know* and the literal use of the clause introduction 'you know that ...'

ex. Woman to husband introducing a narrative at dinner party

well: you \ know we went to Sally's that night (ibid.: 8)

3.1.2 Emphatic(話し手の強調と聞き手への再確認)

... used to emphasize, intensify, or boost the strength of the speech act, to stress the speaker's confidence and hence reassure the addressee concerning the validity of the proposition asserted ... no assumption that the addressee already knows the information being asserted ... can be paraphrased as 'let me assure you' ...

ex. Elderly woman describing experiences to friends but really it was wo- really wonderful you—know to see / how the people live

(ibid.: 8)

3.1.3 Attributive (話し手の確信と聞き手も知っているという確信)

... expresses the speaker's certainty concerning the validity of the proposition and also expresses the speaker's confidence that the addressee knows, as a result of past experience, the kind of thing being referred to ... can be paraphrased as 'I'm confident you know the kind of thing I mean'...

ex. Radio interviewee describing past experience and that way we'd get rid of exploitation of man by man all that stuff/<u>you know</u>/you've heard it before

(ibid.: 9)

3.2 EXPRESSING UNCERTAINTY (多様な不確かさを 表わす)

... expresses both addressee-oriented uncertainty and message-oriented uncertainty. The first type expresses the speaker's uncertainty or lack of confidence concerning the addressee's attitudes and likely response in the interaction, and the second one the speaker's uncertainty regarding the linguistic encoding of the proposition, or signal the speaker's awareness of some linguistic imprecision ...

(ibid.: 7)

3.2.1 Appealing (聞き手への懇願)

... serves as an appeal for reassurance from the addressee in the context of an account of embarrassing experiences or the sharing of very personal information or feelings ...

ex. Young woman to close friend and it was quite / / well: it was it was all very embarrassing you know

... in other cases, *you know* requests reassurance or agreement from the addressee in the context of a negatively affective or critical comment by the speaker ...

ex. Young man describing work supervisor to flatmates but if a person is as blunt and as abrupt as C is / you \ know / they can make it quite unpleasant for you

(ibid.: 10)

3.2.2 Linguistic imprecision (言語的不明瞭さ)

... expresses the speaker's uncertainty concerning aspects of the linguistic expression of the proposition, and the speaker's awareness that the utterance is not encoded as precisely as it might be ...

(ibid.: 10)

3.2.2.1 Signalling lexical imprecision (語彙的不明瞭さを合図する)

... signals the speaker's uncertainty concerning the choice of the following word or phrase ...

ex. Male television interviewer

the money seems to be going for basics rather than for things like / you \know extra equipment

(ibid.: 10-11)

3.2.2.2 Introducing qualifying information (的確な情報を導入する)

... signals the speaker's awareness of the need for more precision or some clarification of the propositional content of the previous utterance ... you know precedes an optional clause constituent which introduces more specific or clarifying information ...

ex. Elderly man to young neighbours

the house / up above the one I was telling you / you about : you \know the one your dad used to live in //
(ibid.: 11)

3.2.2.3 Indicating false start (出だしのつまずきを示す)

... marks a change of syntactic direction, thus reflecting the speaker's awareness of the need to restructure the message ...

ex. Young man to friends at dinner party

and I've been on this bloody speed reading course which is / you \know so one / one notices

(ibid.: 11)

談話標識 you know は、会話の中では多分に無意識に 使われ, 話し手・聞き手・メッセージが相互にリンク していることを合図しながら談話の各部分を有機的に 組み立てる。そして第一義的な機能は、話し手が聞き 手に対して, 今話題になっていること (what is being said or asserted or referred to) について知っているかどうか, つまり共有知識があるかどうかをチェックすることに ある。you know は基本的に「話し手本位」 (speaker-oriented) の談話標識で、大きなカテゴリーと して共有知識の有無があり、そしてそれぞれについて 下位区分される。「強調」(emphasis),「アピール(懇願)」 (appeal),「当惑・困惑」(embarrassment) などは, 発 話 (utterance) の流れの中で自然発生的に生まれてくる もので、Holmes (1986) は、you know の本来の機能と 発話の文脈から出てくる意味を混同しているように思 われる。

4. You know の機能

さて、上述のことを踏まえて、以下に談話標識 you know の機能を、4.1 共有知識をモニターする (Monitoring shared knowledge)、4.2 共有知識をモニターしない (Not monitoring shared knowledge) そして 4.3 その他 (others) の3つのカテゴリーに大別し、それぞれについて下位区分する:

4.1 共有知識をモニターする (The speaker monitors the state of shared knowledge in the conversation)

話し手が聞き手に,会話の中で話題になっていることについて知っているかどうかをチェックする。

4.1.1 共有知識がある (The speaker believes that the addressee already knows what is being said)

話し手は、聞き手が今話題になっていることを知っている, と信じている。

ex. 'I really don't think I'd better, Thank you so much, though, dear,' she said. 'Anyway, the club car's most likely closed. It's quite late, *you know*.' She was right. I'd forgotten all about what time it was.

