

Bonding through Context

Language and interactional
alignment in Japanese
situated discourse

EDITED BY

Risako Ide
Kaori Hata



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Volume 314

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Risako Ide

University of Tsukuba

Kaori Hata

Osaka University

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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Introduction

Bonding through context

Risako Ide and Kaori Hata

University of Tsukuba / Osaka University

1. The concept of “bonding” in post 3.11 Japan

The 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake with its triple disaster of magnitude 9 scale earthquakes, savage tsunamis, and the nuclear power plant explosion in Fukushima claimed the lives of close to 16,000 people, left 2,500 missing, and had forced over 150,000 to evacuate from their hometowns as of the year 2020. Weeks and months during and after the devastating events, Japanese society was literally dimmed with government-led energy saving plans, self-regulation of TV airings, and with silent pressure to voluntarily refrain (to do ‘*jishuku*’) from activities that did not take into consideration the enormous loss the country had experienced. During this time when a mixed sense of sorrow, pain, guilt, and anger engulfed the entire country, the word *kizuna* appeared into the media spotlight as if to uplift the social atmosphere. Referring to the ‘bond’ or ‘tie’ between people and their relationships, volunteer efforts by the self-defense forces and foreign aid were called the *kizuna* projects and charity events of various forms crowned the term. A collective sense of “we are in this together as one” and that people were bonded despite geographic distances was enhanced. *Kizuna* was selected as one of the buzz words of the year 2011.

Yet, behind the spotlight, people were also feeling cynical about the word for its hypocritical undertone. The recovery of the disaster-hit area was tediously slow and there were disputes among municipalities over claiming relief-effort funds. While *kizuna* provided a utopian imagery of unity, empathy and harmony, the harsh realities of post 3.11 society revealed conflicts and divisions over issues such as nuclear energy policies and the safety of purchasing produce from the nuclear contaminated area. Ironically, many Fukushima dairy farmers found the term *kizuna* to be sickening, as the word originally referred to the rope that tied domestic animals as dogs and horses to confine them within the territory or to put them in fetters. Containing the sense of constraints, clinging, as well as ties that cannot be easily undone, *kizuna* was also regarded as a façade.

Then, what do we mean when we feel bonded with each other? How do we feel bonded when we communicate and interact with others? What are the linguistic and interactional mechanisms in which the sense of being bonded is felt? This book addresses these questions by empirically describing the flexible and negotiable nature of the process of bonding in interaction using situated discourses in Japanese contexts. It is our goal to describe the dynamic and emergent interactional processes wherein people bond or feel bonded through interaction. While we mainly examine Japanese discourse in this book, the book attempts to lay the groundwork in furthering interactional studies by placing situated contexts as the primordial site of bonding whether face-to-face or non-face-to-face, verbal or non-verbal.

To be more precise, the word “bonding” here points to the sense of co-presence, belonging, and the feeling of being connected with others as well as the place of interaction. The sense of bonding is not only achieved through the exchange of words but also through embodied interaction and through sharing a sense of co-presence in the interactional plane. We also use the term “un-bonding” or “de-bonding” to refer to the state wherein an expected bond is simply not established, collapsing, or where its superficiality is revealed through interaction.

In English, the word “bonding” implies a positive and idealistic image of relationship-building and intimacy based on shared feelings and experiences as in the positive interpretation of *kizuna*. However, the notion of bonding in this book does not presuppose solidarity or comradery-making based on personal desires to be connected with others. We neither use the term positively nor negatively, nor to place moral judgement along the good and bad binary. Rather, by using the word “bonding” in the progressive, we attempt to describe how the actual *processes* of interaction are the loci through which the sense of sharing and of co-creating a semiotic, pragmatic, and communal space emerges. Thus, we consider bonding to arise not only through the denotational usage of language per se, but through the socio-indexical fields in which the interaction takes place, through the usage of multimodal communicative resources, and through sharing wider socio-cultural contexts such as common ground and norms of conduct.

Based on the premises that we are bonded and un-bonded through interaction, we bring together 12 chapters that analyze situated discourse using Japanese language and/or with Japanese people, describing the moment-to-moment making and unfolding of bonding through context. Focusing our attention on situated discourse, the chapters ground the analysis on the thickly described interactional plane stemming from the perspectives of linguistic anthropology. Many of the chapters employ ethnography as a central theoretical approach, rigorously examining recorded data collected from a range of rich fieldwork sites wherein the researchers themselves sometimes become part of the context. We also include chapters that examine how bonding emerges from written Japanese and texts in their situated

contexts. There are also chapters that scrutinize the bonding and un-bonding processes during cross-cultural interaction among Japanese and non-Japanese people.

The situated discourse in this book covers a wide array of interactional contexts including police suspect interrogations, public speech presentations, theatrical rehearsals, Skype-mediated family interactions, business e-mail correspondence, text and orthography in Japanese advertisements, gossip and chat among friends and acquaintances, story-telling in interview contexts, as well as cross-cultural encounters. The chapters also incorporate various methodologies from discourse analysis, narrative analysis, micro-ethnography, conversation analysis, multimodal analysis, socio-cognitive analysis, to text analysis, portraying the complex processes by which the sense of bonding is brewed.

In the next section, we specify what we mean by “bonding through context” as we provide the theoretical premise to the notion of “context.” We first discuss how bonding inherits and further develops the indivisible and indissoluble nature of language and context from previous studies in linguistic anthropology. Then we point out how the sense of bonding emerges not only through verbal interactional moves but also encompassing alignments on a corporeal level as well as the socio-cultural level. In other words, we provide the three levels of context in situated discourse where speaker intentionality is not in the center of meaning making.

2. Bonding through context on tri-layered grounds

The notion of “context” as a place of interaction underwent some extensive examination in the field of linguistic anthropology. In the editorial introduction to *Rethinking Context* (1992), Goodwin and Duranti described context to be a time-bound phenomenon, socially constituted and sustained in a collaborative process of interaction (Goodwin and Duranti 1992: 6–7). Claiming that linguistic studies have assigned only language and message a special status as the “focal” event and everything else as “background” (ibid: 9–10), they warned of the dangers of extracting speech from its context and regarding the nature of context as static and predetermined instead of impermanent and mutable. Hanks in *Language and Communicative Practice* (1996) also discussed how communication and meaning-making are “saturated with context” and how we need to regard context beyond the lexical meaning or the pragmatic effect of utterances but rather in relation to the values, beliefs, and routine/habitual practices of the speakers (Hanks 1996: 169).

The holistic approach in line with the ethnography of communication paradigm in linguistic anthropology extended the understanding of the emergent, changing, and impermanent nature of context, supported by concepts such as “frame and metacommunication” (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974; Briggs 1986),

“participation frameworks and audience design” (Goffman 1981; Duranti 1986), “accommodation” (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland 1991), “genre and intertextuality” (Briggs and Bauman 1992), “ethnopoetics and performance” (Bauman and Briggs 1990), and “stance, positioning, and alignment” in relation to affect (Biber and Finegan 1989; Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009). These notions laid the ground for research that rendered meaning as emergent and intersubjectively interpreted in and through interaction in context.

One product of examining the nature of context *in situ* has been the avoidance of putting the speaker(s) and speaker intentionality at the center of meaning-making (Duranti 2015). When thinking about bonding, concepts such as “positive face” (Brown and Levinson 1987), “involvement” (Tannen 1984[2005], 1989[2007]; Scollon, Scollon, and Jones 2012), and “rapport management” (Spencer-Oatey 2000) are considered key elements for individuals and speakers to establish bonding. However, the notion of “involvement,” for example, received criticism for presuming speaker-centered views of interaction, emotionality, and personhood. According to Besnier, involvement as an analytic category assumed meaning to be “created by separate *individuals*, who in most circumstances are *rationally* motivated to produce unambiguous and aesthetically pleasing utterances, which will be decoded as such by interlocutors” (Besnier 1994: 296, emphasis by the authors).

Unlike the notion of involvement or positive face “strategies,” bonding is not always and necessarily made out of rational and calculated moves based on the willingness and the ability of the individual speakers. While interactional alignment can be achieved through the conscious and strategic maneuvers of language usage, the concept of bonding includes the non-volitional plane of alignment emergence, as we discuss the corporeal and socio-cultural levels of bonding in addition to the interactional level of bonding. However, it is not our intent to define which resources are used on each level in a fixed manner as each level of actions and moves simultaneously overlaps with others.

Interactional level

We start with bonding on the interactional level which is anchored in the use of language as a set of symbolic sign systems and a set of semantic and grammatical choices and constraints. For instance, grammatical necessity prepares a conditional frame that forces us to choose a set of interactional resources in a given situation. In the case of Japanese, there are grammatically obligatory categories that gets chosen when interacting in situated contexts. These indexical expressions include social deixis as speech styles (distal and casual for example), sentence-final particles, personal reference terms, and modality expressions such as benefactives to name a few. These possess a secondary indexical meaning on a socio-indexical

level and serve to communicate affective stance appropriate in the immediate context of interaction (See Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 10 in this volume). Other semi-otic, indexical, and interactional resources include reported speech and reported thoughts, intertextuality, and positioning in storytelling (See Chapters 2, 6, and 12 in this volume). Finally, there are interactional affinities that resonate across utterances as in the use of repetition, linguistic parallelism, and dialogic resonance (cf. Tannen 1989[2007]; Du Bois 2007, 2014) which also function to constitute the feeling of bonding between the participants (See Chapters 4, 7, and 11 in this volume). These interactional resources for alignment making are used strategically and non-strategically in rendering the sense of bonding and un-bonding.

Corporeal level

The corporeal level of context refers to the non-linguistic, non-referential plane of meaning making as bonding takes place on a corporeal and embodied field of interaction. In other words, the exchange of words is not the only ground wherein we feel connected with others. Being together in a field of interaction may be anchored through sharing an interactional and semiotic space together, as well as through the embodiment and co-display of mutual affiliation by non-verbal means. The paralinguistic moments of bonding are fleeting and subtle, non-strategic, and emergent as in gaze, joint attention, gestures, body posture, and the voices of laughter induced by other laughing bodies or sounds, resonating within the interactional space (See Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 11 in this volume).

Perhaps the most recent significant contribution to the understanding of context on a corporeal level stems from the notion of *ba*. *Ba* is a dynamic space/place of human action, a setting defined in relation to co-participating people and corporeality (Hanks et al. 2009, 2019). The concept arises from the idea of *ba* and *basho* proposed by biophysicist and philosopher Hiroshi Shimizu (1995, 2003), a place in which a relational process emerges in a self-organizing manner, without the self/other separation and/or the focal/background or message/surrounding. Hanks et al. discusses *ba* on three levels, i.e., the primary *ba*, the secondary *ba*, and *ba* theory, wherein we find the primary and secondary *ba* to be most relevant to the concept of bonding. The primary *ba* regards context as a pre-condition to verbal interaction wherein the space including the interactants is considered as a single integrated whole, breaking away from the individual or dyad as independent entities. In the primary *ba*, corporeally mediated co-presence binds the interactants to one another or with the interactional space, prior to any form of linguistic articulation. Here, the interactants co-occupy a bounded space-time, wherein reciprocal, synchronic, and resonating sounds or silence through embodied actions bind the space of interaction. Likewise, the idea of primary *ba*

lays ground to context on a corporeal level. In contrast, the secondary *ba* points to the level of articulation wherein the interactants are separated through utterances. This points to bonding on the interactional level (Hanks et al. 2009, 2019) which has been discussed above.

Socio-cultural level

The third level of bonding takes place on a socio-cultural level. By bonding on a socio-cultural level, we refer to presupposed shared perspectives, norms of conduct, and mutual knowledge that permeate within and beyond the corporeal and interactional levels of bonding. Bonding on the socio-cultural level is constituted through cultural assumptions and presuppositions associated with social identity, speech situation, cultural settings and other shared background assumptions to which interactants may affiliate. These include the meta-pragmatics of socially appropriate behaviors and shared interpretations, as in *wakimae* (Ide 1989), as well as the socio-historical knowledge that the participants employ including culturally-shared schemas and narratives (e.g., ideologies). These norms of interaction are socially and ritually constructed through the habitual repetition of embodied actions (See Chapters 3 and 10 in this volume).

We also find bonding on the socio-cultural level in the processes of “common ground” making. Common ground is understood, not only as a presupposed collection of ideas or social norms of conduct shared among participants in particular communities (such as nation, ethnicity, and region), but also as newly emerging context created through the process of ongoing interaction. That is, “grounding” may function to achieve common ground between participants on an ad hoc basis (Clark 1996). Socio-cultural norms of conduct are not only embodied and enacted in interaction, but also become the means through which people express their stance on a metalinguistic and metapragmatic level, either by further cementing these norms or by acting to undermine, question, mock, or challenge them. Especially in cross-cultural contexts, including those of different social groups within the same country, there is the question of which set of social norms actors are bonded to at any given moment of interaction (See Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 in this volume). Likewise, the socio-cultural level of bonding can be an arena wherein beliefs and values that may not have been fully shared to start with are negotiated and co-constructed in the processes of interaction (See Chapters 5 and 9 in this volume).

3. The plan of the book

The idea for this book sprouted from several conference panels that the editors put together at the following venues: the 2015 panel: *Bonded through Context: Rethinking Language and Interactional Alignment in Situated Discourse* (International Pragmatics Association Conference), the 2016 panel: *The Discursive Art of “Bonding through Context”: Rethinking Interactional Alignment* (Sociolinguistics Symposium), and the 2017 panel: *The Pragmatics of “Bonding” in Cross-Cultural Encounters: East Asian Perspectives* (International Pragmatics Association Conference). The following is an overview of the twelve papers which are assorted into four sections.

Section I. Bonding and stance-taking in creating relationships

Section I contains three papers that rigorously examine how stance-taking through the usage of linguistic resources creates the sense of bonding as well as un-bonding. Specifically, the chapters examine reference/address terms, reported speech and reported thought, as well as benefactive verb usages, as social-indexical loci wherein speaker stance and social relationships emerge and shift dynamically.

The section starts off with Kataoka's paper (Chapter 1) which examines Japanese police interrogation between the suspect and detective/prosecutors and its various rapport building strategies taken within. Kataoka focuses his analysis on the use of reference terms and address terms (*jishoo-shi*, *tashoo-shi*) as in *ore/boku/jibun* ('I') and *omae* ('you') as well as the affect and power-laden particles and interjections. Analyzing how the use of these indexical resources shift through interaction, he unfolds how the bond between the suspect and the prosecutor can be created and be broken through the processes of interrogation. Here, we see how Japanese personal references and particles are utilized as power distribution and power management devices, tacitly creating, modifying and breaking the bonds between the interactants.

The paper by Dunn (Chapter 2) analyzes storytelling-type narratives from a speech contest, held at a professional institution in Tokyo that enhanced public speaking and communication skills. Dunn focuses the analysis on the use of reported speech and reported thought (Haakana 2007) as voicing devices, which index social positions and speaker stance observed in the speaker's evaluation towards affective experiences. By examining how footing (Goffman 1981) shifts through the use of reported thought, Dunn describes how speakers manage to create emotional connections with their audiences, while keeping the norms of the formality of speech presentations in public.

The Ide and Okamoto paper (Chapter 3) investigates how husband and wife bonding is discursively manifested through analyzing Japanese women's narratives about their childrearing experiences. Comparing the interview narratives collected across three different fieldwork sites, Ide and Okamoto examine the usage of the benefactive verb expression *-te kureru*, which indexes the sense of indebtedness and gratitude the speaker possesses towards the described action. By analyzing the use and the non-use of the *-te kureru* expression by the three groups of women, the paper reveals the contrasting ideologies regarding husband and wife relationships and childrearing responsibilities that Japanese women may possess.

Section II. The tactics and haggling of “bonding/un-bonding”

Section II consists of three chapters which highlight the “un-bonding” side of situated interactions, wherein discursive dis-alignments and disconnections are in order within seemingly smooth and engaging interactions on the surface.

The Takekuro paper (Chapter 4) is based on her long-term ethnography on Ishigaki Island in Okinawa, with its focus on the interactions between native resident islanders and newcomers. Drawing on the notion of “discordance” defined as the state of “being without harmony, agreement, or conformity” (Takekuro 2018), Takekuro demonstrates the discrepancy and distrust imbedded within the seemingly “bonded” interactions and calls for the importance of thick ethnographic research, looking beyond the immediate here-and-now interaction in understanding social relationships.

The paper by Yamaguchi (Chapter 5) is based on intercultural encounters recorded in his fieldwork sites in New Zealand and the United States. Using the theory of “context model” (Van Dijk 2008, 2009), which highlights the cognitive dimension of language use, Yamaguchi cultivates deeply into the notion of “common ground” in analyzing the instances of “relationship implicative action” for phatic or affiliative purposes (Enfield 2006, 2008). By examining English small talk and banter between Japanese (Yamaguchi himself) and non-Japanese interactants in which his being Japanese is of critical importance, the paper brings into light how bonding and un-bonding takes place on a social-level, wherein mutual understanding and the idea of what is appropriate is negotiated in situated discourse.

Based on her long-term interview research among Japanese women residing in the United Kingdom as migrants, the Hata paper (Chapter 6) examines how the speakers narrate their social and interpersonal positions with their interlocutors while discussing the EU referendum. Basing her analysis on positioning theory (Bamberg 2004), the paper examines the shift in the use of personal pronouns in the women's narratives, manipulating participant framework (Goffman 1981) as

well as duplicated gestures, indexing the speakers' positions with the interlocutors as well as the new social order.

Section III. Bonding through embodied practices

In Section III, we present three papers that examine the construction of moment-to-moment mutual alignments emerging through embodied discursive practices on multimodal levels.

The Sunakawa paper (Chapter 7) features technologically mediated bonding based on her study of webcam (Skype) family interactions. Sunakawa focuses her analysis on the co-engagement displays demonstrated through repetition and gesture mimicking, as well as body-space-talk coordination through the manipulation of camera angles and interactional space. Through the analysis, she describes how the sense of co-presence and being together, which is referred to as "familial bonding" is achieved in a mediated manner, overcoming geographical distances.

The paper by Bushnell (Chapter 8) examines how micro-bonding moments defined as fleeting displays of mutual affiliation, are co-constituted in and through mutual laughter. The data used for the study were collected during initial encounters by native speakers and second language speakers of Japanese. Taking a microethnographic approach to interaction data, Bushnell reveals how laughter and smiley voice function to align the interactants in the course of interaction, displaying a co-determined orientation to and coordination of their joint course of action.

The last paper in Section III is the Lefebvre paper (Chapter 9) which analyzes theatrical rehearsal interactions among actors and the director of a play which has been video-recorded in Japan. Based on intricate multimodal analysis (Goodwin 1979, 2000; Mondada 2009) of the embodied behaviors in interpreting a particular line of the script, the paper examines how meaning is negotiated and re-interpreted through bodily orientations, gaze, touching, and miming. In consequence, the paper examines how the performance of affective bonds are displayed on stage in a multimodal manner to the audiences.

Section IV. Performing bonding through indexicality and intertextuality

Section IV contains three chapters with the common theme of examining phatic and rapport-laden relationships established through the performance of indexicality and intertextuality both orally and in written formats.

The Yotsukura paper (Chapter 10) examines English and Japanese business email discourse, comparing how companies seek to cultivate, establish, and maintain bonds with customers in the two languages. The chapter discusses how such bonding is indexed and performed through marketing strategies that utilize

“person deixis” – namely pronouns – in the case of English, and through “social deixis,” including the use of honorific and humble forms in Japanese. Through a comparison of business email texts in these two languages, Yotsukura displays contrastively the varied ways in which discursive bonding is constructed in writing.

The Takanashi paper (Chapter 11) regards dialogic engagements as a “bonding” act and examines the dialogic process in conversational play framing, which gives rise to playful neologism. Drawing upon the Bakhtinian notion of “dialogism” and “stance” (Du Bois 2007), Takanashi maintains that conversationalists rely on the prior text, both immediate and remote, to create innovative language forms whose humorous meanings cannot be adequately understood without situated meanings mediated by intertextuality, intersubjectivity, and “dialogic resonance” (Du Bois 2007, 2014). Moreover, it is claimed that not only language form and meaning, but also speaker agency is coordinated in such playful bonding.

The last chapter of the volume is the Wetzel paper (Chapter 12), which examines Japanese advertisements from a point of view of indexicality and intertextuality. Examining not only the texts but also other visual images as photographic images and colors used in the advertisements, the paper carefully examines the semiotics, intertextuality, voices, and word play used in everyday advertisements. Through the analysis, Wetzel unfolds the world of shared cultural narratives in Japanese advertisements and how the customers are brought into discursive alignment with the marketers in a form of shared “situated cognition.”

4. Conclusion

To summarize, the three levels of contexts, i.e., the interactional, the corporeal, and the socio-cultural weave the layered sense of bonding and un-bonding, emerging through interaction. We conceive of bonding to occur not only through the usage of language as a foregrounded code in interaction, but through the non-linguistic contexts shared on the corporeal level and the socio-cultural level. These layers cannot be separated or be unwoven as they all emerge within the situated whole of the interactional plane. From examining these layers of context in detail, we wish to bring a new understanding of what we refer to as “context” in situated discourse.

It is no exaggeration when we say that the acts of bonding and the state of bonding constitute the foundations of human sociality. Living in a world that is relentlessly changing and fluctuating in an unprecedented speed and manner, we are constantly in the need to find new ways to build and rebuild social relationships in each situation and to cultivate new planes of being together. While this book examines mainly the Japanese language and its usage in creating interactional alignment, the ontological premise and multi-layered processes through which

bonding takes place are universal matters. Thus, it is our hope to further expand the understanding of the relationship between language, interaction, and human sociality by presenting the notion of “bonding through context.”

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SECTION I

Bonding and stance-taking in creating relationships

Shifting bonds in suspect interrogations

A focus on person-reference and modality

Kuniyoshi Kataoka

Aichi University

In this paper I will examine a series of police interrogations in which various “bonding” strategies – typically linguistic “modality” and “person reference” in Japanese – are employed. The prosecution process in Japan is notorious for unduly allowing the police to extend the detention period while various types of ploys and threats can be attempted to make a suspect to confess to the accused crime. Although such “bonding” between a suspect and the police may sound like a misleading characterization, one can expect to find comparable features to what we typically observe in “bonded” relationships. I will examine how the bond between a suspect and interrogators, established in an inhumane environment called *daiyō-kangoku* ‘police detention cell,’ can be modified in the interrogation process.

Keywords: forensic linguistics, suspect interrogation, wrongful conviction, person reference, modality

1. Introduction

By examining the process of creating and modifying bonds between a suspect and interrogators, I aim to explore the potential of a discourse analytic approach to serve as a resource for legal investigation. As more statements and reports based on linguistic findings are presented in courtrooms (Labov, 1988; Shuy, 1996), common ground between law and language has been widely pursued in the West (O’Barr, 1982; Conley and O’Barr, 1998; Coulthard and Johnson, 2010). As awareness levels in Japan about this topic have increased over the past 20 years (Ōgawara, 1998; Shudō, 2005; Hotta, 2010; Hashiuchi and Hotta, 2012), the need for inter-disciplinary efforts has also been emphasized, due to the growing use and recognition of forensic psychology and linguistics (Hamada, 2006; Hotta, and Hioki, 2016; cf. Loftus and Palmer, 1974; Loftus, 1979).

While the investigation in this paper follows a linguistics-oriented stream, it was originally conducted as part of a project for preventing wrongful convictions (e.g., implementing the use of recordings and other measures to improve current interrogation methods: for more, see Ibusuki, 2011, 2016). Specifically, the paper aimed to propose some solutions to the overwhelming imbalance (which sometimes has to do with human rights) in conventional “suspect interrogations” conducted by the Japanese police and prosecution.

Recently, a bill mandating the recording of interrogations (part of the Law on Criminal Justice System Reform) was enacted in May 2016 and has made such recordings subject to disclosure. However, even with this improvement, it is impossible to capture the whole story of an interrogation. As the bill does not make it obligatory to audio- or video-record the entire interrogation process, it is just as possible to give the impression that, “we’ve got him” by selectively presenting only the suspect’s confession at a public hearing. Public confessions can, therefore, be considered all the more misleading and dangerous (see Ibusuki, 2016 for more detail).

Such an uneasy dilemma between human rights and bureaucratic practice is ubiquitous and has been of utmost concern among political theorists as well as practitioners. Arendt (1970, p. 81), for example, warned long ago of the danger of a bureaucratic society, cautioning that “(t)he greater the bureaucratization of public life, the greater will be the attraction of violence.” Although we tend to believe that power is typically vested in an individual in the government or official institutions, in an extreme form of bureaucracy, no one is endowed with the absolute power except the system. In bureaucratic systems, such as law-enforcement or judicial institutions, those involved become destined to work for the sustenance of the system itself.

Because more people leads to more power, which always aspires for growth, power is inevitably “expansionist” in its nature. In contrast, it is when power starts to shrink that it becomes prone to violence. On the intersection of power and violence, Arendt states:

(E)very decrease in power is an open invitation to violence – if only because those who hold power and feel it slipping from their hands, be they the government or be they the governed, have always found it difficult to resist the temptation to substitute violence for it. (Arendt, 1970, p. 87)

One such situation that represents the imbalance between power and violence would be a suspect-interrogator relationship. Even in such a situation, “bonding” between investigator and suspect comes to emerge as a realistic characterization of the relationship, rendering a suspect with a mental state comparable to what is widely known as “Stockholm Syndrome,” where a (kidnap) victim/hostage holds a

positive bond or even affectionate and sympathetic feelings toward a captor. This type of “terror/traumatic bond” is not fully confirmed as a valid psychiatric syndrome and may possibly be a fabrication of the media (Namnyak et al., 2007). However, some common features of such victims have been pointed out: (1) they have experienced direct threats of physical or emotional abuse, (2) they were kept in isolation or physically restrained, (3) they had an opportunity to escape during the period of captivity, but failed to use it, and (4) they showed sympathy with their captors post-captivity. These features are also observed in other situations such as domestic violence (ibid) and possibly extended detention, as in this case.

As has been repeatedly depicted in some Japanese detective dramas and movies dealing with police investigation, one of the most dramatic scenes (at least for the viewer) tends to be one in which a suspect unwittingly confesses to his/her crime in remorse and is placated by police officers’ sympathetic treatment. Whether probable fiction or an urban myth, it is widely believed that such a type of bond can exist. The case in point here is how such a bond, once perceived as established, could be modified or even broken during the interrogation process. In this paper, I will focus on the questioning (in regard to the suspect) as an opaque form of abuse of institutional power-turned-violence that is NOT based on a physical environment, but rather on words – specifically, “terms of address” and “grammatical person/ modality.” In other words, I will show how words, as power-management devices that support *daiyō-kangoku* ‘police detention cell’ (lit., “substitute prison”), are used as a power-laden and violence-inducing tool that may tacitly modify and/or break bonds between suspect and interrogator.

2. Previous research

In my view, two broad trends in methods of proof in applied jurisprudence have been recognized in Japan: the rational-deductive approach and the empirical-inductive approach. The rational-deductive approach attacks flaws and illogicalities in confession reports and testimonies from a rational angle, for example, claiming that, “this is how a reasonable person would act/think” based on observations from legal psychology (Hamada, 2006; Mori, 2001). Also, this approach often adopts methods such as experimental techniques to provide counter-evidence based on statistically significant results (Loftus, 1979; O’Barr, 1982; Hotta and Hioki, 2016). Likewise, rationalistic recommendations used to connect formal principles of communication with legal principles (e.g., Habermas, 1986) arguably also derive from this approach.

On the other hand, the empirical-inductive approach has contributed to correcting judicial imbalances by stating that linguistic phenomena resulting from

ethnic or cultural factors influence the credibility of interrogations and testimonies (Labov, 1988; Berk-Seligson, 1990; Gass and Varonis, 1991; Eades, 2012). This approach has also led to the use of Conversation Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis to expose the inducement of testimonies based on pre-allocation of turns to certain participants (Coulthard, 1994; Coulthard and Johnson, 2010; Komter, 2013), resulting in the design of desirable and interactional trial participation by Japanese citizen judges (Morimoto, 2007; Hotta, 2011).

However, in Japan, access to materials from interrogations and trials is extremely limited. Furthermore, backed up by the extended detentions and other legal processes called “hostage justice,” the conviction rate in Japanese criminal trials is reported to be 99.9% (Odanaka, 1993) – a fact which was put into the international spotlight at the arrest of Carlos Ghosn, the former chief executive of Nissan Motor Corporation, and his dramatic escape from Japan (Ishizuka, 2020; Osumi, 2020). That is, if a suspect accepts the report prepared by the police or prosecution and the case goes to trial, it will almost certainly result in a guilty verdict, which is why such trials are called “trials by report.” Given the situation, Hamada’s (2006) analysis of wrongful conviction in the Hakamada Case stands as a valuable milestone in forensic psychology/linguistics in Japan. This analysis proved that a verdict is erroneous from the contradictions hidden in the confession that was taken as evidence. It is also revolutionary for demonstrating that “the confession proves innocence” by exposing the “possibility of inducement” by the police and prosecution and “lies” in the report that deny the suspect’s involvement.

In recent years, some Japanese jurists have proposed interrogation techniques intended to avoid wrongful convictions based on findings from criminal procedure and criminal psychology (e.g., Sato, 2011; Ibusuki, 2011). For example, from examining the Ashikaga Case, Satō (2011) emphasizes (1) building rapport between the suspect and the interrogator, (2) setting aside the interrogator’s presuppositions, (3) using open-ended questions to encourage free recall,¹ (4) bearing in mind that asking the same question repeatedly is itself a powerful form of inducement (the danger of “unconscious inducement”), to name only a few. However, the fact that these suggestions are still made shows, paradoxically, that such factors are yet to be taken into consideration to protect suspects in practice.²

1. For example, “negative questions” presume a strong bias toward a positive polarity; a negative answer is a marked (i.e., unexpected) response. Similarly, asking a question repeatedly (if the asker does not have hearing problems) is understood to be an act that implies distrust of, or objection to, the answer. That is, both of implications can be interpreted to constitute “inducement” by the interrogator in the sense of conversational strategies that presume the suspect’s guilt.

2. There are, of course, laws to control a police-induced confession in order to prevent wrongful convictions. Article 38, paragraph 2 of the Constitution states that, “A confession made under

Suspect interrogations are conducted in a highly structured manner comparable to an “adjacency pair” (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974), which strongly compels its completion through the act of, say, questioning and answering. Disobeying this practice constitutes an act that violates the social contract in interaction. While the right to remain silent is legally recognized in interrogations, only a battle-hardened suspect or criminal could suppress their guilty conscience when they are directly or indirectly asked similar questions dozens or hundreds of times. This is all the more true in cases of wrongful conviction. Countless cases exist in which the interrogator attacked even sincere answers as incorrect until the answers conformed to their expectations. The suspect finally confessed out of desperation after a lengthy period of detention³ (which used to be accompanied by physical violence) as previously reported for the Ashikaga Case (Gotō, 2011). However, this process is destined for concealment and erasure by the pen of the person preparing the deposition.

In this respect, I hope the current analysis will shed some light on the bond-creating/breaking/modifying process in the making and demonstrate how findings from such a process may contribute to modifying the current interrogation system.

3. Data and object of analysis

3.1 Data in focus

The data in this analysis comes from interrogations conducted in the Mt. Kōya Arson Case between December 1987 and July 1988. In this paper, I will analyze a series of exchanges in which the suspect repeatedly confessed and denied the allegation over three months. The interrogation took place over the course of arrest, prosecution referral, detention, and indictment, eventually resulting in an enormous amount of files and reports. Specifically, the current data consists of the

compulsion, torture or threat, or after prolonged arrest or detention shall not be admitted in evidence.” Article 319, paragraph 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure broadens this scope further, explicitly stating that a confession is also inadmissible “when there is doubt about it being voluntary.”

3. In practice, police interrogations have taken place behind closed doors to pursue the objectives to the fullest degree. Thus, if a suspect does not admit to the charge after arrest, the detention can go on for a maximum of 23 days – an extremely long period of time compared to the 48 hours that is typical in the U.S., for example.

following three materials:⁴ (1) transcripts and audio recordings of interrogations (spanning fifty 120-minute cassette tapes),⁵ (2) depositions prepared by the detective and prosecutor, and (3) the suspect's own handwritten notes.

Audio recording was not compulsory at the time, but because the suspect shifted to denying parts of his confession, the police were instructed by the prosecution to record the subsequent interrogation sessions on tape. As the audio data and depositions comprise an enormous amount of data (which is impossible to present in its entirety and in a completely balanced way), the following analysis will concentrate on striking "turning points" that provide an outline of the changes in the bonded relationship. The basis for choosing such points depends on when the bureaucratic institution has the opportunity to cultivate its authority and power. Most likely, it occurs when the institution perceives a threat to authority, which it regards as self-evident – such as the moment when a suspect who was thought to be "in the bag" suddenly shifts to denying their confession. That is, when those in power are triggered to resort to violence (Arendt, 1970), the chance of using persuasion, placation, or intimidation is more likely. Therefore, I have chosen the following four points (List 1 a–d) on the time axis.

List 1. Testimonies and reports to be analyzed:

- a. Initial questioning by the detective in response to the suspect's partial denial of the confession.
- b. Questioning by the detective directly before the suspect's second denial to the prosecutor (two days after (a)).
- c. Questioning by the detective directly after the suspect's second denial to the prosecutor (the evening of the same day as (b)).
- d. Questioning by the detective after rounds of confession and denial, intermittently exercising the right to remain silent (about one month after (c)).

The suspect was eventually prosecuted and declared guilty for two minor arson cases, but acquitted for another major case due to the interrogators' inducement and suspected violence during interrogations. In what follows, I will specifically

4. The transcripts used in this analysis are based on transcriptions done by lawyers. The transcripts were not revised according to the conventions of discourse/conversation analysis because (1) deliberations were conducted with such materials as internal documents, (2) they reflect what judicial affairs specialists interpreted to be interactional subtleties, and (3) it was practically overwhelming to reconstruct over 50 hours of poor-quality audio data with a discourse/conversation analysis transcription system.

5. Several studies have already been conducted based on this data. For example, Gotō (1996, 2011) reveals interrogation methods that depend on inducement, threats, violence, and bribery, and casts doubt on the legitimacy of the confession.

examine the linguistic practice in this interrogation to analyze the process through which the suspect attempted to break loose from the bond seemingly created with the interrogators. However, in the end, the suspect continued to show some signs of bonding with the interrogators.

3.2 Linguistic items in focus

The manner in which person-reference terms and address terms are used serves as a major “phatic” function in creating a human bond. Here we cannot overlook the linguistic features of the Japanese language. Unlike the pronouns of most Western languages, Japanese *jishōshi* ‘first-person (or self)-reference terms’ and *taishōshi* ‘second-person-reference terms’ have their own distinct “color” (i.e., different “indexical” meanings: Silverstein, 1976; cf. Suzuki, 1978). Such terms sometimes are used to create/conceal certain social persona, and at other times to manipulate social stances (see Table 1) and are thus deeply intertwined with communal values and identities through “enregisterment” (Agha, 2007). Specifically, I will look into their “vocative” and “pronominal” usages (Suzuki, 1978),⁶ and chronologically examine how a suspect and prosecutors address each other during the interrogations.

Table 1. *Jishōshi* and *taishōshi* examined in this study (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, *Kōjien*: Words referring to third persons were not included in the analysis.)

<i>Jishōshi</i> ‘first-person reference’	<i>boku</i>	Used by males toward those of equal or lower standing.
	<i>ore</i>	In modern times, a rough way of speaking used by males toward colleagues and subordinates.
	<i>washi</i>	Currently used by older males toward those of lower standing; generally, it conveys a sense of haughtiness.
	<i>watashi</i>	Currently the most typical word used to refer to oneself; used by both males and females in formal situations.
<i>Taishōshi</i> ‘second-person reference’	<i>jibun</i>	Often used by males in formal situations.
	<i>omae</i>	Originally used to address superiors, but is now mainly used by males to address those of equal or lower standing.
	<i>keiji-san</i> ‘officer’	Term of address based on occupation.
	“yobi-sute” (person’s name only)	Used by either sex to address intimates or those of equal or lower standing.

6. *Tashōshi* ‘third-person-reference terms’ were not included in this analysis.

I would like to clarify what is implied by the phrase, “used toward those of equal or lower standing,” in Table 1. For example, if two speakers were to address each other as *omae* ‘you,’ this would normally indicate the absence of a power difference; while one-sided, extensive use of *omae* could be assumed to indicate a lingering imbalance in authority or power. That is to say, in this instance, whether the use is reciprocal is key in judging power imbalances. However, at present, use of such terms is not considered to be a type of problematic inducement in legal settings. Even in the West, where the use of terms of address and pronouns has been found to indicate power differences in human relationships (Brown and Gilman 1960), such usage does not appear to have become particularly problematic in interrogation settings (cf. Grebler, 2010; Harris, 2011).

In addition, power differences in interrogations are expressed in modality – i.e., “the way a sentence is expressed to show (1) the speaker’s judgment about its content, (2) its relationship with the speech situation and with other sentences, and (3) how it is conveyed to the listener” (Society of Japanese Descriptive Grammar, 2003). In this analysis, I will focus on *shūjoshi* ‘sentence-final particle,’ *kantō-joshi* ‘interjectory particle,’ and *kandōshi* ‘interjection’ usages of *ne*, *yo*, and, *na* as elements that express interpersonal judgment and evaluation with respect to

Table 2. Particles examined in this study (Society of Japanese Descriptive Grammar, 2003; Miyazaki et al., 2002)

<i>Shūjoshi</i> ‘sentence-final particles’ and <i>kantō-joshi</i> ‘interjectory particles’	“... <i>ne(e)</i> .”	(Confirmation/exclamation)
	“... <i>ne</i> ,”	1. Expresses the speaker’s perception to the listener. 2. Solicits agreement from the listener. 3. Expresses awareness of the listener.
	“... <i>na(a)</i> .”	(Confirmation/exclamation) Non-interactive <i>na</i> *:
	“... <i>na</i> ,”	Indicates a speaker’s new perception or mental states such as confusion, admiration, and astonishment. Interactive <i>na</i> : (Mostly used by males) indicates informal confirmation with the listener.
	“... <i>yo</i> .” “... <i>yo</i> ,”	(Communication) Indicates information that the listener ought to know; calls the listener’s attention to something. Also comes at the ends of sentences, emphasizing or criticizing that a listener does not know something that they ought to.
<i>Kandōshi</i> ‘interjections’	“ <i>Ne(e)</i> .”	Indicates that the speaker is speaking with awareness of the listener; also has an exclamatory nuance.
	“ <i>Na(a)</i> .”	Indicates, in an exclamatory way, a surge of emotion induced by perceiving a given situation; asks for agreement or confirmation.

*Non-interactive or monologic *na* were not considered in this analysis.

the referent/addressee. Not only do these elements occur frequently in daily conversation, they are the most heavily used particles in the interrogators' questioning in this data. Table 2 summarizes the general usages and meanings of these items.

Examples in (1) are also given to provide general ideas regarding different nuances conveyed by particle (PRT) and interjective (INT) usages of *ne*, *yo*, and *sa*.

(1)

Particle usage	Interjection usage
(a) <i>Mata ai-tai ne.</i> again see-want to PRT '(We) want to see (each other) again (don't we?).'	<i>Nee, shi-tteru?</i> INT know-STATIVE 'Look, you know what?'
(b) <i>Mata ai-tai yo</i> again see-want to PRT '(I definitely) want to see (you) again.'	$\left(\begin{array}{l} \textit{Yoo, shi-tteru?} \text{ (possible but rare)} \\ \text{INT know-STATIVE} \\ \text{'Hey you, you know what?'} \end{array} \right)$
(c) <i>Mata ai-tai na.</i> again see-want to PRT '(I claim I) want to see (you) again.'	<i>Naa, shi-tteru?</i> INT know-STATIVE 'Hey, you know what?'

It goes without saying that experienced interrogators can manipulate figures of speech to embed a certain attitude or stance. In such cases, the use of interactive particles and interjections undoubtedly plays a significant role in managing and creating empathy and rapport (and eventually a positive bond).

Based on the abovementioned discussion, I will employ a discourse analytic approach to examine how a mutual bond is modified along the course of interrogations, eventually ending in what we call *kusare-en* 'inseverable bond' (lit. '(old and) rotten karma') that is reflected upon the use of person-reference and modality.

4. Analysis

In this analysis, I will focus on the function of modal and referential expressions and examine the shifts of their usage as secondary indexes of power, which served as an implicit threat of violence in the interrogation. In Section 4.1, I will observe the shifting uses of *ne* as an index of resistance that runs counter to building a bond through rapport and empathy, unlike the typical feature of *ne* as "affective common ground" (Cook, 1992). I will also examine the use of *yo* and *na* as indexes of "power-turned-violence," and verify that these terms were exploited by the interrogators for augmenting psychological pressure and manipulating emotional distances. Next, in Section 4.2, I compare and examine how the *ninshōshi* 'person-reference terms', which the interrogators (detective or prosecutor) and the suspect used to refer to each other varied during questioning, and propose the possibility

that the directionality of such alterations reflects the micro-level management of the (un)bonding practice.

4.1 Distribution of the particle and interjective use of *ne*, *yo*, and *na*

First, let us look into the number of occurrences of each particle and interjection by the suspect and the detective, as well as the number of turns they took at each point in time (a–d), with the frequency of use expressed as a percentage (in parentheses) based on the total number of turns (Table 3). Figure 1 represents the changes shown in Table 3.

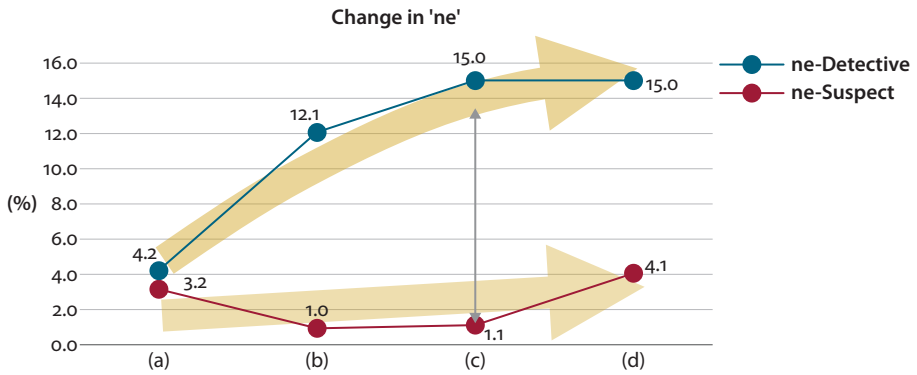
Table 3. Occurrences of *joshi/kandōshi* and total turns taken at each point in the interrogation

Occurrences (%)		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
<i>ne</i>	Suspect	27(3.2)	3(1.0)	6(1.1)	19(4.1)
	Detective	37(4.2)	40(12.1)	91(15.0)	73(15.0)
<i>yo</i>	Suspect	12(1.4)	8(2.5)	7(1.3)	14(3.0)
	Detective	38(4.3)	29(8.8)	150(24.8)	54(11.1)
<i>na</i>	Suspect	1(0.1)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
	Detective	94(10.7)	67(20.2)	165(27.2)	116(23.9)
Total turns (same as above)		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Total	Suspect	854	314	530	468
	Detective	876	331	606	486

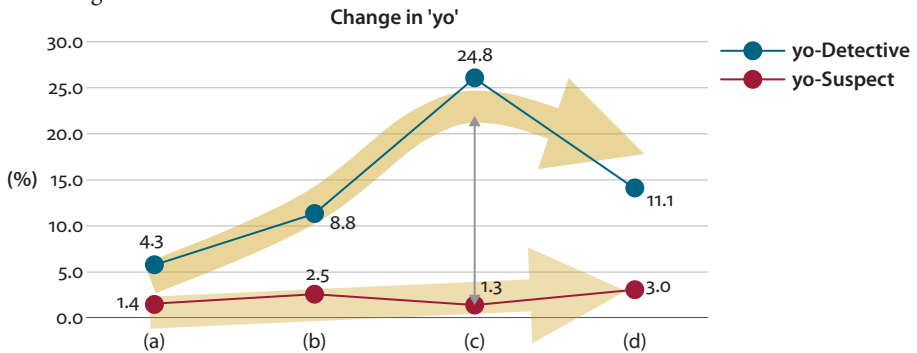
*Numbers in parentheses show a percentage (occurrences / total turns)

From Figure 1 (1–3), *ne*, *yo*, and *na* can all be seen to exhibit a characteristic asymmetry. As previously stated, the reciprocal and balanced use of these particles is considered to be an index of the equal status between the speakers. In this case, however, since there are clear differences in social status and age, non-reciprocal uses of the particles would be the norm. Roughly speaking, the initial values for those particles at (a), when the suspect denied his confession for the first time (a situation that was not fully recognized by the detectives at that point), would be close to the default level of bond, whether positive or negative, that had previously been established. Therefore, the shifting imbalance observed in the following stages would reveal the ongoing de-/re-construction of the bond. At point (a), the initial differences in the percentage between the suspect and the detective for *ne* ($1.0 = 4.2 - 3.2$), *yo* ($2.9 = 4.3 - 1.4$), and *na* ($10.6 = 10.7 - 0.1$) seem to reflect the differences in “conative” strength (i.e., power) inherent in those particles, with

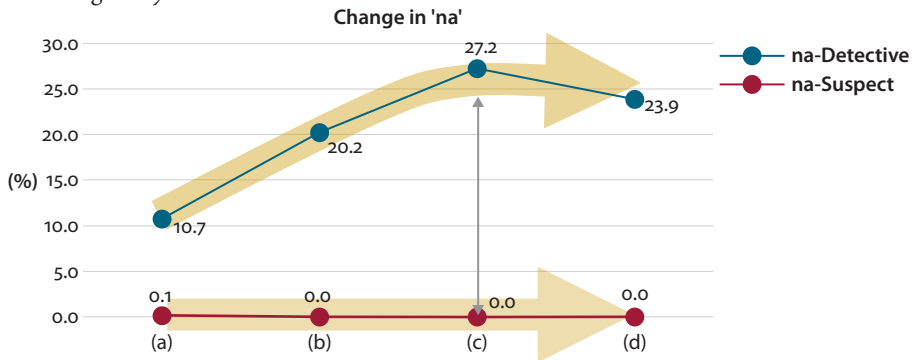
ne showing the least, and *na* the greatest value. (These differences fit the native speakers' intuition.)



1. Changes in *ne*



2. Changes in *yo*



3. Changes in *na*

Figure 1. Frequency of occurrence of *joshi/kandōshi* (as a percentage) at each point in the interrogation

The following breach becomes evident in points (b–c) in Figure 1 (1, 2, 3), which vividly illustrate not just a mere lack of rapport, but also a widening power difference projected onto the uses of particles. In particular, the initial reciprocal use of *ne* (Figure 1 (1-a)) is considered to be an indication of emotional unity or “affective common ground” (Cook, 1992: cf. Miyazaki et al., 2002); however, as the detective’s persuasion and/or coercion intensify between points (a) and (c), the frequency of use of *ne* rises, whereas that of the suspect’s decreases. Mutual rapport and empathy observed at point (a) can clearly be seen to be fading as the two frequencies move apart in opposite directions. In this respect, the suspect’s gradually decreasing use of *ne* serves as an index of resistance (or denial) and augments the bi-directional “divergence” (Giles et al., 1991).

In addition, the overwhelming imbalances in *yo* and *na* in Figure 1 (2, 3) clearly shows that these particles/interjections function as an index of both the interrogators’ authority and the suspect’s subordination, which is most palpably seen in the fact the suspect never used *na* toward the interrogators. (Here non-interactive, monologic *na* [...*ka na* ‘I wonder ...*na*’] and quotative *na* [...*na to* {*omotte/itte*} ‘I think/say that ...*na*’] were not included in this analysis.) Interestingly, however, the suspect employed the highest frequency of *ne* and *yo* at (d), indicating that he eventually ended up sharing a certain level of bond even after interrogators’ conspicuous power (and possibly violent) execution at (c).

There is some discourse research that examines the subtle changes in affect/emotion that occurs by the passage of time. For example, in Ferrara’s (1991) analysis of psychoanalysis sessions, the grammatical features in the speech of the patient and the therapist (who speak different varieties of English) were observed to display various features that change toward harmony to achieve an empathic “convergence” (Giles et al., 1991). Although the direction of shift is opposite and the linguistic features employed are different in our case, “diverging” speech accommodation is also seen here.

4.2 Distribution of *ninshōshi* ‘person-reference terms’

In this section, I will analyze (1) the terms of address used in the questioning – *boku*, *watashi*, *ore*, *jibun* (for first-person reference) and *omae*, *XXX-san*, and “*yo-bi-sute*” (the person’s first name without any suffix) (for second-person reference). As I previously stated, while recent international trends in suspect interrogation have reached common ground regarding the importance of rapport formation between interrogator and suspect, the directionality seen in this data clearly runs counter to that trend, with the power imbalance reinforced and made constant as the interrogation proceeds.

4.2.1 Substitution of *jishōshi* ‘first person/self-reference terms’

In this section, I would like to take up the issue of the choice and substitution of *jishōshi* ‘first-person-reference terms’ in interrogations and depositions. The reason this can be a “problem” is because, although Japanese *ninshōshi* ‘person-reference terms’ serves as an indexing device that projects the referent’s character and identities, there appears to be no serious discussion about what is problematic in legal settings.

First, I would like to confirm the distribution of *jishōshi* used by the suspect and interrogator in the data selected for analysis (Table 4, Figure 2).

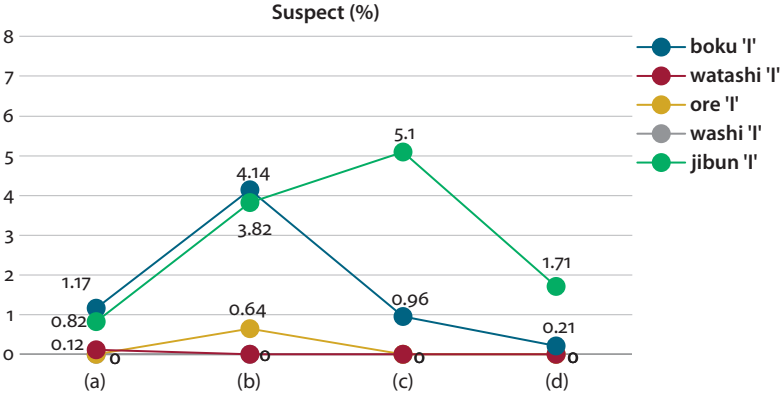
Table 4. Usage frequencies of *jishōshi* ‘first-person-reference terms’

		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	Total
Suspect	<i>boku</i>	10(1.2)	13(4.1)	3(1.0)	1(0.2)	<u>27</u>
	<i>watashi</i>	1(0.1)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1
	<i>ore</i>	0(0.0)	2(0.6)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	2
	<i>washi</i>	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0
	<i>jibun</i>	7(0.8)	12(3.8)	16(5.1)	8(1.7)	<u>43</u>
Interrogator	<i>boku</i>	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0
	<i>watashi</i>	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(0.3)	0(0.0)	1
	<i>ore</i>	2(0.2)	0(0.0)	3(0.9)	0(0.0)	5
	<i>washi</i>	3(0.3)	10(3.0)	63(19.0)	34(7.0)	<u>110</u>
	<i>jibun</i>	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	2(0.4)	2
Total		23	37	86	45	191

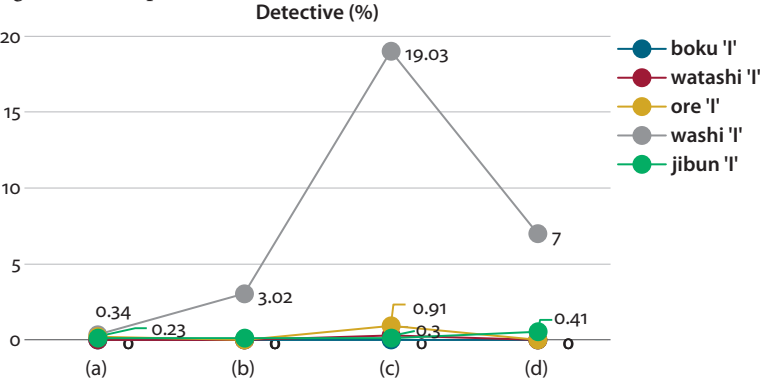
*Numbers in parentheses show a percentage (occurrences / total turns)

From Table 4 and Figure 2, we can see that the suspect only uses *boku* and *jibun* when referring to himself in interrogations, and basically does not use *watashi*, *ore*, or *washi*. (However, there are a few instances during the interrogation in which he used *ore* in reenacting conversations with a friend.) What is interesting here is that at point (c), when the suspect needed to assert his objections more strongly, the frequency of *boku* dropped sharply and that of *jibun* rose continuously (Figure 2 (1)). His choice of the more official and polite *jibun* (Ogino, 2007) over the serious-but-slightly-immature *boku* is hardly coincidental. Presumably, he needed more self-defensive arguments, and it was the best tactic he could take in that situation, as other self-referential terms such as *ore* and *washi* sound arrogant and self-aggrandizing, and were to be avoided in front of a detective.

The suspect’s usage frequency of *jibun* (5.1%) is equivalent to a proportion of roughly 1 in 20 turns while the interrogator’s (here, the detective’s) use of *washi* is approximately 4 times as frequent (19.0%; roughly 1 in 5 turns) to persuade and



1. Changes in the suspect



2. Changes in the interrogator

Figure 2. Usage frequencies of *jishōshi*

placate (or intimidate) the suspect (Figure 2 (2)). From the sense of haughtiness attached to *washi*, one can perceive a greater power difference that could be created through the widening gap. Also notice that *washi* was hardly used at point (a), in which mutual trust and bond were barely maintained. However, it abruptly increased in proportion at point (c), when the interrogators' accusation intensifies in accordance with the accompanying increase of other power-laden particles *yo* and *na* (Figure 1).

To give more empirical support to this interpretation, let us turn to the suspect's handwritten notes (Example (2)). The suspect consistently used *boku* (in the *hiragana* script) in his notes as well, and it is clear that other *jishōshi* 'first-person-reference terms' such as *watashi*, *ore*, or *washi* do not seem to conform to the suspect's own self-image. Moreover, many features that do not fit the standard linguistic norm for adults can also be observed in the notes: a heavy use of the *hiragana* script, a lack of punctuation, a lack of paragraph awareness, and unnatural

grammatical usage. These features imply a conspicuous immaturity of mind in which it would not be unnatural for the suspect to refer to himself as *boku*.⁷

(2) *Boku* and *jibun* in the suspect's handwritten notes:

... ima kangaete miruto yo no naka ni wa *boku* no nan-juubai mo oya mo inaku sukina koto mo dekizu ni ite mo isshoo kenmei seeippai ikite iru hito no koto o kangaeruto *boku* wa oya mo ite sukina koto o shiteiru seikatsu o shite-ite *jibun* ga warukute shikararete-iru no o gyakuni hara o tatete hi o tsukete *jibun* no ie o yaketa koto o omouto *jibun* no nasakenasa ya *jibun* no yowasa *jibun* no yoku no koto bakaride hito no koto o kangaenakute *jibun* chuushinde monogoto o yatte-ita koto ga kono hitotachi no naritakute kurushinde iru wake de nai ryooshin ni oite ikaretari ...

... Come to think of it there are so many people who are much unhappier than *me* in the world who don't have parents and cannot do what they want to do and just do their best to survive but *I* have parents and can do whatever (I) like but was scolded for the bad things *I* had done but instead got mad and set fire and burned *my* house and (I) only think of *my* own miserableness and *my* weakness and *my* desires and never think of others and have been doing things in a *selfish* way but they have no reason to have to go through misery like being left behind by their parents and

What really matters here is that the suspect's sensitivity to the choice of first-person referent terms is totally erased in the depositions despite a professional recommendation that "one should use the person's spoken words as much as possible to record a deposition with natural expressions that correspond to their age, intellectual level, social status, occupation, etc." (Oguro et al., 2003, p. 5).

In addition, I would question why the detective kept using *watashi*, not *boku*, in representing the suspect's speech in the depositions. Certainly, it may be nothing more than habitual practice. However, as previously mentioned, there are characteristic indexical meanings associated with Japanese person-reference terms, and the choice of which one to use (or avoid) constitutes an important means of conveying the speaker's disposition and character. Thus the possibility exists of conveying a different impression to the judge by substituting a different *jishōshi* for the one actually used in interrogations and the suspect's handwritten notes (i.e., *boku*). In this case, by assigning the *jishōshi* "watashi" to the suspect, who was a minor at the time of arrest (19 years old) and consistently referred

7. It is hard to confirm from this plain text excerpted from a transcript, but the handwriting is also so immature and unsophisticated that it could easily be mistaken for that of a child.

to himself as *boku*,⁸ such individual idiosyncrasies are eliminated in the deposition in which the act is officially documented as a crime by an adult with rational judgment and responsibility.

4.2.2 Substitution of *taishōshi* ‘second-person-reference terms’

In this section, instead of *jishōshi*, I would like to consider the substitution in *taishōshi* ‘second-person-reference terms’ along the interrogations. As is clear from Table 5 and Figure 3, the interrogator (detective) consistently uses *omae* ‘you’ or “yobi-sute” (i.e., the suspect’s first (or last) name only, without any suffix), with an surprisingly sharp rise in the use of *omae* ‘you’ as a pronoun, and a gradual increase of “yobi-sute” as a term of address, at point (c).

