EXPLORING SOCIAL IDENTITY IN NARRATIVE:
ANALYZING THE TESTIMONIES OF JAPANESE-SPEAKING CHRISTIANS

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the notion of social identity within Gee's (1989, 1996, 1999) framework of Discourse. A Christian testimony is a type of personal narrative in which believers’ experiences are evaluated in terms of values and beliefs from the Scripture, which is the communal guiding norm. Construing social identity as membership in a Discourse, this study will explore social identity which is presented, negotiated, and socialized in narration as situated social practice.

When we narrate a story, we evaluate our experiences in terms of communal values and expectations. These communal expectations of “how to be a good person” are an integral part of our identity. In our attempts to reconcile our personal experiences with communal expectations, we, as narrators, go through “problem-solving,” or a process whereby we present ourself as a good and socially competent person.

I argue that the presentation of testimony is constrained by the shared values and beliefs which consist of a Discourse in this particular community. The narrators made reference to the spiritual values, which rendered believers’ personal narrative into testimony recounting how they worked through a problem with God’s assistance. Moreover, presenting their responses to the narrative problems as reflecting the moral values from the Scripture, the narrators structured the narrated events as moral events in order to create their moral identity as a good Christian. I also argue that testimony can be a site of socialization, where novice members are socialized into the shared values and beliefs through interaction with expert members. Lastly, the testifiers in the present study are Japanese immigrants and non-immigrants who practice their faith in Hawai‘i. The Japanese values are still an inseparable part of their identity.
demonstrate that these two sets of values (i.e., Christian and Japanese) are alternately recognized as two separate Discourses or integrated to form a single Christian Discourse. I also present that the narrators negotiate morality between the two conflicting perspectives.

Through ethnographically-informed discourse analysis, this research aims to shed new light on the complex nature of social identity which is constantly defined and evolves through interpersonal interaction.
LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Transcription Conventions
[	the point where overlapping talk begins
]	the point where overlapping talk ends
(0)	length of silence measured in a second
(.)	micro pause
CAPITAL LETTERS indicate emphasis
:	lengthening of previous syllable
=	indicates latching, i.e., no interval between two utterances
?	ring intonation
(d) difficulty)	unsure hearings
((	author’s comments

Abbreviations Appearing in the Interlinear Gloss
COP
copula verb “be”
NOM
nominalizer
SFP
sentence final particle

SUB
subject marker
GEN
genitive marker
ACC
object marker
TOP
topic marker

Q
question maker
QT
quotative maker

HONORIFIC
honoris
IMP
imperative form of a verb
ING
present/past progressive form of a verb
NEG
negation
PAST
past tense

Symbols for English Translation
[	indicates words which do not appear in original Japanese.

Romanization of Japanese translation is based on the Hepburn style and its word segmentation is based on the JCHAT system.
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This study will explore the notion of social identity within Gee's (1986, 1996, 1999) framework of a Discourse. In the field of sociolinguistics, "social identity" or "identity" has been viewed as a researcher's analytic category, which is static, unitary, and self-defined (cf. Gumperz 1968, 1971; Hymes 1974a & b; Kroskrity 1993; Labov 1966). This concept, however, has been challenged by theoretical frameworks which view social identity as a dynamic construct that is constantly defined by interlocutors and evolves over the course of interaction (cf. Antaki & Widdicombe 1998; Gee 1989, 1996, 1999; Goffman 1974, 1979, 1981; Goodwin 1990; Gumperz 1982a & b, 1996; Lave & Wenger 1991; Ochs 1993; Peirce 1993, 1995; Sacks 1992; Siegal 1996; Wenger 1998). Nevertheless, the complex nature of this construct, especially, the developmental or socialization aspect, has not been fully addressed by many of these analytic frameworks. Construing social identity as membership in a Discourse (Gee 1989, 1996, 1999), this research will aim to explore the concept of social identity which is presented, negotiated, and socialized in narration as situated social practice.

When we narrate a story, we evaluate our experiences and selectively organize them into a coherent whole in terms of communal values and expectations (Ochs & Capps 1996). In this process, narrative creates a coherent sense of the self, which we experience as our identity (cf. Modell 1993; Myers 1986; Ochs & Capps 1996; Polkinghorne 1991). The experience of such a coherent self is always linked to
personal moral values to which we are committed (cf. Linde 1993; Modell 1993). These moral values, or how to be a good person, are an integral part of our identity (cf. Linde 1993; Modell 1993; Ochs & Capps 1996). In other words, narrating a story, every individual is expected to present oneself as a good and socially competent person whose thinking and behavior are consistent with communal values and expectations. It is these moral values which create and sustain our membership in a particular community which pursues common values or interests. Thus, narrative, which recounts personal experiences, is a relational product (cf. Bamberg 2000) because one’s experiences are evaluated and organized into a coherent whole in terms of what is viewed as moral and rational in a particular community.


Examining dinnertime narrative by 20 Caucasian, English-speaking, American families, Ochs et al. (1996) demonstrate that family dinnertime narrative is a problem-solving activity. A narrator and his/her audience (i.e., other family members) collaboratively examine problems posed by narrated event(s) and articulate solutions.
to these problems. Co-narrators (i.e., family members) work together on a narrated problem, challenge the narrator’s initial and also each others’ accounts of the problem, and finally, adopt a new, reformulated perspective on the problem, which Ochs et al. (1996) refer to as a “paradigm shift.” Ochs et al. (1996) state that collaborative storytelling is joint problem-solving, in which the outcome of a story is socially negotiated and accomplished through co-narration.

In this study, I will argue that the same phenomenon also takes place in non-collaborative storytelling, or monologic narrative which is recounted by a single narrator. In other words, problem-solving motivates not only co-narration, but narration itself which is inherently a relational act (Bamberg 2000; Linde 1993). A narrator scrutinizes details of a narrated problem in his/her effort to find a solution in the presence of other communal members. In the process of the monologic telling, the narrator’s initial account of a story can be challenged in the light of communal values and expectations. The narrator marks his/her awareness of the communal expectations regarding his/her account of the story by monitoring his/her telling for inconsistencies with these expectations. Revisions and redrafting by the narrator in the course of the telling reflect the narrator’s attention to producing an appropriate account, that is, one that presents the narrator as socialized into the shared values and beliefs of the community (Ochs et al. 1992).

Ochs et al. (1996) also point out that initial tellers tend to present narrated events in a way that portrays themselves in the most complimentary light, which they refer to as the “looking-good constraint” on storytelling. This proposal has been supported by other studies (cf. Eckert 1989; Labov 1972b; Linde 1993) as well. In Ochs et al.’s (1996) research on family dinnertime narrative, Lucy, a school girl,
reports to her family that one of her fellow students was punished by their principal because of her misdemeanor, but Lucy did not mention her own past misdemeanor and also being punished by the same principal until her brother pointed that out. Prior to this disclosure, family members had only Lucy’s version of the narrated problem. Due to the “looking-good constraint,” Lucy would probably never have disclosed this personally damaging critical background information unless her brother had brought it up. Thus, in narration, due to the “looking-good” constraint, “problem-solving” takes place in one’s effort to present oneself in the most complimentary light; as mentioned above, how to be a good person whose thinking and behavior are consistent with the communal values and expectations is an integral part of our identity (Linde 1993; Modell 1993; Ochs & Capps 1996). In our attempts to resolve a discrepancy between what is expected and what was actually experienced, we narrators are challenged and go through problem-solving, a process whereby the speaker presents him/herself as a good and socially competent person, in which our moral standing “I am a good person” is narratively created and negotiated.

Gee (1989, 1996, 1999) discusses the concept of social identity which always involves shared values and beliefs within his framework of a "Discourse." A Discourse with a capital D is defined as “a socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and ‘artifacts,’ of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network,’ or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful ‘role’” (1996: 131). In other words, a Discourse is an integration of not only what to say and do but also what to value and what to believe. Gee states that all Discourses are inherently “ideological” (ibid. : 132); they are all involved with
a set of values which define what counts as acceptable from the insider’s point of view. Within this framework, Gee views one’s social identity as membership in a Discourse. We are identified with a socially meaningful group as our ways of using language render our membership recognizable to others. Accordingly, becoming a member of a socially meaningful group requires mastery of a Discourse. Novice members are socialized into shared values and beliefs through language-mediated interactions with expert members. This process is called language socialization (cf. Ochs 1988; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986a, 1986b), more specifically, secondary socialization, in contrast with primary socialization where children are socialized to values and norms of their culture. However, this novice-expert relationship is not static, but constantly evolves, as novices are socialized into the communal values and beliefs (cf. Rudolph 1994). Therefore, socialization is an essential component of social identity as a dynamic construct that is constantly defined and evolves over the course of interaction.

Finally, Gee (1989, 1996, 1999) states that while partial or incomplete mastery of a Discourse identifies us as outsiders to that Discourse, a Discourse can be “heteroglossic” (cf. Bakhtin 1981). It is possible to use more than one Discourse at one time, which can be contradictory or can be integrated into a new single Discourse, in which one’s social identity is created and negotiated in constant dialogue with other voices (cf. Bakhtin 1981; Linde 1989; Rosen 1988; Tappen 1991, 1997).

A Christian testimony is a type of personal narrative in which believers’ experiences are evaluated in terms of moral principles from the Scripture. In a Christian community, the Scripture is the guiding norm which guides believer’s thoughts and behaviors so that s/he can become a good person (cf. Meigs 1995;
I will argue that when testifiers frame their personal experiences as a testimony to be shared with the audience, their attempt to present their thoughts and actions as reflecting spiritual and moral values from the Scripture (these terms will be defined in Chapter 4) is expressed as problem-solving in their testimonies. In their attempt to reconcile their experiences with communal expectations, the testifiers frame a narrated event as a moral event and create accounts which are coherent and also consistent with the moral principles from the Scripture, in which their moral identity “I am a good Christian” is narratively created and negotiated.

Moreover, I will argue that testimony can be a site of socialization, where novice members are socialized into these spiritual and moral values through the interaction with expert members who have already mastered the communal Discourse. Lastly, the testifiers in the present research are Japanese immigrants and non-immigrants who practice Christian faith in Hawai’i. The majority are immigrants called shin-issei, or “the new first generation,” in contrast with issei, or the “first” generation, who immigrated to Hawai’i before World War II (cf. Kondo 1998; Nordyke 1977). They were born and raised in Japan and immigrated to Hawai’i, but my data show that they still hold on to some Japanese values from their home culture. Thus, even though the Scripture provides the core moral values for these Japanese-speaking Christians, the Japanese values from their home culture are still an inseparable part of their identity (the detailed ethnographic information will be provided in Chapter 3). I will demonstrate that these two sets of values (i.e., Christian and Japanese) are alternately recognized as two separate Discourses or integrated to form a single Christian Discourse in their testimonies.
A testimony is personal, but also meant to be heard by others. "Edifying," or building up, one another by sharing and hearing one another’s testimonies is a shared goal of this communal practice. I believe that examining narration as a situated communal practice provides an ideal ground to explore narrative as the embodiment of shared values and beliefs, in which one’s social identity, or one’s Discourse membership, is created, negotiated, and socialized in the presence of other members. Analyzing Christian testimonies given by the Japanese-speaking Christians who share the Christian faith and cultural background through ethnographically-informed discourse analysis, the present research aims to shed new light on understanding of the concept of social identity.

Chapter 2 provides a theoretical framework through a critical review of relevant literature. Reviewing prior theoretical frameworks for the concept of social identity, I will explain why I have chosen Gee’s notion of a Discourse as the framework for the present research. I will first review prior analytic frameworks for social identity including those on secondary socialization, and then will review research on Japanese narrative and their contributions. Lastly, I will review previous research on Christian testimonies and summarize how they discuss the concept of identity. In Chapter 3, I define the ethnographic context of this study, providing detailed information on the Japanese-speaking congregation in Honolulu, Hawai’i. I first describe how the current Japanese-speaking congregation has been formed, providing a brief history of the church. Then, I will present ethnographic information on the congregants, or the participants of the present research, in more detail and close the chapter by describing their testimony-giving practice and its participants. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present the discourse analysis of the data. In Chapter 4, I present that testimony is a narrative
with problem-solving dimension focused on the believer’s moral identity. First, I will show how the presentation of testimony is constrained by the communal values and beliefs and then, I will argue that presenting one's moral identity as a good Christian whose thoughts and actions are consistent with the moral principles from the Scripture is essential for the narrator's personal account to be considered as a valued performance of testimony. Chapter 5 will deal with socialization aspects of the testimony-giving practice. I will illustrate how novice members are socialized into the communal Discourse and also what expert members can do with their expertise. In Chapter 6, I will discuss how the narrators use more than one Discourse (i.e., Japanese and Christian) in their testimony, which can be conflicting or can be integrated to produce a single Christian Discourse. I will first present how they make reference to words and sayings from Japanese culture, in which these culturally-shared resources are used to relate Christian values and beliefs, or invoke those which are not compatible with the Christian Discourse, recognizing their Japanese Discourse membership. I will then discuss how the narrators negotiate morality from the two different perspectives based on the two sets of values. Finally, Chapter 7 is the conclusion which summarizes my findings and discusses implications of the analysis in relation to understanding of the concept of social identity.
In this Chapter, defining the concept of social identity in more detail, I will
develop the theoretical framework for the present research. First, I will review prior
analytic frameworks for social identity and propose my definition of this concept. At
the end of this section, I will refer to previous research on Japanese narrative and their
contributions. Finally, I will review research on Christian testimonies and summarize
how they discuss the concept of identity.

2.1. Defining Social Identity

The notion of social identity was first articulated by Henri Tajfel (cf. 1974, 1978)
who explored individuals’ intergroup behavior in the field of social psychology.
According to Tajfel, social identity is “part of an individual's self-concept which
derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group together with the
values and emotional significance to that membership” (1974: 69). An extensive body
of research has subsequently tested this concept. In the field of sociolinguistics,
however, “identity” or “social identity” has been viewed as self-explanatory, that is,
it functions as a researcher’s analytic category, according to which s/he accounts for
people’s linguistic behavior. In such a top-down paradigm which presumes a
correlational relationship between “social identity” and a particular linguistic behavior
identities” are static, unitary, and self-defined entities which are synonymous with
pre-established social categories.

On the other hand, other scholars have proposed that social identity is a dynamic construct which is motivated and actively constructed by interlocutors. Such analytic frameworks include contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982a & b, 1996), subjectivity (Peirce 1993, 1995; Siegal 1996), participation framework (Goffman 1974, 1979, 1981), participant framework (Goodwin 1990; Ochs & Taylor 1992), community of practice (cf. Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), membership categorization (cf. Sacks 1992; Antaki & Widdicombe 1988), and other research on secondary socialization (cf. Briggs 1988; Gee 1989, 1996; Rudolph 1994, Wieder & Pratt 1990a). I will first review prior research which presents such dynamic understanding of social identity.

**Participation Framework**

Goffman (1974, 1981) addresses multiple nature of social identity in relation to the notion of the “speaker,” which he explains in terms of “participation framework,” or a set of positions that one person can take to a particular utterance, and differentiates four “participation statuses,” namely, “animator,” “author,” “principal,” and “figure:” an animator is the “sounding box” which physically produces the utterance. An author composes the utterance. A principal is responsible for the content of the utterance and a figure is portrayed through that utterance. These “social roles” or “identities” (1981: 226) can be filled by different people or a single individual. For example, in institutional discourse (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992), speakers use the inclusive we to invoke an institutional over a personal identity, thereby indicating that they (the animator and the author) are speaking on behalf of their organization (the
Goffman refers to such changes in participation framework (or participant status) as shifts in “footing” (1974, 1979, 1981), or the position or alignment that an individual takes up to a particular utterance. In other words, “the multiple senses in which the self of the speaker can appear” (1981: 173) are revealed in changes in footing, in which the speaker links him/herself differently to a particular utterance.

**Contextualization Cues**

Focusing on what he calls “contextualization cues,” or linguistic features which provide an interpretive frame for interlocutors, Gumperz (1982a & b, 1996) has explored how social identity is “communicatively produced” (1982b: 1) through these linguistic features in intergroup communication. In interethnic encounters where interlocutors with different ethnic backgrounds negotiate a common frame of interpretation, when the interlocutors understand and notice relevant contextualization cues, interpretive processes are taken for granted or unnoticed. However, when they do not share the understanding and interpretation of these features, miscommunication may arise, which might lead to communication breakdown. According to his example (1982a), a counseling session in which an "Indian English" speaker was interviewed by a "Western (British, in this case) English" speaker did not go smoothly, even though both of them were "educated speakers of English." They failed to negotiated a common frame of interpretation in terms of what needed to be accomplished, because they did not share the understanding of contextualization processes, or use and interpretation of contextualization cues, and ended up using different contextualization strategies. In other words, through these different contextualization
processes, interlocutors' "ethnic identities" were created or interactionally emergent over the course of interaction. Gumperz, however, attributes these differences in contextualization processes to interlocutors' ethnicity such as Indian and British. Therefore, Gumperz' approach to social identity shares some assumption with the above-mentioned static view of social identity, namely, viewing ethnicity as a set variable which explains different linguistic behaviors. Accordingly, his proposal does not address the multiple nature of social identity.

**Subjectivity**

Peirce (1993, 1995) proposes a theory of social identity in order to explain the natural language learning experience of immigrant women who were learning English in Ontario, Canada. She draws on the feminist poststructuralist theory of social identity, in particular, Weedon's (1987) conception of social identity, or subjectivity, which is defined as "the conscious and unconscious thought and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (32). According to Weedon (ibid.), there are three defining characteristics of subjectivity, that is, (a) the multiple, nonunitary nature of the subject, (b) subjectivity as a site of struggle, and (c) subjectivity as changing over time. Based on these characteristics outlined by Weedon, Peirce formulates a concept of social identity.

Referring to the poststructuralism's conception of the individual as multiple and contradictory rather than unitary, Peirce identifies one informant's multiple identities as an immigrant, a mother, a language learner, a worker, and a wife. This informant was not a fluent English speaker, but despite feelings of inferiority, she refused to be silenced when she had to defend her family's rights, for instance, when she had to tell
her landlord that they had not broken their lease agreement. In other words, she did not give in to the identity of “immigrant woman” but expressed the identity of “mother,” or a primary caregiver.

The conception of social identity as a site of struggle is a logical extension of the view that social identity is being multiple and contradictory. The subject positions that a person takes up within a particular discourse are open to contestation; the person might resist that position, or even set up a counter-discourse which places the person in a powerful rather than marginalized position (1993: 193). Peirce reports that the afore-mentioned informant, who was exploited by her younger English-speaking co-workers at work, refused to give in to their exploitation, that is, she said “No” to them by reframing the power relationship between her and the co-workers as that of mother and daughter, that is, these young co-workers were supposed to listen to her, because they were her children’s age. By saying “No,” she resisted the position of an “immigrant woman” in favor of the position of a “mother,” which not only gave her the right to speak, but in effect, silenced the co-workers.

Third, in arguing that subjectivity is multiple, contradictory, and a site of struggle, feminist poststructuralism highlights the changing quality of a person’s social identity. Another informant who used to see herself as an “immigrant” started seeing herself as what Peirce calls a “multicultural citizen” (1993: 195); at first, this informant accepted the “immigrant” position of one who had no right to speak at work, but started to challenge this position, as she developed a sense of her right to speak.

Drawing on a diary study and interviews, Peirce’s study is unable to show the dynamics in which the informants’ social identities were collaboratively constructed
in the course of conversational interaction, but has shown other dynamic aspects of social identity, that is, social identity is multiple and can be contradictory and changes over time.

Siegal (1996) examines the role of subjectivity of second language (L2) learners in the acquisition of Japanese sociolinguistic competency. Her informants were Caucasian women learning Japanese in Japan. As Peirce, drawing on Weedon's framework, Siegal argues that the learners' subjectivity or social identity is co-constructed in their conversational interactions with L1-Japanese speakers, that is, as the informants structure their subjectivity in ways that L1 speakers do not, "the instantiation of a foreigner identity" occurs. For instance, one informant overused the epistemic modal *deshoo* as she conversed with her professor who was an L1-Japanese speaker, which was her attempt to present herself as a polite and deferential person. Against her expectation, however, the overuse of *deshoo* turned out to be face-threatening, because this modal implies that the informant is asking for confirmation of what the superior already knows about and thus, should be avoided when speaking to a social superior. Siegal notes, however, that in her study, unlike the above-mentioned Gumperz' research, informants' not-native-like linguistic behaviors did not cause misunderstandings as they interacted with L1-Japanese speakers. She attributes this phenomenon partly to her informants' being "sojourners," i.e., they were in Japan for less than two years and did not plan to stay longer, and partly to the low expectations of the Japanese people regarding the use of sociolinguistically appropriate Japanese by these Caucasian foreigners.
Participant Framework

Ochs (1993) discusses social identity from the perspective of language socialization. Taking what she calls a "social constructive approach" (296), an approach which is opposed to the above-mentioned static view of social identity, Ochs states that each person can claim multiple social identities. She defines social identity as "a range of social persona, including social statuses, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community identities one may attempt to claim or assign in the course of social life" (288), which is also "jointly constructed, maintained, and socialized through on-going interactions" (294). Ochs illustrates how social identities are jointly constructed within a particular type of participant framework that emerges in family dinnertime narrative. The notion of participant framework was introduced by Goodwin (1990).¹ The basic assumption is that the way conversation is structured is itself a type of social organization, that is, participants align themselves toward each other in specific ways through activities that provide resources for constituting social organization within face-to-face interaction (1990: 10). The family members who participate in dinner become co-authors of a narrative through different narrative activities such as introducing a story, problematizing a narrated event, and challenging one another's versions of the narrated event. Such collaborative storytelling is constitutive of the family itself, that is, the social identities such as mother, father, daughter, son, are jointly constructed through co-narration. For instance, examining dinnertime narratives collected from seven Anglo-American families in the Los Angeles area, Ochs and Taylor (1992) find that (a) children were the preferred protagonists of dinnertime narratives; (b) parents were

¹ This notion is also related to Goffman's (1974, 1981) notion of participation framework, but builds on the relevance of the sequential organization of talk (Duranti 1997).
more likely to introduce narratives; (c) in doing so, mothers tended to select fathers as primary recipients. The typical strategy is “You wanna tell Daddy what happened to you today?” Ochs and Taylor argue that the participant framework established through narrative activities such as the above creates what they call "Father-knows-best" dynamic, or patriarchical ideology, in which a father is viewed as primary audience who problematizes and evaluates family members' actions, thoughts, and feelings. Simultaneously, the co-present children are socialized into the understanding of what it means to be a family under this "Father-knows-best" patriarchal ideology.

**Community of Practice**

Wenger (1998) discusses identity within the framework of the “Community of Practice” (henceforth, CoP). This concept was introduced by Lave & Wenger (1991) as a component of social theory of learning. Emphasizing the notion of “practice” and “participation” in practice, Wenger identifies three dimensions which characterize a CoP. These dimensions are; (a) mutual engagement, (b) a joint enterprise, and (c) a shared repertoire. A community and its membership are created and sustained as participants are mutually engaged in the pursuit of a joint enterprise, or a shared goal. Such a joint enterprise is the result of the collective process of their mutual engagement negotiating the shared goal, which over time, creates a shared repertoire, or a set of resources for the community to negotiate their identity. Within this framework, Wenger names the following characteristics of identity, namely, identity as *community membership* is not merely a category or a label, but a *negotiated experience* that involves both participation and reification; it is reified by both us and others in a social discourse but also produced as a lived experience of participation in
specific communities (151). It also involves *learning* in which “peripheral members,” or new comers, become full participants by participating with “core members.” Finally, identity is a *nexus of multi membership* where we reconcile our different forms of membership (149).

The CofP framework has been applied to empirical research on language and gender (cf. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992a & b; Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999). However, placing its emphasis on differentiating their framework from the traditional “speech community” which is defined on the basis of location and/or population, few of the CofP research address all the above-listed characteristics of identity proposed by Wenger. For example, to my knowledge, no CofP research has investigated the learning aspect of identity in which “peripheral members” become “core members” through their participation in a shared practice. Still emphasizing an ethnographic bottom-up approach, the CofP research has shown the dynamic aspect of identity which is produced and negotiated through a particular linguistic repertoire in various “local” communities such as that of American high school female nerds (Bucholtz 1999) or that of pregnant women (Freed 1999).

**Membership Categorization**

Sacks (1979, 1992) explains identity construction in terms of “membership categorization,” that is, how conversational participants use descriptive categories in order to define their membership. These categories are not researchers’ analytic categories, but serve participants’ resources to describe who they are and what they do within conversational interaction, which Sacks refers to as “membership categorization devices.” The classic example is his “hotrodder” study (1979, 1992), in
which he examined how a group of teenagers in 1960s described themselves in group therapy sessions. The term “hotrodder” was derived from ownership and activities with “hotrods,” or this particular type of customized car. These teenagers used this term in order to distinguish themselves from those who were not legitimate members of this category (cf. Edwards 1998).

Antaki & Widdicombe (1998) refer to such descriptive categories as an “identity category” and based on prior ethnomethodology and conversation analysis literature, they list the following five principles for analyzing identity:

- for a person to “have an identity” ... is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features;
- such casting is indexical and occasioned;
- it makes relevant the identity to the interactional business going on;
- the force of “having an identity” is in its consequentiality in the interaction; and
- all this is visible in people’s exploitation of the structures of conversation.

(Antaki & Widdicombe 1998: 3)

From the same perspective, Zimmerman (1998) proposes the notion of a “discourse identity” which interactionally emerges from what he calls “situated” or institutional identities of participants. According to Zimmerman, “discourse identities” emerge as a feature of sequential organization, orienting participants to the type of activity underway and their respective roles within it (1998: 92). The following example is a call at a mid-western dispatch center.
1 Call-taker: Mid-City emergency.
2 Caller: Year um I’d like to report something weird that happened about five minutes ago?
3 in front of our apartment building?
4 Call-taker: Yeah?
5 Caller: On eight fourteen eleventh avenue southeast,
6 Call-taker: Mmhm,
8 Caller: We were just sitting in the room and we heard this cranking you know like someone was pulling something behind their car and we looked out the window there was this light blue smashed up station wagon and thuh guy made a U-turn = we live on a dead end and thuh whole front end of thuh car was smashed up he jumped out of the car and I remember he he tried to push the hood down on something and then he just started running an’ he took off,
9 Call-taker: Mmhm.
10 Caller: And we think that maybe he could’ve you know stolen the car and abandoned it or something.
12 Call-taker: What kinda car is it?
13 Caller: It’s a blue station wagon We just have seen it from the window.
15 Call-taker: We’ll get somebody over there ...

(Zimmerman 1998: 92-93)

In lines 2 and 3, the caller starts with the standard report format, which “casts” both caller and call-taker into institutional identities of citizen-complainant and emergency-call taker. However, before the call-taker responds to this format by initiating a normal routine of questions, in line 8, the caller starts telling a story, in which s/he takes his/her discourse identity of a story teller. Then, the call-taker aligns him/herself by taking his/her discourse identity as a story recipient. The interrogation occurs after the completion of the narrative, which places them back to the footing of an emergency telephone call. Zimmerman states that discourse identities shift turn by
turn, but they are tied to institutional identities which in turn will link these local activities to institutions through the socially distributed knowledge participants have about them (1998: 94).

So far I have summarized prior theoretical frameworks which view social identity as a dynamic construct which is motivated and actively constructed by interlocutors. According to these proposals, social identity is not single but multiple, situated, collaboratively constructed, interactionally emergent or made relevant by conversational participants, and thus, constantly evolves over the course of interaction. In addition, some of the above-mentioned frameworks point out the learning or socialization aspect of social identity (cf. Lave & Wenger 1991; Ochs 1993; Ochs and Taylor 1992; Wenger 1998). However, this aspect has not been much explored in the above-discussed empirical studies. In the following section, I will review literature which discusses the concept of social identity from the language socialization perspective.

2.2. Social Identity from the Language Socialization Perspective

Socialization is the process by which one becomes a competent member of society (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986a, 1986b; Ochs 1988). Children are socialized to the values and norms of their culture as they acquire language of their speech community (primary socialization) (ibid.). This process is called "language socialization" (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986a, 1986b), which is not limited to early childhood but also true for secondary socialization in which novice members are socialized into values and beliefs of a particular community through language-mediated interactions with

To be Recognized as “Real” Indians

Wieder and Pratt (1990a) explore how American Indians recognize each other as “real” Indians. In order to claim their identity as a real Indian, they should demonstrate their competence in recognizable ways, which has to happen in the interaction with other real Indians. The problem of recognition and being recognized is very consequential for Indians. Being a real Indian is not something one can simply be, but something that one becomes or is in the “doing” of being or becoming a real Indian, that is, one must learn how to “do,” or perform, being and becoming a real Indian. If one does not continue to practice being a real Indian, one ceases to be a real Indian. Moreover, not only oneself getting recognized but also correctly identifying someone as a real Indian constitutes the practice of “doing” being and becoming a real Indian. The criteria to be identified as (and identify) a real Indian include; (a) remaining “reticent,” or silent, when interacting with strangers; (b) accepting each other’s obligations; the interlocutors remain silent as strangers, but once they acknowledge each other as Indians, they are obligated to interact with each other in any future encounters; (c) competence in “razzing,” or verbal art of sparring; (d) maintaining harmony in face-to-face interaction with strangers; (e) showing modesty
as "just one of us" by not boasting about one's achievements or expertise and "doing one's part" by taking part in the communal activities; (f) developing "familial" relations, or those beyond simple friendship, among friends through mutual agreement; (g) being able to recognize "permissible" silence during a conversational exchange and also knowing when silence is required. For example, when someone is learning about being a real Indian, the person who has taken up the role of "student" is suppose to show his attentiveness by being silent; (h) knowing when and what to say in public speaking; only elder males may speak for themselves as well as for others. Younger males and all women must seek out an elder male who will "talk for" or "speak for them," if they have something to say. Violation of this prohibition is regarded as serious misconduct.

Wieder and Pratt state that "doing" being and becoming a real Indian by demonstrating the above-listed characteristics is not something that one can do all by oneself but requires the participation of other real Indians.

**Mexicano Historical Discourse**

Focusing on verbal art of the Spanish-speaking Mexicano community in Cordova, New Mexico, Briggs (1986, 1988) explores how "the talk of the elders of bygone days," or traditional knowledge in Mexicano society, is passed on to younger generations through their verbal art practice. "The talk of the elders of bygone days" strengthens the communal values of cooperation and human dignity, especially against individualism and secularism in modern industrial society. Elders, or those about seventy years and older, consider it to be their duty to preserve and pass on these values to younger persons through their verbal art performance.
“The talk of the elders of the bygone days” is performed in the following three
types of interaction, in which people with varying degrees of competence interact in
different ways. The first type is the oral historical competition, or a competitive
exchange of oral historical knowledge and rhetorical skills, which takes place
exclusively between elders. While elders are viewed as the legitimate bearers of “the
talk of the elders of bygone days,” a younger and inexperienced speaker will always
yield the floor to elders and will not contradict his/her seniors.

A second type is what Briggs calls “historical explorations.” Historical
explorations are discussions of the past which take place among middle-aged people
between thirty and fifty years of age, who are roughly equal in their knowledge of
historical information and the ability to articulate it. Historical explorations, however,
do not take place when elders are present; it would be presumptuous for a middle-
aged person to assume control of information about bygone days in the presence of
elders. In addition, the material is generally drawn from the more recent past and is
presented as personal recollection, which normally starts with a formula for indicating
an evidential basis of an account such as “I remember that” or “I remember when.”
Elders also sometimes use these formulas, but they also invoke the words of their
predecessors more directly by phrasing it as “the elders of bygone days used to say
that.” Since such personal recollections are presented as facts about the elders of
bygone days but not as the words of the deceased elders themselves, historical
explorations are not intended to be authoritative. In other words, exchanges of
personal recollections constitute reports of historical events rather than performances
of historical knowledge, which is viewed as recreational, rather than competitive and

2 In his recent accounts, Briggs (1988) includes "collective recollections" as another type of
interaction, which are noncompetitive exchanges of historical information that take place
between elders.

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pedagogical. Younger persons do not assert that their information is unimpeachable. If a question arises, such persons will say “I don’t remember very well, I was very young” or even “I don’t really know. You should go talk to so-and-so,” naming some elder.

A third type is “pedagogical discourse,” in which an elder or elders engage in a dialogue with one or more younger persons. The goal is to inculcate the basic moral values that exemplify the actions of “the elders of bygone days” for succeeding generations. Pedagogical discourse creates an asymmetry between participants that is not present in the other types of interaction, which places an elder in the position of a principal speaker, who often queries his/her junior(s)’s comprehension, while younger persons are responsible for supplying back-channel cues which signal their comprehension. In such a dialogue, what Briggs calls “triplex signs,” namely, (a) goats and sheep, (b) planting and harvesting, and (c) moccasins, provide younger participants with an interpretive frame to grasp what an elder is telling them about the past and how s/he is doing so. Encapsulating a great deal of information about bygone days, these triplex signs play an important role in structuring discourse. For younger persons, learning to recognize the triplex signs and discerning their conversational significance is a vital component of competence. The extent to which a dialogue will move from the general to the specific is dependent upon the elder’s assessment of the competence of his/her interlocutors. When the younger participants are comprehending the “lesson,” the discourse can continue to move in this direction beyond the level of generalities. However, if they fail to do so by asking a naive or general question, the elder returns to basic contrasts between past and present. Thus, Briggs’ study shows that the communal discursive practices which take place between
and among interlocutors with varying degrees of competence play a vital role in socializing younger generations into the moral values through the verbal art practice of the community.

**American AA Stories**

Cain's (n.d., cited by Lave & Wenger 1991) study examines the “apprenticeship” of an alcoholic becoming a “non-drinking alcoholic” through Alcoholics Anonymous (henceforth, AA). Cain argues that the main business of AA is the reconstruction or transformation of identities from drinking non-alcoholics to non-drinking alcoholics. This transformational process takes place through the construction of personal life stories.

At AA meetings, old-timers give testimonies about their drinking past and the process of becoming sober. These “testimonies” are told for the explicit purpose of providing a model of alcoholism, or a set of criteria, by which the alcoholic can be identified, which is the first step to sobriety.

Cain notes that telling an AA story is not something that one learns through explicit teaching. Newcomers are not told how to tell their stories, but, first must be exposed to AA “models.” After being exposed to these models, the new member is called on to talk about his/her own life. Usually, unless the interpretation runs counter to AA beliefs, the speaker is not corrected. Those who are present will take appropriate parts of the newcomer’s comments and build on this in their own comments, giving parallel accounts with different interpretations, while ignoring inappropriate parts of the newcomer’s story. Through interactions with old-timers, newcomers learn how to interpret and present narrated events from the AA
perspective; AA success, or recovery, requires learning to perceive oneself and one's problem from the AA perspective. Their stories serve as their tools for reinterpreting the past and understanding the self in terms of the AA identity.

Expanding on Cain's analysis, Swora (2002) compares the AA practice of sharing life stories to conversion narrative in Evangelical Christian communities. As conversion narratives present a transformation from unsaved sinner to saved believer, healing of alcoholism is characterized by a change in AA members' identity; healing in AA is marked by new understandings of one's drinking past and their sober present.

Swora states that there are parallels between the way the AA story transmits a newly-acquired AA identity and the way conversion narratives describe a new identity as a born-again Christian. First, the changes experienced by AA members and Evangelical Christians are both mediated through the acquisition of a new language. For Evangelical Christians, the born-again experience is ascribed to the acquisition of the language which pertains to evangelical Christianity. Likewise, AA members become sober alcoholics by acquiring the AA language and learning how to tell acceptable AA life stories. In both processes, the old languages are replaced by the new ones.

Second, an unregenerate sinner learns the language of Evangelical Christianity by listening to another born-again believer witnessing about his/her conversion. Also, the AA newcomer must learn not only how to tell his/her story but also how to listen to expert AA members.

Swora argues that AA life stories are the social practice that both creates and sustains the AA community. Their community membership depends upon the acquisition of the AA story and continued identification with the community through
this practice.

**Gee's “Discourse”: Discourse with a Capital D**

Gee (1989, 1996, 1999) proposes the notion of a “Discourse” and discusses a secondary socialization within this framework. A Discourse with a capital D is defined as a “socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and ‘artifacts,’ of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network,’ or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful ‘role’” (1996: 131). In other words, Gee views one’s social identity as membership in a Discourse. We are identified with a socially meaningful group as our ways in using language render our membership in a Discourse recognizable to others. As stated in the above definition, however, Discourses involve more than language. All Discourses are inherently “ideological” --- they are always involved with a set of values which define what counts as acceptable from the insider’s point of view. Accordingly, becoming a member of a meaningful social group requires mastery of not only what to say and what to do but also what to value and what to believe.

Gee distinguishes two types of Discourse, namely, primary and secondary Discourses. A primary Discourse is what people are “apprenticed” to in early childhood during primary socialization. It is acquired not by overt instruction, but by being a member of a social group such as a family and a peer group. It is a primary Discourse which defines one’s “home” identity. On the other hand, a secondary Discourse is what people are apprenticed within non-home-based groups and

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3 Gee introduces the term "social language" (1996, 1999), specifically referring to the role of language in a Discourse.
institutions beyond the family-based primary socialization, which includes churches, schools, and offices. G states that as a primary Discourse, a secondary Discourse cannot be overtly taught but is acquired through interaction with “experts” who have already mastered the Discourse. He illustrates the difference between primary and secondary Discourses through the comparison of two school sharing-time stories (1996). One was given by an African-American girl and the other one was by an Anglo-American girl. While the story by the Anglo-American girl was considered “appropriate and successful” by her teacher, the one by the African-American girl was not; the African-American girl’s story was deeply embedded in her home-based primary Discourse, i.e., an African-American tradition of oral storytelling. Her poetic rather than prosaic style as well as her context-dependent use of lexical items was not recognized as appropriate with respect to the school-based secondary Discourse which encourages “essayist literacy,” or a lexically-explicit and logical presentation of language. On the other hand, even though she was scaffolded and supported by the teacher, the Anglo-American girl was able to use generic, or context-free, lexical items and produce a coherent account of a complex activity of candle-making, which was considered to be meaningful and valuable sharing-time story. Thus, as this example illustrates, while our social identities are recognized within and by different Discourses, partial or incomplete mastery of a Discourse identifies ourselves as outsiders to that Discourse.

Drawing on Gee’s framework, Rudolph’s (1994) study on the apprenticeship relationship between expert and novice in an academic context proposes the concept of an “interim” Discourse. Rudolph examined the co-construction of the apprenticeship relationship between a male American professor (a native English
speaker) and a female Chinese-Taiwanese graduate student during office-hour interactions. She found that as the apprenticeship relationship was co-constructed between professor (expert) and student (novice), the student’s socialization into a secondary Discourse, i.e., American academic Discourse, was accomplished through the same type of close and meaningful interactions that characterized family or peer groups, in which professor and student created a bond of positive affect through three affect-indexing devices, namely, (a) cooperativeness, (b) interdependence, and (c) shared Discourse membership. Moreover, the formation of this bond was not static, but changed with the development of the novice/expert relationship (220). In this process, the student’s socialization into a “target” or secondary Discourse was shown to proceed through a series of “interim” Discourses. An interim Discourse can be seen as a discourse parallel to the phenomenon “interlanguage,” which shares norms and values of the target Discourse, at least partially, but also reflects other Discourse membership. One example was the student’s preference for narrative-style responses to the professor’s questions, which is highly dispreferred in all American academic Discourse. Despite this dispreference for narrative in the target Discourse, the student frequently introduced a narrative of her personal experience, responding to the professor’s inquiries (221-222). In the following example, the professor is trying to obtain background information on the native language of Taiwanese Chinese. He specifically wants to know whether they are native speakers of Mandarin Chinese or Taiwanese.

1 P: well what are you a native speaker of. ( ) which did you
2 learn as a kiddie
In this exchange, rather than responding directly to the professor’s question (lines 1-2), the student begins a personal narrative (lines 3-4 and 7). Rudolph reports that on such occasions, the professor tended to cut the student’s narratives short, indicating that the student’s narrative was not an appropriate response to his request for information.

At the same time, however, these interim Discourses revealed the student’s increasing mastery of the target Discourse, which was shown in the following changes in the participants’ discourse strategies. First, there was a move from marking a cooperative relationship on a turn-by-turn basis (confirmation checks) to a-priori
marking of cooperativeness (inclusive we), which marked the professor’s trust that
the student could participate as a competent apprentice in the target Discourse.
Second, the student’s reliance on processor-licensed openings for new contributions
to the interaction shifted to the student’s self-initiated participation, i.e., the student
started taking the initiative to contribute new information instead of relying on the
professor’s confirmation checks as opportunities for a new contribution. Finally,
there was a change from the professor’s monitoring of the student’s comprehension
through confirmation checks to the student’s monitoring of her own comprehension,
which included increased self-initiated repairs such as clarification and confirmation
requests (223). According to Rudolph, such development in interim Discourses
helped to minimize the deleterious effects of miscommunication. Her study has
demonstrated the dynamic notion of an interim Discourse which evolves with the
development of a novice/expert relationship on a novice’s path to mastery of the
target Discourse.

In summary, social identity is a dynamic construct which is also value-laden. Our
social identity, or membership in a particular community which pursues common
values and interests, is recognized, as we participate with other members and non-
members. However, a novice cannot be a competent member of the community from
the beginning, but needs to be socialized into values and beliefs of the community
through interactions with expert members. As Rudolph (1994) points out, this
novice-expert relationship is not static, but constantly evolves, as novices are
socialized into the communal values and beliefs. Thus, this developmental or
socialization aspect is an essential component of social identity as a dynamic
construct that is constantly defined and evolving through interpersonal interaction.
As mentioned above, Gee (1989, 1996, 1999) views one’s social identity as membership in a Discourse which always involves a set of values. We are identified with a socially meaningful group as our ways in using language render our membership in a Discourse recognizable to others. Becoming a member of such a meaningful social group requires mastery of a Discourse. Whereas partial or incomplete mastery of a Discourse identifies ourself as outsiders to that Discourse, it is possible to have more than one Discourse recognized at once, which can be contradictory or can be integrated to form a new single Discourse. Thus, Gee’s framework of a Discourse helps us to examine the complex nature of social identity, which includes the socialization aspect as well as the dynamic and complex aspects of social identity addressed by the above-discussed prior theoretical framework. In the present research, I employ Gee’s framework of a Discourse as the central definition of social identity and use the term “social identity” as referring to one’s membership in a Discourse. In the following, I will review contributions of prior research on Japanese narrative.

2.3. Research on Japanese Narrative

In this section, I will review previous research on Japanese narrative. To date, however, few research on Japanese narrative exists, most of which focuses on the language of the narrative (Clancy 1989; Minami & McCabe 1991; Minami 1996, 2002) and structural patterns (Maynard 1989; Minami & McCabe 1991; Minami 1996, 2002; Nishikawa 1999). Recent studies, however, investigate narrative as social interaction which is collaboratively achieved by interlocutors (Nishikawa 1999; Steverson 1995). To my knowledge, there is only one study (Steverson 1995) which
examines social identity which emerges in family dinnertime narrative in the light of
the participant framework.

Research on the Language of a Narrative

consist of 40 elicited narratives, 20 written and 20 spoken, which were retellings of a
short film, “the Pear Story.” The data were collected as part of a research project
conducted by Wallace Chafe at the University of California, Berkeley, investigating
the verbalization of remembered experience. Her subjects were Japanese female
university students in their late teens and early twenties. Speakers were asked to tell
what they had seen in the film to listeners of the same age and gender. Writers
composed their narratives to be read by a native speaker of Japanese.

Clancy found differences between spoken and written narratives in the following
linguistics aspects; (1) verb morphology, (2) the use of sentence final particles, (3)
references (i.e., how speakers/writers refer to characters in the story), (4) word order,
and (4) linguistic integration, or how much information is integrated in one
utterance/sentence.

First, morphological choices were different between spoken and written Japanese.
For example, in the oral narratives, the most common connective form was a verb with
te “and/and then.” In the written narratives, this connective form was frequently
replaced by another verb form (called renyooodome) which characterizes written
Japanese. Also, at the end of a sentence, a “casual” verb form, or a plain form (i.e.,
the one found in a dictionary) that was followed by the nominalizer no or wake, was
exclusively used in the oral narratives. Clancy states that these morphological options
indicate the presence or absence of personal contact between narrators and
listeners/readers.

Second, the use of the sentence final particles (henceforth, SFP) ِْْ, sa, and yo was
frequent in the oral narratives, but they never appeared in writing. According to
Clancy, these SFPs were elicited by the communicative context and served as a means
of supporting and maintaining a face-to-face interaction (p. 63).

