

FORMULATION OF EXPERIENCE
IN JAPANESE CONVERSATIONAL STORYTELLING:
MINIMALISM AND ELABORATION
AS RESOURCES FOR MUTUAL REFLEXIVITY

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ABSTRACT

This study examines conversational storytelling engaged in by a group of four adult native speakers of Japanese to investigate what work they accomplish in storytelling activity. Conversational storytelling is distinguished as a unit of activity in which participants maintain their interactional orientation towards reconstruction of experience by proposing, evaluating, and revising their understandings of it (Sacks 1992). The present study focuses on the participants' work of storytelling as a process for them to reach mutual reflexivity on the experience under reconstruction.

To investigate such a process, the analysis views storytelling in terms of *formulation*, "a particular way of naming or describing an object, situation, conversation, idea, etc" (Bilmes 2008), from two perspectives: a) storytelling as a type of formulation of an experience situated in a larger activity, and b) storytelling as a set of formulations of events and situations in the experience that display an orderly organization accomplished by participants through interactional processes, in which they propose, evaluate, contest and reconstruct formulations to be meaningful for themselves. Within these perspectives, the analysis will reveal how an experience is formulated in storytelling in a particular way, tailored for the four group members under investigation.

I present two types of formulation: 1) *minimalism*, participants' work with abbreviated speech, telegraphic actions, or otherwise reduced verbal behaviors that require their reliance on the ongoing context and their extra-discursive knowledge to analyze and recognize the formulation, and 2) *elaboration*, participants' work to demonstrate an orientation to their unequal accessibility to an aspect of the experience

under reconstruction and enable them to return to a mutual stance of equal accessibility. This study suggests that through minimalism and elaboration, participants develop a mutual epistemic ground, which allows them to reconstruct the circumstances around the protagonist in the experience, so that they can visualize her course of action. This study argues that such a mutual epistemic ground constitutes a facet of their sociohistorical relationship developed in the past, enacted in the present, and maintained for the future. This study provides implications for the view of storytelling as relational work as well as referential and evaluation work.

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LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Transcription conventions

[the point where overlapping talk begins
]	the point where overlapping talk ends
=	no interval between adjacent utterances
(0.0)	pause or silence between utterances timed in tenths of a second
(.)	micro pause
.	falling, or final, intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
:	lengthening of previous sound
-	abrupt cutoff
<u>word</u>	some form of stress or emphasis (increased loudness or higher pitch)
WORD	loud talk
°word°	soft or quiet talk
!word!	stressed but voiceless talk
↑	shift to high pitch
↓	shift to low pitch
^word^	high pitch throughout
word	low pitch throughout
<word>	stretch of talk bracketed with < > is uttered more slowly than the surrounding talk
>word<	stretch of talk bracketed with > < is uttered faster than the surrounding talk
word<	compressed ending
h	audible aspiration
.h	audible inhalation
(h)	aspiration within a word
(g)	gutturalness within a word
\$word\$	a certain quality of voice associated with suppressed laughter
(word)	unsure hearing
()	unintelligible stretches of talk
(word1)/(word2)	alternative hearings
(())	transcriber's description

Abbreviations appearing in the interlinear gloss

AUX	auxiliary verb
COP	various forms of copula verb be
FP	final particle
LK	linking nominal
NEG	negative morpheme
NOM	nominalizer
O	object marker
ONM	onomatopoeia
Q	question marker
QT	quotative marker
SF	speech filler
S	subject marker
TAG	tag-like expression
TOP	topic marker

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In storytelling, participants collaboratively engage in reconstruction of a version or versions of reality (Edwards 1997). Reality being reconstructed in storytelling is represented as an experience that occurred at a time that is remote from the time of speaking.¹ In reference to Sacks's (1978, 259) statement "stories are plainly ways of packaging experience," we can see a story as "a coherent package for a bunch of components" (ibid.). The present study's fundamental interest is in what participants orient to as "a coherent package." The interest is shared with the tradition of storytelling research in conversation analysis and discursive psychology, in which storytelling is examined as "productions tailored for the sequentially organized occasions of their telling" (Stokoe and Edwards 2006). With this view, a coherent package is constructed by participants' interactions orienting to accomplish storytelling as activity of reconstructing experience. The present study, as a case study focusing on instances of storytelling activities engaged in by a specific group of participants, investigates ways in which the participants package components in the form of a story in conjunction with their participation in storytelling activity in order to accomplish reconstruction of an experience. Here, packaging components refers not only to participants' acts of selecting

¹ The experience type I assume here is a non-fictional past (most typically, first-person) experience, which has been primarily investigated in the tradition of storytelling study. However, I am also aware that some studies go beyond this type including future hypothetical experiences (e.g., Georgakopoulou 2002, 2007; Ochs 1994).

them as contents of a story but also to their various types of emerging actions and interactions that contribute to co-construct a story, including identifying, recognizing, evaluating and critiquing story components. The present study, therefore, examines such actions and interactions orienting to co-constructing a package of experience, namely, storytelling.

As mentioned above, storytelling (a form of discourse) is participants' reconstruction of someone's experience (a form of reality). Sacks (1972b) argues that what to package and how to package it in storytelling are shared among members of society, who are able to recognize a package of an experience as something that happened or could have happened in reality. He uses a classic minimal story "The baby cried. The mommy picked it up" to explain what is meant by recognizability. He suggests that a set of two consecutive yet independent sentences is hearable based on member's "knowledge of the world" (p. 331) as a description of a set of events, the baby cried, and after that, the mother of that baby picked him/her up. In other words, members understand a set of certain types of discursive formulations as a description of reality. Whalen and Zimmerman (1990, 465) put it this way: "Descriptions achieve their currency by depicting matters that, given the place of their occurrence and the categories of persons involved in their production, *could have occurred* in the manner described" (emphasis in the original). Therefore, we can assume that there are specific ways shared by members for producing and recognizing a description of reality. With this assumption of storytelling, we can treat storytelling as a socially meaningful and orderly activity. Georgakopoulou (2007) suggests that storytelling can be analyzed as a social practice

shared among members "who, through regular interaction and participation in an activity system, share linguistic and social practices norms [*sic*] as well as understandings of them" (p. 10). The present study takes the same approach to storytelling to find some ways in which the members of the group under investigation accomplish storytelling. Through the investigation, the present study contributes to the tradition of storytelling research that regards storytelling as a social practice by adding instances of discursive practices in which members of a group describe an experience and understand descriptions in storytelling in order to accomplish the activity meaningful to them.

1.2 Formulation

Examining how participants describe an experience and understand descriptions of the experience in storytelling can be approached by looking at formulation. The present study follows Bilmes's (2008, 198) definition of **formulation**: "a formulation is a particular way of naming or describing an object, situation, conversation, idea, etc. (in other words, a referent)."² Therefore, formulation in the present study is considered to be linguistic resource that gives reality a shape in discourse. The term *formulation*, however, has been used more or less with a limited scope in the tradition of conversation analysis, which examines a type of formulation, that is, naming or describing of an "object." For example, in his discussion of location formulation, Schegloff (1972, 80) uses the word formulation and its verb form as follows:

² In Sacks (1972b) and Whalen and Zimmerman (1990), as a portrayal of an event, the term *description* is used in the same sense as *formulation* the present study uses.

If one looks to the places in conversation where an object (including persons) or activity is identified (or as I shall call it, "*formulated*"), then one can notice that there is a set of alternative *formulations* for each such object or activity, all the *formulations* being, in some sense, correct (e.g. each allowing under some circumstance "retrieval" of the same referent). (Italics added)

Schegloff is concerned with how a conversationalist names or describes a location with a particular place term out of other possible alternative place terms. One of the instances he is concerned with is a speaker's choice of the term *home* in the context in which he/she says, "Good to be back home" instead of saying, "Good to be back in Chicago" (p. 82). Analyzing phenomena of this kind alone as a speaker's choice of a term at a specific moment of conversation in a specific context provides us with valuable insights on our conversational practices.³ However, as he acknowledges, he limits phenomena of formulation into a reference to location with a place term. This in turn suggests that formulation as a linguistic action is not only seen in the speaker's choice of a place term to refer to a location, but also seen in a wider range of reference work, mainly in the following two dimensions: 1) objects of formulation (not only location, but also person, action, situation, idea, etc.), and 2) ways in which an object is formulated (not only with a single turn-constructive unit, but also with a more extensive form of language such as a single turn and a multi-turn utterance). With respect to the first dimension, Schegloff (1972, 81-82) mentions some types of objects other than location that can be formulated with place terms, such as occupation (e.g., *I work in a driving school*), stage of life (e.g.,

³ Schegloff (2000, 715) points out that formulations of persons, in addition to formulations of places, have provided rich resources to analyze speaker's actions and interactions with his/her interlocutors (Sacks 1972a, 1972b, 1992; Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1996).

When I was in Junior High School), and activity (e.g., *He is at the ballpark*).

Furthermore, in his later work (Schegloff 2000), Schegloff is concerned with the issue that objects of formulation can be extended to actions and events in the same line of inquiry concerning location and person formulation. In the examination of extendibility of objects of formulation to actions and events, Schegloff (2000) develops a discussion by introducing the notion of *granularity*, which involves the second dimension noted above (i.e., ways in which an object is formulated). Observing a single case in which a storytelling emerges, he points out that actions and events in a story are formulated at different levels of *granularity*, or different degrees of resolution, depending on their functions as story components. He uses the following example (p. 716):

(1)

1 Curt: En he wz telling us, we were kind'v admiring th' car=
2 =en 'e siz yah, I gota get rid'v it though.
3 (0.5)
4 Curt: I said why diyou have tih get rid'v it. 'n 'e sid well
5 I'm afraid my wife will get it. <er my ex wife.

Schegloff focuses on what the story characters *we* (Curt + his company), *I* (Curt), and *he* said or might have said in a story. In lines 2, 4 and 5, story components are formulated with relatively finer granularity into direct quotations of *I* and *he*. In contrast, the formulation "we were kind of admiring the car" in line 1 exhibits lower granularity in the sense that it represents a single reportable occurrence, which presumably subsumes finer granular actions of speaking about the car uttered by *we*, which is partly evident from the response token "yeah" in the succeeding formulation of what *he* said. Schegloff suggests that the differences in levels of granularity between line 1 and lines 2, 4 and 5 is

associated with the difference in their functions as story components: the formulation as an occurrence in line 1 provides background for the formulations as actions in lines 2, 4 and 5, which constitute the core plot of the story. Here, the difference in granularity of formulations of actions/events indicates that reality (in this case, the fact that the story characters had a conversation about *his* car) can be formulated in various degrees of granularity (from detailed descriptions of what characters said to more general descriptions of one single occurrence). Furthermore, the level of granularity seems to be sensitive to an activity in progress.

Building on Schegloff's (1972, 2000) work on formulation, Bilmes (2008) extends the discussion of formulation to the issue of *reformulation*, in which a formulation in a context is formulated again into a different form in another context. By using the terms *generalization* and *specification* to describe different levels of granularity of formulation, Bilmes (2008, 194) is concerned with formulation by asking "what is the significance of speaking of a matter in a certain way rather than in some other way?" As the phrase "speaking of a matter" indicates, he does not specify the type of objects of formulation such as location, person, action and event. Instead, he regards an object of formulation as a referent in general with different levels: "at its simplest level, a formulation is just a particular manner of reference – e.g., 'John,' 'Mr. Smith,' and 'some guy I know'" and "at its broadest level, a formulation is a choice of among plausible descriptions of some referent – e.g., 'He moved her out of the way' versus 'He shoved her'" (Bilmes 2008, 198). In Bilmes (2008), the object of formulation is a formulation itself, i.e., a linguistic action that describes a matter. He calls a formulation of a

formulation reformulation, which is specifically exemplified in the expression "We're not enforcing this portion of Reg B because we think it's bad public policy," observed in a discussion at an internal division meeting in the US Federal Trade Commission. This expression was uttered by a participant of the meeting in which participants were reviewing a passage in a draft memo written up by two of the participants to be sent up to the Office of the Director of the Bureau of Consumer Protection.⁴ The object of the (re)formulation here is the passage under review, which is already a formulation that describes an argument raised in a contradictory situation between a regulation and its enforcement, or more accurately, the lack thereof, in practice.

In Schegloff (1972, 200) and Bilmes (2008), we have seen that the objects of formulation can be extended from objects (e.g., person and location), to actions and events, and further to arguments. The direction of this extension can be considered as the first dimension, mentioned above, of a range of referent work that a formulation can capture. The second dimension, ways in which an object is formulated, is also presented in the instances above; for example, a location is formulated into a single TCU (e.g., "Boston" and "home"), an event and an argument is formulated into a single turn ("we

⁴ The passage reads as follows (Bilmes 2008, 202):

The audits also revealed that XYZ employees routinely do not give the disclosure that alimony, child support or separate maintenance income need not be revealed if the applicant does not wish to rely on it to qualify for the credit requested, which disclosure is required by §202.5(d)(2) of Regulation B. Staff is concerned, however, that in most cases when applicants receive such income, consideration of that income would be necessary in order for the creditor to grant the credit requested, and that this disclosure may serve to discourage applicants from revealing alimony, child support or separate maintenance payments. Staff has brought these violations to the attention of XYZ, and does not recommend that further action be taken.

were kind'v admiring th' car" and "We're not enforcing this portion of Reg B because we think it's bad public policy") or into a set of multi-turn utterances ("en 'e siz yah, I gotta get rid'v, it though. (0.5) I said why diyou have tih get rid'v it, 'n 'e sid well I'm afraid my wife will get it. <er my ex wife"). Now, within this view of formulation, I argue that storytelling can also be seen as a type of formulation that describes an experience. This is actually demonstrated in Schegloff (2000) through his examination of a storytelling activity for illustrating different levels of granularity of formulation. His focus is placed on different types of characterization of elements of an experience as instances of formulations. In other words, he regards a storytelling activity as a unit that is composed of various types (or levels of granularity) of formulations of elements of an experience, which resonates with Sacks's (1978) view of a story as packaging experience, as mentioned above. Both Sacks's (1978) and Schegloff's (2000) work on storytelling provide examples of storytelling where the telling is produced predominantly by a single speaker in a single extended turn at talk. However, as work by Ochs et al. (1992) and Ochs and Capps (2001) have demonstrated, storytelling may also be produced with multiple (co-)tellers, and in multiple rounds, often with considerable negotiating and contesting of story content and meaning. In the present study, then, I take up the Schegloff's use of formulation as an analytical tool for examining storytelling, and a storytelling, that is, a discourse composed of various types of turns (e.g., single TCUs, and multi-turn utterances) which are provided by multiple participants, as a whole, is seen as a jointly-constructed formulation of an experience, which could be otherwise formulated into other forms of formulation such as a single TCU or a single multi-unit

utterance. This phenomenon is implicitly evident in Georgakopolou's (2007, 50) discussion of a "non-storied" formulation of an experience in her data of shared stories, which participants treat "as familiar either because they have been told in the past or because the events reported in them are known to all or some of the participants, regardless of whether they have been narrativized in the past or not." She states that shared stories are "mostly referred to by means of their punchline rather than retold" (ibid.). As her observation suggests, it is possible that an experience, which involves "storable" events, is formulated with a single TCU, which can be characterized as a storytelling at the lowest level of granularity (Schegloff 2000) or the highest level of generalization (Bilmes 2008).⁵ On the other hand, looking at instances of storytelling that involve highly interactional and extended collaborative co-construction of the telling, storytelling can be seen as an interactional occasion in which conversationalists formulate an experience into the form of a story at a higher level of granularity. This is typically shaped with such components as a series of chronologically ordered descriptions, evaluations provided by a teller, and recipients' responsive actions (for discussion of storytelling components, see Ochs and Capps 2001 and Chapter 2).

The view of storytelling as a formulation is congruent with a CA assumption that an action in talk-in-interaction is accountably situated at a particular point in an activity in progress. Storytelling occasioned in a larger activity can be seen as accountable in terms of "why *this* story is being told in *this* way at *this* moment" (Sidnell 2010, 175; emphasis in the original). Sidnell (2010, 182) suggests that storytelling as a

⁵ We will see this type of phenomenon in our data to be examined in Chapter 4.

whole is occasioned as an action at the moment in which a sequentially relevant action cannot be accomplished with a single TCU. For example, in an environment in which a question projects a certain type of answer, the answerer may provide an answer with a single TCU. However, if the question itself contains or presupposes a troublesome situation for the answerer to provide a right answer, the answerer may respond to the question by telling a story in such a way as to provide the right answer with a solution to the problem created by the question. This situation is demonstrated in Sidnell's excerpt for which he describes the context of the conversation as follows (pp.181-2):

Nancy and Hyla are talking about a play that they are to see later in the evening. Nancy asks Hyla, who has made the plan, "How didju hear about it from the paper?" By adding a candidate answer ("from the paper") Nancy designs this as a yes-no interrogative that makes a type-conforming "yes" or "no" response relevant (Raymond 2003, chapter 5). Hyla seems initially prepared to answer the question with a type non-conforming confirmation but self-repairs saying "A'right when was it."

(2) Hyla and Nancy

07 Nancy: [How did]ju hear about it from the pape[r?
08 Hyla: [.hhhhh I sa:w-
09 (0.4)
10 Hyla: A'right when was:(it,)/(this,)
11 (0.3)
12 Hyla: The week before my birthda:[y,]
13 Nancy: [Ye]a[:h,
14 Hyla: [I wz looking in the
15 Calendar section en there was u:n, (.)
un a:d yihknow a liddle:: u-
16 thi:ng, .hh[hh
17 Nancy: [Uh hu:h,=
18 Hyla: =At- th'-th' theater's called the Met Theater it's on
19 Point[setta.]
20 Nancy: [The Me]:t,
21 (.)
22 Nancy: I never heard of i[t.
23 Hyla: [I hadn't either. .hhh But anyways,.-en
24 theh the moo- thing wz th'↓Dark e'th'
↓Top a'th' ↑Stai[:rs.]

25 Nancy: [Mm-h]m[: ,
 26 Hyla: [EnI
 27 nearly wen'chhrazy cz I[: I:[love] that]mo:vie.]
 28 Nancy: [y:Yeah I kn]ow y]ou lo:ve] tha::t.=
 29 Hyla: =s:So::, .hh an' like the first sho:w,=
 30 Nancy: =M[m hmm,]
 31 Hyla: [wz g'nna] be: ,
 32 (.)
 33 Hyla: on my birthday.=
 34 Nancy: =Uh hu[h,]
 35 Hyla: [I'm] go'[n awhh whould hI love-
 36 Nancy: [(So-)
 37 (.)
 38 Hyla: yihknow fer Sim tuh [take me tuh that.]
 39 Nancy: [Y a y u : : h ,]

In line 8, Hyla stops providing an answer (i.e., the first turn is cut off at "I sa:w-"); then, she starts telling a story first by trying to set up its time frame in line 10. From the story Hyla tells (lines 10-19), we can understand why Hyla cuts off the initial answer, and shifts to tell a story: it is because she *saw* the information about the play, not *heard* about it. However, there is still a possibility that Hyla in line 8 could have answered with a single TCU, such as "I saw it in the paper." Instead, she changed her action to tell a story, which provides an account of how she came to know about the event (i.e., she found the information about the event when she was looking in the paper, not just "heard about" or "saw"). In other words, she formulated the answer into the form of a story out of other possible formulations (i.e., higher level of granularity than a single TCU). In sum, storytelling can be seen as a coherent collection of various formulations of elements of an experience, and, at the same time, it can be viewed at the level of sequential organization of talk as an action situated in a larger activity functioning to resolve an issue raised by the immediately prior action.

So far, I have discussed storytelling as a formulation of an experience situated in a larger activity. The present study approaches storytelling with another perspective, which is adopted, as mentioned earlier, from Sacks's (1978, 259) view of storytelling as "packaging experience." Storytelling involves recounting of an experience that occurred at a time that is remote from the time of speaking. Not all participants of a storytelling activity have first-hand access to the remote experience. Participants in a storytelling activity organize the storytelling discourse based on the extent to which they have access to the experience itself, and to persons and items related to the experience.⁶ Therefore, we expect to observe participants' actions such as proposing, negotiating and modifying formulations, which in the end become, or at least are pursued to be, meaningful to participants as a reconstructed version of the experience. With this view, the present study treats storytelling as an interactional activity in which participants work together to co-construct formulations of an experience. At the end of the activity, we expect to see participants shift their orientation away from this collaborative formulation work, which, in turn, will produce a recognizable closure of the storytelling.

1.3 Underlying assumptions of formulation

The present study approaches storytelling by looking at discursively available formulations. So far, I have treated formulation as a discursive product of a speaker's choice. Drawing on some CA concepts, I clarify assumptions that underlie such a view

⁶ The notion of the extent of access here does not necessarily entail that all participants do have access to the historical moment of the events related to in storytelling. Also it can include highly limited access to the events or their elements.

of formulation, which is, however, more appropriately described as a discursive product constructed through complex interactional processes.

The most essential assumption in the view of formulation as a speaker's choice is built upon the concept of *recipient design*, which is proposed in CA to explicate how a speaker provides talk in interaction specifically attending to the existence and knowledge of his/her hearer(s). It is regarded as "the most general principle particularizing conversational interaction" in which "the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the coparticipants" (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1978, 42-3). With its analytical principle, that abstract concepts have to be demonstrated empirically with solid evidence, CA has been successful in showing interactional practices where evidence of recipient design is prominent. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1978, 43) report that recipient design is found to "operate with regard to word selection, topic selection, the admissibility and ordering of sequences, the options and obligations for starting and terminating conversations, and so on." For example, it has been reported that recipient design is specifically prominent in places where a speaker anticipates a possibility that talk he/she is about to deliver may subsequently cause disalignment between him/herself and hearer(s), i.e., talk to accomplish such actions as a question, a telling, an offer, and a request that may receive a negative response from the interlocutor (e.g., Drew 1984; Maynard 2003; Schegloff 1980, 2007). Schegloff (2007) argues that in such a case, a speaker attempts to form a preliminary sequence (*pre-sequence*) to prevent interactional trouble that the soon-to-be-proffered main business of interaction (*base sequence*) would

bear. Schegloff (1980) also suggests that a similar type of pre-sequence, *pre-delicate*, is often observed prior to a delicate action, such as treating something as common knowledge, making a complaint, asking personal questions to a stranger, or talking about sex.⁷ The former type of pre-sequence, which prevents locally contingent trouble, reveals a speaker's orientation to his/her interactant in terms of a prospective response that the interactant might make. In contrast, the latter, *pre-delicate*, exhibits a speaker's broader sensitivity to the interactant him/herself including the relationship to each other (e.g., a speaker decides whether or how to talk about sex depending on who his/her interactant is to him/her). In either case, recipient design in pre-sequences can tell us about a range of orientations that a speaker exhibits to his/her interactant(s).

In the case of conversational storytelling, the pre-sequence is called a *preface sequence* (Sacks 1974), and this sequence exhibits several types of recipient design to launch the base sequence, namely, *telling sequence*, to follow. Although not all cases of storytelling are set off by preface sequences, it has been reported that preface sequences usually serve to get recipients prepared to appreciate and understand a story (C. Goodwin 1995; M. H. Goodwin 1990; Sacks 1974; Schegloff 1992a). In other words, in the preface sequence, a prospective teller of a story deals with his/her co-participants preliminarily to create an appropriate ground to accomplish the telling. Practically, through preface sequences, participants change their turn organization from turn-by-turn to more asymmetrical turn-taking (i.e., teller's uninterrupted multi-unit turns vs. recipient's succinct turns), and inform the prospective recipients about a characterization

⁷ The delicateness of an action may vary culturally.

of the point of an upcoming story so that the recipient(s) can subsequently monitor how to interpret and where to respond to the story as the telling develops (C. Goodwin 1995). Recipient design in a preface sequence may not operate only in terms of local management of the teller-recipient relationship, as described above, but also in terms of management of participants' larger social relationships. M. H. Goodwin (1990) demonstrates that the preface sequence of the telling of an inner-circle gossip about an absent member serves a significant opportunity for the teller to create not only momentary but also more enduring affiliation with the recipients against the target of the gossip. When one talks about an absent party negatively, the teller "runs a particular risk: current recipient might tell the absent party that current speaker is talking about her behind her back" (M.H. Goodwin 1990, 261). To avoid such relational trouble, which would not occur in the immediate context of storytelling, but sometime in the near future, the teller exploits the preface sequence to make affiliation with the recipient(s) before she moves on to her own gossip. In sum, the above studies suggest that the preface sequence of storytelling contains various instances of recipient design in interactional alignment of participants ranging from local management of participants' orientations to their larger social relationship to each other.

Recipient design, specifically observable in the initiating process of storytelling, allows us to see storytelling as an action emerging from the preceding conversational activity. Formulations in such a process, therefore, can be seen as the embodiment of recipient design, orienting participants to the main business of the telling. In Chapter 3, in the present study, we will see an instance to show this type of recipient design, or more

accurately the lack thereof, in an initiating process of storytelling, which demonstrates that the participants under investigation are able to start off the main business of storytelling without going through a preparatory process.

Another relevant area of recipient design in storytelling that previous studies identify is word selection, which can be seen as part of the moment-to-moment work of formulation in storytelling. In this view, an element of an experience, such as a person, action, phenomenon, or event, can be formulated for the specific moment of the storytelling with various types of references. In terms of reference to person, for instance, Sacks and Schegloff (1979) suggest that recipient design can be seen in ways in which a speaker uses a reference (e.g., person's name) to be recognizable to the recipient. They argue that this type of recipient design is especially prominent in sequence organization when the speaker has doubt that the reference will be recognizable to the recipient. In a similar vein, the above-mentioned location formulation examined in Schegloff (1972) can be considered another type of word selection in which recipient design is observed prominently. Schegloff (1972, 115) describes a conversationalist's attention to select a right formulation out of other possible formulations as follows:

In selecting a "right" formulation, attention is exhibited to "where-we-know-we-are," to "who-we-know-we-are," to "what-we-are-doing-at-this-point-in-the-conversation." A "right" formulation exhibits, in the very fact of its production, that it is some "*this* conversation, at *this* place, with *these* members, at *this* point in its course" that has been analyzed to select *that* term; it exhibits, in the very fact of its production, that it is some particular "*this* situation" that is producing it.

This statement suggests that a right formulation is selected according to the speaker's attention to the locational relationship between the speaker, the hearer and the referent

("where-we-know-we-are"), the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer ("who-we-know-we-are") and the temporary relationship between the speaker and the activity in progress ("what-we-are-doing-at-this-point-in-the-conversation"). Schegloff identifies these three relationships that constitute recipient design embodied in a speaker's selection of a right formulation.⁸ He also suggests that persons are consistently formulated in relation to formulations of locations. In this respect, Bilmes (2010 n.p.) makes a more general comment as follows: "the formulations used in a spate of talk, whether monological or interactive, are not chosen independently of one another. We must attend to the relationship among formulations used." In other words, when examining word selection in talk-in-interaction, we can see how such selections are inter-related across various domains. Also, Sacks (1986) is concerned with a similar issue, but with a broader scope, and sees that some components (not only a reference to a person) of an utterance are selected from among a set (i.e., *contrast class*) of semantically equivalent terms. He suggests that the work accomplished through word selection, such as particular terms for temporal reference, character's action (i.e., verbs) and location formulation, is what makes a story newsworthy and coherent for the recipient, which signals "I'm keeping my mind on you" (Sacks 1986, 131).

As discussed in Section 1.2, word selection is a type of formulation (e.g., location formulation). Therefore, by looking at recipient design associated with

⁸ Schegloff (1972) views formulation as a speaker's selection of a term as a result of his/her attention to the surrounding context consisting of these three points of consideration, and thus calls them "location analysis," "membership analysis," and "topic/activity analysis," respectively.

formulation, storytelling can be seen as a process that encompasses teller's attentiveness to his/her recipients' recognizability of formulations of elements of an experience. If a formulated element of the experience is recognizable to recipients, storytelling may go on to the formulation of a next element. If not recognizable, participants may have to step aside from the main sequence of storytelling and engage in formulation work on the element in question. Through such contingent processes in storytelling activity, participants' accessibilities to the elements of the experience under formulation are made relevant. Here, the accessibility to these elements may not be determined only through the local context of storytelling but also through participants' extra-discursive knowledge about them. Therefore, the examination of ways in which elements of an experience are formulated into storytelling provides us with resources to observe the extent to which participants orient to, and make reference to, their extra-discursive knowledge in formulation. In Chapters 3 to 5, by examining discursively available formulations of elements of the experience related to in storytelling, I investigate not only how participants organize such formulations at different levels of granularity, but also how participants' extra-discursive knowledge becomes relevant in the storytelling in progress.

Although the concept of recipient design provides a framework within which we may explore how formulations are produced, we may have analytical difficulties at the practical level when analyzing cases of multi-party casual and spontaneous storytelling. As Ochs and Capps (2001, 24-33) observe, conversational narratives show a wide range of participants' involvement in telling a story (i.e., tellership). They illustrate different types of tellership by saying "it ranges from one primary teller recounting to a relatively

passive audience to a group of active co-tellers who collaboratively build a storyline" (ibid., 54). The cases of storytelling to be examined in the present study mostly exhibit the latter type of active collaborative storytelling. As the term *recipient design* implies, however, this concept orients us to a teller-centered view of discourse, which presupposes the existence of a voluntary party (i.e., the teller) that designs his/her utterance for recipients. From an analytical perspective, this view requires us to identify the discourse role *teller* and its reciprocal role *recipient* in talk-in-interaction. Therefore, in the examination of formulations as construed through the concept of recipient design, we may face a problem in clearly categorizing participants as teller or recipient in highly collaborative multi-party storytelling activities. In order for the concept of recipient design to be applicable to such a type of activity, we need to modify our perspective on the teller-centered view of recipient design. I believe that the essence that the concept of recipient design captures in talk-in-interaction is *mutual reflexivity*, which is described in C. Goodwin (2007, 28) as follows:

Moment by moment, each party must take into account: 1) the emerging structure of the activities in progress; 2) what precisely other parties are doing; and 3) the implications that this has for the trajectory of future action.

In talk-in-interaction, participants are considered to reflexively act with each other and collaboratively construct a meaningful strip of utterances. Then, recipient design can be seen as a concept to account for a particular type of participants' mutual reflexivity from the viewpoint of a speaker who is producing an utterance at a given moment. However, as Goodwin (2007) suggests, to observe how highly collaborative talk is organized, it is necessary to see how interlocutors participate in such talk, assuming that they act

reflexively, and how their participation contributes to a sequence of utterances produced by them regardless of their discourse roles. *Participation* is defined in Goodwin (2007, 38) as "forms of temporally unfolding, interactively organised action through which participants demonstrate with precision ... their understanding of the events in progress by building action that helps to produce these very same events." Assuming that interlocutors acting in a mutually reflexive manner contribute to formulation through their participation, formulation can be seen as a collaborative product of participation rather than a product of a party who linguistically contributes to the formulation. The present study therefore maintains this assumption for the analyses of cases of multi-party storytelling.

1.4 Storytelling as social practice

Having clarified the assumptions that underlie the notion of how formulation is produced, I now turn to the aspect of participants who contribute to formulation in storytelling. With the concept of mutual reflexivity, we assume that interlocutors act upon their sensitivities to each other and to what they are doing in the activity in progress. For such sensitivities to work appropriately, we further assume that interlocutors in an interactional activity rest their sensitivities on the fundamental ground that ties them together as members of a community. Georgakopoulou (2007, 10) suggests that such a community is regarded as a *micro-culture*, which does not encompass the traditional view of society and culture at a large and abstract level, but which is "shrunk down, more manageable in size" consisting of "people who, through regular interaction

and participation in an activity system, share linguistic and social practices norms [*sic*] as well as understanding of them." In a micro-culture, therefore, we can assume that its members engage in storytelling as a social practice in the specific way that is characterized by their sensitivities to each other and to the storytelling in progress. A similar discussion regarding a member-specific aspect of talk-in-interaction is found in Whalen and Zimmerman (1990), who investigate practical epistemology observed in formulation of an immediate trouble during an emergency call for assistance (police or paramedics). In the situation in which a caller is a citizen and a call-taker is a professional emergency dispatcher, Whalen and Zimmerman find that it is crucial for a caller to formulate an ongoing event as a trouble so that the call-taker recognizes it as credible to send emergency assistance to a requested place. According to Whalen and Zimmerman, to successfully accomplish an emergency call (i.e., to have emergency assistance at a requested place), a caller's formulation has to be specifically designed in the way that his/her stance to the reporting trouble is appropriately displayed, which includes categorization of the trouble (e.g., rape, disturbance, domestic argument, break-in), caller's involvement in the trouble (e.g., victim, witness), and his/her locational relationship to the trouble (e.g., next-door, within the same room, public space). Participants in an emergency call, in a sense, temporarily constitute a micro-culture in which a specific set of formulations is accepted as appropriate or meaningful to accomplish an activity in progress.⁹ Although a goal of conversational storytelling in

⁹ Whalen and Zimmerman (1990) demonstrate that citizen callers who do not appropriately display their stances to a reporting trouble receive call-takers' modification requests to accomplish the task.

general may not be as clear as that of reporting a trouble in an institutional setting, such as that examined in Whalen and Zimmerman, we can expect that storytelling is organized with formulations in a specific way, that is, within the framework of micro-culture that ties participants together as members who share linguistic and social resources, and communicative practices. The present study regards the participants of storytelling under investigation as members of a micro-culture. As I will describe in Chapter 2 in detail, the relationship among the members can be roughly considered close friends, who shared a group house and a significant amount of sociohistorical space and time especially during the time of data collection. They also had a significant amount of mutual knowledge about each other. When analyzing storytelling, I pay attention to ethnographic aspects of the members including their sociohistorical relationships to each other and their common knowledge made relevant in storytelling activities.

1.5 Summary and chapter organization

The present study views storytelling with two perspectives: 1) storytelling as a type of formulation of an experience that is situated in a larger activity, and 2) storytelling as a set of formulations orderly organized by participants (i.e., members) through interactional processes, in which they propose, evaluate, contest, and reconstruct formulations to be meaningful to themselves. With these perspectives, the overall aim of the present study is to investigate how an experience is formulated in storytelling that is co-constructed in a micro-culture consisting of four young female adult native speakers

of Japanese. I specifically pay attention to processes of formulation co-construction that demonstrate an orientation to the micro-culture of the participants.

Based on the discussion developed in this chapter, I propose the following research questions: 1) How do participants accomplish the work of storytelling through formulation work?; 2) What types of formulation in terms of the levels of granularity are evident in storytelling, and what interactional work is accomplished through each type of participant's formulation work?; 3) What is the role of the micro-culture of the participants in the process of co-construction of formulation? With answers to these research questions, the present study as a case study aims to contribute to the research tradition of conversational storytelling new insights, as well as analytical tools, to investigate conversational storytelling as social practice in which discursive formulations of an experience or elements of the experience make relevant participants' sensitivities to each other's actions, the surrounding context, and their larger social relationship to each other.

Chapter 2 first provides the analytical background to the present study that has been established in previous studies of conversational storytelling, and then describes the ethnographic background of the group under investigation. Each of the next three chapters demonstrates data analysis of a case of storytelling engaged in by the same group. In Chapter 3, by primarily addressing the first research question, I demonstrate the locally situated nature of storytelling activity in a larger activity. I also address the second research question in this chapter. I demonstrate that storytelling evolves into rounds of formulation and reformulation of an aspect of an experience, which is crucial

for the process in which the participants engage as they reconstruct the experience. In the processes of formulation and reformulation, I identify two discursive practices (minimalism and elaboration) that particularly stand out in terms of the achievement of linguistic contributions to storytelling discourse. In Chapter 4, I particularly focus on minimalism to see how minimal discursive contributions emerge and are consequential to the development of storytelling and to the participants' management of larger social relationships. In Chapter 5, I turn to elaboration to consider what aspects of an experience under reconstruction in storytelling become targets of elaboration. Through the examination, I reveal participants' specific orientations to aspects of the experience that are significant to their understanding of the whole storytelling and to the ways in which their engagement with these aspects involves their management of their roles and relationships within the storytelling activity micro-culture. In Chapters 4 and 5, I address the third research question by concerning what is oriented to and made relevant in minimalism and elaboration. In Chapter 6, I conclude the present study by summarizing findings from the examination of minimalism and elaboration observed in the three cases of storytelling and suggest implications for the study of conversational storytelling as social practice.

CHAPTER 2

FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, the present study regards storytelling as social activity to reconstruct an experience that, as a result, forms a certain shape of discourse, which is developed with formulations of the experience co-constructed through participants' collaborative, interactive work, such as proposing, negotiating, evaluating, and revising formulations in a way in which they come to, or at least attempt to, reach mutual understanding of the experience. The ultimate objective of the present study is to investigate how storytelling discourse is organized in terms of formulation according to the participants' orientation to reconstruct a meaningful version of the experience. Therefore, the present study focuses on rhetorical features of formulation in storytelling activity. In order to provide backgrounds to this study, in this chapter, I first review previous studies that are representative of traditions of storytelling/narrative research relevant to the present study.¹⁰ The studies to be introduced in this chapter commonly see storytelling as a linguistic phenomenon that refers to reality recognized as an experience that occurred, might have occurred, or will occur at a certain point in time, which is remote from the time of speaking. With this commonality in mind, I demonstrate how

¹⁰ The present study regards the terms *narrative* and *storytelling* as interchangeable. In different research traditions, there seem to be a preference to use one of them over the other. I try to accommodate the usage of the term to the one preferred by each research tradition. To refer to narrative/storytelling in general, I choose to use the term *storytelling*.

they differently approach storytelling with their theoretical assumptions and methodologies. In the second half of the chapter, I describe the sociohistorical backgrounds of the participants under investigation. Recognizing that participants' sociohistorically developed knowledge and experience provide the basis of their interactions in storytelling, I focus on aspects of their knowledge and experience that help the readers understand not only who the participants are but also what is going on in storytelling activities to be examined in the present study.

2.2 Views of storytelling

In the following subsections, I organize the review of previous studies by focusing primarily on how they see the connection between a linguistic phenomenon (i.e., storytelling) and reality (i.e., the experience referred to in it), and demonstrate their own methodological approach to storytelling and their contributions to the entire body of storytelling research.

2.2.1 Storytelling as performance to represent experience

The view *storytelling as performance to represent experience* is embodied in the Labovian approach to narrative (Labov 1972; Labov and Waletzky 1997/1967), which proposes a model of narrative structure comprised of structurally and functionally identifiable components. This approach is widely known as pioneering in the tradition of narrative research, since it opened up a new direction for examining spontaneous oral narratives of personal experience told by "unsophisticated speakers" (Labov and

Waletzky 1997/1967, 3) or ordinary people who do not have any special training in telling a story. Here, *the tradition of narrative study* refers to works rooted in the Russian formalist and the French structuralist traditions (cf. Franzosi 1998), which worked on refined texts (written or oral) such as legends and folktales produced by skilled narrators/writers. As a sociolinguist, Labov seeks to find correlations between linguistic variables and social variables. In Labov and Waletzky (1997/1967), they state that "the ultimate aims of our work, require close correlations of the narrator's social characteristics with the structure of their narrative, since we are concerned with problems of effective communication and class and ethnic differences in verbal behavior" (1997, 5). Regarding spontaneous oral narrative of personal experience as the simplest and most fundamental narrative, Labov and Waletzky hypothesize that such a narrative is organized as a performance to recapitulate what happened to the narrator, and to express the significance of the experience. They then examine cases of narrative performance for their "research on black English vernacular and reading failure in inner city schools" (Langellier 1989, 244).

Given their ultimate aim, i.e., to examine the relationship between the narrator's social characteristics and their narrative performances, Labov and Waletzky (1997/1967) and Labov (1972) provide an initial step to establish the theoretical and methodological framework to analyze narrative structurally. Since its methodological framework is endowed with applicability to narrative in general, the Labovian approach, as Langellier (1989) states, "has become paradigmatic to personal narrative study" (p. 247) and "has functioned normatively to set the standard against which other personal narratives are

measured" (p. 249). In the methodology, narrative is required to be elicited from the narrator in a face-to-face sociolinguistic interview. Furthermore, an elicitation stimulus has to be given to the narrator in the form of a question about the narrator's life threatening experience, such as "Were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed, where you said to yourself – 'This is it'?" (Labov 1972, 354). This question is specifically designed as a sociolinguistic interview technique to reduce observer's paradox and elicit a certain amount of descriptions of the narrator's past experience in the form of a story, since life threatening experiences are assumed to be one of the best topics in which "the speaker becomes deeply involved in rehearsing or even reliving events of his past" (Labov 1872, 354). These data collection techniques are required based on the Labovian approach's underlying assumption about narrative, that is, narrative is the narrator's performance that works as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events that actually occurred" (Labov and Waletzky 1997/1967, 12).

The view of narrative as performance in the Labovian approach creates a possibility that narrative quality varies case by case. To deal with this possibility, the Labovian approach establishes the concept of an ideal or well-formed narrative that not only shows matching of a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of actual events, but also clarifies the significance of the events, i.e., the point of the narrative, "its *raison d'être*: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at" (Labov 1972, 366). Its methodological concern in narrative elicitation (i.e., eliciting narrative of life threatening experience in sociolinguistic interviews), therefore, is specifically motivated to avoid

having variations in performance in their data collected within a single social class. In other words, the Labovian approach limits their data type by analyst's determination assuming that narrative ideally has a referential function, which provides chronologically organized information to represent what happened in the experience, and an evaluative function, which attributes the narrator's evaluative stance to what happened. These assumptions regarding the dual functions of narrative characterize the analytical framework of the Labovian approach. The model proposed in the Labovian approach was described with the sequentially organized components *abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda*. Among them, the two components, complicating action and evaluation, are particularly treated as defining components of a well-formed narrative since they are representative to serve the two functions (referential and evaluative). The complicating action, which consists of a sequence of clauses (*narrative clauses*) that recapitulate past events in chronological order, is considered to be important as it provides the backbone of the narrative describing what happened in the teller's experience.¹¹ The evaluation, on the other hand, is considered to be essential because it is "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative" (Labov 1972, 366). In other words, evaluation is a point-making device that imbues the backbone with the teller's evaluative stance. In terms of the two

¹¹ In Labov and Waletzky (1997/1967), evaluation was treated as a structurally identifiable component of narrative discourse along with the other narrative components. However, Labov (1972, 1997) recognizes that evaluation is more unique than the other structural components by saying that "evaluative devices are distributed throughout the narrative" (1972, 369). For more discussion on the concept of evaluation, see Gwyn (2000).

narrative functions, the Labovian approach has come to provide the subsequent narrative research tradition (henceforth, discourse analysis of narrative) with a taken-for-granted presupposition of narrative that a narrative is produced with two major components, "what happened" and "how it is significant" (e.g., Norrick 1998, 2000; Polanyi 1979, 1982, 1985; Schiffrin 1984 among others).

The original Labovian approach (Labov and Waletzky 1997/1967; Labov 1972) did not include the communicative aspect of narrative within its analytical scope. Rather, the Labovian approach, which uses narrative data collected from sociolinguistic interviews, is designed to eliminate the effect of the existence of a recipient (i.e., interviewer) on the narrator's production of a story by asking the narrator a "Danger of Death" question. However, in the discussion of evaluation as a point-making device, Labov does recognize narrative as a communicative activity by saying the following:

Pointless stories are met (in English) with the withering rejoinder, "So what?" Every good narrator is continually warding off this question; when his narrative is over, it should be unthinkable for a bystander to say, "So what?" Instead, the appropriate remark would be, "He did?" or similar means of registering the reportable character of the events of the narrative. (Labov 1972, 366)

Here, although Labov only discusses what a narrator would do to provide a good narrative, it is implied that making a point when telling a story is something that is done for recipients of the narrative (i.e., the "bystander" who says, "So what?"). As narrative research has moved in the direction of understanding the communicative aspect of narrative, scholars in the tradition of discourse analysis who follow the Labovian structural approach have expanded data types to include not only monologic narratives collected in interview settings but also conversational narratives situated in natural

settings. In so doing, they explore narrative as a communicative activity, in which not only does the narrator tell a story with its point, but also the recipient understands it.

Viewing the point of narrative (i.e., the significance of the experience) as culturally, socially, and personally determined, Polanyi (1979) argues that the significance of a narrative is not simply signaled by the teller's unilateral evaluation. She claims that "the point of a story should not be taken as a fixed formal aspect of the story as originally told, but rather may change in the course of the narration and surrounding conversation as speaker and audience negotiate for what the story will be agreed upon to have been about" (Polanyi 1979, 207). Schiffrin (1984) also argues that point-making has to include the recipients' agreement. In her argument, however, the temporal ordering of events, not explicit evaluative expressions, is focused on as a point-making device. She claims that "temporal ordering can ... provide a discourse strategy through which speakers organize information for social and/or expressive purposes. Indeed, the matching of clauses to events is a way of transforming past events into the narrator's perspective, and seating the audience in the narrator's position" (1984, 324). By expanding the analytical scope of the Labovian approach to include the communicative aspect, Polanyi (1979) and Schiffrin (1984) show that a narrative is an activity in which both the narrator and the audience together come to understand the experience and its significance represented in the narrative.

In the same line of research, which investigates how narrative is structurally organized in naturally occurring conversation, Norrick (1998, 2000) examines narrative by looking at phenomena in which a single experience is described multiple times to

different recipients in different contexts. The view of narrative as performance distinguishes narratives occurred in different contexts from each other. However, Norrick argues that different narratives of a single experience share an underlying "kernel story" (Norrick 1998, 94), which on the surface is shaped into different performances. By applying the Labovian narrative model, he focuses on distilling the kernel story out of the different versions of narrative. In other words, he attempts to find an abstract underlying story commonly observed in different narrative performances relating a single experience. This focus in turn suggests that there are components in a narrative performance other than the kernel story that the narrator tailors for his/her recipients. Norrick (1998) indeed observes this in his data, and mentions that the difference in narrative components indicates the narrator's attempts to clarify the point of the story to a recipient to "elicit a sympathetic response" (Norrick 1998, 82) from the recipient.

In sum, as the above studies show, successors of the Labovian approach recognize that its original narrative structural scheme may have to be modified in terms of how components of narrative such as complicating action and evaluation are organized within a narrative discourse. With some modifications, narrative variation across different cultures can be demonstrated structurally in terms of different compositions of narrative components within a narrative. By applying the Labovian scheme to her Japanese data, for example, Maynard (1989) finds that the evaluation section, which is obligatory component of a narrative in the Labovian mode, is optional in Japanese narrative. Furthermore, Nishikawa (1999) examines the point-communicating process in Japanese narrative that is not proposed in the original Labovian approach. Nishikawa

proposes that orientation, which is defined in the Labovian approach as a component located in the beginning of narrative to provide background information about the narrative events, is constructed extensively and has a significant function for the point communicating process in Japanese narratives; this finding suggests the prominence and interactional significance of setting, as opposed to evaluation, for Japanese interlocutors.

The Labovian approach gave rise to a new research paradigm that investigates spontaneous oral narrative of personal experience. The applicability of its methodology including the structural scheme to narrative in any language and culture invited a wide range of empirical studies in the paradigm. Although the Labovian approach was primarily structurally oriented, it also shed light on the functional dimension of narrative, which further allowed researchers to pursue the communicative aspect of narrative. Within this research paradigm, the basic concept of what narrative is and does is commonly presupposed that narrative is a performance in which the narrator essentially provides two types of information for recipients: the storyline and its significance to the narrator and recipients. Mandelbaum (2003, 600), however, suggests that this premise is limited by the conceptualization of narrative as "performance activity," which is rooted in "the literary view of orally produced stories." Indeed, in everyday conversational activities, we find various types of narrative. Ochs and Capps (2001) suggest that not all narratives show coherence and meaningfulness, at least when participants start a narrative activity. It is possible that a narrator only provides the story plot not having a clear evaluative sense of it. Such a narrative is called open-ended storytelling in Ochs and

Capps (2001, 6).¹² The Labovian methodological framework is, therefore, only applicable to a limited type of narrative (i.e., closed, fully-formed narrative with noteworthy significance), and thus keeps other narrative types, which are more naturally found in our everyday conversations, out of the object of inquiry. In addition to the limitation to the narrative type, the Labovian approach has been criticized in terms of its schematic approach by narrative researchers who view narrative as contingently developed discourse (such as open-ended storytelling mentioned above) through participants' interactional work to accomplish it. Recognizing the import of Labovian structural approach (i.e., identifying narrative structural components with such categories as *abstract*, *orientation*, *complicating action*, *evaluation*, *resolution*, and *coda*), Edwards (1997, 276) points out its problematic aspects as follows:

The identification of general story schemas across a wide range of stories is clearly an important analytic goal. But despite being derived from and for empirical analysis, Labov's categories are idealized as well as empirical. That is, they define the kinds of things a story *ought* to contain, theoretically, in order to count as a story. They become less useful when used as a set of pre-coded analytic slots into which we should try to place an actual story's contents. The temptation for analysts using the scheme is to start with the categories and see how the things people say can be fitted into them, and, having coded everything as one category or another, to call that the analysis, and then compare it to other findings. In that role, as a coding scheme, these kinds of structural categories impose rather than reveal, obscuring the particularity of specific details, and how that particularity is crucial for the occasioned, action-performative workings of discourse. (Italics in the original)

Recognizing these theoretical and methodological problems, I make a final note that the Labovian approach can lead us to consider that narrative is constructed with several types

¹² Ochs and Capps (2001) demonstrate a wide range of narrative types according to five dimensional aspects: tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity, and moral stance. I will discuss this in detail later.

of formulations that describe events in an experience. To use Schegloff's (2000) notion of granularity, introduced in Chapter 1, such components as complicating action and resolution can be seen as part of narrative that is constructed with formulations at a higher level of granularity of events, while abstract and evaluation can be seen as part of narrative with formulations at a lower level of granularity. In this respect, narrative components proposed in the Labovian approach, although its schematic imposition on narrative contents is problematic, can be seen as one way to conceptualize rhetorical varieties of formulation in storytelling discourse. Furthermore, it is worth noting that not only does the Labovian approach impose predetermined categories on narrative, but also it presupposes that an experience is fundamentally described in narrative in terms of temporally organized series of events. However, as I will discuss later, this presupposition is not always realized in any type of recounting of an experience (see Edwards and Middleton (1986) for framing of joint-remembering of a shared experience). From the Labovian perspective, such recounting that is not composed of temporally organized series of events is by definition not "narrative." However, again, the analyst's definition of narrative in such a way may cause a theoretical problem when dealing with naturally occurring talk in participants' interactions.

2.2.2 Storytelling as discourse to make sense of self

The view *storytelling as discourse to make sense of self* is mainly taken in the field of psychology, or more specifically narrative psychology, developed by Bruner

(1986), Sarbin (1986), and their advocates.¹³ In this tradition, narratives are considered to be resources for understanding the teller's self (i.e., who he/she is). Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001, 10) describe, "The stories we tell ourselves about ourselves and others organize our senses of who we are, who others are, and how we are to be related." We can therefore examine narrative to investigate how people organize their sense of self through organizing a series of events that involved the narrator. In this sense, narrative and self are inseparable. According to Ochs and Capps (1996, 21), "The inseparability of narrative and self is grounded in the phenomenological assumption that entities are given meaning through being experienced ... and the notion that narrative is an essential resource in the struggle to bring experience to conscious awareness." Narrative is, therefore, seen as "the means through which social and cultural life comes into being" (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001, 8). In this theoretical position, a primary function of narrative is considered to be both representation and construction of self.¹⁴ Pursuing the mission of psychology: "to *explore* and *understand* the *inner world* of individuals" (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber 1998, 7; emphasis in the original),

¹³ Although narrative psychology is treated as a sub-field of psychology, "it is not one, well-defined theory or school" (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001, 9-10). According to Hevern (2003, under "Background Issues"), it rather refers to "a viewpoint or a stance within psychology which is interested in the 'storied nature of human conduct' (Sarbin, 1986) – how human beings deal with experience by constructing stories and listening to the stories of others."

¹⁴ As "an extension of 'narratology' ... from its origins in literary theory" (Edwards 1997, 268), narrative psychology originally tended to treat narrative only as the representation of self. However, meeting with constructionist perspectives (e.g., Gergen 1991), it has expanded the view of narrative as both representation and construction of self. See Georgakopoulou (2007, 14-16).

narrative psychology investigates narrative about oneself (i.e., life story) as access to people's identity and personality.

Although its theoretical perspective on narrative as access to identity is a common foundation among studies in the field of narrative psychology, methodological approaches to narrative analysis within this field vary (cf. Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001, 9-10; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber 1998, 6). However, they have a common methodological feature in terms of the data type, that is, the use of *life stories* (i.e., autobiography), which, according to Linde (1993, 3), "express our sense of self: who we are and how we got that way." To provide guidelines for students of narrative psychology, Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) demonstrate their research procedure for collecting life stories conducted as part of their project to study life-long effects of education on individuals who had a special education program in an Israeli high school. In their project, a life story is regarded as a collection of episodes that are significant in the narrator's life stages, which were outlined in a preliminary procedure between an interviewer and an interviewee before the interviewer actually provides an episode in each stage.¹⁵ The preliminary process is carefully structured in order to obtain authentic, free, and rich life stories, each of which consists of the interviewee's long stretches of monologic talk with the interviewer's minimal participation in producing the story. Although detailed techniques for eliciting life stories may be different from one study to another, narrative psychology in general tends to deal with this type of

¹⁵ Research participants (74 high school graduates) are selected to make two age groups according to years after high school graduation: young adult (about 10 years after their graduation) and midlife (about 22 years after their graduation).

monologic life stories that represent interviewee's stages of life as resources for examining the interviewee's identity construction, as shown in Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998). The methodological preoccupation with eliciting long stretches of monologic life stories in an interview, however, results in analytic attention inclining to interviewee's telling part of his/her life story, which leaves out the examination of the interviewer's recipient work and interactions between them.

Life stories are indeed worth examining in their own right, since "every telling provides narrators and listener/readers with an opportunity for fragmented self-understanding" (Ochs and Capps 1996, 21). However, there are two related points in the methodology largely employed in narrative psychology that receive criticism, as seen in the Labovian approach. The first point is the requirement to collect long stretches of monologic life stories as their resource to investigate the relationship between narrative and self. Georgakopoulou (2007) suggests that life stories are not the only resource that allows researchers to investigate self in narrative. She further proposes that "as crucial sites for self- and other-identity construction" (Georgakopoulou 2007, viii), researchers need to explore *small stories* (named as an antidote to formally and topically "big" stories that life stories usually amount to), which are interactive or non-monologic and fragmented in their shape or non-full-fledged, and emerge from ordinary conversational contexts, not elicited from interviews. The criticism on the data type is reflexively connected with the second methodological point, that is, the requirement to elicit narrative in interview. Edwards (1997, 270) warns that paying attention only to obtain life stories as data may have a risk of "treating discourse as a kind of storied 'sense-

making,' an author's or speaker's best efforts at self-exploration." He argues that "however self-*constructive* that textual process may be, there appears to be little or no interaction-oriented business going on in the telling" (ibid.; emphasis in the original). In other words, the analytic attention to the interviewee's production of a story as only resource for examining the interviewee's identity, which is considered to be represented and constructed through a life story, understates the importance of the interactional and contingent nature of discourse that also contributes to the investigation of identity. Georgakopoulou's small stories, therefore, can be seen as an alternative to investigate interactionally constructed self in narrative.

These criticisms on the methodology of narrative psychology have been raised since narrative research tradition met with the analytic orientation established in the tradition of CA, which is called the *conversation analytic mentality* (Schenkein 1978). According to Schenkein (1978), the conversation analytic mentality is based on the premise that conversation is essentially interactional activity, and such interactions take place in systematically organized ways among speakers. With this premise, researchers have to work closely on data collected from naturally occurring conversation. Analytical focus should be placed on the sequence of conversation in order to characterize the systematic organizational forms that are publicly observable in the data under study. When analyzing data, researchers should be careful to build nonintuitive descriptions, that is, descriptions based on the speakers' display (not the researchers' interpretation) of their orientation towards interactional work they engage in. Outcomes of analysis offer "conceptual schemes for characterizing the interface between local context and abstract

culture" (Schenkein 1978, 6). Incorporating the CA mentality, a school called discursive psychology has been developed in the field of psychology alternative to the cognitivism including narrative psychology (Edwards 1997; Potter 2006). In discursive psychology, researchers attempt to apply the CA mentality, which is usually applied to turn-by-turn conversation in non-institutional setting, to life stories by regarding them as one type of talk that people naturally engage in, which is only situated in an institutional setting in which interaction is formed into interview. With this view, Wooffitt (1992) examines a monologic storytelling about an interviewee's paranormal experience (encounter with a poltergeist), and demonstrates that the way in which the interviewee formulates her paranormal experience is the product of pragmatic work, concerning the interviewer as the recipient of the interviewee's life story. The interactional issues concerned here are illustrated as follows:

When people engage in talk they are presenting materials – what they say and how it is said – which may be used as the focus of and basis for interpretative work by the recipient. From an inspection of precisely these materials, co-interactants can arrive at judgments and conclusions concerning the speaker's character and the nature and topic of their utterances. Conversation analytic research has revealed that these moral and inferential concerns inform not only the recipient's analysis of prior turns, but also the way in which speakers initially design utterances which are to be analyzed by co-interactants. Speakers fashion their utterances to circumscribe the character and range of inferences which can be drawn from them. These constructive and inferential activities occur in myriad occasions of everyday social interaction. (Wooffitt 1992, 77)

This passage suggests that even if there is not much recipient verbal contribution observed in interview data, we can still investigate speaker's monologic talk as discursively tailored for the recipient. In this position, Wooffitt provides evidence from details of talk that the interviewee's utterances are indeed formulated for her interactant

(i.e., the interviewer) to interpret the interviewee's story in such a way as to arrive at certain conclusions about who the interviewee is. Specifically, Wooffitt focuses on a case in which the teller (a professional medium) formulates a situation in which she encounters recurrent paranormal phenomena (hearing an untraceable noise in her living room). The analysis reveals that the teller's way to describe the situation can be seen as *normalizing* work to portray her actions as something that ordinary people would do.¹⁶ This work is sequentially placed before the teller claims that she heard an untraceable noise, which turned out to be the voice of a person who had passed away a long time ago. Wooffitt argues that the teller's normalizing work is discursively designed to provide materials for the recipient so that he/she does not dismiss her report of the paranormal phenomenon as unreal or incredible.