Table 5. Usage frequencies of *taishōshi* ‘second-person reference’

	<i>Taishōshi</i>	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Suspect	<i>Keiji-san</i> ‘officer’	0(0.0)	9(2.9)	12(2.3)	8(1.7)
Interrogator	<i>Omae</i> ‘you’	47(5.4)	58(17.5)	206(34.0)	101(20.8)
	(First name only)	0(0.0)	14(4.2)	57(9.4)	36(7.4)
	<i>Omahan</i> ‘you’	5(0.6)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)

*Numbers in parentheses show a percentage (occurrences / total turns)

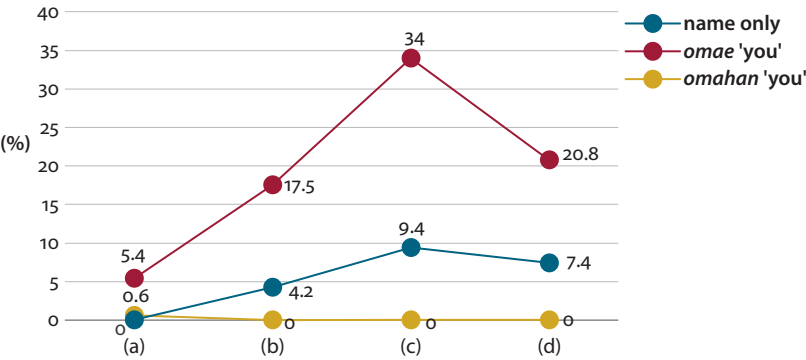


Figure 3. Usage frequency of *taishōshi* by the interrogators (as percentages)

The one-sided use of *omae* and “yobi-sute” concurs with the dramatic increase in the aforementioned usage of the particles *yo* and *na*, suggesting that the cumulative

8. In fact, even a study in the US by O’Barr (1982) found that the credibility of testimonies by men decreases the more they exhibit “powerless” speech styles. This case is the opposite; it is possible that altering *boku* to *watashi*, which would be used in official settings by an adult male, resulted in an increase in the credibility of the suspect’s vague (i.e., powerless) testimony, rendering the deposition more credible.

use of these terms, which straightforwardly augments power differences to the extent of implicit violence, potentially consolidates the invisible infrastructure that *daiyō-kangoku* ‘detention cell’ rests upon. Here again, “the person’s spoken words” (Oguro et al., 2003) ended up being concealed under the (arguably Western) language ideology of “the transparency of pronouns.” This is simply not my speculation. It has been found that when different first-person-reference terms (e.g., *ore*, *boku*, *watashi*) are used to portray a suspect in a report, ordinary people who could be citizen judges make different decisions regarding the sentence and assess the severity of the damage differently (Fujita, Hioki, and Wakabayashi, 2016). Choice of pronoun is no minor practice only for grammar’s sake, but an influential tactic for power manipulation in discourse.

Underlying this is another linguistic ideology that would appropriately be called “the myth of propositional truth” – i.e., a biased view that *how* something is said (or written) does not affect *what* is said (or written). This ideology is based on the premise that “explicit meaning” is *the* function of language and “implicit (indexical) meanings” can be ignored, residing outside the rational argument of legal matters. Obviously, this assumption works against the suspect, as various linguistic anthropological analyses (Silverstein, 1976; Irvine and Gal, 2000) and psychological experiments (Loftus, 1979; Loftus and Palmer, 1974) have long presented claims and evidence to the contrary. In *daiyō-kangoku* ‘police detention cell’ interrogations as they are presently conducted, not only is there an acceptance of the oppression resulting from the physical environment, there is also an acceptance of the oppression resulting from the very linguistic resources that support the interrogations. This could in turn support an institutional environment that hinders “sound” bond/rapport formation and fosters wrongful convictions.

5. Conclusion

In Japan, attempts to build more just and democratic interrogation processes are still limited, and there is a sense that such processes are just beginning. Even in such an environment, a special type of bond between a suspect and interrogators seems to be created, maintained, and strategically manipulated through a shifting use of linguistic resources, mostly to the disadvantage of a suspect. Specifically, I have examined the usage of particles and interjections in suspect interrogations from the perspective of pragmatics-based discourse analysis and identified how such items are currently exploited as the infrastructure that supports *daiyō-kangoku* and registers the imbalances and inequalities in interrogations.

The analyses showed that, even in such a scenario, it is possible for a suspect and interrogators to construct a certain bond during the prolonged detention

period. A bond, seen in this light, should not be interpreted in binary terms, such as “good/bad,” “positive/negative,” or “created/broken,” but rather as an ephemeral calibration on a fluid moment-by-moment continuum of “more or less.” What should be noted in the current analysis is that, even after an anguished experience, both the suppresser and the suppressed still developed a certain kind of bond, or *kusare-en* ‘inseverable bond’. This connection was dynamic and responsive to major incidents during the interrogation, and was reflected by the fluctuating uses of affect-/power-laden particles, person-reference terms, and terms of address. The choice of which item to use in interrogations and depositions is not a trivial matter; as such, it is worthy of serious consideration and reassessment.

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Reported thought, narrative positioning, and emotional expression in Japanese public speaking narratives

Cynthia Dickel Dunn
University of Northern Iowa

Scholarship on oral narrative has drawn attention to how narrators position themselves both as characters within the narrative and as narrators in relation to an audience. This chapter examines how reported thought is used in Japanese narratives to shift frames between a narrating voice (anchored in the current situation) and a narrated voice (anchored within the story world). Functions of reported thought include: drawing contrasts between what was thought and what was (not) said; creation of a vivid, emotional narrative through the enactment of inner speech; and allowing speakers to perform speech acts while partially escaping responsibility for their illocutionary force. Reported thought allows narrators to momentarily shift footing without challenging genre conventions or established social roles and relationships.

Keywords: reported speech, reported thought, narrative, Japanese, quotation, emotive communication, soliloquy, storytelling, narrative positioning

1. Introduction

Although all discourse is anchored in the context that it simultaneously constructs, narrative is particularly rich in presenting a Janus-faced self bonded to both past and present interactional contexts. Over the past two decades, scholarship on oral narrative has drawn attention to the power of personal narrative in allowing narrators to position themselves both as characters within the narrative and as narrators in relation to an audience in the storytelling event (Bamberg 1997, 2004; Wortham 2000; Koven 2002; Perrino 2011; Dunn 2017). Japanese in particular has a rich variety of linguistic forms which index speaker stance and social relationships including honorifics, a variety of first-person pronouns, and sentence-final particles. This chapter will explore how these stylistic forms were used to shift

frames in a public speaking event in which narrators told stories of past selves and of self-transformation. The context for these narratives was a speech contest in which speakers gave three-minute speeches about how enrolling in a public speaking course had changed their lives. In the course of these speeches, speakers used distinct speech styles to index multiple frame shifts between directly addressing the audience, narrating past events, enacting interactions between narrative characters using reported speech, and using reported thought to enact their own thoughts and emotions in the past. The analysis will focus in particular on the use of reported thought to create an emotional bond with the audience without violating the social norms of the public speaking genre.

2. Bonding and narrative positioning

First-person narratives allow speakers both to represent a past self and to enact that self through constructed dialogue, while also managing relationships with co-present interlocutors in the narrating context. Narrative discourse thus involves bonding in two senses: both the bonding of speech within its discursive context and affective bonding in social relationships. In the first sense, we may examine how narrative discourse is bonded both to the narrated context within the story and the narrating context in which it is told. In the second, narratives allow the representation and enactment of social bonding both within the stories they tell and in the narrator's relationship to their current audience.

Narrative is thus a complex arena for the construction of the self, and a number of scholars have elaborated models of both types of bonding in first-person, spoken narratives (Koven 2002; Bamberg 1997; Wortham 2000; see Dunn (2017) for a review). Bamberg (1997; further developed in Bamberg 2004; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008) outlines techniques for analyzing narrative self-positioning at three distinct levels. The first involves how characters in the narrative are positioned vis-à-vis each other, whereas the second level is the narrator's positioning in relation to interlocutors in the narrating situation. In Bamberg's final level, the narrator constructs an identity through positioning him/herself in relation to larger "master narratives" (Bamberg 2004: 335). This third level is built out of the materials from positioning at levels one and two and attempts to bring micro and macro contexts into dialogue.

Wortham's model (Wortham 2000, 2001) breaks down Bamberg's first level of positioning within the narrative into finer-grained detail. Wortham's first level of analysis is the narrative description of the self in the past. The second level involves the voicing of self and others within the narrative through reported speech, whereas the third is the evaluation of self and others as narrative characters. Finally,

similar to Bamberg's second level, Wortham distinguishes a level of interactional positioning in relation to interlocutors in the narrating event. Unlike Bamberg, Wortham does not distinguish analytically a separate level of positioning towards larger social discourses, but the analysis in e.g., Wortham and Gadsden (2006) makes it clear how this type of positioning is emanent in each of the other four types. Wortham (2001) suggests that the power of narratives in self construction is strongest when the representational and performative functions of language work in parallel across all of these levels.

Finally, Koven (2002) distinguishes three types of narrative role inhabitation: that of the author telling the story, the interlocutor in the here-and-now, and the characters within the story. In the first case, the speaker is a relatively neutral narrator providing a description of what happened with little or no evaluation. In the second, the speaker orients to the interactional setting and expresses a stance towards the narrated characters and events from the perspective of the narrating event. In the third, the speaker takes the perspective of the characters within the narrative through the use of various forms of reported speech and thought. By analyzing retellings of "the same" narrative by French-Portuguese bilinguals, Koven demonstrates that different narrative performances may place greater weighting on these three different perspectives, influencing how listeners perceive the narrator (Koven 2002, 1998).

Because both Wortham and Koven distinguish narrative clauses from the voicing of reported speech and thought, their models are particularly relevant for the current analysis. Whereas Bamberg, Wortham, and Koven have constructed models for delineating the positioning of self within narrated and narrating frames, Perrino (2007, 2005) explores how the boundaries between narrated and narrating context may be blurred or crossed through the use of conversational historical present, deictic shifts, and the transposition of audience members into narrative characters. Using Japanese data, I make a similar argument about how speakers use reported thought to express affect and engage in directive speech acts in ways that would otherwise violate social conventions for public speaking.

3. Reported speech and thought

Reported speech or "constructed dialogue" (Tannen 2007, [1989]) has been found to have multiple functions in narrative and conversation more generally. Drawing on the work of Bakhtin (1986), scholars have drawn attention to how reported speech within both narrative (Hill 1995; Haviland 2005; Tannen 2007; Mattingly, Lawlor, and Jacobs-Huey 2002) and play frames (Takanashi 2011; Tetreault 2009; Haney 2007) can be used to "voice" various stances and perspectives. Both Koven

and Wortham's models of narrative positioning draw attention to the importance of reported speech in allowing narrators to express the attitudinal stance of their past selves within the framework of the narrated events (Koven 2002; Wortham 2000, 2001). The use of reported speech as evaluation to highlight the "point" of the narrative was first identified by Labov and Waletzky in their seminal work on conversational narrative (Labov 1972; Labov and Waletzky 1967), and quoted speech and thought often occur at narrative climaxes (Koda 2015). Other researchers have noted that reported speech "demonstrates" rather than "describing" what occurred (Clark and Gerrig 1990). As such, it provides evidence for speaker evaluations, assessments, or accounts (Clift 2007; Couper-Kuhlen 2007), and allows speakers to indirectly express their evaluative stance towards narrated events (Galatolo 2007; Haakana 2007). Labov has argued that narratives which present such evaluations through the seemingly objective evidence of reported speech and thought are more compelling than those which explicitly describe the speaker's subjective state (Labov 1997). Constructed dialogue has also been argued to enhance conversational engagement and "involvement" (Tannen 2007).

Reported speech and thought are generally subsumed together in the literature, and little attention has been paid to reported thought in its own right. Yet a recent comparison of conversational narratives in Japanese and English found that quotation was far more frequent in Japanese than in English and that over half of the Japanese quotations were quoted thought rather than quoted speech (Nomura 2017). Reported thought was used for such functions as expressing the speaker's evaluation of the event within the narrated frame and emphasizing their feelings through the direct verbalization of affective experience. In a study of complaint stories in Finnish, Haakana (2007) found that reported thought was a salient feature used to mark another person's words or actions as complainable. In some cases, what narrators thought was contrasted with what they said, but in many cases the reported thought functioned primarily to express opinions that were *not* said. They functioned as a form of internal evaluation to guide the listener's perception of the narrated events, while also presenting the narrator as a person who was too politic or polite to express openly their hostility at the time. Such uses of reported thought to express what was *not* said are also found in the Japanese narrative data examined here. However, these Japanese narratives also display instances of reported thought which serve other functions, more similar to those identified by Nomura (2017). More broadly, I will argue that reported thought in Japanese narratives serves the function of communicating direct expressions of affective stance in ways that would not otherwise be appropriate in the narrating situation. It allows the speaker to engage in expressive speech acts while at least partially avoiding responsibility for their illocutionary force, thus enabling the narrator to engage in complex shifts in footing with regard to both the narrated events and the narrating situation.

4. Data and analysis

The data for this study consist of narratives gathered in the context of public speeches at an institution I will call the Tokyo Speech Center. The Tokyo Speech Center was founded in 1953 and offers classes for native Japanese on public speaking and communication skills. Loosely modeled on the Dale Carnegie system (Carnegie 1981 [1939]), the three-month classes combine technical advice and practice in giving speeches with inspirational lectures on how to improve interpersonal relationships. The three-month classes culminate in a speech contest in which graduates give speeches about what they learned from taking the course, generally producing narratives explaining how the speech classes allowed them to make positive changes in their workplace or family lives (Dunn 2014). Narratives of personal experience are thus embedded in a public speech, creating a hybrid genre which mixes the formal public speaking register with a more personal narrative voice. This occurs, in particular, through extensive use of reported thought which allows speakers to communicate their personal stance within the narrating event in contrast to the public speaking voice which frames the narrative. The analysis which follows is based on seventeen public speeches containing narratives of self-transformation.

5. Narrative frames, speaking roles, and speech styles

In accordance with the models of narrative positioning described above, the analysis distinguishes between a *narrating frame* which is deictically anchored in the speech event of the public speech contest and the *narrated frame* deictically

Table 1. Speaking frames and associated speech styles in Japanese public speaking narratives

Narrating Frame: Deictically located in public speaking event		
Speech-Making Role (Directly addressing audience)	Speaker → Audience	Public speaking style (Dunn 2010). Use of distal <i>desu/-masu</i> , some humble forms. No interactional particles.
Narrating Role (Narrative clauses describing action)	Speaker → Audience	Public speaking style. Use of distal <i>desu/-masu</i> . No interactional particles.
Narrated Frame: Deictically located within story world of narrated events		
Reported Speech	Narrative character → Narrative character	Style appropriate to social relationship within narrative.
Reported Thought	Self → Self (Audience as overhearers)	Abrupt style (Maynard 1991). Direct verb forms without interactional particles.

anchored within the time and space of the story. Narrative clauses describing past events from the vantage of the present are thus distinguished from the use of reported speech and thought to enact the character's speech and thought at the time of the story. The use and alternation of distinct speech styles alternately bonds the discourse within these different narrative frames as shown in Table 1 and discussed in more detail below.

5.1 The narrating frame: Public Speaking Register

The narrating frame is deictically bonded to the here-and-now of the public speaking event. Hence the narrative clauses, for instance, use past tense verbs to refer to events in the past.¹ In terms of social deixis, speakers use a formal, public speaking register of Japanese which marks distance and respect towards the audience and the public presentation of self. Drawing on data from wedding speeches and committee reports at organization meetings, Dunn (2010) identifies this *public speaking register* as characterized by multi-clausal sentences, complex noun phrases, canonical SOV word order, consistent use of distal copular and verb forms (*desu* and *Vstem-masu*) indexing a public social persona, high frequency of subject honorifics to refer to others and nonsubject honorifics (humble forms) for self-reference, and the absence of interactional particles such as *yo* and *ne* which index the speaker's affective and epistemic stance. This style is distinguished both from purely informational written registers and from informal conversational Japanese, allowing speakers to construct a public social persona, a socially distant relationship with the audience, and a formal atmosphere.

It can be seen in Table 1 that the narrating frame of these speeches is further divided into two participation roles: a speech-making role in which the speaker directly addresses the audience and a narrating role in which the speaker describes the events of the narrative. This distinction is similar to that which Koven (2002) draws between the interlocutor role oriented towards the interactional setting in which the narrative is being told and the authorial role of telling the narrative. The shift between these roles can be seen in Example (1) which shows the opening segment of one of the speeches:

1. One exception is the use of Conversational Historical Present tense (Wolfson 1978) when narrating past events (see e.g., Example (8), line a). The use of CHP blurs the boundaries between narrated and narrating frames, aligning the two as coeval (Perrino 2007).

- (1)² a. *kon-ban wa*
 this-evening Top
 ‘Good evening.’
- b. *M T desu*
 M T Cop(Dist)
 ‘I am M.T.’
- c. *kyō wa purasu sekkyoku shikō de jibun ga kawa -tta to iu*
 today Top positive positive thought by self Subj change -Past QT say
 hanashi o shi-masu
 speech do do -Dist
 ‘Today I will speak about how positive thinking changed my self.’
- d. *watashi wa ochikobore no eigyō -man deshi -ta*
 I Top dropout Nom business -man Cop(Dist) -Past
 ‘I was a high school drop-out type business man.’

In lines a-c, the speaker directly addresses the audience, greeting them, introducing himself, and announcing the topic of his speech using present-tense verbs. Then, in line d, he shifts into narrative mode to describe what he was like in the past, before he took the public speaking course. The use of formulaic openings including self-introductions and announcements of topics to be discussed is a constitutive feature of public speaking genres such as wedding speeches (Dunn 2005) and was explicitly taught as part of the public speaking classes (Dunn 2014).

The use of the public speaking style and of opening and closing formulae invoke the public speaking genre and define the social relationship with the audience as distant and formal. In conversational settings, the use of distal *desu/-masu* forms and other honorifics would depend on the speaker’s relationship with the interlocutors, and the use of involvement markers such as interactional particles would be more relevant in distinguishing the interlocutor role from the authorial narrator role (see Maynard 1991).

5.2 The narrated frame: Reported Speech and Thought

By contrast, reported speech and thought are deictically bonded to the story world of the narrated events. Thus, verbs are generally in present tense, and the social deixis is appropriate to the relationship of the characters in the story, rather than

2. Glossing: Adv adverbial; Cop copula; Dist distal; DM discourse marker; DO direct object marker; EP exclamatory particle; H+ subject honorific; HP honorific particle; IP interactional particle; Nom nominalizer; Pass passive; Past past tense; Poss possessive; QM question marker; QT quotative; Subj subject marker; TI title; Top topic marker; Vol volitional. Colons are used to mark non-phonemic lengthening.

that of the narrator and audience. Reported speech indexes the social bonds (or lack thereof) between narrative characters.

Quoted speech and thought are most readily identified in Japanese through the use of the quotative particle *to* (or *tte*) with the appropriate verb of saying or thinking:

- (2) *watashi ga fuki-mashō ne to i -tte*
 I Subj wipe-Vol IP QT say -and
 ‘Let me wipe it for you, [she] said and,’
- (3) *sensei ga ī kara tsuzuke-te to yasashi egao de*
 teacher Subj good because continue-and QT kind smile with
iw-are-mashi-ta
speak-H+-Dist-Past
 ‘The teacher said with a kind smile, It’s okay, keep going.’

In some cases, reported speech is marked with quotative *to* or *tte* without a verb of speaking (Example (4)) or the speaker is identified at the beginning of the quoted clause without any use of quotative *to* at the end (Example (5)).

- (4) *nanka jibun no koto sugoi waka-tte kure-te-ta-n*
 something self Poss thing awesome understand-and give-and-Past-Nom
da na tte
 Cop EP QT
 ‘Somehow you really understand me.’ [he said]
- (5) *jisshū de sensei ga N-san egao ga sugoku ī desu yo*
 practice at teacher Subj N-TI smile Subj very good Cop(Dist) IP
 ‘At our practice session, my teacher [said] N, your smile was really great.’

In fact it is not at all unusual to find sequences of reported dialogue which are not overtly marked with quotative particles. In the absence of the quotative particle, quoted speech can often be identified by shifts in prosody and voice quality (Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen 1999) or the identification of the speaker at the beginning of the utterance even without quotative particles as in Example (5). In addition, one sometimes finds the use of vocatives to mark quoted speech and shifts between characters as in Example (6).

- (6) a. *Oi M kono D purezentaishon omae ga ya-tte kure yo*
 DM M this D presentation you Subj do-and give IP
 ‘Hey M! I’m going to have you give this presentation for D company.’
- b. *yā shiten-chō uchi wa chotto muri desu yo*
 DM branch-boss I Top a.little impossible Cop(Dist) IP
 ‘Aw no, boss, it’s really a bit too much for me.’

Note that the branch chief uses direct verb forms to address his subordinate (line a), whereas M uses the distal *desu* form to reply, an example of the use of typified speech styles to evoke a stereotyped complementary role pair, in this case that of boss and subordinate (Takanashi 2011). Both characters are portrayed as using discourse markers and the interactional particle *yo*.

In the case of reported thought, the deictic frame also lies within the narrative, but in this case there is no addressee other than the narrator him/herself. Rather than using the speech style appropriate to either the narrative audience or an addressed character within the narrative, reported thought uses what Maynard (1991) has labeled as the *naked abrupt style* consisting of the use of direct verb forms or the *da* form of the copula without interactional particles such as *yo* or *ne*. Maynard argues that both distal forms and interactional particles index an awareness of and orientation towards the addressee whereas utterances using the naked abrupt style “are made without going through the designing process that interactionally accommodates the listener” (Maynard 1991: 560). One does, however, find frequent use of the particle *na* which Hirose (1995) characterizes as typical of “private expressions” oriented towards the self, rather than towards an addressee.³ Example (7) demonstrates the use of the direct *da* form of the copula together with the particle *na* in reported thought.

- (7) *minna to nomu no mo kore ga saigo da na to omo-tte*
 everyone with drink Nom also this Subj last Cop EP QT think-and
i-ta kara desu
 be-Past from Cop(Dist)

‘Because I was thinking, And this will be the last time I go out drinking with everyone.’

To conclude this section, Example (8) demonstrates shifts between three of these narrative perspectives with the authorial narrative voice in line a, reported thought in line b, and reported speech in line c. In line a, we are in the narrative frame and the speaker uses public speaking style with the distal *-masu* form of the verb, although he also lengthens the word ‘long’ for dramatic effect. Line b shifts to reported thought, shown by a shift in vocal quality, the discourse marker *aa*, and the use of the naked, abrupt verb form. Finally, line c shifts to reported speech using the vocative *tōsan* ‘Dad’ and direct forms combined with the interactional particle *yo*, followed by the quotative marker *to* and the verb ‘say’. These linguistic forms enact the speaker’s social bond with his father.

3. I follow Hasegawa 2006 in referring to *na(a)* and *kana* as exclamatory particles or EP in contrast to the interactional particles (IP) *yo* and *ne*.

- (8) a. *koko kara chichi no nagai:: hanashi ga hajimari -masu*
 here from father Poss long speech Subj begin -Dist
 'Then my Dad starts a lo::ng speech.'
- b. *aa mata hajima -tta*
 DM again start -Past
 'Oh there he goes again.'
- c. *tō-san no kaisha nan da kara mō tō-san katte ni*
 father-TI Poss company what Cop because already father-TI choice Adv
suki na yō ni shi-te ī yo to i-tte
 liked Cop manner Adv do-and good IP QT say-and
 'Alright Dad, it's your business, so do as you like, I said and'

As we see here in line b, the naked abrupt style is typically used for self-addressed utterances and those not directly addressing a listener in both spoken Japanese and fictional dialogues (Maynard 1991) and gives an impression of spontaneous, inner speech. As Cook puts it, "The speaker speaking in the *masu* form is acting on-stage, either litera[ll]y or figuratively, showing his or her presentational persona. In contrast, speaking in the plain [abrupt] form indexes a lack of such a stance. The speaker speaking in the plain form is acting in his or her natural, spontaneous way without showing the presentational side" (Cook 2008: 15). In actuality, of course, the narratives discussed here were carefully rehearsed and revised with feedback from instructors and fellow students. The end result is a carefully constructed performance of self in which reported thought was used strategically for a variety of functions including creating an emotional bond with the audience.

6. Functions of reported thought in public speaking narratives

Reported thought serves three main functions in the public speaking narratives discussed here: drawing contrasts between what was thought and what was (not) said; juxtaposition of the emotional enactment of inner speech with more objective description; and providing opinions or conclusions without directing the illocutionary force of the utterance at the narrative audience. In doing so, the use of reported thought contributes to the creation of a vivid, emotional appeal, creating an affective bond with the audience even within the constraints of the public speaking style.

6.1 Use of reported thought to draw contrasts between what was thought and what was (not) said

As noted by Haakana (2007) for Finnish, the use of inner speech allows speakers to reveal a contrast between their inner feelings and what they said aloud. Consider Examples (9) and (10), both of which involve an adult interacting with a difficult older parent:

- (9) a. *watashi wa mata kodomo atsukai ka to omoi*
 I Top again child treatment QM QT think
 ‘Thinking, [she’s] treating me like a child again,’
 b. *arigatō to henji o shi-mashi -ta*
 thank.you QT answer DO do-Dist -Past
 ‘I said, Thanks.’
- (10) a. *sore wa tō-san isha no iu koto kī-ta hō ga ī*
 that Top father-TI doctor Poss say thing hear-Past direction Subj good
yo to i-yō to omoi-mashi-ta ga
 IP QT say-Vol QT think-Dist-Past but
 ‘When I heard that, I wanted to say, Dad, you really need to listen to the doctor but,’
 b. *o-tō-san naisu aidea da yo*
 HP-father-TI nice idea Cop IP
 ‘Dad, that’s a great idea.’ ((audience laughter))

Here the speakers are able to show a humorous contrast between an inner sense of frustration and the dutiful performance of bonds of filial piety in their quoted speech.

6.2 Use of reported thought to enact emotional reactions of the narrated character

Another important function of reported thought in narrative is to express an emotional reaction. Use of reported thought allows the speaker to engage in the expression of the private self within the context of a public speaking situation where this type of self-disclosure is normally inappropriate. Such verbal soliloquys allow speakers to communicate emotively and intimately while still displaying appropriate respect to superiors in a variety of Japanese contexts (Hasegawa 2006; Cook 2008; Saito 2018). Similarly, the use of reported thought in narrative allows the expression of an emotive, spontaneous self without violating the normative constraints of the public speaking genre. Framing an utterance as inner speech creates bonds of intimacy with the audience by creating the illusion of access to

the person's thoughts. The use of reported speech or thought creates a sense of immediacy which draws the audience into the world of the narrative.

The following example is from a narrative in which the speaker talks about a time when he became discouraged and thought about quitting the speech classes. The speaker first *represents* his attitude through a descriptive statement in the narrating voice (using the distal *-mashita* form and the relatively formal Sino-Japanese compound *rettōkan* 'inferiority complex') and then goes on to *enact* what he was feeling at the time through reported thought. The shift from the impersonal narrating voice to the inner speech in line b is marked by the shift from distal to direct, past to present, the use of the informal pronoun *ore*, and the sentence final *kana* 'I wonder'.

- (11) a. *hidoi rettō-kan ni oow-are-mashi-ta*
severe inferiority-complex by push-Pass-Dist-Past
'I was overcome by an inferiority complex.'
- b. *yappari ore ni wa muri kana*
of.course I to Top impossible EP
'After all, maybe it's impossible for me.'
- c. *hanashi-kata wa mui-te nai (yō na)*
speak -form Top suit-and not
'Public speaking just isn't my thing.'
- d. *mō yame-yō*
already quit-Vol
'I'm quitting.'

As seen in this example, it is common for speakers to juxtapose a verbal description of their reaction with its enactment through reported thought. The emotional response is presented twice: once through an impersonal descriptive representation (line a) which is bonded to the narrating context, and once through the iconic enactment of what the speaker thought/felt at the time (lines b–d). This emotional enactment within the narrated frame creates an emotional bond between speaker and audience by bringing the listener into the narrator's interior monologue.

We see the same pattern in Example (12) which continues the story from Examples (8) and (10). The speaker recounts how because he listened to his father and took him seriously, his father also started listening to him and entrusting him with the family business. At the end of the story, the speaker first enacts his emotional response and then provides a more explicit explanation of the change and what it means:

- (12) a. *kawa -tta na:*
change -Past EP
'Boy has he changed.'

- b. *hanashi o kiku koto de chichi mo hanashi o kī-te kureru*
 speech DO listen thing by father also speech DO listen-and give
yō ni nari-mashi-ta
 manner to become-Dist-Past
 ‘Because I listened to him, my father was also willing to listen to me.’

Here the depiction of the speaker’s emotional reaction within the storyworld underlines and adds force to the point of the story, namely the importance of listening to people. Whereas line b states this conclusion in language appropriate to the public speaking situation, the enacted surprise in line a provides evidence for how dramatic the father’s change really was. The audience not only hears but is invited to share the speaker’s surprise at the change.

Reported thought follows the English-language dictum “Show, don’t tell.” As such, it forms a particularly effective type of internal evaluation (Labov 1972, 1997) which adds emotional emphasis to the point of the narrative. Example (13) is from a speech about how praise is more effective than criticism in motivating people. The speaker tells about his reaction to being praised by the instructor for incorporating lots of emotion into his speech. He first depicts his verbal response to the instructor (line b) and then shifts to inner speech in line c:

- (13) a. *N-san sugoi ī kanji desu yo*
 N-TI awesome good feel Cop(Dist) IP
 ‘Mr. N, that had really good feeling.’
 [Said by the instructor]
- b. *aa honto desu ka* ((laughing))
 DM real Cop(Dist) QM
 ‘Oh. Really?’ ((laughing))
- c. *home-rareru tte kimochi ī wa*
 praise-Pass QT feeling good IP
 ‘Hey, being praised feels great.’
- d. ***kokoro no naka de niyaniya shi-te i-mashi-ta***
 heart Poss inside at grin do-and be-Dist-Past
 ‘I was grinning inside.’

Here again there is a contrast between what was said and what was thought. In line b, N modestly expresses surprise at being praised, laughing, questioning whether he was really any good, and using the distal form *desu* to show respect to his teacher. His inner speech in line c is more exuberant and unrestrained. He drops the distal form, adds the expressive particle *wa*, and also contracts the grammatically more complete expression (items that were elided in the actual utterance are bolded in (13A)):

- (13A) c. *home-rareru tte iu no wa kimochi ga ī desu*
 praise-Pass QT say Nom Top feeling Subj good Cop(Dist)

It is the reported thought in line c which emphasizes the point of the story, namely that praise is an effective way to motivate. Rather than informing the audience of this using the phrase in (13A), the speaker enacts his recognition of the feeling. He thus demonstrates the truth of the proposition (that being praised makes one feel good) by recreating his own emotional reaction. The following line d adds further evaluation in the narrating voice by stating that he was grinning inside. Here the shift back to narrating voice and public speaking style is marked with the distal *-mashi* form and the past tense *-ta*. Shifts between narrating and narrated voice and between reported speech and thought function to present the speaker's emotional reaction from three different perspectives. The speaker first enacts how he responded verbally at the time (line b), then enacts his inner reaction (line c), and finally describes his feeling ("grinning inside," line d) from his current perspective as narrator.

6.3 Reported speech allows the statement of forceful assertions without directing the illocutionary force of the utterance at the narrative audience

The stories told in these speech contests are narratives of self-transformation which illustrate how the narrator's life was improved through putting into practice the ideas taught in the speech center, whether in overcoming fears of public speaking or improving interpersonal relationships with co-workers and family members (Dunn 2014). The stories are thus a moral testimonial to the effectiveness of speech center teachings and are meant to serve as model for the listeners. By framing discussion of the speech center's teachings as inner speech, the speakers are able to provide an emotionally backed assertion of the truth of the speech center teachings without directing the force of those assertions towards the audience in ways that might seem pedantic or face-threatening. This is because statements about how one should behave are not directed at the audience, but framed as the speakers' own thoughts to themselves. This allows speakers to make forceful statements without claiming full illocutionary responsibility for speech acts that might be seen as advice or directives.

The following example is from a student who came to the speech classes because he would always become nervous and "freeze up" when asked to lead the morning assemblies in his work group. Even after starting the speech classes, he had doubts that he could improve:

- (14) *sensei wa bakazu o fum-eba magari o osae-te hanas-eru tte*
 Teacher Top experience DO step-if bend DO hold-and speak-can QT
i-tte i-ta kedo honto kana:
 say-and be-Past but real EP
 ‘My teacher said that with experience, I’ll make it around the bend and be
 able to speak but, I wonder if it’s true.’

The absence of distal and use of the EP *kana* marks this doubt as an expression of inner speech. The speaker then continued the narrative describing how he practiced speeches in front of his classmates in the public speaking class, which ultimately allowed him to be successful in the morning assembly as well. He then shifted again to inner speech to enact his reaction following his performance:

- (15) a. *chōrei o oe-ta ato*
 assembly DO finish-Past after
 ‘After the morning assembly was over,’
 b. *nan de kyō agara-naka-tta-n darō*
 what by today freeze-up-not-Past-Nom probably
 ‘How come I didn’t freeze up this time?’
 c. *(ten-chō) mo nikoniko shi-te kī-te-ta shi*
 -boss also smiling do-and listen-and-Past and.also
 ‘And my (boss?) was also listening with a smile,’
 d. *sō ka kore wa bakazu kōka da yo*
 that.way QM this Top experience results Cop IP
 ‘I get it. This is what comes with experience.’

In this segment, the speaker graphically uses reported thought to enact his increased confidence in public speaking after having taken the course. Rather than simply telling the audience he didn’t freeze up, he enacts his own bemusement at his lack of panic. He also uses inner speech to comment that he saw his boss smiling. This displaces the potentially self-agrandizing claim that he performed well onto his boss; if the boss was smiling, we infer that the presentation went well. He then has a moment of revelation signaled by “*Sō ka*,” ‘Is that it?’ which expresses a sudden sense of recognition and understanding which I have translated as ‘I get it.’ This frames the following statement that confidence in one’s speaking ability comes with practice, presenting it as a revelation that hit the speaker at that moment.

Line d of this example constitutes a strong affirmation that confidence in one’s speaking ability comes with practice. The pragmatic force of this utterance is strengthened by the use of the interactional particle *yo* which emphasizes new information. In fact, the use of the interactional particle *yo* is rare in reported thought (Hasegawa 2010) precisely because it indexes epistemic primacy, asserting

assymetric knowledge or experience (Hayano 2011). Here the speaker is driving home to himself this newly-discovered knowledge about the importance of confidence gained through experience, and the audience is allowed to “overhear” his moment of new-found epistemic certainty. The use of direct verb forms combined with the strong assertion of assymetric knowledge make this a potentially face-threatening act, but the illocutionary force of the utterance is directed at the speaker himself, not the audience. By framing the assertion as inner speech, the speaker is able to provide emotional force to the statement without adopting a superior stance or violating norms of modesty in public speaking.

We find a similar pattern in the story about praising people. After the scene discussed in Example (13), the speaker recounts how he started praising subordinates at work and received a favorable response. He summarizes what he has learned from the experience using the narrating voice (line a) and then depicts the internal thought process that led to this conclusion (lines b–d):

- (16) a. *homeru koto no taisetsusa o homeru gawa toshite mo*
 praise thing Poss importance DO praise side as also
home-rareru gawa toshite mo jikkan suru koto ga deki-mashi-ta
 praise-Pass side as also realize do thing Subj can-Dist-Past
 ‘I had come to realize the importance of praise from the perspective of
 both giving and receiving praise.’
- b. *home kotoba tte sugoku tsutawaru-n da na*
 praise word(s) QT very convey-Nom Cop EP
 ‘Words of praise communicate so much.’
- c. *aitsu mo i*
 that.guy also good
 ‘It’s good for the other guy too.’
- d. *ī eikyō ataeru-n da na: tte omoi-mashi-ta*
 good impact give-Nom Cop EP QT think -Dist-Past
 ‘and it creates a good impact, I thought.’

The use of inner speech as evaluation provides an emotional emphasis to the “moral” of the story while allowing the speaker to avoid taking a didactic stance in the narrating situation.

7. Conclusion

Both reported speech and reported thought function as internal evaluation of the narrative, separating the speaker’s stance within the story-world from that in the narrating event. However, reported thought is not simply another variant of

reported speech, but can be used for distinct functions. One of these, as noted by Haakana (2007), is the ability to contrast what the speaker thought with what s/he said, or perhaps simply to reveal internal evaluation that was never overtly stated at the time. Yet reported thought also has other functions. Because it purports to give direct access to the speaker's internal thoughts and reactions, it can be a powerful way of expressing affect and bonding with the audience – even in speech situations where such direct emotional expression would normally be precluded.

The ability to display personal affect even in a public setting is particularly evident in languages such as Japanese where the speaker's stance towards the addressee is overtly marked in the grammar. The presentation of emotional responses as inner speech allows the expression of affect and the revealing of a private self without infringing on the role relationships of the narrating situation. Hasagawa's research suggests that a similar function may occur when speakers deliberately allow their interlocutor to "overhear" their spontaneous reaction (Hasegawa 2006). Framing responses as reported thought, whether inside or outside of narrative contexts, creates a momentary shift in footing without disrupting the overall speech situation or challenging established roles and relationships.

More generally, reported thought allows speakers to perform various speech acts while at least partially escaping responsibility for the illocutionary force of their utterances. Goffman and others have deconstructed the roles of speaker and hearer, dividing the Speaker into distinct roles such as Animator, Principle, Author, Relayer, or Ghoster (Goffman 1974; Levinson 1988; Irvine 1996). Less attention has been paid to how the narrative frames of reported speech and reported talk create a splitting of the Hearer role between the addressee within the narrative (narrated frame) and the audience for the narrative (narrating frame). As I have shown here, this allows a distinction between the narrated addressee as the ostensible target of the illocutionary force and the narrative audience which "overhears" the speech or thought without being its addressee. This enables the speaker to perform various types of speech behavior in ways that might not otherwise be appropriate in the narrating situation. By framing an utterance as reported thought, speakers can display a spontaneous, emotional self which would not normally be appropriate in a public speaking context or when speaking to a stranger or superior. Likewise, they can make forceful assertions without presuming a superior status. These speech acts are possible because the illocutionary force of the utterance is directed at characters in the narrative or the speaker him/herself while the audience in the narrating context is positioned as overhearers rather than as targets of the utterance. The narrative frames of reported speech and thought thus allow a splitting away of the target of the utterance's illocutionary force from the overhearers who are not directed involved as recipients within the narrated event. In addition to the splitting of the speaker role described by Goffman and others,

this splitting of the hearer role provides an additional mechanism for speakers to mitigate and in some sense avoid responsibility for the illocutionary force of their speech acts.

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The discursive construction of husband and wife bonding

Analyzing benefactives in childrearing narratives

Risako Ide and Takako Okamoto

University of Tsukuba / Japan Women's University

In this chapter, we analyze Japanese women's narratives about their child-rearing experiences to reveal the meta-level of positioning of their husbands' involvement through examining the use and non-use of benefactive verb forms. We pose the grammatical form of benefactive, especially the *-te kureru* form, as a center of meaning making wherein the ideologies of husband and wife bonding are negotiated and enacted in the situated context of interviews. Analyzing the narratives of women in three different groups (i.e., housewives, dual-income working women, and farmer women) in Japan, we demonstrate how the use and the non-use of *-te kureru* benefactive differently indexes husband and wife bonding in childrearing, while reflecting and reproducing contrasting ideologies regarding gender relations within the family.

Keywords: interview narratives, benefactives, *-te kureru*, *-te morau*, gender ideology, indexicality

1. Introduction

Japanese society is known for its highly-gendered distributed practices at home and in the work place. On February 2nd, 2019, The New York Times posted an article entitled “*Japan’s Working Mothers: Record Responsibilities, Little Help from Dads*” which reported the harsh realities of working mothers overburdened by both housework and child care responsibilities with their husbands spending long hours at the workplace. While showing gradual change, Japanese men with children under the age of six participate in housework and childcare related activities for an average of 83 minutes a day as of 2016, the lowest among the OECD countries according to the Cabinet office *Naikakufu*.

In this study, we investigate Japanese women's interview narratives regarding their husband's involvement in childrearing taken from three groups of women of different social backgrounds and age groups. We analyze the use and non-use of the grammatical form of "benefactives" emerging in these narratives as socio-indexical and situationally-contingent sites of husband and wife bonding. Benefactives such as the grammatical form of *-te kureru* are an auxiliary attached to the verb, which index the physical and psychological benefit the speaker receives from the agent's act. As Gal states, "gender relations within any social group are seen to be created by a sexual division of labor, a set of symbolic images, and contrasting possibilities of expression for women and men" (Gal 2001: 420). In this study, we locate the use and the non-use of benefactives (especially the *-te kureru* form) as an interactional loci of social meaning-making, wherein the husband and wife relationship with regards to childrearing is indexically constituted. For the purpose of the study, we compare narratives of three groups of interviewees, which we named the housewife group, dual-income group, and the farmer group. By contrasting how the benefactives are used differently among these three groups of women, we aim to reveal the diverse voices which reflect the different values and beliefs concerning the husband and wife relationship as well as the gendered self from an emic point of view.

2. Theoretical backgrounds

2.1 Grammatical usage of benefit expressions

Japanese language is known for its sensitivity towards the give and take of everyday life. The customs of gift giving and gift exchanges have received particular interest among anthropologists (Befu 1968; Lebra and Lebra 1986; Yim and Ide 2004). From a linguistic perspective, the complex system of 'give' and 'receive' verbs has been discussed as the source of sensitivity towards balancing human relationships in Japanese society (Ide 2006; Ide and Yim 2001; Makino 1996; Masuoka 2001; Maynard 2009).

There are basically three types of give and receive verbs, namely *ageru* and *kureru* for 'give' and *morau* for 'receive' while these three forms respectively take polite and honorific forms (cf. Kuno 1973, 1987; Ooe 1975; Okutsu 1983). These 'give and receive verbs' (*juju doushi*) conceptually include two human entities with one performing an act for someone's benefit and the one who receives the benefit. The two types of verbs for giving, namely *ageru* and *kureru*, are grammatically distinguished. *Ageru* is used when describing the situation from the subject or the "giver's point of view" whereas *kureru* is used when the situation is described from the indirect object "receiver's point of view."

When combined with the main verb as auxiliaries, these give and take verbs (*juju dooshi*) constitute benefactives or benefit expressions (*onkei hyoogen*). For instance, the verb *asobu* ('to play') in its gerund form combined with the three benefactives will be *ason-de-ageru*, *ason-de-kureru*, and *ason-de-morau* respectively. In the following, (a) plainly describes the action of *kare* (third person male pronoun) playing with the child. However, in (b) with the verb in the *-te kureru* form, a received favor is indexed, yielding the sense of gratitude and indebtedness felt towards the person (*kare*) who played with the child whereas no such feeling is indexed in the case of (a).¹

- (a) *Kare wa kodomo to asonda.*
 he Top child with play (past).
 'He played with the child.'
- (b) *Kare wa kodomo to ason-de-kureta.*
 he Top child with play-BEN (past).
 'He played with the child (and I am thankful).'

Adding *-te kureru* to the regular verb 'to play', thus, figuratively indicates a deed by the agent beneficial to the recipient and frames the agent's act in a positive and favorable light. The use of *-te kureru* form ('to give') in (b) simultaneously indexes the favor moving to the in-group (*uchi*) from the out-group (*soto*) (Makino 1996; Masuoka 2001; Maynard 2009; Wetzel 1994). Thus, while (a) is context-independent, (b) is content-contingent presupposing the imagined context of the speaker belonging to the child's in-group, possessing the sense of empathy and possibly being the child's caretaker such as the mother or the father.

Another form of benefactive *-te morau*, stems from the verb *morau* ('to receive') in the auxiliary form. In contrast to *-te kureru*, *-te morau* puts the speaker who is also the "receiver" of the benefit in the focus rather than the "giver" (Maynard 2009: 46–47). Therefore, when comparing (c) to (b), the speaker (I) has a more agentive role while the sense of indebtedness towards him (*kare*) is still indexed with the benefactive (*ason-de-moratta*).

- (c) (*Watashi wa*) *kare ni kodomo to ason-de-moratta* .
 I Top he child with play-BEN (past).
 'I had him play with the child (and I am thankful).'

1. Glossing as follows: Top: topic makers, Cop: copula, Nom: nominative case, DO: direct object marker, BEN: beneficial expressions, Dist: distal forms, DM: discourse marker, Past: past, QT: quotative, Subj: subject marker, @: laugh, <@ @>: laughing voice, Q: question marker, =: latched speech, ?: appeal, IP: interactional particles, Cau: causative, (.) (0.2): pause

In analyzing how Japanese women talk about their husbands' involvement in their childrearing narratives, we examine how these benefactives emerge as a pattern across the three different groups. Consequently, we discuss the three patterns observed from our data: when benefactives are not used as in (a), when *-te kureru* is used as in (b), and when *-te morau* is used as in (c).

2.2 The ideological usage of *-te kureru*

While benefactives have been studied within the sphere of pragmatics, only few studies looked into the patterns of benefactive usages based on interactional data as in the case of Harada (2007) that used corpus data. By analyzing benefactives in the situated discourse of interview narratives, this study aims to reveal the meta-level patterns or meta-dimension of language use (Yamaguchi 2007), which mediates and connects forms of talk (micro) with social form (macro). To be more precise, it is our goal to extract the meta-level patterns of the use of benefactives across the three groups of women in order to reveal the sociocultural presuppositions as well as the norms of expectation regarding the ideas of "mothers/wives" as well as "husband-and-wife relationships." The approach taken here is based on the *Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture* which regards discourse as the emergent locus of meaning making and as the embodiment of culture within wider sociohistorical processes (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Sherzer 1987; Urban 1991). Taking the perspective of this approach, we place discourse not only as a place wherein the identity of the speakers as mothers and wives is contested but also wherein the ideologies of husband-and-wife as well as the desirable social moral order are constructed and reproduced, echoing the ideologies of the wider society. Likewise, we propose here that the discursive use of benefactives reflects social ideologies in a non-referential manner (Hill 1995; Hill 2005; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Yamaguchi 2007).

While benefactives have been hardly analyzed in ethnographic context, they have been discussed as one of the prominent linguistic and pragmatic features within Japanese women's narratives of childbirth and childrearing (Hata et al. 2017; Ide 2018; Okamoto 2008). For instance, Ide compared childrearing narratives in Japanese and in American English to see how stance-taking towards their husbands were discursively manifested in the two languages. In the English narratives by American mothers, speakers' stances towards their husbands shifted based on the choice of personal pronouns between the 'we/he' and the 'I' contrastively pivoting with the discourse marker 'but'. In comparison, stance-taking towards their husbands in the Japanese narratives was marked through the concurrent usage of the *-te kureru* verb forms, which indexed the speaker's social and emotional indebtedness felt towards their husbands (Ide 2018). As previous studies have

argued, benefactives constitute a significant part of linguistic modality in Japanese language, wherein the speaker's moods, belief, and stance towards the proposition are expressed (Ide 2006; Masuoka 2001). This is precisely the reason why we find benefactives to be a linguistic resource, which expose the different nature of husband and wife bonding.

In the sections to follow, we analyze the use and non-use of the *-te kureru* forms in the women's narratives as an indexical site, revealing how women perceive their bonds with their husbands, and also how this reflects and constructs the larger ideology of gender structure in Japanese society.

2.3 The changing Japanese family and gender norms

As explained previously, the purpose of this study is to describe how the discursive use of benefactives in women's narrative constitutes various types of husband and wife bonding, reflecting the sociocultural ideologies about gender roles and family relationships. In this section, we briefly outline the changes in the Japanese family system and gender norms in order to provide the sociohistorical background to this study.

The traditional Japanese family is represented by the *ie* (household, house, or family), which is a "three-generational, patrilineal and patrilocal stem family" (Tessa 2006: 111). The *ie* system has been the basic unit of social organization emerging around the Middle Ages, as a corporate body with household properties, with emphasis on the family line and the family business continued over generations (Ochiai 1996: 58–59, Tsutsui 2016a). Yet, the rapid industrialization of society in the post-war era pushed people to move away from their family businesses and to migrate to the cities from the countryside. This contributed to the expansion of the modern household from the sixties with an increased number of nuclear families living apart from other kin members.

With the process of modernization and the transition in economic structure, labor shifted to the outside of the households, resulting in the separation of the private and the public spheres (Ochiai 1996: 75). The gender division of labor with women in the domestic sphere and men in the public gave rise to the concept of the full-time housewife with fewer children, who received the weight of the mother's love (Ochiai 1996: 75–76, Tsutui 2016a). Although the housewife role originated in Europe and North America during the 1950s and 60s, the ratio of housewives in Japan reached its peaked in the 1970s with the influence of overseas TV dramas and commercially oriented magazines, establishing the social belief/myth of housewives and mothering as the core of an ideal family (Nakatani 2006; Tsutsui 2016a). Social ideologies such as mothers are "to give birth in pain," "to be one with the baby, night and day" (Jolivet, 1997: 82–90) as well as "mother-made

goods” and “school activities as mother’s duty” are said to have expanded during this period (Sasagawa 2006: 135–137).

This ‘housewifization’ trend, however, was reversed in the 1980s with structural changes from manufacturing to service industries as a result of globalization (Tsutui 2016b: 80–81). With the increase of unmarried women and from the need to support the main breadwinner in the household with economic stagnation, more women started to be engaged in part-time and full-time labor. As of 2015, the employment rate for Japanese women between the ages of 24 to 54 had risen to 71.8% compared to 21.0% in the 1950s (OECD 2015). Meanwhile, women are said to shoulder over 90% of the housework, childcare responsibilities, and elderly care while men’s domestic work tends to stay short, justified by the strong cultural and social ethics on long working hours in the public sphere (Yu and Kuo 2018: 228). Likewise, the idea of family and gender roles has been changing quite drastically in Japanese society over decades.

3. Data and results

Data for this study derives from conversational narratives collected through dyadic active interviews by the authors. The interviews were carried out as part of a larger domestic and international research project during the years between 2008 and 2015, with a total of 124 informants in Japan, the UK, and the USA (Hata et al. 2017). For the purpose of this study, we have extracted the following three groups for the sake of comparison (Table 1).

Table 1. The three interviewee groups

	“Housewife” group	“Dual-income” group	“Farmer” group
Regional background	Tsukuba-city, Ibaraki prefecture	Tokyo suburbs	Takanezawa-town, Tochigi prefecture
Age range	30s and 40s	50s and 60s	50s to the 80s
Family structure	Nuclear	Nuclear	Extended
Number of interviewees	7	2	7

The group named the “housewife” (*shufu* in Japanese) consists of seven interviewees in their 30s and 40s who were all home-makers. They all held jobs prior to getting married or having their first child and have accompanied their husbands to live in the city of Tsukuba, a governmental research district located about an hour north of Tokyo by train. They lived in governmental housing made for single nuclear families, and generally received no direct help from their immediate relatives

who lived outside of the prefecture. These women were all actively engaged in raising young children at the time of the interview.

The “dual-income” (*tomo-bataraki*) interviewees in their 50s and 60s have raised their children with their husbands while working professionally. Both women were born outside of Tokyo and moved to the capital upon marrying their husbands. One of them began her married life as a housewife but started her career as a dental assistant as the financial situation of her husband’s company declined. The other has worked as a nurse ever since her child turned three. Both women were breadwinners along with their husbands in nuclear family households without their kin members living nearby.

The last group referred to as the “farmer” (*nooka*) group is from extended family farming households, primarily engaged in agriculture. The seven interviewees resided in and around a small farming town, located about two hours north of Tokyo by bullet train and local trains. All interviewees natively came from and married into farming families with six out of the seven having arranged marriages. All lived in an extended family household of three or four generations and worked as primary-wage farmers alongside their husbands and in-laws.

Using the active interview format (Holstein and Gubrium 1995), the authors conducted one-on-one interviews with the informants whom we met for the first time through social networks. We asked such questions as “What was your birth experience like?”, “What was the reaction of the people around you upon giving birth?”, and “What is an ideal mother for you?” For the purpose of this study, we analyzed parts of the narratives wherein the interviewees referred to their husbands in talking about their childcare experiences.

As a result, the use and non-use *-te kureru* showed contrast among the three groups. Women in the housewife group had a strong tendency to use *-te kureru* in the interviews, while the farmer group women did not use *-te kureru* in talking about their husbands. The dual-income group women essentially did not use *-te kureru* but used *-te morau* more often in a marked way, when explaining their husband’s involvement in childrearing.

4. Analysis: Husband and wife bonding in childrearing narratives

In this section, we analyze women’s narratives according to the three groups of women, starting with the case of the housewife group in which the *-te kureru* forms emerged most extensively.

4.1 The use of *-te kureru* among the housewife group

Six out of the seven women in the housewife group used the *-te kureru* expression extensively when talking about their husbands' engagement or non-engagement in childrearing activities. Here, we discuss how Yuki, Kei, and Miwa, who were stay-at-home mothers in their 30s at the time of the interview, used *-te kureru* when talking about their husbands.

In excerpt 1, Yuki, a mother of two and expecting her third, gave an account of her husband who often played energetically with their two young boys using *-te kureru*. In line 4, *-te kureru* appears in places where Yuki could have also described her husband's act without the benefactive as in *ason-de masu*.

Excerpt 1.

- 01 Yuki: *asobu toki wa sungoi tanoshi souni (.)uenoko toka*
 play time Top really happy look older child etc
 'When he plays, he looks really happy, when playing with the older child.'
- 02 Int: *ee ee ee ee*
 yes yes yes yes
 'yes, yes, yes'
- 03 *un otokonoko na node (.) yappari sono*
 yes boy Cop as you know that
 'Yes, as our child is a boy, you know, like
- 04 *zenryoku o tsukushite ason-de kurete masu*
 his best DO do play-BEN Dist
 he is playing with the child with all his might.'

Here, the verb '*asobu*' (to play) which takes the form of benefactive indexes not only the children but also Yuki as the receiver of the benefit compared to when *-te kureru* is not used.

Asked whether her husband has changed after becoming a dad, Kei explained how her husband has been a devoted father ('*kobonnou*') to his kindergarten age son, and how she found the father-son relationship to be growing strong lately. Then, Kei described her husband's regular working schedule wherein he came back home for dinner, played with his son after dinner, and returned to the nearby office to resume his work. These activities were explained without *-te kureru*, but when she was to sum up these activities, her positive stance (Jaffe 2009) towards her husband gets indexed by *-te kureru*, as in lines 1 and 9.

Excerpt 2.

- 01 Kei: *monosugoku kazoku ni jikan wa sai-te kureru*
 Terribly family for time Top spare-BEN
youni nari-mashi-ta (0.2)
 like become-Dist-Past
 ‘Now (he) has come to spare a lot of time for the family’
- 02 *maa ato kono kaisha ja na kereba zettai muri*
 DM and this company Cop no if impossible
 ‘And then, I have to say that this would not
- 03 *darouna tte omo-tte shimau node=*
 Seem QT think-and do because
 be possible if it were not for this company.’
- 04 Int: *=un*
 right
 ‘right’
- 05 Kei: *arigatai no kana (.) chanto shigoto*
 Thankful Q maybe properly work
 ‘Should I say that I’m thankful? I don’t know
- 06 *shi-teru noka wa (.) u::::n tabun anmari shigoto*
 Do-ing Q TOP well maybe too work
 if he is working properly or not. Uhmm, I guess he isn’t working
- 07 *wa shite-nai darou(.) un (.) ne. kazoku ichiban de*
 TOP do-NEG guess well IP family the best Cop
 that hard. No.’
- 08 Int: *u::::n*
 yes
 ‘yes’
- 09 Kei: *ma: kangae-te kurete iru kanji ga*
 well think-BEN be feeling Subj
- 10 *shi-masu-ne(.) hai*
 do-Dist-IP yes
 ‘Well I feel that (he) puts the family its priority.’

In excerpt 2, the *-te kureru* forms are attached to the verbs *jikan o saku* (‘to spare time’) and *kangaeru* (‘to think’), which frames Kei’s perception that her husband’s act is received as a favor doing. Kei could have used the verb plain form to describe her husband in lines 1 and 9. Yet, with *-te kureru*, the husband’s acts are

grammatically marked as the source of the received benefit to the family, including the speaker Kei herself. This sense of gratitude and indebtedness is also revealed in the thanking expression, *arigatai no kana* in line 5, wherein she rationalizes that it may be due to his company's flexible working hours that he is able to spare more time for his family.

Kei keeps using *-te kureru* further in the narrative in excerpt 3, giving an account as to how her husband would 'move' (line 1) and 'take care of the child' (line 3–4) as in excerpt 3. Finally, she gives an assessment of her husband as a father (*otoosan*) who would 'assist/help' (*tetsudau*) her (line 7). Here Kei describes her husband in a nominalized form as "a father who would help quite a bit+BEN" (*kanari tetsudatte kureru otoosan*).

Excerpt 3.

- 01 Kei: *kanari ugoi-te kurerun desu ne=*
quite move-BEN Cop(Dist) IP
'(He will) be active quite a bit.'
- 02 Int: *un un un*
yes yes yes
'yeah yeah'
- 03 Kei: *un kodomo no sewa mo tanomu to (.)*
yes children Nom care also ask if
'Yes, if asked to look after the child'
- 04 *sossen shite yat-te kure-ta-ri*
initiative do do-BEN-past-too
(he would) be happy and willing to do it'
((three lines omitted))
- 07 *kanari tetsudat-te kureru otoosan na hazu(.)*
quite help-BEN father Cop must be
- 08 *desu ga:*
Cop(Dist) but
'I suppose he is a father who would help quite a bit but'

In the next excerpt, Miwa confessed her surprise to find out that her husband would cooperate in household chores when asked whether he has changed upon becoming a dad.

Excerpt 4.