(Salinger, 1951: 61)

ex. 'Would you tell me, please.' said Alice, a little timidly, 'why you are painting those roses?'

... Two began, in a low voice, 'Why, the fact is, you see, Miss, this here ought to have been a *red* rose-tree, and we put a white one in by mistake; and, if the Queen was to find it out, we should all have our heads cut off, <u>you know</u>...'

(Carroll, 1865: 85)

ex. Morty: Something stinks like stale French fries.

Michael: All right, that's, uh, probably me.

Morty: You know, fast food shortens your life.

Michael: Yeah, that's what I heard. But the way my life's been going lately, that ain't such a bad thing.

(ST, 「シネ倶楽部」 'Click', Sep. 8, 2006)

ex. If you got the earliest train in the morning and then, <u>you</u> <u>know</u>, like, got the last train back at night, it might be cheaper that way.

(Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 221)

4.1.2 共有知識がない(The speaker doesn't believe that the addressee already knows what is being said)

話し手は、聞き手が今話題になっていることを知らない、と信じている。

ex. 'Listen. I toleja about that. I don't like that type language,' she said. 'If you're gonna use that type language, I can go sit down with my girl friends, <u>you know.</u>'

(Salinger, 1951: 77)

ex. 'By 50, you better be used to yourself. Most people do not change very much over the years, so it's important to like yourself and accept yourself, to, *you know*, have fun.'

(ST, 「英語 Q & A」)

ex. Larry: Couple of weeks ago, we seen a guy get shot. First time I'd seen something like that with my eyes.

Lil Tommy: We're driving. I'm in the truck, I'm driving the truck. Tommy's in the 5.0. *You know*, he stops, he bend over to pick up somethin'. And as soon as he leans back up, we hear shots.

Larry: Pow, pow, pow. Man laid out on the corner right

there. I ain't never seen nothing like that. (ST,「シネ倶楽部」'RIZE', Jan. 20, 2006)

4.1.3 共有知識があるかないか、定かでない (The speaker doesn't know if the addressee knows what is being said)

話し手は、聞き手が今話題になっていることを知っているかどうか定かでない。

ex. Stevie: Wow. OK. A bull's eye on your very first shot. I couldn't even do that with Bad Steel.

Dick: What did you say?

Stevie: Bad Steel, that's what I call it. General Patton named his revolver so I thought it was a kind of cool idea. God yours is so tiny. It's like a little lady's gun. *You know*, you should give it a girl's name.

(ST,「シネ倶楽部」'Dear Wendy', Dec. 2, 2005)

ex. Host to friend at dinner party, staring at him only among many guests

Host: Bathroom first on the right, if anyone needs it.

Friend: Why pick on me? There's nothing wrong with me, *you know*! (laughs all around)

(Crystal, 1984: 50)

ex. Interview of Mr. Obama, next presidential candidate of the US

We have a long and rigorous process and, <u>you know</u>, should I decide to run — if I ever did decide to run — I'm confident that I would be run through the paces pretty good.

(ST, 'What They Said ...', Nov. 3, 2006)

ex. We're going to Reno to have, y'know, fun.

(ibid.「英語 Q & A」)

4.2 共有知識をモニターしない (The speaker doesn't monitor the state of shared knowledge in the conversation)

話し手が聞き手に、会話の中で話題になっていることについて知っているかどうかをチェックするのではなく、話し手自身の発話内容をチェックして言語的修正を模索する。

4.2.1 言語的明瞭さを模索する (The speaker searches for linguistically appropriate expressions for precision)

話し手が、発話の正確さを求めてより適切な言語表現を模索する。同時に、ポーズや'er'、'erm'、'well'などの口ごもり・ためらい(verbal hesitation)を伴うことが多い。

ex. Geoff: I didn't talk to the others because they were boring. You and I connected.

Hayley: Oh. Right.

Geoff: Oh, come on. You think I faked all that?

Hayley: Well, <u>you know</u>, actually, it's kind of funny because every time I mentioned some obscure singer or band you knew so much about them ...

(ST,「シネ倶楽部」'Hard Candy', Jul. 21, 2006)

ex. Jack:... I was supposed to control the weather. But beats working for my old man. Can't please my old man, no way. That's why I took to rodeoing. You ever rodeo?

Ennis: <u>You know</u> ... I mean, once and awhile. When I got the entry fee in my pocket.

Jack: Yeah... Are you from ranch people?

(ibid. 'Brokeback Mountain', Feb. 24, 2006)

ex. Paula: I thought your grandmother lived in Miami.

Nick: Well, you know ... we all thought she wasn't going to make it. It was like a miracle. It was a miracle.

(ibid. 'No Reservations', Oct. 5, 2007)

4.2.2 より明確にするために説明を補足する(The speaker adds some supplementary explanation for more precision)

話し手が、すぐ前の発話内容をより明確にするために補足的に説明する。

ex. 'You 're lucky,' I told her. 'You're really lucky. You know that?' She was really a moron. But what a dancer. I could hardly stop myself from sort of giving her a kiss on the top of her dopey head — <u>you know</u> — right where the part is, and all. She got sore when I did it.