Here, it is worth noting that this normalizing work implicates the teller's identity as "a normal or ordinary person." However, this characteristic is not attributed to, or is even contradictory to, her professional identity that makes use of a special human faculty, namely, being able to communicate with the spirits of the dead. To her, paranormal phenomena are ordinary or normal events. Wooffitt (1992, 9) states that the teller, the medium, "displays a sensitivity to norms and conventions regarding paranormal experiences which she would reject as having no relevance to her." This illustrates that the identity construction in a specific context of discourse (i.e., describing the situation when she encounters the mysterious noise) is used as a pragmatic tactic for the teller to

¹⁶ Wooffitt (1992) mentions that the analysis of normalizing work in his data is informed by Sacks (1984) and Jefferson (1984a).

convince her co-interactant to accept her claim, which is likely to be dismissed as unreal or incredible. This does not, however, suggest that the teller's identity as a normal person does not constitute the teller's self. Rather it is natural to consider that the normal-person identity is a facet of the teller's self, and this is simply made relevant at a specific place of discourse in a specific context.

In summary, with the data elicited or naturally occurring, and being "big" or "small," studies introduced above approach storytelling within the framework to investigate the relationship between narrative and self. As the CA mentality permeated into the tradition of psychology, researchers came to treat storytelling as discourse that is co-constructed interactionally by participants, and thus exhibits their mutual reflexivity towards one another. The analytical focus then placed on participants' detailed actions in narrative as identity construction. In related schools that share this analytical focus, researchers demonstrate identity construction during storytelling activities. They especially examine participants' stance organization, that is, how participants orient themselves to the relative positioning between them and formulated elements of experience (i.e., each participant's stances to story components). They reveal that participants' stances to specific story components emerge by displaying their own stances (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008), by aligning their stances to each other (Stivers 2008), by leading other co-participants to a specific stance (Mandelbaum 1987b), or by contesting with others' stances (Ochs et al. 1992). In the end of a storytelling activity, participants acknowledge each other's stances to the reconstructed experience as a whole by displaying their understandings of the experience (Ryave 1978; Stivers 2008), by

questioning the significance of the experience (Kjærbeck and Asmuß 2005), or by adding further story components to the telling so far (Jefferson 1978). Researchers in this line do not assume that self is represented in storytelling discourse, as assumed in narrative psychology. Rather they assume that self is oriented to and constructed through interaction with other participants in storytelling. Nonetheless, in the line of research ranging from narrative psychology to discursive psychology and its related schools with the same analytical focus, storytelling is commonly seen as discourse that provides research materials to investigate self. In other words, they see that storytelling is discourse, in which an experience outside of the immediate context is reconstructed, at the same time, self of participants, especially the teller in case of monologic storytelling, is oriented to or constructed.

2.2.3 *Storytelling as arena to "do" relationship*

In the view *storytelling as arena to "do" relationship*, social relationship between participants is a primary issue. Research traditions that take this view are close to or even overlap with those introduced in the above section (Section 2.2.2). Among them, social relationship between participants tends not to be directly approached; instead, it is revealed through descriptions of social roles (e.g., doctor, patient, teacher, student, husband, wife, etc.) that participants make relevant as they engage in storytelling. Looking at social roles allows us to access the notion of individual social identity, and to examine the relationship between the incumbents of the social roles. Clearer cases are found in studies interested in institutional contexts, such as medical,

legal, and educational contexts, in which interactants' institutional or professional roles/ identities are made relevant during talk-in-interaction. Institutional context has significance in terms of social roles, since talk-in-interaction in the institutional context is distinctively goal-oriented; that is, a goal(s) of interaction is prescribed before interactions occur, and interactants are oriented (or expected) to accomplish the goal(s); and thus, interactants' social roles are also prescribed. This prescribed interactional framework provides analysts with tools for investigating distinctive ways of talk-in-interaction in a certain institutional context, which contributes to our understanding of, for instance, the differences between institutional and non-institutional talk. The following are selective studies that approach storytelling activity within the framework of institutional contexts.

O'Barr and Conley (1996) are concerned with conflict generated through judicial discourse between laypersons and professionals. They focus on judicial discourse in the context of small-claims court, in which formal rules and processes that usually characterize judicial discourse are less observed, and litigants themselves (plaintiffs and defendants), who are most likely to be laypersons, directly present their claims or rebuttals, which are usually provided in the form of narrative, to the judge. The researchers find a tendency among the litigants under study to have interactional trouble with the judge during a trial. For example, litigants tend to exhibit interactional trouble when the judge only invites them to state accounts for their claims, but then remains silent until the end of the presentation. Since litigants' accounts are provided in the form of narratives, the judges' behaviors—showing no interest in the story and no reaction to

it, which are different from typical behaviors observed in mundane narrative activities—make the litigants (i.e., the tellers) uncomfortable. It is also reported that judges often display dissonant reactions to litigants' presentations of personal background information, evaluative comments, and digressions, which are naturally included in accounts of everyday affairs but avoided in legal discourse. Interactional trouble between litigants and judges indicates that laypersons and legal professionals have different discourse practices in this context. The fact that judges' behaviors are deviant from those in mundane storytelling especially implies that their behaviors are governed by their professional social roles, which are assigned to accomplish tasks in small-claims courts. Therefore, we can say that an interactant's social role, in this case as the judge, is made relevant through those deviant behaviors.

While O'Barr and Conley (1996) do not provide specific instances of behaviors that make social roles relevant in trial discourse,¹⁷ Trinch and Berk-Seligson (2002) show actual phenomena of interactional trouble between a layperson and a legal professional in storytelling discourse as part of a legal procedure. They examine cases in which a domestic violence victim has an interview with a paralegal to obtain a protective order from the court. The goal of the interview is for the paralegal to write and submit a protective order affidavit to the court on behalf of the victim. Although the affidavit is written as a first-person account, as if the victim is telling a story of her abuse, Trinch and Berk-Seligson (2002, 397) find that "the affidavits written by protective order paralegals

¹⁷ They make the observation relying on researchers' interpretations of actual trial discourse and litigants' out-of-court accounts elicited in sociolinguistic interviews before and after the trial in court.

are formulaic in terms of both thematic content and organizational structure."

Furthermore, they find that "protective order applicants tell their accounts of violence in a manner that differs quite markedly from the way the tale of abuse appears in an affidavit" (ibid., 399). During an interview, therefore, storytelling by a victim is often redirected, interrupted, and terminated by a paralegal. In other words, the paralegal's behaviors as a recipient result in manipulative rather than cooperative actions. This type of interactional trouble indicates that rather than serving as a recipient of a storytelling, a paralegal serves as a writer of a legal document using the victim's storytelling as a resource for creating an effective affidavit to obtain a protective order. Trinch and Berk-Seligson's (2002) findings add evidence to the observation O'Barr and Conley (1996) make that a professional social role is made relevant through the process of storytelling in the institutional context.

It is not only professional-layperson discourse that provides examples of such social-role relevant phenomena. Maynard (1992) examines interactions between judicial professionals (defense attorneys, prosecutors, and judges), and finds cases in which the professionals make their own roles relevant. This is shown in the context of plea bargaining, which is a relatively informal setting for storytelling to emerge in a legal context. Maynard focuses on the three professionals' uses of narrative structure and its components, and finds a tendency for the defense attorneys to tell stories that might affect the decision-making of the defendant's charge. In other words, defense attorneys design narratives to achieve their own goals of obtaining results that are in the best interest of their clients. In contrast, district attorneys and/or judges listen to them and only respond

to specific aspects that they need to consider for adjusting the proposed charge against the defendant. Specifically, district attorneys as recipients selectively respond to the teller (i.e., defense attorney) to "make an argument that a given case is not an instance of a 'normal' crime" (Maynard 1992, 81). In that way, they are able to show the legitimacy of the basis for calculating their proposed charges. Judges too, although not often, participate in the telling of a story by producing a suggested upshot of a narrative to redirect the narrative provided by the teller. These example actions conducted by the professionals indicate that they use storytelling in order to accomplish their immediate task, that is, decision making regarding the charge against the defendant. Maynard (1992, 87) concludes that "narratives and their components may be devices for 'doing' the identities by which principal actors in the discourse are known."

The above studies in legal settings suggest that participants of storytelling orient themselves more to accomplishing a larger legal task within which storytelling is employed, and less to reconstructing story events per se. Specifically Maynard (1992) allows us to observe such orientations through participants' management of discourse roles in storytelling. Stories told in plea bargaining are third-person narratives, which are "parasitic on the tellings and writings of primary observers (offenders, witnesses, victims) and secondary interpreters (e.g., police)" (Maynard 1992, 67). Under this circumstance, most of the time defense attorneys serve as the teller, while prosecutors and judges serve as the recipient or the teller depending on how importantly the telling affects criminal charges under negotiation. Therefore, looking at the participants' discourse roles in the

narrative activity provides a window on explicating where their social roles are made relevant in talk-in-interaction.¹⁸

Discourse roles can also be examined in storytelling independently from the institutional framework. In the context of multi-party casual storytelling, Mandelbaum (1987a) examines coordinated actions conducted by a couple who tells their shared story. She identifies several specific actions that consequently imply the participants' relationship as a couple. Being possible tellers of a story, a couple formulates a coordinated co-telling, for instance, at the beginning of a storytelling in which one member of the couple first begins a remote approach to a possible storytelling, the other moves it forward in the subsequent action, and then the first teller ratifies the second teller's forwarding. In the middle of the storytelling, this type of co-telling is accomplished through "monitoring for errors, requesting verification, and complementary telling" (Mandelbaum 1987a, 162). While these actions display the couple's tie or togetherness, Mandelbaum further claims that this tie is also visible in their actions in the storytelling in terms of its quality. The quality that is observed in Mandelbaum's data is intimacy, which may be assessed by the extent to which one has "legitimate" access to another's "private property," such as his/her thoughts. For example, Mandelbaum finds an instance in which one member of the couple displays knowledge of the other's thoughts, which is not followed by the other's denial of the comment. These coordinated actions indicate the couple's shared area, which is not usually permitted to be violated or

¹⁸ For this approach for institutional settings, see also studies in Drew and Heritage (1992).

accessed by other persons. In Mandelbaum's analysis, the couple's coordinated actions are regarded as "the appearance of being 'with' each other" (1987a, 164). This study suggests that we can observe, through participants' management of discourse roles, that they make their relationship relevant even when there are no prescribed social tasks assigned to them. Moreover, in that phenomenon, we can also examine the quality of relationship by looking at the way in which participants formulate an experience into a story.

There is another study that illustrates the quality of relationship in the context of casual storytelling. This is shown in C. Goodwin (1987), which examines multi-party storytelling in which a husband tells a story shared by his wife who is present in the storytelling activity. C. Goodwin focuses on a particular moment in the course of storytelling, that is, the teller's request for a word search from one of his recipients, his wife. This action occurs in a situation in which "a speaker is describing something to uninformed recipients in the presence of another, informed party" (124). When the teller starts telling a story about a nighttime TV show that aired some days before the time of speaking, he asks his wife the name of a guest on the show. The teller's action is regarded by C. Goodwin as a social phenomenon, which is not a pure search for the information in question, but rather the teller's management of participation structure. The storytelling situation examined in C. Goodwin (1987) consists of two different types of recipient: a knowing recipient, "who is presumed to have prior knowledge of the event being described," and unknowing recipients, "who are treated as not yet informed about that event" (118). In order for the teller to involve both parties in the storytelling, he utilizes

the word search to bring his wife into the ongoing storytelling, the content of which is presumably already familiar to her. C. Goodwin claims that this management of participation structure, i.e., putting the knowing recipient in a question-recipient position, is at the same time a resource to index the interpersonal relationship between them. The teller's action also indicates the intimate relationship between the teller and the knowing recipient. Since the question the teller asked the knowing recipient implicates that they spent the time together late at night watching the TV program, it entails the quality of the relationship not simply as sharing a story but also living intimately.

In sum, Mandelbaum (1987a) and C. Goodwin (1987) both tell us that we can investigate participants' larger social relationship in non-institutional settings by examining the discourse role management conducted by the participants in the course of storytelling. It is worth mentioning, however, that C. Goodwin emphasizes that this inferred relationship is very limitedly observable in the moment of talk-in-interaction. In other words, the relationship implication emerging in the course of storytelling is only a limited facet of what is generally attributed to the relationship denoted by the categories, husband and wife. C. Goodwin (1987, 120) warns us that:

An analyst can not conceptualize social identities and context as static attributes of settings and participants. Rather, it is necessary to look at them as dynamic phenomena that emerge and change as the talk in progress unfolds.

We have seen so far that discourse role management provides a perspective to examine phenomena in the course of storytelling in which participants' relationship is made relevant. Generally, storytelling is considered to be conducted on the basis of participants' access to the experience under reconstruction such as whose experience it is,

and who does not know it yet. The participants' knowledge status regarding the experience normally provides them with a participation framework: the person who knows the experience tells it as a story. However, as seen above, participants do not always act subject to such knowledge status, but sometimes act according to social roles that the participants play with regard to one another. Thus by focusing on the participation framework, we are able to observe how specifically a storytelling is conducted by a specific group of participants in a specific context, and to locate specific practices that make participants' social relationship relevant. This analytical framework, however, is still limited to relationships that can be prescribed with conventional terms of social roles such as lawyer, doctor, teacher, father, mother, child, husband, and wife, which conventionally entail their own category bound activities (Sacks 1992) extra-discursively.

In terms of the notion of friend, the term itself and the inferred category bound activities associated with it are much more idiosyncratic to the persons involved than the other terms listed above. Georgakopoulou (2002) attempts to overcome the analytical difficulty associated with investigating friendship implications in the course of storytelling. In her investigation of the storytelling of a female Greek adolescent peer group, Georgakopoulou focuses on two analytical points: the one is the members' discourse role management in a storytelling activity, and the other is their social relationship to each other informed by the longitudinal ethnographical observation conducted by the researcher. From her longitudinal ethnographical observation, she is able to identify specific social roles that the members usually play for each other within

the group. She compares them to the discourse role management observed in talk-in-interaction enacted by the same members. To this end, a methodological consideration is given to the selection of the type of storytelling under investigation. She selects a storytelling activity about hypothetical or future events in order to avoid the storytelling-specific impact on discourse role management: namely, accessibility to the events described in a story. When storytelling is based on one's past experience, a participation structure tends to be bound to participants' accessibility to the experience, that is, a person who has direct access to the experience serves as the teller, and those who have less or no access to it serve as the recipients. Georgakopoulou stresses that hypothetical storytelling does not invoke such a bound participation structure, since the events in question have not occurred yet. Therefore, participants can contribute relatively freely in a turn-by-turn manner to construct storytelling components, such as plotline, resolution of the plotline, and evaluation.

Under this methodological consideration, Georgakopoulou examines how participants (members of a young female peer group) talk about a meeting planned between them and two men, one of which is a love interest of one of the participants named Fotini. In the activity, the asymmetrical distribution of discourse roles is observed among the participants when they formulate hypothetical events that they think might occur at the meeting in the form of a story, which consists of a series of events involving Fotini as the main character and the two other participants (Vivi and Tonia) meeting with the two men. In the storytelling, Vivi serves as the main teller by providing and evaluating projected events, while Tonia primarily echoes Vivi's position, and Fotini

solicits advice and suggestions from Vivi. Georgakopoulou (2002, 441) argues that this particular distribution of discourse roles has a connection to "their roles, relations, and position in their peer group," which were "formulated over a period of intense socialization that resulted in a shared interactional past and a private microculture." This argument is supported by her ethnographic observations of the participants' microculture in which "Vivi is accepted as particularly experienced and knowledgeable in the domain of male-female relationships," while "Fotini is ... self- and other-constructed as sexually inexperienced, conservative and 'proper'" (ibid., 442). Georgakopoulou's examination of a hypothetical storytelling allows us to see the connection between participants' larger relationship established through their social activities and the allocation of storytelling roles indicated by their detailed actions in talk-in-interaction. In other words, the examination of discourse role management in storytelling can be successfully applied to observing the implications of friendship, as well as the other relationship types introduced above.

2.2.4 Storytelling as activity to make sense of experience

The view *storytelling as activity to make sense of experience* is probably the most fundamental, and shared by researchers of any tradition that deals with storytelling as the object of inquiry. They start their investigation with the premise that participants orient themselves to make sense of the experience related to in storytelling. Ochs and Capps (2001, 7) suggest, by examining open-ended storytelling often observed in conversation among familiars, that "conversational interaction realizes the essential

function of personal narrative – to air, probe, and otherwise attempt to reconstruct and make sense of actual and possible life experience." To use Edwards and Middleton's (1986, 438) term, the notion of sense making of experience can be conceptualized as *plausibility*, "the intrinsic rationality or likelihood of things." Plausibility can be illustrated in Sacks's classic minimal story, introduced in Chapter 1, "The baby cried. The mammy picked it up." If these events are organized in the reverse order, "The mammy picked up the baby. It cried," we would make a different sense from the one made by the original story based on the plausibility of the two consecutive events. When we engage in storytelling, we provide selective aspects of the experience in discourse, and make use of our own plausibility system to infer what really happened at the moment of the experience.

Ochs et al. (1992) identify plausibility construction in family narrative as a theory-building activity in which participants "jointly construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct theories of everyday events" (p. 37). They find that the teller provides accounts of his/her experience as a proposed draft of a theory to make sense of the experience. Given the proposed draft, the recipients join in storytelling by doing such things as questioning, challenging, and re-interpreting the draft to offer altered versions of the teller's theory. These interactions between the participants reach completion when they intersubjectively construct a shared theory of the experience (i.e., why and how it happened). Ochs et al. suggest that such a theory-building activity in family storytelling fosters children's development of "perspective-taking, critical thinking, and other

intellectual skills that have been viewed as outcomes of formal schooling" (1992, 37).¹⁹ In other words, children are socialized with their family's plausibility system through storytelling. Thus, family storytelling is an opportunity in which a family member's experience is set up to be examined collaboratively by other present family members to jointly reach some sort of understanding of it. Ochs et al. (1992, 67) note that this kind of active participation in storytelling is "more likely to occur where co-narrators are familiar with one another and/or the narrative events than where co-narrators are socially distant." Family dinner talk may be a typical context that exhibits such active participation. In the case of peer storytelling, Nishikawa (2003, 2005) finds a theory-building process similar to the one proposed in Ochs et al. (1992).

Overt statement of theory (e.g., "X happened because Y"), however, may not always be observed in storytelling. As Edwards and Middleton (1986, 441) suggest, overt sense-making processes are observed "especially on occasions where their own or someone else's version of events is doubtful or disputed." It may be enough that participants infer plausibility from simple descriptions of events or aspects of events in sequence.²⁰ Or, plausibility established by one party may not have to be negotiated with the other to be agreed on. Mandelbaum (1991/1992) demonstrates that a recipient of a teller's past experience disattends to plausibility that the teller amounts to in her storytelling. She illustrates this by examining storytelling in which the teller, Marilyn,

¹⁹ Ochs, Smith, and Taylor (1996) approach the theory-building activity in storytelling as a socially accomplished cognitive activity.

²⁰ I will show an instance of this kind in Chapter 5.

tells the recipient, Ronya, a story about the time she and her husband lost their way when her husband was driving a car. In this story, Marilyn provides a negative characterization of her husband by saying "[...] he really doesn't know where 'e is. 'E always gets mixed up." In this way, she designs the story in the way to make it appear that her husband was to blame for the trouble of getting lost. However, Ronya does not treat her story in this way. Instead, she treats the storytelling as a neutral report that Marilyn and her husband were disoriented. Mandelbaum (1991/1992, 116) finds "interactional asynchrony" in this case, i.e., the teller sustains a complaint theme throughout the telling, while the recipient does not take it up, but tries to develop another theme. She argues that this is possible due to the bipartite character of storytelling, that is, that the teller and the recipient have their own ways to make sense of what the story amounts to.

Furthermore, as M. H. Goodwin (1997) suggests, a storytelling may not even be attended to by some of the participants. She investigates what she calls *byplay*, i.e., "performance of commentary on ongoing talk subordinate to a main storyline" (78), and argues that recipients of a storytelling can individually choose "different types of alignment towards what they are hearing" (79). The different types of alignment are identified into the following four groups:

- (1) actively attend the talk in progress in the manner proposed by speaker and take on the position of the principal addressed recipient,
- (2) disattend the talk by engaging in activities alternative to it such as eating, food distribution, child care, or initiating a competing focus (creating a second conversational floor) resulting in the fissioning of the conversational group
- (3) distance themselves from the talk by superimposing metacommentary on the main focus (not processing talk as it is unfolding)

- (4) embellish the talk by exploiting possibilities for playful rendering, reframing it while appreciating it.
(M. H. Goodwin 1997, 79-80)

Type 1 represents a typical type of reciprocity in collaborative storytelling. The recipients in Mandelbaum's (1991/1992) case described above may be included in Type 4, although "playful" may not be an apt word. The other two types have not received much attention in studies of narrative, specifically in those that focus on narrative in its own right. In the field of narrative research, which focuses on the telling of a story as the subject of inquiry, researchers tend to presuppose that narrative is shaped as a result of participants' collaboration, which would not be realized in a situation in which a disattending or non-collaborative audience is involved. However, recognizing this potential for variety in recipients' alignment is important because it suggests that a storytelling activity may fall apart, and may not reach its completion. In other words, to accomplish a storytelling activity, the tellers and recipients "work up" together what a storytelling comes to be about (Mandelbaum 1991/1992), and this results in the shape of a storytelling as a distinct unit of discourse and activity.

Participants' efforts to work on an outcome of a story together are also observed in a recipient's "second story" (Sacks 1992), a succeeding storytelling in response to the first storytelling. Sacks (1992) and Ryave (1978) among others observe that at the completion of the initial narrator's storytelling, a recipient often starts telling a thematically related story in order to display his/her understanding of the initial story. Ryave (1978) suggests that second stories are not only related to or triggered by the preceding story, but are related specifically to the significance that the preceding story

invokes. The significance in this sense is bipartite; that is, the significance conveyed by the preceding storyteller may not be the same as the significance understood by the succeeding storyteller (i.e., a recipient of the initial story). Ryave (1978) identifies two types of second stories in accordance with the above two types of significance: 1) a succeeding storyteller utilizes "the very same significance statement of the preceding story in order to construct his [the preceding storyteller's] own recounting" (127), and 2) a succeeding storyteller first builds "an utterance which independently and exclusively orient[s] to the preceding recounting in terms of a significant aspect of story organization, and, second, following that utterance by initiating a recounting which comes to relate reflexively to it as a significance aspect of story organization" (128). In either type, it is clear that the succeeding story displays the succeeding storyteller's understanding of the significance of the preceding story in the larger activity in which these storytelling activities are situated.

In summary, the above studies suggest that interactive storytelling does not exhibit consistently and linearly developed discourse in the same way in which monologic narrative does. It looks more complex containing multiple levels of sense making entailed by the storytelling at any point. There are many possible directions in which storytelling can take participants. For instance, all the participants could collaboratively work together to reach a shared understanding of the experience as a whole and its significance. Or, they could orient to find explanations of a particular event within the general scheme that relate to understanding their lives. Or, they could just utilize inferences made in the context of the storytelling as a resource to accomplish a

larger interactional activity, such as a complaint, invitation, or request. Moreover, participants' sense-making may not even have to be aligned to one point. Some of the participants could redirect storytelling by focusing on a different aspect of the story (from the one the primary teller is pursuing) out of possible inferences made available in storytelling. Or, some could disattend to what the primary teller attempts to accomplish in storytelling. In any case, it is important to note that each of the participants' actions at any point in storytelling indicates their own sense-making work, and affects their co-participants' subsequent sense-making work.

2.2.5 *Storytelling as a unit of discourse*

Unlike the above four views of storytelling, the view *storytelling as a unit of discourse* leads us to a technical level for analyzing storytelling. In the above sections, we saw the multiplicity of storytelling in many aspects. Yet, a starting point is necessary in order to investigate storytelling as the object of analysis by identifying instances of it within larger stretches of talk-in-interaction. Ochs and Capps (2001,18) describe a set of general yet variant dimensions of narrative as follows:

Conversational narrative routinely involves *questions, clarifications, challenges, and speculations* about what might possibly have transpired. In other words, narrative is a host genre that draws upon commonly used text structures. The structure that is the best candidate for distinguishing narrative is chronology, in that temporal sequencing of two or more events is considered by many to be a hallmark of narrative. But even this property is not universally recognized.

To deal with such complex discourse as a unit of analysis, they propose (ibid., 19):

Rather than identifying a set of discourse features that always characterize narrative, we stipulate dimensions that will be always relevant to a narrative, even if not elaborately manifest.

As noted in Chapter 1, the dimensions they propose are the following five: *tellership* ("the extent and kind of involvement of conversational partners in the actual recounting of a narrative" p. 24), *tellability* ("the extent to which they [narratives] convey a sequence of reportable events and make a point in a rhetorically effective manner" p. 33), *embeddedness* ("the extent to which a personal narrative is an entity unto itself, separate from prior, concurrent and subsequent discourse" p. 36), *linearity* ("the extent to which narratives of personal experience depict events as transpiring in a single, closed, temporal, and casual path or, alternatively, in diverse, open, uncertain paths" p. 41), and *moral stance* ("a disposition towards what is good or valuable and how one ought to live in the world" p. 45). Although these five dimensions may not be exhaustive categories for characterizing storytelling, they do demonstrate that there is no single general framework for identifying storytelling as a discourse genre and activity.

One way to deal with the issue of identification of storytelling as a unit of discourse is presented in the CA approach to storytelling, which focuses on participants' concerns about what makes storytelling an interactional activity in progress. Edwards (1997) and Stokoe and Edwards (2006) suggest that we need to look at both the speaker's rhetorical management of the formulation of his/her utterances, which are contingently shaped into the form of a story, and a co-participant's reactions to it. Participants in conversation are not concerned with what utterances comprise components of narrative,

which are for example defined in the Labovian model as orientation, complicating action, and evaluation. Rather, they deal with the contingencies of discourse per se moment-by-moment to understand what they are doing in ongoing talk (Edwards 1997, 274-6).

Therefore, there must be some participants' actions that indicate moments at which they get into, sustain, and exit from a storytelling activity in an ongoing conversation. Here, I show a widely recognized process of storytelling proposed by Sacks (1974, 1992), which is structured based on participants' action sequences.

Sacks (1974) observes that a joke is told as a story, which contains three successive sequences: *the preface sequence*, in which participants work together to orient themselves to a storytelling activity, *the telling sequence*, in which one of the participants becomes the primary teller of a story, while the other co-participants remain almost silent while listening to it, and *the response sequences*, in which the co-participants resume speaking to show their reactions to the story.²¹ As for turn-taking organization, the preface and the response sequences have significance in that they provide participants with opportunities to shift in their participation between two activities each of which exhibits distinct turn-taking: non-storytelling before the preface sequence and after the response sequence, in which they participate turn-by-turn, and storytelling, in which one

²¹ Sacks (1974) uses a joke-telling naturally situated in ordinary conversation to demonstrate the storytelling sequences. Although he recognizes (Sacks 1974, 1978) that a joke and a story show some different characteristics in terms of the discourse development, the sequential development in which a joke is accomplished in conversation is presented here as a storytelling activity having the three sequences. Also, since it is joke-telling, the telling sequence exhibits mostly teller's extended and uninterrupted turns. Descriptions of participants' actions particularly in the telling sequence are provided to account for this non-turn-by-turn character.

participant primarily provides extended turns, while the others withhold the initiation of full turns (cf., Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998, 121; Mandelbaum 2003, 611; among others). Therefore, storytelling can be considered an interactional activity with a different participation framework from that of the surrounding conversational activities, and thus participants have to initiate, sustain, and finish this distinct type of activity. However, it is also important to keep in mind that Sacks's notion of storytelling sequences is not a model that can apply to any storytelling activity. As discussed above, storytelling may not always reach its completion; that is, it can be terminated at any point. Therefore, sequential organization of storytelling varies from case to case depending on the context in which each case of storytelling is situated. The storytelling composed of the three successive sequences can be considered a norm to which participants are oriented to accomplish storytelling concerning "how and where potentially terminative materials are introduced, how they can be incorporated within a telling's course, and the sorts of effects other than terminative they can have" Sacks (1974, 338). The following show typical actions of participants, observed by Sacks (1974), in each sequence.

The preface sequence As the initial part of a storytelling activity, the preface sequence is considered to be a phase to make an upcoming story relevant in the subsequent course of action (i.e., telling). In this phase, a participant, who is about to tell a story, (i.e., prospective teller) makes a move to orient his/her prospective recipients to the telling. Sacks (1974) states that in terms of the turn organization, the preface sequence is shaped by at least two turns, one of the teller and one of the recipient. In the teller's turn, he/she provides for the recipients with a general framework to understand the

story to be told. This may be done with multiple action components such as "an offer to tell or request for a chance to tell the joke or story, an initial characterization of it, some reference to the time of the story events' occurrence" (Sacks 1974, 340). In response, the recipient's job is to either accept or reject the teller's offer/request to tell the story.

However, in many cases, the preface sequence is not composed of these two minimal turns. Participants often exchange extended turns including recipients' responses to each component that the teller offers to build a general story framework. In other words, the participants usually go through several steps in negotiation to get into the subsequent telling phase.

Instances of such negotiation in the preface sequence are illustrated by Sacks (1974) using a case of joke-telling in multi-party conversation. In this case, a prospective teller first utters "you wanna hear muh-eh my sister told me a story last night."²² This utterance can be analyzed as the teller's attempts to set up the general framework of the upcoming activity he proposes to conduct, namely, storytelling. In addition, this is done methodically not to be interrupted, in which he packs three essential components (an offer to tell a story, an indication of its source, and a reference to the time of the joke reception) in one turn with no transition point, which provides the least chance of interruption for his co-participants. In response to the prospective teller's offer, the prospective recipients show complex reactions, which present more than simple acceptance or rejection of the offer. One of the two recipients provides the combination

²² It is known to the participants at this point that the sister mentioned here is the teller's 12-year-old little sister.

of rejection and counter condition to accept the offer ("I don't want hear it. But if you must"), which involves an interactional import particularly constituting an implication of the recipient's doing the teller a favor to listen to the story. The other participant responds with a conditional rejection by guessing the story to be told as childish ("What's purple an' an island. Grape- Britain. That's what iz sister-"), which implicates that his interest is not in such a childish riddle. At this point, the prospective recipients are not yet fully oriented to the storytelling activity the prospective teller offered. However, treating the latter participant's guessing display ("that's what iz sister-") as a request for confirmation, the teller provides the next turn by saying "no," and immediately continues to provide more details of the story that his sister told him ("to stun me she says uh there was these three girls an' they just got married?"). In this way, the teller is able to initiate storytelling. The sequence of participants' actions here illustrates that the participants display moment-by-moment multiple possible directions in which the ongoing activity may go. In the preface sequence, therefore, the prospective teller is attempting to align his co-participants to the one direction that orients to his telling. The work that can be accomplished in the preface sequence includes, according to Sacks (1974, 341), not simply to orient participants to the telling, but also to share the import of the story (e.g., it is obscenely funny) in advance and to let them know that it is not yet familiar to the prospective recipients.

The telling sequence Once the participants' orientations are aligned to the telling with some general understanding of what the story is about, the teller starts elaborating the story in the telling sequence. Sacks (1974, 344) suggests that the telling sequence is

characterized as the place in which the "teller should proceed directly to tell the story to its completion." In contrast, recipients are basically considered to be oriented to listen to and understand what the teller is talking about. In this sequence, a "place for the talk of recipients within the course of the telling sequence need not be provided by the teller" (ibid.). Basically, recipients do not have many opportunities to contribute verbally to the telling in this sequence. Furthermore, "if recipients choose to talk within the telling sequence, they may have to do their talking interruptively" (ibid.). Although recipients' turns are not expected much in this sequence, it does not mean that recipients do not behave collaboratively with the teller, even if they interrupt the teller to provide their turns. Rather, their interruptive talk indeed reveals their consistent orientation to the storytelling in terms of the content (for example, they ask questions about the teller's just produced component of the story). In other words, a recipient's talk may occur interruptively in terms of turn-taking, but it emerges at the point at which the recipient needs additional information to understand the story. Furthermore, a recipient's interruptive action is often methodically placed such that the onset of the interruption occurs at a precise moment when the teller's talk is at a possible transition point from the telling of the story proper (e.g., noncontent, "floor seizure" (Sacks 1992, 497) token an' uh). In summary, in the telling sequence, there are not only the teller's extended turn supplying the storyline, but also the recipient's contingent interruptive yet collaborative contributions to the teller's actions.

The response sequence After the story reaches its completion, participants move on to the response sequence. Participants in this sequence resume turn-by-turn talk, in

which they typically assess the telling and negotiate its point(s). Although Sacks (1974) examines what happened or would have happened otherwise in the response sequence only in the context of joke-telling, his observation can also be applicable to storytelling in general. He observes in his joke-telling case that understood or not, recipients show their responses to what has been told in the telling sequence by laughing, which satisfies the teller's purpose to tell the joke in the first place. This reaction of laughing may not always occur in this manner in general storytelling. However, the phenomenon suggests that recipients are oriented to display their reactions at the recognizable completion of the prior sequence. Sacks further observes an extended response sequence in addition to immediate laughing. In Sacks's data, at a possible completion of the telling, there is a silence followed by the teller's intermittent mirthless laugh tokens followed by the recipient's mirthless laugh tokens. The silence suggests that the joke is not assessed as genuinely funny by the recipients. However, Sacks argues that it does not indicate the telling itself fails; rather, participants' interactions in the response sequence all demonstrate their effort to find the significance of the telling beside the humor of the joke itself. First, the sequence of mirthless laugh tokens, although they are emotionally and interactionally stripped-down (Sacks 1974, 351), can be seen as the indication of participants' understanding of a sequentially appropriate response to the joke-telling. Also, later in the extended part in the response sequence, the participants reach their consensus that the telling was actually amusing in the sense that it was a dirty joke that a child (the teller's 12-year-old little sister) originally told to an adult (the teller). In this way, the participants came to reach the completion of the storytelling activity with an

orientation to the significance of the joke-telling, even though they could not find the humor in the joke's punch line itself. The work the participants accomplish in the extended response sequence in this example is applicable to the response sequence of storytelling activity in general. Unlike a joke, a story usually does not systematically provide a single and clear response type (i.e., laughing) for the recipients. Therefore participants have a greater burden to find the significance of a story and to mark that it has reached its completion. As Sacks's observation indicates, the significance can be found out of many aspects in the story. It does not have to be the point of the story the teller initially intended to make. It is, therefore, in this extended part in the response sequence that we can find participants' interactions that lead them to come to a consensual understanding of the significance of the activity.

As mentioned earlier, Sacks (1974) suggests that having the preface, the telling, and the response sequences is not a static property of storytelling. He emphasizes that the organization of a storytelling activity is all up to participants' contingent actions and interactions, such as launching, developing, negotiating, closing, and even terminating or interrupting storytelling. I will now turn to further studies that focus on sequential organization of storytelling contingently emerging from specific contexts. Jefferson (1978) shows how exactly storytelling is initiated and completed by participants' actions in detail. First, in the process of initiating storytelling, Jefferson identifies the locally occasioning property of storytelling. She suggests that there is a point in turn-by-turn talk that "triggers" a storytelling. A trigger can be any part of the ongoing non-storytelling. For example a place name mentioned in the ongoing talk can serve as a

trigger for the subsequent storytelling about the place, even though there is no explicit thematic connection between the two activities. Jefferson observes that the non-thematically connected transition between the prior and the subsequent activities is methodically conducted by, for example, the teller's use of a disjunct marker (e.g., "oh") followed by an embedded repetition of the trigger word or phrase, or the use of 'speaking of X' format. Jefferson's examples of initiating a storytelling activity suggest that a storytelling activity does not always form the preface sequence as demonstrated in Sacks (1974). Rather it is contingently developed depending on the surrounding context (such as the existence of a trigger). Yet, it is common either in the preface pattern or in this triggered pattern that participants become oriented to the upcoming storytelling activity through the prospective teller's methodical moves to initiate telling of a story in talk-in-interaction.

Secondly, Jefferson finds a distinctive process through which participants end a storytelling and then re-engage in turn-by-turn talk. As in the beginning of a storytelling activity, we also see a transitional process to connect the ongoing storytelling activity to the subsequent non-storytelling one. Jefferson argues that the sequential implicativeness of a story (i.e., what the story amounts to) is a key property to accomplish such a transition. She states that two discrete aspects can be found at the end of a storytelling activity:

- (a) A story can serve as a source for triggered or topically coherent subsequent talk.
- (b) A range of techniques are used to display a relationship between the story and the subsequent talk—techniques which provide that the story is implicative for subsequent talk (Jefferson 1978, 228).

Jefferson demonstrates the significance of the sequential implicativeness by specifically examining a case in which participants have a hard time reaching a consensual implicativeness (or significance) of a story. One of the problematic cases shows that at a possible completion of the story, the recipients do not resume turn-by-turn talk to display their understanding of the story, while the teller thereafter repeatedly provides a series of postscripts and commentaries about the story, none of which successfully invites the recipients' reciprocal assessments or commentaries. After several attempts, the teller offers a first half of an idiom related to the story without immediately providing its second half by himself, and the participants resume turn-by-turn talk thereafter. This technique can be seen as a powerful way to create sequential implicativeness of the speaker's utterance and invite the recipients' contribution. This case does not illustrate the response sequence as demonstrated in Sacks (1974) in that the recipients do not resume turn-by-turn talk after the telling sequence is over. However, despite the difference in participants' actual interactions between instances of Jefferson (1978) and Sacks (1974), Jefferson's instance also indicates that the participants in the ending process of storytelling work up together to move on to a non-storytelling. In summary, at the beginning and ending of a storytelling activity, participants are oriented to make a thematic connection from the preceding to the succeeding conversational activities. The more effort participants need to orient themselves to the upcoming activity, the more expanded a sequence will become. In contrast, this suggests that participants form minimal, succinct beginning and/or ending sequences if there is no need to negotiate their

orientation to shift activities, which is illustrated in Lerner (1992) and Mandelbaum (1987a), and also will be demonstrated later in the present study.

How a sequence is formed depends on participants' mutual understanding of each other's orientation. Lerner (1992) and Mandelbaum (1987a) focus on the organization of storytelling sequences in cases of multi-party storytelling with two potential tellers present. Generally, as seen in Sacks (1974), storytelling is assumed to have a single participant who knows what happened in a prospective story, i.e., *knowing* (Goodwin 1981, 150) participant as teller. This assumption is based on one of the most fundamental principles of conversation: "one should not tell one's co-participants what one takes it they already know" Sacks (1973, 139)²³. In the case of storytelling, this principle may be realized in the participation framework in which a knowing participant tells a story to *unknowing* (Goodwin 1981, 150) recipients. However, participants of storytelling do not always form such participation structure. Lerner (1992) and Mandelbaum (1987a) specifically examine cases of multi-party storytelling that have two knowing participants (e.g., a couple sharing story events), which is problematic in that the existence of two potential knowing participants creates a conflicting situation either in that one of the knowing participants has to serve as a knowing recipient when the other takes the teller role, or in that both have to compete with each other to take the teller role. In cases examined both in Lerner and Mandelbaum, respectively, it turns out that the two knowing participants manage their participation and knowledge status in a collaborative

²³ This quotation is borrowed from C. Goodwin (1981, 160).

manner, which does not create a conflicting turn-taking organization in the course of storytelling.

In the case of launching a story with two knowing participants observed in Mandelbaum (1987a), the two participants (a couple) collaboratively make a three-part series of turns in which they step-by-step interact with each other without inviting any entry from unknowing potential recipients to initiate a storytelling activity. The three-part series of turns consists of 1) a 'remote' approach, 2) a forwarding, and 3) a ratification of the forwarding. In the remote approach, one of the knowing participants provides the other knowing participant with a hint of a story they share. Here, the hint is formulated subtly (or remotely) so as to orient only the other knowing participant, not the other unknowing participants, to a possible storytelling opportunity. Then in the forwarding, the knowing participant who took up the hint forwards the move made by the other knowing participant in the remote approach. In the forwarding, he/she uses more explicit expressions to project a possible storytelling opportunity, by which the unknowing participants are oriented as potential story recipients. Telling of the story then begins after the ratification of the forwarding is made by the knowing participant who made the first move in the remote approach. Generally, as Schegloff (1992a, 202) states, an important task to be accomplished in the beginning phase of storytelling is to establish that "what the teller means to tell is not already known to the intended audience." He continues "the common incorporation in the preface of mentions of the source of the story, of when it occurred, and of some characterization of the "type" of story ("funny," "awful," etc.) can allow recipients to assess whether they have heard it, and to stop the

telling by virtue of this, if they choose" (ibid.). In case of a single knowing participant and multiple unknowing participants, this task is generally done in a turn-by-turn manner between knowing and unknowing parties. In Mandelbaum's case, however, the couple (i.e., the knowing party/ies) does all the work for potential recipients (i.e., the unknowing party/ies) by a three-part series of turns, which provides preliminary information about the upcoming story. In this way, the couple is able to establish not only the appropriate grounds for the telling of the story but also their knowledge status as knowing, with respect to the story, events in the preface sequence.

Mandelbaum's (1987a) case also shows characteristics of storytelling with two knowing participants in the telling sequence. There are three practices that knowing participants engage in: a) monitor for errors, b) request for verification, and c) complementary tellings. These are all collaborative actions between knowing participants who are fulfilling the telling role. Lerner (1992) additionally observes the recipient role played by one of the knowing participants. Lerner calls it "consociate reciprocity," which is realized by such actions as confirmation nods and anticipatory laughter. In sum, these instances indicate that having two potential tellers in a storytelling creates distinct actions (in the sense that they are not necessary to occur in a participation framework where the teller is the only knowing participant) to accomplish storytelling. These distinct actions are part of the ongoing storytelling activity, which shows its idiosyncratic or specific form. Lerner (1992, 268) discusses this issue of flexibility by saying that "the sequential organization of storytelling can accommodate more than one participant with knowledge of the source events of the story."

So far, we have seen in this section that a storytelling activity is basically organized in a distinctive sequential unit (e.g., the three-part sequence), and thus can be distinguished from the surrounding context as a unit of discourse. However, it is occasioned contingently within its surrounding context, and shows its own shape with participants' specific actions and interactions. This suggests that each storytelling activity is particularly organized according to its own context from which the activity emerges (e.g., how a trigger is provided and who knows about the story). Particularities created through such contingent processes are good sites to observe mutual reflexivity introduced in Chapter 1, and repeated here:

Moment by moment, each party must take into account: 1) the emerging structure of the activities in progress; 2) what precisely other parties are doing; and 3) the implications that this has for the trajectory of future action. (C. Goodwin 2007, 28)

Thus, idiosyncratic, contextually specific details can be considered as the contingently realized mutual reflexivity that participants display to each other.

2.2.6 Summary

In Section 2.2, I reviewed previous studies on storytelling by organizing their views of storytelling. The first view *storytelling as performance to represent experience* may have the narrowest scope on storytelling. As the point of departure, it provided researchers with the idea that spontaneous oral narrative is orderly organized and serves as two functions, namely, the reference function and the evaluative function. However, the Labovian approach, because of its limited view of storytelling and methodological

preoccupation with structural scheme, imposed these functional categories on empirical data, which led to overlook contingent and interactional aspects of conversational storytelling. The second view *storytelling as discourse to make sense of self* is adopted by person-oriented research disciplines, such as those in psychology. Incorporating the CA mentality, researches with this view shed light on inferences of identity interactionally made relevant in storytelling discourse. Researchers with the third view *storytelling as arena to "do" relationship* also pursue person-oriented inquiries. Seeing that participants' conduct in storytelling is somehow connected to their social roles, studies with this view demonstrated ways in which facets of participants' social roles or their relationship are made relevant in actions of storytelling. The previous studies reviewed in the first three sections provided us with the understanding that participants of conversational storytelling, by referring to an experience, are oriented to what happened in the experience and how it is significant to them; and through the storytelling process at the same time, they construct their identities and relationships to each other relevant to each step of the process. The fourth view *storytelling as activity to make sense of experience* underlies this understanding of storytelling. Given possibilities that each shape of storytelling is contingent to the context in which it is situated, the key that allows us to recognize storytelling as a unit of discourse is participants' orientation to make sense of the experience under reconstruction. Studies with the final view *storytelling as a unit of discourse* help us practically identify and analyze such contingent material as a storytelling unit. They clarified analytical foci and principles, which are shared among CA studies in general, to conduct rigorous analysis of the sequence

development of talk-in-interaction as participants' displays of their understandings of the activity in progress.

2.3 Sociohistorical backgrounds of the participants

Having established the understanding of what conversational storytelling is and how it can be developed, and having provided the methodology with which to identify storytelling as the object of analysis, the present study investigates particularities in discourse construction that emerge from cases of storytelling engaged in by the members of a single group. We now turn to sociohistorical backgrounds of the members to help us understand emerging particularities. As mentioned earlier, the group consists of four members who can be best described as friends. They have experienced social activities together over a period of time to establish, maintain, and reinforce their friendship. The data to be shown in the later chapters (Chapters 3-5) are considered to be facets of such social activities. The members are female native speakers of Japanese, including the researcher, who were all students at an American university during the time of data collection (two undergraduate and two graduate students). The data were collected during dinnertime at the dinner table of the house shared by them except for some special occasions such as someone's birthday and getting together to eat out. Each recording took place in a natural context by placing a portable audio tape recorder at the center of the dining table when at least three of the participants were present having dinner together. Although the participants gave their consent to be recorded for the present study, all occasions of conversation were not arranged specifically for the research. The

data collection was intermittently conducted for seven consecutive months until one of the participants moved out of the house on graduation, and resulted in 25 occasions and a total of approximately 35 hours of dinnertime conversation. In the following section, three aspects of the sociohistorical backgrounds of the participants are specifically described: the participants' residence, dinnertime practices, and relationship development.

2.3.1 Residence

The participants lived in an off-campus house specifically rented out to female college students, which was commonly called Pacific House. This name is fictitiously given by the researcher to maintain the confidentiality of the participants. For the purpose of ethnography, however, I need to mention that this name, which retains the word "house" from the real name, is specifically given to preserve the character of the house. As a form of housing for college students, this house had both characteristics of an off-campus shared house, which is typically rented by a group of tenants, and of an on-campus dormitory. In terms of the configuration of the house, the house exhibited some characteristics of a shared house. The house had originally been built as a relatively large two-story family house, and then had been remodeled to make it a group house for ten tenants. It was composed of the main entrance, a "living/dining room,"²⁴ a

²⁴ I use quotation markers to describe this room because the room actually did not function as a living/dining room in a conventional sense, such as one in a family house. However, in terms of the configuration, it can be called the living/dining room. I will explain this in detail later.

kitchen, ten single bedrooms, five bathrooms, each of which was equipped with a shower and a toilet, and a laundry space in the back yard equipped with a washer and dryer.

There were dormitory-like characteristics too in the sense that each tenant was responsible for making a lease contract with the managing party (i.e., the landlord). The landlord only allowed female college students as tenants, and there was a strict no-male-sleep-over restriction (including the tenant's male family members) included in the lease contract. Since each tenant individually made a contract with the non-residing landlord, it was common that tenants themselves were not acquainted with each other before they moved in.²⁵ The contract was renewed semester by semester, although the exact start and end dates of the contract were negotiable between the tenant and the landlord.

Housekeeping duties in shared areas were periodically administered by the landlord, and thus tenants did not have any obligation to perform such duties. They were, however, expected to keep their private rooms clean. The landlord had power more or less over miscellaneous house rules; for example, bathrooms and cabinets in the kitchen were assigned to designated tenants. The kitchen was located on the first floor, and was equipped with two regular-size stoves and one sink (see below for refrigerators). Each tenant room was furnished with a desk, a bed and a small-size refrigerator, and tenants were allowed to have individual telephone lines and TV connections in their rooms at their own expense. Also, each room was individually secured with a lock on the door in addition to a lock on the main entrance. In summary, more like a single dormitory room

²⁵ Tenants' nationalities varied, but the majority were Japanese (6-7 people out of 10). Non-Japanese tenants included American, Korean, and Taiwanese.

than a shared house, tenants were under the landlord's management in terms of administrative aspects, but their independence was more or less maintained.

Finally, the "living/dining room," the largest shared area of the house, in which the data were collected, needs to be described in greater detail. First, although it was furnished with a sofa and a dining table with four chairs, there was not a TV set or any leisure furnishings. In addition, almost half of the room was occupied by items that are hardly associated with a conventional living/dining room. The items included a bookshelf with ownerless books, which apparently had been left by old tenants but had not been touched by anyone for a while, a couple of dusty old mattresses and a few broken lamps. In terms of the function of the room, therefore, it did not function as a typical living/dining room in a family house, but was rather like a foyer/storage with unclaimed items. All tenants passed through the room every time they walked in and out of the house. Therefore, although tenants were all female college students living under the same roof, the "living/dining" room did not function for them as a space for engaging in social activities together with their housemates on a daily basis.

2.3.2 Dinnertime practices

Under the above residential circumstances, dinnertime, especially during dinner preparation in the kitchen, was one of the rare chances for tenants to share space and time together. The tenants' practices of preparing and eating their meals varied in many ways, from daily cooking on their own with full use of the kitchen to mostly eating-out with minimal use of the kitchen. On the whole, tenants' meal practices were conducted

independently. However, if some of them happened to use the kitchen at the same time, they would have a chance to talk to each other sometimes only briefly or sometimes for a while until they finished cooking. Once their meals were ready, they would usually go back to their own rooms to eat individually.

Out of the ten tenants, the four participants of the present study mostly spent time together during dinnertime at the dining table. However, since they moved into the house at different times, this dinnertime activity had developed gradually until it became a regular practice. Their pseudonyms for the present study are Naomi, Sachiko, Kaoru and Mikiko. Naomi was the oldest resident among the four, Sachiko was the second oldest followed by Kaoru and then Mikiko. The dinner practices of the four changed around the time Mikiko moved in. Before Mikiko moved in, the three participants (Naomi, Sachiko, and Kaoru) had had the habit of cooking in the kitchen and eating in their own rooms. As mentioned earlier, since other tenants also had the same habit, the dining table in the "living/dining room" had hardly been used during dinnertime. However, when Mikiko moved in, she started to eat dinner at the table alone almost everyday. From that time, the other three participants gradually joined her at the table when they had dinner around the same time as Mikiko. By the time the data collection started, the four participants had become almost exclusively regular members who would not only cook in the kitchen but also eat at the dining table.²⁶ Even though it became

²⁶ Although there were some changes of tenants, the house was constantly occupied by eight to nine tenants during the time of data collection. In addition to the four participants of the study, there were a couple of tenants who regularly used the kitchen. However, they did not usually join the group of four to have dinner at the dining table.

quite regular for them to spend dinnertime together, it was not common for them to coordinate their dinner together. For instance, they did not usually plan their dinner schedules in advance or cook a set of dishes to share. Each decided when and where to eat dinner on a day-by-day basis. In this sense, their dinner practices were more independently conducted than those often observed in family dinnertimes. Despite this sense of independence, the four participants had established their common dinner practices, so that they came to share their space and time on a daily basis.

2.3.3 Relationship development

I have described the participants' living circumstances, particularly their dinnertime practices, to give details regarding their daily opportunities to share space and time. Now, I step back to focus on how and when they first met each other. Naomi was a graduate student, who, amongst the four, had lived in the house longest. Sachiko was also a graduate student in the same program Naomi was in. They first met at school, and at that time Sachiko lived alone in an apartment elsewhere. After being acquainted with each other to some extent, Naomi mentioned to Sachiko that a room was available in the house, which led Sachiko to become a tenant of the house. About one and a half years later, Kaoru moved in; and then, three months later, Mikiko moved in. Naomi and Sachiko did not know Kaoru and Mikiko before they became tenants of the house. However, Kaoru and Mikiko had known each other for a couple of years. They first met in an ESL program, and after they had finished the program, they enrolled in a community college and lived together in a dormitory of that college for several months.

After that, they transferred to the university, which they attended during the time of data collection. While attending the university, Kaoru moved into Pacific House, while Mikiko lived elsewhere. After Kaoru moved in, she first met Naomi and Sachiko individually when she was cooking in the kitchen. After that, they ran into each other in the kitchen a few times a week. Three months later, Mikiko moved into Pacific House through Kaoru's introduction. From that point in time, Sachiko, Naomi, Kaoru, and Mikiko would all come to see each other in the kitchen occasionally.

Based on their socio historical backgrounds, the four participants can be grouped into two pairs: the pair of Naomi and Sachiko, and the pair of Kaoru and Mikiko. Each pair sometimes had its own social activities independent from the other pair, such as group study meetings and social gatherings with their friends from school. In contrast, it was rare that all four members went out together to engage in some social activity.²⁷ By the time the data collection started, which was about a month after Mikiko moved in, dinnertime had become a primary period of the day common to all four as a time to share knowledge and experiences with each other through a significant amount of interaction. Given the fact that the four members of the group shared space and time together almost exclusively during dinnertime at their house, it can be considered that dinnertime conversations provided the major opportunity for them to develop their relationship as a group.

²⁷ During the time of data collection, there were a few occasions that the four went out for dinner together. But when compared to the time spent at the dinner table at their house, these social activities were much less regular.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that storytelling can be seen from different perspectives for different research agenda. The present study regards storytelling as social activity to reconstruct an experience, in order to investigate specific discourse shapes developed by the participants of the group under investigation. To start my investigation, I do not have any assumption about functional aspects of storytelling. The previous studies reviewed above have suggested that storytelling can be a means or mode to recapitulate past events, to demonstrate the significance, to organize teller's understanding of the experience, to conduct delicate interactional work, or to share one's experience with others. These may be all true, but should be revealed after storytelling is accomplished. With the CA mentality, which guides us to look at talk-in-interaction through participants' displays orienting to the activity in progress, I keep in mind that storytelling is accountably occasioned from its prior sequence, maintained with participants' orientations towards the activity, and accomplished at the point at which a different sequence of actions emerges. In the following chapters, I focus on the participants' actions and interactions in the activity in progress that are together bound as a unit, namely, a storytelling.

CHAPTER 3
FORMULATION OF AN EXPERIENCE:
MINIMALISM AND ELABORATION

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, by using a case of storytelling, I demonstrate how a past experience is formulated into an extended storytelling as a unit of conversational activity. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, conversation analytic research, which views storytelling as sequentially situated in the surrounding conversational activity (e.g., Jefferson 1978; Sacks 1974; Schegloff 1992a; Stokoe and Edwards 2006), has specifically focused on interactional work between participants of storytelling to account for how a storytelling activity is sequentially situated in the surrounding conversational activity. This work has identified two specific interactional processes: a process through which a storytelling emerges from, and a process through which it shifts back into the surrounding larger activity. In conjunction with these findings, researchers have described a variety of participants' practices and resources that make storytelling recognizable as a distinctive unit of conversational activity and yet as part of the larger activity. As I mentioned earlier, however, an experience can be formulated into a broad range of possible realizations (e.g., a single TCU, an extended storytelling, etc.). Acknowledging this contingent character of storytelling, this chapter investigates how participants initiate, develop, and accomplish extended storytelling through interactively co-constructed formulation.

The data to be examined in this chapter is a joint-remembering of a shared experience featuring an episode that occurred when Mikiko moved into Pacific House, which made her the last to move in among the four members of the group under investigation. The storytelling is designed to describe a particular scene on the moving day when Mikiko was bringing some moving boxes into the house, specifically, the living/dining room. At that time, Sachiko and Naomi, who did not know Mikiko then, happened to be nearby and were talking to one another at the dining table. Specifically, the storytelling describes a scene in which Mikiko approached Sachiko and Naomi for the first time to ask if she might leave her boxes temporarily in the living/dining room. When this storytelling was recorded, all four members of the group, Sachiko, Mikiko, Naomi, and Kaoru were present at the recording site.²⁸ In the storytelling activity, Sachiko initiates formulation of the episode into storytelling in such a way as to place Mikiko in the protagonist position; in other words Sachiko tells Mikiko's story to the other participants including Mikiko herself.

3.2 The beginning and ending

This section demonstrates how the present storytelling exhibits the sequentially contingent nature of conversational storytelling. By focusing on the beginning and the

²⁸ In the transcript provided in this chapter, Kaoru does not show any hearable contributions to the activity examined. Kaoru was not present at the scene described in the storytelling, but was in her room of the house at that time knowing Mikiko was moving in on that day. She was later, but before the storytelling activity, informed about this episode by Mikiko.

ending of the storytelling, I reveal characteristic ways in which the participants orient themselves to launch and complete the activity.

3.2.1 *The beginning*

I first focus on the beginning part of the storytelling. As I introduced in Chapter 2, to launch a storytelling, there needs to be a preparatory phase (such as a preface sequence) that orients participants to the upcoming storytelling activity. The present case (Excerpt 1), however, lacks such a preparatory phase. And yet, the participants exhibit smooth shift to a storytelling activity without any sign of interactional problem. In this section, I examine in detail how the activity is launched in this way as a storytelling. Before the launch of storytelling, Sachiko and Mikiko engage in a question-answer sequence, which is initiated by Sachiko and answered by Mikiko (lines 20-21), followed by Mikiko's additional information about the exact date when she brought her belongings into the house (lines 23-24).

