

# How Direct/indirect Indexicality Functions in Japanese Women's Narratives of Childbirth and Childcare Experiences: A Study of the Relationship between the Sociocultural Context and Representation of Social Norms

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**Key words:** social norm, direct/indirect indexicality, Japanese women, childbirth and childcare experiences, narrative discourse

## 1. Introduction

This essay aims to clarify the rules and process of how the various social norms are represented in Japanese women's narratives about childbirth and childcare experiences. In order to proceed with this narrative discourse analysis, I adopt the concept of indexicality to explore the sociocultural functions of the discourse. Indexicality proposed by Silverstein (1976, 1985 and 1995) and Ochs (1990) provides clues for categorising the representations and reproductions of social norms.

Studies of social norms have been discussed from various perspectives such as sociology, socio-psychology, ethno-methodology, sociology of knowledge and so on. Its notion, due to these different perspectives, has been diversified (Durkheim 1895, Weber 1947, Shutz 1967,<sup>1</sup> Schutz & Luckmann 1973, Berger & Luckmann 1967, Kuroda 1992, Mimaki 2006).<sup>2</sup> Studies have mainly focused on what are social norms, what do they mean for society and individuals, and the processes of acquisition, whereas little has focused on how the social norms are represented through the analyses of everyday narrative discourse.<sup>3</sup> In this essay, I define social norms as 'preferable behaviour,' and attempt to illustrate the broad range of representa-

tions of social norms and the effectiveness of reproduction through the concept of indexicality.

This assumption leads to the following two steps. First, I assemble the represented social norms and their propositions and modalities. In order to understand differential functions, I propose three categories, *the teaching type*, *the empathy requesting type*, and *the quoting type*, for classifying these representations by the properties of speaker's language use. Second, I try to map the relationship between speaker and addressee, speaker and social norms (how much the speaker intends to comply with), based on the usage of the three categories above. For example, social norms are sometimes represented even when a speaker does not obey, in order to show that only she knows it. In this case, the distance between the speaker and the social norm is far. On the contrary, the speaker using the teaching type, who is in a higher position than the addressee, tends to be closer to the social norm. In this way, these direct/indirect indexical representation markers function effectively in narrative discourse to indicate the relationship between the speaker and the social norm, as well as the speaker and the addressee. I will try to illustrate these relationships and show that language representation of social norms requires distance in many ways (e.g. the distance between speaker and addressee, speaker and the social norm, or the distance indicated by indirect language use).

## **2. Theoretical Frameworks**

### **2.1. Definitions of Key Terms**

#### **2.1.1. Indexicality**

In this essay, the notion of indexicality from Linguistic Anthropology (Hanks 2001, Hill 2002, Silverstein 1976, 1985, 1995, and Ochs 1990) is considered to be a clue for analysing the sociocultural context-dependent implications in the actual data. Extending beyond the two steps of definitions of indexicality, I define indexicality as the direct and indirect indications of sociocultural aspects through language use in actual communicative events.

As a first step, Silverstein (1976, 1985 and 1995) should be considered. He claims that indexicality indicates the existence of contextual implication

in the context of the moment. For example, the personal pronoun “I” and “you” have dual indexicality. On the one hand, they indicate the presence of a speaker and addressee as a referential index. On the other hand, they imply a relationship between the two participants (which one is the speaker or the addressee), as a nonreferential index. Adding to referential/nonreferential, he proposes two levels of indexicality: presupposing and performative. According to his categorisation, presupposition is based on the language itself, whereas performative is required for more sociocultural understanding. This notion helps to explain the differential expressions of Japanese pronouns. In Japanese, “I” can be expressed as *watashi*, *watakushi*, *boku*, *ore*, which can non-referentially index the gender, the relationship between speaker and addressee, the context of *ba*,<sup>4</sup> and so on. Indeed, presupposing and referential indexicality has the most direct and de-contextualised meaning. On the contrary, performative and nonreferential indexicality has the most indirect and sociocultural meanings.

