Speaking as Parts of a Whole:
Discourse Interpretation from *Ba*-based Thinking

By

Kishiko Ueno

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School Humanities
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Division of English
Japan Women's University

November 18, 2016

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I could not have completed this dissertation without the support, encouragement, and influence of many people, to whom I would like to express my sincere appreciation.

First, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my dissertation advisor, Professor Yoko Fujii, for her constant guidance, encouragement, and patience. Since I started my graduate studies at Japan Women's University, her instruction has significantly helped me to develop my research. Without her wholehearted supervision and dedication, this dissertation would not have become a reality.

In addition to my advisor, I would like to thank Professors Akiko Matsumori, Ann Slater, and Yasuo Kawabata, members of my dissertation committee, who read an earlier version of my dissertation and provided constructive and insightful feedback.

I also wish to express my deepest appreciation to Sachiko Ide, Professor Emeritus at Japan Women's University, whose work motivated me to start my graduate studies. Throughout my years of study, she has inspired, influenced, and supported me in an extraordinary way. She has not only guided me academically but also impressed me with her faith that the study of language and culture can contribute to peace in the world. Without many fruitful discussions with her, I would never have been able to finish my dissertation.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge Professors Yasuhiro Katagiri, Kuniyoshi Kataoka, Kaoru Horie, and Keiko Abe, who allowed me to join the Emancipatory Pragmatics project supported by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. I am indebted to their intellectual influence on my work. The Mister O Corpus cross-linguistically and cross-culturally comparative discourse data that I used for this study is part of this project.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Professors Hiroshi Shimizu, William F. Hanks, and Masayuki Otsuka. I learned *ba*-based thinking from their lectures and writings as well as through personal communication with them.

I am grateful to Patrick R. Schwemmer for not only editing my

manuscript but also giving me valuable comments about my interpretation of the data. I appreciate Rumiko Shimojo for her meticulous proofreading of my drafts and her helpful suggestions that allowed me to develop my ideas further.

Although there are too many to name here, I wish to thank my friends and colleagues from graduate school. Special thanks go to Ayako Namba and Yuko Nomura, my research colleagues. I also thank the current graduate students at Japan Women's University. Discussions with them are always stimulating.

I am also thankful for Makoto Hara, Professor Emeritus at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. When I started conducting research after several years in the workforce, he gave me warm words of support and has continuously encouraged me to pursue my interests ever since.

Last but not least, I thank my family for always being beside me and enveloping me in their unconditional, endless assistance and love.

List of Figures

Transcription Conventions

1. Excerpts and figures are numbered for each chapter.
2. In the English translation, words that are not stated verbally in Japanese are parenthesized.
3. Transcription conventions are as follows:

[	speech overlap
／	rising intonation
=	latching without perceptible pause
{laugh}	laughter
...	noticeable pause
xxx	transcription impossible
***	anonymity
→	points singled out for analysis
	repetition (when necessary)
.....	addition (when necessary)
____	take-over (when necessary)
~~	overlap (when necessary)

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Motives of the Study

I have been engaged in comparative studies of Japanese and English[1] conversational discourse for several years in search of culturally shaped patterns of conversation and their underlying logic, in most cases using major theories of pragmatics that originate in Euro-American traditions. What I have found most difficult in my study is that while major theories of pragmatics, such as Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1978, 1987), seem to fit English data, Japanese data display varied phenomena that cannot be explained well with those theories. I noticed that the fundamental assumption of major theories of pragmatics, that is, "the rational nature of conversational activity" (Levinson 2000: 14), does not fit some Japanese conversational phenomena. Brown and Levinson assume that a speaker is "a face-bearing rational agent," who bears "intention recognition," and "certain rational capacities, in particular consistent modes of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends." Therefore, a speaker rationally chooses a "strategy" that will satisfy his strategic end, and thus any type of language use can be attributed to "rational sources for behavior." However,

[1] In this study, "English," "American(s)," and "American English" are used to refer to the American English dialect or to speakers of American English.

such an emphasis on rationality does not often fit verbal exchanges in Japanese conversation. A case in point is given below:

(1)[2]

01 T: あ、ん、優しい {笑} =

a, n, yasashii {laugh}=

"Ah, yeah, (he is) nice."{laugh}

02 S: =優[しいんです{笑}

=yasa[shii n desu {laugh}

"(He) is nice." {laugh}

03 T: [優しいお店の人だ

[yasashii omise no hito da

"(He) is a nice cook."

This is an excerpt from a Japanese conversation between two speakers (T and S) who are meeting for the first time. In the process of S's story telling about a generous cook she encountered, S and T improvisationally co-create the phrase "a nice cook." We can see that they quickly repeat the same word *yasashii* "nice" to each other and in line 03, T affirms *yasashii omise no hit da* "(He is) a nice cook" while largely overlapping with S's prior utterance in line 02. The point I would like to emphasize is that the speakers do not

[2] Excerpt (1) is part of Excerpt 4-12, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

necessarily deliver substantial information that contains their own intentions, but they laugh and talk generating a congenial, pleasing atmosphere. Interestingly, this type of verbal exchange is ubiquitous in Japanese data, while not in English, even though the data of both languages were collected under the same conditions.[3]

This type of verbal exchange, called *kyowa* or cooperative speech (Mizutani 1993, 1995), is considered one of the most prominent characteristics of Japanese conversation. In *kyowa,* speakers send frequent backchannels, show sympathetic attitudes, and anticipate what the other has in mind or is about to say. By means of these, different speakers' utterances are woven into a single story stream, while the distinction between speakers becomes blurred.

This raises questions: do the speakers really repeat each other's words and overlap with a partner's utterances as purposive strategies based on intention? Is it really appropriate to understand their utterances as rational? The data do not allow me to say "yes" to these questions. It is difficult to find independent, individual intention in our speakers' utterances. Rather, each speaker's utterances seem to be produced in accordance with the other's in a harmonious and pleasant way.

How can we explain these phenomena well, given the limitations of

[3] See Subsection 2.3.2.2 in Chapter Two. Frequent use of repetition in Japanese conversation will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

major theories of pragmatics which they reveal? What is really happening in Japanese conversation? What is its logic? These unsolved questions drove me to set about my dissertation.

1.2 Aims of the Study

In order to solve questions mentioned just above in Section 1.1, I set my objectives as follows.

First, I contrastively analyze English and Japanese conversation in order to disclose culturally shaped patterns of conversation. For this purpose, I analyze language use in American and Japanese conversations by two kinds of dyads: one is the pair with social distance, that is, teacher-student pairs who are meeting for the first time, and the other is the pair without social distance, that is, a student-student pair who are close friends. Based on this data of teacher-student conversation, I analyze how teachers and students communicate by means of question-asking. Moreover, I analyze student-student conversation in terms of how they communicate when they share stories.

Second, I critically explicate major theories of pragmatics, such as Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1978, 1987), and show what they can and cannot do.

Third, as a way of thinking that may complement major theories of pragmatics, I introduce *ba*-based thinking (Shimizu 1995, 2003, 2004; Hanks

2016; Otsuka 2011), which originates in Japanese philosophy. Looking at the data in light of this model, I attempt to find the underlying logic of Japanese conversation.

1.3 Outline of the Study

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. The present chapter, Chapter One, has presented a brief introduction, outlined the purpose of this study, and briefly sketched some Japanese discourse phenomena which prevailing theories of pragmatics cannot explain well.

Chapter Two starts by denoting the impact which Chomsky's rationalist paradigm has had on major theories of pragmatics in Euro-American scholarship. This is followed by a review of some of those theories, including Grice's theory of conversational implicature and theories of politeness, with special attention to Brown and Levinson's framework. Next, I survey the broader literature on Japanese conversation. My discussion includes language use according to *wakimae*, "one's sense of place or role in a given situation according to social convention" (Ide 1989, also 2006) and *kyowa* or cooperative speech (Mizutani 1993, 1995).

Chapter Three introduces the source of data for this study, the Mister O Corpus. The background information of Mister O Corpus, the procedure of data collection, and information about the participants will be provided.

Chapter Four analyzes the use of questions in Japanese and English

conversation with social distance, that is, between teachers and students who are meeting for the first time. The reciprocally equal uses of questions observed in English conversation are characterized as "individualistic volitional utterances," while Japanese teachers-student pairs' complementary uses of questions are characterized as "role-oriented *wakimae* utterances."

Chapter Five analyzes story sharing in Japanese and English conversation without social distance, that is, between students who are close friends. When sharing stories, American pairs demonstrate a "high-involvement style of information exchange," in which conversational devices such as questions, expressive responses, evaluative comments, and story rounds are used. On the other hand, Japanese pairs demonstrate what I call "merging discourse." In merging discourse, two speakers enter a merged relationship so as to speak as if they share a single mind in creating a story. I discuss "induced-fit utterances," which include conversational devices such as repetition, overlap, takeover, and addition.

Chapter Six criticizes the rationalist approach of major theories of pragmatics by highlighting the features of Japanese conversation which they cannot explain well. Then, as an approach that may complement rationalist theories, the theory of *ba*-based thinking (Shimizu 1995, 2003, 2004; Hanks 2016; Otsuka 2011) is introduced. *Ba*-based thinking introduces a shift from the rationalist perspective, in which a primordial self is given from the first

and language use is assumed to originate in rationality. Rather, it assumes that the self arises in a situation at hand in relation to other(s) and is composed of two layers: the intellectual domain ("egocentric domain"), which is subsumed within the domain of corporeality and feeling ("*basho* domain"). I interpret Japanese conversational discourse based on this *ba*-based thinking. *Ba*-based thinking allows us to explain logically how speakers act not only as unique individuals but also as parts of a whole.

Chapter Seven provides an overview of my study and ends with a brief outlook on the potential of the *ba*-based thinking to enrich the theory of pragmatics.

Chapter Two

A Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. The first part reviews major Euro-American theories of pragmatics in general, and the second part reviews the literature of Japanese conversational phenomena which major theories of pragmatics may not explain well.

We begin by explaining how Noam Chomsky, a Cartesian linguist, influenced the rise of pragmatics, then provide a brief review of well-established theories of pragmatics originating in the Anglo-American academy, particularly H. Paul Grice's theory of conversational implicature (1975) and the politeness theories proposed by Penelope Brown and Steven Levinson (1978, 1987), among others. These theories, more or less, are grounded on Chomsky's paradigm in that they assume rationality and intention to be human nature.

The second part of this chapter provides a review of Japanese conversational phenomena which major Anglo-American theories do not explain well. They include the *wakimae* aspect of language use, which means speaking according to one's sense of place or role in compliance with convention (Ide 1989), and *kyowa* "cooperative speech" (Mizutani 1993), where interactants cooperate with each other to complete their sentences.

Moreover, some linguistic behaviors forming *kyowa*, such as *aizuchi* or backchannels, repetition, and take-over, will be reviewed (Section 2.3).

2.2 Major Theories of Pragmatics

2.2.1 Chomsky's Impact on Pragmatics

Pragmatics is the study of language in use, and its popularity since the 1970s was part of a dialogue with the idea of syntax in the scholarship of the 1960s, especially the theory of "generative grammar" propounded by Noam Chomsky (Senft 2014; Yasui and Okuda 1990). As Yasui and Okuda point out in the introduction to their Japanese translation of Steven Levinson's globally influential *Pragmatics* (1983), the study of pragmatics stands on the shoulders of Chomsky, although he himself did not express any interest in it.

Chomsky was interested in determining the "universal grammar" that he thought was innate and unique to human cognition, by understanding the nature of language and the human mind and its functioning (1965, 1966). For this purpose, he utilized an idealized model of the person. Specifically, he assumed the "ideal speaker/listener in a completely homogeneous speech community," whose "linguistic competence," i.e., the ability to form new sentences which express new thoughts and which are appropriate to new situations, is considered to be enabled by universal grammar hard-wired in the brain (Chomsky 1965: 3).

Chomsky was greatly inspired by the Cartesian perspective on human

nature and language, as shown in the title of his seminal *Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rational Thought* (1966). Following Descartes, who is best known for his epistemological statement "Cogito ergo sum (I think, therefore I am)" (1955), Chomsky developed his paradigm on the grounds that "the MAN is by Nature a RATIONAL ANIMAL" (1966: 16)[4]. The central doctrine of Cartesian linguistics is that the general features of grammatical structure are common to all languages and reflect certain properties of the mind, such as rationality (1966: 59). By "rationality" was meant "human reason," which is characterized as a mode of action governed by a will, that is, freedom from the domination of instinct and stimulus control and thus freedom to reflect and think (1966: 7). Moreover, it was meant that "man" knows certain truths innately as part of rational nature and has a form of rational intuition which enables him to attain certain truths intellectually. Accordingly, what Chomsky labeled "linguistic competence" (1966: 4) should not be confused with natural movements which betray passions or may be imitated by machines or manifested by animals.[5]

The more influential Chomsky's discussion on universal grammar became, the more scholars came to realize the need to investigate the reality of language use in interaction, and this was the origin of pragmatics.

---

[4] Chomsky (1966) also names Herder and James Harris as philosophers who claimed the distinction between man and animal in terms of human language in association with "human reason."

[5] This suggests that Chomsky was not interested in utterances such as exclamations and automatic repetitions.

According to Yasui and Okuda (1990: iii), regardless of the fact that it is humans in living state that use language, the scope of pragmatics does not necessarily embrace "impurities" such as irrational and insufficient aspects of human speech. On the contrary, major theories of pragmatics confine their argument to rational aspects of language use, or rather conflate rational and irrational aspects of language use under the name "rational." Methodologically, these theories take a rationalistic approach to epistemology by emphasizing rationalism, reductionism, idealization, and abstraction, roots of which are seen in Chomskyan and Cartesian doctrines. These tendencies reflect an anxiety about the status of pragmatics as a rigorous science, in comparison with more traditional linguistic subfields like phonemics, morphology, and syntax (Yasui and Okuda 1990: iii).

Aside from the development of theories of pragmatics affiliated with Chomskyan frameworks, different paradigms have also emerged in which researchers pay more attention to the reality and diversity of language use in different cultures instead of pursuing general abstractions, as seen in movements like ethnography of communication (e.g. Gumperz and Hymes 1964; Hymes 1972; Gumperz 1982) and anthropological linguistics (e.g. Goody 1978; Rosaldo 1982). However, Cartesian tradition is so powerful and tenacious that the idea of rationality as human nature and rationalism and reductionism as a methodological orientation still underlies their argument. This is to say that such ideas and orientations are embedded in

presuppositions that are not necessarily questioned. This may result in researchers finding difficulty explaining non-rational aspects of language use, such as automatic code-switching, in which speakers are unaware of which code they use at any one time (cf. Gumperz 1982).

Below, we review Grice's theory of conversational implicature and the politeness theories proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), and other influential theories of pragmatics.

2.2.2 Grice's Theory of Conversational Implicature

H. Paul Grice's (1975) notion of "conversational implicature," which was built on the basis of Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) speech act theory[6], was one of the most important ideas for pragmatics in that it offered a significant explanation of pragmatic inference using general principles for co-operative interaction. Second, it provided an explicit account of how it is possible to mean more than "what is said" (Levinson 1983). In short, Grice (1975) was the first scholar who argued that "what is conversationally implicated is not coded but rather inferred on the basis of some basic assumptions about the rational nature of conversational activity" (Levinson

[6] These three philosophers were interested in how speakers generate specific meaning with language. Austin (1962) regarded speech as an action and classified speech acts into "locutions" and "illocutions," that is, speech acts which have meaning and speech acts which achieve certain effects, respectively. Austin's theory was systematized by Searle (1969), who saw speaking as performing "illocutionary acts" that have an effect on the hearer, and he analyzed them in terms of their constitutive rules.

2000: 14).

Grice's theory of conversational implicature is based on his awareness that although there is a difference between what is said and what is thereby meant, or what is implicated by the speaker, the hearer is able to make an inference to bridge the gap between them. The source of this ability was sought in rational human nature. That is to say, in any conversation interlocutors are supposed to observe the "Cooperative Principle," namely: "participants will make their conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which they are engaged" (Grice 1975: 45). Furthermore, to ensure efficient communication, interlocutors are postulated to observe the following four maxims that are rational and universal: Quantity, Quality, Relations, and Manner. They are defined as follows:

> The category of QUANTITY relates to the quantity of information to be provided, and under it fall the following maxims:
>
> 1. Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange.
> 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
>
> Under the category of QUALITY falls a supermaxim—'Try to make your contribution one that is true"—and two more specific maxims:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.

2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Under the category RELATION I place a single maxim, namely, "Be relevant."

Finally, under the category of MANNER, which I understand as relating not, like the previous categories, to what is said but, rather, to HOW what is said is to be said, I include the supermaxim "Be perspicuous" and various maxims such as:

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.

2. Avoid ambiguity.

3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).

4. Be orderly.

(Grice 1975: 45-46)

These maxims are not necessarily adhered to in all conversation: they can be violated. Still, they serve as a set of guidelines whereby what is said is understood by the hearer. Grice (1975: 51) discusses the following imaginary verbal exchanges:

(1) A: Smith doesn't have a girlfriend these days.

B: He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately.

In example (1), no maxim is violated. B's utterance can be understood to imply that Smith has a girlfriend in New York in so far as B is assumed to observe the maxim of relation.

Example (2) is a conversation in which A is talking about his plan to have a holiday in France. B knows that A wants to see his friend C living in France if it does not disrupt his schedule.

(2) A: Where does C live?

B: Somewhere in the South of France.

B's answer seems less informative than expected. Accordingly, B violates the maxim of Quantity: "Make your contribution as informative as is required." However, this infringement can be explained by the supposition that B knows that being more informative can result in violating the maxim of Quality: "Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence." Consequently, B's utterance is interpreted as implying he does not know exactly where C lives.

For Grice, the presence of a conversational implicature means that the Cooperative Principle is being observed. Grice's theory offers principles which explain how the speaker rationally and purposively makes verbal

expressions and how the hearer bridges the gap between what is said and what is implied. What underlies this theory is a premise that the speaker and hearer are always rational and purposive; in this way implicature is calculable.

Although the theory of conversational implicature was presented as universal in application, cross-cultural and anthropological studies have since shown that it is highly culture-specific. For example, examinations of Grice's theory in non-Indo-European languages, including Malagasy, the language spoken in Madagascar (Keenan 1976) and the Trobriand Islanders' language Kilivila (Senft 2008), have shown that some languages regularly violate conversational maxims.

2.2.3 Politeness Theories Overview

The notion of conversational implicature (Grice 1975) significantly contributed to the development of theories of politeness, notably by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1978, 1987), Robin Lakoff (1973), and Geoffrey Leech (1983). Note that all of them adopted the Gricean framework as the ground of arguments over the universality of their rules and principles. Politeness theorists commonly considered that the Cooperative Principle offers a basic set of assumptions for conversation, but in fact, in natural conversation, maxims are frequently flouted, and such deviations can contribute to politeness. This insight led them to formulate universal rules

and principles of politeness that consist of rational strategies.

Lakoff (1973) is generally regarded as the first who explored the issue of politeness from a pragmatic perspective (Watts 2003). Lakoff (1975: 64) defines politeness as forms of behavior that have been developed in societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction. According to Lakoff (1973: 296), Grice's conversational maxims are not always observed in normal communication in real life, and there are Rules of Pragmatic Competence that take precedence over them: (1) Be clear, and (2) Be polite. Furthermore, from her observation that in conversation speakers regularly and intentionally say something indirectly for the higher goal of politeness, Lakoff claims that "politeness" supersedes "clarity." This leads her to formulate the Rules of Politeness:

1. Don't impose.

2. Give options.

3. Make A feel good — be friendly (1973: 298).

Rule 1 creates an effect of distance. Employment of this rule can be seen in a conventionalized way of asking permission ("May I ask…?") before asking a question that is personal. For example, one says, "May I ask how much you paid for that vase, Mr. Hoving?" Rule 2 creates an effect of deference, and operates sometimes along with Rule 1. For example, one says, "Let him make his own decisions—leave his options open for him." Rule 3 is the rule which produces an effect of camaraderie accompanied by a sense of equality

between the speaker and addressee; this makes the addressee feel good. Although Rule 3 seems contradictory to Rule 1, it is very often used conventionally when there is not real friendship felt. Common examples are the use of first names instead of the last name plus title as well as the use of expressions like "y'know" which make the addressee a more active participant.

The cross-cultural applicability of Rule 3 in particular, however, has been questioned. "Friendly" is not necessarily a positive value in some societies (Scollon and Scollon 1995). Ide et al. (1992) also point out that "friendly" and "polite" are discrete concepts in Japanese society, whereas they are not in American society.

For Leech (1983), politeness is a type of behavior that allows the participants to interact in an atmosphere of relative harmony. Leech attributed deviations from the Cooperative Principle to the need to be polite, and in order to account for deviations from the Cooperative Principle, he proposed the Politeness Principle which consists of a series of six maxims, as an elaboration of Grice's principles (1975).

1. Tact Maxim: Minimize cost to other and maximize benefit to other.
2. Generosity Maxim: Minimize benefit to self and maximize cost to self.
3. Approbation Maxim: Minimize dispraise of other and maximize praise of other.
4. Modesty Maxim: Minimize praise of self and maximize dispraise of self.

5. Agreement Maxim: Minimize disagreement between self and other and maximize agreement between self and other.
6. Sympathy Maxim: Minimize antipathy between self and other and maximize sympathy between self and other.

Leech explains that in conversation, speakers abide by more than one maxim at the same time, though not all of the maxims are equally important.

Many researchers (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987, Fraser 1990, Watts et al. 1992) pointed out that the major defect of Leech's theory is that it does not explain the order of priority by which maxims are applied or when they are relevant.

Among politeness theories, Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) has been remarkably influential and widely recognized as a comprehensive framework for investigating the issue of politeness. In particular, their strong claim for the universality and cross-cultural applicability of their principles had an enormous impact and has caused many longstanding debates (e.g. Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1988; Spencer-Oatey 2000; Pizziconi 2003; Watts 2003; Usami 2002).

Brown and Levinson (1987: 55) observed, in quite different cultures and languages, an extraordinary parallelism in choice of expressions, in terms of how they diverge from a highly rational, maximally efficient mode of communication, as outlined by Grice (1975). They then considered the motive of such divergence to be "politeness" and assumed that linguistic politeness

is realized by rational and purposive "strategies" that are chosen according to the speaker's intention. Then they formulated the principles that underlie the "generative" production of linguistic politeness.

Similar to Chomsky's supposition of the "ideal speaker/listener," Brown and Levinson posit a Model Person (hereafter MP), who is "a willful fluent speaker of a natural language and endowed with two special properties," namely, rationality and face (1987: 58). That is to say, an MP is a "rational face-bearing agent." By "rationality" they mean that their MP is capable of a specific mode of reasoning which guarantees inferences from some given ends to the means that will achieve those ends (1987: 64). By "face," which is derived from Goffman's (1967) notion of face, they mean human basic wants as individuals, which constitute two particular aspects: one is the positive face, the desire to be wanted by others, i.e., the desire that the positive consistent self-image be appreciated by others; and the other is the negative face, the desire to be unimpeded, i.e., the right to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

Given that all MPs rationally choose means to meet their wants which are satisfiable only by the actions of others, their mutual interest will be to maintain each other's face. Thus, in encountering acts that intrinsically threaten face, which are labeled "face-threatening acts" (hereafter FTAs), the speaker will want to preserve the hearer's (or the speaker's) face by minimizing the face threat through a strategy competently and rationally

chosen from the following, complying with the degree of estimation of face loss:

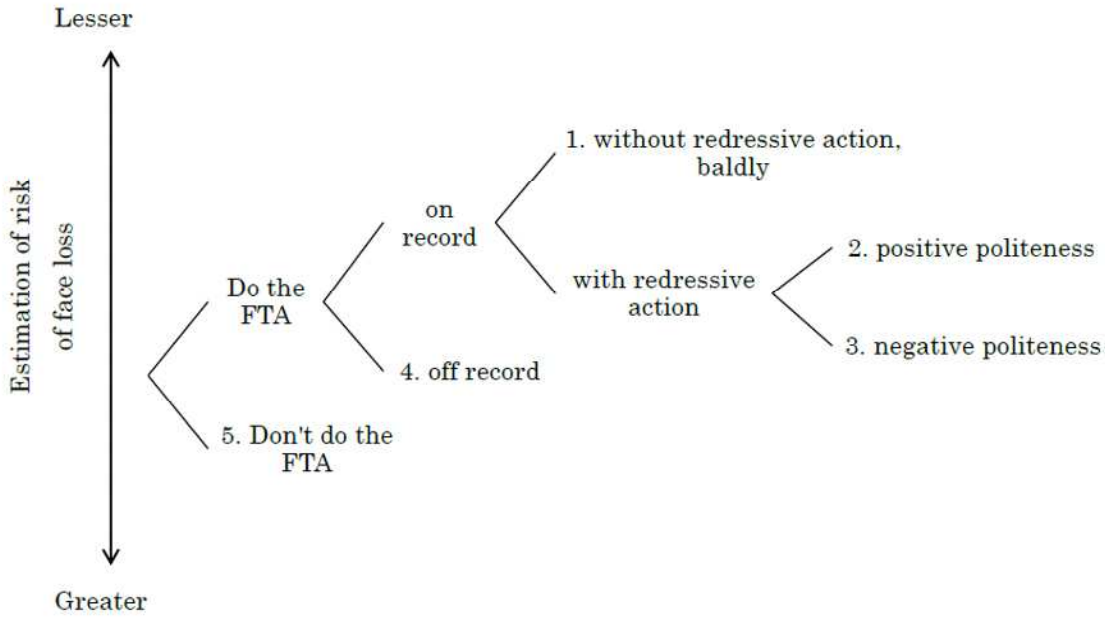


Figure 2.1 Circumstances determining choice of strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60)

As the figure above shows, the more an act is estimated to threaten the speaker's (or the hearer's) face, the more the speaker will want to choose a higher-numbered-strategy. To illustrate, if the speaker wants to perform an FTA on record and estimates a lesser risk of face loss, the FTA will be carried out without any redressive action. When the speaker wants to perform an FTA with redressive action, positive or negative politeness will be chosen according to the estimated degree of risk of face loss. The strategy of negative

politeness is adopted in order to maintain the hearer's negative face; this includes linguistic behaviors such as indirect requests, the use of hedges, and apology. On the other hand, positive politeness is adopted in order to maintain the hearer's positive face, which is realized in claiming common opinions, praising, joking, and so on.

Another crucial assumption of Brown and Levinson's theory is that the degree of threat posed by an FTA can be calculated by members of a culture as the additive weighing (W) of three independent variables: the social distance (D) between the speaker and the hearer, their relative power (P), and the absolute ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture (1987: 76). While admitting that D, P, and R variables cannot capture all the nuances of relationships such as the *ada* relationship[7] among the Kaluli of New Guinea (Schieffelin 1984), Brown and Levinson insist that D, P, and R are still remarkably valid in predicting politeness assessment (1987: 17).

As presented above, Brown and Levinson's universal principle of linguistic politeness is built on, first, the presupposition of the universality of face and rationality as human nature that motivates the speaker to choose a strategy, and second, the calculability of the risk of performing a given FTA. What they provided is, in short, a formal system that has deductive logic, with maxims and rules of inference. The output of this system is a model of

[7] *Ada* is one of the kinship terms of the Kalui. It involves relatinoships of older sisters and younger brothers.

the process from thought to sentence, which is driven by intentions and motives (1987: 85). In fact, such idealization seemingly makes it possible for their theory to be equipped with applicability to all sorts of linguistic phenomena across different cultures; however, we should not overlook the fact that their principles can distort certain specificities of language use.

In the following, I review important studies of Japanese conversational practice that have disclosed its distinct features in contrast to those of American English.

2.3 Japanese Conversational Phenomena Which Major Theories of Pragmatics Cannot Explain Well

Studies of language use in Japanese conversation began in earnest in the 1980s following the establishment of theories of pragmatics in the Euro-American academy in the 1970s. In this period, Euro-American theories were more or less directly applied to Japanese in cross-cultural studies of Japanese and American English conversation: see for example Hinds 1978; Clancy 1982; Maynard 1986, 1989, 1993; Yamada 1990, 1992; White 1989; and Watanabe 1993. These studies made a substantial contribution in that they not only empirically revealed that Japanese conversational practice is significantly different from that of English in some aspects, but they also raised the question of the applicability of Euro-American theoretical frameworks to Japanese conversational practice.

In other words, the comparative analysis of Japanese and English conversation brought to light some features of language use in Japanese for which major Euro-American theories cannot fully account. They include *wakimae*, routinized patterns of speech based on "one's sense of place or role in a given situation according to social conventions" (Ide 1989: 230), and *kyowa,* cooperative speech. Neither takes the appearance of intentional information exchange; that is, they seem to be neither intentional nor rational.

2.3.1 *Wakimae* vs. Volition

In the arguments over the universality of the theories of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Lakoff 1973, 1975; Leech 1983), Ide (1989) claimed that all of the Euro-American frameworks of linguistic politeness fail to give a proper account of Japanese language use, particularly the use of honorifics.

According to Ide (1989), what the Euro-American theories of politeness, especially Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) dealt with is the volitional aspect of language use. This is realized through the speakers' intentional and rational choice of strategies to allow their message to be received favorably by the addressee, for the sake of the "face" of the speaker and addressee, i.e.,

human basic wants as individuals. Ide, by contrast, posited the *wakimae*[8] aspect of language use as that which is associated with smooth communication in Japanese is.

Wakimae is defined as one's sense of place or role, or sensitivity for what is called for in a given situation according to social conventions (Ide and Ueno 2012; Ide 1989). The sense of *wakimae* often operates on the basis of the status, age, and the role of various levels aspired to or acquired. To perceive and acknowledge the delicate status and/or role differences between the speaker, the addressee, and the referent, is considered a basic requirement for smooth communication. Thus, in *wakimae* language use, the speakers pay attention not to what they intend to express, but rather to what is expected of them in a given situation. Both *wakimae* and volitional aspects of language use aim to achieve smooth communication, but they are different in that speakers' focus is placed primarily on their positions in the context of speaking in *wakimae*, and on their own intention in the context of speaking in volition (Ide and Ueno 2012).

As Ide argues (1989), the use of honorifics is a prominent feature of the *wakimae* aspect of language use. According to Coulmas (2005), many aspects of honorific speech are not associated with special occasions or speakers, but

---

[8] The notion of *wakimae* is often translated into English as "discernment" (e.g. Ide 1989). However, according to Hanks (2016), the term "discernment" is a bit heavy, since it connotes cognition and intention to grasp, whereas *wakimae* is pre-intentional and pre-reflective. The present study deploys the term *wakimae* without using an English translation.

rather normal and inevitably obligatory. Coulmas (2005) examined the transcript of the last words of the desperate crew of a doomed Japan Airlines flight in 1985, as they struggled to keep their damaged airplane aloft. The conversation between the crew, including the pilot (CAP), the co-pilot (COP), the flight engineer (FE), the purser, and the stewardess, even in such an emergency, presents an example of honorific language use reflecting social relationship. The pilot, who has the highest status, uses fewer honorifics than other speakers, and the stewardess, who is in the lowest place, uses honorifics most. The flight engineer, who ranks lowest in the cockpit crew, uses a polite style. Example (3) is from the conversation between the crew. The parts of honorifics are underlined.

(3)

CAP: 頭下げろ、がんばれ、がんばれ

atama sagero, ganbare, ganbare

"Bring the nose down, hold out, hold out!"

COP: 舵いっぱいです

kaji ippai desu

"The rudder is fully out."

FE: スピードが減っています、スピードが…パワーでスピードをコントロールしてますがね、パワーコントロールはいいですか、パワーコントロールはキャプテン

supiido ga hette imasu supiido ga… pawā-de supiido-o kontorōru shimasu ga ne, pawā kontorōru-wa ii desu ka, pawā konrotōru wa kyapputen

"We are losing speed. The speed…we are controlling the speed with the power, okay? Is the power control all right? Captain, the power control…"

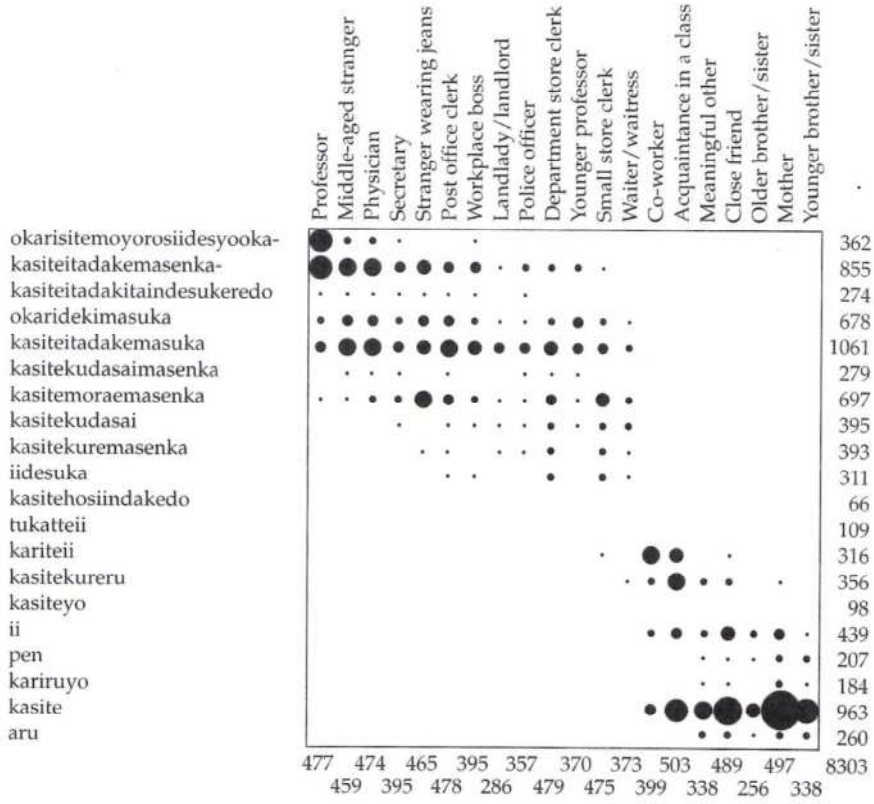
(Coulmas 2005: 304)

(Underlining and Japanese kana/kanji script are mine)

Coulmas (2005) argues that this example suggests that the use of honorifics is inevitably obligatory. It is not only encoded in the grammar, but also so deeply rooted in the unconscious that it is automatically activated. Coulmas's claim suggests that what motivates the use of honorifics is not communicative intention comprised of a set of purposive strategies aimed at individuals' face-saving.

Another important study of *wakimae* language use is provided by Hill et al. (1986), who quantitatively demonstrated how Japanese and Americans choose different expressions when asking for a pen from listeners of various social categories. Their survey involved about 1000 Japanese and American students. Figures 2.2 and 2.3 show the correlation between the expressions and demographics in Japanese and American English, respectively. The size

of the dots indicates the frequency of response for a particular expression used for the corresponding demographic.



Glosses for Japanese forms

aru	"is (there)"
pen	"pen"
kasi-te	*kasi-* = "lend," *-te* = progressive aspect
ii	"(is it) all right"
kariru-yo	*kariru* = "borrow," *yo* = confirmatory particle
tukat-	"use"
kureru	"let me"
hosii	"(I) want"
da-ke(re)do	*da* = copula, *ke(re)do* = "but"
kudasai	imperative of *kudasaru*, the honorific humble form of *kureru*
desu-ka	*desu* = formal form of *da*, *ka* = question particle
-masen	*-mas-* = formal auxiliary, *-en-* = negative
morae-	"you hand down to do"
itadake-	honorific humble form of *morae-* "I humbly receive"
o-	honorific prefix
deki-	"be able"
-tai-	"wish"

Figure 2.2 Correlation of linguistic forms and addresses: Japanese (Hill et. al 1986: 357)

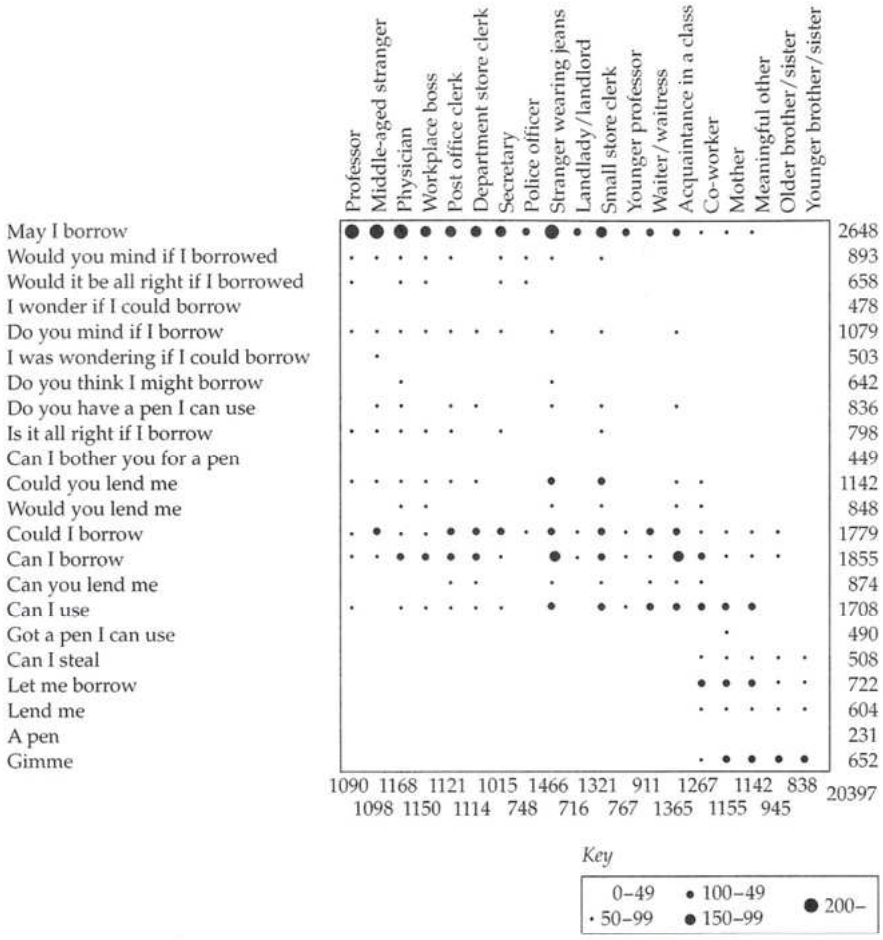


Figure 2.3 Correlation of linguistic forms and addresses: Americans (Hill et. al 1986: 358)

Figure 2.2 shows that Japanese make a clear-cut distinction between expressions according to the variable of distance of the addressees; expressions accompanying honorific morphemes (*desu, masu*) are used for addressees who are distant from the subjects, such as professors and superiors at work, whereas expressions that have no honorifics are used for addresses who are close to the subjects, such as friends and family. In

contrast, as Figure 2.3 shows, Americans do not make such a distinction according to the variable of distance of the addresses. The distribution of choice of expressions is broad, and some expressions such as "Can I borrow" are used for almost all demographics. This implies a low degree of relevance of the *wakimae* aspect of language use for Americans. Rather, what allows Americans to choose expressions from a relatively wider range of possibilities is likely the speaker's volition.

Hanks (2016) examines the notion of *wakimae* in contrast to the Gricean approach to communicative intention that yields theories of politeness, which are comprised of a set of purposive strategies aimed as face-saving. Hanks claims that *wakimae* is characterized as "pre-intentional" and "pre-reflexive" at the level of a situation, not at the level of individual corporeal schema.

2.3.2 *Kyowa* vs. *Taiwa*

Among the most influential studies that examine differences between Japanese and English conversational styles are those of Mizutani (1983, 1993, 1995). Mizutani coined the term *kyowa* "cooperative speech" to refer to a conversational style in which the speakers cooperate in making an utterance, in contrast to *taiwa* "dialogic speech" in which each speaker completes his or her own utterances (1980). For Mizutani, cooperative speech is characteristic of Japanese conversation, whereas English conversation is

marked by the use of dialogic speech. The following are examples of *kyowa*:

(4)

01 A: きのうは上野へ花見に行きましてね

kinoo wa ueno e hanami ni iki mashi te ne

"Yesterday (I) went to see the cherry blossoms at Ueno,"

02 B: ええ

ee

"Uh-huh."

03 A: 時期が時期だから込むだろうと覚悟はしていたんですが、

jiki ga jiki dakara komu daroo to kakugo wa shite ita n desu ga

"(It) is the high season, so (I) expected that (it) would be crowed, and…"

04 B: ええ、ええ

ee, ee

"Uh-huh."

05 A: そりゃもう大変な人出でしたよ

sorya moo taihen na hitode deshita yo

"(It) was extremely crowded."

(Mizutani 1995: 5)

(English translation is mine)

In the example (4), the listener B frequently sends backchannels, even before the speaker A completes his/her sentence, as seen in line 04. By so doing, the listener B shows understanding and encourages speaker A to continue. In example (5), the listener B in line 02 anticipates what is about to be said and completes the speaker A's sentence.