(1) "Mikiko's moving day" lines 20-30

20 S: °*itsu hikkoshite kita?*°
when move came

21 M: *ichi gatsu tsuitachi desu.*
January 1st COP

22 ? : (.6) ((*gi[ggle?*]))

23 M: [*juuni gatsu sanjuu ichinichi ni,*
December 31st on

24 *nimotsu o ha[kobimashita.]*
stuff O carried.in

the house), it can be analyzed that Sachiko's participation status is shifted from eliciting information to telling a story. Since this shift occurs without any discursively observable preparatory phase, I take a closer look at Sachiko's action in line 25 to examine how storytelling is launched.

Sachiko's turn in line 25 starts up in overlap with Mikiko's turn in line 24. As Schegloff (2002) suggests, it is crucial to pay attention to the onset and outcome of an overlap to observe what is done at the moment of the overlap. Let us first look at the environment of the onset of Sachiko's overlap. Sachiko starts her turn just after Mikiko produces the phrase *nimotsu o* ("stuff" with the object marker *o*), and produces the initial syllable of the following verb *hakobimashita* ("carried"). Since the sequence of object and then verb is a typical Japanese word order, the verb can be projected by its preceding object. In this case, it is possible for Sachiko to recognize, at the point of the delivery of the object, that Mikiko is reaching possible turn completion with a verb associated with *nimotsu* ("stuff"). Therefore, Sachiko's overlap occurs with the "recognitional onset" (Jefferson 1986), where the incoming speaker recognizes that the ongoing turn's possible completion and transition-relevance place are projected.

Next, let us look at the outcome of the overlap. After Sachiko starts her turn in overlap, Mikiko continues her ongoing turn to produce the verb *hakobimashita* ("carried"). Note here that her turn constitutes a syntactically complete unit with the sentence-final verb form *-mashita* with the normal falling intonation contour. Note also that Sachiko's incoming turn continues without displaying any interruptive force (e.g., raising voice or rushing utterance) or hesitancy (e.g., filler or halting utterance) to overlap

with Mikiko's turn. Rather, Sachiko's turn in line 25 is articulated in the ordinary voice quality and contour that make the utterance *sorede sumimasen tte* ("Then you said, 'Excuse me'") as a unit of turn, which is not different from ones that we usually hear in a non-overlapped environment. From these observations, we can say that although there is a moment of simultaneous talk, the turn-taking between Mikiko and Sachiko is conducted in a non-problematic manner, at least in terms of the audible aspect.

Now, we consider the relationship between the ongoing and the incoming turns. As mentioned earlier, Mikiko's turn in lines 23-24 can be seen as an additional or extended answer to Sachiko's question in line 20. However, the way Sachiko starts her turn in line 25 suggests that Mikiko's turns are parasitically exploited by Sachiko as part of the story to be depicted in lines 25-29. At the beginning of line 25, Sachiko starts with the discourse marker *sorede* ("and then"), which typically functions as a scene shifter or new action initiator in a narrative (Wehr 2003; Yoshimi, personal communication). Wehr (2003) suggests that the connective *sorede* in narrative functions as a discourse organization marker emerging at an episode boundary, and thus it does not occur at the beginning of a narrative.²⁹ The discourse marker *sorede* in line 25, therefore, indicates that Sachiko is already in the act of telling a story by making a connection between an antecedent episode and a next to be described after *sorede*. The most accessible

²⁹ Wehr (2003) employs Chafe's (1979) concept of *episodes* as narrative components, and observes that the connective *sorede*, which has been generally considered a temporal coordinative marker (similar to English "and then"), occurs in a narrative at an episode boundary. She identifies four types of episode boundary at which *sorede* occurs within the framework established in Chafe's (1979). The four types of episode boundary are: "1) shifts in perspective from real to imaginary, 2) temporal or spatial shifts, 3) changes in characters, or 4) changes in orientation toward the events" (Wehr 2003, 8-9).

candidate for the antecedent episode is the event just described in lines 23-24, namely the fact that Mikiko carried her belongings into the house on December 31st. By starting her turn with the discourse marker *sorede*, Sachiko is able to manage her new turn (possible activity initial) as continuation from the prior, which, in effect, formulates into collaborative telling by both Mikiko and Sachiko.

Recall, as Sacks (1974) suggests, that the beginning of storytelling has a preparatory phase, in which unknowing participants orient themselves both contextually and organizationally to the upcoming storytelling. In the present data, however, by parasitically exploiting the preceding question-answer sequence, the teller Sachiko moves right on to launch the telling sequence without seeking her co-participants' alignment to it. Yet, it is worth noting that the sudden launch seems to be accepted, especially by Mikiko verifying Sachiko's telling with brief confirmation tokens in lines 28 and 30. The circumstance, which allows this sudden launch, may be the fact that both participants share the experience invoked in the ongoing talk. Since all participants were actually once actors in the story world, it is less likely that they need to have well-elaborated preliminary steps to adjust their orientations to the story world emerging in the talk in progress.³⁰ Organizationally speaking, however, having the shared experience alone may not be a sufficient condition to enable the participants to engage in this sudden activity shift non-problematically. In the present data, the only possible organizational signal is

³⁰ As introduced in Chapter 2, multiple knowing participants can develop preparatory steps when initiating a storytelling (Mandelbaum 1987a; Lerner 1992). However, the cases introduced in Chapter 2 were storytelling by a couple, both possible tellers, for unknowing recipients. In this respect, those cases are different from the present storytelling.

the teller's turn-initial discourse marker *sorede* ("and then") in line 25. This possible account is consistent with Mikiko's actions in lines 28 and 30, in which she provides short confirmation tokens *soo* ("right") letting Sachiko continue her multi-unit uninterrupted turn. The discourse marker *sorede* as a formulation, therefore, functions to display Sachiko's treatment of the ongoing talk as a storytelling of Mikiko's moving day.

Fortunately, in the present data, there is a sequence that can further clarify the claim that line 25 exhibits a feature that the ongoing activity initiated as a question-answer sequence turns to become a storytelling. The sequence is shown in Excerpt 2 below, which provides us with a comparable discourse that occurred in a parallel context in which Sachiko asked the same question to Mikiko as seen in line 20 *itsu hikkoshite kita* ("When did you move in?"). Since this phenomenon (i.e., the occasion of two comparable discourses) occurred in a special context, I first provide background information that accounts for the context. The two comparable discourses occurred because Sachiko repeated the same question twice to ask Mikiko when she moved in. As the participant-observer of the present study, Sachiko, while she was collecting data, needed to gain biographical details about the members of the group under her study. When Sachiko did so while the tape recorder was on, the storytelling activity being examined here happened to emerge. Line 1 in Excerpt 2 below is the initial point of Sachiko's question-answer activity.

(2) "Mikiko's moving day" lines 1-20

1 S: a< soo da >atashi< kikanakya ikenai=[↑]mikiko chan tte °sa°
 oh right COP I must.ask Mikiko QT FP

2 *itsu hikkoshite kita no?*
when move came FP

3 ((S is walking away to her room to get a pen and paper))

4 (.7)

5 M: *kotoshi desu.*
this.year COP

6 (.6)

7 M: *tsuitachi=*
the 1st

8 =*ichigatsu tsuitachi.*
January the 1st

9 [*juunigatsu sanjuu ichinichi ni,*
December 31st on

10 [(*noise*)]

11 *nimotsu o irete,*
stuff O put.in

12 (.6)

13 → N: *soo datta yo ne:*
right COP FP FP

14 (0.7) ((*noise*))

15 → N: *oboeteru yo. mikiko chan koko ni (.)*
remember FP Mikiko here at

16 → *terebi to, (.) dekkai terebi no hako to*
TV and big TV NOM box and

17 (.7)

18 ((S is coming back from the room))

19 → N: *nanka tsunde atta.*
something piled.up

20 S: °*itsu hikkoshite kita?*°
when move came

English translation

1 S: Oh yeah, I must ask you Mikiko,
2 When did you move in?
3 ((S is walking away to her room to get a pen and paper))
4 (.7)
5 M: This year.
6 (.6)
7 M: The 1st=
8 =The 1st of January.
9 [On December 31st,
10 [(noise))
11 I brought my stuff in, and
12 (.6)
13→ N: Yeah. Almost forgot about that.
14 (0.7) ((noise))
15→ N: I remember it. You brought in
16→ a TV- (.) a huge TV box here and
17 (.7)
18 ((S is coming back from the room))
19→ N: some other stuff stacked up here.
20 S: °When did you move in?°

From line 1, Sachiko made the following actions: first, she asked Mikiko when she moved into the house (lines 1-2)³¹; right after that, she walked away to her room (next to the living/dining room) in order to get a pen and paper to write it down (line 3). While Sachiko was away, Naomi and Kaoru were at the dining table, and Mikiko answered the question, which formed the sequence from line 5 to line 19. When Sachiko came back from her room, she resumed the questioning activity by repeating the same question in line 20. Under this context, the two comparable discourses were developed by the same question (the first discourse from line 1 to line 19 and the second discourse from line 20

³¹ The use of *kikanakya* ("must ask"), a deontic modality, indicating that this is "for research purposes." This cue, combined with the trip back to the room to get pencil and paper (as opposed to becoming the ratified recipient of the addressee's response), clearly illustrates the utilitarian/work-oriented nature of this elicitation, i.e., this request is not contextualized to serve as a prompt to elicit a storytelling. I am indebted to Dina Yoshimi for pointing this out.

to line 30). When Sachiko walked away from the ongoing activity (line 3), Mikiko continues the activity by producing her response to Sachiko's question in short segments with somewhat extended pauses between each segment (lines 5-11). This suggests that she engaged in a process of solo recall since she did not have the questioner in front of her. Her action as solo recall is also evident in her voice quality without changing in volume before and during Sachiko's absence. Therefore, we can say that during the first discourse, Mikiko is not speaking directly to Sachiko. Under this circumstance, Naomi, another co-participant and the other co-experiencer of the story events, responds to Mikiko's recall in line 13. Naomi's actions from line 13 to line 19 are the target of comparison with Sachiko's abrupt initiation of the storytelling observed in Excerpt 1 above.

Now we can see that the sequences in lines 2-11 (Excerpt 2) and in lines 20-24 (Excerpt 1) are organizationally and contextually comparable. Excerpt 1 is partially repeated here.

(1a) "Mikiko's moving day" lines 20-25

20 S: °*itsu hikkoshite kita?*°
when move came

21 M: *ichi gatsu tsuitachi desu.*
January 1st COP

22 ?: (.6) ((*gi[ggle?*]))

23 M: [*juuni gatsu sanjuu ichinichi ni,*
December 31st on

24 *nimotsu o ha[kobimashita.]*
stuff O carried.in

25→ S: [*sorede sujmimasen tte,*
 and.then excuse.me QT

English translation

20 S: °When did you move in?°
21 M: On the 1st of January.
22 ?: (.6) ((gi[ggle?))
23 M: [I brought all my stuff in,
24 on the 31st.
25→ S: Then you said, "Excuse me".

The question-answer sequences consist of virtually the same turns (line 2 vs. line 20, lines 5-8 vs. line 21, lines 9-11 vs. lines 23-24). Organizationally, both of the sequences initiated by Sachiko's question and Mikiko's answer can be seen as what Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) call *pre-topical sequence*. According to Maynard and Zimmerman, a sequence consisting of a question and a long-form answer typically initiates extended topical talk, whereas a sequence of a question and a short-form answer does not. Let us first look at Excerpt 2 for the pre-topical sequence. When Mikiko provides an answer in a short-form *kotoshi desu* ("it was this year") in line 5, there is no response to Mikiko or collaboration with her, despite the fact that there is a moderate pause (0.6 seconds) that can invite a next speaker in the sequence. Mikiko restarts her turn in lines 7-8 (*ichigatsu tsuitachi* "January the first"); but this time, she provides a long-form answer by moving beyond a direct response to the question of "when" with an utterance that has the potential to function as a narrative-event clause in lines 9 and 11 (*juuni gatsu sanjuu ichinichi ni nimotsu o irete* "On December 31st, I brought my stuff in"). After another 0.6-second pause in line 12, Naomi selects herself as a next speaker, and provides extended topical talk from line 13 to line 19 by connecting Mikiko's past action (i.e., bringing her stuff in) described in line 11 with her memory (*soo data yo ne.; oboeteru yo.*

Mikiko-chan koko ni dekkai terebi no hako to nanka tsunde atta "Oh yeah, I remember it. You brought a big box for a TV in here and something else stacked up."). Now observe again the corresponding actions in Excerpt 1a. In line 21, Mikiko provides a short-form answer (*ichigatsu tsuitachi desu* "it was January 1st") to the question when she moved in, at which no other participant enters into the talk, which creates a 0.6-second pause in line 22. However, when Mikiko restarts the topical talk from line 23 by extending her answer to a long-form possible narrative clause (*juuni gatsu sanjuu ichinichi ni nimotsu o hakobimashita* "On December 31, I carried my stuff in"), Sachiko, in line 25, enters in the talk. Note that in this environment, both Naomi, in lines 13-19 in Excerpt 2, and Sachiko, in lines 25 in Excerpt 1a, separately set the same topic about the specific scene in which Mikiko brought her boxes into their house at which she approached Sachiko and Naomi to ask if she might leave them behind. These coincidental phenomena suggest that for both Naomi and Sachiko, this specific scene of the episode is most likely to be the first thing to come to mind when Mikiko mentioned her moving day. In other words, Mikiko's extended answer serves as a trigger for both Naomi and Sachiko to reminisce about the same scene of Mikiko's moving day as a shared experience.

However, the ways in which they formulate the specific scene are different. From line 13, Naomi formulates it as a state that describes Mikiko's moving boxes that were stacked up in the scene. This formulation is delivered with the combined sentence-final particles *yo ne*. According to Yoshimi (1997), *yo* indicates speaker's affective stance to the statement that precedes *yo* (in this case, *soo datta* "that's right") as not sharable with the other co-participants, but the concurrent particle *ne* indicates her affective stance

to the pragmatic force of the statement (in this case, what Naomi remembers about Mikiko's moving day) as sharable with the other co-participants. Therefore, with this formulation, Naomi joins in Mikiko's solo recall activity as another recaller by first declaring her knowledge marked by the particle *yo* and then aligning it with what Mikiko is recalling marked by the particle *ne*. Naomi is acting here as a cooperative yet independent co-participant in Mikiko's recall activity. In contrast, in lines 23-24 (Excerpt 1a), although Sachiko also participates in Mikiko's recall activity, she precludes the declaration and alignment steps as Naomi did. Moreover, with the discourse marker *sorede*, she formulates the scene into a sequence of events at a higher level of granularity.

In summary, Naomi and Sachiko each demonstrated at the identical point in the extended question-answer sequence their knowing status about the story events when they first had met with Mikiko. In other words, both Naomi's and Sachiko's reactions to Mikiko's recall activity index their accessibility to the shared experience for Naomi and Sachiko to engage in talk in progress as knowing participants. However, the ways in which they formulated the experience and accomplished interactional work through the formulation were different. Naomi formulated the scene as a state, and with that state, she claimed her knowledge status and confirmed it with Mikiko, which might have evolved into a storytelling in the succeeding sequence. On the other hand, Sachiko directly formulated the scene into a form of story by exploiting part of the triggering extended question-answer sequence. With this formulation, Sachiko was able to turn the ongoing activity into a storytelling.

3.2.2 *The ending*

Before analyzing the development process of the storytelling initiated by Sachiko from line 25, this section examines how the storytelling activity reaches its completion (lines 48-53, Excerpt 3 below) being sequentially implicative for succeeding talk. For the sake of the analysis in this section, I briefly describe what happened in the middle of the storytelling from line 25 to line 46 to be analyzed in detail later. After Sachiko's sudden launch of storytelling in line 25, she provides detailed formulations of a scene in which Mikiko carried her moving boxes into the living/dining room, where Sachiko and Naomi happened to be at that time. However, Sachiko's storytelling about the scene receives Mikiko's revision, and she then accepts the revision at line 46 by saying *aa so kka so kka* ("That's right. That's right"). Excerpt 3 shows what happens after that.

(3) "Mikiko's moving day" lines 46-56

- 46 S: =a↑a: so kka so kka.
oh right Q right Q
- 47 (.7)
- 48 M: DE:, nimotsu o tori ni kaetteru <aida> ↑ni:,
and stuff O go.back.to.take while in
- 49 (.)
- 50 M: gomez san <kichat:te[:>,
Mr. Gomez come-AUX
- 51 N: [soo da soo da.
right COP right COP
- 52 M: de (.) aa, mikiko wa kita no ka (°tte°)
and oh Mikiko TM came NOM Q QT

53 S: *soo atashi ga soide itta no oitettaa (yo) tte*
right I S then said NOM put.and.go FP QT

54 M?: *hu hu hu*

55 (.)

56 S: *soide aeta no? kekkyoku.*
and.then could.meet NOM alter.all

English translation

46 S: =Oh That's right. That's right.
47 (.7)
48 M: So, while I was gone getting my stuff from the old place,
49 (.)
50 M: Mr. Gomez showed [up
51 N: [right. right.
52 M: Then (.) "Oh, Mikiko came". (°he said°)
53 S: Right. I, then, told him "She left her stuff right here".
54 M?: hu hu hu
55 (.7)
56 S: So, were you able to catch him, after all?

Until line 46, the participants focused on formulating/reformulating one scene. From line 48, we see some shift in the storytelling activity, which reaches its completion at line 53 (or possibly at line 54). First, a new action is initiated in line 48, that is, Mikiko describes the resultant event after the scene formulated/reformulated in lines 25-46. In other words, the telling sequence is progressed to a next event since the participants reached the mutual understanding about the preceding event. This happens after a 0.7-second pause in line 47, which can be seen as a moment of speaker selection among the participants to start a new action after Sachiko's agreement in line 46. Since the discourse marker *de* ("then") normally demarcates story events within an episode (Wehr

2003, 27)³², we can analyze that Mikiko treats the event described in lines 48 and 50 as a story event within the same episode in which the preceding event that reached an acceptable reformulation by line 45. Here the emphasis (i.e., the increase in volume and the lengthening of the final vowel) added on the discourse connective indicates that Mikiko not simply continues to tell a subsequent story event within the episode, but also emphasizes that she resumes the telling activity that has not been progressed due to the participants' joint engagement in reformulation activity before line 46.

A second shift can be seen in terms of the alignment between the participants in lines 48-53. As Mikiko puts the storytelling activity forward, Naomi and Sachiko show their alignment with Mikiko. As we will see below, in the preceding sequence (lines 36-45, Excerpts 5 and 6), Sachiko and Mikiko are in a sense competing tellers of a single event. On the other hand, in lines 48-53 Mikiko, Sachiko, and Naomi engage in coordinated co-telling. When Mikiko first describes a new event that depicts Mr. Gomez's delayed appearance (line 50), Naomi in line 51 provides agreement by saying *soo da soo da* ("right, right"), which indicates that what she just heard matches what she knows. Then as Mikiko further describes Mr. Gomez's next action, namely, his utterance when he arrived at the scene, Sachiko participates in the formulation in line 53 as a co-teller by adding a next action (i.e., Sachiko's response to Mr. Gomez). Furthermore, in

³² Acknowledging that the connectives *sorede* and *de* have been treated in the literature as morphological variants (i.e., *de* as an abbreviated form of *sorede* mostly used in informal situations), Wehr (2003) suggests that they serve in different discourse functions in narrative. She argues that, as noted earlier, *sorede* occurs at an episode boundary, while *de* emerges between story events within an episode to highlight the event that follows after *de*.

lines 52-53 we observe the participants' telegraphic interactions, that is, Mikiko only provides a direct quotation³³ without its overt author/principle, and Sachiko immediately recognizes it as Mr. Gomez's utterance, and co-constructs the proposed dialogic exchange by providing its second half (i.e., her response to Mr. Gomez in the story). This exchange indicates that Mikiko and Sachiko, as affiliated participants, draw on their shared experience in the current storytelling activity to collaboratively formulate the scene in question. After this collaborative telling, Sachiko's subsequent question in line 56 opens another activity to talk about topically related but temporally different past events that occurred some days later, events which turn out to form another storytelling about the fact that Mikiko did not have a chance to meet Mr. Gomez for a while even after she moved in (lines 57-87 not shown). Therefore, we can conclude that the storytelling developed in lines 25-53 reaches its completion with sequential implicativeness for the subsequent action. Particularly, the sequence in lines 48-53 can be seen as the closing sequence of the storytelling activity. It has been reported that at the end of storytelling, participants orient themselves to displaying their understanding of the story. As introduced in Chapter 2, for example, Sacks (1974) identifies the response sequence in which recipients' understanding is displayed by their response to the story with laughter and evaluation. Ryave (1978) and Sacks (1992) observe a second story, which is produced by a recipient of a first story to show his/her understanding of the significance of the first story. Jefferson (1978) illustrates the teller's additional story increments after

³³ Although Mr. Gomez did not speak Japanese, I will treat this formulation as a direct quotation. The basis for this treatment will be provided in detail below.

the completion of his/her telling when recipients do not show appropriate appreciation of the story. In the closing sequence demonstrated in the present storytelling, the participants are oriented to their understanding of the story by contributing elements of their shared experience. Since the present storytelling is a joint-remembering of a shared experience, in which all participants are knowing participants and thus possible tellers, it shows a characteristic way (i.e., co-telling of the shared experience) to bring the storytelling to an end.

3.2.3 Summary and discussion

So far, I have demonstrated how a storytelling about Mikiko's moving day is sequentially initiated and accomplished. The ways in which it is initiated and accomplished are consistent with Jefferson's (1978, 220) findings of features of conversational storytelling, as reviewed in Chapter 2, that stories are initiated by a trigger in the preceding sequence and accomplished with sequential implicativeness for the succeeding sequence. As for the storytelling initiation, I repeat Jefferson's observation as follows:

The local occasioning of a story by ongoing turn-by-turn talk can have two discrete aspects: (a) A story is "triggered" in the course of turn-by-turn talk. That is, something said at a particular moment in conversation can remind a participant (speaker or hearer) of a particular story, which may or may not be "topically coherent" with the talk in progress. (b) A story is methodically introduced into turn-by-turn talk. That is, techniques are used to display a relationship between the story and prior talk and thus account for, and propose the appropriateness of, the story's telling (Jefferson 1978, 220).

The above two aspects were observed in the present storytelling. As for the trigger (i.e., the aspect *a*), we analyzed that Sachiko's action in line 25 (Excerpt 1) was, with a supplemental analysis of Naomi's comparative action in line 13 (Excerpt 2), sequentially occasioned as story initiation triggered by Mikiko's utterance in lines 23-24 (Excerpt 1), which in effect provided the preceding story event. The aspect *b* was observed in the form of Sachiko's abrupt start of storytelling with a minimal formulation (i.e., *sorede* "then" in line 25). Her telegraphic move to turn the question-answer activity into a storytelling can be accounted for as an action allowed by its topical coherency from the preceding activity.³⁴ Therefore, we can conclude that this storytelling is locally occasioned from the preceding sequence. For the story ending, I again repeat Jefferson's observation:

At a story's ending two discrete aspects ... can be found. (*a*) A story can serve as a source for triggered or topically coherent subsequent talk, and (*b*) a range of techniques are used to display a relationship between the story and subsequent talk – techniques which provide that the story is implicative for subsequent talk and thus propose the appropriateness of its having been told (Jefferson 1978, 228).

After the participants' collaborative co-telling of the shared experience in lines 48-53 (Excerpt 3), Sachiko's subsequent action in line 56 (Excerpt 3) led to a new episode of storytelling with a related topic but a different timeframe. We can say that the sequence in lines 48-53 served as a source for the subsequent storytelling, that is, it provided sequential implicativeness for the subsequent activity. Recall that this sequential

³⁴ As I mentioned earlier, the abrupt change of activity may not be allowed only by the topic coherence. I believe that the sociohistorical relationship between the participants plays an important role to allow such a telegraphic yet smooth activity shift. I will discuss this point later.

implicativeness is established when the participants displayed their alignments to each other (lines 46-53, Excerpt 3) on a "next story event" after the negotiation of an element of the experience (to be analyzed below) that suspended the progressivity of the ongoing telling of the story. From this observation, we can say that this storytelling activity is accomplished when the participants reach a mutual understanding of the experience reconstructed through the storytelling, and then the storytelling is shifted to another activity. In sum, by looking how it was started at the beginning and accomplished at the end, we can say that this storytelling is sequentially situated in the surrounding talk.

To accomplish the initiating and the completing processes of storytelling, the participants' talk exhibited unique features: 1) at the beginning, the use of discourse marker *sorede* and the exploitation of the preceding action formulation as a story event to orient the participants to storytelling activity, and 2) at the ending, the collaborative formulation of action sequences to display their understanding of the experience under reconstruction. The way in which the participants initiated and completed the storytelling activity with these features suggests that the participants already had direct access to the experience reconstructed in the storytelling. In the present case of storytelling, there was no need to have a preparatory phase to orient the participants to the upcoming storytelling since they once had went through the experience together, and the context of the ongoing activity was already set by Mikiko's mentioning about the moving day in lines 23-24 (Excerpt 1). Also at the end, the participants did not need to articulate their understanding of the reconstructed experience in discourse by way of evaluation and a second story for instance. Instead, they as co-tellers could agree on the experience which

they had just collaboratively reconstructed in such a way that was consistent with their experience of the reconstructed events as story characters.

Having analyzed that the present storytelling is a sequentially situated conversational storytelling with its own characteristics in the sequential contingency, we now consider how these characteristics are analyzed in terms of formulation. Here, I would like to specifically focus on the telegraphic and minimal nature observed in formulations at the beginning and ending parts of the storytelling. From now on, I use the term **minimalism** to refer to such a type of formulation in which participants in storytelling use abbreviated speech, telegraphic actions, or otherwise reduced verbal behaviors that require participants' extensive reliance on the ongoing context and their extra-discursive knowledge (e.g., shared social history between them) to analyze and recognize the formulation. This notion is inspired by Pomerantz and Mandelbaum's (2005, 164) observation of the use of minimal references, a discursive practice often conducted by people in a close relationship: "one party's making minimal references to

past shared experiences with the other party's taking them up or recognizing them."³⁵

Pomerantz and Mandelbaum focus on a formulation of an object with a minimal term as an instance of *minimal reference*. However, since, as I demonstrated in Chapter 1, the object of formulation can be extended beyond an object and the way in which formulation is realized is also varied, I see Pomerantz and Mandelbaum's observation of the participant's use of minimal reference as a type of minimalism. As Pomerantz and Mandelbaum suggest, for a speaker to engage in minimalism, he/she assumes that a recipient of minimalism has an ability to recognize its significance drawing on his/her extra-discursive knowledge. In other words, there are assumed to be mutually reflexive actions between the speaker and the recipient of minimalism who both rely on the ongoing context and their extra-discursively available knowledge relevant to what minimalism refers to in the ongoing activity. The speaker's minimalism may put a burden on the recipient to maintain mutual reflexivity (C. Goodwin 2007; Chapter 1). At the same time, however, this shows the speaker's reliance on the recipient's ability to do so

³⁵ An example fragment of the use of minimal reference used in Pomerantz and Mandelbaum (2005, 164) comes from Lerner (1992) and Mandelbaum (1987a):

- 1 Michael: 'Member the wah- guy we saw?
 2 (0.2)
 3 Nancy: ehh(h)Oh(h)o he[e Y(h)a(h)ah ha ha ha=
 4 Michael: [huh huh
 5 Michael: =Ey lsten (i: [ss),
 6 Nancy: [AHH: [:::
 7 Michael: [We w'drivin home one night

In a multi-party storytelling, Michael and Nancy as a couple are initiating storytelling about an experience they share in which a guy went the wrong way on one-way street. In that process, Michael in line 1 makes a minimal reference "the guy" for Nancy, and Nancy recognizes it in line 3.

(cf., C. Goodwin (1987), cited in Chapter 1, where the spouses momentarily orient to each other as spouses, able to access the shared referent that one refers to in the presence of the other). If mutual reflexivity is maintained in minimalism (in other words, the recipient successfully recognizes its significance and what the speaker is doing with it), it then indicates that both parties commonly have extra-discursive knowledge that enables them to engage in meaningful interaction. The extra-discursive knowledge drawn on here can be considered a facet of the larger relationship between the interlocutors, which has been developed through their sociohistorical interactions. It is worth noting that minimalism invokes not only interlocutors' mutual reflexivity to extra-discursive knowledge on the conceptual level, but also interlocutors' collaborative smooth interactions at the discourse level. In other words, minimalism is not only a local phenomenon that indexes the commonality of interlocutors' extra-discursive knowledge, but also a resource for participating in talk-in-interaction (in the present study's case, a storytelling activity) that interlocutors enlist in order to accomplish that activity.

Based on the notion of minimalism presented above, we can see the features in the formulations observed so far as instances of minimalism. Sachiko's use of the discourse marker *sorede* ("then") in line 25) functions to turn the activity in progress into storytelling without making any reference to some of the settings of the experience under reconstruction (e.g., a place and characters). This minimalism indicates that Sachiko relied on her co-participants to recognize her abrupt shift of activity to storytelling of an experience made relevant in the preceding sequence. Also, Mikiko's turn in line 52 with the effect of direct quotation but without any reference to the author/principle of the

quotation and without any evidential markers on the quotation indicates that participants are simply oriented to reconstructing the experience by the group as a whole without attention to each speaker's knowledge status relevant to the reconstruction. Therefore, since mutual reflexivity is at work in these instances of minimalism, we can say that what is not formulated in minimalism is assumed to be understood among the participants. I argue that it is possible not only because the participants all have direct access to the experience, but also because experience is central to the sociohistorical circumstances under which they have come to know each other well. Minimalism is, therefore, indicative of the participants' extra-discursive knowledge shared between them. Here, we can also say that minimalism is a type of formulation that discursively appears at a lower level of granularity, but that extra-discursively indexes multiple aspects associated with what is minimally described in the discourse. In the next section, by examining the middle part of the storytelling activity, we will see another type of formulation, elaboration, which is the opposite type to minimalism in that it shows a higher level of granularity.

3.3 The middle

This section examines how the storytelling activity launched by Sachiko from line 25 evolves into extended storytelling. As mentioned above, the experience under reconstruction was shared among the participants, Mikiko, Sachiko, and Naomi, who were present at the scene. However, sharing the experience does not guarantee that they all have mutual accessibility to every single aspect of the experience. In the middle of

the storytelling, the participants' unequal accessibilities become an issue for them to progress storytelling, and lead to a subactivity in which the participants orient themselves to reformulating the experience, or more specifically, a certain aspect of the experience to which the participants exhibit unequal accessibilities. I regard this process as **elaboration** through which the participants demonstrate an orientation to their unequal accessibility to an element of the shared experience and engage in interactional work designed to enable the participants' return to a mutual stance of equal accessibility. This section first examines the process, which exhibits formulation/reformulation of the element in question, then identifies what the participants are oriented to with the (re)formulation, and finally examines the way in which they accomplish elaboration work. The overall sequence structure of this storytelling is roughly diagramed in Figure 3.1 below. I use the term *round* to describe an analytical unit of talk orienting to a specific topic, which, in this case, will constitute the whole sequence of elaboration. Figure 3.1 shows the overall structure of the target of the analysis in this section. The analysis is conducted in each of three rounds (Round 1 in lines 25-33, Excerpt 4; Round 2 in lines 35-39, Excerpt 5; and Round 3 in lines 40-46, Excerpt 6). The sequence from line 23 to line 30 (Excerpt 1), which includes the preceding exploited statement in addition to Round 1, provides the basis for the initiation of this activity, which then evolves into an extended engagement in elaboration activity (two more rounds) until line 53 (Excerpt 3).

Figure 3.1. Overall structure of "Mikiko's moving day"

line #	Speaker	
20 	S	Question
23-24	M	Extended Answer (exploited in the storytelling)
25 	S	Round 1 initiation with a minimal prompt
30		Round 1 completion
32	S	Post-expansion (Question)
33	M	Post-expansion (Answer)
34		1-second pause
35 	S	Round 2 initiation
39		Round 2 completion
40 	M	Round 3 initiation
46	S	Round 3 completion
47		0.7-second pause
48 	M	Progress to the next story event (Aligned and collaborative telling)
53	S	Storytelling completion
55		Short pause
56	S	Shift to another activity

The last two rounds are contingently developed through recycling and reformulating the content of the prior round(s), and the second reformulated version of the story (i.e., Round 3) reaches its completion.

In lines 25-27 and 29, Sachiko describes the scene on the moving day at which Mikiko left her boxes behind in the living/dining room, where Naomi and Sachiko were having a conversation. This is done with formulation at a higher level of granularity, which describes in detail Mikiko's utterances at the scene. Specifically two linguistic resources enhance the high granularity. First, polite clause-final forms (*masen* in line 25, *desu* in line 26, and *kudasai* in line 29) bring about an effect of direct quotation of Mikiko's utterance. Whether true or not, the scene is designed to be reconstructed with what Mikiko exactly said. Secondly, the quotation markers *tte* in lines 25, 27, and 29 demarcate Mikiko's utterance into three units, which turn into three consecutive actions for making a request: 1) Mikiko's approach to Sachiko and Naomi (*sumimasen* "excuse me" in line 25), 2) pre-request by giving a current problematic situation (*tomodachi to yakusoku shiteru n desu kedo konakute* "I was supposed to meet my friend but she/he hasn't come" in lines 26-27), and 3) the delivery of request (*nimotsu o okashite kudasai* "May I put my stuff here?" in line 29). Therefore, Sachiko's formulation here not only describes what Mikiko did, but also details what exactly she said at that moment. At this higher level of granularity, it is worth noting that Sachiko relates the scene by placing Mikiko as the protagonist; that is, Sachiko is talking about Mikiko's past experience in front of Mikiko. We can say that within this participation framework, and with Mikiko's supportive and aligning *aizuchi* in lines 28 and 30, Sachiko's formulation of the scene in the form of a story in lines 25-29 is accepted so far.

However, from line 32, where Sachiko provides a question for Mikiko to ask the identity of the character *tomodachi* ("friend") mentioned in line 26, the storytelling

activity evolves into a reformulating activity orienting to a particular aspect of the experience under reconstruction, that is, a person reference. Given the manner in which the storytelling has developed up until line 30, it is not clear whether Sachiko's action in line 32 is a post expansion of the story provided so far or a resumption of turn-by-turn talk from her uninterrupted storytelling, which is normally labeled as the response sequence in Sacks's (1974) term.³⁶ However, after Mikiko's answer in line 33, since it appears that there is a problem in Sachiko's telling (i.e., Round 1), we can say that Sachiko's telling sequence, which started from line 25, reaches its possible completion in line 29 followed by a problematic possible response sequence in lines 32-33.

3.3.2 Round 2

The second round involves Sachiko's repair of her first version of the story provided in the first round. Let us look at how the second round emerges.

³⁶ Sachiko's question in line 32 alone provides an interesting analytical point in terms of the relationship between Sachiko and Mikiko. Although this is beyond this analysis' concern, it is worth noting that Sachiko's action in line 32 is oriented to a sociohistorical ground shared between Sachiko and Mikiko. Sachiko's use of the general category *tomodachi* in line 26 indexes her accessibility to Mikiko's life at this general level when they first met. By the time of the storytelling activity, however, Sachiko and Mikiko, as housemates and regular members of daily dinner talk, have developed sociohistorical grounds, which allow them to identify some of their friends by their names. Sachiko's question in line 32, therefore, can be analyzed as her attempt to fill in a gap in her accessibility to the *tomodachi* character between the time of the story events and the time of the storytelling with more accurate information. This can be seen as an action of updating information, which is widely observed in conversation between people in a close relationship (Maynard 2003; Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005).

(5) "Mikiko's moving day" lines 32-39

- 32 S: *dare to machiawase shiteta no?*
who with meeting did NOM
- 33 M: *gomez san. ((Gomez-san is the landlord of the house))*
Mr. Gomez
- 34 (1.)
- 35 S: *a .h aa: >so ka<*
oh oh right Q
- 36 *gomez san ga konai noni*
Mr.Gomez S come-NEG AUX
- 37 *tomodachi to betsu na tokoro de*
friend with another place at
- 38 *machiawase shiteru kara*
meeting be.doing because
- 39 *hayaku ikitai ttsutta n da kke.*
soon want.to.go QT.say NOM COP Q

English translation

- 32 S: Who were you meeting with?
- 33 M: Mr. Gomez. ((Gomez is the landlord of the house))
- 34 (1.)
- 35 S: Oh .h oh That's right.
- 36 He had not come yet, but
- 37 you were meeting
- 38 with your friend somewhere else, that's why
- 39 you wanted to leave soon. That's what you said, right?

At first glance, the adjacency pair in lines 32-33 seems to be unproblematic, since Mikiko smoothly provides the second pair part with the information that Sachiko's first pair part projects to fill in (i.e., the person's identity). However, the following one-second silence in line 34, which might have been otherwise occupied with Sachiko's acknowledgement of Mikiko's answer, indicates that there is an interactional problem between Sachiko and Mikiko in this sequence. This can be accounted for by the fact that "Mr. Gomez," the landlord, is not completely suitable as an answer in terms of the membership category

(Sacks 1992) since a landlord is not typically categorized as *tomodachi* ("friend").

Therefore Round 2 can be seen as an activity to work on this problem.

Now, let us look at how Round 2 is developed in lines 36-39. In Round 2, Sachiko modifies the second action formulated in Round 1, namely, the pre-request which provides the source of the current problematic situation, *tomodachi to yakusoku shiteru n desu kedo konakute* "I was supposed to meet my friend but she/he hasn't come" (lines 26-27, Excerpt 4). This formulation is reformulated into two separate statements. The first one is Mr. Gomez' no show (*Gomez-san ga konai* "Mr. Gomez had not come" in line 36), which implies that Mikiko was supposed to meet with him. The second one is the meeting plan with her friend (*tomodachi to betsu no tokoro de machiawase shiteru* "meeting with the friend somewhere else" in lines 37-38), which is elaborated by adding the information *betsu na tokoro de* ("somewhere else") to the meeting plan originally described in Round 1. By reformulating the event under reconstruction in this way, Sachiko is able not only to integrate the character Mr. Gomez that she was just informed of by Mikiko into her version of the story, but also to retain her original storyline, that is, "because of the delay in her appointment, Mikiko had to leave the site where she was bringing in her moving boxes." Sachiko's modification and elaboration in Round 2 then indicates that she is orienting to the pre-request formulated in Round 1, namely, an account for the fact that Mikiko had to approach Sachiko and Naomi, and then asked if she might leave her belongings behind. In other words, Sachiko's reformulation of the experience in Round 2 only modifies a certain aspect that was reconstructed in Round 1,

45 more stuff I left at the old place so=
46 S: =Oh That's right. That's right.

At the end of Round 2 in line 39, Sachiko uses the question format *da kke* (equivalent to English tag question *wasn't it?*), which invites Mikiko's confirmation of what Sachiko described in Round 2. Then Mikiko responds to it with an explicit negation by saying *iya chigau n desu yo* ("No, that's not right") in line 40.³⁷ From line 41, Round 3 of the storytelling starts. As mentioned above, in Sachiko's Round 2, the main focus of the reformulation was on the accountability for the protagonist's (Mikiko's) action in the story. In Round 3, this focus is still sustained and further becomes refined. This is evident in Mikiko's uses of "extreme case formulations" (Pomerantz 1986), i.e., *zutto* ("all the time") in line 41 and *zenzen* ("at all") in line 43. These two tokens indicate that she attempts to justify or even defend her position as the protagonist in the story events. First, by emphasizing the period of waiting with the adverb *zutto* ("all the time") in line 41, Mikiko formulates herself as a character who was fulfilling her obligation to wait for a person she was supposed to meet with (i.e., Mr. Gomez). Secondly in line 43, in contrast, she stresses Mr. Gomez's no-show with the adverb *zenzen* ("at all"), which can imply that it was Mr. Gomez who failed to keep their appointment. These two extreme case formulations create Mikiko's position in the story so as to imply that she could be justified to give up waiting for him. Having laid out this background situation, Mikiko provides in lines 44-45 the reason why she left the place. Note here that the reason is

³⁷ Mikiko's overt negation here indicates her higher accessibility to the experience under reconstruction than Sachiko's. This provides an interesting research topic for future investigation, but is not pursued in this analysis.

revised from Sachiko's second version in lines 37-39 (i.e., Mikiko wanted to go meet with her friend, Excerpt 5) to a version that she wanted to continue bringing in her boxes from her old place. This reformulation of the event under discussion also legitimates her action of leaving as part of her ongoing task, not to meet with her friend, which might imply that she abandoned her task halfway.

3.3.4 *Summary*

In summary, Mikiko's version, namely Round 3 of the telling activity, is designed to position herself in the story as a responsible party who arrived promptly for appointments, waited patiently for the other party to arrive, and endeavored to complete her move in a timely manner. This positioning highlights a contrast with the positioning constructed for her by Sachiko in her preceding two rounds of storytelling. Indeed, Mikiko's version of storytelling (i.e., Round 3) provides a significant repair on the storytelling produced by Sachiko, who, as a result, turns out to be not adequately informed to reconstruct the shared experience as a knowing participant. Nevertheless, Sachiko does not show any problematic signs when orienting to Mikiko's negative treatment of Sachiko's version of the story. Rather in line 46, with the change-of-state token (Heritage 1984) *aa* ("oh") followed by the repeated confirmation token *so ka so ka* ("That's right. That's right"), she simply accepts a more accurate version of the story produced by the most knowing participant as the replacement. Through the reformulation process, we can see that the participants are particularly oriented to a specific aspect in

the reconstruction of the experience, namely, the accountability for Mikiko's action in their shared experience.

Recall that this specific aspect was simply formulated by Naomi in the prior sequence as a single occurrence (*Mikiko-chan koko ni dekkai terebi no hako to nanka tsunde atta* "You brought in a huge TV box and some other stuff stacked up here" in lines 15-16 and 19, Excerpt 2). In contrast, Sachiko, in Round 1, formulates it at a higher level of granularity to depict how Mikiko asked Sachiko and Naomi if she could leave the boxes behind in the room. In Sachiko's telling, she selected detailed formulations focusing on the accountability for Mikiko's action, which contingently form the basis of an extended storytelling activity. Since Sachiko's first version, however, was not accurate as a reconstructed experience, it received modifications twice, first by Sachiko herself and then by Mikiko, the protagonist. In those modification processes, the accountability for Mikiko's action was further elaborated to position her as the protagonist, and as a responsible party who was engaged in accomplishing her ongoing task (i.e., moving). It was therefore revealed that the participants are oriented to the accountability for Mikiko's action in the middle of the storytelling activity. Moreover, it was demonstrated that this work was accomplished through elaboration, which is another type of formulation work used by the participants in this storytelling in addition to the formulation work of minimalism analyzed in the previous section.

I mention here one final analytical observation regarding the participants' orientation towards accountability for the protagonist's action in conjunction with their engagement in elaboration. Specifically, the analysis of collaborative co-telling in lines

48-53 above showed that Mikiko's turn in line 52 was treated by Sachiko as Mr. Gomez's utterance, despite the fact that Mr. Gomez did not speak Japanese. Moreover, if we look at the formulation in line 52 in detail, we also find a logical problem, in that Mikiko was actually not present at the site at the time Mr. Gomez uttered such. Nonetheless, this fact is not marked linguistically, for instance with some evidential markers, in her formulation of the event; rather, it is formulated as a direct quotation of Mr. Gomez. The evidence of the direct quotation is found in several linguistic resources used in line 52: the change of state token *aa* ("oh"), which, owing to its function as an interjection, cannot appear in an indirect quotation; the person reference *Mikiko*, which is how Mr. Gomez used to call her, and cannot be used in an indirect quotation produced by Mikiko herself (she would have referred to herself in an indirect quotation by a first-person pronoun, such as *watashi* "I"); and the sentence final particles *no ka* (the combination of a variant of the plain forms of the copular *no* and the question marker *ka*), which are normally used by a male speaker who is older and in a socially higher position (Mr. Gomez, the landlord of Pacific House, was in his sixties at that time). Mikiko's turn in line 52, therefore, is designed to describe the event through a direct quotation of Gomez's utterance. It is also worth noting that this design does not include the overt identification of the speaker of the utterance (i.e., Mr. Gomez). In response to this formulation, Sachiko in line 53, as the next speaker, exhibits collaborative telling of this scene by adding up what she said to Mr. Gomez, which indicates that she does not have any interactional problem with the accuracy of Mikiko's formulation of the event. Furthermore, with respect to the authenticity or validity of the telling, no other participants point out any inconsistency vis-à-vis the grounding of the

telling in reality in Mikiko's telling in this sequence. This phenomenon suggests that the participants do not always work on elaboration of an aspect of the telling that has a possible problem of accuracy. Having seen the participants' work on elaboration of the accountability for the protagonist's (i.e., Mikiko's) action, we can see a contrast in the participants' indifference toward the accuracy of formulation of the other character's action.

3.4 Conclusion

Starting by identifying the beginning and the ending of a storytelling activity, we observed that it sequentially emerged from the prior activity and reached its completion with implicativeness for the subsequent activity. The contingency in the emergence and completion of the storytelling was consistent with those found in Jefferson's (1978) examinations of conversational storytelling. Along with the sequentially situated nature of the present storytelling, we found specific types of formulation. Those types were identified as *minimalism* and *elaboration*, which are opposite types of formulation in terms of the level of granularity, that is, how much detail the participants provide in describing an element of the experience under reconstruction in storytelling. Minimalism is realized at a lower level of granularity, while elaboration at a higher level. Minimalism requires the participants' abilities to draw on relevant extra-discursive knowledge to understand what is happening in the ongoing activity. In contrast, elaboration orients the participants to a specific aspect of the experience, which was in the present case, the accountability for the protagonist's action in the experience. Elaboration involved a

process (termed a *round*), in which the participants developed multiple topically coherent units of talk orienting to a specific element of the experience under reconstruction, which as a whole constituted a larger unit of activity in the storytelling process. Although elaboration can function to establish the participants' mutual stance of equal accessibility to events described in storytelling, the analysis of the participants' indifference toward the accuracy of the non-protagonist's action suggests that elaboration is more likely to occur on the aspect that involved the protagonist's actions and the accountability for them. Based on the examination of the present storytelling, I conclude that minimalism and elaboration characterize the organization of storytelling and index participants' extra-discursive resources made relevant in the storytelling. In the next two chapters, I further investigate in detail minimalism and elaboration in storytelling by examining two more cases of extended storytelling which are conducted by the same group of people, but are based on different types of experience: one is about a participant's immediate past experience, and the other is another participant's childhood experience, both of which are not shared by all the participants, unlike the present storytelling.

CHAPTER 4
MINIMALISM IN STORYTELLING:
A RESOURCE FOR DRAWING ON EXTRA-DISCURSIVE KNOWLEDGE

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I established the notions of minimalism and elaboration as types of formulation, and demonstrated that they serve as effective resources for participants' work on mutual reflexivity: in employing minimalism, participants draw on their extra-discursive knowledge made relevant in storytelling, while in using elaboration, participants establish their mutual accessibility to an aspect of the experience under reconstruction. In this chapter, I take one step further in investigating minimalism. The use of minimalism examined in Chapter 3 (i.e., minimal cue to launch storytelling) worked effectively among the participants. This was consistent with analyses presented in previous studies that almost exclusively have demonstrated participant success in deploying minimalism and the types of work it accomplishes (C. Goodwin 1987; Lerner 1992; Mandelbaum 1987a; Maynard 2003; Maynard and Zimmerman 1984; Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005). In this chapter, however, I demonstrate that this is not always the case. I identify an instance of malfunction of minimalism in a situation where participants have access to a rich set of extra-discursive knowledge. By examining what kind of extra-discursive knowledge the participants draw on through the minimalism in question, and how they develop the storytelling activity based on the minimalism, this chapter investigates how minimalism is consequential for them to accomplish storytelling and what role their micro-culture play in the process of minimalism.

The storytelling to be examined in this chapter is about a past experience that happened to only one of the participants, Mikiko. Thus she serves as the main teller, while Sachiko and Naomi serve as unknowing recipients of the story. Kaoru is a knowing participant in the sense that she was already informed, before the time of the storytelling, by Mikiko about the experience. Despite it being a non-shared experience among the participants, the people and places that are pertinent to the events formulated by Mikiko in her telling are all familiar to Naomi and Sachiko, and also to Kaoru, by virtue of their micro-culture. The problematic minimalism emerges in an environment in which the participants share such a rich set of extra-discursive knowledge, which provides an important reference point when considering how formulations are presented, and taken up or contested by others during the telling activity. While a trouble source at the word level might be easily identified and immediately repaired (Schegloff 1992b), the trouble source indexed only by the problematic minimalism in the present storytelling is not readily evident at first, and thus it becomes submerged in the ongoing process of storytelling, resulting in the recipients' misconstrual of the experience. The following analysis shows a process in which the participants, while sustaining the storytelling activity, engage in extended elaboration work in pursuit of a shared alignment on aspects of the experience indexed by the problematic minimalism. I demonstrate that the present storytelling is an instance in which the participants' mutual reflexivity established through minimalism, which has been shown in the literature to be a local phenomenon to index the participants' close sociohistorical relationship, is vital for them to accomplish a storytelling activity.

4.2 Analysis

Since the present storytelling activity is fairly extended and complex, the analysis is organized into four subsections: 1) the identification of the problematic minimalism, 2) the analysis of the nature of the problematic minimalism, 3) the analysis of the participants' work on recipients' misconstrual, and 4) the analysis of the resolution of the misconstrual. Before these analyses, I first provide overall description of the present storytelling.

Mikiko's experience reconstructed in the storytelling occurred in the group's common living areas; the story involved a person (other than the four members of the dinnertime group) who was currently living in one of the apartments in Pacific House at the time of the storytelling. Therefore, the people and places identified in the storytelling are all familiar to the participants. The storytelling lasts about 4 minutes (transcribed into 181 lines), which emerged from the prior conversation (non-storytelling).³⁸ In the prior conversation, the participants are talking about how they would shorten the name of a well-known Japanese retail brand, which carries a wide variety of household and consumer goods. The brand name is *Mujirushi Ryohin* (the literal translation is "No-label, Quality Goods"), which is conventionally referred to as a shortened version *mujirushi* or *muji* in everyday conversation. The storytelling activity starts, triggered by the ongoing topic of how to shorten the brand name, and evolves into an extended

³⁸ The transcript of the entire storytelling and its preceding conversation is provided in Appendix A.

activity of formulations and reformulations of Mikiko's experience. These formulations and reformulations are contingently achieved through participants' interactions, and as a result, form multiple units of sequence (hereafter *rounds*), each of which is developed around a topic and successively built up on the prior rounds (Chapter 3). As shown in Appendix A, I identify eight rounds of formulation and reformulation sequences including partial reformulations of a certain point of the experience and additional formulations of the events before and after the experience. Table 4.1 below shows a rough sketch of the organization of the whole storytelling activity (called "Star") in terms of rounds of formulation.

Table 4.1. The organization of "Star"

Round 1	Lines 45-46
Round 2	Lines 47-67
Round 3	Lines 68-96
Round 4	Lines 97-131
Round 5	Lines 132-140
Round 6	Lines 141-154
Round 7	Lines 155-183
Round 8	Lines 184-225

The analysis will show that Round 1 and Round 2 provide the basic storyline of the experience. However, a minimalism provided by Mikiko in Round 2 entails a trouble source, which is not immediately identified by the unknowing participants, and which results in their pursuit of resolving inconsistency between the teller's original telling and their own understanding, or more accurately misunderstanding, of the experience. Thus the storytelling activity evolves into six more rounds as the participants work through the

inconsistency. When they resolve it in Round 8, the participants bring an end to the storytelling activity. The whole storytelling process, therefore, can be seen as an extended reformulation process in which the participants engage in conversational efforts to resolve misunderstanding caused by the trouble source. In this process, each round forms a coherent sequence initiated by a participant's action (e.g., a question or contesting of an element of the story made relevant in a prior round), and followed by its projected response providing elements of the story. In other words, each round constitutes an adjacency pair in which the first pair part is provided with a single turn, while the second pair part is realized through more elaborated activity, namely storytelling. The first pair part in each round emerges in response to a point made relevant in the immediately prior round. Therefore, the eight rounds exhibit coherently organized successive units of sequences, and constitute the storytelling activity as a whole. Each round can be regarded as a reformulation (most of the time, a partial reformulation) of a prior formulation of some aspect – usually an event – of Mikiko's experience. In the following analysis, I investigate how the participants accomplish the storytelling as a whole through these rounds by examining each round in detail to see what interactional work the participants accomplish within each round, and how they incorporate the interactional work into the next round until they reach mutual understanding of the reformulated experience.

4.2.1 The identification of the problematic minimalism

In order to identify the trouble source, this section examines the basis of the present storytelling. First, this storytelling is initiated by the knowing participants' minimalism, which constitutes Round 1.³⁹ Recall that before this round, the participants talked about the way to refer to the brand name *Mujirushi Ryohin* by a shortened version *mujirushi* or *muji*.

(1) "Star" Round 1 (lines 45-47)

- 45 M: *sore o yuunara atashi no .hh sutaa::bakk(h)usu huhu=*
that O say-AUX I LK Starbucks
- 46 K: *=hh _sutaa[maaketto_*
Star Market
- Round 2**
- 47 S: *[nani?*
what

English translation

- 45 M: That reminds me, my .hh Starbucks huhu=
46 K: =hh _Star [Market_
Round 2
47 S: [What?

Mikiko's utterance *sore o yuunara* ("That reminds me") in line 45 can be seen as a disjunct marker to indicate a trigger of a story (Jefferson 1978). By that disjunct marker, Mikiko is able to make a thematic connection between the prior activity and the upcoming one. She then provides a different yet similarly well-known brand name in the retail industry, Starbucks, in a short phrase *atashi no sutaabakkusu* ("my Starbucks") with preceding, concurrent, and succeeding laughter. At this point, Mikiko indicates that

³⁹ In the beginning of the storytelling, Naomi was in the kitchen, and after a few minutes, joined in the activity (from line 62 to be shown later). Therefore, we only observe interactions between Mikiko, Kaoru and Sachiko here.

something laughable is involved in this name. In a latching response to Mikiko, Kaoru, who already knows about the experience of "Mikiko's Starbucks," shows an immediate reaction indicating that she recognizes Mikiko's minimalism. Here, it is worth noting that Mikiko's minimalism *atashi no sutaabakkusu* ("my Starbucks") at this point does not explicitly show what she is orienting to. In this context, Kaoru in line 46 responds to Mikiko with another yet similar company name in the retail industry *sutaamaaketto* ("Star Market"⁴⁰) with preceding laugh particles (*hh*). This indicates that she makes a connection between the key words "Starbucks" and "Star Market" at the moment she only hears Mikiko's minimalism. Also, the shared laughter in lines 45 and 46 shows that they share the significance of what they commonly refer to as laughable. This is consistent with Glenn's (1991/1992, 139) observation that "sharing laughter displays mutual co-orientation towards the laughable object, action or utterance. It also displays affiliation of the laughers with each other." As mentioned before, the experience referred to in lines 45 and 46 is already shared between Mikiko and Kaoru. Therefore, this is an instance of minimalism in which an experience is formulated at a lower level of granularity with key words of the experience, as discussed in Chapter 1. Minimalism is accomplished by the two knowing participants with their displays of aligned orientations towards their mutual knowledge, which involves Mikiko, Starbucks and Star Market in a humorous sense.

The low granularity form of telling in Round 1 shows recipient design for only the knowing participants. In response to their formulations, an unknowing participant, Sachiko, in line 47 (*nani?* "what?") shows resistance to that design by requesting

⁴⁰ Star Market was a statewide supermarket chain at the time of the data collection.

information about the experience invoked in Round 1. The turn organization observed in lines 45-47 seems to be consistent with findings in Mandelbaum (1987a) and Lerner (1992), which identify the organization of the beginning sequence in multi-party storytelling with two knowing participants (in their cases, a couple). They observe that knowing participants show coordinated moves to a storytelling activity with minimally mentioned keywords, and after that, storytelling for unknowing participants emerges from that sequence. Their analyses are based on the assumption that a storytelling activity is developed linearly from the beginning, middle, and end, as seen in Sacks's (1974) proposal of the storytelling sequences (the preface, telling and response sequences). Through a retrospective observation on the present data, it can be considered that lines 45-47 constitute the beginning sequence of the storytelling that follows after that (from line 48 to be shown later). However, since the present study assumes that an experience can be formulated in various ways ranging from a single TCU and to a complex story, I regard lines 45-46 as one way to formulate an experience, and the following complex storytelling in Excerpt 2 as reformulation of the same experience.