Third, when the narrators referred to story characters which were already
introduced, ellipsis, or complete omission of the reference, was used by both speakers
and writers, which, however, was more frequent in the oral narratives, reflecting
cognitive constraints due to less time available for planning. Ellipsis could cause
ambiguity, in which a listener had to interrupt in order to identify a referent. The
speakers sometimes clarified reference by adding a missing subject as a “postposed
noun phrase” (p. 67) at the end of an utterance. On the contrary, the writers did not
create this type of ambiguity. In addition, the speakers used a “reduced” or simpler
form of reference for the second mention of a referent, while the writers used third
person pronouns, which in Japanese, are considered to be neutral in that they do not
indicate a personal relationship between speaker and referent. In this study, the
“neutral” third person pronouns did not appear in the spoken narratives.

Fourth, the canonical word order in Japanese is subject-object-verb (SOV). This
SOV order was consistently maintained in the written narratives, but was more
flexible in the oral equivalents. For example, the speakers added “afterthoughts,” or
less important information or their own interpretations/explanations, at the end of an
utterance, which Clancy explains was due to the limited planning time.

Lastly, while written language was syntactically integrated, spoken language was
fragmented. The main difference was that in writing, relative clauses were used to present new information, which was not the case with spoken language. Having presented these observations, Clancy states that these differences between spoken and written Japanese serve different cognitive and social functions in speaking and writing.

**Research on Narrative Structure**

Maynard (1989) examined "casual narratives," which, by her definition, are neither planned nor elicited but occur naturally as part of everyday conversation (p. 98). In this study, however, the data were collected in a controlled environment in which subjects were left alone and were requested to converse “as naturally as possible” (p. 10). The subjects were adult native-speakers of Japanese. They were paired with “friends” of the same gender and with similar social status (ibid.).

Having examined video- and audio-taped data, Maynard proposed an internal structure for a casual narrative, which is a modified version of the Labovian model which exhibits the following structural components, i.e., Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Resolution, and optionally, a Coda (Labov 1972; Labov & Waletzky 1967). The proposal is that casual narrative in Japanese is structured with minimum obligatory elements of Prefacing and Narrative Event and other optional categories, namely, Evaluation/Reportability, Resolution, and Ending Remarks. Prefacing is transitional talk which precedes a storytelling per se, during which a narrator negotiates the floor with his/her potential audience. Narrative Event is the main portion of the story, or description of story characters’ conduct and experience in the narrated world. There is one more additional category Setting, which
is obligatory when participants of a narrative do not share information related to the
temporal and spacial framework of the narrated world.

Among optional categories, Evaluation/Reportability refers to the point of a
narrative. Resolution is the result of the Narrative Event and Ending Remarks signal
the end of narrative. Maynard states that the above structural elements in Japanese
casual narratives resemble those proposed by previous structural models (cf. Labov 1972; Labov & Waletzky 1967; Longrace & Levinson 1978), but these previous
models need to be modified to best characterize Japanese casual narratives. According
to Maynard, both storyteller and story recipient appreciate the above-mentioned
internal structure of Japanese casual narrative and collaborate within the structure, in
which listeners make minimal attempts to take the floor once the floor is negotiated to
be dominated by the storyteller.

Minami and McCabe (1991) analyzed monologic narratives of 17 Japanese
children aged five to nine. The children were asked to talk about their past injuries.
The data were analyzed through what they call “stanza analysis,” that is, identifying a
stanza which contains a certain number of lines in a narrative text. As a result, the
following three features emerged: (1) the narratives are exceptionally succinct; (2) they
are collections of three experiences, which, in Labovian terms, show a canonical
“orientation-act-outcome” pattern; and (3) stanzas almost always consist of three
lines. According to Minami and MacCabe, these features reflect the basic
characteristics of haiku, Japanese three-line poetry, which describes one event with
17 syllables. The authors propose that haiku serves as a discourse regulation device,
which explains the above-listed features identified in the children’s narratives, namely,
the regularity of having three lines per stanza as well as tendency to speak succinctly
of collections of experience. Minami and McCabe argue that since *haiku* is culturally embedded in ordinary discourse and children are exposed to it, their oral narratives unconsciously echo the three-line pattern observed in *haiku*.

Minami (1996) examined Japanese children’s development of narrative discourse competence and narrative structure through the comparison with adult narrators. The data were elicited from 20 Japanese middle-class preschool children and their mothers by an adult Japanese interviewer. Minami used the above-mentioned stanza analysis and also a “high point analysis” based on the Labovian approach, that is, coding each line in a stanza according to Labov’s structural components. The basic assumption is that a narrative is centered around the “high point,” which is predictably found in the Evaluation section that emphasizes its relative importance to the other sections (Labov 1972; Labov & Waletzky 1967). Thus, locating the high point helps us to see the whole organization of the narrative.

The stanza analysis reveals that both children’s and adults’ narratives show similar tendencies of having three verses per stanza, in which the children are able to employ some of the linguistic devices and strategies which are used by the adults, namely, the internactional/rapport particle *ne*, reported speech, and the case particle *wa*. The children also tend to tell multiple experiences as the adults do. On the other hand, the high point analysis reveals that children’s and adults’ three-verse stanzas are qualitatively different. The children tell their stories in a “sequential” style, while the adults emphasize “non-sequential” information, i.e., the children describe actions, or specific, temporally-sequenced events which comprise an experience, whereas the adults place more emphasis on evaluative information such as feelings and emotions; non-sequential information, namely, orientation and evaluation, has no temporal
constraints and can be inserted at any point of a narrative without changing the
temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation of narrated events (Labov 1972; Labov & Waletzky 1967). According to Minami, the findings of this study
suggest that oral personal narratives told by Japanese preschoolers do not represent
the final phase of development and that children take a particular path of development
specific to their native language as well as the culturally-preferred narrative structure.

In his (2002) study, Minami expanded the scope of the research. First, using the
same set of data from the previous study (Minami 1996), i.e., narratives elicited from
20 Japanese preschool children, half four- and half five-years old, and their mothers,
he presented a more detailed analysis of the data. Both stanza and high point
analyses reveal that compared to the four-year-olds, narratives of the five-year-olds
are more adult-like in terms of both structure and evaluation; both adults and five-
year-olds produce approximately three verses per stanza on average. Also, although
they still emphasize the action sequence, the five-year-olds use more evaluation than
the four-year-olds. In addition, looking at more linguistic features, Minami found that
despite the previous findings that children have mastered some linguistic devices and
strategies such as the formal verb ending desu/masu and the connective dakara “so” in
early language acquisition, the preschoolers have not yet begun to use them in their
monologic narratives.

Second, Minami examined another set of the data from the same subjects, which
was mother-child interaction, in order to see how Japanese mothers guide their
children in the acquisition of cultural-specific styles of narrative. The data show that
the mothers scaffold their children’s narratives by using huun “Uh huh” which
prefaces topic-extension (p. 189) and by requesting more evaluation. Then, Minami
compared the Japanese mother-child dyadic interaction with that of North American mothers and children. In addition to the above-mentioned subjects, English-speaking children and their mothers and Japanese children and their mothers living in the U.S. participated in the study. The main difference is that English-speaking mothers allow their children to take long monologic turns and give many evaluations, whereas the Japanese mothers, whether living in Japan or the U.S., facilitate frequent turn exchanges and provide few evaluations. Minami attributes these differences to mothers’ concern to develop children’s culturally-appropriate narrative skills, that is, in North America, an individual should be verbally explicit, whereas in Japanese society, people are expected to be verbally implicit and empathic. However, compared with the Japanese mothers living in Japan, the Japanese mothers living in the U.S. request more descriptions as the North American mothers do, which Minami explains reflects concerns of the Japanese mothers living in the U.S. who have acquired a taste for descriptive elaboration under the influence of the American “loquacious environment.”

Nishikawa (1999) investigates the “point-communicating process” in Japanese narratives, that is, how the point of a narrative is communicated through negotiation between narrator and recipient. The data were elicited in one-on-one interviews conducted between the author and Japanese interviewees. All the interviewees were university students in their twenties.

Nishikawa argues that Japanese narrative displays an aspect of Japanese communicative style which reflects the Japanese cultural value “empathy,” i.e., identifying with another’s point of view. According to the Labovian analytical scheme, the Orientation section provides background information such as time and
place of the narrated event. Nishikawa states that in Japanese narratives, information in the Orientation is qualitatively different from that in English narratives analyzed by previous studies (Labov 1972; Labov & Waletzky 1967). In Japanese narratives, two types of information are found in the Orientation. One is orientation or referential information which provides points of reference that lead to the Complicating Action where story characters perform particular actions and experience particular events. The other is what Nishikawa calls “general preliminary information,” which characterizes the point in the narrator’s life at the time of the narrated event(s), such as narrator’s age, his/her living place, and his/her occupational status. Such general preliminary information establishes shared knowledge about the background of the narrative experience of the narrator, not about the narrated events themselves, and Nishikawa argues that this information enables the recipient to empathize with the narrator’s view of the point of the narrative. The following example in which the narrator talks about being injured badly on a school sports day illustrates how general preliminary information contributes to the point-communicating process.

1 aa undookai no toki ni ne, shoogakkoo no ichinensei no toki? ano hajimete no undookai, shoogakkoo ichinensei tte yuuto ma hajimete no ooki na undookai desho? on sports day --- when in the first grade, it was the first ---, if you are in the first grade, it is the first school wide sports day, isn’t it?

2 mochiron yoochien no toki mo, undookai atta kedo of course in kindergarten, there was a sports day but

3 sono toki no ..... tokyoosoo ga attan desu yo ne? there was a running race at that time

4 sono toki yappa kinchoo suru ja nai desu kaa, at that time [the race], as you know, you get nervous, right?
5 kinchoo = nervous =

Listener 11; = un =
= yeah =

6 = shimasen ka? don’t you become nervous?

7 atashi undookai daikkirai na n da kedo ((laugh))
I hate sports day

Listener 12; ((giggle))

(Nishikawa 1999: 74, 75 [Italics mine])

At the very beginning, the narrator establishes the temporal and spatial reference by mentioning that this specific event (i.e., the sports day) took place when she was in the first grade. Through subsequent information, the recipient can narrow down the image of the sports day into “the first school-wide event” (p. 74). Then, from line 3, as the narrator further narrows down the picture to a race in which she participated, the significance of the sports day underscores her negative evaluation of the event, in which she felt nervous, so she hated the sports day (lines 4-7). Thus, until she gives this specific picture of a little child being nervous at the first school-wide sports event, the narrator develops her personal viewpoint through the general preliminary information, appealing to the recipient’s shared knowledge. The narrator’s tag question in line 1 indicates that she assumes that the recipient, who is also a Japanese who grew up in Japan, is familiar with the Japanese sports day. In line 4, the narrator’s use of the discourse marker yappa “as you know” also indicates her assumption that the recipient experienced the same feeling (i.e., becoming nervous) on
the first sports day, which is followed by the narrator’s requesting the recipient’s agreement in line 6. Having established this specific picture, or her personal point of view, the narrator starts describing that she fell down in the race in the Complicating Action. In other words, as she builds up the background, or the general preliminary information, about the Japanese sports day, the narrator’s personal viewpoint is developed until the recipient is able to accept it as a shared evaluation (pp. 73-76). Nishikawa states that the general preliminary information which enables the recipient to empathize with the narrator’s point of view is the first and essential point-communicating process in Japanese narratives.

**Research on Family Dinnertime Narrative**

Steverson (1995) investigates a mother’s role in Japanese dinnertime narratives. She examined eight dinnertime narratives which were collected from four families who lived in four different areas in Japan. Each family was asked to tape their dinnertime conversation twice.

Comparing her data to the above-cited American study on dinnertime narrative (Ochs and Taylor 1992), Steverson finds that Japanese mothers play a more significant role as primary recipients and initiators/elicitors of a narrative than their American counterparts. For an instance, the following example shows that the mother functions as a co-author of her son’s narrative, contributing critically to the development of the story. M and C in the transcript stand for mother and child, respectively.
1 C: Kyoo wa kabocha no ne: kabocha no korokke to ne:
   Today I had a pumpkin, pumpkin croquette and
   [ ]
2 M:        Un
   Hum,
3 C: = poteto chippusu no sarada yatta yo.
   potato chips salad (at my preschool).
   [ ]
4 M: Un
   Yes.
5 M: A Chippusu sarada yatta.
   Oh, it was chips salad.
6 C: Un.
   Yes.
7 M: Oishikatta yaro?
   Was it good?
8 C: Oishikatta kedo karakatta yo.
   It was good but it was spicy.
9 M: Nanno kare:: no ya.
   What was spicy? Was it curry that was spicy?
10 C: Ninya.
    No it was not.
11 M: Chippusu sarada.
    You mean chips salad.
12 C: N.
    Yes.
13 M: Shio 'n karakatta.
    Was it salty?
14 C: N.
    Yes.
15 M: *Anta mo chippus sarada suitotto ne. Nanno*  
You like chips salad, don’t you? What was

16 *ittotta? Chippus sarada ( ).*  
in the chips salad?

17 C: *Poteto chippusu to ne ringo to kyuuiri toka mo*  
There were potato chips, apples and cucumbers in =

18 M:  
Un un  Un  
Hum, Hm.  Hum.

19 C: *ippai ittotta.*  
it. =

20 M: = *ippai ittotta. Shi: chikin wa?*  
= There were lots of them. How about tuna fish?

21 C: *Un. Ittoran ittoran yatta.*  
No. It was not, it was not included.

22 M: *O: ittoran yatta.*  
Oh, it was not included.

(Steverson 1995: 33-34)

As the example shows, eliciting details of the event and also commenting on the  
feelings of the son for him, the mother is deeply involved in the co-construction of her  
son’s narrative. Steverson explains that by mentioning the child’s feelings toward the  
central narrated event, the mother implicitly teaches the Japanese cultural value  
“empathy,” or how to identify with other people’s feelings (cf. Clancy 1986; Kuno &  
Kaburaki 1977; Lebra 1994). In addition, mothers play a prominent role in socializing  
children. They display authority as they instruct children on social norms, telling  
them what to do or not to do from the societal point of view. On the contrary, the  
Japanese father has to fight for authority in family narratives. The father’s authority  
44
is either ignored or brushed off by both the mother and the child except for matters outside of the family. Overall, compared to the American father who is viewed as a primary audience who problematizes and evaluates family members’ narratives under the “Father-knows-best” ideology (Ochs & Taylor 1992), the Japanese father plays a much less important role in dinnertime narratives. Steverson concludes that the mother’s role in Japanese dinnertime narrative as gentle but prominent authority reflects the social role of the Japanese mother as the center of family life.

Thus, except for Steverson (1995) who examines social identities which emerge in the family dinnertime narrative, most of the studies on Japanese narrative focus on the language of the narrative and recognizable structural patterns. This study aims to make new contributions to the research on Japanese narrative, investigating the concept of identity which is presented, negotiated, and socialized in narration as a situated social practice. In the next section, I will review how prior research on Christian testimonies discuss the concept of identity.

2.4. Previous Research on Christian Testimonies

Most of the previous research on Christian testimonies (cf. Csordas 1994; Harding 1987, 1992; Meigs 1995; Stromberg 1993; Titon 1988) focus on "conversion narratives," that is, narratives which describe a self-transformation process of becoming a born-again Christian. According to these literature, conversion is of the following two types, namely, (a) a one-time transformation of becoming a born-again Christian and (b) a developmental process of growing more mature in Christian faith subsequent to the conversion of becoming a Christian believer. Although the meaning
of conversion varies with the investigated Christian communities, all the research states that both types of conversion involve transforming a believer's identity. In this section, I will review research on Christian testimonies which discuss the concept of identity.

**Evangelical Christian's Self-transformation Narrative**

Stromberg (1993) examined conversion narratives of six Evangelical Christians in a “large Evangelical church” in a city in California. In this community, conversion is explicitly defined by believers as “self-transformation” (18), which is made possible by framing one’s experience in what Stromberg calls a “canonical language,” that is, the language which is concerned with something enduring and beyond everyday reality, such as those associated with Evangelical Christianity (3). The central task of a believer in Evangelical Christianity is to find a meaningful link between the canonical language and his/her idiosyncratic personal experience. A believer who would have a conversion must learn to understand his/her experience and the Word of God in the same terms (11). The conversion narrative provides this link.

According to Stromberg, conversion narrative helps believers to redefine their previous undesired behaviors and resolve what they had experienced as conflicting dimensions of their identity. As a result, “a particular form of identity” (15) is established and acted out in conversion narratives. For example, Stromberg analyzes one woman’s testimony in which she told about her life that was revolving around contradictory feelings. She had been seeking intimacy from her family and other close family-like relations, but simultaneously, felt compelled to break free of the restrictions entailed in such relations. Her conflicts manifested themselves in her
testimony and were resolved through her use of a canonical language which described “connection.” In other words, her conversion is described as a “connection,” in which her ability to feel connection to the divinity was extended to her personal relationship in her life (43-44). Even though the original ambivalence has not disappeared as the result of her conversion, she can assert her needs for both connection and separation through the canonical language. Because of the Christian rhetoric of communion with God, the informant can conceive herself as connected to God. Simultaneously, she can freely express her desire for distance in that relationship to God who has no troubling needs of His own (53).

Stromberg states that while a conversion is effective in transforming the believer's life, this effect is not due to a one-time transformation of the self (15). Instead, conversion is rather a gradual transformation of identity in which the conversion experience must be constantly recreated, which further strengthens a believer's commitment to the canonical language.

Testimonies in Appalachian Baptist Church: Asserting Christian Identity

Titon (1988) explored "language in the practice of religion" --- song, prayer, preaching, teaching, and testimony of a Baptist Church in Virginia's northern Blue Ridge Mountains. For this community, conversion is an instantaneous transformation from sinner to saint. According to their doctrine, one becomes a Christian suddenly and totally, not through gradual maturation, but by choosing to yield to God and experiencing a new birth.

After conversion, however, these born-again Christians need to continually assert their Christian identity by professing their faith. One's Christian identity is
impaired/threatened whenever people do not believe or accept his/her profession of faith at face value, but for instance, treat him/her as a religious fanatic. Such discrepancies between one's sense of the self and how other members perceive his/her faith cause an "identity crisis" (197). On the other hand, when a testifier does not feel these discrepancies, his/her Christian identity is strengthened because of acceptance and reinforcement from the community.

Titon states that it is the Bible that helps the believers to assert and reassert their Christian identity. For instance, when one informant gave a testimony, he turned to the Scripture at points when he needed to prove something by deducing the truth from the Scripture. He compared himself to David in explaining that God took away his five-year-old son to punish him.

"And I had him (= his son) up in my arms when he was dying. And she (= his wife) screamed just as loud as she could scream, 'Pray!' But children, I couldn't pray. There was no way I could pray because there was sin in my life between me and God that I had not repented of. ... Now some will say, 'I don't believe that. I don't believe God works like that.' But David, ... David said that he had committed adultery with this woman. And God took the child from David. He wouldn't let David keep that child because he'd committed adultery. ... And he had Uriah killed trying to cover up David's mistake, David's meanness. And of course I hadn't done anything like that, but yet I feel that because I had made a profession and I had let down on God, I hadn't done what God wanted me to, I feel that God was bringing me to my knees."

(Titon 1988: 416-417)

The informant related to the characters and the events in the Bible in order to support the point which he was trying to make (i.e., God took away his son to punish him), which in turn helped him to assert his Christian identity. Thus, in Titon's study, identity, or Christian identity, needs to be asserted and affirmed continually in the
presence of other members. If identity changes, one has to "backslide," i.e., losing his/her Christian identity.

**Charismatic Christians' Healing Experience**

Csordas (1994) examined testimonies told by patients of Catholic Charismatic healing. Charismatics say that religious experiences allow them to discover their "real self" than to claim that they have been given a "new self" (18). Identity is expressed as a sense of coming to know "who I am in Christ" (ibid.).

The real or ideal identity of Charismatic Christians is what they call "sacred self" which is both whole and holy and emerges while inner healing takes place. Charismatic healing presumes that self has a capacity to be wounded or broken but subsequently healed by divine power to achieve spiritual growth and maturity. For example, a woman who had been physically abused by her father told how she saw Jesus embracing her two selves --- her adult and childhood selves --- during the healing session. Then, when these two selves merged, she was able to let go of previous emotional wounds and gain a new way of understanding the painful relationship with her father, which resulted in her spiritual "growing up."

"When she (= healer) said, 'Bring your child to Jesus,' I saw him at the altar in white, ... And when I presented myself, and my child, and my husband, and my family on that (= a Catholic paten), first Jesus went like this and he embraced me, and my child, and my child --- the child inside me ... and I saw that. Then they [Jesus and the Virgin] were behind me, enmeshed in me, and he embraced me, and I saw the Blessed Mother embraced me too. And I felt their heart in mine, and he said that I had the same heart that they did, the same sacred heart. And I could see that in a vision."

(Csordas 1994: 131-132)
As shown in this excerpt, a "sacred self" is constructed through visionary biblical images such as Jesus and Mary. The personal relationships with Jesus and Mary are metaphors for a healthy selfhood which has experienced healing. Simultaneously, attaining such a sacred self is an indication of spiritual growth of a patient.

**Testimony-sharing at Women's Bible Study**

Referring to testimonies as "the individual’s public descriptions of his/her conversion experience or ‘walk in the Lord’" (93), Meigs (1995) examined seven testimonies given by “conservative” Christians in a Bible study. The Bible study was made up of middle and upper-middle class Caucasian women and took place in a "lavish, elegant church setting." The content of the testimonies was highly personal accounts of the speakers' lives. Each testimony opened with an account of the speaker's wholesome upbringing, followed by trials which the speaker went through, and concluded with reports of the speaker's resulting deeper faith.

The informants used “massive” Biblical quotations. Interviewing the informants, Meigs found out that they quoted the Scripture because they desired their own words to be replaced by the words in the Bible, which was simultaneously understood as a “bleaching out” of self (100). The underlying assumption was that God was working in every person's life and that His Word was an active shaper of every individual. The following example quotes a verse from the Book of Isaiah, referring to God as the potter who has been working on her as clay.

"Isaiah 64:8 was a verse that came to me at that time through a friend and stuck with me. It talks about ‘We're the clay and He's the potter, and we are all the work of His..."
'hands.' And if you think about that --- I stand before you. I keep thinking --- is this clay dry yet? [Laughter from audience.] I hope I'm not as leaky as I used to be [more laughter], but He's working on me. ... And as I look back now from my ancient age, I can with hindsight look and say 'thank you' for every one of the experiences I have no matter how awful they were but I can say thank you because I can see now that they were steps in this process of molding and that they were for my good."

(Meigs 1995: 91)

Meigs states that the testimonies seek to claim that the speaker's life is a quote, a mirroring of God's will, and a matching of her life and voice to those of Jesus (97). According to her interviewees, once one is born again, one discovers within oneself a hunger for the Word and a desire to read it, memorize it, and apply it to one's life. And in doing so, the Word enters the person and changes her being (ibid.), which leads to a realization of another kind of individuality.

**Witnessing of a Fundamental Baptist**

Harding (1987) explores the "rhetoric" of conversion, or the use of language in fundamental Baptists' witnessing, i.e., speaking the gospel to an unsaved sinner. For fundamental Baptists, witnessing and preaching are the two main forms in which believers speak the gospel in a more intense manner. Witnessing is more informal and often occurs in the course of what appears to be no more than a conversation between a witness and his/her unsaved listener. As the following example shows, such witnessing involves sharing a believer's conversion experience. In this example, a fundamentalist pastor "witnessed" to the researcher who he thought was a "lost soul," or an unsaved sinner, in which he told her how his conversion took place in order to "bring her under conviction."
"... And I began to look at things and I realized there was something missing in my life. Because, though we've never seen God, we're still aware of the fact that he is present, we know he's there. And even though I wasn't saved I knew there was something bombarding my life that was beyond my power to see or to really understand at that time ... then the spirit of God began to convict me about my place in life and how that I was lost and had not yet turned my whole life over to Christ, so I was saved that week, I went forward and gave my heart to Christ."

(Harding 1987: 171-172)

For fundamental Baptists, a conversion is a one-time transformation, in which an unregenerate sinner is saved to be a born-again Christian. Since fundamental Baptists believe in the transforming power of witnessing, their language is the primary vehicle of conversion. A conversion is marked by a change in the convert’s language; convicted sinners are alienated from their previous language and when they are saved, the newborn Christians begin to speak the language of Christ (170). At the moment of salvation, listeners in turn become public speakers of the gospel. The subsequent part of the above-quoted testimony illustrates this.

“So I joined that particular church after about a month of visiting there. But I was first saved and then I followed Christ to baptism, which I hadn’t been baptized before. Of course the Methodist Church, they sprinkle, and I don’t have any argument with them there, other than the fact that I believe the Bible teaches immersion. And then after this, my life began to grow and materialize into something that was real, something that I could really identify with. That emptiness that was there before was now being replaced by something that had meaning and purpose in it. And I began to sense the need of telling others about what had happened to me. And basically I think perhaps the change could be detected in my life, as the Bible declares, that when a person is saved, the old man, the old person, or the character that they were passes away, and then they become a new creation in Christ Jesus.”

(Harding ibid.: 172)
Harding states that a conversion for fundamental Baptists involves giving up disbelief and accepting new born-again belief as the central principle of one’s identity, which takes place by acquiring the new vocabulary and joining the new narrative tradition.

In sum, the prior research on testimonies focused on conversion narratives and examined the process of transforming a believer's identity. Whether instantaneous or developmental, believers go through conversion, or identity transformation, in which they were alienated from their previous understanding of a self in order to claim their new or real Christian identity, which is revealed in their ways of using language. The above-mentioned literature, however, discusses identity as a single or fixed entity; in an instantaneous conversion, one is transformed from an unsaved sinner to a saved believer and after the conversion, a believer needs to continually assert his/her Christian identity, as s/he is transformed into a more mature believer. In other words, by suggesting that one's identities are different before and after conversion and that the established Christian identity remains intact, the dynamic and complex nature of social identity, including the socialization aspect, is not addressed in the above-mentioned research on testimonies. Viewing social identity as a membership in a Discourse, my research will attempt to fill this gap. In the following analysis chapters, I will illustrate how a narrator’s social identity, or his/her Discourse membership as a Christian believer, is presented, negotiated, and also socialized as s/he testifies in the presence of other members. Moreover, the participants of the present research are Japanese immigrants and non-immigrants who practice the Christian faith in Hawai‘i but still hold on to some values from their home culture (the
detailed ethnographic information will be provided in Chapter 3). I will also
demonstrate how narrators weave their existing identity (i.e., Japanese) into newly
acquired identity (i.e., Christian) as they use and alternate more than one Discourse in
their testimonies. As mentioned in the Introduction, I believe that examining narration
as a situated social practice provides an ideal ground to explore narrative as an
embodiment of shared values and beliefs. Investigating social identity as a dynamic
and value-laden construct within this framework, the present research aims to make
new contributions to the research on Japanese narrative as well. In the next chapter, I
will first define the ethnographic context of the present research, providing detailed
information on the Japanese-speaking congregation in Hawai‘i.
CHAPTER 3
THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

3.1. "Castle Church" in Honolulu

In this chapter, I will define the ethnographic context of the present research, providing detailed information on the Japanese-speaking congregation in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. The denomination is United Church of Christ (UCC), which is the most conservative, Bible-based denomination among Protestant churches in the State of Hawai‘i.

The Japanese-speaking church is a part of a bilingual church which has both Japanese- and English-speaking congregations. Both congregations are under the supervision of an English-speaking senior pastor. The church started as a Japanese church which was founded by a Japanese pastor who immigrated to Hawai‘i. However, as time went by, the English division surpassed in size to its Japanese counterpart and the leadership was passed on from Japanese to English in the 1960’s.

The majority of the present English-speaking congregation are “local” Japanese, that is, Americans of Japanese ancestry. Including the current senior pastor, ninety percent of the members have Japanese surnames. Thus, both English and Japanese congregations are “Japanese” and look similar, but the language barrier exists. Some English-speaking members who are local Japanese speak fairly fluent Japanese, which they learned in their families. But except for those English-speaking local Japanese, neither of the two congregations speaks the other’s language very well. Therefore, regular services are conducted separately in each language. A joint service in which
the two congregations worship together is held a few times a year on special occasions such as Thanksgiving. On these occasions, the Lord's prayer is prayed and hymns are sung in both languages. Both English- and Japanese-speaking pastors preach on the same scriptural passage in their respective languages. Translations are provided on a screen put up in front of the sanctuary. However, except for these special occasions, Sunday services and other activities are conducted separately.

Signs are normally written in English, but instructions placed in frequently-used facilities like the kitchen are written in both English and Japanese. Some Japanese words are church jargon which is perfectly understood by non-Japanese-speaking members as well. Such church jargon include *nichigo-bu* "Japanese division," *eigo-bu* "English division," and *sensei* "pastor." Also, there are many frames which carry words and verses from the Scripture written in Japanese calligraphy hanging on the walls around the church building. These church jargon and frames written in Japanese calligraphy reflect the Japanese roots of the church.

The church is located in a quiet, residential section of Honolulu, where neighbors can hear Sunday worshipers singing in the sanctuary. The sanctuary has an unusual shape; it looks like a Japanese castle with a tower built on top. Crosses on the walls and the ends of the roof signal to the community that this is a Christian church. Based on the Bible verse, God is "a strong tower" (Psalm 61: 3)\(^5\), the founding pastor who came from Japan built the church in the form of a Japanese castle.

The members of the Japanese-speaking congregation call their church *o-shiro no kyoookai*, or "castle church." *Shiro* is "castle" and *kyookai* is "church." *O* of *o-shiro* is the polite prefix and *no* is the linking particle. In this case, the polite prefix *o* of *o-

\(^5\)"For You have been my refugee, a strong tower against the foe" (Psalm 61: 3). Henceforth, all the biblical citations are from the New International Version.
**shiro** functions as a diminutive which denotes affection (cf. Mizutani & Mizutani 1987). Thus, this appellation *o-shiro no kyookai* “castle church” expresses the Japanese-speaking members’ love for the church and its building. Especially for the members who immigrated to Hawai’i from Japan, this Japanese-speaking church is a safe haven in the Hawaiian English-speaking environment, which will be discussed in more detail below. In the following section, I will provide a brief history of the church.

### 3.2. Historical Context

As mentioned above, the church’s founding pastor was a Japanese from Japan. Trained at *Doshisha* University in Kyoto, the first Christian University in Japan, Rev. Takie Okumura arrived in Hawai’i in 1894. He was to work among early Japanese immigrants who came to Hawai’i in response to a high demand for laborers created by the then-growing sugar industry (cf. Nordyke 1977). Rev. Okumura walked daily to the living quarters of these early immigrants and explained the Bible to all who would listen. At that time, these Japanese immigrants working in sugar plantations suffered from low wages and a lack of social status (Nordyke 1977). Therefore, in addition to sharing the Scripture, Rev. Okumura dedicated himself to building a community where the Japanese immigrants could restore self-esteem and moral standards, and pursue a meaningful life (cf. Saiki 1985).

In 1904, Rev. Okumura organized the church. Around 1914, immigrant workers began to head for Honolulu in greater numbers from outlying sugar plantations. They started coming into the city where there were increasing work opportunities when their three-year labor contracts expired. The church became a center of activities for
these immigrants. The majority of them were not yet believers, but in 10 years (1904 to 14), church membership increased from 53 to 502.

Later, Rev. Okumura built the sanctuary in the form of a Japanese castle. The castle in feudal Japan was a stronghold intended to maintain peace and order in the country. Thus, by building a Christian church in the form of a Japanese castle, Rev. Okumura provided a new Christian meaning for his Japanese heritage, which is still valued by current church members from both Japanese and English congregations. The sanctuary which could hold 400 people was completed in 1932.

Up to around 1918, all the services and activities were conducted in the language of the immigrants (i.e., Japanese). In time, the Hawai‘i-born offspring began to attend Sunday school and a junior church was organized to meet the growing attendance of second- and third-generation children, who form the core of the present English-speaking congregation. As worship attendance and membership of the English division grew, the first English-speaking pastor was called to work entirely with the English-speaking congregation in 1946. By the 1950’s, when the church was 50 years old, the English-speaking division had surpassed in size its Japanese counterpart. In 1957, the leadership was passed from Japanese to English, when an English-speaking pastor who was a local Japanese became a senior pastor and a Japanese-speaking pastor became an associate pastor who worked under the senior pastor’s supervision.

While the English-speaking congregation grew, the membership of the Japanese-speaking congregation diminished; the issei, or the first generation, who were the core population of the Japanese congregation, were aging and stopped attending worship. In the 1970’s, a newly-arrived Japanese-speaking pastor from Japan started reaching out to the younger generation. During his term, younger people, both immigrants and
non-immigrants, started coming to worship. Non-immigrants included families who were sent from Japan for their business assignments and students who were attending local universities and English-language schools. Later, however, the influx of the non-immigrant population came to an end for different reasons. In the early 1990's, the Japanese boom economy collapsed. Japanese companies closed down their overseas branches and these families left Hawai‘i and returned to Japan for good. At the same time, it became harder to obtain a student visa. The U.S. government became more strict in issuing student visas for the Japanese, especially for those who want to be enrolled in local English schools, because of the increasing number of the Japanese who stayed in the States illegally after their visas had expired (Satomi Allred, personal communication). The Japanese church used to have a youth group whose main ministry was reaching out to the students from Japan. However, by the time the present research was conducted from 1997 to 1999, the youth group had disappeared. Among eighty active members of the Japanese congregation, there were only three members who held a student visa, including the researcher.

Today, the Japanese-speaking congregation coexists with the English-speaking congregation whose membership is three times as large. Regular attendance at Japanese-speaking Sunday worship is about 80. The majority are women who immigrated to Hawai‘i because of marriage to American citizens. In addition, even though the numbers are few, non-immigrant Japanese such as students and visitors from Japan also take part in the community. The members are exclusively Japanese, including only a few English-speaking non-Japanese members. These non-Japanese are all males who became members of the Japanese-speaking congregation, because their Japanese spouses attend Japanese worship. I will provide more detailed

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6 I owe these comments to Mrs. Satomi Allred, ISS (International Student Services) advisor.
demographic information below.

3.3. The Japanese-speaking Congregation

The majority of the Japanese-speaking congregation consists of Japanese immigrants from Japan. They are called *shin-issei* “new first” generation, to distinguish them from the *issei* “first” generation who immigrated to Hawai’i starting from the 1880’s in order to work in the sugar plantations (cf. Nordyke 1977). Also, technically, the “new first generation” means that they arrived here in Hawai’i after the 1965 liberalization of immigration laws (cf. Kondo 1998). Born and raised in Japan, these *shin-issei* immigrants came to Hawai’i mainly because of marriage and employment. The average length of their residence is about 20 years. Most of the women are married to a US-born, English-speaking husband. Except for a few, their English-speaking husbands do not speak Japanese and few of them are Christians. All the Japanese men in the congregation are what we call “green-card holders,” that is, they are allowed to stay and work in the U.S. permanently. Since tourism is the main industry in Hawai’i, most of the men work for tourist businesses such as travel agencies or airline companies.

English proficiency differs between men and women. The men speak English which is good enough for business transactions. On the other hand, after staying in Hawai’i for more than 20 years, the women are still not comfortable about speaking English. They work as sales people, tour guides, or in restaurants, but mainly interact with Japanese-speaking customers. Some English words such as “Medicare,” “microwave,” or “freeway” which are used on a daily basis are already part of their vocabulary. When it comes to communicating in English, however, their English is
limited in both comprehension and production. For example, they cannot understand their English-speaking physicians and sometimes need interpretation. They need simultaneous interpretation when they attend a joint congregational meeting which is conducted entirely in English. Some of them report that as their children grow, communication becomes harder, because growing up in the English-speaking environment, English is the primary language of their children. Thus, for these Japanese immigrants, the Japanese-speaking congregation is a safe haven in an English-speaking environment, where they can express themselves in their own tongue (i.e., Japanese) and can hold on to their home culture.

3.3.1. Acculturation vs. Holding on to Japanese Culture

The shin-issei immigrants are living in the Hawaiian environment, which is a mixture of three different cultures --- East, West, and native Hawaiian heritage (cf. Kang 1973; Saiki 1985). Although their English is still limited, living in the English-speaking environment, the immigrants have been acculturated to American culture to some extent. For instance, they address each other on a first name basis (in Japan, they would mainly use family names), like to hug each other, and celebrate American, non-Christian holidays such as the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving. They have also adopted a local (i.e., Hawaiian) dress code. Men wear aloha shirts --- those with colorful prints such as tropical flowers and trees --- as business attire and also for Sunday worship. Women wear muu-muus, or traditional Hawaiian, long, loose-hanging dresses, for worship, at work, and when they go out. They also have their own hula group in church. Hula is a traditional Hawaiian dance, which has recently begun to be used in Christian worship. Women rehearse hula in church once a week.
and perform in worship services and other church-related occasions. They use three languages in hula, i.e., Japanese, English, and Hawaiian, for the same tune. Visitors from Japan sometimes take part in the rehearsal just for the experience and enjoy getting a quick taste of hula.

While the *shin-issei* Japanese have adopted some Western culture and some local Hawaiian culture, they hold on to some aspects of their home (i.e., Japanese) culture. They still celebrate non-religious traditional Japanese occasions such as New Year’s Day and “*kanreki,*” or the celebration of the 60th birthday. On New Year’s Day, they gather in church and pound mochi, or sticky rice cake, to celebrate the New Year. For the Japanese, one’s 60th birthday is a special occasion to celebrate longevity. They throw a party to celebrate the 60th birthday for church members, in which, according to the Japanese custom, a person who turned 60 wears a red *chan-chanko,* or a traditional Japanese vest, with a church emblem on.

Linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors of the Japanese-speaking congregation, both verbal and nonverbal, indicate that they still carry Japanese values. When they greet, they bow to each other. When they talk, they use honorifics. The Japanese language has honorific language, through which interactants show respect, according to their positions in hierarchically-organized social relations (cf. Lebra 1976). The hierarchy is determined by such factors as age and gender as well as one’s social status (cf. Nakane 1970; Niyekawa 1991). Compared with Japan, the Japanese-speaking congregants use honorific language less rigidly, but the use of honorifics is still basically a social requirement when speakers of different ages interact. In addition, the Japanese-speaking congregation practices more formality than its English-speaking counterpart. For example, English-speaking pastors are allowed to preach in aloha
attire except for the first Sunday of the month when they celebrate a communion, but a Japanese-speaking pastor always wears a coat and tie. Japanese members including the pastor take off their shoes when they go up on the chancel in the sanctuary. The English-speaking congregation does not follow this practice. Thus, the values from the hierarchically-organized Japanese society and corresponding formal practices from their original culture are still part of the linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors of the Japanese speaking congregation.

3.3.2. Previous Religious Background and Current Church Life

All the participants --- both immigrants and non-immigrants --- were not born as Christians, but converted to Christianity before or after their arrival in the U.S. Before they became Christians, they experienced Japanese “religious life,” which is a mixture of various beliefs. I will discuss this in more detail below.

Christianity was first introduced into Japan by a Spanish Catholic priest in 1587. The new faith proved popular, especially in the Nagasaki area, which is located in the southernmost island of Japan and was then a major trade port exposed to other cultures, while Japan closed the door to the rest of the world. In due course, however, the military regime came to feel that the western religion which placed supreme faith in God and gave secondary importance to loyalty to one’s master was detrimental to the feudal structure of the nation. Terrible persecution took place and Christianity was banned from the early 17th century to 1873, when religious freedom was restored by the new Meiji government (Clark 1996; Okahara 1971).

Nowadays Christianity is no longer forbidden. Christians, however, comprise less than one percent of the Japanese population. Catholicism is a major denomination,
which amounts to almost half of the Christian population. The rest are small
denominations, which includes Episcopal, Baptist, Lutheran, and other independent
Protestants. The church membership is typically small. It is rare that a church has
more than 40 membership (cf. Nabetani 1999).

Christians are still a minority in Japan and often experience hostility and non-
understanding from local communities. The main reason is probably due to the long-
term tradition of Buddhism and Shintoism, both of which still have a firm grip on
ninety-nine percent of the population. Shintoism is a Japanese indigenous religion,
which is a type of pantheism, seeing deity in virtually every entity in nature.
Buddhism was introduced from India through China and Korea more than 1000 years
ago. However, nowadays, the Japanese do not really practice those religions, but
rather observe some of the customs in these religions as part of traditions without
seeing much religious meaning. 65 to 75 percent of Japanese claim to follow no
personal religion (Clark 1996). Their “religious” life is a real mixture of various
beliefs. The celebration of a baby’s birth takes place at a Shinto shrine, while funerals
are conducted exclusively in Buddhism. When it comes to weddings, the ceremony
might be Christian or Shinto (Mitsumori 1997).

Thus, the Japanese do not really practice religion, but are not totally atheistic.
They fear their gods or something superhuman including their deceased ancestors. If
they are offended, these supernatural beings will bring punishment. There is a
Japanese saying “kurushii toki no kami-danomi,” meaning, “turning to a god only
when you suffer.” The implication is that the Japanese turn to the gods and pray to
them only when they face a major crisis. However, to whom they pray does not
really matter. They turn to Buddha, Shinto gods, or their deceased ancestors. Many
homes still have both a Buddhist family altar and a Shinto god-shelf which are often placed side by side. For most Japanese, this syncretistic religious life is a common reality (Mitsumori 1997).

The shin-issei immigrants and non-immigrant Japanese who take part in this church community were raised in the midst of such mixed beliefs. Most of them became Christians after they came to Hawai‘i. The reasons for their conversion vary. One woman finally became a Christian after joining various Japanese religions. Another woman started coming to church when her child became very ill, which eventually led her to the Christian faith. Another became a believer after attending a house church, or a meeting in a small group at a private home, for a long time. Another decided to believe in Christianity while she was participating in various church activities.

Although those who take part in the Japanese-speaking congregation came from the above-mentioned Japanese religious background which is a true mixture of different beliefs, after their conversion, both immigrants and non-immigrants became firm believers in the Christian faith. They attend Sunday services, fellowship (i.e., gatherings which are held in order to enhance friendship between and among believers), and other church-related activities regularly. Weekly fellowship includes senior citizen fellowship, a prayer meeting, small group fellowship, and a Friday worship service. Senior citizen fellowship meets twice a week on Wednesday and Friday mornings, in which elderly people gather to hear the pastor’s message, eat lunch, and enjoy other activities. The weekly small-group fellowship is called “mini-church,” in which four or five people meet and discuss what they learned from a sermon delivered the previous Sunday. Those who gather for the “mini-church”
fellowship share what kind of blessing they received during a week and also what kind of problems are currently going on in their lives. The Friday worship is for those who are not able to attend Sunday worship. Since the Friday worship follows the senior citizen fellowship, most of the attendance is elderly people who participate in the senior citizen fellowship. There is another biweekly fellowship which takes place on Tuesday every other week. In this fellowship which is geared to non-believers, people gather and enjoy cooking and sewing together. A couple of house churches are held on a monthly basis. A worship team and a hula group rehearse once a week on Wednesday evening, which also provides further opportunities for fellowship. In addition to these regular activities, the church often hosts a special event with a guest speaker or gospel singer from Japan. For active members, church is the center of their lives. They participate in most of the above-mentioned activities.

Unlike Christians in Japan, both immigrants and non-immigrants feel more freedom to express their Christian identity and share their faith. In fact, sharing testimony is not a common practice in the same denomination in Japan. However, in Hawai‘i, the members of the Japanese-speaking congregation feel that they have freedom to express their belief and verbal testimony plays a vital role in their witnessing (i.e., sharing their faith with non-believers for the sake of evangelism) to the Japanese-speaking population both within and beyond the church community. I will explain more details of the testimony-giving practice in this community below.

3.4. Testimony-giving Practice in the Japanese-speaking Congregation

For both Japanese- and English-speaking congregations, sharing testimony is an

\footnote{I owe this information to Rev. Saku Kuroda at Makiki Christian Church, Honolulu, Hawaii.}
important part of their faith with the goal of “edifying,” or building up, one another. As the researcher interviewed church members, they informed the researcher that they felt encouraged by knowing what God has done in each other’s lives.

Church members share testimonies in Sunday worship, Sunday school classes, and on other occasions such as a prayer meeting or a house church. For example, in the Thanksgiving day special worship, the church members spontaneously come up to the front of the sanctuary and share what they are thankful for.