(5)

01 A: きのうは上野へ花見にね

kinoo wa ueno e hanami ni ne

"Yesterday, to see the cherry blossoms at Ueno…"

02 B: ああ、いらしたんですか

aa, irashita n desu ka

"Oh, (you) went (there)?"

(Muzutani 1995: 5)

(English translation is mine)

As shown in the examples above, in cooperative speech, co-creation among speakers is particularly important: they frequently send backchannel signals to display understanding and agreement, even anticipating and saying what the other is about to say. For this reason, Japanese conversation is likely to weave multiple speakers' utterances into a single stream. This type of conversation cannot strictly be called *taiwa* or dialogic speech, in

which one speaker completes his or her utterance while the other listens, and they alternate with each other in speaking and listening. Mizutani (1993) illustrates the patterns of conversational development of *kyowa* and *taiwa* with the line figures below:

Figure 2.4 *Taiwa* and *kyowa*

Taiwa

Kyowa

As Figure 2.4 shows, in *kyowa*, one utterance is likely to overlap another, and it is as if two speakers co-create a single stream of speech, while in *taiwa* conversation develops in such a way that two lines flow independently.

Ever since Mizutani (1980) introduced this dichotomy between *kyowa* and *taiwa,* many researchers have claimed that listeners in Japanese conversation play a more active role than those in English conversation. In her book *Different Games, Different Rules: Why Americans and Japanese Misunderstand Each Other,* Yamada (1997), based on her analysis of Japanese and American business discourse, wrote that Japanese

conversation is characterized as Listener Talk, in which *sasshi,* or anticipatory guesswork, is crucial to fill out utterances reciprocally. On the other hand, American conversation can be labeled as Speaker Talk, in which saying pays tribute to the individual's right to choose and own. These contrastive features reflect turn-distribution patterns that are intra-culturally shared among speakers of Japanese and American English, respectively (Yamada 1990). Specifically, the data demonstrated that Japanese speakers take short turns and continue to distribute turns relatively evenly among participants no matter who initiates a topic, showing the average number of turns of exchanged in a topic is 50.7 (157 turns/3 topics). On the other hand, American English speakers take long, monologic turns, distribute their turns unevenly among participants, and take the highest proportion of turns in the topic they initiate. For speakers of American English, the average number of turns exchanged in a topic is 24.4 (171 turns/7 topics) (Yamada 1990: 286). The difference in turn-distribution patterns motivates a difference in how speakers of Japanese and American English organize topics. Japanese speakers tend to organize topics more interdependently, whereas speakers of American English tend to organize topics more autonomously than Japanese.[9]

---

[9] Many studies have reported that Japanese tend to demonstrate an interdependent way of topic development, while Americans display an autonomous way of topic development (e.g. Machi 2007; Ikeda 2008; Kudo 2015). Machi (2007) labeled these Japanese and American distinct features as "our story" and "my/your story" type of topic development, respectively.

Maynard (1989, 1993, 1997) is another important scholar who conveyed empirical study of Japanese and American English conversational practice. Maynard (1997: x) states that the Japanese language is not properly understood and even seen as "inscrutable," or the "devil's language" just because it is difficult for native speakers of American English. This motivates her to account for varied aspects of Japanese conversation in contrast to American conversation so that both ways of communicating, thinking, and feeling can be better understood. Maynard (1993, 1997) examined conversational practices such as the use of backchannels (see 2.3.2 below) and particles *ne* and *yo*, in comparison with their English equivalent, "you know."

According to Maynard (1997: 87), Japanese has two types of particles: (1) those that mark grammatical relations within a sentence, that is, case particles such as *wa, ga, ni, o,* and (2) those that express the speaker's attitude toward the message and the partner, namely, interactional particles. Interactional particles include the expressions such as *ne, yo, sa, na*, and the like, each of which is attached at phrase-final, clause-final, or sentence-final positions. They are pervasive especially in spoken Japanese, as shown in the example below. In this short segment of conversation, we can see four cases of *ne* and two cases of *sa* occur.

(7) About a pet dog

そうだね、なんか、それもさ夏だからでさ、なんかねえ、結局ねえ、短く刈っちゃってねえ

soo da ne, nanka sore mo sa natsu da kara de sa, nanka nee, kekkyoku nee, mijikaku kachatte nee,

"Yeah, I guess so (*ne*). Yeah, that was also (*sa*) in the summer (*sa*), and somehow (*nee*), in the end (*nee*) they did clip the hair (of a pet dog) (*nee*)"

Maynard (1997: 87)

(Underlining and Japanese kana/kanji script are mine)

Maynard (1993, 1997) examined a sixty-minute casual conversation in Japanese, which consisted of 2,112 phrases bounded by pauses (PPU, Pause-bounded Phrasal Unit), and counted a total of 863 interactional particles, 77.9% of which (276/863) appear at the end of PPUs. This indicates that interactional particles occur quite often, roughly once in every three PPUs. As Tokieda (1951) stated, the primary function of interactional particle is to "form interpersonal affiliations"; thus, adding interactional particles at the final position of PPUs causes emotional effects and helps the speaker and listener communicate with each other in an empathy-creating way. With regard to the use of *ne(ne)* and *na,* the former of which has the highest percentage of interactional particles used in the data, that being

42.2 % (364/863) and the latter of which 4.2% (49/863), Maynard explains as follows, quoting from Uyeno (1971):

> The sentence particle *ne* and its variants, *nee* and *na(a)*, are appended to any sentence type except exclamatory sentences and imply that the option of judgment on the given information is left to the addressee. Thus, these particles give the effect of softening the basic nature of each sentence type. As a result, the appropriate use of these particles reflects the speaker's consideration of the addressee, and the addressee feels more participation in the conversation with mutual understanding. Thus, these particles may be called particles of rapport (Uyeno 1971, 131-132).

English, by contrast, has no equivalent for interactional particles in Japanese, and accordingly most intervals between PPUs in English are left simply as a pause (Maynard 1993: 101). Instead, as a linguistic device that seems to have a function corresponding to interactional particles, Maynard examines the use of "you know," one of the "attitude phrases" of which other examples include expressions like "I mean" and "like." Based on analysis of sixty occurrences of "you know" in her sixty-minute data sample, she concludes that "you know" is directly concerned with informational content, and its primary use is to offer or elicit propositional information. Thus, we

can say that the use of "you know" is more connected to information than interactional particles *ne* and *yo,* both of which are concerned with the speaker's discernment of the situation of talk, especially the partner's knowledge level, and are chosen based on what the speaker thinks the partner expects.

Maynard's (1993, 1997) analysis offers strong support to the notion of *kyowa* and *taiwa* by showing that the pervasive use of interactional particles in Japanese encourages speakers to cooperate in completing an utterance, whereas the use of an attitude phrase, "you know," helps speakers dialogically develop conversation through exchanging information with each other.

Noteworthy among latest study is Fujii's (2012) comprehensive and empirical investigation of preferred interactional patterns in Japanese and American English problem-solving task discourse[10]. Fujii (2012) examined all the utterances produced by twelve Japanese pairs and eleven American pairs when they proposed ideas and co-constructed the story; and then categorized them into the eight types of linguistic behaviors: (1) direct statement without mitigating expressions, (2) direct statement with mitigating expressions, (3) declarative interrogative, (4) question forms, (5) one proposition together, (6) relaying storyline, (7) repetition, and (8)

[10] The task discourse data Fujii (2012) investigated is contained in Mister O Corpus, of which conversational data the current study examines.

repetition and overlapping. The black lines in Figures 2.5 and 2.6 show the total frequencies of the former two types of linguistic behaviors among those listed above, namely, direct statements with and without mitigating expressions. These two do not seek the listener's response, but rather convey the speaker's intentions and will directly. Note that the total of the two types occupies a much larger proportion in American conversation than in Japanese. On the other hand, the latter six types of linguistic behaviors, which commonly seek or need the listener's response or feedback, account for a much larger proportion of Japanese than American conversation.

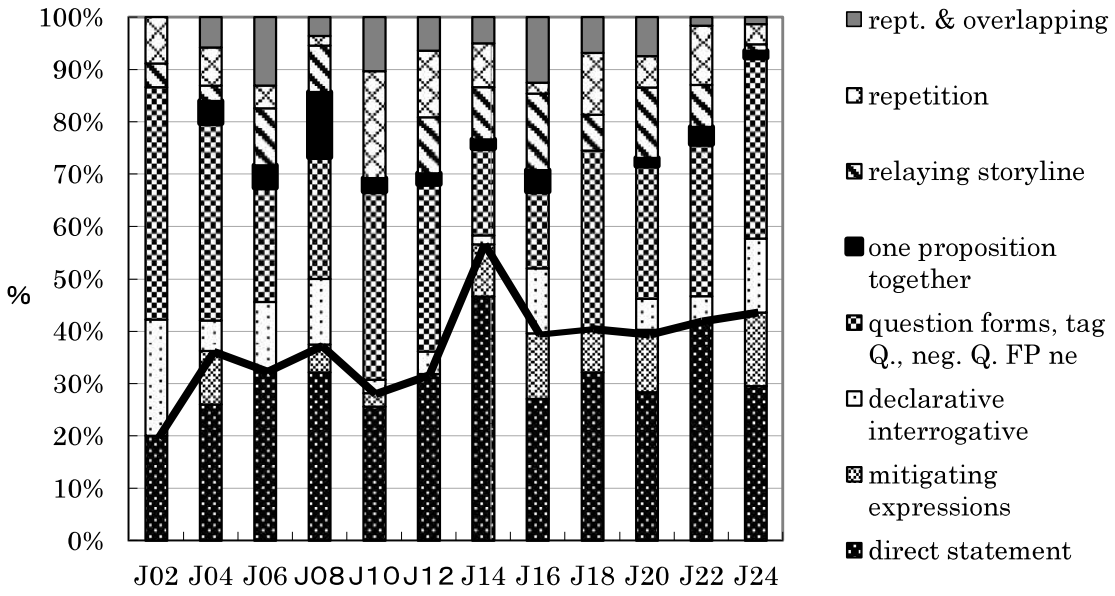


Figure 2.5 Characteristics of linguistic behavior in the Japanese pairs

(Fujii 2012: 656)

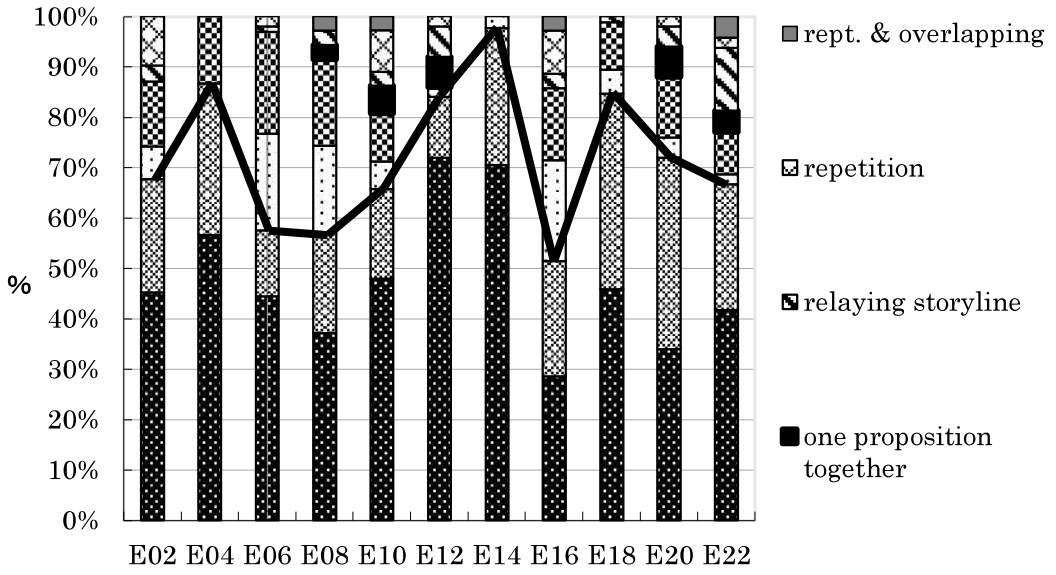


Figure 2.6 Characteristics of linguistic behavior in the American pairs

(Fujii 2012: 655)

Fujii (2012) argues that the results shown in Figures 2.5 and 2.6 exhibit preferred patterns of interaction in Japanese and American task discourse. Japanese speakers seek frequent agreement from their partner and rarely express disagreement. They need congruity at every step of cooperative work. On the other hand, American speakers are likely to present their own ideas with declarative sentences in a direct manner and do not always seek their partner's agreement. Even when the partner has a different idea, it would also be expressed directly with declarative sentences. Thus, Fujii's (2012) description of preferred patterns of interaction of Japanese and American pairs is deemed to provide a precise and comprehensive picture of *kyowa* and *taiwa,* respectively.

As suggested by studies introduced above, unlike *taiwa* in which each speaker talks independently without complementing or finishing his/her partner's utterances, the *kyowa* type of conversation is not necessarily shaped by utterances that straightforwardly bring out the speaker's intention. Rather, it is characterized by communal exchanges between participants. In the following, I review the literature on the conversataional devices frequently observed in *kyowa*: namely, *aizuchi*, repetition, and take-over.

2.3.2.1 *Aizuchi*

Mizutani, who first elaborated the idea of *kyowa* (1993), and other scholars who discuss similar phenomena (e.g. Yamada 1997; Maynard 1993, 1997; Fujii 2012) have observed that Japanese speakers are especially concerned about interactional and communal aspects of conversation. Among conversational practices that have been studied from the perspective of American English versus Japanese, the use of *aizuchi* or backchannels has attracted the most attention. As suggested by the fact that unlike most other languages such as English and Chinese, Japanese has a special term, *aizuchi,* to describe the use of short listener responses (Deng 2009), the use of *aizuchi* is crucial for Japanese. The literal meaning of *aizuchi* is "the joint hammering by two smiths," and this is extended to mean an act of indicating agreement with another party or that of going along with the other party so

as not to cause a conflict" (Hirokawa 1995: 40).

Maynard (1993) examined Japanese and American casual conversation and found that Japanese speakers use *aizuchi* about 2.9 times more frequently than English speakers. Ochiai et al. (2006), as a result of their analysis of Japanese and American dyadic female conversation, also disclosed that Japanese showed 2.5 times more frequent use of *aizuchi* than Americans. Similar tendencies have been reported by many other researchers (Hinds 1978; Mizutani 1984; White 1989; LoCastro 1987; Yamada 1992; Kubota 1994; Clancy et al. 1996). Even when compared with Korean, whose grammatical structure is similar to that of Japanese, Japanese demonstrates 1.6 times more frequent use of *aizuchi* (Yim and Lee 1995).

As for the placement of *aizuchi,* many studies have noted differences between Japanese and American English conversation (Maynard 1986, 1993; Clancy et al. 1996; Kobayashi 2016). For example, Maynard (1993) found that Japanese listeners send *aizuchi* at the ends of PPUs (Pause-bounded Phrasal Unit), even when they are in the middle of the turn-holder's utterances. The frequent use of *aizuchi* in Japanese can be attributed to its formation of PPUs, which are mostly accompanied by interactional particles such as *ne* that would seek and elicit the partner's response (Maynard 1993: 164). On the other hand, in American conversation the grammatical completion point, i.e., the end of the clause and at the sentence-final position,

which is equivalent to the notion of Transition Relevance Place (TRP) (Sacks et al. 1974), is the most powerful context for backchannels.

Moreover, according to Maynard (1990), the use of *aizuchi* strongly relates to nods. In Japanese conversation nodding occurs three times more frequently than in American conversation. They are observed both on the turn-holder's and the listener's sides. The turn-holder frequently nods at the end of PPUs so as to elicit an *aizuchi* from the listener, and 63% of the listener's *aizhuchi* accompany nods.

Kita and Ide (2007), based on Maynard's (1990) observation, argue that *aizuchi* and nods form a "loop sequence," and accordingly, two participants even nod simultaneously. Furthermore, unlike backchannels in English conversation of which primary function is turn management, *aizuchi* and nods occur relatively independently from the referential content of conversation. They are more pervasive and flexible in terms of context in which they can occur. Kita and Ide (2007) discuss that exchange of *aizuchi* and nods that have little referential content is somewhat similar to what Malinowski (1923) called "phatic communion," whose function is to establish "a common sentiment" by "communion" (sharing). They conclude that Japanese conversation constantly interweaves two streams of activity: namely, phatic communion and exchange of referential information.

2.3.2.2 Repetition

Repetition, that is, repeating the words, phrases, and sentences of other speakers in conversation, is also associated with *kyowa* phenomena because it bonds and unites speakers' utterances in turn (Machi 2007, 2014; Ochiai et al. 2006; Ide and Ueno 2012; Kumagai and Kitani 2010). Although few studies have focused on repetition, some striking differences between Japanese and English in frequency and function have been revealed by cross-cultural investigations.

With regard to the frequency of repetition in conversation, as a result of examining Japanese and English dyadic conversation between females, Ochiai et al. (2006) observed that Japanese displays this behavior about 2.2 times more frequently than American English. Moreover, as for the interactional functions of repetition, Machi (2007) states that Japanese speakers more frequently repeat other participants' utterances that express their feelings. By so doing, they show sympathy or agreement toward their partner, create like-mindedness, and share a sense of unity. On the other hand, English speakers tend to repeat practical information such as "who does what, to whom, where and when," whereby they elicit further information and confirm their understanding. Machi's (2014) findings also demonstrate consistency with the results of studies of *aizuchi* and backchannels discussed above in that, by repeating what the other says, Japanese speakers are inclined to cultivate communion, whereas English

speakers are more likely to be oriented toward referential information.

As suggested by its frequency in conversation, repeating other people's words is not necessarily viewed negatively in Japanese. In Anglo-American culture, by contrast, repetition is often considered undesirable (Tannen 1989; Johnstone 1987). Although it is admitted that repetition is pervasive in ordinary conversation and functions on interactional level of talk: namely, getting or keeping the floor, displaying listenership, providing backchannel response, linking one speaker's idea to another's, and so on (Tannen 1989: 51), repetition is mostly regarded as boring, lifeless, redundant, and "yessing," that is, buttering someone up hypocritically by automatically displaying agreement. Moreover, repetition is seen as characteristic of speech by and to children as well as ritualized, formulaic, and foreign to an American sensibility, as revealed by anthropologists (Johnstone 1987).

Furthermore, for the sake of the current study, it is crucial to note the "automaticity" of repetition. Tannen (1989: 87) emphasizes that repetition is automatic by citing recent neurolinguistic research (Whitaker 1982) demonstrating that aphasic patients who suffered complete destruction of the language-producing areas of the brain still retain the ability to repeat exactly. This is because this type of language production is performed in a different part of the brain, that is, a part devoted to automatic functioning[11].

[11] Whitaker (1982) further reports the results of experiments which measured the flow of blood to the brain. These showed that automatic language production is faster and less energy draining than novel language production.

In Whitaker's neurolinguistic research, repetition by brain-damaged aphasic patients are strikingly similar to repetitions found in normal conversational data. This is evidence of the automaticity of repetition in conversation, even though these aphasics are limited in their language production while healthy patients use repetition in addition to deliberate language production (Tannen 1989).

The automaticity of repetition may suggest that it is a type of utterance that is not rationally or intentionally controlled, but rather is produced by means of instinct and stimulus for the most part. This type of language was considered outside the realm of discussion in Chomskyan (See 2.2.1) and Gricean (See 2.2.2) frameworks. Moreover, in Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) politeness theories, which were built on Grice's paradigm, repetition is treated as a positive strategy intentionally chosen by the speaker (See 2.2.4). In these respects, major theories of pragmatics fail to properly deal with the phenomena of repetition.

2.3.2.3 Take-Over

Many studies have observed that in Japanese conversation, speakers often complete the other's sentences, based on their anticipation of what the other is about to say (Mizutani 1995; Yamada 1997; Horiguchi 1997; Ochiai et al. 2006; Ueno 2012a, 2012b, 2014; R. Ide 2013). This is called "take-over" (Ochiai et al. 2006) or *sakidori* (Horiguchi 1997). For Mizutani, take-over is a

form of *kyowa* (1995). Below is an example given by Mizutani (1995) (reshown, see Subsection 2.3.2).

(6)

01　A: きのうは上野へ花見にね

kinoo wa ueno e hanami ni ne

"Yesterday, to see the cherry blossoms at Ueno…"

02　B: ああ、いらしたんですか

aa, irashita n desu ka

"Oh, (you) went (there)?"

(Muzutani 1995: 5)

(English translation is mine)

According to Yamada (1997: 37), take-over constantly occurs in Japanese conversation. She explains that for Japanese, one utterance is only part of the larger interaction, and thus it often gets completed across speakers rather than by single individual speakers. In so doing, *sasshi,* or the anticipatory guesswork, is important. A *sasshi no ii hito* (literally, a person with good *sasshi*) is a person who is quick to perceive, anticipate, and empathize with what his/her partner is going to say.

The higher frequency of take-over in Japanese compared to English has been proven by empirical study (Fujii 2012; Ueno 2012b; Sugita 2005). For

example, Ueno (2012b) counted about 1.9 times more frequent take-over in Japanese than in English conversation. Upon examining task discourse by twelve Japanese pairs and eleven American pairs, Fujii (2012) also found that ten out of twelve Japanese pairs, compared to only five out of eleven American pairs, displayed take-over.[12]

Still other studies have found that take-over is likely to occur in a context where a high level of unity has been established. In this process, the rhythm between speakers is tuned through their frequent use of *aizuchi* and repetition, and then, at the peak of their mutual attunement, the listener takes over the speaker's utterance and says what he or she seemed about to say (Ochiai et al. 2006; Ueno 2012a, 2012b).

Similarly, the anthropologist Sugawara (2012) reports that in ǀGui[13] communication, take-over is often displayed as part of prolonged simultaneous discourse. His analysis showed that speakers keenly and incessantly monitored one another's projections of possible completion, which enabled speakers to mutually entrain one another's utterances. What underlies this type of practice is an orientation towards "mutual entrainment" of speaking activities, and it is distinct from an orientation towards the ego-centric perspective of the speaker that leads to a divergence.

---

[12] In Fujii's (2012) study, what this study calls "take-over" is labeled as "mono-clausal co-construction."

[13] The ǀGui are Khoe-speaking people who live in Botswana located in the southern part of Africa. They have been designated in the anthropological literature as the "Central San" or "Central Kalahari San" (Sugawara 2012).

While take-over is favorably seen as a show of empathic listenership in Japanese (Horiguchi 1997), for American English speakers who generally observe the rule of one-on-one turn-taking in conversation, it means an interruption, an attempt to take over the floor, or a power play, and this has negative connotations such as rudeness or domination (Tannen 1993; West and Zimmerman 1983; Foley 1997). Tannen (1984) concedes that some speakers do consider talking along with another, including the act of take-over, to be a demonstration of enthusiastic participation and creation of connection in conversation, but others assume that only one voice should be heard at once. Furthermore, she argues that only if a balance in frequency of this type of act is maintained between speakers is there no impression of domination or violence.

2.4 Summary

The first part of this chapter has presented the major theories of pragmatics in Euro-American tradition, starting with the observation that the major theoretical frameworks are heavily influenced by Chomsky's paradigm, which laid the foundation of generative grammar on the grounds of the Cartesian assumption of human rationality: "the MAN is by Nature a RATIONAL ANIMAL" (Chomsky 1966: 16). We then reviewed Grice's theory of conversational implicature (1975) and surveyed theories of politeness with special attention to Brown and Levinson's framework (Lakoff 1973, 1975;

Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). In addition to giving a brief illustration of these theories, we also elucidated how insistently they view human nature and activities as "rational" and "intentional."

The second part of this chapter explored some prominent features of Japanese conversation for which major theories of pragmatics are unable to account. First, we discussed the *wakimae* aspect of language use in Japanese, contrasting it to the volitional aspect of language use often thought to be dominant in English. Then, we discussed *kyowa* (Mizutani 1995) or cooperative speech, in which multiple speakers cooperate to complement each other's utterances, creating a single conversational flow, instead of expressing individual ideas independently. Moreover, some related studies depicting *kyowa* phenomena were denoted (Yamada 1997; Maynard 1993, 1997; Fujii 2012), which is followed by *aizuchi*, repetition, and take-over.

Chapter Three

Data

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the data on which the present study is based. Section 3.2 presents the background of the data, the research subjects, and data collection procedure.

3.2 Mister O Corpus

The data for this study is Japanese and American English conversation contained in a cross-linguistic/cross-cultural comparative video corpus called the Mister O Corpus. Since this study is largely inspired by the project that collected this corpus, I will elaborate on it here.

The Mister O Corpus was collected for a series of projects entitled, variously, "Empirical and Theoretical Studies on Culture, Interaction, and Language in Asia," "Towards Emancipatory Pragmatics: Discourse Analyses from Native Speakers' Perspectives," and "Co-creation of "*Ba*" in Language Use: The Construction of a Pragmatic Theory from the Indigenous Perspectives of Native Speakers," under Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (No. 15320054, 18320069, directed by Sachiko Ide, and 20320064, 23320090, directed by Yoko Fujii). The main purpose of collecting the Mister O Corpus was to

obtain data from interactions in a variety of languages in order to be able to compare the linguistic, cultural, and social practices visible there. At present, the Mister O Corpus contains data of the Japanese, American English, Korean, Libyan Arabic, Thai, and Mandarin Chinese languages. The data were collected at Japan Women's University in Tokyo, Japan, in 2004 and 2007 (for Japanese, American English and Korean), in Libya in 2008 (for Libyan Arabic), Thailand in 2012 (for Thai), and China in 2016 (for Mandarin Chinese). The corpus consists of three types of interactions: conversations, narratives, and problem-solving tasks. The subjects of the Mister O Corpus are female teachers and students. Two types of dyad were prepared. One was a close and symmetrical dyad: that is, student-student pairs. Meanwhile, the other was a distant and asymmetrical dyad: that is, teacher-student pairs.

Of the three types of interactions and various languages mentioned above, the present study uses the conversations for Japanese and American English, which amount to twenty-six Japanese conversations, consisting of thirteen student-student conversations and thirteen teacher-student conversations, and twenty-two American English conversations, with eleven student-student conversations and eleven teacher-student conversations. The Japanese participants were thirteen teachers who teach English or Japanese at colleges in Tokyo, ranging in age from thirty-one to fifty-four (average: forty-one) and twenty-six students of Japan Women's University in

Tokyo, ranging in age from twenty to twenty-two (average: twenty-one). The American participants were eleven teachers who teach English at colleges in Tokyo, ranging in age from twenty-seven to sixty-eight (average: thirty-seven) and twenty-two students who study at colleges in Tokyo, ranging in age from twenty-one to twenty-three (average: twenty-one).

The procedure of data collection is as follows. First, the pair sat side by side in a room (see Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4). In front of them was a video camera, and a small microphone was fixed at the collar of each participant. Then the director told participants to discuss the topic, "What were you most surprised at?" for five minutes. Then the director left the room, and participants talked freely. After five minutes had passed, the director came into the room, and participants stopped talking. All processes and interactions were DVD recorded and transcribed.[14]

Figure 3.1 One shot from a Japanese teacher-student conversation

[14] Transcription conventions are presented on Page vii.

Figure 3.2 One shot from a Japanese student-student conversation

Figure 3.3 One shot from an American teacher-student conversation

Figure 3.4 One shot from an American student-student conversation

Chapter Four

Questions in English and Japanese Conversation with Social Distance: Individualistic Volitional Utterances vs. Role Oriented *Wakimae* Utterances

4.1 Introduction

When meeting people for the first time, how do speakers position themselves in the relationship as it develops? Do they speak as independent individuals who have the right to speak volitionally? Or do they speak by anchoring themselves in the wider social structure while fulfilling expected roles? If we find a certain tendency among speakers who share a cultural background, how do we explain the sources of speakers' behavior?

In this chapter, I examine the use of questions in the American English and Japanese languages, in the context of conversations between two speakers with social distance, i.e., between teachers and students who are meeting for the first time. Questions are conversational devices which place two people in direct interaction and convey messages about relationships (Goody 1978; Ehrlich and Freed 2010, Tannen 1984), while largely affecting conversational development (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Differing use of questions, if being identified, may reflect how Americans and Japanese teachers and students position themselves and maintain relationships, at least in the situations at hand, at perhaps, in everyday communication.

My analysis of situated questioning utterances will show that

patterns of questioning provide examples of culturally-shaped American and Japanese social interaction. Questions in English conversation are characterized as "individualistic volitional utterances," whereby teachers and students distribute equal opportunities to speak, free of topical constraints, to garner information they want to know, and sometimes to develop the conversation by eliciting views or comments from each other. On the other hand, questions in Japanese conversation are characterized as "role oriented *wakimae* utterances," whereby teachers act in a supportive and caring manner by suggesting a topic to share, complementing or expanding students' story telling, and even creating a climax for a student's story while students avoid asking questions that would significantly affect the conversational flow.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 reviews the literature on question-asking, with attention to some literature written in Japanese and therefore virtually unknown outside Japan. Section 4.3 provides a description of the data and analytic focus. Section 4.4 demonstrates the analysis of question use in American conversations between teachers and students, and it is followed by an analysis of the use of questions in Japanese conversations between teachers and students. Section 4.5 summarizes and discusses the findings from Section 4.4.

4.2 Review of Literature on Questions

4.2.1 Literature on Questions

Questions (or interrogatives)[15] have been studied by a number of scholars in different interests over the past several decades. Grammarians have investigated questions in terms of the network of their functions and structures (e.g. Lyons 1977; Halliday 1985). Halliday (1985: 47) claims that the structure of interrogatives realizes the meaning of "what I want to know," while Lyons (1977) claims that the structure of interrogatives grammaticalizes the feature of the "doubt."

Different disciplines in the field of pragmatics, such as speech act theory, conversation analysis (CA), anthropological linguistics, and interactional sociolinguistics, have approached the use of questions from different angles. Speech-act theorists (e.g. Austin 1962; Searle 1969; Lewis 1969) analyze the relationship between the illocutionary force of question utterances and their semantic content. They classify questioning as a type of directive, which is an attempt by the speaker to make the audience react verbally, arguing that a question is validated by its audience's performance of the commanded action.

Conversation analysts are interested in the sequence of questions and

---

[15] The term "question" pertains to the use of sentences, whereas the term "interrogative" pertains to sentences, i.e., to utterance and to utterance types (Lyons 1977; Levinson 1983). This distinction corresponds to *shitsumon* (or *toikake*) and *gimon-bun*, respectively, in Japanese (Nitta 1989).

answers, as well as in how they operate in the structure of a conversation. They regard a question as an utterance that not only other-selects the next turn but also defines the sequential relevance of the next move (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Sacks et al. 1974). One seminal piece of recent CA research is the cross-linguistic study conducted by Stivers et al. (2009), in which question-response sequences in conversation were examined across ten languages: Danish, Italian, Dutch, English, Japanese, Lao, Korean, Tzeltal, Hai//om, and Yélî-Dnye. It was shown that preferred answers to questions express agreement and are likely to be delivered more quickly than non-preferred answers in many, if not all languages.

Anthropological linguists have explored how each speech community develops its own norms for how questions are used and interpreted in conversation (Hymes 1974b; Goody 1978). For example, Goody (1978), in her pioneering study of questions, based on fieldwork conducted in Gonja, pointed out that the act of question-asking is usually made by people of higher status. She goes on to discuss how "training questions" are much less frequently used by Gonja mothers than by middle-class English and American parents, who train their children to ask questions so that they can direct questions freely to adults. In this training process, the information function of questioning may separate from the command function. Goody (1978) concluded that each speech community has different norms of language use and the act of question-asking is related to the role structure of

society. It can be said that in Gonja people of higher status have a recognized right to control their juniors through question-asking and are expected to do so in fulfillment of their social role.

Interactional sociolinguists have studied intercultural and gender differences in question-asking style and interpretation of questions in conversation (cf. Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1984, 1990; Holmes 1982; Freed and Greenwood 1996; Schiffrin 1993; Coates 1996). Gumperz (1982), as the result of analysis of conversation between British-English and Indian-English speakers, shows how cultural background can affect the interpretation of questions and production of answers. Cultural difference can also lead to miscommunication: interactants sometimes found it difficult to recognize whether a question was asked, whether a speaker was polite or rude, and so on. As for gender issues, many studies have shown that women are more likely to ask questions than men, and question-asking is seen as part of women's cooperative conversational styles (cf. Lakoff 1975; Tannen 1990; Coates 1996)[16].

Another insight from interactional sociolinguistics which is salient to the current study is the idea that a question has two contradictory interactional functions: involvement and imposing. On the one hand, questions are seen as a device for sharing the "floor" and hence a part of a

[16] Against this claim, Freed and Greenwood (1996) made a protest, arguing that it is the particular talk context that motivates the use of questions, not the gender of individual speakers.

cooperative speaking style, due to their function such as seeking information, encouraging another to participate in talk, showing interest, avoiding the role of expert, and so on (Tannen 1984, Schiffrin 1993, Coates 1996). "High-involvement" style of conversation often demonstrates the "machine-gun question," which may come in a series and is spoken at a rapid rate and is timed either to overlap or to latch onto the interlocutor's utterance (Tannen 1984). On the other hand, questions can be seen as imposing and face-threatening (Goffman 1976), since even the most carefully posed question is heard against an unrealized possibility of negative consequence if it is not answered, it has a compelling and commanding character (Labov 1972; Goody 1978). This aspect of questioning is likely to accrue to speakers who possess power. For example, in an institutional relationship such as a doctor-patient relationship, speakers in possession of power tend to ask questions more frequently and exercise interactional control (Bales 1970; Eades 2008; Ehrlich and Freed 2010). Lastly, Freed (1994) establishes a taxonomy of question functions which are developed from a dyadic conversational corpus.

4.2.2 Literature on Japanese Linguistics

In Japanese linguistics, a number of studies have been made to examine questions and interrogatives in terms of their form, function, meaning, and modality (cf. The National Institute for Japanese Language

1960, 1963; Mikami 1972; Miyaji 1979; Minami 1985; Yamaguchi 1990; Nitta 1991; Moriyama 1991; Masuoka 1991; Adachi 1999; Miyazaki 2005). These studies provide significant background for the present study. First, with regard to formal aspects, unlike English which makes a clear cut distinction between interrogative and declarative moods, Japanese interrogatives and declaratives do not have such an obvious distinction; therefore, they should be considered along a continuum. Furthermore, sentences marked with postpositions such as *kana* and *daroo* are difficult to classify by distinction of interrogative or declarative moods, and thus the interpretation of them largely relies on accompanying expressions such as polite forms *desu/masu*[17] and intonation, as well as the context in which they occur (Miyaji 1979; Yamaguchi 1990; Moriyama 1991).

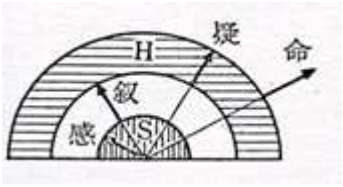
Minami's (1985) research was helpful for the current study to set the criteria for identifying question utterances in Japanese data. Minami (1985), building on a taxonomy of question expressions provided by The National Institute for Japanese Language (1960, 1963), proposed the following three conditions for utterances to be considered questions: (1) a linguistic expression that is addressed to an interlocutor, (2) a linguistic expression that presents a problem and requests information about it, and (3) a

[17] Polite forms make the sentence in question sound being addressed to the interlocutor. For example, a sentence-final expression *daroo-ka* can form a declarative sentence that represents "doubt." When *darooka* is replaced with *deshoo-ka,* a polite form of *daroo-ka,* the sentence inclines toward interrogative (Nitta 1991).

linguistic expression to which an interlocutor supplies some answer. These criteria are an outcome of integration of formal and functional aspects of questions in interaction. Accordingly, they helped me to lay down a definition of a question that is applicable to both Japanese and English, considering their forms and functions in context.

Second, and more importantly, we should note that many of the studies of questions in terms of semantic and functional aspects have seen questions with careful attention to the presence of a listener (Moriyama 1989a, 1989b, 1991; Yamaguchi 1990, Miyaji 1979; Adachi 1999). This means that, unlike questions in English that are traditionally regarded as "requests to tell," anchoring in the self-intention, (Lewis 1969; Hintikka 1976; Gordon and Lakoff 1975), questions in Japanese tend to be discussed on the premise that the speaker and listener always co-exit and interrelate. Accordingly, many works on Japanese questions define them by taking into account both the speaker and listener. For Moriyama (1991), interrogatives embody the speaker's "doubt" or "indeterminacy," and are intrinsically a sentence type that assumes the presence of and a response from a listener. Furthermore, Miyaji's (1979) insight into questions is extremely important. Miyaji (1979: 87) illustrated linguistic influence from speaker to listener according to four types of expressions, i.e., exclamatory, declarative, interrogative, and imperative (see Figure 4.1). The exclamatory expression, which is indicated by the shortest arrow, is an utterance that conveys the speaker's admiration;

Figure 4.1 Relative strengths of linguistic influence for four sentence-types (Miyaji 1979: 87)



S: Range of speakers' linguistic mental activity

H: Range of listeners' linguistic mental activity

感（動）: Exclamatory; 叙（述）: Declarative; 疑（問）: Interrogative;

命（令）: Imperative

it does not necessarily intend to impose linguistic influence on the listener. The declarative expression, which is illustrated with an arrow pointing to the border between the ranges of the speaker and listener, is an expression type that stands on the assumption that the speaker and the listener are in balance in terms of understanding. The imperative expression, as shown with the longest arrow, forces the listener to react by doing something. Lastly, the interrogative expression, located between the declarative and the imperative, is illustrated by an arrow deeply inserted into the listener's range. It means that an interrogative expression or a question is an utterance that is posed in direct anticipation of a verbal reaction from the listener. Miyaji (1979: 24) argues that questions are a type of emotional expression, *jooi hyoogen*, in that they always attempt to induce an expected

answer from the listener, and a question-answer exchange is inevitably accompanied by emotional sharing between speaker and listener.

Although a number of studies have been made on questions, most of them examined form and meaning on the word or sentence level. A few others investigate how questions are used on the discourse level or in interaction. For example, Sakakura (1954), one of a limited number of early studies referring to the use of questions on the discourse level, used a play scenario as his data and pointed out that more than half of the lines of the scenario expected completion by the addressee. That is because a large part of so-called "declaratives" in the data are actually inclined to the category of "interrogatives," and they are addressed to the other with an intention of soliciting a response. Some recent empirical studies support Sakakura's (1954) claim by revealing that questions in Japanese conversation are likely to be used to create mutual agreement, rather than to collect new information (Kurosaki 1991, Ueno 2011, Fujii 2012). For example, Kurosaki (1991) demonstrated that half of the questions in his natural conversational data requested agreement or confirmation. He concluded that questions in Japanese conversation are likely to be designed to elicit affirmative answers, thus ensuring harmony between speakers.

In this section, I have reviewed literature on questions in Euro-American and Japanese academia. It is notable that in general the former demonstrates a speaker-oriented perspective of questions, whereas

the latter maintains a speaker/listeners' perspective of questions. This may reflect how questions are viewed and used in the English and Japanese languages. Furthermore, it is possible that questions in English and Japanese conversation are part of *taiwa* (dialogic speech) and *kyowa* (cooperative speech) (Mizutani 1993, 1995), or Speaker Talk and Listener Talk (Yamada 1997), respectively (see Chapter Two).

4.3 Data and Procedure

4.3.1 Data

The data for this study consist of ten Japanese and ten American English teacher-student conversations in the Mister O Corpus (see Chapter Three). The participants in each conversation are a teacher-student pair meeting for the first time. They were informed of each other's status by the director beforehand. The American participants are ten teachers who teach English at colleges in Tokyo. The Japanese participants are ten teachers who teach English or Japanese at colleges in Tokyo. Each pair discuss the topic, "What were you most surprised at?" for about five minutes.

4.3.2 Criteria of Questions

This study attempts to find a definition of questions acceptable to both languages, considering their forms and functions in context (cf. Minami 1985, Miyaji 1979, Moriyama 1989a, Nitta 1989, Freed 1994). Thus, questions in

the current study are defined as utterances which meet both of the two conditions as follows: (1) utterances which have a form generally categorized as questions or rising intonation at the end, and (2) utterances which trigger another utterance as a reply from the interlocutor. As for English, included in the form of questions are subject-auxiliary inversion, 'wh' questions, and interrogative tags. As for Japanese, included in the form of questions are 'wh' questions and utterances which have postpositions such as *ka, ne, na, no, daroo, deshoo, desho, janai(ka), janaino(ka)*.

Accordingly, questions in this study all other-select the next turn, and elicit an utterance from the interlocutor. The elicited utterances here do not include backchannels, but include direct answers to their questions, and statements which supplement or substitute for direct answers supposed. Furthermore, even if an utterance has a form of a question, it is not counted as a question when resulting in not causing turn-taking, as seen in the use of rhetorical questions, exclamatory sentences, and so on.