(2) "Star" Round 2 (lines 47-67)

- 47 S: *[nani?*
 what
- 48 M: *.hh hh hh .hh a(h)r(h)e w(h)a ne? .hh i(h)ch(h)ido*
 that TM FP once
- 49 *(.) .hh kako chan to hanashi shitetee .hh*
 Kako-chan with talk do
- 50 *ano (.8) >^kore kara dokka iku no^< tte yuu kara,*
 SF this from somewhere go Q QT say because

51 aa kore kara chotto:: (.) dekakete benkyoo toka tte.
oh this from a bit go.out study and.the.like QT

52 tte yuttete .hh
QT say

53 de sono mae n- sono ato ni,
and that before that after

54 (.) ano koohiishoppu dee?
SF coffee.shop at

55 S: un
yeah

56 M: benkyoo suru no ga sukina n ↑daa toka tte
study do NOM S like NOM COP and.the.like QT

57 iu hanashi o berabera shitete,
say talk O blah.blah do

58 de doko iku no? tte yuu kara,
and where go Q QT say because

59 atashi wa, .hhhhh sutaabakkusu. no tsumori de,
I TM Starbucks LK intention in

60 sutaa de kitchatta [n desu ne?
Star at cut.off NOM COP FP

61 K: [hh hh hh

((Naomi comes back from the kitchen, and joins the conversation))

62 K: hh hh (de) okutte ageru yo.[tte yuu
and take.you give FP QT say

63 M: [^okutte ageru yo ^
take.you give FP

64 tte yutte=
QT say

65 K: =orosare [tara
be.dropped.off-AUX

66 M: [^iya, ii yo ii yo: ^ toka tte itteta noni,
no fine FP fine FP and.the.like QT say-AUX

67 *orosareta* *basho ga sut(h)aamaak(h)e(tto)*
 be.dropped.off place S Star Market

English translation

47 S: [What?
48 M: .hh hh hh .hh It was .hh when
49 (.) .hh I was talking to Kako. .hh
50 uhm (.8) she said "Are you going somewhere now?" So,
51 I said "Yeah, I'm just going out to study."
52 I was saying that. .hh
53 And, before that- after that
54 (.) uhm I said "I like studying
55 S: yeah
56 M: at coffee shops."
57 I was going on.
58 Then, she said "Where are you going?" So,
59 I .hhhhh meant Starbucks.
60 But I somehow cut off at *sutaa*.
61 K: [hh hh hh
 ((Naomi comes back from the kitchen, and joins the conversation))
62 K: hh hh (Then) she said "I'll give you a ride"
63 M: [she said "I'll give you
64 a ride."=
65 K: =When Mikiko was dropped off
66 M: [I said "No thanks. I'm fine, I'm fine." But
67 the place where I was dropped off was at Star Market.

Sachiko's request in line 47 indicates her demand for reformulation that reflects her expectation that she is also a legitimate participant when the formulation is constructed with an eye towards recipient design. Then the participants begin Round 2, (re)formulation of the experience, from line 48. While Mikiko's "Star" experience is only formulated with key words in Round 1, it is reformulated into the form of a story in Round 2 at a higher level of granularity. Roughly speaking, the "Star" experience is formulated into a story in which Kako gave Mikiko a ride to the place Mikiko was heading for, which she referred to by the name *sutaa*. As lines 59 and 67 indicate, the point of this story is designed to be the misunderstanding of the place named *sutaa* between Mikiko and Kako: by the word *sutaa*, Mikiko meant Starbucks, whereas Kako

understood it as Star Market. The storytelling in Round 2 provides the basis for the rest of the storytelling.

Now, let us examine in more detail Round 2 to see how it is constructed through formulation work. At the beginning of Mikiko's storytelling (lines 48-49), she provides a time frame and a story character. The time frame is formulated with the indefinite temporal term *ichido* ("once") in line 48. The story character, who was a resident of Pacific House, where the participants resided at the time of the storytelling, is referred to with the nickname *Kako-chan* by which she was known to all four participants in the storytelling activity (line 49). In lines 50-66, Mikiko, with Kaoru's co-participation starting in line 62, provides fairly detailed formulations of the events that comprise a single scene in which she and Kako had a short conversation. The events are formulated mostly as utterances that Mikiko and Kako exchanged in the conversation, which describe 1) Mikiko's telling Kako of her plan to study on the day of the conversation (line 51), 2) her habitual preference for study at coffee shops (lines 54 and 56), 3) the specific place (*sutaa*) she was heading for (line 60), 4) Kako's offer of a ride (lines 62-3), and 5) Mikiko's declining the offer (line 66). In contrast to these detailed formulations of the scene of their conversation, no subsequent events, which presumably occurred between Kako's offer of the ride (lines 62-3) and the arrival at Star Market (line 67), are formulated. As we will see below, the incompleteness of this telling of Mikiko's "Star" experience causes a problem for the unknowing participants Sachiko and Naomi, who are unable to understand the experience. The telling evolves into six more rounds of reformulation and/or additional formulation processes until the participants accomplish

the whole storytelling activity by providing sequential implicativeness for the subsequent activity.

In order to appreciate the problematic nature of the telling provided by Mikiko and Kaoru in Round 2, let us then look at the final round of reformulation to see how the prior five rounds of (re)formulation of the telling lead to a final resolution. The participants' work towards the final resolution begins to appear in Round 7, in which Naomi contests against her conjecture invoked by the storytelling so far, that is, Mikiko was not comfortable enough with Kako to ask for an additional favor. The examination includes the places where the problem is revealed (lines 161-164 in Round 7) and resolved (lines 184-206 in Round 8) shown in Excerpt 3 below.

(3) "Star" The problem

(3-1) The problem is revealed (Round 7, lines 159-164)

- 159 N: *sore o, (.) wazawaza onegai suru hodo no naka ja na(h)i n d(h)a.*
 that O especially ask do degree LK relationship COP NEG NOM COP
- 160 M: *.hh .hh iya mo, i- sore ne,*
 no already that FP
- 161 *(.) sono, to↑modachi no kuruma da↓tta n desu yo.*
 SF friend LK car COP NOM COP FP
- 162 N: *(un[nnn?])*
 yeah mh
- 163 M: *[kanojo no kuruma ja nakutte,*
 her LK car COP NEG
- 164 *(.) hito no kuruma de,*
 person LK car COP

English translation

- 159 N: Oh, you're not comfortable enough with her
 to ask for a ride all the way back to Starbucks.
- 160 M: .hh .hh No, well, n- That was-

161 (.) uhm It was actually a friend's car.
 162 N: (un[nnn?])
 163 M: [Not her car.
 164 (.) It was someone else's car.

(3-2) The problem is resolved (Round 8, lines 184-206)

184 N: =hito no ku[ruma tte?
 person LK car QT

185 M: [hito no-
 person LK

186 N: (.) >dooyuu koto?<
 how thing

187 N: kako [chan ga
 Kako-chan S

188 S: [hito mo ita tte koto [na n desho?
 person too existed QT thing COP NOM TAG

189 M: [hito-
 person

190 M: >chigau< hito ga, mukae ni kita yatsu ni,
 wrong person S pick.up came thing in

191 toorimichi da kara,
 on.the.way COP because

192 isshoni nokketette ageru <yoo ni>, yutte ageru yo tte.
 together ride.in give so.as.to say give FP QT

193 (.)

194 S: a ja hito ga unten shi[teta n da
 oh then person S drive was.doing NOM COP

195 M: [soo hito ga unten
 right person S drive

196 [(suru) kako chan ja nai kara,
 do Kako-chan COP NEG because

197 ?: [()

198 ?: sore wa
 that TM

199 S: *sore o itte kurenakya.*
that O say give-NEG-AUX

200 N: *sore yutte kurenaito,*
that say give-NEG-AUX

201 (.)

202 N: [*huh huh huh huh*]

203 K: [*so so so so*]
right right right right

204 M: *huh huh huh huh*

205 N: *wa[karu*
understand

206 S: [*sore dattara waka[ru*
that COP-AUX understand

English translation

184 N: =Someone else's [car?
185 M: [Someone else's-
186 N: What do you mean?
187 N: Kako [was
188 S: [That means there was someone else too, right?
189 M: [Someone else--
190 M: No. It was someone else's car, and he/she was on his/her way
191 to pick Kako up. So she said to me that since it was on the
192 way, she would ask her/him to give me a ride with them.
193 (.)
194 S: Oh, then, someone else was driving.
195 M: [Right. Someone else was driving.
196 Not Kako. That's why.
197 ?: [()
198 ?: That is...
199 S: You should have told us that.
200 N: You should have told us that. Otherwise,
201 (.)
202 N: [*huh huh huh huh*
203 K: [*yeah yeah yeah yeah*
204 M: *huh huh huh huh*
205 N: I get it
206 S: [If that's the case, I understand now.

As we will see in detail below, Mikiko's explanation about the owner of the car in line 161 emerges in response to Naomi's contest in line 159 (*sore o wazawaza onegai*

suru hodo no naka ja nai n da "You're not comfortable enough with her to ask for a ride all the way back to Starbucks"⁴¹) that problematizes the relationship between Mikiko and Kako. In her response, Mikiko, in lines 160-161, formulates, for the first time in the telling, a feature (i.e., ownership) of the car in which she was given the misdirected ride by saying *tomodachi no kuruma datta n desu yo* ("It was actually a friend's car"). The framing of this turn with *n desu yo* presents the content as an account for Mikiko's behavior (not asking a favor of a return ride), and adds a tone of high personal involvement (i.e., I should know) to Mikiko's response. Naomi's response *unnnn?* in line 162 (alignment token *un* with the extended final sound *n* in a rising intonation) accordingly treats Mikiko's turn as worthy of attention. Yet despite this display of attention and the lack of a clear connection between the account and the story as told thus far, Mikiko's subsequent reformulations of line 161 (i.e., lines 163-164) are not further taken up in Round 7, as the participants remain oriented to the issue of the relationship between Mikiko and Kako.⁴²

Despite the lack of uptake in Round 7, Mikiko's turn in line 161 and her two subsequent reformulations of that turn in lines 163-164 provide the grounds for further narrative development and reformulation work in Round 8. Specifically, although no new character is introduced in these turns, the mention of *tomodachi* ("friend") in line 161 and

⁴¹ It is not clear what *sore* ("that") in line 159 refers to. However, I read it as the request from Mikiko to Kako to take her all the way back to the right place (i.e., Starbucks) she originally planned to go.

⁴² We will see Round 7 (including the sequence after line 164) in detail later. At this moment, I only describe that Mikiko's turn in lines 163-164 is not immediately taken up by the other participants.

its reformulation as *hito* ("someone else") in line 164 imply the existence of an as-yet-mentioned participant in the main events of the story. In Round 8, Naomi in lines 184 and 186 belatedly takes up Mikiko's formulation in line 164 by requesting clarification (*hito no kuruma tte dooyuu koto?* "Someone else's car? What do you mean?"). This leads to Mikiko's elaborated reformulation of the condition of the ride (lines 190-192): Kako's friend was picking her up, so she would ask him/her to give Mikiko a ride with them to the place Mikiko was heading since it's on the way. This elaboration is again reformulated by Sachiko in line 194 to clarify the driver of the ride, namely "someone else" and by Mikiko in line 196 "not Kako." Since the storytelling after line 198, as we will examine in detail below, exhibits the participants' achievement of their mutual understanding of the experience, and thus reaches its completion as the activity as a whole, we can now see the overall development of the entire storytelling activity: the initial storytelling (Round 2) involved missing information constituting the circumstantial information of the experience (i.e., the driver of the car in which the teller rode), which was filled by the unknowing participants in Round 8 with an unknown character "someone else." Since Sachiko and Naomi explicitly indicated that they needed to know that the driver had not been Kako but someone else to understand the experience (lines 199-200 and 205-206), we can conclude that this information was critical for Sachiko and Naomi. However, the fact that this aspect of the circumstances was made relevant after elaboration work that extends across multiple rounds of the storytelling activity indicates that the aspect, the driver of the car, was not completely missing in the storytelling until that round, but rather that it had been misunderstood by the unknowing participants up

until that point. This is further evident in Mikiko's additional account for the driver in lines 195-196 *soo, hito ga unten (suru) kako chan ja nai kara* ("Right. Someone else was driving. Not Kako. That's why"). Mikiko's explicit negation *kako chan ja nai* ("not Kako") indicates her recognition of the unknowing participants' misunderstanding, that is, this particular aspect of the circumstances might have been understood as Kako. It is highly likely that the unknowing participants arrived at this misunderstanding as such through their work on drawing on extra-discursively available resources to fill in that aspect of the circumstances. I argue that this work is accomplished by the indexicality invoked in the minimalism formulated with the recognitional reference *Kako-chan*, which includes not only who Kako is, but also her everyday life, what she usually does, and how she does it, which is commonly known to the participants by virtue of their micro-culture. Thus, we can say that the minimal reference *Kako-chan* in this storytelling introduces the trouble source that caused misunderstanding between the unknowing and the knowing participants.

4.2.2 The analysis of the nature of the problematic minimalism: Indexicality

In this section, I demonstrate in detail what the minimal reference *Kako-chan* indexes, which in effect leads to problems in the unknowing participants' understanding of the experience under reconstruction in the storytelling activity. We first examine the indexicality of the minimal reference *Kako-chan* in terms of the locational setting of the experience. This is seen in the first half of Round 3 in which Sachiko responds to the

storytelling in Round 2, the round in which *Kako-chan* is first introduced in the storytelling.

(4) "Star" Round 2 + the first half of Round 3 (lines 48-76)

48 M: .hh hh hh .hh a(h)r(h)e w(h)a ne? .hh i(h)ch(h)ido
that TM FP once

49→ (.) .hh kako chan to hanashi shitete .hh
Kako-chan with talk do

50 ano (.8) >^kore kara dokka iku no^< tte yuu kara,
SF this from somewhere go Q QT say because

51 aa kore kara chotto:: (.) dekakete benkyoo toka tte.
oh this from a bit go.out study and.the.like QT

52 tte yuttete .hh
QT say

53 de sono mae n- sono ato ni,
and that before that after

54 (.) ano koohiishoppu dee?
SF coffee.shop at

55 S: un
yeah

56 M: benkyoo suru no ga sukina n ↑daa toka tte
study do NOM S like NOM COP and.the.like QT

57 iu hanashi o berabera shitete,
say talk O blah.blah do

58 de doko iku no? tte yuu kara,
and where go Q QT say because

59 atashi wa, .hhhhh sutaabakkusu. no tsumori de,
I TM Starbucks LK intention in

60 sutaa de kitchatta [n desu ne?
Star at cut.off NOM COP FP

61 K: [hh hh hh

((Naomi comes back from the kitchen, and joins the conversation))

- 62 K: *hh hh (de) okutte ageru yo.[tte yuu*
and take.you give FP QT say
- 63 M: *[^okutte ageru yo^*
take.you give FP
- 64 *tte yutte=*
QT say
- 65 K: *=orosare [tara*
be.dropped.off-AUX
- 66 M: *[^iya, ii yo ii yo:^ toka tte itteta noni,*
no fine FP fine FP and.the.like QT say-AUX
- 67 *orosareta basho ga sut(h)aamaak(h)e(tto)*
be.dropped.off place S Star Market
- Round 3**
- 68 S: *hh hh hh hh d(h)atte (.)*
but
- 69 *migi ni iku ka hidari ni [iku-*
right to go or left to go
- 70 M: *[huh huh iya de, iya (.)*
no and no
- 71 *n- nokkerarete, (.)*
be.taken.in
- 72 *^byu::n^ tte itta shunkan ni, (.)*
vroom QT went moment in
- 73 *cho- chotto matte, sut(h)a- sutaa wa sutaa demo*
just wait star star TM star but
- 74 *(.) maaketto da na tt(h)e*
market COP FP QT
- 75 *D(h)E, >kigatsuita n da kedo<*
and realized NOM COP but
- 76 *.hh .hh iya koko de oroshite to mo ierenakutte:*
but here at drop.off QT can.say-NEG

English translation

- 48 M: *.hh hh hh .hh* It was *.hh* when
49→ *(.) .hh* I was talking to Kako. *.hh*
50 *uhm (.8)* she said "Are you going somewhere now?" So,
51 I said "Yeah, I'm just going out to study."

52 I was saying that. .hh
53 And, before that- after that
54 (.) uhm I said "I like studying
55 S: yeah
56 M: at coffee shops."
57 I was going on.
58 Then, she said "Where are you going?" So,
59 I .hhhhhh meant Starbucks.
60 But I somehow cut off at sutaa.
61 K: [hh hh hh
((Naomi comes back from the kitchen, and joins the conversation))
62 K: hh hh (Then) she said "I'll give you a ride"
63 M: [she said "I'll give you
64 a ride."=
65 K: =When Mikiko was dropped off
66 M: [I said "No thanks. I'm fine, I'm fine." But
67 the place where I was dropped off was at Star Market.

Round 3

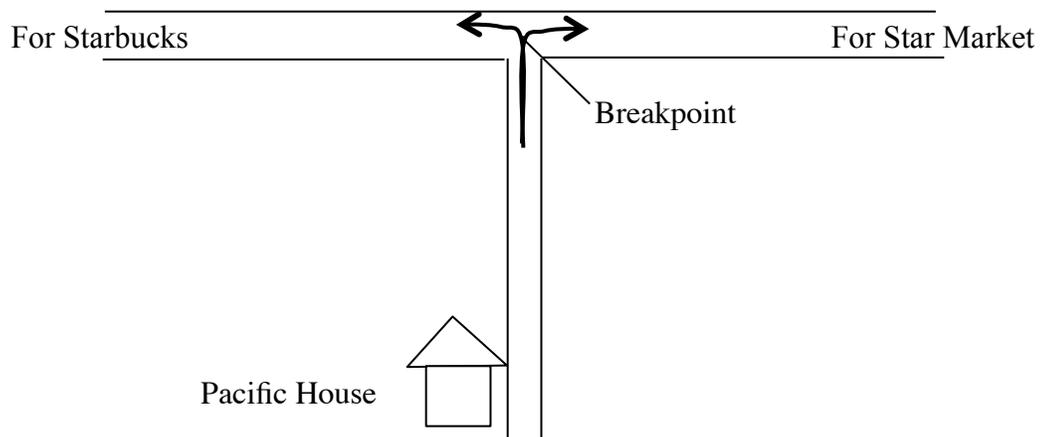
68 S: hh hh hh hh But (.)
69 whether you're going to the right or left
70 M: [huh huh No, well(.)
71 After I got in the car, (.)
72 and when the car zipped away,
73 I realized "Wait a minute, sutaa is star, but
74 (.) it's the market."
75 SO I realized that.
76 .hh .hh But, I couldn't tell her "Let me get off here".

As analyzed above, the character name *Kako-chan* is first introduced in line 49 along with the indefinite time frame *ichido* ("once") in line 48. Besides this information that provides the framework of the story setting, note that there is no explicit information in Round 2 about the initial location where the story events started in the first place, which is usually given in the beginning of a story as a story setting. Although the locational information is missing in the ongoing discourse, it is worth noting that the participants make this information relevant in the subsequent storytelling activity. The relevant locational information includes 1) the initial place where the story began (i.e., Pacific House), and accordingly, 2) a particular Starbucks shop and a particular Star Market store referred to in the story, despite the possibility that the generic terms "Starbucks" and "Star

Market" could refer to any other outlets within the ordinary shopping radius in the participants' living area. At a glance, it seems that Mikiko's first formulation (lines 48-49) at the beginning of Round 2 serve as minimalism, an important function of setting up the locational framework of the experience.

Before looking at data in detail, the reader may need background information to understand the geographical ground on which the locational framework is constructed. Figure 4.1 below indicates the locational relationship between the initial point of departure (Pacific House), a Starbucks shop, to which Mikiko originally intended to go, and a Star Market store, to which she was taken in the car ride.

Figure 4.1. Geographical relationship between Starbucks, Star Market, and Pacific House



To go to Starbucks, one has to take a left turn on the nearest main road from Pacific House, but to Star Market, it is a right turn.

Given these geographical relationships, let us then examine how the three locations are made relevant in the storytelling activity, which is observed in the sequence from line 68 to line 76. In this sequence, the participants first orient to the point of the story, namely, the laughable that resulted from Mikiko's slip of the tongue. After the punch line in line 67, Sachiko's turn in lines 68-69 exhibits two types of responses at the same time, namely appreciation of the laughable and challenge to Mikiko's telling. First, Sachiko's appreciation was displayed through a "volunteer, recognition-placed laughter" (Jefferson 1979, 82) in line 68. However, she also promptly turns to contest Mikiko by providing the oppositional discourse marker *datte* (S. Maynard 1992; Mori 1996; Saft 2000) in line 68 followed by the directional deictic references *migi* ("right") and *hidari* ("left") in line 69. According to the geographical ground presented above, Sachiko's *migi* ("right") and *hidari* ("left") can be understood as the directions to Star Market (to the right) and Starbucks (to the left) from Pacific House. Therefore, Sachiko makes the geographical relationships between the three locations relevant in her minimalism in line 69.

This is proved by Mikiko's preemptive defensive response starting from line 70. In line 70, she cuts off Sachiko's utterance and forms a counter opposition with another oppositional discourse marker *iya* (Saft 1998, 2000). This suggests that Mikiko, at the point where Sachiko only utters *migi ni iku ka hidari ni iku* ("if you go to the right, or then if you go left"), recognizes the point to which Sachiko is initiating an opposition in the story told so far. In other words, Mikiko understands only by the minimalism she receives from Sachiko what Sachiko is contesting. Furthermore, in line 72, she describes

the movement of the car with the phrase *byuu:n tte itta* ("the car zipped away"), which is consistent with the situation in which the car began to accelerate after making a stop at the corner with the main road. Lines 73-75 suggest that this corner specifically refers to the breakpoint that led Mikiko to realize that the car was heading for Star Market. Thus, Mikiko's *koko de* ("here") in line 76 refers to the breakpoint, namely the corner of the road branching off for Star Market if going to the right and for Starbucks if going to the left. Therefore, Sachiko and Mikiko in lines 68-76 (Round 3) are contesting about the breakpoint in the course of the car ride, which was not explicitly formulated in Round 2, without having any interactional problem of their understandings where the breakpoint is. In other words, the argument between them in lines 68-76 demonstrates that they are able to evoke the target of the argument extra-discursively. Since the only resource in the storytelling so far (i.e., Round 1 and Round 2) that makes this argument interactionally possible is the minimal references Starbucks, Star Market and *Kako-chan*, they are considered to have the locational indexicality in the storytelling.

Particularly, I argue, the nickname *Kako-chan*, which is recognizable to all the participants as a housemate, serves an important role. This recognitional reference form (Schegloff 1996) not only provides the information about whom Mikiko was talking with in the story, but also indexes more, including the place where the conversation took place, namely, their home, Pacific House. In other words, the nickname *Kako-chan* serves as the deictic anchor point of the storytelling. We can also say that the trouble source (i.e., the driver of the car) we identified above may also come from one aspect of the story setting indexed by the minimal reference *Kako-chan*. Since it was known to the

participants that Kako owned a car but Mikiko did not, it is not surprising that Sachiko understands, based on the formulation that Kako offered a ride (line 62), that Kako drove her own car to give a ride to Mikiko. Therefore, the minimalism, *Kako-chan*, not only orients the participants towards the character *Kako*, but also provides them with multiple aspects of the setting of the experience associated with that reference such as her residence, possessions, living areas, and daily activities, which the participants of the storytelling as residents of the same building have obtained through their sociohistorical experiences that constitutes their micro-culture.

4.2.3 *The analysis of the participants' work on recipients' misconstrual*

We retrospectively identified above that the person reference *Kako-chan* introduced in Mikiko's storytelling (Round 2) entailed the trouble source (i.e., the driver of the ride). It has to be noted, however, that the person reference *Kako-chan* itself was not the trouble source. The trouble source was one of the circumstances of the experience that the person reference indexed (e.g., a locale, a destination, a path of travel, a breakpoint). Due to this indexicality, not only did the participants not fully realize the trouble source at the moment it was indexed in the telling, but also the unknowing participants misconstrued Mikiko's telling, and thus the knowing and unknowing participants establish different perspectives to assess the reconstructed experience. As we will see below, this leads the participants to develop inextricably intertwined extended processes resolving the misconstrual by focusing on the gap in their assessment of the experience in pursuit of mutual reflexivity. As described above, the participants engage

in such work through multiple rounds (Rounds 3-7) within the framework of a storytelling activity. In these rounds, we observe some argument episodes, in which the unknowing participants (Sachiko and Naomi) display their own understanding and contest Mikiko's telling, and in turn, the teller counter-contests the unknowing participants' understanding.⁴³ In this section, I demonstrate these processes step-by-step by focusing on the participants' work displaying, contesting, and modifying their own understandings. I first look at how Mikiko designs her telling of the experience, and then turn to how the unknowing participants (primarily Sachiko) display their understanding and contest Mikiko's telling.

4.2.3.1 Mikiko's telling of the experience

I first look at Mikiko's telling in Round 2 as the initial storytelling, which provides the basis for Sachiko's contesting the telling. It is designed to orient towards the accountability for Mikiko's course of action during the pre-event that led to Kako's offer to Mikiko of a ride. The orientation is only implicitly evoked in this round through her formulation of the events at a higher level of granularity. Since we already examined Round 2 in Section 2.4.1, I present in digest form the part of Mikiko's telling that makes her orientation relevant, which is shown in Excerpt 2a.

⁴³ The other knowing participant Kaoru also participates in this process in the way in which she aligns with the main teller Mikiko. Since Mikiko and Sachiko are the two major participants who engage in argument, I use Mikiko and Sachiko to represent the opposing parties.

(2a) "Star" Round 2 (line 48-64)

- 48 M: .hh hh hh .hh a(h)r(h)e w(h)a ne? .hh i(h)ch(h)ido
that TM FP once
- 49 (.) .hh kako chan to hanashi shitete .hh
Kako-chan with talk do
- 50 ano (.8) >^kore kara dokka iku no^< tte yuu kara,
SF this from somewhere go Q QT say because
- 51 aa kore kara chotto:: (.) dekakete benkyoo toka tte.
oh this from a bit go.out study and.the.like QT
- 52 tte yuttete .hh
QT say
- 53 de sono mae n- sono ato ni,
and that before that after
- 54 (.) ano koohiishoppu dee?
SF coffee.shop at
- 55 S: un
yeah
- 56 M: benkyoo suru no ga sukina n ↑daa toka tte
study do NOM S like NOM COP and.the.like QT
- 57 iu hanashi o berabera shitete,
say talk O blah.blah do
- 58 de doko iku no? tte yuu kara,
and where go Q QT say because
- 59 atashi wa, .hhhhh sutaabakkusu. no tsumori de,
I TM Starbucks LK intention in
- 60 sutaa de kitchatta [n desu ne?
Star at cut.off NOM COP FP
- 61 K: [hh hh hh
- ((Naomi comes back from the kitchen, and joins the conversation))
- 62 K: hh hh (de) okutte ageru yo.[tte yuu
and take.you give FP QT say
- 63 M: [^okutte ageru yo^
take.you give FP

fairly typical in Japanese as an initial question to open small talk when two friends or acquaintances run into each other, the formulation of Kako's utterance in line 50 can be understood as such. The following formulation in line 51, Mikiko's utterance *aa kore kara chotto dekakete benkyoo* ("Yeah, I'm just going out to study"), then, can be heard as her response to Kako's question. This response not only provides further evidence that Kako and Mikiko had small talk in the scene⁴⁴, but also indicates that Mikiko informed Kako of her purpose to go out, namely to study, before the problematic car ride occurred. We also see in the following sequence that her purpose of going out was crucial in the small talk she had with Kako. First, this is evident in a self-initiated-self-repair in line 53 (*sono mae n- sono ato ni* "before that n- after that"), which suggests that the teller is careful about the temporal order of the exchanges between Mikiko and Kako in the conversation. What happened *after that*, not before, is described in lines 54 and 56-57 that Mikiko likes studying at coffee shops. Mikiko's self-repair in line 53 suggests that she, as the teller, designs the two events, 1) Mikiko started small talk with Kako, and 2) she told Kako that she liked studying at coffee shops, in this chronological order. In other words, Mikiko's informing Kako of her habitual preference occurred within the speech event reconstructed in the storytelling. In this way, the two pieces of information (Mikiko's going out for study and coffee shops as her favorite study place) together set up the expectation that she was going to a coffee shop, not just going out for study, at the time of the conversation.

⁴⁴ Since Mikiko's *chotto dekakete* ("just going out") only vaguely provides information as a response to Kako's inquiry, this can also be considered a typical second pair part of the adjacency pair to initiate small talk.

Having designed in this way, the teller provides an activity transition from small talk to genuine transactional talk, in this case, a question-answer sequence (lines 58-60), which leads to the next event, Kako's offer of a ride to Mikiko (lines 62 and 63). From line 60, we understand that in response to Kako's question *doko iku no?* ("Where are you going?") in line 58, the protagonist Mikiko answered the question with the word *sutaa*. Then in the story, Kako offered Mikiko a ride to the place called *sutaa*. At this point of the storytelling, there is no doubt to assume that the recipients, the members of a micro-culture, who share their everyday living areas with Mikiko and Kako, foresee that Kako took Mikiko to Star Market, not Starbucks, since the word *sutaa* was conventionally used to refer to Star Market in their neighborhood⁴⁵. This assumption is also evident in formulations in lines 59-60. In line 59, the teller Mikiko, by explicitly inserting her state of mind *atashi wa sutaabakkusu no tsumori de* ("I meant Starbucks"), provides the recipients with her intention, which in turn implicates that her unuttered intention was not taken up by Kako. On the other hand, in line 60, she describes that what she actually uttered was the word *sutaa*, which is described as a cutout of Starbucks. Since the modal suffix *-chatta* attached to the verb stem *kiru* ("cut") conveys the speaker's subjective stance that what is described in the sentence was a "violated expectation about social norms" (Yoshida 1994), the verb *kitchatta* in line 60 implicates Mikiko's awareness of the

⁴⁵ The most popularly used conventional reference for Starbucks among Japanese speakers is its shortened word *sutaba*.

anomalous use of the word for Starbucks.⁴⁶ Lines 59-60, therefore, prove that she was then in the story world and is now at the time of the storytelling aware that the word *sutaa* does not normally refer to Starbucks. Only in lines 59-60, Mikiko explains her action in the story as problematic. However, recall that Mikiko designed the story from line 50 to line 57 that she already informed Kako that she was going out for study and her favorite study place was a coffee shop. This suggests that she already put Kako in a position to be able to figure out Mikiko was about to go out to a coffee shop for study.

In summary, although she admits that she selected a wrong word to refer to the place she intended to go, Mikiko as the teller in Round 2 designs the story so as to place Kako in a position responsible to figure out where Mikiko actually wanted to go. Therefore, the perspective is evoked orienting to the responsibility of Kako and the accountability for Mikiko's course of action in the small talk, which may partially be anomalous but otherwise quite legitimate.

Although right after Round 2, Sachiko in Round 3 starts contesting Mikiko's telling and displaying her perspective orienting to a missing aspect of the experience (i.e. the breakpoint of the travel) as analyzed in Section 4.2.2, at the end of Round 3 she also recognizes Mikiko's perspective established in Round 2.

(5) "Star" part of Round 3 (lines 88-94)

88 K: *sutaa maaketto de doyatte benkyoo sun no tt(h)e.*
 Star Market at how study do NOM QT

⁴⁶ In addition, the extended inhalation before *sutaabakkusu* ("Starbucks") and the emphasis on the second half of *sutaabakkusu* in line 59 support the reading of Mikiko's awareness of her anomalous use of *sutaa* for Starbucks.

Sachiko treats Kako as an additional responsible person in addition to Mikiko involved in the misunderstanding. In the sequence in lines 89-91, Sachiko clearly displays her understanding of the storytelling in the way in which Mikiko designed it in Round 2, and thus makes Mikiko's orientation relevant.

Mikiko's orientation again becomes relevant in Round 4, which is provided for Naomi who missed the beginning part of the storytelling activity (Rounds 1 and 2, Excerpts 1 and 2), since she had been away from the living/dining room.

(6) "Star" Round 4 (lines 97-106)

- 97 N: [kako chan datta no?
Kako-chan COP FP
- 98 M: kako chan to: kako chan to koo yu- (.) shabette
Kako-chan with Kako-chan with SF be.talking
- 99 doko iku no:? (.) tte yuu kara
where go FP QT say because
- 100 atashi koohiishoppu de benkyoo suru no ga suki na n ↑da:
I coffee.shop at study do NOM S like COP NOM COP
- 101 toka tte yuu hanashi o shitete:
and.the.like QT say talk O be.doing
- 102 N: un
yeah
- 103 M: de: (.) doo no koo no shabettetara< .h
and blah.blah be.talking
- 104 doko iku no:? >tte yu kara<=
where go FP QT say because
- 105 =atashi wa .h sutaabakkusu no tsumori de
I TM Starbucks LK intention in
- 106 SUTA(g)A hh hh SUT(h)AA
star star

English translation

- 97 N: [Was that Kako?

98 M: I was talking with Kako
99 She said "Where are you going?" (.) So,
100 "I like studying at coffee shops"
101 I was telling her something like that
102 N: Yeah
103 M: Then, we were talking blah blah blah .h
104 She said "Where are you going?" =
105 = I meant Starbucks but just said
106 SUTA(g)A hh hh SUT(h)AA

Round 4 is initiated by Naomi's question in line 48 as she is catching up with the storytelling. Mikiko starts retelling the story from the beginning to establish the ground that led to the event of Kako offering a ride to Mikiko. Here again, Mikiko formulates the ground at a higher level of granularity by reconstructing a conversation activity composed of characters' turn exchange. Although there are some abbreviated descriptions of the characters' actions, Mikiko maintains the story design that the conversation is initiated as small talk (lines 98-103), where she informs Kako of Mikiko's favorite place to study (coffee shops) is informed to Kako (line 100), and then shifted to genuine transactional talk (line 104-106), where Mikiko actually uttered the word *sutaa* (line 106). With this design, Mikiko establishes her own unconventional action as accountable, if not legitimate. In sum, from both Round 2 and Round 4, each of which was provided by Mikiko for the unknowing recipients, Sachiko and Naomi, respectively, Mikiko makes her orientation relevant towards the accountability for her otherwise unconventional action.

In Round 4, moreover, Mikiko explicitly presents this accountability in the storytelling discourse. This happens after all of Mikiko's co-participants make critical comments one after another, which are aligned to the point that Mikiko's use of *sutaa* for Starbucks was a wrong choice after all.

(7) "Star" Round 4 (lines 105-121)

- 105 =atashi wa .h sutaabakkusu no tsumori de
 I TM Starbucks LK intention in
- 106 SUTA(g)A hh hh SUT(h)AA
 star star
- 107 K: demo [sutaa wa sutaamaaketto yo.
 but star TM Starmarket FP
- 108 M: [((breathy laughter))
- 109 M: hh .hh [hu(g)h hu(g)h
- 110 N: [yappari sutaa wa sutaa
 after.all star TM star
- 111 M: hu(g)h huh huh
- 112 S: sutaba tte iwanakya ikenai.
 sutaba QT say-AUX no.good
- 113 M: [sut(h)ab(h)a
 sutaba
- 114 K: [sutaba
 sutaba
- 115 sutaba da ne?
 sutaba COP FP
- 116 M: iy(hh)aa m(h)o ^koohii^ no hanashi shiteta kara:
 no already coffee LK talk did because
- 117 .hh (.) sutaa de kitta >shunkan ni<=a mazui kana?
 star at cut.off moment in oh no.good Q
- 118 tte hanbun <omotta n da kedo>,
 QT half thought NOM COP but
- 119 (.) °wakatte° [kureru daroo
 understand give COP-AUX
- 120 ?: [hh hh
- 121 M: huh huh. k(h)ooiii shoppu no hanashi o shiteta kara.
 coffee shop LK talk O did because

English translation

105 = I meant Starbucks but just said
106 SUTA(g)A hh hh SUT(h)AA
107 K: But, [*sutaa* is Star Market.
108 M: [((breathy laughter))
109 M: hh .hh [hu(g)h hu(g)h
110 N: [*Sutaa* is Star after all.
111 M: hu(g)h huh huh
112 S: You have to say *sutaba* to mean Starbucks.
113 M: [*sut(h)ab(h)a*
114 K: [*sutaba*
115 Yeah, *sutaba*, for sure.
116 M: But, we were already talking about coffee. So,
117 .hh (.) Right after cutting off at *sutaa*, I wondered
118 "Oh, it didn't come out right" But,
119 (.) I thought she could understand what I meant.
120 ?: [hh hh
121 M: huh huh. We were talking about coffee shops.

Let us look at how these critical comments emerged in this context. In line 105, Mikiko puts emphasis on the first half of *sutaabakkusu*, and in line 106, she repeats the word *sutaa* twice with stressed within-speech laugh particles. Through this formulation, Mikiko indicates that laughter is appropriate on her anomalous use of the word *sutaa*, which can also be seen as her invitation for the recipients to laugh along. According to Glenn (1991/1992), current speaker's laugh invitation routinely occur on a description of the speaker him/herself as the object of laughter as self-teasing or deprecation. Here, Mikiko's laughter can be seen as an instance of non-serious self-deprecation. In other words, by laughing at her choice of the anomalous reference for Starbucks, Mikiko designs her admission to the mistake as something that should not be taken seriously as her inability of language use. In this environment, the other participants decline her invitation to laugh, which starts from line 106 and continues in lines 108, 109, 111 and 113, by responding with non-laughing talk. Glenn (1991/1992) suggests that whether or not a recipient of laugh invitation laughs together in this type of situation may depend on

"the degree of seriousness of the difficulty" that he/she finds behind the teller's laughable description. If a recipient of laugh invitation finds it not serious, he/she may join in the inviter's laughter. On the other hand, if serious enough, then he/she may provide serious talk instead of laughing. As Glenn (1991/1992) mentions, non-laughing talk is observed in such an environment as what Jefferson (1984b) identifies "troubles telling." By providing non-laughing talk, the recipient can display his/her "troubles-receptiveness" rather than affiliation with the troubles-teller's move to lighten his/her trouble through laughing. In the present case, non-laughing responses from the recipients of laugh invitation resemble the latter sequential phenomenon, namely serious response to troubles-telling in which the troubles-teller invites laughter.

However, what the recipients say in response (Kaoru in line 107, Naomi in line 110, Sachiko in line 112, and again Kaoru in lines 114-5) appears to show that they do not display troubles-receptiveness. Rather, one after another, they make sober comments on the laughable to suggest Mikiko's choice of the word was indeed wrong. These responses indicate that not only do the recipients not find Mikiko's anomalous use of the word *sutaa* as laughable, but also they do not affiliate with Mikiko's non-serious self-deprecating stance. What they are showing here is that they take Mikiko's laughable as not non-serious, or seriously wrong. In other words, they take it as the very reason why the misunderstanding between Mikiko and Kako occurred. Furthermore, note that their comments take different forms and different aspects of the anomalous use: Kaoru in line 107 points to the right referent by saying *demo sutaa wa sutaamaaketto yo* ("but *sutaa* is Star Market") followed by Naomi in line 110 *yappari sutaa wa sutaa* ("*sutaa* is Star after

all"), while Sachiko in line 112 points out the right reference for Starbucks by saying *sutaba tte iwanakya ikenai* ("You have to say *sutaba* to mean Starbucks"), followed by Kaoru in lines 114-5 *sutaba, sutaba da ne* ("Yeah, *sutaba*, for sure"). Therefore, it can be seen as if their comments in this order were transformed into one evaluative comment, which in effect consolidates disaffiliation against Mikiko.

In this environment, Mikiko's explicit account emerges in lines 116-119 as her defense against this consolidated disaffiliation, which is evident in the oppositional discourse marker *iya* (Saft 1998, 2000) in line 116. What follows the discourse marker is her account explaining that she was talking about coffee with Kako. This account is provided with within-speech laugh particles indicating that it is still laughable considering the context in which the word *sutaa* was used. At the completion of the account in line 116, Mikiko slows down her utterance by extending the last syllable of the phrase *hanashi shiteta kara*: ("since we were talking"), and creates a non-talking space with a short in-breath followed by a short pause. Although these devices may create a transition relevance place where the recipients can take a turn to respond to Mikiko's account, her co-participants do not enter. Then she continues her turn in lines 117-119, and elaborates the account by describing her unsure (*mazui kana tte hanbun omotta* "I wondered 'oh, it didn't come out right'." in lines 117-8) and yet optimistic reliance on Kako's reason (*wakatte kureru daroo* "I thought she could understand what I meant" in line 119). Furthermore, in line 121, Mikiko recycles the account, *koohii shoppu no hanashi o shiteta kara* ("Since we were talking about coffee shops"). Mikiko's actions here in lines 116-121 reveal her account: the fact that Mikiko and Kako was talking about

coffee shops as her favorite place to study was legitimate enough to make Kako recognize Mikiko's unconventional use of the reference *sutaa* for Starbucks. As analyzed above, this account was made relevant in Round 2 when Mikiko reconstructed the experience for the unknowing participant Sachiko, and in the first half of Round 4 for the catching-up of the unknowing participant Naomi.

In summary, Mikiko's orientation towards the accountability for her action was maintained in Rounds 2, 3, and 4. This was once supported by Kaoru and acknowledged by Sachiko in Round 3 (lines 88-93, Excerpt 5), but later completely canceled by all participants in Round 4 (lines 107-115 Excerpt 7), as analyzed above, when the participants pointed out the cause of the misunderstanding in Mikiko's anomalous use of the word, and, in so doing, contested the account she had presented thus far. This suggests that the orientation Mikiko provided in her telling was not recognized by her co-participants as a legitimate account for what happened (or what did not happen) in the experience reconstructed in the storytelling. There is another line of work left that the participants carry out in the present storytelling, that is, the unknowing participants' pursuit of their own understanding of the experience established on their misconstrual led by the trouble source. The work is primarily carried out by Sachiko. The following subsection demonstrates how this pursuit is intertwined in the process of Mikiko's telling.

4.2.3.2 Sachiko's contest: Counterfactual contributions from an "unknowing" teller

I now turn to an examination of the unknowing participant Sachiko's participation in the storytelling, in order to demonstrate how she displays her

understanding of the experience, and, in so doing, contests Mikiko's telling that contains conflicting aspects with Sachiko's understanding. Sachiko participates in the storytelling as an unknowing recipient of Mikiko's telling of the experience. However, as mentioned earlier, she is familiar with the people and places provided in the telling as a member of the micro-culture shared among the participants. This extra-discursive condition enables Sachiko to participate in the storytelling activity as a "knowing" participant to some extent. This aspect allows her to display her own understanding of the experience in a confrontational manner. The following analysis shows how Sachiko, as a contesting party, gradually achieves her pursuit of understanding of the experience, which at first is inconsistent with Mikiko's telling, but is realized in the end as misunderstanding. There are five places in the middle rounds in which Sachiko attempts to show her understanding: 1) by raising her concern about the breakpoint where the car made a turn for Star Market (see Figure 4.1) in Round 3, as seen in Section 4.2.2, 2, and 3) by contributing a counterfactual event that must have occurred based on her understanding twice in Round 3 and Round 4, 4) by offering an account for nonoccurrence of the counterfactual event in Round 5, and 5) by providing an evaluative comment for nonoccurrence of the counterfactual event in Round 7. Sachiko's multiple attempts indicate that she has a hard time to achieve the alignment between her own understanding of the experience and Mikiko's telling. In the following subsections, I demonstrate how each of Sachiko's attempts is treated by the other participants, and as a result, develops extended rounds of storytelling until the participants achieve mutual understanding of the experience.

79→ S: =*atashi sutaabakkusu no tsumori da(h)tt(h)a n da gome:n tte*
I Starbucks LK intention COP NOM COP sorry QT

80 M: *hh hh .hh*

81 K: *orita basho ga sutaa maaketto?*
got.off place S Star Market

English translation

68→ S: *hh hh hh hh But (.)*
69→ *if you go to the light, or then if you go left*
70 M: *[huh huh No, well(.)]*
71 *After I got in the car, (.)*
72 *and when the car zipped away,*
73 *I realized "Wait a minute, sutaa is star, but*
74 *(.) it's the market."*
75 *SO I realized that.*
76 *.hh .hh But, I couldn't tell her "Let me get off here".*
77 *(.8)*
78 M: *So, I went to Star Market.*
79→ S: *=You could have said "I meant Starbucks. Sorry."*
80 M: *hh hh .hh*
81 K: *The place you got out of the car was Star Market?*

What Sachiko is doing in lines 68-69 can be understood from Mikiko's preemptive counter-contest in lines 70-78, which is provided through reformulation of her experience with the additional information about the moment at which the car made a turn at the breakpoint. This counter-contest suggests that Sachiko contests Mikiko by pointing out an event, which was not included in her prior telling in Round 2; and Mikiko validates Sachiko's contest by filling out the event with an additional description of the event in lines 71-76. A 0.8-second silence in line 77 after Mikiko's account for the just-added event, however, indicates that the ongoing argument between Sachiko and Mikiko does not seem to find a landing place at this point. This is evident in both Mikiko's and Sachiko's subsequent actions in lines 78 and 79, respectively. Mikiko, although she created a transition-relevance place by extending the final sound of her turn in line 76 and

refraining from speaking for a moment in line 77, resumes telling in line 78 by adding a subsequent event (*moo soko made itte* " So, I went to Star Market"), which brings her telling back to the event Mikiko already described in Round 2 (line 67, Excerpt 2). Mikiko's action in line 78 can be seen as the teller's story increment (Jefferson 1978) in response to the absence of an appropriate response from her interlocutors. Sachiko in line 79, however, does not allow Mikiko to go back to the event that she was dropped off at Star Market. Her swift cut-in in line 79 indicates that she takes her turn as a priority response (Bilmes 1993) to prevent Mikiko from progressing the story to the drop-off point. Instead, by contributing a counterfactual, hypothetical event (*atashi sutaabakkusu no tsumori datta n da gome:n* "I meant Starbucks. Sorry"), which could have been uttered by Mikiko at the moment she realized the car was headed in the wrong direction at the breakpoint, Sachiko attempts to focus on the event that would have occurred at the moment at the breakpoint. Sachiko's action, therefore, can be considered a second attempt to provide an alternate perspective which might reflect her own standpoint vis-à-vis the endeavor to jointly visualize the experience. In summary, Sachiko provides her alternate perspective in Round 3 twice: at first by pointing out the place at which Mikiko could have said something to Kako to inform her that they were headed in the wrong direction and then by contributing a hypothetical counterfactual story component.

Note, however, that Sachiko's contest in line 79 is not taken up in the rest of Round 3 (except through Mikiko's laugh particles in line 80, which can be seen as an alignment with Sachiko's challenge as non-serious). This is observed in Excerpt 9.

(9) "Star" Round 3 (lines 78-96)

78 M: moo soko made i(h)tt(h)e=
yet there to go

79 S: =atashi sutaabakkusu no tsumori da(h)tt(h)a n da gome:n tte
I Starbucks LK intention COP NOM COP sorry QT

80 M: hh hh .hh

81 K: orita basho ga sutaa maaketto?
got.off place S Star Market

82 ?: huh huh

83 N: >sutaa maaketto de orita no?<
Star Market at got.off NOM

84 M: huh huh

85 K: arigatoo:
thank.you

86 M ^arigatoo:^ (.) tte
thank.you QT

87 ?: huh huh

88 K: sutaa maaketto de doyatte benkyoo sun no tt(h)e.
Star Market at how study do NOM QT

89 S: huh huh huh s(h)oo da yo ne?
right COP FP FP

90 k(h)ako chan mo (kii tsukatte)
Kako-chan too care

91 [k(h)ik(h)anaky(h)a d(h)ame da yo ne?
ask-AUX no.good COP FP FP

92 M: [hh hh .hh huh huh

93 K: \$maaketto de ii no? tte.\$
market good FP QT

94 M: huh huh soo soo.
right right

95 ?: ([)

96 M: [JAA NE:: [toka tte
bye and.the.like QT

English translation

78 M: So, I went to Star Market.
79 S: =You could have said "I meant Starbucks. Sorry."
80 M: hh hh .hh
81 K: The place you got out of the car was Star Market?
82 ?: huh huh
83 N: Did you get out of the car at Star Market?
84 M: huh huh
85 K: "Thank you"
86 M "Thank you" (.) I said that
87 ?: huh huh
88 K: Makes me wonder "How could you study at Star Market?"
89 S: huh huh huh I'm with you. It's odd, isn't it?
90 Kako should've thought of you more
91 [don't you think?
92 M: [hh hh .hh huh huh
93 K: She should have asked you "Are you OK with the market?"
94 M: huh huh Yeah yeah
95 ?: ([)
96 ["See you" [I said

After Sachiko inserted in line 79 the counterfactual utterance attributed to Mikiko as the protagonist, followed by Mikiko's weak acknowledgement with laugh particles (line 80), Kaoru in line 81 does not take up these actions. Instead, she aligns with Mikiko's action in line 78 by contributing a story component (*orita tokoro ga sutaa maaketto?* "The place you got out of the car was Star Market?"). In the rest of Round 3 (lines 82-87), the participants are oriented to what happened after the event Kaoru formulated in line 81 (Naomi's uptake of Kaoru in line 83, Kaoru's further contribution of a story component in line 85 followed by Mikiko's repetition). Furthermore, as illustrated above, from line 88 to line 94, Round 3 of the storytelling reaches its completion at the participants' evaluative comments on the point Mikiko originally made, namely, Kako's failure to infer Mikiko's intended meaning of the word *sutaa*. In summary, in Round 3, Sachiko's second attempt to provide her alternate perspective by orienting towards an event that was not previously included – namely, the event that could have occurred at the breakpoint on the

road – was disattended, while the other participants were oriented to reconstructing what happened at Star Market.

The third attempt in Round 4,

Just as with her second attempt, Sachiko again provides her alternate perspective by interjecting a counterfactual utterance attributed to Mikiko in Round 4.

(10) "Star" Round 4 (lines 122-131)

- 122 (.5) ↑*de, tsuretette ageru yo:*
 and take.you give FP
- 123 (.) *de, yunibaashitii abenyuu o*
 and University Avenue on
- 124 .*hh .hh (1.0) ORITA SHUNKAN NI=*
 went.down moment in
- 125→S: =>*mo soko de tomete<=*
 already there at stop
- 126 M: =*soko de moo, [orita shunkan ni*
 there at already went.down moment in
- 127 S?: [*(i↑i ya)*
 good FP
- 128 N: *huh huh huh huh huh*
- 129 M: °*a(h)a°*
 oh
- 130 ? *fu-*
- 131 K: \$*kore wa chigau [tte\$*
 this TM wrong QT

English translation

- 122 (.5) Then, she said "I'll give you a ride"
- 123 (.) Then, at University Avenue,
- 124 .*hh .hh (1.0) at the moment the car turned down the road=*
- 125→S: ="Pull over right there"
- 126 M: But the moment had passed.

127 S?: [(oh, ok)
 128 N: huh huh huh huh huh
 129 M: "°Oh°"
 130 ? fu-
 131 K: You thought "This is wrong"

Sachiko's third attempt occurs in line 125 in the context in which Mikiko is reformulating the experience for Naomi to catch up. The third attempt emerges in almost the same manner we saw in the second attempt, that is, it is interjected as a priority response right after Mikiko describes the moment that the car made a turn down University Avenue and headed for Star Market.⁴⁷ Note here that Mikiko's retelling in Round 4 (lines 123-124) includes the scene in which the car made a turn, which was not included in Round 2 (her first storytelling for Sachiko), but later added in Round 3. This suggests that Mikiko acknowledges Sachiko's perspective presented in lines 68-69 and again in line 79 in Round 3. However, Sachiko's third attempt to present her perspective by inserting a counterfactual imaginary utterance is again disattended in the subsequent sequence. After Sachiko's interjection in line 125, Mikiko goes back to the point presented in line 124 by repeating *orita shunkan ni* ("at the moment the car turned down the road"), and adds in line 129 *aa* ("oh"), which can be understood as the interjection of her definite realization that she was going to the wrong place after all. Furthermore, in line 131, Kaoru adds more explicitly Mikiko's imaginary state of mind (*kore wa chigau* "This is wrong"), which can be seen as a continuation from the interjection in line 129. In lines 126-131, therefore, Mikiko and Kaoru collaboratively formulate a story event that reconstructs the

⁴⁷ From the breakpoint, the road toward Star Market is a down-slope.

moment in question, which, however, does not incorporate Sachiko's contribution in line 125.

Despite the fact that interjecting counterfactual story content does not have interactional force to change the basic line of storytelling, it should be noted that Sachiko's attempt shows significance in the domain of participation. Organizationally speaking, providing counterfactual story content is not cooperative and constructive in terms of the very function of storytelling, namely reconstructing a past experience. However, Sachiko's repeated attempts at contesting the teller at least suggest that she displays her capacity to participate in the storytelling as one of the authors of the story. Recall that the experience under reconstruction was Mikiko's solo experience, which, Kaoru already heard from Mikiko earlier than the time of the storytelling. So, it is not surprising that Kaoru serves as a co-teller in this storytelling activity. However, the fact that Sachiko participates in the storytelling as a co-teller in this particular aspect (i.e., the insertion of counterfactual story content) cannot be accounted for based on her knowledge about the experience itself. Rather, we can assume that it is based on her extra-discursive knowledge that she can draw on to infer what happened in the experience under reconstruction. As we examined in Round 2 in Section 4.2.2, minimalism was observed when the circumstantial information of the experience was first established, in which the geographical dimension of the story (i.e., the initial location, the resultant arrival place, and the intended destination) was indexed only by the references, *Kako-chan*, *Sutaabakkusu*, and *Sutaamaaketto*, recognizable to all the participants. I therefore accounted for this phenomenon on the basis of the participants' shared extra-

discursive knowledge about these recognitional reference forms. Particularly, I argued that the minimal reference *Kako-chan* provided them with multiple aspects of the circumstances of the experience associated with that reference such as her residence, possessions, living areas, daily activities, and the relationship with Mikiko, which are commonly accessible to the participants of the storytelling as members of a micro-culture. We can therefore analyze that Sachiko's insertion of counterfactual story content is the display of her accessibility to resources available extra-discursively that allow her to imagine what Mikiko could have done in the situation reconstructed in the storytelling so far. Recall that the information, who drove the car, is not going to be discursively provided until Round 7. It is therefore more likely that Sachiko draws on her extra-discursive knowledge that Kako had a car, and assumes that Kako drove the car to take Mikiko to Star Market. Thus, Sachiko's insertion of an imaginary counterfactual story component, which may not be a constructive contribution to the storytelling in progress, can be analyzed as her display of her capacity to participate in the storytelling as an active co-teller based on her own sociohistorical experiences that allow her to account for what happened in the reconstructed experience.

The fourth attempt in Round 5

Sachiko's fourth attempt to provide her alternate perspective emerges in Round 5, when the storytelling comes back around to the point at which Kako offered Mikiko a ride (lines 133-135). This time, however, while Sachiko orients to the same place she

oriented to in the first to third attempts, she does not explicitly contest Mikiko. Sachiko in lines 137-138 provides a story component to align with Mikiko's telling.

(11) "Star" Round 5 (lines 132-140)

132 S: [motomoto aruite iku tsumori datta n deshoo?
originally walk go intention COP NOM TAG

133 M: motomoto: .hh (.5) soko de basu o katchi shite:
originally there at bus O catch do

134 (.) notte iku tsumori datta n da kedo,
get.in go intention COP NOM COP but

135 >tsurettette ageru yo toorimichi da kara<
take.you give FP on.the.way COP because

136 (.)

137→S: a(h), toorimichi da kara ne↑:=
oh on.the.way COP because FP

138→ =imasara hidari ni magatte [t(h)o w(h)a (ienai)
now left to turn QT TM can.say-NEG

139 N?: [huh huh huh huh

140 (.)

English translation

132 S: [You intended to walk to Starbucks, didn't you?

133 M: At first .hh (.5) I was going to

134 (.) catch the bus there. But,

135 She said "I'll give you a ride because it's on the way"

136 (.)

137→S: Oh, it was on the way. So,

138→ it was too late to say, "Turn left".

139 N?: [huh huh huh huh

140 (.)

Although Round 5, initiated by Sachiko's question in line 132 (*motomoto aruite ikutsumori datta n desho?* "You intended to walk to Starbucks, didn't you?"), seems to evolve into a new direction to include Mikiko's original plan to go to Starbucks, Mikiko

in line 135 again comes back to the point in which Kako offered a ride. This time, however, she adds new information, *toorimichi da kara* ("because it's on the way") that explicitly indicates the account for Kako's offer of a ride to Mikiko. In response, in lines 137-138, Sachiko exploits this just-added account for Kako's offer of a ride as an account for Mikiko's not telling Kako to make a left turn at the breakpoint to correct their misunderstanding. The utterance here can be heard as the display of Sachiko's understanding of Mikiko's storytelling as a recipient by repairing her repeated propositions of the counterfactual action Mikiko could have done at the moment she found the misunderstanding. This is evident in a turn initial particle *a* ("oh") in line 137 to indicate the speaker's receipt of new information (Heritage 1984) followed by explicit formulations of the reason *toorimichi da kara* "because it's on the way" (line 137) and its consequence *imasara hidari ni magatte to wa ienai* "it was too late to say 'turn left'" (line 138), which can be replaced with the counterfactual action Sachiko proposed in line 79 (Excerpt 8) and line 125 (Excerpt 10). However, the second half of her utterance (i.e., line 138) can also be heard as a story component, which Sachiko produces by taking over the teller role from Mikiko in line 135. Since there is no overt uptake of Sachiko's turn after line 138, the meaning of Sachiko's utterance remains equivocal. However, I suggest that the second reading is more likely the case in two respects: one is that although it is not clearly heard, the verb *ienai* ("cannot say") at the end of the sentence is in the present form, and the other is that the final segment of the utterance is distorted by aspirations within a morpheme, which can be heard as within-speech laughter. If Sachiko's utterance in line 138 is the display of her understanding of Mikiko's failure, it would be more

natural to formulate the verb in the past tense (i.e., *ienakatta* "couldn't say") through which she positions herself as a recipient of the storytelling who hears the story as a past event. The use of the verb in the present tense has the effect that brings the speaker into the story world. Thus, it can be considered that Sachiko in line 138 again provides story content as if she were representing Mikiko's internal state of being unable to speak up. The within-speech laughter may further support this reading. Since aspirations associated with within-speech laughter occur in the quotative marker *to* and the following topic marker *wa* in line 138, it is highly possible that this segment involves the speaker's display of trouble in explicit production (Jefferson 1985). In other words, the laughter is methodically used to indicate Sachiko's hesitancy to make it clearly be heard. There may not be any problem if Sachiko is providing her realization of the reason why Mikiko was not able to speak up. However, if Sachiko is formulating Mikiko's internal state, she may be taking the risk of violating Mikiko's private space; hence the act requires delicate work on its delivery in such a way as to avoid explicitness by distorting with laughter particles. Although it is done in a less challenging manner than Sachiko's previous two attempts (i.e., providing counterfactual imaginary utterance that could have been said by Mikiko in the story), Sachiko's action in lines 137-138 can be understood as the fourth attempt to present her understanding orienting towards the fact that Mikiko did not speak up right after she found the misunderstanding at the breakpoint on the street. On top of that, the fourth attempt demonstrates a much clearer orientation towards the accountability for Mikiko's course of action, namely, the reason she did not speak up at the breakpoint at the moment when she realized that the car was headed for the wrong place.