- 01 Miwa: *ano kawat-ta toiu kaa*
well change-past mean and
'Well, I mean, rather than having changed'

- 02 *konnani kyooryokushite-kureru hito dat-tann-da*
 such cooperate-BEN person be-past-Cop
 I never knew what a cooperative person he was.
- 03 Int: *uun*
 oh
 ‘Oh.’
 ((three lines omitted))
- 07 Miwa: *seikaku mo yokutte sugoku tasuke-tekureru*
 personality also good very help-BEN
- 08 *hito dat-tan-desu kedo*
 person be-past-Cop but
 ‘He had a very good personality and was person who would help
 me.’

In line 2, Miwa uses the reported speech form, quoting her inner voice of discovering her husband as a person who would cooperate beyond her expectations. Here, she uses *-te kureru* in conjunction with the verb *kyooryoku suru* (‘to cooperate’). As in Yuki’s case in excerpt 3, Miwa also describes her husband in a nominalized form (lines 2 and 8) as a ‘person’ (*hito*) who would cooperate and help, attaching *-te kureru* to the verbs.

Nominalization of the husband also appeared in Yuki’s narrative. Prior to this section, Yuki had mentioned that her husband would play a lot with their sons (cf. excerpt 1). Asked if the husband would take the children outside to play, Yuki provides her idea of the prototypical Japanese husbands who would take the kids out in a nominalized form (lines 1, 2). Here *-te kureru* is attached to the verb ‘to go’ (*iku*), indexing “the act of taking the children outside (spontaneously without being asked to do so)” as a positive and favorable deed.

Excerpt 5. ((Asked whether the husband often took the children outside to play.))

- 01 Yuki: *nanka mizukara it-te kureru danna san mo*
 well by himself go-BEN husband also
- 02 *ippai iruto omou-ndesu kedo*
 many be think-Cop but
 ‘Well, I think there are many husbands who’d go without being
 asked, but’
- 03 Int: *un un*
 yes yes
 ‘Yeah, yeah.’

- 04 Yuki: *uchi wa iwa-naito it-te kure-nai*
 inside Top say-NEG go-BEN-NEG
 ‘My husband wouldn’t go unless I asked him to do so.’

Then, in line 4, Yuki contrastively describes her own husband with the imaginary “prototypes of husbands,” saying that her own husband would not take the children out without being asked to do so. Referring to her husband with the pronominal usage of ‘*uchi*’, she provides a negative assessment of him with *-te kureru* in the negative (*itte kurenai*). While the form without *-te kureru* (i.e., *ikanai*) would only describe the husband’s act free of moral judgement, *-te kureru* indexes the sense of discontent and complaint yielding from the husband’s act of not taking the children out.

From the above analysis, we may summarize the following two points. First, verbs such as ‘cooperate’, ‘help’, and ‘assist’ appeared with *-te kureru* as in excerpts 3 and 4, indexing the sense of indebtedness towards the husband’s acts. The choice of these verbs reflects how the housewife group informants positioned their husbands in the supplementary and subordinate role vis-à-vis themselves in the realm of childrearing. Secondly, these women evaluated their spouses within the binary categorization of fathers/persons/husbands “who would help+te kureru” and those “who would not help+te kureru” as in excerpts 3, 4, and 5. These can be considered as prototypes which are presumptively shared cultural categories that are invoked and indexed through discursive processes (Yamaguchi 2014). Likewise, we see that housewife group women categorized their husbands according to the ideological images of fathers within the wider discourse of Japanese society (cf. Ide 2018).

4.2 The non-usage of *-te kureru* and use of *-te morau* among the dual-income group

In contrast to the housewife group, the women in the dual-income group talked about their husbands’ active participation in household chores and childrearing typically without *-te kureru*. Within the two interviews, *-te kureru* appeared once when Fumiko reported her husband’s cooperation in the past tense (*kyouryoku shite kuremashita*). However, when these women spoke of the actual deeds by their husbands, *-te kureru* would not emerge as in *ohiru tsukutte-mashita* (‘he would make lunch’) instead of saying, *ohiru tsukutte kure mashita* (‘he would make lunch+BEN’).

In the next excerpt, Junko, a sixty-one-year-old nurse, describes her spouse’s daily activities at home. Asked about diaper changing by the interviewer, Junko does not use *-te kureru*, and only mentions the fact that her husband did change diapers (line 2).

Excerpt 6.

01 Int: *omutsugae toka wa doo-deshi-ta*
 changing diapers etc Top how-Cop-past
 ‘How about things like diaper changing?’

02 Junko: *mo shi-mashi-ta@*
 also do-Dist-past
 ‘He did it, too.’

03 Int: *<@ a soonan-desu-ka? @>*
 oh so-Cop-Q
 ‘Oh, really?’

04 Junko: *<@ so @> mo zenbu*
 yes so all
 ‘Yes, like everything.’

In excerpt 7, Junko provides an assessment of the husband’s cooperation, using the adverbial *sugoi* (‘amazing’) in line 1. This is a case of Extreme Case Formulation (Pomerantz 1986) used when a speaker legitimizes and defends a certain claim to a conclusion. Expressions such as “always” and “everyone” are cases of ECFs in English that justify and legitimize certain claims. As in excerpt 6, Junko does not use *-te kureru* in explicating her husband’s involvement. In lines 2 and 5, for instance, *-te kureru* could have been attached to the verb ‘to bathe’ (*(ofuro) ireru*) but the verb emerges without the benefactive.

Excerpt 7. ((To the question on whether her husband cooperated in childcare.))

01 Junko: *a-mo sugoi kyouryoku-deshi-ta*
 you know super cooperation-Cop-past
 ‘You know, he was super cooperative.’

02 *a ofuro ireruno hotondo otto*
 you know give a bath almost husband
 ‘It was always (my husband) who bathed (the children).’
 ((two lines omitted))

05 *akachan no koro kara mo irete-mashi-ta-ne*
 baby of time from also give-Dist-past-IP
 ‘He has given a bath since the time (our child) was a small baby.’

While Junko does describe her husband’s cooperation to be ‘super’ (*sugoi*), the verb is not accompanied by a benefactive. Thus, while she praises her husband’s cooperation, the action is not framed as a favor doing on a grammatical level.

When compared to the housewife group, this lack of *-te kureru* among the dual-income group is quite striking.

This was also the case in the narrative by Fumiko. Asked about the support received from her family members upon delivering her first child, Fumiko first reminisces about her mother-in-law coming to the hospital before the delivery.

Excerpt 8.

- 01 Fumiko:*shussan magiwani kite-kudasa- (.) kite-kuretan*
 childbirth just before come-BEN(R) come-BEN
- 02 *desu kedo*
 Cop but
 ‘(mother-in-law) came, came right before the delivery.’
 ((thirteen lines omitted))
- 15 *ma shujin mo kaisha o yasan dari*
 well husband also company DO time off etc
 ‘my husband also took time off from the company’
- 16 Int: *nn*
 ‘hmm’
- 17 Fumiko:*sorekara watashi no anetachi ga chotto koutaide*
 and I of sisters Subj just take turns
- 18 *minikite-kure ta-ri wa shi-tan desu kedo*
 come to see-BEN past-also Topdo-past Cop but
 ‘and my older sisters would take turns to come and look after (the baby).’

Interestingly, while Fumiko does use *-te kureru* in describing the deeds by her mother-in-law and her own older sisters (lines 1 and 17), her husband’s deed of taking a leave from work is not accompanied by *-te kureru*. This lack of grammatical indexicality is indicative of how Fumiko does not perceive her husband’s deed to be a favor doing but an expected conduct to be taken.

Likewise, *-te kureru* forms typically did not emerge among the dual income group in contrast to the housewife group when these women described their husband’s childrearing activities. However, a different type of benefactive, i.e., *-te morau* would appear under certain conditions: When these women explained how they requested their husbands to look after the children for their own work sake. Excerpt 9 is such a case from the narrative of Fumiko, who worked long shifts and weekends as a dental assistant.

Excerpt 9.

- 01 Fumiko: *doyoubi mo shi-shigoto ika-sete-moratte*
 Saturday also work go-Cau-BEN-because
 ‘On Saturdays, I would go to work’

Here Fumiko uses *-te morau* instead of *-te kureru* as in *ika sete kurete* (‘he would allow me to go+BEN’) to describe how she had gone to work on Saturdays in addition to weekdays. As discussed in Sections 2.1 and 2.2, *-te morau* is used when the subject of the sentence is the ‘receiver’ of the benefit instead of the ‘giver’. Thus, Fumiko is the subject of the sentence and while framing the reported action positively, *-te morau* puts the benefit receiver (the wife) in focus. Thus, compared to *-te kureru*, the emergence of *-te morau* highlights the speaker Fumiko’s wish and intention to go to work. The other informant Junko also explained how her husband took care of the household on Sundays for three years while she studied to become a certified nurse specialist. As in Fumiko’s case, Junko described the situation saying, (*kodomo o*) *mite-moratte* (‘I had him look after the child+BEN’), using *-te morau* but not *-te kureru*.

To summarize, the dual-income women did not use *-te kureru* in describing their husbands’ activities in their narratives even when they used it to describe their own sisters’ help. We may interpret that the dual-income women positioned their husbands on equal grounds with themselves in the realm of childrearing, bearing the same weight in the economic sphere and the domestic sphere of the household. Meanwhile, *-te morau* would emerge conditionally when the wives asked their husbands to take part in childrearing to compensate for their job-related activities.

4.3 The non-usage of *-te kureru* among the farmer group

In comparison to the housewife and dual-income groups, talk about the husbands hardly ever emerged among the farmer group women unless the interviewer brought up the topic. In excerpt 10, the interviewer asked Kazu if her husband did not take part in childcare, using the negative plain form (*tetsudawa-nai*) without the benefactive *-te kureru*. To this, Kazu denies receiving any help from her husband using the negative form of the verbs without the use of *-te kureru* or *-te morau* as in lines 2, 4, and 5. Here, Kazu describes how her husband did not engage in childrearing activities, using ‘*tetsudau*’ (to help), ‘*nomaseru*’ (to bottle feed), and ‘*suru*’ (to do) all in the negative. She neither uses *-te kureru* or *-te morau* in her narrative in describing her husband’s non-cooperation unlike the case of Yuki in excerpt 5.

Excerpt 10.

- 01 Int: *otoosan wa zenzen tetsudawa-nai*
 father Top not at all help NEG
 'Didn't your husband help you at all?'
- 02 Kazu: *a zenzen tetsudawa-nai*
 Oh not at all help NEG
 'Oh, he didn't help at all.'
- 03 Int: *a@ zenzen tetsudawa-nai*
 Oh not at all help -NEG
 'Oh, he didn't help at all.'
- 04 Kazu: *oppai mo zenzen nomase -nai*
 feeding milk also not at all bottle-feed -NEG
 'He also did not bottle-feed at all.'
- 05 *nanimo shi-naka-tta ne*
 nothing do-NEG-past IP
 'He didn't do anything.'

Kiyo was eighty-seven years old at the time of the interview. In excerpt 11, the interviewer asks whether Kiyo's husband (*danna-san*) did not look after the children using *-te kureru* in the negative form (line 3). We see here that even when the interviewer attaches *-te kureru* in her question, Kiyo's reply is not accompanied by *-te kureru* as in line 6.²

Excerpt 11.

- 01 Int: *ojichan ga danna-san wa ano*
 grandfather Nom husband Top well
 'Grandfather, well, your husband,'
- 02 *kodomo no mendoo toka mo mi wa zenzen*
 children of care etc also see Top at all
- 03 *mi-tekure-nai no?*
 never see-Ben-Neg Q
 'Didn't he take care of your children?'
- 04 Kiyo: *mukashi no hito wa*
 long ago of human being TOP
 'People from the old times'

2. The word '*ojichan*' in line 1 of excerpt 11 refers to both uncles and grandfathers in the regional dialects of Tochigi prefecture.

- 05 Int: *mukashi no hito wa*
 long ago of human being Top
 'People from the old times'
- 06 Kiyo: *kodomo mi-nakat-ta wa ne*
 Children see-Neg-past Top PRT
 they did not take care of their children.'

In the next excerpt, Shizu, a sixty-seven-year-old rice crop farmer reflects on the time when she once asked her husband to participate in the children's school PTA meeting. Having another engagement, Shizu had asked her husband to join the meeting on her behalf saying '*itte-mora-tta*' (I had him go). The choice of *-te morau* instead of *-te kureru* here indexes and highlights the fact that it was Shizu the speaker's request and not the husband's will to go to the meeting. Shizu also uses reported speech in line 4, describing how she begged her husband to go.

Excerpt 12.

- 01 Shizu: *hajimete PTA nanka atte ne*
 first time PTA something have PRT
 'We had a PTA meeting for the first time.'
- 02 *hora watashi nanika youji ga atte ne*
 you know I something errand NOM have PRT
 'You know, I had some kind of an errand'
- 03 *ikare -naka-ttande itte-mora -ttano ne*
 go -NEG-past go-BEN -past PRT
 'I couldn't go. So, instead, I had my husband go.'
- 04 *itte-choudai-tte*
 go-please-QUO
 'Like, please go.'

((Six lines omitted. Shizu quotes her husband reporting that there were only women at the PTA meeting, how he felt embarrassed as the only man, and that he won't go to such a place any more.))

- 11 *sorekkiri ittakoto -nai*
 after that go -NEG
 'He has never been to school after that.'
- 12 *gakkoo mo sore ikkai it-ta- kiri*
 school also that one time go-past-since
 'That was the last time that he went to school.'

13 *ika-nai-desu-ne*
 go-NEG-COP-PRT
 'He wouldn't go.'

Shizu's husband was embarrassed as he was the only man in the PTA meeting and had never again attended school meetings since. In line 13, Shizu uses the plain negative form of the verb 'to go' (*iku*) without *-te kureru*.

From the above excerpts, we may interpret that the informants in the farmer group did not associate the husbands within the childrearing realm. The lack of *-te kureru* even in describing the husbands' non-cooperation indicates that farmer group women never expected their husbands to be involved in childrearing in the first place. From the lack of *-te kureru* benefactive, we may observe that there is no reciprocal relationship among the husbands and wives, and that dyadic husband and wife bonding in the realm of childrearing is not presupposed among the farmer group women.

5. Discussion

As demonstrated in the above analysis, *-te kureru* emerged extensively among the housewife group while it did not emerge among the dual-income and farmer groups. How do we explain these differences?

Informants in the housewife group discursively positioned their husbands in the assistant and/or supportive roles in childrearing, to 'assist' and 'help' their wives. This was not only explicit from the choice of the verbs but from the use of *-te kureru* as it marked the husbands' acts of favor moving to the in-group from the outside. In addition, these women described their husbands in nominalized forms, presenting their ideological and categorical views of husbands as prototypes. Thus, while grammatically indexing the favor received from the husbands as benefits, the use of *-te kureru* positioned the women ideologically in the center of the childrearing realm as "maternal gatekeepers." Their *-te kureru* usage may be a reflection of the gender-divided ideologies within the modern family, with women in charge of the private sphere and men in charge of the public.

Next, we may discuss the use of *-te kureru* among the housewife group in the here-and-now context of the research interview. The use of benefactives can be associated with the fact that childrearing was an "on-going" task among the housewife group women, whereas it was a "completed" task for the dual-income and farmer group informants at the time of the interview. While dual-income and farmer groups spoke of their husbands in retrospect, the housewife group informants would be presenting not only their husband and wife bonding but also

themselves as mothers and wives vis-à-vis the interviewers who were also mothers in the here-and-now context of the research interview. Therefore, the pervasive use of *-te kureru* functioned in a performative manner, indexing the speakers as ‘modest’ and ‘socially proper’ mothers and wives in relation to the interviewer on a secondary indexical level (Ide 2006; Okamoto 2008).

Meanwhile, the non-use of *-te kureru* among the dual-income group can be said to reflect a contradicting and opposing ideology of husband and wife bonding. In the case of the dual-income group, the non-usage of *-te kureru* expressed the ideology that childrearing was a shared responsibility wherein both the husbands and wives took parts. Constituting the economic activities of the household together, the sense of equal share among the dyad and working as a team is reflected in the lack of *-te kureru* among this group. However, we also saw that a sense of gratitude and benefit was marked in the use of *-te morau*, specifically when the husbands went extra miles to pitch in for their wives’ economic activities.

Lastly, the fact that *-te kureru* did not appear in the narratives of the farmer group women reflected how husbands were not ideologically situated in the childrearing realm nor was there a preconception of a husband and wife dyad to begin with. In this sense, there is no such thing as husband and wife bonding in childrearing within the ideology of farmer group women. This coincides with the gender role within the traditional farming *ie* households wherein the retired grandparents as well as other female in-laws (but not husbands) were to assist the mothers in looking after the young children (Okamoto 2017).

6. Concluding remarks

In this paper, we have analyzed how different values and beliefs concerning husband and wife bonding were constituted in women’s narratives by mainly analyzing the use and non-use of benefactives. The results revealed different patterns of benefactive usage across the three groups of women, reflecting the differences and changes in the ideologies, norms, and values regarding gender relationships in the family. From this analysis, we may perceive the grammatical forms of benefactives as linguistic constituents of meta-level patterns which connect the micro level of language usage and the socio-historical context on a macro level.

Japanese society is in a transition period of changing gender norms within the family. Statistical reports as well as influential articles as in the New York Times may frame Japanese women’s roles as mothers and wives to be ‘unfair’ within the idealized husband and wife bonding of the modern family. By studying the meta-level dimensions emerging from actual situated discourse, we may connect actual talk in practice with the macro forms of social ideologies, which may

be a more accurate portrait of Japanese women and mothers within the changes of Japanese society.

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SECTION II

The tactics and haggling of bonding/un-bonding

Bonded but un-bonded

An ethnographic account of discordance in social relations

Makiko Takekuro
Waseda University

Based on naturally-occurring conversations and interview narratives collected on Ishigaki Island in Japan's Okinawa Prefecture, this chapter presents instances of "bonded but un-bonded" experience. Drawing on the notion of discordance (Takekuro 2018), the chapter will bring unexpressed conflicts into sharp focus. Through participants' comments that suggest that they were not as bonded as it seemed in their interaction, I will show that aspects of bonding and un-bonding (defined as a lack of or the opposites of bonding) are intertwined in social life. Exploring the resulting ambiguity of the two aspects, I attempt to emphasize the importance of ethnographic research and of incorporating the opposites of bonding in considering how bonds are created and maintained.

Keywords: bonding, un-bonding, discordance, social relations, ethnography

1. Introduction

Through our interactions in social situations, we figure out where to position ourselves in relation to others and our surrounding environment, and how to respond to these. Bonding helps create a sense of security, belonging, and satisfaction in social relations. However, relationships that seem to be working well to one party can be perceived quite differently by another. However much we wish to establish these bonds, we may still fail or not feel bonded with a certain entity or group. Furthermore, even if we succeed in making bonds with others, we sometimes know in the bottom of our hearts that these bonds are only superficial.

When discussing ways in which people make or cannot make bonds with others, previous studies have tended to focus on the similarity of linguistic or paralinguistic (e.g., gestural) forms, such as repetition, parallelism, resonance, or

equivalence (Du Bois 2014). A large body of work taking this approach has provided us with a tremendous amount of knowledge on how people establish and maintain bonded relations with one another. While the similarity or resonance at various levels of interaction does make us feel connected with others, it could also be a source of annoyance, precisely because of the repetitious or imitating nature it posits. Even if the linguistic form is shared, an empirical question still remains as to whether or not it leads participants to obtaining this feeling of bonding. Then, if this feeling is not about a commonality of linguistic or gestural forms, on what basis can we empirically confirm that participants are bonded with each other or their surroundings? As well as looking for bonds and ties that people create in interaction, we should also put equal effort into identifying signals that show a lack or a collapse of bonds hidden in the form of order.

In this chapter, I attempt to identify the “bonded but un-bonded” experience from conversations and interview narratives collected among people in a small island community in Japan’s Okinawa Prefecture. The focus of the analysis will be on implicit conflicts, as participants’ comments suggest a lack of or even a refusal of bonding despite superficial resonance that is ubiquitously found in interactions between them. Drawing on ethnographic information about the participants and their social relations, I will emphasize mixed aspects of bonding and un-bonding (defined as a lack of or the opposites of bonding) and the importance of ethnography in identifying the resulting ambiguity of the two aspects.

2. Discordance

In pragmatics, a considerable amount of research has been conducted to reveal ways in which we reduce interpersonal friction, establish common ground, and feel connected. However, regardless of how much we attempt to be polite or cooperative with others, conflicts arise on many levels of our lives. Therefore, discourse on conflict is necessary. Here, conflicts exist due to the discrepancy between what is expected and what actually happens. Such a discrepancy is called “discordance” and defined as “the state of being without a harmony, agreement or conformity” (Takekuro 2018: 6). As I will further explain below, discordance is pervasive in every sphere of life and, ranges from interpersonal friction to a larger-scale division of people or groups that may trigger ideologically-loaded discourse (cf. Silverstein 1993). By using this concept in this paper, I attempt to explore an aspect of un-bonding as an inevitable part of the overall interactional bonds that may otherwise be invisible, lurking, and hence overlooked.

Building on previous works on language and conflict by Grimshaw (1990), Kulick (1993), Simmel (1995), and Briggs (1996), Takekuro (2018) proposes

discordance as a subcategory of conflict on the meta-level, in order to put non-consensual, conflict-ridden aspects of communication in relief. The notion of discordance encompasses not only explicit conflicts such as disagreements (Pomerantz 1984; Sacks 1987; Kakavá 1993; Georgakopoulou 2001; Sifianou 2012), impoliteness (Culpeper 1996, 2008; Culpeper, Bousfield, and Wichmann 2003; Bousfield 2008; Terkourafi 2008; Limberg 2009; Kádár 2017), arguments (Schiffrin 1985, Tannen 1998; Lempert 2012), and aggression (Kulick 1993), but also implicit discrepancies such as misunderstanding, discomfort, or annoyance that are often not tangible and invisible to others. In particular, Goffman's discussion of "discomfiture" (1967) captures the essence of discordance at a meta-level in a way where it touches on an emotional and psychological state of being disconnected or separated. Other notions such as "divergence" in communication accommodation theory (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland 1991), also represent aspects of discordance within the speech event, as the focus is on discrepancies and a lack of mutuality in speech style. This example, "divergence," refers to a communicative strategy used to emphasize linguistic or stylistic differences between the speaker and the interlocutor.

On a more macro level, certain genres of communication, such as media or narratives on myth, identify and express discordance between what is expected and what actually happens, and tend to maximize the contrastiveness (Asai 2017). Such an explicit discordance tends to form a structure of various cultural categories and influence metapragmatics, in such ways as creating images, reinforcing cultural categories, and widening ideological gaps between groups (Silverstein 1993). As Bourdieu (1991) points out, in a world with various language markets, language variations reflect power relationships such as social stratum and social position. As a result, discordance between variants has been created, and social imbalance or inequality arising over language or language use often leads to further discordance between people or groups (cf. Anderson 1983; Roberts 1992; Briggs 1996; Crystal 2000; Mey 2001[1993], Blommaert 2001, 2010; Hill 2008). If people can succeed in transforming a sociocultural and politico-historical context of communication, explicit discordance may work positively to face struggles and overcome some social imbalance or inequality. However, when discordance is implicit and seems unintentional in the course of communication, it often conceals the presence of actual problems and remains as a potential conflict hidden in the form of order.

In this chapter, I will pay attention to this latter aspect of discordance, which was not immediately visible. Based on the ethnographic data collected on Ishigaki Island, I will attend to the ways in which participants react to implicit cases of discordance.

3. Ishigaki Island

Ishigaki Island is the main island in the Yaeyama archipelago, 410 kilometers southwest of Okinawa Island. It has about 222 km² of land area and is surrounded by coral reefs and beaches. Due to its location in the subtropical climate zone, the island is occasionally hit by typhoons from July through October.

For hundreds of years, the Yaeyama region and Ishigaki in particular have accepted numerous migrants of different backgrounds. The last three decades have seen an increase in migration of people within Japan, which included many moving to Okinawa Prefecture and Ishigaki. Today, an estimated 5,000 of the island's 47,660 inhabitants are "newcomers" (cf. Ishigakishi Kikakuseisakubu 2017). Because of its history of integrating people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, Yaeyama is often described as *gasshuukoku* ('united states') (Miki 2010) for its multicultural diversity. Native islanders believe that on Ishigaki, there were no records of major confrontations or expulsion of migrants from the island. Their overall openness is understood and appreciated by today's non-native residents, many of whom claim that they do not feel unwelcome or discriminated against.¹ However, this is not to say there are no implicit and potential conflicts. In the analysis, I will provide instances of discordance in which one party complained about another party behind their back, even though they seemed to share affinities and bonds in their face-to-face interaction.

4. What happened then vs. how they commented on it later

In this section, I will examine the two kinds of data collected on Ishigaki Island: a three-hour, naturally occurring interaction, and follow-up interviews during which some of the participants commented on each other after the interaction. My reason for using these two kinds of data is that if we look only at what actually happened at the time of interaction, there seem to be some bonds between participants, but their post-interaction comments reveal that such bonding can be only short-lived and temporary. As aspects of bonding and a lack of bonding (hereafter, un-bonding) are not separate but intertwined in their social lives, my analysis will illuminate the resulting ambiguity of these aspects.

1. This is, however, a one-sided, glorified view of the past. Behind the romanticized history, there has been a great amount of suffering by many people especially from Taiwan. Mr. Huang Yin-Yu's documentary film, *Umino Kanata* ('After Spring, the Tamaki Family...') depicts the time that Taiwanese immigrants were stateless and that many were engaged in forced labor.

4.1 Seemingly bonded at the drinking gathering

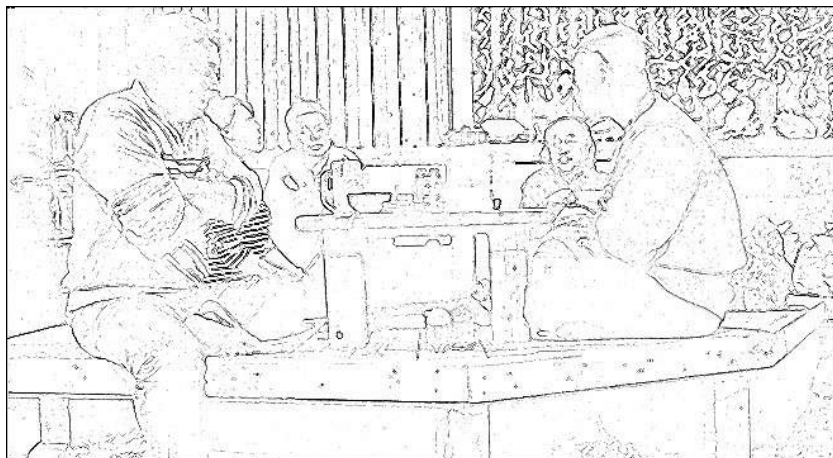
In winter 2012, residents in one of the districts on Ishigaki gathered at a public hall for an event of renewing some offerings. There, an islander man in his early sixties, Sōta Nakamura, found a middle-aged couple, Mr. and Ms. Ōta from Osaka.² Around four months prior, the Ōtas had visited the island for the first time and liked it so much that they had decided not to return to Osaka. Since then, the friendly couple had stayed in the district and become acquainted with many residents, most of whom were islanders like Sōta. The three chatted for more than an hour during the ritual. When the ritual was over, Sōta invited the couple and the researcher to a nearby location where his parents lived and he managed a diner in the daytime.³ A neighbor of Sōta, another islander of the same generation, Qu Tamashiro, joined us soon after, as did Sōta's long-time settler friend, Mr. Fuji, 62, who drove for half an hour from downtown Ishigaki. Mr. Fuji had known Qu for some time through Sōta but had never met the Ōtas before. In the middle of the evening, another islander neighbor, Takao Kohama, joined the group, though he left after about an hour. Before Takao arrived, the participants sat around the table as illustrated in Picture 1 and remained largely in the same seating arrangement until the end of the party.⁴

Altogether, the group filled over three hours with stories of their life on the island, as well as dirty jokes and gossip. Mr. Fuji and I did not drink alcohol. Those who drank were slightly tipsy but not very drunk. In this relaxed atmosphere, the participants were all engaged in talking as though they had known each other for years, even though some had just met. Example (1) is one of the typical instances in which they displayed emotional bonds with each other.

2. All names are pseudonyms. I mix the use of first names and last names to capture the different ways they call each other in reality.

3. I accompanied Sōta from the beginning of the ritual at the public hall. Then I was also invited to the gathering and allowed to videotape the interaction. I sat at a different table from the participants, put my video camera on the table, occasionally checking whether it was filming correctly. I was silent most of the time, except for the times I was asked some questions or offered food.

4. Sōta occasionally went into the kitchen in the back to prepare food and drink. When Takao arrived, he sat in Sōta's place.



Picture 1. The participants at the diner (from left to right): Qu, Ms. Ōta, Mr. Ōta, Mr. Fuji, Sōta

- (1) Mr. Ōta had previously talked about being sick and feeling lonely after his divorce.⁵
- 01 Mr. Fuji: *so: dane*
'Indeed.'
- 02 Mr. Ōta: *batsu no mi ni wa kotae masu wa: @@@*
'It was painful for a divorcee.'
- 03 Qu: *so: waku::@@@*
'Yeah, I know.'
- 04 Mr. Fuji: *byo:ki n toki wa ne*
'(It's lonely) when one is sick.'
- 05 Mr. Ōta: *mo: samishi:: wa @@@*
'(I felt) so lonely.'
- 06 Qu: *samishi:: ((making a gesture of putting a blanket over him))*
ko:yatte ne
'(I was) lonely. (I did) like this.'
- 07 The Ōtas: *so: so: so: so: so: @@@*
'Right, right, right, right.'
- 08 Mr. Fuji: *koko minna ka*
'All of us were divorced.'
- 09 all: *@@@@*

5. I only provide free translation with the original Japanese of the transcripts. Transcription conventions are as follows: @=laughter; :=lengthy sound; (())=nonverbal movement and scenic detail.

- 10 Ms. Ōta: *yokatta ne::: minna*
 ‘How nice (that we) all (found a new one)!’
 ((Souta bring some dishes to the table))
- 11 Qu: *sugoi minna so: tte @@@@*
 ‘It’s amazing that we all (got divorced and remarried).’
- 12 Sōta: *ja nita mono nakama no minna ni kanpa:i*
 ‘Then, toast to our camaraderie!’

In lines 1, 3, and 4, both Mr. Fuji and Qu showed sympathy to Mr. Ōta’s earlier comment about falling sick while struggling with solitude after his divorce. In line 5, Mr. Ōta recalled his experience and described it as *samishi::* (‘lonely’), which was iterated by Qu in the subsequent turn. In order to express loneliness in bed, Qu made a gesture of pulling a blanket over himself, which the Ōtas acknowledged with *so: so: so: so:* (‘right, right, right, right’). Apart from Sōta, who was back in the kitchen preparing some food, the others had also been divorced, as Mr. Fuji noted in line 8. Coincidentally, *minna* (‘everyone’) had also remarried, which was described as *yokatta* (‘nice’) by Ms. Ōta in line 10. Considering that in Japanese interaction, certain topics such as divorce rarely come up among people who meet for the first time (cf. Iwata 2015), the participants’ disclosure about their own experience of divorce and remarriage is notable. In lines 8 through 12, the four different speakers consecutively made the point that they shared the experience, by repeating and emphasizing *minna* (‘everyone’). As has been discussed at length in the literature, repetition in interaction generates affinities across utterances and helps to increase resonance and bonds between participants (Johnstone 1994; Keenan 1977; Tannen 1987; Du Bois 2014). I will come back to this point in more detail in the next example.

Another excerpt of their interaction that took place after Example (1) also illustrates how engaged and bonded the participants were with each other.

- (2) Mr. Fuji and Sōta talked about a politician who they thought had created a conspiracy.
- 01 Mr. Fuji: *dakara zettai tousen sasecha ikan*
 ‘So (we) should not allow him to be reelected.’
- 02 Qu: *hidoi zo: tte itte mawaro*
 ‘Let’s walk around saying ‘(The guy) is horrible.’
- 03 Sōta: *ima kara iku ka? @@@ chotto tte @@*
 ‘Shall (we) go from now? (We’ll be like) ‘Hi!’
- 04 Qu: *konnna dakedo yo tte @@@ ((twirling his finger to his head))*
 ‘Even though (we) are (drunk) like this.’
- 05 Sōta: *ja ashita kara @@@*

- ‘Then, (let’s start) from tomorrow.’
- 06 Ms. Ōta: *uchira mo yaru wa*
‘(We) will do (that), too.’
- 07 Sōta: *o:::*
‘Wow!’
- 08 Mr. Fuji: *arigato: zenzen shiranai kara ne*
‘Thank you. (People) don’t know it at all.’
- 09 Sōta: *dakara hidoi yone*
‘That’s why (it’s) horrible.’
- 10 Mr. Ōta: *hidoi wa:*
‘Horrible.’
- 11 Ms. Ōta: *honto hidoi wa:*
‘(It’s) really horrible.’
- 12 Mr. Fuji: *hidoi yo na*
‘Horrible.’
- 13 Qu: *da ashita kara dazo: ((raising his fist))*
‘(We should do this) starting from tomorrow!’
- 14 Sōta: *ie:i ashita kara ((raising her fist))*
‘Yay, from tomorrow.’
- 15 Ms Ōta: *ashita kara*
‘From tomorrow!’
- 16 Mr. Fuji: *oo kita bakkari nanoni warui ne*
‘Wow, as (you) are so new, (I appreciate it).’

When hearing a story about the politician, the participants found it *hidoi* (‘horrible’) the word initially used by Qu in line 2 was repeated by all the others in lines 9 through 12. In order to prevent the politician from being reelected, the participants agreed to warn people around them about his corruption as early as *ima kara* (‘from now’) or *ashita kara* (‘from tomorrow’). Here, *kara* means ‘(starting) from,’ but it also means ‘so’ or ‘because’ when used as a conjunction attached to the predicate or *dakara*, as in lines 1, 8, and 9. The repetition of both *hidoi* and *kara* (even though *kara* was used for the two different meanings) indicates aspects of “dialogicality” (Bakhtin 1981[1935]), in that one speaker’s “voice” was interconnected with the others’ words and possibly the words of those who have spoken before (cf. Becker 1995; Linell 2009; Du Bois 2014; Vološinov 1973[1929]). In Jakobson’s terms, it is “parallelism,” defined as “poetic juxtapositions of paired elements” (Fox 1988: 2–4, Wilce 2008: 97), which can be observed on “every level of language” (Jakobson 1981[66]: 98).

By extracting the repeated parts of the speech from Example (2) and represent them in digraphs, the linguistic parallelisms become more apparent.⁶

- (3) 02 Qu: hidoi zo: *tte itte mawaro*
 09 Souta: *dakara* hidoi yone
 10 Mr. Ōta: hidoi wa:
 11 Ms. Ōta: *honto* hidoi wa:
 12 Mr. Fuji: hidoi yona

In lines 2, 9, 10, 11, and 12, the participants commonly use the adjective *hidoi* ('horrible') to express their main idea, while showing their slightly different stances in their various choices of sentence-final particles such as *zo:*, *yone*, *wa:*, and *yona*. Additionally, some of the participants use the temporal phrase consisting of the temporal noun followed by the particle *kara*, as can be seen in (4).

- (4) 03 Sōta: *ima kara iku ka?*
 05 Sōta: *ja ashita kara*
 13 Qu: *da ashita kara da zo:*
 14 Sōta: *ie:i ashita kara*
 15 Ms. Ōta: *ashita kara*

Example (2) includes these series of parallelisms, as do examples of (3) and (4). These are only a few examples of countless instances within the three-hour gathering. In other words, dialogicality was pervasive throughout their interaction. Since dialogic resonance on the referential level of interaction has some consequences for enhancing emotional affinities among interlocutors, a natural conclusion that can be drawn from these examples of linguistic and structural parallelism is that the participants were developing some bonds. As far as we can tell from their interaction, there was little doubt that they were un-bonded at that time.

The only noticeable un-bonded aspect in the interaction involves Qu and Mr. Fuji. Though they did not display any apparent conflict, they did not talk to or look at each other as much as the others. This probably had a lot to do with the seating arrangement, as they sat farthest from each other. However, more importantly, a delicate power relation on the island should be considered. Qu is a native islander who has lived on the island all his life and makes his living from farming, while Mr. Fuji, an experienced long-time settler, not only possesses profound knowledge about the

6. In making the digraphs, I have followed Du Bois (2014). He proposed a new order of syntactic phenomena called "dialogic syntax," encompassing the linguistic, cognitive, and interactional processes in which speakers selectively reproduce aspects of prior utterances while recipients recognize the resulting parallelisms and draw inferences from them (Du Bois 2014: 359). For the analysis of Japanese interaction using this approach, please see Sakita (2006) and Takanashi (2011).

island but has also provided his professional expertise in accounting and legal writing to many native islanders. Even though he ultimately ran his business to make a profit, Mr. Fuji's contribution to the island's community has been enormous, as the native islanders possess almost no legal knowledge or skills. These power dynamics can, however, result in developing a sense of competition or feelings of either admiration or jealousy among people. In particular, when it comes to matters of the island, the islanders try to establish their superiority over even long-time settlers like Mr. Fuji. In (5), Qu presents his opposing view after overhearing Mr. Fuji's comment regarding which month people start swimming in the sea in Okinawa.

- (5) While Mr. Ōta and Mr. Fuji were talking, Ms. Ōta and Qu began to talk to each other.

- 01 Mr. Ōta: *mukashi naichi ni oru koro wa,*
'When I was on the Main Island of Japan,'
02 *okinawa no hito niwa kodomo wa ne*
'I heard an Okinawan say'
03 *nigatsu gorokara umi de oyoideru tte iute kiita kedo*
'children start swimming in the sea in February.'
04 Mr. Fuji: *nigatsu wa mada hairan to chigau kana*
'I suppose (they) won't go into (the sea) in February.'
05 *yappa sangatsu deshō ne*
'Probably (it would be) in March.'
06 Ms. Ōta: *samui?*
'(Is the sea still) cold (in February)?'
07 Qu: *iya attakai toki wa nigatsu demo hairu yo*
'When it's warm, (we) go to (the ocean) in February.'

In lines 1 through 3, Mr. Ōta recalled what he once heard from an Okinawan person and conveyed metamessages. Some of these include that it was hard to imagine children in Okinawa starting to swim in the sea in February, the coldest month in the Main Island of Japan, and that Okinawa, in general, has warm weather. In response to Mr. Ōta, Mr. Fuji expressed his opinion in lines 4 and 5 that March, rather than February, would be the month to start swimming in the sea. In the meantime, Ms. Ōta, sitting next to Qu, asked him the question in line 6, overlapping with Mr. Fuji in line 5. Contrary to Mr. Fuji's statement, Qu answered, in a voice that was audible to Mr. Fuji, that people do swim in the sea in February, especially in warm weather. Here, Qu did not directly utter his opposing view to Mr. Fuji, but his disagreement was clearly conveyed and understood by the participants, although there was no particular consequence. Mr. Fuji neither changed his facial expression nor ignored Qu; Qu simply did not try to challenge Mr. Fuji anymore. At a certain point in the conversation, the participants stopped

talking about the weather and went on with their discussion about the sea, from which they shifted their topic to funny sea creatures and ended up exchanging dirty jokes. The minor disagreement between Qu and Mr. Fuji may have given the participants a brief moment of awkwardness but did not prevent them from having an enjoyable time for the rest of the evening. Overall, it was not possible for me, the co-present participant researcher, to detect any other aspect of separation or awkwardness in their interaction. Based on this, I assume I could conclude that there were bonds and that they were bonded. In reality, some interaction and the interviews that took place after the gathering revealed that bonding is not a fixed matter. In the next section, I will describe that their bonds were actually temporary.

4.2 The participants' comments about their temporary bonds

In order to illustrate that bonding is one of the interactional processes that arises from the resulting ambiguity with potential un-bonding, I will further draw upon follow-up interview data with some of the participants after the gathering. What participants say about their interaction or relations in retrospect may not reflect what actually happened or the relationships between the participants. However, just as on one hand, native speakers' metalinguistic commentaries are unreliable, but on the other, serve as valuable resources (Silverstein 1981; Hanks 1993; Lucy 1993; Duranti 1994). Participants' comments can offer us novel insights into their understanding of their own positions in the group, which may not be obvious from their interaction. Thus, my purpose of conducting follow-up interviews was not to discover facts, but to obtain a good range of interpretations and background facts on which to base my ethnographic and linguistic analysis of the participants' bonding experience. In this section, I will provide either a description or actual interview data of some participants' comments chronologically, starting from my conversation with Mr. Fuji immediately after leaving.

While in Mr. Fuji's car heading back to downtown Ishigaki after leaving the gathering, I recognized that the participants might not have been as bonded as I had imagined. First of all, Mr. Fuji, who was thankful to the Ōtas for their willingness to help, as seen in lines 8 and 16 in (2), was, however, very critical of the couple. Mr. Fuji repeatedly said that 'that (= being too close to islanders, visiting islander's houses, or getting together with islanders) was no good' (*are wa akan*), since the couple were still very new to the island.⁷ According to Mr. Fuji, who has lived on the island for more than fifteen years, such a relationship would 'not last

7. Since the battery of my video camera had already run out by this point, this part of my analysis is based on the words and phrases I was able to write down in a small notebook while talking to Mr. Fuji in his car.

long' (*nagatsuzuki shinai*) and the couple would soon 'be tired of human relations on this island' (*kono shima no ningen kankei ni shindoku naru*) if they kept doing this. It did appear that all were having a good time and were bonded during the gathering. In Mr. Fuji's opinion, 'islanders are nice' (*minna ii hito*) and 'good at pretending to enjoy themselves' (*tanoshii furi wa suru*) but this does not mean there is 'trust in the true sense' (*honto no imi de no shinrai*). He actually believed that 'there is something awkward deep down inside' (*soko ni wa nani ka aru*). He doubted whether the islanders at the gathering truly wanted any further friendship with newcomers like the Ōtas. Thus, he found it dangerous that the couple were getting too close to the islanders. Moreover, Mr. Fuji told me that Sōta and Qu were not on good terms. Mr. Fuji did not reveal any details about their conflict, but based on what he had heard from Sōta, Mr. Fuji suspected that Sōta and Qu would not cooperate in talking to their neighbors about the politician. These pieces of information that Mr. Fuji provided were not at all identifiable on the surface of the interaction. In addition, despite the apparent disagreement between Qu and Mr. Fuji during the interaction, in his reference to Qu, Mr. Fuji sounded absolutely neutral and made neither negative nor personal comments on Qu.

In order to gain more perspectives, I visited Sōta's diner two days later and interviewed him. After several turns of thanking and expressing how fun the evening was between the two of us, he started commenting on the participants of the gathering. One of the first things he did involved making rather negative judgments about the couple while giving his general impression about recent settlers, as in (6).

(6) Sōta talked about the Ōtas to the researcher (MT).

- 01 Sōta: *nanka chigau yone*
'Something is little different (about them), don't you think?'
- 02 MT: *sou desu ka?*
'Is it so?'
- 03 Sōta: *un chigau yo*
'(They) are different.'
- 04 *saikin kechi na naicha: mo ooi no yo*
'These days, some settlers are stingy, too.'
- 05 MT: *kechi?*
'Stingy?'
- 06 Sōta: *so: hora tetsudai ma:su: toka sa tetsudawanai tte*
'Yeah, (they) said, "(We)'ll help you." I bet (they) won't help us.'
- 07 MT: *hai* *e:?*
'Yes. Huh?'
- 08 Sōta: *ma: tetudawanakute ii tte nomo aru sa*
'It's more like (they) don't need to help (us).'

In lines 1 and 3, Sōta used the word *chigau*, which literally means ‘different’ or metaphorically, ‘strange,’ to describe the couple. In line 4, he also made general remarks about recent settlers, many of whom he thought were *kechi*, which literally means ‘stingy’ but metaphorically means ‘uncooperative’ or ‘unwilling to help.’ Though the couple offered to cooperate with Sōta and Mr. Fuji on the political issue, Sōta was skeptical, based on his experience with recent settlers, whether or not such a cooperation would actually be realized. He even said that their help would not necessarily be wanted. These comments provided by Sōta somewhat confirm what Mr. Fuji said about islanders’ inner feelings in his car. Although Sōta and Mr. Fuji counted on and appreciated the couple’s offer to help them in (2), this might only have been a sign of courtesy, if we take Sōta’s comments in (6) at face value. Behind this lies an intricate relationship between islanders and settlers on this island. It is said that around five thousand new settlers migrate to the island every year, although there exists no statistical data. According to long-time settlers, four out of five leave within a few years, while only five hundred of the remaining thousand actually stay for good on the island. As has been pointed out by many of those whom I have interviewed in the past, islanders with this experience are wary of newcomers, who are likely to leave soon. Given this recent migration pattern, the sense of uncertainty existed undeniably on islanders’ side, concealed by apparent fun and excitement at the gathering.

I tried to draw out more comments from Sōta, as in (7).

- (7) MT told him that all the participants seemed to be having great fun.

- 01 MT: *he: demo kekkou iikan ji deshita yo ne @@@*
 ‘I see. I thought that it was kind of good, wasn’t it?’
- 02 Sōta: *@@ ma: moriagatta yo ne,*
 ‘Well, it was a lot of fun.’
- 03 MT: *hai*
 ‘Yes.’
- 04 Sōta: *moriagatta wa moriagatta yo ne*
 ‘It was indeed a lot of fun.’
- 05 MT: *hai*
 ‘Yes.’
- 06 Sōta: *sore wa so: dakara ma tanoshikatta kedo*
 ‘That was true. So it was kind of fun.’
- 07 MT: *hai @@*
 ‘Yes.’
- 08 Sōta: *demo sore ijo: no sa: nanka kanke: tsuka*
 ‘But there was no more relation beyond excitement.’
- 09 MT: *hai*
 ‘Yes.’

- 10 Sōta: *tsunagari ka so: iu no*
 ‘(there was no) bond or something like that.’
- 11 MT: *hai*
 ‘Yes.’
- 12 Sōta: *umaku ie nai kedo nanka ko: chigau yone*
 ‘I can’t describe it well, but it was sort of different.’

In response to my statement, Sōta admitted that they had indeed enjoyed themselves in the gathering. After rephrasing the fact that they had truly had a great time in lines 2 and 4, Sōta stated that things were, however, *chigau* (‘different’) in line 12. He meant that he did not gain a sense of a firm friendship with them, by using the word *tsunagari* (‘bonds’ or ‘connections’) in line 10. A careful analysis is still needed to determine on what basis Sōta felt a lack of bonds or connections with the couple, but as I previously discussed, it is very likely that the couple were still new to him and the others, and that no one knew whether they would still be there the following year. Under these circumstances, it would not be surprising if Sōta was unsure of the couple and of seeking a solid friendship with them. These honest comments by Sōta reveal the islanders’ mixed sentiments toward settlers, as Mr. Fuji noted in his car. Thus, I directly asked him whether a lack of a long-term friendship between him and the couple played any role in having a lack of bonds, to which Sōta replied as in (8).

- (8) 01 Sōta: *iya sore yuttara Qu to boku nanka nanju: nen mo dayo*
 ‘If you say so, Qu and I have known each other for decades.’
- 02 MT: *a:::*
 ‘I see.’
- 03 Sōta: *aitsu mo okashii sa itsumo a: fura: tto kite sa*
 ‘He is also weird. (He) always comes like that from nowhere,’
- 04 *tsugi wa sake motte ku sa: tte yo*
 ‘(He would) say, “Next time, I’ll bring sake,”’
- 05 M *hai @@*
 ‘Yes.’
- 06 Sōta: *dakara minna so: yo, sono toki kagiri yo*
 ‘So everyone’s like that. We are all just of the moment.’

In saying that he has known Qu for many decades in line 1, Sōta meant that the length of time that they have known each other does not promise any firm bonds between them. In lines 3 and 4, he pointed out Qu’s faults and confirmed what I heard from Mr. Fuji about their shaky relationship. Sōta summarized his point in line 6, through which he answered my initial question about the correlation between the length of friendship and the presence of bonds. According to Sōta, the lack of bonds he felt at the gathering was not necessarily due to a lack of familiarity

between some of the participants. Even when participants know each other well enough, like Sōta and Qu, bonds may still be unstable. These series of comments provided by Sōta in the interview illustrate stark differences from the excitement and the bonds that seemed to have been cultivated at the time of the gathering. Even if the participants appeared bonded to a third party, these bonds may be just ‘of the moment,’ as Sōta said in line 6. At the same time, we cannot say with certainty that there was absolutely no bond there. Thus, the ways in which the participants interacted with each other do not necessarily provide accurate and sufficient grounds for judging their perceptions about bonds.

We have seen examples in which sharing joyful moments and making bonds in the here-and-now of the interaction do not mean that people are bonded at a deeper level. The connections that the participants seemed to have at the time of their gathering does not guarantee any deeper or serious bonds between them, since they could either momentarily bond or pretend to be bonded for the sake of smooth communication. What my examples showed is perhaps not a phenomenon unique to these participants and those who live on Ishigaki Island. Rather, it should be observable in any interaction in any region. Therefore, I would like to consider the implication of their interaction and comments on bonding from the perspective of doing linguistic analysis and ethnography.

5. Implication of this study

In this chapter, I first looked at cases in which the participants’ speech included numerous instances of repetition and parallelism. The participants shared joyful moments together and appeared to be creating bonds in the here-and-now of the interaction. Although not all participants partook in the practice, drinking alcohol may have helped them in having a good time and establishing bonds. I then analyzed the reflections made later by the participants. Based on the pieces of information they made explicit, I discovered that many signs (including linguistic parallelism) that seemingly indicate bonding do not necessarily guarantee any deeper bonds or trust between the participants. This is because they either felt only momentarily bonded, or they pretended to be bonded at the time of the gathering. As their later comments illustrated, there were some elements of discordance between the participants that could not be easily observed at the surface level of their interaction. In other words, we cannot establish whether or not people bond with each other by relying solely on a synchronic analysis of linguistic tokens. If the interaction in-situ cannot necessarily provide us with accurate information on the ways in which participants perceive each other, to what extent can linguistic analysis, especially a synchronic analysis of language use, tell us about their bonding and un-bonding?

Since it is not empirically possible to research the presence of “true” bonds, one solution to overcome this difficulty would be to incorporate insights gained from long-term, careful ethnographic research into thick descriptions of participants and their positions in their community. Doing ethnography over an extended period can give us a certain amount of access to people’s lives, values, and social relations. This further enables us to see how each person builds relations with others and whether a certain relationship between certain people is profound or rather superficial. When considering the ethnographic contexts in which their interactional exchanges are embedded, both bonding and discordance (un-bonding) appear as multilayered and deep-rooted. In order to disentangle the layered discordance, it would be useful to combine both synchronic and longitudinal data and analysis. Although this did not appear to be the case for Sōta and Qu, accumulating experiences of bonding from the here-and-now of interaction can help reduce discordance on everyday levels. If an accumulated experience of momentary bonding leads people to establishing more affinities, thus stronger bonds, the experience of un-bonding sometimes also posits an inevitable positive process in the development of bonded relations. Therefore, in considering bonding and analyzing how people bond with each other, we should not overlook aspects of un-bonding, nor should we disregard the ways in which bonding and un-bonding have developed over time.

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Social consequences of common ground in the act of bonding

A sociocognitive analysis of intercultural encounters

Masataka Yamaguchi

Kobe City University of Foreign Studies

This chapter is concerned with the act of “bonding” in intercultural encounters. Drawing on a sociocognitive theory of context, I analyze interactions taken from my fieldwork in the United States and research interviews in New Zealand. Against the dominant trend of antimentalism in linguistic anthropology, I focus on common ground (CG) as a cognitive context in interaction. Analytically, I attend to face strategies and relationship implicative actions. My point is argue that the notion of CG needs to be refined and extended by taking into account ideological components. For further empirical studies, I suggest that we should specify what kinds of ideologies are integrated into components of common ground and explore how we can create bonding between participants with conflicting ideologies across national boundaries. Implications for linguistic anthropology are also discussed from an evolutionary perspective.

Keywords: common ground, context, face strategies, relationship implicative action, intercultural encounter, ideology, Japanese nationality

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I am concerned with the ways in which interlocutors “bond” or (re)create solidarity in intercultural encounters in the analysis of situated interactions taken from my fieldwork in the United States and New Zealand. In the process of solidarity making, one of the critical factors is to find and/or create mutual knowledge and shared perspectives in interaction. If interlocutors increment “common ground” (Clark 1996a, 1996b, 2006) or mutually shared knowledge in and through interaction, they can build and solidify their social relationships. As Enfield notes: “The more common ground we share, the less constrained

we are in communication” (2006: 401; also see Hanks (1990); Sapir (1949)).¹ In what follows, we will see how interlocutors simultaneously need to satisfy both the “informational imperative” at the referential level and the “affiliational imperative” that fulfills the phatic function on the relational plane (Enfield 2006: 399–400) in the act of bonding.

By analyzing data taken from intercultural encounters, I will show that there are more multi-layered factors involved in the presumption and/or creation of common ground than previously assumed. From a sociocognitive perspective, my point is argue that the notion of “common ground” needs to be refined and extended because there are interactions in which a simplistic distinction between “knowledge” and “ideology” (van Dijk 2010: 384) does not hold. By reconsidering the “social consequences of common ground” (Enfield 2006, 2008), I suggest that we should specify what kinds of ideologies should be integrated into components of common ground, and investigate how we can create bonding between participants with conflicting ideologies in intercultural encounters across national boundaries. As we will see, the social consequences may be “unbonding” or the emergence of non-solidary relationships among the interlocutors.

As a preliminary conceptualization, “bonding” is defined as a discursive act, which is enacted with “positive face” (Brown and Levinson 1987) or “involvement” strategies (Scollon, Scollon, and Jones 2012) in a way that (re)creates solidarity or affiliation among interlocutors. In Section 2, I state my research questions and background theoretical concerns, which are followed by the conceptual framework in which I elaborate on the notions of “common ground”, “face strategies”, and “relationship implicative actions” (Section 3). Then I describe background to the field sites (Section 4) and present and analyze data taken from my fieldwork (Yamaguchi 2009, 2012) (Section 5). Implications are discussed from an evolutionary perspective. Specifically, it is argued that a better understanding of the phenomenon of “bonding” will contribute to theorizing the notion of “context” in linguistic anthropology (Duranti and Goodwin 1992), pragmatics (Culpeper and Haugh 2014), and discourse studies (van Dijk 2010), and will further provide specific evidence, at the interactional level, for human prosocial “instincts” (Enfield and Levinson 2006), with implications for the evolution of human behav-

1. The principle of relative symmetry that Hanks (1990: 48) proposes is restricted to the “deictic field” in which “the more symmetric the indexical ground (the more interactants already share at the time of utterance), the more deictic oppositions are available for making reference (the greater the range of choice among distinct deictics)”. More broadly, Sapir (1949: 106) conceptualizes both informational and affiliational imperatives in a close-knit social network: “Generally speaking, the smaller the circle and the more complex the understandings already arrived at within it, the more economical can the act of communication afford to become”.

ior (Richerson and Boyd 2005; Boyd and Richerson 2006; Dunbar 1996; Dunbar et al. 2005; Levinson 2006, 2015; Levinson and Jaisson 2006) (Section 6).

2. Research questions and background theoretical concerns

In order to usefully conceptualize the phenomenon of “bonding” and consider the social consequences, I address the following three research questions:

1. How can we discern the phenomenon of “bonding” in interaction?
2. How do participants actually engage in the act of bonding, and what are the social consequences?
3. What are implications of the analysis of situated interactions in which we find “bonding” and “unbonding” for theorizing the notion of “context”?

To answer these questions, I focus on the ways in which interactants presuppose, (re)create, and increment “common ground” (Clark 1996a, 1996b) in the act of bonding. As will be shown, my conceptual framework is built upon a sociocognitive theory of context (van Dijk 2008, 2009, 2010). Thus, my analysis will also have implications for theorizing the notion of “context”, which has been underexplored in linguistic anthropology (see Goodwin and Duranti 1992). In particular, against the dominant trend of “antimentalism” (van Dijk 2009: 186–201), my contention is we need to theorize cognitive dimensions in interaction (cf. Levinson 2003, 2006) because the nature of “context” is inherently subjective and psychological. Among crucial dimensions of “context” are the participants’ interpretations and definitions of the relevant properties of the social situation, which are fundamentally a mental phenomenon (van Dijk 2008). In what follows, I examine the processes of presuming or incrementing common ground in the acts of bonding.

3. Conceptual framework

In this chapter, I eclectically combine several theories and concepts that illuminate the discursive act of bonding from an interdisciplinary perspective in my attempt to make a theoretical synthesis. As the foundational framework, I draw on the “sociocognitive theory of context” (van Dijk 2008, 2009, 2010), in which I focus on the process of “grounding” (Clark 1996a, 1996b). A brief note is made here that the term “context” is used in a technical sense in the sociocognitive theory, in which “context” refers to a mental model for situated interaction, designated as “context model”, and does not denote linguistic context (or “co-text”) nor external environments (or “situations”). However, it should be stressed that the theory is

sociocognitive and thus takes into account social situations, which are constrained by cultural contexts or “macro-social structures” (see van Dijk 2009: 154–210).

In what follows, I sketch the sociocognitive theory for the purposes of this chapter (van Dijk 2008, 2009). Although a detailed review of his theory requires more space, the sociocognitive theory can be characterized from three perspectives: (1) the conceptualization of “contexts” as mental models; (2) the recognition of the (inter)subjective and psychological nature of context; (3) the assumption of interlocutors’ ability to “mind read” each other.