Based on the criteria above, in English data, 71 questions are identified, which consist of 41 questions on the teachers' side and 30 questions on the students' side. In Japanese conversation, 108 questions are identified, which consist of 75 questions on the teachers' side and 33 on the students' side.

4.3.3 Phases of Conversation

The transcripts were analyzed in order to identify the conversational

context in which questions occurred. Analysis indicated that since all pairs were asked to share surprising experiences, conversations proceeded in such a way that one of the pair relates her story while the other listens, and then this pattern is repeated by exchanging the roles of story teller and story recipient. Further examination revealed that both Japanese and English conversations similarly consist of four different phases, and question asking is a part of the conversational context of each phase. The four phases include (1) opening phases in which participants negotiate which of them will tell a story first, labeled the "opening" phase, and (2) main body phases, regardless of their length, in which participants talk about a certain topic, labeled the "talk" phase. The other two are bridging phases, and they are not seen in every conversation: (3) phases in which one of the pair closes her story and gives the next slot for the other to tell a story, labeled the "slot-offering" phase, and (4) phases in which participants are looking for a new topic to share, labeled the "topic-searching" phase.

Questions in the opening phase are used in order to negotiate or determine which person will tell a story first. In the talk phase, questions mainly occur when the story recipient responds to the story that is being told, contributing to topic development. Questions in the slot-offering phase are used by the previous story teller in order to let the other to tell a story next. Questions in the topic-searching phase are utterances with which participants, both of whom do not come up with an idea, seek a topic about

which to talk.

In the following sections, I analyze English and Japanese conversations focusing on how the teacher and the student interact through their use of questions in these four conversational phases.

4.4 Question-asking in English and Japanese Conversation

In our English conversations, teachers ask questions 1.4 times more frequently than students (see 4.3.2, Teachers: 41, Students: 30), but the difference between teachers and students is not as significant as for Japanese pairs. I observe that in English conversation teachers and students more or less equally ask questions in a way that suggests that they see each other as independent individuals who have equal ability, right, and freedom to express their own ideas and thoughts.

On the other hand, Japanese conversation exhibits unequal patterns of question-asking; teachers initiate questions about 2.3 times more frequently than students (See 4.3.2, Teachers: 75, Students: 33). Based on the assumption that the discrepancy in the amount of questions is correlated with power difference between the speakers (Bales 1970; West 1993), we might suppose that teachers exert power over students via question-asking. However, my observation of the data revealed that what teachers do with their questions is inappropriate to label as "exertion of power" as long as we assume that the first major source of power is the individual agent (Wetzel

1993). Rather, teachers' questions often stem from fulfillment of expected roles based on their sensitivity to and anticipation of the needs of students. Teachers ask questions in such a way that they communicate support and care to students. In this way, teachers help students talk more easily while fulfilling the role expectations of a teacher. Students, on the other hand, play a complementary submissive role by avoiding asking questions that might significantly affect the conversational flow or direction.

In the following four sections, I analyze the use of questions in the opening, talk, slot-offering, and topic-searching phases, in turn.

4.4.1 The Opening Phase

4.4.1.1 English

In the opening phases, American teachers and students tend to ask questions directly in order to determine who speaks in the first slot. Moreover, when compared with Japanese pairs, American pairs display relative equality in deciding who speaks first; seven out of ten conversations showed the teachers' initiative, and the other three conversations showed the students' initiative.

Four excerpts below illustrate that for American teachers and students, the matter of who speaks first is not as important as for Japanese participants, and this allows them to use direct questions to decide the first story teller promptly. However, this does not mean that American

participants are not concerned about factors related to negotiation of who speaks first. On the contrary, they seem to be sensitive to the fact that the first topic slot is privileged, because it is in a location that allows freedom from topical constraints (Schegloff 1979: 47). The fourth excerpt below (Excerpt 4-4) will reveal that, unlike Japanese speakers, whose concern is to avoid imposing (cf. Goffman 1976), the American speakers are rather concerned to mitigate threats caused by having obtained the first slot, as well as to distribute the right to talk equally.

Let us look at some examples. First, Excerpt 4-1 below illustrates how the student (S) asks a question to designate the teacher (T) as the first story teller.

Excerpt 4-1: After greetings

01→S: So what surprises you?

02→T: Hah…surprises or sur—surprised? Or …

03 S: Sur— any ti[me.

04 T: [Okay.

05 T: Hah…this is going to be kind of a half answering of the question…

The student asks a question, “So what surprises you?” (line 01), and the teacher asks back to confirm if they should talk about “surprise” or “surprised” (line 02). The student makes a judgement for the teacher (line

03), and the teacher accepts it (line 04). Subsequently, the teacher begins relating her story. This type of wh-question was observed in four out of ten conversations, and they were used by both teachers and students. Among those are instances such as “So what do you find surprising?” and “What were you most surprised about?”

Excerpt 4-2 provides an example of the use of yes/no questions. This type of question was used in three out of ten conversations, once on the student’s side and twice on the teachers’ side.

Excerpt 4-2: At the very beginning of conversation

01→T: Do you have something in mind?

02　S: Um…eh…well…surprised at like, hmm… a lot of things since I’ve been in Japan…

The two examples discussed above demonstrate how equally, directly, and promptly teachers and students ask questions to determine who provides a story first. Excerpt 4-3 below exhibits an even briefer practice.

Excerpt 4-3: At the very beginning of conversation

01→T: Me? Okay.

02　S: {laugh}

03　T: {laugh} Recently, um, what I was most surprised about is that this

last year, um…has been an absolutely amazing year.

The teacher (T) asks just "Me?" (line 01), and the student (S) responds with laughter, which is interpreted as approval (line 02). The teacher laughs back and then immediately starts telling her story (line 03).

The American participants' direct way of asking questions to determine the first story teller is supported by Watanabe's (1993) empirical study of group discussions. Her data showed that Americans began to discuss without talking about procedural matters, whereas Japanese began their discussion by talking about the order of turns and the procedure they would follow. Watanabe explains that for Americans the discussion in an activity binds its individual members just for the purpose of discussing. Therefore, they began their discussion when they are told to do so. On the other hand, the Japanese participants were negotiating not only procedural matters but also a hierarchical order in a group, since language style and vocabulary must be carefully chosen according to the hierarchy within the group.

The next example exhibits a rather careful example of question-asking.

Excerpt 4-4: At the very beginning of conversation

01→T: Two things that come to mind. Shall I start then?

02　S: Yes, please.

03　T: {laugh} I'm not sure if it's the most surprising thing.

04　S: Umm.

05→T: Well, uhh, so we have five minutes total, so I won't go on and on for five minutes, cause you have to share yours too right?

We can see that the negotiation of story-telling order itself is achieved briefly and promptly in one pair of question (line 01) and answer (line 02), like the other examples shown earlier. Simultaneously, we observe the teacher's three attempts to mitigate threats surrounding the act of taking the first slot. First, the teacher's utterance in line 01, "Two things that come to mind," can be interpreted as a "priming move," which is designed to call attention to the communicative act that carries risks but needs to be carried out (Goffman 1971: 191). That is to say, this is designed as an excuse for her subsequently to ask an approval question, "Shall I start then?" (line 01). Moreover, the teacher's statement in line 03, "I'm not sure if it's the most surprising thing," functions to mitigate threats which arose from obtaining the first topic slot; she tries to mitigate threats that she might show confidence, as well as that her topic would not be accepted as interesting enough, even if she was confident. Lastly, note that the teacher's tag question in line 05, "…so I won't go on and on for five minutes, 'cause you have to share yours too right?" reveals an utterly different type of concern from Japanese participants. By asking this question, the teacher expresses her concern about equal distribution of time, which is also understood as

equal distribution of the right to talk. This question suggests that American participants have a higher awareness than Japanese that the first topic slot is the privileged one due to its freedom from constraints from preceding stories (Schegloff 1979: 47). At least, the teacher in Excerpt 4-4 recognizes the need to mitigate threats involved in being the privileged speaker.

Analysis of the English examples above makes it apparent that the repeatedly observed prompt style of question-asking in determining the first topic provider can be said to be preferred among American participants. Introducing topics without hesitation is one of the preferred strategies to build closeness between speakers (Tannen 1984: 31). However, the closeness established by this prompt exchange may sometimes need to be adjusted by mitigating threats surrounding the act of obtaining the first slot and taking care to distribute the right to talk equally.

4.4.1.2 Japanese

In the opening phases of all Japanese conversations, teachers spontaneously take responsibility for deciding who of the pair tells a story first. There was not a single case in which students took the initiative in this phase. This means that teachers are regarded as the right person to manage the opening phase to decide who speaks first, as far as our data is concerned. What is notable in teachers' question-asking in this phase is that questions are delivered in rather circumlocutory ways, instead of being posed directly.

Further analysis revealed that there are two types of language practice. One is that teachers ask questions in order to create a relaxed context in which they can get a feel for the mood and attitude of the student. This often connects with teachers' hinting at a topic so that students may start telling a story easily. The other type is that in which teachers raise questions to determine the first teller after they explicitly define the situation by quoting the director's instructions. This allows teachers successfully to take initiative in the opening phase and perhaps throughout the conversation.

In Excerpt 4-5 below, we can see how the teacher (T) sounds out the student's (S) attitude, and accordingly narrows the range of topic choice by hinting at a topic. This type of question-asking was observed in three pairs out of ten.

Excerpt 4-5: At the very beginning of conversation

01→T: {笑} びっくりしたこと、うん、どうぞ、{笑} なんか、最近の経験でありますか

{laugh} bikkuri shita koto, un, doozo, {laugh} nanka, saikin no keiken de ari masu ka/

{laugh} "Things (you) were surprised at, okay, go ahead, {laugh} have (you) had any such experiences recently?"

02　S: 最近の[経験でびっくりした話

saikin no [keiken de bikkuri shita hanashi

"From (my) recent experience, a surprising story…"

03　T:　　[うん、うん、うん

[un, un, un

“Uh-huh. Uh-huh.”

04→T: あるいは、そうですね、なんか読んだこと、映画で見たこと、なんでも、何か、

ありますか／

arui wa soo desu ne, nanka yonda koto, eiga de mita koto, nandemo

ari masu ka/

“Or, well, like, something you’ve read or seen in a movie:

anything—was there something?”

05　S: えー

eee

“Well…”

06→T: 私のほうから、しゃ=

watashi no hoo kara sha=

“Shall I sp(eak)?”

07　S:　　＝あ、はい

＝*a, hai.*

“Yes.”

08→T: しゃべっていいです[か／

shabette ii desu [ka/

“Shall (I) speak first?”

09　S:　　[お願いします

[onegai shimasu.

"Please, go ahead."

The teacher takes deliberate steps of question-asking in deciding who tells a story first. The teacher asks three different questions: in lines 01, 04, and 06/08. The teacher's first question in line 01, *bikkuri shita koto, un, doozo, {laugh} nanka, saikin no keiken de ari masu ka* "Things (you) were surprised at, okay, go ahead, have (you) had any such experiences recently?" encourages the student (S) to provide a story. In line 02, the student shows hesitation by repeating *saikin no keiken de bikkuri shita hanashi* "From (my) recent experience, a surprising story…" Then, in line 04, the teacher once more encourages the student to tell a story by raising a question that hints at a topic, like *nanka yonda koto, eiga de mita koto, nandemo ari masu ka* "Or, well, like, something you've read or seen in a movie: anything—was there something?" Seeing that the student is still stuck (line 05), the teacher, in line 08, finally asks for the student's permission to take the first topic slot for herself.

How can we explain the teacher's use of questions described above? It can be explained quite naturally as the result of possible face threats in the opening phase. That is partly because participants are in a kind of unusual situation where two people meeting for the first time are asked to narrate their story in front of a video camera. More importantly, negotiation of who

speaks first directly connects with the act of introducing a story first, which possibly threatens the speaker's face (Tracy 1985). That is because introducing a topic may not only connote assertiveness or confidence, but may also be accompanied by the threat of imposing on others as well as not being accepted by others.

It can be said, therefore, that the teacher's circuitous way of asking a question stems from "facework" (Goffman 1967). That is, the teacher attempts to avoid or mitigate a possible face-threat surrounding the act of designating or being designated the first story teller. Note that the question in line 01 is delivered with laughter, even though there is nothing humorous or funny. Speaking while laughing here may be understood as an attempt to relax the student and dispel the tension in this situation. According to Murata and Hori (2007), laughter in such a difficult situation is more likely to occur in Japanese conversation than in American English conversation. Moreover, hinting at a topic can be understood not only as part of a caring and supportive attitude on the part of the teacher but also as the result of facework. Since introducing a new topic is face-threatening, as mentioned above, hinting at a topic can mitigate a possible threat the student might feel; a topic that was hinted at by the other is not utterly new.

Excerpt 4-6 below demonstrates how the teacher (T) is concerned about the student's (S) moods and attitudes.

Excerpt 4-6: At the very beginning of conversation

01→T: あ、今緊張してる／大丈夫／｛笑｝

a, ima kinchoo shiteru/, daijyoobu/ {laugh}

"Oh, are (you) nervous now? (Are you) all right?"{laugh}

02　S: はい、｛笑｝緊張してます

hai, {laugh} kinchoo shite masu

"Yes, {laugh} (I)'m nervous."

03　S: ｛笑｝はい

{laugh} *hai*

"Yes."

04　T: ええ、じゃあ、ちょっと緊張してるみたいだから、最初私から

ee, jaa, chotto kinchoo shiteru mitai dakara, saisho watashi kara

"Very well, then: (you) seem to be a bit nervous, so first I will…"

05　S: あ、はい＝

a, hai=

"Oh, yes."

06　T: びっくりした話するんですけれども

bikkuri shita hanashi suru n desu kere do mo

"(I will) tell a story in which (I) was surprised, so..."

07　S: はい

hai

"Yes."

The teacher (T) starts the conversation by posing a question while laughing, a question which asks if the student (S) is feeling nervous (line 01). This communicates the teacher's consideration toward the student who may be feeling threatened in this situation. In addition, the teacher's laughter, similar to the teacher's laughter in Excerpt 4-5 discussed above, I interpret as an attempt to lessen the tension involved in this delicate situation. The student also laughs and answers in the affirmative in lines 02 and 03. In this way, the teacher's laughter invites the student's laughter (lines 02 and 03), and the shared laughter between the two may help them get through this difficult moment (cf. Glenn 2003). The teacher's question does not directly determine the first storyteller, but it lays the groundwork for the teacher herself to provide a story first, while relaxing the student.

Excerpt 4-7 demonstrates another variation of teachers' questioning in the opening phase. The teacher (T) gives a definition of the situation by quoting part of the director's instructions. This type of practice was seen in three out of ten conversations.

Excerpt 4-7: At the very beginning of conversation

01 T: よろしく[お願いします

yoroshiku onegai shi masu

"Nice to meet you."

02 S: [よろしくお願いします

[yoroshiku onegai shi masu

"Nice to meet you."

03 T: びっくりしたことをこう、ま、話しま [しょうってことなんですけども

bikkuri shita koto o koo, ma, hanashi ma[shoo tte koto nan desu keredomo

"(They) said that (we) should talk about surprising experiences, so…"

04 S: [あーそうですよねー =

[aa, soo desu yo nee=

"Yeah, that's right."

05→T: =じゃあ、まずどうですか、なんかびっくりしたこと

=jaa, mazu doo desu ka, nanka bikkuri shita koto

"Well, now, how about (you), what were (you) surprised at..."

06→T: なん [かありますか、 [なんでも

nan[ka ari masu ka, [nan demo

"Do (you) have something? Anything (is fine)."

07 S: [えー

[ee

"Uh-huh."

08 S: [なん、びっくりしたというか =

[nan, bikkrui shita to yuuka=

"Some— something (I) was surprised at…"

09 T: =えー

=ee

"Uh-huh."

10 S: なんか、んーと、２年生の [後期の期末試験の時に

nanka, unn to, ninensei no [kooki no kimatsu shiken no toki ni

"Well, hmm, it was when (I took) the final exam of the second semester in (my) second year…"

After an exchange of greetings (lines 01 and 02), the teacher (T), in line 03, begins by quoting what the pair have been told by the director: *bikkuri shita koto o koo, ma, hanashi mashoo tte koto nan desu keredomo* "(They) said that (we) should talk about surprising experiences, so…" By quoting what they have been asked to do, the teacher takes the initiative. Then, in lines 05 and 06, the teacher asks a question: *jaa, mazu doo desu ka, nanka bikkuri shita koto, nanka ari masu ka, nan demo* "Well, now, how about (you), what were (you) surprised at...," "Do (you) have something? Anything (is fine)."

What motivates teachers to act in this way? Quotation of the director's words allows teachers to claim the authority to start the conversation. It is

also possible that quoting the director's instructions helps mitigate a threat which teachers might feel when designating a student the first story teller; it may indicate that it is not teachers but the outside authority, the director, who makes them narrate. Or, it is possible that teachers attempt to unite both students and themselves under the common duty that can be attributed to the outside authority.

4.4.2 The Talk Phase

4.4.2.1 English

For the purpose of building the topic on which the other is speaking, American teachers and students reciprocally use questions to elicit further details, confirm what has been heard, and elicit personal views and comments. Among these questions, one type of question that was uniquely observed with American pairs was the question to elicit views and comments. This type of questions is called "elaboration questions" (Freed 1994) or "conversation maintenance questions" (Malz and Borker 1982), which encourage open-ended substantial discussion. Through their use of questions to elicit views and comments, both teachers and students contribute to elaborating and maintaining conversation while showing interest, appreciation, or evaluation toward the other's story.

Excerpt 4-8 below shows a case where the teacher (T) asks a question to elicit views from the student (S). Prior to Excerpt 4-8 the student told how

she was surprised at the advanced technology she found in Japanese multifunctional cell-phones.

Excerpt 4-8

01 S: So it's a xxx...like the... seems like the technology in Japan is like one step ahead of the U.S.... U.S. technology.

02 S: And, seeing evidence of that here and there is always a...is a, always a surprise.

03→T: Do you find yourself kind of forgetting what it's like in the States, and this has become more commonplace?

04 T: For example, you were saying, you know, it's kind of commonplace in America for advanced technology like... you know... ahh... cameras on the telephone [to be... it was brand new, but you come here and all of a sudden it's like, "Oh, that's, you know, that's nothing big."

05 S: [Uh-huh.

06→T: [Do you think when you go back you'll kind of be like... you'll be surprised because of the lack of technological advancement?

07 S: [Yeah.

08 S: That could be... um... hmm... yeah, none of my friends back home have cell phones, so I don't know what the progress is there.

09 S: But, um... yeah, maybe, there's no way to tell unless I go back, which, I'm going back in a month... so...

The teacher's question in line 03, "Do you find yourself kind of forgetting what it's like in the States, and this has become more commonplace?" attempts to gain further views from the student, and it is followed by the teacher's evaluative explanation of the student's statement in line 04. The teacher then asks another question to elicit views from the student in line 06, like "Do you think when you go back you'll kind of be like... you'll be surprised because of the lack of technological advancement?" By doing so, the teacher shows her interest, appreciation, or evaluation about the student's story, which contributes to topic development.

Excerpt 4-9 is from the same pair's conversation as Excerpt 4-8 above. It provides a case where the student asks a question to elicit views from the teacher. Prior to Excerpt 4-9, the teacher (T) mentioned that she gave birth to a baby boy, but her husband expected a baby girl.

Excerpt 4-9

01→S: Isn't that interesting? Usually don't the men usually hope for a son?
02 T: That's...that's [what I heard, so yeah.
03 S: [But...
04 S: [Hmm
05 T: [So I thought he would definitely have a little more fun with a boy than he would with girl.

The student (S) asks "Isn't that interesting? Usually don't the men usually hope for a son?" This question also successfully elicits the teacher's comments while showing the student's interest in the teacher's story.

As seen in the two examples above, questions to elicit views and comments create an active stage of conversation, in which teachers and students exchange ideas and effectively add substantial complexity to their conversations. What is indicated in the reciprocal use of questions to elicit views and comments is that teachers and students are regarded as independent individuals who have their own thoughts, which should be respected in conversation.[18]

It is revealing to juxtapose a Japanese interaction with the English example above in order to show the prominence of elaboration questions for topic development in American conversation. In Japanese conversation, I did not observe a case in which elaboration questions were reciprocally and effectively used in order to develop a topic. On the contrary, Japanese speakers, both teachers and students, hardly ask for views on an issue they are talking about.

In the following, I present an example in which the teacher (T), who is

---

[18] Americans' preference for a high-elaborative style of conversation is also pointed out by Wang et al. (2000), who studied story sharing in American and Chinese mother-child conversations. They found that American dyads showed a high-elaborative, independently oriented conversational style in which mothers focus on the child's personal opinions. In contrast, Chinese dyads demonstrated a low-elaborative, interdependently oriented conversational style which is characterized by mothers' frequent use of factual questions.

introducing a new topic, delivers a question inviting the student (S)'s views. In spite of her attempt, the teacher does not gain a satisfactory response.

Excerpt 4-10

01 T: そうですねー、やっぱりびっくりしたことと言うと、[ま、さい、もし、出来事で言う[と

soo desu nee…, yappari bikkuri shita koto to yuu to, [ma, sai, moshi, dekigoto de yuu [to

"Let's say, if (I) think of a surprising thing, well, if (I) talk about a recent thing…"

02 S: [はい

[hai

"Uh-huh."

03 S: [はい

[hai

"Uh-huh."

04 T: ね、やっぱり最近の=

ne, yappari saikin no

"Hey, as you know, the recent…"

05 S: =はい

hai

"Uh-huh."

06　T: さ、女の子の殺人事件ていうか、[なんか、一番、ね、特にあるかなーと思いますけども

sa, onnanoko no satsujin jiken tte yuu ka, [nanka, ichiban, ne, toku ni aru kanaa to omoi masu kedo mo

“How to say, the case of (that) murdered girl, maybe, the most, (it) was particularly (surprising?)…(I) suppose.”

07　S:　[はい

[hai

“Uh-huh.”

08　S: そうです[ね

soo desu [ne

“Yes, it is.”

09→T:　[ね、どんなふうに思いました／

[ne, donna fuu ni omoi mashi ta/

“Yeah, what did you think about it?”

10　S: あの、テレビを見[て

ano, terebi o mi[te

“Well, I saw it on TV,”

11　T:　[うん

[un

“Hm.”

12　S: おとい、先日、３日ぐらい前に=

ototoi, senjitsu, mikka gurai mae ni=

"The before yesterday, the other day, about three days ago."

13 T: =うん、そうですよねー

=un, soo desu yo nee

"Yes, it was (about then)."

14 S: 小学６年生[の子が

shoogaku roku-nensei [no ko ga

"A schoolgirl in the sixth grade…"

15 T: [そ、うん

[so, un.

"Right, uh-huh."

16 S: 同じクラスの子[を

onaji kurasu no ko[o,

"(killed) her classmate..."

17 T: [うん

[un

"Hm."

18 S: し[かも

shi[kamo

"Moreover."

19 T: [でしたもんね、で、しかもチャットで

[deshi ta mon ne, de, shikamo, chatto de

"Yes, it was, and, moreover, by using online chat.

The teacher's question in line 9 seeks to establish a shared reaction toward the self-introduced topic, a case of murder committed by a schoolgirl. The student responds to the teacher's question (line 9) in a rather noncommittal way. She does not display any personal views, but just says that she knew of the case from news reports on television (lines 12, 14, 16, and 18). Finally, in line 19, this invasive response allows the teacher to interrupt and take over the student's utterance before she completes her statement. However, more interestingly, in the subsequent part to this segment above, the teacher did not necessarily present her personal views; instead, her focus was on telling what she had learned from news reports and establishing the existence of shared knowledge and a shared attitude to it between the student and herself.

In addition to Excerpt 4-10 above, there are two other instances of question-asking on the teachers' side that seem to attempt to elicit views or comments, but none of them succeeds in soliciting views or comments or activated interaction, unlike elaboration questions used in English conversation. If judged by the literal meaning, "what do you think about it?" (*doo omoi masu ka*), this type of question can be interpreted as seeking comment. Alternatively, if judged by the type of information actually solicited, i.e., the student's reply and the teacher's subsequent remarks

which gave no specific opinion as seen in Excerpt 4-10, it could equally be interpreted as what I call a "pseudo-elaboration question," which takes the question-asking form but does not necessarily end up eliciting a specific view or comment. It is used just as a means by which participants share their feelings regarding the issue at hand. In any case, Japanese pairs in my data are likely to avoid both the solicitation and the presentation of personal views. This result is partly supported by Hiraga's (1996) study in which she found scarce demonstration of personal views among Japanese students in cross-cultural tutorial settings. Hiraga argues that this can be attributed to Japanese manners of tutorials that do not expect an "elaboration" through exchange of personal views.

To return to English conversation, we should note again that American teachers and students use elaboration questions in an effective manner so as to add substantial complexity to their conversations.

4.4.2.2 Japanese

Unlike English conversation where teachers and students reciprocally ask elaboration questions, Japanese conversation displays unequal patterns of question asking between teachers and students. While listening to students' stories, Japanese teachers support topic development by asking a variety of questions, such as those to elicit, facilitate and expand the students' storytelling. The question types particularly observed on the

teachers' side are (1) questions that are designed to complement what students have said, which I call "complementing questions," and (2) questions that expand upon the student's storytelling so that the students may speak more in an explanatory way, which I call "expanding questions."

Students, on the other hand, do not actively ask questions that may significantly influence the flow or direction of topic development. Most of the students' questions are asked so as not to sound imposing or interrupt.

4.4.2.2.1 Complementing Questions

Although the act of complementing or finishing others' utterances can be viewed as rude, disruptive, or challenging a storyteller's ability to tell a complete story (Koike 2009) in many English-speaking contexts, in Japanese conversation in particular, it is often seen favorably as a demonstration of enthusiastic and sympathetic listening practice (Horiguchi 1997). Analysis reveals that teachers ask questions to complement students' utterances, especially when teachers display enthusiastic listenership and create a "merged relationship" in which the teacher and the student repeat the same words, overlap the other's utterances, and laugh with each other.

In Excerpt 4-11, the student (S), who is attending college in Tokyo away from her hometown, tells how when she went to Tokyo Disneyland with one of her friends from high school, she ran into other friends from her high school. The teacher (T) listens enthusiastically, sending frequent

backchannels so as to support the student's storytelling.

Excerpt 4-11

01 S: ディズニーランドに行ったん[ですよ、そしたら

dizuniirando ni ittan [desu yo, soshitara

"(I) went to Disneyland, you see! And when (I) did…"

02 T: [うん、うん

[un, un

"Yep, yep."

03 S: そこで偶[然

soko de guu[zen

"There, by coincidence,"

04 T: [うん

[un

"Yeah."

05 S: 地元の

jimoto no

"From (my) hometown,"

06 T: [え

[e

"Sure."

07 S: [また、同じ高校の＝

[mata, onaji kookoo no

"Moreover, from the same high school,"

08 T: ＝ほんとに／、[うん

honto ni/, [un

"Really? Yeah."

09 S: [人、と、[たちと

[hito, to, [tachi to

"People (from the same high school in my hometown),"

10 T: [うん、うん

[un, un

"Yeah, yeah."

11 S: 偶然会って、[で、あ、久しぶり、ぜ

guuzen atte, [de, a, hisashiburi, ze

"By coincidence, (I) ran into (them), and (we said), "Oh, it's been a long time!"

12 →T: [すっごい偶然でびっくりするよね／

[suggoi guuzen de, bikkuri suru yo ne/

"(It's) really a coincidence, so (in such a case) one is surprised, isn't it?"

13 S: ええ、はい、[もう、ほんと

ee, hai, [moo, honto

“Yes, yes, definitely,”

14　T:　　[へええ[えー

[hee[ee

“Wow!”

15　S:　　[あ、すごいなーって

[a, sugoi naa tte

“Wow, (what) a surprise, (I thought).”

16→T: へー、じゃ、まるで申し合わせたみたい[にそこで

hee, ja, marude mooshi awaseta mitai [ni sokode

“Wow, so, just as if (you all) had planned (it), (you met up) there,”

17　S:　　[ああ、はい[、また会って

[aa, hai[, mata atte

“yeah, yes, (I) ran into (them),

even.”

18→T:　　[うん、会って、遊ぶことがで

きたっていうこと／

[un, atte, asobu koto ga

dekita tte yuu koto/

“Yeah, so you ran into

(them and then did you get to) go around (the park) together?”

19　S: {笑い} はい、[はい、そうなんですよ

{laugh} *hai, [hai, soo nan desu yo*

{laugh} “Yeah, yeah, that’s right.”

20 T: [へー、そんなことが、だって、ね、何月何日って、ねえ、その日にちょうど

[hee, sonna koto ga, datte, ne, nan gatsu nan niche tte ne, sono hi ni choodo

“Wow, such a thing, you know: in the very same month, on the very same day, you know, on that day (you each separately decided to go),”

The teacher, as an active story recipient, sends frequent backchannels (lines 02, 04, and 10) and sympathetically shows surprise (lines 06 and 08). In line 11 when the student says *guuzen atte, de, …* “By coincidence, (I) ran into (them), and,” the teacher, repeating the same word *guuzen* “coincidence,” largely overlaps with this utterance (line 11) to ask a complementing question: *suggoi guuzen de bikkuri suru yo ne/* “(It’s) really a coincidence, so (in such a case) one is surprised, isn’t it?” The student responds to it in the affirmative, saying, *ee hai, moo, honto* “yes, yes, definitely,” (line 13), *aa, sugoi naatte,* “wow, (what) a surprise, (I thought).”(line 15). The teacher again overlaps with these utterances (lines 13 and 15) demonstrating her surprised reaction in an exaggerated tone: *hee* “Wow!” In this way, the teacher gets involved in the student’s storytelling and makes the conversation more enjoyable.

Subsequently, the teacher complements what the student has relayed by saying *hee, ja, marude mooshi awaseta mitai ni sokode* "Wow, so, as if (you all) had planned (it), (you met up) there" (line 16). The student overlaps with this and says *aa, hai, mata atte* "yeah, yes, again, (I) ran into (them)." The teacher continues to ask a question to complement the student's utterances in line 18 *un, atte, asobu koto ga dekita tte yuu koto/* "Yeah, so you ran into (them and then did you get to) go around (the park) together? "The student in line 19 laughs and strongly affirms with, *hai, hai, hai, soo nan desu yo* "yeah, yeah, that's right."

As shown above, the teacher asks complementing questions (line 12, lines 16 and 18) in a process in which she becomes actively involved in the student's storytelling and provides additional descriptions to the incident the student is telling based on her anticipation. The teacher's complementing questions successfully solicit the student's affirmations and make the conversation more pleasant.

The following excerpt demonstrates another example of a teacher's complementing questions, whereby she creates a climax in the student's story. In Excerpt 4-12[19], the student (S) is talking about her male friend, a rugby player, who ate up a large amount of curry and rice at a café. In line 01, the student illustrates the master of the café serving rice. The teacher (T) listens sending backchannels, repeating and overlapping the student's

[19] Lines from 02 to 04 in Excerpt 4-12 was discussed in Chapter One.

utterances.

Excerpt 4-12

01 S: したら、また、ドーンて、きて、なんか、お釜に残ってる、ご飯全部いれてくれ、
[くださって
shitara, mata, doonte, kite, nanka, okama ni nokotteru, gohan zenbu irete kure, [kudasatte
"And then, moreover, it was like, BAM!, as (the cook) dished (him) up all the rice left in the pot,"

02 T: [あ、ん、優しい〔笑〕＝
a, n, yasashii {laugh}=
"Ah, yeah, (he is) nice."{laugh}

03 S: ＝優[しいんです{笑}
=*yasa[shiindesu {laugh}*
"(He) is nice." {laugh}

04 T: [優しいお店の人だ
[yasashii omise no hito da
"(He) is a nice cook."

05 S: そうです〔笑〕＝

soo desu{laugh} =

“So (he) is.”{laugh}

06 T: ＝うーん＝

=uun=

“Yeeaah.”

07 S: ＝それで、入れてもらっ[て

=sorede, irete morat[te

“So then, (my friend) had it dished up, and...”

08 T: [う[ーん

[u[un

“Yeah!”

09 S: [それを、持って来てもらっ[て

[sore o motte kite morat[te

“(My friend) had it brought to (him), and …”

10 T: [うーん

[uun

“Yeah!”

11 S: はい、普通[に全部

hai futsuu[ni zenbu

“Yes, the whole (pot), like (it was) nothing unusual.”

12→T: [それでぺろっと平ら[げちゃったの／

[sorede perotto taira[ge chat ta no/

“Then, did (he) clean his plate in a single gulp?”

13 S: [そうなんですよー、なん[か

[soo na n desu yoo nan[ka

“That’s exactly what (he) did, like…”

14 T: [恐ろしい、さすがラグビー部は違[う

[osoroshii, sasuga ragubii-bu wa chiga[u

“Fearsome! Rugby players are not like (the rest of us).”

15 S: [違うんですよねー、それで=

[chigau n desu yo nee, sorede

“Not like (the rest of us), are they. And then...”

16 T: =へえ＝

=hee=

“Wow.”

Lines 02 through 05, the teacher and the student repeat and overlap each other’s utterances while laughing. In line 02, responding to the

student's illustration of the cook at the café emptying the rice pot to serve the rugby player, the teacher says *yasashii* "(he is) nice." The student quickly repeats *yasashii* "nice" and confirms by saying *yasashii n desu* "(He) is nice" (line 03). The teacher then overlaps with it and repeats *yasashii* "nice" with a stressed confirmation, *yasashii omise no hito da* "(He) is a nice cook" (line 04). The student sends an affirmative answer while laughing (line 05). In this way, the teacher and the student collaboratively enhance the idea of "a nice cook."

In succession, the student resumes illustrating the cook serving rice (line 07 and 09). In line 11 when the student says *hai, futsuu ni zenbu* "Yes, the whole (pot), like (it was) nothing unusual," the teacher overlaps and complements the student's utterance by asking a question, *sorede perotto tairage chatta no/* "'Then, did (he) clean his plate in a single gulp?" in line 12. Here, the teacher not only adds what the student is anticipated to say, but also creates the climax of the student's story, resulting in triggering the student's strong agreement in an emotional tone in line 13. Responding to this, the teacher expresses her surprised feeling with an exaggerated tone in line 14, and this exaggerated tone solicits the student's repetition of the word *chigau* "not like (the rest of us)" and laughter (line 15).

The teacher's complementing question *sorede perotto tairage chatta no* "Then, did (he) clean his plate in a single gulp?" (line 12) is not meant to draw out a "yes" or "no" from the student. Rather, it is used as a

manifestation of empathy and investment in the story the student is telling. The teacher's enthusiastic participation through this question successfully makes the conversation livelier and more amusing.

4.4.4.2.2 Expanding Questions

Another type of question distinctive of the teachers is what I call "expanding questions," whereby teachers promote continuation and expansion of the story being related by students. By asking expanding questions, teachers encourage students to talk more, thus making their descriptions of events or items more explanatory and comprehensive.

Excerpt 4-13 below is a continuation of Excerpt 4-12, in which the student (S) tells how she was surprised to see her male friend eat up a large serving of curry and rice.

Excerpt 4-13

17 S: ＝でも、なんか、ちょっと苦しんでたんで

=demo, nanka, chotto kurushinde ta n de

"But, well, (he) was kind of in pain,"

18 S: やっぱ、苦しいこともあるんだなと思いました｛笑｝

yappa, kurushii koto mo aru n dana to omoi mashi ta {laugh}

"(I) thought: sure enough, sometimes (even he) can feel pain (from overeating)."{laugh}

19 S: そんな、なんだか、[びっくりって言うか、よくお腹に入るなーと

sonna nandaka [bikkuri tte yuuka, yoku onaka ni hairu naa to

"(I felt), well, how should (I) say: it's surprising; it's really something that (he) got it all in there."

20 T: [うーん

[uun

"Yeah."

21 T：そうよね、いくらラグビー部とは言え

soo yo ne, ikura ragubii-bu towa ie

"Right! However much (he) might be a rugby player…"

22→T: で、そのカレーは辛いの／

de, sono karee wa karai no/

"And then, isn't the curry spicy?"

23 S: 辛いんですよ

karai n desu yo

"(It) sure is spicy!"

24 S: [辛いから、まあ、ルーが残るのは仕方が[ないんですけど

[karai kara, maa, ruu ga nokoru no wa shikata ga [nai n desu kedo

"(It)'s spicy, so, well, (it)'s natural that the roux gets left over."

25 T: [ああ

[aa

"Oh."

26 T: [ああ、そうか、ご飯のほうが比率が多[く

なって

[aa, sooka, gohan no hoo ga hiritsu

ga oo[ku natte

"Oh, I see, the amount of rice (that

he eats) is greater (than of roux)."

27 S: [そう

ですね

[soo

desu ne

"So

it is."

From lines 17 to 19, the student indicates that her story is closing by reflecting upon the incident. The teacher (T), after showing her agreement in line 21, prompts continuation by posing an expanding question, *de, sono karee wa karai no/* "And then, isn't the curry spicy?" in line 22. This results in soliciting the student's affirmative answer as well as additional storytelling.

Expanding questions often accompany the conjunction, *de*, as seen in the question in line 22. *De*, a conjunction, meaning "(and/so) then," is a device which facilitates the continuation of the story (Kushida 2009). In our data, the use of *de* aiming at eliciting continuation of the story is hardly ever seen on the students' side. It means that the use of *de* aimed at eliciting continuation is considered appropriate when spoken by teachers.

The expansion of a story is also carried out by a series of questions, which are similar to the questions used by an interviewer to prompt her interviewee to produce an explanation. In Excerpt 4-14, we can see the process in which the teacher (T) poses a series of expanding questions and the student (S) answers. From lines 01 to 12, the student explains how she was surprised and delighted that her parents finally allowed her to study abroad, while the teacher listens sending empathetic backchannels (lines 03, 05, 08, and 09), and showing her considerate understanding of the student (lines 11 and 12).

Excerpt 4-14

01 S: 今年の夏休みは[許してくれて

kotoshi no natsuyasumi wa [yurushite kurete

"This summer, (my parents) allowed me (to study abroad)"

02 T: [ふん

[hun

“Uh-huh.”

03 T: わ＝

waa =

“Yay!”

04 S: ＝１ヶ月間行くことが決まって ＝

=ikkagetukan iku koto ga kimatte =

“(It) was decided that (I would) go (abroad) for a month, and,”

05 T: ＝わお[｛笑い｝

=waoo[{laugh}

“Wow!”{laugh}

06 S: [それはすごく

[sorewa sugoku

“That’s really”

07 S: 驚[きです[し

odoro[ki desu [shi

“Surprising, and”

08 T: [そう

[soo

“Uh-huh.”

09 T: [あー、[そう

[aa, [soo

“Oh? I see.”

10　S:　　[うれしいことでした

[ureshii koto deshi ta

“(I) was very pleased at that.”

11　T: あー、それは、あなたが、あの、毎日、こう、親御さんに、見せてる

aa, sore wa anata ga, ano, mainichi, koo, oyago san ni miseteru

“Well, that’s (due to your attitude that) you show (your) parents every day,”

12　T: うーん、その、充実感てのが伝わったのかな／

uun, sono jyuujitsukan tte no ga tsutawatta no kana/

“And a sense of trustworthiness came across (to them), right?”

-----lines 13 through 20 omitted-----

21→T: ううーん、それは、じゃ、どういう方向で、で、この夏が

uun, sore wa, ja, dooyuu hookoo de, de, kono natsu ga

“Okay, well, where to, then, this summer?”

22→T: ア、アメリカですか／

a, amerika desu ka/

“(Will you go to) America?”

23　S: えと、オーストラリアに

eto, oosutoraria ni

“Umm, to Australia.”

-----lines 24 through 34 omitted-----

35→T: どの、どの、南オーストラリアですか、[そ

dono, dono, minami oosutoraria desu ka, [so

"Which— which part, South Australia?"

36 S: [えと、メルボルン[、はーい

[eto, meruborun, [haai

"Well, Melbourne, yes."

37 T: [はあ、中心に

[haa, chuushin ni

"Ohhh, the middle part."

38→T: で、所属されるのは、大学／

de, shozoku sareru no wa, daigaku/

"And then, is (it) a college that will host (you)?"

39 S: えーと、この *** 大の＝

*eeto, kono *** dai no=*

"Yes, this *** University."

40 T: ＝ん[ー

=n[n

"Uh-huh."

41 S: [研修として行くん[ですけど

[kenshuu to shite iku n [desu kedo

"(I)'m going as part of a training program, though."

42 T: [あー、そうです[かー

[aa, soo desu [ka

"Oh, I see."

43 S: [はい、なん

か小学校で日本語を教えるみたいな，プログラムみたい[で

[hai,

nanka shoogakkoo de nihongo o oshieru mitai na puroguramu [de

"Yes, well,

(it) is, like, a program in which (we) teach Japanese at elementary schools."