Second, Ochs (1990) has expansively adopted Silverstein's notion from the viewpoint of language socialisation. She flexibly utilises Silverstein's definition of indexicality, embracing its basic philosophy. That is to say, she insists that the property of indexicality is more complex and its context should be more significantly considered:

Indexical relations are more complex than one-to-one mappings between linguistic forms and contextual features. They cannot be fully understood without additional mappings — between particular contextual dimensions and sets of linguistic forms, and between a particular linguistic form and several contextual dimensions. (Ochs 1990: 293)

She exemplifies the Japanese particles *zo*, *ze*, and *wa* by analysing the direct meaning of *zo*, *ze*, as indexical of ‘coarse intensity’, and *wa* as an indexical feature of ‘affect of softness’ or ‘delicate intensity.’ In addition, she defines the indirect meanings of these particles as being gender related: *zo* and *ze* index males, while *wa* indexes females. Furthermore, by investigating actual language use, one can find further context-dependent indexical meaning, except for gender (e.g. the affective and epistemological dispositions such as confidential utterances, and empathy requirements).<sup>5</sup>

Kataoka (2002) has organised these various definitions of indexicality as follows:

Indexicality is defined as a process to create cultural meaning. It has a referential meaning, whereas its interpretation is dependent on context. In addition, the cultural meaning consists of a word or series of words that create various nonreferential/creative meanings of indexicality. In other words, it focuses on meaning except for the literal meaning (Kataoka 2002: 36).

In this sense, indexicality is now able to be analysed using not only the categorisation of language *forms*, but also the broader language *use*. In order to understand the indexical meaning of actual data, phrase or sentence level usages are analysed in this essay. Furthermore, the interaction between speaker and addressee is focused on as an apparatus to create indexical meaning. This essay targets the most indirect and context-dependent meanings used to accomplish a purpose; that is, to map out the various ways social norms in various actual narrative discourses are represented.

## 2. 1. 2. Social Norms

Social norms have been defined through the various perspectives mentioned above. A broader notion is, however, roughly classified in three ways by the different aspects of perspective setting (Kitaori 2000). First, it focuses on the internalised beliefs of each individual or the process of internalisation; second, it is defined as a set of external rules or social expectations that penetrate individuals; third, it focuses on the process of both internal and external aspects. This essay adopts the third focus, and considers the implicit and explicit social norms represented in actual narrative discourse.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1967), two of the most famous figures who support the third definition from the field of sociology of knowledge, social norms are a shared belief in a community. Namely, the study of social norms must be discussed from both sides of the psychological aspects of an individual and the sociocultural structure of the community to which the individual belongs.

Social norms can be viewed as preferable behaviour in a community, which have been psychologically internalised in the individual minds of

those who make up the community (Yamaguchi 2005). When both sides are focused on, the most significant point could be the *process* of internalisation and externalisation. Like a looping game, internalised social norms are externalised through the wide-ranging methods, such as their representation in language use or non-verbal attitudes, while externalised norms are internalised using similar methods, including legal bindings. This vicissitude of interaction between individuals and society is the main focus of this perspective, and this essay especially focuses on language use that represents preferable behaviour (= social norms) in a community without legal bindings or direct or indirect punishment.

## 2. 2. Methodological Background

As a methodological background, I refer to why I use data from narrative discourses of people talking about their own life stories. Sakurai (2002) affirms that spoken life stories cannot always be truth; they may have narrativity. However, this has never meant that a speaker can make up a story as s/he wishes. Language representation as a life story is bound to the cultural habit of speech acts, the relationship between addressees, and social context (Sakurai 2002: 32). In other words, structurised self-conception or identities are represented in life stories, and significantly, structure and identity are never free from sociocultural bindings. In this sense, spoken life stories are the appropriate setting to investigate the representation of social norms.

Furthermore, from the standpoint that social norms are internalised by individuals and externalised in society by individuals, from the moment an individual (speaker) speaks to an addressee, s/he is activated as an agency who represents (or sometimes imposes) social norms.<sup>6</sup> It is a moment of shift from the position of being bound by social norms to the position of binding with social norms. This works as a structure to maintain, renew, and reproduce social norms.

In this sense, the discourse of the interviewer is inevitably analysed as a participant of interaction. Even if it is interview-formed discourse, the speaker (= interviewee) needs someone to receive her narrative discourse. As Matsuki (2000, 2001) suggests that the relationship between the inter-

viewer and interviewee should be discussed, this essay will focus on how social norms are represented through actual interaction between interviewer and interviewee.