English translation

154 So, I had to wait for a while. [huh huh

Round 7

155→S: [(that)

156→ Kako does not know that, does she?

157 M: Yeah. And,

158 (.) I was wet with rain. huh huh

159 N: Oh, you're not comfortable enough with her
to ask for a ride all the way back to Starbucks.

While Mikiko describes what happened after she got out of the car, Sachiko in lines 155-156 makes the confirmation request (*sore kako chan shiranai n desho* "Kako doesn't know that, does she?"). Here, she engages in an equivocal action orienting to Kako's uninformed status, which has been pointed out by her in the earlier attempts orienting towards the protagonist Mikiko (i.e., Mikiko did not speak up to Kako). By equivocal, I mean that her action is subsequently treated in two ways by different participants. On the one hand, by Mikiko's agreement token *un* ("yeah") in line 157, it is treated as a simple request for confirmation so as to indicate that she as a then-unknowing participant now obtains information from Mikiko's storytelling. On the other hand, by Naomi's uptake in line 159 (to be examined closely in the next section), it is treated as a critical assessment to question the fact that Kako was uninformed about the whole situation caused by the misunderstanding between Mikiko and Kaoru, which is consistent with Sachiko's disaffiliative stance with Mikiko so far (i.e., Mikiko should have spoken up for herself). Sachiko's stance is further evident in the onset of her turn, which occurs by overlapping Mikiko's laugh token in line 154. Here, Mikiko is describing the scene in which she ended up waiting for a bus to go back to the place that she intended to go to. Her emphasis on the time that she waited for the bus is expressed with the emphatic word *nan*

juppun mo ("tens of minutes") followed by brief laughter. In this way, the fact that Mikiko waited for the bus for a while is presented as laughable, which is also indicated by laugh particles within words in line 157. However, Sachiko, who overlaps with the laughter in line 155, does not seem to affiliate with such a laughable aspect. Her calm voice quality of the turn rather indicates disattending to that aspect. In addition, the negative formulation *kako chan shiranai* ("Kako does not know") in line 156 implicates the presupposition that the positive counterpart "Kako does know" is a possible alternative resultant event in the story, but it did not happen.⁵⁰ In this sense, we can say that Sachiko in lines 155-156 presents her orientation as a critical evaluative comment towards the fact that Kako did not know about the whole situation caused by the wrong ride to Star Market. This is then finally taken up by Naomi in line 159 and evolves into the resolution in which Sachiko and Naomi achieve the pursuit of their understanding of the experience in Round 8.

Before analyzing the final round in which resolution is achieved, I summarize in Table 4.2 Sachiko's five attempts to provide her alternate perspective orienting towards the issue she has raised, that is, that Mikiko did not speak up to Kako, and the other participants' treatment of the attempt. From this table, we now see that Sachiko through the middle rounds (Rounds 3-7) repeatedly provided her alternate perspective by contesting the primary teller Mikiko. The underlying orientation consistently evoked in these five attempts was an aspect of the experience as related by Mikiko, i.e., Mikiko had not spoken up to Kako.

⁵⁰ For a negative statement as story evaluation, see Labov and Waletzky (1997 [1967]).

Table 4.2. Sachiko's attempts to show her understanding

	Line	Utterance	Response
1	69	<i>migi ni iku ka hidari ni iku</i> "if you go to the light, or then if you go left"	Taken up by Mikiko in lines 70-76
2	79	<i>atashi sutaabakkusu no tsumori</i> <i>datta n da gome:n tte</i> "You could have said 'I meant Starbucks. Sorry'."	Weakly acknowledged by Mikiko in line 80 (laugh particles) with no further uptake
3	125	<i>mo soko de tomete</i> "Pull over right there"	No response
4	137-8	<i>a, toorimichi da kara ne:</i> <i>imasara hidari ni magatte to wa</i> <i>ienai</i> "Oh, it was on the way. So, it was too late to say, 'Turn left'."	Strongly acknowledged by Naomi? in line 139 (laughter) with no further uptake
5	155-6	<i>sore kako chan shiranai n</i> <i>desho?</i> "Kako does not know that, does she?"	Treated as a confirmation request by Mikiko in line 157 Treated as an evaluation by Naomi in line 159

As we saw in Section 4.2.2, Mikiko once addressed this aspect by providing her own account, that is, *koko de oroshite to mo ierenakute* ("I couldn't tell her 'Let me get off here'") in line 76 (Excerpt 4). However, based on Sachiko's repeated and confrontational displays orienting towards that aspect of the experience in the later rounds, we can say that Mikiko's account alone was not enough to resolve Sachiko's concern about Mikiko's questionable course of action. Therefore, at the end of Round 7, there is still a gap between Mikiko and Sachiko in terms of alignment on an account for Mikiko's course of action in her experience reconstructed so far. In the following section, we examine Round 8 to investigate how the participants resolve the gap, and bring an end to the storytelling activity.

By starting with the demonstrative *sore*, Naomi in line 159 makes a connection to what Sachiko referred to by the same demonstrative *sore* in line 155. Her following utterance *wazawaza onegai suru hodo no naka ja nai* ("you're not comfortable enough with her to ask for a ride all the way back to Starbucks") can be seen as a higher granular formulation of Sachiko's *Kako chan shiranai* ("Kako doesn't know") in line 156. These features of the formulation suggest that Naomi's uptake is presented as a reformulation of Sachiko's fifth attempt. The sentence final *n da* further adds the explanatory sense (Y. Johnson 2008) to the reformulation as an account for the fact that Kako did not know. Therefore, through the reformulation of Sachiko's fifth attempt, Naomi contributes to the storytelling an account that Mikiko and Kako were not close enough for Kako to have been informed of their misunderstanding.

Not only does Naomi's uptake contribute an account for Mikiko's course of action to the storytelling, it has an interactional force to orient Mikiko towards the relationship between Mikiko and Kako. Naomi's display of her assessment of the relationship in line 159 creates an opportunity for Mikiko to check its validity as the person who is directly involved in the relationship. Indeed, Mikiko from line 160 takes up Naomi's assessment by denying it with an alternative account to explain why she did not speak up to Kako, which was analyzed in Section 4.2.1 above.

(14) "Star" Round 7 (lines 159-161)

159 N: *sore o, (.) wazawaza onegai suru hodo no naka ja na(h)i n d(h)a.*
 that O especially ask do degree LK relationship COP NEG NOM COP

160→M: *.hh .hh iya mo, i- sore ne,*
 no already that FP

161→ (.) *sono, to↑modachi no kuruma da↓tta n desu yo.*
 SF friend LK car COP NOM COP FP

English translation

159 N: Oh, you're not comfortable enough with her
 to ask for a ride all the way back to Starbucks.
 160→M: .hh .hh No, well, n- That was-
 161→ (.) uhm It was actually a friend's car.

By starting with the oppositional marker *iya* in line 160, Mikiko in lines 160-161 displays her opposing position against Naomi who proposes the assessment of the non-close relationship between Mikiko and Kako. Furthermore, this is presented as a competing account against Naomi in the format starting with the demonstrative *sore* ("that") in line 160 and ending with the sentence final form *n desu yo* in line 161, which is almost parallel to that of Naomi in line 159. The parallel format indicates that Mikiko in line 160 not only invalidates the account proposed by Naomi, but also replaces it with the account presented in line 161 (*tomodachi no kuruma data* "it was a friend's car"). This process therefore suggests that Naomi's account in line 159 finally orients Mikiko towards the issue that Sachiko has attempted to raise in the storytelling activity.

Now we examine the next development of the storytelling activity that shows the final process of orienting the participants to resolve the unknowing participants' misunderstanding. Although Mikiko's account in lines 160-161 is retrospectively considered to be crucial information, as we saw in Section 4.2.1, it takes time for the unknowing participants to take it up as such. In the meantime, the participants show apparently unaligned actions constituting a complicated argument structure. Their

actions however indicate that they have multiple points to argue in the account for Mikiko's not speaking up to Kako.⁵¹

(15) "Star" Round 7 (lines 159-183)

- 159 N: *sore o, (.) wazawaza onegai suru hodo no naka ja na(h)i n d(h)a.*
that O especially ask do degree LK relationship COP NEG NOM COP
- 160→M: *.hh .hh iya mo, i- sore ne,*
no already that FP
- 161 *(.) sono, to↑modachi no kuruma da↓tta n desu yo.*
SF friend LK car COP NOM COP FP
- 162 N: *(un[nnn?])*
yeah mh
- 163 M: *[kanojo no kuruma ja nakutte,*
her LK car COP NEG
- 164 *(.) hito no kuruma de,*
person LK car COP
- 165 N: *demo saa.*
but FP
- 166 S: *>e moo migi ni magatta shu[nkan-<*
SF already right to turned moment
- 167→K: *[iya*
no
- 168 *watashi wa kitto ienai na?*
I TM perhaps can.say-NEG FP
- 169 *(1.)*
- 170 K: *arigatoo tte yutchau na?*
thank.you QT say-AUX FP
- 171 *(.)*

⁵¹ According to Saft (2000, 193-197), a multiparty argument activity often exhibits more than one point to which participants orient their argument within one single argument episode. Although the activity under investigation is a storytelling, what the participants are doing in Round 7 forms this type of multi-point argument episode.

172 M: [^]ari[gatoo:[^]
 thank.you

173 N: [*demo hito ni yoranai?*
 but person to depend

174 (.)

175 K: *hito ni yoru? u::n*
 person to depend uhm

176 (1.)

177 *naka: yoshi do no- ni yoru yo ne?*
 relationship good level to depend FP FP

178 (.)

179→M: *iya, moshi kako chan no kuruma dattara:*
 no if Kako-chan LK car COP-AUX

180 (.) >*iya*< *sutaabakkusu*
 no Starbucks

181 K: *huh huh koko [de oroshite*
 here at drop.me.off

182 M: [*(oroshi) chigau chigau tte,*
 drop wrong wrong QT

183 *oroshite tte iereru n da kedo,=*
 drop.me.off can.say-NEG NOM COP but

English translation

159 N: Oh, you're not comfortable enough with her
 to ask for a ride all the way back to Starbucks.

160→M: .hh .hh No, well, n- That was-

161 (.) uhm It was actually a friend's car.

162 N: (un[nnn?])

163 M: [Not her car.

164 (.) It was someone else's car.

165 N: But even so,

166 S: Right after the car took a right turn,

167→K: [Well

168 I probably could not tell her the truth, if I were in the
 same situation

169 (1.)

170 I would tell her "Thank you".

171 (.)

172 M: "Thank [you"

173 N: [But doesn't it depend on the person?
174 (.)
175 K: Depending on the person? Yeah.
176 (1.)
177 It depends on how close we are.
178 (.)
179→M: No, if it had been Kako's car,
180 (.) I could have said "No, I meant Starbucks"
181 K: huh huh "Drop me [off here"
182 M: [(off) "You took a wrong turn"
183 "Please drop me off" I could have said that.

To analyze the complicated argument structure, let us focus on the participants' use of the oppositional discourse marker *iya* (Kushida and Hayashi 2010; Saft 1998, 2000) at the beginning of their turns in lines 160, 167, and 179.⁵² According to Kushida and Hayashi (2010, n.p.), who investigate *iya* as a turn initial responsive token to a Wh-question, *iya*, which is usually glossed as "no" in English, indicates "the respondent's rejection or resistance to *some* aspect of the prior Wh-question" (emphasis mine). Since a Wh-question does not require a yes/no format, the token *iya* prefaced to an answer to a Wh-question cannot be analyzed as a straightforward negative responsive token that by itself

⁵² The oppositional marker *iya* is also used in line 180. However, I regard this as part of Mikiko's hypothetical utterance in the story.

completes the response turn functioning as an act of denial.⁵³ Kushida and Hayashi (ibid.) propose that "with *iya*-prefacing, respondents can give a general alert to some problematic aspect of the prior question and invite the questioner to monitor the rest of the response turn so as to find what kind of problem was detected with the question by the respondent." As a discourse marker, the token *iya* observed in the sequence from line 160 to line 180 also exhibits this nature to indicate the speaker's alert to some problematic aspect of the prior turn.

Recall that the argument episode is initiated in line 159 by Naomi's assessment of the relationship between Mikiko and Kako. Since there is no third character explicitly mentioned in the storytelling so far, Naomi's assessment presupposes the circumstance in which Kako was the only person whom Mikiko could have communicated with at the time she found out the wrong direction. As analyzed above, Mikiko's *iya*-prefaced statement (the car was her friend's not Kako's) in lines 160-164 indicates a problematic aspect in the presupposition of Naomi's assessment that Kako was the person whom

⁵³ Example uses of the *iya*-prefaced answer to a Wh-question in Kushida and Hayashi (2010) are provided as follows (transcriptions are simplified):

- (1) N: *e jaa doo yatte sagetei- sagereba i[i n desu ka?*
 "Huh, then how can you lower your body temprature?"
 A: *[>iya sore wa wakannai<*
 "Iya that I don't know"
- (2) B: *sonna aida donai shitetan? koko sawatte[haru] (aida)*
 "How were you coping while that was happening? while they were renovating this place."
 ...
 A: *=iya moo::: sugu shihatta.*
 "Iya they did it pretty quickly"
- (3) T: *e- (0.3) kore tte kono mae no sa- (0.4) ki- bun wa doko ni aru n.*
 "Huh, where is the previous issue of this (magazine)?"
 D: *iya moo kukuttemouta wa.*
 "Iya I've already bound it up"

Mikiko could have asked a favor to give a return ride. On the other hand, Kaoru's *iya*-prefaced action in lines 167-170 (judgment that she would have done the same as Mikiko if she had been in Mikiko's position) suggests a problematic aspect in the nature of Naomi's assessment, which is attributed to the relationship between Mikiko and Kako, not to the situation. Finally, Mikiko's *iya*-prefaced hypothetical account in lines 179-180 and 183 ("No, if it had been Kako's car, I could have said 'No, I meant Starbucks. Drop me off here'") indicates a problematic aspect in the prior argument between Naomi and Kaoru, who pursue the argument regarding the relationship between Mikiko and Kako as an account for Mikiko's not speaking up. In summary, in the argument episode, the participants orient to three aspects in the issue of Mikiko's not speaking up to Kako: a) between Naomi and Mikiko, the premise of the issue (Mikiko and Kako were only people involved in the ride), b) between Naomi and Kaoru, the account for the issue (the reason why Mikiko could not speak up) and c) between Naomi/Kaoru and Mikiko, Mikiko's relationship with Kako (whether or not she can speak up to Kako). Despite the complication in the argument sequence with multiple problematic aspects in Round 7, we can say that the fact that Mikiko did not speak up to Kako is finally attended to as the focal point in the storytelling activity.

Now, let us examine Round 8 of the storytelling activity. Although the unknowing participants Sachiko and Naomi still demonstrate confusions in lines 187 and 188, Naomi's clarification request in lines 184 and 186, as seen in Section 4.2.1, gives rise to Mikiko's reformulation of a part of the experience from line 190 to 193 (i.e., how she was offered the ride).

(16) "Star" Round 8 (lines 184-211)

- 184 N: =hito no ku[ruma tte?
person LK car QT
- 185 M: [hito no-
person LK
- 186 N: (.) >dooyuu koto?<
how thing
- 187 N: kako [chan ga
Kako-chan S
- 188 S: [hito mo ita tte koto [na n desho?
person too existed QT thing COP NOM TAG
- 189 M: [hito-
person
- 190 M: >chigau< hito ga, mukae ni kita yatsu ni,
wrong person S pick.up came thing in
- 191 toorimichi da kara,
on.the.way COP because
- 192 isshoni nokketette ageru <yoo ni>, yutte ageru yo tte.
together ride.in give so.as.to say give FP QT
- 193 (.)
- 194 S: a ja hito ga unten shi[teta n da
oh then person S drive was.doing NOM COP
- 195 M: [soo hito ga unten
right person S drive
- 196 [(suru) kako chan ja nai kara,
do Kako-chan COP NEG because
- 197 ? : [()
- 198 ? : sore wa
that TM
- 199 S: sore o itte kurenakya.
that O say give-NEG-AUX
- 200 N: sore yutte kurenaito,
that say give-NEG-AUX

201 (.)

202 N: [huh huh huh huh

203 K: [so so so so
right right right right

204 M: huh huh huh huh

205 N: wa[karu
understand

206 S: [sore dattara waka[ru
that COP-AUX understand

207 M: [sutaa maaketto de
Star Market at

208 (.) ^arigatoo: sayonara:^
thank.you good.bye

209 N: soo ja naito anmari nimo mikiko-chan ga kawai[sosugiru
that COP NEG-AUX too.much Mikiko-chan S pathetic too.much

210 M: [huh huh huh

211 N: °kako chan ni wa ienai n da:°
Kako-chan to TM can.say-NEG NOM COP

English translation

184 N: =Someone else's [car?

185 M: [Someone else's-

186 N: What do you mean?

187 N: Kako [was

188 S: [That means there was someone else too, right?

189 M: [Someone else--

190 M: No. It was someone else's car, and he/she was on his/her way
191 to pick Kako up. So she said to me that since it was on the
192 way, she asked her/him to give me a ride with them.

193 (.)

194 S: Oh, then, someone else was driving.

195 M: [Right. Someone else was driving.

196 Not Kako. That's why.

197 ?: [()

198 ?: That is...

199 S: You should have told us that.

200 N: You should have told us that. Otherwise,

201 (.)

202 N: [huh huh huh huh

203 K: [yeah yeah yeah yeah
 204 M: huh huh huh huh
 205 N: I get it
 206 S: [If that's the case, I understand now.
 207 M: [At Star Market,
 208 (.) I said "thank you, good bye"
 209 N: Of course! If you hadn't, how pathetic would that be?
 210 M: [huh huh huh
 211 N: I thought you could say that kind of thing to Kako.

In response to Naomi's clarification request regarding "someone else's car," Mikiko, in lines 190-192, does not directly address the aspects "someone else" or "car." Rather, Mikiko's reformulation clearly demonstrates the change in the level of granularity of formulation of the situation in which Mikiko was offered a ride by Kako, which was originally formulated in line 62-64 (Round 2, Excerpt 2) in a minimal turn *okute ageru yo* ("I'll give you a ride") and reformulated later in line 122 (Round 4, Excerpt 11) *tsuretette ageru yo* ("I'll take you there"), and in line 135 (Round 5, Excerpt 12) *tsuretette ageru yo toorimichi da kara* ("I'll take you there since it's on the way"). Mikiko's detailed description of the arrangement of the ride provides a resource for Sachiko in line 194 to reformulate the aspect of the circumstances, namely the driver of the ride. This is displayed with the turn initial change of state token *a* ("oh"), which frames the following statement *hito ga unten shite ta* ("someone else was driving") as her new understanding. Sachiko's realization further provides the evidence that her understanding until then has been that Kako was the driver who offered the ride to Mikiko.

The significance of the new information to Sachiko and Naomi is observed in their virtually identical comments in lines 199 and 200.⁵⁴ By referring to the new information formulated in line 194 with the demonstrative *sore* ("that") and placing it in a conditional clause, they indicate that saying *sore* ("that") would make some difference. Although where the difference would be made is not explicitly provided in both lines 199 and 200, from the previous context it is clear that it affects their understanding of the experience under reconstruction. This is also evident in the following sequence, in which Naomi and Sachiko display their understanding in line 205 and 206 by explicitly saying *wakaru* ("I get it"). Especially Sachiko's display of understanding in line 206 is constructed as a consequence of the condition *sore dattara* ("If that's the case"), which can form a counter condition against her utterance in line 199 (i.e., "without saying that"). Retrospectively based on her later display of understanding, therefore, we can say that Sachiko, in line 199, suggests that the new information is vital to understand Mikiko's experience of the "Star" incident and the orientation to it/formulation of it she has provided. Also, Naomi in lines 209 and 211 shows the same stance with Sachiko. Under the condition *soo ja naito* ("Otherwise"), in which the demonstrative *soo* ("that") is most likely to refer to the same one referred to by *sore* ("that") in lines 199, 200, and 206, Naomi repeats her evaluative comment *kawaiso sugiru* ("too pathetic") as her assessment of Mikiko's experience, which was first provided in line 149. With the new information,

⁵⁴ In their utterances, *itte kurenakya* and *yutte kurenaito* are seen to have semantically the same meaning. The first halves of both comments, *itte* and *yutte*, are phonetic variants of the same verb of saying. The second halves, *kurenakya* (a phonetically contracted form of *kurenakereba*) and *kurenaito*, are both composed of the negative auxiliary verb *kurenai* ("not give") with conditional suffixes *-reba* and *-to* respectively.

in other words, she would not have such piteous assessment for Mikiko, and she would understand the reason why Mikiko was not able to speak up. In summary, we can state that the argument activity reaches its completion in a way in which both Naomi and Sachiko modify their premise of the arrangement of the ride, and withdraw their opposing positions against Mikiko and Kaoru.

4.3 Summary and Conclusion

The present storytelling exhibited an extended and complicated process composed of multiple rounds of formulation and reformulation of the experience or an aspect of the experience. The analysis revealed that this process is underlain by a trouble source that arises from participant misconstrual of unspecified content made accessible through minimalism (the recognitional reference form *Kako-chan*), which is often shown to be indicative of close sociohistorical relationship between participants, who have common accessibility to extra-discursive resources by virtue of their shared micro-culture. The present storytelling illustrated a malfunction of minimalism, which caused interactional trouble between the participants. Unlike a trouble source that is easily identified and immediately repaired within an embedded repair sequence (Schegloff 1992b, 2007), the work participants engaged in to resolve the trouble source in the present storytelling brought about an inextricably intertwined process. As Schegloff (1992b) demonstrates, it is possible that participants do not resolve a trouble source in talk in progress, and as a result, they end up engaging in extended discordant interaction. In Schegloff (1992b), this is particularly illustrated in a case of conversation (non-

storytelling) in which a trouble source leads to misunderstanding between the participants, which further leads "to overt disagreement, to overt challenges and negative assessments, and eventually to what amounts to an insult" (p. 1337). The present storytelling however did not exhibit such a breakdown. I argue that this is because the participants managed a troublesome situation within the framework of storytelling activity. As discussed in Chapter 2, a storytelling activity provides participants with an activity framework that requires them to initiate, develop, and close the telling of an experience. In other words, to engage in storytelling, they must orient themselves to initiating, developing, and ending the activity with the accomplishment of reaching mutual understanding of the experience under reconstruction. The participants in the present storytelling strongly and persistently showed this orientation by engaging in rounds of reformulation of the experience. These rounds can be seen in terms of storytelling activity as the place wherein the conditions for "landing the storytelling" are worked on until resolution is reached and the activity can "land."⁵⁵ As reviewed in Chapter 2, the problematic nature of the shift in turn organization at the beginning and ending of storytelling, that is embedded in turn-by-turn conversation, has been extensively discussed in the literature (e.g., Jefferson 1978; Lerner 1992; Mandelbaum 1987a; Sacks 1974, 1992; Schegloff 1992a). However, there has been much less discussion of the work participants engage in to bring an end to the telling sequence and to initiate the final landing process to complete the activity. This chapter illustrated this

⁵⁵ I am indebted to Dina Yoshimi for pointing this out to me.

process in which the participants worked both at sustaining the flow of the storytelling and at identifying and resolving the trouble source until they achieve mutual understanding of the experience. This is one of the contributions that the analysis of the present storytelling made in this chapter.

This contribution at the activity level could not be made without examining the malfunction of minimalism at the formulation level. At the latter level, we also observed the participants' persistent orientation to mutual understanding. This was seen in their over-reliance on their mutual reflexivity to reconstruct the experience with extra-discursive knowledge shared in their micro-culture and drawn on by minimalism. We saw that the minimal reference *Kako-chan* extra-discursively indexed several circumstantial aspects including the people and the locational framework involved in the experience. Among them, the driver of the ride particularly played a significant role. Not only was it not explicitly provided as a circumstantial aspect by the teller, but also it was not questioned by the recipients even after they found some inconsistency in Mikiko's storytelling. This indicates that the participants all took this aspect for granted in the storytelling activity, which led the unknowing participants to assume that the driver had been Kako. Relying on this assumption as the major premise, the unknowing participants assessed Mikiko's course of action: for Sachiko, it was unacceptable that Mikiko had not spoken up to Kako at the breakpoint on the street; for Naomi, it was piteous that Mikiko had had to waste her time to double back to the breakpoint, and go farther to Starbucks all by herself. The significant delay in the discovery of the missing circumstantial

component until the last round demonstrates how firmly the assumptions about Mikiko's experience that they had constructed through minimalism were held.

It is also worth noting that the unknowing participants contested Mikiko, the participant-protagonist, by questioning why she did not speak up to Kako. This suggests that upon the detection of inconsistency in Mikiko's telling, the unknowing participants were oriented towards the accountability for Mikiko's course of action. This was also the point that Mikiko was orientated to in her telling, although the foci of her course of action they are specifically oriented to were different between Mikiko and the unknowing participants: Mikiko was oriented to the accountability for her management of conversation with Kako before accepting the ride and getting into the car, while Sachiko was oriented to the accountability for Mikiko's inaction against Kako during the ride. I argue that the difference between these foci serves as a driving force behind the multiple rounds of reformulation participants engage in to pursue mutual understanding of the experience. Recall that we also saw in the storytelling examined in Chapter 3 (i.e., joint-remembering of a shared experience "Mikiko's moving day") that the participants were oriented towards the accountability for the protagonist's course of action (i.e., how and why Mikiko left her moving boxes behind). We can now expect that the accountability for the protagonist's course of action may have significance in the participants' formation of their orientations in the storytelling activity, and thus is formulated at a higher level of granularity (i.e., elaboration). In the next chapter, I will investigate the issue of elaboration in terms of the accountability for the protagonist's course of action by

examining a different type of storytelling, which involves less commonality among the members of the micro-culture, i.e., Naomi's childhood experience.

CHAPTER 5
ELABORATION IN STORYTELLING:
FORMULATING VISUALIZABLE STORY COMPONENTS IN THE PURSUIT
OF UNANIMITY

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, focusing on minimalism, I investigated how formulation at a lower level of granularity may have consequences for a storytelling activity. We saw a problematic aspect of minimalism, attributable to its indexical force, which requires participants to draw on their extra-discursive knowledge and to understand the import of the minimalism based on this knowledge. The storytelling examined in Chapter 4 illustrates that, in the problematic situation, in which the recipients misconstrued minimalism used in a person reference that constituted part of the circumstances of the experience under reconstruction, the participants pursued mutual reflexivity through a shared focus on the protagonist's course of action. In this process, we further observed that the participants engaged in rounds of formulation and reformulation by contesting each other's perspectives, each of which was orienting towards a specific aspect of the experience that particularly demonstrates the accountability for the protagonist's course of action; notably, this orientation was also evident in the storytelling examined in Chapter 3 ("Mikiko's moving day"). In this chapter, maintaining the fundamental focus on how the participants establish the accountability of the protagonist's course of action, I turn to the issue of elaboration to investigate its interactional role in storytelling. I examine a storytelling of a participant's childhood experience, which was not shared by

the other participants and which has much less common extra-discursive knowledge among the participants directly relevant to the experience than the two cases examined in Chapters 3 and 4. Therefore, it is expected that the participants need elaboration work on such non-shared aspects of the experience. Particularly, since, at the time of storytelling, the participants had only known each other for a relatively short period of time (several years at the longest), and grew up in different parts of Japan, they had less common knowledge about the circumstances of the participant's childhood experience. How much the participants have extra-discursive knowledge in common about the circumstances of the experience becomes a focal point of the analysis.

Since the present storytelling involves a participation structure having a single knowing participant and multiple unknowing participants, it is organized with two distinct components: the knowing participant's uninterrupted telling and the participants' turn-by-turn talk, whose functions roughly correspond respectively to the telling sequence that describes what happened in the experience, and the response sequence that demonstrates the recipients' understanding of the experience (Sacks 1974, Schegloff 1992a). To identify elaboration, I approach the storytelling structurally by seeing it as comprised of the two components in the order of the telling sequence and the response sequence. Within this framework, extended elaboration can be seen as an *insert expansion* (Schegloff 2007) located in the base sequence of the storytelling in the form of an insert sequence. As the term *insert* suggests, it implicates its in-between placement in the base sequence, which forms a topically contingent but organizationally tangential cluster of turns that shifts back to the base sequence upon completion. In addition to the

above organizational property, an insert expansion also exhibits its topical contingency to the base sequence. Schegloff (2007, 114) suggests that even if an insert expansion is composed of a number of turns that exhibit a considerably complex structure, the various topics emerging in the insert sequences are "all held together by occupying in common a position in a sequence ... which supplies the underlying structure by reference to which this coherence can be achieved." With the concept of insert expansion within the storytelling framework, I identify two fairly extended and complex insert expansions in a single storytelling activity, each of which has a particular topic contingently emerging from the preceding base sequence. In the following analysis, I examine these two insert expansions not only as subactivities, which have distinct topics for the participants to work on, but also as part of the storytelling, which contributes to accomplishing the base activity.

The two insert expansions to be examined in this chapter have characteristics that are apparently different from those seen in Chapters 3 and 4. The storytelling is about Naomi's shoplifting experience when she was about four years old at a market whose structure and configuration were common at that time in the area in which she grew up. However, the unknowing participants were not familiar with this type of market. In other words, in addition to Naomi's experience itself, the unknowing participants do not share the teller's extra-discursive knowledge of the physical settings in which the experience occurred. With the unknowing participants' lack of accessibility to such circumstantial aspects of the experience, elaboration emerges twice in the process of the storytelling: for establishing two specific circumstantial aspects unfamiliar to the

unknowing participants, each of which forms a separate subactivity focusing each aspect, respectively. Unlike the elaboration we saw in Chapter 3, which oriented the participants directly towards the accountability for protagonist's course of action, in each insert expansion in the present case, the participants are oriented to a particular circumstantial aspect of the experience, which seem to be "small" or "peripheral" as a component of the story as a whole. Although I use the words "small" and "peripheral," the participants' attention towards these details are not at all indifferent. Rather, the participants display a great degree of involvement in the subactivity in the way in which they continue the discussion about the circumstantial aspect in question until they establish mutual understanding of it. Therefore, it is apparently a "big" deal to the participants to talk about such a "small" circumstantial aspect in the storytelling activity. The analysis below demonstrates that the insert expansion (i.e., elaboration) dealing with a seemingly "small" circumstantial aspect also contributes to the establishment of the participants' orientation towards the accountability for the protagonist's course of action in the experience. The fact that there are multiple unknowing participants further characterizes the elaboration process, which exhibits the participants' complex interactions orienting to unanimous achievement of mutual understanding. This chapter, therefore, examines the two subactivities of elaboration investigating what the participants accomplish in the subactivities orienting to a seemingly small circumstantial aspect within the large framework of the storytelling activity by untangling the complex process of elaboration in which participants sustain an orientation to the unanimity of their understanding of the items in question.

The two insert expansions emerge separately: the first in the middle of the telling sequence and the second in the response sequence. Each of them demonstrates a local orientation to a specific topic, which emerges from the preceding base storytelling activity, and forms a tangential trajectory as a subactivity followed by the resumption of the suspended base activity. More specifically, in each expansion, the participants engage in extended discussion concerning an item provided as part of the circumstances of the experience, which in effect displaces the ongoing storytelling sequence until they come to reach a common visualization of the item in question. In general, insert expansions are not uncommon in storytelling activities. However, in the view of storytelling that assumes participants are oriented to understand a story, or more specifically, get the point or points of a story, insert expansions are considered only functionally supplemental to, and even organizationally interruptive for the pursuit of the story point(s) (Sacks 1974; Schegloff 1992a). Particularly in the telling sequence, the tendency to pursue the story point(s) is by definition primary to giving the sequence the shape, in which the teller provides uninterrupted multi-unit turns, while the recipients contribute with succinct turns, which mostly consist of agreement and confirmation tokens. In the present data, however, the insert expansion in the telling sequence evolves into an extended, complex, and interactive activity oriented towards the attainment of mutual understanding of an item in question. Likewise, the insert expansion in the response sequence also exhibits these characteristics, and forms a distinct unit of subsequences from the rest of the response sequence. These phenomena indicate that the participants are significantly involved in the subactivities, as if they had different business to accomplish from the one

in the base activity (i.e., storytelling). And yet, they accomplish the storytelling activity in the end without losing their focus on the main business. In this chapter, given this organizational significance, I demonstrate that the two extended insert expansions, which deal with seemingly small circumstantial aspects of the experience, have an important function in establishing the participants' fundamental orientation in storytelling that was shown in Chapters 3 and 4, that is, the accountability for the protagonist's course of action in storytelling. Particularly, detailed analysis in this chapter reveals that the accountability is established through participants' collaborative formulation of aspects of the experience that are visualizable for each other in pursuit of mutual reflexivity.

5.2 Analysis

5.2.1 Introduction

In order to have a better understanding of the target insert expansions to be analyzed, I first show the excerpt that provides the base storyline including when, how, what, and with whom Naomi shoplifted (marked with right arrows in Excerpt 1). The base storyline is found in a section (line 10 through line 141), which contains the first extended insert expansion (lines 65-134) in which the participants digress from pursuing the storyline to negotiate their understandings of "the thing that goes round and round," an item introduced in the story. The following excerpt omits the first insert expansion but includes the numerous turns in which the teller provides background information about the story locale and the other character (e.g., much of the material between line 26 and

line 64), as well as demarcating the turns in which the teller provides her formulation of the events of the story.

(1) "Shoplifting" lines 1-64, lines 135-141⁵⁶

- 1 S: *soide ne, atashi mo ne,*
and FP I too FP
- 2 *dekinakatta no mukashi*
could.not.do NOM in.the.past
- 3 *ikkai yaruto ne, kekkoo ne,*
once if.do FP rather FP
- 4 *ano manbiki shita toki ja nai kedo ne=*
SF shoplifting did time CP NEG but FP
- 5 *=shita ko [to nai kedo*
did NOM NEG but
- 6 M: *[shita- n(h)ai(h)*
did NEG
- 7 S: *nanka koo atashi demo dekiru n da tt(h)e y(h)uu*
SF SF I even can.do NOM COP QT say
- 8 *yorokobi ga*
pride S
- 9 S?: *°nai° [.hh*
NEG
- 10→ N: *[atashi chicchai toki manbiki shita koto aru*
I little time shoplifting did NOM have
- 11 (1.)
- 12 N: *mh mh mh ima (dakara)*
now (because)
- 13 M?: *hh hh hh=*

⁵⁶ During the entire period of the storytelling activity, Sachiko was the only participant who was engaging in eating. Since she was eating *ramen* noodles, there are occasionally noises associated with her eating actions, such as slurping and blowing (fairly common, culturally accepted noises among Japanese when eating *ramen* noodles). Slurping and blowing are transcribed with the letters "zz" and "ff" respectively to represent the noises.

- 14 K: =nani o:
what O
- 15 N: *chicchai toki ni (shita koto) aru?=
little time in (did NOM) have*
- 16 S: =hoshikute hoshikute shooganakute ya[cchatta no?
want want can't.help did-AUX NOM
- 17 N: [u↓n↑n
no
- 18→ N: [yoochien no toki
preschool LK time
- 19 S: [okaasan o
mother O
- 20 (.)
- 21 S: komarase[(tai to omotte yatta)
trouble-AUX QT think did
- 22 N: [suggoi oboeteru
very.much remember
- 23 N: mo aru yo.
too exist FP
- 24 waraibanashi de okaasan ni mo yutteta n da kedo ano
funny.story COP mother to too was.saying NOM COP but SF
- 25 S: fff fff ((blowing))
- 26 N: [keshoohin no nanka sa
cosmetics LK something FP
- 27 S: [zz zz zz ((slurping))
- 28 N: yo↑ochien gurai tte
preschool about QT
- 29 soo yuu no ni kyoomi ga <atta n-> no ka
that say NOM in interest S had NOM Q
- 30 yoku wakaranai kedo,
well don't.know but

- 31→ *kinjo no onnanoko.*
neighborhood LK girl
- 32→ *sono kinjo no onnanoko ga sa,*
that neighborhood LK girl S FP
- 33→ *[shoogakkoo nisannensei de saa,*
elementary.school 2nd-3rd.year at FP
- 34 S: *[ff ff zz [zz*
- 35 N: *[ijiwaru na waru- waru datta wake*
mean bad bad was reason
- 36 S: *zz zz ((slurping))*
- 37→ N: *de sono ko to isshoni,*
and that kid with together
- 38 *mu_{ka}aashi: inaka ni sundeta kara,*
in.the.past the.country in lived because
- 39→ *>sono< koosetsu ichiba mitai no ga atta wake*
SF municipally.run.market like NOM S existed reason
- 40 ?: *ichiba?*
market
- 41 N: *i[wayuru (.)*
so-called
- 42 S: *[zz zz ((slurping))*
- 43 N: *hitotsu no koo tatemon naka ni*
one LK SF building the.inside in
- 44 *chicchai koo (.) omise ga koo*
small SF store S SF
- 45 *(.) ippai haitteru tte ka ne?*
many exist QT Q FP
- 46→ *soko no, (.) keshoohinyasan mitaina tokoro.*
there LK cosmetics.store like place
- 47 *demo sore mo .hh sonna saa*
but that too that FP
- 48 *(.) oshare na [keshoohin (yasan ja) nai wake yo.*
fancy cosmetics (store COP) NEG FP

49 S: [zz zz ((slurping))

50 N: (>ko dakara<) zakkaya to issho ni natte(ru no)=
SF so general.store with together become NOM

51 S: =un un un
yeah yeah yeah

52 N: soide,
and

53 S: >aru yo ne soo yuu to [ko<
exist FP FP that.type place

54 N: [ri- (1.) ri- rippu. (.4) no,
lip LK

55 (1.)

56 N: [kuchibeni ja nakutte,
lipstick COP NEG

57 S: [ff ((blowing))

58 M: [honto ni chotto iro ga tsuku yoo na?
really little color S put like

59 S: [zz ((slurping))

60 N: un, nanka moo [koo yuu ne? sore ga:
yeah SF SF like.this FP that S

61 M: [irotsuk[i
tinted

62 ?: [irotsuki
tinted

63 N: kurukuru kurukuru mawaru no (yo)=
ONM ONM go.around NOM FP

64 N: =de sashite atte ko kurukuru (.) mawaru
and stick AUX SF ONM go.around

65-134 omitted ((negotiation about the item mentioned in lines 63-4, and line 136))

135 N: de soo yuu yatsu de:.,
and that say one COP

136→ *kuchi- rippu sutikku ga sasatte ta no yo:.*
kuchi- lipstick S stuck.in NOM FP

137 S: *zz zz ((slurping))*

138→ N: *sore o ne:, koyatte te ne:*
that O FP this.way QT FP

139→ *atashi wa totte kichatta no [(yo).*
I TOP take came NOM FP

140 K: *[uh hh<*

141→ N: *tomodachi no- tomodachi tte oneechan to.*
friend LK friend QT older.girl with

English translation

1 S: And then, I
 2 used to not be able to do that either.
 3 Once I did it, I did not feel guilty anymore.
 4 It's almost like shoplifting.
 5 Of course, I've never [done it though.
 6 M: [you never
 7 S: Somehow, I felt proud of myself
 8 and thought that even I could do it.
 9 S? not [.hh
 10→ N: [I shoplifted when I was little
 11 (1.)
 12 N: mh mh mh Now (because)
 13 M?: hh hh hh=
 14 K: =What (did you do/take?)
 15 N: When I was little I did. (or 'When you were little, did you
 do that?')⁵⁷
 16 S: =Were you dying to have something? Is that why you did it?
 17 N: [No
 18→ N: [When I was in kindergarten
 20 (.)
 21 S: want to trouble your mother? Is that why you did?
 22 N: [I remember it very well
 23 N: That's right too.
 24 I told her about it. Now, it is something we can laugh off.
 25 S: fff fff ((blowing))
 26 N: [It was cosmetics or something.
 27 S: [zz zz zz ((slurping))

⁵⁷ The original Japanese in line 15 is missing the subject of the verb *shita* ("did"), which is fairly normal in conversation, but leaves a room for ambiguity with two possible candidates in the subject position, the first person (e.g., "I") and the second person (e.g., "you").

28 N: About at the age of kindergarten,
 29 I might have been interested in such things.
 30 I don't remember though.
 31→ There was a girl from my neighborhood.
 32→ That neighbor girl
 33→ [she was in the second year in elementary school.
 34 S: [ff ff zz [zz
 35 N: [She was mean and bad.
 36 S: zz zz ((slurping))
 37→ N: And, I was with that girl.
 38 We used to live in the country a long time ago.
 39→ >um< So there was a municipal market or something like that.
 40 ?: Market?
 41 N: It's so-called... (.)
 42 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
 43 N: There are little stores
 44 in one building.
 45 (.) There are lots of them
 46→ in there. (.) There was a place like a cosmetics store.
 47 But that was not such a
 48 (.) fancy cosmetics store, you know.
 49 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
 50 N: (>So<) It was combined with a general store=
 51 S: =yeah yeah yeah
 52 N: So,
 53 S: >I know such stores. They are common.
 54 N: ri- (1.) ri- It waas rippu⁵⁸. (.4)
 55 (1.)
 56 N: [It was not a "kuchibeni"⁵⁹
 57 S: [ff ((blowing))
 58 M: [Is it the one that just adds a tint?
 59 S: [zz ((slurping))
 60 N: Yeah, something uhm like that. And that thing
 61 M: [tint
 62 ?: [tint
 63 N: goes round and round.=
 64 N: =And it is stuck into a case, and goes round and round

65-134 omitted ((negotiation about the item mentioned in lines 63-4, and line 136))

135 N: Anyway, it was something like that.
 136→ "kuchi-" "rippu sutikku" was put in it.
 137 S: zz zz ((slurping))

⁵⁸ The word *rippu* refers to a type of lipstick, which is often used by teenage girls to put a subtle color on the lips.

⁵⁹ *Kuchibeni* is also equivalent to lipstick. In contrast to *rippu*, *kuchibeni* is a type of lipstick for full-fledged make-up associated with older women.

138→ N: In this way,
139→ I took one with me
140 K: [uh hh<
141→ N: with my friend- I mean the older girl.

Based on the participants' actions from line 10 to line 18, I regard that the participants start orienting to a storytelling activity from line 18, which is triggered by Naomi's confession of shoplifting (line 10), which was further given as a response to Sachiko's prior telling.⁶⁰ The storytelling activity lasts about 7 minutes transcribed into 374 lines.⁶¹ At the lines with arrows above, Naomi's experience is formulated in the form of a story: the story settings: time (when she was in kindergarten, line 18), a story character (a girl who was a few years older and who lived in Naomi's neighborhood, lines 31-33), a place (a small cosmetics/general store in a municipal market, lines 39, 46), and the main point (picked up a lipstick with the older girl, lines 136, 138-139, 141).

The two target insert expansions are located, respectively, in the telling sequence from line 65 to line 134 and in the response sequence starting from line 142. First, we look at the latter one in the response sequence, which occurs after the possible completion of the story (line 141), where the teller provides the main point of the storytelling, namely shoplifting. Since the response sequence according to Sacks (1974) provides opportunities for recipients to engage in turn-by-turn talk such as question and

⁶⁰ Sachiko is describing the time when she did something that was conventionally considered as slightly poor etiquette. She had long kept herself from doing it (line 2), but once she breached the convention (line 3), she felt relieved by realizing her capacity to do such a breach (lines 7-8). To illustrate her feeling of relief, she uses shoplifting as a metaphor, although she immediately follows up by saying that she had never actually shoplifted (lines 4-5).

⁶¹ The transcript of the entire storytelling is provided in Appendix B.

answer and negotiation, elaboration work is highly expected. Given this possibility, I analyze the second insert expansion as a distinctive unit to investigate two points: 1) what role elaboration in the insert expansion has in terms of the whole storytelling activity, and 2) how the participants accomplish elaboration work.

Before starting the analysis of the second insert expansion, I note the organizational and functional properties that both the first and second expansions have in common. Both expansions exhibit the same way in which the participants engage in turn-by-turn talk to reach unanimous understanding of a story component in question. The story components focused on in the expansions constitute circumstantial components of the experience under reconstruction: in the first expansion, the component is "that thing goes round and round" first mentioned in line 63, namely the unenclosed display case in which the lipstick Naomi shoplifted was placed, and in the second insert expansion, the component is *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market"), the location of the story events. Particularly the placement of the first expansion, that is, in the middle of the telling sequence, highlights the tangentiality of the expansion, which allows the participants to digress from the main business of the telling sequence, namely, telling of a story with teller's uninterrupted multi-unit turns. Furthermore, it also highlights the subsidiarity of the insert expansion in the sense that the participants return to the main business after they complete elaboration of the target item in the insert expansion. Despite the difference in the placement in the base sequence, the second expansion also exhibits both tangentiality and subsidiarity. The analysis below reveals the two insert expansions as the same type of elaboration in which the participants display their strong

orientation towards the establishment of the mutual understanding of the target circumstantial component so that the unknowing participants are able to visualize the protagonist's course of action in the story. Since the second insert expansion emerges in a less uncommon place in relation to the base storytelling sequence, which provides less analytical concerns, I first focus on it to investigate how the insert expansion contributes to participants' visualization of the protagonist's course of action.

5.2.2 *Insert expansion in the response sequence*

As mentioned earlier, the second insert expansion is a constituent of the response sequence, occurring after Naomi reaches a possible ending of the story in line 141 (Excerpt 1). In this subsection, I demonstrate first how the insert expansion is situated in the base storytelling sequence, and then how the participants orient to the circumstantial component *koosetsu ichiba* within the insert expansion. Excerpt 2 below shows the talk in the response sequence – from line 142 to line 155 – that occurred immediately prior to the insert expansion.

(2) "Shoplifting" lines 142-158

- 142 S: *futari de itta no?*
two.people went NM
- 143 N: *°futari de itta no. kowakatta no. sugoku°*
two.people went NM scared NM very
- 144 S: *yonsai desho↑:*
4.year.old TAG
- 145 N: *°(soo da yo)°*
right COP FP

146 S: *yoochien toka hairitate gurai ja nai?*
kindergarten and.the.like newly.entered about COP NEG

147 (.)

148 K: *(oi<) k(g)ora: tte okorare nakatta?*
hey hey.you QT be.scolded NEG

149 N: *↑u↓n u↑n (iwarete [])*
no be.told

150 S: *[mitsukan nakatta no?=
be.caught NEG NM*

151 N: *mitsukan nakatta no.*
be.caught NEG NM

152 N: *[dakara
so*

153 S: *[sore dake [shita dake-
that only did only*

154 N: *[(suggoi)
very*

155→ S: *haitte detekita dake na no?*
go.in go.out only COP NM

156 (.7)

157 N: *sore ga ne? sono: (1.) koosetsu ichiba ttee,*
that S FP SF municipal market QT

158 *doo yuu mono ka tte yuuto:*
how one Q QT say

English Translation

142 S: Did you two go alone?

143 N: °We both went. I was very scared.°

144 S: Weren't you four years old?

145 N: °(yes I was)°

146 S: Isn't that as young as one who has just entered kindergarten?

147 (.)

148 K: Didn't you get yelled at like "hey hey!"

149 N: No (I didn't)

150 S: [Didn't you get caught?=
I didn't get caught.

151 N: I didn't get caught.

152 N: [So,

153 S: [Did you only-

154 N: [(really)
155→S: Did you just go in and out of the store?
156 (.7)
157 N: Well, you know what? uhm: (1.)
158 What *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market")) looks like

Usually in the response sequence, recipients, who recognize that the story has reached a possible completion, provide their understandings of and/or questions about the story told so far. Recipients' understandings and/or questions can orient towards various aspects of the story (Ryave 1978). In the present case, we see two aspects are oriented to in the beginning of the response sequence. First, it is Sachiko's orientation towards the story characters, that is, who was involved in the story events. She confirms with Naomi that the characters who went to the market were she and her friend (line 142), and that she was four years old, which is as young as one who has just entered kindergarten (lines 144 and 146). These confirmations highlight the fact that two little children went to the market alone, which registers her evaluative stance concerning the characters' unpreparedness to go to the market alone without adult supervision and even further to commit a shoplifting crime. Second, Kaoru and Sachiko show their orientation to the resolution after the act of shoplifting, which has not been provided in Naomi's telling so far. Instead of asking an open-ended question, such as "What happened after that?," Kaoru in line 148 and Sachiko in lines 150, 153, and 155 provide questions that propose specific story events, questions which project either a yes/no answer (line 148) or a (dis)confirming response (lines 150 and 155). Both Kaoru's and Sachiko's actions here implicate their evaluative stances towards the story: 1) the question about the absence of the negative consequence of the shoplifting, namely being caught (lines 148 and 150),

and 2) the question about the simplistic actions in the course of shoplifting (lines 153 and 155).⁶² In sum, the participants' actions in line 142-155 can be analyzed as evaluation in the response sequence in which the recipients display their understandings of the story told so far by showing their evaluative stances orienting towards the fact that small children shoplifted without being caught.

5.2.2.1 Overview of the insert expansion

As Sachiko and Kaoru provide evaluation in the form of questions that need to be answered (lines 144-155), the subsequent talk from line 157 to line 268 evolves into a topically contingent but sequentially separate unit of subactivity digressing from the ongoing base activity, namely the response sequence. Without responding to the question in line 155, Naomi, from line 157, begins to explain the term *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market").⁶³ The disjunction is seen in several interactional signals right after line 155, such as delays created by the 0.7-second silence in line 156 and the one-second pause in line 157. In addition, anaphoric demonstratives *sore* ("that") in *sore ga ne* ("you know what") and *sono* (adjective form of *sore*, English equivalent of "uhm") with the final vowel lengthening in line 157 serve not only as delaying devices but also deictic devices to make a connection from the preceding sequence to the one to follow. Through these devices, Naomi signals the disjunction from the previous sequence, but indicates the

⁶² The adverb *dake* (only/just) in line 155 suggests Sachiko's utterance can be heard as an evaluative comment to indicate that shoplifting cannot be conducted in such simple steps. For discussions of evaluative forces of syntactic devices, see Labov (1972, 375-393).

⁶³ For an example image of *koosetsu ichiba*, see Appendix C.

continuity of her orientation towards the question raised in the previous sequence. With this connection, she reintroduces an item *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market"), which was initially introduced in line 39 (Excerpt 1), with the quotation marker *tte* in lines 157 followed by the phrase *doo yuu mono ka tte yuuto*: ("what it looks like is...") in line 158, which is often used to explicitly initiate explanation. Naomi's action therefore can be seen as contingent to the preceding question, and entails its promissory character (Schegloff 2007, 99) that implicates that a newly started activity (i.e., explanation) will eventually be accomplished, and the base sequence, namely the question-answer as part of the response sequence, will resume. Indeed, from the post hoc observation, the question asked in line 155 is resolved later in lines 269-293 (Excerpt 3 below) after the extended insert expansion completes. Therefore, the sequence from line 157 to line 268 can be analyzed as a distinctive unit of subactivity that addresses issues that need to be negotiated to accomplish the action projected by the question in line 155.

In order to see the overall function of the insert expansion, let us examine the outcome of the insert expansion from line 269, where it merges back into the main response sequence.

(3) "Shoplifting" lines 269-293

269→ S: *de jaa nani omise ni sa gara tte*
 then so what store in SF ONM QT

270→ *hairimasu tte kanji ja nai n da.*
 enter QT sense COP NEG NM COP

271 N: >*sou na no.*<
 right COP FP

272 *dakara sono keshoohinyasan no tona[ri ni wa:,*
 so that cosmetics.store LK next to TOP

273 S: [zzz ((slurping))

274 N: *fukuyasan dattari suru wake yo. mo- moo ne?*
 clothing.store COP do reason FP SF FP

275 *soide:,*
 and

276 K: *kono- kore wa nan desu ka* ((referring to a side activity))
 this this TOP what COP Q

277 N: *nde: [kono*
 and this

278 K?: [huh huh

279 M?: [huh huh huh huh

280 S: [zz zz ((slurping))

281 N: [sono:
 that

282 N: *ri[ppu su[tikku tte yuu no wa,*
 lipstick QT say one TOP

283 S: [s [s ((slurping))

284 N: *omise no naka ni hairanaku temo yokatta wake yo.*
 store LK inside not.enter if good reason FP

285 *kekkyoku kono:*
 after.all this

286 (.6)

287→ S: *shoomen ni*
 in.front.of

288 N: *soo soo soo [(miru)*
 right right right see

289→ S: [michi o aruite tara koko
 aisle O walk if here

290 K: *kuru [(kuru mawatte) ta huh*
 ONM ONM go.round

291 ?: [()

292 N: *so kuru- katte ni mawatte nai n da kedo ne*
right automatically go.round NEG NM COP but FP

293 K: *huh huh*

English Translation

269→S: So, it is not something like
270→ you just enter the store through the doors.
271 N: >That's right<
272 So next to that cosmetics store,
273 S: [zzz ((slurping))
274 N: there is a clothing store or something.
275 So,
276 K: this- What is this? ((referring to a side activity))
277 N: And then [uhm
278 K?: [huh huh
279 M?: [huh huh huh huh
280 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
281 N: [uhm:
282 N: In fact, I didn't have to go into the inside of the store
283 S: [s [s ((slurping))
284 N: to take one of the lipsticks,
285 That's how it is. uhm
286 (.6)
287→S: In front of the store
288 N: Right right right [(look)
289→S: [you were just walking on the aisle, here.
290 K: Lipsticks were going round and round huh
291 ?: [()
292 N: Right, round- They didn't go round automatically, though.
293 K: huh huh

In this sequence from line 269, Sachiko herself revises her understanding of the story.

Before the expansion, as shown in line 155 (Excerpt 2), she wondered whether Naomi

had gone in and out of the store to shoplift. However in lines 269-70, she deletes her

misrepresentation of the events, and restates in lines 287 and 289 with Naomi's

ratification that Naomi was just walking down the aisle of the market in front of the store.

By broadly looking at Sachiko's shift in understanding of this aspect in line 155 to lines

269-70, 287, and 289, the sequence between these lines (156-268) can be analyzed as a

considerably lengthy stretch of repair work to correct Sachiko's understanding of Naomi's

shoplifting action. However, from the close examination of the expansion, we find that this sequence has much more than a repair function.

The analysis below demonstrates that the insert expansion provides resources for not only Sachiko but also the other two unknowing recipients to visualize the configuration of the market, which enables them to resolve the question raised at the beginning of the response sequence (lines 142-151): why small children were able to shoplift without being caught. In other words, as the circumstantial component *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market") is an essential item for the recipients to understand the protagonist's course of action, and the consequences of, or lack thereof, her actions. It is worth noting that during the insert expansion, the participants are oriented towards this specific setting *koosetsu ichiba*, the environment that enabled the protagonist to shoplift without being caught, rather than oriented directly to the protagonist's course of action (i.e., going in and out of the store), which was actually the point that initiates this insert expansion. In the following analysis, I demonstrate how the insert expansion is developed to provide recourse not only for Sachiko's self-repair but also for the other participants' resolution of their question. I argue that the insert expansion (i.e., elaboration of a circumstantial component) functions to orient the participants towards unanimous understanding of the story world, which enables them to *walk through*⁶⁴ the

⁶⁴ The expression *walk through* used here is inspired by Linde and Labov's (1975) investigation on descriptions of the lay-outs of apartments (i.e., ways to translate spatial lay-outs into discourse). They report that the most predominant type of descriptions in their data elicited from spontaneous speech is the *tour*, which is designed to describe an apartment as if the speaker walked a visitor through his/her apartment. I am indebted to Dina Yoshimi for pointing this out.

narrated world and the events therein with the protagonist, and further enables them to jointly re-experience the participant-protagonist's childhood experience. In other words, I argue that this considerably extended elaboration activity in storytelling functions not only as a repair process but also as a process to reinforce their group unity.

5.2.2.2 *Development of the insert expansion*

Although the participants focus on what the *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market") looked like in the insert expansion in lines 157-268⁶⁵, the configuration of the market was actually described by the teller Naomi earlier from lines 43-46 in the telling sequence after the term *koosetsu ichiba* was first introduced in line 39 (the segment is repeated in Excerpt 4 below). We can use this sequence as a comparative base with the way in which *koosetsu ichiba* is elaborated in the insert expansion in the response sequence.

(4) "Shoplifting" lines 38-54

38 *mu*kaashi: *inaka* *ni sundeta kara,*
 in.the.past the.country in lived because

39→ >sono< *koosetsu ichiba* *mitai no ga atta* *wake*
 SF municipally.run.market like NOM S existed reason

40 ? : *ichiba?*
 market

41 N : *i[wayuru (.)*
 so-called

⁶⁵ As the analysis proceeds towards the end, it becomes clear that the insert expansion is actually composed of lines 157-301 including its sequence-closing sequence. However, at this moment, I start the analysis by focusing on the core part of the insert expansion (lines 157-268), which contributes to Sachiko's self-repair of her misrepresentation in line 155.