After receiving the student's story, the teacher asks a series of questions in lines 21, 22, 35 and 38. Responding to these questions, the student tells further details about her plan to study in Australia. The teacher's successive use of expanding questions in Excerpt 4-14 seems to be out of consideration for students' feelings.

In this way, expanding questions on the teachers' side can significantly affect story development by indicating what information should be added while delivering supportive and caring implications.

4.4.4.2.3 Students' Questions

As illustrated above, students' story development is significantly

guided by teachers' contributions, part of which is the use of questions. Students, on the other hand, do not act like teachers when they receive teachers' storytelling. In students' questioning, there are constraints of usage. In addition to a poverty of question-asking (See 6.3.2, Teachers: 75, Students: 33), students avoid asking questions that would appreciably affect the conversational flow.

To illustrate, unlike teachers' use of questions in the talk phase, students hardly ever ask questions in such a way that they complement teachers' storytelling or help teachers' stories expand. In general, complementing and expanding others' utterances can be regarded as preferable in Japanese conversation as part of *kyowa, or* cooperative speech (Mizutani 1993); however, this type of cooperative speech is hardly found in students' speech in teacher-student conversations in my data. Analysis indicates that these acts are more likely to be accessible to teachers. Students may refrain from using complementing and expanding questions, since this would be taken as not only disruptive, but also threatening; they might be seen as doubting the story tellers' ability to tell a full story (Koike 2009).

Some of the students do ask questions, but these questions usually do not significantly affect the conversation's direction. Students' questions include those of repetition, clarification, and confirmation of the teachers' earlier utterances. Excerpt 4-15 below is an example of a student's

questioning. Prior to this segment, the teacher (T) told that she came across her acquaintance two times in a row at unrelated different places in town, in the subway and at a bank.

Excerpt 4-15

01 T: べつに、普段と、普段、その行動 [範囲が

betsu ni, fudan to, fudan, sono koodoo [han'i ga

"Well, as usual— usually, the activity range…"

02 S: [ん、んー=

[un, unn

"Uh-huh"

03 T: =いっしょの人 [とか

= issho no hito [toka

"Like, a person whose (activity range) is the same (as me)…"

04 S: [んー

[unn

"Uh-huh"

05 T: だったら =

dattara=

"In that case…"

06 S: =んー

=unn

"Uh-huh"

07 T: ねえ、会ったりすることもあるかもしれないけど、ほんとに週に１回 =

nee, attari suru koto mo aru kamo shire nai kedo, honto ni shuu ni ikkai=

"You know, (we) might sometimes meet, but only once a week…"

08 S: =んー =

=unn=

"Uh-huh"

09 T: =

非常勤の学校で会ってる

=

hijookin no gakkoo de atteru

"(A person who I) see at a college where I teach part time…"

10 S: [んー

[unn

"Uh-huh"

11 T: [だけの人なの [に

[dake no hito nano [ni

"Although (it's) merely (such) a person…"

12 S: [えー

[ee

“Yes.”

13　T: 全然関係のないとこで２回も会ってしまって、ていうことがありました

zenzen kankei no nai toko de nikai mo atte shimatte, te yuu koto ga ari mashi ta

“(I) came across that person twice at utterly unrelated places.”

14→S: え、その銀行は／

e, sono ginkoo wa/

“Eh? Is that bank…?”

15　T: ええ

ee

“Yes.”

16　S: が、その

ga, sono

“But, well…”

17　T: あ、全然 [関係のない場所

a, zenzen kankei no nai basho

“Yeah, (I met them in) an utterly unrelated place.”

18→S:　　[全然、関係ない、場所なんですか／＝

[zenzen kankei nai, basho nan desu ka/=

“(You met her) in an utterly unrelated place, (did you)?”

19　T:　　＝ええ、ええ＝

=ee, ee=

“Yes, yes.”

20 S: ＝すごいです

=sugoi desu

“(That)’s amazing.”

In lines 01 through 13, the teacher recounts her experience, and the student (S) listens while frequently sending backchannels (lines 02, 04, 06, 08, 10, and 12). When the teacher closes her story in line 13, the student says in a surprised tone with a rising intonation, *e, sono ginkoo wa/* “‘Eh? Is that bank…?” (line 14). The teacher, instead of waiting until the student finishes her sentence, responds in such a way that she takes over the student’s utterance: a*, zenzen kankei no nai basho* “Yeah, (I met her in) an utterly unrelated place” (line 17). Then the student, as if startled, asks back repeating the same word, *zenzen kankei nai, basho nan desu ka/* ‘(You met them) in an utterly unrelated place, (did you)?” (line 18). This question triggers the teacher’s affirmatives (line 19), which is followed by the student’s demonstration of praise for the teacher’s story, *sugoi desu* “(That)’s amazing” in line 20.

Although allo-repetition has various functions including displaying participatory listenership, ratifying listenership, requesting confirmation or clarification, and expanding, depending on accompanying expressions and

intonation (Tannen 1989; Koike 2009), in the case seen in line 18, the student's question repeating the teacher's prior utterance successfully functions to display the student's favorable, participatory listenership while gaining affirmation from the teacher. This type of question is accessible to students, since it is not likely to come across as imposing or threatening; answering in affirmatives to a question that repeats the same content does not entail much of a burden on the listener.

Below, I present another example of a student's question-asking. In Excerpt 4-16, the teacher (T) is talking about the Great Hanshin Earthquake, a disastrous earthquake in 1995 that hit Kobe and its surrounding areas. The student (S) asks a question to check understanding or confirm what has been heard.

Excerpt 4-16

01 T: {笑い} うん、私はね、私はびっくりしたことって、ちょっと、あの、テーマが重くなるけれども、私はその、その阪神大震災のね

{laugh} un, watashi wa ne, watashi wa bikkui shita koto tte, chotto, ano, teema ga omoku naru keredomo, watashi wa sono, hanshin daishinsai no ne

{laugh} "Well, I, (if) I (talk about) a surprising thing, a little, well, (my) topic is serious though, (concerning) me, the, the Great Hanshin Earthquake, you know…"

02　S: [うん

[un

“Uh-huh.”

03　T: [地震が、あー、地震を経験してるから、やっぱり、一番びっくりした、なんか世の中が、ひっくり返ったような

[jishin ga, aa, jishin o keiken shiteru kara, yappari, ichiban, bikkuri shita, nanka yononaka ga, hikkuri kaetta yoona

“The earthquake, well, since (I) experienced the earthquake, you know, the most surprising (thing was)—it was like the world was turned upside down…”

04　S: [うん

[un

“Uh-huh.”

05　T: [っていうのは、そういう、その、そういう、すごい、ものすごいレベルのびっくり [したってことはね、阪神、うん、大震災の

[tte yuu no wa, sooyuu, sono, sooyuu, sugoi, mono sugoi reberu no bikkuri [shitatte kotowa ne, hanshin, un, daishinsai no

“Because such, well, such a terrible, terrible level of surprise, you know, the Great, yeah, Hanshin Earthquake…”

06 →S:　[ふーん、え／、神戸のほうに住んでたん [ですか／

[fuun, e/, koobe no hoo ni sunde tan [desu ka/

“Hmm. Eh? Were (you) living in Kobe?”

07 T: [そうなんですよ、[だから、神戸に住んでて

[soo nan desu yo, [dakara koobe ni sundete

"Yes, I was. I was living in Kobe…"

08 S: [へえー

[hee

"Wow."

09 T: まだ寝て、朝、真っ暗なね、まだ、あの、あけきらないうちに、あったから

mada nete, asa, makkura na ne, mada, ano, akekiranai uchi ni, atta kara

"(I was) still sleeping, in the morning, it was dark, you know, still, well, it happened before dawn."

In lines 01 through 05, the teacher provides information, and the student (S) listens sending backchannels (lines 02 and 04). In line 06, the student, after giving a backchannel, utters exclamatorily *e/* "Eh?", which is followed by a question that helps to confirm if the teacher is describing her direct experience, like *koobe no hoo ni sunde tan desu ka/* "Were (you) living in Kobe?" The teacher replies in affirmative *soonan desu yo* "Yes, I was," and immediately comes back to a continuation of her story, like *dakara koobe ni*

sunde te "I was living in Kobe…" Although the question in line 06 helps the student check her understating of what the teacher is saying and shows that the student's interest, it does not significantly influence the teacher's storytelling.

Of course, there are individual differences, and I observed two instances in which the student asked the teacher for some personal information in relation to the teachers' stories. In each case, the students' questions ended up eliciting a minimum of information.

In general, students' questions do not play an initiative or processive role in teachers' storytelling, nor does the development of teachers' storytelling rely on students' question asking. Most of the students' questions asked in the process of teachers' storytelling primarily functions to show students' attentive attitude as a story recipient without conveying a high degree of demanding, interrupting, and imposing implication.

4.4.3 The Slot-Offering Phase

4.4.3.1 English

The "slot-offering" phase is where the current topic provider closes her talk, and then hands over the next slot to the other. In the slop-offering phases in English conversation, for the purpose of eliciting a topic from the other, both teachers and students use, "What's your story?" sort of questions in the same way. Among the examples include expressions such as, "Do you

have something in mind?" and "So what do you find surprising?" This way of asking topic-eliciting questions would leave the maximum choice of a new topic for the other, and contribute to equally distributing a topic slot that is "privileged" (Schegloff 1979: 47) due to its freedom from topical constraints.

Below I present two examples. Excerpt 4-17 and Excerpt 4-18 provide an example of topic-eliciting questions on the teachers' side and the students' side, respectively.

Prior to Excerpt 4-17 below, the teacher (T) has relayed her experience.

Excerpt 4-17

01 T: So tha…that's my one thing.

02 S: Hmm.

03 T: I'm sure I've had many surprises in my life, [but.

04 S: [Right.

05→T: How about yourself?

06 S: Um…I was thinking about a surprise when I came to Japan.

In line 01 the teacher concludes her story saying "So tha…that's my one thing," and in line 05 moves on to ask a topic-eliciting question, "How about yourself?" In response, the student launches her story in line 06.

Excerpt 4-18 below presents an example in which the student (S) offers the next slot to the teacher (T). Prior to this segment, the student told a story

about her success in the entrance examination.

Excerpt 4-18

01 S: I think that was the most surprising thing because that was my xxx school, like…and I really didn't think that I could get in.{laugh}

02 T: Hmm.

03 S: But I'm still there.

04 T: Yeah, congrats.

05 T: So, yeah.

06→S: How about you?

07 T: Well, I'm trying to think, like it's …I'm trying to go back, because there are so many things in my adult life that sort of like, 'Huh? Huh? Huh?

Note that in the two examples above, only one questioning utterance consistently offers a slot: "How about yourself?" (line 05) and "How about you?" (06) in Excerpts 4-17 and 4-18, respectively. These questions are seen to prompt their recipients, the student and the teacher, to start telling their stories. This pattern recurs, and we observe variations of this type of question, such as, "So what's your story?" and, "So what other kinds of surprising things happened?" etc., each of which alone serves to offer a slot. According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 303), these questions regularly occur

following "possible pre-closing" of which forms are "We-ell," "O. K.," "So-oo," etc. with falling intonation contours, as we see these instances, "Right," and, "So, yeah" in the two excerpts above. The use of possible pre-closing words signals that the speaker now has nothing more to say and gives a free turn to the other, to mention some heretofore unmentioned mentionable without violating prior topical coherence: it is the right place for a new topic to be introduced (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 304). Thus, questions similar to "How about you?" satisfy the expectations for what should be said and when it should be said.

The pattern described above occurs both on the teachers' and the students' sides in the same manner. Unlike Japanese teachers who provide topic suggestions in the use of slot-offering questions, as will be discussed later, in English conversation, slot-offering is accomplished with a question asked by the previous story teller in such a way that she herself breaks off her topic and then thoroughly opens the floor, leaving the maximum choices of a new topic for the next story teller. The only exception was a case where the student did not come up with an idea, and the teacher tried to help her by suggesting a topic, "an accidental meeting with an old acquaintance," about which the teacher had just narrated. It should be emphasized that the teacher acted in reaction to the student who was stuck. That is to say, the teacher never spontaneously suggested a topic to be related by the student, as Japanese teachers did.

Accordingly, what is important for American teachers and students in the phase of slot-offering is to show consideration by not presuming to know the other's mind. This satisfies the rules of politeness, "Don't impose," for keeping appropriate distance and "Give options," for showing deference (Lakoff 1973). Moreover, the third rule, "Make A feel good—be friendly," which should accompany a sense of equality, is also satisfied in that the right to talk without topical constraint ends up equally distributed among both speakers.

4.4.3.2 Japanese

Repeatedly observed in the slot-offering phase in Japanese conversation are teachers' questions that accompany a topic suggestion. Although this pattern of question asking was also observed in the opening phase, where teachers invite students to tell a story first by providing a topic suggestion, what is unique about the use of questions in the slot-offering phase is its location; that is, it has a preceding topic that has been set by the teachers themselves. Analysis showed that teachers, when finishing their stories, frequently offer the next slot in such a way that they build a bridge from their own stories to the ones that students are going to tell. In some cases this is achieved by creating a topical linkage and in others by providing a topic suggestion for the next slot. In other words, teachers' questions to offer the next slot often work as a part of laying the groundwork for a

"step-wise transition" (Jefferson 1984) to another topic which is supposed to be introduced by students.

Excerpt 4-19 illustrates a case in which the teacher (T) generates such a context by asking a slot-offering question. Prior to line 01, the teacher has just told how she was surprised to see her son, a college freshman, drastically and positively change his lifestyle. The teacher offers the next slot by producing a topical linkage with the student (S).

Excerpt 4-19

01 T: そういう経験っていうのは、あのう、なんか、あ、あのう、やっぱりひとつ、おもしろい春だったなっ[ていうようなね、時間でしたね、んー

sooyuu keiken tte yuu no wa, anoo nanka, a, ano yappari, hitotsu, omoshiroi haru datta na t[te yuu yoona ne, jikan deshi ta ne, uun.

"Such an experience, well, how to say, well, it was a delightful spring, I might say, hmmm…"

02 S: [うん

[un

"Yeah."

03→T: あなたにとったら、何か、そういう世界、変ったよ、みたいなの、ありますか／

anata ni tottara, nanka, sooyuu sekai, kawatta yo, mitaina no, ari masu ka/

"For you, like, do (you) have that kind of (memory of a time when you

were) like, '(My) world has changed'?"

04 S: えーっとですね

ee tto desu ne

"Well, let me see now."

05 T: [ん

[un

"Uh-huh."

06 S: [世界が変わったというか=

[sekai ga kawatta to yuuka=

"'(My) world has changed,' or maybe rather…"

07 T: =うん=

=un=

"Uh-huh."

08 S: =最近、ちょっと驚いたんですけど

=saikin chotto odoroita n desu kedo

"Recently, I was kind of surprised by this one thing…"

The teacher completes her story in line 01, and then in line 03 initiates a question in such a way that she builds a bridge to the next topic while maintaining relevance to her own, *anata ni tottara, nanka, sooyuu sekai, kawatta yo, mitaina no, ari masu ka/* 'For you, like, do (you) have that kind

of (memory of a time when you were) like, '(My) world has changed'?" After showing some hesitation (line 04), the student (S) in line 06 repeats a part of the teacher's question (line 03), like *sekai ga kawatta* "(My) world has changed," accompanying *to yuuka* "or maybe rather…" a device that can mitigate the act of unacceptance (Maynard 2004). The student inoffensively turns aside the teacher's topic suggestion, and from line 08 onward, relates what she has in mind, that is, her summer plans.

Excerpt 4-20 below, which is taken from the subsequent to Excerpt 4-16, is an example in which the teacher (T) lays a transition to the next topic while looking back toward her own story and expanding upon it to provide a topic suggestion to the student (S). At this point, the teacher has told how she was surprised when she experienced the Great Hanshin Earthquake.

Excerpt 4-20

01 T: やっぱ、経験してみないと、んー、その感覚ってのはね、わからないですよ

yappa, keiken shite minai to, nnn, sono kankaku tte no wa ne, wakaranai desu yo

"Sure enough, if (you) don't experience (it), hmm, that feeling, you know, you can't understand."

02 T: でも、なんでしょ、普通に、たとえばふつう日常的な中でね、なんだろう、なんかすごくその、宿題を、やってくるのをその、忘れて、でも当てられてびっくりしたとかね

demo, nan desho, futsuu ni, tatoeba, futuu, nichjoo teki na naka de ne, nandaroo, nanka, sugoku, sono, shukudai o, yatte kuruno o, wasure te, demo aterare te, bikkuri shita toka ne

"But, how to say, for example, in (your) everyday life, say, when (you)'ve forgotten to do (your) homework, and then (you)'re called on in class…"

03　T: そういうところのびっくりとはちょっとあれ、あまりにも、ちょっとね、あれだから、世の中一瞬にあるかないかわからないだから、ちょっと、あの、テーマが重すぎたかなとは思うんですけど｛笑い｝

sooyuu tokoro no bikkuri to wa chotto are, amari ni mo, chotto ne, are dakara, yononaka isshun ni aru ka nai ka wakaranai dakara chotto, ano, teema ga omo sugita kana to wa omou n desu kedo {laugh}

"Such a surprising story is, somehow, you know, it's just totally, hmm, you know, (you) just never know in life if (that sort of thing) will happen or not. So, well, (I) think (my) topic was too serious, but anyway… {laugh}"

04→T: そういう日常的なことで、なんかないんです［か／

sooyuu nichijoo teki na koto de, nanka nai n desu [ka/

"Have (you) had an experience like that, (but) in the everyday?"

05　S: ［日常的なことです［か／

[nichijoo teki na koto desu [ka/

"An everyday experience?"

06 T: [うん

[un

"Yes."

07 S: 日常的なことだとー、すごい、なんか、いや、これもちょっと重いかもしれないんですけど

nichijoo teki na koto da too, sugoi, nanka, iya, kore mo chotto omoi kamo shire nai n desu kedo

"If (I talk about) an everyday experience, well, no, this might also be too serious, but anyway..."

In line 01, the teacher summarizes her story by implying that a terrible surprise like she experienced in the earthquake can truly be understood only if one was there. Then in line 02, the teacher directs her speech to the student (S) to suggest that the student talk about her school life by illustrating a specific situation, like "when (you)'ve forgotten to do (your) homework, and then (you)'re called on in class." In line 03, the teacher continues to give an excuse for putting forth the topic suggestion, saying that what she told was too serious. In this way, the teacher lays a groundwork for a transition, and finally in line 04, asks a question to offer the next slot to the student.

Excerpt 4-21 is another example. Prior to this segment, the teacher (T) has told how she was surprised to see the station close the place where they

were being beautifully renovated, and in line 01, she closes her story by herself.

Excerpt 4-21

01 T: ていう感じなんですけれども

te yuu kanji nan desu keredo mo

"(My surprising experience is something) like that, so…"

02 S: はい

hai

"Yes."

03 T: 学生さん[でいらっし／

gakusei san [de irassh/

"Are (you) a student?"

04 S: [はい、今４年生で＝

[hai, ima yonensei de,

"Yes, (I)'m a senior, and,"

05 T: =あ=

ah

"Oh."

06 S: ＝就職活動しています＝

=shuushoku katsudoo shite imasu=

"(I) am (now) job-hunting."

07→T: ＝あ、

じゃ、就職活動中なら

=a,

ja, shuushoku katsudoo chuu nara

“Oh,

well then, since (you)’re job-hunting...”

08 S: はい

hai

“Yes.”

09→T: びっくりすること色々あ[るんじゃないかしら

bikkuri suru koto iroiro a[run ja nai kashira

“…don’t (you) encounter a lot of surprising things?’

10 S: [たくさんありますね

[*takusan ari masu ne*

“Yes, a lot.”

11 S: はい、さっき、その、びっくりしたことっていうことで、そうですね、就職活動、

身近なことにしますか、そしたら

hai, sakki, sono, bikkuri shita koto tte yuu koto de, soodesu ne,

shuushoku katsudoo, mijika na koto ni shimasu ka, soshitara

“Yes, well, as for (my), uh, surprising experience (which we were asked about) just now, well, (shall I talk about my) job-hunting, as as something close (to my experience), then?”

In line 03, the teacher poses a question with a slightly rising intonation *gakusei san de irassh* "Are (you) a student?" The student in lines 04 and 06, without waiting for this utterance to end, responds, *ima yonensei de* "Yes, (I)'m a senior," *shuushoku katsudoo shite imasu* "(I) am (now) job-hunting." Latching on to this response, the teacher asks another question, *a, ja, shuushoku katsudoo chuu nara* "Oh, well then, since (you)'re job-hunting..." (line 07), *bikkuri suru koto iroiro aru n ja nai kashira* "…don't (you) encounter a lot of surprising things?" (line 09). Overlapping with this question, the student answers in the affirmative (line 10) and is led to talk about her job-hunting (line 11).

Note that the teacher's utterance, *gakusei san de irassh* "Are (you) a student?" (line 03) does not seem to be a "pure question" aimed at eliciting unknown information since the participants, including the teacher and the student in Excerpt 4-21, were told each other's status beforehand. Moreover, the student clearly looks like an upper-level college student because she is in a dark formal suit generally worn by students to go to job interviews. Thus, the teacher's question *gakusei san de irassh* "Are (you) a student?" is used as a tool to make the student talk on a familiar topic.

As seen in the three examples above, slot-offering questions with a topic suggestion asked by a teacher can carry topical constraint, if they narrow and define what should come next. This can be "imposing," and it would definitely be more appropriate to let the other to talk freely without

any constraints in a case where a sense of equality prevails between speakers.

Rather, the teacher's question in Excerpt 4-19 discussed above can be understood as an utterance that is produced in anticipation that the student may have a similar experience to the teacher's son, who is a college freshman. The teacher's question in Excerpt 4-20 can be interpreted as the outcome of a concern that the student does not have to tell an extraordinary story like the teacher's. The teacher's questions in Excerpt 4-21 could stem from her consideration that the topic of job-hunting may be suitable for the student. Thus, teachers do not necessarily mean to impose a topic suggestion so as to govern the conversation, but they considerately and deliberately attempt to prepare a foothold for the students to start telling a story, suggesting what seems appropriate and easy for them to talk about. This is due to the teachers' sensitivity and anticipation of the needs and feelings of the students.

If relying on the notion of "face-threatening" surrounding the act of introducing a new topic (Brown and Levinson 1978; Tracy 1985), we could say that topical constraints given by teachers may help minimize the possible threats students might feel, since what students are going to talk about is not, strictly speaking, new, but partially attributed to the teachers.

While teachers demonstrate supportive ways of asking slot-offering questions, which encode a topic suggestion, students show reluctance to elicit

a topic from a teacher. They just let teachers start relating their stories. Or, even when they pose a question to ask a teacher for a topic, they never give a topic suggestion like teachers do. They say the minimum, for example: *nanka arimasu ka* (Is there something surprising?). It can be said that students avoid the possible threats that might be accompanied with the act of making teachers start telling or giving a topic suggestion that narrows the choices.

4.4.4 The Topic-Searching Phase

The phase of "topic-searching" results from conversational stagnation due to a lack of things to talk about. Here, we observe how the participants use questions in order to find a topic. Under these conditions, asking a question conveying specific informational content means offering a proposal for a topic. This act is considered to be a show of cooperation (Brown and Levinson 1987: 125) and enhances the involvement between interactants. At the same time, proposing a topic may imply assertiveness and thus pose a danger of imposing on others.

English speakers demonstrate reciprocal use of questions in seeking a new topic. By contrast, Japanese speakers demonstrate two different patterns of question-asking: mutual repetition of questions and unilateral question-asking on the teachers' side built on already familiar subjects which originally belong to students.

4.4.4.1 English

The use of questions in the topic-searching phase in English conversation is characterized by equality between the teacher and the student and by reciprocal contribution from both teachers and students. Excerpt 4-22 below describes an example of the process of topic-searching, where both the teacher (T) and the student (S) ask several questions seeking for a new topic, although in this case the converation ultimately fails to expand. Particularly noteworthy here is how insistently they locate themselves as independent individuals with an imperative to claim equality.

Excerpt 4-22

01 S: That was... let's see... something else surprising... that was one surprising thing...[see if there's anything else...

02 T: [Yeah, for sure

03 S: I can only think of boring stuff.

04 T: I know, I'm trying [to think, like...

05 S: [Like, like, I got an A on my mid-term and I didn't think [I would, so I was surprised, but that's not interesting.

06 T: [{laugh} Exactly, like, you know when you like... you just... you don't study for a test and you walk in and you're like, 'Oh [my God, this is like so wh— everything I know, right here', so...

07 S: [Yeah...

yeah.

08 T: Yeah, I remember that when I was going for my teaching credential, we had to write like five or six essays on all different topics, like from art history to weather patterns.=

09 S: =Uh-huh.

10 T: Every question, it's like, 'I know this, I know this, I know this,' [and I'm thinking, 'I don't know anything else but these questions', you know, so, I got really lucky and [(that)...

11 S: [Yeah.

12→S: And you're listed as being the… the teacher here, [right?

13 T: [Yeah, [the teacher.

{laugh}

14→S: [Yeah…and um, wha—what do you teach?=

15 T: =I teach English, [yeah.

16→S: [Oh, okay, [here in Tokyo?=

17→T: [What do you teach?

18 T: =Yeah.=

19 S: =I…I'm a student.

20 T: Oh, you are, oh, okay, yeah, [so.

21 S: Yeah.

22 S: [I study Japanese, [so...

23 T: [Oh, okay, {laugh} so you're learn…yeah, [a student, that's good.

24 S: [Yeah.

25 S: So...=

26 T: =Yeah…[yeah.

27→S: [Do we have to keep thinking about [surprising thing?

28 T: [Surprising things, I guess, so.

From line 01 to line 04, the student and the teacher search for a topic that seems worth sharing. Then in line 05, the student raises a topic, "Like, like, I got an A on my mid-term and I didn't think I would, so I was surprised," but she herself immediately withdraws this topic, saying "but that's not interesting." This shows the perceived duty to be only to say interesting things, which is also pervasively observed among American participants. The teacher in line 06 laughs and shows sympathy by illustrating an imaginary situation, like "you don't study for a test and you walk in and you're like, 'Oh my God, this is like so wh— everything I know, right here.'" Subsequently, the teacher recounts her experience in which she passed the test by which she got her teaching credentials, even though she was unprepared for the

test (lines 08 and 10). This is regarded as the teacher's attempt to build rapport by providing a "story round" (Tannen 1984), in which similar stories of personal experiences are exchanged while signaling interpersonal involvement.

However, this attempt ends up derailing the conversation. The student poses a question in line 12, "And you're listed as being the… the teacher here, right?" Since participants were informed of each other's status by the director beforehand, it is likely that the student's tag question (line 12) is not used in order to solicit a full response from the teacher. Rather, it is used in order to suggest that the student is not impressed with this teacher anymore because she admitted that she was unprepared for the test to get teaching credentials, and thus the teacher does not deserve the certification she holds. The student, without waiting for the teacher to complete her answer (line 13), goes on to ask another question in line 14, "Yeah…and um, wha—what do you teach?" Again, latching onto the teacher's answer (line 15), the student asks a further question in line 16, "Oh, okay, here in Tokyo?" Then the teacher inversely asks the same question, "What do you teach?" in line 17 before she answers the student's question (line 16) with a minimum answer, "Yeah" in line 18. The student sounds faltering and responds, "I…I'm a student" (line 19). The teacher's question in line 17 is not regarded as a pure question aimed at eliciting unknown information since, as mentioned just above, the teacher also should know her interlocutor's status. Rather, this

question is asked intentionally to remind the student of her subordinate status. The teacher repeatedly emphasizes this subordination with thinly-veiled hostility: "Oh, you are, oh, okay, yeah, so" (line 20), and the student adds, "I study Japanese, so...." (line 22). The teacher laughs and seems to make an awkward attempt to soften her attack: "Oh, okay, so you're learn…yeah, a student, that's good" in line 23. Instead of extensive topic development, this conversation turns into a fight, then ends in an awkward exchange of backchannels (lines 24 through 26). Finally, the student asks a question to return the subject to the task at hand (line 27).

This excerpt noticeably demonstrates that individuality and equality can override teacher-student status difference. That is to say, the teacher-student institutional relationship may more or less imply a superior-subordinate relationship. However, the student, who takes the initiative in topic searching (line 05), challenges the superiority of the teacher by her series of questions (lines 12, 14 and 16), starting with "And you're listed as being the… the teacher here, right?" Granted, the teacher protects herself and reasserts the status difference by sarcastically asking back the same question, "What do you teach?" (line 17), knowing that her interlocutor is a student. Furthermore, it is the student who de-escalates this hostile exchange by changing the subject. Accordingly, for American pairs, it does not matter who takes the initiative in topic searching. What is more important is ensuring their own "face" as equal individuals.

4.4.4.2 Japanese

In general, Japanese teachers take the initiative in searching for a topic, and there are two patterns of practice. One is that the teacher deliberately sounds out the student's attitude through question asking. The other is that the teacher unilaterally and actively asks questions building upon the topic that originally belonged to the student.

Excerpt 4-23 is an example of the former type. Most part of the segment below consists of the teacher's and the student's mutual repetition of each other's utterances. Neither is decisive enough to get out of this conversational stagnation quickly. We can also see the teacher's repeated attempts to provide the student with a topic (lines 08, 09, 18).

Excerpt 4-23

01　S: びっくりした [こと

bikkruri shita [koto

"What (I was) surprised at."

02　T:　　[びっくりしたことね

[bikkuri shita koto ne

"What (I was) surprised at, yeah."

03→T: なんかあるかしら=

nanka aru kashira

"(Do we) have something?"

04→S: = [ありますか／

=[ari masu ka/

“(Do you) have something?”

05 T: [びっくり

[bikkuri

“Surprising…”

06 T: び [っくりねー、なんか

bik[kuri nee, nanka

“Surprising, let’s say…”

07 S: [なんか

[nanka

“Let’s say…”

08 T: んー、ほんとにびっくりっていうのは、ドアを開けたら人がいたとか{笑い}

nn…honto ni bikkuri tte yuuno wa, doa o ake tara hito ga ita toka{laugh}

“Well, a real surprise is like when (you) open the door and bump into a person” {laugh}

09 T: びっくりっていうのがありますよね／

bikkuri tte yuu no ga ari masu yo ne/

“(We) do have surprising experiences like that, don’t we?”

10→T: [あとは何がありますかね／

ato wa nani ga ari masu ka ne/

“Is there anything else?”

11　S: [ま、確かに

[ma, tashikani

“Well, yes.”

Silence (3 seconds)

12　S: び [っくり

bik[kuri.

“Surprise.”

13　T:　[びっくりしたこと

[bikkuri shita koto

“What (I) was surprised at.”

14→T: そうですね、なんだろ

soo desu ne, nan daro

“Yeah, what (should we talk about)?”

15→S: なんだろ

nan daro

“What (should we talk about)?”

16　S: びっくりしたこと

bikkuri shita koto

“What (I) was surprised at…”

17　T: うーん

uun

"Hmm."

18 T: 例えば、授業中、急に当てられてびっく [りしちゃて {笑い}

tatoeba, jugyoo chu kyuu ni aterare te bikku[ri shichatte {laugh}

"For example, in class, (you) might be called on and surprised"

{laugh}

19 S: [ああ、びっくりですね

[aa, bikkuri desu ne

"Yes, (that)'s surprising, isn't it."

-----lines 20 through 37 omitted-----

38→T: 何があ [りますかね／

nani ga a[ri masu ka ne/

"Do (we) have somethig?"

39 S: [びっくりしたこと

[bikkuri shita koto

"What (I) was surprised."

40 S: 芸能人に会ったとか

geinoujin ni atta toka

"Like running into a celebrity."

41 T: あ、それは

a, sore wa

"Yeah, that is…"

42　S: びっくりです

bikkrui desu

“Surprising.”

43　S: びっくり

bikkuri

“Surprising.”

44　S: 嬉しい、び[っくりですかね／

ureshii, bikkuri desu ka ne/

“It’s a happy surprise, isn’t it?”

45　T:　　[そうですよね

[soo desu yo ne

“Yes, it is.”

46→T: ま、会いに行って会えたのはいいんですけど、うん、思いがけないとこで会ったとか、ね、そんな経験ありますか／

ma, aini itte aeta no wa iin desu kedo, un, omoi gakenai toko de atta toka, ne, sonna keiken ari masu ka/

“Then, not a case of going to see a celebrity, but do you have an experience of running into a celebrity?”

47　S: なんか、ジョージアのＣＭわかりますか／

nanka joojia no shii-emu wakari masu ka/

“Let’s say, do you know that “Georgia” [coffee] commercial?

In lines 01 and 02, the student and the teacher repeat and share the subject at hand, *bikkuri shita koto* "What (I was) surprised at." Then the teacher asks a question in line 03, *nanka aru kashira/*"(Do we) have something?" and the student passes by repeating the question (line 04). The teacher, in lines 08 and 09, goes on to make a tentative topic suggestion: *…doa wo ake tara hito ga ita toka* "…when (you) open the door to bump into a person." However, the teacher immediately aborts this and goes back to asking topic-searching questions (line 10), thus failing to establish a topic. The teacher and the student go back to mutual repetition of the subject at hand *bikkuri* "surprise" (lines 12 and 13) and questions (lines 14 and 15). After the stagnation in lines 12 through 17, the teacher once more hints at a topic that would seem easier for the student to take up: *tatoeba, jugyoo chuu kyuu ni aterare te bikkuri shi cha tte* "For example, in class, (you) might be called on and surprised" (line 18), again in vain. From line 20 to 37, which is omitted in the excerpt above, the pair is still searching for a topic by repeating the subject at hand and each other's questions. Lastly, in line 38, the student suggests a topic, *geinoujin ni atta toka* "Like running into a celebrity" (line 40). The teacher's response, *a sore wa* "Yeah, that's" (line 41), is taken over by the student, *bikkuri desu* "surprising." Finally, in line 46, the teacher ends this long stagnation by deploying the student's suggestion and posing a question that lets the student talk about a celebrity that she has come across.

In all, we observe here that the teacher and the student share the stagnated state by repeating each other's utterances, while the teacher keeps trying to find a topic to share by carefully sounding out the student's attitude, avoiding assertion and imposition. This pattern is similar to the teacher's deliberate mode of question-asking in the opening phase, in that her move largely depends on what moves the student makes.

The other type of topic-searching question displays a somewhat controlling manner. In Excerpt 4-24 below, the teacher attempts to establish a topic relating to the student's college life by asking questions.

Excerpt 4-24

01→T: でも、学生さんでしょ／

demo, gakusei-san desho/

"Well, (you)'re a student, aren't you?"

02　S: 四年[生なんですよ

yonen[sei nan desu yo

"(I)'m a senior."

03　T:　　[うーん、やっぱ授業はもう単位数は足りているとして［も

[uun, yappa jugyoo wa moo tan'isuu wa tarite iru to shite [mo

"Well, even if (you)'ve already earned enough credits…"

04　S:　　[うん

[un

“Yes.”

05→T: あの、卒論とかあるでしょ／=

ano, sotsuron toka aru desho/=

“(You) have a, some kind of, a thesis (to write), don’t you?”

06　S:　＝うん＝

=un=

“Yes.”

07→T:　=ねえ、だから、就職と卒論、[でしょ

=nee, dakara, shuushoku to sotsuron, [desho/

“You know, (your priorities) are job hunting and your thesis, aren’t they?”

08　S:　[そうなんですよ

[soo nan desu yo

“Yes.”

09→T: だ、そういう中で、びっくりすることってどうなんだろうね

da, sooyuu naka de, bikkuri suru koto tte doo nan daroo ne

“It is. In (your) life, what surprises (you)?”

10 S: なかなかねー

nakanaka nee

"Hard to say."

Given the student's minimal and reluctant responses (lines 04, 06, and 08), the teacher attempts to get a reaction by specifying what kind of information she hopes to elicit from the student. The teacher's question in line 05 is an attempt to encourage the student to introduce a topic relating to a thesis she is going to write, treating this matter as if it were their common concern. In line 07, the teacher again tries to make the student talk about her thesis and job hunting, broadening the focus of question slightly, but still the student shows hesitation. Lastly, in line 09, the teacher latches her utterance onto the student's utterance (line 08) and then poses another question, asking what the student finds surprising in her life.

What is noteworthy here is that the teacher guides the conversation and attempts to condition the student's contributions in such a way that the information belonging to the student can be brought out smoothly. This behavior seems essentially similar to the questions used in talk phases for the purpose of extending the topic as discussed above in Excerpt 4-14, in that the teacher steps into the student's discourse and seeks the basis for her questions there.

The two very different patterns of question-asking discussed above, that is, questions that carefully sound out the student's attitude, and a series of questions that unilaterally attempt to solicit information belonging to the

student, are not necessarily contradictory. Rather, they suggest the existence of standard patterns of communication for teachers in a Japanese-language context. The former can be understood as a pattern in which consideration carries weight and the questioner avoids shows of force. The latter can be understood as a pattern in which involvement carries weight, so the questioner actively steps into the students' discourse in order to seek a topic they can share, possibly delivering connotational guidance.

4.5 Discussion

This section begins by summarizing several important findings from my contrastive analyses of question asking in English and Japanese conversation. Based on these findings, I claim that Japanese and American English question-asking are characterized as "individualistic volitional utterances" and "role oriented *wakimae* utterances," respectively.

4.5.1 Major Findings

The distinct features of question-asking observed in our data are summarized according to four different phases of English and Japanese conversation, in turn.

In English conversation, teachers ask questions 1.4 times more frequently than students (see Subsection 4.3.2, Teachers: 41, Students: 30), but the difference between teachers and students is not as significant as for

Japanese pairs. Analysis reveals that American teachers and students more or less equally ask questions, through which they act as independent individuals who have equal ability, right, and freedom to express their own ideas and thoughts.

In the opening phase, both teachers and students are likely to ask questions directly, promptly deciding who will take the first turn; sometimes care is taken for how much time each speaker will have and their right to talk. They enhance involvement by showing no hesitation in determining the first topic provider. Instead, they show consideration for the equal distribution of the right or time to talk, which are derived from their relative concern for the privilege intrinsic to the first topic slot.

In the talk phase, teachers and students tend to ask questions that elicit further details about the topic. Moreover, they use elaboration questions reciprocally in order to gain further views or comments from each other. By doing so, they activate conversation, but this type of exchange is seldom seen in Japanese conversation. American participants establish mutual understanding by eliciting new information and personal views, keeping adequate distance and equality between the two.

With respect to the slot-offering phase, regardless of whether a teacher or a student, the previous topic provider uses only one questioning sentence such as “How about you?” so as to make the next slot to be completely open and free from any topical constraints. American pairs are concerned about

showing consideration for each other by avoiding any threat of imposition; this often results in an equal distribution of the right to talk.

Lastly, in topic searching phases, American pairs reciprocally ask questions to garner new information; it enables them to maintain equality or level the status difference between the two as independent individuals, adjusting the degree of imposition on the other.

In Japanese conversation, teachers ask questions about 2.3 times more frequently than students (see Subsection 4.3.2, Teachers: 75, Students: 33). Overall, teachers ask questions in a supportive and caring manner so that students can talk easily. By contrast, students avoid asking questions that might sound imposing or significantly affect the conversational direction.

Analysis of the opening phase in Japanese conversation shows that teachers always take the initiative in determining who tells a story first. In some cases, teachers ask questions in an attempt to relax the mood or to sound out whether students are ready to tell a story first. Questions used in such a context often accompany a hint at a topic so that students can easily start narrating. In other cases, teachers ask questions to decide the first story teller by quoting the director's instructions to define the situation. By so doing, teachers take initiative in this phase and perhaps throughout the conversation.

In the talk phase, teachers ask questions to develop the topic that students are relating in a supportive manner. Among question types

particularly observed on the teachers' side are (1) complementing questions, which are designed to complement what students have said, and (2) expanding questions, which expand upon the students' storytelling so that the students may speak more in an explanatory way. In contrast, most of the questions used by students do not significantly influence the flow or direction of topic development.

In the slot-offering phase, teachers pose questions in such a way that they lay the groundwork for a relevant transition to another topic to be introduced by students. Teachers achieve this by creating a topical linkage of their own previous topic to the next one. Teachers also suggest a topic that seems easy for students to talk about. Students, on the other hand, do not provide teachers with topic suggestions. Instead, they just wait and let teachers start telling their stories. Or, they ask a question of minimum specificity, like *nanka arimasu ka* (Do you have something in mind?).

Lastly, in the topic-searching phase, we observe in Japanese conversation two very different patterns of question-asking on the teachers' side: (1) questions to sound out the student's attitude, and (2) a series of questions which unilaterally attempt to solicit information belonging to the student. The former is thought to be a considerate and unassertive way, and the latter is thought to be a way in which the teacher positively gets involved with the student, seeking a new topic to share.