3.1 An overview of the sociocognitive theory

The first characteristic of the sociocognitive theory is: (1) “Contexts” are conceptualized as “mental models” for situated interaction in which “cognition” mediates between discourse production and reception, on the one hand, and social situations and macro-social structures, on the other. In simpler terms, think of the triangle of “discourse”, “cognition”, and “society” in which “cognition” mediates between “discourse” and “society” (van Dijk 2009). Admittedly, it is not possible to “prove” the existence of cognition in my analysis. However, it eminently makes sense to posit cognition as the “missing link” that crucially plays a mediating role in analyzing discourse in social interaction. If we reflect for a moment, we see that we do not use language that directly mirrors a particular social situation nor do we speak in a way that is determined by macro-social categories such as class, gender, age, ethnicity, etc. (van Dijk 2009: 4–5). As in variationist sociolinguistics, when we state that our way of speaking is correlated with independent variables (such as class, gender, age, ethnicity, etc.), we make a misleading shortcut by ignoring the participants’ subjective interpretations and definitions of social situations, which are cognitive processes (2009: 17–19). In sum, we as participants in a communicative event (attempt to) use language in a way that is considered to be “appropriate” in the social situation.

By conceptualizing “contexts” as mental models, we see that: (2) Contexts are inherently subjective and psychological. Take the Japanese normative rule of *wakimae*, which can be translated into “contextual discernment”, as an example (Ide 2006; Hanks 2005: 217). It is a culturally valued norm or ideal, by which the speaker shows respect not only to the addressee(s) and the audience in using proper linguistic forms (typically honorifics) and with restrained demeanors, but also to the social situation, and its formality in particular, which may lead to total silence in some cases. We realize that at the production level, the speaker’s decision to behave with *wakimae* is subjective, although she may not be fully conscious of her decision. On the reception side, the addressee and the audience evaluate her degree of *wakimae* as appropriate or inappropriate in the social situation, which

is influenced by the “macro-social structures” or cultural norms in Japanese society. Thus, we understand that “contexts” are subjective and psychological in the pragmatics of *wakimae*, and the (inter)subjective nature of context is applicable to other kinds of social behavior.

Third, it is assumed that: (3) Interlocutors have the ability to “mind read” each other to make interaction coherent (also see Astington 2006; Dunbar et al. 2005; Levinson 2006). More accurately, they need to “model Others’ minds” (van Dijk 2008: 95), at least partly, in order to conduct coherent discursive interaction. In other words, participants mentally model themselves and their interlocutors’ understanding, as well as the relevant properties of the speech situation (van Dijk 2008: 92–98). This assumption is perfectly compatible with the “interaction engine hypothesis” (Levinson 2006), by which the following properties, among others, are listed: “the interpretation of others’ behavior is a precondition for interaction” and “a simulation of the other’s simulation of oneself is also involved” (2006: 45). In psychological terms, context models are stored in the “episodic memory” as a special kind of experience models in the long-term memory (van Dijk 2008: 56–110), which are different from “cultural models” as shared beliefs and knowledge in a group of people (Strauss and Quinn 1997; Yamaguchi 2009). In short, dynamic and ad hoc “context models” are an interactionally-situated notion while “cultural models” refer to a culturally-shared abstract schema.

At this point, it should be emphasized that context models are “pragmatic” models constructed for analyzing a communicative event in a social situation. Although some linguists and philosophers would not agree with van Dijk’s demarcation of “semantics” from “pragmatics”, the former of which includes deictics and reference (cf. Levinson 1983: Chapter 1) in his sociocognitive theory, I adopt his definition of “pragmatics” as the study of language use that deals with “appropriateness conditions” (van Dijk 2009: 13–16; cf. Searle 1969) in this chapter.

Within this sociocognitive framework, three concepts and perspectives are defined and explicated: “common ground” (CG) (Clark 1996a, 1996b; Enfield 2006, 2008); “face strategies” (Brown and Levinson 1987; Scollon, Scollon, and Jones 2012); and “relationship implicative actions” that derive from “relationship categories” (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005), which presuppose the participants’ interpretations and definitions of the social situation and states of knowledge in interaction. These notions are framed in the context models.

3.2 Common ground (CG)

One of the most widely studied contextual features in the psychology of language is “common ground” (CG), although it needs further refinements in my view. CG is generally defined as (often implicit) shared background knowledge (Clark

1996a, 1996b), which amplifies pragmatic inference in interaction (Enfield 2006, 2008). More precisely, CG is “the sum of ... joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions” (Clark 1996b: 93), which is presupposed and/or created by interlocutors. From this perspective, Clark divides CG into two kinds (1996b: 92–121): “communal common ground” or “all the knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions that [interlocutors] take to be universally held in the [cultural] communities to which they mutually believe they both belong” (1996a: 332). On the other hand, we can create CG on an ad hoc basis, which is called “personal common ground” in joint conversational and perceptual experiences (1996b: 112). This dichotomous distinction will be refined and extended by adding “ideological” components to it later in this chapter.

By “ideologies”, I refer to “forms of socially shared and distributed social cognition at the level of *groups*” (van Dijk 2010: 384), such as sexist ideology, racist ideology, or nationalist ideology. In contrast, by the concept of “knowledge” van Dijk denotes a form of cognition “shared by a whole *community*” and “presupposed in all public discourse of the *community*” (2010: 384). Thus “knowledge” is a form of “common ground” (CG) (or “communal common ground”) in his conceptualization. However, as we will see in the discourse of “whaling”, “knowledge” in a given community may be seen as “ideologies” in another community. In other words, “ideologies” shared by a particular social *group* and “knowledge” shared by a whole *community* are not clearly delineated in the analysis of intercultural encounters.

The notion of CG has been applied to empirical case studies in linguistic anthropology. For example, in his fieldwork in rural Laos, Enfield (2006, 2008) observes that communicative practices have consequences for the “management of social affiliation” (2006: 399) as a kind of phatic communion. In conceptual terms, CG contributes to the “amplicative properties of pragmatic inference” (2006: 401), by which he means that we infer much more information than is linguistically coded in interaction (cf. Levinson 2000). He further speculates on the cultural aspects of common ground: “At a cultural level, common ground may be indexed by signs of ethnic identity, and the common cultural background such signs may entail” (2006: 401). It is noted that the construction or presumption of common ground involves both psychological processing at the individual level and intersubjective understanding between interlocutors in the framework of context models (van Dijk 2008, 2009; also see Enfield 2006: 408).

3.3 Two face strategies: Involvement and independence

As the notion of “bonding” can be seen as a discursive act enacted with “positive face” or “involvement” strategies in a way that creates solidarity among

interlocutors, a brief review of politeness theory is in order here. Using an Interactional Sociolinguistic (IS) approach to discourse and communication, Scollon, Scollon, and Jones (2012) propose the notions of “involvement” and “independence” as a development of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) “positive face” and “negative face”, respectively. Scollon et al. start with the concept of “face”, which is used to understand “the interpersonal identity of the individual” (2012: 46), as “the negotiated public image, mutually granted each other by participants in a communicative event” (2012: 47). It is assumed that human beings have the paradoxical need for both involvement or “we are similar and understand each other” and for independence or “we do not impose anything on each other” (2012: 48). By drawing on the notion of face, an act of bonding is seen as an attempt to fulfil the need for “involvement” or “positive face” in interaction.

In particular, specific four interactional practices are relevant in the data below: (1) “Claim in-group membership” with the hearer; (2) “Claim common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, empathy”; (3) “Be voluble”; (4) “Use [hearer’s] language or dialect” (Scollon et al. 2012: 51).

At this point, it should be made clear that the concept of “strategy” in this chapter does not entail “rational and calculated moves” by separate individuals (see Ide and Hata’s introduction in this volume). Rather I use the notion of “strategy” by following the tradition of Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) (Gumperz 1982), in which “discourse strategies” refer to culturally normative communicative conventions (such as patterned use of prosody and syntax), by which “contextualization cues” (e.g. placing the stress and high pitch on the first syllable of a word “please” in saying “Exact change, please”) may be interpreted differently from one cultural group to another. Such inferential processes are largely “subconscious” and “unverbalized” (1982: 152), thus not “calculated moves”.

3.4 Relationship implicative actions

Although conversation analysts do not theorize the cognitive aspects of interaction in explicit terms, they highlight “social actions” with which I am also concerned in exploring the act of bonding. As Enfield (2006: 414) notes, there are particular kinds of social action that are “appropriate for incumbents of the relationship category” such as close friends, parents and children, or other intimate types of “complementary” membership categories (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005: 149). And he further asks whether there are socio-relational implications that such conversational actions as: (1) “inquiring about tracked events and providing more details on one’s own activities” (2005: 163); (2) “making oblique references to shared experiences” (2005: 164); (3) “using improprieties”, which an interlocutor takes up “by using additional improprieties and/or laughter” (2005: 165; cf. Haugh

2016). These social actions presuppose common ground with the interlocutor as “relationship implicative actions,” which can be used for “bonding” as an attempt to (re)create solidarity or affiliation with “involvement strategies” (Scollon et al. 2012). In what follows, relationship implicative actions are used to investigate how participants actually coordinate and engage in the act of bonding.

To sum up, from a sociocognitive perspective, I use involvement strategies as a heuristic to discerning the phenomenon of bonding by focusing on the relationship implicative actions that presuppose common ground among interlocutors. In doing so, I attempt to refine and extend the notion of common ground for further empirical research.

4. Background to data

The first set of data is taken from my fieldwork in the United States between 2002 and 2004 in which I collected spontaneous interactions from Japanese language learners in a Japanese language program at a higher institution of learning in the Southeast (Yamaguchi 2009). In the fieldwork, I recruited four Anglo-American participants (Ace, Dan, Jane and Harry) and helped them to do their homework as a tutor before the Japanese classes that they were enrolled for two semesters in order to create trust and solidarity with them. In Data (1a), I focus on the social action in which Ace refers to an outdated Japanese slur for American soldiers during World War II that he found on the internet site that sells “wacky Japanese T-shirts” on April 7 in 2003. Note that the participants and I also talk about the 2003 Invasion of Iraq (or the Iraq War) by the US military forces in this period. In Data (1b), Ace and Dan are inquiring about “tracked events” in Iraq, as will be shown.

The second set of data derives from the larger project of “The Language of Whaling” in New Zealand. In this project, I conducted research interviews with six Japanese-heritage youth between 19 and 21 years old, who were selected as “heritage learners of Japanese”. In this chapter, I present part of an interview with one participant, Peter, who can be represented as a “racially-mixed” Japanese person with the dual nationalities of Japanese and New Zealander (see Yamaguchi 2012 for detail). In Data (2), I present the part in which he expresses his views on “whaling” or killing whales for scientific research conducted by the Institute of Cetacean Research (ICR), which is “a nonprofit research organization whose legal status is authorized by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Government of Japan” (ICR, n. d.). As background knowledge to the interaction between Peter and the researcher (this author), we shared the assumption that the activities of ICR had been highly questioned, severely criticized, and publicly denounced in New Zealand and other Anglo-American countries.

In the next section, I analyze data in which I identify the use of face strategies by the participants, whose actions constitute “relationship implicative” ones. Based on the analysis, I reconsider the social consequences of common ground from a sociocognitive perspective.

5. Data analysis

5.1 (Un)bonding in the discourse of war

The interaction below is taken from a conversation between two Anglo-American college students (Dan and Ace) and this author (Masa) in a Japanese language lab in which we used to do homework together for the Japanese class. In this segment, Ace digresses from the task of memorizing the Japanese word for “tourist” (*kankokyaku*) and talks about his plan to go to Japan in the summer of 2003.

Data 1a

1. Ace: I want to be-, I want to, this summer, *kankokyaku ni nari*[tai
((“I want to be a tourist”))
2. Masa: [Ha ha,
3. *Kankokyaku ni naritai* (.)
((“You want to be a tourist”))
4. *Nihonde?*
((“in Japan?”))
5. Dan: Yeah=
6. Ace: =In Japan. I wanna be loud, and obnoxious, I’ll wear American patches
7. on my clothes=
8. Masa: =Ha ha ha ha
9. Dan: American patches? Ha ha, have a little flag you have hanging off your
10. backpack?
11. [((unintelligible utterances))
12. Ace: [What is it, something *kichiku beihei*=
13. Masa: =*Kichiku beihei Kichiku beihei* T-shirt Ha ha ha. That’s funny

First, the phenomenon of “bonding” in interaction is identified. This interaction in Data (1a) is characterized by “volubility” and the use of two languages (Japanese and English), both of which constitute “involvement strategies” (Scollon et al. 2012: 51). More important is the fact that they claim “common opinions and attitudes” toward Americans. Ace and Dan share the negative stereotypes of Americans in lines 6, 7, 9, and 10 in co-constructing a story in this banter talk. Ace’s use of the outdated World War II slur, *kichikubeihei* (“dirty-devil-American-soldier(s)”), is taken up by Masa with laughter in line 13. All the participants use involvement strategies by reciprocating “improprieties” while engaging in the banter.

Secondly, we analyze the data from the perspective of “relationship implicative actions” (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005). In line 6, Ace uses “self-deprecation” by invoking negative stereotypes of Americans, which are taken up by Dan with laughter in lines 9 and 10 (Haugh 2016). In line 12, Ace reframes the stereotypes by referring to the Japanese slur, and Masa repeats it with laughter and makes the evaluative comment “That’s funny” in line 13. These actions would not occur unless the participants’ relationship were not close to each other, and thus the social actions are seen as “relationship implicative”.

Finally, the salient components of common ground in Data (1a) are “ideological” or only “shared by the members of a specific group” (van Dijk 2010: 384). The first set of members are the two American learners of Japanese. In this interaction, Ace displays his knowledge of the slur by uttering it in line 12. Later Dan also repeats it in the interaction (see Yamaguchi 2009). The “ideological” common ground shared by the three is that the negative stereotypes of American soldiers during World War II are not seriously taken at present. The ideological members of the two American learners and the Japanese tutor were created on an ad hoc basis. In contrast, the stereotypes of “loud and obnoxious” Americans are in the common ground between Ace and Dan, which may be widely shared as “communal” common ground in the cultural communities in the United States. In sum, the significant components of common ground in the data are “ideological”, in addition to “communal” and “personal” (Clark 1996a, 1996b), because all Americans as community members would not “universally” share the same opinions and attitudes as Ace and Dan do.

Data 1b

1. Ace: All of us are that way with something right?=
 2. Dan: =Yeah, in a hundred and fifty years Iraq will be like everybody=
 3. Ace: =This weekend, they captured one of the palaces=
 4. Masa: = [Huh?
 5. Dan: =[Oh really.=
 6. Ace: =They captured one of Saddam Hussein’s palaces=
 7. Masa: = [Uh-huh
 8. Ace: = [And the troops went in there to use the bathroom and like, took all
 9. his like, they took all his like stuff, took his fancy decorations and
 10. some of the troops took like souvenirs. They were like, there’s this
 11. statue like in uh-, in Baghdad of like Saddam Hussein like on a horse or
 12. something like that waving and they blew it up=
 13. Dan: =They blew it up ((hahaha))

The interaction in Data (1b) occurs immediately after Data (1a) in which they talk about World War II. In this interaction, Dan first refers to “Iraq” (line 2) (see Yamaguchi 2009 for detail). The face strategies adopted by Ace and Dan are

“involvement” strategies with which they “claim a common point of view and attitudes” toward the Iraq War in monolingual English with “volubility” (Scollon et al. 2012). Although Masa is not excluded, he is relatively “taciturn” and participates minimally in lines 4 and 7 with “independence” strategies. Thus, we see “bonding” between Ace and Dan while Masa is not “bonded”. As for social action, we find a “relationship implicative action” between Ace and Dan: Ace initiates “tracked events” in the current invasion of Iraq in line 3 by providing further details (line 6, and lines 8–12). Dan immediately understands his utterance in line 5 (“Oh. really”) and reacts to the story by repeating “they blew it up” with laughter in line 13.

In Data (1b), significant components of common ground are “ideological”. It is clear that Ace and Dan follow the invasion as “tracked events”, and the oblique reference by the pronoun “they” is immediately inferred by Dan as “American troops in Iraq” in line 5 while Masa shows his non-understanding (line 4). After Ace paraphrases “one of the palaces” with “one of Saddam Hussein’s palaces” in line 6, and “they” with “the troops” in line 8, he updates the current events in Iraq in lines 8–12 in which Masa is silent. In general, we see a state of “undonding” between American ideological members of a group (Ace and Dan) who support the invasion of Iraq and a Japanese ideological member of a pacifist group (Masa) who does not share the sentiment. Based on the analysis of Data (1b), we see an example of “unbonding” due to the incompatible ideological commitments between the two group members, which is arguably more socially consequential than the failed management of referential information between Ace and Masa in lines 3 and 4.

5.2 Bonding in narrating about “whaling”

Data 2

1. Peter: but I think, you know, then
2. At the end of the day it’s pretty unfair on the whales(hh)
3. cause (.) like you know in (.) you know *Edojidai* and *Meijii* period
4. when they killed the whales they used everything from it oil, bone, meat
5. but now it’s like they kill it they probably use the meat and sell it
6. but everything else is to waste so (.) you know.
7. I’ve seen a whaling ship in *Kanazawa* yeah (.)
8. And I was like “woah”.
9. Yeah and I’ve tried whale myself
10. Masa: Oh you have tried it
11. Peter: Yeah
12. Masa: How-what do you think?
13. Peter: Ah it’s pretty good yeah but
14. Masa: ((hahaha))
15. Peter: You know it’s tasty but u:m yeah I felt pretty guilty eating it like
16. something to try I guess. It’s very expensive though.
17. Masa: Right

18. Peter: Very expensive. I think it's unnecessary as a resource it's unnecessary
 19. cos majority of Japanese people are fine with eating beef
 20. Masa: Right

Although Peter and this author (Masa) had a student-teacher relationship, which may imply the use of independence strategies, the strategies adopted by them are those of “involvement”. Peter started the interview in monolingual Japanese, and both of them are voluble as bilingual speakers of English and Japanese (see Yamaguchi 2012). The most interesting aspect of Peter's involvement strategies is his claiming “in-group membership” as Japanese and “a common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, empathy” (Scollon et al. 2012) with the Japanese interviewer in his attempt to “bond” while at the same time expressing his negative opinion about whaling as a New Zealander (lines 2–6 and 18–19).

From the perspective of social action, Peter makes “oblique references to shared experiences” (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005: 164) in line 3 in which he assumes the Japanese historical periods of *Edojidai* or *Edo* period (between 1603 and 1868) and *Meiji* (between 1868 and 1912) with the interviewer. In line 7, he also makes an oblique reference to a Japanese place name “Kanazawa”, which is a port city in the central-north part of Japan facing the Sea of Japan across China in which he claims that he saw “a whaling ship”. Furthermore, in line 9, Peter shares the experience of consuming whale meat, which he positively evaluates (line 13) and the interviewer reacts with laughter (line 14). These actions are “relationship implicative” as two relatively close Japanese nationalities in New Zealand share a large amount of communal common ground, including knowledge about the history and the geography of Japan and the cultural practice of eating whale meat.

The most significant components of common ground in Data (2) are: the practice of whaling is seen as “universally evil” as “communal” common ground in New Zealand while it is considered to be “ideological” in Japan in which some Japanese still eat whale meat on a regular basis. Thus, the common ground for whaling is “ideological” as no consensus exists in the population of Japanese society. The tension between “communal” and “ideological” common ground is diplomatically handled by Peter in the data. Masa, who is agnostic about whaling, also agrees with Peter in line 20. In sum, Peter and Masa are “bonded” in the interaction, although Peter's negative view of whaling could have been a source of “unbonding”, if his interlocutor had strongly promoted whaling by showing conflicting ideological commitments.

6. Discussion and implications

By briefly reviewing the three research questions I posed in Section 2, I start the discussion of the analysis. To the first question of how we can discern the phenomenon of “bonding” in interaction, I identified face strategies in the interactions in which involvement strategies were put to use. At the same time, independence strategies were also employed in Data (1b) in which the Japanese researcher was not in common ground with the two American participants who tracked events in the Iraq War. To the second question of how participants actually engage in the act of bonding, I have drawn on the notion of “relationship implicative action”, in which common ground between interlocutors is presupposed. One of the social consequences of not sharing ideological common ground was “unbonding” as we saw in Data (1b). Finally, I draw out some of the implications of the analysis for refining the notion of “common ground” in the sociocognitive theory (van Dijk 2008, 2009) and provide implications for the notion of “context” and beyond.

Admittedly, I did not intend to cover all kinds of bonding that exist in interaction nor did I attempt to make any generalizing claims on the “national characters” of Japanese, Americans, and New Zealanders. However, by making in-depth analyses of the interactional data, we have made a better understanding of the phenomenon of “bonding” that contributes to theorizing the notion of “context” from a sociocognitive perspective. In particular, my contention has been the cognitive aspects of context need to be theorized more adequately in linguistic anthropology, conversation analysis, and related fields, if we are to conceptualize the notion of “context” holistically or to seriously take the “total linguistic fact” (Silverstein 1995: 513). More specifically, I have focused on the notion of CG as a cognitive context, which needs to be refined and extended by considering divergent ideologies. Communal CG has been defined as the sum of shared knowledge and beliefs that are universally held in cultural communities (Clark 1996a, 1996b). However, when we analyze situated interactions in intercultural encounters, this conceptualization of CG becomes inadequate in some cases, and ideological dimensions need to be recognized and added to the components of CG. As we have seen in the analysis of Data (1b), if interlocutors do not share particular ideological components of common ground, an interactional alignment is not created, and bonding not achieved.

In general terms, signs of shared nationality are seen as indexes of “permanent” or relatively fixed group belongings, which often lead to the discursive construction of “Others” or the construction of “us” versus “them” in and through discourse (Scollon et al. 2012: 276). By recognizing the salience of national identity in intercultural encounters, it is argued that those components of common ground deriving from national identity are ideologically more significant and emotionally

loaded than other components, although there are various “ideological” groups among the members of a nation-state, as we saw in this chapter. In other words, it may be that there are degrees of ideological significance among the components of common ground (cf. Pickering and Garrod 2004).

Also noted is the fact that the social consequences of common ground in the act of bonding can be “unbonding” if incompatible ideological commitments are made by interlocutors. Regrettably, I have not been able to give any satisfactory answer to the issue of how to create bonding in interaction among ideologically conflicting group members. However, perhaps, a first step may be that we become aware of the fact that the knowledge, suppositions, and beliefs that we take for granted (about war or whaling) are not absolute but culturally relative in intercultural encounters across national boundaries.

Given the findings, I suggest that we should specify what kinds of ideological beliefs should be integrated into components of common ground, and explore how we can create bonding between interlocutors with conflicting ideologies in intercultural encounters across national boundaries. These questions can be usefully pursued in empirical research on the topics that relate to “common ground and bonding” in the future, which should contribute to the linguistic anthropological theorization of “context” that takes into account both “phatic communion” and “cognition” squarely.

In closing this chapter, a brief note is made on the future directions that linguistic anthropology can take, as one of the aims of this chapter is to argue against the dominant trend of antimentalism from a sociocognitive perspective and to provide implications for a more synthetic theoretical framework. By theorizing the cognitive aspects of social interaction, I hope to have shown that we better understand “context” as a cognitive interface between discourse and society. Furthermore, the focus on bonding from a cognitive perspective may provide implications for human prosocial “instincts” (Enfield 2006; Levinson 2006) in the evolutionary theory of human behavior (Richerson and Boyd 2005; Boyd and Richerson 2006; Dunbar 1996; Levinson 2015, 2018; Levinson and Jaisson 2006).

In an evolutionary theory of “cultural processes”, the notion of “culture” is defined as “information capable of affecting individuals’ behavior that they acquire from other members of their species through teaching, imitation, and other forms of social transmission” (Richerson and Boyd 2005: 5). By “information”, Richerson and Boyd refer to any kind of culturally acquired “mental state” through social transmission (2005: 5). Seen this cognitive way, behavioral patterns (such as discursive and other semiotic acts) are external cues to the internal states of minds that exist in the brains, and the act of bonding as external cues can be rigorously studied from a neuroscientific perspective.

For example, evolutionary psychologist Robin Dunbar (1996), with his “social brain hypothesis”, suggests that the major function of the large size of the human brain (80% of which is neocortex) is to solve socially complex problems, such as breaking or creating alliances (“bonding” or “unbonding”), and proposes the “gossip hypothesis” as the origin of human speech.² According to his hypothesis, monkeys and apes use grooming to bond social groups. Instead of grooming, human beings “gossip” in order to bond even larger social groups consisting of *circa* 150 persons.

As we saw in Data (1b), the social action that Ace and Dan made is seen as “gossiping” or inquiring about the American troops in Iraq, which created social bonding not just with each other but also with other “Americans” whom they have never met before and will never meet in their lifetime. Media discourse on war can provide sources for social bonding among particular ideological groups in the post-industrial society, and Ace and Dan utilized the media discourse on the war in Iraq in the process. The fact that we “gossip” about our members that far exceed 150 with media discourse could be significant at the phylogenetic level in the evolution of human behavior, and we can further explore the communicative practices in and through SNS (social networking sites) and other computer-mediated communication from an evolutionary-theoretical perspective in the future.

Although there are some discourse analysts who appeal to the strawman argument of “a socially isolated individual mind” in dismissing the concept of cognition in interaction (van Dijk 2009), linguistic anthropologists who are seriously committed to the four-field approach to anthropology (i.e., archaeology, biological anthropology, sociocultural anthropology, and linguistic anthropology) should have no difficulty seeing the enormous advantages of adopting an evolutionary approach.

At the same time, evolutionary theorists who are concerned with theorizing “cultural processes” such as imitation, teaching, and other kinds of social transmission of information (Dunbar 1996; Richerson and Boyd 2005; cf. Levinson and Jaisson 2006) will benefit from the work of linguistic anthropologists who usefully reveal the situated processes of various forms of social transmission by using highly contextualized data taken from their fieldwork. In sum, I have argued that the

2. By proposing a hypothesis of the “gestural origins” of human language, which places the priority on spatial cognition located in the hippocampus of the brain, rather than the neocortex, Stephen C. Levinson (2018) makes a point on “collective empathy” between an individual and the group(s) to which s/he belongs. He asks, for example, why can the former President Barack Obama “openly weep when speaking about the [gun violence] victims of a school massacre whom he has never met” (2018: 19)? He speculates that the maternal empathy for her children “has become generalized across the genders and ages in human society” (2018: 19), on which we can further work from an evolutionary perspective.

implications of taking a cognitive perspective in linguistic anthropology will not just enrich the theorization of the notion of “context” but can lead to contributing to the evolutionary theory of human behavior, which should re-connect or “bond” the intellectually divided four fields of North American anthropology.

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Appendix. Transcription conventions

-	abrupt breaks or stops (if several, stammering)
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
—	(underline) stress
(1.0)	silences timed to the nearest second
[simultaneous talk by two speakers, with one utterance represented on top of the other and the moment of overlap marked by left brackets
=	interruption or next utterance following immediately, or continuous talk represented on separate lines because of need to represent overlapping comment on intervening line
((...))	transcriber's comment/ translation from Japanese ("...")
:	elongated vowel
,	pause or breath without marked intonation
(haha)	laughter
<i>Italics</i>	Japanese language

Confronting the EU referendum as immigrants

How ‘bonding/un-bonding’ works in narratives of Japanese women living in the UK

Kaori Hata

Osaka University

This paper focuses on how immigrant Japanese women living in London categorise themselves in interviews conducted yearly from 2016 to 2019. Through analyses of participants’ personal narratives as immigrants and their relationships with their husbands’ relatives, I investigate (a) how they position themselves in the post-referendum social order; (b) how their positioning has changed over the three-year period; and (c) how their positioning is negotiated with other participants during the course of a group interview. My analysis shows how two kinds of bonding phenomena emerge during interactions. The first, *social bonding*, is a discursive, ideological practice to connect the self to social groups, whereas the second, *interactional bonding*, refers to communicative developments participants create.

Keywords: Japanese immigrants, positioning, small stories, self-reference terms, categorization

1. Introduction

On June 23, 2016, a national referendum, commonly known as Brexit, was held in the UK to decide whether to leave or to remain in the European Union (EU). ‘Leavers’ won by a narrow margin, which meant that the UK would have to leave the EU within a two-year period following the vote. The national referendum did not end there: countless analyses about the reason why the ‘Leavers’ won were broadcast on TV, radio, and the Internet, examining the results from various angles. These range from high level nationwide surveys by the BBC and national organisations like the National Health Service (NHS) to small scale private media

with unreliable analyses. In toto, these analyses tried to determine how different groups of people voted by categorising them in relation to their income, education, area of residence, occupation, ethnicity/nationality, gender, age group, and lifestyle. Given the considerable number of such analyses, the referendum was arguably an event that made everyone in British society distinctly aware of their position in society and its significance. Since the referendum was originally prompted by, among other things, dissatisfaction with the EU's policies toward accepting immigrants and refugees, Japanese immigrants who had been living in the UK had much to say in interviews about their marginalisation as immigrants after the Brexit vote.

This study is part of a larger interview project wherein I conducted interviews with 31 immigrant women in 2016, 30 in 2017, and 30 in 2018, during which they narrated stories about themselves as immigrants and their relationships with their husbands' relatives. This paper focuses on the group interview narratives of two immigrant Japanese women between 2016 and 2018. There are three objectives to this paper: to identify (a) how participants expressed their experience of various hurdles in building relationships with British society as a whole and what kind of ideologies emerged in their narratives in 2016; (b) how the narratives in 2016 had changed by the time of the 2017 and 2018 interviews, given their migration experiences in the interim; and (c) how interviews create an opportunity for participants to exhibit their identities and stances towards society building off how other participants talk about their migration experiences.

2. Theoretical background

This study employs discourse analysis approaches for narratives to investigate how identities emerge and are co-constructed. More specifically, I draw on positioning theory (Bamberg 1997; De Fina 2003; De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg 2006; Shiffrin 1990). Positioning theory includes three levels of positioning *self* (Bamberg 1997, 2004; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008). The first level is positioning in the tale-world: how the narrator as character has positioned herself/himself there. In the tale-world, in relation to the other characters, the narrator reflects her/his position and how she/he would like to be identified by the other participants in the interactional space (real world). The second level is the positioning during an interactional process, in which the narrator in the here-and-now situation performs as an interlocutor. In this level, the focus is on how the story is narrated, and why such narrative forms have been chosen in this context. Finally, the third level of positioning is the sociocultural identity – an answer to the question of 'Who am I?', in which 'I' is transportable.

In this study, for instance, a participant often uses a first-person pronoun “*watashi*” (‘I’) when she emphasises her legitimate immigration status. During this narrative, the use of “*watashi*” contrasts with the presence of others who are less socially welcome immigrants in the tale-world. The narrator in the tale-world tries to build a connection with the new social order after the referendum: *social bond*. This is true even if the narrative segmentalises the participants. On the other hand, in the next year, they co-construct narratives using ‘resonance’ (Du Bois 2007, 2014) verbally, therefore synchronising with nonverbal attitudes (see Lerner 2002; Joh 2018; Sunakawa 2018) into the second level of positioning. This highlights the process of developing participants’ connections through interaction: *interactional bond*.

An important key in analysing interview data is to focus on ‘small stories’. Small stories emerging in the course of conversation create contexts for speakers to position themselves in various ways. Small stories have been defined as follows (Bamberg 2004; Georgakopoulou 2007, 2008, 2011; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008);

‘Small stories’ is thus an umbrella term that captures a gamut of frequent and salient narrative activities in conversational contexts, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared or known events, also allusions to previous tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell.

(Georgakopoulou 2011: 396)

In the last decade, several studies have revealed the effects and functions of small stories (e.g. Barkhuizen 2010; Georgakopoulou 2008; Juswik and Ives 2010; Georgakopoulou 2015). De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) refer to their function in exemplifying previous narratives, reinforcing opinions, and explaining details as typical examples. Additionally, Hata (2017, 2018a, b) identifies their function as finalising the topic in peace aligning discordance or withdrawing previous statements without any adversative conjunction. Here, small stories are analysed to show how they construct *social* and *interactional bondings*.

3. Data

This research is part of a longitudinal study that has been ongoing since 2010 (See Hata et al. (2017) for more detail). The survey includes semi-structured interviews that were audio and video-recorded, transcribed, and analysed. All of the interviews were conducted by means of ‘Active Interviewing’ (Holstein and Gubrium 1995), and the video-recorded interactions of interviewer and interviewees were analysed.

In this paper, pulling from the interview corpus, I focus on a specific pair of interviewees, Y and K, two Japanese immigrant women living in Southeast London.¹ I interviewed them over the three-year span from 2016 to 2018. For this paper, I highlight and extract narratives on the Brexit referendum from the interviews. The basic biographical information of the interview participants is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Basic information of interview participants (as of 2016)

Participant	Occupation	Husband's nationality	Length of residence in the UK	Number of children	Visa status	Reason for coming to the UK	Area of residence
K	Working mother	EU*	16 years	1	Indefinite leave to remain	Language study	Southeast London
Y	Housewife	UK	4 years	1	Family visa	Marriage	Southeast London
J	Researcher	Japan	(6 years)**	2	–	Research (Study abroad)	Japan

*For anonymization, I do not specify the nationality.
 **The numbers and descriptions in brackets of J's columns indicate her past experiences when she lived in Southeast London.

As the research was originally about parenting and life experiences in the UK, the participants have children who are close in age and are often connected through their children. K and Y know each other well because their children go to the same school. Although they have established a good relationship through their children, their relationship has not developed further because their other social attributes are quite different. These differences include reasons for their immigration to the UK, husbands' work situations, and their marital status. For example, while Y had some degree of choice in the country they lived in, K did not. Y came to the UK only because she was married to a British citizen, whilst K came to the UK because of her passionate dream of living in the UK. These differences influence how Y and K construct their narratives in interviews. I will proceed with the analysis of their narratives, while considering these differences in attributes.

1. These data from 2016 and 2017 were previously analysed in Hata (2018b and 2018c). I have developed the discussion, with additional data from the research results in 2018, and theoretical frameworks of the previous works.

4. Analysis

In this section, I will analyse changes in the interviews over the three-year span, starting with the first interview in 2016, three months after the referendum, followed by the 2017 and 2018 interviews. A primary area of change centred around an evolution of interview perspectives in relation to their visa types. K and Y have different visa types, which is a source of differences in their perspectives. The analysis of the interviews shown by Excerpts 1 and 2 suggests an unmistakable emphasis on how the participants position themselves ‘legitimate’ immigrants and bond with the society, while simultaneously keeping some distance and differentiation between themselves in spite of their in-common Japanese-ness. However, one year later, in the 2017 interviews, both came to an agreement that they were ultimately both ‘unwelcome immigrants’ and shared that, as such, there was no difference in their perspectives which allowed them to feel more bonded and connected in their shared Japanese identity. They feel that the external force called ‘the EU’ lumps different groups of ‘immigrants’ with a variety of perspectives into a single ‘immigrant’ group, which makes interactional bonding easier for immigrants with vis-à-vis immigrants. Relatedly, the fact that their extended family in-laws were strongly represented in the Leave camp was a source of ‘immigrant’ group bonding at the expense of family bonds. Finally, after one more year, in the 2018 interviews, the participants discuss British society in greater detail, distinguishing between London and the rest of the UK, and they re-establish their bond with society by seeing their place within London’s multiculturalism with new eyes.

4.1 From the 2016 narrative: Self-categorisations

In the 2016 interviews, K and Y told each other about their experiences obtaining and maintaining visas. The following is the beginning of an exchange about visas.

Excerpt 1. September 2016: Y’s narrative, ‘The wife of a British person’

1. Y: *nanka tatoeba nihonjin* =
like, for example, a Japanese =
2. *=tatoeba igirisujin no: >ano< watashi wa*
= for example, a British person,: >uh< I’m (*watashi*),
3. *e:to tsuma nandesu kedomo::*
uh:, the wife (of a British person), and::

When Y talks about who she (‘I’, *watashi*) is, she first says ‘a Japanese person’ (line 1) and then later corrects herself, saying ‘a British person,: >uh< I’m, uh, the wife of a British person’ (lines 2–3). By rephrasing her national identity from ‘a Japanese’ to ‘the wife of a British person’, Y draws a line between herself and

35. K: *nanka(.6)chotto yappari watashitoshite wa*
like (.6) you know, I just kinda feel like
36. *>ima made sugoi taihen dattashi okane mo tsukatterushi*
>because I jumped through so many hoops and paid money to get my visa,
37. *sonnan zurui yo na<*
that's not fair, you know?<

In line 17–18, K says ‘we’ (*watashi-tachi*) but corrects herself, saying ‘I’ (*watashi*), differentiating herself from Y, who is a marriage migrant. By talking about how she (‘I’, *watashi*) had to go through a difficult procedure and spend a large sum of money to obtain a permanent visa, she makes it clear that she has earned the right to live in British society legitimately. In this ‘her visa story’, she contrasts her legitimate immigrant status with other types of immigrants, such as those who ‘got a visa through marriage or something like that’ (line 19), ‘people from the EU’, ‘it’s simple for them to come here’ (line 30), and immigrants who are *zurui* ‘not fair’ (line 37) ‘getting benefits’ (line 32). In so doing, K divides immigrants by asking if other immigrants – who in post-referendum Britain can be easily a target of nativism – have enough legitimacy to stay in Britain. Mentioning about the here-and-now situation, what K is doing in her narrative is differentiating herself from Y and J, who are right there with her, by mentioning unwelcomed immigrants who are from the EU or immigrants receiving benefits, rather than stating the agreements or alignments between her and Y. This emphasizes her positive bond with British society rather than her interactional bond with Y and J, and is arguably an act to secure her position in British society.

In the world of K’s narrative, which is in the first positioning level, K and Y have established stories incorporating different immigrant experiences. Their stories are implicitly opposed to each other because K says that she has obtained status as the most legitimate class of immigrant (among the different types of immigrants she has categorised) and secured her position in British society, while Y says in Excerpt 1 that she is simply a marriage migrant and the wife of a British person. In level two positioning, during the excerpt above, K and Y’s disagreement can be observed in how they use their paralinguistic resources. Their eye gazes never met during the interaction. As a result, in the level three positioning, the sharing of identity among participants (e.g. national identity as Japanese, foreigners living abroad, immigrants, gender identity) are backgrounded, whereas their identities as legitimate (or illegitimate) immigrants are foregrounded.

However, this has changed drastically in the 2017 interviews because they are packaged as oppressed immigrants in their narratives and co-construct their stories as victims or quasi-victims of discrimination against immigrants.

4.2 From the 2017 narrative: An ‘immigrant’ is an ‘immigrant’: Narratives as victims or quasi-victims of discrimination

Excerpts 3 through 5 below are from the 2017 interviews with Y and K recorded approximately one year after the 2016 interviews. The pairs and topic (the Brexit referendum) are the same as the 2016 interviews, but the conversation is completely different. I will analyse how their narratives changed.

4.2.1 *Talking about their relationships with their husbands’ relatives*

First, in Excerpt 3, Y talks about the fact that one of her husband’s relatives (a British citizen) voted to Leave, which she says she had known about but was still shocking for her.

Excerpt 3. Y and K’s narrative: ‘Husband’s relatives’

38. Y: *watashi wa saa hora shinseki iru janaŋi inaka no hou ni=*
For me, like... look, I’ve got relatives, ↑right? out in the country=
39. K: *=un*
=yeah
40. J: *nn*
uh-huh
41. Y: *n: te iuto(.) <yappa>sono shinseki Da- uchi no shujin no ho no*
um: so like (.) <you know>those relatives Da- on my husband’s side,
42. *shinseki de sae mo Leave no hou ni vote shita karaŋ[ne*
even they voted to Leave, you ↑[know? So
43. J: *[°a::sou nan°=*
[°oh:: really?°=

(omit 4 lines)
48. Y: *°dakara°asoko rahen wa zenbu Leave datta desho??=*
°so° everyone around there voted to Leave, right?°=
49. K: *£=jibun no(.)shinseki de(.)nfufu£*
£=my (.) relatives (.) yeah, heh £
50. J: *Leave datta?*
voted to Leave?
51. K: *un uchi-=*
yeah, I- =
52. Y: *=shokku datta yo ne [(.)shitteta ke[do ne(.)shitteta kedo.*
=it was shocking, wasn’t it [(.) I knew [about it (.) I knew, but
53. *[uchi [demo*
[I [even so,

(omit 7 lines)
61. Y: *demo yappa aratamete kangaeru to*
even then, when I think it
62. *chotto(.)chotto shokku hh tte iu ka@@@*
it’s kinda (.) shocking,

The above narrative shows K and Y sharing the same viewpoint, having accepted the inevitable ‘reality’. First, Y says ‘out in the country’ (line 38) and ‘so° everyone around there voted to Leave’ (line 48). These utterances indicate that she understood that the region the relative was living in was one where voting to Leave was common. Consequently, she says that she knew that ‘even her relatives’ (line 42) had voted to Leave. K then starts to join in Y’s narrative in line 49 with ‘£=my (=your *jibun* no) (.) relatives (.) yeah, heh £’. In mid-sentence, before Y finishes chuckling, J asks ‘voted to Leave?’ (line 50), to which K responds by discussing Y’s story as funny, but Y pre-emptively evaluates² the narrative and finishes her sentence: ‘It was shocking, wasn’t it’ (line 52). This is also Y’s evaluation of her own narrative, and up to line 62, Y offers her narrative, which intersects with K’s, cooperatively building up a conversation about being foreign wives who were shocked that their husband’s relatives were Leavers, which is commonly associated with nativism.

This cooperative attitude of K and Y is observable in their gestures. When K says ‘my relatives’ in line 49, she repeats Y’s gesture, used in line 49, when Y says ‘everyone’. She extends her arms in front of her chest and draws a circle around with her hands, which indicates the area Y’s uncle is living in, a region where there are many Leavers; that is, K likens herself to Y’s position in the narrative and make gestures as if she were Y, eloquently demonstrating through the gesture that everyone around herself is a Leaver. By synchronising with Y’s gesture, K represents herself as the person who understands Y’s position as someone surrounded by anti-immigrant persons including relatives. This gesture and its synchronisation strengthen their unity and identity as isolated immigrants in British society.

In sum, K and Y, who positioned themselves separately from each other in 2016, located themselves in the same position as ‘an immigrant who feels shocked because of the relatives’ negative action against immigrant’ in 2017.

4.2.2 *Quoting the narratives of others*

In Excerpt 4 below, K introduces one of her friends’ small stories about tensions with family members after the referendum. Her friend, who is also a foreign wife with an EU passport, was shocked to learn many of her family-in-laws voted to leave. K’s introduction of this story reinforces the narrative that she and Y had built together earlier about being foreign wives who were shocked that their husbands’ relatives were Leavers.

2. One of the elements in a narrative (Labov and Walezkey 1967).

Excerpt 4. K's narrative: 'My friend's husband's relatives'

72. K: *nn demo:: yappari soiu no wa:: watashi mo tomodachi::*
um, but:: of course, that sort of thing is:: I have a friend::
73. *de:: XXXX: jin de dannasan ga igirisuji↑n*
who is a:: XXXX: -ese person and her husband is ↑British
74. J: *un*
uh-huh
75. K: *demo sonoXXXX jintte ittemo kanojo wa:::*
well, she is XXXX-ese but she:::
76. *(a nation of EU)no pasupooto[mo motteru hito dakara*
has a passport from [(a country in the EU)
77. J: *[un un*
[right, yeah
78. K: *ichiou yo-a::no*
which is in Eu - uh::
79. J: *EU no ne*
an EU (passport), right
80. K: *sou EU no hito de*
yeah, she's an EU citizen,
81. *soide(.)soshitara sono danna no hou no<mou>kazo↑ku::*
so (.) so like, her husband's <uh> ↑family::
82. *minna yappa Leave ni touhyou sitetee:=*
they all voted to Leave:: of course=
83. Y: *=so::nanda::*
=ah:: really::
84. K: *sonde sono ato sore o shitte(.)sonde nanka chorotto*
so then eventually she found out (.) and that kinda like,
85. *nanka kou kou(.)kazoku no gotagota ga kou@@=*
you know, sort of (.) led to conflict within the family @@=
86. Y: *yada::@*
oh no::@
87. K: *Eattatte::£*
£ yeah ::£
88. *£moo:sugoi taihen datta yo£=*
£ it was really: bad£=
(omit 11 lines)
100. K: *sorede nanka<mo>watashi no tomodachi wa*
so then <you know> my friend was
101. *sugoi shokku o ukete↑te*
super ↑shocked
(omit 5 lines)
107. K: *demo nanka soshitara(.)<nanka>*
but then (.) <like>
108. *(1.3)mo:::o nanka danna↑no(.)okaasan(.)*
(1.3) well::: I guess her thusband's (.) mother (.)
109. *iyoi ni ka:::tto kichatta mitaide*
to:::tally flipped out

110. *watashi wa demo ne reishisuto ja nai wa yo*
 in a ‘but I’m not a racist’ kinda way
111. *mitaina kanji de Emou sugoi nanka<nacchatte>£*
 £ which got <really intense> £
112. Y: [@@@@@
 [@@@@@
113. K: [sonna koto wa itte nai[mitaina@@@
 [it’s like, ‘that’s not what I said’ [@@@
114. J: [@@@@@@@
 [@@@@@@@

In lines 72 to 82 of Excerpt 4 above, K describes her friend’s situation and uses only Observer Viewpoint (McNeill 1992; Duncan, Cassell, and Levy 2007) gestures in doing so. It can be assumed that the bird’s-eye view of the Observer Viewpoint, which fosters a distance between the tellers and tale-world, supports the objectivity and reliability of small ‘victimisation stories’.

Then, after explaining the situation, she starts narrating the ‘shocking story’. In line 88, when she says ‘£ it was really: bad £’, her tone of voice changes, and she does not include any quotation marker, as if it happened to herself. That is, it is appropriate to analyse this utterance as a quote that re-enacts K’s friend’s utterance in her tale-world.

Next comes the climax of the narrative about K’s friend, which reveals what was ‘shocking’ in Y’s previous narrative. K quotes her friend’s British mother-in-law’s utterance ‘But I’m not a racist’ (line 110), which, ironically, could be the mother-in-law’s overreaction to (a) a climate in which she had to scream her innocence, that is, ‘the kind of people who voted to Leave probably don’t *discriminate* against immigrants but still would prefer they not be in Britain’ and (b) the mood at the moment when the mother-in-law realized that her daughter-in-law felt shocked when the daughter knew the meaning of the mother’s action: the entire family voted to Leave. This climate and mood surely contribute to immigrants’ sense that they are victims of discrimination, and ‘racist’ is the keyword that expresses that most plainly. This is what Y said was ‘shocking’ when she said ‘even then, when I think it over again, it’s kinda (.) shocking, heh, I guess’ (Excerpt 3, line 61–62). Her mother-in-law, who uttered an excessively blunt keyword, desperately objects to having that word applied to her; K’s quote uses that objection as the punchline of her narrative, where it is received with bewilderment. In lines 112 to 114, the three participants in the space laugh together, and the narrative concludes with K quoting her friend ‘[it’s like, ‘that’s not what I said’ [p@@@’ (line 113).

4.2.3 *Converging on an ideology and resonance in the interactional space*

In Excerpts 3 and 4 above, the narrative about being foreign wives who were shocked that their husbands’ relatives were Leavers overlapped with the narrative

about the friend, which revealed the reason for that shock. What emerges here is an ideology that, from the women's perspective, befell them after the referendum. It is an ideology based on the narrative of Japanese immigrants, thought to have been established in 2016. That is, this society is not one in which immigrants can belong if they are legitimate but rather, from the women's perspective, one in which all immigrants are uniformly regarded as victims of discrimination.

Next, I will analyse how the participants interpret and negotiate their positioning in the here-and-now situation and how they conclude the narrative in Excerpt 5 below.

Excerpt 5. Converging on an ideology and resonance in the interactional space
(conversation continued from Excerpt 4)

115. Y: =*souiu no wa kekkou aru yo ne(.)ima.*
= That kind of thing happens a lot (.) now.
116. *yappa kouiu(.)*
like with (.)
117. *watashitachi mitaini gaikokujin::no kazoku(.)toka*
families with foreigners:: like us (.) and stuff
118. K: *un*
yeah
119. Y: *yappa gaikokujin no tomodachi toka*
and from friends who are foreigners
120. *ippai souiu hanashi wa arimasu yo ne nanka=*
there are tons of these stories, too, aren't there=
121. K: =*un*
=uh-huh
122. Y: *chotto sore de kazoku ni[(.)mizo ga haitta@@@@@*
and it created a [(.) rift in the family@@@@@
123. K: [()*na mizo ga@@@@@*
[a () rift @@@@@@
124. J: *motomoto potensharu toshite wa motteta wake desu ka ne*
I wonder if they had latent problems
125. K: [*desu ka ne*
[yeah, I wonder
126. Y: [*un un*
[uh-huh
127. J: *sore ga ponte dech[atta miechatta mitaina*
and then there it [was, the writing on the wall, like
128. K: [*dechatta*
[there it was
129. Y: [*dechatta*
[there it was
130. (.) *u::n soudesu ne un un*
(.) yeah:: exactly, right

Demonstrating that the narratives from just a few moments ago are not extreme or exceptional individual cases, Excerpt 5 above reveals that ‘that kind of thing’ – the narratives in Excerpts 3 and 4 – ‘happens a lot (.) now’ (line 115) and that since the referendum, there has been considerable conflict in ‘families with foreigners:: like me (.) and stuff’ (line 117).

In lines 122 and 123, the participants laugh and use backchannels, make eye contact, and repeat the word ‘rift’ in the utterance ‘created a rift in the family’. Here, K resonates with Y’s utterance in line 123 (cf. ‘resonance’, Du Bois 2007, 2014). This begins a chain of repetitions: ‘I wonder’ in lines 124–125 and ‘there it was’ in lines 127–129.

What is particularly interesting is that up to line 124, J, who is not an immigrant, remains in the role of listener and does not give her opinion. Then, she shuffles the participant structure for the first time. When J says ‘I wonder if they were waiting for something like (this sentiment of ‘immigrants go home’)’ in line 124, K repeats just the beginning of her sentence, ‘I wonder’. After that, in line 127, when J says ‘there it was’, K and Y’s utterances of ‘there it was’ (lines 128 and 129) overlap with hers. In this speech act, K and Y resonate with J, and their gestures (of curling both arms and hands inward and holding them out) are also synchronized.

J repeats the same gesture twice in line 127–129 (Figure 1–2). When J is in the ‘stroke phase’ (Kendon 2004) in the first gesture, K begins her preparation phase and keeps her grabbing hand beside the table (Figure 1) while watching J’s gesture. In J’s second gesture, K synchronises J’s gesture during the whole stroke phase (Figure 2). From this data, it is assumed that K observes the first gesture and that this is when she infers the process of doing the gesture. During the repetition of the first motion (Kendon (1980) divides the motion into 5 phases), she realises that the gesture would be repeated and she succeeds in synchronising with

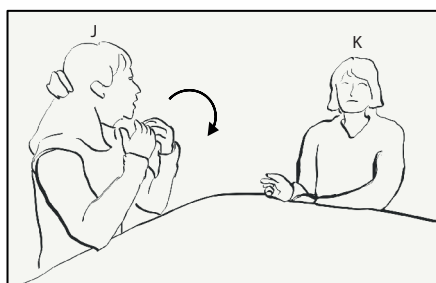


Figure 1. J: ‘then there it-’ (line 127) gesture of making a curl starting a next gesture
K: Gesture of grabbing hand and seeing J’s gesture

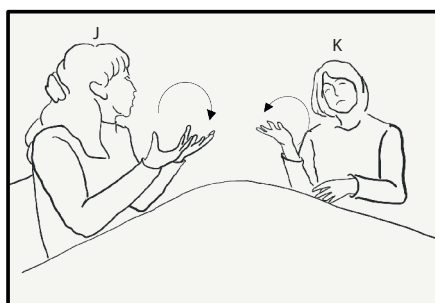


Figure 2. J and K: Synchronizing gesturing of curling both arms and hands inward and holding them out. (line 128–9)

it during the second motion. This clearly shows K's intention to harmonise to J in the interactional space, which is not seen in the data in 2016. In other words, in the previous year, K and Y sought to identify their positions in Britain's new social order and to draw lines between themselves, which prevented unity among participants in the interactional space. In 2017, on the other hand, K and Y feel oppressed by British society and are unified as immigrants. Additionally, in the interactional space, because J evaluates and converges K and Y's individual experiential stories on 'potential' ideological and social issues, J can join K and Y's interaction even though she is not an immigrant. The three participants' co-constructions of the interaction emerge in verbal and non-verbal utterances.

As a summary of these analyses above, the conversation started with an individual narrative; 'voice' (Bakhtin 1984) was used to reinforce and generalise it; and finally, J, who had not experienced anything as an immigrant, evaluates their experiences from a general and ideological perspective. As a result, because this particular situation had not emerged before, it is gradually co-constructed in the interaction such that J, K, and Y's narratives resonate with each other as they co-construct interactional bonds in the here-and-now situation.

4.3 From the 2018 narrative: Re-forming their social bond

The narratives of the 2017 interview were full of the stories of immigrants as victims of discrimination; however, one year later, the 2018 interview shows new developments. In Excerpt 6 below, the participants narrate stories that are completely different from Excerpt 3, 4, and 5 recorded in 2017.

Excerpt 6. Unwelcome story: A wife of British person

160. Y: *watashi wa zenzen(.)nn(.)nanno nagori o-no nak=*
I wouldn't be (.) uh (.) one - the least bit sad to leave
161. J: *=Enagori mo naku[nani mo naku]*
=£ not sad [or anything£
162. Y: [un ano:::
[yeah, uh::
163. *dokka ikun dattara=*
if I had to go anywhere=
164. *=da-hora watashi ni totte hora watashitachi(.)*
=bec- look, for me- look,
165. *kekkyoku onaji doko ni ikundemo*
in the end, it's the same wherever we (.) go,
167. *datte hora nihon janai wake dakara koko wa*
'cause I mean look, this place is not Japan
(omit 8 lines)
176. Y: *werukamu[na kanji mo betsuni[shi*
It doesn't really feel [particularly [welcoming here

(omit 5 lines)

182. K: *soredemotte igirisujin no tsuma nanoni*
and even then, even though you're the wife of a British citizen,
183. *fea janai jan*
it's not fair, is it?
184. *nanka iroiro[biza mo okane ippai torarete*
after going through all that with the [visa and spending the money
185. Y: *[sugoindesu yo mou kingaku ga*
[and it was a ton of money
- (omit 42 lines)
227. Y: *nn::: dakara sugoku nanoni EU no okusan toka sono*
yeah::: so even though (the situation) is super (messed up),
228. *dannasan demo nande↑mo*
wives of EU (citizens) and their husbands,
229. *harawanakutemo iindesu yo*
none of ↑them have to pay
230. *[nanka tetsuzuki ka nanka=70 ka nanka*
[and the process is like = 70 (pounds) or something,
231. *sugoi kakuyasu nandesu yo ne*
it's super cheap

In the 2016 narrative, K drew a distinction between 'legitimate' immigrants such as herself, who spent a large sum of money and time to acquire her visa; immigrants by marriage, who can easily get a visa; and immigrants from the EU, who do not need a visa. However, in the 2018 narrative, Y says that first off, everywhere else will be the same for 'us' because 'it's not Japan' and repeats that even though she, a marriage migrant, is the wife of a British citizen, the money and effort required for her to get a visa is unusual, yet when she says 'wives from the EU and their husbands, none of ↑them' (line 227–228), she gestures toward K as an icon of EU migrant. By contrast, K continues to cooperatively build the narrative without any objections, despite of the fact that she *is* a 'wife of an EU citizen', albeit one who got her own visa and is not a marriage migrant. However, when the conversation comes to various differences in daily life, there is a reversal from the 2016 narrative, in which the participants discussed who had it the hardest or easiest in terms of securing residency in the UK; instead, Y is positioned as an 'immigrant who has gone through a lot of trouble and paid a lot of money', while other immigrants such as EU immigrants are positioned as the opposite. In other words, in 2016 and 2018, K and Y's positions are exchanged in terms of the legitimacy in their conversation. Another point that differs from 2016 is that neither immigrant feels 'welcome' in the UK (the 2017 narrative remains unchanged here), regardless of whether they are legitimate, or not.

However, there was a new finding. As indicated in the latter half of the 2018 interview, during the 'kid's school story', their positioning has changed so that they bond with London's multicultural society, but not the whole of British society.

The following Excerpt 7 includes a narrative about forming a bond with society.

Excerpt 7. Diversity at school: A family story

298. Y: *tokuni kokorahen no eriatte(.)ano*
especially the area around here (.) um
299. *ironna hito ga ite(.)ano*
has all sorts of people (.) um
300. J: *un*
yeah
301. Y: *sokoni kanshitewa(.)mou yuiitsu to iu ka(.)*
as far as that goes (.) it's like, the only (.)
302. *[watashi wa sugoku sukina tokoro de*
[well, I like the place a lot
(omit 3 lines)
306. *ironna kuni no ko ga uchi no shougakkou ni wa iruno-*
our elementary school has kids from all sorts of countries, so-
(omit 4 lines)
311. Y: *de jibun no kodomo mo(.)jibun no sono aidentiti ni*
so my kid (.) already has pride in his identity
312. *sudeni Xsai ni narazushite(.)hokori o motteru*
even though he is not even (.) X years old
313. J: *un un un*
right, yeah
314. Y: *un*
yeah,
315. *de sugoku ironna kuni no ko ga itette koto o*
so he knows that there are tons of kids from other countries
316. *yoku wakatte ite chigau kotoba o shabette*
speaking different languages, having different cultures,
317. *chigau gohan ga attette koto o mou wakatte ite*
eating different food, he understand all that
318. *soko ni kanshite wa sugoku ano ii kotona no ka na*
but as far as that goes, is it really such a, uh, good thing?
319. *tte iu fuuni omoemasu ne*
I wonder

In Excerpt 7, Y talks about the area where she currently lives, which is an area in Southeast London with many immigrants, rather than about the UK as a whole. By doing so, she establishes a bond with her local community in London. When she says 'all sorts of people' in line 299, she is referring to adults, and her evaluation of the area is that she 'likes the place a lot' (line 302). In line 306, she also mentions her child in connection with Brexit for the first time, saying that it is a very good thing for her child to be in 'the area around here'. Her reasons for this conclusion are none other than the immigrant cultures there and the fact that it is a multi-ethnic/multi-cultural area, which the participants have been saying does not exist elsewhere in the UK outside of London. She also mentions that her child, who might

elsewhere be regarded as ‘weird’ or ‘special’, is growing up with pride in his identity (line 311). For all these reasons, Y says she likes the multi-cultural characteristic of the area ‘a lot’, and her narrative clearly states that the social bond that she is able to re-establish is not with the entire UK but ‘the area around here’ in London.