For the Japanese-speaking congregation, a weekly prayer meeting is a primary occasion for sharing testimony. Sharing and hearing each other’s testimonies is the main agenda of the weekly prayer meeting. The prayer meeting started when the church was organized ninety five years ago. Currently, participants meet once a week on Thursday at noon. The attendance is usually 10 people including the pastor and his wife. The pastor and his wife were born and raised in Osaka, which is located in the western part of Japan, and later moved to Hawai‘i as he was invited to be a pastor of the Japanese-speaking congregation. When the current research was conducted, they had served for the Japanese congregation in 15 years. The majority of the regular attendees at the prayer meeting are women. Most of them are shin-issei immigrants who were born and grew up in Japan and came to Hawai‘i because of their marriage to U.S. citizens. Except for F who is in her mid 50s, all of them are in their 60s. Also, except for F who has been a church member for three years, the rest of them have been members for six to sixteen years. KI is a member of the English-speaking congregation, but attends the Japanese prayer meeting regularly. All the regular attendees are active in church. As mentioned above, church is the center of their lives. They participate in almost every activity and help out by doing various services such
as cooking, bringing refreshments, or cleaning up. Some of them serve as church leaders. G serves as leader of one of the “mini-church” small-group fellowship. S used to serve on the church council and still gives advice to current church officers. She also teaches hula to the church hula group. T serves on the church council as a deacon. In addition to these shin-issei Japanese immigrants, SI, an elderly woman who is a third generation Japanese, and KE, a Korean woman who is also an immigrant from Korea, are always present at the prayer meeting. Both of them are longtime members of the Japanese congregation and speak fluent Japanese.

Non-immigrant Japanese such as students going to local schools and visitors who stay here on a short term basis also take part in the prayer meeting. In addition, Japanese-speaking tourists who are in town come and visit the prayer meeting frequently. Therefore, the constituency of the prayer meeting is the shin-issei immigrants, the local Japanese, the Japanese-speaking Korean, and the non-immigrant Japanese from Japan, which reflects the make-up of the Japanese-speaking congregation as well.

The participants gather in a small room which can hold a maximum of about 20 people. The room is called nichigo-bu lounge, or “Japanese-division” lounge. As the name indicates, this room is the center of activities of the Japanese congregation. One of the functions of this room is to serve as a library. At one side of the room is a bookshelf which holds Japanese books, sermon tapes, and videos available to be checked out. The books and other materials are all in Japanese. Besides these resources which are available to be checked out, everything in this room --- frames with scriptural verses, calendars, and letters from missionaries hanging on the wall ---

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6 A deacon is an elected church officer who does various duties. In this congregation, they are mainly involved with the administration of the church.
is written in Japanese. On the opposite side of the bookshelf, a white board and an old, small upright piano are placed side by side.

The room has one small table and three large ones. During prayer meetings, an emcee sits at the small table in front of the white board so that she can see the participants face-to-face. The regular attendees take turns to serve as emcee. The emcee writes down hymn numbers on the white board. Then, according to what is written down, the participants sing hymns for about 15 minutes at the beginning of the prayer meeting. Following the singing of hymns and a public prayer offered by the emcee, the participants share testimonies for about one hour.

Sharing what happened to them since the last meeting, they normally speak up spontaneously, or take turns around the tables, which lasts for about one hour. Using a formal register (i.e., desu/masu forms), each person speaks for about five to ten minutes normally without using written notes. The speaker holds the floor until s/he finishes his/her turn without being interrupted. At the end of each testimony, participants express their appreciation verbally (e.g., Yokatta nee "that's good") or non-verbally (e.g., clapping their hands). However, they sometimes interrupt. As we will see in Chapter 5, “expert” members feel that they are in a position to help others, especially, “novice” believers, by giving advice. In such cases, testimony-sharing turns into an advising session, in which the speaker will receive advice from the rest of the participants.

As mentioned above, the official church hierarchy exists. Both Japanese- and English-speaking congregations have each council which is made up of a chair and elders. In this community, however, being an elder does not mean that s/he is considered to be an “expert.” How long s/he has been a member, how often s/he
comes and serves in church, how much s/he helps others, how much s/he is knowledgeable of the Scripture --- which needs to be proved by giving a good testimony and praying good prayers --- all these factors count for someone to be recognized by the community as an expert. In other words, s/he has to prove his/her maturity as a Christian believer in these areas. Except for F who has been to church for only three years and also has been a Christian for these years, all the regular attendees at the prayer meeting are regarded as “experts” in the congregation.

On the other hand, “novices” are those who are new to the Christian faith. Most of the time, they are new to the church. They do not serve in the church. They cannot take care of others but need to be taken care of. They do not yet know the Scripture well and thus, do not know how to give a good testimony and how to pray good prayers. Later in the analysis chapters (especially in Chapter 5), I will show that testimony can be a site of socialization, in which participants with different degrees of Discourse proficiency interact and novice members are socialized into the communal values and beliefs through interaction with expert members.

In sum, in this chapter, I have defined the community of the present research, namely, the the Japanese-speaking congregation in Hawai‘i. The majority are the shin-issei immigrants who were born and raised in Japan and later moved to Hawai‘i. They have been acculturated to American culture to some extent, but still hold on to some aspects of their home culture, including their linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors which reflect values from the hierarchically-organized Japanese society. For these Japanese-speaking congregants, especially, the women who speak little English, the Japanese-speaking congregation is a safe haven in the Hawaiian English-
speaking environment, where they can speak their language (i.e., Japanese) and also hold on to their home culture. For both immigrants and non-immigrants, the former religious life in Japan was a mixture of beliefs, but after their conversion, they became firm believers of Christianity. For those who are actively involved in church, the church is the center of their lives. In this community, sharing and hearing one another’s testimonies is an important part of their faith with the goal of edifying one another.

In the following analysis chapters, drawing on Gee’s (1989, 1996, 1999) framework of a Discourse, I will first illustrate that testimony is a personal narrative with a problem-solving dimension, in which believers’ experiences are evaluated in terms of the shared values and beliefs of this particular community. I will then demonstrate that testimony is a site of socialization, where the participants with different degrees of Discourse proficiency interact, as they present and negotiate their Discourse membership and even manipulate the framework of testimony-giving practice. Finally, I will discuss how narrators weave their existing Japanese identity into newly acquired Christian identity as they use and alternate more than one Discourse in their testimonies, which can be integrated into one single Christian Discourse or recognized as two separate Discourses, enacting their respective Discourse membership.
CHAPTER 4

TESTIMONY AS A PERSONAL NARRATIVE

4.1. Data and Researcher’s Position in the Community

The data were recorded in the weekly prayer meeting of the above-defined Japanese-speaking congregation. Since I was a member of the congregation, I was a participant observer at the weekly prayer meeting. Recordings were made almost every week over the period of a year and a half from November, 1997, to July, 1999, with consent from the participants, which totals 50 hours of recording. The recordings were transcribed by the researcher. In order to obtain ethnographic information, note taking about the ethnographic context and supplementary interviews were also conducted. I did not conduct an interview after each recording session, i.e., the prayer meeting where I made a recording. As mentioned above, I was a member of the community. Asking “Why did you say this?” in order to elicit specific interpretation is not what communal members do. The participants and I shared an understanding of the values and beliefs of this particular community. Thus, as a researcher, whenever I felt the need for specific information, I interviewed them. For instance, as I will show in Chapter 5, when the prayer meeting was adjourned earlier after one member attempted to place ungrounded criticism in her testimony, I asked the participants whether or not they understood this member’s attempt after we were dismissed.

I started attending the Japanese-speaking congregation right after I transferred to the doctoral program at the University of Hawai‘i in August, 1995. I transferred my
membership in April, 1997, and became an elder in January, 1998. However, before I started serving on the church council, I was already active in the congregation, teaching the Bible class, leading musical worship, leading mini-church small-group fellowship, doing interpretation, and so on. At the time the present research was conducted, I had been to the congregation only for two years, but was viewed as one of the expert members because of my involvement with the congregation.

4.2. What Constitutes a Communal Discourse?

In this chapter, I will illustrate that testimony is a type of personal narrative with a problem-solving dimension, in which believers' experiences are evaluated in terms of the shared values and beliefs of this particular community. I will discuss how the presentation of testimony is constrained by the communal values and beliefs, that is, testimony has to address these values and beliefs in order for the narrator's personal accounts to be recognized by other members as a valued performance of testimony. Therefore, testimony can be called a “reassurance ritual” (Bilmes, personal communication)\(^9\) in which the shared values and beliefs are publicly and/or collectively affirmed in the presence of other members.

As mentioned above in Chapter 2, drawing on Gee’s (1989, 1996, 1999) framework, I have defined one’s social identity as a membership in a Discourse. Based on this definition, in this chapter, I will illustrate how community members make reference to values and beliefs which index their Discourse membership in this particular community, as they frame their personal accounts as Christian testimony. I will first focus on what I call “spiritual values,” which are defined as community members’ beliefs that pertain to the role of God in the life of the believer. These

\(^9\) I am indebted to Dr. Jack Bilmes at the University of Hawai‘i for proposing this phrase.
beliefs render believers' personal recollection into spiritual testimony recounting how believers work through their narrative problems with God's assistance. Then, I will discuss how the participants address moral values as well as the spiritual values in order to create their moral identity as a Christian believer. Moral values are defined as those concerned with judgment of what is good or bad in terms of moral principles from the Scripture. As mentioned in Chapter 1, these moral values form the core of their Christian identity. I will argue that in addition to addressing the spiritual values, presenting their narrative responses as reflecting the moral values from the Scripture, or presenting themselves as a "morally good" Christian, is essential for their personal narrative to be recognized as a valued performance of testimony which indexes their full membership in the communal Discourse.

4.3. Spiritual Values Evidenced in Testimonies

4.3.1. God as a Personified Agent

For Christian believers, God is a personified agent who will hear and answer believers' prayers. This community-based assumption will be seen in T's testimony, in which she shares her problem which has not been resolved yet. T is a shin-issei immigrant in her late 60s. At the time of the recording, she could not decide whether she should baby-sit her grandchildren, because, if she did, she would not have time to serve in church. As mentioned above, when the recording was made, T was fairly active in the congregation, serving as a deacon. The following excerpt is the beginning of her testimony.
I. “Should I Baby-sit?”

EXCERPT [1]

01 T: *Atashi ne, ano, sensei ga nichiyooobi ni messeeji-shite-kudasatta,*
    well pastor Sunday on message-do-HONORIFIC-PAST
    I, well, [hearing] what the pastor preached on [this past] Sunday,

02 *sonoo, mi-kotoba no naka de ne, ”Jibun wa ittai korede ii no ka na”tte,*
    well God’s-Word inside self TOP on-earth this-way good NOM Q SFP QT
    well, hearing God’s Word, [I thought.] “Is [it] really good for me to be this
    way,”

03 *jibun o mitsumeru toki o itadaite ne.*
    self ACC look-at time ACC be-given SFP
    [I] was given time to look at myself.

04 *Uchi no kodomo-tachi ga beebii-sitto-shite tte.*
    my children SUB baby-sit QT
    My children [asked me] to baby-sit [for them].

05 *Futari musume ga ite, kodomo ga mada chiichai desu yo ne.*
    two daughter have child SUB still little COP SFP SFP
    [I] have two daughters and [their] children are still little, you know.

06 *Puresukuuru ni agerarenai n desu yo.*
    preschool to can-send-NEG NOM COP SFP
    [My daughters] cannot send [their children] to preschool, you know.

07 *Soo suru to, kekkyoku kyookai ni mo ikenaku naru.*
    so-do-if after-all church to even go-can-NEG turn-out
    If [I] do so, after all, [it] will turn out that [I] cannot even go to church.

08 *Sorede, sono, messeeji o kiitekara i-shhuukan gurai, zutto inotte-ta n desu ne.*
    then well message ACC heard after-a-week about praying-have-been NOM COP SFP
    So, since [I] heard the [pastor’s] message, [I] was praying for about one
    week.

09 "*Kami-sama, hontooni, ikiteiku, kurisuchan toshite ikiteiku tameni,*
    God really live Christian as live in-order-to
    "God, indeed, live, in order to live as a Christian,

10 The narratives are numbered by the Roman numerals according to the order that they
    appear in this study.
10 kazoku ga atte, jibun ga atte, dakederomo, kooiu toki.
family SUB be self SUB be however like-this time
[I] have [my] family and myself, but in this case,

11 atashi wa, hontooni wa, tadashii ayumi o shite-iru n deshoo ka? (3)
I TOP really TOP right walk ACC do-ING NOM COP-wonder Q
am I really walking right? (3)

12 Doo na n desu ka? Ima, watashi, jibun ga jibun de jishin ga nai n desu kedo."
what COP NOM COP Q now I self SUB self confidence SUB be-NEG NOM COP but
What do [You] think? Now, I have no confidence in myself,

13 tteiu koto de inotte-ta n desu yo.
QT thing COP praying-have-been NOM COP SFP
so, that's what [I]’ve been praying about.

14 Mada sono kotae wa nai n desu keredomo,
yet that answer TOP COP-NEG NOM COP but
The answer hasn't come yet, but,

15 sono inori-kata ni, ippoo-teki da na tteiu koto mo kangaete-masu kedo ne.
that how-to-pray regarding one-sided COP SFP QT thing also think-ING but SFP
[I] have also been thinking that [my] way of praying is one-sided.

16 Demo, “Kore mo, maa, kore mo, kami-sama no go-keikaku no uchini
but this also well this also God GEN plan in
But, “This also, well, this also might be part of God’s plan,”

17 (aru) n janai ka na” to mo omottari-shite.
be NOM COP-NEG Q SFP QT also think
[I] also think.

18 Kooiu koto ga kanjiraretai tteiu koto dake demo, ano, nante iu no (2)
like this thing SUB feel-can-PAST QT thing only even well what say NOM
[I] was able to think of this kind of thing, well, what shall I say? (2)

19 shiawase da na, kansha da na, tte omoo n desu kedomo.
happy COP SFP thankful COP SFP QT think NOM COP but
[I]’m glad, [I]’m thankful, I think.

T quotes her own prayer (09-12), which starts with a vocative calling on God
(kami-sama "God") (09). A vocative is normally used to address a person, which
indicates that T is addressing God as a personified agent, not an abstract concept. In
the prayer, she expresses her concern with whether or not she is doing the right thing
"as a Christian" (kurisuchan to shite "as a Christian") (09). When T was praying, she
asked, "Am I walking right?" (11). In the Bible, "to walk" conventionally means "to
live one's life" (cf., Psalm 128: 1). Therefore, "Am I walking right?" means "Am I
doing the right thing?" This question "Am I walking right?" is followed by another
question addressed to God, "What do You think?" (12). These questions in T's
prayer involve the above-mentioned community-based understanding that God is a
personified agent who will hear and answer believers' prayers. Torrey (1983)
explains this community-based assumption in his book entitled How to pray as
follows:

"If we want to pray correctly, the first thing we should do is make sure that we really
seek an audience with God --- that we really get into His very presence. Before a
word of petition is offered, we should have the definite and vivid consciousness that
we are talking to God. Also, we should believe that He is listening to our petition and
is going to grant the thing that we ask of Him."

(Torrey 1983: 24 [emphasis mine])

In other words, the important condition for praying "correctly" is to believe that
God is listening when you are talking to Him and that He will answer your prayers
(i.e., grant your request). Based on this understanding, T addresses God with a
vocative and asks Him these questions. Also, her comment following the questions,
"The answer hasn't come yet" (14), is another indication that T expects God to
answer.

Having informed the audience that God’s answer has not come yet (14), T states
"Blessed are all who fear the LORD, who walk in his ways" (Psalm 128: 1).
that what she is going through is part of God's plan (Kami-sama no go-keikaku no uchini aru “(this) might be part of God's plans (16)) and that she is thankful for that (kansha da na “I'm thankful (19)). These statements reflect the teaching which is found throughout the Bible, that is, God has plans for everybody (cf. Jeremiah 29: 11). Therefore, trusting in God and His plans, be thankful in all circumstances (cf. 1 Thessalonians 5: 16). Incorporating these ideas from the Scripture in her own voice indicates the speaker's acknowledgment of the scriptural guidance (cf. Lucy 1993).

Notice that commenting on her being able to reflect on this issue, T first says that she is happy (shiawase da na “happy” (19)), but immediately uses another expression, “I'm thankful” (kansha da na “thankful” (19)), which sounds more biblical; as mentioned above, the word “thankful” is more commonly used in the Scripture. The transcript, however, shows frequent use of hedges (maa "well" (16), ano "well" (18), omottari-shite "I think" (17), nante iu no "Well, what shall I say?" (18)). Saying that her struggle is part of God's plan (16), T hesitates and repeats the same phrase twice (kore mo, maa, kore mo "This also, well, this also") (16). Thus, she does not sound assertive, saying, "This might be part of God's plan" (aru n jana ka na) (17), instead of “This is part of God's plan.” And there is a perceptible pause (18) before she states that she is thankful for this struggle (19). These hedges suggest that her problem is not solved yet. Even when she cannot find a solution, however, T frames her struggle as a testimony telling the audience how she has been seeking God's guidance for the problem.

12 "I know the plans I have for you... plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and future" (Jeremiah 29: 11).

13 "Be joyful always; pray continually; give thanks in all circumstances" (1 Thessalonians 5: 16-18).
4.3.2. *The Scripture as God’s Guiding Voice: Dialogue with God*

Based on the community-based understanding that God is a personified agent, in this community, the Scripture is viewed as God’s guiding voice. Some testifiers present how the Scripture as God’s voice guided their thought process as a form of dialogue. In the following testimony, G shares how she made it to the prayer meeting without being late. G is also a *shin-issei* immigrant in her early 60s. On that day, before the prayer meeting, she was helping someone in another city. When she left there, it was already late; it was normally a two-hour bus ride from there to church. G was getting anxious. This is where the transcript starts.

**II. “Sorry, God, I was Anxious”**

01 G "Kami-sama, komatta. Dooshitara itt ne, mina-san, God be-in-trouble what should I do COP QT said when SFP everyone "God, [I’m] in trouble. What should [I] do?" When [I] said that, everyone,

02 ano, mi-kotoba itadaita n desu, watashi. well God’s-Word receive-PAST NOM COP I well, I received the Scripture.

03 Sono mi-kotoba teit no ga nee, kooiu koto. that God’s-Word QT NON SUB SFP like-this thing That Scripture is the one which says, like this,

04 “Nani-mo omoiwaarawanaide, arayuru baai ni,” ano, Nothing anxious-NEG every case in well “Don’t be anxious about anything, but in everything,” well,

05 nante itt n desu ka, [“Kansha o motte inori inori to negai niyotte,” aa what say NOM COP Q gratitude ACC have pray prayer and petition through uh how does [it] go? “[With thanksgiving, by prayer and petition,” uh,

06 Pastor: [Aa ((the pastor tries to help her))
[Uh ((the pastor tries to help her))

79
negai niyotte ne, "Anata-gata no negai-goto o kami ni, shitte-itadakinasai."
petition through SFP you-plural GEN petition ACC God by let-know-HONORIFIC-IMP "petition," you know, "present your requests to God."

And later, [I] found out that was Philippians, well, chapter six,

"petition," you know, "present your requests to God."

Soshite atode wakatta n desu kedo, sore wa Piripi-sho no, anoo, roku-shoo,
and later understood NOM COP but that TOP Philippians GEN well six chapter

And later, [I] found out that was Philippians, well, chapter six,

yon-shoo no roku-setsu deshita kke? Sokoni kaite-aru yatsu na n desu yo ne.
four chapter GEN six verse COP-PAST SFP there be-written thing COP NOM COP SFP SFP chapter four, verse six, wasn’t [it]? [This verse] is the one which is written there, you know.

De, watashi wa, "Kami-samaa, omoiwazuratte-imashita. Gomennasai."
and I TOP God anxious-PAST I’m-sorry

So, I [said], “God, [I] was anxious. [I]’m sorry.”

Watashi wa tansaiboo desu kara, sugu sono ba de ayamatta n desu.
I TOP simple-minded COP because right-away that place at apologize-PAST NOM COP

Since I’m simple-minded, [I] apologized right then and there.

De, “Subete no koto ni kansha-shinasai” tte kita kara, soko mo mata
and all GEN thing for thankful-IMP QT came because there also again

And [the verse which says,] “Give thanks in all circumstances,” came [to my mind].

tansaiboo no yosa de desu ne, tanjun da kara,
simple-minded GEN goodness COP COP SFP, simple COP because

Being simple-minded is a good thing, [I]’m simple, so again, [I said,]

"A, okurete-ru, konna mechakuchana jootai o, kansha-shimasu." Ne.
oh being-late such awful situation ACC I-give-thanks SFP

“Oh, [I] give thanks for such an awful situation of being late.” See.

"Kansha-shimasu" tte itte moo are shita toki ni hyutto, (kao o) agetara,
I-give-thanks QT said just that do when swiftly (face ACC) looked-up-when

[I] said, “[I] give thanks,” and swiftly looked up,

socchi no hooni basu ga kire-ru wake desu yo.
there GEN direction bus SUB has-come NOM COP SFP then [, I saw] a bus coming over there, you know.

G describes a whole problem-solving process which she went through as a form of
dialogue, in which she "conversed" with God's guiding voice, or the Bible verses which came to her mind. First, G quotes herself calling upon God for help (01). As we have seen in T's testimony, the use of vocative Kami-sama "God" shows that G views God as a personified agent who she can converse with. Then, G says that she received an answer from God, Mi-kotoba itadaita n desu "I received God's Word" (02). Even though it is not explicitly mentioned, the verb itadaku "receive" (02) always entails a giver. Thus, in addition to the vocative Kami-sama "God," the verb "receive" also indicates that G is addressing God as a personified agent.

The Scripture which she “received” was, “Do not be anxious about anything, but in everything, in prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, present your requests to God.” G reports that after “receiving” the Scripture, she responded to it by saying, “God, I was anxious. I'm sorry” (10). Notice that in her response, she was quoting a part of the Scripture, which is a type of indirect quotation (Lucy 1993). As we have seen in the above-quoted T’s testimony, incorporating God’s Word in her own voice indicates speaker's acknowledgment of the scriptural guidance, which led to G’s apology (Gomennasai “I’m sorry”) (10) that was directly addressed to God. After quoting this apology, G emphasizes her obedient response by saying that she apologized “right then and there” (11), but simultaneously, she downplays her immediate response by referring to herself as “simple-minded” (11). Then, G tells the audience that another scripture came to her mind, which says “Give thanks in all circumstances” (12). According to her description, again, being “simple-minded” (13), she responded to this verse right away, “Oh, God, I give thanks for such an

14 “Do not be anxious about anything, but in everything, in prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, present your requests to God" (Philippians 4: 6).

15 “Be joyful always, pray continually; give thanks in all circumstances, for this is God's will for you in Christ Jesus” (1 Thessalonians 5: 16-18).
awful situation” (14). As she did with the previous verse, her response incorporates a part of the original verse, which shows again her acknowledgment of the scriptural guidance. Then, she informs the audience that after saying “I give thanks,” she saw a bus coming (15-16).

Thus, based on the community-based understanding that God is a personified agent whom you can converse with, G describes the whole problem-solving process which she went through as a form of dialogue, in which she responded to God’s voice, or the Bible verses which came to her mind. In other words, a challenge comes from these verses. As mentioned in the Introduction, even in a monologic telling, a narrator’s perspective is challenged in terms of communal expectations, which can lead to possible revisions and redrafting by the narrator in order to produce an account which is more consistent with the communal expectations (Ochs et al. 1992). Thus, the verses challenged G’s seeing the situation of being late for the prayer meeting simply as troublesome and helped her to adopt new perspectives on the troublesome situation, i.e., “not being anxious” and “giving thanks.”

4.3.3. God “Works” in Believers’ Everyday Life

As mentioned above, in this community, God is viewed as a personified agent who hears and answers believers’ prayers. For the members of this community, that is part of everyday life, which they refer to as “God works.” An example will be found in the audience’s responses to SH’s testimony, in which she shares about a recent financial blessing. When this recording was made, SH was still a new Christian, five months after being introduced to the Christian faith (the whole transcript will be examined in Chapter 5). SH shares that she gave out a lot of money as offering on the
day of her baptism and did not know what to do financially from the following day on. This is where the transcript starts.

III. Given More than What I Had Given Out

11 SH:  
*Eto, ichi-gatsu tsuitachi ni (4) senrei o ukete, ettoo, ittan, eeto, senrei o, uketa shi,*  
well January 1st on baptism ACC receive well once well baptism ACC receive and   
Well, on January the first, (4) [I] was baptized, well, once, well, [I] was, baptized,

12 *ima made wa sugoku sukunakatta n desu kedo (4) omoikitte o-kane o takusan,*  
now until TOP very little-PAST NOM COP but dare money ACC a lot   
until then, [my offering] was very little, but (4) [I] dared,

13 Audience: *((laughs))*

14 SH:  
*kenkin- ((laughs, still crying)) shita n desu ne.*  
offering did NOM COP SFP   
to give a lot of money ((laughs, still crying)).

15 *De, “Ashita kara dooshiyoo” =  
and tomorrow from what-shall-I-do   
And “What shall [I] do from tomorrow on?” =

16 Audience:  = *((laughs)) =

17 SH:  
*tte ((laughs)) QT  
= [I] thought ((laughs)).

18 *De, choodo sono, mikka no hi ni, etoo, TO-san ga,*  
and just that 3rd GEN day on well TO SUB   
And just that, on the 3rd [of January], well, Ms. TO [said to me]

19 *kekkonshikii ga, TO-san no, ie no gaaden de, puuru-saido de, anoo atte,*  
wedding SUB TO GEN house GEN garden in pool-side in well take-place   
a wedding would take place at Ms. TO’s place, in [her] garden, on the pool side, well,

20 *sono tetsudai o shite hoshii tte iwarete, tetsudai ni itta n desu ne. (1)*  
that help ACC do want QT be-told help to go-PAST NOM COP SFP   
[I] was asked to help [TO] and [I] went to help [her]. (1)
21 De, mina-san sugoku, tottemo tanoshinde-itaditee, sugoku kansha-sareteee, and everybody greatly very enjoy-HONORIFIC greatly be-thanked And everybody enjoyed [it] very, very much and [we] were thanked very much.

22 atashi-tachi mo, sooiuu o-iwai-goto no sono seki ni deta node sugoku tanoshikute we also such celebration GEN that place at present-PAST because very enjoy We also enjoyed ourselves very much, because [we] were present at the celebration,

23 (2) ee, sono atoni, eto, chippu, koo itadai, tee (2) well that after well tip like-this receive (2) well, after that, well, [I] received a tip (2)

24 sooiu koto o zenzen kangaenai tokoro ni, such thing ACC at-all think-NEG when when [I] was not thinking about such a thing at all.

25 jibun mo (2) hontoni, o-iwai no seki na n de (3) self also really celebration GEN place COP NOM COP I myself was also (2), really, at the place of celebration (3),

26 kokoro kara, koo saabisu-shiteta n desu kedo (2) heart from like-this service do NOM COP and doing heartfelt service (2)

27 de, sono chippu to, o-rei toiu koto de (2) itadaita o-kane ga ((laughs)) and that tip and money QT thing COP receive-PAST money SUB and that tip and money (2), money which [I] received ((laughs))

28 nan-juu-bai ni mo = several ten times even [was] several-ten-times more [than what I had given out] =

29 Audience: = (((laughs))) =

30 SH: (((laughs))) = natte [(3) became
[(((laughs))) = [it] became, [(3)

31 Audience: Oo, oh
“Oh”
In this testimony which SH gave when she was still new to the Christian faith, SH mainly described what happened. Even the agent who brought this financial blessing (i.e., God) is not mentioned. Instead, after hearing her testimony, it is one of the audience who explicitly mentions God’s agency, saying that this was “God’s work” (Hoonto kami-sama hatarait-kureru “God really works”) (35). In other words, KE co-constructs SH’s testimony by adding missing spiritual values, which renders SH’s narrative into more like a spiritual testimony which makes explicit reference to God’s agency.

Thus, as we have seen in SH’s testimony, God works and meets believers’ everyday needs, which is illustrated in the following testimony as well. This is a part of the above-quoted G’s testimony making it to the prayer meeting. The excerpt comes after the above-discussed segment, in which G describes the whole problem-solving process as a dialogue with God.
II. “Sorry, God, I was Anxious”

17 G: Nottete, tokoroga mata sono mi-kotoba o omoidaserarete, “Subete no ride-ING however again that God’s-Word ACC be-reminded all GEN Riding [on the bus], however, [I] was reminded of that verse again.

18 koto nioite tteiu kara, kami-sama, moo hitotsu, watashi o-negai ga arimasu. thing in QT so God more one I request have “[The Scripture] says, ‘In all circumstances,’ so, God, I have one more request.”

19 ((laughs)) Sore wa “Dekirudake kono basu ga nonsutoppu de ikimasu-yooni” that TOP as-possible this bus SUB nonstop go-may ((laughs)) That is, “May this bus go as nonstop as possible,”

20 Audience: ((laughs))

21 G: tte itta n desu yo. Sooshitara, jushiigina koto ni nonsutoppu janakatta n desu QT said NOM COP SFP then wonderful thing nonstop COP-NEG-PAST NOM COP [which I] said, you know. Then, a wondrous thing is that [it] didn’t go nonstop, but,

22 kedo, anoo Enmiraa tte toko i- kkasho. Sorekara eapooto i-ka kasho, but well En miller QT place one-stop then airport one-stop well, [it made] one stop at En miller. Then, another stop at the Airport,

23 sorekara yon-kasho-me ni watashi ga orita n desu. then fourth at I SUB got-off NOM COP then, at the fourth stop, I got off.

24 Moo bonbon bonbon ne, chiisai tokoro o ne, nonsutoppu na n desu. just many SFP small place ACC SFP nonstop COP NOM COP Just skipping many, [it] didn’t stop at small stops.

25 Ano gojiuuni-ban no basu ni notte, konna koto tte hajimete keiken-shimashita. well No. 52 GEN bus ACC take such thing QT for-the-first-time experience-PAST Well, taking a No. 52. bus, [I] experienced such a thing for the first time.

26 Soide nee, “Kami-sama no ano sono mi-waza no subarashisa tteiu no wa, and SFP God GEN well that God’s-work GEN wonderfulness QT NOM TOP And, “How wonderful God’s work is.

27 konna tokoro ni made, ano, hataraiite-kudasatte-iru n da naa” such place in until well work-HONORIFIC-ING NOM COP SFP Even in such a place, well, [He] is working,”
G shares that riding the bus back to church, she “was reminded” (17) again of the same Scripture which she was given earlier when she was getting “anxious” about being late for the prayer meeting, which was, “Give thanks in all circumstances” (1 Thessalonians 5: 18). Then, she quotes herself making the following request to God, “May this bus go as nonstop as possible” (19). G made this request based on her own interpretation of the Scripture, that is, since the Scripture said, “In all circumstances,” she was allowed to make a request “in all circumstances” (17-18). Hearing this very practical request wanting the bus to go nonstop, the audience laughs (20). Then, reporting that the bus actually went almost nonstop, G quotes herself being amazed, saying that this is “God’s work” (kami-sama no mi-waza “God’s work”) (26) and that He “works in a place like this” (27), meaning that God granted such a very practical request. Thus, as we have seen in this excerpt as well, the communal-based understanding is that God works in believers’ lives, which is not a special, unusual phenomenon, but a part of their everyday life.

This example also illustrates another aspect of the communal spiritual values, which is shown in the narrator’s interpretive process. In her prayer, G requested that the bus go nonstop, but it turned out that it made two stops. However, her reaction was, “How wonderful God’s work is” (26). The communal belief which accounts for this interpretive process is that prayer is not a device for inducing God to change His mind and do what we want (cf. Carson et al. 1953:1409); as God answers prayer, His answer is always the best even though it is different from what we asked for (cf. 1
 Thus, even though the bus made two stops, G interpreted that God responded to her request. As we have seen in this example, the communal members trust God and His guidance, as He works in their everyday life, which will be illustrated in the next section.

### 4.3.4. God Takes the Initiative

God works in believers’ every day lives and it is God who takes the initiative in guiding them. In the following testimony, CH shares that the Scripture helped her to examine her previous attitude. CH is a *shin-issei* immigrant in her late 50s. Working as a tour guide, she illustrates her having been kind to other people only on the conditional basis through her experience at work.

#### IV. “I should Love Unconditionally”

01 CH: *O-inori shite-ru toki ni, sugoku konkai ano(l), mu-jooken de aisanakyaikenai*  
prayer do-ING when very this-time well unconditionally love-have-to  
When [I] was praying, this time, well (1), a thing that [I] should love unconditionally

02 *toiu koto ga, atama n nakani nan-kai mo nan-kai mo haittekite,*  
QT thing SUB mind GEN inside many-times even many-times even came-in  
came into [my] mind over and over.

03 *seisho o yondetemo nanka sono koto ni sugu,*  
Bible ACC read-even when like that thing ACC right-away  
Even when [I] was reading the Bible, that thing [came into my mind] right away.

04 *hon o yondetemo, sooiu, kankei aru-yoona toko ni, butsukatte, kangaete-miru to,*  
book ACC read-even when such relevance has-like place ACC encounter think-about when  
Even when [I] was reading a book, [I] encountered a place which was relevant. So when [I] thought about [it],

16 “If we ask anything according to his will, he hears us” (1 John 5: 14).
05 watashi wa moo, jooken-tsuki de shika ima made hito o aishitenakatta shi, TOP just conditionally COP only now until people ACC loved-have and [I realized that] so far, I had loved people only conditionally, and

06 hito ni shinsetsu ni suru no mo, jibun no basu ni notta jibun no o-kyaku-sama da kara person to kind do NOM also self GEN bus on riding self GEN passenger COP so [I] was kind to people, because [they] were my passengers who were riding on my bus.

07 o-shashin mo totte-ageru shi, iro no chigau wappen tsukete-ru hito wa ((laughs)), picture also take and color GEN different badge wear-ING person TOP [I] took pictures [of them], but [to] a passenger wearing a badge17 of different color ((laughs)),

08 “Ano hito no gaido ni, jibun no gaido-san ni shashin totte-moraeba-ii noni, that person GEN guide by self GEN guide by picture taken-have-should “[He] should have his own guide take the picture.

09 watashi gojuu-nin mo iru n da kara, I 50 people even have NOM COP so I already have 50 passengers, so,

10 nn nande guriin no hito made yaranakyanaranai n da,” well why green GEN person even have-to-do NOM COP well, why do [I] have to do [this] for the person who is [wearing] a green badge?”

11 tteiu atama ga, soredemo iyaiya totte-agechattari-shite, QT mind SUB still reluctantly take-end-up in [my] mind, [I] was [saying like that], but still, [I] reluctantly ended up taking a picture.

12 sooiu koto toka ippai ((laughs)), ano, sooiu jooken, tsuki de shika such thing like a lot well such conditionally COP only Things like that, [I did] a lot ((laughs)), well, like that, only conditionally

13 hito ni yasashiku dekinakatta tteiu koto o kizukasarete ((laughs)), person to nice can-NEG-PAST QT thing ACC make-me-aware [I] was able to be nice to people, which [God] made me aware of. ((laughs))

17 Japanese tourists who visit Hawai’i on a tour often wear wappens, or colorful big badges, which help their tour guides to recognize them. If the tourists are divided into some groups, it is very likely that each group wears badges of different colors.
So I am thinking that I will make a little effort to do something to the other party unconditionally.

CH shares that when she was praying, biblical teaching that she should love people unconditionally came to her mind many times (01-02), which also happened when she was reading the Bible and some other books (03-04). CH does not give a specific scriptural reference, but this teaching of loving others unconditionally is found throughout the Bible. Unconditional love is compared to the love of God, the highest and noblest form of love, which was revealed in His giving up of Christ, His one and only Son, in order to save the world (cf. Williams 1989: 323). Believers are encouraged to practice this kind of love (cf. Ephesians 5: 1). As mentioned above, being a tour guide, she illustrates her previous attitude of loving others only on the conditional basis through her experience at work (05-11), in which she quotes herself complaining about tourists’ asking her to take a picture (08-10); according to her previous perspective, she did not have to take pictures for those who did not ride a bus which was assigned to her. This complaining expresses her non-Christian voice, choosing to be kind to others on the conditional basis (12). But the scriptural teaching of loving others unconditionally helped her to reflect her previous attitude, in which she uses the phrase *kizukasarete “I was made aware”* (13). The passive voice -*rareru* informs that bringing this awareness was initiated by someone else, i.e., God. CH concludes by saying that she will put into practice what she has learned from this moral lesson examining her previous attitude in the light of the scriptural teaching.

18 "Be imitators of God, therefore, as dearly loved children and live a life of love, just as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us as a fragrant offering and sacrificed to God" (Ephesians 5: 1).
The community-based understanding that God takes the initiative in guiding believers is also seen in the following excerpt, which is a closing part of the above-discussed T’s “baby-sitting” testimony. As we have seen, T shares her problem which is not resolved yet; she cannot decide whether or not she should baby-sit her grandchildren. If she did, she would have no time to serve in church. Before this segment, T presented herself as caught up between two different moral values --- secular criticism and scriptural guidance. Details will be presented in 4.3. below, but in brief, T shared that she was upset with her non-Christian neighbor who criticized her for being "a cold person." At the closure of her testimony, however, T goes back to the communal spiritual values that the right answer will be revealed through God’s guidance.

I. “Should I Baby-sit?”

EXCERPT [3]

30 T: jibun de katteni beebii-sitto haratte kuroo-shite yatte-masu yo ne. 
  self on-their-own baby-sit pay struggle-ING do-ING SFP SFP Paying for baby-sitters on their own, [my children] are struggling.

31 Demo, sore o mite ne, hontoni watashi wa tadashii no ka na tte. 
  but that ACC see SFP really I TOP right NOM SFP SFP QT But, having seen that, you know, [I] said to [myself], "Am I really right?"

32 Chotto koo, oya-gokoro de-chatte ne. Ima, kangae-chuu na n desu. 
  just like-this parent-heart come-out-end-up SFP now still-thinking COP NOM COP Just a little bit, like this, the feeling of being a parent came out. Now, I'm still thinking.

33 Dakara, mina-san inotte-itadakitai n (desu kedo ne). 
  so everyone pray-please NOM COP SFP So, [I] would like you all to pray [for me],
Quoting the self-directed question, “Am I really right?” (31), T attributes the unresolved feeling to her being a parent. She, however, closes her testimony by asking everybody to pray for her (33). It should be noted that what she is seeking is not human advice, but advice from God. She asked the audience to pray that "what is the most right thing" should be revealed to her (shimesareru "be revealed") (34-35). As we have seen in CH’s testimony, the agent of this agentless passive is God. Thus, T concludes her testimony by holding on to the communal spiritual values that what is right will be revealed through God’s guidance.

The last example for the communal belief that God takes the initiative is the beginning part of T’s testimony about visiting her brother who appeared to be on his deathbed. Her brother and his family who live in Japan are not Christians. The different understandings of God’s taking of the initiative will be shown in T’s exchange with her non-Christian brother.

V. “You were Allowed To Live Again”

01 T: “Anata yokatta wa nee. Me aketa no nee. Yokatta, mata ikasareta.”

"Brother, [I] am happy. [You] opened [your] eyes. [I] am happy. [You] were allowed to live again,“
02  tte ittara, hora, atashi-tachi kurisuchan-yoogo de,
     QT said-when you-see we Christian-language in
     [I] said, then, you see, in Christian language,

03  “Ikasareta no ne” tte i iu, tsu, tsui icchau n desu yo ne.
     be-allowed-to-live-PAST NOM SFP QT say involuntarily say-end-up NOM COP SFP SFP
     we say, we tend to end up saying, “[You] were allowed to live again [by God].”

04  De, jibun-tachi wa kurisuto-kyoo janai kara,
     and they TOP Christianity COP-NEG so
     And they are not Christians,

05  “Ikita yo” tte iu no. =
     live-PAST SFP QT say NOM
     so [my brother] said, “[I] became alive.” =

06  Audience: = ((laughs))

07  T:  Soko ga chigau n desu yo. Ookina chigai desu yo.
     there SUB different NOM COP SFP big difference COP SFP
     That is where the difference is. [This] is a big difference.

T quotes herself when seeing her brother open his eyes again on his deathbed, mata
ikasareta “You’ve been allowed to live again [by God]” (01). Ikasareta is a
passivised causative, which in this case, gives a permissive meaning. In other words,
her brother is given permission to come alive by God. Thus, what T meant is, “God
let you be alive again.” When a Japanese causative “let” is used to show permission,
normally a causee receives a favorable treatment from a causer (Martin 1975). The
statement of her brother’s receiving a favor from God is further strengthened through
passivization, i.e., his receiving a favor of regaining his life is initiated by God.

Then, T reminds the audience that ikasareta “being allowed to live” is a communal
use of language. She starts with the interjection hora “you see” (02), which appeals
to the audience’s shared knowledge. The use of this interjection indicates that T is
assuming that the up-coming information is already known by the audience, which is also seen in the way T phrases her utterance; first, by using *atashi-tachi* “we” (02), T emphasizes that saying “being allowed to live” is not her idiosyncrasy, but shared communal usage. This “we” is the so called “inclusive we,” namely, the “we” which includes an addressee as its reference (Brown & Levinson 1978, 1987). Here “we” includes both T and her audience, for they have shared resources, namely, *kurisuchanyoogo* “Christian language” (02) because of their co-membership in the Japanese-speaking Christian community.

Second, T first uses *iu* “say” (03), but then, she immediately rephrases it as *icchau* “end up saying” (03). By changing “say” into “end up saying,” she stresses that saying “being allowed to live again” is an action which comes out almost automatically in the Christian community. The adverb *tsui* “unconsciously/involuntarily” (03) strengthens this automatic nature. Thus, T emphasizes that the passivized causative *ikasare ta* “being allowed to live” is not her idiosyncratic, but shared communal usage which comes out almost automatically in this Christian community.

On the other hand, T quotes what her brother said, which is *ikita yo* “I became alive” (05). For her brother and his family who are not Christians --- here *jibun-tachi* “they” (04) refers to her brother and his family ---, his coming alive is expressed in a plain active (i.e., being opposed to a passive) statement *ikita yo* “I became alive” (05), in which neither causative nor passive is used. In other words, being alive again does not imply divine agency. T attributes these different views of her brother’s coming alive to difference in membership; by making the explicit remark that her brother and his family are not Christians (*kurisuchanjanai kara* “they are not Christians”) (04), T draws a clear boundary between herself and her non-Christian extended family. For
the members, regaining life has to be permitted by God, while for the non-members, it has nothing to do with God. Hearing this plain statement made by her brother, i.e., *ikita yo* "I became alive," invites laughter from the audience (06). According to Ziv (1988), people laugh at forms of ideas and behaviors which are contrary to what is socially expected and accepted. Here laughter from the audience indicates that the idea of regaining his life by his own strength is perceived as laughable, because it is contrary to their communal expectations. After comparing these different views of regaining life, T stresses the difference by explicitly stating that this is a big difference, *soko ga chigau n desu yo. Ookina chigai desu yo* "That is where the difference is. This is a big difference" (07). Thus, comparing two different views about regaining life, T presents her Christian self to the audience by drawing the clear insider-outsider line.

To summarize, in this community, God is a personified agent whom you can converse with. He works in believers’ every day life and takes the initiative in guiding them. These spiritual values which pertain to the role of God is also evident in performance aspects of the testimony-giving practice, that is, how testimony is presented is also constitutive of the Discourse in this particular community. In the next section, I will illustrate how these communal-based understandings are evidenced in the performance aspects of the testimony-giving practice.

4.4. Performance Aspects of Testimony-giving Practice

4.4.1. *A Scriptural Quotation: A Valued Practice*

Since the Scripture is viewed as God’s guiding voice, knowing the Scripture is
essential, especially if a believer is to report his/her dialog with God. A believer’s knowledge of the Scripture will have a direct impact on his/her performance; whether partially or fully, quoting the Scripture in his/her testimony is viewed as a valued practice, which in turn, demonstrates that a testifier is a competent member who is knowledgeable of the Scripture. I will illustrate this in the above-quoted G’s testimony about making it to the prayer meeting. A part of the transcript will be repeated for convenience.

II. “Sorry, God, I was Anxious”

01 G “Kami-sama, komatta. Dooshitara ii desu ka?“ tte itta toki ne, mina-san, God be-in-trouble what should I do COP QT said when SFP everyone “God, [I]’m in trouble. What should [I] do?” When [I] said that, everyone,

02 ano, mi-kotoba itadaita n desu, watashi. well God’s-Word receive-PAST NOM COP I well, I received the Scripture.