4.5.2 Individualistic Volitional Utterances vs. Role Oriented *Wakimae* Utterances

I assume that the findings presented above are part of observable signs by which we can describe how speakers of American English and Japanese display shared perceptions of who they are, maintain interpersonal relationships, and position themselves vis-à-vis others. I characterize questioning utterances in English and Japanese conversation as "individualistic volitional utterances" and "role oriented *wakimae* utterances," respectively; and thus I claim that these are the reflection of ways through which American and Japanese teachers and students meeting for the first time build and maintain their interpersonal relationship.

In all phases of English conversation, both teachers and students show consideration for ensuing equal opportunities to tell their own individual experiences, respecting the other's stories by seeking further details, clarifying their understanding, and eliciting personal views. All of them can be realized only when they maintain their distinct positions and actively participate in conversation based on their volition as independent individuals. Therefore, their questioning utterances are individualistic volitional utterances. What underlies them may be the idealism of equality, in connection of which individuality is cherished. Americans' idealism of equality and individualism and their reflection onto conversational practices have also been discussed by many researchers, such as Yamada (1997) and

Maynard (1993). Although it cannot be denied that even American society embraces institutional status difference between teachers and students, such a difference can be leveled by means of conversational practice, part of which is question-asking, as we have discussed above.

On the other hand, Japanese teachers and students demonstrate complementary patterns of question-asking. Teachers take initiative in every phase of conversation in such a way that they support students so that they easily tell a story, while students follow teachers' initiative. Even though participants met their partners for the first time; in other words, even though they are not in an actual relationship in which one teaches the other in class, still they spontaneously and naturally acted in such manners. This observation leads me to understand that Japanese teachers' modes of question-asking derive from their role perception as a teacher, which is activated when facing a person whose role is a student. Similarly, Japanese students' modes of question-asking are based on their role perception as a student, which is activated in front of a person whose role is a teacher.

According to anthropologists such as Lebra (1976) and Nakane (1978), Japanese vertical relationships such as teacher-student relationships are typically characterized as quasi-parent-child relationships, where the child-role player can expect to depend upon the parent-role player who anticipates and takes care of the child-role player's wants. Furthermore, such a system of seniority is a simpler and more stable mechanism than the

merit system; therefore, it works automatically (Nakane 1978: 28). This means that such role relationships are ingrained into conventions in Japanese society. According to Ide (1989), speech which shows a sense of place or role according to social convention is called the *wakimae* aspect of language use, and is to be differentiated from the "volitional aspect of language use," that is, speaking according to the speaker's intention, as seen among American speakers in our data (see Chapter Two). On the grounds of the discussion above, I conclude that questions in Japanese teacher-student conversation can be characterized as "role-oriented *wakimae* utterances."

4. 6 Summary

This chapter has analyzed question-asking in English and Japanese dyadic conversation between teachers and students who are meeting for the first time. The results showed that American teachers and students reciprocally ask questions so that they distribute equal opportunities to tell a story and elicit details and views from each other. I argued that what governs such patterns of question-asking is an ideal of equality, under which the speakers speak according to volition, maintaining equal relationships as independent individuals. Accordingly, they are characterized as "individualistic volitional utterances."

In Japanese conversation, teachers ask questions that are designed to help students talk more easily, while students avoid asking questions that

would significantly affect the conversational flow. Their use of questions can be attributed to speakers' relationally defined roles, which are compatible with the role expectations that are part of social conventions. Then I argued that what governs that pattern is one's sense of place or role according to social within the interactional relationship of the dyad, which I call, *wakimae* (Ide, 2006), rather than speakers' volitional choice of strategies. Based on these findings, I characterized Japanese questioning utterances as "role-oriented *wakimae* utterances."

Chapter Five

Story Sharing in English and Japanese Conversation without Social Distance: High-Involvement Style of Information Exchange vs. Merging Discourse

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Four discussed the culturally shaped conversational patterns by discussing the use of questions in English and Japanese conversations between two speakers with social distance, i.e., between teachers and students who are meeting for the first time. The current chapter will deal with conversations without social distance, i.e., between two students who are close friends. This chapter will shed light on a cultural aspect of story sharing by demonstrating the differences between American and Japanese friend dyads in their manners when communicating to share their experiences.

People create feelings of closeness by conversing with their friends (Tannen 1984; Otsu 2004). Particularly, sharing personal experiences in conversation may enhance mutual understanding and bonding, thus providing the joy of togetherness. Furthermore, story sharing is a process in which the storyteller and the recipient co-construct the meaning of stories; storytelling is designed for the recipient, and the recipient's reaction displays his/her appreciation and understanding of the story being told. Accordingly,

reciprocally shaped stories allow the teller and the recipient to reflect upon their relationships (Arminen 2004).

My analysis shows that in American conversation, stories are shared in such a way that the one who has received a story shows appreciation and interest by asking questions to elicit further details or confirm their understanding, sending expressive response, presenting evaluative comments, and sometimes initiating another story that illustrates similar points, which is called a "story round" (Tannen 1984). Through these conversational devices, the participants get highly involved and exchange information based on their own intention as individuals. Thus, American pairs share stories through "individualistic volitional utterances in high-involvement style of information exchange."

On the other hand, Japanese pairs in the process of story sharing display a phenomenon that I label "merging discourse." Merging discourse is a particular type of *kyowa* or cooperative speech (Mizutani 1993), in which the story teller and the recipient enter a merged relationship and speak as if they share a single mind while improvising a story. Conversational devices recurrent in merging discourse include repetition, take-over, which is an utterance that finishes the other's sentence, addition, which is an utterance that adds something strongly relevant to what the other has said by taking the other's perspective, and overlapping. What is realized through these conversational devices is a "communion of empathy" rather than exchange of

substantial information.

In the following, I first provide a brief description of the data and analytic focuses (Section 5.2). Second, I demonstrate the analyses of patterns of story sharing in English and Japanese conversation, in turn (Sections 5.3 and 5.4). Finally, in Section 5.5, I discuss the findings from Sections 5.3 and 5.4.

5.2 Data and Analytic Focuses

The data examined in this chapter consist of eleven American English and thirteen Japanese conversations between two students who are close female friends in the Mister O Corpus. Each pair discuss the topic, "What were you most surprised at?" for about five minutes (See Chapter 3).

Since the pairs are asked to talk about experiences in which they were surprised, conversations are likely to proceed in such a way that one of the pair relates her story and the other listens. I refer to the person who tells a story as the "story teller" or "teller," and the other person who listens to it as the "story recipient" or "recipient."

The transcripts are analyzed in order to identify the recurrent patterns in which a story that has been told is shared between the teller and the recipient. The special attention is paid on conversational devices that constitute the process of story sharing whereby the teller and the recipient attain mutual understanding and thus build closeness between them.

In the following sections, I present the results of analysis of English and Japanese patterns of story sharing, in turn.

5.3 Story Sharing in English Conversation

When American pairs talk about experiences in which they were surprised, they attempt to provide a unique story, and when they listen to stories as a story recipient, they show a "high-involvement style" (Tannen 1984) of information exchange by asking for further details, confirming what has been heard, sending expressive response, and making evaluative comments, and sometimes they share a relevant story of their own. By so doing, they not only share each other's stories by exchanging substantial information but also ensure equal opportunities to speak and listen between the pair. This may also contribute to feelings of closeness between them.

5.3.1 Conversational Devices that Constitute a High-Involvement Style of Information Exchange

Conversational devices frequently observed in the process of story sharing are provided below, with accompanying examples.

(1) Questions

The story recipient asks various types of questions, both to ask for additional details and to verify what has been heard.

(i) Wh-questions to ask for additional details

A　: That was, that was very luck, I mean, cuz I only applied to one school, so[…I was like…

B　:　[Oh, really?

B→: What school?

A　: Glasser.

B　: Oh, okay.

(ii) Yes-no questions to ask for additional details

A　: And a really drunk bee decided [to sit on my arm. {laugh}

B　:　[A drunk bee!

A　: And die there. {laugh}

A　: It was a big bumblebee too, it just like sat down, and I'm like, "Ow!" {laugh}

B→: It stung you?

A　: Yeah.

(iii) Questions to confirm or verify what has been heard

A　: Sinc[e I lived there for eight years[.

B　:　[Huh.

B→:　[So, you were eight then?

A　: Eight?

(2) Expressive response

Expressive response includes exclamations such as, “Wow,” “Oh,” “(That’s) interesting,” and “(That’s) amazing.”

A　: Like, there’s colleges, there’s one in Ohio and I think another one in North Carolina, where if you’re a twin you get a discount...

B→: No kidding?

A　: Yeah, it’s like you--you only pay for one of them kind of thing.

B→: That’s amazing.

A　: Yeah.=

B→:　　=Is that serious?

A　: I’m se---I’m se[rious... they actually, they have those.

B→:　　[Wow.

(3) Evaluative comments

Evaluative comments give related knowledge or personal thoughts so as to contribute to mutual understanding.

A　: That is kind of young... {laugh}

B　: [How old is she?

A : [(I think it)...

A : She's my age, twenty-one.

B : Oh, okay.

B→: I have friends who are gotten engaged... [who are that age... I guess it happens more in the mid-west.

A : [Uh-huh.

(4) Story rounds

"Story rounds" is the introduction of another story that illustrates similar points (Tannen 1984). This resembles what Sacks (1992a) calls "second stories."

A : Yeah, that was really surprising. {laugh}

A : My friend did the same thing at my house.

A : That was surprising for her. {laugh}

B→: Yeah…I remember one time something like that happened, except[…

A : [Ooh…

B : I was doing something for my grandparents, and, I was pushing down wall into the thing.

These conversational devices, i.e., questions, expressive response, evaluative comments, and story rounds, are all the means for the story

recipient to show her interest and appreciation and get involved in the story that the teller has told. We should note that most of them can be regarded as intention based. Negotiations initiated by the use of questions contribute particularly prominently to the dialogical development of a conversation; they are thus likely to be properly explained by major theories of pragmatics such as politeness theories, which assume intentional strategies of individual speakers.

In the following, I analyze two sets of discourse.

5.3.2 The Story of "A Crowded Train"

In Excerpt 5-1, the teller (T) describes a very interesting scene she encountered on the first day she rode on an extremely crowded train in Japan. We can see a process of story sharing in which the teller's description of her funny experience is further solicited and elaborated upon by the recipient's (R) enthusiastic participation. This participation includes a series of questions and expressive responses.

Excerpt 5-1

01 T: Okay, well the... I think the most surprising thing that has happened to me... would be... well, let's do in Japan...[in my first day I had to take an exam...

02 R: [Umn.

03 T: And... about my level of Japa[nese...

04 R: [Oh, sure.

05 T: And so I went to get on my... find my way for the first time from my hou[se in Saitama...

06 R: [Oh, uhh.

07 T: And... um... the... there had been a c--a train accident, [and so all the trains were backed up, and it was so crowded--the most crowded it's ever been since I've been here.

08 R: [Uh-huh.

09 R: Uh-huh.

10 T: And... um... when we were getting in everybody's shoving me, and of course... and... {laugh} um... people started lifting people up, because everybody was l--late for work.

11 R: Un.=

12 T: =And so, nobody stayed, like usually some people will wait [outside the train,

13 R: [Yeah.

14→T: But nobody stayed outside the train, and people were holding people above their heads in the train—I'm not joking.

15 T: An[d...

16→R: [Like whole bodies, [or they laying like this way on them?

17 T: [Yeah.

18 T: Yeah, like sitting, like [sitting on their...

19→R: [No!

20 T: Yeah, I'm not joking, this is my first time riding the train[s.

21→R: [Like women or men?

22 T: Men.

23 T: And... I was... and... I couldn't believe it... I was like... "I'm[gonna be living here!'

24→R: [So there was like guys on top [of your head?

25 T: [Yeah, but I didn't even know that... this was abnormal, like I didn't know there had been a wreck.

26 T: And so, I was just like... cuz it's a long train ride, and so like "there's like no way I'm gonna be able to do this every single day."

27 T: But... yeah... that was... [I was... yeah, and that's the only time that it's ever happened.

28→R: [Oh really!

29 T: And... but...

30→R: Like was it just like one guy, or was there like twelve guys sitting on top of the [train?

31 T: [There was probably (three)... (three).

32→R: Big guys? [Little guys?

33 T: [Like medium guys, yeah.

34→R: And like there was girls underneath?

35 T: Yeah, I mean everybody underneath.

36 T: Is[n't that insane?

37→R: [And no one cared?

38→R: Like how did they get up there?

39 R: Cuz the... you know the door [goes like to your head.

40 T: [People... I know... but people were... I Don't... {laugh} I have no idea, maybe they were friends. {laugh}

41→R: You think--wow!=

42 T: =Yeah. {laugh}

43→R: So what did you do?

44 T: And so... I helped hold them, so it wouldn't like break your neck. {laugh}

45→R: No kiddi[ng!

46 T: [Yeah. {laugh}

47 R: You're just standing there like "Oh my go[d!"

48 T: [Yeah.

49 R: "I'm gonna be here for a year and I have to do this every day!["

50 T: [Yeah. {laugh}

In the segment above, the recipient uses eight questions: six to seek further details (lines 16, 21, 32, 37, 38, and 43) and two to confirm what has been heard (lines 24 and 34). In addition, the recipient gives different kinds of expressive responses (lines 19, 28, 41, and 45) when she gains answers to the questions or additional description of the scene from the teller.

While the story teller relates her experience from line 01 to 14, the recipient listens sending backchannels, like "Umn," and "Oh, sure" (lines 02, 04, 06, 08, 11, and 13). When in line 14 the story teller comes to the punch line, "But nobody stayed outside the train, and people were holding people above their heads in the train---I'm not joking," the recipient reacts in line 16 with a question to seek further details so that she can understand correctly what the teller means, "Like whole bodies, or they laying like this way on them?" Listening to the teller's answer (line 18), the recipient exaggeratedly and loudly shouts "No!" in line 19. This shows the recipient's surprise and appreciation toward the story.

In line 20, the teller attempts to conclude her story, saying "Yeah, I'm not joking, this is my first time riding the trains." Then the recipient promptly asks another question to seek additional details, "Like women or men?" (line 21). Eliciting an answer (line 22) and further statement (line 23) from the teller, the recipient again asks a question to confirm what she has heard, "So there was like guys on top of your head?" This question results in eliciting a supplemental explanation from the teller (lines 25, 26, and 27), to

which the recipient utters a loud and marked exclamation, "Oh really!" (line 28).

Subsequently, the recipient begins to ask another five questions (lines 32, 34, 37, 38, and 43) in rapid sequence. Each time she garners an answer from the teller, the recipient gradually moves to another point so as to expand the teller's illustration of the incident, while she displays how surprising and worthwhile the story is with expressive responses, "you think---wow!" (line 41) and "No kidding!" (line 45).

This type of question asking, which is characterized by high pitch, rapid rate, and reduced syntactic forms, is called the "machine-gun question" (Tannen 1984). According to Tannen, questions of this sort signal familiarity, casualness, and rapport. Hence, the teller and the recipient exchange substantial information, while creating a feeling of closeness between them. Moreover, expressive reactions are effectively used to show appreciation for the surprising story's worth; thus, they grease the conversational wheels by encouraging the story teller to tell more (Tannen 1984). Both the series of questions and the expressive responses are part of a high-involvement style of information exchange.

Lastly, in lines 47 and 49, the recipient uses direct quotation to depict feelings that the teller would have had in the narrated situation. Since in direct quotation, the focus shifts to the person co-ordinates of the quoted utterance, i.e., the teller in this case (Fauconnier and Sweetser 1996: 296),

the recipient's use of direct quotation (lines 47 and 49) is considered to be a result of getting involved in the teller's story. Thus, it shows a high degree of sympathy. Achieving full understanding of the details of the situation through a series of questions, the recipient seems finally to attain the teller's viewpoint, through which she imagines and depicts the teller's feelings.

It is true that the experience illustrated in Excerpt 5-1 above is truly unique, and this uniqueness may accelerate the high-involvement style of conversation, but the essentials of story sharing witnessed in Excerpt 5-1, that is, high involvement style of interaction comprising substantial information exchanges, is pervasively observed in our English data, and not only here.

In the following, I present another segment, in which the teller recounts her experience as a story round, and the recipient of the story reacts by means of questions, expressive responses, and evaluative comments.

5.3.3 The Story of "Sister's Pregnancy"

Prior to the excerpt below, one of the pair said that she was surprised when she learned that her twin sister was suddenly engaged to be married. When this story is completed, the recipient takes the floor, saying, "That reminds me of a time when I was surprised," and she becomes the teller (T) of a new story (Excerpt 5-2, line 01). This new teller's transition utterance is a signal that she is going to narrate a similar experience. This is called a

"story round" (Tannen 1984). Telling a story round can be a particular type of story sharing in that the story round shows that the recipient has had a parallel experience, and so claims and proves her understanding and appreciation of the preceding story through designing a resemble story (Sacks 1992 vol. 1; Kushida 2006).

Excerpt 5-2

01→T: That reminds me of a time when I was surprised.

02 R: Really. {laugh}

03 R: And what was that? [{laugh}

04 T [I was surprised when my sister told me she was pregnant.

05 R: Yeah, I was actually thinking of that because you told me, t--told me earlier, and that, I was thinking, and I bet that was a shocker for Sarah.

06 T: Yeah, well, the reason it was so shocking is because she called me on my cell phone, and I had just gotten out of my friends play, and then, I don't remember what I was doing, but anyway, she called me, and it was both my sisters and they just told me like, "Sarah, uhh... we have something to tell you," and I was like, "What?" and she's like, "Oh, Hannah has like a bun in the oven" or something, and I was like, "What?!" {laugh}

07 R: [Uh-huh.

08 T: [And then, I was in the middle of this like huge crowd of people, and I was like, “Are you kidding?, like, what are you talking about?,” and then, I was very surprised. {laugh}

09 T: And then I told my [friends, I was like “Hold on a second, my sister's having a baby!” {laugh}

10 R: [Uh-huh.

11 T: And then her boyfriend thought I was weird or something. {laugh}

12→R: Your friend’s boyfriend or your sister’s?=

13 T: =My friend’s [boyfriend.

14 R: [Uh-huh...[yeah.

15 T: [Yeah.

16 T: And the way they told my [parents was on Valentine’s day... well, my sister, my parents, my sister and her... that--at that point boyfriend were like, “Um, we have something to tell everyone, uhh... Hannah’s pregnant.”

17 R: [Uh-huh.

18→R:{laugh} Wow.

19 T: And it was the worst Valentine’s Day surprise ever.

20→R: What did your parents do?

21 T: Uh... my dad was just... didn’t say anything, he was just like, {laugh} completely silent.

22 T: And my mom was like, “Well, what are you going to do about it?”
[{laugh}

23→R: [{laugh} Wow.=

24 T: =Yeah.

25 R: Yeah.

26→R: I think that’s more surprising... that would be more of a surprise than my sister getting engaged, like, even after she gets married if she says “Oh, I’m pregnant,” I’m just going to be like, “Oh, my god! oh, my god!”

27→R: Like her saying she was engaged... I was like, “Wow, you’re too young, but okay.”

28 T: Yeah[...

29→R: [But, having a baby...

30 T: Well, the funny thing was... is that he was like twenty[... ahh... is he twenty-one or...? I guess he’s twenty-two now, but he was like twenty-one and she was twenty-eight... or tw--like twenty-nine.

31 R: [Uh-huh.

32 R: Uh-huh.

33 T: And then they were having a baby.

In line 04, the teller begins relating her experience with the sentence, “I was surprised when my sister told me she was pregnant.” The recipient (R), who acknowledges that she was told this matter earlier, still encourages the

teller to relate this topic, saying “I bet that was a shocker for Sarah” in line 05. The teller moves on to illustrating how she was surprised when she was informed of her sister’s pregnancy, dramatically with the use of direct quotation (line 06, 08, 09), while the recipient listens sending backchannels (lines 07 and 10). When the teller says in line 11, “And then her boyfriend thought I was weird or something,” the recipient asks a question to clarify what the teller means, “Your friend’s boyfriend or your sister’s?” (line 12). Having confirmed her understanding (lines 13 through 15), the teller resumes narrating (lines 16), and the recipient laughs and sends an expressive response “Wow!” (line 18). Then the teller concludes her story, “And it was the worst Valentine’s Day surprise ever” (line 19).

Subsequently, the recipient in line 20 asks a question to garner further details, “What did your parents do?”; and attaining the teller’s answer (lines 21 and 22), she utters an expressive response “Wow!” (line 23). Following this, the recipient presents an evaluative comment (lines 26, 27, and 29), in which she compares the teller’s story with her own previous story about her sister’s engagement. Then she expresses how she would feel if she were in the teller’s situation, using direct quotation in an animated manner.

In this way, the teller’s story of her sister’s pregnancy is provided as a story round that follows the previous story in which the current recipient talked about her sister’s engagement. Furthermore, the recipient of this ongoing storytelling communicates her understanding through the use of

questions, expressive response, and evaluative comments.

Our English data showed five cases of this sort of story rounds. Thus, for American pairs the story round device is clearly one of the preferred high-involvement strategies. It should be noted, however, that stories told in rounds themselves are always individual and independent, while they are closely related and connected, as seen in Excerpt 5-2. Borrowing Machi's (2007) terms[20], the phenomenon of story rounds among American pairs is the "my story" type of discourse, in contrast to the "our story"-type discourse observed in Japanese conversation, in which relevant stories are likely to be woven intricately into one flow of discourse.

As discussed above with Excerpts 5-1 and 5-2, most verbal exchanges in the process of story sharing are characterized by a "high-involvement style" (Tannen 1984) of information exchange; they include questions for the recipients to elicit needed details for complete understanding, expressive responses for the recipients to show appreciation, evaluative comments that recognize the recipients' original ideas, and story rounds that connect two participants' relevant and individual stories. In these practices, we can see dialogic contribution from independent, individualistic selves. Hence, they are suitably seen as the outcome of intentional strategies used for the

[20] Machi (2007) uses the Mr. O Corpus as her data and examined how repetitions operate in English and Japanese conversation, concluding that repetitions in English contribute to building a "my story," whereas those in Japanese are part of creating of an "our story."

purpose of getting highly involved and creating mutual understanding by exchanging substantial information, and this is realized by the rational choices and inferences of the speakers.

Furthermore, we should note that the recipients' contribution through the use of conversational devices discussed above is made so as not to be viewed as disruptive, or a challenge to the teller's narrative ability to tell a coherent full story (Koike 2009). Even in close relationships, the participants are considerate enough to distribute equal opportunities to tell their individual coherent full stories. We can say that story sharing is achieved observing the Rules of Politeness, such as "Don't impose," and "Be friendly," which conventionalize consideration for keeping an adequate distance and equality as an interactive norm (Lakoff 1973).

In the following, I analyze story sharing in Japanese conversation between close friends.

5.4 Story Sharing in Japanese Conversation

The distinct phenomenon in Japanese conversation is that when the recipient shows her understanding and sympathy toward the story teller, and in turn the story teller responds to this, another story can be collaboratively improvised. At that time, we can observe a conversational phenomenon which I label "merging discourse." In this phenomenon, the story teller and the recipient enter a merged relationship and speak as if

they share a single mind in creating a story. An example follows.

なんだろ、カラスぐらいおっきいと、けっこう、びびるよね、なんだろ、うん、人間ぽいとは言わないけど、動物って感じだった、しかも黒いしね

nan daro, karasu gurai okkii to, kekkoo, bibiru yo ne, nan daro, un, ningen poi to wa iwanai kedo, doobutsu tte kanji datta, shikamo kuroi shi ne

"well, (being) big like a crow, (it's) quite, (it's) scary, isn't it? well, yeah, (I) won't say (it was) like a person, but (it was) like an animal"

The example of merging discourse presented above is a verbal exchange between two speakers that occurred after one of them brought up her experience of encountering a dying crow on the street. Although this is made up of four different utterances produced in turn by two speakers, when the entire conversation is given with speakers not labelled as above, it is quite difficult to tell which utterance was made by which speaker. In fact, the four utterances were spoken as follows:

01 A: なんだろ、カラスぐらいおっきいと、けっこう

nan daro, karasu gurai okkii to, kekkoo

"How should I put this: with something as big as a crow, (it's) quite…"

02 B: びびるよね

bibiru yo ne

"Scary, isn't it?"

03 A: なんだろ、うん、人間ぽいとは言わないけど、動物って感じだった

nan daro, un, ningen poi to wa iwanai kedo, doobutsu tte kanji datta

"How should I put this: yeah, not to say (it was) like a human being, but one felt (that it was) a living animal."

04 B: しかも黒いしね

shikamo kuroi shi ne

"And also (it was) black, so…"

Mizutani (1993) called this type of discourse *kyowa* "cooperative speech," in contrast to *taiwa* "dialogic speech" for English, because the speakers cooperate in making an utterance, whereas in dialogic speech, each speaker complete his or her own utterances (see Chapter Two). For Mizutani, *kyowa* is a distinctive characteristic of Japanese conversation, whereas English conversation markedly shows the characteristics of *taiwa.* In *kyowa,* cooperation among speakers is particularly important such that they frequently send backchannel signals to display understanding and agreement, and even anticipate and say what the other is about to say. For this reason, Japanese conversation is likely to weave multiple speakers' utterances into a single stream.

Merging discourse is observed in the process whereby the story teller and the story recipient discuss the story that the teller has just provided. In merging discourse, utterances from the both sides converge in a single stream as if the teller and the recipient had a single mind. The distinction between the two speakers becomes blurred, and it does not matter from whom a given piece of information comes. In this sense, merging discourse is an extreme and special form of *kyowa,* cooperative speech (Mizutani 1993).

5.4.1 Conversational Devices that Constitute Merging Discourse

The conversational devices that are prominent in merging discourse are provided below, with accompanying examples.

(1) Repetition

Repetition is an utterance which repeats the other's words or phrases. Moreover, there are cases in which speakers repeat their own words or phrases.

A: 怖い

kowai

"(It's) scary."

B: 怖いよね、普通に

kowai yo ne, futsuu ni

"(It's) scary, isn't it? Just plain (scary)."

(2) Take-Over

Take-over is an utterance that takes over the other's utterance and finish her sentence. It results in two speakers co-creating one proposition.

A：なんかねー、パンク系なの｛笑｝

nanka nee, panku-kei nano {laugh}

"Well, (he's) the punk-rock type. {laugh}"

A: [でね、すごく

[dene, sugoku

"And, see, (meeting him) totally"

B: [{笑}イメージ変わっちゃった

[{laughs} imeeji kawacchatta

{laughs} "(My/your) image (of him) changed."

(3) Addition

Addition is an utterance that adds something strongly relevant to what the other has said. It does not intend to elaborate or develop the other's utterances dialogically from a different perspective but rather to expand the other's utterances by taking her perspective. When an utterance is added onto a prior utterance, they are connected together so that they will sound

monologic.

A: ふん、光が丘やばいね

fun, hikarigaoka yabai ne

"Yeah, Hikarigaoka is nasty, right?"

B: うん、やばい、鳩もいるし

un, yabai, hato mo irushi

"Yeah, it's nasty: like, there are pigeons…"

A：人住みすぎなんだよ、絶対

hito sumisugi na n da yo, zettai

"There are too many people living there, definitely."

(4) Overlap

Overlap is simultaneous talk by two participants.

A：イメージ[変わっちゃった

imeegi [kawacchatta

"(My/your) image (of him) changed."

B: [そう、すごい派手な子だから

[soo, sugoi hade na ko dakara

"Yeah, (he's) a really flowery little guy."

These conversational devices, i.e., repetition, take-over, addition, and overlap, are what I collectively label "induced-fit utterances," because these are realized by mutual induction of the adjacent utterances. That is to say, the preceding utterance induces the following utterance so that they mutually fit, as if they are in a key-and-keyhole relation. The idea of "induced-fit" is based on Shimizu (2003, 2004), who discusses a mechanism of co-creation of an improvisational drama by multiple actors (see Chapter Six).

In the following, I will examine the two sets of merging discourse where the story teller and the story recipient co-create one story.

5.4.2 The Story of "A Crow on the Street"

In the story of "A Crow on the Street," a part of which was presented earlier at the beginning of this section, the story teller (T) talks about how she was surprised when she encountered a dying crow on the street. The teller told her story as follows:

Excerpt 5-3

01 T: なんか、おととい

nanka, ototoi,

"So, like, two days ago

02 R:うん

un

"Uh-huh."

03 T: 学校来るときに=

gakko kuru toki ni=

"When (I) came to school,"

04 R: =うん

= un

"Uh-huh."

05 T: 目白通りあるじゃん／ =

mejiro doori aru jan/=

"Mejiro Street, you know?"

06 R: =うん [うんうんうん

=un [un un un

"Uh-huh, yeah"

07 T: [普通に歩いてたの =

[futsuu ni aruiteta no=

"(I) was walking along as usual."

08 R: =うん

=un

"Uh-huh."

09 T: そしたら、カラスの鳴き声がしたのね

soshitara karasu no nakigoe ga shita no ne

"Then (I) heard a crow crying."

10 T: だから、あ、なんだろう、カラスがいるの [かなと思って

dakara, a, nan daroo karasu ga iru no [kana to omotte

"And, wondering, "What was (that)? Is there a crow there?"

11 R: [うんうん

[un un

"Uh-huh."

12 T: ちょっとよけてみたの、したら、普通カラスが上にいると思うじゃん／

chotto yokete mita no, shitara, futuu karasu ga ue ni iru to omou jan/

"(I) stepped aside a bit. Then—usually one expects a crow to be overhead, y'know?"

13 T: したら、下にいて、カラスが、で、ひっくり返ってて

shitara, shita ni ite, karasu ga, de, hikkuri kaettete,

"But here (it) was down below, the crow, flipped over on (its) back…"

14 R: えー、ひっくり返っ [てたの／

ee, hikkuri kaet[teta no/

"Wow, did (it) flip over?"

15 T: [で、死にそう、だったの

[de, shinisoo datta no,

"And about to die, (it) seemed."

16 R: へえ

hee

"Wow."

17 T: で、なんだろう、虫が死にそうなのと違って、カラスっておっ [きい、でしょ／

de, nan daroo, mushi ga shinisoo nano to chigatte, karasu tte okkii, desho/

"And then, how should I put this: unlike when a bug is about to die—a crow is big, right?"

18 R: [うんうんうんうん

[un un un un

"Uh-huh, yeah."

19 T: で、真っ黒じゃん／=

de, makkuro jan/=

"And jet-black, y'know?"

20 R: =うん=

=un=

"Yeah."

21 T: =で、ひっくり返って、上向いてカーカー言ってて、すごいびっくりした

=de, hikkuri kaette, ue muite kaa kaa ittete, sugoi bikkuri shita

"And flipped over on (its) back going "Caw! Caw!" so (I) was really surprised."

22 R: うわー、何それ｛笑い｝

waa, nani sore{laugh}

“Yikes, what are (you talking) about?” {laugh}

23 T: 気持ち[悪かった｛笑い｝

kimochi [warukatta {laugh}

“(I) was disgusted.” {laugh}

24 R: [気持ち悪い｛笑い｝

[kimochi warui {laugh}

“Disgusting!” {laugh}

25 T: なんか、えー、１人だったから、びっくりしたけど、声とか、あっとか言えば =

nanka, ee, hitori datta kara, bikkuri shita kedo, koe toka, a toka ieba

“And like, umm, (I) was alone, so (I) was surprised, and if (I) had raised (my) voice and gone, like, ‘Oh!’”

26 R: =うん=

=un=

“Uh-huh.”

27 T: =少し、緩和するけど=

=suko shi, kanwa suru kedo=

“(It would have) taken the edge off (my unease) a little bit...”

28 R: =うん

=un

“Uh-huh.”

29 T: なんか、うっ、てな [ったから

nanka, u, tte nat[ta kara

“But (as it was I could only) go like “Ugh!” and…”

30 R: [うん

[un

“Uh-huh.”

31 T: すごい、なんか苦しかった

sugoi, nanka kusushikatta

“(It) was super, like, unpleasant.”

32 R: ああ、もう、どきどきだね、それ

aa, moo, dokidoki da ne, sore

“Wow, that makes (our/your) heart beat faster.”

33 T: それが最近一番びっくりしたこと

sore ga saikin ichiban bikkuri shita koto

“That’s what surprised (me) the most recently.”

34 R: {笑い} 最近び、カラスか

{laugh} saikin bi karasu ka

{laugh} “(What) surprised (you) recently—a crow, huh?”

35 T: カラス、だって、死にそうだ [から、あがいてるんだもん

karasu datte shinisoo dakara agaiteru n da mon

“A crow, (I)’m telling (you): (it) was about to die, fighting for its life!”

36 R: [死にそうなの初めてみ、[聞いた

[shinisoo na no hajimete mi kiita

"(This) is the first time (I) ever saw—heard about something about to die."

From line 01 to line 33, the teller recounts her experience, and the recipient listens while frequently sending backchannels. When the teller describes her feelings that she had when encountering a dying crow, like *sugoi bikkuri shita* "(I) was really surprised" in line 21, *kimochi warukatta* "(I) was disgusted" in line 23, and *sugoi nanka kurushikatta* "(It) was super, like, unpleasant" in line 31, the recipient reacts sympathetically by sending an expressive response (line 22), repeating the same word (line 24), and interpreting and paraphrasing the teller's feeling (line 32), respectively.

After the teller concludes her story in line 33, saying *sore ga saikin ichiban bikkuri shita koto* "That's what surprised (me) the most recently," the recipient actively participates in the talk. Lines 33 through 35 show immediate repetitions, and the adjacent utterances are tightly linked. More precisely, in response to the teller's concluding remark in line 33, the recipient in line 34 displays her surprise at the topic the teller chose, "a crow on the street," by laughing and saying *saikin bi* (the initial sound of *bikkuri*), *karasu ka* "(What) surprised (you) recently—a crow, huh?" The recipient seems to find the teller's choice of topic unexpected. In line 35, the teller

immediately repeats the word *karasu* "a crow," and defends her choice of topic, saying, *karasu, datte shinisoo da kara agaiteru n da mon* "a crow, (I)'m telling (you): because (it) was about to die, fighting for its life!" The recipient in line 36, largely overlapping the teller's utterance in line 35, repeats *shinisoo* "dying" and says *shinisoo nano hajimete mi, kiita* "(This) is the first time (I) ever saw—heard about—something about to die."

Mi, kiita "saw—heard about" in line 36 is understood to occur because the recipient has stopped at the initial sound of *mita* "have seen." Since the recipient did not see the event actually, she corrected herself to say *kiita* (have heard). This may also indicate that the teller's illustration of a crow on the street activated the recipient's sensory cortex (Stephens et al. 2010) so that she felt as if she herself were looking at the scene. In any case, the utterance in line 36 is understood to be the recipient's acceptance of the teller's story as an interesting story worth listening to.

Let us examine the next part of the conversation. In Excerpt 5-4, we can observe what I call "take-over" in line 38 and "addition" in line 40.

Excerpt 5-4

36 R: [死にそうなの初めてみ、 [聞いた

[shinisoo na no hajimete mi, kiita

"(This) is the first time (I) ever saw—heard about something about to die."

37 T: [うん、すごいね、なんだ

ろ、カラスぐらいおっきいと、けっこう

[un, sugoi ne, nan

daro, karasu gurai okkii to, kekko

"Yeah, amazing isn't

it? How should I put this: with something as big as a crow, (it's)

quite…"

38 R: びびるよ [ね

bibiru yo [ne

"Scary, isn't it?"

39 T: [なんだろ、うん、人間ぽいとは言わないけど、動物って感じだった

[nan daro, un, ningen poi to wa iwanai kedo, doobutsu

tte kanji datta

"How should I put this: yeah, (I) won't say (it was) like a

human being, but (one) felt (it was) a living animal."

40 R: {笑い} しかも黒いしね=

{laugh} shikamo kuroi shi ne=

{laugh} "and also (it was) black, so…"

Receiving the recipient's display of acceptance of the story (line 36), the teller gives a big nod saying *un* "yeah" in line 37. Then she goes on to say, *sugoi ne, nan daro, karasu gurai okkii to, kekko* "amazing isn't it? How

should I put this: with something as big as a crow, (it's) quite…," with her arms extending forward to outline a round shape. Then the teller instantly gets stuck for a word maintaining that gesture. While listening to this, the recipient repeatedly nods gazing at the teller. And then catching a short pause after the last word, *kekko* (quite), which is an adverb that should accompany an adjective, the recipient utters in a whisper voice, *bibiru yo ne* ("scary, isn't it?") in line 38. I call this phenomenon "take-over," where one anticipates what the other has in mind and says what the other is about to say, finishing the sentence. Since the recipient is not actually a witness of the scene, she adds *yo ne* (literally, "isn't it?") to *bibiru* (scary) so as to elicit the teller's approval.

Take-over is a phenomenon often referred to as "co-construction," and a number of studies have examined it in terms of syntactic units (e.g., Hayashi and Mori 1998; Ferrara 1992). Fujii (2012) categorizes what I call "take-over" as one variation of interactive co-constructions and names it "mono-clausal co-construction." As a result of her comparative analysis of Japanese and American English task discourse in the Mr. O Corpus, Fujii reveals that ten out of twelve Japanese pairs use this device, whereas only five out of eleven American pairs use it. This result reflects a tendency of Japanese communication to use devices that induce or require responses from a conversation partner.

Let us go back to analyze Excerpt 5-4. The recipient's take-over, *bibiru*

yo ne "scary, isn't it?" in line 38 seems to be brought out from her sympathetic attitude toward the teller's feeling depicted in the preceding narration, such as *kimochi warukatta* "disgusted" (line 23) and *kurushi katta* "unpleasant" (line 31). The teller, latching onto the last part of the recipient's take-over, *bibiru yo ne* "scary, isn't it?" (line 38), repeats her own earlier word, *nan daro,* "How should I put this." And this is followed by *un,* "yeah," which is clearly pronounced and sounds like full approval of *bibiru yo ne* "scary, isn't it?" (line 38). The teller then says, *ningen poi to wa iwanai kedo, doobutsu tte kanji datta* "(I) won't say (it was) like a human being, but (one) felt (it was) a living animal" in line 39.

It becomes apparent that what the teller actually had in mind when she made a round shape with her arms was that the dying crow was like a *doobutsu* (a living animal). Thus, what the recipient's take-over delivered in line 38 does not seem to be quite to the point. As seen in this case, take-over, i.e., saying what the other is about to say based on anticipation, can be risky because one is never able to tell exactly what the other really has in mind. However, especially noteworthy here is that even if the content of the take-over is not exactly 'right' in this sense, the teller in line 39 does not turn it down; on the contrary, the possible gap between the teller and the recipient seems insignificant, and the teller naturally accepts the recipient's take-over so that the possible gap is woven into her utterance.

Subsequently, in line 40, the recipient says with laughter *shikamo*

kuroi shi ne "and also (it was) black, so…," which also reflects the recipient's sympathetic attitude toward the teller's feeling described in her earlier narration (*makkuro jan,* "jet-black, y'know?" in line 19). Importantly, the recipient says *shikamo kuroi shi ne* (and also (it was) black, so…) in such a way that she "adds" her utterance on to the teller's previous utterance (line 39). This is what I call "addition." Addition is not an elaboration of a prior utterance or a supplement of new information from a different perspective, but it can expand the storyline maintaining the perspective so that the adjacent utterances sound seamlessly joined to it, as if the whole had been produced by a single person.

Let us look at the subsequent part.

Excerpt 5-5

40 R: {笑い} しかも黒いしね=

{laugh} shikamo kuroi shi ne=

{laugh} "And also (it was) black, so…"

41 T: =黒いし、すごい、でもね、可哀そうだった、やっぱ、死 [にそうだと、カラスだけど

=kuroi shi, sugoi, demo ne, kawaisoo datta, yappa, shinisoo da to, karasu dakedo

"(It was) black, super (black), but anyway, (it) was pitiful, with (it) about to die—(I) mean, (it) was a crow, but…"

42 R: [あ

ー、んー、ん、カラスだけど

[aa,

nn, n, karasu dakedo

*"*Ah, hmm, (it) was a crow, but..."

43 T: {笑い} 可哀そうだ

{laugh} *kawai soo da*

"(It) was pitiful!"

44 R:そうだったんだ

soo datta n da

"Was (it) now."