5. Discussion

Figure 3 shows the vicissitudes of the positioning of K and Y as UK immigrants between 2016 and 2018.

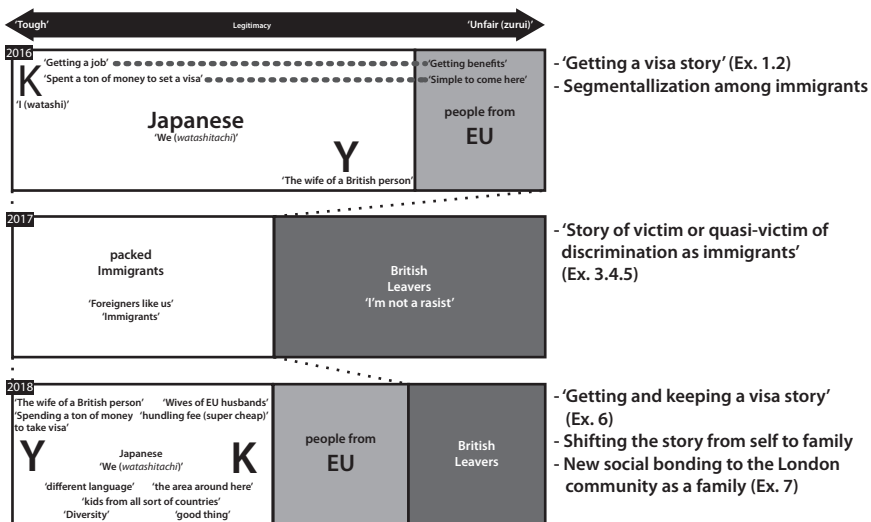


Figure 3. The vicissitudes in immigrant positioning since 2016

The following vicissitudes of their ideological positioning have been discussed: in 2016, the participants created distinctions among immigrants around them in terms of their legitimacy, e.g. the one who obtained a visa as a result of hard work; the one who followed an easy process like the marriage migrant; and the one who does not need a visa, even to obtain social benefits. Though all immigrants emerged in their narratives are fully lawful and legitimate, their social circumstances do not allow them to leave as they had just before the referendum. By positioning herself in a 'more legitimate' place,³ the participant connects to the changing society. In 2017, however, after a year of experiencing life as immigrants, the participants realised that they were no more or no less immigrants to British citizens and that it was

3. See also legitimization strategy (van Leeuwen 2007). Narrating legitimate action is one of four key categories of legitimization.

meaningless to divide themselves in terms of 'legitimacy'. Instead, this fact united participants as a whole in interactional bonding in the here-and-now. Finally, in the 2018 narrative, the participants shifted and reformed their positioning to connect their social bonding to their local community, not to the whole of British society. When discussing the episode of 'diversity at school and the identity of her child' during level one positioning, she shifts her focus from the whole of British society to London's community. This change makes it possible to shift the evaluation from negative to positive accordingly. By narrating their experiences, Y and K have so far explained their bond with society and with the UK. By mentioning in all seriousness that her community is a good area for children, they illustrate their legitimate positioning as families, like ordinary residents in the local community. In the end, Y offers a final judgment that is at a more serious and negotiable level than the preceding 'complaints' and is arguably a call to re-establish the social bond.

6. Conclusion

For this study, Japanese women living in the UK after Brexit (the national referendum in the UK on leaving the European Union) were interviewed about their post-referendum state of mind: worries about work, personal safety, and the future, and various other changes. From among their responses, this paper highlighted their bonds with society and changes in their relationships with their husbands' relatives to identify side effects of Brexit, so to speak, from their narratives and the gestures synchronized with them. The 2016 interviews revealed a method of seeking to form a bond with society that entails prioritizing oneself as a 'legitimate immigrant' over other types of immigrants and putting up a wall between oneself and another Japanese immigrant, who is a marriage migrant. Because this was directly after the referendum, this is likely the result of prioritizing the establishment of a social bond within a new social order over interactional bonding as a Japanese immigrant in the interview space. After that, the participants had gone through experiences affirming that, whatever the type, 'an immigrant is an immigrant' in the end, and in the 2017 interviews, they interactively built and resonated with narratives about their in-laws, which showed that they cooperatively formed interactional bonds in the space. Unlike in the 2016 interviews, no attempt to become a 'legitimate' immigrant was observed; rather, the 2017 interviews identified the prevailing ideology in the UK, with which the participants would have to come to terms. This broke the bond with British society that they thought they had established. Finally, in 2018, the participants discuss re-establishing their social bond by focusing their attention on London's immigrant communities and multi-cultural areas, even though they still feel British society is unwelcoming.

In the 2016 interviews, it was all too easy to focus basically on the interactional bonding among Japanese people, including the interviewer. In the face of severe backlash against immigrants and the search for a new position in the new social order after the referendum, participants were observed to prioritize the social bond in their narratives for the first time since the interviews began in 2010. In that regard, the transformation in the narratives from 2016 onward is noteworthy. As of the time of writing, the UK has just left the EU after the a long period of negotiation. Under this circumstance, the two interview participants and most of my interview participants, still live in the UK, and so far, this alone has not prompted most of them to return to Japan (though a small minority have done so). The surveys will continue in 2020 and later, and I look forward to observing the changes that come with further changes in society.

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Appendix

[overlap
£ £	speech with laughter
(.)	pause under 2 seconds
(0.0)	longer pause
> <	faster speech
–	stammering
↓	falling tone
@	laughter
()	nonverbal movement and scenic detail
(name of locations)	anonymization of locations for protection of interviewees' anonymity
XXXX	anonymization of nations for protection of interviewees' anonymity
:	lengthy sound
o o	smaller voice
—	emphasis

< >	slower speech
[(((gesture
↑	rising tone
=	latching

SECTION III

Bonding through embodied practices

Familial bonding

The establishment of co-presence in webcam-mediated interactions

Chiho Sunakawa

Independent Researcher

In this chapter, I discuss how the sense of familial bonding emerges in webcam-mediated interactions between Japanese families in Japan and the United States. I argue that a close relationship between participants who rarely meet in person is an interactional achievement. My analytical foci are twofold. First, I analyze how participants repeat each other's utterances and bodily movements such as hand gestures and facial expressions. Through what I call 'mediated repetitions', participants share understanding and encourage the virtual participants' involvement in locally unfolding interaction frames. Second, I investigate how the organization of talk becomes relevant as participants maneuver webcams. I argue that the interactional efforts of coordinating repetitions and converting webcam capabilities into new interactional modalities contribute to the creation of a sense of bonding across geographical boundaries.

Keywords: webcam-mediated interaction, family interactions, involvement, mediated repetition, modality

1. Introduction

The development of communication technologies has had a huge impact on our social lives in a range of situations, including at work, home, and school. For example, in global work settings, telecommunication systems are often used to achieve efficient work activities across geographical boundaries (e.g., Heath and Luff 1992; Luff and Heath, 2002). Among transnational family members, the use of webcams has become popular as software programs such as Skype allow family members who live long distances apart to talk and "see" each other frequently (Sunakawa 2014). Recently, massive open online courses (MOOCs) have become a popular form of learning, allowing people to take a range of classes without visiting a school campus.

These examples imply that face-to-face situations are not the only context for participating in social activities and building relationships. By being habitually co-present in an activity while located in two remotely separated places, participants can perform and build various social relationships by means of technology. In the recurring process of accepting new technologies in their ordinary lives, people reflect on and negotiate their habitual ways of interacting with others.

In this chapter, I pay close attention to this negotiation process and investigate how a sense of bonding emerges in a technologically mediated social space. Using video-recorded webcam interactions between Japanese families in the United States and Japan, I examine, how relevant resources, such as language, the body, and a webcam, are coordinated to build and maintain coherent courses of interaction. More specifically, I discuss how participants connect geographically distinctive spaces over the course of interaction and the consequences of this coordination in terms of the development of a sense of familial bonding. Through detailed analyses of webcam-mediated interactions, I argue that the coordination of webcam locations and movements serves as an important virtual modality. Participants make use of webcams to coordinate their speech, bodily behaviors, and immediate environments. From this perspective, webcams and their technological features not only provide another opportunity to see each other but also become an interactional means that encompasses the participants' geographically distant locations. Through turn-by-turn analyses of webcam-mediated family conversations, I investigate the resources that the participants used to invite virtual participants to a locally situated interactional space and how the sense of co-presence emerged and can be observed over the course of the interaction.

Instead of focusing on the acquisition of computer skills, such as solving technical problems, I focus on how participants recognize webcam properties and (re)organize their interactional space accordingly. Close analyses of this negotiation process enable me to discuss how familial bonding is established in the context of webcam conversations.

I also make a detailed analysis of mediated repetitions and suggest that repetitions across space communicate participants' sequential alignment with each other and pull co-located participants into a shared framework that crosses geographical boundaries.

2. Previous studies and theoretical background

I lay the groundwork for the theoretical and analytical framework in this chapter by discussing relevant aspects of methodologies used widely in linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics and related interaction studies. In this section, I first

address the theoretical challenges that prevent mediated-interactions from becoming a canonical research topic in ethnographic studies. Then I propose that the habitual use of a webcam offers an emerging multimodal resource for interaction. A webcam is not merely a material object that connects two remote locations via technology. Rather, it is a prosthetic device that extends as well as limits the capabilities of the body (Keating 2005). By contextualizing the participants' use of a webcam in a 'technosocial situation' (Ito and Okabe 2005), I discuss how participants coordinate the angles, movements, and foci of the webcam, in addition to their speech and bodily behaviors.

2.1 Ethnographic studies about mediated interactions

While widespread in ordinary interactions, the use of digital devices in routine conversations has received relatively little anthropological attention (Cook 2004; Wilson and Peterson 2002). One reason for the marginality of mediated interactions as a research topic is that the use of media has not been considered a central part of understanding cultural practices. Rather, anthropologists have positioned the use of media as 'a context for' culture (Wilson and Peterson 2002: 450). In studies of linguistic anthropology and related interaction studies, emerging communication practices based on the Internet have attracted scholarly attention. While the impact of digital devices on communicative practices has been recognized (e.g., Jones and Schieffelin 2009; Keating, Edwards, and Mirus 2008), the establishment of a systematic approach has yet to emerge. This is partly because existing theoretical frameworks for understanding language use presume that the locus of ordinary communication is in a physically bounded space that differs from a 'virtual' space. In the 'real' face-to-face space, it is taken for granted that participants recognize each other's presence. This notion of co-presence is established as participants perceive that "they are close enough to be perceived in whatever they are doing, including their experiencing of each other, and close enough to be perceived in this sense of being perceived" (Goffman 1963: 19). Although Goffman did not explicitly limit the location of a co-present situation to a bounded physical space, this notion of a mutual-monitoring process situated in face-to-face interactions is fundamental to understanding the relationship between language and social organization (M. H. Goodwin 1980).

Recent studies on computer-mediated communications have begun to reconsider the significance of face-to-face interaction as a disciplinary premise. For example, participants in technologically equipped classrooms tend to be tolerant of multitasking during classes (Wasson 2006). The context for face-to-face situations in such a classroom does not always consist of a "focal event" and a "field of action within which the event is embedded" (C. Goodwin and Duranti 1992: 3).

Participants with a digital device learn to carry out multiple attentional tracks while displaying primary involvement (R. Jones 2004). Without offending others, they negotiate the pragmatic implications of multitasking as they incorporate digital devices into their ordinary activities.

While emerging research on computer-mediated interactions has begun to expand the scope of analysis, few ethnographic studies have addressed how participants negotiate the boundary between an immediate interaction context and a virtual space and what consequences this negotiation process has for social relationships. To position webcam-mediated family conversations as a new site for ethnographic research, I contextualize the prevalent use of digital devices among long-distance families in a 'technosocial situation' (Ito and Okabe 2005). The notion suggests an 'inbetween' space where co-located individuals virtually engage in a temporarily shared, interactional context while remaining situated in their respective local contexts. The convergence of online social spaces with physical, built environments has consequences for participants in terms of negotiating their capabilities and redefining the relationship between humans, tools, and the environment (Lebaron and Streeck 1997; Murphy 2005)

2.2 Webcam maneuvers as multimodal resources

The establishment of co-presence in a technosocial situation requires greater collaborative work. To understand the organization of participants' interactional efforts, I pay close attention to how participants arrange discursive practices, gestures, and the location of the webcam, and how such coordination is situated in the surrounding environment. My view of webcams in relation to communicative resources such as language and the body is guided by recent multimodality research.

Although approaches vary, a common theme underlying multimodality research is to address the socially situated, inherently embodied nature of talking (e.g., Deppermann 2013; M. H. Goodwin, Goodwin, and Yaeger-Dror 2002; Kendon 1990). Participants in conversation coordinate not only their language but also their bodily behaviors, such as gestures and gaze. According to Enfield (Enfield 2005), there are two dimensions of multimodality: first, the vocal-aural modalities include features of spoken language such as grammatical structures and prosody; second, the visuospatial modalities encompass bodily behaviors including gesture, gaze, postures, and head movements. Instead of prioritizing language, researchers pay equal attention to different modalities to investigate how participants create a coherent course of interaction (Stivers and Sidnell 2005). Building on this notion, I consider a webcam as an emerging form of multimodal resource. A webcam is not only a technological artifact that extends the capabilities of the eyes but also a

cultural product that offers a new context for interaction. Detailed analyses of how participants maneuver webcams reveal the process of achieving mutual alignment. As discussed in the following sections, participants maneuver their webcams as they coordinate their talk and the body. They move webcams at relevant moments during the course of interaction to attract the attention of an addressee, establish a visual focus, and develop shared interpretations of ongoing interactions.

In a case study on deaf individuals' use of webcams, a deaf signer carried a webcam-embedded laptop to show his neighborhood to his friends in another location. His left hand, which held the laptop, served as a prosthetic eye for his friends, while his right hand was used to continue the conversation by fingerspelling (Keating 2005; Keating et al. 2008).¹ In another example, college students gathered in a room to play an online team game constantly and strategically moved their computer mice and keyboards to display the most relevant point of view (Keating and Sunakawa 2011). Similar to the way in which the deaf participant moved his webcam to make coherent interactions, this 'virtual gaze shift' (ibid, 201) played a key role in selecting the next actions appropriately, with the aim of winning the game. These studies imply that the organization of talk, the body, and cultural products such as webcams and computer devices, manage and negotiate pragmatic expectations across space. In work settings using teleconference systems, the transformation of locally situated cultural norms became problematic, in terms of efficiently completing work activities (Keating and Jarvenpaa 2016; Luff et al. 2003). In other words, the sense of 'togetherness' is not taken for granted by the use of a webcam. Rather, it is an interactional achievement.

3. Data and background

The data for this chapter were derived from ethnographic observations and a video-recorded corpus of webcam-mediated family conversations between Japanese families with members in Japan and in the United States. In this chapter, I focus on two families, the Muranos and the Kojimas. The first two examples (Example (1) and Example (2)) are derived from recorded Skype video conversations by members of the Murano family. There are three children in the Murano family, Atsushi, Akira, and Satomi. While Mr. and Mrs. Murano live in Hiroshima in Japan, each child lives in a geographically distant city, such as Tokyo and a southern state of the United States. Example (1) includes an excerpt of a conversation that Mr. and Mrs. Murano had with their youngest daughter, Satomi, and her immediate family in

1. The increase in the use of fingerspelling is an example of how signers communicate differently in webcam-mediated situations than in face-to-face settings (Lucas et al. 2013).

the United States. Example (2) is part of a routine Skype conversation that Mr. and Mrs. Murano had with their first son, Atsushi, and his family. It should be noted that, when I video-recorded the conversation, Atsushi's son Ryo, who was two and a half years old at the time, was with Mr. and Mrs. Murano because he was visiting his grandparents by himself. During Ryo's stay, Ryo routinely spoke to and saw his parents via Skype. Example (2) is an example of their routine Skype sessions.

Example (3) is a part of the data corpus obtained from the Kojima family. The example was recorded between Shoko, who lives in the United States, with her younger sister Sato's family. Sato has two daughters, Sachi and Mee-chan, who are seven years old and four years old, respectively. Shoko and Sato's family are very close and often interact through Skype. However, Sato does not have a computer at her home. Instead she goes to her parents' house to use their computer to talk with Shoko over Skype. Sato lives close to her parents and is in the habit of visiting her parents on a regular basis. Thus, using Skype with Shoko has quickly been incorporated into Sato's routine.

There are two important commonalities between these two families. First, both the Muranos and the Kojimas have established a habit of interacting between respective family members using a webcam. Second, their webcam conversations typically involve small children, their parents and their grandparents. Routine webcam conversations offer an opportunity for the three generations to temporarily dwell in a shared virtual space.

4. Mediated repetition as a bonding strategy

As an analytical point of departure, I focus on cross-spatial repetition, which I call mediated repetition. By examining how participants effectively repeat and recycle each other's bodily behaviors in habitual webcam conversations, I propose that mediated repetition is a useful bonding strategy for translocal and transnational family members. My focus is on how participants coordinate their discursive and embodied practices while managing webcams locally. The relationship between mediated repetition and the establishment of an interactional webcam architecture delineate how participants share foci, display alignment, achieve parenting, and create a temporarily shared 'common ground' (Enfield 2006), which is fundamental for cultivating close relationships between participants.

Repetition has been studied from different perspectives in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and multimodal interaction studies. Realized in various linguistic forms, it plays an important role in communicating participants' involvement and alignment (Tannen 1989), facilitating children's narrative skills (Ochs and Capps 2002), and building resonance across utterances in dialogic interactions

(Du Bois 2014). In the context of family conversations, repetitions are interactional moments in which participants build, rebuild, and unify the relationships between family members. Mirroring key phrases indicates interactional effort to unify participants as a family (Gordon 2003). Participants do not simply copy each other's language. For example, in learning situations, students follow teachers' performances to demonstrate their understanding of instructions, whereas teachers reproduce students' previous performances to clarify their learning needs (Arnold 2012; Keevallik 2010; Majlesi 2015). Recycling a previous speaker's gestures is an important step toward creating stories together (Yasui 2013). An important implication underlying these studies is that repetition is a type of format tying (M. H. Goodwin 1990) by which participants can connect with each other across both utterances and actions.

In a webcam-mediated conversation, not all participants are visually perceptible. Cross-spatial joint attention is not automatically established when visual access to the other person's space is limited. Under such circumstances, repetition provides an effective means of compensating for technological limitations and facilitating mutual alignment. Participants communicate their engagement with interactions that involve repeating each other's discourses and mimicking bodily behavior.

In the following, I analyze the relationship between the practice of repeating other's discourses or bodily behavior and maneuvering the webcam. Repeating discourses and/or bodily behavior in front of the webcam and changing the camera angle were important aspects of the process by which participants connected their locations and maintained a participation framework during the course of webcam interactions.

4.1 The relationship between webcam movement and repetition

In a mediated situation, it is often difficult to establish joint attention. Example (1) illustrates how joint attention was established as participants repeated speech and arranged the location and angle of their webcams. In repeating their own and others' discursive practices as they manipulated the webcams, the participants coordinated a virtual field of vision and collaboratively drew each other's attention across spatial boundaries.

Example (1) is derived from a Skype video conversation between Satomi, Ryosuke, Ryosuke's mother (Mrs. T), and Satomi's parents (Mr. and Mrs. Murano). Mrs. T was visiting Satomi and Ryosuke in the United States to help take care of their newborn baby. During Mrs. T's stay, they regularly had Skype conversations with Mr. and Mrs. Murano in Japan. Figure 1 illustrates how the participants, a webcam, TV monitors, a laptop and video cameras for collecting data were arranged

in Satomi's home in the United States. Satomi typically sat at the computer desk when she had a webcam conversation. Her portable webcam was placed at the top corner of her laptop, which was connected to a 40-inch TV monitor. When Satomi used the webcam, she typically used the TV monitor to view her conversational partners. Satomi's baby was in the crib, which was placed in the center of the living room. The adult participants in the United States sat around the baby's crib. There were two video cameras, one in the back corner of the living room (Camera 1) and the other on the kitchen counter (Camera 2). Camera 1 was aimed at capturing Mr. and Mrs. Murano's embodied interactional behaviors projected on the TV monitor, whereas Camera 2 was placed on the kitchen counter to record the locally situated discursive practices between Satomi, Ryosuke and Mrs. T.

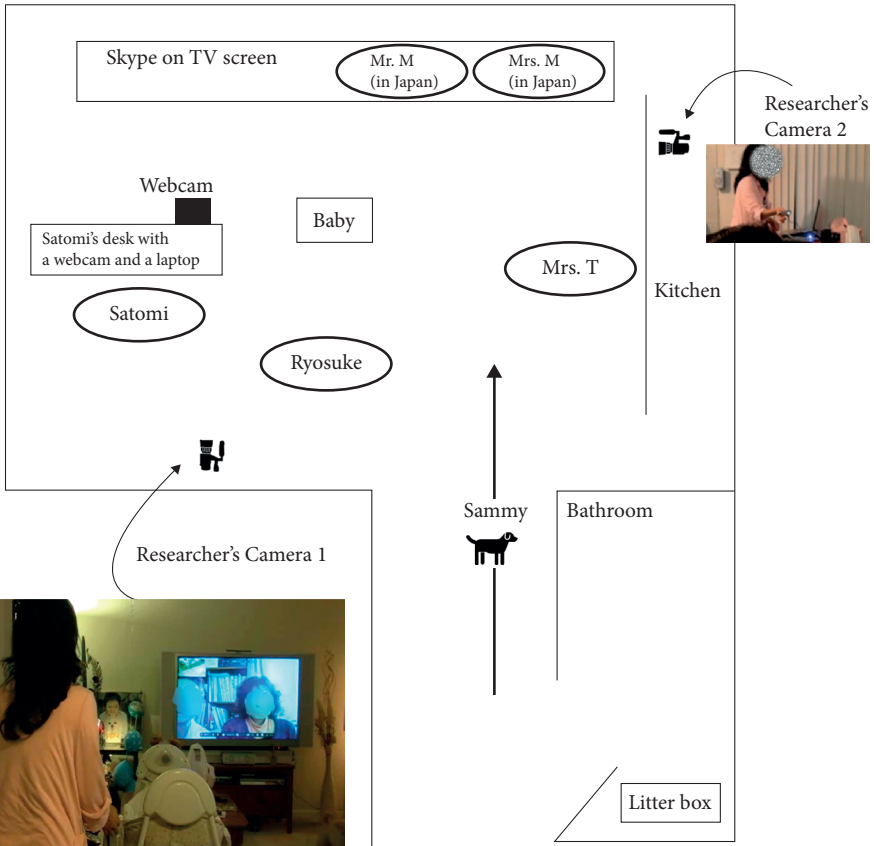


Figure 1. The layout of Satomi's home in the United States

At the beginning of the excerpt, Satomi and Ryosuke's dog, Sammy, started to bark and run rapidly around the living room. Sammy's barking, along with her running, drew Mrs. Murano's attention as she looked up and gazed at the camera (line 3).

(1) Can you see Sammy running?

Participants in Japan

- 1.
2. Mrs. ()hh
M ((turns to the
webcam screen))
3. Mr. ()
M
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. Mrs. Koufun shitoru
M (She) is excited
- 8.
- 9.
10. Mrs. Un wakarū wakarū
M Yes I can see that

Participants in the United States

((dog barks))

- Satomi Sammy ga koufun shiyoru
Sammy is excited
Hora mieru
Look. Can you see?
((Stands up; removes the
webcam; holds the camera
until line 13))
Hashiri ouru jaro
She's running around
- Satomi Hora hashirioru mieru?
**Look. She's running. Can you
see?**
Mou Hayasugite issun jake
(She's running) too fast.
(She's running across the screen)
just for a second.

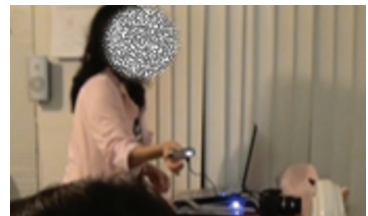


Figure 2: Satomi's posture,
holding a webcam

11. Satomi Isshun toori sugite
ikioru hora
**(She) just passed (here) for a
second, Look.**
Ryosuke Muchahhh
Absurd
Mrs. T Nee nantomo ienai koukei
**I don't know how to describe this
situation**
- 12.

13. Satomi ((looks at the screen;
moves the webcam to
follow the dog's
movement))
- 14.
15. Mrs. Kuro wa ()
M **Our dog, Kuro is ()**
((looks at Mr.
M))
16. Mr. ()
M
17. Mrs. Hashiruno ()
M **Running ()**
((looks at Mr.
M))
18. Satomi Kigen ga ii n yo
(Sammy is) happy
19. ((dog barks))
- 20.
21. Satomi Sammy urusai
Be quiet, Sammy
((looks back))
22. Ryosuke hhh
doshitan oshikko shita?=
What's wrong? Did you pee?
23. Satomi =a::oshikkoshita
[no kamo shiren
Ah, pee! She probably did.
24. Ryosuke [Oshikkoshita n dato omou
I believe that she did pee.
25. Oshikko shita ne: oshikko shita ne
(You) peed, didn't you? (You)
peed, didn't you?
((goes to the bathroom))
26. Mrs. Oshikko shita ke
M mitekure iiyoru
(She) calls for attention
because (she) peed.
((glances at Mr.
M))
27. Ryosuke Unko shitoru
(she) has pooped.
((in loud voice))
28. Satomi Unko shita n datte
(she) has pooped (he) said.
((put the webcam on the
desk))

25.

26. Mrs. Unko shichoru
 M **She has pooped.**
 ((turns to Mr.
 M))

27. Mr. Un un
 M **Yes, yes.**

When Sammy barked at the beginning, Mrs. Murano looked up and turned to the webcam screen (line 2), but the shift in her gaze did not meet the dog. Immediately after this, Satomi stood up and removed the webcam from the top corner of her laptop. This action provided a new view for Mrs. Murano. While Mrs. Murano did not see Satomi's posture, the movement of the webcam became a scaffold for Mrs. Murano to see Sammy more clearly across spatial boundaries. While Satomi held her posture, she repeatedly described Sammy's behavior, saying *Sammy ga kou-fun shiyoru. Hora mieru?* ("Sammy's excited. Look, can you see?") (lines 4–5) and *Hora hashirioru mieru?* ("Look, (she)'s running. Can you see?") (line 8). During this repetitive description, Satomi extended her right arm, held the webcam in her right hand and focused it on the central area of the living room (Figure 2). In addition to repeating *hora* ("look"), this posture implies that maneuvering the angle of the webcam is a basis for organizing and structuring joint attention in a webcam-mediated conversation. To clarify the focus of attention, participants use a range of resources and make multiple attempts to find a relevant way to convey information. Keating, Edwards, and Mirus (2008) described a case in which four signers in a webcam conversation used a range of strategies, including using names, pointing, and inclining their heads towards a specific person, to clarify who the intended addressee was. This type of coordination results in new ways of using language² and managing participation frameworks. In this case, Satomi's behavior in dealing with the webcam was an attempt to make a relevant change to Mrs. Murano's point of view. During the process of expanding the effectiveness and potential of virtual sight, Satomi navigated Mrs. Murano's view towards Sammy and enthusiastically pulled Mrs. Murano into a locally unfolding interactional framework.

2. In the study on the use of webcams by Deaf signers, a deaf participant went outside his house while carrying a webcam-embedded laptop to show his conversational partners the neighborhood (Keating et al. 2008). While showing the view outside the house, he used his left hand to hold the laptop and his right hand to communicate. This corporeal constraint facilitated sign-to-fingerspelling substitutions. From this perspective, the authors called for a new category called 'new technology discourse', to distinguish traditional sign language (Lucas et al. 2013).

Satomi's orientation shifted from Sammy in the immediate space to the visual representation of Sammy on the computer screen when Satomi said *mou haya-sugi te isshun jake* ("(She's running) too fast. (She is running across the screen) just for a second") in line 9 and *isshun toori sugite ikioru hora* ("(She) just passed (here). For a second. Look") in line 10. While Sammy was running around the living room, the limited field of vision through the webcam captured only a fragmented segment of Sammy's running. Satomi looked at the screen of the webcam (Figure 2) as she described Mrs. Murano's view of her immediate environment. Acknowledging the limited view via a webcam, Satomi indicated understanding and alignment toward Mrs. Murano's point of view. Mrs. T, Satomi's mother-in-law, and Ryosuke, built on Satomi's description about the situation as *muchahhh* ("absurd") in line 12 and *nantomo ienaikoukei* ("I don't know how to describe this situation") in line 13. After the local participants, including Satomi, Ryosuke and Mrs. T agreed that Sammy's running was indescribable, Satomi modified the way she held her webcam. Instead of holding the webcam still, she moved the webcam in an attempt to follow Sammy (line 14). Following this attempt, the participants began to understand why Sammy was running around the same area repeatedly. After the second loud bark, Ryosuke talked to Sammy directly, asking *doshitan oshikko shita?* ("What's wrong? Did you pee?") in line 20. This potential interpretation of Sammy's behavior shifted an interactional focus from sharing the view of Sammy's running to understanding why she was running in an unusual manner. Ryosuke, Satomi, and Mrs. Murano took turns to copy or partially repeat the phrase *osshiko shita* ("(She) peed") and *unko shita* ("(she) has pooped") between lines 20 and 27. This repetition enabled interpretation of Sammy's behavior to pass from one person to another. When Ryosuke left the living room and checked the dog's litter box, which was in the bathroom, he declared that he had found dog feces in a loud voice (line 24). This announcement, *unko shitoru* ("(She) has pooped") was repeated multiple times. The following figure illustrates the organization of repetitions vis-à-vis the participants' three locations. The dashed line indicates the area participants see on the screen.

As Satomi quoted Ryosuke's phrase, the information passed from the bathroom to the living room, where the webcam was being used. Mrs. Murano then repeated *unko shichoru* ("(she) has pooped") as she turned her head towards Mrs. Murano, who was sitting next to her. As shown in Figure 3, the organization of these consecutive repetitions was mapped onto each participants' location. As Satomi said *Unko shita n datte* ("(she) has pooped (he) said") in line 25, she put the webcam down on the desk. This retrieval of the webcam marked the end of the activity.

As shown by the analysis of Example (1), the coordination of repetitions and the maneuvering of a webcam are important interactional acts through which

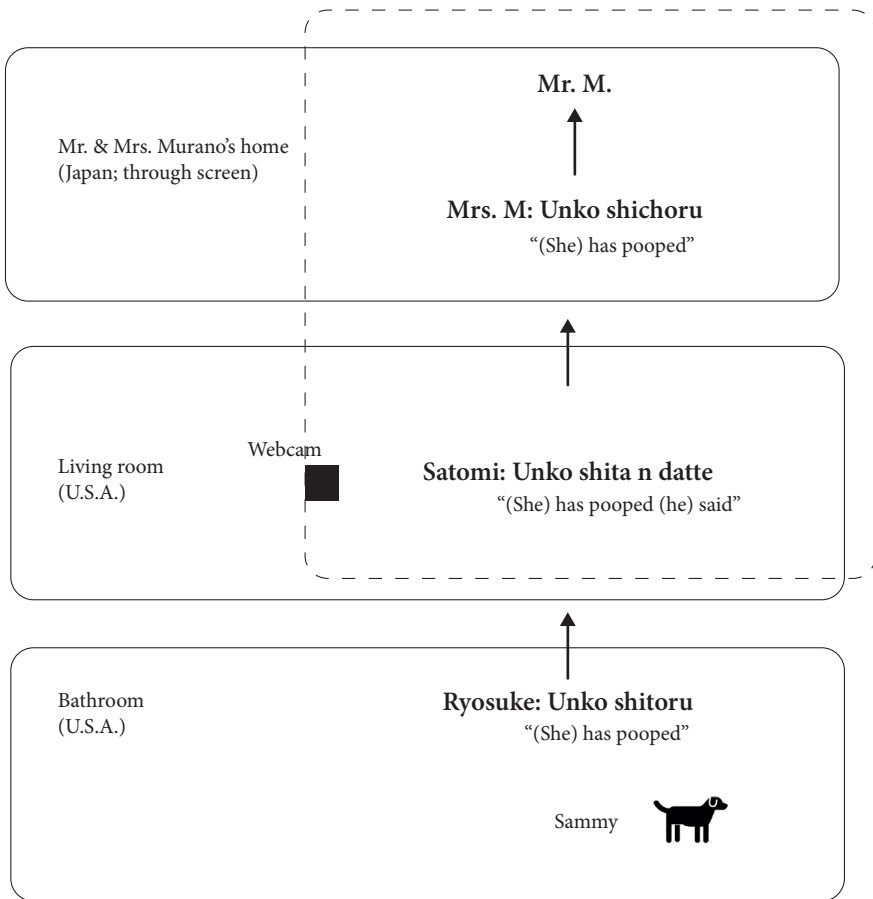


Figure 3. Relayed interpretation

participants create a joint focus, share an interpretation, and connect spaces. Regardless of technological limitations, such as not being able to capture the dog running rapidly, the participants successfully shared their knowledge about the dog. This collaborative effort, reified by moving the webcam and relaying the interpretation of the dog's actions, can be considered "precursors of or accompaniments to the conjoined participation necessary to perform as a team" (Gordon 2003: 397). From this perspective, the sense of co-presence and the emergence of familial bonding in a webcam-mediated interaction is realized over the course of an interaction.

4.2 Locally embedded webcam: Sharing a meal

As shown in the previous example, management of talk and webcam motion activates familial bonding. This collaborative effort can contribute to the sharing of parenting responsibilities between participants. In the next example, I will investigate how repetitions and the location of a webcam facilitate the emergence of familial bonding as participants distribute parenting responsibilities across spatial boundaries.

Example (2) is derived from a Skype conversation between Misato, Atsushi, their two-year-old son, Ryo, and Atsushi's parents Mr. and Mrs. Murano. When the conversation was recorded, Ryo was visiting his grandparents in Hiroshima by himself for the first time. During the two weeks of Ryo's stay, Misato, Atsushi, Ryo and his grandparents interacted by webcam twice a day, in the mornings and

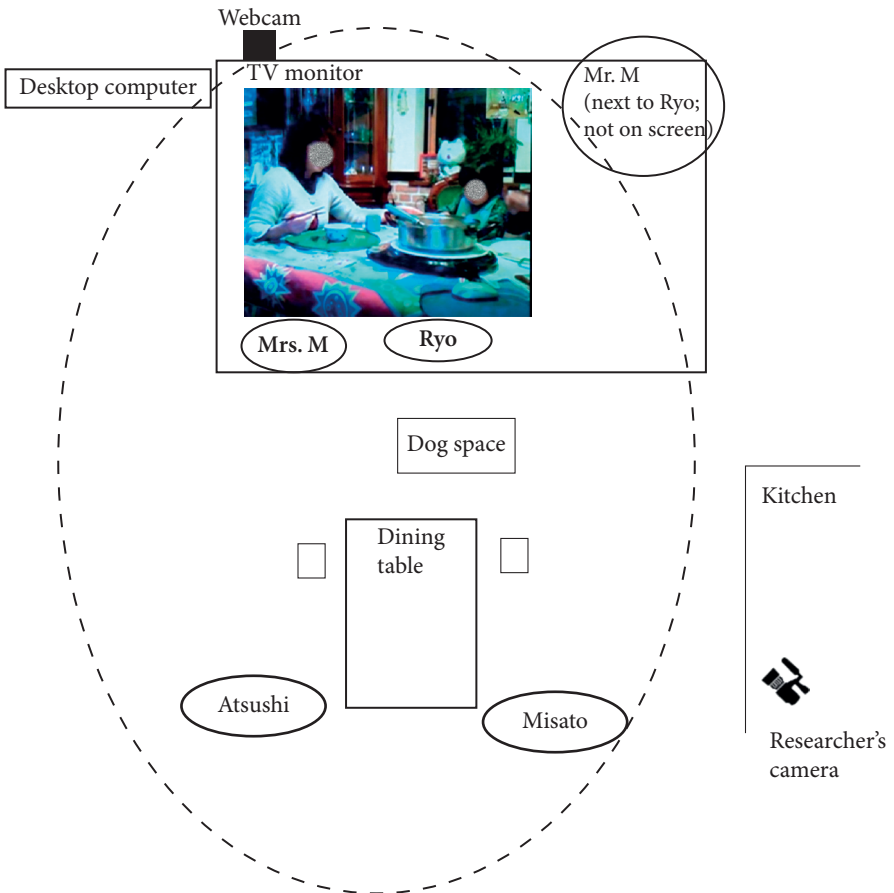


Figure 4. The spatial arrangement of the virtual participants

evenings. The participants often shared meal times during their routine Skype conversations. The following figure illustrates how participants placed a webcam, TV monitor and themselves in relation to the dining table. The dashed line indicates the area that Ryo, Mr. and Mrs. Murano see on their screen.

Misato connected a computer monitor to a TV monitor and used the TV monitor to view the Skype-mediated images of the other location. The relatively large display was placed in the center of the living room and showed an image of Mrs. Murano and Ryo eating dinner at the table. The dining table, where Misato sat across from Atsushi, was approximately parallel to the monitor. This spatial arrangement not only allowed the webcam placed on top of the TV monitor to capture Misato and Atsushi at the table but also situated the virtual participants in a local context. Sitting at the back and seeing images of Mrs. Murano and Ryo at the corner of the dining table, Misato and Atsushi locally situated Ryo, and Mr. and Mrs. Murano, and created a virtually mediated, shared dining space. The dotted circle in Figure 4 indicates that Misato and Atsushi were able to act as if Ryo and Mrs. Murano were present at the end of the table. This ‘transactional segment’ (Kendon 1990) played a crucial role in maintaining the participation framework.³ This emerging “quasi-natural” interactional space⁴ offered a context for the remote participants to collaborate in parenting activities. The following example illustrates how Misato’s directive traveled from one space to the other by means of repetition and how compliance with this directive was achieved despite her distance from the situation.


4.3 Parenting across space

The excerpt begins when Misato observed that her son Ryo was getting bored. To encourage Ryo to eat his vegetables, Misato and Mrs. Murano shared parenting practices collaboratively. Although Mrs. Murano was close to Ryo, in the same room, it was Misato, Ryo’s mother, who initiated directions regarding Ryo’s eating practices from her location. Mrs. Murano deferred to Misato’s leadership role in parenting and provided what Gordon (2003) calls supporting alignments by repeating Misato’s directives and performing relevant actions.

3. While there was no recording of the other location, Mrs. Murano told me in an interview later that she put her laptop in the vicinity of the dining table to see and be seen through an embedded webcam.

4. In an advanced system such as t-Room, local participants can interact with their colleagues in another location as if they were in the same room. This is because the system provides the participants with real-time access to life-sized images of their colleagues in a remote place (e.g., Luff, Heath, Yamashita, Kuzuoka, and Jirotko 2016).

(2) Eat vegetables!

Participants in Tokyo	Participants in Hiroshima
1. Misato <i>ryokun nani tabe</i> <i>yoru n (.) oniku?</i> What are you eating, Ryo? Meat?	
2.	Ryo <i>oniku</i> meat
3. Misato <i>oniku tabeyorun(.)</i> <i>oyasai wa?</i> You're eating meat (.) (How about) vegetables?	
4.	Mrs. M <i>yasai wa iu()</i> (Your mom) said how about vegetables? ((reaching for a dish; putting food on Ryo's plate))
5.	<i>Oyasai wa: ii yoru=</i> How about vegetables (she) said=
	
6. Misato <i>=oyasai mo tabe yo:</i> You must eat vegetables, too.	
7.	Mrs. M () ((feeding Ryo))

Misato began her directive by preparing a relevant context for Ryo to pay attention to the food on his plate. While she could not clearly see the contents of Ryo's plate, she asked if it was meat that Ryo was eating (line 1). After receiving Ryo's brief

answer, *oniku* (“Meat”) (line 2), Misato incorporated his answer into her response as she said *oniku tabeyoru n* (.) (“You’re eating meat”). This restatement confirmed Misato’s recognition of Ryo’s answer. It also set the preceding context for the next statement, *oyasai wa* (“(How about some) vegetables?”). Misato’s utterance in line 1 formed a directive in the form of a suggestion, contrastingly emphasizing the difference between meat, Ryo’s favorite food, and vegetables, his least favorite food. Immediately after this, Mrs. Murano repeated Misato’s directive twice (lines 4–5). *Yasai wa: ? iu* (). *Oyasai wa: ii yoru* (“(How about some) vegetables?” (she said). ‘(How about some) vegetables?’ (she said)”). There are two features of note in Mrs. Murano’s repetition. First, her repetitions were made in quotation format. By adding a quotation marker “*iu*” (“(she) said”) at the end of the directive *oyasai wa?* (“(How about) vegetables”), Mrs. Murano indicated that the directive was not hers but Misato’s, leaving the parental authority with Misato. Secondly, as Mrs. Murano quoted Misato’s directives, she reached for a dish and put some food onto Ryo’s plate (Figure 4). Misato and Mrs. Murano’s repeated directives and the embodied action of putting food onto Ryo’s plate were encapsulated into a coherent parenting practice. The systematic collaboration between Misato and Mrs. Murano indicates that Misato was not a webcam viewer, but a proactive participant in the temporally established, local parenting practice. Mrs. Murano supported Misato and joined in with the process of directing Ryo.

The organization of distributed parenting continued, as shown in lines 6 and 7, where Misato restated her directive in a more direct way. After saying *oyasai mo tabe yo*: (“(You must) eat vegetables, too.”), Misato changed her directive from a suggestion (“How about vegetables?” in line 3) to an imperative, (“You must eat vegetables”). Immediately after this, Mrs. Murano fed Ryo using her own chopsticks.

The fact that Mrs. Murano’s supportive acts were made at the most relevant places makes for seamless integration of Misato into the local interactional frame, allowing Misato and Mrs. Murano to act “as if” they are co-present in the same space. The ‘death of distance’ (Cairncross 2001) achieved in this example indicates that both Misato and Mrs. Murano had communicative competence when using a webcam and parenting in a mediated situation.

4.4 Performed bonding through repetition

Participants’ close relationships can be enacted by playing with the capabilities of webcams. Example (3) shows a process in which the use of a webcam activated the performative nature of repetition. As participants improvised how they behaved in front of the webcam, they co-constructed a temporally shared, interactional performance. In the process of creatively building an interaction, a series of repeti-

tions offered an immediately available resource to demonstrate recognition of, and alignment to, each other's presence.

The excerpt is derived from a webcam conversation between Shoko in the United States and her nieces in Japan. The conversation was initiated by Shoko to congratulate one of her nieces, Mee-chan, who had turned four. Four mediated repetitions took place soon after the conversation began. More specifically, they were inserted following the establishment of the visual channel. When the Skype call was connected, the participants started talking without being able to see each other. The delayed establishment of the visual channel disturbed the flow of the conversation. Consequently, it became an opportunity for a new interaction. The participants demonstrated how they were watching each other through the webcam by mutually and playfully copying each other's bodily behaviors.

(3) You appeared on the screen

Participants in Japan		Participants in the U.S.A.	
1.		((Skype is ringing))	
2.		Shoko	Moshimoshi kikoeru n Hello? Can you hear me?
3.	Sato Kikoeruyo Yes, (we) can hear (you)		
4.		Shoko	Mee-chan? Mee-chan?
5.	Sato Mee-chan toire ittoru Mee-chan went to the bathroom		
6.		Shoko	Ara (.) Sachi::? Oh. (.) Sachi?
7.	Sachi Un (.) ohayo: Yeah, good morning		
8.		Shoko	Ohayo: kyo: kaimono ikun yaro Good morning. You're going shopping today, aren't you?
9.	Sachi Un Yes ((visual connection is established; Sachi makes a V- sign and wiggles the two fingers))		

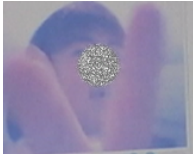


Figure 6: #1 V-sign

10.

11.

12. Sachi Ye:i
Yay!

13.

14. Sachi [((moves the V-sign in
circles))

15.

[((adds her left hand to make
double V-signs and puts
them on her eyes))

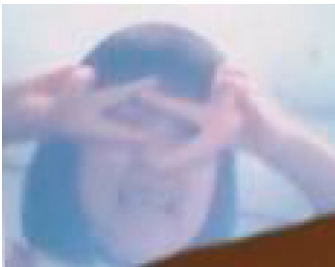


Figure 8: #2 Double V-sign

16. Sachi Hhhh

Shoko 0 (.) Ye:::i
Oh, yay! ((making a V-sign))

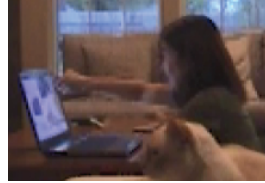


Figure 7: #1 V-sign (Repeated)

Ututtayo
(You) appeared (on my
screen)

Shoko Hehehehe utsutta yo:
Heheheh (you) appeared (on
my screen)
[De::n issso
Ta-daahh (we're doing) the
same.
(moves the V-sign in
circles))

[((mimics Sachi; adds her left
hand to make double V-
signs and puts them on her
eyes))



Figure 9: #2 Double V-sign (Repeated)

17. [Hhhhhhhhhh

Shoko [hhhhhhhh

18. [((V-sign is zoomed twice))

D::n
[issho
**Ta-daahh! (We're doing) the
same.**
((leans forward to enlarge her
double V-sign))
Hehe. Issho
(We're doing) the same

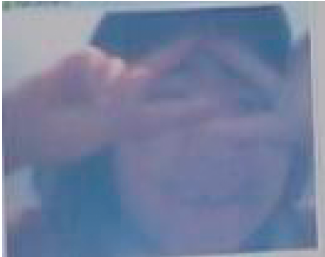


Figure 10: #3 Zoomed double V-sign (Repeated)



Figure 11: #3 Zoomed double V-sign

19. (1.0)

20. [((Sachi's screen
turns black))

(1.0)
Nani?
[Kyou nani kou te
morau no? ji:ji ni
nanka Koute morau
n daro
((leans forward to enlarge her
double V-sign; attempts to
hide the webcam camera))



Figure 12: #4 Covering camera

**What- what are you going
to get today? Your
grandpa is going to give
you a present, right?**

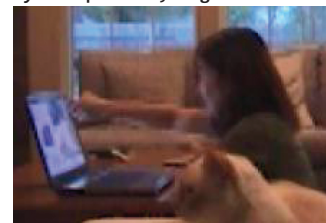


Figure 13: Covering camera
(repeated)

Notice that, at the beginning of the conversation between lines 2 and 8, only the audio channel was established.⁵ The first repetition occurred immediately after the visual connection was established. When the Skype ringer stopped, Shoko confirmed to Sato that the audio channel was connected (lines 2 and 3) and called Mee-chan's name (line 4). Mee-chan did not respond because she had gone to the bathroom, as explained by her mother, Sato (line 5). Shoko then asked for the other niece, Sachi, in line 6. With a prompt confirmation, *un* ('yeah'), Sachi said *ohayo*: ('good morning'). Shoko responded accordingly with *ohayo*: ('good morning') in line 8 and continued her turn by telling Sachi that Shoko knew that Sachi was going shopping that day. The visual channel was finally established immediately after the introduction of the new topic, shopping. When Sachi's image popped up on Shoko's screen, it was not her face, but her fingers in the shape of a V-sign that were focused on the central area of the screen. This placement of the V-sign gesture partially hid Sachi's face (Figure 6). Sachi's sudden and unique appearance on Shoko's screen offered a jumping-off place to pause the conversation and created a context for a playful copycat interaction.

There were two significant dimensions to the repetitions observed in this example: Firstly, repetitions served as a means of displaying a sense of mutual monitoring. Secondly, repetitions were used as an interactional resource to improvise a playful interaction and contextualize a close relationship within the emerging interaction.

Shoko repeatedly said *utsutta yo* ("(You) appeared (on my screen)") in lines 11 and 13 and *issho* ("the same") in lines 14 and 18 while imitating Sachi's V-sign gestures. By copying Sachi's unique gestures, Shoko not only described but also demonstrated the fact that she could see Sachi and her V-sign gestures on the screen. As indicated by multiple overlaps during repetitions (lines 14, 15, 17, and 18), Shoko immediately followed Sachi's movements. This type of "bodily shadowing" (Sunakawa 2018) implies that Shoko anticipated the structure of Sachi's preceding turn. As Shoko and Sachi took turns to react quickly to each other's behaviors, they developed an understanding of the organization of the emerging interaction and, consequently, created a playful copycat-game. Figure 16 summarizes how Sachi and Shoko's repetitions of each other's V-sign gestures were organized and mediated through the Skype video screen.

Note that Sachi and Shoko switched roles at the end of the second repetition. In the first two sets of V-sign repetitions, Sachi played the initiator role by offering a new V-sign gesture, placing and wiggling two fingers close to the webcam (line 9) and covering her eyes with two V-signs (line 15). Shoko imitated Sachi's

5. It was not unusual for the visual channel to be established after the audio channel was connected in 2007, which is when the conversation was recorded.

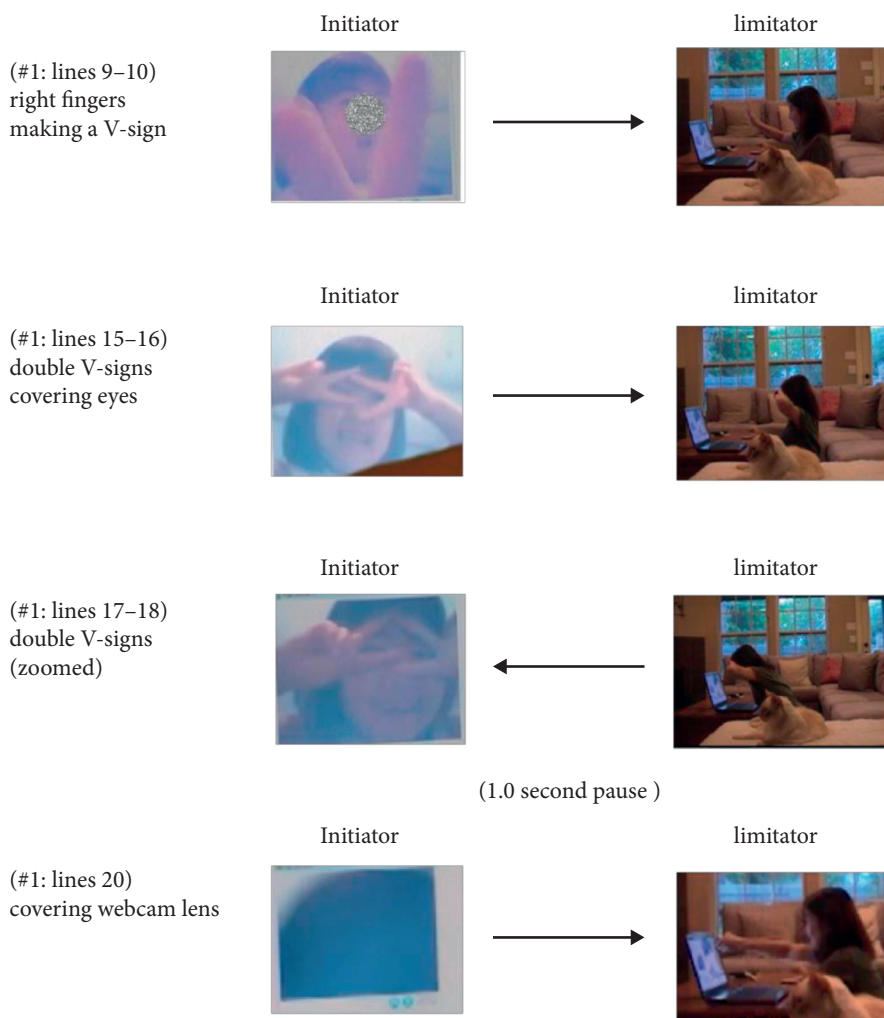


Figure 16. The organization of the copycat-game

new gesture as soon as she saw it. Their initiator-imitator roles were switched after the second V-sign performance. This time, Shoko became the initiator as she modified the second V-sign gesture by leaning towards the screen (line 18). This role shift implies that Shoko was not a spectator to the ongoing interaction but an active participant.

The patterned structure achieved by the exchange of repetitions was a collaborative improvisation (for ‘verbal improvisation’ see Duranti and Black 2014). Zooming in and out or covering the camera lens while modifying their V-sign gestures, Aunt Shoko and Sachi indicated both their technological and communicative expertise. The delayed connection of the visual channel was not simply

a technological ‘problem’ but an opportunity for Sachi and Aunt Shoko to allow themselves to interact creatively. Furthermore, Shoko’s proactive participation in this game showed her alignment to her niece. Her enthusiasm in engaging in a copycat-game helped to create the sense of closeness between Sachi and Shoko.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed routine webcam-mediated communications between Japanese families with members in Japan and the United States and argued that repetition provides an efficient means for communicating visual recognition, supportive alignment, and mutual involvement in webcam-mediated interactions. Interactional effort to maintain cross-spatial participation frameworks is fundamental to building familial bonds. Using what I have called mediated repetitions, participants not only shared their visual focus but also encouraged the virtual participants’ involvement in locally unfolding interactions. One of the significant aspects of mediated repetition is that of turning the technological limitations of webcams into opportunities for interaction. While webcams provide participants with new images, they grant only a narrow field of vision. To compensate for this fragmented visual field, participants innovate by passing information, by relaying key phrases. This type of cross-spatial copying is an interactional strategy to draw virtual participants’ attention to locally unfolding interaction frames and co-construct the meaning of shared interactions.

I also showed that repetition became relevant when participants searched for the right location for the webcam. Situating a webcam at the end of the dining table and placing a webcam close to the visual focus, so that participants could be seen talking, are examples of how webcam vision offers a new modality that contributes to the creation of meaning in interaction. From this perspective, a webcam does not provide a set of new prosthetic capabilities, but its social role is defined over the course of interaction, as participants incorporate the webcam into their interactions. An established co-presence through this negotiation process is a precursor for demonstrating familial bonding. The mutually dependent relationship between participants’ communicative competence and experiential knowledge in webcam talk provides a context for participants to connect themselves with others at distant locations. This proactive engagement encompasses participants in immediate as well as virtual contexts and facilitates the establishment of close family relationships, even between family members who rarely meet.

This chapter addresses the complexity of communication and interactional distance in the act of bonding. Family members who live in geographically distant cities much miss the comfort of being in the presence of each other. Once they are in

proximity, however, they may draw lines between themselves to maintain a comfort zone. These “bonded and unbonded experiences” (Takekuro, Chapter 4) indicate the intricate relationship between communication and socio-psychological distance. The use of communication technologies helps participants to negotiate boundaries produced by the act of bonding and to make sensible decisions in interaction.

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Micro-bonding moments

Laughter in the joint construction of mutual affiliation in initial-encounter interactions by first and second language speakers of Japanese

Cade Bushnell

University of Tsukuba

In the present study, I examine the interaction of one pair of participants (a first and second language speaker of Japanese), which is part of a larger corpus of dyadic initial interactional data gathered by video recording pairs of participants asked to participate in a topical discussion task. Bringing to bear on these data a microethnographic methodology, I show some of the functions of laughter deployed by the participants. In particular, the findings of the analyses indicate that, in my data, laughter was used both to indicate the frame or tenor of the interaction, to display an orientation to and interactionally co-constitute a moral order, and to negotiate and coordinate joint participation in a next course of action.

Keywords: getting acquainted, joint laughter, co-determination of action, impropriety, conversation analysis

1. Introduction

Laughter has been the focus of a considerable amount of research in a diverse array of disciplines, ranging from linguistics to the medical sciences (see Glenn 2003 for an overview). In the field of conversation analysis, in particular, a number of researchers (e.g., Bushnell 2009, 2014, 2017a, 2017b; Glenn 2003; Haakana 2010; Jefferson 1979; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff 1987; Ruusuvuori and Peräkylä 2009; Sacks, 1989, 1995) have examined laughter from a “social interactional perspective” (Glenn 2003, *passim*) with foundational studies, which richly demonstrate the organized and methodical ways in which participants deploy laughter in their interactions, being carried out by Gail Jefferson and her colleagues, Harvey Sacks

and Emanuel Schegloff (Jefferson 1979, 1984, 2004; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff 1977; Jefferson et al. 1987). Subsequent research has continued to examine numerous facets of laughter-in-interaction, such as its position and timing (Bushnell 2017a, 2017b; Glenn 2003), its quality of production (Bushnell in preparation, 2014, 2017b; Jefferson 1985), its role within a constellation of actions such as smiling and gaze direction (Bushnell in preparation; Haakana 2010; Ruusuvuori and Peräkylä 2009), its distribution among incumbents of certain social categories (Jefferson 2004), and how it is implicated in a variety of social actions, including identity work (Clift 2013; Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2013), displaying interactional competence (Bushnell 2017a; Sacks 1989), participating in a second language learning classroom (Bushnell 2009; Cekaite 2007; Cekaite and Aronsson 2005; Jacknick 2013), the interactional construction of intimacy (Jefferson et al. 1977, 1987; Haugh and Pillet-Shore 2018), and teasing (Gradin Franzén and Aronsson 2013; Haugh and Pillet-Shore 2018), to name a few.