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1. Data**

The interviewees are Japanese women in their 20s to 80s who have experienced childbirth and childcare. They currently live in Tochigi prefecture, which is basically a dairy area, or in the greater Tokyo area (Metropolitan Tokyo, Kanagawa, Chiba, and Saitama prefectures), which are defined as urban areas. The data was collected from March to May, 2007 by two interviewers at their current residential area: the collaborative researcher in Tochigi prefecture and myself in the Tokyo area. All 17 participants underwent face-to-face interviews for approximately 30 to 120 minutes each, and the total length of the interviews is 754 minutes. Based on Sakurai's style (Sakurai 2002), we tried to make the interviewees talk about their life stories freely, though some questions were set.<sup>7</sup> The interviews were recorded with digital voice recorders from which the data was transcribed and analysed.

#### **3.2. Methodology of analysis**

Due to the purpose of this essay, the focus is on representing and reproducing the social norms. In order to clarify the representation/reproduction of social norms, the interactions between the interviewer and interviewee were analysed. As for the transcription, the styles of Sakurai (2002) and Schenkein (1977) were adopted; that is, interaction, co-channel, back-channel, the length of silences, laughing, and so on (Sakurai 2002: 176).<sup>8</sup>

### **4. Data Analysis**

First, the social norms that appear directly or indirectly in the discourse are mainly categorised in three ways: 1) motherhood, 2) family roles, and 3) family system. The propositional contents of each social norm are as follows:

**Table 1. Social Norms represented in Japanese women's narratives of child-birth and childcare experiences**

Categories	Propositional Contents	
1) Motherhood	a	Mothers are expected to take care of their children happily.
	b	Childcare should be a happy experience.
	c	The ideal mother exists beyond the human realm.
2) Family Roles	a	People should respect their parents.
	b	People should be obedient to their parents.
	c	Women should not expect male participation in childcare.
	d	Women should try to be nice to their husband's parents.
	e	Women should take care of housekeeping and child-raising duties.
	f	Husbands (of younger generation) should 'help' their wives by contributing to housekeeping the child-raising duties.
3) Family System	a	The first-born son should be given special treatment as the heir of the family estate.
	b	The family line should be kept preferentially.
	c	Women should produce a baby boy to take over the family estate.
	d	People should not disclose that they want a grandson.

These propositional contents of social norms are referred to directly and indirectly in the actual data. In direct indexical representation, the propositional contents are directly mentioned; in indirect indexical representation, they are not, but can be easily guessed or the participants share the proposition as a presupposition. Because social norms are represented in various ways in the actual discourse, I cite three types to show how the discourses indicate social norms.

#### 4. 1. The typology of how discourse indicates social norms through direct/indirect indexical representations

From the data analysis, three patterns indicating social norms were found: teaching, empathy requesting, and quoting. Although they could be mapped by the relationship between speakers and addressees, as well as the distance between subjects and the social norms, these findings will be discussed in section 5. First, I will define these three types with some examples.

##### 4. 1. 1. Teaching Type

The teaching type is the most straightforward representation. It is discourse in which the social norm of ‘preferable behaviour’ is directly indexed in language use. Below is an example of direct indexical representation:

- (1) NO: *kono ben mukashi kara*  
 this area olden days since  
 ‘In this area, since olden days,’
- amarazu tarazu ko sannin tsuttee*  
 over NEG less NEG children three QT PT  
 ‘it is said that “not over, but not less than three children”’
- sannin ume ba*  
 three children give birth PT  
 ‘if you give birth to three children,’
- sannin ire ba*  
 three children have PT  
 ‘if you have three children,’
- oya no kuroo ga wakaru tte*  
 parents LK Parental care S know QT  
 ‘you may know about parental care’
- OT: *n*  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah’
- NO: *hitori ja wakannainda yo?*  
 one child PT know NEG FP FP Q ↑  
 ‘You never know it if you will only have one child, right?’



- OT: *wakannai desho*  
 know NEG BE FP  
 'I guess I never knew.'
- minna ni soo iware te*  
 everyone O it tell-PASS PT  
 'I was told it by everyone.'
- NO: [ *daro*  
 FP  
 'Right.'
- OT: *a soodanaa tte omotte*  
 oh right PT QT guess QT  
 'Oh, I guess it was right.'