03 Sono mi-kotoba tteiu no ga nee, kooiu koto. that God’s-Word QT NON SUB SFP like-this thing That Scripture is the one which says, like this,

04 “Nani-mo omoiwazurawanaide, arayuru bai ni,” ano, Nothing anxious-NEG every case in well “Don’t be anxious about anything, but in everything,” well,

05 nante iu n desu ka, [/“Kansha o motte inoru inori to negai niyotte,”] aa what say NOM COP Q gratitude ACC have pray prayer and petition through uh how does [it] go? “[With thanksgiving, by prayer and petition,” uh,

06 Pastor: [Aa ([the pastor tries to help her]) [Uh ((the pastor tries to help her)]

07 G: negai niyotte” ne, “Anata-gata no negai-goto o kami ni, shitte-itadakinasai.” petition through SFP you-plural GEN petition ACC God by let-know-HONORIFIC-IMP “petition,” you know, “present your requests to God.”
When she quotes the first Scripture, G hedges in the middle, "Ano, nante iu n desu ka? ‘Well, how does it go?’ (04-05). Following G’s "how does it go?” (05), the pastor tries to help her (06), but instead of receiving his help, G remembers the rest by herself. She repeats a part of the verse twice (negai niyotte, negai niyotte “by petition, by petition”) (05-07), but is able to quote the whole verse (07). Moreover, after quoting it, G gives the audience the scriptural reference (08-09), saying that it is Philippians 4:6. At first, she was confused, saying chapter six instead of chapter four (08), but immediately straightens it out by herself (09). Thus, G demonstrates her knowledge of the Scripture by quoting the whole verse without receiving the pastor’s help and also straightening out the mix-up by herself.

Another example of valuing scriptural quotations is found in T’s testimony, in which she talks about bumping into someone who used to come to church but had been away for a long time. Prior to the transcript, T says that when they had lunch together, her friend agreed to come to T’s house church, because a Japanese pastor who was visiting from Japan would be there. After reporting that, T quotes Ecclesiastes 3:11, “God has made everything beautiful in its time” (01-02), indicating that everything --- bumping into this person, the Japanese pastor’s coming to her house church, and her friend’s agreeing to come to her house church --- took place in God’s timing. This is where the transcript starts.
VI. “There’s Another One”

01 T: *sono toki ni, maa, nante kami wa kami-sama ga nasaru koto wa subete toki ni*  
   that time LOC well how God TOP God SUB do thing TOP all time  
   Then, well, how “God has made everything beautiful in its time,”

02 *kanatte utsukushii tteiu mi-kotoba o omoidashite,* ((unintelligible))  
   suit beautiful QT God’s Word ACC remember  
   [I] remembered [that] Scripture, ((unintelligible))

03 *soshitara, kami, kami-sama ga,* ((unintelligible)), *honto hanarete-temo,*  
   then God God SUB really away-has-been-even-when  
   Then, God, God, ((unintelligible)) even when a person is away [from church],

04 *kami-sama wa kanarazu, keshite hanasu koto wa nai,*  
   God TOP surely never leave thing TOP NEG  
   God surely never leaves [him/her].

05 MI: *Un,*  
   uh-huh  
   Uh huh,

06 T: *nanka, sooiu, ano, omoidashite ne.*  
   something like that well remember SFP  
   [I] remembered, well, something like that.

07 MI: *Soo desu ne.*  
   that COP SFP  
   That’s right.

08 T: *Kami-sama ga ne, konnani nagai koto hanarete-iru hitori demo,*  
   God SUB SFP this much long away-has been one-person even-though  
   Even though a person who has been away [from church] for such a long time,

09 *watashi o ne, sagashite, mata atte, de mata, ne,*  
   me ACC SFP look for again meet and also SFP  
   God looked for me and [we] met again and also,

10 *sooiu kikkake o tsukutte-kudasatta kami-sama no, hataraki? Sugoi, to omotte nee.*  
   such chance ACC make-HONORIFIC God GEN work great QT think SFP  
   God’s work to bring such an opportunity is great, [I] think.
11 Ano sono ((uplifting tone)) mata seisho no mi-kotoba o omoidashita toki ni ne well that again Bible GEN God's Word ACC remember when SFP Well, uh, ((uplifting tone)) when [I] remembered again God's Word in the Bible,

12 “Yappashi seisho o yonde-ru tte koto wa,” ne, “monosugoku daiji da naa” to after-all Bible ACC reading-has-been QT thing TOP SFP very-much important COP SFP QT “After all, reading the Bible is very much important,”

13 tsukuduku kanjimashita. Yappashi nee ((unintelligible)). really felt after-all SFP [I] really felt. After all, you know, ((unintelligible)).

14 Pastor:

Ano, tsuide desu ga ne, ima no ne, seisho no kotoba, aa, shito no hataraki no, well addition COP but SFP now GEN SFP Bible GEN word well Acts Well, [this] is something extra, but, God's Word, [which you] just [mentioned], well, is [in] Acts,

15 juunana-shoo no, nijuuunana-setsu no tokoro nii, nijuunana-setsu, seventeen-chapter GEN twenty-seven-verse GEN place in twenty-seven-verse chapter 17, in verse 27, verse 27,

16 juunana-shoo no nijuuunana-setsu no tokoro nii (1) ((the audience turns the pages)) seventeen-chapter GEN twenty-seven-verse GEN place LOC chapter 17, in verse 27, (1) ((the audience turns the pages))

17 KE: ((reads)) “Kore wa kami o motomesaseru tame de atte, this TOP God ACC seek-let for COP COP ((reads)) "God did this so that men would seek him and

18 Pastor: ((reads)) “motomesaseru tame de atte, seek-let for COP COP ((reads)) “Seek him and

19 KE & Pastor: moshi sagurimotomeru koto de mo aru nara, if search-for thing COP also COP if perhaps reach out for him

20 kami o miidasu koto mo aru no desu. Tashikani, kami wa, God ACC find thing also COP NOM COP surely God TOP and find him, though he is
21 watashi-tachi hitori hitori kara tooku hanarete wa oraremasen.”
we each one from far away TOP COP-NEG
not far from each one of us.”

22 T: Unn, soo desu nee ((weak)).
yes that COP SFP
Ye:s, that’s right ((weak)).

23 Pastor: Ne?
SFP
Right?

24 KE: /Ne.
SFP
[Right.

25 T: [Piripi, piripi, kananka no ni-shoo, ni-shoo janai desu ka? (1)
Philippians Philippians or something GEN two chapter two chapter COP-NEG COP SFP
[[It] is [in] Philippians, Philippians, or something, chapter two, chapter
two, isn’t it? (1)

26 So[ko ni mo arimasu.
there also is
[It] [is there also.

27 KE: [Shito, shito desu yo.
Acts Acts COP SFP
[[It] is Acts, Acts, you see.

28 T: Iya, =
no
No, =

29 Pastor: = Aa,
uh
= Uh,

30 T: Ima sensei shito to osshatta kedo,
now pastor Acts QT said but
Now Pastor said, “Acts,” but,

31 Pastor: Ee,
yes
Yes,
32 T: Piripi no [ni-shoo.
Philippians GEN two-chapter
Philippians [Chapter two.

33 Pastor: [Piripi no, ni-shoo no?
Philippians GEN two-chapter GEN
[Philippians, chapter two?

34 T: Hai. (1) Juuyon-setsu no naka ni (8) ((turn pages))
yes fourteen verse GEN inside
Yes. (1) In verse 14, (8) ((turn pages))

35 ((reads)) “Subete no koto o tsubuyakazu, utagawazu ni okonainasai.”
everything GEN thing ACC complain-NEG doubt-NEG do-IMP
((reads)) “Do everything without complaining or arguing.”

36 Juusan desu ne. ((reads Verse 13)) “Kami wa mi-kokoro no mamani
thirteen COP SFP God TOP will GEN accordingly
[It] is [verse] 13. ((reads verse 13)) “It is God who works in you

37 anata-gata no uchi ni hataraitte, kokorozashi o tatese,
you-plural GEN inside work will ACC raise-make
to will and to act

38 koto o okonawasete-kudasaru no desu.” Un.
thing ACC do-make-HONORIFIC NOM COP yes
according to his good purpose.” Yes.

39 ((reads verse 14 again)) “Subete no koto o tsubuyakazu,” soshite =
everything GEN thing ACC complain-NEG and
((reads verse 14 again)) “Do everything without complaining.” and =

40 Pastor: = Juusan?
thirteen
= Thirteen?

41 T: De, ne. (1) Demo, ano, [hanarete-itemo =
and SFP but well away-has-been-even-if
And, you know. (1) But, well, [even though [someone] has been away
[from church], =
42 Pastor: [Anoo, well]

43 = ee, soo desu ne.
yes that COP SFP
= yes, that's right.

44 T: yappashi, kami-sama wa (1) sooiu tokoro de,
after-all God TOP such place in
after all, in such places,

45 sono hito ni, hito o tooshite hataraiite-kudasaru.
that person ACC person through work-HONORIFIC
God works in that person, through a person.

T reports that she remembered the verse from Ecclesiastes when she bumped into this friend who used to come to church but had been away for a long time (01-02). Following this, T quotes another verse, but remembering it vaguely, ends up saying nanka sooiu “Well, something like that” (06). Up to here, T’s presentation is not well articulated. Her speech sometimes becomes unintelligible (02, 03). But when she stated that through this incident, she realized that reading the Bible was very important (12), her voice becomes louder (11-13); remembering these verses itself (01-02, 03-06) informs the audience that T knows the Scripture, which she further backs up by explicitly telling them that she has been reading the Bible (12-13).

Waiting for T to finish her turn, the pastor (the visiting pastor from Japan) says that the verse which T was getting at is Acts 17: 27. Prefacing his utterance with tsuide desu ga ne “this is something extra” (14) indicates that the pastor is trying not to embarrass T, that is, he is just adding the scriptural reference which T was unable to mention. Joining KE who has already started reading this verse, he reads the whole Acts 17: 27 (18-21). However, T’s response is Unn, soo desu nee “Yes, that’s
right” (22). A weak tone shows that she is not excited about being informed of the reference. The pastor, however, responds to T’s unenthusiastic “That’s right” with the SFP ne (23). Along with this SFP ne which requests confirmation from the addressee (Cook 1992), the pastor’s question-like rising intonation suggests that the pastor is seeking affirmation from T. But instead of responding to pastor, T asks if the same information can be found in Philippians chapter two as well (25). Immediately after posing this question, she sounds sure, stating that it is there (26). Then, interrupting T, KE tells her that the verse is in Acts (i.e., not in Philippians) (27). Her repeating the reference twice (Shito, shito desu yo “It is Acts, Acts, you see) is KE’s attempt to correct T; KE thought that T had the wrong reference by mishearing the pastor. But responding to KE briefly by saying Iya “No” (28), T lets KE know that she did not have the wrong reference, which is followed by her saying, “Now Pastor said Acts, but” (30). By using “but” (30) which marks a contrast, she makes it clear that she is not referring to Acts, but Philippians. Stating that it is in Philippians chapter two (32), T turns pages and reads verse 14 aloud (34-35), but immediately says, “It is verse 13” (36), which suggests that verse 14 was not what she was looking for. So, she reads verse 13, which is followed by her self-directed Un “Yes” (38). But then, T starts reading verse 14 again (39). Meanwhile, the pastor is still looking for the verse in Philippians and asks T if it is verse 13 (40). But without answering this question, she starts repeating what she said before looking up these verses, that is, even though someone is away from church, God works in her/him through people (41-45). By saying anoo “well” (42), the pastor is still trying to get T’s attention, but seeing her repeating the above-mentioned statement, he just responds, ee soo desu ne “Yes, that’s right” (43).
What happened was that when the pastor gave the reference, T had a different verse in her mind, and thus, dared to bring it up to the audience, even though doing so meant disagreeing with the authority (i.e., the pastor). She had thought that verse 14 in Philippians was the one which she had been looking for, but actually reading it, found that this was not so; verse 14 reads, “Do everything without complaining or arguing.” So, next she read the preceding verse 13, but again, ended up finding that this one was not the right one, either; it says, “It is God who works in you to will and to act according to his good purpose.” Thus, she went back to verse 14 to check but ended up finding out that neither of them was what she was looking for. Neither of them sounds like what she was getting at at the very beginning, i.e., even though someone is away from church, God never leaves that person (03-04). Rather, Acts 17: 27, “God did this so that men would seek him and perhaps reach out for him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us,” which the pastor suggested, sounds closer to what she said. T realized this after actually reading the two verses in Philippians. But instead of admitting the mix-up on her part, she started repeating what she stated at the beginning, ignoring the pastor who asked about the scriptural reference (41-45). This is her face work (Goffman 1967), in which T acts as if no threat to face has occurred in order to maintain her self-image as an expert who is knowledgeable of the Scripture. Thus, T’s disagreeing with the pastor suggests that T was very confident in knowing the Scripture and that she valued scriptural quotations to the extent that she dared to disagree with the authority.

4.4.2. Being Concerned about Accuracy

When they quote the Scripture, the testifiers try to be accurate, which is illustrated
in the following example. In this excerpt, G shares that she wrote down the Scripture for someone at work, but later she realized that she had made a few mistakes in the quotation. This is where the transcript starts.

VII. “I Made Mistakes!”

01 G: Soshite yoru, ichi-ji ni uchi e kaettekite,
and night one-o’clock at home to return
So, [I] came home at one in the morning,

02 hontoni kono kotoba atte-ru n daroo ka to omotte ne.
really this word be-correct NOM wonder Q QT think SFP
and [I] wondered if the words [of the verse] were really accurate.

03 Dakara hyotto mitara, zenzen kotoba ga chigau no.
so a-moment see-when at-all word SUB different NOM
So, when [my eyes] caught [the verse in the Bible], [it] was totally wrong.

04 Audience: ((laughs))

05 G: Shinkai-yaku ni konna koto kaitenai wake.
newly-revised version in such thing be-written-NEG NOM
The shinkai-yaku (= newly-revised translation) version does not say such a thing.\(^{19}\)

06 "Ara, dooshiyoo" to omotte, yonaka
oh what should I do QT think midnight
"Oh my goodness. What should [I] do?" [I] thought, at midnight,

07 "Ara machigatta ((whispering voice)). Chotto matte. Koogo-yaku aru kara."
oh wrong-PAST a little wait spoken-translation-version have so
"Oh, [I] made a mistake ((whispering voice)). Wait a minute. [I] have a koogo-yaku (= spoken-translation) version."

08 Koogo-yaku mitara, koogo-yaku ni kaite-ta n da kedo,
spoken-translation-version see-when spoken-translation-version in be-written NOM COP but
When [I] looked up the koogo-yaku version, [that] was written in the koogo-yaku version, but

\(^{19}\) Like the English Bible, the Japanese Bible has several kinds of translation. Shinkai-yaku is the "newly translated" version and koogo-yaku is the "spoken-translation" version.
soredemo mada machigatte-ta no. De ne, sono machigai wa ne, doko ka tte ittara ne, still still wrong-PAST NOM and SFP that mistake TOP SFP where SFP QT say-if SFP [that] was still wrong. And, you know, where [my] mistake was,

10 anoo, "Kami no chikara ga ryooba no tsurugi yorimo surudokute" tteiu "te" ga well God GEN power SUB double-edged GEN sword than sharp QT and SUB well, [in] "The word of God is sharper than any double-edged sword," "te" (= and) 20

11 nakattari, soshite, "seishin to reikon," sarekara, watashi wa, kozu, kozu, = be-NEG-and and mind and soul then I TOP was missing, and "mind and soul," and then, I, kozu, kozu, =

12 Pastor: = Kotsuzui.
    marrow.
    = Marrow

13 G: "Kotsuzui to kansetsu" tte kaita no wa, marrow and joint QT write-PAST NOM TOP What [I] wrote was "marrow and joints,"

14 kore ((reads slowly)) "kansetsu to kotsuzui" no hazu na n desu yo. this joint and marrow GEN should COP NOM COP SFP this should be ((reads slowly)) "joints and marrow," you know.

15 De, "Kansetsu to kotsuzui o, hanasu made ni" ((reads slowly)) and joint and marrow ACC separate until And [I wrote], "[It] penetrates even to [the point of] separating joints and marrow" ((reads slowly)).

16 tte kaietsuimatta n desu kedo, kore wa kono "Kirihanasu made ni, sashitooshite" tte. QT write-end-up-PAST NOM COP but this TOP this separate-by-cutting until penetrate QT [I] ended up writing [it] down [that way], but it should be, "[It] penetrates even to [the point of] separating [joints and marrow] by cutting."

17 Sooiu machigai ga atta no. Soide koko de watashi-jishin mo mata ne, such mistake SUB COP-PAST NOM and here I myself also again SFP There were such mistakes. So, here, I myself also, again,

20 Since Japanese and English translations are not exactly similar, the English translation does not have this "and."

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G quotes herself wondering if the scriptural quotation which she had written down was really accurate (02). That was one o'clock in the morning (01). Being concerned about the accuracy of the quote at one o'clock in the morning (01) highlights her concern about giving an accurate quote. In line 03, G reports that looking up the verse in the Bible, she found out that what she had written down was "totally wrong" (03). Hearing that, the audience laughs (04). According to Ziv (1988), people laugh at ideas and behaviors which are contrary to their expectations (x). The audience laughs, because what G did is incongruent with their expectations that the Scripture as God's guiding voice should be communicated as accurately as possible. G herself quotes her own utterances which express embarrassment, *Ara dooshiyoo* "Oh my goodness, what shall I do?" (06) and *Ara machigaeta* "Oh, I made mistakes" (07).

After describing that she had given out a wrong quotation, G moves on to explaining what kind of mistake she made (09-17). The verse was Hebrews 4: 12, "For the word of God is living and active. Sharper than any double-edged sword, it penetrates even to dividing soul and spirit, joints and marrow"; (a) first, she dropped a conjunctive *te* "and" after the adjective *surudoku* "sharp" (i.e., *surudoku* instead of *surudoku te*) (10); (b) she had two words in the wrong order, that is, it has to be "joints and marrow" instead of "marrow and joints" (13-14); and (c) she used the verb *hanasu* "to separate" instead of *kirihanasu* "to separate by cutting" (15-16).

However, all the "mistakes" are minor; (a) dropping the conjunctive *te* "and" does not change the meaning; (b) although the two words were in the wrong order, she put the
right words; (c) she left out the first part kiri, which, however, does not make much
difference in meaning. Thus, all mistakes are minor and fairly detailed, but for G, they
are all “wrong” (03, 07, 09). Reporting these details enhances her self-image as an
expert who knows the Scripture very well to the extent of even viewing these minor
differences as “mistakes” (17). G concludes, saying that she repented and that she
should memorize the Scripture properly (18), in which she uses the word hansei,
which means “think it over,” but when it refers to actions done by individuals, the
meaning is close to “repentance,” or repenting of one’s past wrongdoing. Having
made mistakes in the scriptural quotation is what she should repent of, which again
highlights the fact that she made “mistakes” and in turn, informs the audience of her
concern about giving accurate quotes.

In this section, I have illustrated how participants make reference to the communal
spiritual values, or beliefs that pertain to the role of God in the life of the believer. It
is these spiritual values that render believers’ personal recollection into spiritual
testimony recounting how the participants work through their narrative problems
with God’s assistance.

In this community, God is a personified agent, who works in every detail of a
believers’ life and always takes the initiative in guiding them. Some participants
present how the Scripture as God’s voice has guided their thought process as a
dialogue with God. These spiritual values are evidenced in the performance aspects of
the testimony-giving practice as well. Since the Scripture is viewed as God’s guiding
voice, whether partially or fully, quoting the Scripture when giving a testimony is
viewed as a valued practice. For the same reason, giving accurate quotes is very
important. In the following section, I will explore the other set of values which constitutes the communal Discourse, that is, how the participants present their narrative responses as reflecting the moral values of the Scripture in order to create their moral identity as a good Christian.

4.5. Presenting One’s Moral Identity in the Communal Discourse

As mentioned above, the moral values are defined as those concerned with judgment of what is good or bad in terms of the moral principles from the Scripture. In this section, I will argue that in addition to addressing the spiritual values, presenting themselves as “morally good” Christians whose thinking/behavior are consistent with the moral values from the Scripture is essential for their personal narrative to be recognized as a valued performance of testimony.

In the following testimony, G shares how she was given a 20-day vacation which she thought had been canceled. As mentioned above, G is a shin-issei immigrant in her early 60s, who has been a longtime member of the congregation. Since this excerpt is fairly long, for the sake of discussion, I will divide it into three segments.

VIII. Given a 20-day Vacation

EXCERPT [1]

01 G: *Kono juusan-nichi, doyoobi ni nihon kara muni no shinyuu ga kuru n desu yo.*
   this 13th Saturday on Japan from very best friend SUB come NOM COP SFP
   This coming Saturday, the 13th, [my] very best friend is coming from Japan.

02 *Moo isshoo ni ichi-do aru ka nai ka*
   just lifetime in once happen or not or
   Whether [she] will ever be able to come again, [I don’t know],
konna hawai made koreru-yoona jookyoo no hito janai desu kara,
such Hawai'i to come-can like situation GEN person COP-NEG COP because [she] is not in a situation [she] can come all the way to Hawai'i,

moo ne, hatsuka-kan no kyuuka-negai o dashita n desu.
just SFP 20-days GEN vacation-request ACC submit-PAST NOM COP
[I] submitted a request for a vacation for 20 days.

Demo, kyuuka-negai o dasu t teiu no wa, anoo,
but vacation-request ACC submit QT NOM TOP well
But submitting a vacation request, well,

i-kkagetsu maeni dasanakerebaikenai wake.
one-month before submit-have-to NOM has to be done one month before.

Watashi wa moo juu-gatsu no sue kurai ni ne, dashite-atta n desu yo.
I TOP already October GEN end about at SFP submitted-have NOM COP
I had already submitted [it] around the end of October, you know.

Juuni-gatsu juusan-nichi, a, juuyokka kara, ichi-gatsu no nan-nichi made,
December 13th oh 14th from January GEN such-and-such-a-day until
"From December 13th," oh, "14th to January such and such a day,"

tte dashita n desu yo. Soshitara ok natta no.
QT submit-PAST NOM COP SFP then OK became NOM
[I] requested, you know. Then, [it] was OK.

De moo hontoni anshin-shite, ironna keikaku o nette-ta wake desu ne.
and just really relieved-feel various plan ACC work-ING-PAST NOM COP SFP
And [I] was really relieved and was working on various plans.

Shitara, juuni-gatsu no muika, anoo, tsui konaida desu ne, jooshi kara desu ne,
then December GEN sixth well just the-other-day COP SFP boss from COP SFP
Then, on December 6th, [it] was just a short while ago, by [my] boss,

anoo, "G, kondo anta wa juugo, juuroku kte futsuka-kan yasumi de yokatta ne" tte
well G this-time you TOP 15th 16th QT two-days off COP good SFP QT
"Well, G, this time, [it] is good for you to have two days off, 15th and 16th,"

koo iwareta kara, "Ee! Watashi wa juuyokka kara zutto yasumi masu yo"
this be-told-PAST since what I TOP 14th from throughout off COP SFP
like this, [I] was told, so [I] said, "What! I will be off, starting the 14th," then,
14 **tsuttara**, "No, no, no, no" tte iwareta no.

QT-say-when no QT be-told-PAST NOM [I] was told, "No, no, no, no."

15 **Soide ne**, "E! Sonna koto arimasen” te itte mi ni ittara, aa,

and SFP what such thing COP-NEG QT say see to go-when oh Then, saying, “What! No way,” [I] went to see [the schedule], then oh,

16 **watashi ga** zembu tsutomeru-yooni natte-ru wake.

I SUB all work turn-out NOM [it said that] I was supposed to work all [these days].

17 Audience: Oo.

oh

Oh.

18 G: **Soide kyanseru tteiu koto (ni) natta no.**

and cancel QT thing became NOM And [I] had to cancel [my vacation].

19 **Nazeka ttara moo an sukejuuru ga, kurisumasu kara o-shoogatsu ni kakete,**

why say-if already well schedule SUB Christmas from New Year to The reason was that all the schedule, from Christmas to New Year, was already

20 zembu dekichatte-ru wake desu yo.

all completed-has-been NOM COP SFP completed, you know.

21 **Sorede ne, watashi sono toki, shunkan-teki ni, moo GAkkari-shita no to ne,**

and SFP I that time momentarily just feel-disappointed NOM and SFP And at that time, I was just then so DISappointed and,

22 jooshi o ne, monosuggoku ne sekinin no nai jooshi da tteiu fuuni shite

boss ACC SFP very-much SFP irresponsible boss COP QT like do about [my] boss, as a very irresponsible person,

23 sabaiteshimatte-ta n desu ne.

judge-end up-PAST NOM COP SFP [I] ended up judging [her].

24 Iwareta no ga ku-jii chotto sugi desu kara,

be-told-PAST NOM SUB 9-o’clock a-little past COP so [It] was a little bit past nine when [I] was told, so
25 *juu, juuichi, juuni, koono san-jikan no aida, shigoto mo shitakunakute*

*ten eleven twelve these three-hours GEN period work even do-want-NEG*

*ten, eleven, twelve, during these three hours, [I] did not even want to work and*

26 *futekusareta-yoona kanji ni nacchatta no.*

*pout like mood became-end-up NOM*

*[I] felt like pouting.*

27 *Sorede, demo moo juuni-ji ni natte ie e kaerimashita.*

*so but already twelve-o’clock became home to return*

*So, but [it] was already 12 o’clock, so [I] went home.*

G starts her testimony with a long orientation which explains her narrative problem; since her very best friend was coming to visit her from Japan, she submitted a request for a 20-day vacation (01, 04), which was approved (09). But her vacation was canceled, because her boss had made a mistake writing down the wrong dates. Giving these details, G has carefully laid down the background which establishes herself as a victim of the circumstances; (a) first, she informs the audience how important her friend’s visit is; this is G’s very best friend (01) and it is going to be her once-in-a-lifetime occasion (02-03); (b) G makes it clear that she did nothing wrong, submitting the request early enough before the due date (05-07) and informing her boss of the exact dates when she would like to be on vacation (08); (c) having followed necessary procedures, she was looking forward to her friend’s visit, working on vacation plans (10). In addition to providing these details, G quotes exchanges with her boss when she was informed of the cancellation of her vacation (12-14), in which she quotes herself being upset (13) and uses adversative passive (14). Thus, explaining her narrative problem, this orientation section successfully presents G as a victim of the unfortunate circumstances, which obtains an emphatic reaction from the audience (17).
Having established herself as the victim, G gives detailed description of her reaction. First, she “judged” her boss for not being responsible (22-23) and then, she was angry for the next three hours (24-26). Here, the word “judging” (23) is used in a biblical sense, i.e., placing strong criticism on others, especially by magnifying others’ faults (cf. Life application study Bible, p. 1417), which is never encouraged in the Scripture (cf. Matthew 7: 1-2). Thus, as she selects the word sabaite “judging” which indexes moral values from the Scripture, the narrated event begins to be framed as a moral event. Moreover, this word sabaite (“judging”) is used in conjunction with teshimau, or the “end-up,” construction, which marks G’s evaluating her own action as contrary to the desired course of action (Rudolph 1993: 215). Therefore, the phrase sabaite shimatte “ended up judging” (23) suggests that although she has described herself as a victim suffering from undeserved treatment, G views her own reaction of “judging” her boss as not appropriate from the scriptural perspective.

Furthermore, this segment co-occurs with her repeated use of the SFP ne and ends with n desu ne. The discourse marker n desu is a narrative-relevant device which has the following three functions; (a) the maintenance of discourse coherence, (b) the segmentation of the story, and (c) the signaling that one’s telling is ongoing (Yoshimi 2001). Through these functions, n desu marks a particular piece of information as an important development which is directly relevant to the point of the story. Thus, along with the SFP ne which is getting hearer's attention (Cook 1992), the discourse marker n desu highlights to the audience G’s judging her boss as a problematic event which has direct implications for the point of the story. The next EXCERPT [2] shows that the narrated event continues to be shaped as a moral event.

21 “Do not judge, or you too will be judged. For in the same way you judge others, you will be judged, and with the measure you use, it will be measured to you” (Matthew 7: 1-2).
27 Sorede, demo moo juumi-ji ni natte ie e kaerimashita.
   So but already twelve-o’clock became home to return
So, but [it] was already 12 o’clock, so [I] went home.

28 Anoo, debooshon ga yappari, ichi-ji han ka ni-ji desu kara, sono toki ni
   well devotions SUB after-all 1:30 or two-o’clock COP because that time at
Well, [my] devotions are after all at 1:30 or 2:00, so at that time,

29 seisho o yonde-itara, anoo, shingen no juuroku-shoo no kyuu o atabereta n desu.
Bible ACC read-ING-when well Proverbs GEN 16-chapter GEN nine ACC be-given-PAST NOM
when [I] was reading the Bible, well, [I] was given Proverbs 16:9.

30 De, sore ga desu ne, ima chotto yonde-mimasu ne. Anoo,
   and that SUB COP SFP now a-little-bit read-try-to SFP well
And that is, [I] will read a little bit. Well,

31 “Hito wa kokoro ni jibun no michi o omoimegarasu.
   person TOP heart LOC self GEN way ACC think-about
“In his heart a man plans his course,

32 Shikashi, sono hito no ayumi o tashikana mono ni suru no wa shu dearu”
   but that person GEN walk ACC sure thing make NOM TOP LORD COP
but the LORD determines his steps,”

33 tteiu ne, koto to “Anata no shiyoo to suru koto o shu ni yudane yo.
   QT SFP thing and you GEN do-will QT do thing ACC LORD to commit-IMP
and “Commit to the LORD whatever you do,

34 Soo sureba, anata no keikaku wa, yurugenai” tteiu koto ga,
   so-do-if you GEN plan TOP be-shaky-NEG QT God’s-Word receive-PAST when
and your plans will succeed.” When [I] received [this] God’s Word,

35 desu ne, watashi wa ne, “Shu no mae ni herikudattenakatta!” tteiu koto ga,
   COP SFP I TOP SFP LORD GEN before humble-NEG-PAST QT thing SUB
I was like, “[I] was not humble before the LORD!”

36 monosugoku semerarete, kudakarete, moo nakinagara, “Kami-sama
very-much be-blamed be-broken just crying-while God
[I] was very much guilty and heartbroken and just crying, “God,

114
forge-please I TOP humble-NEG-PAST boss ACC judge-PAST please forgive [me]. I was not being humble. [I] judged [my] boss.

38 Jibun-katte no negai de ne, jibun no omoi de,
selfish GEN desire with SFP self GEN thinking with
Based on my selfish desire and my own thinking,

39 soshite kami-sama ni o-negai bakkari shite, hontoni mooshiwakearimasendeshita.
and God to request only do really sorry-PAST [I] was just asking for things, [I]’m really sorry.

40 Yurushite-kudasai” itte itte,
forge-please QT say
Please forgive [me],” [I] said [that], and

41 watashi wa hontoni kami-sama ni ano, yurushi o koota n desu ne.
I TOP really God to well forgiveness ACC plead-PAST NOM COP SFP I really pleaded with God for [His] forgiveness.

42 Sorede, anoo, hontoni sono toki hansei-saseraremashita, watashi.
and well really that time think-it-over-made I
And, well, [God] made me really repent at that time.

43 Mi-kotoba o san-setsu to kyuu-setsu, itadaite desu ne, moo, ((unintelligible))
Scripture ACC 3-verse and 9-verse receive COP SFP just
[1] received [these] Scriptures, verses three and nine, and, just ((unintelligible))

44 me ga hirakareta tteiu ka, kokoro ga hirakareta tteiu ka,
eye SUB be-opened QT or heart SUB be-opened QT or
[I] was like, [my] eyes were opened, or [my] heart was opened,

45 sorede, nichiyooobi, kondo kochira anoo shujitsu-reihai ni, sono koto o, inotte,
then Sunday this-time here well LORD’s Day-worship at that thing ACC pray
then, on Sunday, this time, here, well, at the LORD’s Day worship, [I]
prayed about this, and

46 kanojo ni mo mooshiwakenai kanji to, sorekara,
hers to also sorry feeling and then
[I] felt sorry for her (= my boss) as well, then,

47 “Iyaa demo ne, kami-sama ni ne o-makase-shiyoo” to, iu kimochi ni natte,
well but SFP God to SFP leave will QT feeling became
[I] felt, “Well, but I’ll leave [it] to God,” and
sukoshi heian ga kimashite, shujitsu o mukaete,
a little bit of peace came [to me] and [I] spent the Lord’s Day,
soshite, getsuyoobi mo watashi shigoto ni itta n desu.
and also I went to work.

In this segment, in addition to the core narrative problem of her vacation being canceled, G brings up “another” problem, that is, her internal problem of not being humble. G reports that she was given two verses by God in her devotions, which say, “In his heart a man plans his course, but the LORD determines his steps” (31-32) and “Commit to the LORD whatever you do, and your plans will succeed” (33-34). Sharing these verses, G “enacts” God’s voice by reading them aloud (30-34) and then, describes her response to these verses by quoting herself. Through these verses, she realized that she was not being humble (35). “Being humble” (herikudaru "being humble") is an attitude which is encouraged throughout the Scripture (cf. Luke 14:11) and has an indexical function relevant to her Discourse membership in this community. Here, “not being humble” refers to the upcoming information, namely, G’s judging her boss (37) and making a “selfish” (38) request, both of which express G’s negative evaluation about her own attitude, invoking moral implications. Then, she quotes herself “pleading with God for His forgiveness” (36-40), in which “please forgive me” is repeated twice (37, 40). Following this, G uses the word hansei “thinking it over” (42). As mentioned above, when referring to actions done by individuals, the meaning of this word is closer to repentance, that is, not being humble is what G should repent of. Thus, G’s using the word “humble” and her response to

22 "For everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted" (Luke 14:11).
this biblical moral concept present G's not being humble as a problem which needs to be resolved from the scriptural perspective.

In the mean time, G informs the audience of her having devotions (i.e., personal prayer time meditating on God's Word) (28), reading the Bible (29), praying (36-40, 45), and going to Sunday worship (45), which, in this community, are all valued practices and also expected of a good Christian. Moreover, as she talks about her repenting of her own attitude, the passivized causative (hansei saseraremashita "made me repent") (42) and the following passive voice telling that this was an eye-opening experience (hirakareta "be opened") (43-44) indicate that these actions were initiated by God. Reporting these reactions simultaneously informs the audience of her acknowledging divine guidance, which is also expected from a good Christian. These descriptions are G's face work (Goffman 1967) in order to present her full Discourse membership, or a good Christian who faithfully pursues the valued practices which index the communal spiritual values.

Having presented her "not being humble" as a problem which needs to be resolved, G moves on to telling how she worked out this problem, describing what kind of internal changes happened to her; (a) after praying at Sunday worship, she felt that she must apologize to her boss (46); (b) she was able to leave the problem in God's hands (47); and then, (c) she had peace in her hearts (48). These internal changes are solutions to her problem of not being humble. Thus, having presented that her internal problem was resolved, G moves on to the resolution of her narrative, which is found in the following EXCERPT [3].
EXCERPT [3]

49 soshite, getsuyooobi mo watashi shigoto ni itta n desu.
and Monday also I work to went NOM COP
and also on Monday, I went to work.

50 Sooshitara ne sono jooshi ga ne, “G, kyanseru o mata kyanseru” tte iu no.
then SFP that boss SUB SFP G cancel ACC again cancel QT say SFP
Then, [my] boss said, “G, [I] will cancel the cancelation.”

51 Audience: Hoo.
oh
Oh.

52 G: Ima made byooki de yasunde-ita, ikka-getsu gurai yasunde-ta hito ga,
now until sick because of on-leave-has been one-month about on-leave-has been person SUB
A person who had been on [her] sick leave for about one month

53 juuyokka kara hatarakasete-kure tte koto ni natta n desu tte. De nee, watashi wa
14th from let-me-work-please QT thing became NOM COP QT and SFP I TOP
asked, “Let me work from the 14th,” [which I] was told. And

54 suMUuzuni sokode, anoo, hatsuka-kan no yasumi 0,
smoothly there well 20-days GEN vacation ACC receive-can thing became NOM COP
it turned out that I could be given a 20-day vacation sMOOthly.

55 KE: = [((laughs))]

56 Audience: = [Hoo.
oh
[Oh.

57 G: De, watashi wa kokoro de desu ne,
and I TOP heart in COP SFP
And I [said], in [my] heart,

58 “Haa, kami-sama ikite-irassharu koto wa mochiron wakaraseraremashita.”
wow God living-HONORIFIC thing TOP certainly understand-made
“Wow, God, [You] certainly made me understand that [You] are living.”

59 Honttoni kami-sama wa ne, ikite, irassharu tte koto ga wakatta n desu keredomo,
really God TOP SFP be-living-HONORIFIC QT thing ACC understood NOM COP but
[I] really understood that God is living, but,
well we do make plans by ourselves but

This is God who does all the things,

once more, [I] firmly keep [that] in mind, and [we] make all kinds of plans but,

[It] is God who does things and guides things and has them achieved,

And [I] really praised [God].

And [I] would like to return glory to God.

In lines 49-54, G reports the happy turnout that she was going to be given the 20-day vacation. But instead of ending her testimony there, she goes on to tell the moral lesson that she learned from this incident (57-64), that is, even though we make plans, it is God who carries them out, which reflects the content of the above-quoted verses from Proverbs (60-63); as mentioned above, incorporating the Scripture in one’s own voice indicates the speaker’s acknowledgment of scriptural guidance (Lucy 1993). G concludes her testimony by praising God for this lesson (64) and saying that she would like to return glory to Him (65). Returning glory, or honor, to God instead of claiming one’s own credit is encouraged in the Bible (cf. John 8: 50, 54).23 In other words, instead of telling about how lucky she was, G closes her narrative by sharing

23 “I am not seeking glory for myself” (John 8: 50). “If I glorify myself, my glory means nothing” (John 8: 54).
the moral lesson and praising God for that lesson, which is expected of a mature
believer in this community.

In sum, sharing how the narrative problem was resolved, or getting her once-
canceled vacation back, G presents “another” problem, i.e., her not being humble,
which concerns her moral identity as a Christian believer. Presenting her own actions
as not biblically acceptable, G structured her testimony as a moral event, in which she
had worked out her internal problem of not being humble by referring to the moral
principles from the Scripture. By doing so, G’s narrative presents her full
membership in the communal Discourse, in which she successfully created her moral
identity as a Christian believer as well as demonstrating herself as a competent
member who could make full use of the valued practices which index the communal
spiritual values.

The next excerpt is the second half of T’s “baby-sitting” testimony. Its first half
and coda have appeared in 4.1. As mentioned above, T is a shin-issei immigrant in her
late 60s. At the time of recording, she was serving as a deacon and actively involved
with the church. As we have seen, T shares her problem which is not resolved yet;
she cannot decide whether or not she should baby-sit her grandchildren. If she did,
she would have no time to serve in church.

In the above-discussed EXCERPT [1] (in 4.1.), as a Christian, T tries to follow
God's voice, as she has reported to have received it through the Scripture. However,
in the following EXCERPT [2], she finds herself upset with comments from her
neighbor who is not a Christian. A part of EXCERPT [1] is included in EXCERPT
I. “Should I Baby-sit?”

EXCERPT [2]

16 Demo, “Kore mo, maa, kore mo, kami-sama no go-keikaku no uchini but this also well this also God GEN plan in
But, “This also, well, this also might be part of God’s plan,”

17 (aru) n janai ka na” to mo omottari-shite.
be NOM COP-NEG Q SFP QT also think
[I] also think.

18 Kooiu koto ga kanjirareta tteiu koto dake demo, ano, nante iu no (2) like this thing SUB feel-can-PAST QT thing only even well what say NOM
[I] was able to think of this kind of thing, well, what shall I say? (2)

19 shiawase da na, kansha da na, tte omoo n desu kedomo. happy COP SFP thankful COP SFP QT think NOM COP but
[I]’m glad, [I]’m thankful, I think.

20 T: Ano, kinjo no hilo wa, "Anata tsumetai, " ne, "kokoro no hito ne" tte.
well neighbor GEN person TOP you cold SFP heart GEN person SFP QT
Well, [my] neighbor said, "You are a person with a cold heart."

21 Ano, "Watashi dattara kodomo mite-ageru wa yo” tte.
well I COP-if child take-care-of SFP SFP QT
Well, [she] said, "If I were [you], [I] would baby-sit [my] grandchildren."

22 "Anata, yooku sooiu koto ieru wa ne” tte, watashi iwarechatta n desu yo.
you possibly such thing say-can SFP SFP QT I be-said-end-up-PAST NOM COP SFP
"How can you possibly say that kind of thing?", I was told, you know.

23 Sono kata wa kurisuchan janai n desu kedo ne.
that person TOP Christian COP-NEG NOM COP but SFP
She is not a Christian, though.

24 Demo, sooiu hito-tachi cchuu no wa ne,
but such people QT NOM TOP SFP
But such people, you know,

25 totemo tsumetai okaasan to mite-ru wake desu yo ne.
very cold mother QT see NOM COP SFP SFP
see [me] as a very cold mother.
De, sooiu koto o kangaetari nanka shitara, and such thing ACC think like do-when
So, when [I] think about that,

"Watashi wa ja yappshi ne, kodomo nitotte wa, TOP then after-all SFP child for TOP
"Then, after all,

ikenai okaasan na no ka naa" tte kangaete. bad mother SFP NOM SFP SFP QT thought
Am I a bad mother for [my] kids?", [I] thought.

Demo kami-sama wa, "Gi o sakini motomenasai" tte aru shi. but God top righteousness ACC first seek-IMP QT is-written
But God says, "Seek my righteousness first."

Even after stating that she is thankful for this struggle as being a part of God's plan (16-18), T starts wondering again whether she is right or not when she quotes her Japanese neighbor who said that she was a cold person (20). This neighbor is not a Christian, but even so, the repeated use of the word *tsumetai* "cold" (20, 25) suggests that T has, nevertheless, been affected by her neighbor's opinion. As we have seen in EXCERPT [1], presenting herself as a Christian (*kurisuchan to shite* "as a Christian" (09)), T was trying to solve her problem through a dialogue with God. In EXCERPT [2], stating that her neighbor is not a Christian (23), she draws a clear line between herself and her non-Christian neighbor, which also highlights her role as a Christian. However, T still finds herself upset with the comments from this non-Christian neighbor, which leads to her self-directed speech, "Am I a bad mother, after all?" (27-28), where she reports her unresolved feelings. In other words, a challenge comes through her non-Christian neighbor's voice. In EXCERPT [1], T presents her account of wanting to come to church (07). Being a deacon, she wants to come to church to serve, which is a good and right thing to do in this community. However, in Japanese
culture, social expectations, or reactions of others, provide the basis for judging the goodness of one's behavior (cf. Clancy 1986; Nakane 1970). According to public opinion, T is not a good person, but a "very cold mother" (25). But then, she quotes the Scripture from Matthew 6:33, "But God says, 'Seek first my righteousness'" (29).

Thus, in this segment, quoting three different voices --- her non-Christian neighbor, the Scripture, and herself, T portrays herself as caught in between two sets of moral values, that is, secular criticism and scriptural guidance. However, as we have seen in 4.1., at the closure of her testimony, T returns the framework of the problem-solving to the set of spiritual values discussed above. The transcript of this segment which has appeared in 4.1. is repeated for convenience.

EXCERPT [3]

30 T: jibun de katteni beebii-sitto haratte kuroo-shite yatte-masu yo ne.
   self on-their-own baby-sit pay struggle-ING do-ING SFP SFP
   Paying for baby-sitters on their own, [my children] are struggling.

31 Demo, sore o mite ne, hontoni watashi wa tadashii no ka na tte.
   but that ACC see SFP really I TOP right NOM SFP SFP QT
   But, having seen that, you know, [I] said to [myself], "Am I really right?"

32 Chotto koo, oya-gokoro de-chatte ne. Ima, kangae-chuu na n desu.
   just like-this parent-heart come-out-end-up SFP now still-thinking COP NOM COP
   Just a little bit, like this, the feeling of being a parent came out. Now, I'm still thinking.

33 Dakara, mina-san inotte-itadakitai n (desu kedo ne).
   so everyone pray-please NOM COP SFP
   So, [I] would like you all to pray [for me],

24 "But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well" (Matthew 6: 33).
34 Ano, hontoni nani ga ichi-ban tashii no ka tte, ne,
well really what SUB most right NOM SFP QT SFP
Well, "What is the most right thing?",

35 sore ga, ano, shimesaretara ii na tte omotte.
that SUB well be-revealed-if good SFP QT think
if that, well, were revealed, [that] would be great, [I] think.