Though laughter-in-interaction has been a domain of sustained interest for researchers in social interaction, as evidenced by the quantity and breadth of the research touched upon in the previous paragraph, I am aware of only one study that has examined laughter in initial interactions: Haugh and Pillet-Shore (2018). In their examination of initial encounters between American and Australian participants, Haugh and Pillet-Shore found that teasing sequences may be built around a basic three-part structure of (1) teasable action by the target of the tease, (2) the actual tease itself, and (3) a momentary display of mutual affiliation. Based on their analysis of the data, Haugh and Pillet-Shore argue that, while teasing may often be seen as a potential impropriety (see Jefferson et al. 1987), in their data it provided the participants with a resource whereby they could make and accept or decline an invitation to intimacy. While the study by Haugh and Pillet-Shore (2018) provides a great deal of insight in regard to some functions of laughter in initial interactions, its scope is limited to an examination of laughter in teasing sequences. The present study aims to expand upon this groundwork by examining the ways in which laughter features in making and carrying out decisions upon courses of action in initial interactions. Furthermore, Haugh and Pillet-Shore (2018) take their data from interactions between first-language speakers of English (albeit different dialects of English). The present study, on the other hand, examines data from initial interactions by first and second language speakers of Japanese, and thus has the potential to further inform our understanding of laughter in second language interactions.

2. Data, participants, methodology

The present study adopts a microethnographic methodological framework. With roots in classroom observational studies conducted in the 1970s (e.g., Erickson and Mohatt 1977; Mehan 1979), microethnography is concerned with verbal and embodied action (e.g., Bushnell 2017b; Goodwin 2000, 2011; Iwasaki 2009, 2011), interactionally negotiated spatial arrangements (e.g., LeBaron and Streeck 1997), and interactional networks instantiated between both the participants themselves and between the participants and material and virtual artifacts in their environment (e.g., Goodwin 1996; Mondada 2011). For its epistemological basis, microethnography draws both upon conversation analysis (see, e.g., Sacks 1995; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) and “context analysis” (see, e.g., Kendon 1990, 2004). While microethnography primarily involves fine-grained analyses of video data, other types of data, such as ethnographic data gathered through interviews or questionnaires, and field notes and insights gathered through participant observation, are also brought to bear on developing an understanding of how the participants co-construct and make visible for one another their activity as a specific activity, and how this relates to larger social or organizational issues, such as power (Bushnell 2016; LeBaron and Streeck 1997), identity (Bushnell 2012; LeBaron 2006), rapport (Bushnell and Ide 2017; Ide and Bushnell 2018), stakes management (Bushnell 2016), and so forth. As the focus of the present study is on how the participants co-constitute moments of “micro-bonding,” defined here as fleeting co-displays of mutual affiliation, through the deployment of laughter, the tools of microethnography will be used to uncover the coordination of both audible and inaudible behavior, including embodied action and gaze, and to describe how the activity of micro-bonding is woven together from and through these fine-grained actions.

By my use of the term micro-bonding, I intend to emphasize that I am looking at something based thoroughly in interaction. This notion contrasts with more psychologically based lay notions of bonding or friendship. In line with an ethnomethodological stance, the present study maintains a sharp focus on the observable actions of the participants, and the ways in which they continuously publicly display their joint understandings of “what-we-are-doing” for each other, rather than on their inner psychological states. It is an interactional possibility that the participants themselves might occasionally treat recurrent moments of micro-bonding co-constructed across an interaction or span of interactions as one constituting feature of a more durative “state” of bonding or friendship. As such, it is important to emphasize that, from the point of view of the current study, such bonding or friendship would be seen itself as being an ongoing interactional accomplishment documented and co-constituted for and by the participants themselves through an interactional history of co-accomplished moments of micro-bonding.

The data of the present study come from a larger corpus of video recorded dyadic interactions between first and second language speakers of Japanese, and speakers of Japanese as a lingua franca. All data in this corpus was roughly transcribed, with segments identified for intensive analytic scrutiny transcribed in fine detail according to conversation analytic conventions (see Jefferson 2004). It may be noted that the data were not collected with a specific aim of doing conversation analytic research in mind; participants were requested to converse for the purpose of collecting data, and were given a task to discuss one or more topics written on a list or strips of paper provided to them. Thus, when viewed from conversation analytic standards, for which naturally occurring interactional data is typically considered to be the *sine qua non* (see however Al-Gahtani and Roevers 2012, 2015, 2018), such “contrived” data may initially seem to be of limited use. However, it is the contrived nature of the data itself that makes them of interest for the purposes of the present study. This is because the analysis does not seek to unproblematically treat the data as somehow being a reflection or representation of naturally occurring mundane interaction (as often seems to be the case in a great deal of non-conversation analytic research on pragmatics), but rather to examine the participants’ naturally occurring and spontaneous procedures for dealing with being placed in a somewhat unnatural, and potentially uncomfortable situation, that is, being required to participate in a task discussing topics not necessarily of personal interest with a person whom they have never met, and while being video recorded. In the analysis, I pursue the following research questions, in particular: (1) How do the participants co-determine a next course of action? (2) How are certain courses of action treated as instantiating an impropriety? (3) How do the participants interactionally negotiate the undertaking or avoidance of the impropriety course of action? and (4) What roles does laughter play in 1 through 3?

3. Analysis

3.1 Co-determination of a course of action

In this section, I describe the ways in which the interactants co-accomplish decisions in regard to an immediate joint course of action. The fact that this is an initial encounter poses a particular set of problems for the interactants, who have no knowledge of each other whatsoever. Such problems might include, but are not limited to, an uncertainty in regard to each other’s personalities and interactional characteristics and patterns, or as to how sensitive their co-participant might be to potential interactional affronts.

of a proposal for action. In line 2, however, Kondo says, *doo shimasu* ‘what will you/we do?’ In this way, rather than providing the proposal for action so made relevant, she returns Du’s solicitation with an analogous solicitation. Such a move may potentially be treated as being interactionally problematic on several levels. First, responding with a solicitation in second position fails to provide the action made relevant by the first-position solicitation. In other words, such a move makes noticeably absent a second pair-part (proposal) corresponding to the first pair-part (solicitation of proposal); such a situation may potentially be sanctioned or otherwise problematized by the issuer of the first pair-part (e.g., Erickson and Mohatt 1977; Mehan 1979). On another level, responding to a solicitation by recycling that solicitation does not seem to contribute to the progressivity of the interaction (Stivers and Robinson 2006); rather than moving to the next stage of their interaction, the participants are returned to square one, so to speak. Finally, in a broader pragmatic sense, Kondo’s actions in line 2 do not seem to display a cooperative interactional stance (see Grice 1975; see however Keenan 1976 on the possibility of intercultural variability). This, in turn, bears the potential to be treated by its recipient as “face threatening” (Brown and Levinson 1987; see Arundale 2010 on an ethnomethodological view).



Figure 1. Line 1



Figure 2. Line 2



Figure 3. Line 3

It is important to note, however, that Kondo pairs her verbal actions in line 2 with the intervocalic and post utterance deployment of laughter and smiling (Figure 2, above). Then, in line 3, Du responds with laughter (Figure 3, above), bringing about the co-accomplishment of a moment of “laughing together” (Jefferson et al. 1987; Sacks 1995). By deploying laughter in conjunction with actions which might pose such interactional problems as those outlined above, Kondo seems to be able to modulate her actions by displaying an affiliative stance, and to propose an interactional “frame” (Bateson 1972; Gumperz 1982) in which the actions are not to be taken as an affront. For her part, Du, by responding with laughter (rather than with a censuring remark, for instance), reciprocates the affiliative stance, claims a goodhearted interpretation of Kondo’s actions, and aligns with the interactional frame so proposed (Stivers 2008).

Following this brief spate of joint laughter, in line 4, by producing *jiko shookai kara* ‘from self-introductions,’ Kondo finally submits the proposal for action solicited by Du in line 1. The rising intonational contour of this utterance invites a confirming response from Du, which it receives in line 5. Du’s confirming response is formulated via a partial repetition of the phonological material deployed by Kondo in line 4. This repetition is made visible as displaying agreement, rather than as initiating repair, for example, through the use of falling intonation and nodding. No sooner than Du’s agreement-so-displayed becomes clear, in line 6, Kondo announces that she will initiate the agreed upon course of action. Then, with Du’s displayed concession in lines 7 and 9, Kondo, in line 10, actually embarks on the course of action so announced, that is, she begins her self-introduction.

As the above analysis demonstrates, in line 4, Kondo proposes a line of action to which Du displays agreement in line 5. In and through her partial repetition of the phonological material first produced by Kondo in line 4, Du simultaneously displays access to the proposal. Then, in lines 6 through 10, the participants negotiate the actual undertaking of the line of action so proposed. Thus, this portion of the interaction seems to map closely onto the pattern described by Stevanovic (2012) for making decisions in interaction.¹ However, during the initial mo-

1. That is, *proposal*, *access*, *agreement*, and *commitment*. This pattern may be illustrated by the following excerpt, taken from Stevanovic (2012: 782–783; original Finnish omitted):

- 1 P: ↑*what* about this thirty-three.
- 2 (0.3) ((C turns pages of her hymnal to find the hymn))
- 3 P: people sing it more rarely.
- 4 C: oh ↑*I* was looking at ↑*exactly* the same one.
- 5 C: yea.
- 6 P: °*yea*.°
- 7 C: let’s take [it.]
- 8 P: [(-)]

ments of the excerpt, the participants produce actions that do not seem to fit into Stevanovic's description. Here, in lines 1 to 3, the participants navigate a potentially troublesome point in their interaction through co-constructing a moment of laughing together. Through this, they are able to display to each other a positive affective stance, mutual affiliation, and a joint alignment to an interactional frame; in so doing, rather than treat this moment as a sour note in their interaction, the participants are able to bring off a moment of micro-bonding.

Excerpt 2 provides an additional example from a moment later in the interaction. Here both Kondo and Du have just finished introducing themselves to each other. Their self-introductions included basic information about names and nicknames, age, subjects and majors at the university, and how they were invited to participate in the investigation through which the data of the present study were collected. Excerpt 1 begins just after the pair has ended off their introduction activities (which occupied 1 minute and 37 seconds), and following a 1.2 second silence.

Excerpt 2. What next

1. D tsugi wa nani ni shi[ma(h)shoo kah.
next TOP what DAT let's.do Q
"What should we do next?"
2. K [hhh.hh
3. °un.°
"Yeah."
4. (0.4)
5. K doo shimashoo. =kuji ka,
how let's.do strips or
6. (0.6)
7. K risuto ka,
list or
"What should we do. Strips, or the list or,"
8. (2.2)

-
- 9 C: ye[a.]
 - 10 P: [as] a whole.
 - 11 C: yea.
 - 12 (5.0) ((P and C are writing))

As Stevanovic's analysis also indicates, in lines 1 and 2, the pastor (P) makes a *proposal* as to which hymn should be sung. Embedded within P's proposal is information as to where in the hymnal the hymn in question may be found, that is, on page thirty-three. No sooner than P provides this locating information then the cantor (C) begins to leaf through her hymnal. Then, in line 4, the cantor claims having been able to *access* the hymn-so-proposed by asserting that it is one she had also been considering. Following this, in lines 5 through 11, the cantor and pastor negotiate an *agreement* upon the adoption of the hymn, and then in line 12, they co-display their *commitment* to this mutually-agreed-upon course via record-keeping activities.

9. D e:::[: :]=
 “Uh,”
10. K [e kore-]
 “Ah this-”
11. D =doo shima[shoo kana::
 how let’s.do I:wonder
 “I wonder what we should do”
12. K [e ↑heh heh heh.hhh
13. D do- dotchi[[ga ii to omoimasu ka?
 whi- which SBJ good QUOT think Q
 “Whi- which do you think is good?”
14. K [[heh heh
15. K ¥doo na n deshoo ne?
 how COP NMLZ COP:EPI PARTICLE (P below)
 “I wonder, huh?”
16. D e huh [huh huh hih hih.hh
17. K [huh huh huh huh hih.hh.hhh

As the participants have just brought their self-introduction activities to a close, they are at a juncture where it is again necessary to make a decision about what to do next. In line 1, Du breaks the silence to begin a new TCU. She formats her utterance as a question inquiring about what the pair should do next. She deploys an intervocalic laugh token and an utterance final aspiration (i.e., *kah*). These actions may have been touched off by Kondo’s laughter in line 2. However, taken together, this joint laughter by Kondo and Du seems to display a stance toward the action embodied in Du’s utterance, that is, soliciting a proposal for action, as being a non-threatening one. The laughter also simultaneously seems to register the fact that Du’s solicitation in line 1 bears the potential to initiate a replay of the just prior exchange of solicitations for proposals of action (see lines 1 through 3 of Except 1).

In line 3, Kondo deploys a low-volume *un* ‘yeah,’ which seems to instantiate a claim of “thinking.” This is followed by a 0.4 second silence in line 4. Then, in line 5, Kondo produces *doo shimashoo* ‘what should we do,’ thus responding to Du’s solicitation with an analogous solicitation rather than the proposal-so-solicited. However, Kondo immediately latches on to this TCU and extends it incrementally with *kuji ka* ‘strips or.’ This move works to modify Kondo’s solicitation to be more specific than and thus different from the broader solicitation by Du in line 1. In other words, through providing a candidate course of action for selection, it solicits a choice rather than a proposal. In so doing, Kondo seems to display an orientation to maintaining the progressivity of the interaction while simultaneously going through with responding to Du’s solicitation with via a solicitation rather than a proposal. Then, following a 0.6 silence wherein no response

from Du is forthcoming,² Kondo further extends her turn with *risuto ka* ‘list or,’ in line 7. Following this, there is a 2.2 second silence during which the participants are gazing at the strips of paper and list placed on the side of the table (line 8). Then, in line 9, Du breaks the silence with *e::::::*, which minimally claims that she is thinking, and possibly projects a forthcoming utterance. As Du begins to stretch out her vocalization in line 9, and thus possibly signaling reluctance or some trouble with utterance production, Kondo begins a new turn constructional unit in line 10. However, Kondo cuts off as Du begins producing a substantial utterance in line 11, which she latches on to her stretched out *e::::::* in line 9. Du’s utterance in line 11 turns out to be a further solicitation of proposal, though it is formatted as a self-directed utterance through the appending of *kana::* ‘I wonder,’ and just as this becomes clear, Kondo begins to produce laughter in line 12. Kondo’s laughter here seems to display an orientation to the emergent relaying of solicitations between the participants and to treat this as being laughable (as opposed to, e.g., something to be criticized or censured).

In line 13, Du undertakes a new TCU. Through the deployment of *to omoimasu ka* ‘what do you think,’ this utterance reformulates Du’s line 11 so as to be a solicitation overtly directed at Kondo. It is notable that Du here inserts no laughter particles. In the sequential environment of Kondo’s just prior laughter, Du’s utterance is formulated so as to be visible as a serious attempt to solicit a proposal from Kondo, and thus “puts all joking aside.” However, in line 14, once the trajectory of Du’s utterance-in-production becomes surmisable, Kondo again begins to produce laughter. Then, in line 15, she produces (in a smiley voice, and with an acoustic quality and rhythm which seem to give it a sort of teasing quality) *doo na n deshoo ne* ‘I wonder, huh.’ This move by Kondo essentially volleys the solicitation back to Du, who receives it with robust and extended laughter in line 16. Then, in line 17 Kondo joins in on the laughter, and the pair co-align for a moment of laughing together (Jefferson et al. 1987), though which they display a joint orientation to the emergent nature of their talk (i.e., that it is turning into an extended series of solicitations without any proposals getting made) as being non-serious and charged with a positive affect.

The analyses of Excerpts 1 and 2 have focused on the participants’ use of laughter. As noted, the interactional moments shown in Excerpts 1 and 2 constitute the

2. From Du’s point of view, this silence may be related to Kondo’s utterance format in line 5, that is *kuji ka* ‘strips or,’ which is possibly interpretable as the beginning of a list or series. From Kondo’s point of view, there are only two items potentially included in a list started by *kuji ka* ‘strips or,’ that is, the strips and the list (both of which are currently positioned on the table at which the participants are seated, and thus visually available to both of them). Thus, it might be expected that provision of only the first member of the list should be pragmatically sufficient to deliver the action of soliciting a choice between the two members of the list.

first time Du and Kondo have ever seen or spoken with each other; they came into the interaction with absolutely no information about one another, including any knowledge of how the other might behave or react. Assuming that they have an interest in managing their interaction so as not to make a bad first impression on each other, we would expect to observe the deployment of methods for co-displaying an affiliative stance, and gauging a co-participant's willingness to align with an interactional tack. The deployment of laughter is one such method. The analyses above have described in detail how the use of laughter has provided one resource by which the participants were able to display to one another their stances regarding the talk and actions underway, and by which they were able to co-display a joint affiliation (Stivers 2008) and a positive affect in relation to these stances-so-displayed. In particular, the participants have been shown to deploy laughter when answering solicitations for a proposal of action with an analogous solicitation rather than with the proposal-so-solicited. The analysis showed how, through deploying laughter, the participant returning the solicitation was able to display an affiliative stance indicating that the action of returning solicitation for solicitation was not to be taken as an affront. On the other hand, through deploying laughter in response to this, the issuer of the original solicitation was able to validate the affiliative frame; thus allowing the pair to co-display a mutually affiliative stance and to interactionally accomplish a moment of micro-bonding.

While the above excerpts have shown the participants working to produce (via solicitation of the co-participant) a proposal for a next course action, in the following section, I examine two instances where a course of action is proposed and subsequently treated by the participants as being an impropriety. Here, matters of moral order are brought into play as the participants work to organize and navigate their unfolding activities. The analysis will focus on the interactional negotiation of whether or not the impropriety should be undertaken, and the role of laughter in this process.

3.2 Being naughty

In this section, I analyze two instances where a proposed course of action is treated as being an impropriety. In the first instance (Excerpt 3), the course of action is avoided, while in the second instance (Excerpts 4 and 5), the participants move ahead with the impropriety after having co-constructed it as such. In the analysis, I point up how the participants' use of laughter is implicated in the negotiations and undertaking or avoidance of the impropriety.

In Excerpt 3, which occurs several seconds after Excerpt 2, Kondo submits a proposal to first look at the items on the list and then use the paper strips.

Excerpt 3. Not allowed

- +((Figure 4)) +((Figure 5))
 1. K +.hh e risuto o mite kara >+kuji toka iu no wa
 uh list OBJ look after strips and say NMLZ TOP
 2. ¥dame na n deshoo ka ne.< hhh [hh nn
 bad COP NMLZ COP:EPI Q P
 “Uh I wonder if we’re not allowed to draw the strips after having looked
 at
 the list.”
 3. D [n:::
 “nnn.”
 4. *n:::* soo mitai de[su ne.
 that looks:like COP P
 “Nnnn, it seems so, huh.”
 5. K [m hm hm [hm hm hm hhhh
 6. D [e heh heh heh
 7. heh heh.hhh hh.hh
 8. (0.6)
 9. D de maa,
 “And well,”
 10. K un.
 “Yeah.”
 11. (0.8)
 12. K jaa +kuji, [kuji-
 okay strips strips
 “Alright strips, strips-”
 13. D [j- kuji shiyo, kuji: de.
 ok- strips let’s:do strips by
 “Al- let’s use the strips, by strips.”

At the beginning of line 1, the participants are oriented visually to the list and strips placed on the table to their side (Figure 4, below). Kondo begins a new TCU prefaced by an inbreath and *e*, which here seems to function as a sort of “turn-entry device” (Sacks et al. 1974: 719). From there, she goes on to produce an utterance in lines 1 and 2, which she formats as a “wondering.” Though gaze direction, however, this is visible as a question to Du regarding the implausibility of first viewing the items on the list and then using the strips. By formulating her utterance in this way (as opposed to, e.g., as a straightforward proposal, such as, “Let’s do X,” etc.), she displays an orientation to maintaining a joint decision making process.

It is notable that Kondo produces the main clause of her utterance (i.e., *kuji toka iu no wa...*) at an increased tempo, deploys smiley voice starting from her production of *dame* 'bad,' and appends post-utterance laughter. As she produces this segment of her utterance, she shifts and maintains her gaze to Du (Figure 5, below), who sits straight-faced and silent. Then, in line 3, Du begins a vocalization in overlap with and in contrast to Kondo's laughter, which, through not providing

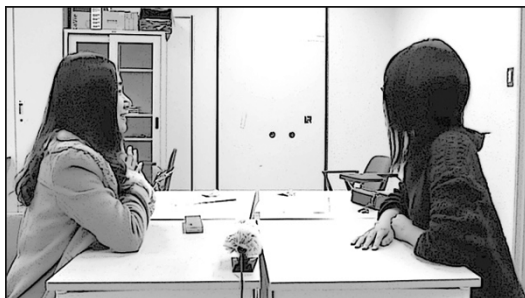


Figure 4. Line 1



Figure 5. Line 2

responsive laughter to Kondo's invitation to laugh, heartily declines to affiliate to the stance Kondo has displayed via smiley voice and laughter (see Jefferson 1979), and which, through its prosodic characteristics, projects a problematization of Kondo's proposal. This problematization is then forthcoming in line 4, where, once Kondo's laughter has ended, Du first produces an even more elongated vocalization, this time in creaky voice, after which she confirms Kondo's "wondering" from line 2 that the participants are not allowed to do such a thing as Kondo has proposed.

Then, in line 5, Kondo begins to produce laughter in overlap with the last part of Du's dismissal of her (Kondo's) proposal in line 4; Du joins in with laughter of her own in lines 6 and 7. Kondo's laughter in line 5 seems to accomplish at least two things. First, through deploying laughter here, rather than by pressing the point, for example, Kondo is able to back out of the sticky situation of having her proposal dismissed by Du. Second, through laughter, Kondo is able to display an affiliation and positive affective stance towards Du to the effect that she "has no hard feelings" about having her proposal turned down. In the case of Du, on the other hand, through producing laughter in response to Kondo's (lines 6 and 7), she is able to downplay her action of dismissing the proposal by displaying an affiliative stance towards Kondo; the participants thus co-accomplish a moment of

It should be noted that the participants were given no instructions as to how to handle the list or strips other than that they should use them to decide together on a topic for discussion. No rules or limitations were given in regard to previewing the topics or the manner in which they use the list or strips. As is clear from the examination of their interaction up to this point in Excerpt 3, however, the participants seem to co-construct a mutual understanding that it is necessary for them to pick a topic randomly or blindly, and to treat obtaining a foreknowledge of the contents of the topics as a breach in moral order.

Excerpt 4 occurs a few moments after Excerpt 3, just after Du and Kondo determined to use the topic strips rather than the list to provide a topic for their discussion. Just prior to Excerpt 4, the participants picked up the strips of paper and began to handle and examine them. Without turning the strips over, they spread them out in front of themselves, and examine and discuss the various widths of the paper strips on which the individual topics are written, and how this must reflect the length of the topic written on the other side.

Excerpt 4. Kore hosoi

- +((Figure 6))
1. D nanka nagai toka miji- [+mijika(h)i toka(h)
like long and sho- short and
2. K [desu yo ne::
COP P P
“Right, huh.”
3. D ¥wakarimasu [yo ne.
understand P P
“Like, you can tell if they’re long or short, huh.”
- +((Figure 7))
4. K [kore +ok*kii* ¥noni::
this big although
“Although this one is big,”
5. D ¥so[o desu yo ne.
that COP P P
“That’s right, huh.”
- +((Figure 8))
6. K [ko(h)re +ho(h)soi tte yu[(h).hh hih hih



Figure 6. Line 1



Figure 7. Line 4



Figure 8. Line 6

Du's use of laughter and smiley voice in lines 1 and 3 seems to display a particular stance in regard to having been made privy to information about the topics (i.e., their length) prior to selecting one, and specifically to the fact that one of the strips is obviously thinner than the others. As shown in the analysis of Excerpt 3, just moments prior to these lines in Excerpt 4 the participants, and Du in particular, treated looking at the topics before selecting one as something not allowed, and thus as potentially breaching an interactionally constructed moral order. With this still echoing in the interactional air, so to speak, it seems likely that Du's laughter and use of smiley voice here displays a specific orientation to the foreknowledge afforded by the observable widths of the strips as being something "naughty" or "impropriety."

In line 4, Kondo overlaps the last part of Du's talk in line 3 to produce *kore okkii ¥noni::* 'even though this one is big.' Notably, Kondo (1) places phonological emphasis on the descriptor *ookii* 'big' (in standard pronunciation the initial /o/ is lengthened, and the consonant /k/ is not geminate), (2) produces *noni::* 'though' in smiley voice and with a final sound stretch, and (3) couples her utterance with the action of measuring the width of the strip with her thumb and forefinger (Figure 7,

above). Grammatically and intonationally, Kondo's utterance is incomplete and thus projects a possible continuation. In line 5, Du produces *soo desu yo ne* 'that's right, huh,' which claims agreement with the assessment underway by Kondo. Then, in line 6, while measuring the strip indicated by Du in line 1 with the thumb and forefinger of her remaining hand, Kondo produces *ko(h)re ho(h)soi tte yu(h)* 'it's like this one is thin' (Figure 8, above).

The participants' joint use of smiley voice in lines 4 and 5, Kondo's measuring actions in lines 4 and 6 coupled with smiley voice in line 4 and laughter in line 6, and Du's smiley voice, creaky voice, and laughter in line 7 all work to display for one another a joint alignment to, and to renew, the stance first displayed by Du's laughter, smiley voice, and pointing in lines 1 and 3: There is something "naughty" or "impropriety" in knowing the apparent lengths of the topics before choosing one.

The following and final excerpt is contiguous to Excerpt 4. Here, having accomplished a joint orientation to the observable widths of the paper strips, and having treated foreknowledge concerning the apparent difference in the lengths of the topics, the participants go on to choose a topic while referencing the foreknowledge afforded by the widths of the strips.

Excerpt 5. Short one (continuation of Excerpt 4)

8. (1.8)
 9. D dotchi ni shimashoo ↑ka.
 which DAT let's:do Q
 'Which one should we do?'
10. K u:n.
 'Yeah.'
 +((Figure 9))
11. +(4.5)
12. K [[doo shimasu?
 how do:NPST
 'What do you want to do?'
 +((Figure 10))
13. D [[+ja kotchi ni shimashoo k[a:.
 then this DAT let's:do Q
 'Then how about doing this one?'
14. K [kore?
 'This?'
15. kore [ichiban-
 this most
 'This is the most.'
16. D [mijikai no [hh huh huh huh huh huh
 short one
 'The short one.'

17. K [hosoi. e heh heh heh heh heh
thin
"Thin."
18. D .hih.hih] he::h
19. K .heh.heh]
20. K ¥hai. (jaa kore)
yes well this
"Okay then, this one."
21. D onegai shima::su.
"Please."

After 1.8 seconds of silence following the assessment sequence shown in Excerpt 4, Du produces a solicitation of proposal, *dotchi ni shimashoo* ↑*ka* 'which one should we do.' in line 9. In line 10, Kondo issues a prolonged *u::n*, which minimally claims that she is thinking things over. Then, in line 11, the participants allow 4.5 seconds to pass in silence. During this long gap, both of the participants bring their gaze to the strips laid out in front of them, and, by slowly shifting their gaze across the strips from side to side, make publicly visible that they are carefully considering the strips (Figure 9, below). Then, in line 12, Kondo issues a solicitation to Du, who has issued a solicitation herself in line 9. However, with the long gap in line 11, rather than contributing to another volley of solicitation for solicitation, as we have seen in Excerpt 2, for example, Kondo's utterance in line 12 seems more to orient to the growing silence in line 11. In overlap with this, in line 13, Du submits a proposal herself by saying, *ja kotchi ni shimashoo ka* 'then how about doing this one,' while simultaneously pointing to one of the strips (Figure 10, below). In a manner that maps closely to the sequential pattern described by Stevanovic (2012), in line 14, Kondo moves to confirm her access to the item proposed by Du. In line 15, however, she seems to begin assessing the item by saying, *kore ichiban* 'this is the most-' Kondo cuts off when, in line 16, Du produces *mijikai no* 'the short one,' a categorization of the item that links the talk back to line 1 of Excerpt 4. Du immediately follows this utterance with extended and robust laughter that continues through line 18. Notably, in line 17, after displaying an affiliation to Du's description of the strip by producing *hosoi* 'thin,' Kondo joins in with laughter of her own, and the pair accomplishes an extended moment of laughing together (lines 16 through 19; Jefferson et al. 1987). Then, after Kondo's smiley *hai* 'okay' in line 20, the participants return to the business of joint decision making by moving on to co-display agreement and commitment to Du's proposal (Stevanovic 2012).

The analysis of Excerpt 5 has shown how, during the process of decision making, the participants insert a side sequence (Jefferson 1972) wherein they link their talk back to reference the joint stance they had established in their just prior talk (see the analysis of Excerpt 4), and, through co-accomplishing an extended round of laughing together, treat their "naughty" or "impropriety" action of choosing



Figure 9. Line 11

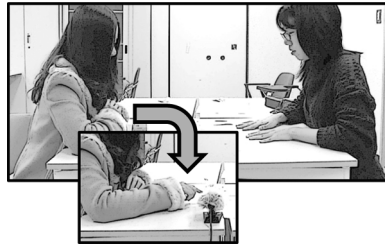


Figure 10. Line 13

the ostensibly shortest topic (judging by the width of the strip) as being a mutually affiliative one, thus co-accomplishing a moment of micro-bonding.

4. Discussion

For second language speakers, as for first language speakers, determining the sense in which a co-participant's utterance is to be taken can be a treacherous path to navigate. Whether or not a co-participant is treating a matter-at-hand as being serious business, or as being a resource for a moment of playfulness will usually not be explicitly indicated (i.e., people do not usually pre-announce a next move as initiating a round of play, or as terminating a playful frame, etc.).

In his theory of play and fantasy, anthropologist and social psychologist Gregory Bateson (1972) notes that social interaction involves multiple and contrasting levels of abstraction. Among these levels of abstraction, Bateson argues, is the metacommunicative level, which is concerned with managing the relationship between the interactants rather than with communicating a denotative message about the world per se (e.g., Bateson's example, "The cat is on the mat"; 1972: 183). According to Bateson, interactants employ "signals" which function at the metacommunicative level to indicate the "frame" within which some message is to be received (i.e., serious, joking threatening, etc.; 1972: 184, 193). In a similar

vein, Gumperz (1982) notes that speakers and hearers may rely on “contextualization cues,” such as intonation and speech style, to indicate to one another their interactional frame.

The present study expands upon and deepens our understanding of the use of laughter in interaction as a metacommunicative resource. In particular, the analyses have demonstrated how the participants used laughter not only to co-indicate their interactional frame, but also as a tool by which to negotiate their actual co-engagement in, or avoidance of, next courses of action within the frame so indicated. In this way, laughter was shown not only to buffer potential affronts by signaling a non-threatening, non-antagonistic interactional frame as the participants negotiated which one of them would issue a proposal for a next course of action, but also to manage issues of moral accountability in treating a proposed course of action as being improper, and subsequently coordinate their engagement in such a course of action. In this way, the participants’ laughter is demonstrated to function in a more active way than Bateson’s (1972) signals or Gumperz’ (1982) contextualization cues.

Glenn (2003), on the other hand, uses conversation analysis to demonstrate the concrete particulars of how interactants in talk-in-interaction use laughter as a signal to co-construct their talk as play, and manage the ongoing problem of developing a joint understanding in regard to the interactional question previously identified by Bateson (1972: 188): “Is this play?” The analyses of the present study have shown that laughter not only indicates and helps to build and manage an interactional frame, but that it is also intricately involved in co-constituting moral accountabilities, and negotiating and coordinating next courses of action. Furthermore, the analyses have demonstrated both of these active functions of laughter to be implicated in the accomplishment of micro-bonding through the interactional construction of mutual affiliation. It is interesting to note that Du and Kondo were observed to have exchanged phone numbers and contact information with each other after leaving the room where their recorded interaction occurred. This was not observed in other dyads appearing in the data corpus (although it may have occurred out of radar range, so to speak). Such behavior seems to be suggestive of a nascent friendship, and as such provides a glimpse into the ways in which the participants interarticulate their interactional accomplishment of micro-bonding with lay notions of bonding or friendship. In this way, the participants’ documentary method (Garfinkel 1967; Watson 1997) of the mutual constitution of such bonding or friendship comes into analytical view.

5. Concluding remarks

As noted above, the data of the present study are limited in generalizability to the procedures and processes of naturally occurring mundane talk. However, the analyses have provided a glimpse of some of the robust functions of laughter in negotiating and coordinating engagement in a next course of action within the context of an initial interaction wherein the participants were asked to engage in a topical discussion task. Though it remains an empirical question, it seems likely that such functions would potentially be available in broader contexts of initial interaction and task-focused cooperation. Also, while the present study has uncovered some aspects of the participants' use of laughter in co-constituting moments of bonding as mutual affiliation, there are undoubtedly other functions yet to be brought to light. Future research should examine data from similar and divergent interactional contexts in order to build a more complete understanding through comparison, and also consider additional functions of laughter in such contexts.

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Creating interactional bonds during theatrical rehearsals

An interactional approach of the documentary method of interpretation

Augustin Lefebvre

Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3 University

The process of embodying a theatrical script for organizing the performance of an interaction among fictional characters and displaying interactional bonds on stage depends on the way the participants (the director and the actors) *interpret* the script. Interpreting the script means for them that each line of the script becomes an underlying pattern to which extra elements (embodied behaviors, broader contextual elements) can be connected in order to build the multimodal performances of interactional bonds. In this paper I focus on how participants build two different interpretations of the same segment of the script, building two kinds of interactional bonds among addressed and un-addressed recipients. The goal of this paper is to understand how the actors *embody the script* and *create the performance of interactional bonds* by relying on the script as an underlying pattern.

Keywords: theatrical rehearsals, script, documentary method of interpretation, multimodality, addressed and un-addressed recipients

1. Introduction

During the theatrical rehearsal, the actors, in collaboration with the director, construct their future performance by relying on a shared resource – the written script – which they connect with embodied actions – including talk – relying on their mundane knowledge of social interaction (Lefebvre 2018).

In this paper, I will focus on how participants construct ‘interactional bonds’ – a theme also explored by the considered play – through mutual bodily orientations and touch. I will argue that the process of embodying the written script is reflexive

with its interpretation. Being from the director's or from the actors' viewpoints, embodying the script consists in connecting it with a broader context: an embodied context, a verbal context or a combination of both. During this embodiment process, the talk available in the written script and uttered by the actors becomes an *underlying pattern*. Underlying pattern refers to the notion of *documentary method of interpretation* (Garfinkel 1967) which will afford an important analytical frame to understand the process of embodying the script for creating interactional bonds. I will show that the same script can become the underlying pattern of different embodiments, engendering different types of interactional bonds.

1.1 Interactional bonds

The extracts I will observe are taken from a play which occurs in a family within which relationships are challenged by different types of problems (see data and settings below). Displaying interactional bonds is therefore a crucial dimension for the actors. In this paper I will adopt a definition of interactional bonds inspired by the multimodal and interactional approach of *participation*.

In order for human beings to coordinate their behavior with that of their coparticipants, in the midst of talk participants must display to one another what they are doing and how they expect others to align themselves toward the activity of the moment. Language and embodied action provide crucial resources for the achievement of such social order. The term participation refers to actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk. (Goodwin 2001: 172)

Following this quotation, in this paper, the expression “interactional bonds” will refer to the interactional organization of participation, i.e. to the multimodal practices through which participants to a setting coordinate their actions in order to accomplish their shared activity. The specificity of the setting we will observe is that the participants' activity consists precisely in constructing the performance of interactional bonds. The paper will focus on how these participants construct and display interactional bonds through multimodal practices as professional actors and director, by interpreting and embodying the script.

1.2 Methodology of analysis

In order to follow closely how the participants to the theatrical rehearsal accomplish their activity, I will rely on the methods developed in the field of Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 2007) and multimodal analysis (Goodwin 1979; Mondada 2006, 2009). The principle of this analytical perspective is to

follow the temporal and spatial unfolding of an interaction by taking into account the range of resources that participants mobilize in order to accomplish their local tasks, and more specifically by focusing on the sequential organization of the interaction. The sequential organization of the social interaction refers to the fact that each action of a participant is responded to by the next action of the next participant, and that the interpretation made of the previous action is available in the response for the coparticipants as well as for the analyst. The construction of intersubjectivity becomes in this perspective available to analysis (Schegloff 1992). In the case of the theatrical rehearsal, it becomes possible to observe step by step how the actors rely on the script to produce an embodied performance, or how the director corrects it. The analysis relies on transcriptions of video-recordings of naturally-occurring interactions (for the importance of working on this type of data, see Sacks 1984).

1.3 Data and setting

The analyzed data are taken from a large video corpus (more than 200 hours in total) collected in Kinoshita (Japan) in 2014 as part of the ethnographic and interactional observation of the “*Human-Robot-theatre project*” launched by Hirata Oriza and Ishiguro Hiroshi. The rehearsed play is an adaptation of Kafka’s *Metamorphosis* written by Hirata Oriza. One main difference from the original story is that Gregor wakes up transformed not into an insect, but into an android, and his family find and converse with him when entering his room. The establishment of interactional bonds among the family members in this chaotic situation is one of the topics of the play, thus the actor’s ability to find embodied ways to manifest these bonds is the challenge facing actors and director.

For the duration of one month French actors and the Japanese director rehearsed the play. Originally written in Japanese it was translated into French by a professional Japanese-French translator. As both parties mutually cannot speak the other’s language, an interpreter translates to the actors every instruction by the director throughout the rehearsals, but also the actors’ questions to the director.

In this paper, the data are taken from the first days of the rehearsals, a period during which the main decisions taken by the actors on how to embody the script are negotiated and developed collaboratively among the participants and available for observation, recording and analysis.

1.4 The spatial organization of the theatrical rehearsal: Performing, observing and correcting

Image 1 shows the setting in which the recorded theatrical rehearsal occurred. A line (which can be considered as a *semiotic structure*, see Goodwin 2000: 1505, and Lefebvre 2018: 263) on the ground makes visible the two different spaces around which rehearsing theater is organized: inside the yellow lines we find *the performance space*, in which the actors accomplish their performance, outside the yellow lines is *the observation space* from which the director, on the left side of the table, observes the actors' performance. The organization of the rehearsal space is directly orientated to facilitating the director's observation, and possible need to correct (Schegloff et al. 1977) the actors' performance. Following this spatial organization, I examine the "bonding process" during:

1. *the actors' performance*. The actors accomplish a performance by relying on the script as an underlying pattern: through their embodied behavior they manifest a specific kind of interactional bond within the segment of the script they are performing.
2. *the director's correction*. The director relies on the performance he just observed as an underlying pattern for describing another kind of interactional bond and miming how to perform it.

These two cases will show the reflexivity between the construction of the embodiment of the script and the construction of interactional bonds among the fictional characters of the script.



Image 1. The performance's and the observation's spaces

2. The actors' performance

2.1 Situation of the play at the beginning of Extract 1

At the moment of the following extract, the characters of the play (as well as the audience) know that the father is talking and explaining to the mother that (1) the sister who just lost her job is planning to enlist and go to war; (2) that the brother (now an android) fears losing his human capacity to feel emotions, and more specifically to be able to feel sadness. When the mother enters the room she then sees her children for the first time since the father explained to her their daughter's new decision and the son's fear. As a practical problem, when entering the room, the actress has to decide what (embodied) behavior to coordinate with the words available in her lines in order to show how her character, the mother, reacts to this new information in front of her children and how she creates a bond during the performance on stage with her children which takes into account this new information. Indeed, this kind of bad news (i.e. the fact that her son is depressed and that her daughter is projecting a dangerous action) can, from a mother's viewpoint (i.e. a standard mother taking care of her children) be categorized as producing a concern. Apart from the information available in her line, the script itself does not provide any explicit instruction to the actress performing the mother to decide in which direction entering in the room, where standing, where sitting, if she needs to touch the other actors or not, and so on. Furthermore, these decisions will have an impact not only on the kind of interactional bonding that the actors collaboratively elaborate, but also on the meaning of the lines: distance can be a signifier and saying a specific line while standing near the sister or near the brother can change radically its meaning.

Extract 1 (IRE is standing on the left side of im. 1 and sitting on the right side of im. 2; JER is sitting in bed on im. 1 and 2)

The following transcript shows how IRE performs her entering in the room after having heard the father's explanations. Her way of performing this segment of the script manifests how she interprets it.

1 IRE	h::
2 JER	ah/(11.4)
ir	enters the room, walks, seats and gazes toward JER



im.1

3 IRE comment tu te sens/

how do you feel/

(0.9)

4 JER bien/ (1.7) je crois/

well/ i think/

(2.7)



im.2

In coordination with her entering in the room, IRE manifests her presence by a vocal expiration (l. 1) – not written in the script – to which JER answers by acknowledging verbally (“ah”, l. 2) that he saw her. IRE then walks directly toward JER, in silence, during 11.4 seconds (l. 2). While passing behind LAE she touches her shoulder with her right hand (see im. 3 below), performing what could be recognized as a mother’s affectionate gesture. Indeed, at least in Europe, and more specifically in France, family is a social context in which touching each other is a way of showing affection. However, in other contexts, this way of manifesting affection is less common, for instance with friends or with colleagues. Performing such gesture is then a method through which IRE manifests a family bond.



im. 3: IRE’s affectionate gesture

However, IRE does not stay near LAE, she continues towards JER, sits near him and gazes towards him, before addressing to him her next line (l. 3). During this short segment of the script, the mother (IRE) does not talk to the sister (LAE) but only to the brother (JER). This is actually the case during the ten next lines following the extract (not transcribed here). The main interactional bonding which

is available through the lines at this moment of the play is established between the mother (IRE) and her son (JER) and the embodied actions performed by IRE are congruent with the organization of the script: she sits near and gazes towards the character to whom her character talks.

2.2 Interpreting and embodying the script

On the basis of this first observation, and by taking into account what Harold Garfinkel calls, after Karl Mannheim, the *documentary method of interpretation*, we can understand that the actor's interpretation of the talk available in the script and that they utter is manifested through their embodied behavior. About the documentary method of interpretation, Garfinkel states that:

The method consists of treating an actual appearance as “the document of,” as “pointing to,” as “standing on behalf of” a presupposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, but the individual evidences, in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of “what is known” about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other.
(Garfinkel 1967: 78)

What does that mean in the extract we just examined? Each actor's embodied action can be understood as “the document of” or as “pointing to” the segment of the script which they utter at that specific moment, and which becomes their underlying pattern (i.e. from an ethnomethodological perspective, an *account*). In Extract 1, IRE creates an embodied context to the part of the script she verbalizes. This embodied context has a more extended time duration than the simple utterance of the line. For instance, walking during some seconds in silence is a way of contextualizing a specific segment of the script and producing a specific meaning on the basis of this talk. Here, waiting to reach the sit near JER is a way of insisting on him as being the privileged recipient not only of that segment of talk but of the whole mother's attention, which is manifested through this action, documenting her concern for him. The context which is constructed during the performance has then a temporality. It has also a spatiality, as uttering a line implies for the actors to be in a specific place, or to be moving from one place to another. The place from which a segment of the script is uttered becomes an important aspect for producing its meaning and the specific interactional bond through that segment of talk. the following extract will show the importance of the spatial dimension of the uttered segment.

In the considered segment of the script, the mother talks to the brother (JER). As a professional actress, IRE's practice consists in providing a compatible physical behavior with this segment of the script which becomes its context.

The actors use their uttering of the script to inform their performance of its characters in their embodied characterization. But reflexively, the embodied behaviors also help the actors to elaborate the meaning of the script. To understand how the IRE chooses a relevant embodied behavior, let's turn briefly to the notion of participation framework proposed by Goffman.

2.3 Establishing interactional bonds through bodily postures and touch

Goffman (1981) develops the notion of *participation framework* (1981: 137) to refine the opposition between *speaker* and *hearer* by describing the different *participation statuses* (*ibid.*) that participants occupy according to the specificities of the situation in which they produce talk:

When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it. The codification of these various positions and the normative specification of appropriate conduct within each provide an essential background for interaction analysis-whether (I presume) in our own society or any other. (Goffman 1981: 2)

Among these participation statuses, Goffman distinguishes between addressed and un-addressed recipients (Goffman 1981: 133). In the extract we examined, the actress performing the mother uses her knowledge of the difference between these two types of hearers to organize her embodied behavior: as the mother talks to the brother in the script, she bodily constitutes him as an addressed recipient by walking towards him, sitting near him and orienting gaze toward him. At the same time, she constitutes the other actress (the sister) as a non-addressed recipient by avoiding to look at her. However the situation is a bit more complex as we saw that IRE touches LAE's shoulder when passing behind her. As Goffman noted, not only sound is at issue but also *touch*.

For example, the terms "speaker" and "hearer" imply that sound alone is at issue, when, in fact, it is obvious that sight is organizationally very significant too, sometimes even touch. (Goffman 1981: 129)

As we saw in Extract 1, the written script makes available to the actors a conversation between the mother and the brother in presence of the sister. The sister can hear the conversation but she does not participate verbally to it. Moreover the topic of the conversation between the mother and the brother is the brother's feeling of loosing his ability to perceive sadness. In this sense the sister is a non-addressed recipient. The affectionate gesture of touching the shoulder that IRE performs on the sister's shoulder before talking to the brother can be seen as a way of acknowl-

edging her presence and displaying at this moment the mother-daughter's bond, attenuating her status of future non-addressed recipient.

IRE relies on the documentary method of interpretation to build embodied behaviors that she selected in order to fit with the written organization of the script (i.e. the conversation between the mother and the brother) which becomes their underlying pattern. We saw that the distinction between addressed and un-addressed recipient was a criteria to organize her embodiment of the script, and create an interactional bond manifested through the communication between the mother and the brother – even if she manages to show affection to the un-addressed recipient by touching her. Reflexively, these embodied behaviors become the context of the talk available in the script, making its meaning more accurate.

In the next section of the paper, I will examine how the director uses the documentary method of interpretation. While the actors used the talk available in the script as an underlying pattern for organizing their embodied behavior, the director connects the actors' previous performance to extra-knowledge (i.e. verbal information, not available directly in the script), specifying its meaning and justifying a different embodiment, which he also mimes. In so doing he relies on the talk available in the script as an underlying pattern to create a different kind of interactional bond.

3. The director's correction

In Extract 2, the director describes a problem in the performance he just observed. This problem lies in the embodied actions IRE coordinates with her lines of the script, and more specifically her way of creating a bond with the other characters. During this sequence of correction, the director coordinates his talk with movements in space and pointing gestures in order to describe and categorize the important moments and actions of the performance he just observed.

3.1 Explaining the problem

Extract 2

In Extract 2, ORI explains the problematic meaning of the script at this moment of the play: while the mother learnt something giving cause for concern about her daughter, she only speaks to the brother – we saw in the previous extract that this organization of the script led IRE to sit near the brother, excluding LAE (the sister) from the interactional space and bond IRE establishes with JER.

- 1 ORI *im.1 okke(0.5) ano: (2.8) koko:(1.0) koko ha desu ne
 ok uh here here right uh
 or *stands and walks twd the entrance--->
- 2 (0.7) saigo:: ga* (0.7) chotto okashikutte desu ne im.2
 at the end it's a bit strange isn't it
 ----->* remains in the same position--->
- 3 (0.3) *sore (wo) (0.3) im.3 okasan ha/* sono sen- (0.6)
 that is the mother this wa-
 --->*points twd kitchen-----* points twd LAE-
- 4 greta ga im.4 senso ni iko hanashi: e shiyo* koko de
 greta talked about going to war here
 --->* twd door
- 5 kiite kita no ni desu ne:: im.5 (0.3)* e:: to::: sono
 although she just heard this right uh: a:nd that
 --->* points twd JER
- 6 (0.6) gureguaru no ho: no hanashi bakari im.6* saisho
 --->*
 she only talks to gregoire at the
- 7 surun desu ne/
 beginning

(0.3)



im.1



im.2



im.3



im.4



im.5



im.6

In this extract, we can observe how ORI reconstructs through movements in space and gestures the respective spatial positions of the different characters of the scene he just observed, and reflexively proposes an interpretation of their interactional bond. ORI first moves from his observation space (im. 1) to the performance space (im. 2): he walks until reaching a place near the entrance of the fictional room, near also to the place where LAE, JER and IRE were sitting (im. 2). From this place, he categorizes the scene he just observed as “chotto okashikutte” (a bit strange) (l. 2) and reenacts it by combining verbal, gestural and body movement behaviors. He first points toward the (fictional) kitchen from which the mother came (im. 3) by mentioning verbally the topic of his turn “okasan ha” (the mother) (l. 3). Then in coordination with the formulation of “greta ga” (l. 4) he points toward LAE and maintains his pointing while uttering Greta’s problematic project “senso ni iko” (she is thinking about going to war) (im. 4). Through these multimodal practices, he reconstructs the situation that the mother experiences as she enters her son’s room, after her conversation with the father during which she learnt about Greta’s new project. In coordination with the segment of his turn in which he depicts the mother’s action just after she heard her daughter’s project “koko de kiite kitta” (l. 4–5), ORI moves one step forward to position his body on the fictional door and reenacts the mother’s entering through a gesture of both arms (im. 5). In other words, ORI coordinates his gesture depicting the mother’s action of entering the room with the mention of the new information the mother just learnt (hearing that her daughter considers going to war) (l. 5). By the segment “no ni” (although) (l. 5) ORI introduces the contradiction between what the mother just heard and the fact that she only speaks to her son (l. 6–7, im. 6).

By miming the mother’s movement of entering the room in coordination with the explanation of what she just learnt about her daughter ORI produces a multimodal document to introduce his description of the element to change in the next performance. His document shows the temporality and spatiality of the mother’s action. At this moment, what the director makes relevant is to produce the image of the performance he just saw.

The director’s miming of the performance script becomes the underlying pattern he uses for describing a situation which is not explicitly visible in the performance he just saw. Concretely, the director explains and constructs the discrepancy between the mother’s new knowledge and her behavior when she enters the room. This discrepancy is not obvious as for instance shows the fact that IRE does not establish a hierarchical importance between the two problems (the daughter intention to go to war and the brother’s concern to stop feeling sadness) that

the father explained to her.¹ At the contrary from ORI's viewpoint, the daughter's problem is more important from the mother's viewpoint (see footnote 1).

3.2 Providing a new context

Extract 3

In Extract 3, which occurs after the interpreter's translation to the French actors of ORI's previous explanation (translation not transcribed thereafter), ORI continues to mime the performance of this segment of the script as the underlying pattern of his explanation, focusing on the mother's state of mind.

1. The fact that the director's interpretation is not obvious is shown for instance in the following extract (occurring during the sequence of translation with the interpreter – INT) where IRE proposes that Gregoire's problem is also an important concern for the mother.

- IRE ah/ mais parce que je (0.2)le mon le père m'a aussi dit/(0.3)
 oh/ but because i the my the father also said to me
 que grégoire avait peur de ne plus pouvoir être triste/
 that gregoire was afraid to not be able to be sad anymore
- INT euh [e to
- IRE [y a deux problèmes/
 there are two problems
- INT otosan ha/=
 the father
- ORI =mh/= [mh [mh
- INT =hanashita no (wo) [greta no otto [to issho ni/ e: greguaru
 ga
 talked about greta's brother at the same time uh
 gregoire
- ORI mh
- INT kimochi wo shi[nu to iu [koto (wasure[teru)
 is loosing his feelings this is not mentioned
- ORI [mh [mh [mochiron mochiron demo/
 Yeah yeah of course of course but
- kochira mein/
 this is the more important



im.1



im.2

- 1 ORI *demo (0.2) chotto ikinari sono hanashi wo suru no ga
but a bit suddenly to talk about that
or *mimes internal emotion--->
2 muishiki #im.1 ni ya de/* #im.2 kochira no hanashi*
unconsciously becomes unbearable and she talks to him
-----* points twd JER-----*
3 wo shiterun da
((omitted part))

In this turn, ORI describes the mother's mental state of mind "muishiki ni ya de", l. 2 (unconsciously she does not want) as the cause for explaining why, whereas she learnt her daughter's project, the mother does not talk directly to Greta but to her son. In coordination with his verbal explanation, ORI produces two gestures making more precise the opposition between the mother's internal, psychological state, and her external, visible, behavior. He coordinates the first unit of his turn ("muishiki ni ya de", l. 2) with a circular gesture of two hands symbolizing the circulation of an inner emotion in the mother's body. Then he coordinates "kochira no hanashi wo shiterun da" (she talks in this direction/ there) with a pointing gesture of his two hands in JER's direction, making explicit the meaning of "kochira" (l. 2) (there). The description of the mother's state of mind affords ORI a context to interpret the segment of the script that the actors has just performed, and a resource to introduce an alternative way of embodying it, and therefore a resource to embody and perform on stage another kind of interactional bond.

3.3 A new way of performing the same segment

Extract 4

Extract 4 shows how ORI describes for IRE this alternative way to embody her script at the moment he just observed before initiating his correction.



im.3

1 ORI *soko de/ desu ne/ cho- chotto yatte mitai desu kedo/*
at this moment well i'd like to try

or *moves twd LAE----> *

2 INT c'est pour ça je
that's why i

3 ORI *saisho ni kitte #im.3 #im.4 ko (0.2) daki shimetari
at the beginning she comes and like this hugs her

or *enacts entering and touching LAE's shoulders--->

4 shite dai[jobu/
are you allright

5 INT [ah

6 (0.2)

7 IRE [d'accord/
ok

8 ORI [te iu ka zenbu kiita wa yo tte*(0.4)daki shimenagara*
she says for instance i heard everything and hugs her

or ----->* repositions his body*

9 *dakara karada ha #im.5 greta no hou ni
so her body is oriented toward greta

or *points twd LAE --->

10 (0.2)

11 IRE [d'accord
ok

12 ORI [ko daki shimenagara* itte/#im.6 kochira hanashitetara
she hugs like this and talks in this direction

or ----->* points twd JER

13 IRE ok



im.5



im.6

In coordination with introducing verbally the alternative way of embodying this specific segment of the script, “soko de/ desu ne/ cho- chotto yatte mitai desu kedo/” (l. 1) (at this moment I’d like to try) ORI repositions his body behind LAE. As he finishes this turn unit, he is standing in a position from which he can perform himself the gestures he will propose IRE to perform in the position he expects her to be (i.e. behind LAE).

From this position, ORI verbally describes the action the mother performs at the beginning of the scene he is correcting “saisho ni kitte”, (l. 3) (when she arrives at the beginning) and adds a new action to it “daki shimetari”, (l. 3) (she hugs her). In coordination with this verbal description of the action to perform, ORI mimes through gestures this same action of hugging the daughter (im.v3–4). He extends his turn to connect these gestures with the verbal meaning they could convey or be coordinated with: “daijobu”, (l. 4) (it’s/it will be ok); “zenbu kiita wa yo”, (l.v8) (I heard everything). ORI thus concludes the general principle of his correction (l. 9–12) of the mother’s behavior: she stays near the sister, touching her shoulders or hugging her while talking to the brother. Once again he makes his talk more accurate by coordinating it with gestures (im. 5–6). Interestingly, we can note here that hugging practices (a way of touching the other’s body) become the sign of a family bond also from the Japanese director’s viewpoint who even emphasizes the importance of this practice compared to IRE’s use (Extract 1).

3.4 Miming the new performance

During his correction, the director begins by moving from his observation space to the performance space in which the actors are standing. By so doing he can use his body, the performance space and the actor’s body to document a new interpretation of this segment of the script by miming an embodied performance corresponding to it. Interestingly, we can see that through this complex and multimodal description, the director is not only talking about the script, but rather

about the performance of the script. The underlying pattern on which he grounds his description of the problem of interactional bonding is not only the script, but the performance of the script.

The first step of his correction is to describe a problem of interactional bonding in the segment of the script the actors has just performed (Extract 2). The starting point of his correction is the fact that the kind of interactional bond that is available in the script needs a specific performance. That is why ORI begins by describing this interactional bonding problem, by relying on pointing gestures to anchor the script within the performance space (the kitchen, the positions of LAE and JER). For so doing he relies on movements within this space (the mother's movement from the kitchen to the room), on the actions the mother is supposed to perform in each space (in the kitchen she hears from the father that her daughter wants to enlist to war, in the room the mother only talk to the brother) and on the discrepancy between her actions (Extract 2). To explain this discrepancy in the way the mother produces an interactional bond at this moment of the script, the director provides a context which is not directly available in the script: he describes the mother's mental state of mind (she unconsciously does not want to talk about this topic). In terms of documentary method of interpretation, the script still stands as an underlying pattern to which he connects a new element (the mother's state of mind) to interpret a problematic/ visible behavior (the mother does not talk to her daughter yet she knows that she has a problem, Extract 3). But in order to correct the previous performance, providing this kind of "document" is not enough.

To describe the performance he expects IRE to perform, the director uses his own body and LAE's body to perform himself the action he is expecting: to stay near LAE touching her shoulders and talking to JER. In so doing the mother manifests tactilely a non-verbal bond with her daughter, while establishing at the same time, a verbal bond with her son. In term of documentary method of interpretation, the embodied action of touching the sister's shoulder becomes the document of the interactional bonding between the mother and the sister, in absence of talk, still providing a new context to the script as underlying pattern. Through this action of touching, the discrepancy between the mother's new knowledge about her daughter and the fact that she only talks to her son disappears.

This correction is an instance of how, during the theatrical rehearsal, the participants build an interactional bond by embodying the script by relying on the documentary method of interpretation: they use the script as an underlying pattern by connecting it to multimodal descriptions, here the verbal description of a state of mind and embodied actions corresponding to it (i.e. touching a person and talking to another one).

4. Conclusion

We saw how the participants to the theatrical rehearsal rely on the documentary method of interpretation in two types of situation. In the first case, the actors manifest an interpretation of the script by connecting specific embodied behaviors with it. We saw first how an actress established a physical bond (by walking and sitting near her addressed recipient in the script and partially ignoring the un-addressed recipient) using the talk available in the script as the underlying pattern of her embodied behavior. Reflexively we saw that her embodiment manifested her interpretation of the script in terms of interactional bonds (the interactional bond with the brother to which she talks is primary, the interactional bond with the sister is secondary).