In example (1), interviewee KK directly mentioned the social norm, that is 'mothers should give birth to more than one child.' The interviewer OT has one child. In the community, it is culturally unacceptable. NO determinately *teaches* this fact as someone who is older than OT, and the importantly, she is someone who accomplished this 'preferable behaviour.' In cases where the speaker's attitude is to teach the social norm to the addressee, I categorise them as *teaching type*.

#### 4. 1. 2. Empathy Requesting Type

On the contrary, there is a very indirect indexical representation that is produced collaboratively in an interaction between a speaker and an addressee. Example (2) is an interaction between close friends who are talking about their parents' annoying attitudes.

- (2) HK: *maa demo nee, iroiro to neeee,*  
 mmm but FP various LK FP  
 'Mmm, but yeah, there are various cases, you know,'
- IH: [ *Uunnn.*  
 ummm  
 'Ummm'
- HK: *kawaigatte morai kata mo nee,*  
 show their love PASS way PT FP  
 'As for the way to show their love,'

*mukoo ga yokare to omotte mo,*  
 they S proper LK think QT PT  
 ‘Even if they think it is proper way to show their love,’

[ ]  
 IH: **sooo! sooo!**  
 yeah yeah  
 ‘Year! Year!’

HK: *kocchi ga yoku nai koto mo*  
 me S good NEG NOM PT  
 ‘it is not good for me’

[ ]  
 IH: **sooo! sooo!!**  
 yeah yeah  
 ‘Yeah! Yeah!!’

HK: *aru shi ne.*  
 BE PT FP  
 ‘Sometimes, you know.’

IH: *soo da yo, soo da yo! sorrya soo da yo*  
 yeah FP FP yeah FP FP (it) S (yeah) FP FP  
 ‘Yeah, yeah, absolutely.’

HK: *a haba.*  
 (laughing)  
 ‘a haha’

[ ]  
 IH: *a hahaha*  
 (laughing)  
 ‘a hahaha’

**chigau ka.**  
 incorrect FP ↓  
 ‘No, that’s incorrect.’

In this case, before HK finishes her propositional sentence, IH starts her supportive responses. Thus, they share a common feeling that parents’ behaviour is sometimes annoying. Regarding the function of the phrase, *chigau ka* (= ‘No, that’s incorrect’), the interaction constructed before has been denied. However, it also shows that they know that the contents of

their interaction is only a feeling, and never meant to deny the underlying knowledge of the social norm itself, such as 'Children should be obedient to their parents.' The final article '*ka*' functions to finalise the conversation and to shut out any disagreement. This interaction shows their shared true feelings through empathy markers such as back channelling or final articles, and at the same time, exposes the underlying social norm. I propose that it is categorised as indirect indexical representation in the *empathy requesting type*.

The following example (3) shows a less indirect case. The two participants are chatting about their husband's uncooperative attitude toward housekeeping. Although AO, 29 years old, is 6 years younger than OT, AO is unaware of this during the conversation. They are close friends who are both mothers with infants. Just before the following interaction, they discovered that their husbands are significantly similar in that they rarely contribute to household work, as compared to other husbands of their generation.

- (3) AO: *nanka, bonto ni uchi, sooiumo yannakute,*  
 FI truly PT my case that kind of thing do NEG PT  
 'Well, truly, in my case, (he) has never done that kind of thing (housekeeping).'

*iwa nai to yatte kun nai no ne*  
 tell-NEG PT do PT SRe NEG NOM FP  
 '(he) has never done it as long as he has been told.'

OT: [ ]  
*un un*  
 yeah yeah  
 'Yeah, yeah.'

AO: *de saaa . . .*  
 FI  
 'And, well . . .'

OT: [ ]  
*iu no mo ya ja nai?*  
 say NOM PT want-NEG Q ↑  
 'You don't want to ask him, do you?'

- AO: [ *so, ya da* ]  
no want-NEG FP  
'No, I don't.'
- OT: [ ]  
*so.*  
yes  
'Yes.'
- AO: *dakara, imanai no*  
so ask NEG FP  
'So, I have never asked him.'
- OT: [ ]  
*soooo, uuuuu, wakaru.*  
yeah hmmm know  
'Yeah, hmmm, (I) know.'
- AO: *wakaru, wakaru, sore.*  
know know that  
'(I) know, (I) know that.'