(Salinger, 1951: 76)

ex. Chloe: Do you enjoy teaching?

Chris: Not really. It's OK for now but I'd cut my throat if I thought I had to do it forever. I'd like to do something with my life. *You know*, special. I'd like to make a contribution.

Chloe: So you're a poor boy from Ireland come to London.

(ST,「シネ倶楽部」'Match Point', Jul. 28, 2006)

ex. Dewey: About what?

Capote: Oh, we're not looking for any inside information. I don't care one way or another if you catch whoever did this. I'm writing an article on how the Clutter killings are affecting the town. Y'know, how you all are bearing up.

Dewey: I care.

(ibid.'Capote', Sep. 1, 2006)

ex. Catherine: How old were you? When it started?

Robert: What?

Catherine: You know, when you got sick.

Robert: Twenty six, 27. Is that what you're worried about?

(ibid. '√proof', Dec. 23, 2005)

4.2.3 出だしのつまずきを修正する (The speaker notices a false start and changes the syntactic direction of the utterance)

話し手が途中でつまづいた時,発話を立て直すために統語的に修正を加える。4.2.1 と同様に,口ごもり・ためらいを伴うことが多い。

ex. Female radio interviewer

but fortunately w - you/know there's been more recent research

(Holmes, 1986: 11)

ex. Someone talks about his schooldays in his youth

... Miss Ingham, when I was a kid, she ... she always ... to me she seemed rather vicious, you know ... er ... instead of ... *you know*, she'd knee you with her knee as she came round ...

(Hughes & Trudgill, 1987: 64)

4.2.4 発話を切り出す合図をする (The speaker signalls the opening of an utterance)

話し手が発話を切り出す時、「これから始めますよ。」, と聞き手に合図を送り注意を引かせるが、実際は多分 に無意識に発する傾向がある。

ex. Interview of Ms Brooke Shields

<u>You know</u>, the irony is perfect. The world works in an interesting way, but we were both pretty busy that day.

(ST, \[\text{What They Said} \], May 12, 2006)

ex. My son-in-law's brother and wife's two young children were silent while preparations for one of the cows to give birth were taking place on their farm. Their mother wondered what the kids were thinking and said, 'You know, this is how you were born.' They looked at her, eyes wide in wonder. 'Did it hurt much,' asked one, 'when they tied your head to the post?'

(Reader's Digest, June 2001)

4.3 その他 (Others)

4.3.1 口癖として使う (The speaker uses it as a personal speech habit)

話し手が'er', 'uh', 'well'などの「つなぎ語」の代わりに、口癖として使う。なお、一部の若者は'y'know'を好む傾向がある(堀内、週刊 ST「英語 Q & A」)。

ex. Someone talks about his schooldays in his youth

... and he'd about two teeth in the middle ... sort of thing, <u>you know</u>, all of us kids, <u>you know</u>, looked and he seemed to have three or four, <u>you know</u>, missing or more

happen just two good ...

(Hughes & Trudgill, 1987: 64)

ex. <u>Y'know</u> I got this <u>y'know</u> pot from my <u>y'know</u> Mexican friend.

(ST, 「英語 Q & A」)

- 4.3.2 聞き手に含意をくみ取らせる(The speaker induces the addressee to infer the implication of what follows in an utterance)
- ex. When I'm at someone else's house, ...

 What should I say when I want to go to the well, er, you know?

(Crystal, 1984: 49)

5. 最後に

この小論において、様々なテクストを考察・分析して談話標識 you know の機能を探り、その機能別分類を試みた。You know はしばしば会話やくだけた口語的な文章で好んで使用されるが、特に次から次へと流れていく会話において、話し手の目的意識を持った心の働きは、常に揺れ動いていて一様ではない。それ故、you know の機能は発話の中で、同時に複数のカテゴリーにまたがることも十分に考えられる。言語は、そもそも人間の精神活動の所産であることを考えればそれは必然的なことで、この分類は一応、理論上存在すると考えられるものである。結局のところ、談話標識 you knowの機能の分析は、ある程度まとまった分量の発話の文脈(context of utterance)の中でなされることにより、より信頼度の高いものが可能になると言える。

* 本稿は、PALA 2007 (Poetics and Linguistics Association 2007, 国際文体論学会 2007, 於:関西外国語大学, 2007年8月3日)での口頭発表に加筆・修正を施したものである。

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(2007.11.9 受付)

FUNCTIONS OF THE DISCOURSE MARKER "YOU KNOW"

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ABSTRACT: You know, which is one of the most common discourse markers in informal spoken language, seems to have very little information value, not conveying any literal meaning (Fowler (1974) referred to it as "meaningless words"), whereas it acts significantly as one of the fillers to link segments of the discourse to each other in face to face conversation. It is loosely connected to the main clause, serving to construct a discourse which is an organic aggregate of the sentences and also serving as a kind of floorholder to keep drawing the speaker's attention to the addressee in the development of the discourse. Then, what functions does the discourse marker you know have concretely? The observation and analysis of a variety of texts makes it possible to provide a somewhat convincing account of the functions of you know.

Key Words: discourse marker, you know, text, shared knowledge