We saw then a second case of use of the documentary method of interpretation by the director, this time to construct an alternative way of performing the same segment of the script. During his correction, the director uses the miming of the performance he just saw as an underlying pattern to describe another possible performance. He therefore enacts the performance he expects from the actors by miming another way of constructing the interactional bond available in that same segment of the script. Keeping on touching the recipient which is not addressed through talk is a solution to create a bond with her while talking to the other. As suggested by Goffman, but also by Goodwin and Goodwin (2002), the distinction between addressed and un-addressed recipient can be refined by introducing other canals than sound in the analysis as IRE and ORI do with touch. Complex constructions of interactional bonds can therefore emerge: a participant can be verbally un-addressed but tactilely addressed.

During the theatrical rehearsal, each embodied behavior coordinated with a segment of the script becomes a document of that segment of the script: the embodied behavior creates a context for building interactional bonds on the basis of the linguistic resource available in the script. Therefore, coordinating another embodied behavior with the same segment of the script may produce another interactional bond.

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SECTION IV

Performing bonding through indexicality and intertextuality

Getting to the point

Indexical reference in English and Japanese email discourse

Lindsay Yotsukura
University of Maryland

This paper compares indexical expressions utilized in English and Japanese email discourse from book companies in the United States and Japan in order to highlight their referential functions and underscore their pedagogical importance. These deictics also serve a marketing purpose by constituting a bond between company and customer and encouraging further patronage. English emails adopt a relatively casual stance, with positive politeness markers such as bare imperatives functioning to invite future customer engagement. Pronominal reference also predominates, whereas in Japanese, recurring combinations of nominal forms with polite prefixes and honorific or humble polite predicates enable a company to express appreciation for a customer's patronage, acknowledge benefits received, and indirectly index a deferent stance consonant with customer expectations for online vendors.

Keywords: indexicality, deixis, business, email, benefactives, honorifics, politeness, English, Japanese

1. Introduction

This paper investigates indexicality in email confirmations of membership registration and online orders from bookselling companies in the United States and Japan, including Amazon, Barnes and Noble, Book-Off, Books Kinokuniya, Borders Books & Music, and Penguin/Random House. The documents are part of a larger corpus of business email correspondence collected by the author in 2011–2018, including a three-year period of residence in Japan.

These two sub-genres of discourse are highlighted for a number of reasons. First, they are essential to the establishment of a relationship, and thereby a bond, via email between the company and the customer, even though it is likely that

the majority if not all of these email tokens were auto-generated upon receipt of a membership registration or placement of an order. Moreover, the regularity with which these types of emails are disseminated by companies that have an online presence in English and/or Japanese allows us to perceive the generic conventions at work in the two languages. More specifically, we can identify the range of indexical expressions used to point to referents in the discourse, as well as the marketing strategies employed to encourage future patronage. Finally, these emails reveal that the discursive practices with respect to indexicality differ in the two languages, with person deixis predominating in English, and social deixis in Japanese.

Wetzel (2011) notes the importance of pronouns and deictic reference to advertising strategies in English, citing Dean (2009), who argues that advertisers should heavily utilize pronouns so that “people will identify with you”. Dean further writes, “They will be drawn into the picture you are painting of them enjoying or succeeding in your product or service. Creating a picture of them and their needs being met by your company spells creating an order.” While Dean is describing advertising narratives, his points are also relevant to marketing emails of the sort discussed here, in that the companies that send them have a vested interest in establishing a bond with new customers who request membership status, in maintaining that bond when customers place orders, and in encouraging continued patronage by highlighting the benefits of membership for those customers. Expressions of gratitude and/or indebtedness on the part of the company may also help to further enhance these bonds.

Wetzel (2011) also examines public signs in Japan and the United States in order to analyze the respective indexical practices embedded in these two cultures. Stating that “linguistic and social conventions are reinforced (or subverted) and consciousness is shaped every time we step into the world,” she poses the following important research question: “(H)ow do sign-makers *manipulate* deixis when they *assume* relationships with their readers?” (Wetzel 2011: 209, emphasis mine)

In a similar manner, I analyze tokens of email discourse here in order to illustrate the indexical practices at work in English and Japanese business correspondence. A comparison of emails in the two languages will demonstrate that while pronouns predominate in English, in Japanese a variety of deictic strategies are utilized to point to the referent, including polite prefixes on numerous nominal forms which recur regularly within the corpus, and a more limited set of honorific and humble polite predicate forms. I then argue that these indexical expressions may be read and interpreted by their respective American and Japanese customers/audiences as stylistically and situationally appropriate, even though the linguistic strategies they adopt are distinct. In particular, we will see that whereas American companies adopt a relatively relaxed tone in English emails that may engender a sense of solidarity and thereby foster a bond with an American customer/reader,

Japanese companies adopt a more formal and deferent stance that may nonetheless cultivate a bond with a Japanese customer/reader. I will argue that this is the case because such a stance in Japanese maintains the expected public persona for a customer service encounter, expresses an appreciation for the customer's patronage, and also conveys an awareness of benefits to the company through that patronage.

For Japanese learners, especially those whose native language is English or another Western language, a contextualized understanding of the nominal and verbal forms that appear in Japanese emails is critical to understanding not only the propositional content of each utterance and the gist (i.e., the point) of the message as a whole, but also in discerning the referent(s) of each utterance as the message unfolds. Because these references are socially deictic, they fluctuate between the sender/company and the addressee/customer. In fact, both the sender/company and the addressee/customer may be indexed within a single utterance, in much the same way that the pronouns “we” and “you” are employed within a single sentence in English business email tokens in parallel contexts.

For native and non-native speakers of Japanese who have already developed a “genre knowledge” (Berkenkotter and Huckin 1995; Mayes 2003; Tardy 2009) of these discursive practices through experience in receiving such emails, these findings will not be surprising. However, for learners of Japanese with little or no experience in business discourse, especially those whose base language is English or another Western language that likewise depends heavily upon person rather than social deixis in such contexts, it can be difficult to “get to the point” of these emails (Yotsukura 2016, 2018). This paper therefore also seeks to contribute to the field of Japanese language pedagogy in order to assist learners in recognizing the culturally situated practices embedded in this discourse genre.

In this regard, Ide and Ueno (2011: 458) have notably argued that “the use of formal forms is inherently dependent upon the speakers’ observation of the social conventions of the society of which they are members.” Underscoring the importance of the concepts *wakimae* (“discernment”) and *ba* (“field”), Ide and Ueno point out that Japanese speakers “place themselves in relation to the(ir) addressees in daily practice” through the selection of linguistic expressions such as nouns with honorific prefixes and honorific predicative elements. The present chapter will demonstrate that these notions are not only fundamental to an understanding of linguistic politeness in Japanese business discourse, but also essential to the cultivation, instantiation and maintenance of bonds between companies and customers.

2. Overview to the chapter

The chapter will be organized as follows. First, I will introduce sample English and Japanese email confirmations for membership registration and online orders. In the process, I will highlight recurring and shared indexical expressions within each sub-genre and language. I will also discuss the overall tone conveyed through the relative formality of these expressions. For reference, four email texts are provided in the Appendices. Appendix A is an English membership confirmation; Appendix B is an English order confirmation; Appendix C is a Japanese membership confirmation; and Appendix D is a Japanese order confirmation. Less relevant segments have been deleted for space considerations, but each text includes the sections discussed here. Appendices C and D include English glosses.

Following this discussion, I consider the potential discursive effects on the reader that may be conveyed through these various forms, and note how a particular audience, based on sociocultural expectations and norms established through distinct communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) might interpret these texts in terms of their appeal and effectiveness in fostering a continued bond with a given company. In so doing, I also refer to Haugh's (2005) discussion of the "importance of 'place' in Japanese politeness", and Okamoto's (2008) analysis of direct and indirect indexicality of supportive giving and receiving verbs (SGR Verbs) in Japanese.

Finally, I close by suggesting we utilize such comparisons of email tokens in the Japanese language classroom in order to familiarize students with conventional expressions adopted in these confirmations and assist learners in more readily perceiving the gist of such email messages through recognition of the shifting indexical references embedded therein.

3. Indexical reference and marketing strategies in English membership confirmations

As noted in the Introduction, English membership and order confirmations largely rely upon pronominal reference in order to index the roles of company and customer. Extract (1) represents the opening section of a membership confirmation from Barnes & Noble, an American bricks and mortar and online bookseller. (Source text appears in Appendix A.) Pronominal forms and proper nouns are italicized for emphasis.

(1) *Membership confirmation opening (English)*

Subject line: Welcome to *Barnes & Noble Membership*

Dear Lindsay Yotsukura,

Welcome to the *Barnes & Noble Member* program! We will mail *your Member card* to *you* within the next 14 business days.

Your Member number is: (XXX)

In this extract, we note that reference to company and customer is clearly indexed through the use of pronouns, with “we” being used to refer to the company, and “you” or “your” being used to refer to the customer. In addition, since the customer has completed the membership registration process, reference is also achieved through the member’s full name, as well as the word “Member” (capitalized as a proper noun).

Following the opening section, the company provides an overview to membership benefits:

(2) *Membership confirmation: Benefits section (E)*

As a *Member*, *you* can take advantage of these exclusive benefits every day:

In Stores

- 40% off the list price of *our* hardcover bestsellers
- 10% off the *B&N* price on almost everything else

At BN.com

- Free Express Shipping with no minimum purchase
- Fast delivery in 1–3 days

You’ll also enjoy a variety of exclusive offers throughout the year.

To enjoy *your Member* benefits in *our* stores, present this email to any *Bookseller* at checkout. It will serve as proof of *your Membership* until *your Member card* arrives in the mail.

By identifying incentives that customers receive as part of their membership, this section serves a marketing purpose. In particular, repetition of the word “enjoy” (“You’ll also enjoy...” and “To enjoy”), as well as the word “exclusive” (“exclusive benefits” and “exclusive offers”) together with the phrase “take advantage of” underscores the positive benefits accorded to customers who become members. Recalling the quote by Dean (2009) cited earlier, I would argue that companies adopt such strategies so that customers “will be drawn into the picture you are painting of them enjoying or succeeding in your product or service.”

Note also that the benefits section includes additional references to the company, through the use of “our”, “B&N”, “BN.com”, and “Bookseller”. We will observe similar references in later examples from other companies.

The following extract explains to new members how they should log in to the website:

(3) *Membership confirmation: Log-in procedure (E)*

At *BN.com*, log in with the same email and password *you* used when *you* signed up. *Your* Free Express Shipping benefit is automatically applied each time *you* shop.

Here again, pronouns are utilized repeatedly to refer to the customer. The company also slips in mention of an additional benefit to further emphasize the perks of membership, namely free express shipping, which customers receive “automatically” upon logging in and placing an order.

The next section of the email, which appears in Appendix A but is not reproduced here, provides details about “our convenient Automatic Renewal service”. Following on the heels of the reference to free shipping being applied “automatically”, we see that ease of use is emphasized as another implicit benefit for members.

The final section of the membership confirmation email extends an offer of future service and provides contact information:

(4) *Membership confirmation: Closing section (E)*

We’re here to help, so if *you* have questions or need assistance, please contact *us* at <http://help.barnesandnoble.com/>

Sincerely,

Barnes & Noble

4. Indexical reference and marketing strategies in English order confirmations

Let us now consider a few extracts from order confirmations sent by a variety of American booksellers. The first is from Barnes & Noble (source text appears in Appendix B).

(5) *Order confirmation opening (E)*

Dear Lindsay Yotsukura,

Your order is much appreciated.

As soon as *your* order is scheduled to ship or ready to download, *we*’ll let *you* know with a second email. So be on the lookout for it.

This order confirmation opens in much the same way as the membership confirmation discussed earlier from the same company, with a salutation and reference to the new member by her full name (“Dear Lindsay Yotsukura”). Subsequent references to customer and company are made indexically through pronouns. The company also expresses gratitude for the customer’s business at the outset of the message body, stating that “Your order is much appreciated.”

We can also note an interesting shift in tone in this message, whereby the company encourages the customer through a bare imperative to “be on the lookout” for an additional email confirming that the order is scheduled to ship or is ready for download. As Brown and Levinson (1987) have observed, in certain circumstances, use of a bare imperative can potentially cause a face-threatening act or FTA, particularly in cases in which a speaker is subordinate to the hearer. But between familiars, going ‘bald on record’ without face redress strategies can function as an appeal to the positive face of the hearer, because it can engender solidarity in much the same way that the use of a nickname or diminutive might (Brown and Levinson 1987: 108).

In the case of this order confirmation, I would argue that Barnes & Noble is adopting an informal tone between company and customer in order to construct an image of their relationship that *presumes* familiarity and thereby a bond between the two, as a way of expressing friendly politeness in a manner that might be acceptable to many Americans. That is, rather than adopt a formal tone that might be perceived as aloof and off-putting, the company instead attempts to draw the customer in, treating the customer as a friend or acquaintance through a more casual, relaxed tone.

This friendly tone continues in the next section of the message, in which the company identifies a number of incentives to attract the customer’s attention and, potentially, future business,

(6) *Order confirmation: Benefits section (E)*

Visit us again soon at *BN.com*. There’s always something new at the *world’s largest bookstore*. We’ve got thousands of new titles every week, the largest selection of eBooks, and inspiring choices at *B&N Kids*.

Checking *Your Order* is Easy

Just click <http://www.barnesandnoble.com/orderstatus/> to log in and *you’ll* be taken right to *your* order status page.

Need to make changes? That’s easy too. Just click <http://www.barnesandnoble.com/orderstatus/> and log in.

We know *you* are excited to receive *your* order, so *we* ship quickly. If the status says “Cannot be removed” it is in process to ship to *you*.

You’ve read this far into the email, which makes *you* a true reader. Thanks again for shopping with *us*. Come back and visit anytime at <http://www.bn.com>.

In this section, we observe continued reference to the customer through the pronominal forms *you* and *your*, and reference to the company through *we* and *us*. It is also notable that there is recurring use of the bare imperative to urge the customer to do certain actions, namely “Visit us again soon,” “Just click...to log in,”

and “Come back and visit anytime.” The cumulative effect of these forms, which are commands rather than polite requests, is one of a casual, friendly appeal to encourage the customer’s continued business, and thereby cultivate further bonding between the two.

The company also describes itself using a range of superlatives to emphasize their prowess in the bookselling field, for example “There’s *always something new* at the *world’s largest bookstore*,” and “We’ve got *thousands of new titles every week*, the *largest selection of eBooks*, and inspiring choices at B&N Kids.” This strategy dovetails with Brown and Levinson’s observation that exaggeration can function as a positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987: 104).

Another strategy the company employs here is flattery of the customer, along with statements that imply the company and customer share similar values. These too are indicators of positive politeness strategies that can engender solidarity (Brown and Levinson 1987: 123). For example, the phrases “*We know you* are excited to receive *your* order” and “*You’ve* read this far into the email, which makes *you* a true reader” illustrate a positive politeness strategy of asserting or presupposing Speaker’s knowledge of and concern for Hearer’s wants (Brown and Levinson 1987: 125).

Finally, the company closes the confirmation message with an expression of appreciation and invitation to visit their website again: “Thanks again for shopping with us. Come back and visit anytime....”

Strategies similar to those outlined above were observed in membership and order confirmations from other American companies as well. Extracts (7) through (9) provide a few illustrations:

- (7) *Examples of bare imperatives:*
 - a. Visit our Frequently Asked Questions, or contact Customer Care (Borders)
 - b. Pick your favorite genre below and we’ll keep your taste in mind (Penguin)
 - c. Order what you want on Tuesday and *have* it on Thursday (Amazon)
- (8) *Describing the company in superlative terms*
 - a. We’ve got *just* the book you’re looking for! (Penguin)
 - b. *Earth’s Biggest* Selection (Amazon)
- (9) *Appeal to shared values*
 - a. *We know* it can be hard to find the perfect read (Penguin)
 - b. *We’d love to know* what *you* have to say (Borders)
 - c. Isn’t it time *we* became *Book Besties*? (Penguin)

Example (9c), in the form of a negative question, is a particularly apt illustration of a company's presupposing knowledge of a customer's wants and attitudes (Brown and Levinson 1987: 122).

Taken together, these marketing strategies indexically point to a bond that American companies are keen to cultivate, establish and maintain with their customers, in order to expand their customer base. By discursively instantiating a familiar, friendly relationship that they presume will resonate with American customers, companies also seek to encourage future patronage, and thereby an enduring bond, by suggesting through the strategies outlined above that their own interests are well-aligned with those of their customers.

5. Indexical reference and marketing strategies in Japanese membership confirmations

Shifting now to Japanese membership confirmations, Extract (10) provides an example of the opening section of a message from Book-Off, a company that sells new and used books online and in stores in Japan. (An abridged version of the message appears in Appendix C.)

- (10) *Membership confirmation opening (Japanese)*
 lyotsukura-sama
 lyotsukura Mr/s.
 'Ms. lyotsukura'
Kono tabi wa, bukkuoffuonrain e kaiin-tooroku
 this occasion TOP Book-Off Online DAT member-registration
itadakimashite makoto-ni arigatoo-gozaimasu.
 receive-HUM-DIST-GER truly-ADV thanks-POL
 'Ms. lyotsukura, on this occasion, thank you very much for receipt of your member registration.'

In this extract, the company addresses the new member using her online username 'lyotsukura' followed by the polite suffix *-sama*, or 'Ms.', and then expresses polite appreciation for their having received her member registration. The English gloss provided here renders the gerund form of the humble polite verbal gerund *itadakimashite* as a noun ('receipt') in an attempt to convey the fact that the company is politely acknowledging a benefit they have received through the member registration process. That is, in addition to literally expressing thanks through the phrase *makoto ni arigatoo gozaimasu* 'thank you very much', the company also indexes the benefit they have received from the customer's patronage through the use of the benefactive verbal *itadakimashite* (literally, 'having (humbly) received').

We will see in later examples that Japanese companies use this humble polite benefactive verbal extensively in order to express appreciation to the customer while simultaneously acknowledging such benefit. (The chapter by Ide and Okamoto in this volume makes similar observations regarding the relationship between auxiliary forms of benefactive verbals and bonding in a different context, namely childrearing narratives by women.) Interestingly, there is not an exact parallel in the English confirmation emails. Instead, thanks are typically expressed for the *customer's* actions through phrases that incorporate pronominal forms, such as Example (5) discussed earlier, part of which is reproduced here as (11):

- (11) *Your order is much appreciated.*

The following extract from an order confirmation sent by Borders Books & Music serves as an additional example:

- (12) *Order confirmation opening (Borders)*
Thank you for your Borders.com order!

Following the opening section in the Book-Off membership confirmation, the company explains where to find further information about the membership, as follows:

- (13) *Instructions for obtaining further membership information (J)*
Nao, go-tooroku naiyoo ni tsukimashite wa ika
furthermore HON-registration content DAT concerning TOP below
no "kaiin joohoo no kanri" ni te go-kakunin
GEN member information GEN management LOC HON-confirmation
itadakemasu
receive-HUM-POT-DIST-IMPV
'Furthermore, you may confirm details concerning your registration
information at "member information management" below.'
(URL link provided in the email, but omitted here)

Of particular interest in this extract is the phrase *go-kakunin itadakemasu*, which combines the nominal *kakunin* and the honorific polite prefix *go-* with a humble polite benefactive verbal in the potential form: *itadakemasu*. Literally translated, this means 'we may receive *your* confirmation', but usually this structure is rendered more loosely in English as 'you may confirm'. As such, the English gloss emphasizes what the *customer* is able to do, thereby conveying a sense of optionality to the reader. However, the original Japanese phrase also conveys to the reader nuances beyond this through the indexical expressions utilized by the company. First, a deferent stance is indexed through the use of the honorific prefix *go-*, and second, an additional nuance of appreciation on the part of the company as well as

an acknowledgment of potential benefit to the company are indexed through the use of the humble polite benefactive form *itadakemasu*.

This combination of /honorific prefix + nominal + *itadakeru/* in distal style appears repeatedly in the membership confirmation email from Book-Off, and also in membership and order confirmations from numerous other Japanese companies. For example, the section of the email that immediately follows the text presented in (13) about registration information is shown in Extract (14). In this section, Book-Off highlights a number of benefits available to members. This parallels the announcement made by Barnes & Noble that was presented earlier in Extract (2), namely “As a Member, *you can take advantage of* these exclusive benefits every day”. In Japanese, however, the announcement is conveyed as follows:

- (14) *Membership confirmation: Benefits section (I)*
BukkuOffu Onrain de wa, ika no saabisu o go-riyoo
 Book-Off Online LOC TOP below GEN services OBJ HON-use
itadakemasu
 receive-HUM-POT-DIST-IMPV
 ‘At Book-Off Online, *you may utilize* the services below.’

A literal translation of the phrase *ika no saabisu o go-riyoo itadakemasu* would be ‘we may receive *your* use of the services below’, but a more typical and natural English gloss would simply be ‘*you* may utilize the services below’, which emphasizes benefit to the customer, rather than the company. In short, whereas the Japanese version indexes polite reference to *both* parties through the addressee honorific *go-riyoo* and the humble polite form *itadakemasu*, the English version only indexes benefit to the customer through the pronoun *you*.

In the Bunka Shingikai (2004) publication *Keigo no shishin*, precisely this type of example is discussed:

- (15) *Itsumo, go-riyoo itadakimashite arigatoo gozaimasu.*
 always HON-use receive-HUM-POT-DIST-IMPV thank you- DIST-IMPV
 ‘Thank you for always utilizing (our services).’

The authors explain that essentially the phrase means ‘my/our side (humbly) receives your/a third-party’s use’ (*Jibun-gawa ga aite-gawa ya dai-sansha ni go-riyoo itadaku.*) Because Japanese speakers/writers apparently often argue that the phrase *go-riyoo ni naru* might be more appropriate in such circumstances, the authors further point out that by using *itadaku*, a speaker can express appreciation for the fact that s/he is benefitting from the use made by the addressee and/or third party (*‘go-riyoo itadaku’ wa, ‘watashi wa anata ga riyoo shita koto o (watashi no rieki ni naru koto da to kanji) arigataku omou’* (Bunka Shingikai 2004: 40).

Another example of this combination /honorific prefix + nominal + *itadakeru*/ appears later on in the Book-Off membership confirmation email in reference to one of the highlighted services available to members, namely ‘online sales’ (*onrain hanbai*):

- (16) *Shinpinshoohin=mo chuukoshoochin=mo isshoni go-koonyuu o*
new.merchandise=and used.merchandise=and together HON-purchase OBJ
itadakeru “onrain hanbai”
receive-HUM-POT-IMPV online sales
“Online sales”, where you can purchase both new and used merchandise
together’

Finally, the same combination recurs in a section later in the same message, encouraging customers to contact the company if anything is unclear:

- (17) *go-fumeina ten ga gozaimashitara o-tesuu desu ga kaki*
HON-unclear point SUB exist-POL-COND HON-bother COP CONJ below
yori go-renraku itadakemasu yoo o-negai
from HON-contact receive-HUM-POT-DIST-IMPV so.that beg-HUM
mooshiagemasu.
say-HUM-DIST-IMPV
‘If there are any unclear points, (we apologize for) the inconvenience, but we
humbly ask that you contact us through the (link/address) below.’

This extract also nicely illustrates how indexical reference can shift between customer and company within a single utterance in Japanese. Table 1 identifies out-group/addressee-oriented elements from Extract (17) that refer to the customer, as well as in-group-oriented elements that refer to the company:

Table 1. Out-group versus in-group-oriented elements

Out-group/customer-oriented	In-group/company-oriented
<i>go-fumeina ten</i>	<i>itadakemasu</i>
<i>gozaimashitara</i>	<i>o-negai</i>
<i>o-tesuu</i>	<i>mooshiagemasu</i>
<i>go-renraku</i>	

In the English translation, however, indexical reference for the same utterance is rendered through pronouns:

If there are any unclear points, (*we* apologize for) the inconvenience (to *you*), but *we* humbly ask that *you* contact *us* through the (link/address) below.

The membership confirmation email from Book-Off closes with a cautionary note to customers regarding the timing of responses to inquiries:

- (18) *Gensoku 24-jikan inai-ni go-kaitoo itashimasu ga o-toiawase*
 general.rule 24.hours within HUM-reply do-HUM-IMPV CONJ HON-inquiry
ga shuuchuu-shita baai ya mentenansu-jitchi nado no eikyoo ni-yori
 SUB concentrated case and under-maintenance etc. GEN effect due.to
go-henshin ni o-jikan o choodai-suru koto ga gozaimasu.
 HUM-reply DAT HON-time OBJ receive-HUM NOM SUB exist-POL-DIST-IMPV
 'As a general rule, we will respond within 24 hours, but in cases when the
 (number of) inquiries is extremely high or due to (the site being) under
 maintenance, etc., we may have to take (your) time for our reply.'

In this example, we see multiple shifts between in-group and out-group reference through humble and honorific polite forms, respectively, in order to index the company and customer within the same utterance. What is especially notable is the last portion of the utterance, in which the Japanese text clearly (but also quite politely) indexes the possibility that the company may have to take some of the *customer's* time in responding to an inquiry (*o-jikan o choodai suru koto ga gozaimasu*). In contrast, a comparable message in English might simply say "it may take additional time for *us* to respond to *your* inquiry."

Taken together, we may note that the tone adopted in this Japanese membership confirmation from Book-Off is generally more formal and deferent toward the customer than the tone of the more casual English messages considered earlier, due to the numerous honorific and humble polite forms incorporated in Japanese. However, precisely due to the fact that they include humble polite, benefactive forms which have no equivalent in the English messages, such Japanese messages directly index and thereby simultaneously acknowledge the benefit the company receives through the customer's patronage. As a result, these messages can serve to instantiate a bond between company and customer. That is, by utilizing socially deictic forms strategically, companies can construct and present a *de facto* bond, thereby strengthening the connection between themselves and their customers. One further extract from the Book-Off text underscores this point:

- (19) *lyotsukura-sama no go-riyoo o kokoro yori o-machi shite-orimasu*
 lyotsukura-Mr/s. GEN HON-use OBJ heart from HUM-wait be.doing
 'We are awaiting Ms. lyotsukura's patronage from the bottom of our hearts/
 with heartfelt (thanks)'

Although the tone of this utterance is quite distinct in tone from the more explicit encouragement of future patronage expressed through bare imperatives in the English messages (e.g., "Visit us again soon" in Example (6) above), the statement

nonetheless *presumes* a connection through the use of the honorific phrase *lyot-sukura-sama no go-riyoo* and the humble polite *o-machi shite-orimasu*. Recalling Wetzel's query that asked "how do sign-makers manipulate deixis when they assume relationships with their readers?" (Wetzel 2011: 209), we can now propose that the honorific and humble polite forms employed by Japanese companies in their messages may serve to instantiate such a bond between the two. Moreover, the relatively humble stance vis à vis the customer that is constituted through the use of these forms likely resonates with a Japanese public that expects a more formal tone in company emails, in contrast to the friendly tone adopted in messages from American companies. We will return to this point later after considering an example of a Japanese order confirmation.

6. Indexical reference and marketing strategies in Japanese order confirmations

Order confirmations in Japanese adopt an indexical stance toward customers that is similar to the stance adopted in membership confirmations, both in terms of the use of humble polite forms to reference the company, and honorific polite forms to reference the customer. Extract (20) represents the opening of an order confirmation sent by Books Kinokuniya, Japan's largest bookstore that has been in operation since 1927. (An abridged version of the email appears in Appendix D.) The company's "BookWeb" service is a more recent innovation, representing their online bookstore.

(20) Order confirmation opening (J)

Yotsukura Rinzee-sama

Yotsukura Lindsay-Mr/s

'Ms. Lindsay Yotsukura'

Kono tabi wa Kinokuniya-shoten BookWeb o go-riyoo

this occasion TOP Kinokuniya.Books BookWeb OBJ HON-use

itadakimashite makotoni arigatoo-gozaimasu

receive-HUM-DIST-GER truly-ADV thanks-POL

'Ms. Lindsay Yotsukura,

On this occasion, thank you very much for using (*lit.*, for your use of) Books Kinokuniya BookWeb.'

The opening to this order confirmation closely resembles the opening to the membership confirmation Example (10) from Book-Off discussed earlier. However, the salutation is more formal here, with the member's name being presented in traditional Japanese order (family name followed by given name), rather than using the

member's online username. Moreover, reference to the customer is indexed more explicitly and politely through use of an honorific prefix in the term *go-riyoo* 'your use' or 'your patronage', rather than the plain *kaiin-tooroku* 'member registration' used in the Book-Off message.

The next utterance invites the customer to confirm the content of the order they have just placed:

- (21) *Go-chuumon naiyoo o go-kakunin kudasaimase*
 HON-order content OBJ HON-confirm give.to.in-group-HON-DIST-IMPV
 'Please (give us the favor to) confirm the content of your order.'

The linguistic form adopted by Kinokuniya in making this invitation is a formal, distal style imperative (*go-kakunin kudasaimase*), which conveys an elegant nuance not observed in other order confirmations in the corpus. Perhaps due to the prominent placement of this invitation near the beginning of the message, the company has opted to use the distal form here. Parallel invitations in messages from other companies either adopt the direct style imperative equivalent, *go-kakunin kudasai* (this form also appears later in the same message from Kinokuniya), or instead use a form that resembles some of the examples discussed earlier, i.e., a combination of a noun with an honorific prefix followed by the potential form of *itadaku*, for example *go-kakunin itadakemasu yoo, onegai itashimasu* ('we humbly ask that you confirm...').

Following this invitation to the customer to confirm the details of the order, subsequent paragraphs spell out company policy with respect to inventory, shipment, and cancellations. For example, the following section describes how out of stock/out of print cases are handled:

- (22) *Moshimo shina-gire ya zeppan nado de go-chuumonhin*
 if out.of.stock and out.of.print etc. COP-GER HON-order.item
ga nyuushu dekinai baai ni wa meeru nite o-shirase
 SUB acquisition can-NEG case in TOP email LOC HUM-inform
itashimasu. Sono sai wa doozo go-ryooshoo no
 do-HUM-DIST-IMPV that occasion TOP please HON-understanding GEN
hodo o-negai itashimasu.
 extent HUM-beg do-HUM-DIST
 'If in the case of out-of-stock, out-of-print items and the like we are unable to acquire the item(s) you ordered, we will inform you by email. At such times, we humbly request your understanding.'

Here again we can observe multiple indexical shifts, from honorific polite reference to the customer achieved through *go-chuumon-hin* 'your order item(s)', to humble polite reference to the company conveyed through *o-shirase-itashimasu*

‘we will inform you,’ followed by honorific polite reference to the customer’s understanding (*go-ryooshoo*) and a humble polite request on the part of the company (*o-negai-itashimasu*).

For brevity’s sake, subsequent paragraphs in the Kinokuniya order confirmation that articulate company policy regarding shipment and cancellation will not be discussed here, but the style utilized therein parallels what we have observed in the extracts thus far in terms of polite, formal forms that incorporate a wide range of nominals with honorific prefixes, combined with humble or honorific polite predicates. Interestingly, the message does not contain a formal expression of leave-taking or thanks; rather, the final section consists of contact information, business hours, and URLs that customers may need for future reference.

7. Discussion: Honorific and humble polite forms as social deictics in Japanese emails

Pizziconi and Christie have noted that

(h)onorific forms, often characterised as “social deictics”, have obvious structuring properties, i.e., they can schematise patterns of participant role; this feature is shared with other forms (e.g. pronouns, or speech acts) and pragmatic accounts can illustrate how these properties are relied upon in the characterisation of social activities (for example, actions that are carried out ‘humbly’ or non-coercively).

(Pizziconi and Christie 2017: 165)

Using this as a point of departure, I propose that taken together, the various polite expressions adopted by Japanese companies in their email confirmations function to constitute a bond between company and customer. More specifically, the constellation of nominal forms with polite prefixes, along with honorific and humble polite verbal predicates, indexes a deferent *yet nonetheless connected* stance on the part of the company toward the customer. The combination simultaneously evokes in the reader a recognition of the discursive forms that would be expected through experience in receiving such messages and underscores the company’s having adopted an appropriate demeanor toward customers. Through participation in a community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), vendors with similar goals who create emails of this sort on a regular basis can thereby cultivate a bond between the two parties, namely company and customer. The same applies in English, although the tone that is evidenced in the emails we have considered here is notably more casual, and the discursive strategy adopted by American companies is one of indexicality through pronominal reference rather than social deictics.

Haugh (2005) has argued that

...politeness in Japanese arises primarily from acknowledging the place of others, or compensating for impositions on that place, rather than trying to compensate for possible impositions on the individual autonomy of others. (Haugh 2005: 45)

More specifically, Haugh identifies important terms, including *ichi* ('one's position relative to others') *tachiba* (the 'place one stands'), and *menboku* ('one's public persona'), in order to articulate the way in which the place one belongs (*uchi*) is distinct from one's *tachiba* with respect to others, and notes that acknowledging one's respective place is an essential part of politeness in Japanese.

One particular pair of examples that Haugh discusses seems especially relevant in the context of the emails discussed here, because in contrasting the two, he emphasizes the importance of showing an appreciation of the audience in order to express politeness in Japanese. The two examples are as follows:

- (23) *Kore kara, Nihon no ikebana nitsuite hanashimasu.*
 this from Japan GEN flower arrangement about speak-POL-IMPV
 'I am now going to talk about Japanese flower arrangement.'
- (24) *Kore kara, Nihon no ikebana nitsuite hana-sase-te*
 this from Japan GEN flower arrangement about speak-CAUS-GER
itadakimasu.
 receive-HUM-DIST-IMPV
 'I am now going to have the honour of having you let me speak to you about Japanese flower arrangement.' (Haugh 2005:62; Haugh's literal translation)

Haugh presents these two examples in order to point out that while native speakers of English might tend to say (23) when introducing the topic of flower arrangement in a formal speech to an assembled audience, Japanese native speakers would be more likely to utter (24). He further explains that "the use of the causative ('you will let me speak') combined with the humble form of the verb to receive shows the speaker thinks highly of the place of the audience as listeners" (Haugh 2005: 62).

In a similar fashion, I would argue that the discursive strategies adopted by Japanese companies when addressing customers in membership and order confirmations by email serve to index this same phenomenon. That is, they point to the company's *tachiba* with respect to customers and posit a deferential stance for the company in order to convey politeness to the customer. However, where I would differ with Haugh is his claim (citing Arundale 1993) that "the place one belongs (inclusion) and the place one stands (distinction) can be regarded as culture-specific manifestations of more abstract notions, namely connectedness and separateness respectively" (Haugh 2005: 63). Rather, I would suggest that although Japanese linguistic strategies utilizing honorific and humble polite forms

may mark distinct positions of customer vs. addressee in these emails, the discourse as a whole actually *engenders* a bond between the two *through the very fact* that their relationship is being instantiated indexically. Dunn (2011) lends support to this notion of instantiating desired relationships through honorifics, citing a burgeoning body of scholarship which suggests that

...honorific use is not simply a matter of mechanical conformity to social norms; rather, speakers use their knowledge of the indexical meanings of these forms to *actively construct desired social roles and relationships*.

(Dunn 2011: 3644, emphasis mine)

Another question to consider here is what kind of indexicality, namely direct and/or indirect (Ochs 1992), is featured in the Japanese email utterances we have discussed. In this regard, Okamoto's (2008) paper on supportive giving and receiving verbs (SGR verbs) provides a helpful analysis. Okamoto analyzed narrative discourse by mothers interviewed about their childbirth and childcare experiences, who acknowledged benefits received from relatives through utterances such as *mukoo mo mite moratta* ('They (i.e. the parents-in-law) also took care of my children'). Okamoto argued that SGR verbs in such contexts

...directly index the agents' [=relatives'] beneficial contributions to the patients (i.e., the interviewee)...[but] the indirect indexicality of these verbs expresses the persona with modest and servile characteristics of the interviewees. This modest persona is the ideal aspect of their characteristics in the *omote*, or public stage. The use of SGR verbs by these women works to express themselves as modest and ideal wives and mothers in their narratives. Meanwhile they also represent their servile persona for childcare and housework. (Okamoto 2008: 80)

In an analogous way, I would argue that the use of the benefactive *itadaku* and other polite forms by companies in business email discourse functions on two levels. First, the forms directly index benefits received (or potentially to be received) from customers, and express appreciation for those benefits. Second, they indirectly index a deferent, ideal persona or stance on the part of the company with respect to the customer, which is consonant with sociocultural expectations developed through communities of practice between online vendors and their customers. Utilizing both levels of indexicality simultaneously enables Japanese companies to convey an appreciative, deferent, and refined tone to their customers, which can strengthen bonds between the two. Although American companies likewise seek to cultivate enduring bonds with their customers, they instead adopt a friendly, casual tone using pronouns and positive politeness in order to do so, which contrasts with the more formal approach taken by Japanese firms.

8. Pedagogical implications and conclusion

The findings outlined above may not be surprising for speakers of Japanese well-acquainted with the generic, referential conventions of business email discourse. However, for Japanese learners unfamiliar with the genre, it can be difficult to discern “the point” of such emails if the reader is unable to follow multiple socially deictic shifts in reference such as those outlined above. It is therefore essential that learners have opportunities to become familiar with these discursive conventions so that they may come to recognize the culturally situated practices embedded in this genre. Elsewhere (Yotsukura 2016) I have proposed ways in which sample emails such as those discussed here may be used in the classroom to acquaint students with oft-recurring nominal kanji compounds that co-occur with polite prefixes along with humble or honorific polite predicates in order to index company vs. customer. In much the same way that Ide and Ueno (2011: 458) claimed that “the use of formal forms is inherently dependent upon the speakers’ observation of the society of which they are members”, I would argue that learners can benefit significantly from repeated exposure to situated examples such as these emails, in order to develop the necessary linguistic and pragmatic competence needed to understand the referents of Japanese socially deictic expressions, and thereby “get to the point” of these messages.

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Appendix A. English membership confirmation email

Dear Lindsay Yotsukura,

Welcome to the Barnes & Noble Member program! We will mail your Member card to you within the next 14 business days.

Your member number is: (XXXXXXXXXX)

As a Member, you can take advantage of these exclusive benefits every day:

In Stores

- 40% off the list price of our hardcover bestsellers
- 10% off the B&N price on almost everything else

At BN.com

- Free Express Shipping with no minimum purchase
- Fast delivery in 1–3 days

You'll also enjoy a variety of exclusive offers throughout the year.

To enjoy your Member benefits in our stores, present this email to any Bookseller at checkout. It will serve as proof of your Membership until your Member card arrives in the mail.

At BN.com, log in with the same email and password you used when you signed up. Your Free Express Shipping benefit is automatically applied each time you shop.

Automatic Renewal

Please note that you are enrolled in our convenient Automatic Renewal service ... (portion omitted). You can opt out of Automatic Renewal at BN.COM/memberprofile ... (portion omitted). You can also contact Member Services at 1–866–238–READ (7323).

You may cancel your Membership at any time (portion omitted).

We're here to help, so if you have questions or need assistance, please contact us at <http://help.barnesandnoble.com/>

Sincerely,

Barnes & Noble

Appendix B. English order confirmation email

Dear Lindsay Yotsukura,

Your order is much appreciated.

As soon as your order is scheduled to ship or ready to download, we'll let you know with a second email. So be on the lookout for it.

Visit us again soon at BN.com. There's always something new at the world's largest bookstore. We've got thousands of new titles every week, the largest selection of eBooks, and inspiring choices at B&N Kids.

Checking Your Order is Easy

Just click <http://www.barnesandnoble.com/orderstatus/> to log in and you'll be taken right to your order status page.

Need to make changes? That's easy too. Just click <http://www.barnesandnoble.com/orderstatus/> and log in. We know you are excited to receive your order, so we ship quickly. If the status says "Cannot be removed" it is in process to ship to you.

You've read this far into the email, which makes you a true reader. Thanks again for shopping with us. Come back and visit anytime at <http://www.bn.com>.

-- Barnes & Noble

Appendix C. Japanese membership confirmation

lyotsukura-sama

Kono tabi wa, bukkuoffuonrain e kaiin-tooroku itadakimashite makoto-ni arigatoo-gozaimasu.

‘Ms. lyotsukura, on this occasion, thank you very much for receipt of your member registration.’
Nao, go-tooroku naiyoo ni tsukimashite wa ika no “kaiin joohoo no kanri” ni te go-kakunin itadakemasu

‘Furthermore, you may confirm details concerning your registration information at “member information management” below.’ (URL link provided in the email, but omitted here)

BukkuOffu Onrain de wa, ika no saabisu o go-riyoo itadakemasu

‘At Book-Off Online, you may receive the services below.’

[portion of text omitted]

Shinpinshoohin mo chuukoshoochin mo isshoni go-koonyuu o itadakeru “onrain hanbai”

“Online sales”, where you can purchase both new and used merchandise together’

lyotsukura-sama no go-riyoo o kokoro yori o-machi shite-orimasu

‘We are awaiting Ms. lyotsukura’s patronage from the bottom of our hearts/with heartfelt (thanks)’

[portion of text omitted]

go-fumeina ten ga gozaimashitara o-tesuu desu ga kaki yori go-renraku itadakemasu yoo o-negai mooshiagemasu.

‘If there are any unclear points, (we apologize for) the inconvenience, but we humbly ask that you contact us through the (link/address) below.’

Gensoku 24-jikan inai-ni go-kaitoo itashimasu ga o-toiawase ga shuuchuu-shita baai ya mentenansu-jitchi nado no eikyoo ni-yori go-henshin ni o-jikan o choodai-suru koto ga gozaimasu.

‘As a general rule, we will respond within 24 hours, but in cases when the (number of) inquiries is extremely high or due to (the site being) under maintenance, etc., we may have to take (your) time for our reply.’

Appendix D. Japanese order confirmation

Yotsukura Rinzee-sama

Kono tabi wa Kinokuniya-shoten BookWeb o go-riyoo itadakimashite makotoni arigatoo-gozaimasu

Ms. Lindsay Yotsukura

On this occasion, thank you very much for using (lit., for your use of) Books Kinokuniya BookWeb.’

Go-chuumon naiyoo o go-kakunin kudasaimase

‘Please (give us the favor to) confirm the content of your order.’

[portion of text omitted]

Moshimo shina-gire ya zeppan nado de go-chuumonhin ga nyuushu dekinai baai ni wa meeru nite o-shirase itashimasu. Sono sai wa doozo go-ryooshoo no hodo o-negai itashimasu.

‘If in the case of out-of-stock, out-of-print items and the like we are unable to acquire the item(s) you ordered, we will inform you by email. At such times, we humbly request your understanding.’

Playful naming in playful framing

The intertextual emergence of neologism

Hiroko Takanashi

Japan Women's University

Regarding interactional dialogic engagements as “bonding,” this article examines the dialogic process whereby *playful neologism* emerges as a product of the intersubjective act of play framing and playful *stancetaking* in Japanese conversations. Special attention is paid to *intertextuality* based on Bakhtinian notion of dialogism, which affords speech participants to create stances and utterances that *resonate* with the stances and utterances of the prior text, and transform them into something innovative, particular, and socioculturally meaningful in the present text. I will argue that, in addition to language form and meaning, speaker agency as instantiated in creativity and cooperation in naming, is also coordinated and shaped through conversational play.

Keywords: stance, intertextuality, dialogism, resonance, neologism, play

1. Introduction: Contextually bound meaning of humor

It is an axiom in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology that language form and meaning are situated within specific contexts with actual speakers. Moreover, contemporary research has proven that context is not mere background, but rather it is an emergent and ever-foregrounded configuration subject to constant reshaping in the processes of performance (e.g., Duranti and Goodwin 1992, Hanks 1995). In line with such a dynamic view of context, it is safe to say that the bulk of contemporary sociocultural linguistics studies have been dedicated to revealing how sociocultural contexts are constantly being shaped via linguistic practices by social actors, albeit they vary in what social factors of the context, as well as what specific communities of practice, they look into.

Consideration of context is essential to humor studies as well since humorous meanings cannot be properly derived without reference to complex contextual meanings. Various approaches are used to explore the generation of humorous

meanings embedded within contexts, as well as the consequential effects of humor on situated sociocultural contexts. For instance, in semantics and pragmatics, humor is considered to work on the cooperative principle, albeit at first glance it may appear to violate Grice's conversational maxims: after all, humor quintessentially operates on violating Grice's maxims and other socially normative conventions (Morreall 1983). Instead, contextually-bound humorous meanings, which seem to flout the normative way of conveying and interpreting messages, rely on the humor teller and recipient's cooperation in an attempt to solve the ostensible incongruity (Attardo 1994, 2001). In conversation analysis, humor contexts are viewed as organizing conversational sequences (Schegloff 2001), in which laughter typically serves as the second part of an adjacency pair, with the first part being the joke just provided (Jefferson 1972; Sacks 1978).

And yet, the discourse-functional and sociocultural approach to humor recognizes the social functions of humor. For example, humor can be used to build solidarity or rapport among speakers (Norrick 1993; Tannen 2007 [1989]), construct speaker identities (Boxer and Cortés-Conde 1997; Davies 2006; Holmes and Marra 2002), and as a way to release psychological strain, as discussed in relief theory (Freud 1960 [1905], Kant 1951 [1790], Spencer 1911). Moreover, humor can function as a coping mechanism for life-threatening or life-changing events that may have great negative impacts on social actors such as disease and death (Demjén 2016; Matsumoto 2011). Those studies take speakers' sociocultural life into the account of humor contexts and investigate the interactional performance in the construction of humor.

Notwithstanding the rich previous studies of humor, little attention has been paid to the dialogic engagement whereby multiple texts, both local and global (including the broad sense of text as background knowledge based on past "textual" experiences), interact with one another in a given discourse context. Such an example can be found in conversational word play. *Word play* (also called *verbal play* or *language play*) has attracted attention in humor studies, as typified in *puns* that juxtapose two or more incompatible meanings (Norrick 1993; Redfern 1984; Sherzer 1978; Takanashi 2007). Puns, together with other forms of word play (e.g., *rhyming*, *alliteration*, *mislabelings*, and *repetitions*) across texts and utterances are reported to be employed in language socialization, particularly among children (Ardington 2006; Aronsson 2014; Broner and Tarone 2001; Cekaite and Aronsson 2005). However, the question remains as to how such playful language forms emerge to accommodate social actors' expressive needs and agency that also emerge in the sequential and dialogic process of conversation. This question seems to be attributed to the fact that language play is generally viewed as mere "play" for the sake of entertainment, without bearing substantial propositional and sociocul-

tural content. On this point, Norrick (1993: 59) articulates that wordplay “aims to elicit amusement and laughter, carries little or no weight as personal experience.”¹

By contrast, I regard that the complexity of meanings in humor interaction cannot be adequately elucidated without a close investigation of the language forms it takes in dialogic language practices. Additionally, I examine the meanings that are pragmatic, indexical, ideological, interpersonal, metacommunicative, epistemic, affective, and so forth, which are charged in the language form and which, in turn, generate the subsequent language form in a sequence embedded in the situated context. I contend that the generation of language form and meaning occurs together and, moreover, such humor texts in situated contexts should be understood as multidimensional and multilayered, constituted by different levels of intertextuality.

The issue of “dialogic engagement” is what exactly the present study points to. I regard dialogic engagements across utterances, and therefore, texts (again, both local and global), enacted via the dialogic and intersubjective alignment of speaker stances, as “bonding.” In other words, “bonding” in this study, in accordance with the perspective of the present volume, is not equal to solidarity-building in theory, although the play framing discourse data typically demonstrate speakers’ collaborative alignment, resulting in the production of mutual rapport in practice.

Treating naturally-occurring conversations in Japanese among adult friends, this study investigates the dialogic process whereby playful naming, or *playful neologism*, emerges as a product of the “bonding” act of dialogic engagement in *play framing* (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974, 1981) and playful *stancetaking* (Du Bois 2007). Special attention is paid to *intertextuality* (Briggs and Bauman 1992; Kristeva 1980 [1967]), based on Bakhtinian notion of dialogism (1981 [1934]), which affords speech participants to create stances and utterances that resonate with the stances and utterances of the prior text, and then transform them into something innovative, particular, and socioculturally meaningful in the present text. I will argue that, in addition to language form and meaning, speaker agency as instantiated in the display of *stance differential* (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012) is also coordinated and shaped through humorous play, constructing their identity in social life.

The structure of this paper is as follows: Section 2 outlines the theoretical frameworks of *intertextuality* and *stance* from the perspective of the contextualization of humor, Section 3 analyzes the actual instances of playful neologism,

1. Nonetheless, Norrick notes that wordplay may function as testing the background knowledge, aesthetic taste, or humor competence of the recipient, thereby alluding its social and interpersonal functions.

and this paper concludes with Section 4 which notes the implications of the phenomenon of playful naming in social life.

2. Contextualization of conversational play

In order to examine the dynamic emergence of playful neologisms in conversations, I will deploy the two notions of *intertextuality* and *stance*, which are mutually relevant in that they are both dialogic in nature.

2.1 Intertextuality

Central to the emergence of playful neologism in my study is *dialogism* (Bakhtin 1981 [1934]), which claims that any utterance is inhabited by multiple voices. Kristeva (1980 [1967]) elaborated the notion of dialogism to *intertextuality*, also called *interdiscursivity* (Bauman 2005; Fairclough 1999), which refers to “a process of referring to, drawing upon, or reshaping earlier texts within the context of a later one” (Trester 2012: 243). Since intertextuality plays a key role in decontextualization, recontextualization, precontextualization, and entextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Becker 1994; Enfield and Levinson 2006; Ochs 1992), it has been applied by many scholars to unveil the complex web of sociocultural reality (e.g., Gordon 2002; Hall 2005; Hill 2005; Matoesian 2000; Menard-Warwick 2005; Tannen 2006; Trester 2012).

Studies of humor are greatly concerned with intertextuality because humorous texts are often understood in relation to the “prior text” (Becker 1994), which generally derives from not only in the local discourse context, but also in the broader (i.e., more global/distant, and possibly indirect) context such as sociocultural norms, language ideologies, and the background knowledge shared among speech participants, involving and being indexed by language form. A series of humor theories, such as *incongruity theory* (Kant 1951 [1790]; Koestler 1964; Schopenhauer 1958 [1844]; Spencer 1911), *conceptual blending* (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), *bisociation* (Koestler 1964), the *Semantic Script Theory of Humor* (Raskin 1985), and the *General Theory of Verbal Humor* (Attardo 2001; Attardo and Raskin 1991), all fundamentally pertain to intertextuality, for they presuppose the prior text and regard that humorous meanings are generated in the juxtaposition of the mismatched concepts or frames represented between the prior text (normative and serious) and the present text (nonserious, accompanied by absurdity in a pseudo-plausible scenario (Chafe 2007)). I explored this point of humorous effects in intertextuality in my analysis of Japanese *kyōka*, a parodic genre of poetry that overlaps the aesthetic genre of *tanka*, with a focus on its orthographic tactics (Takanashi 2007).

In conversation, intertextual effects for humorous meaning-making are detailed by Norrick (1989, 1993), who claims that “intertextual references” (i.e., referring to another “preexisting” text, typically in stored knowledge or experience) contribute to arriving at humor in the present text. In addition to this rather “remote” type of intertextuality, Norrick addresses a rather “immediate” type of intertextuality; humor invites more humor in the local context of conversation. He observes that “(conversationalists) weave together humorous variations on a theme, each building on foregoing utterances to contribute their own facetious comments” (Norrick 1993: 29). This suggests that humorous meanings develop in tandem with speech participants’ pleasant feelings in the course of the sequential process whereby the humorous texts are multilayered across utterances. Such sequentially and interpersonally realized intertextuality organizes a play frame, typically through “upgrading” (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992; Goodwin 2006; Pomerantz 1984), which subsequently brings the play frame to an end when the play frame reaches the culminating point (often punctuated by the “punch line”) (Takanashi 2004). It also emphasizes the collaborative dimension of humor in interaction, which has been extensively examined under the labels of *uptake* (Aronsson 2014), *joint joking* (Davies 1984), *humor support* (Hay 2001), *joint production/performance* of humor (Norrick 1993), and *co-construction of play frames* (Takanashi 2004, 2011), on the grounds that humor or laughter is contagious and naturally spreads among the participants (Chafe 2007).

This paper takes one step further and delves into intertextuality in humor performance from the dialogic viewpoint, building on the notion of *dialogic resonance* (Du Bois 2007, 2014), defined as “the catalytic activation of affinities across utterances” (Du Bois 2014: 360). Since resonance can be represented in a variety of linguistic form (e.g., phonology, morphology, lexicon, structure), resonant humor representations across texts can vary. Among those this paper particularly focuses on *playful neologism*, which refers to the creation of new words that have humorous effects. I argue that humorous meanings cannot be adequately recognized out of the situated context, that is, without reference to the dialogic alignment of the speech participants’ stances and texts. This addresses the very important issue in this article: meanings are the product of not only intertextuality, but of *intersubjectivity*. Intersubjectivity plays a key role in understanding how language shapes reality because society is “communicatively constituted through intersubjective discursive practices and the circulation of discourse” (Bauman 2005: 145). Intersubjectivity is also an essential ingredient of stance, which is outlined in the next section.

2.2 Stance

Stance has been a primary concern in linguistics and its interdisciplinary paradigms (See Du Bois (2007), Englebretson (2007), Jaffe (2009), and Takanashi (2018) for details of the references on stance and its related notions.) This study draws on Du Bois' widely accepted notion of stance, which is defined as:

a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field. (Du Bois 2007: 163)

As articulated above, Du Bois views stancetaking as a *dialogic* social action ultimately achieved by the alignment of two subjectivities, i.e., *intersubjectivity*. Here, dialogicality can be conceived as encompassing Bakhtin's dialogism and its elaboration of intertextuality between the present text and the "shared prior texts" (Du Bois 2014: 364) for the enactment of multiple voices. In my data, stancetakers employ semiotic resources available in the immediate or remote texts, the latter including past experiences, shared knowledge, and ideologies that are mediated via language practices.

Intersubjectivity is crucial to the achievement of a stancetaking act in interaction because stance is a public act which is not complete until two (or more) interlocutors' stances are aligned (encompassing any orientations of alignment including "dis-alignment") with one another. This shows the importance of the "alignment" of subjectivities, namely, intersubjectivity. What is at the heart of stance is that stance is not immanent inside one's mind, but instead, it is dynamically shaped in the course of interaction.

Du Bois' (2007) stancetaking model as represented in his *stance triangle* (the integration of three simultaneous acts, i.e., evaluation, positioning, and alignment, between the two speakers (in the simplest sense) toward the stance object) is meant to be applied to the studies of sociocultural life of social actors, as "stance represents a promising testing ground to explore the potential of a more explicit dialogic method in the context of conversational interaction" (p. 140). Among the studies which adhere this perspective of stance (e.g., Damari 2010, 2012; Englebretson 2007; Franziskus 2016; Goodwin and Alim 2010; Jaffe 2009; Kärkkäinen and Du Bois 2012; Stockburger 2015; Taha 2017), Damari (2010) directly addresses the intertextual dimension of stance in her analysis of how a binational couple construct their cultural identities while employing multiple texts accumulated over time in their relationship.

Building on the sociocultural studies of stancetaking and intertextuality on one hand, and the humor studies on the other, this paper argues that stancetaking

is indispensable for the creation and interpretation of verbal humor because it emerges intertextually and intersubjectively in interlocutors' stance alignment (i.e., bonding) in play frames. I specifically investigate *playful neologism* as a form of humor to elucidate how humorous form and meaning emerge in dialogic resonance across speakers and texts.

3. Data analysis

The data are drawn from Japanese casual conversations among same-sex friends in their 20s–30s, which I collected and transcribed. They were audiotaped in natural settings such as restaurant, coffee shop, and home of the conversationalist. The dialogic co-creation of playful neologism in a *play frame* (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974, 1981; Takanashi 2004, 2011), which spontaneously develops from a relatively serious tone of conversations (i.e., the *non-play base* (Takanashi 2004)), is extracted as a sequence, for the detailed textual inspection of playful neologisms in light of intertextuality and stance.

As an analytical tool for the investigation of dialogic resonance across texts, I employ *diagraph*, that is, “a structure that emerges from the mapping of resonance relations between counterpart structures across parallel utterances produced in dialogic juxtaposition” (Du Bois 2014: 362). Diagraphs are cognitive configurations, but when realized in visual representations, they can illuminate the dialogic engagement of text and stance by vertically aligning the resonant linguistic elements and structures across utterances.

All three examples below, taken from different conversations by different speakers, demonstrate the dialogic process whereby playful neologism is intertextually (both locally and globally) co-created through the alignment of speakers' stances. Moreover, it should be noted that this act is jointly performed through the active participation in play framing by the speech participants. The analysis is divided into three sections, each with a slightly different focus; the later sections show more complex cases by preserving the features presented in the previous section(s): (1) the case in which part of the resources are provided in the proximate prior text; (2) the case in which speakers resort to some remote (i.e., global) resources, that is to say, the knowledge of a familiar linguistic structure; and (3) the case in which a playful neologism recurs in a relatively distant text within the same conversation.

3.1 Proximate resonance with an existing compound noun

Example (1) illustrates the case in which an ironic name is given to the stance object by recycling the previous speaker's use of an existing compound noun 'green peas.' The resonance takes shape in the parallel mapping structure of the noun phrase, selectively recycling the previously used resource and substituting its part.

In this excerpt, Chiaki recounts the food in the cafeteria of an American university dorm where she is staying and describes it as *mazui* ('bad') in line 5, answering Taeko's question about whether the food is *oishii* ('good') in line 4. Chiaki's blatant display of her negative stance toward the stance object triggers play framing in a mocking manner thenceforth.