In example (3), OT mentions that she doesn't want to ask him to contribute to housekeeping. Also, AO agrees with her. This means that they both think housekeeping is their responsibility. Therefore, if they ask their husbands for help, they may feel like they are falling into debt with their husbands. On the contrary, they repeatedly discuss their friend's husband who is very cooperative about housekeeping; that is, he is *ii danna san* ('a good husband'). This discourse shows that their baseline is a non-cooperative husband, but the preferable behaviour (= social norm) in their generation is 'Husbands should 'help' their wives and contribute to housekeeping and child-raising duties.' The social norm isn't mentioned directly, but the above discourse represents it indirectly. In addition, OT requests empathy from AO in the sentence of indirect indexical representation, *iu nomo ya ja nai?* (You don't want to ask him, do you?), and AO immediately agree with her. Although the representation of the social norm is relatively direct, there is still no direct expression. I propose that it is categorised as indirect indexical representation in empathy requesting type.

## 4. 1. 3. Quoting Type

The following example is from a different type of direct indexical representation, *the quoting type*. In example (4), EH quotes her parents-in-law's discussion that shows the social norm: 'People should not disclose that they want a grandson.' EH became pregnant relatively early, just after getting married. Her parents-in-law haven't said anything, but they confessed their feeling immediately after she announced her pregnancy:

- (4) EH: *anooo, hayaku kodomo ga dekireba to omotte ta*  
 FI earlier child S start a family QT think QT FP  
 'Well, "we thought that (you) would start a family earlier,"'

*kedo,*

but

"“but”"

*amari puresshaa o kakeru to ikenai to omotte,*  
 too much pressure O BE QT NEG QT think QT  
 "“We thought it would be too much pressure (on you),”"

*imanakatta kedo,*

say NEG PERF but

"“so we haven't said anything, but”"

[ ]

HK:

*un,*

yeah

'yeah'

EH: *demo, yokatta, tte iu fuu niwa*  
 but nice QT NOM PT S

"“but it is very nice (that you will have a baby)”"

*sugoku itte kure mashita ne.*

strongly say SRe POL FP

'They strongly and kindly said so.'

In example (4), the social norm that people should not disclose that they want a grandson is directly mentioned, but it takes the form of a quotation. The quoted information itself is a propositional content without modality in the sense of a showing social norm. However, the fact that it is a

quotation indicates the distance between the speaker and the social norm. The speaker has never made a valuation of the social norm she mentioned. This means that she hasn't judged what is 'preferable behaviour' as parents-in-law. Thus, this is a quoting type of expression.

Another example shows that there is the possibility of adopting two types in one case. Example (5) is about motherhood, and proposes that: 'Mothers are expected to take care of their child happily.' The speaker IH had a hard delivery, and she felt burned out. As a result, she didn't feel that she wanted to take care of her baby just after giving birth.

- (5) IH: *unda ra sugu ni aka-chan no tokoro ni*  
 giving birth PT just after PT baby LK (place) PT  
 "Mothers want to care for their baby just after giving birth"  
 [ ]  
 HK: *un un*  
 yeah yeah  
 'Yeah, yeah'
- IH: *tonde ikitai mono" rashii...yo neeee toka,*  
 want to go NOM QT FP FP QT  
 'Some may say so,'  
 [ ]  
 HK: *un un*  
 yeah yeah  
 'Yeah, yeah'
- IH: *jibun de.*  
 I PT  
 'I guess it by myself.'  
*atashitte nante dame, toka, iu, nan ka abababa*  
 I QT what a bad QT FI (laughing)  
 'What a bad mother I am, something like that, ahahaha'  
 [ ]  
 HK: *babababa*  
 (laughing)  
 'Hahahaha'

This social norm is quite directly mentioned. However, the form she used is quotation, which is followed by *rashii*. This particle can be translated as

'some may say so', which shows that it is neither her own opinion, nor an existential individual, but the invisible presuppositional knowledge in her community. Because *rashii* functions as a distance marker, despite the fact that the social norm itself is directly mentioned, she maintains a certain distance with the norm in the sense that she knows and can be influenced by it but not integrates it into her own thinking. In addition, the particles *yo* and *neeee* are used to request the addressee's empathy. In fact, the addressee supportively responded to her request. Thus, this example contains two types of representations: quoting and empathy requesting types.