After quoting the Scripture (29), reporting another self-directed question ("Am I really right?" (31)), T goes back to the unresolved feeling and attributes it to her oya-gokoro "parental sentiment." In the Japanese hierarchically-organized social relationships, not only parents but also anyone in a superior position is expected to demonstrate oya-gokoro toward their juniors (cf. Nakane 1970; Wetzel 1993). Thus, T's using the word oya-gokoro is an indication that she is seeing herself as a Japanese mother. However, at the end of her testimony, holding on to the spiritual values that God takes the initiative in guiding a believer, T closes her testimony by asking the audience to pray that "what is the most right thing should be revealed (shimesareru "be revealed")" by God (34-35).

In sum, T framed her struggle as caught in between the two sets of moral values as a testimony sharing how she has been trying to solve the problem by seeking God's guidance. The different voices in the testimony --- God, the neighbor, and herself --- show that she was struggling between Japanese and Christian goodness. The Scripture helped her to see the problem in terms of what is viewed as good in the Scripture. However, T was upset with secular criticism from her non-Christian neighbor. Her seeing herself as a Japanese mother suggests that she almost gave into the non-Christian neighbor's criticism. At the end, however, returning to the spiritual
value that what is good is always revealed by God, T presented her Discourse membership to the audience. Thus, even though she was caught in between the two sets of moral values, seeking a solution to the narrative problem referring to the moral values from the Scripture, T framed her struggle as a moral event, in which her moral identity as a Christian believer was created and negotiated in dialogue with other voices.

4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that testimony is a personal narrative with a problem-solving dimension, in which believers' experiences are evaluated in terms of the shared values and beliefs of this particular community. First, I have illustrated how the presentation of testimony is constrained by the communal values and beliefs which consist of a Discourse in this particular community. The narrators made reference to the spiritual values, or beliefs that pertain to the role of God in the life of the believer, which rendered believers' personal recollection into testimony recounting how they worked through a narrative problem with God's assistance. These spiritual values were evidenced in the performance aspects of the testimony-giving practice as well. Second, I have shown that the narrators addressed the moral values as well as the spiritual values in order to present their moral identity as a good Christian. The moral values are concerned with judgment of what is good or bad in terms of the moral principles stated in the Scripture. The narrators structured the narrated events as moral events in which they presented their responses to the narrative problems as reflecting the moral values from the Scripture. I have argued that in addition to addressing the spiritual values, presenting themselves as a "morally good" Christian is
essential for their personal accounts to be recognized as a valued performance of testimony, in which the narrator’s problem-solving process indexes their full membership in the communal Discourse. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate that the testimony-giving practice can be the site of language socialization, that is, how “novices” are socialized into the communal Discourse by participating with “experts” and also what “experts” can do with their expertise within the framework of the testimony-giving practice.
CHAPTER 5
LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION
WITHIN THE TESTIMONY-GIVING PRACTICE

As mentioned above in Chapter 2, the notion of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986a, 1986b; Ochs 1988) is applicable to secondary socialization as well, in which novice members are socialized into values and beliefs of a particular community through language-mediated interactions with experts.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that the testimony-giving practice can be a site of language socialization, i.e., what “novices” and “experts” do within this practice. I will first discuss implicit style of socialization, in which novices are socialized into the above-discussed spiritual and moral values which index their social identity, or a Discourse membership in this particular community, through “exposure to and participation in” (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986a, 1986b) interaction with expert members. In order to do so, I will present examples of an “interim” Discourse (Rudolph 1994), or testimonies given by novice members. As Rudolph (1994) notes, an interim Discourse can be seen as parallel to the notion of "interlanguage," or a language system in progress, which is constructed by second- or foreign-language learners in the process of acquiring the target language (cf. Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991). I will argue that as an interlanguage phenomenon, these interim Discourses given by novice members show their partial or little mastery of the “target” Discourse (Rudolph 1994), which is often mixed with values from other (i.e., non-Christian) Discourse, but through these interim Discourses, the novices are socialized into the communal
spiritual and moral values through interactions with expert members.

Second, my data show another socialization aspect, that is, "explicit socialization" where novice members are overtly taught the communal values and beliefs by expert members. I will illustrate this through discussion of one testimony given by one novice member, in which the novice-expert interaction turns out to be a type of "explicit socialization." Third, I will discuss what experts can do with their "expertise." According to my data, expert members who have good mastery of the target Discourse can create a "hidden agenda" that is going on under the official agenda of sharing and hearing one another's testimony. I will argue that their expertise leads to the ability to manipulate the framework of the testimony-giving practice in order to achieve their communicative purposes such as commending themselves or criticizing others.

5.1. Implicit Socialization within the Testimony-giving Practice

As we have seen in Chapter 4, addressing both spiritual and moral values is essential for their personal accounts to be recognized as good testimony, in which the narrator's problem-solving process indexes their full membership in the communal Discourse. However, my data show that novice members make partial or little reference to these communal values in narrated events but index other Discourse membership as well. I will discuss these developmental aspects which characterize an interim Discourse by examining three examples by novice members. The first testimony was given by F. At the time of recording, she had been a church member for three years. Comparing herself with longtime members, however, F still saw herself as a novice, but simultaneously, presented herself as a "senior" to "brand new"
novices. Thus, F is a sort of a “middle” person. The other two testimonies were
given by what I call “brand new” novices; when the recordings were made, it was less
than one year since both of them were first introduction to the Christian faith.

The following example is F’s testimony, in which she shares her passing a US
citizenship exam. As mentioned above in Chapter 3, F is a recent shin-issei immigrant
in her mid 50s who came to Hawai’i when she married a local Japanese (her second
marriage). She started coming to church shortly after her arrival in Hawai’i and soon
became an active member of the community. At the time of recording, she had been a
church member for about three years and still viewed herself as a novice, especially,
compared with other longtime members.

F had a daughter who was living in Japan and she was not a believer. Just before
the citizenship exam, F was busy, because she was preparing a special celebration for
her husband, which would also take place within a week; her husband, who used to
serve in the U.S. Army, was scheduled to be honored by the U.S. government. As we
will see in the excerpt, F’s daughter asked F to study hard for the exam, because, if
she could become a citizen by passing the exam, she could obtain citizenship for her
daughter as well, which I was informed of by F outside the prayer meeting.

IX. “Passing the US Citizenship Exam”

01 F: “Demo o-negai da kara, mama (2) gambatte benkyoo-shitee” tte iu n desu yo.
but please mom hard study QT say NOM COP SFP
“But please, Mom, (2) study hard,” [my daughter] says.

02 De “Wakatte-ru yo” tte. “Demo Y (= her daughter)” tte.
and know SFP QT but Y QT
03 "Kore ne, watashi ga hinichi ga isshuu-kan mo nakutte benkyoo mo shinaakan." 
this SUB days SUB one-week even NEG study also have-to-do
As for this, I don't even have a week and [I] also have to study.

04 SA (= her husband) no koto wa zettai o, oitokarenai" tte ne.
SA GEN thing TOP never put-aside-can-NEG QT SFP
[I] can never put aside things for SA (= her husband)," [I] said.

05 "Demo Y, kore, kore o atashi ga choosen-suru noni ne,
but Y this this ACC I SUB challenge to SFP
"But Y, this, in order for me to challenge this,

06 honttoni kondo no koto wa, kami-san ni tanomu shikanai” tte
really this-time GEN thing TOP God to ask have-no-other-way-than QT
really, as for this thing, there is no other way than asking God," [I] said.

07 "Y, atashi wa moo zettai soo omotte-ru kara ne, Y mo, kami-sama ni o-inori-shite ne.
Y I just absolutely so think-ING because SFP Y also God to pray SFP
"Y, I absolutely think so, so you too pray to God.

08 Kono koto ga atashi ga chanto dekiru-yooni Y mo subeki yo ne” tte
this thing SUB I SUB properly can-in order to Y too do-should SFP SFP QT
In order for me to be able to do this properly, you should do [your part], too,“

09 watashi ga yutta n desu yo.
I SUB said NOM COP SFP
I said, you know.

10 Soshitara isshun damatte-ta kedo ne, “Wakatta” tte.
then momentarily silent-PAST but SFP understood QT
Then, [she] was silent for a moment, but said, "[I] got it."

11 Kore ga soshite, ano, toottara ne,
this SUB and well pass-if SFP
“This and, well, if [I] passed [the exam],

12 kore wa moo kami-sama ga watashi-tachi ni shite-kureta koto,
this TOP just God SUB us to did thing
this would simply be what God has done for us,

Since F is from Osaka, which is located in the western part of Japan, she is speaking a dialect from that area (i.e., Kansai dialect).
sore igai shinjiru koto wa nai kara ne" tte
that except believe thing TOP NEG because SFP QT
so, except for that, there is nothing else to believe,”

sore hisshini yutte-ru n desu yo ((high tone)), Y ni.
that desperately say-ING NOM COP SFP Y to
[I] found [myself] desperately saying [so], you know ((high tone)), to Y.

Sore, no ato ni mata kondo tootta koto denwa-shita toki ni, moo arigatoo tte naite-ta
that GEN after again this-time pass-PAST thing phone-PAST when just thank-you QT cry-ING-PAST
After that, when [I] phoned [her to let her know I] passed, [she] was crying
and said, “Thank you.”

shii. Demo honttoni, kore kekka, nee, tootta shi,
and but really this result SFP pass-PAST and but this TOP just self GEN
But really, this result, [I] passed, but this was simply [not] my [ability],

SU-san no iu koto ne, ittsumo kuchi-guse, “Atashi janai no yo, kami-sama na no yo”
SU GEN say thing SFP always saying me COP-NEG NOM SFP God COP NOM SFP
what SU says, [she] is always saying, “[It]’s not me. [It]’s God.”

Audience: ((laughs and claps))

Sore ga detekuru n desu yo, SU-san ((laughs)).
that SUB come-out NOM COP SFP SU
That just comes out [of my mouth], you know, SU ((laughs)).

Sono kotoba wa hontoni moo ((high pitch))
that word TOP really just
That phrase just really ((high pitch)),

SU-san no kotoba sonomama watashi ga ima tsukaemasu.
SU GEN word exactly I SUB now use-can
I can now use exactly what SU says.

Konoo kami-sama gaa kono-yooni-shite,
this God SUB like-this-do
This, God did this,
tadaa asobi ni kite-ta watashi ga koko ni sunde, mata Y made koreru koto ni natte (2),
I, who just came to visit here, live here, and it turned out that even Y could come here (2),

24 konna koto, hontoni = [(2)
such thing really
such a thing, really = [(2)

25 KE:
= [Kangaetsukanai.
think-can-NEG
= [[You] could never think of.

26 F: "Kami-sama no suru koto wa," nee, "toki toshite utsukushii" toka,
God NEG do thing TOP SFP time as beautiful or
"What God does," you know, "is beautiful sometimes," or,

27 "Sono jiki ga utsukushii," nanka sonna mi-kata ga arimashita yo ne, mi-kotoba ne.
that timing SUB beautiful something such perspective SUB there-was SFP SFP God’s-Word SFP
"beautiful in [its] season," something like that, there is such a way of seeing, isn’t there, such a verse.

28 "Anata no ((unintelligible)) iu koto, toki ni,"
you GEN say thing when
"Your ((unintelligible)), what [You] say, when,"

29 MC: "Kami-sama no nasaru koto wa, subete =
God GEN do thing TOP all
"God makes everything," =

30 F: = "toki ni"=
time
= in [its] time, =

31 MC: = kanatte utsukushii."
suit beautiful
= “beautiful.”
F: “Toki ni kanatte utsukushii.” Nanka sooiu mi-kotoba gaa time suit beautiful somehow such scripture ACC “[God] has made everything beautiful in [its] time.” Somehow, [I] came to understand God’s Word like this deeply,

shimijimitoo, wakatte-kite, honttoni koko made de konna da kara, deeply understand-come-to really here until COP like-this COP because really, up to today, [it] has been like this,

kono saki watashi ni wa DONna dorama ga = here from me for TOP what-kind drama SUB so from here on, for me, WHAT kind of drama =

35 Audience: = ((laughs)) =

F: = tenkai-suru no kashira to omotte. unfold NOM wonder QT think = will unfold, [I] wonder, [I] think.

F has laid out a narrative problem by quoting her telephone conversation with her daughter. F was preparing to take the US citizenship exam within a week, but at the same time, she needed to prepare the special celebration for her husband (03-04).

Then, as mentioned prior to the transcript, her daughter asked her to study hard (01), that is, a challenge comes from her daughter’s voice. F herself did not consider the exam to be easy, but referred to it as a chosen “challenge” (05). Her seeing the exam as a challenge is also evident when she describes her successive actions by quoting her own voice talking to her daughter; (a) first, she told her daughter that they had no other choice than asking God for help (06), which is followed by her saying zettai soo omotteru kara “I absolutely think so” (07), expressing her strong conviction; (b) her daughter was a non-believer, but F dared ask this non-believer daughter to pray for her, saying that this is her daughter’s obligation (07-08); (c) even after her daughter accepted F’s request to pray for her (10), F found herself still desperately saying that
if she could pass, this was nothing but God's work (11-14), in which F uses the word shinjiro “believe” (13); for Christian believers, “believing” means “putting trust in God” (cf. Life application study Bible, p. 2182), which forms the foundation of their faith (cf. Hebrews 11: 6). Thus, along with the above-mentioned zettai soo omotteru kara “I absolutely think so” (07) which expresses her conviction, F’s using the word “believe” is another indication that she was firmly convinced that passing the exam would be nothing but God's work. In other words, in addition to passing the exam itself, praying to God for the exam and trusting Him with the results meant another challenge for F, that is, a challenge to her belief, or putting more trust in God; as it will be seen below, she never had this kind of experience in the past. Thus, while presenting these details, F refers to God and expresses her belief in His role (06, 07, 12-13), but the actual prayer was not quoted in her testimony.

In line 15, when she moves on to sharing the happy outcome (i.e., passing the exam), F first quotes SU who is always saying, “It's not me, but God” (17). This direct quote is followed by the audience's clapping (18), showing their positive response to the direct quote. F states that now she herself can say this (20-21). Her use of “now” (21) suggests that F did not have this kind of experience (i.e., God worked, answering her prayers) in the past. However, after having this experience, now she can use this voice as her own, “It's not me, but God.” In other words, F first finds the spiritual value that God works in a believer’s life through the expert member’s voice, and then, states to the whole community that having had this experience that gives her access to this resource, she can use the expert’s voice as her own.

26 “And without faith it is impossible to please God, because anyone who comes to him must believe that he exists and that he rewards those who earnestly seek him” (Hebrews 11: 6).
In line 22, F moves on to personal recollection, looking back on how things have developed up to today (22-24); at first, she just visited Hawai‘i, but now she lives here and since she will become a citizen, her daughter can come here as well. Following this, even though she cannot remember the exact wording, F quotes the Scripture (26-32), which is Ecclesiastes 3: 11, “God has made everything beautiful in its time.” She quotes this verse, suggesting that both events, her coming to Hawai‘i and passing the exam, took place in God’s timing. F remembers most of the words such as “time” and “beautiful” (26), but cannot remember the whole verse, saying *nanka sonna* “something like that” (27). Trying to remember the verse, she first uses the word *mi-kata* “view” (27), but immediately, uses another word *mi-kotoba* “God’s Word” (27). Although the word *mi-kata* “view” sounds like *mi-kotoba* “God’s Word,” *mi-kata* is F’s idiosyncrasy, which marks her novitiate, but her self-correction shows that she is already knowledgeable of the right word (i.e., *mi-kotoba*).

In lines 29-31, F quotes the complete verse with the emcee’s assistance. Even so, this is her “own” voice, that is, she is not borrowing some expert’s voice as she did earlier (i.e., quoting SU). The scriptural quotation is followed by her stating that she came to understand God’s Word deeply (*shimijimi* “deeply”) (33). Right after that, however, she shifts to a non-Christian voice, saying, “I wonder what kind of drama will unfold for me” (34-36). In Japanese, “dramas” are popular TV shows which feature interesting stories that attract viewers. Carrying this connotation, when it is used in daily conversation, the word “drama” refers to such an interesting or drama-like development in one’s life. Thus, this word “drama” evokes an idea which is totally secular or non-Christian, which triggers audience’s laughter (35).

In sum, sharing how her problem was resolved, i.e., passing the exam by praying to
God, F’s testimony shows partial acquisition of the communal Discourse which is mixed with a non-Christian Discourse; (a) F first displayed her Discourse membership by making reference to prayer; (b) through her own voice repeatedly referring to God (06, 07, 12) and expressing her strong conviction (07, 13), F emphasized the role of God, but actual prayer was not quoted; (c) having identified her experience as consistent with the spiritual values that God works in believer’s life and having framed it as such, she stated that she could now use the expert’s voice as her own; (d) thus, even though she could not remember the whole verse, she attempted to quote the Scripture, which was her “own” voice; in the light of her newly-found “expertise,” it seems essential that F makes appropriate and accurate use of the communal practice which indexes her Discourse membership as a form of proof that she has made progress; (e) however, immediately after quoting the Scripture, using the word “drama,” F shifts to the secular or non-Christian voice to close her testimony.

Moreover, her response to the narrative problem does not address the moral values from the Scripture. To begin with, the narrative problem itself did not have moral implications; her problem was the conflict that arose between two aspects of F’s secular life, i.e., passing the U.S. citizenship exam and a party for her husband. In other words, telling about the problem which has no moral implications and making reference only to the spiritual values that pertain to the role of God in her life, F does not frame the narrated event as a moral event in order to create her moral identity which reflects the moral principles from the Scripture. Thus, in addition to her presentation of the spiritual values which is mixed with a non-Christian Discourse, not presenting her as a morally good person results in a partial presentation of the communal Discourse.
However, F's interim Discourse also shows that F was being socialized into the target Discourse through exposure to and participation in interaction with communal members; (a) F borrowed an expert's voice which she had heard before, which was positively evaluated by the audience (18); (b) when quoting the Scripture, she was scaffolded, or helped in a structured, cooperative manner, by the expert (26-32); (c) F's using the word "drama" which clearly indexed her non-Christian Discourse membership was also received with the laughter of the audience (35), that is, the non-Christian value was not rejected or corrected up front by the audience. Thus, as the professor-student apprenticeship relationship in Rudolph's (1994) study, F's socialization is shown to proceed through close and meaningful family-like interactions with experts within the testimony-giving practice. I will examine two more interim Discourses given by "brand new" novices.

The following example is M's testimony, in which she shares about a "miracle" that she experienced. M is a non-immigrant Japanese in her early 30s. At the time of recording, she was visiting Hawai'i on a three-month vacation.

When this testimony was given, M was a "brand-new" novice in the community; when the recording was made, it was only seven months since she had been introduced to the Christian faith. As we will see in the following data, compared with the above-discussed F's testimony, M hardly addresses the communal spiritual values, but simply describes a sequence of events. When this testimony was recorded, M was learning gospel hula. Gospel hula is a recent trend, which uses hula movements for Christian worship. Her instructor and those who were taking lessons danced at Waikiki Beach once a month, which was their evangelism reaching out to
non-believers. Since that particular month, the day when they were scheduled to
dance fell on Valentine’s Day, the hula group decided to buy Valentine cards, write a
Bible verse in them, and hand them out at Waikiki Beach. This is where the transcript
starts.

X. “The Printer Started Working!”

01 M: *De, ee, “Sore kekkoo taihen da na” (laughs) to jitsu wa omotte-mashite,*
and well that pretty hard COP SFP QT actually think-ING
And, well, [I] was thinking, “That’s a lot of work” ((laughs)),

02 *rokujuu-mai ijoo, nanajuu-mai kurai ka na, kaado, o kaku noo,*
more-than 70 about Q SFP card ACC write NOM
more than 60, about 70, [I] suppose, cards which [I] was supposed to write.

03 “Ma, atashi, kompyuta ga kowarete-ru shi na” to omotta n desu ne.
well I computer SUB broken too SFP QT thought NOM COP SFP
“Well, [my] computer has been broken, too,” [I] thought.

04 *Kompyuta ga no purintaa ga, konekuto-shinakute*
Computer GEN printer SUB connect-NEG
Computer’s printer had not been connected,

05 *desukonekuto-jootai ni natte-ta n desu ne. Uirusu ga haitte-te.*
disconnect-situation became-had NOM COP SFP virus SUB enter-had
but disconnected, you know. [It] had a virus.

06 *De “Uun, tegaki wa yada na” to omonigara mo,*
and well longhand TOP don’t-like SFP QT think-while though
And although [I] was thinking, “Well, [I] don’t like writing [them] by hand,”

07 *chotto kotsukotsu kaite-ta n desu kedomo,*
little little-by-little write-ING-PAST NOM COP but
[I] was doing [it] little by little, but

08 *sono mae no hi ni nattemo mada, takusan nokotte-te*
that before GEN day became-even-if still a-lot left-had
even a day before that, a lot [of cards] were still left,
09 de, “Aaa” to omoinagara, “A, soo da. Sooieba T-san no katei-shuukai no toki ni, and oh QT think-while oh so COP remember T GEN house-church GEN time at and, thinking, “Oh,” [then I] remembered that at the fellowship at T’s place,

10 K-sensei ga, nanka musume-san ga keeburu o shiaazu ni kai niiku toki ni K-pastor SUB like daughter SUB cable ACC Sears to buy to go when Pastor K said like, when [his] daughter went to Sears to buy a cable,

11 o-inori-shitara, keeburu ga atta tteiu hanashi wa, hanashi o, o-inori-shinasai tte pray-when cable was-found QT story TOP story ACC pray-IMP QT [she] prayed, then [she] found the cable, [that] story, [I remember that] story.

12 o-oshatte-ta na” tte omoidashite, so(re)de atashi, “Iya demo inottakaratte said SFP QT remember so I no but pray-even-if [The pastor] was saying, “Pray,” so I, [but I] was thinking,

13 kompyuutaa ugoku hazu zettai nai wa ta n desu ne. computer work can absolutely NEG SFP QT think-ING-PAST NOM COP SFP “No, even though [I] prayed, [the computer] would never ever work,” you know.

14 Suteitasu ga akutibu ni natte, “purintengu” tte “-ingu” ni natte-ru noni, status SUB active became printing QT ing became-had but The reason is that the status was active and [said,] “Printing” with “-ing” on,

15 mattaku purintaa ugokanai jootai datta kara. at-all printer work-NEG situation COP-PAST so but the printer was not working at all.

16 Dakedo chotto o-inori-shita n desu ne ((laughs)). but little pray-PAST NOM COP SFP But [I] prayed a little bit, you know ((laughs)).

17 Audience: ((laughs))

18 M: Sorede o-inori-shitara, soshitara, “Gata” tte itta n desu ne, purintaa ga. so pray-when then crack QT said NOM COP SFP printer SUB So [I] prayed, then, the printer started up.

19 Soshite suggoi kowaku natte, “Kowai, kowai.” then very scared become scared scared Then, [I] got very scared and [said,] “[I]’m scared, [I]’m scared.”
“Bi bi bi bi” tte itte, “Bi bi bi bi” tte dete-ru n desu yo.
blip QT say blip QT come-out-ING NOM COP SFP [Papers] just kept coming out one after another, you know.

Moo suggoku kowa, ureshii desu kedo, “Ha!” Nanka moo kowakute, “Ha!”
just very scared glad COP but wow like just scared wow [I] was just scared, but was glad, “Wow!”, [I] was like just scared, “Wow!”

Moo yonaka no ichi-ji han gurai ni koo “Ba ba ba ba” tte narihajimeta kara,
just midnight GEN one thirty about at like this ((onomatopoeia)) QT sound-start-PAST so Just about 1: 30 in the morning, [the printer] started a noise, “Ba ba ba ba.”

“Dareka ni moo konna no denwa-shitai kedo yonaka no ichi-ji han ni konna
someone ACC just such NOM call-want but midnight GEN 1: 30 at such “[I] want to call someone [to tell] them about this, but at 1: 30 in the morning, something like this,

((unintelligible)) purintaa ga ugoita no nante chattto yappari hen ka naa” to omotte,
printer SUB work NOM QT little after-all strange Q SFP QT think ((unintelligible)) the printer started working. Is [that] a little bit strange?”, [I] thought, and

hitoride “Kiseki da, kiseki da” =
alone miracle COP miracle COP by myself, “[This] is a miracle, [this] is a miracle” =

Audience: = [(laughs)] =

M: = [tte heya no naka de itte-ta n desu ne.
QT room inside say-ING-PAST NOM COP SFP = [((I)) was saying in my room, you know.

Sono toki ni wa, juubun dete, sore o ato kirihari-sureba, ii dake ni natte-ta kara,
that time at TOP enough come-out that ACC left cut-and-paste-if good only become-had so By that time, enough came [out], and what was left was only to cut and paste them, so

sono ato wa moo kirihari-shite, kaado o zembu katta bun o hareta n desu ne.
that after TOP just cut-and-paste card ACC all bought portion ACC paste-can-PAST NOM COP SFP after that, [I] cut and pasted them, and pasted [them on] all the cards [I] bought, you know.
Soshite, biichi de kubaru toki mo kaado ga kawaii koto mo aru shi,
and beach at give-out when also card SUB cute thing also be too
And when giving [them] out at the beach, the cards were cute, too,

biichi no hito wa nikkouyoku gurai shika suru koto ga nai kara
beach GEN people TOP sun-basing something-like only do thing SUB NEG so
people at the beach did not have much to do other than sun-bathing, so

nanigenaku koo yatte mite-tari-shite-kurete-te,
somehow like this look-ING
[they] were looking at [cards].

dee aru obasan wa, "Moo sukoshi choodai" tte kata mo ite,
and one woman TOP more a-little-bit give-me QT person also is
And there was one woman who said, "Give [me] some more,"

sore wa tottemo yokatta, ureshikatta n desu ne.
that TOP very good-PAST glad-PAST NOM COP SFP
that was very good, [I] was glad, you know.

Following the background information which was given prior to the transcript, M explains what her problem was; since her printer was broken, she had to write these Valentine cards by hand (01-09). Quoting her own voice not liking and getting tired of writing the cards by hand (01, 06, 09), she gives a fairly-detailed description of her problem; (a) how many cards she had to write (02); (b) why and how her printer was out of order (04-05); and (c) she had been making little progress until a day before she was supposed to bring them in (07-08). While explaining these details, however, M does not make any reference to the communal spiritual values.

Then, having laid out the narrative problem, M goes on to telling how it was resolved. She quotes herself remembering the pastor’s encouragement to pray (09-12). Notice that in this self-quote, even though she simply reports what the pastor said, M makes reference to the communal practice of prayer, which is indicative of the spiritual values that God works in a believer’s life. This self-quote, however, is
followed by her own voice expressing denial Iya “no” (12) and unbelief that prayer would ever work, ugoku hazu zettai nai “the computer will never ever work” (13). In other words, a challenge to the communal belief that God works in a believer’s life comes from her own voice. After giving brief accounts why she thought so (14-15), however, M says that she prayed anyway (16), in which she downplays her praying by saying chotto o-inori-shita n desu ne “I prayed a little bit” (16) and closes her turn with laughter (16). This laughter suggests that M herself is seeing her own action of praying “a little bit” as laughable; as mentioned in Chapter 4, the community-based belief is that when you pray, you should believe that God will hear and answer your prayers (4.2.1.). Thus, in this community, M’s description of downplaying her praying is perceived as humorous against communal expectations (Ziv 1988), which invites the audience’s laughter (17).

Following the audience’s laughter, in line 18, M reports that the printer said, “Crack!” (18). According to her description, her first reaction was suggoi kowaku natte “I got very scared” (19), which is followed by her own voice repeating, “I’m scared, I’m scared” (19). M continues to describe her reaction, saying that she felt glad (21) but still scared (21) and “strange” (24). However, following this mixed reaction, quoting herself, she uses the word “miracle” (kiseki “miracle”) (25) which implies supernatural involvement. Hearing this invites the audience’s laughter again (26); the word “miracle” is also of biblical use.27 However, as mentioned above (4.2.3.), for the audience, this kind of event is not a “miracle,” but a part of their everyday life. Thus, M’s using the word “miracle” does not reflect this spiritual

27 “And in the church God has appointed first of all apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, also those having gifts of healing, those able to help others, those with gifts of administration, and those speaking in different kinds of tongues” (1 Corinthians 12: 28).
value, which is against the communal expectations and perceived as humorous (Ziv
1988). After using the word “miracle,” however, M continues to describe mere facts,
or what she did afterwards and what happened at the beach the following day, and
concludes her testimony simply by reporting her own feelings, “That was very good,
I was glad” (34).

Thus, when she shared how her problem was resolved, M did not make much
reference to the communal spiritual values. She informed the audience that she
prayed, but simultaneously, downplayed it. When seeing the printer moving, her first
reaction was mixed with unbelief, but finally used the word “miracle” (25) which
implied supernatural involvement. Even though M used the word “miracle,” however,
God, or an agent who did this “miracle,” was not mentioned. Thus, her presentation
of the narrated event, in which she mainly recounts a sequence of events, shows fewer
evidence of her mastery of the communal spiritual values. In addition, her reporting
of beliefs that are inconsistent with those shared by the community, i.e., not believing
in prayers and referring to the “ordinary” event as a “miracle,” clearly marks her as a
novice who has not yet mastered resources for indexing these basic communal values.
Moreover, her response to the narrative problem was not framed in a manner that
reflected its relevance to the moral values, which resulted in a more partial
presentation of the Discourse, in which she addressed little spiritual values and no
moral values. However, as we have seen in F’s testimony, M’s presentation of the
“wrong” values which were inconsistent with the communal spiritual values (16, 25)
was not rejected or corrected, but received by the audience with laughter (17, 26),
which shows that the audience accommodated M’s novice practice of expressing other
(i.e., non-Christian) Discourse membership. I will examine one more testimony which
was given by another “brand new” novice, in which SH shares how she was blessed financially. A part of the transcript appeared in Chapter 4. As mentioned above, this testimony was recorded a week after her baptism, which was five months after her being introduced to Christian faith. SH is another non-immigrant Japanese in her early 30s. At the time of recording, as a student who was going to a local language school, she was always on a tight budget.

III. Given More than I Had Given Out

01 SH: Etoo, kenkin, nitsuite omotta koto na n desu kedo, well offering about thought thing COP NOM COP and Well, [this] is what [I] thought about tithing.

02 atashii wa kyookai ni hajimete kita toki ni, ken, kin teiu imi ga I TOP church to for-the-first-time came when offering QT meaning ACC When [I] came to church for the first time, 1 didn’t understand the meaning of offering,

03 yoku wakaranakute, kami-sama no koto mo yoku wakatte-inakatta node (I), well understand-NEG God GEN thing also well understand-NEG-PAST so and [I] did not understand much about God, either, so (1),

04 koo, ken, kin no, utsuwa o motte mawarereru kata ga kita toki ni, like-this offering GEN plate ACC carry go-around-HONORIFIC person SUB came when when a person who came around with a collection plate in [her] hand,

05 kenkin o shinakatta n desu ne. offering ACC did-NEG NOM COP SFP [I] did not give an offering, you know.

06 De, iroiroto kami-sama no koto ga wakaru-yooni natte and various God GEN thing ACC understand-come-to And [I] have come to know various things about God,

07 jibun wa anoo gakusei de, hoo-teki ni wa amerika de hatarakenai n de, self TOP well student COP legally TOP America in work-can-NEG NOM COP and well, I am a student, so, [I] cannot work in America legally,
eto kekkoo kibishii n desu ne, o-kane o dasu no wa.
well fairly hard NOM COP SFP money ACC give NOM TOP
so [it] is pretty hard, you know, to give out money.

Soredemo, jibun no (2) ((starts crying)) naka de wa, koo,
still self inside TOP like-this
Still, [I] was, (2) ((starts crying))

o-kane o dashite-ru wake desu kedo (6) sumimasen ((fading voice)) (5)
money ACC give-out NOM COP but I'm sorry
giving money, but (6) [I'] m sorry ((fading voice)) (5)

SH:
Eto, ichi-gatsu tsuitachi ni (4) senrei o ukete, ettoo, ittan, eeto, senrei o, uketa shi,
well January 1st on baptism ACC receive well once well baptism ACC receive and
Well, on January the first, (4) [I] was baptized, well, once, well, [I] was, baptized,

ima made wa sugoku sukunakatta n desu kedo (4) omoikitte o-kane o takusan,
now until TOP very little-PAST NOM COP but dare money ACC a lot
until then, [my offering] was very little, but (4) [I] dared,

Audience: ((laughs))

SH: kenkin- ((laughs, still crying)) shita n desu ne.
offering did NOM COP SFP
to give a lot of money ((laughs, still crying)).

De, “Ashita kara dooshiyoo” =
and tomorrow from what-shall-I-do
And “What shall [I] do from tomorrow on?” =

Audience: = ((laughs)) =

SH: = tte ((laughs))
QT
= [I] thought ((laughs)).

De, choodo sono, mikka no hi ni, etoo, TO-san ga,
and just that 3rd GEN day on well TO SUB
And just that, on the 3rd [of January], well, Ms. TO [said to me]

kekkonshikii ga, TO-san no, ie no gaaden de, puuru-saido de, anoo atte,
wedding SUB TO GEN house GEN garden LOC pool-side LOC well take-place
a wedding would take place at Ms. TO’s place, in [her] garden, on the pool side, well,
20 sono tetsudai o shite hoshii tte iwarete, tetsudai ni itta n desu ne. (1)
that help ACC do want QT be-told help to go-PAST NOM COP SFP
[I] was asked to help [TO] and [I] went to help [her]. (1)

21 De, mina-san sugoku, tottemo tanoshinde-itadaitee, sugoku kansha-saretee,
and everybody greatly very enjoy-HONORIFIC greatly be-thanked
And everybody enjoyed [it] very, very much and [we] were thanked very much.

22 atashi-tachi mo, sooiiu o-iwai-goto no sono seki ni deta node sugoku tanoshikute
we also such celebration GEN that place LOC present-PAST because very enjoy
We also enjoyed ourselves very much, because [we] were present at the
celebration,

23 (2) ee, sono atoni, eto, chippu, koo itadai, tee (2)
well that after well tip like-this receive
(2) well, after that, well, [I] received a tip (2)

24 sooiiu koto o zenzen kangaenai tokoro ni,
such thing ACC at-all think-NEG when
when [I] was not thinking about such a thing at all.

25 jibun mo (2) hontoni, o-iwai no seki na n de (3)
self also really celebration GEN place COP NOM COP
I myself was also (2), really, at the place of celebration (3),

26 kokoro kara, koo saabisu-shiteta n desu kedo (2)
heart from like-this service do NOM COP and
doing heartfelt service (2)

27 de, sono chippu to, o-rei toiu koto de (2) itadaita o-kane ga ((laughs))
and that tip and money QT thing COP receive-PAST money SUB
and that tip and money (2), money which [I] received ((laughs))

28 nan-juu-bai ni mo =
several ten times even
[w]as] several-ten-times more [than what I had given out] =

29 Audience: = (((laughs)) =

30 SH: (((laughs)) = natte [(3)
became
[[(laughs)) = [it] became, [(3)
Audience: [Oo, oh
[“Oh”]

A: [Honto yokatta wa ne.
really good-PAST SFP SFP
[That was really good.]

SH: yokatta desu.
good-PAST COP
[that] was good.

Audience: [((claps))]

KE: [Hoonto, kami-sama hatarait-kureru.
really God work
[God really works.]

A: Demo, sensei, seisho no naka de itte-ru toori desu ne.
but pastor Bible inside say-ING as COP SFP
But Pastor, [this] is exactly what the Bible says.

Kami-sama no hanashi tte sugu wakarimashita, hajime no hoo de.
God GEN story QT right-away understood beginning GEN part COP
At the beginning, [I] understood right away that [this] story was about God.

As we have seen, this testimony is presented with little reference to the communal spiritual values and no reference to the moral values from the Scripture, but mainly recounts a series of events. Even the agent who brought this financial blessing (i.e., God) is not explicitly mentioned, which is more subtle than the above-discussed M’s testimony. At least, M informs the audience of her making use of the communal practice of praying. Even though her reaction was mixed with unbelief, M prayed. However, SH does not make any reference to prayers. Instead, she quotes herself expressing her worries in self-directed speech, “What shall I do from tomorrow on?” (15), which is not addressed to God but directed to herself. The only time that SH
refers to God is when she explains how her attitude toward offering has changed; at first, she did not give an offering, because she did not understand much about God (03-05), but as she learned more about God, she tried to give as much as she could (06, 09-10). However, except for this, SH does not mention God at all. Instead, after hearing her testimony, it is one of the audience who explicitly mentions that this was God’s work (35). Another one says that this is exactly what the Bible says (36) and that at the beginning of SH’s testimony, she already understood that this story was about God (37).

In sum, not mentioning God’s agency, SH did not address the spiritual values clearly in her framing of the narrated event, but it was the audience who co-constructed SH’s testimony by adding the missing spiritual values, which transformed her narrative into more like a communal Discourse which makes explicit reference to God’s agency. Thus, even compared with M’s testimony which was given by another “brand new” novice member, SH’s testimony is a more partial presentation of the communal Discourse, in which neither spiritual values nor moral values are addressed clearly. Nevertheless, the audience’s reaction shows that they accepted this very partial presentation of the communal Discourse. First, giving out a large offering is good, but even though it was the day of her baptism, giving to such an extent that she had nothing to live on from the next day on (11-17) marks the simplicity of SH’s faith. However, the audience’s laughter (13, 16) indicates that SH’s action which reflects the simplicity of her faith was received positively. Second, SH started crying (09) in the middle of her narrative, but the audience’s laughter invited SH’s laughter in the middle of her crying (14, 17, 30). These occurrences of laughter (13, 14, 16, 17, 29, 30) built up positive affect between audience and SH.
Third, the happy turnout of receiving “several ten times” of money was also received with the following affective moves from the audience, which includes laughter (29), a positive evaluation (32), and clapping (34). The audience’s co-construction of SH’s testimony co-occurs with these moves which index positive affect. Thus, despite its very partial presentation of the communal Discourse, SH’s interim Discourse reveals that she was helped by expert members who accepted her novice practice within the affective interaction, which resulted in the co-construction of SH’s testimony.

To summarize, examining the interim Discourses given by novice members, I have illustrated how the novices who were not yet proficient in the communal Discourse were socialized into the communal values and beliefs through their interaction with expert members. The interim Discourses were characterized by the partial or little presentation of the communal Discourse, in which their problem-solving processes reflected only the spiritual values, but not moral values of the narrated events. Even the spiritual values were addressed with varying successes, which was sometimes mixed with values which indexed other (i.e., non-Christian) Discourse membership. However, the audience did not reject or correct but accepted these partial presentations of the communal Discourse. Moreover, the novices were helped or scaffolded or accommodated by the expert members. The novice members’ socialization to the communal Discourse was shown to proceed in the affect-indexing interactions with the expert members that were compatible with caregiver/child interactions, which is consistent with Rudolph’s (1994) findings on the professor-student apprenticeship relationship and renders further support to the dynamic notion of an interim Discourse. The interim Discourses within the testimony-giving practice reveal that testimony is not a transformative point between believer and non-
believer but where believers' socialization takes place, which is not a momentary, but ongoing transformational process of their identity as a Christian believer.

5.2. Explicit Socialization within the Testimony-giving Practice

So far, I have discussed the implicit style of socialization within the testimony-giving practice, in which the novices are socialized into the communal Discourse through exposure to and participation in the interactions with the expert members; as we have seen in F’s and M’s testimonies, in addition to being helped, scaffolded, and accommodated by the experts, the novices learn the communal values and beliefs by hearing expert members, which is evident as the novices recycle (i.e., quote) these experts’ voices in their own testimonies.

On the other hand, prior research (cf. Clancy 1986; Keenan (Ochs) & Schieffelin 1976; Miller 1982; Schieffelin 1979, 1986) found that caregivers’ strategies for socialization include explicit instructions such as directives and corrections as well. For example, Miller (1982) finds that American mothers routinely gave their children direct instruction in various aspects of language. The mothers explicitly told their children what to say or how to say something or quizzed them on these matters. Clancy (1986) finds that Japanese mothers train their children in two aspects of Japanese cultural norms, namely, empathy and conformity, by giving them explicit instructions. The Japanese mothers emphasized sensitivity to needs, wishes, and feelings of others by directly telling the children what others were thinking and feeling in various situations. The mothers also explicitly pointed out their children’s behaviors which did not conform to social expectations. In the following section, examining one testimony given by a novice member, I will illustrate how the
testimony-giving practice can be a site of “explicit socialization,” where novice members are overtly taught the communal spiritual and moral values by the experts.

The following is another testimony given by M, in which she wonders how God’s guidance is “revealed.” This testimony was recorded a week after the above-discussed “miracle” testimony (i.e., a broken printer started working). As mentioned above, the recording was made seven months after M’s first introduction to the Christian faith, that is, when she was still a “brand new” novice. While M is sharing her testimony, expert members interrupt and explicitly teach M both spiritual and moral values which constitute the communal Discourse.

XI. “Faith is a Battle”

EXCERPT [1]

01 M: Atashi, o-inori-suru toki ni, ee o-inori-suru, toki, kami, sama kara koo I pray when well pray when God from like this I, when [I] pray, well, when [I] pray, “This was revealed from God,”

02 shimesareta toka mata wa ano, nn, mi-kokoro ga koo da kara tteiu fuuni, iu hito wa be-revealed-PAST or or TOP well uh God’s-will SUB this COP because QT like say person TOP or, well, uh, “This is God’s will,” some people say things like that,

03 iru keredomo, atashi wa, kami-sama no sono, koe ga, “Kocchi e kinasai,” “Acchi e be but I TOP God GEN that voice SUB here come-IMP there but God’s [voice], that voice, saying “Come here,” “Go there,”

04 ikinasai” tteiu koe ga “Dooayatte dokkara kikoeru n daroo” tte, ee, omotte-mashite, go-IMP QT voice SUB how where-from hear NOM COP-wonder QT well think-ING “How can [it] be heard and where does [it] come from?” I’m wondering.
05 “Sore wa inori no naka de kikoeru, sooiu insupireeshon mitaina mono na n daroo
that TOP prayers in heard such inspiration like thing COP NOM COP
“Is it like an inspiration which is heard in prayers?”

06 ka” tte kangaete, demo atashi ga inottari, “A! Kami-sama kara shimesareta,”
Q QT think but I SUB pray-and Oh God from be-revealed-PAST
[I] wonder, but when I pray, “Oh, [this] is revealed by God,”

07 “Kami-sama wa koo daroo ka” tte kangaeru koto tte,
God TOP this COP-wonder Q QT think thing QT
“[I] wonder if this is God’s [will],” thinking [like this],

08 jibun no yokuboo o kootei-suru-yoona koto ga totemo ookute,
self GEN desire ACC affirm like thing SUB very many
[I] affirm my own desire, things like that [happen] very often.

09 “A! Atashi, jibun no ekusukyuuzu no tame ni, kami-sama tsukatte-ru n janai ka”
oh I self GEN excuse for God use-ING NOM COP-NEG Q
“Oh, Am I not using God for my excuse?”

10 tteiu kimochi, ga, sugoi jibun demo kowai n desu ne. [Dakara,
QT feeling SUB very self even scared NOM COP SFP so
a feeling like that scares me very much, you know. [So,

11 KI: [Demo, sooiu ne,
but like-that SFP
[But, like that,

12 sore ga shimesarete-ru no yo. Soo omotte-ru tokoro ga, shimesarete-ru.
that SUB be-revealed-ING NOM SFP that think-ING place SUB be-revealed-ING
that is “being revealed,” you know. Thinking like that is “being revealed.”

13 M: (Fuun.) Sono hen gaa, madaaa, [cho
uh huh that like SUB still little
(Uh huh.) Something like that, still, [little,

14 KI: [Mada ne =
still SFP
[Still, =

15 M: = Un =
uh-huh
= Uh huh=
16 KI: = *anoo shiranai hito wa sooiu koto, kangaenai kara, =
= well know-NEG person TOP like-that thing think-NEG so
= well, a person who does not know does not think of that kind of thing, so, =

17 M: = *Soo na n [deshoo] ka?
so COP NOM COP-wonder Q
= Is that [right?]

18 KI: = *[Kangaetsukanai kara, kangaetsu, tsuite-ru desho? Soo yatte ne =
= think-of-can-NEG so think-of-can COP like that SFP
= [[A person like that] cannot think of [that], so [you] can think of
that, that way. =

19 M: = *Un[n.]
= Uh [huh.

20 KI: = *[Sore ga shimesarete-ru n desu yo.
that SUB be-revealed-ING NOM COP SFP
= That’s “being revealed,” you know.

21 M: *Dakara, anoo, nanka gutai-tekina, o-negai toka (1) inori no naka de
so well like concrete request like prayers in
= So, well, like concrete requests, (1) in [my] prayers,

22 ammari (1) dekinakunatteshimatte (((laughs)).
= not-very unable-become-end-up
= not very much of them (1), [I] end up not being able to do. (((laughs)))

23 Audience: (((laughs)))

M presents her problem of not being able to understand the concept of God’s
guidance “being revealed” (01-02), which she has heard from others (02). Addressing
this question, M quotes her own voice wondering how she can hear God’s voice (03-
04). This question involves the above-discussed communal spiritual value that God is
a personified agent whom you can converse with, which is a very basic belief in this
community. Thus, not understanding this basic spiritual value marks M’s novitiate.
Following this question, M shares that when she feels that something is “revealed by God” (06), she tends to approve her own desire (08), which is followed by her self-directed question (“Am I not using God for my excuse?”) (09) and evaluation (i.e., she feels scared about it) (10). Then, saying Dakara “So” (10), M continues her turn. But KI, one of the expert members, interrupts, saying that M’s questioning her own attitude itself is being “revealed” (11-12). Following this statement, KI continues to overlap M to take the floor (14, 18, 20). In this segment, as KI repeats what it means by “being revealed” (11-12, 18-20), her statements co-occur with the SFP yo (12, 20), which marks information uniquely available for the speaker (Rudolph 1993). Thus, these yo-marked statements indicate that KI is passing the information which is available for her, but not for M, namely, what it means by “being revealed by God.”