42 S: [zz zz ((slurping))

43→ N: hitotsu no koo tatemon naka ni
one LK SF building the.inside in

44→ chicchai koo (.) omise ga koo
small SF store S SF

45→ (.) ippai haitteru tte ka ne?
many exist QT Q FP

46 soko no, (.) keshoohinyasan mitaina tokoro.
there LK cosmetics.store like place

47 demo sore mo .hh sonna saa
but that too that FP

48 (.) oshare na [keshoohin (yasan ja) nai wake yo.
fancy cosmetics (store COP) NEG FP

49 S: [zz zz ((slurping))

50 N: (>ko dakara<) zakkaya to issho ni natte(ru no)=
SF so general.store with together become NOM

51 S: =un un un
yeah yeah yeah

52 N: soide,
and

53 S: >aru yo ne soo yuu to [ko<
exist FP FP that.type place

54 N: [ri- (1.) ri- rippu. (.4) no,
lip LK

English translation

38 We used to live in the country a long time ago.

39→ >um< So there was a municipal market or something like that.

40 ?: Market?

41 N: So-called... (.)

42 S: [zz zz ((slurping))

43→ N: There were little stores

44→ in one building.

45→ (.) There were lots of them

46 in there. (.) There was a place like a cosmetics store.

47 But that was not such a

48 (.) fancy cosmetics store, you know.

49 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
 50 N: (>So<) It was combined with a general store=
 51 S: =yeah yeah yeah
 52 N: So,
 53 S: >I know such stores. They are common.
 54 N: ri- (1.) ri- It was rippu. (.4)

In this sequence, the story component *koosetsu ichiba* is elaborated in the description of the configuration of the market, but soon ends at Sachiko's display of understanding (lines 51 and 53). Apparently, therefore, the term *koosetsu ichiba* is at least accepted by the unknowing recipients as accessible enough to continue the telling sequence without any trouble at that moment. The descriptions of the configuration of the market starts from line 43, after an unidentified recipient in line 40 initiates a repair of the term *koosetsu ichiba* provided in line 39. Note that the configuration of the market entails linguistic devices that downgrade the cosmetics store from which Naomi shoplifted. First, *chicchai* ("little") in line 44 and *ippai* ("many") in line 45 illustrate a physical characteristic of the cosmetics store and many other neighboring stores in the building as small-scale. Second, in lines 48 and 50, the store is characterized as less stylish (*oshare janai* "not stylish") and more plebeian (*zakkaya* "general store"). These devices suggest that Naomi's elaboration of the market here orients towards the downgraded characteristics of the cosmetics store. Since these characteristics can be further associated with the act of shoplifting, it seems that the elaboration of the market in the telling sequence is designed to characterize Naomi's shoplifting as less serious.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The teller's downgrading attempt can also be seen in her labeling of the shoplifted item (i.e., lipstick). In the telling sequence from line 53 to line 57 (Excerpt 1), Naomi chooses the word *rippu* by explicitly saying that it was not *kuchibeni*. Although these are members of the category of cosmetic lipstick, *rippu* is generally less valuable associated with lighter make-up than *kuchibeni*.

After the telling sequence reaches its completion, as mentioned earlier, the story component *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market") again becomes a topic in the storytelling activity, and evolves into an insert expansion. This time, the participants display their knowledge status about the market more clearly, which is seen in lines 155-166 (Excerpt 5 below). Although the story setting *koosetsu ichiba* in line 39 (Excerpt 4) was earlier accepted by the recipients with no signs of trouble in understanding, the beginning of the sequence here reveals that the recipients in fact do not know exactly what *koosetsu ichiba* is.

(5) "Shoplifting" lines 157-166

- 157 N: *sore ga ne? sono: (1.) koosetsu ichiba ttee,*
that S FP SF municipal market QT
- 158 *doo yuu mono ka tte yuuto:*
how one Q QT say
- 159 K: *koo wa koo desu ka? ((hand writing the character "koo"))*
"koo" TOP "koo" COP Q
- 160 N: *ooyake (.) kooen no koo.*
public park LK "koo"
- 161 S: *zz zz ((slurping))*
- 162 N: *setsubi no setsu. (.) koosetsu ichiba.=*
facility LK "setsu" "koosetsu ichiba"
- 163 S: *=un*
yeah
- 164 N: *(tte yuu n da yo) ne?*
QT say NM COP FP FP
- 165 S: *un nanka waka[ru yoo na ki ga suru*
yeah SF understand like mind S do
- 166 M: *[(hajimete kiita)*
first.time heard

English translation

157 N: Well, you know what? uhm: (1.)
158 What *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market") looks like
159 K: Is *koo* like this? ((hand writing the character *koo*⁶⁷))
160 N: *Koo* is public (.) *koo* as in *kooen* ("park").
161 S: zz zz ((slurping))
162 N: *Setsu* as in *setsubi* ("facility"). (.) *koosetsu ichiba*.=
163 S: =yeah
164 N: (That's what it was called)
165 S: Yeah I sort of feel like I know what you mean
166 M: [(It's first time I've heard of it)]

As seen in the analysis of the initiation of the insert expansion above, Naomi in lines 157-158 indicates that she is about to explain what *koosetsu ichiba* is like. After Naomi explicitly provides the subordinate clause *doo yuu no ka tte yuuto* ("what it looks like is") that projects what she is about to do (i.e., describing *koosetsu ichiba*), Kaoru in line 159 initiates a question to ask how to write the *kanji* character *koo*, which constitutes the first *kanji* of two for the term *koosetsu* in question. In terms of the sequential organization, Kaoru's question here interrupts Naomi's action of explanation in progress. However, since Naomi responds to the question smoothly by adding the meaning and usage of the *kanji* character *koo* in line 160, we can say that Kaoru's question is treated as relevant. In general, when Japanese speakers come across an unfamiliar term, it is a fairly common practice to figure out *kanji* characters of the term, as it encodes semantic meaning of what it is. Kaoru's action therefore can be seen as a priority response (Bilmes 1993) that indexes her unknowing status (i.e., she is not even familiar with the term itself) produced precisely at the moment when it would otherwise have lost the relevancy to occur as Naomi moves on further describing what the referent in question looks like. The other

⁶⁷ "*Koo*" is the pronunciation for the first of four *kanji* characters used to write the word *koosetsu ichiba*.

recipients, Sachiko and Mikiko also display their unfamiliarity with the term in lines 165 and 166, respectively. Up until line 166, the recipients' status of "work-in-progress to be knowing" about the term *koosetsu ichiba* is established; that is, they have a general idea what the term means from the *kanji* characters (i.e., publicly established market), but still need to know more about it in order to accurately conceptualize it and, thereby develop a fuller appreciation of its relevance to Naomi's telling. Thus, the initial participation framework in this activity is composed of Naomi as a knowing participant and the other three unknowing/less-knowing participants of the item.

Under this participation framework, Naomi repeatedly attempts to describe *koosetsu ichiba* in the insert expansion. In contrast to Naomi's initial descriptions of the *koosetsu ichiba* in the telling sequence (lines 43-46, Excerpt 4), which were designed to highlight her shoplifting as a misdemeanor, the same story component is elaborated on in a slightly different manner from line 171, that is, after the initial discussion of how the word is spelled. Specifically, as we will see below, Naomi's repeated attempts to describe *koosetsu ichiba* in the insert expansion exhibit an orientation to enable the participants to "walk through" the market. To obtain a general picture of the *walking-through* character,

I extract only the portions of Naomi's descriptions of the configuration of the market observed in subsequences 1, 7, and 11.⁶⁸

(6) Naomi's "walking-through" attempts

(6.1) Subsequence 1 lines 171-173

171 N: *hitotsu no tatemono na n da kedo*
one LK building COP NM COP but

172→ *naka ni hairu to omise ga ippai aru wake*
inside enter if store S many exist reason

173 *(iwa[yuru-])*
so.called

English translation

171 N: It's one building. But
172→ once you are inside, there are a lot of stores
173 (so-called)

(6.2) Subsequence 7 lines 225-228

225→ N: *[koko ni nikuya ga aruto omottara,*
here at meet.store S exist think

226→ *kocchi ni (1.2) tamagoya toka sa*
here at egg.store and.the.like FP

227 K: *AA AA WAKATTA.*
oh oh got.it

⁶⁸ For subsequence numbers, see Appendix B. To develop a step-by-step analysis on the complex and extended insert expansion, I divide the entire insert expansion into twelve successive subsequences, each of which is identified as a unit of turns orienting to a local topic or target, which is not an expansion from, but has a coherent and organizational connection to, its preceding sequence. In terms of sequence organization, Schegloff (2007) distinguishes expansion sequences, which subordinately emerge from a base sequence, from more independently yet coherently organized successive sequences. He states:

Although successive sequences may often be less closely linked than successive turns are, there can be particular ties of relevance between several sequences that serve to extend our sense of the coherence and organizational relatedness of a stretch of talk beyond the boundaries of a single base sequence and its expansions (p.195).

228→ N: *kocchi ni yasaiya toka=*
 here at vegetable.store and.the.like

English translation

225→ N: [You find a meat store here, then
 226→ here (1.2) you find an egg store.
 227 K: OH OH I'VE GOT IT.
 228→ N: Here, there is °a vegetable store or something.° =

(6.3) Subsequence 12 lines 259-268

259 N: *dakedo [aimai na no yo dakara shootengai*
 but unclear NM FP so shopping.mall

260 S: [zzz ((slurping))

261 N: (.7) *o, (.4) nagaaku shita n ja nakute,*
 O lengthen NM COP NEG

262 M: *yoko?*
 horizontal

263→ N: *iya ↑hyu tte yatte ko- koko ni mo omise ga aru*
 no ONM QT do here too store S exist

264→ *a< koko ni mo koko ni mo*
 oh here too here too

265→ *demo, kono tatemono jitai no iriguchi wa ikko na no yo.*
 but this building itself LK entrance TOP one COP FP FP

266 (1.2)

267→ N: *kok kara haittettara, a< keshoohin a<*
 here from enter oh cosmetics oh

268 (1.) *tte (.) °()°*
 QT

English translation

259 N: But [it's hard to explain. So take a shopping street
 260 S: [zzz ((slurping))
 261 N: (.7) *o* ((object marker)) (.4) It's not long like that.
 262 M: wide?
 263→N: No, it's just kind of all plopped down and there is a store
 here
 264→ oh, another one here and here's one, too.
 265→ But, as for the entrance of this building itself there is
 just one.
 266 (1.2)

267→N: When you enter here, you would find "oh< here's a cosmetics
store<"
268 (1.) You'd say something like this (.) °()°

The walking-through character of the explanation is specifically registered through the use of proximal demonstrative *koko/kocchi* ("here") in lines 225-226, 228, 263-264, and 267, and *kono* ("this") in line 265, as well as the use of the verb of motion *hairu* ("enter") in lines 172 and 267.⁶⁹ Recall that the insert expansion entailing these elaborations emerged when Sachiko raised a question with regard to Naomi's course of action for shoplifting (i.e., whether she simply went in and out of the store). Recall also that this question is resolved by Sachiko herself at the end of the expansion. Naomi's repeated attempts to establish the configuration of the market using referential terms as walking-through strategies can be seen as a strategy to involve the unknowing participants in visualizing the circumstances in which the protagonist shoplifted without being caught. However, at the same time, the fact that Naomi repeatedly makes use of such a visualization strategy indicates that it is not an easy task to enable the participants to reach mutual understanding of the configuration of the market through visualization of the layout.

To reach mutual understanding, the unknowing participants also carry out their strategies to cope with Naomi's attempts. The most prominent one observed in the insert expansion is what I call the *nominating strategy*, in which participants attempt to facilitate their efforts at visualization of the *koosetsu ichiba* by utilizing a familiar

⁶⁹ The walking-through character is not only exhibited in Naomi's actions, but also in those of the other participants. I will analyze both aspects later.

reference as a candidate to approximate the configuration of the market, the reference being chosen from the same *membership categorization device* (Sacks 1992) to which *koosetsu ichiba* belongs.⁷⁰ To illustrate the nominating strategy, I present some of the unknowing participants' initiating turns of the nominating strategy in Excerpt 7.

(7) "Shoplifting" lines 177-187

177→ M: [kooka shita⁷¹ mitai na tokoro desu ka?
elevated.structure under like place COP Q

178 N: >iya iy(h)a iya iya<
no no no no

179 M: uh ha ha ha

180 N: ano(h): futsuu no [ichiba
SF ordinary LK market

181 K?: [(jaa)
so

182 M: ichiba==
market

Subsequence 3

183→ K: =(ja) futsuu ni nanka (1.2) waikere mitai na?
so ordinary SF Waikele like

184 (1.)

185 N: [(sore) yane ga nai desho?=
that roof S don't.exist TAG

186 M: [(haha)

⁷⁰ This particular membership categorization device (MCD) may be best labeled as "a place where a variety of stores and shops are assembled in a unified structure" including markets and malls. Although *kooka shita* and *waikere* shown in lines 177 and 183 in Excerpt 7 are names of a sort of "shopping district" and a specific geographic location (located within driving distance from Pacific House), respectively, each of the terms refers to a category in this MCD. For example images of references in the MCD, see Appendix C.

⁷¹ The word *kookashita*, in this specific context, refers to an assemblage of shops and stores operating underneath the elevated railway tracks.

187 K: =°aa so kka:°
oh right

English translation

177→M: [Isn't it like the one underneath the tracks?
178 N: >no no no no<
179 M: uh ha ha ha
180 N: uhm(h): It's an ordinary market.
181 K?: [(so)
182 M: Market==

Subsequence 3

183→K: =(So) Is it something just (1.2) like Waikele?
184 (1.)
185 N: [(That) doesn't have a roof, right?=
186 M: [(haha)
187 K: =°Oh that's right°

Each of the above nominating turns (lines 177 and 183) is carried out in the form of a question addressed to Naomi, the knowing participant. The knowing participant then responds to the nomination in question by identifying which properties make it an unsuitable candidate for approximating the target item (lines 178, 180, and 185). The references nominated in this strategy (i.e., *kookashita* "(shopping area) underneath the elevated railway tracks" and *waikere* "Waikele") are familiar terms to all of the participants. The familiarity to the participants is evident in their minimal forms (i.e., one word reference), both of which are names of a location (underneath the elevated railway tracks) and a place (Waikele) in which shops and stores are assembled. By using these minimal references, the unknowing participants are able to draw on configuration of the market associated with the minimal references to see if they approximate those of *koosetsu ichiba*. As these multiple attempts employing the failed nominating strategies show, the participants have a hard time reaching mutual understanding of the target item. However, these multiple attempts in turn indicate the participants' strong orientation to

establishing mutual understanding of the target item by exploiting familiar categories (i.e., those available to them through shared extra-discursive knowledge) as resources for enabling them to visualize what the unfamiliar category *koosetsu ichiba* might look like. The nominating strategy, therefore, shares the same property that the walking through strategy has in the sense that it facilitates unknowing participants' efforts to visualize the physical environment in which 4-year-old Naomi was situated when she shoplifted. In summary, the participants, both knowing and unknowing, all orient themselves to establishing mutual understanding of the story component *koosetsu ichiba* in such a way as to conceptualize it as if they have actually seen it.

To establish unanimous understanding among multiple participants, however, is not a simple task since all participants may not reach a place of shared understanding at the same moment. Thus, in addition to the extended "visualization" work taken up by individual participants in their respective pursuits of understanding the unknown target item, the insert expansion also exhibits a shared orientation towards a unanimous understanding of that item by all unknowing participants. In the following analysis, I show step-by-step how they establish unanimous understanding. In these processes, Sachiko plays a significant role, in addition to the knowing participant Naomi, in helping the other unknowing participants Kaoru and Mikiko. Although Sachiko started the insert expansion as an unknowing participant, she establishes a shared understanding of the target item with Naomi in an early phase of the insert expansion (i.e., Subsequence 1, Excerpt 8). In this sense, this new status puts her in the middle position in the

participation framework between Naomi (most knowing participant) and Kaoru and Mikiko (unknowing participants).

The following analysis of Subsequences 1-4 demonstrates how Sachiko's talk, interacting from such a "middle position," orients the participants towards unanimous understanding of the target item.

(8) "Shoplifting" Subsequences 1-4

Subsequence 1

- 167 S: *yane tsuiteru no?*
roof attach NM
- 168 N: *yane tsuiteru=ano: ↑chaina taun no,*
roof attach SF China Town LK
- 169 °() *mitai [na kanji de°*
like sense COP
- 170 S: *[oo hai hai hai hai*
oh yes yes yes yes
- 171 N: *hitotsu no tatemono na n da kedo*
one LK building COP NM COP but
- 172 *naka ni hairu to omise ga ippai aru wake*
inside enter if store S many exist reason
- 173 *(iwa[yuru-]*
so.called
- 174 S: *[nantoka ma-*
something
- 175 *nantoka maaketto pureesu toka ni mo aru yo ne?*
something market place and.the.like at too exist FP FP
- 176 *[chaina-*
China

Subsequence 2

- 177 M: *[kooka shita mitai na tokoro desu ka?*
elevated.structure under like place COP Q
- 178 N: *>iya iy(h)a iya iya<*
no no no no

- 179 M: *uh ha ha ha*
- 180 N: *ano(h): futsuu no [ichiba*
SF ordinary LK market
- 181 K?: *[(jaa)*
so
- 182 M: *ichiba=-*
market
- Subsequence 3**
- 183 K: *=(ja) futsuu ni nanka (1.2) waikere mitai na?*
so ordinary SF Waikele like
- 184 (1.)
- 185 N: *[(sore) yane ga nai desho?=
that roof S don'T.exist TAG*
- 186 M: *[(haha)*
- 187 K: *=°aa so kka:°*
oh right
- 188 (2.)
- Subsequence 4**
- 189 N: *°(nan daroo)° na- na- nani ga aru kashira.*
what guess what S exist wonder
- 190 (.8)
- 191 N: *[(chaina taun)*
China Town
- 192 S: *[(ano dakara) ma- mauka- (.) >nan da kke na< makapu- (.)*
SF so what COP FP FP
- 193 *maaketto pureesu >datta kkee< aa yuu no ja nai?*
market place COP FP that.type TAG
- 194 N: *makapu?*
"makapu"
- 195 M: *°maka[pu°*
"makapu"
- 196 S: *[nanka ko*
something SF

197 N: A< hai hai. [hai makapu hai hai.
oh yes yes yes "makapu" yes yes

198 S?: [(maaketto no nakani)
market LK inside

199 S: naka ni:, yaoyasan toka ippai atte:
inside vegetable.store and.the.like many exist

200 (.)

English translation

Subsequence 1

167 S: Does it have a roof?

168 N: It has a roof. =uhm: In China Town,
169 °there is one that looks like () °

170 S: [Oh yes yes yes yes

171 N: It's one building. But
172 once you are inside, there are a lot of stores
173 (so-called)

174 S: [What-you-call-it ma-
175 Don't we also have them in what-you-call-it market place?
176 [China-

Subsequence 2

177 M: [Isn't it like the one underneath the tracks?

178 N: >no no no no<

179 M: uh ha ha ha

180 N: uhm(h): It's an ordinary market.

181 K?: [(so)

182 M: Market==

Subsequence 3

183 K: =(So) Is it something just (1.2) like Waikele?
184 (1.)

185 N: [(That) doesn't have a roof, right?=
186 M: [(haha)

187 K: =°Oh that's right°
188 (2.)

Subsequence 4

189 N: °(Let me see)° wha- wha- I wonder what is there.
190 (.8)

191 N: [(China Town)

192 S: [(Well so) ma- mauka- (.) >What is it< makapu- (.)
193 place >wasn't it?< Isn't it something like that?

194 N: makapu?

195 M: °maka[pu°

196 S: [It's something like

197 N: OH< yes yes. [yes makapu yes yes.

198 S?: [(inside the market)

199 S: Inside the market, there are many stores, like a vegetable
store. And,
200 (.)

Recall that before the insert expansion starts, Sachiko in line 165 (Excerpt 5) shows general understanding of it. Therefore, Sachiko's first question about a feature of the market (*yane tsuiteru no?* "Does it have a roof?") in line 167 in Subsequence 1 can be seen as her further pursuit to become more knowing about it. Right after Naomi in line 168 provides an answer to Sachiko's question (*yane tsuiteru* "It has a roof"), Naomi initiates the nominating strategy by proffering a market type, Chinatown, as a reference close to *koosetsu ichiba*. Sachiko responds to the nominating strategy by showing stronger signs of alignment (repetition of the confirmation token *hai* four times) with Naomi in overlap in line 170. In line 175, she further orients to her understanding of the item by providing an indefinite but more specific candidate for the nominating strategy *nantoka maaketto pureesu* ("what-you-call-it market place"), which is retrospectively understood in her following turn (line 176) as the name of a market in Chinatown (but she cannot recall the exact name). At this point, Sachiko appears to understand the target item through the nominating strategy initiated by Naomi in Subsequence 1. If this storytelling were conducted only between Sachiko and Naomi, the most relevant action after Sachiko's display of the change in her knowing status would exhibit a sequence-closing sequence (Schegloff 2007) that leads to the closure of the insert expansion resuming the base sequence. However, after Sachiko displays the change in her status from less knowing to more knowing of the target item (lines 170 and 174-176), a sequence-closing sequence does not occur. Instead, Mikiko in line 177 initiates a new

sequence of the nominating strategy, as seen above, by proffering the term *kooka shita* ("shopping area underneath the elevated railroad tracks") as a reference close to *koosetsu ichiba* by cutting in on Sachiko's displays of her knowing status. Since this is a multi-party activity, in which there still remain unknowing participants, Subsequence 2 indicates that, as all participants have not aligned with Sachiko's display of understanding, the interactional work of understanding/conceptualizing the unknown referent has not yet reached a point of closure, and thus, the talk evolves into a different direction, namely, the orientation towards visualization of the target item for the other unknowing participants.

The conflict between Sachiko's orientation towards her understanding (as accomplished and signaled in lines 170 and 175) and the unknowing participants' orientation towards their (not-yet-acquired) understanding is resolved through the way in which Sachiko yields her turns to the unknowing participants. This is evident in Sachiko's nonproblematic stance to Mikiko's initiation of Subsequence 2, a turn which registers interruptive force by cutting on Sachiko's action in progress in line 176 continuing from line 174 to talk about *nantoka maaketto pureisu* ("what-you-call-it market place") in Chinatown. The interruptive force is further registered by Mikiko's initiation of a new round of the nominating strategy from line 177 with no connection to the topic developed by Sachiko up until line 176. Although Sachiko was cut in on by Mikiko in this way, Sachiko does not compete with Mikiko over her floor taking of the ongoing conversation. Rather, she seems to shift her participation status quickly from a speaker to a listener by withdrawing her turn in line 176. In this sense, we can see that

Sachiko yields her turn to Mikiko at the initiation of a new round of the nominating strategy.

However, yielding a turn to another participant does not mean giving up the project – her understanding of the unknown term – she has been pursuing in the ongoing conversation. This is evident in Sachiko's resumption of her action from line 192 in Subsequence 4. In Subsequence 4 after the two failed but closed rounds of the nominating strategy in Subsequences 2 and 3, Naomi starts a new sequence by publicly providing a self-addressed question for recollection of a candidate for the nominating strategy in line 189, which prompts Sachiko's participation in line 192.⁷² Here, the discourse marker *dakara* ("so"), which can function to regain one's speaker role when his/her prior turn has been terminated (Mori 1999b, 168), makes a connection to Sachiko's previous turn (*nantoka maaketto pureesu* "what-you-call-it market place" in line 175). Therefore Sachiko's turn in line 192 indicates that she resumes her action suspended in line 176. The identical formulation of the candidate "X market place" in line 175 and lines 192-193 also indicates her resumption of the suspended action. Since "Makapu" is actually a misremembered label that Sachiko came up with during the word search in lines 192-193, it is not immediately recognized as a candidate category. Nonetheless, Naomi in line 197 displays strong alignment with Sachiko's proffer of a candidate as

⁷² Hayashi (2003, 111) demonstrates that a self-addressed question in word search is a practice to provide "a public window into what are otherwise private mental process." Incorporating speaker's bodily conduct (e.g. gaze and gesture) into word searching practices, he states that "such publicly observable, embodied practices provide crucial resources for participants to accomplish collaborative action in an ongoing word search" (ibid).

acceptable. At the end of line 199 followed by a micro silence in line 200, the sequence initiated by Sachiko from line 167 and suspended between line 177 and line 188 reaches its completion. Under this environment, Sachiko's description of the configuration of the market in lines 198-199 can be seen as a display of her knowledge status as knowing, and thus as a display of establishment of mutual understanding with Naomi.

In sum, Subsequences 1-4 exhibit two types of processes: one is a process for Sachiko to reach her understanding of the target item in question, and the other is a process for Mikiko and Kaoru to establish their understanding. These processes occurred in such a way that one (Subsequences 2 and 3) was inserted in the other (Subsequences 1 and 4). The two different processes however sequentially interwove with each other smoothly with no signs of interactional trouble (at the beginnings of Subsequences 2 and 4). This suggests that each process had relevancy to occur in the insert expansion. The common property of the two processes in the initial part of the insert expansion from line 168 to line 187 (Subsequences 1-4) is the participants' orientation to establishing common visualization of the target item *koosetsu ichiba* by carrying out the nominating strategy with references in the same MCD that are already familiar to them. During this process, however, Sachiko is able to establish mutual understanding of the item with Naomi, while Kaoru and Mikiko remain unknowing.

Subsequences 5 and 6 further exhibit a similar pattern. In Subsequence 5, Sachiko orients to mutual understanding with Naomi, while in Subsequence 6, exploiting the topic established in Subsequence 5, she turns to Kaoru and prompts her to engage in

another round of the nominating strategy. Here, Sachiko appears to be the one in charge of moving the work of achieving unanimous understanding forward.

(9) "Shoplifting" Subsequences 5-6 lines 201-219

Subsequence 5

- 201 S: a demo are: atashi mo kyoto no obaachan no uchi ni
oh but that I too Kyoto LK grand.mother LK home to
- 202 itta toki ni hh
went time at
- 203 ? : ()
- 204 S: itta. hh=
went
- 205 N: =honto kansai [no (n [da.) jaa=
really Kansai LK NM COP so
- 206 S: [(iya)
no
- 207 M: [hh
- 208 S: =°suimasen desu° ((to Mikiko or Kaoru))
sorry COP
- 209 S: kansai na no ka na:. soreka: (1.2) doo na n daro=
Kansai COP NM Q FP or how NM COP guess

Subsequence 6

- 210 =demo yuki no ooi toko da tte aru n ja nai no:?
but snow LK much place COP QT exist NM COP NEG FP
- 211 N: A [kuromon ichiba
oh Kuromon market
- 212→ S: [aakeedo mitai ni natte n no yo
arcade like be NM COP FP
- 213 (.)
- 214 K: AA AA >nani< AAKEEDO ppoi kanji?
oh oh what arcade like sense
- 215 N: aakeedo ja nai [no sono ne
arcade COP NEG FP that FP

speaker and the hearer" (Hayashi 2003, 122). Therefore, Sachiko's new sequence is initiated contingently to the prior sequence (Subsequence 4), in which Sachiko displayed that she established mutual understanding of the target item with Naomi. In Subsequence 5, Sachiko's understanding is, however, formulated as a personal reminiscence in lines 201-204 where she reports that she remembers that she actually went to *koosetsu ichiba* when visiting her grandmother who lived in Kyoto. The significance of the place name Kyoto is taken up by Naomi in her reformulation of Kyoto to *Kansai*, the region, which includes Kyoto and the place Naomi grew up. This reformulation marks that *koosetsu ichiba* is a market that is understood exclusively by Sachiko and Naomi who have in common a connection to the Kansai region. However, given the fact that Mikiko and Kaoru do not have such a connection to the Kansai region, it can also be seen as a possible account for the fact that only Sachiko can establish mutual understanding with Naomi, which then might make Subsequence 5 as conversation exclusive to Sachiko and Naomi. Under this environment, Sachiko slightly shifts her position to implicate a possibility that it is not definitely exclusive to Naomi and Sachiko. This is evident in line 209, possibly started from line 206, in which she makes her private cognitive process public with a self-addressed question by using the question marker *ka na* followed by a 1.2-second pause, and another self-addressed question *doo na n daroo* ("I wonder what it would be"). Here, displaying her uncertain position, Sachiko appears to avoid implicating the item *koosetsu ichiba* as exclusive to the Kansai region.

In Subsequence 6 from line 210, Sachiko clearly changes her orientation to Kaoru by exploiting the topic, regional specificity, developed in Subsequence 5 with the

topic-initiation contrastive discourse marker *demo* to make a contrast yet connection to *yuki no ooi toko* ("snowy place"), which is strongly associated with Kaoru's hometown in Hokkaido (the northernmost region of Japan). Sachiko's action creates an opportunity for Kaoru, whose proffer was once dismissed in Subsequence 3, to participate again in the ongoing discussion about *koosetsu ichiba*, which, in Subsequence 5, became an item almost exclusively accessible to Naomi and Sachiko. Sachiko therefore serves as a knowing participant for Kaoru to help her establish mutual understanding with Sachiko and Naomi. Note however that Sachiko and Naomi's actions in this sequence are not conducted in a completely aligned way as knowing participants. First, there is conflict in lines 212-215: Sachiko provides another candidate for the nominating strategy *aakeedo* ("arcade") for Kaoru followed by Kaoru's emphatic alignment with it (lines 212-214), while Naomi exhibits in lines 215 the opposite stance to Sachiko and Kaoru by denying *aakeedo* as an candidate. Second, the opposing structure Naomi vs. Sachiko and Kaoru is soon changed by Sachiko in line 216, which provides a possible account that one of the architectural features of an arcade-type market, namely, having a long walkway, is not a feature of *koosetsu ichiba*. Therefore, Sachiko's action in line 216 can be seen as an alignment with Naomi's negation *aakeedo ja nai* ("It's not an arcade"). However, again, this occurs in overlap with Naomi's turn in progress right after she finishes the negation "It's not an arcade." In Subsequence 6, therefore, although the overall orientation is to Kaoru's establishment of mutual understanding with Sachiko and Naomi, Sachiko does not act as a knowing participant collaborating with Naomi, but rather as a leading knowing participant who attempts to help a not-yet-knowing participant achieve mutual

understanding with the already-knowing participants. In sum, Sachiko's actions in Subsequences 5-6 indicate her middle position between the most knowing participant (Naomi) and not-yet-knowing participants (Mikiko and Kaoru).

Recall again that Sachiko was the one who provided a question for the teller Naomi in the base storytelling activity that led to an insert sequence from line 157 (Excerpt 2). However, here in the insert sequence, she almost acts as a knowing participant who attempts to help the not-yet-knowing participants establish mutual understanding with her. This is further seen in Subsequences 8, 10, and 11 even after Kaoru finally displays her understanding of the target item in Subsequences 7 and 9.

(10) "Shoplifting" Subsequences 7-11 lines 220-258

Subsequence 7

220 N: [(chaina tau-)
China Tow-

221 N: chaina taun ni aru omise na no
China Town at exist store COP NM

222 S: [()

223 N: omise tte yuu ka ne,
store QT say Q FP

224 S: zz [zz ((slurping))

225 N: [koko ni nikuya ga aruto omottara,
here at meet.store S exist think

226 kocchi ni (1.2) tamagoya toka sa
here at egg.store and.the.like FP

227 K: AA AA WAKATTA.
oh oh got.it

228 N: kocchi ni °yasaiya toka°=
here at vegetable.store and.the.like

Subsequence 8

229 S: =faamaasu maaketto wa itta koto aru? soko no.
farmers market TOP went thing have there LK

230 (1.2)

231 S: waado no.
Ward LK

232 (.7)

233 ? : °nai°
don't.have

234 S: °aa nai ka.° (.) °wakatta°
oh don't.have Q got.it

Subsequence 9

235 K: ko- cho- a natte ko- aa kocchi kocchi
oh become oh here here

236 K: a wakarū < wakarū =
oh understand understand

237 N: =wa↑ka↓ru↑u=
understand

238 K: =(kocchi) u- usugurai kanji no
here dim sens LK

239 N: usugurai kanji na n da kedo
dim sense COP NM COP but

240 omise no buusu ga nanka iroiro aru↑:=dakara
store LK booth S SF various exist so

241 (1.)

Subsequence 10

242 S: soko paamanento na no?
there permanent COP NM

243 (.4)

244 N: e?
huh

245 S: idoo shichau wake ja nai desho? soko no:=
move do reason COP NEG TAG there LK

246 N: =chigau chigau
wrong wrong

247 mo- mo: [soko (ni)
already there at

Subsequence 11

248 K: [chotto yuka ga >chotto< nureteru kanji no
a little floor S a little wet sense LK

249 S: zzz ((slurping))

250 N: uun betsuni nurete[ru
no not.really wet

251 K: [huh huh=

252 M: [huh huh

253 K: =[uetto na kanji na:
wet sense

254 N: [nurete-
wet

255 N: nurete nakutemo [(ii n da kedo)
wet NEG OK NM COP but

256 S: [(chuuoo) ichiba ja nai no?
central market COP NEG NM

257 K: huh huh huh huh imeeji yo sore=
image FP that

258 N: =un
yeah

English translation

Subsequence 7

220 N: [(China Tow-)

221 N: It is a store in China Town

222 S: [()

223 N: I mean, it's not a store.

224 S: zz [zz ((slurping))

225 N: [You find a meat store here, then

226 here (1.2) you find an egg store.

227 K: OH OH I'VE GOT IT.

228 N: Here, there is °a vegetable store or something.° =

Subsequence 8

229 S: =Have you ever been to the farmers' market over there?

230 (1.2)

231 S: In Ward.

232 (.7)

233 K: °No°
 234 S: °Oh you haven't.° (.) °OK°

Subsequence 9

235 K: *ko- cho- oh, natte-* here and here ((*ko-*, *cho-*, and *natte-* are too fragmented to make English translation))
 236 K: oh I get it. I get it.=
 237 N: =do you know what I'm talking about?=
 238 K: =(Here) Is it a little dark?
 239 N: It's a bit dark. But
 240 there are a variety of store booths=so
 241 (1.)

Subsequence 10

242 S: Is it permanent?
 243 (.4)
 244 N: huh?
 245 S: That market is not traveling, is it? =
 246 N: =It's not, it's not.
 247 Just sitting [there.]

Subsequence 11

248 K: [Is the floor a bit wet?
 249 S: zzz ((slurping))
 250 N: No, not really wet
 251 K: [huh huh=
 252 M: [huh huh
 253 K: =[It might be a little wet?
 254 N: [wet-
 255 N: It doesn't have to be wet. But
 256 S: [Isn't it a (central) market?
 257 K: huh huh huh huh That's my image=
 258 N: =Yeah

In Subsequences 7-11, there are intersecting action sequences, one centering around Naomi and the other centering around Sachiko. I first focus on Sachiko's actions in Subsequence 8 in which, as I will examine later in detail, Kaoru in line 227 emphatically and explicitly shows her understanding of the target item by saying *aa wakatta* ("Oh, I've got it") with a loud voice. After line 227, Sachiko, as a knowing participant who has attempted to help the not-yet-knowing participants understand the target item, could have responded to Kaoru by showing her acknowledgement of Kaoru's display of her understanding. However, she continues to engage in the nominating strategy by

proffering a new candidate *faamaasu maaketto* ("farmers' market") in line 229, which effectively opens a new subsequence (Subsequence 8). There is a similar action in Subsequence 10, which starts with Sachiko's initiation in line 242 (*soko paamanento na no* "Is it permanent?") after a one-second silence at the end of Subsequence 9, at which, as I will examine in detail below, Kaoru and Naomi orient to Kaoru's display of her understanding in Subsequence 7, line 227. Sachiko's question in line 242, which asks if the market was permanent or traveling, again does not display alignment with the work undertaken by Naomi and Kaoru to negotiate the validity of Kaoru's claim that she has correctly understood the identity of the trouble source (*koosetsu ichiba*). Sachiko's actions here suggest that she is acting as if she were back at the point in the interaction where she was an unknowing participant who tries to establish her understanding of the target item. However, her actions are more rational if they are understood as orienting to another unknowing participant, Mikiko.⁷⁴ Since Sachiko's actions in these sequences occur disruptively to the aligned interaction between Kaoru and Mikiko, they might be seen as priority responses to Kaoru's display of understanding, since once Kaoru understood, Mikiko might be left behind as a not-yet-unknowing participant who just "can't get it." Therefore, we can say that Sachiko in Subsequences 7-10 orients to Mikiko to reach mutual understanding with the other participants, as well as in the previous subsequences (Subsequences 1-6).

⁷⁴ Without visual resources for the data analysis, it is only speculative to determine whether or not Mikiko understood the target item. However, since Mikiko has been less active since the dismissal of her proffer of a candidate for nominating strategy in Subsequence 2, I have concluded as such.

Sachiko's orientation does not seem to be pursued cooperatively with Naomi. As Sachiko interrupts Kaoru and Naomi's sequence development in line 229, as seen above, Naomi too does not align with Sachiko's actions. This is evident in the shifts of sequences between 6 and 7 and between 7 and 8. The way in which Naomi initiates Subsequence 7 (line 220, the shift between Subsequences 6 and 7) specifically entails a non-cooperative orientation to Sachiko's preceding action. First, the overlap between Sachiko in line 219 (Excerpt 9) and Naomi in line 220 indicates the disjunctive initiation of the new sequence. This disjunctiveness emerges from the flow of the conversation in the preceding subsequence from line 216 shown in Excerpt 9, in which Sachiko aligned with Naomi's rejection (line 215) of the candidate *aakeedo* ("arcade") by adding a more specific architectural feature *nagaku wa nai* ("not long") as a reason for the rejection. Then in line 217, Mikiko collaboratively completes Sachiko's turn in line 216, which displays disfluency (*nantonaku koo* "something like") in searching for a word to describe the shape of the market instead of *nagai* ("long"), with the grammatically and semantically replaceable adjective *hiroi* ("spacious"). In addition, since Mikiko's turn in line 217 ends with rising intonation, it makes a response relevant for Sachiko to confirm if it is a correct description to complete Sachiko's turn. Under this environment, it is most likely that the 0.7-second silence in line 218 is attributed to Sachiko. Indeed, Sachiko initiates the next turn in line 219 to expand the description of the market by using the term *taikukan* ("gymnasium"), which is also consistent with Mikiko's request for confirmation in line 217. It is under this environment that Naomi initiates a new sequence disjunctively to what has been developed between the other three participants.

As shown in Excerpt 10, Naomi starts her turn in line 220 slightly after Sachiko starts hers in line 219. Since there was a 0.7-second silence in line 218 and Naomi's turn in line 220 starts by overlapping with the very beginning (i.e. the first syllable of the first word *taiikukan* "gymnasium") of Sachiko's line 219, it may be understood that Naomi starts the new sequence at this transition-relevance place. Nonetheless, as examined above, Sachiko is still the most relevant speaker after line 217 according to the flow of the conversation. In this sense, Naomi, in overlap with Sachiko, establishes the floor rather unilaterally by initiating another round of the nominating strategy with a candidate *china taun* ("Chinatown"). Naomi's unilateral move to establish the floor even with Sachiko's possible contest in line 222 is further reinforced by the assertive proffer of the candidate with the sentence final particle *no* in line 221, which has authoritative quality to imply the statement marked by the particle as common knowledge shared among interlocutors (Cook 1990). As we have seen so far, several attempts of the nominating strategy have failed to nominate the best candidate to illustrate the story item *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market"). During the nomination, the four candidates (i.e., Chinatown in lines 168-169, *kookashita* "shopping area underneath the elevated railroad tracks" in line 177, Waikele in line 183, and arcade in line 212) have been proffered followed by the suffix *mitai* ("like") to characterize them as approximate, not exact, references to the target item *koosetsu ichiba*. Naomi's nominating strategy in line 221, however, misses the suffix *mitai*, whose adjective form *mitaina* could be grammatically inserted between *omise* ("store") and the sentence final particle *no* to maintain the approximate meaning of the referent *Chinatown*. Without the marker *mitaina*, Naomi's utterance can be heard that

she is talking about the store in Chinatown per se, as if it were exactly the item that is referred to by the term *koosetsu ichiba*. With this narrowed focus on the store in Chinatown with the assertive clause final particle *no*, the utterance in line 221 registers the sense that Chinatown is the best candidate to illustrate the target item in question; and thus, this excludes the other candidates including *arcade* just proffered by Sachiko in the preceding sequence. Naomi's unilateral character to shift the topic to Chinatown is also consistent with Sachiko's temporary withdrawal from the ongoing talk for a moment in line 224, in which Sachiko resumes her eating activity, which has been suspended since line 161 in the beginning of the insert expansion.

In summary, Subsequences 7-10 show two intertwining subsequences, one centering around Naomi (Subsequences 7 and 9) and the other centering around Sachiko (Subsequences 8 and 10). Unlike the previously observed storytellings in which multiple knowing participants are present (C. Goodwin 1987; Lerner 1992; Mandelbaum 1987a), Naomi and Sachiko do not show cooperative stances to each other's actions in the talk in progress. However, it is worth noting that they are nonetheless oriented to establishing mutual understanding of the target item with the not-yet-knowing participants. In this sense, the orientation in the insert expansion has been consistently set towards establishment of unanimous understanding among the participants.

The insert expansion, which has been developed orienting to the participants' unanimous understanding of the target item *koosetsu ichiba*, is finally brought to closure. At the end of Subsequence 10 (line 247), the participation framework is established with Naomi and Sachiko as knowing and Kaoru as now-knowing. Now, overlapping with

Naomi's preceding turn (line 247), Kaoru initiates a new sequence (Subsequence 11), which can actually be seen as a continuation from Subsequence 9 developed between her and Naomi. This is evident in Kaoru's parallel formulations of features of the market in the same format *XX kanji no* ("seem like XX"): first, *usugurai kanji no* ("it is a little dark") in line 238 (Subsequence 9) and second, *yuka ga chotto nureteru kanji no* ("the floor is a bit wet") in line 248 (Subsequence 11). This can be seen as her attempt to bring the orientation back to her further understanding, which was interrupted by Sachiko from line 242 in Subsequence 10. Here, we can see a pattern throughout Subsequences 7-11, in which two different orientations emerge alternatively. However, in Subsequence 11, Sachiko shows a collaborative stance to Naomi and Kaoru, which, I argue, leads to the ultimate closure of the extended insert expansion. In the beginning of Subsequence 11, Sachiko exhibits a distance from the orientation Kaoru is establishing by engaging in an eating activity in line 249. However, when Kaoru and Naomi are showing disagreement on the feature of the market as "wet" in lines 248-255, Sachiko in line 256 participates in talk in progress by proffering another market type (*chuuoo ichiba* "central market") associated with the feature "wet floor."⁷⁵ Upon Sachiko's proffer, Kaoru in line 257 aligns with it by saying that that is the image she has developed through the process to understand the target item *koosetsu ichiba*. With Naomi's acceptance token *un* ("yeah") in line 258 latching onto Kaoru's alignment with Sachiko, the three participants show

⁷⁵ Since Sachiko's turn initial in line 256 is not clear enough due to overlapping talk, the word *chuuoo* ("central") is my best guess. The term *chuuoo ichiba* is typically associated with a central market specialized for such fresh foods as meat, fish, and vegetables in which floors are usually wet because they are frequently washed with water.

unifying alignment at the end of Subsequence 11. This is significant in that two parties (Sachiko vs. Naomi and Kaoru) who have so far respectively oriented themselves to establish their understandings of the target item in the insert sequence reach a point of alignment.⁷⁶ This reading of the final actions in Subsequence 11 can be supported by Naomi's initiation of a *sequence-closing sequence* (Schegloff 2007) in Subsequence 12 (to be examined below), which in the end finally closes the extended insert expansion started from line 157, and leads to the resumption of the response sequence. In other words, Subsequence 11 occasions a new subsequence to close the extended insert expansion. I further argue that the three participants' (i.e., Naomi, Kaoru, and Sachiko) alignment established in the end of Subsequence 11 (lines 256-258) works for the final closure significantly, since at this point, Sachiko in line 256 attends to the preceding sequence between Kaoru and Naomi, Kaoru in line 257 shows alignment with Sachiko, and then by Naomi in line 258 shows alignment with Kaoru).

However, we can also say that through this prolonged insert expansion the participants have not achieved unanimous understanding of the target item *koosetsu ichiba*, since Mikiko's knowledge status about the target item remains undeclared, and Kaoru's descriptions of the floor condition being "wet" in line 248 and 253 have not received Naomi's agreement. Under these circumstances, Naomi from line 259 (Excerpt 11 below) shows a move to close the insert expansion, which is consistent with

⁷⁶ At this point based on the audio data, there is not adequate evidence to determine whether or not Mikiko reaches intersubjectivity on the target item. However, since Mikiko remains almost silent, I conclude that her indeterminate status vis-à-vis the term in question does not negatively affect this alignment.

Schegloff's observations of sequence-closing sequences. Schegloff (2007) introduces two types of process through which longer sequences get closed: one that ends step-by-step in collaboration with co-participants, and the other that ends with one party's unilateral move. The step-by-step process in the former type is illustrated as a *dedicated sequence-closing sequence* (Schegloff 2007, 186) basically consisting of three successive turns: 1) a turn that refers back to the start of the sequence to be closed in such a way as to summarize and/or assess the topic or the target that initiated the sequence, 2) an alignment from the recipient of the initial turn, and 3) a final closing token to ratify the recipient's alignment. The latter type, in contrast, exhibits one party's abandonment of an utterance-in-progress, and disjunctive launch of a new topic. Subsequence 12 exhibits mixed features of a dedicated sequence-closing sequence and a unilateral sequence ending.

(11) "Shoplifting" Subsequence 12 with resumption of the response sequence lines 259-302⁷⁷

Subsequence 12

Sequence-closing first

259 N: *dakedo [aimai na no yo dakara shootengai*
but unclear NM FP so shopping.mall

260 S: [zzz ((slurping))

261 N: (.7) *o, (.4) nagaaku shita n ja nakute,*
O lengthen NM COP NEG

262 M: *yoko?*
horizontal

263 N: *iya ↑hyu tte yatte ko- koko ni mo omise ga aru*
no ONM QT do here too store S exist

⁷⁷ The components of the dedicated sequence-closing sequence corresponding to Schegloff's first two of the three-turn format (1 and 2 above) are labeled with *sequence-closing first, sequence-closing second*.

- 264 a< koko ni mo koko ni mo
oh here too here too
- 265 demo, kono tatemono jitai no iriguchi wa ikko na no yo.
but this building itself LK entrance TOP one COP FP FP
- 266 (1.2)
- 267 N: kok kara haittettara, a< keshoohin a<
here from enter oh cosmetics oh
- 268 (1.) tte (.) °()°
QT
- Sequence-closing second
- 269 S: de jaa nani omise ni sa gara tte
then so what store in SF ONM QT
- 270 hairimasu tte kanji ja nai n da.
enter QT sense COP NEG NM COP
- 271 N: >sou na no.<
right COP FP
- 272 dakara sono keshoohinyasan no tona[ri ni wa:,
so that cosmetics.store LK next to TOP
- 273 S: [zzz ((slurping))
- 274 N: fukuyasan dattari suru wake yo. mo- moo ne?
clothing.store COP do reason FP SF FP
- 275 soide:,
and
- 276 K: kono- kore wa nan desu ka ((referring to a side activity))
this this TOP what COP Q
- 277 N: nde: [kono
and this
- 278 K?: [huh huh
- 279 M?: [huh huh huh huh
- 280 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
- 281 N: [sono:
that

282 N: *ri[ppu su[tikku tte yuu no wa,*
lipstick QT say one TOP

283 S: *[s [s ((slurping))*

284 N: *omise no naka ni hairanaku temo yokatta wake yo.*
store LK inside not.enter if good reason FP

285 *kekkyoku kono:*
after.all this

286 *(.6)*

287 S: *shoomen ni*
in.front.of

288 N: *soo soo soo [(miru)*
right right right see

289 S: *[michi o aruite tara koko*
aisle O walk if here

290 K: *kuru [(kuru mawatte) ta huh*
ONM ONM go.round

291 ?: *[()*

292 N: *so kuru- katte ni mawatte nai n da kedo ne*
right automatically go.round NEG NM COP but FP

293 K: *huh huh*

294 N: *soi[de*
and

295 K? *[()=*

296 S: *[zz z ((slurping))*

297 N: *=soo soo soo*
right right right

Unilateral sequence ending

298 *kocchi ni okashiyasan ga attari suru n da kedo,*
here candy.store S exist do NM COP but

299 *sono ko- da- demo sonna moo zenzen oboete nai*
that but that already at.all remember NEG

300 *mo doo yatte totta ka wa,*
SF how did take Q TOP

295 K?: [()]=
 296 S: [zz z ((slurping))
 297 N: =Right, right, right
 298 Here, there is a candy store or something. But
Unilateral sequence ending
 299 I don't remember
 300 how I took one at all.
 301 What I remember is just that I was so scared. I remember only
 that.
((Resumption of the base sequence – response sequence))
 302 K: But didn't you get a taste of success?

In Subsequence 12 Naomi initiates talk that displays features of a dedicated sequence-closing sequence (lines 259-298), but shifts to unilaterally end the sequence (lines 299-301). Before examining Subsequence 12, let us first look at the resumption of the base sequence from line 302. In line 302, Kaoru asks a question to Naomi *demo ajishime nakatta n desu ka* ("But didn't you get a taste of success?"). This question indicates that the participants resume the main business, namely, providing evaluative comments in the response sequence observed at the beginning of this section (Section 5.2.2). The resumption of the base sequence is evident in the following two points: one is that the question in line 302 starts with the contrastive turn-initiation discourse marker *demo*, which functions to launch a new topic making a contrastive connection to the prior statement (Mori 1999a, 1999b), and the other is that the question itself is oriented to the consequence of Naomi's shoplifting experience, which is not related to the topic established in the insert expansion (i.e., the configuration of the *koosetsu ichiba*), but is rather related to the questions about the consequence of the shoplifting produced at the beginning of the response sequence (lines 148 and 150, Excerpt 2). Therefore, it can be said that the response sequence of the main storytelling activity resumes from line 302, which reflexively indicates the closure of the insert expansion. In the following analysis,

I demonstrate that in Subsequence 12, the participants engage in talk that closes the extended insert expansion which has stretched from line 157 to line 258.

Features of the sequence-closing first (corresponding to Schegloff's first turn of a dedicated sequence-closing sequence format described above) are observed in Naomi's turns in lines 259-268, which includes the upshot of the sequence to be closed, and repetition of words and phrases used in the beginning of the sequence. In line 259, she first characterizes *koosetsu ichiba* with the adjective *aimai* ("unclear") to underscore the difficulty of finding a good way to describe *koosetsu ichiba*, which the participants have been trying to do in the insert expansion. Then from line 263 to line 267, she repeats a walking-through strategy with proximal demonstratives (e.g., *koko* "here" and *kono* "this"), which was already done when she described *koosetsu ichiba* first in the telling sequence (lines 43-45, Excerpt 4), then again in lines 171-2 (Excerpt 8) and in lines 225-8 (Excerpt 10). After Naomi's sequence-closing first, Sachiko in lines 269-70 (*de ja nani omise ni sa garatte hairimasutte kanji ja nai n da* "So, it is not something like you just enter the store through the doors") initiates a sequence-closing second (corresponding to Schegloff's second turn) by reformulating Naomi's preceding turn. This sequence-closing second is expanded until line 297. Note here that the sequence-closing second starts with Sachiko's self-repair of the underlying assumption (*omise ni gara tte hairimasu* "you just enter the store through the doors") of the original question asking if Naomi simply went in and out of the store (line 155, Excerpt 2) that in effect prompted Naomi to initiate the extended insert expansion. The sequence-closing second therefore can be seen as a sequence composed of Sachiko's self-repair (lines 269-270), Naomi's

ratification of the repair (line 271), and a post-expansion (Schegloff 2007) of the repair (lines 272-297). In the post-expansion, Naomi, Sachiko, and Kaoru in lines 277-297 collaboratively elaborate Sachiko's self-repair with statements that 4-year-old Naomi did not have to go into the store (line 284), and that lipsticks were sitting in front of the store (lines 282, 287, 290, and 292) as she walked on the aisle (line 289).⁷⁸ Up to line 297, the participants exhibit, according to Schegloff (2007), a typical sequence-closing sequence in which co-participants step-by-step come to the end of an extended sequence.

However, from line 298, Naomi curtails her participation in the collaborative, step-by-step process of closing the sequence and initiates a process of unilateral closure. The sequential change is evident in the topic change from the configuration of the market (line 298) to the way in which she picked up the lipstick (line 300). Also, Naomi's articulation troubles *sono ko- da- demo* ("that *ko- da-* but") at the beginning of line 299 provide evidence for the immediate nature of the change of topic. First, a demonstrative *sono* ("that") at the beginning projects this turn to be a continuation from the previous turn. However, the next two cut-off sounds (*ko- da-*) followed by the contrastive discourse marker *demo* ("but") register Naomi's change in her orientation from maintaining the previous topic to bringing up a new one. Therefore, we can say that the flow of the sequence is changed between line 298 and line 299. After *demo* ("but"), Naomi in lines 299-300 emphasizes with an extreme case marker *zenzen* ("at all") that she does not remember how she took the lipstick. Furthermore, in line 301, she adds with

⁷⁸ As for the revolving display case, we will later examine it in detail in the analysis of the insert expansion developed in the telling sequence.

another extreme case marker *dake* ("only") to emphasize/highlight that only thing she remembers is her state of mind at that time (*sugoku kowakatta* "so scared"). These two extreme case formulations in terms of her memory status suggest that she has nothing else to say about the experience. This is, however, not consistent with what she has said about it thus far, namely, very detailed descriptions about the *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market") and before that in the telling sequence, how the lipstick was placed into a revolving display case, which will be examined later. She does remember well the configuration of the market and of the physical placement of the lipstick. Despite these inconsistencies, Naomi's turns in line 299-301 display her unwillingness to talk more about the experience. In this sense, Naomi's course of action in lines 298-301 is considered as her move to the unilateral sequence ending. The change of sequence-closing practice from *dedicated* to *unilateral* can be accounted for by the sequence in lines 294-298, where Naomi recycles content from the previous telling about the configuration of the market. In producing *soide* ("then") in line 294, Naomi signals a move to continue (i.e., to move the talk forward), but her co-participant (possibly Kaoru) in line 295 disrupts this move (line 294) and produces (possible) additional work on the turn second that elicits confirmation from Naomi in line 297 (such that her continuation is interrupted). However, Naomi in line 298, after confirming Kaoru's turn, provides almost the same contents *kocchi ni okashiyasan ga attari suru* ("here, there is a candy store or something") as in line 272 and 274 (*sono keshoohinyasan no tonari ni wa, fukuyasan dattari suru* "next to the cosmetics store, there is a clothing store or something"). As argued earlier, the configuration of *koosetsu ichiba* is significant in the sense that it allows

the participants to visualize how 4-year-old Naomi acted in the story world. Naomi in lines 282 and 284 explicitly summarizes what she has been trying to describe about this situation: there were lipsticks sitting in a revolving display case, which were reachable from the aisle without going inside of the store. With this point articulated, participants reach a point in the talk where they may exit the insert expansion to resume the main activity (i.e., the response sequence to Naomi's narrative). Therefore, Naomi's recycling of the configuration of the market in line 298 cannot be seen as a continuing turn from the closing sequence developed until line 297. Under this environment, as seen above, Naomi abandons the recycling turn in line 299 (Schegloff's initial step: abandonment of an utterance-in-progress) by changing the topic to what happened after she took a lipstick (Schegloff's second step: a disjunctive launch of a new topic). In so doing, she unilaterally accomplishes the ending of the sequence, and is able to move on to the storytelling sequence, a move which is recognized by Kaoru in line 302 as the end of the insert expansion, which, in turn, allows her to resume the base sequence.

5.2.2.3 Summary

So far, I have examined the extended insert expansion as elaboration that is sequentially and organizationally separated from, but topically contingent to, the base storytelling sequence (in the present case, the response sequence). Since the storytelling activity resumed after the insert expansion, I regarded the insert expansion as part of the storytelling activity. It was therefore my objective to account for what the participants accomplished through the insert expansion as part of the storytelling process. Looking at

orientations the participants displayed in the expansion helped us approach this issue. The insert expansion emerged in the context in which the recipients showed a shared orientation towards the fact that a 4-year-old girl committed shoplifting without being caught. Specifically Sachiko was oriented to the point of whether or not a 4-year-old girl could actually have gone in and out of the store to shoplift, which implicated the possibility that Naomi might have attracted attention as a customer inside the store without being noticed or even caught. Under these circumstances, the participants launched the insert expansion particularly orienting towards the configurational details of the market in which she shoplifted a lipstick. This orientation towards the configurational details in the insert expansion was significant since the configurational details provided the participants with resources to visualize the circumstances in which 4-year-old Naomi could have reached a lipstick easily in less monitored surroundings. This then resolved Sachiko's question about Naomi's action in the story, and closed the insert expansion.

I argue that this insert expansion as a whole is the participants' elaboration work to reconstruct an element of the experience, which facilitates the participants' visualization of the protagonist's course of action. Note however that the participants were not oriented to explicit formulation of the protagonist's action itself. Instead, they were oriented to visualize the circumstances in which the protagonist acted in the experience. The visualization was implemented with the walking-through strategy, which elaborated the circumstances with proximal demonstratives (e.g., *koko/kocchi* "here" and *kono* "this"), and the nominating strategy, which approximated the circumstances through nominating candidates that participants were already familiar with. Proximal

demonstratives in the walking through strategy indicated that the participants' epistemic base point was placed in the story world. The nominating strategy with already-known candidates provided participants with approximate images as resources with which to visualize the story world. Both practices, therefore, allowed participants to grasp the circumstances as if each of them were present in the story world. In this way, the participants were able to visualize the protagonist's course of action in the reconstructed circumstances. These practices highlight the importance of the formulation of place in storytelling. It appears that the formulation of place provides the participants not only with deictic reference points of space in the story world, but also with mutual epistemic ground to see what the protagonist did in the story world. The formulation of place therefore is central to the success of the project engaged in by the participants in the current talk. It was thus treated by the participants as part of storytelling, in which they are able to attend to extended elaboration work without losing their focus and without derailing from the base sequence of the storytelling.⁷⁹

We observed another characteristic in the present insert expansion: the participants' orientation to reach unanimous understanding of the target item. Since the present storytelling was a multi-party activity, it created additional interactional work for the participants, who oriented themselves to establishing mutual visualization of the protagonist's course of action. In the insert expansion, it is essential to reach, or at least try to reach, a unanimous state of visualization of the target item *koosetsu ichiba*. I

⁷⁹ Nishikawa (1999) finds a similar practice of establishing mutual epistemic ground in storytelling between unacquainted parties, which places great value on the establishment of story setting in the beginning of the activity to get the point(s) of the story.

demonstrated that the insert expansion was initiated after Sachiko's question for Naomi, and in the insert expansion, Sachiko came to figure out what the target item looked like, and then took an active role in explaining it to those who had not yet successfully done so. Not only Sachiko, but also the other participants, exhibited an orientation towards a unanimous state of understanding through their numerous rounds of participation in the nominating strategy.