## 5. Discussion

In this section, I propose that three types can be mapped by the human relationships between speakers and addressees, and the distance between the subject and the social norm. First of all, let us consider the following Figure 1.<sup>9</sup>

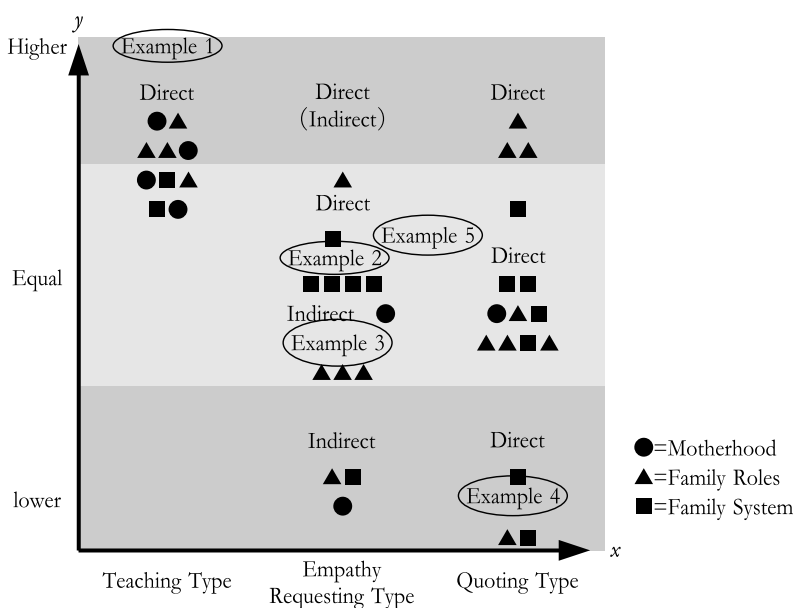


Figure 1. Direct/indirect Indexical Representation

The vector y-axis shows the speaker's position in relationship to the addressee, and the x-axis shows the distance between the subject and the social norm. The y-axis is from lower to higher, and the x-axis is from close to far. ● indicates the existence of motherhood as a social norms, ▲ indicates family roles, while ■ is a family system.

First, the teaching type maintains a close distance between the subject and social norms. That is, the speaker as a subject internalises the social norm as preferable behaviour, then externalises it to the addressee in order to reproduce it. This is the easiest case to understand, but as illustrated in Figure 1, it can only occur if the human relationship is from higher to lower (or older to younger). Such discourse tends to be direct, using direct indexical representation, and clearly intends its reproduction. Secondly, the empathy requesting type appears in situations where the subject is not close enough to the social norm to internalise it, but the subject is not so far from the influence. It can be used in any human relationship, but there is a general rule of representation. If the relation is from a higher speaker to a lower addressee, one can use direct indexical representation. In data taken from the same generation, both direct/indirect indexical representations are found. If it is from lower to higher, it takes indirect indexical representations. Finally, the quoting type indexes the social norm's proposition itself directly. Because the quoting representation itself has already created a distance between the subject and the social norm, the subject may not impose preferable behaviour on the addressee. In this sense, even if the representation is direct, it can never be considered to be a rude attitude.<sup>10</sup>

The significant point of this argument is that the relationship between speakers and the social norms is related to language indexicality. The representation of social norms in the actual data could be accompanied by the effective markers in order to indicate the various distances between the speaker and the social norms. Speakers are able to use direct/indirect indexical markers by figuring out their distance to the addressee, and also the distance between the social norm and themselves.



## 6. Conclusion and further studies

Social norms are not always represented in a straightforward way such as “ought to do . . .” or “should not do . . .” The ambiguity of the representation can be clarified by investigating the direct/indirect indexical meaning as a cross-section. Although it is sometimes difficult to figure out what the indirect indexical meaning means, even when it is understood, it is still possible to understand its existence by analysing the addressee's reaction. In addition, the relationships between speakers and addressees, and between speakers and the social norms are linked to how the social norm is represented.