The teller in line 41 repeats the final word of the recipient's addition, *kuroi shi* "black" (line 40), accompanying it with an adverb *sugoi* "super (black)" in such a way that she shows a strong acceptance. At this moment, the teller and the recipient gaze to each other and nod simultaneously. Then the teller continues to say, *demo ne kawaisoo datta yappa shinisoo da to karasu dakedo* "but anyway, (it) was pitiful, with (it) about to die—(I) mean, (it) was a crow, but…," while the recipient listens incessantly sending nods. Then the recipient in line 42 largely overlaps and shadows the teller's utterance *karasu dakedo* "(it) was a crow, but…" as if she is mirroring input out loud. While doing so, the recipient still keeps nodding, and the teller also

gives a big nod just as the recipient says *karasu dakedo* "(it) was a crow, but…"

Tannen (1993) reports that enthusiastic listeners who overlap cooperatively, talking along to establish rapport, are perceived by overlap-resistant speakers as interrupting and dominating conversation. However, the recipient's overlap in line 42 in Excerpt 5-5 does not seem to intend interruption or dominance, or establish rapport. Rather, it looks like more autonomous response that is triggered by entrainment (Kendon 1970) as an outcome of a series of induced-fit utterances, including repetition, take-over, addition, and overlap, which are often accompanied with mutual nods, as discussed above. Most of them are not carefully choreographed negotiation, but rather seem to be elicited automatically. What we observe here can be said to be what Kita and Ide (2007) call "a common sentiment" established through exchange of frequent nods that have little referential content.

In line 43, reacting to the recipient's prior utterance *karasu dakedo* "(it) was a crow, but…" (line 42), the teller says with laughter *kawaisoo da* "(it) is pitiful!" repeating *kawaisoo* "pitiful," which she herself said in line 41. The recipient in line 44 shows acceptance of it. In this way, the teller and the recipient co-create and share the idea "even though it was (only) a crow, it was pitiful."

5.4.3 The Story of "A Bride at the Café"

This subsection demonstrates how the story teller and the story recipient enter into merging discourse resulting in the recipient's joining the side of active contribution to the storyline.

The story teller (T) talks about how she was surprised when she served a bride in her wedding dress at a café where she is working part time. The storytelling follows below.

Excerpt 5-6

01 T: なんかね、あたしもバイト先の話なん[だけど

nanaka ne, atashi mo baito saki no hanashi nan [dakedo

"Well, mine is also about my part-time job, so…"

02 R: [うんうん

[unun

"Uh-huh."

03 T: あたし今ホテルの、中のカフェでやってん[だけどね

atashi ima hoteru no, naka no kafe de yatten [dakedo ne

"Right now I work at a café in a hotel, you see,"

04 R: [うんうんうん=

[unununn=

"Uh-huh, yeah."

05 T: =バイト始めたばっか

りの頃の話なんだけど、ホテルって結婚式とかやるじゃん／

=baito hajimeta bakkari no koro no hanashi nan dakedo, hoteru tte kekkonshiki toka yaru jan/

“And back when (I) first started as a part-timer—hotels offer wedding ceremonies, you know?

06 R: あああああうん [うん

aaaa un[un

“Yeah, uh-huh.”

07 T: [それで、全然初めて土日、土曜日か日曜日に入った日に、花嫁さんがそのまんまのかっこで来んの、ウエディングドレス着たまんまで

[sorede, zenzen hajimete donichi, doyoobi ka nichiyoobi ni haitta hi ni, hanayomesan ga sono manma no kakko de kun no, uedingu doresu kita manma de

“So when (I) worked on a weekend for the first time, when (I) went in on a Saturday or maybe a Sunday, (this) bride comes right in, wearing (her) wedding dress, just like that,”

08 R: あ、[家から／

a, [ie kara/

“Wow, from home?”

09 T: [うちのカフェに、あの、なんか、あの =

[uchi no kafe ni, ano, nanka, ano=

"…to our café, to, well, how should I put this…"

10 R: =ああ、{笑い} [そういうことか、あ

あ、ああ {笑い}

=aa, {laugh} sooyuu koto ka,

aa, aa, {laugh}

"Oh, {laugh} (I) see, OK."

{laugh}

11 T: [結婚式場か

らカフェに来るの、だから、みんな結婚式の披露宴とかが終わって、お茶飲みに

来るのが、うちのバイト先なんだ [けど

[kekkon

shiki joo kara kafe ni kuruno, dakara, minna kekkonshiki no hirooen toka ga owatte, ocha nomini kuru no ga, uchi no baito saki nanda kedo…

"(The bride)

comes into the café on (her) way from the chapel. (You) see, the café where I work is where everybody goes after (their) wedding reception is over,"

12 R: [うんうんうんう [ん

[unununu[n

"Uh-huh, yeah."

13 T: [そのまんまウエディングドレスのまんま、来て

[sono manma uedingu doresu no manma, kite

"(The bride) was still in (her) wedding dress,"

14 T: で、あたしはちょーびっくり[して

de, atashi wa choo bikkuri [shite

"And I was really surprised,"

15 R: [ああ=

[aa=

"Hmm."

16 T: =で、御注文なににしますかって聞いたら

=de, gochuumon nani ni shimasu ka tte kiitara

"And when (I) asked, 'What would (you) like?'"

17 T: ジンジャーエールとか言われて

jinjaaeeru toka iwarete

"(I) got back, 'Ginger ale,'"

18 T: え、ちょーふつーじゃん、とか思って

e, choo futsuu jan, toka omotte

“And (I) thought “What a boring order!” {laugh}

19 T: {笑い} こ、[こん、こんなんなんだよ

{laugh} ko, [kon, konnan dayo

“(She)’s like this, like.”

20 R: [えー、[そうなんだ

[ee, [soo nan da

“Oh, really?”

21 T: [なんか、ソファーとか３人掛けのをこう、ひとりで座っ [てちょうどいいぐらいのんに

[nanka, sofa toka sannin gake no o koo, hitori de suwat[te choodo ii gurai non ni

“(She) took up the sofa, a three-seater, all by herself,”

22 R: [うんうんうん、そうだよね

[un unun, soo da yo ne

“Yeah, that’s true.”

23 T: すわってて、で、旦那さんは親戚とすわってて {笑い} =

suwatte te, de, danna san wa shinseki to suwatte te {laugh}=

“And the groom sits over with (his) relatives,” {laugh}

24 R: ={笑い} 目立 [つよね

=*{laugh} medatsu*

yo ne

"Stands out,

doesn't it?"

25 T: [そ、初め

て見たときほんとびっくり [した、あれは

[so,

hajimete mita toki honto bikkuri [shita, are wa

"I know! The first time (I) saw (it) (I) was really surprised!"

Lines 01 through and 25, the teller relates her story, and the recipient (R) listens sending frequent backchannels. In line 24, the recipient, as if she is also witnessing the situation being illustrated, laughs along and finishes the teller's sentence by anticipating and taking over what the teller is likely to say, *medatsu yo ne* "Stands out, doesn't it?" The teller in line 25 shows agreement while laughing and continues to complete her storytelling saying, *so hajimete mita toki honto bikkuri shita, are wa* "I know! The first time (I) saw (it) (I) was really surprised!"

Excerpt 5-7 below is the verbal exchange that follows the teller's storytelling. After the story begins to sound complete, the recipient begins actively responding to the story.

Excerpt 5-7

26 R: [｛笑い｝もう、え、それがふつうなの／

{laugh} moo, e, sore ga futsuu na no/

{laugh} “Is it ordinary (for you) now?”

27 T: なんかそれがね、ふつうんなっちゃったから、今 [は、ああ、ああ、とか

nanka sore ga ne, futsuu n natchatta kara, ima wa, aa, aa, toka

“Well, (it) has become ordinary, so, now (I)’m like, “OK, OK.”

------lines 28 through 39 omitted------

40 R: ｛笑い｝でもだから、いいなあ、見れて

{laugh} demo dakara ii naa mire te

{laugh} “Anyway, (I)’m so jealous, (you) get to see (brides)”

41 T: ああ、[そうだねえ

aa [soo da nee

“Yeah, (I) guess.”

42 R: [うん

[*un*

“Yeah.”

43 T: ん、でも、なんかねえ、[なんか

un, demo, nanka nee, [nanka

“Yeah, but, how should I put this: you see, well…”

44 R: [｛笑い｝びっくりするよ[ね

[{laugh} bikkuri suru yo ne

{laugh} “It’s surprising, isn’t it!”

45 T: [｛笑い｝びっくりするよ

[{laugh} bikkuri suru yo

{laugh} “(You) bet it’s surprising!”

In line 40, the recipient shows her envy toward the teller who has the opportunity to serve brides, saying *iinaa mirete* “(I)’m so jealous, (you) get to see (brides).” In line 43, the teller responds to the recipient’s envy in a somewhat hesitant and negative way, like *un demo nanka nee nanka* “Yeah, but, how should I put this: you see, well…” Then, the recipient reorients the flow of conversation back to the story the teller has told by laughing and saying, *bikkuri suru yo ne* “It’s surprising, isn’t it?” *Yo ne* attached at the end of the utterance has the function of asking for the teller’s agreement. The teller, in response, laughs along with her and demonstrates her agreement by repeating the same words, *bikkuri suru* “it’s surprising.” Repeating *bikkuri suru* “it’s surprising” can be evaluative, confirming that the teller’s story was entertaining. As a result, the story recipient and the story teller are now closely bonded through the repetition, while creating a fun and enjoyable atmosphere.

Let us look at the subsequent verbal exchange. Here, we can observe a sequence of “addition” in which the teller and the recipient add information

strongly relevant to each other's utterances. Through this, they co-create one story with a pleasurable, communal tone.

Excerpt 5-8

45 T: [{笑い} びっくりするよ

[{laugh} bikkuri suru yo

"{laugh} (You) bet it's surprising!"

46 R: {笑い} カフェにいないも[んね、ふつう

{laugh} kafe ni inai mo[n ne futsuu

{laugh} "(Brides) don't come to cafés, usually."

47 T: [{笑い} カフェ

[{laugh} café

{laugh} "Cafés!"

48 T: {笑い} しか [も、あ、アイスコーヒーで、とか {笑い} =

{laugh} shika[mo, a, aisukoohii de, toka {laugh}

{laugh} "And (they) even (go), 'Oh, an iced-coffee,' like that!" {laugh}

49 R: [なんか {笑い}

[nanka {laugh}

"What do you know!"{laugh}

50 R: ={笑い} そうだよね、はば、幅とるよね、だっ [てすごい

= *{laugh} soo*

da yo ne, haba, haba toru yo ne, da[tte sugoi

{laugh} "I know, right? And (they) take up so much room! Seriously, (it)'s crazy—"

51 T: [そう、すっごいの，なんかね、多分ね、このぐらいだよ、ひとりで、ここがあたしたちの今[このぐらい

[soo, suggoi no, nanka ne, tabun ne, kono gurai da yo, hitori de, koko ga atashitachi no ima [kono gurai

"Yeah, (it)'s crazy! Like, maybe, this wide, all by herself, like us here now—"

In response to the teller's utterance *bikkuri suru yo* "(You) bet it's surprising!" (line 45), in line 46 the recipient laughs along and says *kafe ni inai mon ne futsuu* "(Brides) don't come to cafés, usually." Even though the recipient does not actually experience the event being told, she seems to be activated to feel as if she experiences it in the act of telling. The recipient shows her understanding of how unusual it is that a bride dressed in her wedding gown is sitting at a café. Then in line 48, the teller laughs and says *shikamo, a, aisukoohii de, toka* "and (they) even (go), 'oh, an iced-coffee,' like that" with a vivid gesture of a bride ordering a drink. The teller, who named "ginger ale" as a drink the bride ordered in her earlier telling (see lines 16, 17 and 18 in Excerpt 5-6), makes her description more interesting by naming

another ordinary drink, iced coffee.

In response to this teller's somewhat comical expression, the recipient in line 50 stretches her imagination to illustrate how wide the bride's skirt is, saying *soo da yo ne haba, haba toru yo ne, datte sugoi* "I know, right? And they take up so much room! Seriously, it's crazy—" By saying so, the recipient demonstrates her understanding and sympathy to the teller's description of the width of the bride's skirt in her storytelling (see line 19 in Excerpt 5-6). In line 51, the teller shows agreement by repeating *soo suggoi no* "Yeah, (it)'s crazy!" in an exaggerated tone and says *nanka ne, tabun ne, kono gurai da yo, hitori de, koko ga atashitachi no ima kono gurai* "Like, maybe, this wide, all by herself, like us here now—" spreading out her arms to show the width of the dress.

Noteworthy is that the recipient's utterance in line 46 and the teller's in line 48, and the recipient's utterance in line 50 and the teller's in line 51, are strongly connected to each other, maintaining a high degree of relevance. As stated above, I call this kind of verbal behavior "addition." Importantly, addition is not an utterance that develops the other's utterances dialogically from a different perspective, but rather expands the other's utterances through the other's perspective, so that together they sound monologic. Furthermore, it should be noted that it is not the teller but the recipient who positively brings what has been told in the teller's story into the current conversation. This shows that the recipient is highly involved in the teller's

experience and thus talks from the teller's perspective. It also shows that the recipient feels sympathy for the teller. In this way, the teller and the recipient co-create one story while enhancing the fun of the story.

In the following excerpt, as a result of enhanced feeling of sympathy, the recipient brings forth a new element into the situation the teller depicted.

Excerpt 5-9

51 T: [そう、すっごいの、なんか
ね、多分ね、このぐらいだよ、ひとりで、ここがあたしたちの今 [このぐらい

[soo, suggoi no, nanka
ne, tabun ne, kono gurai da yo, hitori de, koko ga atashitachi no ima
[kono gurai

"Yeah, (it)'s crazy!
Like, maybe, this wide, all by herself, like us here now—"

52 R: [へえー、しかも汚
せない[よね

[hee, shikamo
yogose nai [yo ne

"Whoah! And
(you) can't get (it) dirty, either!"

53 T: [そう、ほんと、きん、だすときに緊張するの

[soo, honto, kin, dasu toki kincho suru no

"Yeah, definitely! (I) get nervous when (I) serve (them)."

In line 51, the teller exaggeratedly illustrates the width of the bride's dress with her arms spread out. In line 52, the recipient responds to it by saying *hee, shikamo yogose nai yo ne* "Whoah! And (you) can't get (it) dirty, either!" as if she visualizes a scene of serving a drink to a bride dressed in her wedding gown. This can be what I call addition in that the adjacent utterances, the teller's utterance in line 51 and the recipient utterance in line 52, are connected together so that they sound monological. In line 53, the teller demonstrates her approval of the recipient's utterance.

5.5 Individualistic Volitional Utterances in High-Involvement Style of Information Exchange vs. Communion of Empathy in Merging Discourse

The results of analysis showed that American pairs display the high-involvement style of information exchange whereby the recipients of the story ask questions to garner information to verify their understanding, expressive responses to demonstrate their appreciation of the story, such as "Wow!" "No kidding!," evaluative comments that express personal thought contributing mutual understanding, and story rounds that provide another

story relevant to the previous one so that two speakers build a bond. We should note that most of these practices are made by recipients based on their volition so that they can stay on the tellers' topic by providing or eliciting substantial information. Furthermore, these practices are realized only if the recipient and the teller collaborate while maintaining their distinct positions as independent individuals. Accordingly, it is volitional utterances that constitute the high-involvement style of information exchange. Through these utterances, participants build closeness while ensuring individuality and equality.

The phenomena of merging discourse in Japanese conversation are differentiated from the high-involvement style of information exchange in English conversation. In merging discourse, the story teller and the recipient share a story co-creating one flow of storyline through induced-fit utterances, such as repetition, overlap, take-over, and addition. In this process, the distinction between the teller and the recipient is likely to become blurred, and utterances from both sides get interwoven so that it does not matter from whom a given piece of information comes. Most of the induced-fit utterances do not deliver substantial information that derives from individuals' intentions. What the teller and the recipient are doing in merging discourse is not exchange of information, but rather "communion of empathy," in which they enjoy sharing feelings associated with the teller's past event while generating comfortable atmosphere. By so doing, they

enhance closeness and still oneness.

5.6 Summary

This chapter analyzed English and Japanese conversion between close friends focusing on the ways in which the story teller and the recipient share the stories being told. The results showed that American pairs display the high-involvement style of information exchange which consists of volitional utterances. On the other hand, Japanese pairs showed what I call "merging discourse," in which the story teller and the recipient co-create one flow of storyline. What is achieved in merging discourse is communion of empathy, in which participants enjoy sharing feelings and thus enhance closeness while creating comfortable atmosphere.

Chapter Six

Discussion

6.1 Introduction

In Chapters Four and Five, I have analyzed English and Japanese conversation focusing on observable, explicit verbal (and sometimes non-verbal) signs, partly making use of frameworks provided by major theories of pragmatics such as Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). It appears that those theories are helpful and offer understandable explanations of language use in some measure, but still we have unsolved problems, in particular, with respect to distinct features of Japanese conversation: specifically, (1) the *wakimae* aspect of language use and (2) co-creation of merging discourse. Judged in terms of the notion of rationality, upon which major theories have been built, to speak according to *wakimae*, i.e., one's sense of place or role in a given situation compatible with social conventions, or according to co-creating merging discourse, in which two speakers enjoy communion of empathy without conveying volitional exchange of substantial information, might be regarded as irrational. In Section 6.2, I analyze rationalist theories of pragmatics with a special focus on Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) theory, arguing that they are limited by a fundamental assumption of rationality, so that they cannot account for the *wakimae* aspect of language use and the co-creation of merging discourse.

In order to tackle these problems, in Section 6.3, I introduce *ba*-based thinking (Shimizu 1995, 2003, 2004; Hanks 2016; Otsuka 2011) as an approach that may complement rationalist theories of pragmatics. Then, in Section 6.4, using *ba*-based thinking, I interpret conversational discourse taking into account implicit communication so as to uncover the logic of the *wakimae* aspect of language use and the co-creation of merging discourse.

6.2 What Major Theories of Pragmatics Leave Unexplained

Major theories of pragmatics fail adequately to account for the *wakimae* aspect of language use and the co-creation of merging discourse, due to the constraints of their rationalist model of human interaction. Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), for example, try to reduce all communicative practices to principles of rational human activity based on the idea that any type of language use is by definition rational.

In reference to Max Weber's theory of social actions, Brown and Levinson (1978: 67) state that they formulated their model by taking in Weberian terms the more strongly rational mode, "instrumental rational action," which is determined by consciously calculating attempts to attain desired ends with the choice of appropriate means (Weber 1972).

However, as Ide (1989) argues, there are two other types of social action in Weberian terms which Brown and Levinson ignored from the first: that is, "traditional/conventional action," which is determined by ingrained

habituation, and "affectional action," which is determined by specific affects and feeling status. These two types are labeled as irrational actions in Weber's theory and its reformulation by Habermas (Ide 1989; Miyahara 1986, 1987). By and large, the *wakimae* aspect of language use, in which speakers act according to their sense of place or compliance with conventional social roles, corresponds to Weberian traditional/conventional action (Ide 1989), and the co-creation of merging discourse, in which speakers enjoy communion of empathy, corresponds to Weberian affectional action. Thus we can say that the *wakimae* aspect of language use and the co-creation of merging discourse, both of which are seen as irrational types of action, lie outside Brown and Levinson's concern.

The crux of the problem is that regardless of the existence of these non-rational kinds of language use, Brown and Levinson insist on rationality as the source of language use and indeed try to reduce all social facts to principles of rational activity, including even what Durkheim (1961) regarded as "irreducible," such as communal, routinized and conventionalized types of actions. For Brown and Levinson, such types of actions are automatically applied as "ready-made programmes," but still preserve "original rational origin" in their construction (1987: 85). Accordingly, they deploy the term "strategy" that connotes "conscious deliberation" for the purpose of reducing the causes of all social facts to rationality. Indeed, they concede that not everything that they call "strategy"

is always conscious, but this hedging does not solve the essential contradiction, which stems from the "biggest single stumbling block to theory throughout the social sciences: the nature of the unconscious and preconscious where all the most important determination of action seems to lie" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 85). In short, their insistence on rationality as the only motivator of language use led them to try to reduce all types of language use to purposive strategies. However, this ends up causing a methodological contradiction.

In fact, the concession above exposes the limitations of Brown and Levinson's rationalist absolutist approach, which remains broadly accepted in the social sciences. I would argue that this approach is well received mainly because it fits "the common sense of speakers of modern Western languages, with the attendant premises of individualism, rationality, and market economy," (Hanks et al. 2009a: 1) and not because it accounts well for the phenomena of language.

6.2.1 Unsolved Problems with the *Wakimae* Aspect of Language Use

The comparative analyses of English and Japanese data in Chapters Four and Five show that whereas English speakers more or less maintain a reciprocal exchange of volitional utterances in both teacher-student and student-student conversation, Japanese speakers demonstrate significantly different types of verbal behavior. As long as we rely on mainstream theories

of pragmatics based on rational absolutism, Japanese speakers' language use can be regarded as irrational and inscrutable. Why and how do Japanese speakers behave in such a way?

The volitional utterances which we consistently observe in English conversation can be understood as the outcome of speakers' active and intentional choice of purposive strategies. In teacher-student conversation, both teachers and students ask questions so that they equally distribute opportunities to tell individual stories and elicit details and views, whereby they attain clearer and better understanding (see Chapter Four). Accordingly, I call questions in English conversation "individualistic volitional utterances." In student-student conversation, speakers get highly involved while showing appreciation for their partner's stories using conversational devices such as questions, expressive responses, and story rounds. Moreover, the high-involvement style of information exchange also consists mostly of volitional utterances which work to elicit information required for understanding and to display feelings or thoughts in response to a story.

Overall, regardless of any social distance between speakers, conversational contribution for English speakers is attained through reciprocal, equal participation accompanying exchange of substantial information. What underlies this practice is the ideal of independence, individuality, and equality. Hence, most of the utterances in English data fit major theories of pragmatics, which are premised on a calculative rationality

that allows speakers a basically volitional choice of strategies.

In contrast, recurrent patterns of language use observed in Japanese conversation do not necessarily fit the notion of rationality that major theories assume. Findings from Chapters Four and Five indicate that Japanese speakers show quite different patterns of language use according to different categories of addressees. In Chapter Four, I showed how questions in teacher-student conversation, where speakers are meeting for the first time, are characterized as "role-oriented *wakimae* utterances." Throughout, teachers exhibit a caring, supportive initiative by actively asking questions in such a way that they suggest a topic to share, then merge into a storyline which students tell. This is sometimes done even to create a climax in the students' stories. In this way, teachers fulfill the role expectations of a teacher by helping students to talk more easily and by guiding the conversation. Students, on the other hand, play a complementary, submissive role by not asking questions that would significantly affect the conversational flow. I argue that such relationally-defined complementary role fulfillment derives from one's sense of place or role within social convention—*wakimae*—rather than from individual, volitional choice.

By contrast, student-student pairs who are close friends often demonstrate merging discourse in which two speakers co-create one storyline. Utterances intertwine, and the boundary between the two becomes blurred. Speakers speak as if they share a single mind while enjoying

empathic communion. How can we explain the difference in behavior between student-student pairs and teacher-student pairs? This is also the result of *wakimae,* the principle by which speakers behave primarily according to their sense of place or role in a given situation: whether they are speaking with a close friend, an addressee from an in-group category, or one from an out-group category like a teacher whom they meet for the first time.

This *wakimae* factor observed throughout the Japanese data is supported by a cross-cultural survey conducted by Hill et al. (1986). Their quantitative study revealed how unfailingly Japanese show a clear-cut distinction in the use of formal and non-formal forms in accordance with in-group and out-group addressees. Formal speech is used for out-group people, such as a professor, whereas informal speech is used for in-group people, such as a close friend. In contrast, Americans do not make such a distinction. There are expressions used for almost all categories of people. What makes Americans choose expressions from the relatively wider range of possibilities is likely to be their volition (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3 in Chapter Two). Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that *wakimae* is understood to be pre-intentional and pre-reflective at the level of situation, not a matter of intention (Hanks 2016). As claimed by Coulmas (2005), who revealed that even a flight crew struggling with a pressing emergency kept using honorifics according to status relationships, the *wakimae* aspect of language use is deeply rooted in the unconsciousness so that it is

automatically and obligatorily activated (see Chapter Two).

Although Hill et al.'s (1986) and Coulmas's (2005) studies focused on choice of expressions on sentence and morpheme levels, respectively, their results have much in common with my observations on the current data, in that they showed that the social categories of addressees can be a crucial determinant for Japanese word choice. It can be said that *wakimae* governs all levels of Japanese language use, including the discourse level, as I discuss in Chapters Four and Five above.

If we make of rationality a monolithic source of language use, as major theories of pragmatics do, then speaking according to *wakimae* might be regarded as irrational or inscrutable, but I hope I have established that this is not the case. In this final chapter, I will now articulate some of the non-rational logic of *wakimae* language use.

6.2.2 Unsolved Problems with the Co-Creation of Merging Discourse

Another problem that major theories left unexplained is the co-creation of merging discourse. Chapter Five discussed merging discourse in which student-student pairs who are close friends share a story, co-creating one narrative flow through induced-fit utterances, such as repetition, overlap, take-over, and addition. This pattern of story sharing is differentiated from the high-involvement style of information exchange, which is observed in English student-student conversation. Although Japanese and American

pairs similarly enjoy sharing stories and generating a cheerful atmosphere, what Japanese speakers do is a communion of empathy in which substantial information exchange is scarce, whereas what English speakers do is exchange their intentions by delivering substantial information.

Although Japanese teacher-student and student-student pairs display very different patterns of communication, the phenomenon of merging discourse is not necessarily associated only with student-student pairs. On the contrary, in teacher-student conversation, teachers promote merging discourse, particularly in a context where teachers create the climax of students' stories by means of questions that take-over what students are about to say, causing laughter and induced-fit utterances such as repetition and overlap from the both sides (see Excerpt 4-12 in Chapter Four). Accordingly, merging discourse is preferred for Japanese conversational interaction, regardless of the social distance between speakers, at least as far as our data is concerned.

How can we account for merging discourse? One of possible clues to uncover its logic can be found in Tannen's (1989) claim. Citing some neurolinguistic research (Whitaker 1982, Gibbs 1986) as evidence, Tannen (1989: 87-93) emphasizes the automaticity of repetition, one of the induced-fit utterances that is pervasive in our data. Importantly, repeating what is heard with a split-second delay while inevitably overlapping the other's utterance is most demonstratively automatic. Such repetition does

not grow out of a pre-formed mental image but rather is automatic. This seems similar to what is happening in the merging discourse in our data. Tannen (1989) concludes that the metamessage of rapport is accomplished by repetition and overlapping; furthermore, at least some part of these is automatic.

However, major theories of pragmatics are based on what Chomsky calls "Cartesian Linguistics," which is based on the idea of "MAN" as the "RATIONAL ANIMAL" (see Chapter Two). Chomsky deemed automatic repetition-type utterances, such as those found in *wakimae* speech, outside his scope of inquiry because they are "natural movements which betray passions and may be imitated by machines as well as manifested by animals," and he differentiated them from true language, by which rational humans place their "thoughts on record for the benefit of others" (Chomsky 1966: 4). Brown and Levinson deal with repetition, but only after they have declared it to be, in fact, rational. Like Chomsky, they explicitly limit their interest to rational activity (see Subsection 6.2.1), and so they justify their interest in repetition by awkwardly categorizing it as purposive use of a "positive strategy" to demonstrate that one has heard correctly what the first speaker said, or to stress emotional agreement or interest (1987: 112). However, in fact, most of the repetitions in our data look more automatic than purposive. Thus, Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) view of repetition is inaccurate and incomplete.

Again, the limits of major theories of pragmatics lie in their focus on the notion of rationality as human nature and as a source of language use. As long as we rely on this assumption, merging discourse can be regarded as a representation of irrationality and inscrutability. In the following, I introduce *ba*-based thinking as a complementary approach to tackle these problems.

6.3 A Complementary Approach: *Ba*-based Thinking

6.3.1 Self as Parts of a Whole

The concept of "*ba*" (場) and "*basho*" (場所) "place, site, scene" is useful for exploring non-rational elements of language. Originating in various colloquial Japanese expressions like *ba o yomu* "reading the scene," *ba o wakimaeru* "knowing one's place," *ba-chigai* "out of place," etc., *ba* as a philosophical idea has been developed notably by Kitaro Nishida (cf. Nakamura 2001) and Motoki Tokieda (2007). Here, I will relate my data to the thought of various recent *ba*-inspired scholars, including that of Hiroshi Shimizu (1995, 2003, 2004), a biophysicist and philosopher who writes about *ba* under the influence of Nishida; William Hanks (2016), a linguistic anthropologist who examines *ba* in terms of communicative practice; and Masayuki Otsuka (2011), a jurist who writes about *ba*.

Although the terms *basho* and *ba*, are both often translated into English as "context," "field," or "situation," neither of them is semantically

equivalent (Shimizu 1995; Hanks 2016). In *ba*-based thinking, *basho,* where human beings live our lives, is regarded as the place where *ba* is present or emergent since *sho* of *basho* means "place." *Ba* is the subjectively perceived transcendent representation of *basho*, whose constituents are inseparable and interacting with each other (Shimizu 2004). *Ba* may be sensed as a kind of atmosphere that subsumes us, which is characterized as immediate, incessantly changing, dynamic, complex, holistic, and hence irreducible. We are able to sense *ba* only because we are being at *basho* as inseparable constituents of *basho* and *ba*.

Ba-based thinking locates its core at what is called the Copernican point of view, in which it is assumed that all entities, including human beings, are inseparable parts of a whole, as opposed to the so-called Ptolemaic point of view, in which it is assumed that man is the center of the universe and in control of all other things, which are in turn objectified (Shimizu 2003). In other words, the former starts from existential non-separation of self and other, subject and object, whereas the latter starts from an existential division between self and other, that is, a primordial subject-object distinction (Hanks 2016). The latter is predominant in the social sciences, within which the major theories of pragmatics were developed.

This "Copernican revolution," by which *ba* thinking proposes the non-separation of man from other entities, leads us to see the self as part of a

whole. In fact, *ba*-based thinking does not posit the self from the outset, but rather sees the self as an unseparated, connected part of a whole from which it arises. This assumption is often discussed under names such as "non-separation of subject and object," or "non-separation of the self and the other" (Otsuka 2011, Hanks 2016, Shimizu 2003).

In *ba*-based thinking, it is assumed that man is a part of a whole, of which the constituent parts connect with and influence one another. What underlies this is a worldview growing from various Asian philosophical traditions. When we look around us, we see concrete things such as people, animals, plants, rivers, mountains. They are there because there is a *basho* where they can be, and they are part of the *basho* where they are. They connect and influence one another in many ways. For example, rain moistens the earth, and plants grow from it, as part of it. When we eat plants, they become part of our bodies. When it does not rain, plants do not grow, and humans and animals starve. Similarly, people connect and influence one another. Thus, no concrete entity exists on its own without a *basho* and connections with others. Again, we are in space filled with air. Although we usually do not see air, none of us can live without it, and we live in close relationship with it. In every case there is such a space that subsumes all constituent parts and their dynamic activities, and this is sensed as *ba*[21] (cf.

[21] Hanks (2016) calls this level of *ba* as "primary *ba*." The concept of *basho* roughly corresponds to "second order *ba*" in Hanks' terms.

Yokota 2014, Hanks 2016, Otsuka 2011).

In this connection, *ba*-based thinking assumes that there is no enduring, independent self. Put simply, if you go to your parents, you are a child, and if you go to your children, you are a parent. If you go to a company, you are an employee.[22] There is no unchanging core there in particular (cf. Yokota 2014). Self is what arises from the relationships in a given *basho*. This also means that relationships can emerge only because the self is part of a whole, and the whole determines these relationships (cf. Shimizu 2003, Otsuka 2011).

The view presented above takes a different direction from the assumptions about human selfhood which we might trace through Descartes, Chomsky, Grice, and Brown and Levinson. In these latter paradigms, the self is primordially given as a rational entity. Thus, it can be in the center and control and objectify other things (Shimizu 2003). This is the view of subject/object separation, and it leads to a related focus on analytic reduction (Hanks 2016).

Ba-based thinking does not assume a self, and no clear boundary is drawn between self and other. Accordingly, unlike major theories of pragmatics that attempt to explain how primordially separated selves interact, in *ba*-based thinking, we start from non-separation and must rather

[22] By and large, this can be seen as typical social behavior across cultures. The point is that *ba*-based thinking finds no enduring, independent self. This corresponds to the idea of "no-self" in Buddhism.

explain various forms of "articulation through which the individual subject (self) can emerge"[23] (Hanks 2016).

In the following, I discuss three key notions of the *ba*-based thinking: (1) inside perspective, (2) dual mode thinking, and (3) the improvisational drama model.

6.3.2 Inside Perspective

The idea that the human being is a part of a whole implies that the whole is viewed from the inside, not the outside. Thus, the self (the subject) is included as a part of the same system as the other (the object).

Inside perspective is important because it allows us to depict the activity of the self in its living state. Shimizu (1995, 2004) argues that for the purpose of uncovering complex, dynamic systems such as human communication, the only point of view that is relevant to observation and description is the inside perspective. As long as we observe the object from the outside in such a way that we pick out a manageable part, and then ascend to a larger part, we are practicing a reductionistic way of thinking and cannot disclose the dynamic activity of the self.

Ba has been compared to the idea of "context" in major theories of pragmatics, which stresses the reflexive relationship between man and its environment (cf. Goodwin and Duranti 1992). However, the two are not

[23] "Self" within the parentheses is added by the author.

identical (Saft 2014). The idea of "context" assumes that the world is comprised of human beings and their environment, so we already have things separated by an invisible border. Hence, the context and its contents are each objectified and observed from the outside. By contrast, the idea of *ba* removes the border between the human and the environment, and as a result, the human becomes an element of the environment (Shimizu 1995). Accordingly, the *ba* way of thinking provides an inside perspective to depict a dynamic mechanism of ongoing communication.

6.3.3 Dual Mode Thinking

If selves are undifferentiated parts of a whole, how can they act as unique individuals? The notion of "dual mode thinking" (Shimizu 2003, 2004) gives a model for thinking about the activities of selves understood as undifferentiated in this way. Dual mode thinking explains "self" as follows:

> "…the implicit and explicit domains bound to a self are by no means mutually independent and are actually organized within a single existence through mutually induced-fit interactions." (Shimizu 2016: 3)

This dual mode thinking assumes that the self consists of two domains:

the explicit and implicit domains.[24] The explicit domain is called "egocentric domain," which manages conscious activity such as volition, intellection, and judgment. The implicit domain is called "*basho* domain," which coordinates an individual's corporeality and feeling, which is perceived at the subconscious level.[25]

In order to illustrate this idea, Shimizu (2003) posited an egg model of the self as shown in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 (All rights reserved by H. Shimizu).

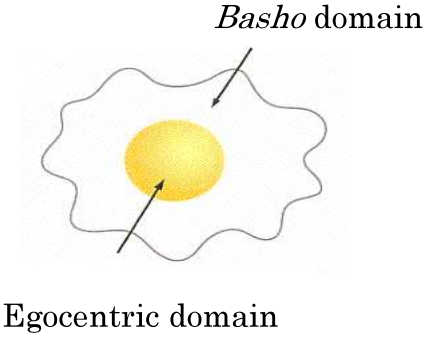


Figure 6.1 Egg Model of Self (Shimizu 2003)

[24] For Shimizu, the egocentric domain corresponds to the Cartesian cogito, and the "*basho* domain" is what was not taken into account in the Cartesian cogito (Shimizu 2004).

[25] Shimizu (1996) explains that "*basho* domain" is associated with the amygdala of the limbic system, while "egocentric domain" is associated with the neo-cortex of the brain. The validity of dual mode thinking is underscored by the neural structure of the brain. According to Shimizu (1996: 97), recent discoveries have shown that visual signals to the brain are divided into two routes at the sensory thalamus. One route goes to the sensory fields on the neocortex, while the other route goes to the amygdala and a closely connected area called the hippocampus. The amygdala is related to activities associated with feeling, and the hippocampus, with its so-called "place cells" (Shimizu 1995; Wood et al., 1999), is related to positional activities. The visual signals that go to the sensory fields on the neocortex, on the other hand, will be involved in processing colors, forms, and fine details. Since the route via the amygdala is much simpler in structure than that via the sensory field, the signals that come down from the amygdala will arrive in consciousness first and determine the context for signals coming up from the sensory fields through the inferior temporal cortex. This results in the fixing in consciousness of the relative positions of the objects of perception.

The self, in Figure 6.1, is compared to a raw egg broken into a bowl. The "egocentric domain" corresponds to the egg yolk, and the "*basho* domain" is compared to the egg white. Just as the egg white adapts to fit its context, i.e., the surface of the bowl, "*basho* domain" (Figure 6.1) is understood to be inseparable with *basho,* and thus the internal state of *basho* can be perceived through "*basho* domain." The space over which the egg white spreads is what is sensed as *ba.* The egg yolk and white areas are never mixed, but they make a mutually induced fit in such a way that the egg yolk influences the egg white, and in turn, the egg white influences the egg yolk.

Figure 6.2 Sharing of *Ba* (Shimizu 2003)

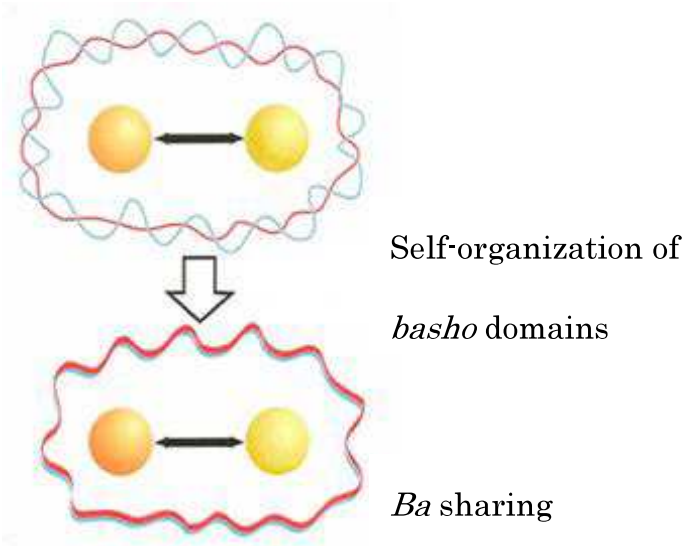


Figure 6.2 compares a group of people existing in a place to raw eggs broken into a bowl. In the bowl, each egg yolk localizes at a different position, while the egg white areas resonate and merge so that the borderlines grow

invisible, and organize themselves into a coherent structure in a "self-organizing" way. The emergence of coherence enables the egg yolks to share the merged egg white; this is called "*ba* sharing." In this state, egg yolks are subsumed by the merged egg white and tied together by invisible threads of resonance. Since egg white, or "*basho* domain," coordinates feeling and corporeality, the merged egg white, i.e., the merged "*basho* domain," leads to the sharing of feeling and corporeality between selves. Sharing of feeling stresses the feeling of co-existence, empathy and compassion, and this sometimes promotes identification with another's viewpoint and anticipation of what move is made by another. Corporeal sharing is revealed in forms such as entrainment and synchronicity, in which interactants resonate rhythmically and automatically entrain or synchronize with each other's body movements and voices. This phenomenon has also been studied by many scholars (e.g. Kendon 1970; Condon 1980; Hall 1983; Heron 1992). Hall (1983: 162) describes what we call "*ba* sharing" as "interpersonal synchrony" that is realized by "the delicate web of body rhythm that ties us together."[26] Heron (1992) calls this "mutual phase-locking," in which people share rhythms and vibrate in harmony. He states that this occurs in good conversation and is evidenced by the fact that participants' brain waves

[26] According to Hall (1983: 162), an American anthropologist, it is difficult to explain rhythm in English since English does not have the vocabulary, and the culture does not have the concepts, for rhythms that tie people together. For Americans, individuals' behavior originates inside the skin and is isolated from others.

oscillate in union.[27]

In addition, the egg model of the self explains that just as each egg yolk will spontaneously find an appropriate position as their whites self-organize and merge in the bowl, under the process of *ba* sharing, individual selves find their appropriate positions in a social interaction.

Thus, the idea of dual-mode thinking provides us with an interpretive framework by which we can explain why and how it is possible for self to act independently as an individual while being, in fact, an inseparable part of a coherence-generating whole.

6.3.4 Improvisational Drama Model

Aside from the egg model, which is a static model for the logic of dynamic co-creation, an analogy of improvisational theatre has also been proposed (Shimizu 1995, 2003). At a theater, which corresponds to the *basho,* the actors improvise a story together, while constantly making adjustments to the drama as it develops. How is this possible? The improvisational drama model explains its mechanism as follows.

Just as the raw eggs in the bowl merge together through sharing their egg white, actors in an improvisational drama are connected by sharing their "*basho* domain." When an actor makes an utterance, it changes the story,

[27] Heron (1992) discusses various phenomena that indicate entrainment. For example, heartbeats between therapist and client can coincident.

and thus the internal state of *basho* is affected. This altered state of *basho* is perceived by the actors via their shared "*basho* domain," which can induce them to produce the next utterance in such a way that it fits the altered state of *basho.* These "mutually induced-fit interactions" (Shimizu 2016) occur between the shared "*basho* domain" and individuals' unique "egocentric domains." Such induced-fit interactions will be repeated in a cyclic way in the creation of an improvisational drama. That is, the incessantly changing internal state of *basho* can be perceived by actors because of the existence of shared "*basho* domain," and this makes it possible to improvise a drama.