Now, the analysis of the present insert expansion leaves a point for further discussion, namely, how significant unanimous understanding is for the participants as part of storytelling activity. The present insert expansion showed that unanimity was oriented to, but whether or not it was reached remained questionable. Indeed, from the transcripts of the vocal data, it was not clear if Mikiko reached alignment with the understanding that the rest of the participants did. To further investigate the extent and significance of unanimity, I will examine another insert expansion which occurred in the same storytelling activity in the following section. As introduced earlier, this insert expansion emerges in the middle of the telling sequence, but evolves into a separate subactivity to accomplish a fairly similar task as seen in the insert expansion on the term *koosetsu ichiba*, namely, to reach intersubjectivity on the visualization of a story item. In the next section, I investigate an insert expansion in which participants concern themselves with a revolving display case for lipsticks, which is also a significant component for their establishing mutual visualization of the protagonist's course of action.

5.2.3 *Insert expansion in the telling sequence*

In the previous section, I demonstrated that the insert expansion in the response sequence functioned to reconstruct an aspect of the circumstances of the experience, namely, the store configuration of the market, in which the protagonist (Naomi) had shoplifted. I argued that this process had significance in the storytelling activity in the sense that it facilitated the unknowing participants' visualizing the protagonist's course of action. The insert expansion to be examined in this section also exhibits the same function, in relation to the reconstruction of another circumstantial component, a display case for the lipstick Naomi shoplifted. In this insert expansion, the participants engage in extended elaboration orienting to visualizing the display case, which the teller first characterized as revolving (i.e., *kurukuru mawaru* "goes round and round"). In the process of visualizing the display case, the participants engage in collaborative elaboration work, which results in an extended insert expansion. As we will see below, the extent to which the participants are involved in elaboration alone demonstrates their strong orientation to visualizing the target item. Furthermore, as with the store configuration of the municipal market, the visualization of the display case is also significant for the participants' reconstruction of the circumstances of the experience that allow them to better understand the protagonist's course of action, or more specifically, how easily 4-year-old Naomi was able to shoplift a lipstick without being caught. The insert expansion to be examined in this section makes it clear that the display case for the lipstick was revolving so that customers were allowed to look for and pick up what they

want by themselves. The present section examines the process by which the participants reach mutual understanding of this significance of the display case.

In addition, this section examines the participants' orientation towards unanimous understanding of the target item, which was pointed out in the previous section as an issue that needs further investigation specifically with regard to how significant the achievement of unanimity is to the participants to accomplish elaboration. The insert expansion to be examined here illustrates a persistent and often overriding participants' orientation to attaining unanimity in their understanding of the target item. Specifically, the insert expansion emerges in the middle of the telling sequence, in which, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, participants are primarily oriented to reconstruction of an experience led by the teller who provides uninterrupted multi-unit turns. Yet, despite the considerable disruption it introduces in the telling sequence, the insert expansion exhibits an extended, complex, and interactive subactivity orienting specifically to the participants' unanimous understanding of the setting component in question. Assuming that the telling sequence is primarily the place in which participants orient themselves to understand a story, we can consider that this extended insert expansion is vital to participant accomplishing of the telling sequence. Regarding the insert expansion in this way, the participants' orientation towards unanimity is also considered essential in the storytelling activity. This section investigates the issue of participant orientation to unanimity in conjunction with elaboration work, as well as its significance to the entire process of the storytelling activity.

22 N: [sugoi oboeteru
very.much remember

23 N: mo aru yo.
too exist FP

24 waraibanashi de okaasan ni mo yutteta n da kedo ano
funny.story COP mother to too was.saying NOM COP but SF

25 S: fff fff ((blowing))

26 N: [keshoohin no nanka sa
cosmetics LK something FP

27 S: [zz zz zz ((slurping))

28 N: yo|ochien gurai tte
preschool about QT

29 soo yuu no ni kyoomi ga <atta n-> no ka
that say NOM in interest S had NOM Q

30 yoku wakaranai kedo,
well don't.know but

31 kinjo no onnanoko.
neighborhood LK girl

32 sono kinjo no onnanoko ga sa,
that neighborhood LK girl S FP

33 [shoogakkoo nisannensei de saa,
elementary.school 2nd-3rd.year at FP

34 S: [ff ff zz [zz

35 N: [ijiwaru na waru- waru datta wake
mean bad bad was reason

36 S: zz zz ((slurping))

37 N: de sono ko to isshoni,
and that kid with together

38 mu|kaashi: inaka ni sundeta kara,
in.the.past the.country in lived because

39 >sono< koosetsu ichiba mitai no ga atta wake
SF municipally.run.market like NOM S existed reason

40 ? : *ichiba?*
market

41 N : *i[wayuru (.)*
so-called

42 S : *[zz zz ((slurping))*

43 N : *hitotsu no koo tatemon naka ni*
one LK SF building the.inside in

44 *chicchai koo (.) omise ga koo*
small SF store S SF

45 *(.) ippai haitteru tte ka ne?*
many exist QT Q FP

46 *soko no, (.) keshoohinyasan mitaina tokoro.*
there LK cosmetics.store like place

47 *demo sore mo .hh sonna saa*
but that too that FP

48 *(.) oshare na [keshoohin (yasan ja) nai wake yo.*
fancy cosmetics (store COP) NEG FP

49 S : *[zz zz ((slurping))*

50 N : *(>ko dakara<) zakkaya to issho ni natte(ru no)=*
SF so general.store with together become NOM

51 S : *=un un un*
yeah yeah yeah

52 N : *soide,*
and

53 S : *>aru yo ne soo yuu to [ko<*
exist FP FP that.type place

54 N : *[ri- (1.) ri- rippu. (.4) no,*
lip LK

55 *(1.)*

56 N : *[kuchibeni ja nakutte,*
lipstick COP NEG

57 S : *[ff ((blowing))*

58 M: [honto ni chotto iro ga tsuku yoo na?
really little color S put like

59 S: [zz ((slurping))

((Insert expansion))

Subsequence 1

60 N: un, nanka moo [koo yuu ne? sore ga:
yeah SF SF like.this FP that S

61 M: [irotsuk[i
tinted

62 ?: [irotsuki
tinted

63 N: kurukuru kurukuru mawaru no (yo)=
ONM ONM go.around NOM FP

64 N: =de sashite atte ko kurukuru (.) mawaru
and stick AUX SF ONM go.around

65 S: denki de?
electrically

66 N: u↓un?
no

67 (.)

English translation

10 N: [I shoplifted when I was little

11 (1.)

12 N: mh mh mh Now (because)

13 M?: hh hh hh=

14 K: =What (did you do/take?)

15 N: When I was little I did. (or 'When you were little, did you do that?')⁸⁰

16 S: =Were you dying to have something? Is that why you did it?

17 N: [No

18 N: [When I was in kindergarten

19 S: [Did you

20 (.)

21 S: want to cause trouble for your mother? Is that why you did?

22 N: [I remember it very well

23 N: That's right too.

24 I told her about it. Now, it is something we can laugh about.

25 S: fff fff ((blowing))

⁸⁰ See Footnote 57.

26 N: [It was cosmetics or something.
27 S: [zz zz zz ((slurping))
28 N: About kindergarten age,
29 I might have been interested in those things.
30 I don't remember though.
31 There was a girl from my neighborhood.
32 That neighbor girl
33 [was in the second grade in elementary school.
34 S: [ff ff zz [zz
35 N: [She was mean and bad.
36 S: zz zz ((slurping))
37 N: And, I was with that girl.
38 We used to live in the country a long time ago.
39 >um< So there was a municipal market or something like that.
40 ?: Market?
41 N: It's so-called... (.)
42 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
43 N: There were little stores
44 in one building.
45 (.) There were lots of them
46 in there. (.) There was a place like a cosmetics store.
47 But that was not such a
48 (.) fancy cosmetics store, you know.
49 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
50 N: (>So<) It was combined with a general store=
51 S: =yeah yeah yeah
52 N: So,
53 S: >I know such stores. They are common.
54 N: ri- (1.) ri- It was rippu⁸¹. (.4)
55 (1.)
56 N: [It was not a "kuchibeni"⁸²
57 S: [ff ((blowing))
58 M: [Is it the one that just adds a tint?
59 S: [zz ((slurping))

((Insert expansion))

Subsequence 1

60 N: Yeah. How can I say this? Anyway, it
61 M: [tint
62 ?: [tint
63 N: goes round and round.=
64 N: =And it is stuck into a case, and goes round and round
65 S: Electrically?
66 N: No
67 (.)

⁸¹ See Footnote 58.

⁸² See Footnote 59.

In the telling sequence, Naomi's shoplifting experience is reconstructed with the following aspects of the experience: the time (when she was in kindergarten, line 18), the item (cosmetic product, lines 26-30; lipstick, lines 54-58), the people (herself and a girl who was a few years older and who lived in Naomi's neighborhood, lines 31-35), the place (a small cosmetics/general store in a municipal market, lines 39-53), and the action (shoplifted a lipstick with the older girl, lines 136, 138-139, 141). The insert expansion emerges before the action is described (lines 60-134). It is worth noting here that the organization of the storyline, which includes rich descriptions of the circumstance in which the story events took place but very succinct descriptions of the character's action(s), is consistent with a tendency in Japanese narratives I found in Nishikawa (1999), in which a narrative has preliminarily elaborated setting components at the beginning of the narrative with the teller's rich evaluative statements, and then succinct descriptions of narrative events follow. Assuming that a narrative is a discourse in which the teller depicts story events in order to communicate the point of the story with recipients, Nishikawa (1999) suggests that preliminarily elaborated setting with the teller's evaluative stance enables recipients to establish the teller's viewpoint of the story, and thus the significance of the story (i.e., the point) can be communicated without

detailed depictions of narrative events.⁸³ Here in the present storytelling activity under investigation, the teller organizes her telling with this type of rich descriptions of the circumstances in which the story events occurred.

To see such rich descriptions of circumstances, I first examine how the present storytelling is initiated. As mentioned in Section 5.2.1, Naomi's confession of shoplifting in line 10, *atashi chicchai toki manbiki shita koto aru* ("I shoplifted when I was little") serves as a proffer of a possible topic of storytelling. Right after this proffer, however, the participants are not yet oriented to a storytelling activity. Rather, because this proffer, despite its magnitude of surprise from a commonsense standpoint, is plainly provided with the original trigger word *manbiki* ("shoplifting") in line 4 (Excerpt 1) to orient Naomi's co-participants towards the confession, they exhibit interactional trouble in lines 11-13: 1) a one-second silence (line 11), 2) Naomi's attempt to continue her turn, and 3) Mikiko's delayed laugh tokens (line 13), which signals her evaluative stance to the

⁸³ Nishikawa (1999) applies the Labovian narrative structural model (Labov 1972 and Labov and Waletzky 1967) to her Japanese casual but elicited narrative data collected in sociolinguistic interviews. Therefore, it is not concerned with the sequential development of storytelling activity (especially its initiating and ending processes) that is situated in talk in interaction, as the present study is. The Labovian structural model, although it has fundamental analytical and methodological differences that make it difficult to compare with the interactional view of storytelling as reviewed in Chapter 2, roughly corresponds to the telling sequence to use Sacks's term (1974), where participants orient themselves to telling of an experience. The traditional view of the Labovian analysis suggests that the point of a narrative is highlighted with evaluation. In this view, evaluation is assumed to be attributed to narrative events that are explicitly described in the teller's utterances in chronological order (i.e., narrative clauses). However, Nishikawa (1999) includes evaluation attributed to setting components as well as narrative events as having a point-making function. Recurrent narrative cases observed in Nishikawa (1999) with rich setting followed by succinct narrative clauses are analyzed as non-prototypical in the Labovian sense, but as a characteristic of Japanese communicative style that values having the shared viewpoint between the teller and the recipient.

confession as non-serious, but does not project any further action. In the sequence in lines 14-21, the participants seem to recover from the interactional trouble, but they are not aligned with each other to engage in a collaborative activity among all participants: Kaoru, in line 14, produces an open-ended question (*nani o* "what did you do/take?"), which gives Naomi an opportunity to repeat or elaborate the confession;⁸⁴ while Sachiko orients towards a different aspect, motives for the shoplifting in line 16 (*hoshikute hoshikute shooganakute yacchatta no?* "Were you dying to have something? Is that why you did it?") and lines 19 and 21 (*okaasan o komarasetai to omotte yatta* "Did you want to cause trouble for your mother? Is that why you did it?"). While Sachiko is seeking motives, Naomi attends to Sachiko minimally, but at the same time, attempts to launch storytelling. This is evident in the two speakers' competing talk from line 17 to line 22. In line 17, by overlapping Sachiko, Naomi minimally responds to her in a preemptive manner before the completion of her turn. Without a pause, Naomi in line 18 continues to keep the floor and initiates a next action by saying *yoochien no toki* ("When I was in kindergarten"), which could be developed as a story component to set the specific time frame of the story. However, in line 19, Sachiko, who is still oriented to seeking a motive for the shoplifting, overlaps with Naomi's move to storytelling at a possible transition-

⁸⁴ Kaoru's question in line 14 may convey one of two actions: one is an other-initiated repair to ask what Naomi did when she was little (i.e., What did you *do*?); the other is a request to elaborate on the shoplifting incident by asking what she shoplifted (i.e., What did you *take*?). Naomi's turn in line 15 does not exhibit how she treats Kaoru's action, since Naomi's utterance can also be heard as equivocal: the self-repair with rising intonation in response to the preceding other-initiated repair or a simple question to ask whether or not the recipients of her talk also had a shoplifting experience (in such a case, Kaoru's question in line 14 is disattended).

relevance place after Naomi's response in line 17. This competing talk with two different orientations continues in lines 21 and 22, in which Naomi interrupts Sachiko's proffer of a motive by providing her reminiscent statement about the experience as memorable, which projects a possible storytelling to come. By briefly responding to Sachiko's action provided in lines 19 and 21 with the abbreviated clause *mo aru yo* ("That's right too")⁸⁵ in line 23, Naomi contingently shifts the orientation again to storytelling. Here, she incorporates the word *okaasan* ("mother") first used in Sachiko's preceding motive description (line 19) into a topically disjunctive statement, in which the shoplifting experience is now treated as *waraibanashi* ("something we can laugh about"). This statement can be seen as Naomi's attempt not only to orient the recipients to storytelling but also to provide them with an interpretive key for the story; namely, it is a funny story with no secrecy. We can see this statement along with the previous attempts in lines 10, 18 and 22 as her move to orient the recipients of her confession towards a storytelling activity to relate the experience. Although there is no explicit sign of alignment with Naomi's shift to storytelling from the prospective recipients observed after this statement, Sachiko's engagement in eating activity observed in line 25 indicates a "go-ahead" sign to Naomi to initiate storytelling. In other words, Sachiko puts herself in a recipient position of an upcoming storytelling activity. In sum, in the sequence from line 10 to line 25,

⁸⁵ This abbreviated clause *mo aru yo* is missing its first half if it is to be a grammatically independent sentence. The English equivalent, Naomi's turn in line 23, is similar to "is right too" without having the subject "that." It is most likely that the missing subject "that" refers to the motive Sachiko provided in lines 19 and 21.

Naomi established a storytelling framework through competing actions among the participants who responded differently to Naomi's confession of shoplifting.

Once participants are oriented to storytelling activity, they start engaging in reconstructing an experience. Organizational features in this process have been shown in the literature, as reviewed in Chapter 2, that the experience under reconstruction is primarily formulated into temporally-ordered events in a sequentially cohesive manner (Sacks 1974; Schegloff 1992a). However, the present storytelling, as observed above, does not exhibit those features. Rather, if we look closely at Naomi's utterances in this sequence, we begin to doubt if she engages in "telling a story" about her shoplifting. As mentioned above, the telling sequence (lines 26-59) before the insert expansion emerges is composed of elaborated descriptions of the circumstances of the experience. In contrast, after the insert expansion (lines 138-141, Excerpt 1), the protagonist's action is only succinctly described (stealing the lipstick from the store with the neighborhood girl). Nonetheless, I regard this sequence as the telling sequence, not only because the knowing participant Naomi is providing uninterrupted multi-unit turns, but also because Naomi's contributions in this sequence facilitate the unknowing participants to reconstruct her experience with the help of a commonsensically imaginable shoplifting scenario (i.e., someone steals an article for sale from a store) and the already established storytelling framework. The reconstructed experience could be outlined as "when Naomi was in kindergarten, she and her slightly older neighbor went to a municipal market and shoplifted a lipstick from a cosmetics store." I demonstrate below how the elaborated circumstances constitute the telling sequence.

First, in line 26-30, *keshoohin* ("cosmetic product") is first mentioned as an item that Naomi at the kindergarten age might have been interested in. This is formulated as a general comment, not specifically associated with a shoplifting act. Second, a person *kinjo no onnanoko* "a girl from neighborhood," who was in second or third grade in elementary school is introduced in lines 31-33, followed by a negative evaluation of this person (*ijiwaru na waru* "mean bad person") in line 35. Note here that the topic shift from the cosmetic product to the neighborhood girl is marked with the clause-final connective marker *-kedo*, which has a function to defocus the preceding utterance to move on to the next (Mori 1999a, 1999b)⁸⁶. Although these two topics are cohesively connected by *-kedo*, there is no logical connection between the statements about the cosmetic product and the statements about the neighborhood girl signaled by the conjunctive marker alone. However, under the shoplifting framework introduced earlier in the ongoing conversation (lines 18, 22, and 24), it is possible to connect these two in the following way: Naomi, as a kindergartener, who might have been tempted to have *keshoohin* ("a cosmetic product"), was involved in shoplifting with a mean, bad, and slightly older neighbor girl.⁸⁷ Then in line 37, Naomi provides two linguistic devices to

⁸⁶ In Mori (1999a, 1999b), the clause-final connective marker *-kedo* is examined in the context of negotiating opinions. She observes that the marker *-kedo* occurs at the end of a speaker's self-qualification, which acknowledges competing aspects of the issue for which the speaker provides her/his opinion. By putting *-kedo* at the end of self-qualification, Mori suggests, a speaker is able to express his/her awareness of controversy, but defocus it to move on to claim his/her own opinion.

⁸⁷ This story format, where a younger innocent character is drawn into an illegal or unsavory act by an older, less ethical character, may be considered commonsensically accessible to all participants (cf. Pinocchio).

indicate that she is engaging in a storytelling activity, the discourse marker *de* ("then"), which is usually used to mark a scene shift (Wehr 2003; Yoshimi, unpublished MS), and the adverbial phrase *sono ko to isshoni* ("with this girl"), which projects a verb of motion such as "go" or a verb of active agency, such as "do" in its main clause. However, the utterance (lines 38-39) that follows the adverbial phrase again consists of an unrelated statement about *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market"), i.e., there was a market called *koosetsu ichiba* since she lived in the country. Although the relationship between *sonoko to issho ni* ("with that girl") and *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market") is sequentially implicative, the clause structure itself with the subject *koosetsu ichiba* and the main verb *atta* ("existed") in line 39 constitutes a semantically inconsistent connection with the preceding adverbial clause *sonoko to issho ni* ("with that girl") in line 37. Here too, the teller only provides an inferable story component, but does not formulate it into a description of a story event. There is another similar pattern observed in lines 46-50. From line 46, Naomi's focus moves on to the *keshoohinyasan* ("cosmetics store") located in the market, which can be semantically connected to the cosmetic product she mentioned in line 26. She does not, however, introduce the store as a story component; rather, she emphasizes in lines 47-48 and 50 her evaluation about the store as not *osharena* ("stylish" line 48) but rather like *zakkaya* ("a general store" line 50) that also carried some cosmetic products.

Under this environment, *rippu* ("lipstick") is introduced in line 54. Since *keshoohin* ("cosmetic product") is already mentioned as an inferable shoplifted item earlier, here *rippu* ("lipstick") can be seen as a specified one. However, this item is again

described to characterize its features as not *kuchibeni* (a type of lipstick for full-fledged makeup) in line 56, but as a type that *chotto iro ga tsuku* ("adds a tint") in line 58, thereby deprecating its status as a member of the category of *keshoohin*. Furthermore, at the end of line 60, the lipstick is referred to with the demonstrative *sore* followed by the subject marker *ga*, which projects another sequence to elaborate the item lipstick, not to incorporate it into part of the story events, in which the lipstick is most likely to be described with the object marker *o* (that is, as the object of the children's actions), not the subject marker *ga*. In addition, the extended and stressed vowel *a* in the subject marker *ga* at the end of line 60 shows the teller's orientation towards the upcoming sequence with the subject *sore* (i.e., lipstick) as "must be heard." This is evident not only with the extended and stressed vowel *a*, but also the precise timing when *sore ga* emerges. Right before *sore ga*, Naomi is orienting towards word search by saying *nanka moo koo yuu* ("How can I say this?"). Together with the initiation of the new sequence marked by *sore ga*, we can say that she is in the process of shifting the orientation to the new sequence after she closes the preceding one about a coloring aspect of the target item with the confirmation token *un* ("yeah") at the beginning of line 60 to Mikiko's understanding demonstrated in line 58. However, other participants' displays of alignment with the preceding sequence still occur in overlap (lines 61 and 62), which appear to be responding to Naomi's talk by engaging in word search assistance, or possibly the nominating strategy, while Naomi's shifting orientation is in progress. It can be therefore analyzed that Naomi's extended and stressed vowel *a* at the end of *sore ga* in line 60, which is produced without any sign of disfluency due to the overlaps, entails a signal to

finish the preceding sequence and orient her co-participants towards an upcoming sequence. I regard this production as the initiation of the insert expansion, which lasts until line 136.

From the subject marker *ga* in line 60, the topic of the insert expansion is expected to be the lipstick. However, as analyzed above, its coloring aspect is no longer the issue here. Instead, Naomi's utterances *kurukuru mawaru* ("goes round and round") and *sashite atte* ("was stuck into") in lines 63-64 shift the topic to talk about how the lipstick was displayed. This is yet another turn by Naomi that describes a story component in the telling sequence. This time, however, her co-participants do not smoothly accept the description in lines 63-64, and Sachiko initiates elaboration from line 65. The insert expansion, therefore, can be seen as a process for the unknowing participants to figure out how the lipstick was displayed, a circumstantial component of the story for which the significance has not yet been made clear. Furthermore, I regard it as part of the telling sequence in which other circumstantial components of the experience have been established in the prior discourse (the time in line 18, the item in line 26-30 and lines 54-58, the people in lines 31-35, and the place in lines 39-53).

This function of the insert expansion can also be confirmed by the analysis of Naomi's actions at the resumption of the telling sequence. Before moving on to the analysis of the insert expansion itself, I look at the point at which the insert expansion reaches its completion and the base activity resumes, in order to show the function of the insert expansion.

(13) "Shoplifting" lines 135-141⁸⁸

- 135 N: *de soo yuu yatsu de:,*
and that say one COP
- 136 *kuchi- rippu sutikku ga sasatte ta no yo:.*
kuchi- lipstick S stuck.in NOM FP
- 137 S: zz zz ((slurping))
((Resumption of the base sequence – telling sequence))
- 138 N: *sore o ne:, koyatte te ne:*
that O FP this.way QT FP
- 139 *atashi wa totte kichatta no [(yo).*
I TOP take came NOM FP
- 140 K: [uh hh<
- 141 N: *tomodachi no- tomodachi tte oneechan to.*
friend LK friend QT older.girl with

English Translation

- 135 N: Anyway, it was something like that.
136 *kuchi- rippu sutikku* was put in it.
137 S: zz zz ((slurping))
((Resumption of the base sequence – telling sequence))
- 138 N: So it was like this,
139 I took one with me
140 K: [uh hh<
141 N: with my friend- I mean the older girl.

The completion of the insert expansion is observable with the presence of a sequence-closing first in lines 135-6, in which Naomi in the first turn (line 135) wraps up the preceding discourse with a general reference *soo yuu yatsu* ("something like that") to the display case, and in the second turn (line 136) re-orient towards the state of the lipstick in the store, which was the topic that initiated the insert expansion (lines 62-3, Excerpt 12). Here, Sachiko's side activity in line 137 (i.e., eating), which has been suspended

⁸⁸ I regard lines 135-137 as the final part of the dedicated sequence-closing sequence, which emerges from line 128. I will examine this sequence-closing sequence in detail later.

since the insert expansion occurred, can also be seen as a marker for the activity change from the subactivity (the insert expansion) to the main activity (the telling sequence). According to M. H. Goodwin (1997), side activities in a multi-party conversation are usually organized in such a way as to monitor the main activity. Therefore, Sachiko's resumption of the eating activity suggests that she monitors the shift of activity at Naomi's move to the sequence-closing first. Naomi's subsequent turn in lines 138-139 also demonstrate the return to the base sequence. In lines 138-9, she provides a story event that describes how she took the lipstick from the display case, which is a typical narrative clause with the description of the protagonist's action. Therefore, Naomi's utterance in lines 138-139 is considered to be the resumption of the base telling sequence upon completion of the insert expansion. Note that in the description of the protagonist's action, there are two anaphoric expressions (*sore* "that" and *kooyatte* "in this way" in line 138) that make connections to the insert expansion. The first anaphora *sore* ("that") in line 138 refers to the lipstick mentioned in line 136, which is described as the item that was stuck into the revolving display case. The second one *koyatte* ("in this way") in line 138, as we will examine in detail below, refers to the way in which Naomi picks up the lipstick out of the display case. Since the utterance in lines 138-139 alone does not make sense without these anaphoric references, these two aspects are crucial in presenting the main event, namely picking up the lipstick. In other words, to accomplish the telling sequence, the insert expansion, which elaborates the situation in which the lipstick was displayed is essential enabling the participants to visualize the experience.

In summary, this subsection (5.2.3.1) demonstrated that the insert expansion emerged where Naomi introduced an aspect of the experience (i.e., the display case for the shoplifted item) as part of the telling sequence, in which other circumstantial aspects of the experience were also established. I observed that this aspect was significant together with the other aspects in the telling sequence, since the telling sequence was constructed with formulations of the circumstances of the experience: the shoplifted item was a cosmetic product, which little Naomi might have been interested in (lines 26-30), or more specifically a *rippu* ("lipstick"), a relatively inexpensive product (lines 54-56); the story character was a few-years-older, who was a mean, bad girl (lines 32-35); the place was a *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market"), in which a lot of small stores are assembled (lines 38-39 and 43-45); the store she took the lipstick was a cosmetics store in the market, which was not a fancy store, but rather an adjunct to a general store (lines 46-50). The insert expansion about the display case contributes one more detailed aspect of the circumstances, which specifically implicate the aspect of how easily Naomi was able to pick up the lipstick in the circumstances. As examined in the previous section, the configuration of the municipal market reconstructed in the insert expansion in the response sequence can be considered an additional contribution to elaborate the circumstances. The two extended insert expansions observed in the present storytelling therefore are elaboration of the circumstances that are crucial formulations to reconstruct Naomi's shoplifting experience in the way so as to make it a small incident after all, which was not even noticed by adults. Elaboration (i.e., formulation at a higher level of granularity) occurs, as seen in the previous chapters, when an item in question is not

equally recognized by the participants. Therefore, elaboration of the display case can also be seen as a process for the participants to reach mutual understanding of it. As we saw in the previous section, the way in which the process is accomplished shows distinctive characteristics, namely visualization and unanimity. The following analysis focuses on these two characteristics especially the extent to which unanimity is pursued.

5.2.3.2 The development of the insert expansion

To see how the participants accomplish the insert expansion in terms of visualization and unanimity, I take a close look at the sequence development in the insert expansion (Excerpts 14-18). Similar to the other insert expansion examined in the previous section, the participants in this insert expansion also carry out the nominating strategy, in which they proffer already familiar candidates to approximate the target item. For the analysis, the insert expansion is divided into five subsequences⁸⁹: 1) lines 60-78, initiated with a nominating strategy by Naomi's proffer of two candidates, 2) lines 79-94, initiated with a nominating strategy by Mikiko's proffer of another candidate, 3) lines 95-111, contested by Sachiko against one of Naomi's candidates used in (1), 4) lines 112-127, initiated with Naomi's second attempt to proffer the other candidate used in (1), and 5) lines 128-137, sequence-closing sequence. As we will see below, it is clear that the participants' unanimous understanding of the target item in question is apparently reached among the four participants during the second subsequence (lines 84-94). Therefore, the third and fourth subsequences could be seen as tangential activities.

⁸⁹ To view the whole sequence of subsequences, see Appendix B.

However, I argue that these two subsequences provide more evidence that the participants engage in storytelling more than to reach mutual understanding of the experience per se, they also orient themselves to establish mutual understanding even of the candidates used in the nominating strategies, which may not be essential for understanding of the experience, but essential for establishing group unity as members of the same micro-culture.

Subsequence 1: Naomi's proffer of two candidates paamu gaaden and jidoo hanbaiki

Excerpt 14 shows the part in which the teller, Naomi, initiates the insert expansion in the telling sequence to explain details about the lipstick she shoplifted. She focuses specifically on the revolving display case the lipstick was placed in. In order to describe an object unknown to her conversation partners, Naomi, with Sachiko's collaboration, first tries to detail the feature, *kurukuru mawaru* ("goes round and round") of the item in question (lines 60-70). Then, she switches to the nominating strategy in lines 72 and 75 by bringing up candidates accessible to the participants through their shared extra discursive knowledge of referents commonly encountered on the university campus. It is one of these nominated items that receives Mikiko's display of understanding in line 77.

(14) "Shoplifting" Subsequence 1 lines 60-81

60 N: *un, nanka moo [koo yuu ne? sore ga:*
 yeah SF SF like.this FP that S

61 M: *[irotsuk[i*
 tinted

- 62 ? : [irotsuki
tinted
- 63 N: kurukuru kurukuru mawaru no (yo)=
ONM ONM go.around NOM FP
- 64 N: =de sashite atte ko kurukuru (.) mawaru
and stick AUX SF ONM go.around
- 65 S: denki de?
electrically
- 66 N: u↓un?
no
- 67 (.)
- 68 N: ano [ne
SF FP
- 69 S: [erabu toki ni?
choose time at
- 70 N: erabu toki ni koo kurukuru mawasu jan:=ano
choose time at SF ONM turn COP? SF
- 71 S: zz zz ((slurping))
- 72 N: paamu gaaden ni mo aru janai?
Palm Garden at too exist TAG?
- 73 N: kurukuru: tte mawasu- mawasu
ONM QT turn turn
- 74 (1.2)
- 75 N: jidoo hanbaiki nimo aru desho?
vending.machine too have TAG
- 76 kuru[kuru
ONM
- 77 M: [AA hai hai hai hai un un un un
oh yes yes yes yes right right right right
- 78 N: dakara aayuu kanji de te de mawasu no yo=
so like.that hand by turn NOM FP
- Subsequence 2**
- 79 M: =ano: yuwa-
SF so-called

"electrically?"). After responding to Sachiko's request with negation in line 66 (*uun* "no"), Naomi shows a further move to elaborate the item in question from line 68 by prefacing the phrase *ano ne* ("well"⁹¹) to project more to come. Since the initiation of elaboration occurs with a delay making a micro pause in line 67, which provides a transition-relevance place, Sachiko provides another request for elaboration in line 69 (*erabu toki ni?* "when you pick one?") to further elicit details regarding the teller's sense of "going round." This in turn is incorporated into Naomi's elaboration in line 70. This time, however, without making any pause Naomi changes her strategy from detailing its mechanical feature to nominating similar items. Naomi's shift to the second strategy by latching with the filler *ano* in line 70, which is often used as a tuning device for the speaker to align the addressee to an upcoming new turn (Cook 1993), without providing any space for the recipients to respond to the first strategy suggests that she abandons the first strategy for the second.

The second strategy, namely, the nominating strategy, shows, as we saw above, Naomi's reliance on her co-participants' extra-discursive knowledge as a resource to reach mutual understanding of the target item. This is evident in her use of minimal reference *paamu gaaden* ("Palm Garden") in line 72 and *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") in line 75 as candidates to approximate the revolving display case in question. The references in lines 72 and 75 themselves are the name of a campus cafeteria, Palm

⁹¹ In English, *well* tends to mark a more pessimistic orientation to the interlocutor (Yoshimi, personal communication). However, the original utterance *ano ne* orients more positively in a very engaged manner. This might be accomplished in English using *well* with the rising intonation with the high pitch voice quality. For an overview of discourse functions of *well*, see Schiffrin (1987, 102).

Garden, and a general noun *jidoo hanbaiki* "vending machine," which, literally speaking, do not belong to the MCD (i.e., a display case for merchandise) to which the revolving display case for lipsticks belongs. However, since the references are formulated in the identical sentence structure *XX ni mo aru* ("there is one in XX too"), we can understand that these two words are used as formulations in the same category, namely location, in which similar types of display cases are placed. Furthermore, it is worth noting that these two formulations of location are selected from facilities located on the college campus all the participants went to at the time of conversation.⁹² In other words, these locations are locally available in all the participants' shared reality, which provides resources for minimalism in discourse. Naomi's reliance on the participants' extra-discursive knowledge is also evident in her turn final tokens in lines 70 (*jan*), 72 (*janai*) and 75 (*desho*), which all indicate the speaker's epistemic stance that the proposition before these tokens is already known to the speaker, and the speaker assumes that the hearer(s) also know (Hasunuma 1995).⁹³ Naomi treats not only the candidates (lines 72 and 75) but

⁹² The term *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") could simply be a general, indefinite noun. However, since they are formulated in the structure *XX ni mo aru* ("There is one in XX too"), the term can be heard as a particular locational reference just like *paamu gaaden* ("Palm Garden"). Indeed, Mikiko in line 76 and Sachiko in line 113 suggest the item is a specific vending machine recognizable by both of them. According to ethnographically available information, this is actually a rare type of vending machine installed on campus, through which a variety of snacks and drinks are sold in a rotating cylinder. This particular type of vending machine is equally accessible to all the participants. For an example image, see Appendix C.

⁹³ The sentence final expression *janai* is a contracted version of the interrogative expression *janaika* (COP+NEG+Q). Together with *desho*, these two sentence final expressions are considered to draw on the knowledge that the speaker assumes to share with the hearer(s) (Akatsuka 1990; Hasunuma 1995; Miyake 1996). The expression *jan* is also considered a dialectic variant of *janai* and *desho*.

also the target item (line 70) itself as already known, hence accessible, to the recipients. This suggests that even though the display case for lipsticks in question has not been mutually recognized among the participants, Naomi treats the revolving display case as something that should be familiar to the recipients, as are "one at Palm Garden" and "one at the vending machine." Despite Naomi's attempts to treat the target item as familiar to the recipients, Naomi's attempts do not seem to be successful. This is evident in Naomi's downgrading of the sentence final expressions from *jan* in line 70 to *janai* in line 72, and to *desho* in line 75. By "downgrading," I mean the weakening of the degree of Naomi's epistemic stance (from confident to questionable) towards the sharedness of the three propositions she made here: The first *jan* is an assertion in the declarative form, while *janai* is an assertion in the negative form with rising intonation, and *desho* a question in the form of tag question. This downgrading occurs as she receives no response from the other participants after her first attempt with *jan* in line 70, and her second attempt with *janai* in line 72.

After Naomi's third attempt with *desho* in line 75, Mikiko explicitly displays her understanding with repeated alignment tokens (*hai* "yes" and *un* "right") in line 77. However, Naomi later does not treat it as a successful ending of her nominating strategy. Naomi in line 81 states that no one understands what she is talking about by using the extreme case marker *zenzen* ("at all"). In addition, the auxiliary verb *-kurenai* (the negative form of *-kureru*) attached to *wakatte* ("understand") further attributes the failure of the nominating strategies to the recipients. The auxiliary verb *-kureru* adds a particular

meaning "in favor of the speaker" to the main verb.⁹⁴ Naomi's utterance in line 81 therefore adds the sense of complaint against her co-participants in such a sense as "I tried, but no one tries hard enough to get what I'm talking about." However, her action in line 81 is apparently inconsistent with the immediately preceding sequence, namely, Mikiko's agreement tokens in line 77 and Naomi's acknowledgement of that in line 78. Mikiko in line 77 shows her alignment with Naomi's description most likely implying that she has just recognized the vending machine mentioned by Naomi. Indeed, Naomi in line 78 treats Mikiko's agreement tokens as an indication of recognition. This is done through the use of the anaphoric demonstrative *aayuu* ("like that") in line 78 referring to the item *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") in line 75. Japanese has three types of demonstratives (*ko*-series, *so*-series and *a*-series) according to the relative distance to the referent from the speaker and the hearer. Especially in the anaphoric use of the *so*-series and *a*-series demonstratives, there is a distinctive difference in the epistemic stance between them. "The *a*-series is used only when the speaker knows that the hearer, as well as the speaker himself, knows the referent of the anaphoric demonstrative. The *so*-series, on the other hand, is used either when the speaker knows the referent but thinks that the hearer does not or when the speaker does not know the referent" (Kuno 1973, 283). Since the *a*-series demonstrative *aayuu* ("like that") is selected in line 78 over the *so*-series counterpart *sooyuu*, Naomi treats the reference *jidoo hanbaiki* as accessible not only to herself but also to Mikiko. In other words, Naomi recognizes that Mikiko "gets"

⁹⁴ When used independently, the verb *kureru*, as one of the giving verbs, describes a situation in which someone gives something to the speaker, or someone whom the speaker is very close to in favor of the recipient (Y. Johnson 2008, 276-281).

the referent Naomi has been talking about. However, *zenzen kore daremo wakatte kurenai* ("no one understands what I'm talking about at all") in line 81 emphatically cancels the preceding two actions. A possible reason for her cancellation could be that Naomi expects all of the recipients, not only Mikiko, to recognize the item she has been trying to describe. In this sense, we can see Naomi's strong orientation towards the expectation of the unanimous and complete understanding of the item in question among the participants through her use of references from their shared reality. In other words, signs of understanding only from Mikiko are not enough to accomplish the subactivity.

Subsequence 2: Mikiko's proffer of another candidate shachihata

In Subsequence 2, overlapping with Naomi's display of complaint that no one understands what she has been trying to explain, Mikiko initiates another round of the nominating strategy.

(15) Subsequence 2

79 M: =ano: yuwa-
SF so-called

80 chotto chigau ke [do:
little different but

81 N: [>zenzen kore waka [tte kurenai<
at.all this understand get.NEG

82 M: [shachihata: no:
Shachihata LK

83 (.)

84 N: A soo [soo soo soo
oh right right right right

85 M: [INKAN no
stamp LK

86 N: [soo soo
right right

87 M&?: [(([laughing])

88 S?: [inkan no (.) ^aa sore SORE II^
stamp LK oh that that good

89 M&?: [((laughing))

90 N: [sore suggoku ii
that very good

91 N: da- minna ga motteru [sono (onne) imeeji.
everyone S having that image

92 ?: [()

93 M: shachiha [ta
Shachihata

94 K?: [shachiha [ta:
Shachihata

English Translation

79 M: =uh: So-

80 It may be little different but

81 N: [>No one understands what I'm talking about
at all<

82 M: [Is it like
shachihata⁹⁵

83 (.)

84 N: Oh that's it [that's it.

85 M: [STAMP

86 N: [Right, right.

87 M&?: [(([laughing])

88 S?: [Stamp (.) ^Oh THAT'S GOOD.^

89 M&?: [((laughing))

90 N: [That's very good

91 N: So, now you all get the image I'm talking about.

92 ?: [()

93 M: shachiha[ta

94 K?: [shachiha[ta

⁹⁵ See Footnote 96.

As examined above, despite Naomi's complaint in line 81, Mikiko displays her recognition of the item in question in line 77 (Excerpt 14). From line 79, she hesitantly offers another candidate for the nominating strategy, namely *shachihata* (line 82), a very common brand of stamps in Japan, which is also a minimal reference that refers to a display case used for personal stamps.⁹⁶ Upon Mikiko's proffer of the candidate *shachihata* in line 82 Naomi and Sachiko show vigorous agreement from line 84 to line 90 by not only repeating the agreement token *soo* ("right") in lines 84 and 86, but also indicating the assessment for the candidate (*sore ii* "that's good") in lines 88 and 90.⁹⁷ It is worth noting that Naomi's utterance in lines 90-91 (*sore sugoku ii, minna ga motteru sono imeeji* "that's very good, now you all get the image I'm talking about") specifically indicates that the suitability is indeed due to the fact that all the participants are able to visualize what Naomi has been trying to describe. In this utterance, Naomi uses an

⁹⁶ *Shachihata* is a nationally-known brand of personal and business pre-inked stamps in Japan. The reference *shachihata* in the present storytelling specifically refers to the brand's most representative products, namely, ready-made pre-inked personal stamps. In Japan, instead of a signature, people are generally required to seal their acknowledgement or authorship with their own personal stamp on various types of documents, from official business contracts to less official circular notes passed on within a small group. Mass-produced ready-made personal stamps, for use on less official documents, such as *Shachihata* are commonly sold at retail stores, for instance, stationery and general stores. They are placed in a revolving upright polygonal column-shaped shelf in Japanese alphabetical order from the top to the bottom. A person who looks for such a stamp usually has to turn the shelf around by hand to locate his/her family name. For an example image, see Appendix C. In the present storytelling, therefore, the minimal reference *shachihata* refers to not only personal stamps themselves, but further the revolving display case in which such stamps are sold at a store.

⁹⁷ The laughter continues very furiously from line 87 to line 89, and thus it makes it difficult to identify who exactly is laughing and overlapping with the laughter. It is my best supposition that Mikiko is mainly laughing with other unidentifiable participants and Sachiko is overlapping with the laughter saying *sore ii* ("that's good").

extreme case marker *minna* ("all of you"), which makes a sharp contrast with her preceding extreme negative remark "no one (*dare mo*) gets that at all" in line 81, even though she had already received some agreement tokens at that point. From this, we can conclude that having the same image among all the participants is the ultimate and fulfilling alignment Naomi seeks to elicit and ultimately gains from her co-participants. After Naomi's comment in lines 90-91, Mikiko and Kaoru in lines 93 and 94 respectively display their alignment with her by repeating the key word in the successful nominating strategy, namely, *shachihata*, which can be seen as a sequence-closing sequence that refers to the starting point of the sequence (i.e., lines 79-80 and 82, in which the term *shachihata* is first introduced). Therefore, the second nominating strategy by Mikiko successfully reaches its completion with the co-participants' alignment with each other.

The above analysis demonstrates that the participants not only reach unanimous understanding of the item in question but produce strong affective displays as well as mutual reflexivity in conjunction with this interactional achievement. At this point, one might assume that a possible action after this point would be to resume the base storytelling sequence, i.e., telling the rest of the story. However, the present subactivity evolves into two more subsequences in a row, which seem to be tangential to the base sequence, but not completely distinct from it.

Subsequence 3: Sachiko's contest with the candidate paamu gaaden

As shown in Section 5.2.2, the base storytelling sequence resumes from line 142 (Excerpt 2). Therefore, we can say that the participants fundamentally remain oriented to

the storytelling activity even while they are engaging in seemingly tangential activities after they reach unanimous intersubjectivity on the target item. Locally, Subsequences 3 and 4 show that the participants are orientated to the two specific candidates, *paamu gaaden* ("Palm Garden") and *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") respectively, which were once unsuccessfully used in the nominating strategy initiated by Naomi in Subsequence 1. Let us first look at Subsequence 3, wherein the participants focus on the candidate *paamu gaaden*.

(16) "Shoplifting" Subsequence 3 lines 95-111

- 95 S: [paamu gaaden wa chotto ne:
Palm Garden TOP just FP
- 96 K? doko ni aru no
where at exist NOM
- 97 N: hm hm gomen
sorry
- 98 S: keeki no tokoro ja nai=are katte ni=
cake LK place COP NEG that on.its.own
- 99 N: =keeki no. [un
cake LK right
- 100 S: [are katte ni=
that on.its.own
- 101 M: =A huh huh huh WAK(h)ATT(h)A:[huh huh huh
oh understood
- 102 N: [(wakatte kureta)
understood get
- 103 ??: atashi mo ima
I too now
- 104 N: (sugu no) mo:=
right LK
- 105 S: =demo are wa
but that TOP

106 N: (wakannai []
don't.know

107 S: [(shizen ni) mawattete
automatically go.round

108 aketa toki ni [tomatteru,
open time at stop

109 N: [aa soo ka soo ka.
oh right right

110 M: ^ha-^ (.) hank(h) hanko:
stamp stamp

111 K: hanko hanko.
stamp stamp

English Translation

95 S: [The one at Palm Garden wasn't really a good
example

96 K? Where is it in Palm Garden?

97 N: hm hm sorry

98 S: It's where the cakes are sold, isn't it?=
But that one turns
by itself=

99 N: =At the cakes. [yeah

100 S: [that one turns by itself=

101 M: =A huh huh huh GET IT:[huh huh huh

102 N: [(Do you get now what I'm talking
about)

103 ?: I get it now.

104 N: (It's right there) uh=

105 S: =But that goes

106 N: (I don't know []

107 S: [round (automatically).
When someone opens it, [it stops,

109 N: [Oh that's right.

110 M: ^s-^ (.) stamp stamp

111 K: stamp stamp

After reaching unanimous understanding through the use of the term *shachihata*, Sachiko in line 94 initiates a new activity by re-introducing the term *paamu gaaden* ("Palm Garden") as problematic. The phrase structure Sachiko uses in line 95 *XX wa chotto ne*: ("XX wasn't really...") with the extended final vowel *e* is generally used,

leaving the projected second half of the clause unuttered, to convey a negative sense that the subject XX marked by the contrastive marker *wa* is not quite adequate in the preceding context in which XX was originally used. In this particular case, *paamu gaaden* was originally used in the nominating strategy in line 72 (Subsequence 1, Excerpt 14). Therefore, Sachiko in line 95 shows disapproval of its use in that context as a candidate for the nominating strategy. This shift in activity is accepted by a person, most likely Kaoru, (line 96) asking the location of the referred to item in the cafeteria Palm Garden, and Naomi (line 97) apologizing for the failed candidate. In this way, the participants shift their orientation to the item in Palm Garden.

The participants gradually establish the new orientation by expanding the question-answer sequence initiated by the question *doko ni aru no* ("Where is it?") in line 96, followed by several responses such as Sachiko's and Mikiko's answers *keeki no tokoro* ("It's where the cakes are sold") in line 98 and 99, and Mikiko's acknowledgement *wakatta* ("I get it"), and Naomi's confirmation *wakatte kureta?* ("Do you get now what I'm talking about?"). At the same time, however, Sachiko attempts to move on to initiate a different sequence. The sequence she tries to establish is the automatic character of the display case placed in Palm Garden (lines 98, 100, 105, 107-108). This is done in a competing and unilateral manner against the expansion of the sequence the other participants are engaging in from line 96. First, in line 98, upon the completion of responding to the question asked in line 96, Sachiko immediately attempts to describe the nature of the item without providing any space between the response and the initiation of the new action (i.e., latching between *ja nai* and *are* in line 98). Second, competing in

line 100 with Naomi's confirmation to Sachiko's first action in line 98 (i.e., the answer to the question in line 96), she repeats the same phrase she uttered in the second action in line 98 *are katte ni* ("that one turns by itself"). This suggests that her shift to the new action is already in progress without yielding to the other participants who are in the process of expanding the question-answer sequence (lines 96 and 98). While the question-answer sequence is nonetheless expanded in lines 101-104, Sachiko takes an opportunity in line 105 to obtain the floor at the moment in which Naomi shows disfluency in the expansion of the question-answer sequence at the end of line 104. This time in line 105, Sachiko upgrades the signal of the shift with the turn-initiation contrastive discourse marker *demo* ("but") to reemphasize her statement (Mori 1999a, 1999b) followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *are* ("that") with the contrastive marker *wa*. Then, she gains the floor from line 107 disattending to Naomi's possible continuation (line 106) from line 104. Here, Sachiko is able to complete her action by describing that the display case in Palm Garden revolves automatically except when one opens it to select an item, which contrasts with the manual operation required to turn a display case for *shachihata* stamps, the successful candidate. Subsequence 3, therefore, is developed through Sachiko's unilateral move to reaffirm that the once-failed candidate *paamu gaaden* is indeed inadequate for the nominating strategy.

As demonstrated so far, Subsequence 3 seems to be tangential considering the whole sequence of the storytelling. However, it can also be seen as part of it. This is evident at lines 110 and 111 in which Mikiko and Kaoru repeats the word *hanko* ("stamp"), a more general term but one almost equivalent in meaning to *shachihata*,

which was used in the same manner to close Subsequence 2 analyzed above (lines 93 and 94, Excerpt 15). The repetition of *hanko* occurs after Naomi in line 109 acknowledges Sachiko's reaffirmation of the inadequacy of the candidate *paamu gaaden*. In other words, it emerges at the place where the new sequence Sachiko was trying to initiate since line 98 is accomplished by Naomi's acknowledgement. Mikiko's action (line 110) and Kaoru's action (line 111) form virtually the same sequence-closing sequence that occurred at the end of Subsequence 2 (lines 93 and 94), which referred back to the beginning (line 82). This suggests that the participants treat Subsequence 3 as a continuation of the nominating strategy that already reached completion once at line 94. Regarding Subsequence 3 as part of the nominating strategy, we can see that the participants in the nominating activity are oriented not only to reach mutual understanding of the target item, which provides a story component to understand the story itself, but also to maintain their understanding of any aspects made relevant in the activity in progress (i.e., the nominating strategy as part of the storytelling activity). In other words, they are oriented to mutual understanding of the items, adequate or not, used in the ongoing nominating strategy. The latter orientation is also evident in Subsequence 4.

Subsequence 4: Discussion about the candidate jidoo hanbaiki

From the larger perspective of the storytelling as a whole, the seemingly tangential activity observed in Subsequence 3 may be seen simply as a random incident caused by Sachiko, who may have an idiosyncratic tendency to pester her co-participants

with small tangential details. However, Subsequence 4 provides further evidence that such a tendency may not be attributed only to one participant's idiosyncrasy. Let us first look at the transition from Subsequence 3 to Subsequence 4 (line 112).

(17) "Shoplifting" Subsequence 4 lines 112-127

- 112 N: >\$wakatte\$ kureta?< ato jidoo hanbaiki de
understand get and vending machine COP
- 113 N: _yu< gui:n [yu< gui:n_ tte
ONM ONM QT
- 114 S: [a are wa: nanka demo [(te de wa dekinai yo)
that TOP SF but hand with TOP can't FP
- 115 M: [sore wa sore wa ne:,
that TOP that TOP FP
- 116 M: (.) furui desu yo moo
old COP FP already
- 117 K: huh huh huh uh uh uh
- 118 (.)
- 119 N: soo?
right
- 120 S?: ima [mo
now too
- 121 N: [ima mo aru ja:n
now too exist COP?
- 122 M: a< a gakko no [arimasu (ne)
oh oh school LK exist FP
- 123 N: [(gakkoo no)
school LK
- 124 M: >hai hai [hai hai<
yes yes yes yes
- 125 S: [sandoicchi minna isshookenmei
sandwich all eagerly
- 126 ??: [()

127 S: [(katte)
buy

English Translation

113 N: _yu< gui:n [yu< gui:n_
112 N: Do you get it? And there is one at the vending machine.
113 N: _yu< gui:n [yu< gui:n⁹⁸
114 S: [Oh but (you can't turn it by hand)
115 M: [that's
116 M: (.) already gone.
117 K: huh huh huh uh uh uh
118 (.)
119 N: Oh yeah?
120 S?: It's still
121 N: [We still have it now
122 M: Oh oh one on campus. [We have it, yeah.
123 N: [(on campus)
124 M: >yes yes [yes yes<
125 S: [Every one tries hard to buy a sandwich.
126 ?: [()
127 S: [(buy)

Naomi's utterance *wakatte kureta?* ("Did you get?") in line 112 indicates that she acknowledges Mikiko's and Kaoru's repetition of *hanko* ("stamp") (lines 110 and 111, Excerpt 16) as their displays of mutual understanding of the target item, which Naomi has been seeking. This point can therefore be another possible transition-relevance place to resume the telling sequence. However, Naomi, who is highly expected to serve in the teller role in such a case, does not select herself for that role. It is not until line 138 (Excerpt 13) that Naomi resumes the telling sequence to go back to the storyline suspended at line 59 (Excerpt 12). Between lines 112 and 127, we observe additional tangential talk orienting to Naomi's unsuccessful second candidate *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") proffered in Subsequence 1.

⁹⁸ This is Naomi's use of onomatopoeia (though not common) to describe how the vending machine in question makes noise when someone selects a good placed on a revolving shelf.

In line 112, after the acknowledgement of Kaoru's and Mikiko's preceding actions, Naomi quickly re-introduces the candidate *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") without making a space at a possible transition-relevance place. The way in which she accomplishes these two actions within a single turn appears to be similar to what Sachiko did in line 98 (Subsequence 3, Excerpt 16), in which she did not yield to the co-participants to respond to the first action, and keeps the floor to initiate a new action. In this way, Naomi initiates a new sequence in lines 112-113 orienting towards the candidate *jidoo hanbaiki* used in her nominating strategy carried out in Subsequence 1. I examine the sequence development of Sequence 4 in detail shortly; but basically, Naomi's initiation of this sequence is contested by Sachiko and Mikiko in this subsequence (lines 114-117). Mikiko's contest further creates negotiation from line 119 to 127 to clarify what the term *jidoo hanbaiki* refers to. When negotiation is accomplished, Subsequence 4 is closed rather abruptly by Naomi's shift to the sequence-closing sequence of the whole insert expansion. Subsequence 4 is therefore identified from line 112 to line 127 (plus line 129), which clearly has no connection to Naomi's shoplifting experience. And yet, since the topic in this sequence (i.e., *jidoo hanbaiki* "vending machine") has a connection to the nominating strategy used earlier in the present storytelling activity, we can see this sequence, as well as Subsequence 3, as an activity in which the participants are oriented towards their mutual understanding of what they are doing in the activity in progress.

To see this orientation, let us examine what they do in Subsequence 4 in detail. We observe minimalism in lines 112-117 and its breakdown in lines 119-127. In lines

112-117, the participants seem to engage in conversation by assuming what the minimal reference *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") specifically refers to. As noted earlier, *jidoo hanbaiki* is a generic term that can refer to any kind of vending machine. However, in this particular context, it becomes clear in Mikiko's utterance in line 122 (*gakkoo no* "one on campus") that it refers to a particular type of vending machine located on campus. Indeed, the participants share extra-discursive knowledge about this particular type of vending machine on campus, which carries such items as sandwiches, yogurt, apples, and milk, each of which is stocked into an individual compartment.⁹⁹ The referencing work with the generic term *jidoo hanbaiki* to mean this specific type of vending machine is minimally done with Naomi's onomatopoeic description of the item in question in line 113, which represents the distinctive noise that the machine makes when one rotates a shelf to move the target compartment to a designated position.¹⁰⁰ In response to Naomi's minimal description of the vending machine, Sachiko in line 114 and then Mikiko in lines 115-116 both display, by overlapping their preceding turns, that they know what vending machine Naomi is talking about with the demonstratives *are* ("that") and *sore* ("that"), respectively. Kaoru's laughter in line 117 too can be seen that she

⁹⁹ In this type of vending machine, several compartments are arranged on a rotating shelf, and several of such shelves are further arranged in layers. To purchase an item of one's choice, one has to push a button to electrically rotate the shelf on which the compartment containing the item is placed. When the target compartment is moved to a designated position, he/she puts coins into the machine to open a small window to pick up the item. See an example image in Appendix C.

¹⁰⁰ The onomatopoeic sounds Naomi produced in line 113 are not conventionally used in Japanese. However, since the sounds themselves do not have meanings and they are composed of two sets of identical mimic sounds (i.e., *yu< gui:n*), I consider them as invented onomatopoeia.

understands what they are talking about since laughter is usually used to display the speaker's alignment with the preceding turn, although it is weak. In sum, in lines 112 to 117, through minimalism, the participants orient themselves towards the vending machine that Naomi used in her nominating strategy in Subsequence 1.

Although the participants all orient themselves towards a single item through minimalism, they are not aligned with a single position in the ongoing activity. Both Sachiko in line 114 and Mikiko in line 115-116 contest with Naomi in terms of the adequacy of the reference *jidoo hanbaiki* as a candidate for the nominating strategy. Sachiko in line 114, by saying *te de wa dekinai* "you can't turn it by hand," points out that the mechanism of the machine is different from the manually operated revolving display case for the lipstick. As for Mikiko, although her turn in lines 115-116 does not clearly indicate the point of the contest, she at least shows a different stance with Naomi by marking her utterance with sentence-final particle *yo*, which indicates the speaker's non-shared affective stance (Yoshimi 1997). By marking the predicate *furui desu* ("That's already gone") with the particle *yo*, Mikiko indicates that the machine's status of being old is her own assessment, which is not shared with her interlocutors. In this context, therefore, her assertion "the vending machine is gone" can be understood as something that is not mentioned by Naomi, which is however relevant in the ongoing discussion about it.