However, after KI finishes her turn, M continues her narrative, repeating the conjunction dakara “so” (21) which she used earlier (10) when KI first interrupted, which shows that M was not through with presenting her problem, but she had to yield the floor to KI because she kept interrupting. In the next excerpt, referring to her previous attitude, M elaborates on the problem affirming her own desire as if it were guidance from God.

EXCERPT [2]

21 M: Dakara, anoo, nanka gutai-tekina, o-negai toka (1) inori no naka de
so well like concrete request like prayers in
So, well, like concrete requests, (1) in [my] prayers,

22 ammari (1) dekinakunatteshimatte ((laughs)).
not-very unable-become-end-up
not very much of them (1), [I] end up not being able to do. ((laughs))

23 Audience: ((laughs))
24 M: Nanka kore tte atashii, anoo (1) atashi wa monosugoku
like this QT I well I TOP very-much
Like, this [means] I, well (1) I very much

25 motomoto son-toku-kanjoo de zutto seikatsu-shitekita bubun ga aru kara,
originally loss-gain-feelings with always living-have-been part have so
originally lived with loss-and-gain feelings (= was calculating) [and] have
lived [that way] always, so,

26 mada sono mukashi no son-toku-kanjoo o motte-te, "Kooshite-kudasai,
still that past GEN loss-gain-feelings ACC have this do-please
[I] still have those previous loss-and-gain feelings, "Please do this,

27 aashite-kudasai, soshitara atashi mo koo shimasu' tteiu torihiki o,
that do-please then I also this do QT bargain ACC
please do that, then, I will also do this,” [I] wonder [if I] was bargaining

28 Audience: Un, un, un.
yes yes yes
Yes, yes, yes,

29 M: inori no naka de shite-ta n janai ka" toka, sonna koto o (1) kangaetarii,
prayer in do-ING NOM COP-NEG Q like such thing ACC think-and
in [my] prayers,

30 tokuni anoo, konshuu i-sshuukan batabata isogashikatta kara,
especially well this one-week one-after-another busy-PAST so
especially, well, this week, [I] was very busy, [things are coming up] one
after another, so,

31 doko ni dono sukejuuru o atehame-yoo ka tteiu toki ni,
where which schedule ACC assign-will QT when
when [I] will decide [my] schedule,

32 nani o ichiban yuusen ni suru ka tte, kangaeru to,
what ACC No.1 priority make QT think if
if [I] think about what [I] should make a No. 1 priority,

33 tsui jibun no yaritai koto bakkari yuusen-shitteshimattee,
tend-to self GEN do-want thing only prioritize-end-up
[I] end up prioritizing only what [I] want to do,
34 "Demo sekkaku, hawaii ni kuru, iru n da kara ii desu yo ne" mitai ni ((laughs))
   but after-all Hawai‘i in come be NOM COP so good COP SFP SFP like
   [I was] like, "But, [I] come, am in Hawai‘i, [which is a very] valuable
   [experience], so [it]'s okay, right?" ((laughs)),

35 jibun no yoku o kootei-shite
   self GEN desire ACC affirm
   like, affirming [my own desire,

36 Audience:
   (((laughs))

37 M: shimau-yaona,
   end-up like
   [[which I] end up [doing],

38 S: Kontorooru-shichatte ((laughs))
   control end-up
   [[You] end up controlling. ((laughs))

39 M: sooiu uun koto mo attari, uun, sono, hontoni, yudan-shite-ru too sugu,
   such well thing also there-was-and well that really off-guard if immediately
   there was, well, such a thing, well, that, really, if [I] was off guard,
   immediately,

40 uun, jibun no yokkuu, o kootei-suru, kami-sama, no yoono sonzai o
   well self GEN desire ACC affirm God like being ACC
   well, [I] ended up trying to play God, affirming my own desire.

41 motometeshimate-iru jibun, ga, arimashita ((fading voice)). Ee,
   seek end-up-ING self there-was well
   ((fading voice)). Well,

42 KI: = Mada, ne, ((unintelligible)) atarashii kurisuchan da kara.
   still SFP new Christian COP because
   = Still, ((unintelligible)) because [you]'re a new Christian.

43 M: Uun, ima madaa
   well now still
   Well, now, [still

44 KI: = Mina, uu, sooiu basho tootekite-ru n desu yo.
   everybody well such place through-has-been NOM COP SFP
   [Everybody, well, has been through such an experience, you
   know.

156
45 M: Uun,
    uh-huh
    Uh huh,

46 KI: Atashi mo saisho no toki wa soo datta.
    I also beginning GEN time TOP so COP-PAST
    I was like that in the beginning.

47 (2)

48 M: Sorede nanka, amai megumi bakari motometete ((laughs)), atashi, [nanka
    and like sweet blessing only seek-ING I like
    And [I]’m like seeking only sweet blessings ((laughs)), [I am] [like

49 KI:  

50 M: [sonna kanji,  
    that like
    [like that,

51 KI: [ano, negau koto bakkari ne ((laughs)),
    well ask thing only SFP
    well, only things [you] ask ((laughs))

52 M: Uun,
    uh-huh
    Uh huh,

53 KI: o-inori-shite ne ((laughs)),
    pray SFP
    [you] pray ((laughs)),

54 M: Uun,
    uh-huh
    Uh huh,

55 KI: shite, sore ga kotaerarenakattara “Dooshite kashira” to omottari,
    do that SUB be-answer-NEG-PAST-if why QT think-and
    and if that was not answered, [you] would think, “Why?”
In this segment, M elaborates on the problem of affirming her self-centered desire, referring to her “old” self (26), which was always controlled by son-toku-kanjoo “one’s sensitivity to loss and gain” (25, 26). Saying that she is still under that influence (26), M quotes herself “bargaining” (26-27) with God in her prayers. Following this quotation, M illustrates how she prioritized her self-centered desire that particular week. After this illustration, in line 35, M brings up the idea of affirming self-centered desire again (35-37, 40), which she already brought up in the prior segment (08), but this time, it occurs with teshimau, or the “end-up” construction, which shows M’s evaluating her affirming her own desire as not acceptable and thus, expresses moral implications of this problem more clearly.

However, even so, KI interrupts again, explicitly stating M’s novitiate, “You are still a new Christian” (42), which is followed by KI’s stating that this is what everybody went through and that she herself was once there (44-46). In addition to explicitly pointing out M’s novitiate (42), these two statements (44-46) which draw a clear line between novice and expert put M into a novice position, implying that M has not yet reached that stage.

Following these statements, after the two second pause (47), M brings up her seeking only “sweet” blessings in her prayers (48), which is clearly a novice practice. Then, KI interrupts again (49, 51), explaining this novice practice, which also presents KI as an expert who is knowledgeable of what novices normally do. As a result, M yields the floor to KI and listens to her commenting on the novice prayer practice (49-55). In the next excerpt, however, M presents her own point of view regarding this issue.
EXCERPT [3]

53 KI: o-inori-shite ne ((laughs)),
pray SFP
[you] pray ((laughs)),

54 M: Uun,
uh-huh
Uh huh,

55 KI: shite, sore ga kotaerarenakattara “Dooshite kashira” to omottari,
do that SUB be-answered-NEG-PAST-if why QT think-and
and if that was not answered, [you] would think, “Why?”

56 M:
Uun. Hontoni, uun. Demo, fura no, ee kurasu o, o-cha nomu jikan ni, donata
uh-huh really uh huh but hula GEN well class ACC tea drink time at who
Uh huh. Really, uh huh. But [in] the hula class, well, during the [break] time when
[we] drink tea,

57 datta ka S-san, datta ka na. “Shinkoo wa tatakai desu yo” tte, osshatta n desu ne.
COP-PAST Q S COP-PAST Q SFP faith TOP battle COP SFP QT said NOM COP SFP
[I] wonder who, [I] wonder if [it] was S. “Faith is a battle, you know,” [she]
said, you know.

58 Audience: ((nods))

59 M: “Ee, konnani nagaku kurisuchan yatte-ru,” ne, “Kurisuchan de aru hito mo,
wow so long Christian have-been SFP Christian have-been person also
“Wow, a person who has been a Christian so long,” you know, “who has
been a Christian also

60 sonna, kangaete-rassha-ru no ka” tte omotte, “Aa soo ka,
like-that think-HONORIFIC-ING NOM SFP QT think oh so SFP
is thinking like that,” [I] thought, “Oh, I see,

61 yappari S-san, mo, tatakatte, shinkoo wa tatakai, na n da na” tte omotte,
after-all S also fight-ING faith TOP battle COP NOM COP SFP QT think
after all, Mrs. S, also, is fighting, faith is a battle,” [I] thought, and
A-soo, atashi mo madamada yudan-shichaikenai tte omo, omoimashita. Tsuneni oh so I also still off-guard-should-NEG QT thought always
Oh I see, I still should not be off guard, either,” [I] thought. Always =

63 KI:
= Dai-ichi piitaa, a, no, tokoro, yondara ironna sooiu tokoro, kaitearimasu yo. first Peter uh GEN place read-if various such place be-written SFP = If [you] read, uh, First Peter, various things like that are written, you know.

64 Hontoni, ano, makenai-yooni ne, shiteikanaitoikenai. really well lose-NEG-make-sure SFP have-to
Really, well, [we] have to make sure not to lose.

65 M: Tsuneni, koo tsunagatte-ru-yooni, shite, soshite tsuneni chekku-shitokenai to, always like-this be-connected-make-sure and always check-have-to unless
Unless [I] make sure to always be connected and always check,

66 hontoni, uu =
really uh
really, uh =

67 KI: = Makechau?
end-up-losing
= Do [you] end up losing?

68 M: Soo desu ne. Tsukuzuku soo omotte. so COP SFP really so think
That’s right. [I] really think so.

69 KI: Akuma ga ne, Satan SUB SFP Satan, you know,

70 M: fEe, yes
[Yes,

71 KI: [un, soo saseru no yo ne. yes so cause-you-to-do NOM SFP SFP [yes, causes [you] to do so, you know.

160
72 M: *Soo desu ne, de, un, sugu akuma no sei ni shitari [watashi*
so COP SFP and uh right-away Satan GEN blame put and I
That's right, uh, [I] put [my] blame on Satan and [I]

73 Audience: {((laughs))}

74 M: “*A, kore wa watashi, kore wa satan ga” toka,*
oh this TOP I this TOP Satan SUB like
like, “Oh, this [is what] I [did], this [is what] Satan did,”

75 Audience: {((laughs))}

76 M: *Sooiu wagamama ga de-te-ta shi, sonna koto o omotte, mashita.*
such selfishness SUB came out and such thing ACC think-ING-PAST
Such selfishness came out and [I] was thinking like that.

After KI’s turn commenting on the novice prayer practice, saying *hontoni* “That’s true,” M shows her agreement (56), which, however, is followed by the conjunction *demo* “but” (56), suggesting that M is going to present a different point of view. Following this “but,” M shares what she heard from another “expert” member during a church hula-group rehearsal, in which she quotes both expert member’s voice (*Shinkoo wa tatakai desu yo* “Faith is a battle, you know”) (57) and her own voice reflecting on the expert voice. Her own voice, however, is self-directed speech, in which she simply repeats the expert member’s voice rather than expressing it on her own (*shinkoo wa tatakai na n da* “faith is a battle”) (61). Her inability to form her own voice indexes her novitiate.

As M continues her turn, after her saying *tsuneni* “always” (62), KI takes the floor (63-64), giving a scriptural reference and stating her point of view, “Make sure not to lose” (64). This time, however, M does not show any acknowledgment. Instead,

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28 As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Japanese-speaking congregation has their own hula group, which performs in worship service and other church-related occasions. The members meet in church for a weekly rehearsal and enjoy fellowship during a break.
repeating the word *tsuneni* “always” (65), M expresses her own perspective, in which she uses the word *tsunagaru* “be connected” (65). This word has an indexical function relevant to her Christian identity; “being connected” means “being connected to God,” which is encouraged throughout the Scripture (cf. John 15: 5). After using this word “be connected,” however, M uses *chekku-suru* “I should check” (65), which is a non-biblical, everyday way of speaking and after saying this word, she searches for a word (66). Then, KI fills in, saying, “Makechau?” (= end up losing) (67), by repeating the idea which she mentioned earlier (i.e., to lose) (64). Through the rising intonation, KI presents this idea as a question, instead of imposing it in the form of a statement. However, KI’s repeating the same idea suggests that she is still trying to communicate this point, and this time, M shows agreement, *Soo desu ne* “That’s right” (68), and adds, “I really think so” (68), which shows her aligning with KI more clearly. In other words, M takes up the novice position by accepting the expert’s words.

In line 69, following M’s agreement (68), KI brings up “Satan” (69). Showing acknowledgment (*Soo desu ne* “That’s right”) (72), M takes up this topic and relates her own experience blaming Satan. In other words, she does not present her own point of view, as she did earlier (56-62). Instead, M takes up this topic offered by the expert, which shows that M continues to place herself into a novice position. However, taking up this topic turns out to be a successful move, which invites the audience’s laughter (73). Blaming Satan instead of blaming oneself is an inside joke of this community. Following this laughter, M quotes herself putting her own blame on Satan (74), which invites further laughter from the audience (75). The audience’s

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29 “I am the vine; you are the branches. If a man remains in me and I in him, he will bear much fruit; apart from me you can do nothing” (John 15: 5).
laughter indicates that M was able to make a meaningful contribution in terms of the communal Discourse, i.e., her joke was perceived as laughable by other communal members. Thus, even though she placed herself into a novice position, building on the expert-initiated topic, M was able to make the “communal” joke and this was viewed as a successful contribution to the communal Discourse. In the next excerpt, another expert member gives M a different scripture. However, focusing only on a small part of it, M ends up giving a narrow or self-focused interpretation of the scripture rather than seeing its relevance to the topic which they just talked about (i.e., Satan).

EXCERPT [4]

74 M: “A, kore wa watashi, kore wa satan ga” toka,
    oh this  TOP I  this  TOP Satan  SUB like
    like, “Oh, this [is what] I [did], this [is what] Satan did,”

75 Audience: ((laughs))

76 M: Sooiu wagamama ga dete-ta shi, sonna koto o omotte, mashita.
    such  selfishness  SUB came-out  and  such  thing  ACC think-ING-PAST
    Such selfishness came out and [I] was thinking like that.

77 KI: (((unintelligible))

78 T: [Matai no nijuuroku-shoo no ne, ju, yonjuui-ssetsu ni,
    Matthew GEN 26 chapter GEN SFP 10 41 verse in
    [In Matthew chapter 26 verse 10, 41,

79 ((reads)) “Yo, yuuwaku ni ochiranai-yooni me o samashite inotte-inasai.
    temptation  into fall-NEG  so-that eye  ACC open-and  pray-ING-IMP
    ((reads)) “W, watch and pray so that you will not fall into temptation.

80 Kokoro wa moeteitemo nikutai wa yowai no desu.”
    heart  TOP burn-ING-even-though body  TOP weak  NOM COP
    The spirit is willing, but the body is weak.”

163
M: (quickly) Matai no moo i-kkai o-negai deki, dekimasu ka?
Matthew GEN once more please Q
((quickly)) In Matthew, once more please?

T: Nijuuroku ((slows down)) shoo no, yonjuui-ssetsu.
Chapter ((slows down)) 26, verse 41.

M: (6) ((turns pages)) Yonjuuichi, ((reads)) "Yuuwaku ni ochiiranai-yooni,"
(6) ((turns pages)) 41 ((reads)) "Watch and pray"

T: "me o samashite inotte-i-nasai. [Kokoro wa moete-itemo
eye ACC open-and pray-ING-IMP heart TOP burn-ING-even-though
= "so that you will not fall into temptation. [The spirit is willing,

M: [Honto, really

T: Un, yes = Yes,

M: Nikutai wa yowai no da kara."
body TOP weak NOM COP so
but the body is weak."

M: Soo desu ne. =
so COP SFP
That's right. =

T: = Un,
yes = Yes,

M: Nikutai wa yowai desu ne. =
body TOP weak COP SFP
The body is weak, isn't it? =

T: = Yowai desu. =
weak COP
= [It] is weak. =

M: Hontoni anoo [hari ga sassatta dake demo,
really well needle SUB stuck only even-if
= Really, well, [even if [I] have only a tiny pinprick [in my finger],
92 T: [Soko e satan ga hairu desho?]
there in Satan SUB enter COP
[Satan can come in there, can't he?

93 M: uun, atafuta-shichau shi ((laughs)).
uh-huh, be-upset-end-up and
uh huh, [I] end up being upset. ((laughs))

94 S: Soo nee.
so SFP
That's right.

95 M: Honto chicchai, hari ga, toge ga sassatta, n desu kedo, tamatama.
really small needle SUB splint SUB stuck NOM COP and happen-to
[That was] a really tiny pinprick and [this just] happened.

96 Demo sore de ki ga moo dooten-shichatte, batabata batabata, atafuta atafuta,
but that with feelings SUB just be-upset-end-up moving-around being-upset
But just because of that, [I] was very much upset.

97 honto torikku ni torawarechau n desu ne, chicchaai.
really trick in be-caught-up-end-up NOM COP SFP small
Really [I] ended up being caught in a trick, you know, [a] small [trick].

98 De "Nante hontoni nikutai wa yowai n daroo" to omotte. {((unintelligible))
and how really body TOP weak NOM COP QT think
And “Really, how weak the body is,” [I] think. {((unintelligible))

99 KE: [Demo atashi-ra ima
but we now
[But now

100 o-hanashi kiitara yowai n da nante omowazuni ne, SUBArashii na to omo wa.
story heard-when weak NOM COP QT think-NEG SFP wonderful COP QT think SFP
when we hear [your] story, [we] don't think [you] are weak but [we] think
[you] are WONderful, you know.

101 Audience: Nee.
SFP
Right.
When M finishes her turn, both KI and T start saying something (77-78) and it is T who takes the floor and gives another scriptural reference (78-80), which is Matthew 26: 41, “Watch and pray so that you will not fall into temptation. The spirit is willing, but the body is weak.” T reads it by herself and after she finishes reading the verse, M asks for the reference (81), looks for the verse in her own Bible (83), and starts reading it (83). These actions suggest that M is taking up a novice position; novices are supposed to receive teaching from experts. However, while M is still reading the verse, T cuts in at a transition-relevance place (84) and reads the rest of the verse by herself. T’s re-reading the verse shows that T is taking up a role of an expert by reinforcing this input; as we have seen, T already read it once by herself (79-80), but that does not seem to be enough for the sake of teaching.

However, before T finishes reading, saying, “Honto” (= really) (85), M starts saying something. After T finishes her turn, showing brief acknowledgment by saying soo desu ne “That’s right” (87), M states, “The body is weak” (89), simply repeating the last part of the quoted verse. In other words, she disregards the rest which includes the first half “Watch and pray that you will not fall into temptation,” although this part is more relevant to the topic of Satan which they just talked about, that is, watch and pray, otherwise Satan tempts you (69-76). However, focusing only on “the body is weak”, M brings up her own experience having a splinter in her finger (91-98), that is, she simply relates her own experience rather than seeing the relevance of the quoted scripture to the previous topic (i.e., Satan). Therefore, T has to point out the relevance by bringing up “Satan” again (92). But showing minimal
acknowledgment (93), M continues to focus on her own experience (93-98).

Then, prefacing her turn with demo “but,” KE interrupts M and explicitly commends her (99), saying that she is not weak but wonderful (100). The inclusive we (99) indicates that KE presents this compliment on behalf of the community. In other words, this is a communal validation given to the novice who has made progress, which is followed by the communal agreement (101). The next excerpt is a last teaching session in M’s testimony, in which the expert members bring up various moral values to teach, presenting their own points of view.

EXCERPT [5]

102 KE: *Subarashii wa yo, [anata, watashi,* 
             wonderful       SFP       SFP you    I 
        *You are wonderful, you know, [I,*

103 M:    *[Dooshite (laughs)) sonna,* 
             why            such             
        *[Why (laughs)) [do you say] such [a thing],*

104 KI: *Demo kurisuchan ni [nattara nanimokamo sumuuzuni ikanai kara ne.* 
             but Christian become-if everything smoothly go-NEG so SFP 
       *But if [you] [become a Christian, nothing goes smoothly, you know.*

105 KE:    *[Honttoni subarashii.* 
              really    wonderful             
       *[[[You] are really wonderful.*

106 M:    *Soo desu ne. Uun.* 
              so COP SFP uh-huh 
       *That’s right. Uh huh.*
107 KI: Ano, ((( unintelligible ))) to omoo kedo.
well QT think but
Well, ((( unintelligible )), [I] think.

108 T: [Minna sooiu toko toottekite-ru no yo.]
everybody such place gone-through-have NOM SFP
[Everybody has had the same experience, you know.

109 KI: Un, yes

110 A: Tsuneni, ima no [tatakai toka]
always now GEN battle or
Always, [a battle [which you just mentioned] or

111 KI: [Shiren ga aru.
trial have
[[we] have trials.

112 A: Kenson ne.
humbleness SFP
humbleness.

113 M: Ee, =
yes
Yes, =

114 T: = Uun,
yes
= Yes,

115 M: Soo desu nee.
so COP SFP
That's right.

116 S: Sooiu koto.
such thing
That's the thing.
117 M: *Un, =*
   yes
   Yes, =

118 KI: = *De, shiren ga atte koso ne,*
   and trial have just-because SFP
   = And, just because [you] have trials,

119 M: *Un,
   yes
   Yes,

120 KI: *motto, kami ni hora, chikayotetiku desho.*
   more God to you-know get-closer COP
   [you] are drawn closer to God, right?

121 M: *Ee, =
   yes
   Yes, =

122 KI: = *Uun, dakara [*
   yes so
   = Yes, so [

123 T: [Ano ne ((quickly)), shinkoo, ni,
   that SFP battle to
   [You see ((quickly)), faith,

124 S-san ga “Shinkoo no tatakai yo” tteiu imi ne.
   S SUB faith GEN battle SFP QT meaning SFP
   S said, “Faith is a battle,” which means, you know.

125 M: *Un.
   yes
   Yes.

126 T: *Anoo (1) “Tatakai yo” tteiu no wa, shinkoo ni wa gisei ga tomonau wake.*
   well battle SFP QT NOM TOP faith to TOP sacrifice SUB accompany NOM
   Well (1) “[It] is a battle,” which means that faith is accompanied with sacrifice.
127 M: *Uun.*
   yes
   Yes.

128 T: *"Kocchi o toru ka,"
   this ACC take or
   "[I Should] take this or,"

129 M: *Ee,
   yes
   Yes,

130 T: *sooiu sakurifaisu.
   such sacrifice
   a sacrifice like that.

131 M: *Ee, (0.5) uun.
   yes yes
   Yes, (0.5) yes.

132 T: *"Kami no gi o motsu no ka, jibun no are o toru ka."
   God GEN righteousness ACC have NOM or self GEN that ACC take or
   "[Should I] take God’s righteousness or that of my own.”

133 M: = *Soo desu ne.
   so COP SFP
   = That’s right.

134 T: *"Jibun ga kontorooru-suru no ka, kami ga kontorooru-shite-kureru no ka.”
   self SUB control NOM or God SUB control-me NOM or
   “Will I control or will God control [me]?”

135 M: *Uun,
   yes
   Yes,

136 T: *Soko, ni, tatsu.
   there stand
   That’s where [we] stand.
137 M: Soo desu ne. Hontoni [ki
so COP SFP really
That’s right. Really, [if
138 F: [Demo M-chan, sondake hakkiri,
but M that-much clearly
[But M, that much clearly,
139 A: Taishita[mon desu yo.
great thing COP SF
[That]’s [great, you know.
140 F: [chanto ierfu n da kara.
rightly say-can NOM COP so
[rightly, [you] [can say.
141 A: [Sugoi wa yo. =
great SFP SFP
[[That]’s great, you know. =
142 T: = DAKARA, [shoojiki na n desu yo ne?
sO honest COP NOM COP SFP SFP
= SO, [[she] is honest, you know?
143 S: (((unintelligible))
144 T: Shoojiki [na n desu yo.
honest COP NOM COP SFP
[She] [is honest, you know.
145 F: [SORE, itte-ru koto ga, tteiu no ga kiitsuite sondake ieru =
that say-ING thing SUB QT NOM SUB aware that-much say-can
[THAT, [what you]’re saying, [you]’re aware [of it] and can say that
much. =
146 A: = Soo yo, dakara kanojo sugoi desu yo.
so SFP so she great COP SFP
= That’s right, so she is great, you know.
147 T: Shoojiki na no yo.
honest COP NOM SFP
[She] [is honest, you know.
M: [Sore wa yappari, anoo, hontoni majiwari tte, atashi ureshikatta n desu]

That's, after all, well, really I was glad about fellowship,

keredomo, sooiu naka de kizukasareta koto da shi, soreni S-san no sooiu kotoba o

and that-kind in make-me-aware-PAST thing COP and and S GEN such word ACC

[I] was made aware of [that] in [fellowship] and hearing S' words,

kiite “E! S-san demo, a soo ka” tte sugoi omoo (shi) moshi sore ga nakattara,

hear oh S even oh so SFP QT very-much think (and) if that SUB COP-NEG-PAST-if

“Oh! Even S. Oh, okay,” [I] really think, and if [I] did not have that [kind of

nichiyoobi no reihai dake dattara, sonna koto tabun nakatta to omoo shi.

Sunday GEN worship only COP-PAST-if such thing probably COP-NEG-PAST QT think and

if [I] only came to Sunday worship, such a thing probably would not

happen, [I] think.

While KE is still complimenting M, starting with KI, three members present their

own perspectives (104-112); KI brings up a “trial” (111); T says that this is what
everybody went through (108); and A mentions a “battle” (110), referring back to
what M mentioned earlier (i.e., faith is a battle (61)), and also mentions “humbleness”
(112). Their turns overlap one another (107, 108, 110, 111), which shows that
everybody is trying to present their own points of view. It is KI who takes the floor
first (118) and continues to talk about a trial. Then, T interrupts (123) and keeps the
floor for a while (123-136). Referring back to faith being a battle, T explains why and
in doing so she brings up the concept of “sacrifice” (130), which is a moral concept
found throughout the Scripture (cf. Matthew 16: 24).³⁰

T keeps the floor, until F, who was an emcee on that day, interrupts by

commending M for honestly stating her problem (138), which is followed by A who

³⁰ “if anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me”
(Matthew 16: 24).
joins F in complimenting M (138, 145). This is the end of the teaching session.

Following these two members, T starts commending M as well (142). Along with the SFP *ne* which requests the audience's confirmation (Cook 1992), the rising intonation suggests that T is seeking affirmation from others. However, having nobody showing agreement, T ends up repeating the same statement twice, saying that M is honest (144, 147). Then, it is M who takes the floor to conclude (148), commenting on her own socialization process, in which she learned the shared values and beliefs through "fellowship" (148), or interactions with expert members.

In summary, M’s testimony shows that testimony can be a site of explicit socialization as well as an implicit style of socialization. M’s presentation of the testimony sometimes marked her novitiate, which included (a) not understanding the basic spiritual values (01-04), (b) simply repeating the expert’s voice instead of forming her own voice (61), and (c) presenting the narrow (i.e., self-focused) interpretation of the Scripture (91-98). The expert members responded to these moves which indexed her novitiate by (a) teaching the basic values (11-20), (b) giving relevant scriptural references (63, 78), and (c) presenting moral values which they thought were helpful (104-112). Responding to these experts, M too presented herself as a novice believer by showing them acknowledgment and accepting their words.

Simultaneously, M’s interim Discourse showed that she was learning the communal Discourse; (a) in spite of her inability to comprehend the basic spiritual value (04), M brought up the moral aspect of this issue, evaluating her affirming self-centered desire as not acceptable (06-10, 35-41); (b) she listened to the experts, but
also presented her own point of view regarding the narrative problem (21, 56, 65); (c) building on the expert-initiated topic (i.e., Satan), she made a communal joke (72, 74), which was well accepted by other members (73, 75). The whole community explicitly commented and complimented on her progress, which was also part of explicit socialization. As we have seen, the validation of her learning was given as a collective voice from the community (99-102, 105). Thus, M’s interim Discourse reveals that in addition to the implicit style of socialization, testimony can be the site of explicit socialization, where expert members overtly teach the communal values and beliefs to novice members.

5.3. What can Expert Members do?: Manipulating the Framework of the Testimony-giving Practice

Up to here, I have discussed language socialization within the testimony-giving practice by looking at novice members’ interim Discourses on the path to full mastery of the communal Discourse. In this section, I will examine testimonies given by expert members and illustrate what experts can do with their “expertise.” According to my data, expert members who have good mastery of the communal Discourse can manipulate the framework of testimony-giving practice in order to achieve their communicative goals such as commending themselves or attacking another member. Schiffrin (1984) suggests that a story can work as a boast when it conveys information which enhances the narrator’s status for his/her current audience. Investigating what she calls “fight stories,” or adolescents’ narratives during lunchtime conversation, Shuman (1992) notes that the adolescents manipulated the sequential ordering of events and the use of reported speech in order to personalize a particular
experience so that they could claim "entitlement," or the ownership of that experience. Also, Herzfeld (1996) states that Cretan animal theft stories assert community solidarity and construct an image of local Cretans in opposition to the institutions of the nation-state.

In my data, the experts present how God helped them to work out their problems by addressing the spiritual and moral values, which is a thematically and stylistically appropriate communal Discourse. However, their concerns with a narrative event, or their concerns for "looking good" in the presence of other members, create another hidden agenda under the official agenda of sharing and hearing one another's testimonies in order to "edify," or build up, one another. In the following section, examining testimonies given by expert members, I will argue that their expertise leads to the ability to manipulate the framework of the testimony-giving practice in order to achieve their communicative purposes of making themselves "look good."

As we have seen in Chapter 4, one of the ways that the participants present themselves as a "good" Christian, or as a competent full-member, is to create an insider-outsider boundary, which is often done by reporting interaction with non-members (i.e., those who are not Christians). The following excerpt is a part of T’s testimony in which she shares how she was encouraged by her non-Christian girlfriend when her purse was missing. In the previous segment which is not included in the transcript, T provided the background --- she went golfing with Mrs. N, who had been coming to her house church for more than 15 years, but had not been to church except for one or two visits during these years. When they arrived at the golf course, T found that her purse was missing from her pocketbook. Mrs. N offered to pay for T and they had a good time. When they said good-bye to each other, Mrs. N
encouraged T not to worry about her missing purse. That night, her neighbor brought the purse, saying that she picked it up outside her place. T, however, does not go on to telling how the purse was found, but saying, “That’s not important” (01), she starts talking about how Mrs. N encouraged her. This is where the transcript starts.

XII. “She will be a Great Person”

01 T: *Sore wa maa ii n da kedo, sonoo, N-san to*
That TOP well good NOM COP but well, Mrs.N with
That’s not important, well,

02 *kuruma no naka de sayonara tte iu toki ni ne, kanojo ga koo itta n desu yo.*
car GEN inside in good-bye QT say time at SFP she SUB this said NOM COP SFP when [I] said good-bye to Mrs. N in the car, this is what she said, you know.

03 “*T-san, anata kami-sama ga ne, chanto mamotte-kurete-ru kara,*
T you God SUB SFP without-fail protect-ING so
“T, you know, God is protecting [your purse] without fail,

04 *kami-sama shinjite ne, anoo, awateru koto nai yo.*
God trust SFP well upset thing be-NEG SFP so trust in God, well, don’t be upset.

05 *Atashi mo kaeru tochuu zutto inotte-ru kara*
I also return way all-the-way pray-ING so
I’ll also keep praying on [my] way home.”

06 S: *Hee,*
wow.
Wow.

07 T: *anata mo inorinasai. tte iwreta no ne. Watashi sono toki ni ne,*
you also pray-IMP QT was-told NOM SFP I that time at SFP
“So you should pray also,” [I] was told, you know. Then, I [said to myself],

08 “*Uwaa!” Kono hito, mada kurisuchan janai n desu yo ne.*
wow this person yet Christian be-NEG NOM COP SFP SFP
“Wow!” This person, [she] isn’t even a Christian yet.
09 Atashi kara hanashi shiteru koto, mi-kotoba o tooshite mananda koto, ne,
I from have-been-telling thing God’s-Word ACC through learn-PAST thing SFP
What I’ve been telling [her], what [she] learned through God’s Word, you
know,

10 de kooiu tsudoi ni deta koto no nai hito ga,
and like-this fellowship at have-been-present thing NOM be-NEG person SUB
and [this] person who has never been to this kind of fellowship

11 anna fuuni ne, hito o genki-dukete-kureru tteiu,
that way SFP person ACC encourage QT
encouraged someone else in that way,

wow this SUB SFP wonderful SFP QT thought NOM COP SFP
“Wow! This is wonderful!”, [I] thought, you know.

13 De, ano kono shingen, “Shu ni shinrai mono wa yasuraka dearu” tteiu.
then, well this Proverbs Lord in trust person TOP peaceful COP QT
And, well, this Proverb says, “Who trusts in the Lord is peaceful,”

14 Ano shingen no nijuukyuu-shoo ni arimasu kedo ne.
well Proverbs GEN 29 chapter in be and SFP
well, [it]’s in Proverbs chapter 29.

15 “Iyaa, kono hito, mada kurisuchan janai noni, konnani ochitsuite,
wow this person yet Christian be-NEG but this-way calm
“Wow, this person is not yet a Christian, but [she] is so calm,

16 watashi ni itte-kureru nante sugoi hito ni naru na, kono hito wa” to omotte.
I to say great person become SFP this person TOP QT think
and said [that kind of thing] to me. This person will become a great person,”
[I] thought.

17 Soshitara, anoo, eeto, matai na n desu kedo ne, go-shoo no juusan-setsu, ((reads))
then well well Matthew COP NOM COP and SFP 5-chapter GEN 13-verse
Then, well, well, [it] is Matthew and, chapter 5, verse 13, ((reads))

18 “Anata-gata wa chi no shio dearu. Moshi shio no kikime ga nakunattara,
you-plural TOP earth GEN salt COP if salt GEN effectiveness SUB there-is-NEG-if
“You are the salt of the earth. But if the salt loses its saltiness,
19 *nani niyotte sono, aji ga torimodosareru, deshoo ka.*
what with that taste SUB be-retrieved wonder Q
how can it be made salty again?

20 *Mohaya nan no yaku ni mo tatazu, tada no, tada soto ni suterarete,*
no-longer what GEN role play just GEN just outside be-thrown
It is no longer good for anything, except to be thrown out and

21 *hitobi, hitobito ni fumitsukerareru dake dearu.*
people by be-trampled simply COP
trampled by men.

22 *Anata-gata wa yo no hikari dearu* "tteiu kono mi-kotoba o mite ne,*
you-plural TOP world GEN light COP QT this God’s-Word ACC look-at SFP
You are the light of the world,” when [I] looked at this verse,

wow great SFP QT this COP should COP SFP
“Wow, [this] is great!”, [I] said. “This is the way it should be,” you know.

24 *Kono “shio dearu” toiu ne, watashi sugoku kansha-shita no.* ((fading voice))
this salt COP QT SFP I very thankful-PAST NOM
This [verse], “the salt of the earth,” I was so thankful. ((fading voice))

25 *De suguni nee ((louder)), denwa-shitara, “Anata no koe o kiita dakede,*
and right-away SFP call-when you GEN voice ACC heard only
And right away ((louder)), when [I] called [her], “Just hearing your voice,

26 ‘A! [Mitsukatta’tte wakatta wa yo” ((much louder, laughs)) tte iu no.
oh be-found QT understand-PAST SFP SFP QT say NOM
‘Oh, [[your purse] was found,’ [I] understood, you know” ((much louder, laughs)), [she] said.

27 Audience: [((laughs))]

28 T: *Nee, sugoi nee.*
SFP great SFP
See, [this] is great.

29 *De, kongetsu ippai shigoto o shite, ku-gatsu kara wa moo yameru n desu.*
and this-month until-the-end work ACC do September from TOP just quit NOM COP
And [she] will work until the end of this month and in September, [she] will quit.
30 *Soshite kyookai ni kuru n desu* =
and church to come NOM COP
And [she] will come to church. =

31 S: = *A hontoo?*
oh really.
= Oh, really?

32 T: *Sorede watashi to isshoni go-hooshi-shimasu tte.*
and I with serve QT
And [she] said that [she] would serve with me [at church].

33 Audience: *Waa.*
wow
Wow.

34 T: *Dakara nee ((weak tone)), honto, kitai-shite, kami ni (yo)tte*
so SFP really expect God by
So, you know, ((weak tone)), really, by God,

35 *ano satan ga hatarakanai-yooni inotte-te-kudasai.*
well Satan SUB work-NEG-so-that pray-ING-please
well, please pray so that Satan will not be at work.

T starts this segment, saying, “This is what she said” (02), when she was about to share how Mrs. N encouraged her. As mentioned above, Mrs. N was not yet a Christian, but according to T’s description, instead of just saying, “Don’t be upset,” Mrs. N encouraged T to trust God, saying that He was protecting her purse (03-04). Mrs. N also said that she would be praying on her way home (05) and even encouraged T to pray (07). In other words, Mrs. N refers to God’s role of hearing their prayers and working in this troublesome situation (i.e., protecting T’s purse), which shows that she is making use of the communal spiritual values. In this community, receiving such encouragement from a non-member is a surprise, which is seen in one of the audience’s reaction (06); as mentioned above, Mrs. N has been to
T’s house church for more than 15 years, but she has not yet accepted the Christian faith, which classifies Mrs. N as a non-believer and places her outside of the community. T herself expresses her surprise by quoting herself saying *Uwaa! “Wow!” (08). Following this interjection, T explicitly states to the audience that Mrs. N is not yet a Christian (08). Being an outsider limits Mrs. N’s accessibility to shared members’ resources, for example, her accessibility to God’s Word. T states that she has been a resource person for Mrs. N, from whom Mrs. N has been learning about God’s Word (09), and further emphasizes Mrs. N’s being an outsider by pointing out that Mrs. N has never been to Christian fellowship like this (10). Giving these details on the non-member’s limited accessibility to the shared members’ resources simultaneously presents T as a full-member, more specifically, as a competent full-member who can see the oddness of the situation in which the full-member was ministered to by the non-member. T closes this segment by quoting herself saying *Iyaa! “wow!” again (12), expressing her amazement.

In line 13, T quotes the Scripture, “Who trusts in the Lord is peaceful,” saying that this is from Proverbs Chapter 29 (14), but she does not say how this verse is related to the narrated event and immediately goes back to talking about Mrs. N. T repeats that Mrs. N is not yet a Christian (15), but this time, she stresses that Mrs. N will be a wonderful person (16), meaning that the non-member who is currently able to encourage the full member by making use of the communal spiritual values will be a wonderful future member. T starts this statement by quoting herself saying *Iyaa! “Wow!” (15) for the third time. This time, T specifically mentions that Mrs. N ministered to her by saying *Watashi ni itte kureru nante “she said that kind of thing to me” (16), emphasizing again the oddness in which the full-member was encouraged by
the non-member.

In line 17, T brings up another scripture (17), “You are the salt of the earth . . . .” She reads the whole verse (18-22), but again, the reason why she brought up this verse is not clearly stated. While bringing up this verse, the repeated use of the SFP ne (22, 23, 24) indicates that T is seeking affirmation from the audience (Cook 1992). T is doing her face work presenting a good image of an expert who is knowledgeable of the Scripture (Goffman 1967), but receiving no acknowledgment, her voice is getting weaker (24). However, when T talks about calling Mrs. N to inform that the purse was found, her voice becomes louder (25). Quoting Mrs. N, T laughs (26), which invites the audience’s laughter (27). In other words, quoting Mrs. N works as a “buffer topic” (Jefferson 1984) in which both teller and audience can laugh together. This brings them back into the previous affect-indexing interaction.

Responding to the audience’s laughter (27), T shares that Mrs. N is going to quit her job (29) and will come to church soon (30). As mentioned above, Mrs. N has been to T’s house church for 15 years but never come to church except for one or two visits. Her coming to church on a regular basis makes a big difference in terms of where she stands regarding her faith. Thus, the disclosure of this information surprises the audience (31). Then, T adds another piece of information, quoting Mrs. N, who said that she would serve in church with her (32). Serving in church is what members do. The implication is that Mrs. N will be a member who will serve in church. This piece of information also wows the audience (33). Sharing that Mrs. N will serve with her (32) portrays T as a “good” Christian who does serve in church as well. Having provided these pieces of information about Mrs. N, T concludes by asking the audience to pray for Mrs. N (34-35), which again presents her as a full-
member who takes care of the potential new member.

In sum, reporting interaction with the non-member, T emphasized the oddness in which the full-member was encouraged by the non-member who had limited accessibility to the communal Discourse, but actually encouraged the full-member by making reference to the communal spiritual values. Reporting the interaction with the outside-member helped T to “look good” as a competent full-member (a) who had been a resource person for the non-member and (b) who could judge the non-member’s potential to be a future member. In addition, while sharing this incident, T quoted two verses, even though they did not seem relevant to the narrated event. The other members, however, seemed to be aware of her face work. As we have seen, when she brought up the second verse, T received no acknowledgment from the audience and ended up bringing up the buffer topic in which she and the audience could laugh together. It was this buffer topic which brought back the affect-indexing dynamics between T and her audience. Thus, in her testimony, T highlighted the interaction with the non-member rather than the solution to her narrative problem (i.e., her purse was found) so that she could achieve her communicative goal of implicitly commending herself. The next excerpt shows another example of testifier’s commending herself, but this time, by criticizing other members within the testimony framework. The data show that although this is not frequent, the experts criticize other members within the testimony framework in order to achieve their communicative goals of “looking good.” The following is the beginning of G’s testimony. She brings up a narrative problem in such a way that the testimony will present her “goodness” through her criticism of other members.
XIII. “This is Weird”

01 G: Senshuu no, nichiyooobi, seisho-kenkyuu-kai de, kami-sama no, AI, no fukasa, last-week GEN Sunday Bible-study at God GEN love GEN depth Last Sunday, at the Bible-study, the depth of God’s LOve,

02 M no hitori hitori o KONnani aishite-ru tteiu koto o, watashi kanjita n desu yo. M GEN each-one-person ACC this-much love-ING QT thing ACC I felt NOM COP SFP [I] felt [God] loves every person at M [Church] SO much.

03 De chotto ano kore, kokoro oo tojitai hito mo tojitakutemo so just well this heart ACC close-want person also close-want-even-if So, just, well, this, even though you who want to close [your] hearts,

04 tojinaide kiite hoshii n da kedo, jitsu wa anD senshuu no nichiyoobi wa close-NEG hear want NOM COP but actually well last-week GEN Sunday TOP [I] want [you] to hear without closing [your] hearts, and last Sunday,

05 seisho-kenkyuu-kai ni deru beku, sanju-ppun gurai hayaku kita n desu ne. Bible-study-group attend to thirty-minutes about earlier came NOM COP SFP in order to attend Bible study, [I] came [to church] about 30 minutes early.