Since the "*basho* domain" coordinates feeling and corporeality, actors are able to play with "relevant timing ("*ma*") governed by a common internal clock" (Shimizu 1995: 72). Thus, a story is co-created by the actors under the influence of subsumptional constrains, that is, "continuous simultaneous resonance" (Heron 1992: 100) which is induced in each actor by the shared *ba*. That is, actors are engaged in each other's rhythms and tied together in this state.

6.4 Interpretation of Japanese Discourse using *Ba*-based Thinking: Speaking as Parts of a Whole

Here, I deploy *ba*-based thinking and attempt to interpret the *wakimae* aspect of language use and co-creation of merging discourse. These two phenomena correspond to "traditional/conventional action" and "affectional

action" in Weberian terms, both of which lie outside the kind of "instrumental rational action" in which Brown and Levinson were interested. *Ba*-based thinking interprets them as the representation of selves speaking as parts of a whole, that is, a *ba.*

6.4.1 The *Wakimae* Aspect of Language Use: Articulation of Self

The *wakimae* aspect of language use means speaking according to one's sense of place or role in compliance with convention. *Ba*-based thinking allows us to interpret speaking according to *wakimae* to reflect how the self is articulated in the present *basho.*

Ba-based thinking assumes that there is no enduring, independent self, and that the self is what arises from the relationships in a given *basho.* Thus, we must explain the articulations through which an individual self can emerge (Hanks 2016). Taking this approach, let us look at the data again.

In Excerpt 4-6 below (reshown, see Chapter Four), a teacher and a student who are meeting for the first time, and the teacher opens the conversation by saying while laughing *a, ima kincho shiteru, daijyoobu* "Oh, are (you) nervous now? (Are you) all right?" (line 01). The student also laughs and says *hai, kinchoo shite masu* "Yes, (I)'m nervous" (line 02). And then the teacher willingly takes the first slot to tell a story (lines 04 and 06).

Excerpt 4-6: At the very beginning of conversation

01→T: あ、今緊張してる／大丈夫／｛笑｝

a, ima kinchoo shiteru/, daijyoobu/ {laugh}

"Oh, are (you) nervous now? (Are you) all right?"{laugh}

02　S: はい、｛笑｝緊張してます

hai, {laugh} kinchoo shite masu

"Yes, (I)'m nervous."

03　S: ｛笑｝はい

{laugh} *hai*

"Yes."

04　T: ええ、じゃあ、ちょっと緊張してるみたいだから、最初私から

ee, jaa, chotto kinchoo shiteru mitai dakara, saisho watashi kara

"Very well, then: (you) seem to be a bit nervous, so first I will…"

05　S: あ、はい＝

a, hai=

"Oh, yes."

06　T: びっくりした話するんですけれども

bikkuri shita hanashi suru n desu kere do mo

"(I will) tell a story in which (I) was surprised, so..."

07　S: はい

hai

"Yes."

Why do the people meeting for the first time behave in this way? Why does the teacher spontaneously show a caring attitude? Why does the student readily accept it? This type of verbal exchange is characteristic of Japanese teacher-student pairs in this phase, but it does not occur in our English data.

Ba-based thinking interprets what we witness here to be a process of articulation through which the self arises. To be more precise, one of the pair is articulated as the self whose role is a teacher, and the other is articulated as the self whose role is a student. Stated differently using the egg model, each egg yolk individually finds an appropriate position; at the same time, egg whites self-organize to merge together and generate coherence; that is *ba* sharing.

Note that the articulation of the individual self occurs immediately without any explicit negotiation between the participants. This suggests that the articulation of the self, which is shaped with relationally defined social roles, is a pre-reflective action. This is possible only if there is what Brown and Levinson (1987: 85) called "ready-made programmes," which are characterized by their "present, automatic application."

This works in the following way. There are various roles in society. None of them is independent, but rather each role is associated with conventional expectations. To be more accurate, there are various role relationships in society that are defined by conventional expectations, and

thus by deeply ingrained habituation. A case in point is a teacher-student relationship, in which a teacher is conventionally expected to guide a student in a caring manner, and a student to be cared for by the teacher, as our data showed.[28] Another example is the relationship between close female friends, in which individuals are expected to enjoy communion of empathy in such a way that individuality is not at the forefront, as also seen in our data. Diverse relationships of this type form one overall order in society (Shimizu 2003), and this subsumes the *basho,* in which constituent members of society encounter one another. In this case, such an overall order of relationships corresponds to a whole, which is sensed as *ba*. In a given *basho*, the self arises by being invoked by and identified with the most relevant role relationship, in tune with *ba*. What is needed here is a sensitivity to what is called for in the immediate *basho,* and this sentsitivity is called *wakimae.*

Selves arise in tune with each other. This may indicate that the *ba* operates as a set of subsumptional constraints for each participant; in other words, both participants are under the influence of subsumptional constraints, which are shared and perceived as their *basho* domain merges together.

Let me show another example. Excerpt 4-21 (reshown, see Chapter

[28] As Lebra (1976) and Nakane (1978) point out, Japanese vertical relationships are typically characterized as quasi-parent-child relationships in which the superior is expected to take care of the subordinate (see Section 4.5 in Chapter Four). This tendency was also found in our data. It is also possible that individual institutions or groups may demonstrate some differences in terms of the way superiors and subordinates communicate.

Four) beautifully displays the way in which the observance of relationally defined conventional roles is ensured though exchanges of self-representation, i.e., as a teacher and a student. In line 03, the teacher, who has just finished telling a story, asks a question, *gakusei san de irassh* "Are (you) a student?" Receiving the student's answer that she is job-hunting, the teacher asks another question (lines 07 and 09) to guide the student to talk about her job hunting.

Excerpt 4-21

03 T: 学生さん[でいらっし

gakusei san [de irassh

"Are (you) a student?"

04 S: [はい、今４年生で＝

[hai, ima yonensei de,

"Yes, (I)'m a senior, and,"

05 T: =あ=

ah

"Oh."

06 S: ＝就職活動しています＝

=shuushoku katsudoo shite imasu=

"(I) am (now) job-hunting."

07→T: ＝あ、

じゃ、就職活動中なら

=*a,*

ja, shuushoku katsudoo chuu nara

“Oh,

well then, since (you)’re job-hunting...”

08　S: はい

hai

“Yes.”

09→T: びっくりすること色々あ[るんじゃないかしら

bikkuri suru koto takusan a[run ja nai kashira

“…don’t (you) encounter a lot of surprising things?’

10　S:　　[たくさんありますね

[takusan ari masu ne

“Yes, a lot.”

The verbal exchange in Excerpt 5-21 shows how profoundly and persistently the articulated self as a teacher or a student penetrates this ongoing conversation and how significantly it affects smooth communication between participants who meet for the first time.

Ba-based thinking interprets the *wakimae* aspect of language as an outcome of the articulation of the self based on one’s sensitivity to what is called for in a given *basho*, which is subsumed by *ba* and perceived from the

inside as a whole comprised of diverse conventional role relationships. Furthermore, the articulated selves that are defined with a conventionally defined role relationship are able to communicate smoothly. Such articulation of self may also arouse a feeling of unity between speakers since it reminds them that they are parts of the common whole, that is, the community they belong to.

Interpretation of the *wakimae* aspect of language use, from the perspective of *ba*-based thinking, offers supportive and consistent explanations to previous studies of Japanese self by many scholars: the linguists Suzuki (1978) and Ide (1995, 2012), the anthropologists Lebra (2004) and Barnlund (1975), and the cultural psychologists Markus and Kitayama (1991).

Suzuki (1978) pointed out that the use of self/other specifiers in Japanese is conditioned by relationally-defined roles. As Figure 6.3 shows, a hypothetical 40-year-old male elementary school teacher indicates himself in seven ways according to different interlocutors, such as a casual form *boku* when facing his father, elder brother and colleagues, a formal form *watakushi* when facing the principal, (name) *sensei*, literally "teacher" when facing his pupils. Although a variety of self/other specifiers in Japanese may seem inscrutable to speakers of languages that rely on immovable coordinates of "I=speaker" and "you=addressee," *ba*-based thinking sees this also as an articulation of self according to one's sense of *basho* at hand in

tune with *ba,* which is comprised of diverse, conventionally-defined role relationships.

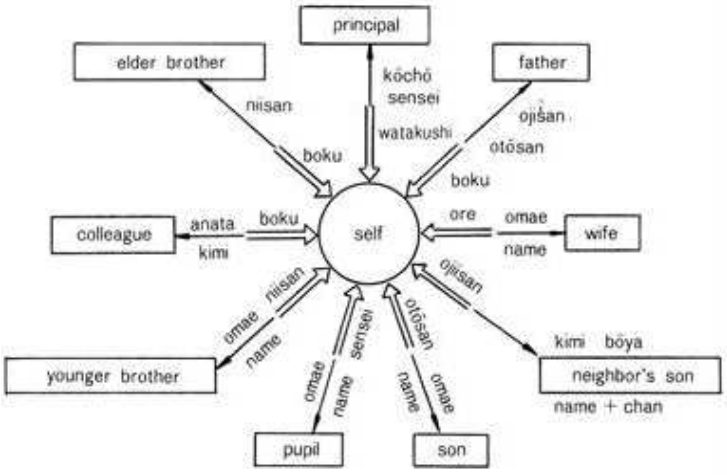


Figure 6.3 Self/other specifiers used by a hypothetical 40-year-old male (Suzuki 1978: 126)

Similarly, Markus and Kitayama (1991), who studied the concept of the Japanese self in contrast to Americans, characterized the Japanese concept of self as an "interdependent view of self," in that it defines the self in terms of relationships with others in specific contexts (see "B" in Figure 6.4). The American concept of self, by contrast, is characterized as an "independent view of self" because it preserves a separate individual whose nature is not bound by a specific situation (see "A" in Figure 6.4). As the grounds of these claims, Markus and Kitayama (1991) quote a study by Cousins (1989), in which he compared the self-descriptions of American and Japanese students.

Cousins empirically revealed that the Japanese are likely to define themselves in terms of their expected roles in society, such as "I'm a mother," whereas American self-descriptions are more abstract and situation-free, such as "I'm creative."

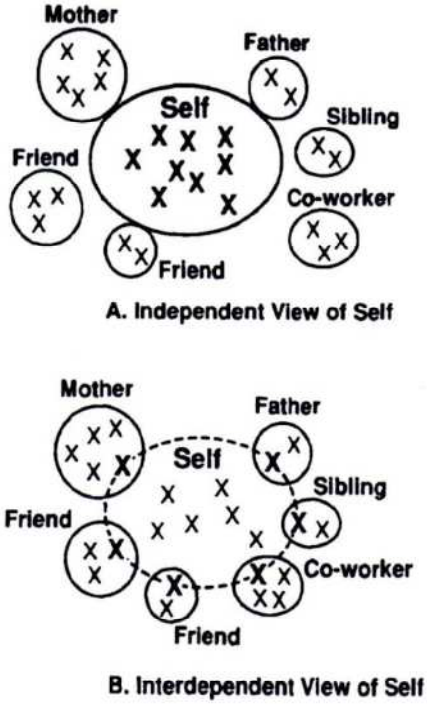


Figure 6.4 Conceptual representations of the self (A: Independent construal; B: Interdependent construal) (Markus and Kitayama 1991: 226)

In a similar vein, Ide (2012) discussed the Japanese structural self and the American construal of self in relation to others and situations. In Figure 6.5, the circle center in both figures represents the individual "I." The American "I" is described with a continuous ring, whereas the Japanese "I" is described with a dotted line. This means that the American self is solid and

remains the same regardless of the relationship to others and situations. By contrast, the Japanese "I" is like a fragile shell that is not rigidly distinct from the self of the members of the ingroup, such as family and close friends. Instead, it is obviously distinct from people of the outgroup, such as a teacher, clerk, or physician, and still distinct from people who are outside of the outgroup, i.e., strangers.

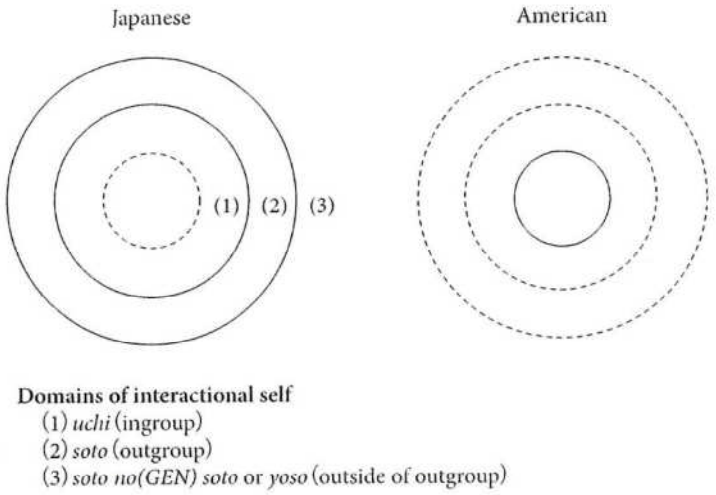


Figure 6.5 Structural construal of self (Ide 2012: 127)

I claim that Suzuki (1978), Marcus and Kitayama (1991), and Ide (2012) commonly show that, for the Japanese, the self is articulated according to roles and relations in a given situation, and it is also explained by *ba*-based thinking.

6.4.2 Co-Creation of Merging Discourse: Merging Selves

Using *ba*-based thinking, I interpret the process of co-creation of merging discourse in which participants enjoy the communion of empathy. I find that merging discourse, that is, moments of heightened resonance and empathic connection, is generated by means of induced-fit utterances, that is, recurrent conversational devices like repetition, take-over, overlapping, and addition. If there is a subject to be found here, it is primarily the shared *basho* domain in which the two selves emerge.

Let us look again at two excerpts that we analyzed in Chapter Five. In Excerpt 5-3 (Reshown, see Chapter Five), after the story teller concludes her narration in line 33, the recipient and the teller engage in a series of repetitions.

Excerpt 5-3

33 T: それが最近一番びっくりしたこと

sore ga saikin ichiban bikkuri shita koto

"That's what surprised (me) the most recently."

34 R: {笑い} 最近び、カラスか

{laugh} saikin bi karasu ka

{laugh} "(What) surprised (you) recently—a crow, huh?"

35 T: カラス、だって、死にそうだ[から、あがいてるんだもん

karasu datte shinisoo dakara agaiteru n da mon

"A crow, (I)'m telling (you): (it) was about to die, fighting for its life!"

36 R: [死にそうなの初めてみ、[聞いた

[shinisoo na no hajimete mi kiita

"This is the first time (I) ever saw—heard about something about to die."

We can see here three kinds of repetitions (lines 33-34: *saikin bi* (sur…recently), lines 34-35: *karasu* (a crow), lines 35-36: *shinioo* (about to die). As the teller and the recipient entrain expressions by repeating each other's words, the proximity between adjacent repetitions grows closer. The last repetition (line 36), which shows the closest proximity to the preceding utterance, largely overlaps it. This type of repetition demonstrates a high degree of automaticity (Tannen 1989).

Ba-based thinking interprets this sequence of repetitions as follows. The teller and the recipient are in the *basho*, sharing their *basho* domain, as two raw eggs in a bowl merge via their egg white. When the recipient repeats the teller's words (line 34), the shared domains of *basho* begin to rhythmically resonate; and this influences the teller via the shared domain of *basho* and induces the teller to produce another repetition (line 35). Then, the teller's repetition (line 35) continues to increase its resonance, and this in turn influences the recipient via the shared domain of *basho* so that she is induced to repeat and overlap the teller's utterance (line 36). In this way, as

the resonance of the shared domains of *basho* intensifies, the degree of entrainment rises. At the same time, this triggers entrainment of feeling so as to enhance empathy and the feeling of co-existence. Such incessant change in shared domain of *basho* is perceived by the participants as *ba* from the inside of *basho,* and the participants are led to act in tune with *ba*.

Let us look at the next part of the conversation. In Excerpt 5-4 (Reshown, see Chapter 5), we can observe what I call "take-over" in line 38 and "addition" in line 40.

Excerpt 5-4

36 R: [死にそうなの初めてみ、 [聞いた

[shinisoo na no hajimete mi kiita

"This is the first time (I) ever saw—heard about something about to die."

37 T: [うん、すごいね、なんだろ、カラスぐらいおっきいと、けっこう

[un, sugoi ne, nan daro, karasu gurai okkii to, kekko

"Yeah, amazing isn't it? How should I put this: with something as big as a crow, (it's) quite…"

38 R: びびるよ[ね

bibiru yo[ne

"Scary, isn't it?"

39 T: [なんだろ、うん、人間ぽいとは言わないけど、動物って感じだった

[nan daro, un, ningen poi to wa iwanai kedo, doobutsu tte kanji datta

"How should I put this: yeah, (I) won't say (it was) like a human being, but one felt (it was) a living animal."

40 R: {笑い} しかも黒いしね=

{laugh} shikamo kuroi shi ne=

{laugh} "and also (it was) black, so..."

While listening to the teller who gestures with her arms to illustrate the great size of the crow that was about to die (line 37), the recipient gazes at the teller and nods along with the teller's speech. Furthermore, when the teller holds that pose as she is momentarily lost for words, the recipient takes over the teller's utterance, saying, *bibiru yo ne* ("scary, isn't it?") in line 38.

Ba-based thinking interprets the verbal exchange visible here as follows. The recipient, who has connected with the teller in a merged domain of *basho* which has come to resonate intensely with repetitions and rhythmic nodding, is able to anticipate what the teller has in mind and say it for her. This leads her to take the perspective of the teller and finish her sentence. It

may be a very high moment in which the recipient and the teller can feel being inseparated and experience a state of oneness.

Moreover, the recipient is led to say *shikamo kuroi shi ne* "and also (it was) black, so…" (line 40) in such a way that her utterance is added onto the teller's preceding utterance. This is what I call "addition," in which the adjacent utterances sound seamlessly as if the whole had been produced by a single person. *Ba*-based thinking interprets the recipient's addition as the result of an intensified degree of sharing of *basho* domain; that is, the recipient's sympathetic imagination is evoked strongly, so that she identifies with the teller's perspective to produce the same storyline together.

Based on the discussion above, I claim that merging discourse constitutes moments of heightened resonance and empathic connection. During such moments, the egocentric domain of the self, like the egg yolk, is surrounded and subsumed by the intensified rhythmic resonance of the *basho* domain, like the egg white, which is merged and shared between selves. In this state, the activity of the *basho* domain predominates over the egocentric domain. The speaker may describe this state of being as "tiny" or "empty" (Hanks 2016), since the speaker's intentional and rational activity is minimalized. This is the "communion of empathy" in which speakers co-create a merging discourse whose logic is primarily one of pleasure. Moreover, we should note that what underlies this phenomenon is a "deep relationality of non-separation" (Hanks 2016) of self and other. Accordingly,

co-creation of merging discourse is adequately understood as part of "speaking as parts of a whole," that is, *ba*.

As Condon (1980) points out, communication is not an external or alien system which can be studied apart from its involvement in what it means to the communicants. We can say that *ba*-based thinking has a framework that makes it possible to depict communication from its involvement in what it means to the communicants. As we have discussed above, *ba*-based thinking disclose speakers who are immersed in joy of co-existence. This is what received theories of pragmatics did not afford to.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have explained how major theories of pragmatics such as that of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) cannot adequately explain non-rational aspects of language use such as *wakimae* and the co-creation of merging discourse in Japanese conversation, due to their assumption of "rationality" as the source of all language. Because they have been judged from such a limited perspective, non-rational elements of language use have often been pathologized as irrational or inscrutable (Section 6.2).

Next, I introduced *ba*-based philosophy (Shimizu 1995, 2003, 2004; Hanks 2016; Otsuka 2011) as a complementary approach to the analysis of language use, in order to uncover the logic of the *wakimae* aspect of language use and the co-creation of merging discourse. In *ba*-based thinking, *basho* is

regarded as the place where *ba* emerges. *Ba* is the subjectively perceived transcendent representation of a *basho* in which inseparable constituents interact (Shimizu 2004). I presented four key notions of *ba*-based thinking: the self as a part of a whole; the non-separation of self and other; inside perspective, which views the whole from the inside; dual mode thinking, which assumes that the self consists of two domains, the "egocentric domain" and the "*basho* domain"; and the improvisational drama model, which explains the dynamic mechanism of the activity of the self (Section 6.3).

Based on the *ba*-based thinking, the *wakimae* aspect of language use and the co-creation of merging discourse are interpreted as logical consequences of the reality of communication, that is, that speakers speak as parts of a whole. I argue that the logic of the *wakimae* aspect of language use is the articulation of a self, which is achieved by the speaker's sensitivity to what is called for in the immediate *basho.* The *basho* is subsumed by *ba,* a whole, as perceived from the inside of the *basho*, and which is comprised of diverse conventional role relationships.

I understand the logic of the co-creation of merging discourse to be primarily one of pleasure. I claim that merging discourse happens at pivotal moments of heightened resonance and empathic connection between selves. Within these selves, it is in the *basho* domain that the participants can merge and speak as if they share one mind.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.1 Overview

In the introduction to this dissertation, I wrote that Japanese conversation demonstrates some phenomena that cannot be explained well by major theories of pragmatics that originate in Euro-American traditions. Then, I raised three objectives as follows:

First, I aimed to reveal the culturally shaped patterns of conversation of the American English and Japanese languages. For this purpose, I contrastively analyze American English and Japanese conversations between teacher-student pairs who are meeting for the first time and student-student pairs who are close friends. Teacher-student conversations are analyzed in terms of how they communicate through question-asking. Student-student conversations are analyzed in terms of how they communicate when they share stories. Secondly, I criticize rationalist theories of pragmatics, such as Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1978, 1987), to reveal what they can and cannot do. Lastly, as a framework to supplement those theories, I introduce *ba*-based thinking (Shimizu 1995, 2003, 2004; Hanks 2016; Otsuka 2011) and look for the underlying logic of Japanese conversation in this vein. Keeping these three aims in mind, I will provide an overview of my study by summarizing each chapter.

Chapter Two started with a review of the major theories of pragmatics in Euro-American traditions, such as Grice's theory of conversational implicature (1975) and theories of politeness (Lakoff 1973, 1975; Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). Those theories are grounded in paradigms which assume deliberate choice and rationality as the source of all language use, based on Chomskyan ideas about human nature. This approach is typified by Brown and Levinson's attempt to reduce any type of language use into purposive strategies (1978, 1987).

The latter half of Chapter Two surveyed some characteristics of Japanese conversation which major theories of pragmatics do not explain well. First, I discussed *wakimae* aspects of language use, that is, speaking based on "one's sense of place or role in a given situation according to social conventions" (Ide 1989: 230), as typically observed in Japanese honorifics and formal speech, in contrast to volitional aspects of language use, in which speakers' focus is placed primarily on their own intention, as markedly observed in English conversation. Secondly, I discussed *kyowa* (Mizutani 1995) or cooperative speech, in which multiple speakers cooperate to complete each other's utterances, in contrast to English conversational style, *taiwa* or dialogic speech, in which each speaker expresses ideas by completing his or her own utterances. Furthermore, some conversational devices that are associated with *kyowa*, such as *aizuchi* or backchannels, repetition, and take-over, were discussed.

In Chapter Three, I introduced the data for this study, a cross-linguistic video archive called the Mister O Corpus. From this corpus, Chapter Four compared English and Japanese conversation between teacher-student pairs focusing on the use of questions. My analysis showed that in general American teachers and students equally ask questions. Through question asking, they distribute equal opportunities to tell their own stories, garner further details, and elicit personal views so as to cultivate mutual understanding while elaborating conversation. In Japanese conversation, on the other hand, teachers ask questions in a caring manner; they suggest a topic to share, complement or expand upon students' story telling, and sometimes create a climax for a student's story. By contrast, students avoid asking questions that would significantly affect the conversational flow. Based on these findings, I characterized Americans' questions as "individualistic volitional utterances" because questions were asked according to stategic choices while reflecting the ideal of equality. On the other hand, I characterized Japanese questioning utterances as "role-oriented *wakimae* utterances," since their questions can be attributed to *wakimae*, that is, to speakers' sense of roles compatible with social convention, in which superior-subordinate relationships are typically characterized as "quasi-parent-child relationships" (Lebra 1976; Nakane 1978).

Chapter Five analyzed English and Japanese conversational exchange

of stories between student-student pairs. I found that American pairs show a high-involvement style of information exchange, in which stories are shared by exchanging substantial information between the story teller and the recipient. Conversational devices observed in that process include questions to elicit further details or confirm understanding, expressive response that displays appreciation, such as "No kidding!," evaluative comments that express personal views, and sometimes a "story round" (Tannen 1984), in which the recipient tells another story that illustrates similar points. In contrast, Japanese pairs display what I label "merging discourse" when they share stories. In merging discourse, the story teller and the recipient co-create a story as if they share a single mind; this can be understood as an extreme form of *kyowa* or cooperative speech (Mizutani 1995). Conversational devices that constitute merging discourse are repetition; take-over, which is an utterance that completes the other's sentence based on anticipation; addition, which is an utterance that adds a relevant comment from the other's perspective; and overlapping talk. I call them "induced-fit utterances" by using Shimizu's term "induced-fit" because they are realized by mutual induction. Exchange of induced-fit utterances is not exchange of intentions or substantial information, but rather communion of empathy.

In Chapter Six, I criticized Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) framework, one of the most influential rationalist theories of pragmatics, pointing out the ways in which it is confined within a narrow notion of

rational human nature and results in a methodological contradiction. In reference to the Weber/Habermas typology of social action (Miyahara 1986, 1987; Ide 1989), Brown and Levinson's concern was for "instrumental rational action," and they ignored irrational types of social action, that is, "traditional/conventional action" and "affectional action," which may be understood to correspond to speaking according to *wakimae* and co-creating merging discourse, respectively. Nevertheless, their adherence to rationality as the source of language led them to try to reduce any type of language use to purposive strategies. Therefore, I concluded that rationalist theories fail to adequately explain non-rational phenomena observed in conversation.

Then, in order to uncover the logic of the *wakimae* aspect of language use and co-creation of merging discourse, I introduced *ba*-based thinking (Shimizu 1995, 2003, 2004; Hanks 2016; Otsuka 2011). *Ba*-based thinking posits a Copernican point of view, which assumes that human beings and other entities are all inseparable parts of a whole, in contrast to what it calls the Ptolemaic point of view, the view that man is in the center and in control of all other things, which are in turn objectified (Shimizu 2000), as seen in major theories of pragmatics. In other words, the former starts from an assumption of "existential non-separation," while the latter starts from the assumption of an existential self-other division (Hanks 2016). *Ba* is defined as a whole that is subjectively perceived as being present or emergent at a *basho*, a scene whose constituents are inseparable yet interacting with each

other (Shimizu 2004). This framework begs the question through what sorts of articulations the individual self can arise (Hanks 2016).

From this viewpoint, I interpreted the *wakimae* aspect of language use as an outcome of the articulation of the self at a given *basho*. In conversation between a teacher and a student who are meeting for the first time, one of the pair is articulated as a self whose role is a teacher, and the other is articulated as a self whose role is a student in such a way that they are compatible with the conventionally defined teacher-student role relationships. This is possible because of one's sense of *wakimae*, that is, sensibility to what is called for at the present *basho.* What is felt as *ba* in this case is the community they belong to, which is comprised of an overarching order of diverse conventional role relationships. Articulation of self according to the relevant role relationship makes communication stable and smooth, while arousing a feeling of unification among speakers, since it reminds them of their identity as parts of the common whole.

Subsequently, as useful notions particularly for an interpretation of the co-creation of merging discourse, I presented the idea of "dual mode thinking" and the "improvisational drama model" (Shimizu 2003, 2004). Dual mode thinking assumes that the self is composed of explicit and implicit domains: the "egocentric domain," which manages conscious activity, and the "*basho* domain," which is dominant for an individual's corporeality and feeling. The improvisational drama model explains how the "egocentric domain" and the

"*basho* domain" of multiple selves influence each other so that they are able to improvise a story as it develops. That is to say, it is in the "*basho* domain" that multiple selves can share a *ba* and co-create a story. When conversation partners repeat each other's words, the "*basho* domain" rhythmically resonates to merge, and this triggers simultaneous talk, that is, overlapping. As the result of this intensification of resonance, speakers can anticipate what the other has in mind and take over what she is about to say. Moreover, this state may evoke sympathetic imagination so that speakers identify with the other's perspective and add the storyline together. While co-creating merging discourse, speakers enjoy the feeling of non-separation of self and other, that is, co-existence. This is the logic of the co-creation of merging discourse.

7.2 Toward a Richer Universality of Pragmatics

Judged by the standard of individualistic, volitional, and rational views of human nature, the *wakimae* aspect of language use and the co-creation of merging discourse can be seen irrational. In fact, one of my American colleagues said that merging discourse type of conversation is often observed among Japanese, especially, among young girls, and it is propositionally superficial and sounds childish. Another said that in the U.S., young children are taught by their parents not to interrupt other people's sentences; accordingly, for Americans most of the induced-fit utterances that constitute

merging discourse would constitute a breach of conversational etiquette. I find in these comments a kind of bias in favor of individualistic and volitional utterances. Providing a proper explanation for the non-rational aspect of language use by introducing *ba*-based thinking, therefore, may have significant implications for cross-cultural understanding. We should know that language use is always culturally shaped and has its own underlying logic that should be fairly respected.

Furthermore, I would like to emphasize the significance of *ba*-based thinking in terms of its contribution to a richer universality of pragmatics, while appreciating received theories of pragmatics.

Morris (1972: 1), a historian, explained that Euro-Americans traditionally think of themselves as "people with frontiers" who stand "apart from the natural order in which they are set, subjects over against its objectivity." Such an individual identity has been excessively developed in Euro-American culture and education so that it is regarded as a matter of common sense. However, it is far from being the common experience of humanity; on the contrary, from a global viewpoint, it is an "eccentricity" (Morris 1972: 2). Needless to say, this is the very concept of self that underlies major theories of pragmatics. Hanks et al. (2009a) claimed that theories in pragmatics predominately arise from West-European and Anglo-American traditions and are well received mainly because they fit "the common sense of speakers of modern Western languages, with the attendant

premises of individualism, rationality, and market economy," (Hanks et al. 2009a: 1) and not because they account well for the phenomena of language.

When looking outside the Euro-American world, as Morris (1972) discusses, we ubiquitously find a relative weakness of the sense of individuality, in which the self is not private property, but is in the common mind of one's people. That is to say, the self exists as "community of being," and people live emphasizing on tradition, conventions, spiritual connection, and togetherness (Morris 1972). Imamura (1996), an anthropologist who studies communication in Africa, describes how people move in synchrony when gathering wild plants. According to Imamura, people scattering far and wide to gather plants spontaneously start humming and come together to move to the next place. This is possible only because they are tied together by rhythm and share a certain feeling. Based on his observations, Imamura asserts that what makes us human is the ability to empathize and synchronize with others. Furthermore, he argues that this ability is the core of human nature, without which we cannot live as a human. In addition, the ability to empathize with others is regarded as inherent to human beings, as suggested by newborns' empathic response to the cry of another infant (Simner 1971) and their facial mimicry, in which they smile when they see someone doing the same (Meltzoff and Moore 1983).

Complementing received theories with *ba*-based thinking breaks the unidirectional flow of most theories from Euro-America to the rest of the

world and multiplies the sources of theory. Doing so also provides a way of thinking that can access the logic of language use rooted in a fundamental and inherent aspect of human nature, that is, the ability to empathize with others, since *ba*-based thinking is an attempt to provide a principle for "doing being together" (Shimizu 2016) that operates between selves that are supposedly separate but are able to merge via their implicit domains.

The scholars motivated by the need to emancipate studies of pragmatics from the confines of theoretical orthodoxies have launched the new movement "emancipatory pragmatics"[29] (see Hanks et al. 2009b; Hanks et al. 2012; Hanks et al. 2014). Under their influence, some studies have deployed *ba*-based thinking to examine language use. For example, Fujii (2012) comparatively analyzed Japanese and American interactions and discussed their culturally rooted ways of situating the self in *ba*; specifically, she provided a deeper explication of phenomena in which Japanese speakers resonate with one another and the boundary of self disappears, as if the self and the other had one mind. Regarding this connection, Fujii (2012) claimed that the idea of *ba* could also explain the referential shifting from the first person pronoun to the second person pronoun in Japanese. Another

[29] "Emancipatory pragmatics" is an emerging approach to cross-cultural pragmatics in which linguistic and cultural concepts rooted in non-western languages are deployed as metalinguistic instruments of analysis (Hanks 2014: 1). They raise provocative questions, such as "What would happen…were we to apply a concept like the Japanese *wakimae* to a language like Yucatec Maya or English?" and "What could honorifics usage and interpretation in Thai or Japanese tell us about languages like English or Finnish?" (Hanks et al. 2009a: 2). This movement has promoted an interest in *ba*-based thinking and its application to pragmatics.

remarkable study is R. Ide's forthcoming analysis of "thin laughter," which the speaker and listener mutually induce in the process of storytelling, even when the story is by no means funny. She concludes that the phenomenon of thin laugher in her Japanese data can be interpreted as resonance that relates to the merged and shared "*basho* domain" of two selves.

Conversational phenomena which *ba*-based thinking could explain more adequately are not unique to Japanese but rather pervasive among cultures. Even American conversation, which tends to show a rational orientation, is no exception. Saft (2014) deployed the notion of *ba* as an alternative to the individualism-collectivism dichotomy to analyze an English language interaction in which a man with severe aphasia who utters only three words, "yes," "no," and "and," can be a competent storyteller thanks to the merging of a group of participants (cf. Goodwin 2003, 2004). Saft argued that *ba* offers an opportunity to better understand a dynamic process in which speakers enter into a merged relationship and helps us to reexamine the dominant ideas about the Western self.

Ba-based thinking has the potential for versatility due to its orientation to a universal aspect of human nature, the ability to empathize with others. In addition, it may shed new light on language phenomena that received theories of pragmatics have underrepresented or left unexplained, including automatic repetition and overlap in American conversation (Tannen 1989), frequent prolonged simultaneous discourse observed among the ǀGui in

southern Africa (Sugawara 2014), and linguistic politeness motivated by the heart and binary relationality in Thai culture that can be regarded as indications of irrationality from the rationalist perspective (Intachakara 2014).

Ba-based thinking will allow us to reach a deeper interpretation of all conversational discourse, especially the moments in which participants bond over the rhythms of language and comfortable togetherness. It is my conviction that *ba*-based thinking would prove to be a valuable contribution for a richer universality of pragmatics.

Bibliography

Adachi, Taro, 1999. Nihongo Gimonbun ni okeru Handan no Shosoo. (Aspects of Judgement in Japanese Interrogative Sentences). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Arminen, Ilkka, 2004. Second stories: the salience of interpersonal communication for mutual help in Alcoholics Anonymous. Journal of Pragmatics 36, 319-347.

Austin, John L., 1962. How to Do Things with Words. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Bales, Robert F., 1970. Personality and Interpersonal Behavior. Holt, Rinehat & Winston, New York.

Barnlund, Dean C., 1975. Public and Private Self in Japan and the United States. The Simul Press, Tokyo.

Basso, Keith B., Senft, Gunter, 2009. Introduction. In: Senft, G., Basso, E. B. (Eds.), Ritual Communication. Berg, Oxford, pp. 1-19.

Bateson, Gregory, 1979. Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity. Bantam Books, New York.

Benedict, Ruth, 1946. The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Houghton-Mifflin, Boston.

Bolinger, Dwight L., 1957. Interrogative Structures of American English: The Direct Question. American Dialect Society No. 28. University of Alabama Press, Birmingham.

Brown, Penelope, Levinson, Stephen C., 1978. Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena. In: Goody, E. N. (Ed.), Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction. Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 56-324.

Brown, Penelope, Levinson, Stephen C., 1987. Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bulka-Kulka, Shoshana, House, Juliane, Kasper, Gabriele (Eds.), 1989. Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies, Albex, Norwood.

Chartrand Tanya L., Bargh, John A., 1999. The chameleon effect: the perception-behavior link and social interactions. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 76, 893-910.

Chomsky, Noam, 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge.

Chomsky, Noam, 1966. Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought. Harper & Row Publishers, New York.

Clancy, Patricia. 1982. Written and spoken style in Japanese narratives. In: Tannen, D. (Ed.), Spoken and Written Language. Ablex, New Jersey, pp. 5-76.

Clancy, Patricia M., Thompson, Sandra A., Suzuki, Ryoko, Tao, Hongyin, 1996. The conversational use of reactive tokens in English, Japanese and Mandarin. Journal of Pragmatics 26, 355-387.

Clark, Herbert H., 1996. Using Language. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Clark, Herbert H., Marshall, Catherine R., 1981. Definite reference and mutual knowledge. In: Aravind, K. J., Webber, B. L., Sag, I. A. (Eds.), Elements of Discourse Understanding. Cambridge University Press, New York. pp.10-63.

Coates, Jennifer, 1996. Women Talk. Blackwell, Oxford.

Condon, William S., 1980. The relation of interactional synchrony to cognitive and emotional process. In: Key, M. R. (Ed.), The Relationship of Verbal and Nonverbal Communication. Mouton de Gruyter, The Hague, pp. 51-56.

Cook-Gumperz, Jenny, 1975. The child as practical reasoner. In: Sanches M., Blount, B. G. (Eds.), Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use. Academic Press, New York, pp. 137-162.

Coulmas, Florian, 1981. “Poison to your soul” Thanks and apologies contrastively viewed. In: Coulmas, F. (Ed.), Conversational Routine: Exploration in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech. Mouton de Gruyter, The Hague, pp. 69-91.

Coulmas, Florian, 2005. Linguistic etiquette in Japanese society. In: Watts, R., Ide, S., Ehlich, K. (Eds.), Politeness in Language. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 299-324.

Cousins, Steven D., 1989. Culture and self-perception in Japan and the United States. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 56, 124-131.

Deng, Xudong, 2009. Listener response. In: D’hondt, S., Ostman, J., Verschueren, J. (Eds.), The Pragmatics of Interaction. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Descartes, René, 1955. Philosophical Works of Descartes (Haldane, E. S., Ross, G. R. T., trans.). Dover Publisher, New York.

Drew, Paul, Heritage, John, 1992. Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In: Drew, P., Heritage, J. (Eds.), Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings. Cambridge University Press, New York. pp. 3-65.

Duranti, Alessandro, 1981. The Samoan *Fono*: A Sociolinguistic Study. Australian National University, Department of Linguistics, Canberra.

Durkheim, Emile, 1961. The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (Swain, J.W., trans.). Collier Books, New York.

Eades, Diana, 2008. Courtroom Talk and Neocolonial Control. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Edelsky, Carol, 1981. Who's got the floor? Language in Society 10, 383-421.

Ehrlich, Susan, Freed, Alice F., 2010. The function of questions in institutional discourse: an introduction. In: Freed, A. F., Ehrlich, S. (Eds.), "Why Do You Ask?": The Function of Questions in Institutional Discourse. Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 3-19.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Irenäus, 1989. Human Ethology. Aldine de Gruyter, New York.

Ekman, Paul, Friesen, Wallace V., 1975. Unmasking the Face: A Guide to Recognizing Emotions from Facial Expressions. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.

Enfield, Nicholas J., 2006. Social consequences of common ground. In: Enfield N. J., Levinson, S. C. (Eds.), Roots of Human Sociality. Berg, New York, pp. 399-430.

Enfield, Nicholas J., Levinson, Stephen C., 2006. Introduction: human sociality as a new interdisciplinary field. In Enfield, N. J., Levinson, S. C. (Eds.), Roots of Human Sociality, Berg, New York, pp. 1-38.

Farber Barry A., 2006. Self-Disclosure in Psychotherapy. The Guilford Press, New York.

Fauconnier, Gilles, Sweetser, Eve (Eds.), 1996. Spaces, Worlds, and Grammar. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Ferrara, Kathleen, 1992. The interactive achievement of a sentence: joint productions in therapeutic discourse. Discourse Processes 15 (2), 207-228.

FitzGerald, Helen, 2003. How Different Are We?: Spoken Discourse in Intercultural Communication. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

Foley, William A., 1997. Anthropological Linguistics. Blackwell, Malden, MA.

Fraser, Bruce, 1990. Perspectives on politeness. Journal of Pragmatics 14, 219-236.

Freed, Alice. D., 1994. The form and function of questions in informal dyadic conversation. Journal of Pragmatics 21, 621-644.

Freed, Alice. D., Greenwood, Alice, 1996. Women, men, and type of talk: what makes the difference? Language in Society 25, 1-26.

Fujii, Yoko, 2012. Differences of situating self in the place/*ba* of interaction between the Japanese and American English speakers. Journal of

Pragmatics 44, 636-662.

Fujii, Yoko, 2016. Nihonjin no komyunikeeshon ni okeru jikokan to "ba": kadai tassei danwa to ninshooshi tenyoo no bunseki yori (The concept of self and "*ba*": an analysis of task discourse and conversion of personal pronouns). In: Ide, S., Fujii, Y. (Eds.), Komyunikeeshon no Dainamizumu: Shizen Hatsuwa Deeta kara. (Dynamics of Communication: Analyses of Natural Discourse). Hituji Syobo, Tokyo, pp. 1-38.