- (1)² 1 Taeko; *ryoo no*,
dorm of
- 2 *shokudoo de tabeteru_ (/tabeten/) no?*
cafeteria at eat P
'Do (you) eat at the cafeteria of the dorm?'
- 3 Chiaki; .. *ryoo no shokudoo [de tabeteru]*.
dorm of cafeteria at eat
'(I) eat at the cafeteria of the dorm.'
- 4 Taeko; [oishii]?
good
'(Is the food) good?'
- 5 Chiaki; .. *mazui*.
bad
'(The food is) bad.'
- (17 lines omitted)
- 23 Chiaki; (SNIFF) *ano*;
HESI
'um,'
- 24 .. *U³ saisho itta toki no*;
U first go:PST time of
'When I first went to U,'

2. Proper nouns except for person names have been labelled by its initial. Person names, both the speakers' and the referents', have been changed to pseudonyms unless otherwise indicated.

3. Here, the initial U refers to the university Chiaki attends.

- 25 ... *guriin piisu ga*.,
 green peas NOM
 ‘the green peas (at the cafeteria) were,’
- 26 Taeko; =*un*.
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’
- 27 Chiaki; (H) .. *nanka ne*.,
 HESI P
 ‘well,’
- 28 (H) *guree na no*.
 gray COP P
 ‘gray.’
- 29 Taeko; @[@]
- 30 Chiaki; [(SNEER)]
- 31 Taeko; (H) <☺> *guree piisu jan* </☺>.
 gray peas TAG
 ‘(Then, they were) gray peas.’
- 32 Chiaki; .. *guree @pii[su]* .
 gray peas
 ‘gray peas.’
- 33 Taeko; [@] @
- 34 Chiaki; *yokuzo itta*.
 well say:PST
 ‘(You) said (it) well / Well said.’
- 35 *hon☺to*.
 really
 ‘really.’

Chiaki’s mocking stance (line 28) toward the cafeteria’s *guriin piisu* (‘green peas’), which are supposed to be “green” as the name suggests, but in fact, “gray” because of being over-cooked, receives Taeko’s parallel stance alignment, first in the form of laughter (line 29). Based on her own experience, Taeko knows the cafeteria food at American universities, albeit its stereotype, and sympathizes with Chiaki, by intersubjectively aligning her negative and mocking stance. This is further realized as Taeko synthesized *guree* (‘gray’) and *piisu* (‘peas’), by employing Chiaki’s words of ‘green peas’ (line 25) and ‘gray’ (line 28), into a neologism *guree piisu*

(‘gray peas’) in line 31. This neologism plays on the existing compound noun ‘green peas’ provided in the immediately preceding text, transforming it by substituting the color adjective to convey the negative visual image associated with its bad taste and texture.

The speech activity here is framed as play, as is evident by abundant laughter and laugh/smile voice quality throughout the sequence from line 28. The name which Taeko playfully created is perceived by Chiaki as humorous, as evident when Chiaki repeats the word in line 32, which shows her appreciation of Taeko’s repartee and creativity (Tannen 1987), and further provides a positively evaluative comment *yokuzo itta* (‘well said’).

Diagram (1a) illustrates the resonance across the vertically aligned elements, linguistically and paralinguistically, both indexing speaker stances of playful attitude.⁴ More precisely, the diagram clearly demonstrates intertextual catalysis and synthesis in resonance; the first mention of ‘gray peas’ in line 31 makes use of the linguistic resources in lines 25 (the existing compound noun) and 28 (the color term which invokes negative evaluation), not in exact repetition but in transformation.⁵

- (1a) 25 Chiaki; *guriin piisu* ()⁶ ,
 green peas
- 28 Chiaki; *guree* () .
 gray
- 31 Taeko; *guree piisu* () . ☺
 gray peas
- 32 Chiaki; *guree piisu* . @
 gray peas

4. Paralinguistically, “@” indicates laughter or laugh quality of voice, while “☺” smile quality of voice.

5. Resonance is observable not only on the word level but also on the level of phonology, structure, and semantics, which facilitates the word play. Phonologically, the juxtaposition of *guriin* and *guree* exhibits alliteration in the cluster of consonants [gur], followed by a diphthong of a distinct vowel. Structurally, the two compound nouns both consist of two words that are “color term” and ‘peas’ in that order. Semantically, *guriin* and *guree* are both color terms.

6. Parentheses in diagrams indicate that elements not directly subject to the resonance analysis at hand are omitted.

3.2 Remote resonance with a familiar noun phrase structure

This section presents an example of intertextually constructed playful neologism that draws on, in addition to local resonance, global resonance with the general prior text, namely, the knowledge of existing and familiar noun phrase structures. Unlike Example (1), the language form in the first mention of the neologism is not provided in the proximate prior utterances in this example. Instead of language form, the local resonance operates on meaning, and this is why this case instantiates speakers' inference for the realization of semantic resonance on the local level, and their ability to appropriately substitute and transform the existing noun phrase structure on the global level.

Example (2) is an excerpt in which Aki and Machiko are talking about the dishes at the relatively fancy restaurant where they are dining. Besides the dishes, they are also struck by the pricey mineral water bottled by the company S that runs the restaurant. Soon they express that the mineral water cannot be much different from the ordinary mineral water they can easily buy at stores exemplified as *minami arupusu no tennen-sui* ('the natural water of the Southern Alps,' whose real product name is preserved in this case) in lines 5-6.

- (2) 1 Aki; *mizu wa nee,*
 water TOP P
 'As for the water,'
- 2 ... *fujisan no susono kara wakideru mizu.*
 Mt.Fuji of foot from spring water
 'it is the water that springs from the foot of Mt.Fuji.'
- 3 Machiko; *he:?*
 yeah
 'Yeah?'
- 4 ... <☺> *are de ii jan ja* </☺>,
 that with good TAG then
 'Then that suffices,'
- 5 ☺*minami* ☺*aru@pusu @no,*
 south Alps of
- 6 [<@> *tennen-sui*] [₂ *de* </@>].
 natural-water with
 'the natural water of the Southern Alps.'

- 7 Aki; [☺*nee*],
P
'Yeah,'
- 8 [2 ☺*nee*].
P
'yeah.'
- 9 <☺> *are onaji* [3 *jan ne* </☺>].
that same TAG P
'That's the same, isn't it?'
- 10 Machiko; [3 (H)]
- 11 .. ☺*kitto* [4 @#*are*] —
probably that
'Probably, that —'
- 12 Aki; [4 *mizu*] *no aji nante yoku*
water of taste TOP:EMPH well

wakaranai _(/*wakannai*/) #*jan*.
distinguish:NEG TAG
'(We) can't distinguish the taste of water well, right?'
- 13 Machiko; =☺*iya*;
no
- 14 <☺> *S no*: </☺>,
S of
- 15 <☺> *raberu haru to* </☺>,
label put.on then
- 16 <☺> *takaku na*[*ru n da yo* </☺>].
expensive become NMLZ COP P
'In fact, the water becomes expensive when it has S's label on it.'
- 17 Aki; [<☺> *takaku naru n*] *da yo ne* </☺>?
expensive become NMLZ COP P P
'It becomes expensive, right?'
- 18 Machiko; @@
- 19 Aki; <☺> *soo da yo* </☺>.
so COP P
'That's right.'

- 20 Machiko; (H) [<@> *raberu*]-*dai* </@>.
label fee
'The label fee.'
- 21 Aki; [#*kono*] —
this
- 22 ☺*ao* —
blue
- 23 <☺> *ao raberu* </☺>.
blue label
'The blue label.'
- 24 Machiko; @
- 25 .. <@> *ao raberu-dai* </@>.
blue label fee
'The blue label fee.'
- 26 Aki; *un*.
yeah
'Yeah.'

Machiko starts to display her mocking stance toward the pricey water and its manufacturer (i.e., the company S that runs the restaurant). Aki intersubjectively aligns her stance with Machiko's as indicated by the particle *nee* ('yeah'), first used in line 7 and repeated in line 8, and by her explicit comments that any mineral water tastes more or less the same (lines 9 and 12). Since the interlocutors are in a playful state of mind, as indexed by abundant laughter as well as laugh/smile quality of voice from both of them, Machiko upgrades the play in lines 13-16 by cynically attributing the high cost of the water to the company's blue label on the bottle, which is physically visible just in front of them. This suggests that not only linguistic but also physical resources available to the interlocutors can afford resonant play. After Aki's parallel stance alignment in line 19, Machiko creates an innovative compound noun *raberu-dai* ('the label fee') in line 20, employing the existing nominal structure of [noun + *dai* ('fee')]. *Dai* in this structure is a shortened form of the noun *daikin* ('fee'), and it is a bound morpheme which follows a noun.⁷ This compound noun structure is productive, whose familiar usage includes *shokuji-dai* ('the meal cost') and *denki-dai* ('electricity fee').

7. However, when used with an honorific prefix *o* alone, as in *o-dai*, *dai* doesn't require a preceding noun that specifies the subject of the fee.

Despite its productivity, the use of *-dai* is pragmatically bound, relying on the speakers' common sense. As for *raberu-dai* in this context, this innovative playful neologism deviates the normative compound noun with *-dai*, since it involves incongruity and pseudoplausibility inherent in humor (Chafe 2007) in that whereas it fits the common morphological structure it is pragmatically absurd to charge fees just for the label on the bottle. In other words, this first appearance of playful neologism draws upon the global intertextuality, i.e., the knowledge of the existing compound noun structure, with the local intertextuality as observed in the reuse of the noun *raberu* ('label') between lines 15 and 20.

Diagram (2a) illustrates the dialogic resonance on the lexical and structural level whereby the first playful neologism *raberu-dai* ('the label fee') provided by Machiko (line 20) evolves through interaction and finally synthesized into *ao raberu-dai* ('the blue label fee') (line 25). Besides the resonance as the repetitions of *raberu* ('label') and *-dai* ('fee'), we can see that *ao* ('blue') (lines 22, 23, 25) structurally and semantically resonates with *S no* (*S* + 'of') in line 14, because (1) both modify *raberu* or *raberu-dai*, and (2) 'blue' is the signature color of the company *S*.

- (2a) 14 Machiko; *S no* , ☺
 S of
- 15 Machiko; *raberu* () , ☺
 label
- 20 Machiko; *raberu -dai* . @
 label fee
- 22 Aki; *ao* — ☺
 blue
- 23 Aki; *ao raberu* . ☺
 blue label
- 25 Machiko; *ao raberu -dai* . @
 blue label fee

Here, Aki contributes to the evolution of the playful neologism by providing the label's color, making use of the visual information available in the situation. Giving particularity, or, the "use of detail and imagery," seems to enhance the humorous effects in play because it makes humor performance more impressive and memorable, not only cognitively but also interactionally, on the grounds that it displays active participation and involvement in conversation (Tannen 2007 [1989]). In other words, conveying concrete images shows the speaker stance to intend to be actively engaged in the play framing to entertain the conversational partner. The co-creation of the neologism is finalized as Machiko further incorporates Aki's

contribution of the concrete color of the label into another playful neologism *ao raberu-dai* ('the blue label fee') in line 25.

Similar to the semantic resonance we saw between *S no* and *ao*, we can see another semantic resonance between *raberu-dai* ('the label fee') in line 20 and *S no raberu haruto takaku naru* ('the water becomes expensive when it has S's label on it') in lines 14-16, in which *takaku naru* ('becomes expensive') is further repeated by Aki in line 17 in transformation to show her parallel stance alignment. This Aki's active involvement, which continues in the following sequence to let her provide the particular color term, seems to have contributed to the development of the subsequent play framing, resulting in the emergence of the two forms of playful neologism *raberu-dai* and *ao raberu-dai*. This collaborative play framing suggests that playful neologism is the product of not only intertextuality (both local and global) but also intersubjectivity performed through the dialogic alignment of speaker stances.

3.3 Remote resonance within the conversation

So far, we have seen the instances of playful neologism which is rather ephemeral, at least in that it was observed only once within a single conversation. Now, we may question, "Is playful neologism just a matter of contingency, without subject to entrenchment?" The answer seems to be "no," at least to a certain degree of time span, as we will see in the example in this section. That is to say, playful neologism can recur over time and can be established as a humorous key word among certain interlocutors. As such, we can speculate that playful neologism may have consequences to social actors, not only by enabling them to bond at the moment of language practice, but also by registering itself as a fixed idiomatic expression charged with multiplex indexical meanings.

Prior to the passage in Example (3), Osamu has expressed to his male friend his anxiety about whether he will be accepted to a graduate school he hopes to go to and, moreover, if he is accepted, how he will make money to pay the tuition and living expenses. Osamu's tone was serious, to which Takeru makes a contextual move for play framing rather abruptly in line 1, suggesting, as a pseudo-plausible way, that he do street performances to make money. This is an example of humor that functions to release stress as captured in *relief theory* (c.f., Freud 1960 [1905]). Then, Takeru suggests a specific way of street performances to 'blow fire from the mouth' (line 3), which marks an upgrade of humor by way of giving concrete imagery (Tannen 2007 [1989]). Osamu bursts into laughter (line 4), and then he makes a move of uptake, taking part in the joint construction of the play frame (as indexed by his smile quality of voice) by giving another specific way of doing street performances, that is, 'boiling water to make hot tea on the navel' (line 6).

- (3) 1 Takeru; .. *sutoriito pafoomansu yaru toka*..
street performance do and.so.on
'(You can) do, like, street performances.'
- 2 Osamu; *aa*..
yeah
'Yeah.'
- 3 Takeru; .. *kuchi kara hi fui-tari #toka*.
mouth from fire blow-and and.so.on
'(You can), like, blow fire from your mouth.'
- 4 Osamu; @@@@
- 5 Takeru; @
- 6 Osamu; <☺> *heso de cha [wakashi-tari toka* </☺>].
navel at tea boil-and and.so.on
'(You can), like, boil (water for) tea on your navel.'
- 7 Takeru; [<☺> *un un un* </☺>],
yeah yeah yeah
'Yeah, yeah, yeah,'
- 8 <☺> *tooyoo shin-majutsu mitaina*
Oriental new-magic like
[₂ *kan* </☺> <@>*ji de* </@>] @@ (H)
feeling with
'In the way like new Oriental magic.'
- 9 Osamu; [₂ *@aha*]:.
oh
'Oh.'
- 10 .. <☺> *iwana*⁸ *no*: </☺> —
char of
'Chars' —'
- 11 Takeru; .. ☺*un*.
yeah
'Yeah.'

8. *Iwana* ('char') is a kind of fresh-water fish popular for fishing in Japan.

- 12 .. ☺*tsukamidori*?
 catch.by.hand
 ‘(Char)-catch by hand?’
- 13 Osamu; =<☺> *tsukamidori toka ne* </☺>.
 catch.by.hand and.so.on P
 ‘Like, (char)-catch by hand.’

Maintaining the play frame, Osamu attempts to propose another hypothetical way of doing street performance to make money, that is, fish-catching, but it ends up truncated in line 10. Takeru seems to have recognized its implied humorous meaning, as his response token in smile quality of voice indicates (line 11). Then, in line 12, he completes Osamu’s truncated noun phrase by offering *tsukamidori* (‘catch by hand’) with an appealing rising tone at the end of the intonation unit. Osamu repeats the word *tsukamidori* in line 13, endorsing Takeru’s contribution, and at the same time, completing his own utterance he initiated in line 10.

Diagram (3a) represents the local intertextuality among the humorous propositions, which manifests semantic and pragmatic resonance surrounding the concept of street performances and their specific ways. Note that, unlike the preceding two specific ways of doing street performances (line 3 and 6, respectively), the lastly proposed street performance takes the form of noun phrase (lines 10 and 13), in which the verb and object are built in.⁹ The use of a single noun phrase has a strong impact, and in fact, it is used here as a punch line at the end of the upgrading of play.

- | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|
| (3a) 1 | Takeru; | <i>sutoriito pafoomansu</i> | () . |
| | | street performance | |
| 3 | Takeru; | <i>kuchi kara hi fui</i> | () . |
| | | mouth from fire blow | |
| 6 | Osamu; | <i>heso de cha wakashi</i> | () . ☺ |
| | | navel at tea boil | |
| 10&13 | Osamu; | <i>iwana no tsukamidori</i> | () . ☺ |
| | | char of catch.by.hand | |

Next, diagram (3b) illustrates the process of the co-construction of not only the play frame but also the noun phrase *iwana no tsukamidori* (‘char-catch by hand’): (1) First, Osamu is searching for a word to complete his utterance *iwana*

9. *Tsukamidori* (‘catch by hand’) shows nominalization of the verb *tsukamitoru*, which is a compound verb consisting of two verbs, *tsukamu* (‘to catch (by hand)’) and *toru* (‘to catch (animal or fish)’).

no ('char' + of), as its truncated intonation contour indexes (line 10); (2) upon his inference, Takeru offers a noun *tsukamidori* ('catch by hand') that syntactically completes (and semantically adequate to) Osamu's previous text, subsequently requesting Osamu's confirmation as to whether his contribution was what Osamu expected by using a rising intonation; and (3) Osamu ratifies Takeru's contribution by repeating the exact word, while simultaneously incorporating it into his own utterance. Thus, we can see intertextuality both locally (i.e., the syntactic and interactional co-construction of a noun phrase) and globally (i.e., the contribution of the appropriate word to the incomplete noun phrase requires adequate inferences that draw upon broader texts (and contexts) that go beyond the present situation).

- (3b) 10 Osamu; *iwana no* — ☺
 char of
- 12 Takeru; *tsukamidori* ? ☺
 catch.by.hand
- 13 Osamu; *tsukamidori* () . ☺
 catch.by.hand

Yet we might still ask why Takeru could infer what Osamu was trying to say after truncation in line 10. Although the contextual orientation had been established as play, and therefore, something extraordinary and funny was expected with *iwana* ('char'), there would have been many other possible choices than *tsukamidori* ('catch by hand'). With regard to this point, the global intertextuality is the key to the answer: the interlocutors appropriated their shared experience, which may or may not have involved the actual verbalization of the target noun phrase at the time of the experience.

In fact, the follow-up interview I conducted with Osamu after the recording revealed that the two friends had shared the experience of accidentally having succeeded in catching chars by hand in a river, against the normal way of fishing with fishing rod. When that happened, they were both very excited, and the pleasant experience stayed in their mind from that time on. This "shared past experience," whether sweet or bitter at the time of occurrence, tends to be recalled as somewhat pleasant, at least to some extent, with hindsight. It operationalizes on another level of intertextuality across broader time and space, in addition to the one across speakers and utterances in the present speech event, where "texts" (not only linguistic resources that are actually produced, but also, in a broader sense, knowledge and memory that are linguistically mediated) are embedded in an enmeshed web of time-space configurations, constituting the intertextuality of *chronotope* (i.e., chronology and topology, a term coined by Bakhtin 1981 [1934]). Thus, the noun phrase *iwana no tsukamidori* ('char-catch by hand') was most likely

not new to the interlocutors (despite the peculiar combination of the two nouns in light of common sense) at the time of recording, against the fact that it was never mentioned before within the recorded conversation. Indeed, shared past experiences often serve as a resource for insider jokes among intimates (Norrick 1993).

The global intertextuality, mediated by speaker stances, connects the “here and now” with not only the past but also the future. Approximately eight minutes later within the same conversation, the playful noun phrase which was registered in the speakers’ mind as a solid linguistic text in (3) recurs as a humorous key word *iwana-tori* (‘char-catch’) (in its reduced form) in (4).

- (4) (212 lines omitted)
- 226 Osamu; ... <☺> *soshite futatabi iwana-tori ni hamari* </☺>.
 and again char-catch on be.hooked
 ‘And again, (I’ll) get hooked on char-catch.’
- 227 Takeru; @@@@
- 228 Osamu; @@

First, with respect to semantic resonance, the playful neologism *iwana-tori* ('char-catch') holds the same semantic value as Osamu explicitly says *futatabi* ('again'), although it is not an exact repetition of the prior text *iwana no tsukamidori* ('char-catch by hand'). In this stancetaking act, the word serves as a stance object, towards which the speakers take humorous stances, situated in a play frame, as indexed by smile quality of voice and subsequent laughter. Indeed, in the immediately preceding sequence, the interlocutors were playfully discussing how Osamu could prepare the money for his study-abroad (but this time, before going to the U.S., unlike (3) in which they were hypothetically discussing how to earn money after starting graduate school in the U.S.).

Second, with respect to syntactic resonance, *iwana-tori* ('char-catch') is the shortened form of *iwana no tsukamidori* ('char-catch by hand'), and moreover, it is a compound noun without the linker *no*. Its nominalization (and, lexicalization), in conjunction with the deletion of the verb *tsukamu* ('to catch (by hand)') and the linker *no*, exhibits the process of entrenchment of the playful neologism within a local conversation. This structural resonance across the texts (3) and (4) is demonstrated in diagram (4a).¹⁰

10. Since *-tori* and *-dori* are allophones both meaning ‘catch,’ they are aligned with each other in the diagram.

(4a)	10	Osamu;	<i>iwana no</i> char of	—	☺
	12	Takeru;	<i>tsukami -dori</i> catch.by.hand	?	☺
	13	Osamu;	<i>tsukami -dori</i> catch.by.hand	()	. ☺
	226	Osamu; ()	<i>iwana</i> char	<i>-tori</i> -catch	() . ☺

Concomitantly, the occurrence of the simplified and nominalized lexicon in the later text suggests that the unmentioned meaning (i.e., ‘by hand’) is implied, inferable, and accessible, premised on the previous text (*iwana no tsukamidori*). That is why *iwana-tori* (‘char-catch’) persists to be humorous to the interlocutors, despite that catching chars (by fishing rod, as normally assumed) is not funny at all without the concept “by hand.”

The intertextuality between (3) and (4) is indeterminate in terms of contiguity: it can be viewed as somewhat “local” insofar as the two tokens of the playful neologism both occur in the same conversation. Whereas, it is rather “remote” in that there is an interval of about eight minutes, where the contextual frame fluctuates between play and non-play. In any case, the contiguity in intertextuality is a matter of degree, and we can certainly say that the text in (3) serves as the matrix of precontextualizing the text in (4), which was further precontextualized at the time when the speakers accidentally experienced catching fish by hand. Conversely, each later text is produced by decontextualizing and recontextualizing the prior text(s) (Bauman and Briggs 1990). It is this complex web of textuality that enables stancetakers position their stances in relation to the stance partner, intersubjectively, and dialogically.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that playful neologism is an intertextual product through the act of stancetaking (Du Bois 2007) in the situated interaction of play framing (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974, 1981). The dialogic and intersubjective alignment of speaker stances with respect to the stance object (i.e., the target of play) is regarded as the practice of “bonding,” which gives rise to innovative names (noun phrases, or more lexicalized compound nouns) and socio-cognitive values attached to them.

By employing diagraphs, which represent the mapping relations across utterances (Du Bois 2007, 2014), a variety of resonance (phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and paralinguistic) was analyzed to shed light on particularly the local intertextuality of language form and meaning, along with speaker stances indexed thereby. Besides, I discussed the rather global intertextuality (not necessarily the actually uttered prior text, but the broader scope of socio-cognitive semiosis, including linguistic knowledge of the existing words/phrases and shared experiences), whether within a single conversation or beyond, albeit its contiguity is a matter of degree on a scalar continuum. This resonance phenomenon of creating a new text by drawing upon the prior text can be described as “catalysis to synthesis” (Attinasi and Friedrich 1995), where the synthesized form is charged with new social value.

With respect to the value that emerges in playful naming, I showed that playful neologism is not mere wordplay, as generally held (Norrick 1993), with little sociocultural consequence except for the momentary entertainment. Instead, I have shown that it emerges in the interactional process of negotiating social value via stancetaking, and consequently, it recreates such social value, including speaker agency competent in playing with names in cooperation with the dialogic partner. Moreover, in playing with names in situated speech contexts with actual stance object, speech participants play on the norm (both in form and value), subverting it to create new form and value. Language has the symbolic power that constitutes social actors’ reality (Bourdieu 1991: 105). Accordingly, the resulting recontextualized playful neologism is charged with new value positively evaluated by the interlocutors, which precontextualizes and conditions their future social practices.

The transcription conventions

,	continuing contour
.	final contour
?	appealing contour
-	truncated word
—	truncated intonation unit
:	lengthening
=	latching
(H)	inhalation
(Hx)	exhalation
^	accent
[words]	overlap
(/words/)	phonetic transcription
@	laughter/laugh quality (for single word/morpheme)
<@> words /@>	laugh quality (for multiple words/morphemes)
☺	smile quality (for single word/morpheme)
<☺> words </☺>	smile quality (for multiple words/morphemes)
<F> words </F>	loud volume
<HI> words </HI>	high pitch
#	indecipherable syllable

Additional glosses to the Leipzig Glossing Rules

EMPH	emphasis
HESI	hesitation
P	particle
TAG	tag

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Intertextuality in Japanese advertising

The semiotics of shared narrative

Patricia J. Wetzel

Portland State University

Intertextuality, particularly word play, is a common feature of Japanese advertising. This article argues that intertextuality is a mechanism for accomplishing the ultimate goal of marketers – to bond with consumers. Reference to texts that consumers know creates an insider narrative space; consumers share this space by virtue of being “in on” the reference. Intertextual references are accompanied by additional text and visual signs (colors, natural phenomena associated with the seasons) that amplify and diffuse the message. Ultimately, the marketer’s world merges with the consumer’s through the medium of advertising.

Keywords: Japanese advertising, semiotics, intertextuality, word play

1. Introduction

This article offers a semiotic interpretation of the intertextuality that underlies Japanese advertising. Intertextuality refers to the influence of one text on another, whether by direct quote, allusion, parody or translation. This notion of intertextuality – first proposed by Kristeva in the pursuit of reconciling the ideas of Saussure and Bakhtin (Allen 2011: 3) – has been taken up in both linguistics and literary theory to describe the interrelatedness of signs (Saussure 2011 [1916]) and of texts (Bakhtin 1981, 1986). According to Bakhtin, “all language use is riddled with multiple voices (to be understood more generally as discourses, ideologies, perspectives, or themes),” and all communication can be understood as the interplay of those voices (cited in Baxter 2006: 110).

Japan has a celebrated tradition of authors appropriating the work of earlier authors. As Maynard (2007) points out, incorporating prior text into the current one has a long history in Japanese poetics and has always been viewed as an act of (re-)creation (147). Shirane (1990) observes that “awareness of the intertextual nature and function of literary texts emerges in Japan at the end of the Heian period”

(the twelfth century) (72). Indeed, for Heian *waka* poets, “the primary stress was not on individual invention but on allusive citation and on subtle, imitative variation of pretexts and traditional literary associations” (85). It also seems likely that Japan drew its literary predilections from China where “comparable textual strategies have governed Chinese critics’ and poets’ reading and writing about literature throughout the dynasties” (Chang 2007: 1).

By its very nature intertextuality is a social phenomenon. In apprehending advertisements, Japanese readers enter into a world of shared cultural narratives – everything from the Chinese classics to Buddhist art to pop culture. These narratives abound with scripts (“stereotypical knowledge structures that people have acquired about common routines” (Mandler 1984: 75)) and references that serve to reinforce what it means to be a participant in Japanese culture – whether that participation is a matter of gender, age, social role, or Japanese identity itself.

The bonding effect of intertextuality is frequently amplified by word play and that tactic will be the focus here. Word play sets free a chain of associations to provoke shared pleasure in grasping the reference. Like intertextuality, word play enjoys a long and illustrious history in the Japanese literary canon. The use of *kakekotoba*, a classical form of homophonic word play, is a feature of early 31-syllable (5-7-5-7-7) classical poetry (*waka*) as early as the 8th century. A comic version of *waka* called *kyōka* arose later in response to the seriousness of classical poetry (Takanashi 2007). Similarly, *senryū*, comic versions of traditional 17-syllable verse (the *haiku*) came to be popularly practiced in the Edo period (1603–1868). It should be emphasized that these poetic traditions extend into the present and find their way into advertising. Beyond word play, script (kanji, hiragana, katakana), image, and even color comprise culturally rich vehicles for intertextual reference in Japanese advertising. These come together in the context of the ad to generate a feeling of intimacy between the advertiser and the consumer and a communal sense of “knowing” (and thus bonding) among those who “get” the ad’s intertextual reference. Marketers thus define what it means to be an “insider.” Consumers’ understanding of ads emanates from and is embedded in their participation in the communicative practices of daily life in Japan. This understanding is a form of shared “situated cognition” that develops as they participate in the activities of their culture. Ultimately, Piller (2001: 153) observes, advertising is key to people’s construction of their social identity.

Here I will analyze six Japanese advertisements in terms of the symbolic practices that enable advertisers to “bond” with their consumers:

1. What associations are triggered by word play in advertisements? And how do those associations create a shared cultural context?
2. What other features of the ad contribute to the construal of the message?
3. What shared world(s) does the ad seek to create, support, or preserve for its viewers?

2. Intertextuality in advertising

Sometime in the second half of the 20th century, the nature of advertising took a shift away from being informational (presenting the product and its benefits) to becoming a vehicle for “differed meaning” (Hitchon and Jura 1997: 143). In a post-modern world, advertising comprises “a narrative in which the objects and persons are equated with meanings lying outside the narrative itself” (Stern 1988: 86). Thus, the full meaning of an advertisement “cannot be grasped without identification and understanding of [the intertextuality that underlies] its surface structure” (Hitchon and Jura 1997: 147).

Marketers’ rely on intertextuality to push their world view into the consumer’s (un)conscious. Cook (1992: 180) observes that ads exist in four participant worlds: 1. the world of the sender (the marketer), 2. the fictional world of the characters portrayed in the advertisement, 3. the fantasy world of the receiver (consumer), and 4. the real world of the receiver (consumer). The purpose of any advertisement is to push a product from 1 to 4. A marketer’s success depends on tying product identity to the consumer’s identity, on drawing viewers into the intended world(s). Japanese marketers are particularly adept at this, since, as Javalgi et. al. (1995: 123) observe, “Japanese ads are more likely to follow a strategy of building brand loyalty by building friendship with the customer first, hoping this leads to product trials.” They contrast this with the U.S. which aims for product trials, hoping that they lead to brand loyalty. This assumed familiarity, they go on to say, makes Japanese ads “more symbolic and emotional than U.S. advertising.” This is fertile ground for initiating a bond between the consumer and the marketer.

An example from Suntory whiskey illustrates this principle. Some years ago, a Suntory ad featured the mouth-watering image of a golden-brown nugget being plucked by chopsticks from a deep fryer. Also included is the image of a woman, Igawa Haruka, an actress known for her sultry appeal. She holds (is she drinking it herself or offering it to the viewer?) a frosty highball made with Suntory whiskey. The entire ad is done in shades of yellow and gold – colors associated with the sun, summer, deep fried food and whiskey. The catch phrase for all of this – *Natsu wa agemono* ‘In summer [we eat] deep-fried foods’ – echoes (with a slight twist) the first line of the eleventh century *Pillow Book* (*Makura no sôshi*) of Sei Shoganon: *Haru wa akebono* ‘In spring it is the dawn.’ Just as an English speaker can venture at least a few lines into Hamlet’s soliloquy “To be or not to be...” anyone schooled in Japan can unfailingly recite the famous opening lines of this 1000-year-old Heian classic. Ivan Morris’s (1991) translation of the classical Japanese begins:

In spring it is the dawn that is the most beautiful. As the light creeps over the hills, their outlines are dyed a faint red and wisps of purplish clouds trail over them.

In summer the nights. Not only when the moon shines, but on dark nights too, when the fireflies flit to and fro, and even when it rains, how beautiful it is!

In this Suntory ad *agemono* ‘deep fried food’ is substituted for *akebono* ‘dawn,’ *natsu* ‘summer’ is substituted for *haru* ‘spring,’ and the evocation of a traditional reference is complete. What image does *The Pillow Book* bring to Japanese consumers’ collective consciousness? What is the body of assumed knowledge on the part of the consumer that draws him (for the target audience of this whisky ad is almost certainly the middle-aged male) into the world of this advertisement? First, we must acknowledge that the seasons themselves are a trope of Japanese literature. Anyone who has studied Japanese *haiku* is familiar with the strict formal requirements of syllable structure and other obligatory elements of the genre – including seasonal words, known in Japanese as *kigo*. There are compendia of *kigo* called *saijiki* that list thousands of animals, plants, landscape features, sky and other elements – sorted by season for the convenience of the poet – that are requisite in the season’s *haiku*. This whiskey ad plays with that tradition. The names of the seasons are themselves *kigo*; and while *agemono* is not an accepted seasonal word in any *saijiki*, *akebono* certainly is and that opens the door for its paronym, *agemono*, to become one. Second, assuming that our Japanese consumer remembers at least the first few lines of the *Pillow Book*, he must also be conscious that its author is a woman, and a parallel is established between the author of *The Pillow Book* and the attractive celebrity featured in the ad. Our 11th century author would no doubt be surprised to find herself drawn into the modern age by such an appropriation of her persona. Third we can assume that our fictitious consumer has concomitant ambivalent memories of struggling in middle school with the language of a thousand years ago and the boredom that ensued. The bridge between the world of the marketer and the world of the consumer is spanned by substituting a bridge between the world of youth and the world of the middle-aged office worker, which if he is lucky, will hold a highball made with Suntory whiskey. As Cook (above) predicts, the four participant worlds coalesce.

This use of intertextuality with wide-ranging implications is nowhere more evident than in a long-term strategy employed by the food conglomerate Ajinomoto in an effort to appeal to Japan’s collective image of itself as a country and a culture. Figure 1 shows a 2013 Ajinomoto ad featuring a photo of a daikon radish along with an assortment of dishes containing daikon. The caption reads:

一菜合菜

issai-gassai

‘one vegetable, all vegetable’



Figure 1. Advertisement using intertextual word-play (courtesy of Ajinomoto)

The daikon pictured at the top is a mainstay of Japanese cuisine, and on this knowledge the entire ad hinges. Anyone who has spent any time making or eating Japanese cuisine will recall that parts of the daikon show up with other ingredients in soups, broths, garnishes, pickles and the like. The intertextual reference here relies on word play with a traditional expression that has the same pronunciation but uses slightly different kanji, substituting 菜 ‘vegetable’ for 切 ‘cut’ in the fourth position:

一切合切

issai-gassai

‘the whole kit and kaboodle’ or ‘anything and everything.’

The original phrase allows the reader to interpret the meaning of the concocted compound: ‘It’s possible to use the whole vegetable to make anything and everything.’ But there is more in this ad than the copy line. A conspicuous feature of this ad is the extensive “anchoring” text that accompanies the image. Anchoring refers to verbal copy that explains to consumers how they should interpret the ad’s message. According to Phillips and McQuarrie (2002: 9), there is far less anchoring in contemporary (post-1990) ads than there was in the past; anchoring was a mainstay of ads before the internet age. Nonetheless, this 2013 Ajinomoto ad provides extensive anchoring that explains to consumers how they are to interpret the image. Under the daikon image, uses for its five parts are elaborated:

Sentan-bubun wa, yakizakana ni soeru yakumi no daikon-orishi ni. Komakaku kitte, misoshiru no gu ya tsukemono nado ni mo zehi.

(Use) the tip for grated daikon condiment to accompany grilled fish. Go ahead, chop it finely, (and use it) for miso soup or pickles, too.

Kawa wa sengiri ni shite tsukemono ya kinpira nado ni. Suteru koto naku, eiyôhôfu na oishii ichi-bu e.

(Use) the julienned peel in things like pickles and kinpira. Not to be thrown away, (use) it for delicious dishes full of nutrition.

Yawarakakute, amami ga tsuyoi chûô-bubun wa, furofuki daikon ya oden nado no nimono ni pittari desu.

The middle section, tender and full of sweetness, is perfect for stewed things like furofuki and oden.

Nama de taberu nara, kono aokubi-bubun. Amami ga atte mizumizushiku, sarada ya aemono ni saiteki desu.

If you eat it raw, (use) this green section. Sweet and juicy, it's perfect for things like salads and aemono.

Eiyôhôfu na ha wa, misoshiru no gu ya nameshi nado ni. Daikon no suibun o suitoru no de, kirihanashite hozon o.

(Use) the leaves that are full of nutrition as an ingredient in miso soup or on rice. Since they draw up the liquid from the daikon, cut them off and store (separately).

The bowls containing familiar (to the Japanese) traditional foods are labeled:

1. *furofuki-daikon*: boiled *daikon* served hot with miso
2. *huri-daikon*: yellowtail and *daikon* stewed together with soy sauce
3. *namasu*: *daikon* and carrot (or other ingredients) seasoned in vinegar
4. *kawa no kinpira*: peel cooked in sugar, mirin and soy sauce
5. *ton-jiru*: pork soup (that usually includes carrot, lotus root, potato, *daikon*, etc.)
6. *buta-niku no oroshi-daikon soosu*: pork with grated *daikon* condiment
7. *daikon no ha to jako no itamemono*: sautéed *daikon* leaves with small fish
8. *daikon to ringo no shio-kooji-tsuke*: *daikon* with apple seasoned in salt-kooji (rice malt)

The catch phrase and the image invite viewers to look at this anchoring text; the eye is drawn to a world of nostalgia for the sensory (smell, taste, sight, feel) experience of a jointly imagined past. All of these references are intended to conjure up in the Japanese consumer's mind the experience of *ofukuro no aji* 'home cooking' (literally 'the taste of mom's cooking') (see Figure 2). Nostalgia is central to this advertisement, drawing the reader into an imagined world of a culturally homogeneous Japan (where mothers do the cooking). As Ivy (1995: 1) observes, Japan's "economic expansiveness is parried by a national inwardness and a disavowal of internal differences...a disavowal most often laid at the feet of culture." This romanticized image, in turn, underlies another shared cultural conviction that Japan is a culture with an extraordinary culinary tradition. Indeed, in 2013 *washoku*

'Japanese cuisine' joined a list of twenty-one other Japanese cultural assets that are designated by UNESCO to be "intangible heritage elements" (i.e. those "that help demonstrate the diversity of [cultural] heritage and raise awareness about its importance" (UNESCO Intangible cultural heritage website: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/purpose-of-the-lists-00807> accessed April 13, 2018).)

This designation did not go unnoticed in the media, and advertising took up the thread. In 2014, Ajinomoto tied its marketing campaign to the UNESCO award. Figures 2 and 3 celebrate Japanese cuisine (made, it goes without saying, using Ajinomoto products). Both feature a round red medallion at the bottom with the character 祝*iwai* 'celebration' paired with 和食*washoku* 'Japanese food.' Figure 2 makes direct reference to Japan's achievement in its copy line:

Nihon ni wa, okaasan ga mainichi tsukuru sekai no isan ga arimasu.

Japan has a world heritage that Japanese mothers make every day.

There is also implicit reference to the iconic four seasons through the division of the image into a quadtych defined by color: on a background of Mount Fuji (the emblem of Japan and itself a UNESCO world heritage site) we have cherry branches in spring, summer, fall and winter. Consumers' everyday experience of mother's cooking is tied to the embodiment of Japanese culture. And by extension to Ajinomoto.

The caption for Figure 3 reads:

Washoku wa washoku de dekite iru.

Washoku (Japanese food) is made up of *washoku* (Japanese colors).

The word play here is on *washoku* which means both 'Japanese food' and 'Japanese traditional colors.' The second *washoku* 'Japanese colors' refers to a palette (evident in all three of these ads) used in textiles and other Japanese arts and crafts.¹ In the world of kimono, for example, there are many complex rules for combining colors, first and foremost as they are dictated by the season. And the names of traditional colors (required learning for anyone who does practices a traditional art) come out of the natural world. Colors for spring include *kôbai* 'red plum,' *momo* 'peach,' *sakura* 'cherry,' *sawarabi* 'bracken (green),' *tsutsuji* 'azalea (green),' *ume* 'plum,' *yamabuki* 'rose yellow,' and *yanagi* 'willow (green).' These colors can be layered in a kimono with another set of colors. *Momo* (peach), for example, can be combined with *moegi* 'tree sprout (green),' *shiro* 'white,' and *usubeni* 'light crimson.' Like the choices among elements in a kimono, a well-designed Japanese meal consists of

1. Traditional colors can be viewed at a number of websites including [www.colordic.org/w/] and [<http://irononamae.web.fc2.com/colorlist/wa.html>]. There are also books that lay out this palette, including Sano 2009 and Hamada 2013.

small details: small portions of delicious seasonal food served in ceramic vessels made by indigenous potters. All of foods and their containers in Figure 3 are labeled with their traditional color. The soba noodles in the top left are *sakuranezu* ‘mouse pink’; the deep-fried tofu to the right of the soba noodles is *kitsune-iro* ‘fox color’; the red fish at the bottom left is *hiiro* ‘fire color.’ This interweaving of color with natural phenomena comes out of the literary canon. Many of these would be unknown to the western viewer: the spinach on the left hand side, for example, is *tokiwa-midori* ‘beefwood (an Asian evergreen) green.’ Whether Japanese viewers can articulate all of these is doubtful. But almost all people know at least some colors and are aware (through their experience of it on a day-to-day basis, if nothing else) that the palette exists. The anchoring text is held out as a kind of quiz to viewers, with answers provided. All of this draws the viewer into a world that is warm, beautiful, elegant, natural, unhurried, familiar, and nostalgic if not real, but that can be made real through the consumption of Japanese food...made even better with Ajinomoto products.

Ajinomoto itself may evoke in the consumer a uniquely Japanese past. Founded in the Meiji era (1909), Ajinomoto was the first enterprise to isolate monosodium glutamate, calling it *ajinomoto* ‘the basis of taste.’ Although the company now has a global presence and markets hundreds of products (including everything from soup to pharmaceuticals), *ajinomoto* still refers to that original seasoning; there is no other term for it (save the scientific nomenclature) in Japanese. Ajinomoto, in turn, prides itself on embodying all that is exceptional about Japanese cuisine, as their advertising demonstrates.



Figure 2. ‘Japan has a world heritage that Japanese mothers make every day’ (courtesy of Ajinomoto)



Figure 3. ‘Washoku’ (‘Japanese food’) is made of *washoku* (‘Japanese traditional colors’) (courtesy of Ajinomoto)

No contemporary ad would be complete without an appeal to the environment, and we find at the bottom of Figure 1 an allusion to the ecological benefits to be found in taking advantage of the entire vegetable:

Yasai hitotsu kara konna ni mo yutaka na ryôri. Ironna aji de, yasai marugoto yasaikuru. Bui ga chigaeba, aji mo chigau. Tatoeba daikon ippon totte mo, sono ajiwai wa hontô ni tasai desu. Mi mo kawa mo, ne mo ha mo, marugoto tsukaikuru “yasaikuru” de, yasai o motto yutaka ni ajiwatte mimasen ka. Sore wa, gomi o herashite CO2 o sakugen suru, chikyû ni mo yasashii oishisa. Ironna tokoro o, ironna aji de taberu eko. Ajinomoto KK wa, itsu de mo otetsudai-shimasu.

Cuisine this rich that comes from a single vegetable. With various flavors, the entire vegetable is part of a “vege-cycle.” When the part is different, the taste is different. For example, even for a single daikon, its tastes are truly diverse. Since inside and out (lit. the middle and the peel), the root and the leaves, can be used up in the vege-cycle, won’t you try vegetables in ever richer ways? That is a benefit that lowers garbage which reduces CO2 and is kind to the earth. Ecology where we eat the various parts in various tastes. Ajinomoto Inc. will always help.

The first sentence and the last sentence constitute the central theme of the advertisement: “Cuisine this rich... Ajinomoto Inc. will always help.” Sandwiched in the middle is the profession of allegiance to *yasaikuru* ‘vege-cycle,’ a word coined for this advertisement which is itself a play on words: *yasai* ‘vegetable’ combined with *saikuru* ‘(re)cycle.’ The collective enjoyment of grasping this reference, too, ties ecology to food consumption and an invitation to join Ajinomoto in contributing to the greater good. Consumers are enticed into a discursive singularity through contexts that they share and principles on which they can all agree.

Finally, mention must be made of the special nature of the phrase that holds the *daikon* ad together: *issai-gassai*. There is a specific type of homophonous word play in Japanese that involves what are called *yoji-jukugo* or ‘four-character compounds.’ *Yoji-jukugo* are an integral part of the classical literary and Buddhist tradition of Japan, imported from China along with the writing system. They are, as the name suggests, set phrases that consist of four *kanji* characters. There are dictionaries (traditional paper, online and electronic) of *yoji-jukugo* featuring thousands of combinations. Here are some examples:

一日一善

ichinichi-ichizen

‘do one good deed each day; do one good turn a day’

溫故知新

onko-chishin

‘learn from the past’

Japanese people become aware of *yoji-jukugo* in elementary school. Traditional phrases are taught in compulsory *kokugo* ‘Japanese’ and *kanbun* ‘Chinese classical literature’ classes. *Yoji-jukugo* are a vehicle not only for teaching proverbs and ethics but also for writing practice since they are short set phrases that use *kanji*. Word play involving *yoji-jukugo* is a frequent vehicle for humor, and needless to say, they occur liberally in advertisements. Appreciating this word play entails the reader knowing the original reference. The *daikon* with *issai-gassai* is one example of such a classical *yoji-jukugo* reference. Others are not hard to find. There is a famous set of scrolls from the 12th century in the Kōzanji Temple in Kyoto whose title is an example of *yoji-jukugo*:

鳥獸戲画

Chōjū-giga

‘wildlife caricatures’

The scrolls portray frolicking animals engaged in human activities such as praying to the Buddha, bathing and dancing (Figure 4 and Figure 5).



Figure 4. Detail from the first scroll of *Chôjû-giga*: a monkey thief runs away from animals with long sticks (Source: Wikipedia)



Figure 5. Detail from the first scroll of *Chôjû-giga*: animals engaged in sumo wrestling (Source: Wikipedia)

Ajinomoto created a parody of the scrolls for an advertisement in 2014 using the same style and depicting elderly animals cooking over charcoal grills, playing basketball, surfing and the like (Figure 6 and Figure 7). The ad copy line in the center plays on the original *yoji-jukugo* title:

長寿戯画

Chôju-giga

'long life caricatures'



Figure 6. Ajinomoto advertisement with the copy line *chôju-giga* ‘long life caricatures’ (Source: Ajinomoto)



Figure 7. Detail from Ajinomoto’s *chôju-giga* ‘long life caricatures’ (Source: Ajinomoto)

The copy line substitutes 長寿 *chôju* ‘longevity’ for 鳥獸 *chôjû* ‘wildlife.’ There is very little anchoring text to accompany this; the illustrations of people playing basketball, dancing, and grilling outside tell a familiar story in a country whose population is rapidly aging and where encouragement to exercise is a constant refrain. The idea underlying the advertisement is that healthy eating – in combination with activity – promotes a better, longer life. Not coincidentally, Ajinomoto’s most recent tag line for all of its ads is (in English) “Eat well, live well.” There is nothing unfamiliar in this narrative; it lays out in clever fashion what we all know to be true. The purpose of the narrative is to bond with consumers: “We all agree that healthy living is a strategy for longevity. Ajinomoto wants to help you do that.”

It should be emphasized that intertextuality is not the province solely of conglomerates. One evening when walking with a friend, the author came upon a hand-lettered sign board outside a small *izakaya* (a bar or tavern) (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Sign outside an *izakaya* - 牡蠣入れ時 'Peak season for oysters' (Source: Wetzel)

The sign says

牡蠣入れ時
kaki-ire-doki
 'peak season for oysters'

But this turn of phrase is possible only because of a play on words with a familiar slogan:

書き入れ時
kaki-ire-doki
 'peak season for business'

It was the end of the fiscal year when Japanese businesses were closing their books for the last quarter. The expectation was therefore that potential customers were busy at work and had accounts (*kaki-ire-doki*) on their mind as they headed home. Without referring directly to the year-end crunch, the sign acknowledges it nonetheless, inviting passers-by to escape for a bit to enjoy oysters and a few drinks. The

Table 1. Advertisements push a product from 1. The world of the sender to 4. The real world of the receiver (after Cook 1992)

	1. World of the sender	2. Fictional world of the characters portrayed in the ad	3. Fantasy world of the receiver (consumer)	4. Real world of the receiver (consumer)
Suntory Whiskey	Our goal is to sell whiskey during the hot summer months.	There is a world where an attractive woman enjoys a highball with <i>karaage</i>	In my dreams I am in the company of an attractive woman, enjoying a highball with <i>karaage</i>	I'm an office worker in the heat of a Tokyo summer, but if I buy Suntory whiskey, I can have a highball and <i>karaage</i> and if I'm lucky an alluring woman will show up.
Ajinomoto Figures 1, 2, and 3	Our goal is to sell to home makers (primarily women) foodstuffs that augment other ingredients and often speed up preparation. These include MSG but also instant soup and stew bases.	There is a world where food carefully prepared and served on beautiful Japanese plates and bowls; there is a sense of plenty.	In my dreams I am able to prepare and serve to my family, as well as enjoy myself, delicious Japanese dishes that look and taste as if I've been cooking all day.	I'm a busy home-maker with limited time or monetary resources, but if I use Ajinomoto products, I can prepare any of these things and enjoy them with my family.
Ajinomoto Figure 6 and 7	Our goal is to sell to an aging population foodstuffs that augment main ingredients. These include MSG but also instant soup and stew bases.	There is a world where people are old but healthy; everyone is enjoying life, playing games, and eating food in good company.	In my dreams I can stay healthy, enjoy life, play games, and eat food in good company.	I'm getting old, but if I buy and use Ajinomoto products, I will be able stay healthy, enjoy life, play games, and eat food in good company.
Izakaya	Our goal is to draw in office workers who are passing by after work; to promote (and sell) the day's special (oysters) along with alcoholic beverages.	[No characters] There is a world where "peak season" refers not to work but to oysters.	In my dreams I escape the crush of work and enjoy something good to eat with a few drinks.	I'm an office worker, heading home late in the evening. I've had a hard day because we're closing the quarter, but if I stop in this restaurant I can escape for a short time and enjoy fresh oysters and a few drinks.

two worlds of the consumer – work and pleasure – are brought together under a single marketing slogan.

To return to Cook's (1992) contention that ads exist in four participant worlds, Table 1 offers a breakdown in the form of a mini-narrative of the worlds that are merged by the ads examined here. Recall that the marketer's goal is to push a product from (1) the world of the sender (marketer) to (4) the real world of the receiver (consumer). The products, which have no inherent meaning of their own, are given value by their association with people or objects – and in this case texts – that do have value to viewers (Williamson 1978: 77). Through the mediation of an advertisement consumers see something that they can use in their constructions of themselves, their families and their communities (McCracken 1987: 121). Thus, within the context of the ad, consumers are brought into discursive alignment with the marketer.

3. Conclusion

Consumers enjoyment of all these ads derives from their participation in the shared cultural narratives of Japan – from Chinese classical aphorisms to Buddhist scrolls to popular culture. Hitchon and Jura (1997) conclude that, "[T]ext identification demands a degree of cultural literacy; and cultural literacy is a more holistic and abstract factor than the usual profile of demographic and psychographic variables used to target a market" (147). As McQuarrie and Mick (1999) observe, "The meanings provoked by visual tropes are not on the page or in the picture but rather require an active construal by the reader, a construal that requires a body of cultural knowledge before it can occur" (49). To be sure, that body of knowledge need not always adhere reliably to the facts. Advertising is in this view "both a concrete object and the product of social practices within particular cultural settings" (Houston 2004: 6).

Intertextuality and word play – and their concomitant ambiguity – are indispensable elements in the marketer's toolkit. When meanings multiply, the potential to create associations that entice the consumer into the marketer's world – to bond – increases. A single text conveys simultaneously at least two meanings, one or both of which may be an allusion to a text with which readers are familiar. Chinese, western, as well as native Japanese visual and literary traditions are a semiotic resource that draws viewers into a narrative that that is created to market services and commodities, from food to fashion to sports.

Advertising instantiates a well-established symbolic system that is understood by the people who create the ads and the people who read them. If we are all culturally constituted, then advertising plays a central role in our sense of who we

are. The tie between intertextuality and social connectedness is possible because social actors agree that certain linguistic forms mean certain things. Meanings are shared through a sociohistorical process. This is the case for all of what consumer researchers call “information.” Readers (consumers) learn the language of advertising and its conventions through cultural immersion and socialization. Advertising is, in this way, “a kind of dictionary constantly keeping us apprised of new consumer signified and signifiers” (McCracken 1987: 121). Ads tell us what it “means” to be a man or a woman, to be middle-aged, to be a parent or a child, or to be a member of a culture or a citizen of a country – in short, what it means to be an insider.

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List of contributors

Cade Bushnell received his PhD in Japanese linguistics at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. He is currently an associate professor of Japanese studies at the University of Tsukuba in Japan. His research interests include participation, membership and learning; laughter and language play; and identity – all particularly in the case of second language users.

Cynthia Dickel Dunn is professor emerita of anthropology at the University of Northern Iowa. Her scholarship focuses on the linguistic anthropology of Japan. She has published extensively on Japanese formal speech genres, the metapragmatics of politeness and honorific use, and personal narrative, including articles in the 2017 *Annual Review of Anthropology* and the forthcoming *International Encyclopedia of Linguistic Anthropology*.

Kaori Hata is an associate professor in the Graduate School of Language and Culture at Osaka University in Japan. Her research interests include sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, especially identity and ideology representing small stories in narratives. Her most recent co-authored publications include *Narrative Analysis of Childbirth and Child-rearing* (Osaka University Press, 2017).

Risako Ide received her PhD in linguistic anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin and is an associate professor in the International and Advanced Japanese Studies program at the University of Tsukuba. Her interests include small talk, laughter, and joking in the public sphere as well as narrative analysis. Her most recent co-authored publication includes *Invitations to Linguistic Anthropology: Understanding Culture from Discourse* (Hituzi Shobo Publishing, 2019).

Kuniyoshi Kataoka is professor of English linguistics at Aichi University, Japan. He is particularly interested in linguistic and para-/meta-linguistic means of representation of poeticity and emotion in written/spoken discourse. His studies have appeared in many journals and books, including *Language in Society*, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *Pragmatics*, *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Language & Communication*, *Style Shifting in Japanese* (ed. by Jones and Ono, 2008), and *Approaches to Language, Culture, and Cognition* (ed. by Yamaguchi, Tay, and Blount, 2014).

Augustin Lefebvre, Ph.D. is associated researcher at the Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3 University. He works on various topics related to the organization of social interaction from the perspectives of multimodal conversation analysis and ethnomethodology.

Takako Okamoto has researched and published widely in the areas of discourse analysis using linguistic anthropological methods. Her most recent book in collaboration with Kaori Hata and Risako Ide is *Narrative Analysis of Childbirth and Child-rearing* (Osaka University Press, 2017). She received her MA in English literature and linguistics from Japan Women's University and studied linguistic anthropology at the University of Arizona.

Chiho Sunakawa received a Ph.D. degree in linguistic anthropology from the University of Texas at Austin. Her main research interests include the impact of technology on human communications and the role of multimodality in teaching and learning. While working as a post-doctoral research fellow (JSPS) at the National Institute of Informatics, Japan, she has researched and published widely. She currently works as a language consultant and specialist via Welocalize, U.S.A.

Hiroko Takanashi is professor in the Department of English at Japan Women's University, Tokyo, where she teaches pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and English thesis writing pedagogy to undergraduate and graduate students. Her research interests lie in interactional sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, and she has published articles on conversational framing and play, humor, and stancetaking. Most recently, she is working on intercultural discourse in tourism contexts.

Makiko Takekuro is professor in the Faculty of Law at Waseda University, where she teaches linguistics and linguistic anthropology. Her research interests include honorifics, language and gender, spatial cognition, ritual practice, and ethnopoetics. For more than a decade, she has been conducting extensive fieldwork on Ishigaki Island in Japan's Okinawa prefecture, with a special emphasis on interactions and social relations in an insular community.

Patricia J. Wetzel is professor emerita of Japanese at Portland State University. Her primary research is in Japanese linguistic anthropology and linguistic pragmatics, with a focus on *keigo* (polite language). Her secondary research interest is language pedagogy. Her publications include *Keigo in Modern Japan* (University of Hawaii Press, 2004), and various articles that have appeared in *Language in Society*, *Language Variation and Change*, *Multilingua*, and elsewhere. She served as language and linguistics editor then coordinating editor of the *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*. She has also served on the editorial board

of the *Journal of Asian Studies*. She is past president of the U.S. Association of Teachers of Japanese.

Masataka Yamaguchi is professor of sociolinguistics and English language education at the Graduate School of English Language Education and Research at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies in Japan. He recently co-authored *An Invitation to Linguistic Anthropology: Understanding Culture from Discourse* (Hituzi Shobo Publishing, 2019) with Risako Ide and Chiho Sunakawa. He also has contributed to journals such as *Discourse & Society*, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *Language & Communication*, among others.

Lindsay Yotsukura is an associate professor of Japanese at the University of Maryland, College Park. Her research focuses on the analysis of spoken and written business discourse genres (particularly with respect to deixis and indexicality), cross-cultural pragmatics, and language pedagogy. Publications include *Negotiating Moves: Problem Presentation and Resolution in Japanese Business Discourse*, “Negotiation and confirmation of arrangements in Japanese business discourse” and “Making inquiries: *Toiawase* strategies by Japanese L1 and L2 callers to educational institutions”.

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This book examines the linguistic and interactional mechanisms through which people bond or feel bonded with one another by analyzing situated discourse in Japanese contexts. The term “bonding” points to the sense of co-presence, belonging, and alignment with others as well as with the space of interaction. We analyze bonding as established, not only through the usage of language as a foregrounded code, but also through multi-layered contexts shared on the interactional, corporeal, and socio-cultural levels. The volume comprises twelve chapters examining the processes of bonding (and un-bonding) using situated discourse taken from rich ethnographic data including police suspect interrogations, Skype-mediated family conversations, theatrical rehearsals, storytelling, business email correspondence and advertisements. While the book focuses on processes of bonding in Japanese discourse, the concept of bonding can be applied universally in analyzing the co-creation of semiotic, pragmatic, and communal space in situated discourse.

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