06 Soshite ne, nn, kaeri made ni ne, reizooko ni azukari-mono-shitakute then SFP uh going-home until SFP refrigerator in leaving-something-want Then, [I] wanted to leave something in the fridge until [I] went home,

07 kicchin ittara, ki(c)chin de ne, MInna aisan-kai no, hito-tachi, aisan-kai no tameni, kitchen go-when kitchen in SFP everybody lunch GEN people lunch for when [I] went to the kitchen, there, Everybody was [preparing] for lunch,

08 isshokenmei nanka yatte-ta n desu ne. De watashi sono toki haitte-tta toki ni, hard something do-ING-PAST NOM COP SFP so I then enter-ING when [they] were [working] hard [preparing] something. Then, when I was entering [the kitchen],

09 “Everybody, ohayoo gozaimasu. Go-kuroo-sama desu” tte yutta n desu yo. Dare everybody good-morning thank-you-for-working-hard QT said NOM COP SFP none “Everybody, good morning. Thank you for working hard,” [I] said, you know.

10 Hittori ne, “Ohayoo gozaimasu,” tte i, iwanai no ne. Sooshite “Ara,” tto omotta no. one-person SFP good-morning QT say-NEG NOM SFP then oh QT thought NOM NO single person said, “Good morning.” Then, [I] was like, “Oh.”
Nde nee, “Okashii” to omotte, dakedo ne “Hen da na” to omoinagaramo, and SFP strange QT think but SFP strange COP SFP QT think-but And [I] thought, “[That]’s strange,” but “[That] is strange,” [I] thought,

Moo egao no nai n desu yo. De nanka soko ni samu-sa to, kura-sa mitaina, even smile GEN be-NEG NOM COP SFP and somewhat there coldness and darkness like there wasn’t even a slight smile there, you know. And somehow, there [was] something like coldness and darkness,

hutto shunkan-tekini kanjichatta no. Soide ne, “Go-kuroo-san” tte itte unexpectedly momentarily feel-end-up SFP then SFP thank-you-for-working-hard QT say momentarily, [I] couldn’t help feeling. And [I] said, “Thank you for working hard,”

detekita no. Soide detekite, moo kore wa inorazaru enai to kokoro ni saserarete, came-out SFP And came-out just this TOP pray-can’t-help QT heart become-make and came out. And [I] came out [of the kitchen], simply, in [my] heart, this made [me] feel that [I] couldn’t help praying,

inotta n desu yo. pray NOM COP SFP [I] prayed, you know.

Watashi wa tsui saikin made tsutomete-ita kedomo, shokuba de mo, TOP just recently until working-had-been and workplace at also I worked just until recently, and at work as well,

chotto ano “Ohayoo gozaimasu” tte ittemo, “Ohayoo gozaimasu” tte ienai hito ga ite, just well good-morning QT say-even-if good-morning QT say-cannot person SUB be even though [I] just said, well, “Good morning,” there were some people who could not say, “Good morning.”

henji mo shinai hito hitora ya futari, iru n desu. Demo sooiu hito-gata tteiu no wa, reply even does-NEG person one or two be NOM COP but such people QT NOM TOP there were one or two people who didn’t even respond, but [it]’s such people

honttoni seikatsu mo midarete-ru tte kanji wa shimasu. Demo, DONna hito demo, really life also disorganized QT feel but no-matter-what-kind-of people [whose] lives were really disorganized, [I] felt. But no matter WHAT kind of people [they] were,
hansha-tekini ne, “Ohayoo gozaimasu” tte ittara, “Ohayoo gozaimasu” toka, automatically SFP good-morning QT say-if good-morning like when [I] said, “Good morning,” [they said], automatically, “Good morning,” or something like that,

soshite, “Haa, go-kuroo-sama desu” tte yutta no NE. and oh thank-you-for-working-hard QT said NOM SFP and “Oh, thank you for working hard,” [they] said, YOU KNOW.

Demoo hyoojoo de mo, nanika aru to omoo. Sore ga nai n desu, zenzen. but face through even something be QT think that SUB COP-NEG NOM COP at-all But even through [their] faces, [those people working in the kitchen] could say something, [I] think. That was not going on at all.

De, watashi wa inotte, itsudemo suwaru basho denai, basho ni suwatte, and I TOP prayed usual sit place COP-NEG place at sit And I prayed, sitting where [I] didn’t usually sit,

ichi-, ni-fun inotte, watashi sokode kangaeta n desu ne. one two-minute prayed I there thought NOM COP SFP [I] prayed for one or two minutes, and I thought there, you know,

Anoo, ne, yahari, nande koo na n daroo to. well SFP after-all why this COP NOM COP-wonder QT well, you know, “After all, why is it like this?”, [I] thought.

Soshite ne, watashi moo honttoni, kore fushizen da to omotta wake. and SFP I just really this weird COP QT thought NOM And I thought this was just really weird.

At the beginning of her testimony, G gives a brief abstract, stating that last Sunday, she felt that God loved each church member deeply (01-02), which sounds like an appropriate beginning of a testimony. G, however, immediately asks the audience “not to close” their hearts (03-04) and then, brings up her problem of being ignored by those working in the kitchen on that particular Sunday (04).

First, G provides background of the narrative. She starts out by informing that Sunday, she came to church 30 minutes earlier so that she could attend a Bible study
which was held before service (04-05). G stopped by the kitchen and greeted everybody who was preparing lunch there (09), but nobody greeted back (09-10). G emphasizes the fact of being ignored by saying that “no single person” (09-10) greeted back and also by quoting her own reaction Ara “Oh” (10) which expresses bewilderment. Notice that in this orientation section, G provides background in such a way that she can portray herself in the most complimentary light in terms of what is viewed as good in this community; first, G informs that she came to church early enough to make it to the Bible study (04-05); not only attending the Bible study but also trying not to be late for it presents G as a “good” Christian. Second, G quotes herself greeting and thanking everybody working in the kitchen (08-09); greeting and thanking other members for their work also helps her to “look good.” Describing herself as such a “good” person presents clear contrast with the others’ reaction of not greeting her back at all.

Having laid out the background which displays her “goodness,” quoting herself, G presents her evaluation of those people’s reaction, which is okashii “strange” (11). This negative evaluation is further strengthened by repeating a similar expression immediately, “Hen da na” (11), which also means “strange.” G explains the reason why it is so “strange”; she saw “no smiling” and felt “coldness and darkness” (12). Following this description, she informs that she left the kitchen, thanking everybody again (13-14). Thanking them anyway after being ignored reinforces her goodness. Moreover, in line 14, G informs the audience that right after coming out of the kitchen, she prayed (15), which suggests that she was seeking guidance from God about this “strange” situation, which is consistent with the communal spiritual values. In addition, she justifies her praying by saying that she “couldn’t help praying” (14).
Thus, while providing the background, G frames this incident as a moral event which portrays herself as a “good” Christian and implicitly suggests that the others are not.

In line 16, G continues to back up her negative evaluation by bringing up an illustration from her previous work (16-21); one or two people at her work were not able to greet back, but those were “really disorganized” (19), which is followed by her claim that “no matter what kind of people” they can automatically greet back (20-21). In line 22, G moves on to comparing this illustration with being ignored in the kitchen. In the kitchen, “even their faces say nothing” (22), which is emphasized by the adverb zenzen “at all” (22). G continues to emphasize strangeness in these people’s behavior by quoting herself; while she was praying, she wondered why (24-25), which leads to another negative evaluation, “This is really weird” (26). The word fushizen “weird” renders more negative evaluation than the afore-mentioned okashii or hen which both mean “strange” (11).

The rest of G’s testimony was not recorded. I stopped recording shortly after this segment ends. One of the participants suggested that I stop recording and I immediately followed her suggestion. G, however, could not finish her turn anyway. She could not continue, because one of the audience who was actually working in the kitchen tried to correct G’s ungrounded criticism. It can be said that the criticism was “ungrounded,” because I was one of them working in the kitchen. We were busy preparing lunch, but the atmosphere was not what G described, that is, no smiling, coldness, and darkness (12), which was not true at all. This member confronted G, but G refused to withdraw her claim and kept insisting, “God knows. God knows everything.” She appealed to God’s authority, which is considered to be absolute and irrefutable in this community. Thus, according to the emcee’s suggestion, each of us
who were there took turns in praying about what just happened and then, we were dismissed. However, when I talked with the other participants right afterwards, everybody told me that they were aware of G's attempt to bring up the false criticism in order to make herself "look good."

To summarize, G manipulated the testimony framework in which she presented her own "goodness" by criticizing other members. Referring to the "facts" and giving her own evaluations for these facts, she framed this incident as a moral event in order to claim that she was a good Christian and the others were not. In addition, G justified this claim by referring to the communal spiritual values, that is, praying to God. Even when she was confronted by another member about her ungrounded criticism, G kept insisting on her righteousness by appealing to God's authority. However, the reaction of the audience shows that they were aware of her face work of making a good showing for herself and that her self-presentation at the expense of other members was not valued but rejected by the community.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, drawing on Gee's (1989, 1996, 1999) framework, I have demonstrated that the testimony-giving practice can be the site of language --- both implicit and explicit --- socialization. First, I have examined interim Discourses (Rudolph 1994) given by novice members and shown that the novices who were not yet proficient in the communal Discourse were socialized into the communal values and beliefs through the language-mediated interaction with the expert members. The interim Discourses were characterized by the partial or little presentation of the communal Discourse, which was sometimes mixed with other (i.e., non-Christian)
Discourse membership. The audience did not reject or correct but accepted these partial presentations of the communal Discourse, in which the novices were supported or scaffolded or accommodated in the affect-indexing interactions.

Second, I have shown that in addition to such implicit style of socialization, explicit socialization in which expert members overtly teach communal values and beliefs to novice members also takes place within the testimony-giving practice. Responding to the novice narrator's moves which indexed her novitiate, the expert members explicitly taught the communal spiritual and moral values to the narrator and also complimented her on her progress.

Third, I have shown what the experts could do with their expertise. The expert members who have good mastery of the communal Discourse manipulated the framework of the testimony-giving practice in order to accomplish their face work of making themselves "look good," which supports the findings of prior studies (cf. Herzfeld 1996; Schiffrin 1984; Shuman 1992). Referring to the communal spiritual and moral values within the testimony framework, the expert members created a hidden agenda for self-edification under the official agenda of edifying one another by sharing and hearing each other's testimonies.

In sum, the above findings have shown that testimony-giving is a social practice where novices and experts with different proficiency in the communal Discourse interact --- they present, negotiate, and even manipulate their membership in the communal Discourse. The findings support the dynamic notion of an interim Discourse proposed by Rudolph (1994) and have also shown that their Discourse membership is not a one-time transformation from non-believer to believer, but an ongoing socialization process to the communal Discourse. In the next chapter, I will
first illustrate how the participants use more than one Discourse in their testimonies, which can be integrated into one single Christian Discourse or recognized as separate Discourses, enacting their respective membership. I will then discuss how narrators negotiate morality, which is the core of their Christian identity, from the two different perspectives based on the two sets of moral values.
CHAPTER 6

"HETEROGLOSSIA" IN TESTIMONY-GIVING PRACTICE:
USING MORE THAN ONE DISCOURSE

In Chapter 4, I have demonstrated that testimony is a narrative with problem-solving dimension, in which the presentation of testimony is constrained by the spiritual and moral values which consist of a Discourse in this particular community. In addition to referring to the communal spiritual values, presenting their moral identity as a good Christian is essential for their personal narrative to be recognized as a valued performance of testimony. However, as mentioned above, a Discourse can be “heteroglossic” (cf. Bakhtin 1981). It is possible to have two or more Discourses recognized at once, which can be contradictory or can be integrated to form a new single Discourse (Gee 1989, 1996, 1999). As we have seen in Chapter 5, novice members' interim Discourses were sometimes mixed with other (i.e., non-Christian) Discourse which indexes them as novices who are still partly outsiders to the Christian Discourse. On the other hand, as I will illustrate below, the data show that the narrators relate resources from their home (i.e., Japanese) culture to the spiritual and moral values from the Scripture, which is also valued by the community as a part of the Christian Discourse.

In this chapter, I will discuss how the narrators use resources from more than one Discourse (i.e., Japanese and Christian) in their presentation of a testimony. I will first identify where they make reference to Japanese words and sayings from their home culture, and then demonstrate how these resources are alternately integrated into...
a Christian Discourse, or recognized as a "Japanese" Discourse, invoking values which are not compatible with the Christian Discourse. I will then discuss how the narrators negotiate morality from the two different perspectives based on the two conflicting moral values. As I have shown in Chapter 3, the participants of the present research were born and raised in Japan before they moved to Hawai‘i. Even though the Scripture as the guiding norm provides the core moral values for these Japanese-speaking Christians, they still hold on to the values from their home culture to some extent.

As I reviewed in Chapter 2, viewing “Christian identity” as one-time transformation from a non-believer to a believer, few of the prior research on testimony address this heteroglossic nature of social identity. Having illustrated how different Discourses emerge and alternate in one testimony, I will argue that social identity is a complex and dynamic construct which is constantly defined by and evolves within multiple Discourses.


As mentioned above, some narrators make reference to Japanese words and sayings from their home culture, relating them to the Christian spiritual and moral values. The data show that in this Japanese-speaking Christian community, the use of such culturally-shared resources is equally valued by the audience as a part of the Christian Discourse. On the other hand, these resources reveal their "Japanese" Discourse membership, invoking values which are not compatible with the Christian Discourse, but pertain to Japanese culture. Such uses are especially common as the narrators use the culturally-shared resources for personal agendas pertaining to
interpersonal relationships without attending to the communal spiritual and moral values.

In the following testimony, F uses Japanese words and sayings in order to express her understanding of a Christian concept "grace," more specifically, God’s saving grace, which is explained by the analogy of "making money." As mentioned above, F is a recent shin-issei immigrant in her mid 50s. Prior to this segment, F shared how she had ended up here in Hawai‘i. Before she had immigrated here, she sold jewelry and made a lot of money. When she was vacationing in Hawai‘i, she met a local Japanese and decided to marry him. Since this decision was made all of a sudden, she was unable to go back to Japan due to immigration regulations and has had no chance to go home since then. As a result, F was not able to collect payments from her former customers, some of whom “made a lot of money” without paying what they had owed to her. This is where the transcript starts.

XIV. “I’m the One Who Made a Lot of Money”

01 F: Kangaete-mitara, ichi-ban mooketa no wa watashi na n desu yo ne.
Looking back, I am the one who made the largest [amount of] money, you know.

02 KE: Haan?
Oh
Oh?

03: F: Sorekaraa zuutto ironna kokode, minna ((unintelligible)) ga ite,
Since then, always, various, here, everybody ((unintelligible)) is here,
04 iroiro shiteru uchini kanzenni kami-san shinjirareru koto ni natta tteiu.
various have-been-doing while completely God believe-able became QT while [I] have been doing various [things], [I] came to believe in God completely.

05 “Mookaru” tteiu ji wa hontoni “shinjiru mono” to kaku tteiu
make-money QT character TOP really believing person QT be-written QT The character “making money” is really written as “a believing person”

06 sore ga ne, ima natte, moo hontoni dare yorimo nani yorimo,
that SUB SFP now became just anybody than anything than that [is], now, just, really,

07 mooketa no wa watashi da to omotte ne.
made-money NOM TOP I COP QT think SFP [I] think that [it] is I who made money more than anybody, more than anything.

08 Kocchi kita toki ni, tatta watashi wa kokode, shinkiitten,
here came when just I TOP here forgetting-about-the-past-and-make-a-fresh-start When [I] came here, just I here, forgetting about the past and making a fresh start,

09 oomukashi no ((unintelligible)) o sutete, moo kami-sama minna, ima no koto wa
long-time-ago GEN ACC throw-away just God all now GEN thing TOP throwing away what was ((unintelligible)) in the very past, just God forgives everything all, what is at present,

10 ima made no koto wa minna yurushite-kureru n da kara tteiu,
now until GEN thing TOP all forgive NOM COP because QT what was in the past,

11 sono kotoba wa moo kanzenni shinjita n desu yo ne.
that word TOP just completely believe-PAST NOM COP SFP SFP [I] believed that completely.

12 Moo mukashi no koto wa nanimo iwanai, tada shinjitara ii tteiu koto de,
no-longer past GEN thing TOP anything say-NEG just believe-if good QT thing COP [God says,] “[I will] no longer mention what was in the past. [It] is enough if [you] just believe,” so,

13 Atashi wa moo sore ni sugatta n desu kedomo.
I TOP just that hold-on-to-PAST NOM COP and I just held on to that.
Demo, hontoni anoo, mooketa watashi de kansha-shite-masu ((laughs)).
But, really well made-money I COP thankful
But, really, well, [I]’m thankful for being the one who made a lot of money ((laughs)).

Soo omotte-masu. Dakara, (hon)toni moo ima wa, yappashii, ne,
so think-ING so really just now TOP after-all SFP
This is what [I] think. So, really, just, now, after all, you know,

kono mooke o son, son-shinai-yooni ((laughs)),
this profit ACC lose-NEG in-order-to
in order not to lose this profit ((laughs)),

motto motto mookaranai to, to omotte ((laughs)) ne.
more more make-money-have-to QT QT think SFP
[I] have to make more and more money, [I] think ((laughs)).

Tada de morau mon wa, tada hodo takai mon wa nai tteiu kedo,
free with receive thing TOP free as high thing TOP COP-NEG QT but
[In Japanese, we] say, “[You] never get something for nothing,” but

kore dake wa chigai masu ne. Wakarimashita ((laughs)).
this only TOP different COP SFP understand-PAST
only this is different. [I] understand that ((laughs)).

KE: Subarashii shinkoo ne, F-san.
[That] is wonderful faith, F.

F: Iya, kantanna koto desu yo.
no simple thing COP SFP
No, [this] is a simple thing, you know.

KE: Uwaa.
wow
Wow.

Pastor: ((laughs))

In line 01, F states that she is the one who “made the most money” (ichiban mooketa “made the largest amount of money”) (01), which surprised the audience (02), especially after hearing that she was unable to collect payments from her former
customers (which was told prior to this segment). F explains why so through an illustration of a Chinese character\(^1\) (05). A Chinese character for the Japanese word *mookaru* "making money" consists of two parts, "believe" and "a person," which could be related to the Christian faith, representing a "believer." According to what this character represents, "making money" means "becoming a believer." After giving this illustration, F repeats that she is the one who "made money" more than anybody (06-07).

Then, F brings up a Japanese idiom *shinkitten* (08), which means "forgetting about the past and making a fresh start." This idiom could be compared to the biblical concept of grace; all human beings are born sinful by nature, but when they believe in Jesus Christ, God treats them as if they had never sinned, that is, they are completely forgiven (Williams 1989: 203). In other words, this Japanese idiom reflects F’s understanding of God’s saving grace, which forgave everything in her past (09-10). Stating that she really held on to that idea (13), F repeats that she is thankful for being the one who "made money" (14).

In line 15, F moves on to sharing more of her understanding of grace, using the same analogy of making money. She states that she has to make *more* money so that she will not lose what she has earned (16-17), which refers to another aspect of God’s saving grace. The proper response to God’s saving grace is to put more faith in God (Williams 1989: 203). Thus, what F means is that she needs to put more faith in God so that she will not lose her salvation which she “earned.”

F concludes by referring to another Japanese proverb, *"Tada hodo takai mono wa nai"* (18), meaning, "You never get something for nothing." This Japanese proverb is

\(^{31}\) The Japanese writing system uses Chinese characters along with the other two Japanese scripts.
followed by her saying, “Only this is different” (19). Notice that F relates this non-biblical (i.e., secular) proverb to another aspect of God’s saving grace, that is, God’s saving grace is freely-given (Williams 1989: 203). Thus, “You never get something for nothing” does not hold true with her salvation which she earned for nothing. When F finishes her turn, one of the audience compliments F, saying that she has wonderful faith (20), which shows that F’s presentation relating the culturally-shared resources to the Christian concept of God’s saving grace was positively accepted by the audience.

In sum, F relates the Japanese words and sayings to the Christian beliefs that pertain to God’s saving grace through the analogy of “making money”; (a) according to the Chinese character for “making money,” she is the one who “made money” by “becoming a believer”; (b) the idiom shinkiitten “forgetting about the past and making a fresh start” is compared to God’s saving grace which forgave everything in her past; (c) she describes her response to God’s saving grace, i.e., putting more faith in God, as “making more money” so that she will “not lose what she earned” (i.e., salvation); (d) lastly, the Japanese proverb, Tada hodo takai mono wa nai “You never get something for nothing,” is referred to in order to express that this does not hold true with God’s saving grace, which was given to her for nothing. F’s incorporating these Japanese resources into the Christian Discourse was positively received by the audience.

Another example in which words and sayings from Japanese culture are integrated in Christian testimony is found in TA’s testimony, in which she makes reference to a Japanese proverb as she shares how she “was led to” this church. TA is a shin-issei immigrant in her early 60s. As we will see, she was introduced to church, according to
what her sister heard from her family physician.

XV. “I was Led to This Church, Being Led by Something”

01 TA: Anoo atashi wa yonjuusan no toki michibikareta n desu ne.
well I TOP 43 GEN when be-led-PAST NOM COP SFP
Well, I was led [to Christ] when [I] was 43 years old.

02 Sore wa oba ga ne, uchi wa jukyoo no oshie ga tsuyokute,
that TOP aunt SUB SFP my-family TOP Confucianism GEN teaching SUB strong
That is, [my] aunt, [my] family strongly believed in Confucian teaching and

03 kurisuchan hitori mo inakatta. De, oba ga ne,
Christian none was and aunt SUB SFP
none [of us] was a Christian. And [my] aunt,

04 ano, Saitama-ginkoo no sooshisha no musume desu kedo ne, sore ga, anoo, kite,
well saitama-bank GEN founder GEN daughter COP and SFP that SUB well come
well, [she] was a daughter of the founder of the Saitama Bank, and that
[person], well, came and

05 orugan hiite ne, ana hora sambika utau n desu yo. Mugon no gyoo desu yo.
organ play SFP well you-see hymns sing NOM COP SFP No-word GEN austerities COP SFP
[she] played the organ, well, you see, sang hymns, you know. [That] is
silent [religious] austerities, you know.

06 Sore ga atama ni, atama da nante ((laughs)).
that SUB mind to mind COP QT-NEG
That came into [my] mind, not [my] mind ((laughs)),

07 mimi ni ne hairikonde zuutto hanarenakatta.
ear in SFP enter all-the-way be-gone-NEG-PAST
[came] into [my] ears and never left.

08 Soide, uchi no shujin ya nanka minna inakunatta toki ni,
and my GEN husband or so all gone-PAST when
And when my husband and others (= her children) were all gone,

09 sambika ga kikoetekuru n desu ne, mukashi kiita.
hymns SUB hear NOM COP SFP past heard
[I] heard hymns, which [I] heard a long time ago.
(Soshi)tara uchi no (Kurihara) no isha ga ne, “Anoo hawai ni wa ne, then my GEN Kurihara GEN doctor SUB SFP well Hawai’i TOP SFP
Then, Kurihara’s (= her sister’s family) doctor [said], “Well,

yuumeina o-shiro no ((laughs)) kyookai ga ((laughs)) aru kara =
famous castle GEN church SUB there-is because
there is the famous castle ((laughs)) church ((laughs)) in Hawai’i, so =

Audience: = Un. =
uh-huh
= Uh huh. =

TA: = itte-mite wa doo desu ka tte.
go-try TOP how COP QT = why don’t [you] try going [there]?”

Audience: Un.
uh-huh
Uh huh.

TA: “Nantoka ni hikarete nantoka-mairi” tte aru desho. Honttoni sono =
something by be-led something-worship QT there-is COP really that
[In Japanese, we] say, “Being led by something, [I] went to worship somewhere.” Really, that,

Audience: = ((laughs)) =

TA: = [Moo wasureta keredo.
already forget-PAST but
= [[I] already forgot.

Audience: [((laughs))]

F: Nani ni hikarete, nante iu no =
something by be-led how QT SFP
“Being led by something, how do [you] say =

TA: = ano =
well
= well =
21 F: = Ushi ni hikarete,
    bull by be-led
    = Being led by a bull,

22 TA: Moo wasurechatta[[(laughs))].
    already forget-end-up-PAST
    [I] already forgot [[(laughs))].

23 Audience: [[(laughs))]

24 TA: Soide imooto no kotoba ni hikarete kita wake desu yo.
    so younger-sister GEN word by be-led came NOM COP SFP
    So, [I] came [to this church], being led by what [my] sister said.

25 Audience: A, soo na no, hee.
    oh so COP NOM I-see
    Oh, is [that] right, I see.

26 TA: Soide, yonjuu, osomakinagara kite, sorekara ne, byooki-shinai.
    so 40 being-late-but came since SFP sick-NEG
    So, [at the age of] 40, late in [my] life, but [I] came [to church] and since
    then, [I] ‘ve never been sick.

27 Kore dake wa jiman-suru.
    this only TOP boast
    This is the only thing that [I] boast about.

28 Audience: [[(laughs))]

29 TA: Soremade byooki bakkari shitemashita yo.
    until-then sick only do-PAST SFP
    Until then, [I] got sick all the time, you know.

30 Moo sambika utatte mi-kotoba o kiite o-inori-shitara, moo iyasaremashita.
    just hymn sing God’s-Word ACC listen pray-when just be-healed-PAST
    [I] just sang hymns, listened to God’s Word, prayed, and [I] was healed.

31 Audience: [[(laughs))]

32 TA: Soo na n desu yo.
    so COP NOM COP SFP
    That’s [what happened], you know.
TA shares that her first encounter with Christianity was her aunt who came to her house and played the organ, singing Christian hymns (04-05), which she describes as mugon no gyoo “silent austerities” (05). Gyoo refers to religious austerities which are practiced by traditional Japanese religions such as Buddhism and Shintoism. In other words, TA compares her aunt’s silent witnessing to her non-Christian family who strongly believed in Confucianism (02) to religious austerities practiced by the above-mentioned traditional Japanese religions, which prepares the ground for her to share how she started coming to this church.

Saying that she remembered the tunes of these hymns many years later (08-09), TA moves on to telling the audience how she was led to this church. She came to this church according to the information which her sister obtained from her family physician (10-13). After quoting the physician suggesting that TA go to the famous “castle church” in Hawai’i, TA refers to a Japanese proverb, but cannot remember the exact phrase (15). The original phrase is, “Ushi ni hikarete Zenkoo-ji mairi,” which literally means, “Being led by a bull, I went to worship at Zenkoo-ji Temple.” Zenkoo-ji is the famous Buddhist temple in Japan. The meaning of this proverb is that after being forced, you are finally able to do something. TA cannot remember the “bull” part and the “temple” part, saying, “Being led by something, I went to worship somewhere” (15).

Having referred to this proverb, TA starts saying something else (15), but she cannot continue because of the audience’s laughter (16). This proverb is commonly-used, especially by TA’s generation, which includes her audience. The audience finds it humorous that TA cannot remember this commonly-used, well-known proverb. In the middle of their laughter, TA says that she has forgotten this proverb (17), but the
audience does not stop laughing (18). After one of the audience filled in the missing part (21), TA repeats that she has forgotten this proverb (22), which is followed by her own laughter (22). Hearing her repeating that she has forgotten the proverb, the audience laughs again (23). Their reaction shows that both TA and the audience see that forgetting this well-known proverb is laughable. Sharing this cultural understanding is an indication of their co-membership in the "Japanese" Discourse. After the audience stops laughing, TA states that she was led to this church according to what her sister told her (24), in which she uses the phrase “being led by” (ni hikarete “being led by”) (24) that is adopted from the above-quoted proverb.

At the end, TA informs the audience that she has never been sick after coming to church (26-30). She was healed by singing hymns, listening to God’s Word, and praying (30), all of which are valued practices in this community. Thus, portraying herself as a Christian believer pursuing these valued communal practices, TA closes her testimony by presenting her Discourse membership in the Christian community.

In sum, sharing how she started coming to this church, TA incorporates culturally-loaded expressions in her testimony; (a) she compares her aunt’s silent witnessing to “silent austerities” practiced by the traditional Japanese religions; (b) also, she refers to her being introduced to church as “being led [to church] by what my sister said,” adopting the phrase “being led by” from the well-known Japanese proverb. Both of them appeal to the audience’s culturally-shared knowledge. Especially their laughing together about TA’s forgetting the well-known proverb constitutes them as the Japanese Discourse community which shares the same cultural understanding.

In the following example, T and F “fight” within the testimony-giving practice, in
which they refer to words and sayings from their home culture. The data show that these culturally-shared resources are employed for two different purposes, i.e., (a) relating them to the Christian spiritual and moral values or (b) attacking the other party, accordingly, both of which index two different Discourse membership. As we will see below, while F is sharing her testimony, T gives some advice, which F does not appreciate. Then, T implicitly attacks F who does not take her advice. Since the data consist of two extended examples, for the sake of discussion, I will divide them into several segments.

XVI. “Where There’s Smoke, There’s Fire”

In a segment prior to the transcript, F brings up her problem --- she was told that her friends in Japan were gossiping about her. They said that F, who married a local Japanese, had a divorce and was coming back to Japan, which was not true at all. This is where the transcript starts.

EXCERPT [1]

01 F: dakara (.) yappashii sonoo hito no uwasa tteiu no wa dokodemo NEE. so after-all well people GEN rumor QT one TOP everywhere SFP So (.) after all, well, [you] do get rumors everywhere, YOU KNOW:.

02 [MI-temo kii-temo shitenaku-ttemo sooiu koto ga deru iu koto. see-even-if hear-even-if do-NEG-even-if such thing SUB come QT thing [Even though [they] don’t see, [they] don’t hear about [it], even though [I] don’t do [it], that kind of thing comes up.

03 KI: [((unintelligible))]

203
Having told about her problem of being gossiped in Japan (which was told prior to this transcript), F states that the same thing is going on inside the church (04-06). Quoting “warning” voices which tell her that someone is talking behind her back, F makes an evaluative statement that even these warnings are not acceptable (06), which creates a moral meaning, rendering the incident as a moral event. In order to back up her evaluation, she tries to quote the Scripture. She can tell that the verse is in the Book of Proverbs, but remembering it vaguely, ends up saying something vague (08). However, her attempt to quote the Scripture shows that F is making reference to the scriptural moral values in her problem-solving, which indexes her Discourse membership in the Christian community. In the next excerpt, T interrupts F, telling her that she should listen to her senior.
EXCERPT [2]

08 nanka arimasu NE, shingen ni ((laughs)), o-shaberi wa doo koo iu no hh. something there-is SFP Proverbs in chat TOP something QT one there is something there, YOU KNOW, in Proverbs ((laughs)), one [verse] which says that chatting is like something. hh.

09 “Aa soo [kaa, watashi no toko de oh that SFP I GEN place at [I said to myself,] “Oh, I se[e:, in my place,

10 T: [Demo ano sempai ga sempai ga chuui-suru koto wa ne, but well senior SUB senior SUB admonish thing TOP SFP [But well what [your] senior, [your] senior admonishes,

11 yappshi sunaoni ukeirenai to = after-all obediently accept-have-to QT after all, [you] should accept obediently. =

12 F: = Sooiu koto janashi ni, sono nannimo jibun ga shiranai koto MADE, that-kind thing be-NEG that nothing self SUB know-NEG thing even = That is not [what is I’m saying], even about the things that I know nothing about,

Having referred to the Scripture in Proverbs, inhalation sound (08) shows that F is ready to continue, which starts by her self-quote Aa soo ka “Oh I see” (09), suggesting that she is ready to give an illustration from her own experience. However, T interrupts (09), prefacing her utterance with Demo “but” (10), which shows her oppositional stance. In this utterance, she repeats the word sempai “senior” twice (10). The word sempai “senior” evokes a hierarchically-ordered relationship based on a Japanese seniority system, in which “juniors show respect to seniors by acknowledging their dependence” (Matsumoto 1988: 410).

T’s saying “You should listen to your senior” (10-11) could be interpreted as a general statement which does not refer to a particular individual. Ethnographic
information, however, helps to see whom T is getting at. Being a member of the congregation, I have known that (a) T is older than F and that (b) T has been a Christian longer than F. In the Japanese seniority system, these facts qualify T as a senior to F. In addition, everybody in the congregation knows that T is always telling F that she has been a Christian longer than F. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that using the word *sempai* “senior,” T implies that as a junior, F should accept T’s advice “in an obedient manner” (11). Thus, this utterance which evokes the Japanese seniority system indexes T’s Japanese Discourse membership rather than her membership in the Christian Discourse. The next segment shows that F retorts to T right away.

EXCERPT [3]

10 T: *[Demo ano sempai ga sempai ga chuui-suru koto wa ne,*

[but well senior SUB senior SUB admonish thing TOP SFP

*But well what [your] senior, [your] senior admonishes,*

11 *yappshi sunaoni ukeirenai to =*

[after-all obediently accept-have-to QT

= after all, [you] should accept obediently. =

12 F: *= Sooiu koto janashi ni, sono nannimo jibun ga shiranai koto MADE,*

[that-kind thing be-NEG that nothing self SUB know-NEG thing even

= That is not [what is I’m saying], EVEN about the things that I know nothing about,

13 *sooiu fuuni iwarete KETTI-tekini iwareru itteiu no wa,(,) kowai desu nee.*

[that-way be-said definitely be-said QT NOM TOP scary COP SFP

[I] was told that way, and [I] was told DEfinitely, (,) which is scary, you kno:w.

14 *Dakaraa, soo iwareru iu koto o*

[so that be-said QT thing ACC

So:, being told that way
15 jibun ga ki o tsukenaikan koto na n da ttei koto o NE,
self SUB be-careful-have-to thing COP NOM COP QT thing ACC SFP
means that I have to be careful, YOU KNOW,

16 T: Un.
uh-huh
Uh huh.

17 F: ((tone changed)) "Kuchi wa yappashi wazawai no moto" iu no wa,
mouth TOP after-all misfortune GEN cause QT NOM TOP
((tone changed)) “The mouth is after all the cause of all misfortune” means that

18 zettai jibun de wa MOO sokode tomenai to dame da shi,
absolutely self TOP just there stop unless no COP and
I must ABsolutely stop at this point, and,

19 sakenai to NE. Sooiu hito() no (1) wakaranai koto o, (1) dangen-suru koto wa,
avoid-should unless SFP such person GEN understand-NEG thing ACC declare thing TOP
[I] should avoid [it], YOU KNOW. Saying something (1) which the person(.)
doesn’t really know (1) in a definite manner,

20 zettai shite wa dame da tteiu koto wa, iwarete-mite,
absolutely do TOP no COP QT thing TOP be-said-experience
[I] should never do that, which [I understood] when I was talked about,

21 tooi tokoro de iwarete-ru kara
distant place in be-said-ING because
since people are gossiping [about me] in a distant place (i.e., Japan)

22 “Nandemo iute-kuretara ii wa” to omou n da kedo ((laughs)).
whatever say-if good SFP QT think NOM COP and
“Whatever [they] say, [it]’s okay,” [I] think ((laughs)).

When T insists that F should listen to her senior, F’s response is, “That’s not
what I’m saying” (12). Latching shows that F retorted to T right away, which is
followed by F’s stating that they were falsely gossiping about her (12-15). Both
adverbs made “even” (12) and kettei-teki ni “definitely” (13) were expressed with
emphatic intonation. F, however, uses formal copula desu at the end of her retort,
saying *kowai desu ne* “It’s scary, you know” (13). This *desu* has a self-regulative function (Wertsch & Hickmann 1989: 264), through which F goes back to a public agenda of testimony-sharing from her private retort which is specifically directed to T. However, her emphatic tone continues until F finishes one more utterance with emphatic SFP *ne!* “you know!” (15), which triggers T’s brief response *uh huh* (16). T’s response was a simple back channel, but for F, it seems to be sufficient; when F starts her next utterance, the emphatic tone is gone (17). F concludes her turn by stating that she should not talk behind someone’s back (17-20), in which she articulates each word for the sake of emphasis, having a noticeable pause in between (19), and the adverb *zettai* “absolutely” appears twice (18, 20) also for the sake of emphasis. In this statement, referring to a moral lesson that she should not talk behind someone’s back, F brings up a Japanese proverb *kuchi wa wazawai no mota* “the mouth is the cause of all misfortune” (17). The use of a proverb appeals to culturally-shared knowledge, which speakers assume their hearers share because of their co-membership (cf. Schiffrin 1987). The proverb which F refers to has nothing to do with the Christian faith, but is compatible with the moral principle from the Book of Proverbs which she brought up earlier (i.e., you should not talk too much) (07-08). Thus, although this proverb appeals to the audience’s culturally-shared knowledge, it is incorporated in the Christian Discourse in order to support the moral principle from the Scripture. The next segment shows that after F finishes her turn, T will continue her “fight” during the interval until the next testifier starts her turn, in which T brings up a Japanese proverb in order to attack F.
EXCERPT [4]

21 tooi tokoro de iwarete-ru kara
distant place in be-said-ING because
since people are gossiping [about me] in a distant place (i.e., Japan)

22 “Nandemo iute-kuretara ii wa” to omou n da kedo ((laughs)).
whatever say-if good SFP QT think NOM COP and
“Whatever [they] say, [it]’s okay,” [I] think ((laughs)).

23 MC: Iya, nihon de iwashitokya ii janai.
oh well, let [them] say [what they want] in Japan and leave it, right?

24 KE: Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha ((laughs))

25 K1: Iwashitotara ii janai. Ha, ha ((laughs)) Moo kaeranai n da kara tte.
let让他们say leave good be-NEG no-longer return NOM COP because QT
Let [them] say [what they want] in Japan and leave it that way, right,
[Ha, ha ((laughs))] [saying, “[I]’m not going back there.”

26 F: [Demo, (1)] [sooiu koto iu n yo nee.
but that-kind thing say NOM SFP SFP
[But, (1)] [they say those things, you know.

27 T: Ne mata ne, “(Hi no) nai tokoro ni kemuri wa tatanai” tte iu shi ne.
SFP also SFP (fire GEN) NEG place at smoke TOP rise-NEG QT say and SFP
You know, also, you know, [people] say, “Where there’s smoke, there’s fire,” you know.

28 F: ((choking noise)) =[(1)]

29 (?): = [ha, ha, ha, ha ((laughs))

30 F: Dooiu imi sore? ((accusing tone))
what meaning that
What do [you] mean by that? ((accusing tone))

31 Pastor: ((laughs))
32 T: Mukashi kara soo [iwarete-ru no (yo). past from that be-said-has-been NOM (SFP)
From the old days, that’s what [has been said, (you know).

33 MC: [Sono hen ni shitokimasho. Tsugi ni ikimasho [((laughs)).
that around do-leave-let’s next to go-let’s
[Let’s stop there. Let’s go to the next [person], [((laughs)).

34 T: /Hai, OK
[OK,

35 tsugi ni ikimasu. (2)
next to go
[we] will go to the next [person]. (2)

36 (?) : Doozo.
please
Please.

37 MC: Anata, T-san.
you T
T, [it]’s you.

38 KE: Jumban ni yaru hito ga =
by-turn do person SUB
By turns, [the next] person is =

39 T: = Soo desu ne. Watashii (l) senshuu noo (.) kayoobi ni (.) anoo (3) eetoo (2)
so COP SFP I last-week GEN Tuesday on well uh
= Let me see. I (1) la:st (.) Tuesday (. )well (3) uh (2)

After F finishes her turn, two people including the emcee positively respond to her
(23, 25). Responses from both the emcee and KI are almost identical, suggesting that
F not let it bother her. Receiving these supportive moves, before KI completes her
turn, F interrupts, saying Demo sooiu koto in u n yo nee “But they say those things”
(26). The elongated SFP ne at the end of her utterance (26) suggests that F is
soliciting a further supportive move from the audience. Indexing affective common
ground, *ne* invites addressee’s collaboration as a co-speaker (Cook 1990, 1992). However, it is *T* who responds to this move by referring to another Japanese proverb, *(Hi no) nai tokoro ni kemuri wa tatanai* “Where there’s smoke, there’s fire” (27). The implication is that the gossiping about *F* does not come out of nothing. As mentioned above, the use of a proverb appeals to the audience’s culturally-shared knowledge through pragmatic force aimed at influencing others (cf. Schiffrin 1987; White 1987). Thus, just as *F* did in the previous segment, *T* uses this non-religious Japanese proverb in order to influence the audience who share the Japanese cultural background. However, *T* uses this proverb specifically to attack *F*, that is, it is not used as a part of a Christian Discourse. Notice *T*’s strategic use of the SFP *ne*, when she brings up this Japanese proverb. Responding to *F*, *T* starts her utterance with *ne* (27). As mentioned above, the SFP *ne* indexes affective common ground. If the other party starts his/her response with *ne* as *T* does, normally, a cooperative move should be expected. *T* even repeats this *ne*, which builds up *F*’s expectation of getting a supportive move. After repeating the SFP *ne* twice, however, *T* brings up the Japanese proverb, insinuating that *F* must have done something. This is not a move which *F* expected; as we have seen, *F* was soliciting further cooperation from the audience (26). Thus, *T*’s strategic use of the SFP *ne* as well as the Japanese proverb makes her insinuation more effective, especially when *F* was expecting a cooperative move. This strategy seems to work well. *F* makes a choking noise (28), which is followed by a one-second pause (28). After the one-second pause, *F* poses a question, “What do you mean by that?” (30). The accusing tone indicates that *F* understood that *T* insulted her. However, *T* does not directly respond to this question, but just says, “From the old days, that’s what has been said” (32).
Before T completes her turn, the emcee cuts in, “Let’s stop there. Let’s go to the next person” (33). Saying “OK,” T accepts the emcee’s suggestion immediately (34) and repeats rather automatically what the emcee said, “We will go to the next person” (35), which is followed by a two-second pause (35). What happened was that T was the next person to go, but she was not aware of that. Being reminded that was her turn by three people in a row (36, 37, 38), T starts her turn by saying Soo desu ne “Let me see” (39). However, until she finally gets going, T pauses frequently (39), which suggests that she is not ready yet. In the next segment, I will show how T will counterattack F in her “testimony.”

EXCERPT [5]

39 T: = Soo desu ne. Watashii (1) senshuu noo (.) kayoobi ni (.) anoo (3) eetoo (2)
so COP SFP I last-week GEN Tuesday on well uh
= Let me see. I (1) last (. ) Tuesday (. ) well (3) uh (2)

40 sono kata mo o-shigoto-shiteru nde isogashikute,
that person also work-ING because busy
that person is also working, so [she] is busy,

41 “Nakanaka (jikan) torenai kedo, kayoobi dattara ii yo” tteiu koto de
hardly (time) take but Tuesday COP-if good SFP QT thing COP
so [she] can hardly find time, but [she] said, “Tuesday is good,”

42 “Jaa isshoni o-shokuji-shinagara, uchi e konai. tte itte sasotte uchi e yonde ne.
then together eat-while house to why-don’t-you-come QT say invite house to invite SFP
“Then, why don’t [you] come to [my] place and let’s eat together,”
saying [so], [I] invited and had [her] over.

43 Soshite, anoo, madamada sono iesu-sama o shinji-kirenai tokoro ga aru n desu yo ne,
and well yet well Jesus ACC believe-completely part SUB there-is NOM COP SFP SFP
Then, well, still, well, [she] cannot bring [herself] to believe in Jesus,
jibun-jishin de. Dee, ironna nayami ga atte sore o jibun ga kami-sama ni motteke-ba by-herself and various worries have them ACC self SUB God to bring-if by herself. And [she] has many kinds of worries and if [she] brought them to God,

tasukete-kureru n da tte kimochi wa aru n da keredomo, help NOM COP QT feeling TOP have NOM COP but [God] could help [her], which [she] understands, but,

soko ni kugiri tteiu, kechaku ga tsukanaide, there line QT decide-NEG there, [she] cannot make up [her] mind and


Dakara, yoru mo nerenaai jootai da tteiu kara ne. so night also sleep-can-NEG situation COP QT because SFP So, [she] said that [she] couldn’t sleep at night, either.

Ano, demo nichiyooobi no reihai ni wa detekite-ru kara, well but Sunday GEN worship to TOP coming-has-been because Well, but [she] has been coming to Sunday worship, so,

"Teepu de ichioo benkyoo-shite, kami-sama tteiu no o shittara ii ne" tte koto de. tape with anyway study God QT one ACC know-if good SFP QT thing COP "[It] will be good if [you] study through tapes to know about God," [I] said.

"Ja, soo-suru" tte koto de. then so-do QT thing COP "Then, [I] will do," [she] said.

De, sunaoni kiite-kurete, "Aa, yokatta naa" to omotte. "Ano, innote-ru yo" tte. and obediently listen oh good-PAST SFP QT think well pray-ING SFP QT And [she] obediently listened [to me], "Oh, [I]’m glad," [I] thought. "Well, [I]’ll be praying," [I] said.