Fujii, Yoko, Kim, Myung-Hee, 2014. Kadai tassei katei ni okeru soogokooi no gengobunka hikaku: nihongo, kankokugo, eigo no hikakubunseki (A comparative analysis of interaction in task discourse from cross-cultural perspectives: Japanese, Korean, and English). In: Ide, S., Fujii, Y. (Eds.), Kaihooteki Goyooron e no Choosen. (A Challenge to Emancipatory Pragmatics). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 57-90.

Garfinkel, Harold, 1967. Studies in Ethnomoethodology, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.

Gibbs, Raymond W. Jr., 1986. Skating on thin ice: literal meaning and understanding idioms in conversation. Discourse Processes 9 (1), 17-30.

Glenn, Phillip, 2003. Laughter in Interaction. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Goffman, Erving, 1967. Interaction Ritual. Aldine, Chicago.

Goffman. Erving, 1971. Relations in Public. Harper and Row, New York.

Goffman, Erving, 1976. Replies and response. Language in Society 5, 257-313.

Goody, Esther. N., 1978. Towards a theory of questions. In: Goody, E. N. (Ed.), Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction. Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 17-55.

Goodwin, Charles, Duranti, Alessandro, 1992. Rethinking context: an introduction. In: Duranti, A., Goodwin, C. (Eds), Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 1-42.

Goodwin, Charles, 2003. Conversational frameworks for the accomplishment of meaning in aphasia. In: Goodwin, C. (Ed.), Conversation and Brain Damage. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 90-116.

Goodwin, Charles, 2004. A competent speaker who can't speak: the social life of aphasia. Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 14 (2), 151-170.

Gordon, David, Lakoff, George, 1975. Conversational postulates. In: Cole, P., Morgan, J. (Eds.), Syntax and Semantics, Volume 3: Speech Acts. Academic Press, New York, pp. 83-106.

Grice, Paul H., 1975. Logic and conversation. In: Cole, P., Morgan, J. F. (Eds.),

Syntax and Semantics, Volume 3: Speech Act. Academic Press, New York, pp. 41-58.

Gumperz, John J., 1982. Discourse Strategies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gumperz, John J., Hymes, Dell H., (Eds.), 1964. The ethnography of communication. Special issue of American Anthropologist 66 (6), Part II, 137-54.

Hall, Edward T., 1968. Proxemics. Current Anthropology 9, 83-95, 106-108.

Hall, Edward T., 1983. The Dance of Life: The Other Dimension of Time. Anchor Press, New York.

Halliday, M. A. K., 1985. An Introduction to Functional Grammar. Edward Arnold, London.

Hamaguchi, Eshun, 1972. Kanjinshugi no Shakai Nihon. (Contextualism Society, Japan). Tokyo Keizai Shinhoo Sha, Tokyo.

Hanks, William. F., 2006. Joint commitment and common ground in a ritual event. In: Enfield, N. J., Levinson S. C. (Eds.), Roots of Human Sociality. Berg, New York, pp. 299-328.

Hanks, William. F., 2014. From practice theory to ba theory: introduction to emancipatory pragmatics special issue Part 3, Journal of Pragmatics 69, 1-3.

Hanks, William F., 2016. Basho: a theory of communicative interaction. Paper presented at the 4th International Conference on Linguistics of Ba. m.s.

Hanks, William. F., Ide, Sachiko, Katagiri, Yasuhiro, 2009a. Towards an emancipatory pragmatics: introduction to the special issue, Journal of Pragmatics 41, 1-9.

Hanks, William F., Ide, Sachiko, Katagiri Yasuhiro (Eds.), 2009b. Towards an Emancipatory Pragmatics Part One, Journal of Pragmatics 41.

Hanks, William F., Ide, Sachiko, Katagiri, Yasuhiro (Eds.), 2012. Towards an Emancipatory Pragmatics Part Two, Journal of Pragmatics 44.

Hanks, William F., Ide, Sachiko, Katagiri, Yasuhiro (Eds.), 2014. Towards an Emancipatory Pragmatics Part Three, Journal of Pragmatics 69.

Hayashi, Makoto, Mori, Junko, 1998. Co-construction in Japanese revisited: we do “finish each other's sentences.” In: Akatsuka N., Iwasaki, S. (Eds.), Japanese/Korean Linguistics, vol. 7. CSLI, Stanford, pp. 77-93.

Heritage, John, 1984. Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology. Polity Press, Cambridge, U.K.

Heritage, John, Raymond, Geoffrey, 2005. The terms of agreement: indexing

epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. Social Psychology Quarterly 68 (1), 15-38.

Heron, John, 1992. Feeling and Personhood: Psychology in Another Key. Sage Publications, London.

Hill, Beverly, Ide, Sachiko, Ikuta, Shoko, Kawasaki, Akiko, Ogino Tsunao, 1986. Universals of linguistic politeness: quantitative evidence from Japanese and American English. Journal of Pragmatics 10, 347-371.

Himberg, Tommi, Thompson, Marc R., Gill, Satinder P., 2013. Rhythmic entrainment in communicative, dyadic improvisation. International Symposium on Performance Science, 733-738.

Hinds, John. 1976. Aspects of Japanese Discourse. Kaitakusha, Tokyo.

Hinds, John, 1978. Conversational structure: an investigation based on Japanese interview discourse. In: Hinds, J., Howard, I. (Eds.), Problems in Japanese Syntax and Semantics. Kaitakusha, Tokyo, pp. 79-121.

Hintikka, Jaakko, 1976. The Semantics of Questions and the Questions of Semantics: Case Studies in the Interrelations of Logic, Semantics, and Syntax. North-Holland, Amsterdam.

Hiraga, Masako, 1996. Ibunka komyunikeeshon (Cross-cultural communication). In: Shishido, M., Hiraga, M., Nishikawa, M., Sugawara, T. Hyoogen to Rikai no Kotobagaku. (Studies of Language: Expression and Understanding). Mineruva Shoboo, Kyoto, pp. 26-44.

Hirokawa, Keiko, 1995. The expressions of culture in the conversational styles of Japanese and Americans. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Michigan, Ann Abor.

Holmes, Janet, 1982. The functions of tag-questions in English. English Language Journal, 40-65.

Horiguchi, Junko, 1991. Kaiwa – aizuchi kenkyuu no gendankai to kadai (Conversation: the current stage and problems of the study of backchannels). Nihongogaku 10 (10), 31-41.

Horiguchi, Junko, 1997. Nihongo Kyooiku to Kaiwa Bunseki (Japanese Education and Conversation Analysis). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Hudson, Richard, 1975. The meaning of questions. Language 51(1), 1-31.

Hymes, Dell H., 1962. The ethnography of speaking. In: Gladwin, T., Sturtevant, W. C. (Eds.), Anthropology and Human Behavior, Anthropological Society of Washington, Washington D.C., pp. 13-53. (Reprinted in The ethnography of speaking. In: Fishman, J. (Ed.), Readings in the Sociology of Language, 1978, Mouton de Gruyter, The Hague, pp. 99-138.)

Hymes, Dell H., 1972. Toward ethnographies of communication. In: Giglioli, P. P. (Ed.), Language and Social Context. Penguin, Harmondsworth, pp.

21-44.

Hymes, Dell H., 1974a. Ways of speaking. In: Bauman, R., Sherzer, J. (Eds.), Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 433-451.

Hymes, Dell H., 1974b. Foundations of Sociolinguistics. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Ide, Risako, 2013. Naratibu ni okeru kikite no yakuwari to pahoomansu sei: shinsai taiken no katari no bunseki yori (The listeners' role and performance in narrative discourse: an analysis of an earthquake narrative). In: Sato, A., Hata, K. (Eds), Naratibu Kenkyuu no Saizensen: Hito wa Kataru Koto de Nani o Suru no ka (The Forefront of Narrative Studies: What is Achieved by Telling Stories?). Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo, pp. 43-63.

Ide, Risako, forthcoming. Katari ni okeru koe no kyoomei: <basho teki ryooiki> ni miru aizuchi, usui warai to hikikomi genshoo (Resonance of voices in narrative discourse: an interpretation of aizuchi, thin laughter, and induced-fitting in terms of "*basho* domain"). In: Ide, S, Fujii, Y. (Eds.), Bunka to Gengo Shiyoo (Culture and Language Use). Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo.

Ide, Sachiko, 1989. Formal forms and discernment: two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness. Multilingua 8, 223-248.

Ide, Sachiko, 1991. On the notion of *wakimae*: toward an integrated framework of linguistic politeness. Kotoba no Mozaic, 298-305.

Ide. Sachiko, 1995. Kokusaika shakai ni okeru gengo to bunka to aidentiti (Language, culture and identity in the context of global community). In: Agency for Cultural Affairs (Ed.) Kokusaika to Nihongo (Globalization and the Japanese Language). Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau, Tokyo, pp. 48-62.

Ide, Sachiko, 2006. Wakimae no Goyooron (Pragmatics of *Wakimae*). Taishuukan Shoten, Tokyo.

Ide, Sachiko, 2012. Roots of the *wakimae* aspect of linguistic politeness: modal expressions and Japanese sense of self. Meeuwis, M., Östman, J. (Eds.), Pragmaticizing Understanding: Studies for Jef Verschueren. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 121-138.

Ide, Sachiko, 2014. Kaihooteki goyooron to misutaa oo koopasu no igi: bunka, intaa akushon, gengo no kaimei no tame ni (The significance of emancipatory pragmatics and Mister O Corpus: Investigation into culture, interaction, and language). In: Ide, S., Fujii, Y. (Eds.), Kaihooteki Goyooron e no Choosen (A Challenge to Emancipatory Pragmatics). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 1-32.

Ide, Sachiko, Hill, Berverly, Carnes, Yukiko M., Ogino, Tsunao, Kawasaki, Akiko, 1992. The concept of politeness: an empirical study of American English and Japanese. In: Watts, R. J., Ide, S., Ehlich, K. (Eds.),

Politeness in Language: Studies in Its History, Theory, and Practice. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 281-297.

Ide, Sachiko, Ueno, Kishiko, 2011. Honorifics and address terms. In: Andersen, G., Aijmer, K. (Eds.), Pragmatics of Society, Handbooks of Pragmatics vol. 5. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 437-468.

Ide, Sachiko, Ueno, Kishiko, 2012. Ba no riron de kangaeru hairyo koodoo (Discussion of linguistic politeness in terms of *ba* theory). In: Miyake, K., Noda, H., Ogoshi, N. (Eds.), Hairyo wa Dono Yoo ni Shimesareru ka (How Politeness is Expressed). Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo, pp. 29-50.

Ikeda, Asako, 2008. A comparative study of English and Japanese: how topics are structured in conversation. Nihon Joshi Daigaku, Eibei Bungaku Kenkyuu (Studies in English and American Literature, Japan Women's University) 43, 199-218.

Imamura, Kaoru, 1996. Doochoo koodoo no shosoo: Busshuman no nichijoo seikatsu kara (Aspects of synchronized behavior: Bushmen's everyday life). In: Sugawara, K., Nomura, M. (Eds.), Komyunikeeshon to shite no Shintai (Corporeality and Communication). Taishuukan, Tokyo.

Intachakra, Songthama, 2012. Politeness motivated by the 'heart' and 'binary relationality' in Thai culture. Journal of Pragmtics 44, 619-635.

Jefferson, Gail, 1984. On stepwise transition from talk about a trouble to inappropriately next-positioned matters. In: Atkinson, M., Heritage, J. (Eds.), Structures of Social Interaction: Studies in Conversation Analysis. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 191-222.

Johnstone, Barbara, 1987. An introduction. Text 7 (3), 205-214.

Johnstone, Barbara, 2002. Discourse Analysis. Blackwell, Oxford.

Katagiri, Yasuhiro, 2014. Taiwa kara mita ken'i no yootai ni tsuite (Authority observed in conversation). In: Ide, S., Fujii, Y. (Eds.), Kaihooteki Goyooron e no Choosen (A Challenge to Emancipatory Pragmatics). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 157-174.

Keenan, Elinor O., 1976. The universality of conversational postulates. Language in Society 5, 67-80.

Keenan, Elinor O., Schiefflin, Bambi B., Platt, Martha, 1978. Questions of immediate concern. In: Goody, E. N. (Ed.), Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction. Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 44-55.

Kendon, Adam, 1970. Movement coordination in social interaction: some examples described. Acta Psychologica 32, 101-125.

Kendon, Adam, 2004. Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kearsley, Greg P., 1976. Questions and question-asking in verbal discourse: a

cross-disciplinary review. Journal of Psycholinguistic Research 5 (4), 355-375.

Kido, Sesshu, 2003. Basho no Testugaku: Sonzai to Basho. (Philosophy of Basho: Existence and Basho). Bungeisha, Tokyo.

Kimura, Bin, 1972. Hito to Hito no Aida: Seishin Byoorigakuteki Nihonron. (In-betweeness between Two Subjects: Psychopathological Perspective of Japanese). Koobundoo, Tokyo.

Kita, Sotaro, Ide, Sachiko, 2007. Nodding, *aizuchi*, and final particles in Japanese conversation: how conversation reflects the ideology of communication and social relationship. Journal of Pragmatics 39, 1242-1254.

Kobayashi, Kaori, 2012. How do listeners participate in conversation? : a study of backchannels in Japanese and English. M.A. thesis. Japan Women's University.

Kobayashi, Kaori, 2016. Nichieikaiwa ni okeru kaiwa sanyosha no shakaitekikankei to bakkuchaneru no tsukaiwake no koosatsu (A comparative study of the influence of social relationship on backchannel usage in Japanese and English conversations). Nihon Joshi Daigaku, Bungakubu Kiyoo (Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities, Japan Women's University) 65, 13-32.

Koike, Chiato, 2009. Interaction in Storytelling in Japanese Conversations: An Analysis of Story Recipients' Questions. Dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles. UMI 2010, Ann Arbor, MI.

Kubota, Mayumi, 1994. Komunikeeshon to shite no aizuchi: amerikajin to nihonjin ni mirareru hyoogen no chigai (Backchannel Communication: differences in backchannel expressions between Americans and Japanese). Ibunkakan Kyooiku 8, 59-76.

Kudo, Kie, 2015. Nichieigo kaiwa ni okeru toppiku ga kawaru basho to kaiwa no hatten (Where and why do people change topics?: a comparative study of English and Japanese conversation). Nihon Joshi Daigaku, Eibei Bungaku Kenkyuu (Studies in English and American Literature, Japan Women's University) 50, 107-126.

Kumagai, Tomoko, Kitani, Naoyuki, 2010. Sansha Mensetsu Choosa ni okeru Komyunikeeshon: Soogokooi to Sanka no Wakugumi (Communication in Three-Party Interviews: Interaction and Participatory Framework). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Kurosaki, Yoshiaki, 1991. Danwa sinkoojoo no toikake hyoogen no unyoo to kinoo: Hyoogoken Takino hoogen ni tsuite (The use and function of chiming-in in the process of conversation: on the Takino dialect, Hyogo Prefecture). Gengo Hyoogen Kenkyuu, 29-39.

Kushida, Shuya, 2006. Soogokooi Chitsujo to Kaiwa Bunseki. (Interaction Order and Conversation Analysis). Sekaishisoosha, Kyoto.

Kushida, Shuya, 2009. Kikite ni yoru katari no shinkoo sokushin: keizoku shiji, keizoku saisoku, keizoku shikoo (Recipient's methods for facilitating progress of telling: sustaining, prompting and promoting continuation). Ninchi Kagaku (Cognitive Studies) 16 (1), 12-23.

Labov, William, 1970. The Logic of Nonstandard English. In: Williams, F. (Ed.), Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme. Markham, Chicago, pp. 153-189.

Labov, William, 1972. Sociolinguistic Patterns. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Lakoff, Robin T., 1972. Language in context. Language 48 (4), 907-927.

Lakoff, Robin T., 1973. The logic of politeness, or minding your p's and q's. Chicago Linguistic Society 9, 292-305.

Lakoff, Robin T., 1975. Language and Woman's Place. New York, Harper & Row.

Lakoff, Robin T., 1979. Stylistic strategies within a grammar of style. Annals of the New York Academy of Science, vol. 327, 53-78.

Lebra, Takie S., 1976. Japanese Patterns of Behavior. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

Lebra, Takie S., 2004. The Japanese Self in Cultural Logic. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

Leech, Geoffrey N., 1983. Principles of Pragmatics. Longman, London.

Levinson, Stephen C., 1983. Pragmatics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Levinson, Stephen C., 2000. Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalized Conversational Implicature. A Bradford Book, Cambridge.

Levinson, Stephen C., 2003. Space in Language and Cognition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Levinson, Stephen C., 2006. On the human 'interaction engine.' In: Enfield, N. J., Levinson, S. C. (Eds.), Roots of Human Sociality: Culture, Cognition and Interaction. Berg, Oxford, pp. 36-69.

Lewis, David K., 1969. Convention: A Philosophical Study. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Li, Wei, 2011. *Ba*, and its implications for linguistic pragmatics. Paper presented at the 2011 Tokyo Workshop on Emancipatory Pragmatics, Tokyo, March 2011.

LoCastro, Virginia, 1987. *Aizuchi*: A Japanese conversation routine. In: Smith L. E. (Ed.), Discourse across Cultures. Prentice Hall, New York, pp. 101-103.

Lyons, John. 1977. Semantics: Volume 2. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Machi, Saeko, 2007. “My/your story” vs. “our story”: repetition in English and Japanese conversation. M.A. thesis. Japan Women’s University.

Machi, Saeko, 2014. Repetition as a device from teaming and teasing in triadic conversation in Japanese. Nihon Joshi Daigaku, Eibei Bungaku Kenkyuu (Studies in English and American Literature, Japan Women’s University) 49, 61-79.

Malinowski, Bronislaw, 1923. The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In: Ogden, C. K., Richards, I. A. (Eds.), The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism. Routledge & Kegan Pause, London, pp. 451-510.

Malz, Daniel N., Borker, Ruth A., 1982. A cultural approach to male-female miscommunication. In: Gumperz, J. J. (Ed.), Language and Social Identity. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 195-216.

Markus, Hazel R., Kitayama, Shinobu, 1991. Culture and the self: implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. Psychological Review 98 (2), 224-253.

Masuoka, Takashi, 1991. Modaritii no Bunpoo (Grammar of Modality). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Masuoka, Takashi, Tabubo, Yukinori, 1992. Kiso Nihongo Bunpoo (The Basic Japanese Grammar). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Matsumoto, Yoshiko. 1988. Reexamination of the universality of face: politeness phenomena in Japanese. Journal of Pragmatics 12, 403-426.

Maynard, Senko K., 1986. On back-channel behavior in Japanese and English casual conversation. Linguistics 24, 1079-1108.

Maynard, Senko K., 1989. Japanese Conversation: Self-contextualization through Structure and Interactional Management. Ablex, Norwood, NJ.

Maynard, Senko K., 1990. Conversation management in contrast: listener response in Japanese and American English. Journal of Pragmatics 14, 397-412.

Maynard, Senko. K., 1993. Kaiwa Bunseki (Conversation Analysis). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Maynard, Senko. K., 1997. Japanese Communication: Language and Thought in Context. University of Hawai‘i Press, Honolulu.

Maynard, Senko K., 2004. Danwa Gengogaku, Nihongo no Disukoosu o Soozoo suru Koosei, Retorikku, Sutoratejii no Kenkyuu. (Discourse Linguistics: Structure, Rhetoric, and Strategy that Form Japanese Discourse). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

McNeill, David, 1992. Hand and Mind: What Gestures Reveal about Thought. Chicago University Press, Chicago.

Meltzoff, Andrew N., Moore, M. Keith, 1983. Newborn infants imitate adult facial gestures. Child Development 54, 702-709.

Mey, Jacob L., 1993. Pragmatics: An Introduction. Blackwell, Oxford.

Mikami, Akira, 1972. Gendaigohoo Shinsetsu (A New Theory of Japanese Grammer). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Minami, Fujio, 1972. Nichijoo kaiwa no koozoo (The structure of conversation). Gengo 1 (2), 108-115.

Minami, Fujio, 1974. Gendai Nihongo no Koozoo (The Structure of Modern Japanese). Taishuukan, Tokyo.

Minami, Fujio, 1985. Shitsumonbun no koozoo (The Structure of question sentences). In: Mizutani, S. (Ed.), Bunpoo to Imi II. (Grammar and Meaning II). Asakura Shoten, Tokyo, pp. 39-74.

Minami, Fujio, 1987. Danwa koodoo ron (The theory of speech behavior). In: Report of the National Institute for Japanese Language 92, Danwa Koodoo no Shosoo – Zadan Shiryoo no Bunseki. (Speech Behavior: An Analysis of Conversational Corpus). Sanseido, Tokyo, pp. 5-35.

Miyahara, Kojiro, 1986. Beyond instrumental rationality: value changes in the educated strata. Paper presented at the 11th World Congress of Sociology. New Delhi, India.

Miyahara, Kojiro, 1987. Shudanteki goorisei o koete: ueebaa kooi ruikei to kachi ishiki bunseki (Beyond instrumental rationality: Weber's typology of action and an analysis of values) Kwansei Gakuin University Shakaigaku Kiyoo 54, 65-77.

Miyaji, Yutaka, 1979. Bunron (The Theory of Japanese). Meijishoin, Tokyo.

Miyazaki, Kazuto, 2005. Gendai Nihongo no Gimon Hyoogen: Utagai to Kakunin Yookyuu (Interrogatives in Modern Japanese: Doubt and Request for Confirmation). Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo.

Miyazaki, Sachie, 2007. Japanese Women's Listening Behavior in Face-to-face Conversation. Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo.

Mizutani, Nobuko, 1980. Gaikokugo no shuutoku to komyunikeeshon (Foreign language acquisition and communication). Gengo Seikatsu, 28-36.

Mizutani, Nobuko, 1983. Aizuchi to ootoo (Backchannels and response). In: Mizutani, O. (Ed.), Hanashi Kotoba no Hyoogen. (Expressions of Spoken Language). Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo, pp. 37-44.

Mizutani, Nobuko, 1984. Nihongo kyooiku to hanashi kotoba no jittai: aizuchi no bunseki (Japanese language teaching and the reality of

spoken language: an analysis of backchannels). In: Kindaichi Haruhiko Hakase Koki Kinen Ronbunshuu (Collected Papers in Honor of Dr. Haruhiko Kindaichi's 70th Birthday). Sanseido, Tokyo, pp. 261-279.

Mizutani, Nobuko, 1988. Aizuchiron (On backchannels). Nihongogaku 7 (12), 4-11.

Mizutani, Nobuko, 1993. Kyowa kara taiwa e (From *kyowa* to *taiwa*). Nihongogaku 12 (4), 4-10.

Mizutani, Nobuko, 1995. Nihonjin to dybeeto: kyowa to taiwa (Japanese and debate: *kyowa* and *taiwa*). Nihongogaku 14 (6), 4-12.

Moriyama, Takuro, 1989a. Ninshiki no muudo to sono shuuhen (Modality and its periphery). In: Nitta, Y., Masuoka, T., (Eds.), Nihongo no Modaritii (Modality in Japanese). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 57-120.

Moriyama, Takuro, 1989b. Bun no imi to intoneeshon (Meaning of sentence and intonation). In: Miyaji, Y. (Ed.), Nihongo to Nihongo Kyooiku I (Japanese and Japanese Education I). Meijishoin, Tokyo, pp. 172-196.

Moriyama, Takuro, 1991. Gimongata joohoo juyobun o megutte (On information receiving sentences in question format). Gobun 59, 35-44.

Morris, Colin, 1972. The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Murata, Kazuyo, Hori, Motoko, 2007. Ibunkakan komyunikeeshon ni okeru "warai" no kinoo ni tsuite (Function of laughter in intercultural communication: an analysis of laughter as a communicative strategy). Journal of the Socio-Cultural Research Institute, Ryukoku University: Society and Culture 9, 115-124.

Nakamura, Yujiro, 2001. Nishida Kitaro I, Iwanami, Tokyo.

Nakane. Chie, 1967. Tateshakai no Ningen Kankei: Tan'itsu Shakai no Riron (Personal Relations in a Vertical Society: A Theory of Homogeneous Society). Kodansha, Tokyo.

Nakane, Chie, 1970. Japanese Society. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Nakane, Chie, 1972. Tekioo no Jooken (Conditions of Adaptation). Kodansha, Tokyo.

Nakane, Chie, 1978. Tate Shakai no Rikigaku (Dynamics of a Vertical Society). Kodansha, Tokyo.

Nisbett, Richard E., 2003. The Geography of Thought. Free Press, New York.

Nitta, Yoshio, 1989. Gendai nihongobun no modaritii no taikei to koozoo (The system and structure of modality of modern Japanese). In: Nitta, Y., Masuoka, T. (Eds.), Nihongo no Modaritii (Japanese Modality). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 1-56.

Nitta, Yoshio, 1991. Nihongo no Modaritii to Ninshoo (Modality and Person). Hituji Syobo, Tokyo.

Ochiai, Rumiko, Ueno, Kishiko, Nomura, Yuko, 2006. Nihongo kaiwa ni okeru doochoo sokushin soochi to shite no aizuchi, kurikaeshi. teiku-oobaa (Backchannel, repetition, and take-over as conversational devices for synchronization: In cross-linguistic perspectives of Japanese and American English). Nihon Joshi Daigaku Digakuin Bungaku Kenkyuuka Kiyoo (Journal of the Graduate School of Humanities, Japan Women's University) 12, 29-41.

Ochs, Elinor, 1988. Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in a Samoan Village. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ochs, Elinor, 1990. Indexcality and socialization. In: Duranti, A., Goodwin, C. (Eds.), Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon. Cambridge University Press, New York, pp.335-58.

Ochs, Elinor, 1996. Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. In: Gumperz, J. J., Levinson, S. C. (Eds.), Rethinking Linguistic Relativity. Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 407-437.

Ochs, Elinor, Tayler, Carolyn, 1992. Family narratives as political activity. Discourse & Society 3 (3), 301-340.

Ohama, Ruiko, 1998. Nihonjin no gengo koodoo (Repetition in Japanese conversation). Hiroshima Daigaku Nihongo Kyooiku Gakka Kiyoo (The Bulletin of the Department of Japanese Education of Hiroshima University) 8, 97-105.

Otsu, Tomomi, 2004. Shitashii yuujin dooshi no kaiwa ni okeru pojitibu poraitonesu: "asobi" to shite no tairitsu koodoo ni chakumoku shite (Positive politeness in conversation between close friends: focusing on communication behavior in playful conflict). Shakaigengo Kagaku (The Japanese Journal of Language in Society) 6 (2), 44-53.

Otsuka, Masayuki, 2011. On *ba* theory. Paper presented at the 2011 Tokyo Workshop on Emancipatory Pragmatics, Tokyo, March 2011. ms.

Park, Duk-Soo, 2006. Phatic Expressions in Korean. In: Sohn, H. (Ed.), Korean Language in Culture and Society, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, pp. 155-163.

Peng, Guoyue, 2001. Kodai chuugoku no gengo kinsoku to sono shakaiteki kontekusuto: "reiki" gengo kihan no kenkyuu (Constraints on the use of language and social context in ancient China: an analysis of "Reiki"). Kanagawa Daigaku Gengo Kenkyuu 23, 135-154.

Pizziconi, Barbara, 2003. Re-examining politeness, face and the Japanese language. Journal of Pragmatics 35, 10-11, 1471-1506.

Pomeranz, Anita, 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In: Atkinson J.M.,

Heritage, J. (Eds.), Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 57-101.

Rogers, Carl R., 1975. Empathetic: an unappreciated way of being. The Counseling Psychologist 5 (2), 2-10.

Rosaldo, Michelle Z., 1982. The things we do with words: Ilongot speech acts and speech act theory in philosophy. Language in Society 11 (2), 203-237.

Sacks, Harvey, 1974. An analysis of the course of a joke's telling in conversation. In: Bauman, R., Sherzer, J. (Eds.), Exploration in Ethnography of Speaking. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 337-353.

Sacks, Harvey, 1992a. Lectures on Conversation, vol. 1. Blackwell, Cambridge.

Sacks, Harvey, 1992b. Lectures on Conversation, vol. 2. Blackwell, Cambridge.

Sacks, Harvey, Schegloff, Emanuel A., Jefferson, Gail. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. Language 50 (4), 696-735.

Saft, Scott, 2014. Rethinking Western individualism from the perspective of social interaction and from the concept of *ba*. Journal of Pragmatics 69, 108-120.

Sakakura, Atsuyoshi, 1954. Taiwa: gikyoku no kotoba (Dialogue: language in a play). Kokugo Kokubun, 23-11.

Sakakura, Atsuyoshi, 1993. Nihongo Hyoogen no Nagare (History of Japanese Expressions). Iwanami, Tokyo.

Sapir, Edward, 1929. The status of linguistics as a science. Language 5, 207-214.

Schegloff, Emanuel A., 1972. In another context. In: Duranti A., Goodwin, C. (Eds.), Rethinking Context. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 191-227.

Schegloff, Emanuel A., 1979. Identification and recognition in telephone conversation openings. In: Psathas G. (Ed.), Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology. Irvington Publishers, New York, pp. 23-78.

Schegloff, Emanuel A., Sacks, Harvey, 1973. Opening up closing. Semiotica 7 (4), 289-327.

Schieffelin, Bambi B., 1984. Ada: a sociolinguistic analysis of a relationship. In: Baugh J., Sherzer, J. (Eds.), Language in Use, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., pp. 229-243.

Schiffrin, Deborah, 1993. “Speaking for another” in sociolinguistic interviews: Alignment, identities, and frames. In: Tannen, D. (Ed.), Framing in Discourse. Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 231-261.

Schiffrin, Deborah, 1994. Approaches to Discourse. Blackwell, Cambridge.

Scollon, Ron, Scollon, Suzanne W., 1995. Intercultural Communication. Blackwell, Oxford.

Searle, John R., 1969. Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Senft, Gunter, 2008. The case: the Trobriand Islanders vs H. P. Grice: Kilivila and the Gricean maxims of quality and manner. Anthropos 103, 139-147.

Senft. Guter, 2014. Understanding Pragmatics. Routledge, New York.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 1978. Seimei o Toraenaosu (Rethinking Life). Chuuookooron Shinsha, Tokyo.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 1995. “*Ba*-principle”: new logic for the real-time emergence of information. Holonics 5 (1), 67-79.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 1996. Seimeichi to shite no Ba no Ronri (Theory of *Ba* as Reason of Life). Chuuookooron Shinsha, Tokyo.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 2000. Kyoosoo to basho (Co-creation and place). In: Shimizu, H., Kume, T., Miwa, Y., Miyake, Y., (Eds.), Ba to Kyoosoo (*Ba* and Co-creation). NTT Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 23-177.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 2003. Ba no Shisoo. (Philosophy of *Ba*). Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, Tokyo.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 2004. Jiko ni kansuru Kagakuteki Kenkyuu (Scientific Study of Self). Ba no Kenkyuusho, Tokyo.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 2016. <Inochi> no Jikososhiki (The Self-organization of <Inochi>). Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, Tokyo.

Silverstein, Michael, 1976. Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In: Basso, K, Selby, H. (Eds.) Meaning in Anthropology, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, pp. 11-55.

Simner, Marvin L. 1971. Newborn’s response to the cry of another infant. Developmental Psychology 5 (1), 136-150.

Sperber, Dan, Wilson, Deidre, 1986. Relevance. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Spencer-Oatey, Helen, 2000. Rapport management: a framework for analysis. In: Spenser-Oatey, H. (Ed.), Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures. Continuum, London, pp. 11-46.

Stalnaker, Robert, 1978. Assertion. In: Cole, P. (Ed.), Syntax and Semantics: Pragmatics, Vol 9. Academic Press, New York, pp. 315-332.

Stephens, Greg J., Silbert, Lauren J., Hasson, Uri, 2010. Speaker-listener neural coupling underlies successful communication. Proceeding National Academy of Science USA 107 (32), 14425-14430.

Stivers, Tanya, Enfield, Nick J., Brown, Penelope, Englert, Christina, Hayashi, Makoto, Heinemann, Trine, Hoymann, Gertie, Rossano, Federico, De Ruiter, Jan P., Yoon, Kyung-Eun, Levinson, Stephen C., 2009. Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 106 (26), 10587-10592.

Sugawara, Kazuyoshi, 2012. Interactive significance of simultaneous discourse or overlap in every conversation among |Gui former foragers. Journal of Pragmatics 44 (5), 577-618.

Sugita, Kozue, 2005. Shitashii yuujin dooshi no kaiwa ni okeru naratibu no nichibei taishoo bunseki (A contrastive study of narratives in Japanese and American conversation between close friends). M.A. thesis. Tsukuba University.

Suzuki, Takao, 1978. Words in Context: A Japanese Perspective on Language and Culture. Kodansha International, Tokyo.

Szatrowski, Polly, 1993. Nihongo no Danwa no Koozoo Bunseki (An Analysis of Japanese Discourse Structure). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo.

Szatrowski, Polly, 2000. Relation between gaze, head nodding and aizuti 'back channel' at a Japanese company meeting. Berkeley Linguistic Society 26, 283-294.

Tannen, Deborah, 1984. Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk among Friends. Albex, Norwood, NJ.

Tannen, Deborah, 1989. Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue and Imagery in Conversational Discourse. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Tannen, Deborah, 1990. You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation. Happer, New York.

Tannen, Deborah, 1993. The relativity of linguistic strategies: rethinking power and solidarity in gender and dominance. In: Tannen, D. (Ed.), Gender and Conversational Interaction. Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 165-188.

The National Institute for Japanese Language, 1960. Hanashi Kotoba no Bunkei (1). (Forms of Colloquial Language (1)). Shuuei Shuppan, Tokyo.

The National Institute for Japanese Language, 1963. Hanashi Kotoba no Bunkei (2). (Forms of Colloquial Language (2)). Shuuei Shuppan, Tokyo.

Thomas, Jenny, 1995. Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics.

Longman, Harlow.

Tokieda, Motoki, 1951. Taijin kankei o koosei suru joshi, jodooshi (Sentence particles and auxiliary verbs that construct interpersonal relations). Kokugo Kokubun 20 (9), 1-10.

Tokieda, Motoki, 2007. Kokugogaku Genron (1) (The Theory of Japanese (1)). Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.

Tracy, Karen, 1985. Conversational coherence: a cognitively grounded rules approach. In: Street, R. L., Cappella, J. N. (Eds.), Sequence and Pattern in Communicative Behavior. Edward Arnold, London, pp. 30-49.

Triandis, Harry C., 1994. Culture and Social Behavior. McGraw Hill, New York.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2005. Questions and conversational styles in cross-cultural perspectives of Japanese and American English. M.A. thesis. Japan Women's University.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2006. Questions in Japanese and American English conversation: analysis through the notion of conversational style. Veritas 27, 45-62. (The Graduate School of Humanities, Japan Women's University)

Ueno, Kishiko, 2010. Questions and common ground building: cross-cultural perspectives of Japanese and American English. Nihon Joshi Daigaku, Eibei Bungaku Kenkyuu (Studies in English and American Literature, Japan Women's University) 45, 93-112.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2011. Nichieigo kaiwa ni okeru gimon hyoogen no shakaigengogakuteki koosatsu: eigo kyooiku no tame ni (Sociolinguistic analysis of questions in Japanese and American English conversation: implications for English communication teaching). Nihon Joshi Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyuuka Kiyoo (Journal of the Graduate School of Humanities, Japan Women's University) 17, 1-15.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2012a. Kikite koodoo no shakaigengogakuteki koosatsu: katari ni taisuru kikite no hatarakikake (A Sociolinguistic analysis of listening practices in Japanese conversation). Nihon Joshi Daigaku Kiyoo Bungakubu (Memoirs of the Japan Women's University, Faculty of Literature) 61, 57-86.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2012b. Nichieigo kaiwa ni okeru kikite koodoo no shakaigengogakuteki koosatsu (Sociolinguistic analysis of listening practices in Japanese and English conversation). JELS, the English Linguistic Society of Japan, 177-182.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2013. Toikake hatsuwa no shakai shihyoosei: jyooge kankei ni okeru yakuwari no shihyoo (Social indexcality of question-asking: roles and vertical relations). Kotoba to Ningen (Journal of Human Linguistic Circle) 9, 1-12.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2014. Toikake hatsuwa ni mirareru nihonjin no sensei to

gakusei no shakaiteki kankei: nichieigo no taishoo o tooshite (Teacher-student relations and question-asking: cross-cultural perspectives of Japanese and American English). In: Ide, S., Fujii, Y. (Eds.), Kaihooteki Goyooron e no Choosen (A Challenge to Emancipatory Pragmatics). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 91-121.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2015. Kyooshi gakusei kan kaiwa ni okeru shitsumon kooi no nichiei hikaku: guroobaru jinzai o ikusei suru eigo kyooiku no tame ni (Question-asking in Japanese and American teacher-student conversation: implications for English communication teaching). Nihon Eigo Kyooiku Gakkai Dai 44 Kai Nenji Kenkyuu Shuukai Ronbunshuu (Proceedings for the 44th Annual Conference of JELES (The English Language Education Society of Japan)), 1-8.

Ueno, Kishiko, 2016. Yuugooteki danwa no "ba no riron" ni yoru kaishaku (An interpretation of merging discourse in terms of *ba* theory). Taiguu Komyunikeeshon Kenkyuu 13, 18-34.

Usami, Mayumi, 2002. Discourse Politeness in Japanese Conversation: Some Implications for a Universal Theory of Politeness. Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo.

Uyeno, Tazuko, 1971. A study of Japanese modality: a performative analysis of sentence particles. Unpublished dissertation. The University of Michigan.

Wang, Qi, Leichtman, Michelle D., Davies, Katharine I., 2000. Sharing memories and telling stories: American and Chinese mothers and their 3-year-olds. Memory 8 (3), 159-177.

Watanabe, Suwako, 1993. Cultural differences in framing: American and Japanese group discussions. In: Tannen, D. (Ed.), Framing in Discourse. Oxford University Press, New York, 176-209.

Watts, Richard J., 2003. Politeness. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Watts, Richard. J., Ide, Sachiko, Ehlich, Konrad (Eds.), 1992. Politeness in Language: Studies in Its History, Theory and Practice. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Weber, Elizabeth G., 1993. Varieties of Questions in English Conversation. John Benjamins, Philadelphia.

Weber, Max, 1972. Soziologische Grundbegriffe. trans. (in Japanese) Shimizu, I. Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.

West, Candice, 1993. Reconceptualizing gender in physician-patient relationships. Social Science and Medicine 36, 57-66.

West, Candace, Zimmerman, Don H., 1983. Small insults: a study of interruptions in cross-sex conversations between unacquainted persons. In: Thorne, B., Kramarae, C., Henley, N. (Eds.), Language, Gender and Society. Newbury House, Rowley, MA, pp.103-117.

Wetzel. Patricia J., 1993. The language of vertical relationships and linguistic analysis. Multilingua 12 (4), 387-406.

Whitaker, Harry, 1982. Automaticity. Paper presented at the Conference on Formulaicity. Linguistic Institute, University of Maryland, July 1982.

White, Sheida, 1989. Backchannels across cultures: a study of Americans and Japanese. Language Society 18, 59-76.

Whorf, Benjamin L., 1940. Science and linguistics. Technology Review 42, 229-231 and 247-248.

Wierbicka, Anna, 1991. Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction. Mouton de Gruyter, New York.

Wood, Emma R., Dudchenko, Paul A., Eichenbaum, Howard, 1999. The global record of memory in hippocampal neuronal activity. Nature 397, 613-616.

Yamada, Haru, 1990. Topic management and turn distribution in business meetings: American versus Japanese strategies. Text 10 (3), 271-295.

Yamada, Haru, 1992. American and Japanese Business Discourse: A Comparison of Interactional Styles. Albex, Norwood, NJ.

Yamada, Haru, 1997. Different Games, Different Rules: Why Americans and Japanese Misunderstand Each Other. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Yamaguchi, Gyoji, 1990. Nihongo Gimon Hyoogen Tuushi (History of Japanese Interrogative Expressions). Meijishoin, Tokyo.

Yasui, Minoru, Okuda, Natsuko, trans. 1990. Eigo Goyooron. (Pragmatics). Kenkyuusha, Tokyo. (S. C. Levinson, 1983. Pragmatics. Cambridge University Press)

Yim, Youong-Cheol, Lee, Sun-Min, 1995. Aizhichi koodoo ni okeru kachikan no kan'nichi hikaku (A comparative study of Korean and Japanese backchannel behavior). Sekai no Nihongo kyooiku 5, 239-251.

Yokota, Nanrei, 2014. Personal Interview (with W. Hanks and S. Ide). March 25, 2014.

Yule, George, 1996. Pragmatics. Oxford University Press, New York.