To conclude, we must consider complex human relationships considering age, familiarity, the hierarchical relationship, and most importantly, the context. For example, when an interviewee suddenly changes to polite speech, she discloses her internalised social norm in a direct indexical representation. This shows that context is sometimes more important than the rules based on human relationships. Therefore, it is quite difficult to make rules that apply to all cases. This study, however, proposes one possibility for understanding which elements we have to consider when we try to make a breakthrough in language use.

For a further study, I believe that a comparative analysis with another language is necessary to highlight the closed linkage between highly contextual sociocultural aspects and language use.

### Notes

1 According to Schutz (1976), common sense is intersubjective layer that creates the communicative environments.

2 See 2. 1. Definitions of key terms.

3 Mimaki, Naito et al. (2006) analysed the process how the social norms had been acquired by the foreign students at the laboratory of the science course.

4 This sociocultural function has been explained using proposition and modality by Ide and Sakurai 1995, Ide 2006 and so on.

5 Add to it, she suggests the necessity to consider the contextual dimensions, namely, affective and epistemological dispositions to understand the actual language socialization.

6 The notion of agency comes from Butler (1990,1997) who critically develops

Austin's performative (Austin 1975). Whereas Foucault (1972) defines that an individual's sociocultural identity is created by the oppression and bindings from its society, in British Cultural Studies, it is claimed that an individual can be agency acting against the oppression, even though it acts under the influence of the oppression. (Brooker 1999, Hall 1980, 1996, 1997, and Jenks 1993).

7 See appendix 2.

8 See appendix 1.

9 This figure 1 indicates the tendency. In the actual data, some exceptional cases (e.g. indirect indexical representation in the interaction from the older speaker to younger addressee) have been found. This tendency is observed in the case that the relationship between the participants is far, or using polite markers. This result doesn't conflict with the argument that the distance is the switch to change the expression.

10 It may say that it shows the sociocultural context of *ba*. (Ide 2006)

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1

#### Transcription Markers

The following transcription conventions are used:

Italics	Japanese
Bold	illustrative element
[	back-channel
[[	co-channel
( )	briefing by author
[ ]	short interruption
↓	down intonation
↑	up intonation
'(word)'	a word that does not occur in Japanese but is necessary in English translation.

In glossing Japanese data, the following abbreviations have been used:

BE	various forms of copula verb 'be'
FI	filler
FP	final particle
LK	linking nominal
NEG	negative morpheme
O	direct object
PASS	passive morpheme
PERF	perfective
PT	particle (other than final particles)
POL	polite
Q	question marker
QT	quotative marker
S	subject marker
SRe	supportive receiving verb

## Appendix 2

### Information of the interviews

#### Interviewers:

Anonym	Age	Birth-place	Present address	Present occupation	Child/ren
OT	35	Tokyo	Tochigi	Part-time lecturer	1
HK	37	Tokyo	Tokyo	Part-time lecturer	2

#### Interviewees:

Anonym	Age	Birth-place	Present address	Present occupation	Child/ren
AO	29	Tochigi	Tochigi	Housewife	1
BO	29	Tochigi	Tochigi	Housewife	1
CO	31	Kanagawa	Tochigi	Housewife	2
DO	31	Kanagawa	Kanagawa	contract employee	2
EH	32	Tokyo	Tokyo	Housewife	3
FH	32	Tokyo	Saitama	Housewife	1
GO	32	Ishikawa	Tochigi	Housewife	1
HO	32	Nagano	Tochigi	Housewife	1
IH	39	Tokyo	Kanagawa	Part-time lecturer	1
JH	39	Kagoshima	Tokyo	Housewife	1
KO	40	Tochigi	Tochigi	Dietitian	3
LH	58	Chiba	Chiba	Part-time lecturer	3
MH	61	Tochigi	Tokyo	Housewife	2
NO	61	Tochigi	Tochigi	Farmer	3
OO	61	Tochigi	Tochigi	Housewife	2
PO	58	Tochigi	Tochigi	Farmer	3
HH	63	Okayama	Tokyo	Housewife	3

#### The set interview questions:

- 1) Please tell about your child-birth experience/s.
- 2) How did your family members (husband, parents, parents-in-laws, friends

etc.) react to your pregnancy and giving birth?

- 3) How did/do your family members participate in your childbirth and childcare?
- 4) What is the ideal mother for you?
- 5) What do you think about having child/ren (or not having children)?