Being reminded by other people, T starts her turn (39). But frequent pauses indicates that she is not quite ready (39). T provides background in rather a fragmented way, in which she mentions having invited someone over to her place (39-
42), but the purpose of this invitation does not become clear until she says that this person (young female) still cannot bring herself to believe in Jesus (43), in which the narrative-relevant device *n desu* highlights this information as relevant for the point of the story (Yoshimi 2001). T quotes an exchange with this young woman, providing a detailed description about how this young woman is doing about accepting the Christian faith (44-52). She informs the audience that she encouraged this woman to listen to tapes on which the pastor recorded an evangelistic message (50). According to T’s description, this woman obediently took T’s advice (51). Then, T quotes herself offering to pray for this woman (52). Thus, even though she was hesitant at the beginning, reporting the interaction with the outside member, T presents her as a full-member who has been helping and praying for this non-member. However, she does not stop there and brings up this woman’s having a health problem, which we will see in the following excerpt.

EXCERPT [6]

52 *De, sunaoni kiite-kurete, “Aa, yokatta naa” to omotte. “Ano, inotte-ru yo” tte.*

And obediently listen oh good-PAST SFP QT think well pray-ING SFP QT
And [she] obediently listened [to me], “Oh, [I]’m glad,” [I] thought. “Well, [I]’ll be praying,” [I] said.

53 *De, sono maeni, suggoku geri-shite, seki-suru n desu yo.*

And that before very diarrhea-suffer-from cough NOM COP SFP
And before that, [she] has been suffering from severe diarrhea and coughing, you know.

54 *“Kono seki wa, hito ni iwaseru to, kaze no seki janai yo” tte.*

this cough TOP someone according-to cold GEN cough COP-NEG SFP QT
“This cough,” someone said, “is not from a cold, you know.”

214
"Byooin ikinasai" tte iwareta tte.
hospital go-IMP QT be-said QT
"Go to the hospital," [she] was told.

De, "Jaa ano, apoin(to)mento totte, byooin, ikeba" tte ittara,
and then well appointment make hospital go-how-about QT say-when
So, when [I] said, "How about making an appointment to see the doctor?"

eigo ga dekinai kara, yada cchuu no ne.
English SUB unable because don't-want-to QT-say NOM SFP
[she] said that [she] didn't want to, because [she] couldn't speak English.

De, hitori de wa kokorobosoi, "Ja watashi ga isshoni itte-ageru kara" tte.
and alone TOP helpless then I SUB together go because QT
And [she] said that by herself, [she] would feel helpless, so [I] said, "[I] will go with [you]."

Sorede ano apoin(to)mento totta n desu kedo,
and well appointment made NOM COP and
And [she] made an appointment, and,

anoo, raishuu no, (n)to, getsuyoobi na n desu kedo ne. Soide iku n da kedo,
well next-week GEN well Monday COP NOM COP but SFP and go NOM COP and
well, [it]'s going to be next week, well, Monday. And [we] will go,

soshitara, anoo "Inoroo ne" tte itte, inottara, ano,
then well play-let's SFP QT say pray-when well
then, well, when [I] said, "Let's pray," and [we] prayed, then, well,

"T-san, kinoo inotte-kureta no kashira. Atashi ne, daibu yoku natta yo" tte.
T yesterday pray-PAST NOM wonder I SFP pretty well became SFP QT
[she] said, "T, [I] wonder if [you] prayed [for me] yesterday. I'm getting much better, you know."

Denwa de hanashite-ru aida ne, sonna shinai n desu yo.
telephone on talk-ING while SFP that-much do-NEG NOM COP SFP
While [we] were talking on the phone, [she] didn't [cough] much, you know.

T gives fairly-detailed report on this woman's health condition, which includes an exchange between herself and this woman (56-58, 61-62). In addition to encouraging
this young woman to learn more about God (50-52), which we have seen in the prior segment, this detailed report on this woman’s health portrays T as a good person who is concerned about the young woman’s health. T concludes this report by quoting both herself and the young woman, in which T offers to pray (61) and the young woman thanked T for the prayer because of her improved condition (62). Thus, sharing details of the exchange between herself and this non-Christian woman, T presents herself as a good Christian who has been taking care of this outside member. 

In the next excerpt, T further emphasizes this woman’s obedient attitude.

EXCERPT [7]

63 Denwa de hanashite-ru aida ne, sonna shinai n desu yo.
 telephone on talk-ING while SFP that-much do-NEG NOM COP SFP
 While [we] were talking on the phone, [she] didn’t [cough] much, you know.

64 De kono aida no nichiyooobi kita toki ni, watashi yoko ni itaa, anoo,
 then this-past GEN Sunday came when I side at was-when well
 And, this past Sunday, when [she] came [to service], [she] was sitting next to me, well

65 zenzen seki-shinai kara, “A(n)ta, seki-shinai jan” tte yuttara,
 at-all cough-NEG because you cough-NEG COP-NEG QT say-when
 since [she] didn’t cough at all, [I] said, “You stopped coughing,”

66 “Gaman-shite-ru” cchu no ne. ((laughs))
 try-not-to-ING QT-say NOM SFP
 then [she] said, “[I]’m trying not to cough.” ((laughs))

67 Audience: ((laughs))

68 “Warui kara gaman-shite-ru” tte.
 bad because try-not-to-ING QT
 “[if I cough, it] is bad, so [I]’m trying not to cough,” [she] said.
69 KE: Gaman-dekiru tte koto wa naotta tte.
   try-not-to-can QT thing TOP be-cured-PAST QT
   Being able to try not to cough means [she was cured.]

70 T: ["Gaman-shite-ru" tte. Desoo ni naru kedo
   try-not-to-ING QT come-out become but
   ["[I']m trying not to cough,"]
   [she] said. [She] said that [she] almost coughed but

71 gutto koraete gaman-shite-ru tte. "Jaa yappashi byooin ittahoogaii ne.
   hard press try-not-to-ING QT then after-all hospital go-had-better SFP
   [she] was trying hard not to cough. "Then, after all, [you] had better go to
   the hospital.

72 Yappshi ikoo ne" tte. (Soshi)tara "Un, ittekuru" tte itte ((tone changed)) ne.
   after-all go-let's SFP QT then yes go QT say SFP
   After all, let's go," [I] said. Then, "Yes, [I]'ll go," [she] said, ((tone
   changed)).

73 KE: [Sunao nee.
   obedient SFP
   [[She] is obedient.

74 T: [De, ano, "Hontoni ningen tte
   then well really human-being QT
   [Then, well, really, human beings

75 sunaosa ga nai to dame na n da naa" omoo no ne.
   obedience SUB COP-NEG if no-good COP NOM COP SFP think NOM SFP
   are no good if [we] are not obedient, [I] think,

76 Jibun ga sonna sunao janakatta mon da kara.
   myself SUB so obedient COP-NEG-PAST thing COP because.
   because I was not so obedient.

77 Ano, dakara, isshokenmei ((laughs)) ima mini-chaachi no kata ni mo
   well so hard now mini-church of members ACC also
   well, so, trying hard ((laughs)), now, [I] have asked [my] mini-church members,
Having highlighted this woman's less coughing on the phone with \textit{n desu} (63), T reports on this woman's trying not to cough at Sunday worship (64-71). By repeatedly quoting this woman's voice trying not to cough (66, 68, 70), T draws the audience's attention to this woman's obedient attitude, which leads to the audience's agreement (73). As we will see below, this strategy emphasizing the young woman's obedience prepares the ground to counterattack F.

T brings her testimony to its resolution, stating that we all should be obedient (74-75), which is a counterattack against F; as we have seen in the EXCERPT [3], F did not listen to T when T said that she should \textit{obediently} listen to her senior (10-13). But at the same time, T downgrades herself, saying that she used not to be so obedient (76). Right after that, however, T informs the audience that she has been asking other people to pray for this woman (77-78), which puts her back to an expert position as a mature believer who looks after the non-believer. In the next segment, which is the coda of her narrative, T's counterattack continues.

EXCERPT [8]
sooiu tokoro kara ne, ne, karashi-dane no tsuyu no shinkoo ga attara tteiu, such place from SFP SFP mustard-seed GEN dewdrop GEN faith SUB there-is-if QT from that kind of thing, you know, if [there] is faith like a mustard seed [or] a dewdrop,

"Kami-sama no ne, ichi-ban yorokobareru no wa sono, God GEN SFP best be-pleased NOM TOP well "What pleases God most is," well,
imashime mo daiji da keredomo, precepts also important COP but "Precepts are also important but,

sooiu koto mo daiji na n janai ka na" tte omotte. such thing also important COP NOM COP-NEG Q SFP QT think such a thing is also important”, [I] think.

MC: Tashikani ne, [shinkoo, ne, karashi-dane no, = certainly SFP faith SFP mustard-seed GEN Certainly, you know, [faith, you know, like a mustard seed =

T: [Un,

= Ne, soo desu ne. ((whispering voice)) Sooiu keiken o shite, SFP so COP SFP such experience ACC do = yeah, that’s right. ((whispering voice)) Having such an experience,

totemo tanoshii chuushoku-kai o shimashita. very enjoyable lunch ACC did [we] had a very enjoyable lunch.

T concludes her testimony by referring to faith which is compared to both a mustard seed and tsuyu “a dewdrop” (79). In the Scripture, a mustard seed is a well-known illustration of faith; if you have faith as small as a mastered seed, you can move a mountain.32 Also in Japanese, the word tsuyu “dewdrop” refers to something very small or little. By giving these illustrations, which are a combination of the

32 "I tell you the truth, if you have faith as small as a mustard seed, you can say to this mountain, Move from here to there and it will move. Nothing is impossible for you" (Matthew 17: 20).
biblical illustration and the expression from Japanese culture, T implicitly commends her for taking care of this young non-believer, comparing her own faith to both a mustard seed and dewdrop.

After giving the illustration of a mustard seed, T continues to counterattack F. She says that in order to please God most, “precepts” are important but “having faith like a mustard seed” is also important (79-81). The word imashime “precept” (81) refers back to F’s remark in EXCERPT [1]. Quoting the verse from Proverbs, F said that you should not talk too much (08). The Book of Proverbs is a summation of what the Scripture calls imashime “precepts.” T, however, does not explicitly counterattack F. Notice that she does not reject “precepts,” which is what F mentioned in her testimony. Even though she states that being faithful to small matters is what pleases God most (ichiban “best”) (80), immediately after that, T says that “precepts” are equally important by using the particle mo “also” (81, 82). In other words, instead of explicitly rejecting F’s perspective, T presents her counterattack in a less aggravating manner, saying that both perspectives are important, which leads to the audience’s acknowledgment (83).

Thus, T and F "fight" within the framework of the testimony-giving practice, in which they made reference to Japanese words and sayings. Some of the Japanese resources which they referred to during the "fight" were used to relate the spiritual and moral values from the Scripture, presenting their membership in the Christian Discourse. However, in her “testimony,” T tried to achieve her double self-serving purposes, namely, doing her face work of “looking good” and counterattacking F. In other words, even though she created a hidden agenda in order to achieve these latent goals, T did this within the testimony framework attending to the communal spiritual
and moral values. On the other hand, these culturally-loaded expressions recognized the Japanese Discourse membership, which took place especially when the narrator used these resources in order to achieve her personal agendas. T admonished F by invoking the Japanese seniority system and also attacked her by bringing up the Japanese proverb. Thus, "testimonies" given by T and F showed that the culturally-shared resources from their home culture could be used both ways, being integrated into the Christian Discourse, or recognizing their Japanese Discourse membership.

In sum, in this section, I have demonstrated that the narrators make reference to Japanese words and sayings, which could serve different purposes. First, the narrators relate the resources from Japanese culture to the Christian spiritual and moral values. In this Japanese-speaking Christian community, the use of the Japanese resources that appeal to the audience's culturally-shared knowledge is also valued by the community as a part of a Christian Discourse. On the other hand, these resources also index their Japanese Discourse membership, invoking values which are not compatible with the Christian Discourse but pertain to Japanese culture, especially when the narrators use these resources without attending to the communal values, trying to achieve their personal agendas. In the next section, I will illustrate how the narrators negotiate morality from two different perspectives based on two sets of moral values.

6.2. Negotiating Morality between the Two Sets of Moral Values

As mentioned above, in addition to addressing the communal spiritual values, presenting their moral identity as good Christians is essential for their personal
narrative to be recognized as a valued performance of testimony. On the other hand, even though the Scripture provides the core moral values for these Japanese-speaking Christians, the Japanese values from their home culture are still an inseparable part of their identity. The data show that the narrators present their moral identity not from a single perspective (i.e., Christian morality) but negotiate it from two different perspectives, i.e., Japanese and Christian, based on the two respective moral values. In this section, I will discuss how two Discourses are interwoven in one testimony as the narrators negotiate morality between these two different perspectives.

The next excerpt is the second half of T’s “baby-sitting” testimony, which has appeared in Chapter 4. As we have seen, T portrays herself caught in between the two different moral values, that is, secular criticism and scriptural guidance. The EXCERPTS [2] and [3] which have appeared in Chapter 4 will be repeated for convenience.

I. “Should I Baby-sit?”

EXCERPT [2]

16 Demo, “Kore mo, maa, kore mo, kami-sama no go-keikaku no uchi ni
   but this also well this also God GEN plan in
   But, “This also, well, this also might be part of God’s plan,”

17 (aru) n janai ka na” to mo omottari-shite.
   be NOM COP-NEG Q SFP QT also think
   [I] also think.

18 Kooiu koto ga kanjirareta tteiu koto dake demo, ano, nante iu no (2)
   like this thing SUB feel-can-PAST QT thing only even well what say NOM
   [I] was able to think of this kind of thing, well, what shall I say? (2)
19  shiawase da na, kansha da na, tte omoo n desu kedomo.
  happy COP SFP thankful COP SFP QT think NOM COP but
  [I'm glad, [I'm thankful, I think.

20  T: Ano, kinjo no hito wa, "Anata tsumetai," ne, "kokoro no hito ne" tte.
  well neighbor GEN person TOP you cold SFP heart GEN person SFP QT
  Well, [my] neighbor said, "You are a person with a cold heart."

21  Ano, "Watashi dattara kodomo mite-ageru wa yo" tte.
  well I COP-if child take-care-of SFP SFP QT
  Well, [she] said, "If I were [you], [I] would baby-sit [my] grandchildren."

22  "Anata, yooku sooiu koto ieru wa ne" tte, watashi iwarechatta n desu yo.
  you possibly such thing say-can SFP SFP QT I be-said-end-up-PAST NOM COP SFP
  "How can you possibly say that kind of thing?", I was told, you know.

23  Sono kata wa kurisuchan janai n desu kedo ne.
  that person TOP Christian COP-NEG NOM COP but SFP
  She is not a Christian, though.

24  Demo, sooiu hito-tachi cchuu no wa ne,
  but such people QT NOM TOP SFP
  But such people, you know,

25  totemo tsumetai okaasan to mite-ru wake desu yo ne.
  very cold mother QT see NOM COP SFP SFP
  see [me] as a very cold mother.

26  De, sooiu koto o kangaetari nanka shitara,
  and such thing ACC think like do-when
  So, when [I] think about that,

27  "Watashi wa ja yappshi ne, kodomo nitotte wa,
  I TOP then after-all SFP child for TOP
  "Then, after all,

28  ikenai okaasan na no ka naa" tte kangaete.
  bad mother SFP NOM SFP SFP QT thought
  Am I a bad mother for [my] kids?", [I] thought.

29  Demo kami-sama wa, "Gi o sakini motomenasai" tte aru shi.
  but God top righteousness ACC first seek-IMP QT is-written
  But God says, "Seek my righteousness first."
As we have seen in EXCERPT [1], presenting herself as a Christian (kurisuchan to shite "as a Christian" (09)), T tries to solve her problem through a dialogue with God. Also, in EXCERPT [2], stating that her neighbor is not a Christian (23), she draws a clear line between herself and her non-Christian neighbor, which highlights her role as a "Christian." However, T still finds herself upset with her non-Christian neighbor’s criticism, which leads to her self-directed speech questioning her goodness ("Am I a bad mother, after all?") (27-28)); as mentioned above in Chapter 4, in Japanese culture, social expectations provide the basis for judging goodness of one’s behavior (cf. Clancy 1986, Nakane 1970). But then, she quotes the Scripture from Matthew 6:33, "But God says, 'Seek first my righteousness'" (29).33 Thus, in this segment, T portrays herself as caught in between the two sets of moral values, namely, secular criticism and scriptural guidance. However, as we have seen in Chapter 4, at the closure of her testimony, T returns to the communal spiritual values; the right answer is always revealed by God.

EXCERPT [3]

30 T: jibun de katteni beebii-sitto haratte kuroo-shite yatte-masu yo ne. self on-their-own baby-sit pay struggle-ING do-ING SFP SFP Paying for baby-sitters on their own, [my children] are struggling.

31 Demo, sore o mite ne, hontoni watashi wa tadashii no ka na tte. but that ACC see SFP really I TOP right NOM SFP SFP QT But, having seen that, you know, [I] said to [myself], "Am I really right?"

32 Chotto koo, oya-gokoro de-chatte ne. Ima, kangae-chuu na n desu. just like-this parent-heart come-out-end-up SFP now still-thinking COP NOM COP Just a little bit, like this, the feeling of being a parent came out. Now, I’m still thinking.

33 "But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well" (Matthew 6: 33).
Dakara, mina-san inotte-itadaitai n (desu kedo ne).
So, please pray for me,

Ano, hontoni nani ga ichi-ban tashii no ka tte, ne,
Well, "What is the most right thing?"

sore ga, ano, shimesareta ii na tte omotte.
if that, well, were revealed, [that] would be great, I think.

After quoting the Scripture, the self-directed question "Am I really right?" (31) indicates that T goes back to the unresolved feeling, which she attributes to her oya-gokoro "parental sentiment." As mentioned above in Chapter 4, oya-gokoro is a culturally-loaded expression; in the Japanese hierarchically-organized social relationships, not only parents but also anyone in a superior position is expected to demonstrate oya-gokoro toward their juniors (cf. Nakane 1970; Wetzel 1993). Thus, the word oya-gokoro indicates that she is seeing herself as a Japanese mother. However, as we have seen, T closes her testimony by asking everybody to pray (33) that "what is the most right thing" should be revealed to her (shimesareru "be revealed") (34-35).

Thus, T frames her struggle as a moral event in which her moral identity as a Christian believer was created and negotiated in dialogue with other voices. Different voices in the testimony --- God, the neighbor, and herself --- show that T was struggling between Japanese and Christian goodness. At the end, however, returning to the communal spiritual values that the right answer is always revealed by God rather than giving in to her non-Christian neighbor's criticism, T presented to the audience her Discourse membership in the Christian community.
Another example where a narrator negotiates morality between two conflicting moral values is found in F’s testimony. In this testimony sharing how a Bible verse helped her to communicate with her adult daughter, her new Christian voice is compared with her old non-Christian voice which reflects the Japanese values. The Bible verse is Ephesians 4:15, “Instead, speaking the truth in love, we will in all things grow up into him who is the Head, that is, Christ,” which was the verse of the year of the Japanese-speaking congregation at the time of the recording. A Bible verse which is designated as a verse of the year is viewed as a goal for the congregation throughout the year. It appears on the church bulletin every week and is often read and recited by the congregants. Since the transcript is fairly long, for the sake of discussion, I will divide it into four segments.

XVII. “Speaking the Truth in Love”

EXCERPT [1]

01 F: Anoo watashi ga koko no kyookai ni kite, san-nen-me, well I SUB this GEN church to come third-year Well, [this is my] third year since I came to the church,

02 sono maitoshi no seiku ni ne, ima mo zutto kono seiku o erande-ru, that every-year GEN verse in SFP now also all-the-time this verse ACC choose-ING in every year’s verse [of the year], now too, [we] choose a verse [of the year],

03 sono ((unintelligible)) furikaette san-nen-kan desu yo ne. well look-back for-three-years COP SFP SFP well, ((unintelligible)) looking back, [it] has been three years, you know.

04 Sono naka de, mazu, “Kami-san ga, mazu watashi-tachi o aishite-kudasatte-iru.” those among first God SUB first us ACC love-HONORIFIC-ING Among these [verses], first, “God is first of all loving us.”
05 Soshite kyonen no, sono kazoku no (sukui). Soshite kono, and last-year GEN that family GEN (salvation) and this And last-year’s, that [one about] family (salvation). And this,

06 “Mushiro ai o motte” tteiu ne, koko ga yoo, nanka shita kami soode, rather love with QT SFP this SUB well like tongue bite almost “Instead, in love,” this [part], well, [I] was like almost biting [my] tongue,

07 nakanaka oboerarenakatta kono seiku ne, saikin zutto omotte-ru n desu ga ne, hardly remember-can-NEG-PAST this verse SFP recently always think-ING NOM COP but SFP [I] can hardly remember this verse, recently, [I] have been thinking [of this verse] all the time,

08 nanka sugoku imi ga, “Mushiro ai o motte shinri o katari” tteiu ne, like very meaning SUB rather love with truth ACC speak QT SFP somehow, pretty much, the meaning, “Instead, speaking the truth in love,”

09 kono, kono naka de, homtoni kurisuchan ni natte, aa da koo da, this this in really Christian become like-that COP like-this COP this, in this [verse], really, after [I] became a Christian, like that, like this,

10 kooiu koto mo aru, aa iu koto mo aru. Kurisuchan da kara like-this thing also be like that thing also be Christian COP because there is something like this, there is something like that, since [you] are a Christian,

11 koo shinakerebanaranai. Moo iroomna seiku no mi-kotoba mo this do-have-to just various verse GEN God’s-Word also [you] have to do this. [So many] Scriptures from different verses,

12 koo kami-san ni tsuite ironna koto ga, mainichi arimasu yo ne. like-this God about various thing SUB every-day there-is SFP SFP like this, various things about God are heard every day, you know.

13 Demo (2) iroiro koo seisho ga wakaranai bubun ga aru shi, but various like-this Bible ACC understand-NEG part there-is and But (2) many [things], like this, there are some parts of the Bible [I] do not understand,

14 iroi, rona koto de hito ga iteru koto mo wakaranai. various thing COP people SUB say-ING thing also understand-NEG [I] do not understand many things that other people are saying, either.
Sense no sekkyoo mo pin to konai toki mo aru.

There are times when I can not make sense out of pastor's sermon.

Demo, sooiu koto wa moo ii kara, tada hitotsu ichi-ban sakini suru koto wa,

But things like that are enough already, so the only one thing which [I] should do first is,

honntoni "Ai o motte shinri o kataru."

really love with truth ACC speak
really, “Speaking the truth in love.”

Moo kyogi toka sono uwabe dake toka sooiu no janai.

[TOP] is no longer falsehood nor appearance, not anything like that.

Honntoni tada sono, ai o motte kataru ttei u koto de, sore sae sureba ii da ttei,

Really, simply, well, [if I] speak with love, [it] is enough, only if [I] do that,

kono, koo ne, nandemonai koto o ima, koko n toko zuutto

this like-this SFP nothing thing ACC now this GEN place all-the-time
this, like this, [I] have been [thinking] of this which is like nothing,

kono “Mushiro” ni kakatte kiteru n desu yo ne.

[that] has come to be involved with this “Instead.”

F starts her testimony by telling that this is her third year in church (01) and remembers each verse of the year for the past three years, which includes this year’s one, or the above-mentioned Ephesians 4: 15. Quoting “Instead, in love,” which is the beginning part of this verse (06), F says that at first, she was having a hard time memorizing this part (06), but recently, she has been thinking about this verse often (07). F states that even though she receives so much information about God, she cannot understand everything (09-15), but “speaking the truth in love” is the first

34 The Japanese translation reads, “Instead, in love, speaking the truth.” The word order is different from the English translation, "Instead, speaking the truth in love."
thing that she should do (16-21). These statements are emphasized through the use of adverbs (moo “just” (16), tada “only” (16, 19), honttoni “really” (17), sore sae sureba “if only I do that” (19)) as well as words (kyogi toka uwabe ja nai “neither falsehood nor outside appearance” (18)).

Thus, at the beginning of her testimony, repeatedly quoting the verse fully or partially (06, 08, 17, 19, 21), F stresses the idea of “speaking the truth in love.” At the end of this segment, F mentions the word “instead” (21), or the first word of this verse, as representing the whole verse. The word is accompanied by n desu (21) which signals that this verse has direct implications for the point of the story. In the next excerpt, F continues to refer to “speaking the truth in love,” in which she brings up a biblical concept of "compassion" that she heard in the pastor’s recent message.

EXCERPT [2]

21 kono “Mushiro” ni kakattekite-ru n desu yo ne.
this instead come-to-be-involved NOM COP SFP SFP [that] has come to be involved with this “Instead.”

22 Dakara, sonoo, konoo kirisuto ga, iesu-san ga sono gakumon mo nai,
so well this Christ SUB Jesus SUB those education ACC have-NEG
So, well, God’s Word which this Christ, Jesus, taught those who had no education,

23 nanimo wakaranai hito o, ni oshieta mi-kotoba. Nanimo dankai ga nai n desu yo ne.
nothing understand-NEG people ACC to taught God’s-Word no steps there-is-NEG NOM COP SFP SFP
those who did not understand anything. There are no formal steps, you know.

24 Honttoni ai sae moteba, soshite kono mae no sensei no omoiyari,
really love just have-if and the-other-day GEN pastor GEN compassion
Really, only if [we] have love, and the other day, Pastor [talked about] compassion,
In this segment, F brings up the word *omoiyari* “compassion” (24, 25), which she heard in the pastor’s recent message (24). “Compassion” is one of the virtues encouraged throughout the Scripture.35 F states that “having compassion in love” covers everything (25-26), in which she uses the word “compassion” in combination of “in love” (25) which is adopted from the verse of the year; as we will see in the following segments, this biblical virtue of “compassion” is what has been missing from her relationship with her daughter. In the next excerpt, F shares how this verse helped her to solve the problem of communicating with her daughter.

EXCERPT [3]

27 ano, na n daa tteiu koto o kangaesaserarete ne.
well COP NOM COP QT thing ACC make-me-think SFP well, it is, which [I] was made aware of.

28 Sorede, atashi ga, ano Y kaerimashita yo ne.
and I SUB well Y return-PAST SFP SFP And I, well, Y returned home, you know.

29 Kanojo to no aida de mo, kore ga, kono “Mushiro” ga atta n desu yo ne,
she between too this SUB this instead there-was NOM COP SFP SFP There was this “instead” going on between [me] and her, you know,

35 “Therefore, as God’s chosen people, holy and dearly loved, clothe yourselves with compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and patience” (Colossians 3: 12).
30 atashi-tachi no oyako-kankei ga, shikkuri ikanakatta no wa.
we GEN parent-child-relationship SUB well go-PAST-NEG NOM TOP [that's why] our parent-child relationship did not go well.

31 Tada, watashi wa, oya no kengen teiu,
simply I TOP parent GEN right Qt
Simply, I, [my] parent right,

32 kengen de sugoku kodomo o, koo atama kara osaetemashita yo ne.
right with very-much child ACC like-this head from put-down-PAST SFP SFP with [my] right, very much put down [my] children, you know.

33 Demo, sono toki wa, sore o moo kodomo ga gaman-shite-ta dake de ((starts crying)),
but that time TOP that ACC just child SUB endure-ING-PAST only COP But at that time, [my] children simply put up with it ((starts crying)),

34 koo i-kkagetsu Y to isshoni iteru toki ni ne, konoo kotoba ga ne kute,
like-this one-month Y with together be time at SFP this word SUB SFP come when [I] was staying with Y for one month like this, this word came to me,

35 hontto ni ai o motte sessuru tteiu koto ga ne, koo janai aa janai,
really love with contact QT thing SUB SFP this COP-NEG that COP-NEG really, interacting with love is [not saying], “This is not [right], that is not not [right],

36 tada shitte-ru koto de, tada keiken dake de kodomo ni yutte-ta.
simply know thing with simply experience only with child to say-ING-PAST [I] was talking to [my] children, simply from what [I] knew, simply from what [I] experienced.

37 Tokuni Y ni yutte-ta koto ni kanshite, honttoni hansei-shita n desu yo ne.
especially Y to saying-had been thing regarding really think-it-over-PAST NOM COP SFP SFP Especially, [I] repented about what [I] had been saying to Y, you know.

38 Demo, jibun ga, konoo “Mushiro ai o motte” tteiu kono kotoba ni kakatta toki,
but self SUB this rather love with QT this word with be-involved when But when I became involved with this phrase, “Instead, speaking the truth in love,”

39 sore wa moo chokusetsu oyako-kankei no kaiketsususaku ni natta.
that TOP just directly parent-child-relationship GEN solution became That directly became a solution to [our] parent-child relationship.
Soshitara, ano sono ironna hanashi o shite-iru uchini, ima made yattara,
then well well various topic ACC do while now up-to COP-if
Then, well, while [we] were talking about various things, in the past,

kanojo ga isshookenmei itta noni, watashi ga, “Sore ga dooshita no” tte ((laughs))
although she (= my daughter) said [something very important to her], [I] was like,

poko tto itteshimau n desu yo ne.
[which I] end up saying without thinking much, you know.

“Sonna koto gurai” mitaina kotoba 0 iu kara moo gyafun to osaeteshimatte,
Since [I] say words like, “Such a [small] thing,” [I] ended up reducing [her] to silence,

sono jootai no kurikaeshi datta no ga, kondo wa, anoo kiki-kata o ne,
this situation was repeated, but this time, well, [I changed my] way of listening [to her],

yappari kono, kore o zutto mainichi mitari kiitari shite-ru kara, anoo
after all, since [I] have been seeing and hearing this (verse) every day, well,

“Soo ya naa” tteiu,
[I] say, “Is that right?”

“Y, watashi mo iroirona koto anta no shite-nai koto o shite-ru kedomo,
“Y, I have also done various things you have not done, but

anta mitaina koto o, sooiu koto wa atashi ga shinakatta kara, wakaranai wa na”
you like thing ACC such thing TOP I have not-done since understand-NEG SFP SFP
I have not done things you have done, so [I] don’t understand,”

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F moves on to telling how her problem was resolved --- how this verse "speaking the truth in love" helped her to communicate with her daughter (28). At the beginning of this segment, she mentions again the word "instead" (29). As she did in the previous excerpt (21), the word is marked with *n desu* which highlights the verse as having direct implications for the point of the story. F’s daughter, who was 30 years old at that time, just went back to Japan after staying with F for one month (34). F recalls that in the past, she and her daughter did not have a good relationship (30), in which she forced *oya no kengen* (31, 32), or her "parental authority," upon her daughter. F’s previous attitude of forcing her parental authority reflects the traditional Japanese vertical relationship between parents and children (cf. Nakane 1970, Wetzel 1993). However, F reports that during her daughter’s visit, the verse of "speaking the truth in love" came to her mind (34), which led her to think over their
relationship (*hansei-shita* "thinking it over") (37). As mentioned above, the word *hansei* literally means "thinking it over," but when referring to actions done by individuals, the meaning is close to "repentance." Thus, the word *hansei* indicates that F repented of her past attitude.

Having highlighted this action (i.e., repenting of her past attitude) with *n desu* (37) as relevant to the point of the story, F goes on to telling the next development, i.e., how this verse "directly resolved" (39) their relationship. What she used to do was cutting off her daughter, saying, "So what?" (41), which reduced her daughter to silence (43). Both actions, i.e., saying "So what" and reducing her daughter to silence, are described with the *teshimau*, or the "end-up," construction (42, 43), which marks F’s viewing these actions as not acceptable. F repeatedly quotes herself saying, "So what?" (41, 43, 51), which is her non-Christian voice based on the values from the Japanese vertical parent-child relationship. However, the verse "speaking the truth in love" helped F to listen to her daughter (44) and respond to her in a more understanding manner (46-47). F quotes herself responding to her daughter (47-48), which reflects new moral values that she learned from this verse, that is, listening to her daughter in love. In the following EXCERPT [4], she concludes by summarizing a moral lesson which she learned from this experience.

EXCERPT [4]

53  *moo, minna nagashite-kureru (n desu ne).*
   [then] just [she] forgives everything(, you know).

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54 Sore, dakara honttoni omoiyari o motte, aite no, tachiba,
that so really compassion with the-other-party GEN situation
That, so, really, with compassion, not accepting the other party’s situation

55 aite no kimochi iu no o kumanai toiu koto wa,
the-other-party GEN feelings QT NOM ACC accept-NEG QT thing TOP
[and] the other party’s feelings means,

56 hontoni, koroshiteshimatte-ru n desu yo nee,
really kill-end-up-ING NOM COP SFP SFP
really, [I] end up killing [him/her], you know.

57 Anoo, kotoba no, kyooki, buki ne, kuchi wa, hontoni ii koto kataru no mo,
well language GEN killing-weapon weapon SFP mouth TOP really good thing speak NOM also
Well, the killing weapon of language, a weapon, you know, [our] mouth,
really, speaks good things

58 warui koto kataru no mo nee, ikasu mo korosu mo kono kotoba tteiu koto,
bad thing speak NOM also SFP make-alive also kill also this language QT thing
and also speaks bad things, this language can make [someone] alive or kill [him/her],

59 daijini tsukawanaakan. Honttoni, kono “Mushiro ai o motte.”
with-care use-have-to really this rather love with
[we] have to use [language] with care. Really, this “Instead, in love.”

60 Kono hitokoto de iu, sugoi omomi ga aru to omoimasu ne.
this one-word with say very-much importance there-is QT think SFP
[I] think that what this one phrase says, has so much importance.

In this segment, which is the coda of this narrative, F concludes by sharing what
she learned from this experience. She expresses her understanding of “speaking the
truth in love” in her own words by incorporating the biblical concept of
“compassion” (54), that is, you need to understand the other party’s feelings with
compassion. Otherwise, it is like killing him/her (54-59). At the end, F quotes the “in
love” part of the verse again (59), emphasizing the significance of this verse (60).

To summarize, sharing how the Bible verse helped her to repent of her previous
attitude, F structured the problem-solving process as a moral event, in which she quoted her both old and new voices that reflected two conflicting values, namely, parental authority and "compassion." Her new Christian Discourse emerged through the comparison with her old, non-Christian Discourse, in which her moral identity was defined in relation to her previous words and actions based on the Japanese vertical parent-child relationship.

In sum, in this section, I have demonstrated that the narrators negotiate morality between two conflicting moral values, which were recognized as two different Discourses. The Japanese values from their home culture can be in conflict with the moral values from the Scripture. The Christian Discourse was created and defined in relation to the Japanese moral values, in which their moral identity as a Christian believer was created and negotiated between these competing perspectives.

6.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the narrators use and alternate more than one Discourse in a testimony. First, I have illustrated that the narrators referred to Japanese words and sayings in order to achieve the different goals. These culturally-shared resources were related to the communal spiritual and moral values, which was not considered as an incomplete presentation of the communal Discourse but a valued performance as a part of the Christian Discourse. On the other hand, these words and sayings were also recognized as the "Japanese" Discourse, which reflected values that were not compatible with the Christian Discourse but pertained to Japanese culture. The Japanese Discourse took place especially when narrators prioritized their
personal agendas such as attacking someone, in which they used these resources without attending to the communal spiritual and moral values. Second, I have shown that the narrators negotiated morality between two different perspectives based on the conflicting moral values. The Christian Discourse was created and defined in relation to the Japanese values, in which their moral identity as a Christian believer was created and negotiated between these competing perspectives.

The above findings have shown that testimony does not show a single, unitary “Christian identity” as claimed in the prior research on testimony but believer’s Discourse membership or social identities were constantly recognized and negotiated as s/he uses and alternates between more than one Discourse. Therefore, the testimony is not a transformative point from non-believer to believer, but a place where believer’s identities are created and negotiated through heteroglossic Discourse.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

In this study, employing Gee's (1989, 1996, 1999) framework of a Discourse as the central definition of social identity, I have explored how it is presented, negotiated, and socialized in narration as situated social practice.

The findings of the present study have contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of social identity. First, this study has demonstrated that social identity is a value-laden as well as dynamic construct. In Chapter 4, I have shown how the presentation of testimony is constrained by the shared values and beliefs which consist of a Discourse in this particular community. The narrators made reference to the spiritual values, which rendered believers' personal narrative into testimony recounting how they worked through a problem with God's assistance. Moreover, presenting their responses to the narrative problems as reflecting the moral values from the Scripture, the narrators structured the narrated events as moral events in order to create their moral identity as a good Christian. I have argued that addressing both spiritual and moral values is essential for their personal accounts to be recognized as a valued performance of testimony, in which the narrator's problem-solving process indexes their full membership in the communal Discourse.

Second, the findings of this study have provided further empirical evidence for the learning or socialization aspect of social identity proposed by prior studies. Some of the theoretical frameworks which address the dynamic nature of social identity (cf. Lave & Wenger 1991; Ochs 1993; Ochs & Taylor 1992; Wenger 1998) refer to the
learning or socialization aspect of this construct, which nevertheless, has not been fully explored within these analytic frameworks. In Chapter 5, I have illustrated that the novice members who were not yet proficient in the communal Discourse were socialized into the shared values and beliefs through the interaction with expert members. Interim Discourses (Rudolph 1994) given by the novice members were characterized by the partial or little presentation of the communal Discourse, which was sometimes mixed with other (i.e., non-Christian) Discourse membership. However, the audience did not reject or correct but accepted these partial presentations of the communal Discourse, in which the novices were supported or scaffolded or accommodated within the affect-indexing interactions. I have also presented that in addition to such implicit style of socialization, explicit socialization in which experts overtly teach the communal values and beliefs to novice members also takes place within the testimony-giving practice. Thus, this research has demonstrated that socialization is an essential component of social identity as a dynamic construct which is constantly defined and evolves through interpersonal interaction. In other words, novice members' Discourse membership is not a one-time transformation from non-believer to believer, as claimed by the previous research on Christian testimonies, but an ongoing socialization process.

The third contribution of this study to the literature of narrative and identity is showing the complex nature of social identity. First, I have illustrated what expert members could do with their expertise. The experts who have good mastery of the communal Discourse manipulated the framework of the testimony-giving practice in order to achieve their personal agendas such as making a good showing for themselves or attacking others. Referring to the communal spiritual and moral values within the
testimony framework, the expert members created a hidden agenda under the official agenda of edifying one another by sharing and hearing one another's testimonies. This finding has demonstrated complexity of social identity, which is not only presented, negotiated, and socialized but can be manipulated in order to accomplish narrators' latent, self-focused purposes.

This study has shown another complex aspect of social identity, namely, heteroglossic Discourse. In Chapter 6, I have illustrated how the narrators use and alternate more than one Discourse in a testimony. Referring to Japanese words and sayings for the different purposes, the narrators presented the communal spiritual and moral values through culturally-shared resources, which, unlike novice members' interim Discourses, was not considered as an incomplete presentation of the communal Discourse but a valued performance as a part of the Christian Discourse. On the other hand, these words and sayings could be recognized as the "Japanese" Discourse, which reflected values that were not compatible with the Christian Discourse but pertained to Japanese culture. The Japanese Discourse took place when the narrators prioritized their personal agendas and used these resources without attending to the communal spiritual and moral values. I have also presented that the narrators negotiated morality between two different perspectives based on the conflicting moral values. The Christian Discourse was created and defined in relation to the Japanese values, in which their moral identity as a Christian believer was created and negotiated between these two competing perspectives.

These findings on the complex nature of social identity offer new insights to the literature of Christian testimony as well. As mentioned above in Chapter 3, suggesting that believers' identities are different before and after conversion, i.e., s/he
is transformed from a unsaved sinner to a saved believer, and that the established Christian identity remains intact after conversion, the previous studies on testimonies view identity or Christian identity as a single, fixed entity, which conforms to the traditional view of social identity. However, this research has shown that testimony is not a transformative point from non-believer to believer, but a site of socialization, and that "Christian identity" itself is constantly defined and negotiated in relation to other Discourse membership.

The theoretical framework proposed in this study has further implications for the future study of social identity. First, I have chosen the genre of testimony among other genres of personal narrative in order to explore the concept of social identity in narration. I have argued that believers' attempt to present their response to a narrative problem as reflecting the spiritual and moral values from the Scripture is expressed as a problem-solving process in their testimonies. Having the Scripture as the guiding norm, testimony as a personal narrative enabled me to examine social identity as a membership in a Discourse. Examining personal narrative under the current framework in other narrative events (as opposed to narrated events) where participants pursue common values and interests such as academic or institutional (work) settings may further contribute to the analysis of narrative and identity.

Second, the majority of the data for this study consisted of narratives recounted by women. Especially, those analyzed for the present research were recounted exclusively by women. As explained in Chapter 3, although men participated in and testified at the prayer meeting, the major constituency of the prayer meeting was women. I do not think that this constituency affected the findings of this study. However, examining testimonies given by male participants might have provided
further insights in this study.

Nevertheless, this study has provided a further empirical basis for narrative as problem-solving discourse focused on the narrator’s moral identity (cf. Hyden 1995; Linde 1989, 1993; MacIntyre 1981; Ochs & Capps 1996, 2001; Ochs et al. 1996; Taylor 1989, 1991). Examining monologic narrative based on the extensive data, the present research has shown that problem-solving motivates not only co-narration but also monologic narrative recounted by a single narrator, in which the narrator’s account is challenged and his/her moral standing as a good and socially competent person is presented, negotiated, and also socialized in terms of shared values and beliefs. Gee (1989, 1996, 1999) also alludes problem-solving in monologic narrative which provides a way of "making sense out of experience" (1996: 115) based on values and beliefs that are inherited through social practice of a particular community. Examining narration within his framework of a Discourse, this study has shown more clearly that narrative is a problem-solving discourse which involves deeply-socialized values and that ability to participate in valued narrative practice is a clear indication of his/her membership in a Discourse, which provides further empirical support for the notion of a Discourse. Even though values and beliefs which are an integral part of our identity are difficult to grasp, exploring narration which embodies shared values and beliefs under the relevant theoretical framework can lead us to the better understanding of complex and protean nature of identity, which is revealed in narrative as an epitome of human interaction.
APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE NARRATIVE TITLES

I. “Should I Baby-sit?”
II. “Sorry, God, I was Anxious”
III. “Given More than What I Had Given Out”
IV. “I should Love Unconditionally”
V. “You were Allowed To Live Again”
VI. “There’s Another One”
VII. “I Made Mistakes!”
VIII. “Given a 20-day Vacation”
IX. “Passing the US Citizenship Exam”
X. “The Printer Started Working!”
XI. “Faith is a Battle”
XII. “She will be a Great Person”
XIII. “This is Weird”
XIV. “I’m the One Who Made a Lot of Money”
XV. “I was Led to This Church, Being Led by Something”
XVI. “Where There’s Smoke, There’s Fire”
XVII. “Speaking the Truth in Love”
APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION

(to be translated into Japanese)

**Title of Project:** Exploring Social Identity in Narrative: Analyzing the Testimonies of Japanese-speaking Christians

**Name of Researcher:** Miwako YANAGISAWA

**Address:** Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, Moore Hall 382, 1890 East West Road, Honolulu, HI 96822. Phone: (909)956-8940

**Project Description**

This research will explore how Japanese shin-issei “new first generation” immigrants and non-immigrants who pursue Christian faith in Hawai‘i express their Christian identity in their testimony-sharing. This research will be conducted in a Japanese-speaking congregation in Honolulu, where the researcher is a church member. The testimonies given at a weekly prayer meeting have been audio-taped with the participants’ consent from fall of 1997 to summer of 1999.

**Additional Data to be Collected from the Informants**

Interviews with informants will also be conducted either by phone or in person in order to obtain additional information. These interviews will be audio-taped with the participants’ consent as well.

**Confidential Handling of the Data**

All the materials will be coded so as to protect the identities and privacy of the participants. Detailed transcripts of the recording will be prepared. All identifying information (names, locations, etc.) in these materials will be edited out in order to protect the identities and privacy of the participants. All the data will be used only in conjunction with the thesis or other related academic purposes (i.e., conference presentations, scholarly publications) pursued by the researcher.

Participation in this study is voluntary and may be terminated at any time without any negative consequences to the participant. If participants have questions, they can contact the researcher by phone (956)-8940, Office of Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa) or by e-mail (miwako@hawaii.edu).
Statement of Consent

I certify that I have read and that I understand the foregoing, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my inquiries concerning project procedures, and I hereby give my consent that the information that I provide may be used for the purpose of this study. I understand that I may refuse to participate or may withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I also understand that my identity will be kept confidential. If the purpose of the study or the usage of the data is changed, I will be so informed and my consent will be requested again. I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this form.

_____________________________  __________________________
Name (Print)  Date

_____________________________
Signature

Researcher’s Statement

I have fully explained the conditions of my observation to the above participant. I have asked whether any questions remain and have answered these questions to the best of my ability.

_____________________________  __________________________
Signature  Date

(If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complains about your treatment in this study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai‘i, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawai‘i 96822. Phone: (808)956-5007)

cc: singed copy to subject
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