Mikiko's assertion in line 115-6, however, turns the ongoing conversation to a different direction, which results in change in the participation structure from Naomi vs. Sachiko and Mikiko to Mikiko vs. Naomi and Sachiko. After Mikiko's turn in lines

115-116 followed by Kaoru's laughter, there is a micro pause in line 118, and Naomi's response token *soo?* ("oh yeah?") in line 119. Although the token *soo* ("right") itself displays Naomi's apparent alignment with Mikiko, the rising intonation indicates her stance toward it as questionable. Indeed, in line 121, Naomi explicitly shows her oppositional stance to Mikiko by saying *ima mo aru jan* ("We still have it now"), which indicates that Naomi interprets Mikiko's *furui* ("old") as the status of the vending machine "being old, and not existing any more." Note that Naomi's oppositional stance emerges in overlap with the preceding *ima mo* ("still now") in line 120 produced by another participant, most likely Sachiko. At this point, Sachiko and Naomi show the oppositional stances to Mikiko's contest against Naomi. After Sachiko's (line 120) and Naomi's (line 121) counter opposition, Mikiko changes her position in line 122 to align with them by showing her recognition that the item they are talking about is the one on campus in line 122. Here, note that, like the sequence between lines 112 and 117, the participants in lines 119-127 also act minimally. Right after Naomi's minimal contest in line 121, which leaves out exact locational information or some other information that can specify the vending machine that she says still exists, Mikiko is able to self-repair her misunderstanding with another minimal reference *gakkoo no* ("one on campus"). Also, Sachiko's description of the vending machine in lines 125 and 127 is minimal, in that it can only be understood by people who know exactly how many steps must be taken to buy a sandwich from the vending machine (i.e., a person has to push a button several times to turn a rotating shelf to move the compartment carrying a sandwich to a designated position, so that he/she can pull out the sandwich through a small window of

the machine). The sequence in lines 119-127 therefore shows a process in which the breakdown of minimalism, which becomes apparent in Mikiko's utterance in lines 115-116, is repaired by another process of minimalism among the participants.

Now, we consider how these processes function as part of the storytelling activity. In Subsequence 4, as in Subsequence 3, the participants did not orient themselves towards the target item in question in the insert expansion, namely, the revolving display case for lipsticks. Rather, they orient themselves towards the failed candidate *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine") proffered by Naomi in the nominating strategy in Subsequence 1. However, Naomi and Sachiko found that Mikiko did not show the same understanding of the minimal reference *jidoo hanbaiki* as they did. This suggests that their extra-discursive knowledge assumed to be drawn on to find the referent of the term *jidoo hanbaiki* was not actually mutual. They were then oriented to amend the discrepancy. Although this amending process is not directly relevant to reconstruction of Naomi's past experience, it is relevant in the sense that the participants maintain their mutual accessibility to extra-discursive knowledge once made relevant, if not adequate, in the ongoing activity. Therefore, we can say that the work done in this process is to maintain their extra-discursive knowledge once brought up in the ongoing activity. In terms of the whole storytelling activity, the work the participants accomplished in Subsequence 4 can also be considered a modification of resources that can be used to maintain their mutual understanding in the activity in progress. The particular vending machine located on their school campus, knowledge of which is equally accessible to all the participants, was once used to illustrate a story item that was

not familiar to the unknowing recipients. Although it did not work successfully in the nominating strategy, the candidate *jidoo hanbaiki* has been raised as a resource to facilitate the understanding of Naomi's experience. Therefore, the unanimous recognition of the reference itself and its inadequacy as a candidate can be considered as part of the work to maintain their mutual accessibility to extra-discursive knowledge as a resource to understand the storytelling, as if it were motivated by the sense "we have to mutually recognize every term once brought up in the storytelling activity regardless of its adequacy or relevancy to the story."¹⁰¹

Subsequence 5: Sequence-closing sequence

As Sachiko's attempts to describe detailed operations of the vending machine in lines 125 and 127 are left unattended (Excerpt 17)¹⁰², Subsequence 4 is closed at Naomi's initiation of the next subsequence, which shows a shift connecting back to the difficulty to describe the story item in question, which initiated the insert expansion (line 60, Excerpt 14).

¹⁰¹ This sense is further evident in Sachiko's additional description in line 125, 127 and 129 after Mikiko shows her recognition with repeated agreement tokens *hai hai hai hai* ("yes yes yes yes"). Since Mikiko's alignment is directly made to the location of the vending machine (i.e., she recognizes what Naomi and Sachiko are talking about), Sachiko's attempt to detail the mechanism of the vending machine to buy a sandwich can be seen as a further move to orient Mikiko to the inadequacy of the candidate as a resource for the nominating strategy.

¹⁰² Sachiko's attempt still continues in line 129 in Subsequence 5, which is also disattended by the other participants.

(18) Subsequence 5: Sequence-closing sequence

- 128 N: *nan tte itt(h)ra ii no ka wak(h)a[r(h)anai=*
how QT say good NOM Q don't.know
- 129 S: *[(ikkai aketara)=*
once open
- 130 N: *=kurukuru hu .hh .hh*
ONM
- 131 N: *sore wa te de >nanka< [shachihata de:*
that TOP hand with SF shachihata COP
- 132 ? *[()*
- 133 N: *te de mawasu jan.*
hand with turn.around COP?
- 134 N: *yoku an jan. ko suki na yatsu erabu no ni*
commonly exist COP this.way favorite one select NM
- 135 N: *de soo yuu yatsu de:,*
and that say one COP
- 136 *kuchi- rippu sutikku ga sasatte ta no yo:.*
kuchi- lipstick S stuck.in NOM FP
- 137 S: *zz zz ((slurping))*

English Translation

- 128 N: I don't know how to say=
129 S: [(Once you open)=
130 N: =It turns round and round hu .hh .hh
131 N: by hand like *shachihata*.
132 ? [()
133 N: You turn it by hand, right?.
134 N: It's common to pick up what you want, right?
135 N: Anyway, it was something like that.
136 *kuchi- rippu sutikku* was put in it.
137 S: *zz zz ((slurping))*

Since connecting back to the beginning of the sequence is a feature of a dedicated sequence-closing sequence (Schegloff 2007), Subsequence 5 can be seen as one, which particularly closes the entire insert expansion developed from line 60. It is interesting to note that Naomi starts the new sequence by saying *nante ittara ii no ka wakaranai* ("I

don't know how to say"), which almost cancels the fact that the participants reached unanimous understanding of the story item, i.e., the revolving display case for lipsticks visualized by the candidate *shachihata* in Subsequence 2. However, considering the development of the immediately preceding subsequence, we can see that Naomi's statement in line 128 exhibits contingency to the preceding sequence as well as the connection back to the beginning of the insert sequence. In Subsequence 4, Mikiko was able to resolve her misunderstanding and align with what Naomi and Sachiko were talking about. However, it does not mean that the issue of adequacy of the referent contested in line 114 is also resolved. Rather, it still stands as a contest to Naomi's initial efforts. Naomi in line 128 seems to acknowledge the contest and to align with Sachiko's position claiming the inadequacy of the candidate *jidoo hanbaiki*. In this way, Naomi is able to contingently shift to the sequence-closing sequence in line 128.

Once Naomi connects back to the beginning of the insert expansion, she then engages in summarization by recycling the key phrases used earlier in the insert expansion, which is another feature of a dedicated sequence-closing sequence. The recycled key phrases are *kurukuru* ("round and round") in line 130, *te de* ("by hand") and *shachihata* in line 131, *te de mawasu* ("turn it by hand") in line 133, *erabu* ("select") in line 134, and *sasatte ta* ("was stuck into") in line 136. Naomi's summary particularly with the sentence final expression *jan*¹⁰³ in lines 133 and 134 exhibits her presupposition that the item the participants have been trying to figure out is commonly accessible to all

¹⁰³ As noted in Footnote 93, *jan* is a dialectic variant of *janai* and *desho*, which are used to draw on the knowledge that the speaker assumes to share with the hearers.

the participants. Her summary is, therefore, formulated to claim that it is difficult to exactly describe the display case for lipsticks, but nonetheless the visual image of such a case should be accessible to all of the participants. Lines 135 and 136 are considered to be a final, concise wrapping up of the insert expansion by referring to "the difficulty in describing the display case" with *soo yuu yatsu* ("something like that") followed by the circumstantial description "the lipstick was stuck into it."

5.2.3.3 Summary

In this section, I first identified the insert expansion in the telling sequence, which started when Naomi attempts to describe how the lipstick had been placed in a display case. Excerpt 19 shows the beginning and ending of the insert expansion.

(19) The beginning and ending of the insert expansion

60 N: *un, nanka moo[koo yuu ne? sore ga:*
 yeah SF SF like.this FP that S

61 M: *[irotsuk[i*
 tinted

62 ?: *[irotsuki*
 tinted

63 N: *kurukuru kurukuru mawaru no (yo)=*
 ONM ONM go.around NOM FP

64 N: *=de sashite atte ko kurukuru (.) mawaru*
 and stick AUX SF ONM go.around

((lines 65- 134 omitted))

135 N: *de soo yuu yatsu de:,*
 and that say one COP

136 *kuchi- rippu sutikku ga sasatte ta no yo:.*
 kuchi- lipstick S stuck.in NOM FP

English Translation

60 N: Yeah. How can I say this? Anyway, it
61 M: [tint
62 ?: [tint
63 N: goes round and round.=
64 N: =And it is stuck into a case, and goes round and round

((lines 65- 134 omitted))

135 N: Anyway, it was something like that.
136 *kuchi- rippu sutikku* was put in it.

From Naomi's utterances in lines 60-64 and lines 135-136, in which almost the same description about the lipstick was repeated (i.e., the lipstick had been stuck into a revolving display case), it is clear that the insert expansion was developed to formulate an element of the circumstances of the experience, the rest of which (i.e., the time, the item, the people, and the place, as we observed in Section 5.2.3.1) have been established before line 60. Therefore, this insert expansion as elaboration of an aspect of the circumstances of the experience provides the participants with better visualization of the experience, in the same way in which the other insert expansion (i.e., elaboration of the configuration of the municipal market) functions. Indeed, through the first half of the insert expansion (Subsequences 1 and 2), the unknowing recipients were able to visualize the display case with reference to their common extra-discursive knowledge of a similar type of display case for *shachihata* stamps. This visualization alone has significance for their understanding of the storytelling, for elaboration of the display case, as well as *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market"), by providing a resource for the recipients to imagine the circumstances in which four-year-old Naomi was able to easily pick up what she wanted by herself (and take it, unnoticed, resulting in a successful shoplifting). Therefore, the

insert expansion was essential for the recipients to reconstruct the protagonist's course of action in the experience being related by the teller.

In the second half of the insert expansion (Subsequences 3 and 4), the participants were also oriented to establishing mutual understanding of items that had recently become relevant in the storytelling activity in progress. If we assume that the storytelling activity is conducted solely to reconstruct someone's experience in the form of a story, Subsequences 3 and 4 must be considered to be tangential. However, if we look at storytelling as an activity in which the participants also seek mutual and unanimous understanding of whatever they deal with in the reconstruction of the experience, these subsequences can be analyzed as part of the process—not tangential—for the participants to accomplish the storytelling activity. From this perspective, I argue that the storytelling activity as a whole is accomplished through both a process of reconstructing an experience in the form of story, which is traditionally viewed as the "main" business of the activity, and a process to go through the storytelling activity together as a group, establishing unanimous understandings of resources relevant to the reconstruction. These processes are not independently developed, but rather intertwined with each other. The present data, particularly in Subsequences 3 and 4 of the insert expansion, provide good instances for observing that the participants clearly engage in the latter process within the process to accomplish the main business of the storytelling. Formulation in this insert expansion, therefore, can be seen both as a tool for effectively reconstructing the "Shoplifting" experience and as a product resulting from the work of storytelling.

5.3 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter, in order to investigate the interactional role of elaboration in storytelling, I focused on two occasions of extended elaboration, each of which constituted an insert expansion in the storytelling of Naomi's childhood experience. The two insert expansions were the one (elaboration of the configuration of the municipal market *koosetsu ichiba*) in the response sequence (Section 5.2.2) and the other (elaboration of the revolving display case for lipsticks) in the telling sequence (Section 5.2.3). In terms of sequential organization, these two insert expansions were placed within the base sequence of the storytelling, each of which formed a subactivity to the base sequence. Within each subactivity, the participants were oriented to a seemingly tangential topic with respect to the whole storytelling activity. However, since they were placed within the framework of the storytelling, I considered them as necessary parts for the whole activity. With this view, I found two significant aspects in both insert expansions: one was that the participants established *visualization* of the circumstances of the experience with respect to the municipal market and the revolving display case for lipsticks, which were both necessary to understand the protagonist's course of action, and the other was that the participants were oriented to *unanimity* in pursuit of mutual understanding of the target of elaboration.

In the first aspect of the findings, I identified two specific practices for visualization of the target items, namely the walking-through strategy which was implemented with proximal demonstratives (e.g., *koko/kocchi* "here" and *kono* "this"),

and the nominating strategy, which drew on participants' extra-discursive knowledge to find candidates that best resembled the target items. Through these practices, the participants exhibited their orientation to visualize the circumstances in which 4-year-old Naomi easily shoplifted without being caught. The visualization of the circumstances accomplished in the insert expansions, in fact, was part of the process for establishing the circumstances of the experience, which mitigated Naomi's committing a socially and legally wrongful action and reframed/reformulated it to be an unapologetic, or even natural, childhood experience. In the process of storytelling, Naomi provided the information about the item she had taken, namely, *rippu* (a type of lipstick associated with young girls) by making a contrast to *kuchibeni* (another type of lipstick associated with adult women), which presumably added an implication that she took an inexpensive item. Also, she described the girl who had accompanied her as older, mean, and generally bad, which implicated some negative influence on Naomi's action. The two aspects of the circumstances focused on in the insert expansions (i.e., the municipal market and the revolving display case) created the mitigated sense of her shoplifting: she was less responsible for the shoplifting of an inexpensive item with little skill, guile, or premeditation, and thus contributed to establishing the storyline in favor of Naomi. As discussed above, a store in the municipal market, which displayed merchandise facing the aisle, must have been less monitored and thus more vulnerable to shoplifting than usual independent stores. In other words, this circumstance made it easier for anyone to shoplift. In addition, we can imagine that the revolving display case, which allowed customers to select items by themselves, had provided Naomi with an opportunity to

reach a lipstick more easily and discretely. These two circumstances, in addition to the other mitigating elements, provide significant resources not only to reconstruct Naomi's shoplifting experience, but also to account for her course of action as less problematic for an unlawful action.

Recall that in Naomi's storytelling, there was only one formulation that explicitly described what she had done in the municipal market (*sore o ne, kooyatte te ne atashi wa totte kichatta no yo* "So, it was like this, I took one with me" in lines 138-139, Excerpt 13). Also recall that Naomi had not experienced any negative consequence from that action. Therefore, we can say that there was not much to tell or formulate into storytelling discourse in terms of the sequence and consequences of the shoplifting act. Rather, we can find much more noteworthy the fact that a small child firstly committed an unlawful act and yet nothing happened to her after committing the unlawful act. Therefore, we would expect to see some accounts for the fact that shoplifting by a small child had been even possible without negative consequences. The teller, however, did not provide explicit accounts to explain such a matter. Instead, she and her interlocutors were oriented to elaborating formulations (e.g., descriptions and evaluations) of the circumstantial aspects in which Naomi's shoplifting act was committed. Therefore, I conclude that the circumstantial aspects elaborated in the present storytelling contributed to establishing the accountability for the protagonist's course of action. In other words, in the present storytelling, Naomi's childhood shoplifting experience is formulated with little action sequence and with elaborated circumstances, which allow the participants to infer how she was able to shoplift without negative consequences. As examined in

Chapters 3 and 4, elaboration points to the participants' orientation that needs to be mutually established in the process of storytelling. The extended insert expansions strongly orienting towards the two aspects of the circumstances, the municipal market and the revolving display case, can be understood not simply as the participants' attempts to visualize the circumstances around the protagonist in the municipal market, but also as their attempts to establish the accountability for the protagonist's course of action in the experience reconstructed through storytelling, and to do so in a manner that is mutually oriented to by all participants as jointly understood and unanimously shared.

The detailed analyses of the insert expansions also revealed the second aspect of the findings, that is, the participants were oriented not only towards the items in question in a nominating strategy (e.g., *koosetsu ichiba* and the revolving display case), but also towards unanimous understanding of their extra-discursive knowledge that was drawn on to conclude what the items were. This suggests that the participants were strongly oriented to reach unanimous understanding of what was discussed in the storytelling activity. The participants' orientation towards unanimity was particularly observed in Sachiko's change in participation framework within the process for reaching unanimous understanding of a target item. When the participants were figuring out what *koosetsu ichiba* ("municipal market") looked like, Sachiko first participated in the discussion as an unknowing participant, but figured it out earlier than the other two unknowing participants Kaoru and Mikiko. She then switched her participation status from unknowing to knowing, and helped Kaoru and Mikiko figure out what the target item looked like. The phenomenon may be due to the nature of multi-party conversation, in

which the participants could not reach mutual understanding of a single item all at once. Multi-party or not, the participants' further pursuit of failed candidates used in the nominating strategy further highlights their strong orientation towards unanimous understanding of a single item. In the process of figuring out what the revolving display case for lipsticks looked like, the primary teller Naomi used the references, *paamu gaaden* ("Palm Garden") and *jidoo hanbaiki* ("vending machine"), as candidates to approximate the display case in question. Although the references turned out to be failed candidates for the nominating strategy, the participants oriented themselves back to these references in the insert expansion even after they had reached their unanimous understanding of what the revolving display case looked like with another candidate *shachihata*. In summary, from these phenomena in the insert expansions, we can say that the participants are strongly oriented to reach unanimous understanding of story elements and also to maintain mutually available extra-discursive knowledge about any given referent, once it has become relevant in the storytelling activity.

With these findings emerging from the analysis of the insert expansions, I argue that we need to expand the view of storytelling, which is usually assumed to be that storytelling is an interactional activity dedicated to story construction, or experience reconstruction, in which participants try to (co)construct a story or stories, and make sense of the events described in the story/stories and characters' actions in these events. Based on the analyses of the present storytelling, I argue that storytelling can provide an opportunity for participants to establish mutual understanding of not only the experience reconstructed in the storytelling, but also of the resources used in the process of

reconstruction of the experience. I further argue that this opportunity has significance for their future interactions, in that mutual understanding of such resources can then become their mutually accessible extra-discursive knowledge, which could allow them to interact with each other with minimalism in the future. In other words, through elaboration, they are able to update their knowledge to be usable as commonly accessible extra-discursive knowledge next time they have interaction relevant to it. This notion resonates with Ochs's (1994) view of storytelling as a social activity that has implications for participants' future activities. Focusing on a narrative function to "help us to achieve a sense of continuity as we move through our lifespan by virtue of their [narratives'] capacity to extend the past into the present" (p. 108), Ochs (1994) argues that "the activity of storytelling allows interlocutors continuously and creatively to move their lives forward in time (i.e., evolve) through a process of mentally and verbally stretching past life events into the future" (p. 133). Storytelling, therefore, can be seen as a verbalized piece of someone's life continuing from past to future, which is co-constructed by interlocutors sharing space and time at a moment of their lives. In this big picture of storytelling, Ochs considers that interlocutors may orient themselves towards not only the past and the present but also the future assuming that they may go through an experience similar to the past experience reconstructed in storytelling. The import of the experience made relevant in storytelling, therefore, can provide participants with implications for their future experiences. In this light, I argue, it is not surprising to expect that participants' orientation towards future experiences in a storytelling activity includes the idea that they remain as co-participants of their future interactional activities. The

participants having engaged in the activity of elaboration observed in this chapter now have some resources updated to utilize in their future social activities, which maintains their continuity of themselves as members of a group with a shared micro-culture. Therefore, it is possible to see elaboration as a practice for maintaining their group unity.

By focusing on elaboration, this chapter investigated its interactional role in a storytelling activity. Within the framework of reconstructing an experience, elaboration provides the participants with resources for establishing visualization of the experience and unanimity in the visualization. These findings further redirected us to the very issue of what participants accomplish through the storytelling, and suggested that storytelling, beyond the framework of reconstructing experience, provides an arena for participants to establish group continuity from the past, through the present, and to the future.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Findings

Viewing storytelling as a social activity, the present study investigated how participants reconstructed someone's experience (i.e., reality) in the form of storytelling (i.e., a specific type of discourse), while maintaining their mutual reflexivity. The present study focused on the participants' *formulation* work in pursuit of mutual reflexivity, and investigated what types of formulations were used in storytelling by members of a micro-culture who share linguistic and social resources and communicative practices. I analyzed three cases of storytelling ("Mikiko's moving day," "Star," and "Shoplifting") co-constructed by four adult native speakers of Japanese,¹⁰⁴ who were best categorized as friends living under the same roof of a shared house and having jointly engaged in a significant amount of shared interactional activities. With the idea that an experience can be formulated at varied levels of granularity, for example, from a single TCU (lower level) to multiple turns describing actions (higher level), I particularly focused on how the experience itself and its aspects are formulated in storytelling. In Chapter 3, I identified two specific discursive practices, *minimalism* (i.e., formulation at a lower level of granularity), which is a practice in which participants draw on their extra-discursive knowledge made relevant in storytelling, and *elaboration* (i.e., formulation at a higher level of granularity), which is a practice in which participants establish their mutual

¹⁰⁴ There were only three participants (Mikiko, Sachiko, and Naomi) in the storytelling "Mikiko's moving day."

accessibility to an aspect of the experience. I concluded that minimalism and elaboration characterize storytelling discourse, indicating how participants maintain their mutual reflexivity in storytelling: minimalism indicates extra-discursively available resources equally accessible to them, and elaboration indicates their unequal access to resources for understanding the experience under reconstruction. In the following chapters, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I further examined minimalism and elaboration respectively to investigate in detail what interactional work is accomplished through these two discursive practices.

In the investigation of minimalism in Chapter 4, I confirmed previous studies' findings regarding the use of minimal reference, which suggested minimal references are manifestations of participants' reliance on their mutually accessible extra-discursive knowledge for recognizing the significance of the references. However, a particular instance of a minimal reference examined in this chapter (i.e., the character's nickname *Kako-chan* in the storytelling of Mikiko's "Star" incident) demonstrated a malfunction of minimalism. The minimal reference along with other minimal references *sutaamaaketto* ("Star Market") and *sutaabakkusu* ("Starbucks") provided various aspects of the experience related in storytelling that constitute the circumstances of the experience including the initial place where the story events had started, the travel route of the car Mikiko rode in, and the conditions under which the car ride took place. In other words, the nickname not only oriented the participants towards the character, whom they commonly knew, but also provided them with the story-relevant extra-discursive knowledge associated with that nickname including such aspects as her residence, living area, and relationship to the protagonist. I argued that such minimalism was made

possible based not only on the participants' shared extra-discursive knowledge, but also on their sociohistorical experience that they had gone through prior to the storytelling activity. Because of the indexicality of minimalism, we observed its problematic aspect that suggested the participants' over-reliance on their abilities to draw on their extra-discursive knowledge that they assumed to be relevant to the ongoing activity. In the storytelling "Star," we saw that unknowing participants misinterpreted Mikiko's reference to *Kako-chan*, inferring (incorrectly) that the driver of the ride for Mikiko was Kako, since there was no explicit information regarding the driver provided in Mikiko's telling. The fact that it took time and participants' work in multiple rounds of reformulation to resolve the misinterpretation in the storytelling suggested the primacy of minimalism as the participants' resource for reconstructing an experience among those who share rich extra-discursive knowledge through their sociohistorical experiences.

Another discursive practice, elaboration, was observed in places in which minimalism was not available (i.e., the participants are not able to equally access story-relevant extra-discursive knowledge) so that the participants elaborated what was not equally accessible to them. Elaboration in talk in general is a phenomenon in which participants orient themselves to a specific topic and develop a discussion about it to reach mutual understanding on the topic. Therefore, it is not surprising that participants of storytelling elaborate some aspects of the experience when they do not have equal accessibility to them. However, the detailed analyses of the three cases of storytelling revealed that elaboration occurred on specific aspects that provided resources to account for the protagonist's course of action in the experience reconstructed through storytelling

(i.e., Mikiko's leaving the moving site in "Mikiko's moving day," Mikiko's referring to Starbucks with the wrong reference *sutaa*, and Mikiko's not speaking up to Kako in "Star," and Naomi's shoplifting with no negative consequence in "Shoplifting"). It is worth noting that the ways in which the participants established such resources through elaboration were different in the three cases. In "Mikiko's moving day," participants engaged in elaboration in which they oriented directly towards the protagonist's accounts for her course of action, that is, the reason that Mikiko had had to leave the moving site. On the other hand, in Mikiko's telling in "Star," she elaborated only a scene in which she had used the referent *sutaa* for Starbucks by mistake, which invoked the accountability for her seemingly anomalous action. Note that elaboration of the scene in Mikiko's first version (Round 2) did not provide explicit formulations that explain why Mikiko had used the wrong reference (i.e., *sutaa*), nor why she did not reword it with the correct reference (i.e., *sutaba*). It is not until Mikiko's elaboration was rejected by the recipients as an account for her mistake that she explicitly provided her explanation, that is, she had expected Kako to figure out what she had meant by *sutaa* in the context in which she had told Kako that she was going out to study and her favorite place to study was a coffee shop. In the third storytelling "Shoplifting," elaboration oriented the participants more indirectly towards the accountability for the protagonist's course of action (4-year-old Naomi shoplifted without negative consequences). Participants elaborated on aspects of the circumstances of the experience (i.e., the configuration of the market where Naomi shoplifted, and the revolving display case in which the shoplifted item was placed) that made possible Naomi's shoplifting without negative consequences. Since there were no

detailed descriptions of Naomi's shoplifting act itself, elaboration on the circumstantial aspects can be seen as an important resource for the unknowing participants to infer the protagonist's course of action and establish its accountability. Despite the differences of the targets of elaboration in the three cases of storytelling, detailed analyses of the cases consistently indicated that elaboration functioned to orient participants towards the accountability for the protagonist's course of action.

In terms of the target of elaboration, I believe that the "Shoplifting" storytelling particularly demonstrates characteristic features developed by the group under investigation. Recall that the experience reconstructed through this storytelling activity was Naomi's childhood experience in an area of Japan in which the other participants did not grow up. This means that the other participants had neither direct access to the experience nor much shared knowledge about the social and physical circumstances in the area. Given this condition, we observed participants engaging in elaboration that particularly worked toward establishing a detailed understanding of the circumstances in which the story took place through the walking-through strategy and the nominating strategy that, in effect, provided participants with the resources needed to account for the protagonist's course of action. I demonstrated that these strategies allowed the participants to establish mutual visualization of the environments in which the protagonist had gone through the experience. In other words, through elaboration, the unknowing participants were able to establish immediacy and familiarity of the story world, as if they had actually gone through the experience together, so that they understood the protagonist's course of action. This way of the development of the

storytelling may be partly accounted for by virtue of the self-explanatory nature of shoplifting, i.e., stealing goods from a store. When Naomi confessed that she had shoplifted before, the recipients of the confession would have easily imagined what she basically did. Under this condition, the participants were oriented to the aspect of the experience, "nothing bad happened in the self-explanatory unlawful act." Therefore, we could say that the participants were oriented to that aspect by establishing the circumstances that could account for the lack of negative consequences. However, even so, there might have been multiple possible ways to formulate such circumstances that could have invoked the accountability for the lack of negative consequences. For example, the teller could have explicitly explained how those circumstances had allowed her not to end up with negative consequences instead of a list of descriptions of the circumstances. In "Shoplifting," however, the participants strongly oriented themselves to establishing the circumstances, but not to establishing explicit connections between these circumstances and the protagonist's course of action. In other words, the participants relied on their ability to draw such connections extra-discursively by developing visualization of the circumstances in which the 4-year-old protagonist had been surrounded.¹⁰⁵ This way of developing the storytelling further suggests the participants' underlying premise that even only with the circumstantial resources, they can reach mutual understanding of the protagonist's course of action, if the circumstantial resources are appropriately formulated to create immediacy and familiarity for them.

¹⁰⁵ Since this is a case analysis, I cannot make any generalization about the characteristic of the storytelling discourse observed here. However, as mentioned above, this is consistent with my findings in other cases of Japanese storytelling in Nishikawa (1999).

This underlying premise can be seen as an aspect that brings them together as members of a micro-culture, in other words, a facet of their group unity that has been sociohistorically established between them.

The participants' orientation towards group unity was also observed in the process through which the participants worked to establish unanimous understanding in elaboration in "Shoplifting." A process I identified to exemplify this orientation was a participant's change in participation framework within a process to pursue unanimous understanding of a target item in elaboration. Since the group under investigation had multiple members, it was expected that multiple unknown participants needed respective steps to establish mutual understanding of a single item. Indeed, we observed that the participants worked through these respective steps in pursuit of mutual understanding of the item in question. However, we also observed an extra process in elaboration that dealt with the failed candidates for the nominating strategy. This phenomenon cannot be accounted for only in terms of the aspect that members needed their respective steps to pursue mutual understanding. The extra process indicated that the participants had a strong orientation towards unanimous understanding on the resources that had been used, yet had failed as candidates, in the nominating strategy. In this respect, I argued that the participants in storytelling activity were oriented not only to reconstructing a past experience and to understanding its significance at the present time, but also to developing resources to be usable for their future interactional activities. As mentioned in Chapter 5, this view is consistent with Ochs's (1994) view of storytelling as a social activity that maintains participants' sense of continuity of themselves by connecting the

past to the present, and to the future. I believe that particularly elaboration in the storytelling "Shoplifting" provides evidence of the participants' pursuit to maintain their sense of continuity from the past to the present, and to the future through such an extra process, which seemingly does not contribute to the reconstruction of the experience.

In summary, we found that the two discursive practices, minimalism and elaboration, characterized storytelling discourse constructed by the group members under investigation. Through detailed examination of minimalism and elaboration, the present study provided accounts for what aspects of the experience are formulated at a higher or a lower degree of granularity. Minimalism revealed what the participants relied on as their mutually accessible extra-discursive knowledge relevant in storytelling, and elaboration led us to see how they established the accountability for the protagonist's course of action. In addition, elaboration, in which participants' orientation towards unanimous understanding was at issue, also gave us a view that storytelling may be future-oriented to develop the participants' sense of continuity as members of a mini-culture.

6.2 Contributions

By providing views of storytelling as an action, a social practice and a social activity, I believe that the present study has made contributions to the following two areas of study: studies on storytelling and Japanese communicative style.

6.2.1 Storytelling

Placing the present study in the research tradition that has focused on storytelling/narrative as not only the object but the subject of inquiry, I believe that it makes contributions to the tradition that investigates the nature of storytelling/narrative (e.g., sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, conversation analysis and discursive psychology). By viewing storytelling as an action in talk-in-interaction, the present study highlighted the contingent nature of storytelling in discourse. Recognizing possibilities that an experience can be formulated into various types of linguistic representation, ranging from a single TCU to a complex story, I examined participants' work that related a past experience, which happened to form an extended discourse packaged with multiple formulations of the experience. This approach does not require an initial analytical process to formally identify storytelling in reference to its structural features that have been pervasively considered distinctive features of storytelling as discourse. In this respect, the present study can be seen as a case study of storytelling that is founded on analytical and methodological principles developed in the tradition of conversation analysis. In this tradition, with predominant interests in sequential organization of talk, previous studies on storytelling focused on how participants interact with each other to sequentially organize storytelling activity. This focus then led researchers to analyze interactional processes specifically at the beginning and ending of storytelling (e.g., M.H. Goodwin 1982; Jefferson 1978; Lerner 1992; Mandelbaum 1987a; Sacks 1974; Schegloff 1992a). With this tendency, as Georgakopoulou (2007, 4) points out, "the part that comes between a story's opening and a story's ending" remains less explored in this field. The

present study offers empirical instances to fill in this unexplored area, namely the middle part of the activity (i.e., what analysts have referred to as "the telling sequence") between processes in which participants shift their orientation toward a "storable" experience to initiate a storytelling activity, and in which they land the activity to move on to a next activity. In the middle part, we found that the participants engaged in rounds of formulation and reformulation of specific aspects of the experience, each of which was organizationally seen as a unit of subactivity in the whole storytelling activity. This suggested that the participants were fundamentally oriented towards accomplishing the storytelling activity, but locally oriented towards pursuing their mutual accessibility to items. It seemed that the participants were not ready to land the storytelling activity until those items became mutually accessible by all participants. The analyses of the middle part of storytelling, therefore, provided us with the perspective to understand what information, or what aspects of the experience under reconstruction, were crucial to the participants to accomplish storytelling.

Of course, there are studies that examine the middle part of storytelling in the CA tradition. However again, with CA's interests in sequential organization, those studies demonstrate how storytelling as an interactional activity is sequentially developed by the participants (e.g., C. Goodwin 1984, 2007; M.H. Goodwin 1990; Mandelbaum 1989; Kjærbeck and Asmuß 2005). Taking an analytical perspective on sequential organization, the present study further pursued how the content of storytelling was developed through participants' sequentially organized interactions. In other words, the present study had a major analytical orientation towards rhetorical organization of

discourse, and thus attempted to demonstrate how and with what formulations a facet of reality (i.e., an experience) is collaboratively reconstructed by participants through storytelling discourse. As Edwards (1997, 111) notes, the focus on rhetorical organization of discourse in general is well featured in social psychology oriented work especially in the tradition of discursive psychology, which shares analytical principles with CA. In this line of research, there have been studies that focus on rhetorical aspects of discourse that establish participants' epistemic grounds of past events (e.g., A. Johnson 2008; Kidwell 2009; Raymond and Zimmerman 2007; Whalen and Zimmerman 1990; Whalen et al. 1988). However, they are predominantly conducted within the framework of discourse in institutional settings in which the gap in epistemology between laypersons and professionals causes interactional trouble. Among them, for example, Whalen and Zimmerman (1990) are concerned with practical epistemology of incident reports in emergency calls that is invoked through the process to establish the credibility of a caller's report of an emergency. Not only does this study analyze the sequential organization of the interactions between a caller and a call-taker, but further investigates, based on the analysis, how the emergent discourse is organized with participants' formulations and reformulations of an incident to accomplish their task. In this respect, the present study shares with Whalen and Zimmerman (1990) the goal of investigation, namely to reveal particular rhetorical forms of a verbal activity. Since Whalen and Zimmerman (1990) explore verbal activities in an institutional setting, the present study makes a contrast with it in the sense that it deals with storytelling in a non-institutional setting, which does not require a predetermined interactional goal to be accomplished in

each activity. The rhetorical form of a storytelling activity varies according to the context in which the activity is engaged in. Given this variation, the present study, based on the analyses of the three cases of storytelling, found rhetorical features at a more general level, namely, minimalism and elaboration, that invoked the participants' orientations towards their mutually accessible extra-discursive knowledge relevant to the experience under reconstruction, and towards the accountability for the protagonist's course of action, respectively.

Another tradition of storytelling research to which the present study can make contributions is discourse analysis of storytelling primarily developed in the field of linguistics (discourse analysis and sociolinguistics). Departing from the Labovian structural analysis, discourse and sociolinguistic narrative analysis has demonstrated a move to shift their perspective from narrative as text to narrative as practice (for an overview of this move, see De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008). With this shift, Georgakopoulou (2007) suggests the necessity to deal with what she calls *small stories* as the object of inquiry, which contains rich empirical resources for investigating storytelling as social practice. According to her, *small stories* is an umbrella term to include under-explored narrative activities in narrative research due to their "incomplete" qualities deviant from canonical ones that have been pervasively treated as objects of narrative analysis.¹⁰⁶ Although the cases examined in the present study are, on the surface, not "small" stories but rather extended and complex activities, they exhibit features of storytelling that the metaphorical extension of *small stories* is intended to

¹⁰⁶ For canonical types of storytelling, see discussion in Ochs and Capps (2001, 2-58).

cover (Georgakopoulou 2007, 31-37). The present study, therefore, can provide empirical instances of storytelling to suggest that extended and complex storytelling can be an object of analysis in the new perspective of storytelling that is established in the notion of small stories.

In terms of the perspective of storytelling, this study further suggests a larger view of the function of storytelling. Although, as discussed above, storytelling researchers do not seem to agree on what exactly constitutes storytelling, there may be a consensus that is probably agreed on by most of the researchers, that is, storytelling's sense-making function, such as sense-making of the point of a story, sense-making of an experience, and sense-making of the self as reviewed in Chapter 2. This view of storytelling basically assumes that participants in storytelling are primarily oriented towards the story construction, and thus comprehension. However, the present study, specifically in the examination of elaboration, demonstrated that participants were not always oriented towards the story construction. Rather, they sometimes stepped out of the main business of story construction until they reached mutual accessibility to a story component. To use an analogy, the side activities (observed in insert expansions) to the base sequence can be described as knots in a rope. Those knots were not unnecessary parts of the storytelling activity but rather indispensable to accomplishing it. Of course as long as participants accomplish a storytelling activity, they are ultimately constructing a story or versions of it. However, I believe that the participants of the present study, by making knots in a rope, ultimately set their orientation to establishing the mutually accessible story-relevant epistemic ground, not the story itself. As I demonstrated above,

once they established the ground, they did not have to rhetorically describe details of the experience under reconstruction; they could just feel or visualize them on their own. In this way, participants are all able to make sense of the point(s) of the story, the experience, and self. Furthermore, they are able to update their mutually accessible epistemic ground that can be used for their future interaction. The view of storytelling, therefore, can be expanded as an interactional arena to establish the foundation of participants' social and interpersonal relationship.

6.2.2 Japanese communicative style

The cases of storytelling in the present study highlighted the participants' orientation towards their mutually accessible epistemic ground. This point was particularly demonstrated in the "Shoplifting" storytelling analyzed in Chapter 5 in which the participants attempted to establish the circumstances around which the protagonist had been situated in the story world. Since details of the circumstances allow participants to visualize what the protagonist did in the story world through the participant-protagonist's viewpoint, constructing the circumstances of the story world, as noted in Chapter 5, seems to reflect a strong preference for and orientation towards the value widely recognized as Japanese communicative style, namely, establishing empathy (Clancy 1986; Lebra 1976) or "being there to know how you feel." The present study presents empirical evidence for empathy work, which is identified in specific actions of interlocutors, namely, their orientation towards mutual accessibility to and unanimous understanding of extra-discursive resources in the activity of, and/or activities undertaken

in the context of, storytelling. In other words, this study builds on the tradition that identifies a communicative style, and by taking additional analytical findings, provides a clearer, more restricted conceptualization of it. In the same light, I suggest that other studies of Japanese conversational storytelling might also present empirical evidence to account that empathy work characterizes Japanese storytelling discourse. Although further research should be done to confirm, I briefly introduce below some of the studies, which might resonate with the present study in terms of empirical evidence for a preferred Japanese communicative style in the context of storytelling.

In my early work (Nishikawa 1999), I focused on the point-making function of Japanese storytelling, and found a tendency in which tellers, before telling their stories, started with detailed descriptions of circumstantial information about story settings that did not seem to have direct connections to the story itself. This finding was revealed through the application of the Labovian structural framework (Labov 1972; Labov and Waletzky 1967; and see Chapter 2) to cases of storytelling. The cases of storytelling commonly formed a shape that was different in component proportion than the structural model that Labov (1972) proposed.¹⁰⁷ It consisted of a fairly extended orientation component, but a quite succinct complicating action component. Moreover, the extended

¹⁰⁷ As introduced in Chapter 2, Labov (1972) proposes a model of internal structure of a fully-formed narrative, which is composed of the following component in order: abstract (optional), orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution, and coda (optional). In this model, evaluation is treated as a special category, which may coexist with other components of the structure. In other words, evaluation is not strictly a component that can be structurally identified in a narrative, but rather a function that can be realized in various forms throughout the narrative text. Nevertheless, Labov claims that evaluation particularly appears as a component consisting of independent evaluation clauses between the complicating action component and the resolution component.

orientation component contained detailed descriptions of circumstantial information including how old the teller was, what school he/she went to, whether he/she was working or studying, and where he/she lived. I concluded that a storyteller attempted to establish his/her viewpoint by orienting him/herself and his/her recipient towards the teller's life at the time of the story events, and thus the teller's attempt was seen as establishing a ground on which the recipient can have empathy with the protagonist (i.e., the teller). Although this study was conducted in the Labovian structural framework, which does not concern itself with the interactional importance of narrative construction, its implications are consistent with those of the present study.

Another study that might suggest a similar implication is Hayashi, Mori and Takagi (2002), which investigates a storytelling episode conducted by four adult native speakers of Japanese described as friends. Since this study is strictly a CA case study, which limits its analytical focus on detailed interactional mechanisms by which participants launch a storytelling, it does not claim or suggest a social aspect of the activity. Yet, the target phenomenon of their analysis is similar to one of the phenomena that the present study accounted for, which is the emergence of co-tellership described as follows:

The co-tellers in the current case do not share the knowledge of the described event; only one of them took part in the reported event. Nonetheless, the two participants with different knowledge align themselves as "co-tellers" or a party jointly making a claim. Specifically, the telling of a personal experience by one is triggered by the proffering of a claim by another. Each of the two participants' contributions mutually occasion and reinforce the other's (Hayashi, Mori and Takagi 2003, 83).

In their analysis, the emergence of co-tellership is explicated within the immediate context that is established in talk-in-progress. They focus not only on participants' utterances and their sequential coordinated development from one utterance to the next, but also their concurrent gaze and gestures, in examining the intricate process of coordination of talk. They then conclude that co-tellership emerges in the environment in which a participant (named Mari), who first proffered a claim, which in turn triggered storytelling of another (named Yoko), joins in Yoko's telling of her personal experience to make a seamless transition from the storytelling back to Mari's original claim that shares the theme with the story, but concerns a more general fact than Yoko's personal experience. Although these participants' sociohistorical background is not provided, it is possible to analyze the emergence of co-tellership in terms of the concept of mutually accessible epistemic ground. In this sense, I consider Hayashi, Mori and Takagi (2002) to be a study of storytelling that has a potential implication for the study of Japanese communicative style.

In a child development and socialization study too, I find an interesting phenomenon, which might present empirical evidence for the concept of empathy work in storytelling activity. As part of a comparative study between native speakers of Japanese and American English, Minami (2002) examines mother-child storytelling from a Labovian structural perspective. Minami (2002, 262) observes "some clear differences in terms of content and delivery between child and adults" in Japanese storytelling. He continues:

Children tend to tell their stories in a sequential style whereas adults emphasize non-sequential information. Furthermore, adults deploy a variety of expressive options and rhetorical/linguistic devices to encode the narrator's perspective, such as the effective use of proper verb-ending forms; children, in contrast, do not distinguish their subtleties (ibid).

Here, "non-sequential information" refers to information denoted in utterances that do not directly depict narrative events. Since Minami employs the Labovian analysis that assumes that descriptions of narrative events (i.e., sequential information) form one of the core parts of narrative, he regards such adults' storytelling style with the emphasis on non-sequential information over sequential information as implicit, which, he suggests, is a manifestation of the culturally expected value, being empathic (Minami 2002, 265).

Karatsu (2004) also seems to notice a Japanese specific style that may entail interactional work in which participants orient to the value of empathy. She examines conversational storytelling by adult native speakers of Japanese to describe ways in which participants accomplish meaningful storytelling. She finds linguistic features specifically in the beginning of a storytelling activity, through which, she argues, a prospective teller is able to establish a ground that supports the basis for the teller to begin telling a story appropriately. She conceptualizes these linguistic features into the term *shitazi-zukuri* ("ground work" or "paving the way"). Her findings that are labeled *shitazi-zukuri* are basically consistent with what is typically observed in the preface sequence reported by CA scholars (e.g., Sacks 1974 and Jefferson 1978) who investigate cases of English conversational storytelling. As noted above, CA scholars are specifically concerned about interactional features of the preface sequence in terms of its sequential development. Karatsu however notices that tellers in her storytelling data not only

manage step-by-step development of the preface sequence towards the telling sequence, but also exhibit sensitivity to the relationship with their co-participants. Although she does not discuss these features in cultural terms, I believe that Karatsu, who labels the features with a Japanese phrase *shitazi-zukuri* ("ground work" or "paving the way"), recognizes that they have cultural implications.

In summary, although Hayashi, Mori and Takagi (2002) and Karatsu (2004), do not overtly address the value of empathy in Japanese culture in connection with their findings, I suggest that the above four studies on Japanese storytelling might provide empirical implications for the concept of empathy, which has been prevailingly suggested as a trait of Japanese speaker's communicative style. The present study, having the same implication, which was indicated in the demonstration of the participants' investment in establishing the circumstances around the protagonist with less concern directly about chronologically sequenced story events and protagonist's course of actions, contributes to explore culturally specific aspects of Japanese interactions.

6.3 Implications for future study

The present study focused on a group of four native speakers of Japanese, and analyzed three cases of storytelling. As I discussed above, the findings from this case study have possible implications for the study of storytelling that is concerned with participants' extra-discursive knowledge and sociohistorical relationships. To verify the findings as building blocks to establish more general principles in such a subject, it is important to further explore various types of storytelling activities along such dimensions

as degrees of relationships between participants (e.g. close-distant and personal-formal), types of experiences to be reconstructed (e.g., remote-immediate past and shared-nonshared), and kinds of participants' cultures and languages. One possible direction that the present study might be extended to would be the exploration of third-person storytelling, such as gossip and hearsay stories, in which the protagonist of a story is not present in talk-in-interaction. The present study was limited to exploring cases of first-person storytelling, which is the most fundamental type of storytelling that has been investigated in the field of storytelling analysis. However, I observed third-person storytelling too in my data set, which, I believe, can provide interesting sites for further investigation of conversational storytelling. One significant difference between first-person and third-person storytellings can be indicated by Sacks's (1978) statement that a story is short-lived. He states that "teller can tell it to somebody who knows and cares about him, and maybe recipient can tell it to someone who also knows and cares about initial teller, but it goes very little further than that" (261). That is, for people to tell a story, they must take into consideration relationships between the protagonist(s) of the story and participants in storytelling. Comparison between first-person storytelling and third-person storytelling would therefore provide rich resources to further investigate relationship relevant practices in storytelling.

APPENDIX A
TRANSCRIPT OF THE STORYTELLING "STAR"
INCLUDING THE IMMEDIATELY PRIOR CONVERSATION

Pre-storytelling

((Naomi is in the kitchen, not present in the conversation))

1 M: *sugoi sharetemasu ne? kono hasami*
 very stylish FP this scissors

2 (.)

3 M: *kocchi no?*
 here NOM

4 S: *mu↑ji↓rushī-ryo↑ohin.* ((the name of the brand))
 no.brand quality.goods

5 M: *a ya[ppa].*
 oh not.surprising

6 S: [*mu↑jirushi-ryo↓ohin*
 no.brand quality.goods

7 *mu↑ji↓rushī (.) ↑ryo↓ohin?*
 no.brand quality.goods

8 ?: *uh huh [huh*

9 M: [*d(h)occh(h)i d(h)emo-*
 either.way

10 M: *mu↑jirushi[-ryo↓ohin*
 no.brand quality.goods

11 K: [*mu↑jirushi-ryo↓ohin.*
 no.brand quality.goods

12 M: *ryoho- ryoohin made iwazuni*
 quality.goods till not.say

13 *mujirushi< tee kitta hoo ga.*
 no.brand QT cut S

14 K: *MUJI toka tte.*
 etc. QT

15 M: *↑MU↓JI↑I (.) tte yuu no?*
 QT say NOM

16 K: *u:n. iu*
 uhm say

17 S: *muji: [kore nani muji: tte yuu no?*
 this what QT say NOM

18 M: [*muji*

19 M: [*MUJI:*

20 K: [*() kore nani? muji: tte.*
 this what QT

21 M: *muji.*

22 K: *muji de katta tte.*
 at bought QT

23 (.)

24 M: °ara ma:°
oh dear

25 M: sonnna ni demo:- atashi wa soko made
that but I TOP that till

26 K: DATTE [LONDON toka ni mo,
but London etc in too

27 S: [()]

28 K: muji no- muji:rushi-ryoohin no mise aru n desu kedo,
NOM no.brand quality.goods NOM shop exist NOM COP but

29 K: [soko wa,
there TOP

30 M: [muji tte yuu no=
QT say NOM

31 K: =muji na n desu yo.
COP NOM COP FP

32 (.)

33 S: honto?
really

34 K: tashika ne muji dotto komu ka nanka aru to omou.
probably FP dot com Q something exist QT think

35 (2.)

36 M: () mujirushi: desu yo.
no.brand COP FP

37 (.)

38 M: ryoohin: made wa iwanai.
quality.goods till TOP say.NEC

39 moo soshitara soko made iu to
then there till say QT

40 hatsuon ga okashiku naru [kara
pronunciation S funny become because

41 S: [huh

42 M: mujirushi: de.
no.brand at

43 S: huh huh huh

44 ?: hh .hh hh

Storytelling "Star"

Round 1

45 M: sore o yuunara atashi no .hh sutaa::bakk(h)usu huhu=
that O say-AUX I LK Starbucks

46 K: =hh _sutaa[maaketto_
Star Market

Round 2

47 S: [nani?
what

48 M: .hh hh hh .hh a(h)r(h)e w(h)a ne? .hh i(h)ch(h)ido
that TM FP once

49 (.) .hh kako chan to hanashi shitete .hh
Kako-chan with talk do

50 ano (.8) >^kore kara dokka iku no^< tte yuu kara,
SF this from somewhere go Q QT say because

51 aa kore kara chotto:: (.) dekakete benkyoo toka tte.
oh this from a bit go.out study and.the.like QT

52 tte yuttete .hh
QT say

53 de sono mae n- sono ato ni,
and that before that after

54 (.) ano koohiishoppu dee?
SF coffee.shop at

55 S: un
yeah

56 M: benkyoo suru no ga sukina n ↑daa toka tte
study do NOM S like NOM COP and.the.like QT

57 iu hanashi o berabera shitete,
say talk O blah.blah do

58 de doko iku no? tte yuu kara,
and where go Q QT say because

59 atashi wa, .hhhhh sutaabakkusu. no tsumori de,
I TM Starbucks LK intention in

60 sutaa de kitchatta [n desu ne?
Star at cut.off NOM COP FP

61 K: [hh hh hh
(Naomi comes back from the kitchen, and joins the conversation)

62 K: hh hh (de) okutte ageru yo.[tte yuu
and take.you give FP QT say

63 M: [^okutte ageru yo ^
take.you give FP

64 tte yutte=
QT say

65 K: =orosare [tara
be.dropped.off-AUX

66 M: [^iya, ii yo ii yo: ^ toka tte itteta noni,
no fine FP fine FP and.the.like QT say-AUX

67 orosareta basho ga sut(h)aamaak(h)e(tto)
be.dropped.off place S Star Market

Round 3

68 S: hh hh hh hh d(h)atte (.)
but

69 migi ni iku ka hidari ni [iku-
right to go or left to go

70 M: [huh huh iya de, iya (.)
no and no

71 n- nokkerarete, (.)
be.taken.in

72 ^byu::n^ tte itta shunkan ni, (.)
vroom QT went moment in

73 cho- chotto matte, sut(h)a- sutaa wa sutaa demo
just wait star star TM star but

74 (.) maaketto da na tt(h)e
market COP FP QT

75 D(h)E, >kigatsuita n da kedo<
and realized NOM COP but

76 .hh .hh iya koko de oroshite to mo ierenakutte:
but here at drop.off QT can.say-NEG

77 (.8)

78 M: moo soko made i(h)tt(h)e=
yet there to go

79 S: =atashi sutaabakkusu no tsumori da(h)tt(h)a n da gome:n tte
I Starbucks LK intention COP NOM COP sorry QT

80 M: hh hh .hh

81 K: orita basho ga sutaa maaketto?
got.off place S Star Market

82 ?: huh huh

83 N: >sutaa maaketto de orita no?<
Star Market at got.off NOM

84 M: huh huh

85 K: arigatoo:
thank.you

86 M ^arigatoo:^ (.) tte
thank.you QT

87 ?: huh huh

88 K: sutaa maaketto de doyatte benkyoo sun no tt(h)e.
Star Market at how study do NOM QT

89 S: huh huh huh s(h)oo da yo ne?
right COP FP FP

90 k(h)ako chan mo (kii tsukatte)
Kako-chan too care

91 [k(h)ik(h)anaky(h)a d(h)ame da yo ne?
ask-AUX no.good COP FP FP

92 M: [hh hh .hh huh huh

93 K: \$maaketto de ii no? tte.\$
market good FP QT

94 M: huh huh soo soo.
right right

95 ?: ([])

96 M: [JAA NE:: [toka tte
bye and.the.like QT

Round 4

97 N: [kako chan datta no?
Kako-chan COP FP

98 M: kako chan to: kako chan to koo yu- (.) shabette
Kako-chan with Kako-chan with SF be.talking

99 doko iku no:? (.) tte yuu kara
where go FP QT say because

100 atashi koohiishoppu de benkyoo suru no ga suki na n ↑da:
I coffee.shop at study do NOM S like COP NOM COP

101 toka tte yuu hanashi o shitete:
and.the.like QT say talk O be.doing

102 N: un
yeah

103 M: de: (.) doo no koo no shabettetara< .h
and blah.blah be.talking
104 doko iku no:? >tte yu kara<=
where go FP QT say because
105 =atashi wa .h sutaabakkusu no tsumori de
I TM Starbucks LK intention in
106 SUTA(g)A hh hh SUT(h)AA
star star
107 K: demo [sutaa wa sutaamaaketto yo.
but star TM Starmarket FP
108 M: [((breathy laughter))
109 M: hh .hh [hu(g)h hu(g)h
110 N: [yappari sutaa wa sutaa
after.all star TM star
111 M: hu(g)h huh huh
112 S: sutaba tte iwanakya ikenai.
sutaba QT say-AUX no.good
113 M: [sut(h)ab(h)a
sutaba
114 K: [sutaba
sutaba
115 sutaba da ne?
sutaba COP FP
116 M: iy(hh)aa m(h)o ^koohii^ no hanashi shiteta kara:
no already coffee LK talk did because
117 .hh (.) sutaa de kitta >shunkan ni<=a mazui kana?
star at cut.off moment in oh no.good Q
118 tte hanbun <omotta n da kedo>,
QT half thought NOM COP but
119 (.) °wakatte° [kureru daroo
understand give COP-AUX
120 ? : [hh hh
121 M: huh huh. k(h)ooohii shoppu no hanashi o shiteta kara.
coffee shop LK talk O did because
122 (.5) ↑de, tsuretette ageru yo:
and take.you give FP
123 (.) de, yunibaashitii abenyuu o
and University Avenue on
124 .hh .hh (1.0) ORITA SHUNKAN NI=
went.down moment in
125 S: =>mo soko de tomete<=
already there at stop
126 M: =soko de moo, [orita shunkan ni
there at already went.down moment in
127 S?: [(i↑i ya)
good FP
128 N: huh huh huh huh huh
129 M: °a(h)a°
oh
130 ? fu-

131 K: \$kore wa chigau [tte\$
this TM wrong QT

Round 5

132 S: [motomoto aruite iku tsumori datta n desho?
originally walk go intention COP NOM TAG

133 M: motomoto: .hh (.5) soko de basu o katchi shite:
originally there at bus O catch do

134 (.) notte iku tsumori datta n da kedo,
get.in go intention COP NOM COP but

135 >tsurettette ageru yo toorimichi da kara<
take.you give FP on.the.way COP because

136 (.)

137 S: a(h), toorimichi da kara ne↑:=
oh on.the.way COP because FP

138 =imasara hidari ni magatte [t(h)o w(h)a (ienai)
now left to turn QT TM can.say-NEG

139 N?: [huh huh huh huh

140 (.)

Round 6

141 S: doo shita no sono go
how did NOM that after

142 M: e sutaa maaketto de otoshite- oroshite[moratte=
SF Star Market at drop- drop.me.off give

143 N: [hh hh

144 M: =^jaa ne: arigatoo:^ [tte itta ato
bye FP thank.you QT said after

145 ?: [()

146 M: basu k(g)atchi shinakereba toka omotte,
bus catch do-AUX and.the.like think

147 .hh (.) de, no↑roo to omotteta <jikan:>
and ride-AUX QT thought time

148 tai >yori mo< hayame ni d(h)et(h)a kara:
period than earlier left because

149 N: \$kawaiso sugiru\$
poor too.much

150 M: huh huh .hh hayame ni deta kara,
earlier left because

151 sono basu ga katchi dekiru kana
that bus S catch can.do Q

152 tte omotteta n da kedo,
QT thought NOM COP but

153 sono kya- sono basu wa mo toorisugichatte,
that ca- that bus TM already passed-AUX

154 soko de nan juppun mo [huh huh
there at some 10.minutes as.many

Round 7

155 S: [(sore)
that

156 kako chan shiranai n desho?
Kako-chan know-NEG NOM TAG

157 M: u(h)n s(h)oshite
yeah and
158 (.) ame ni utarenagara huh huh
rain by be.hit-AUX
159 N: sore o, (.) wazawaza onegai suru hodo no naka ja na(h)i n d(h)a.
that O especially ask do degree LK relationship COP NEG NOM COP
160 M: .hh .hh iya mo, i- sore ne,
no already that FP
161 (.) sono, to↑modachi no kuruma da↓tta n desu yo.
SF friend LK car COP NOM COP FP
162 N: (un[nnn?])
yeah mh
163 M: [kanojo no kuruma ja nakutte,
her LK car COP NEG
164 (.) hito no kuruma de,
person LK car COP
165 N: demo saa.
but FP
166 S: >e moo migi ni magatta shu[nkan-<
SF already right to turned moment
167 K: [iya
no
168 watashi wa kitto ienai na?
I TM perhaps can.say-NEG FP
169 (1.)
170 K: arigatoo tte yutchau na?
thank.you QT say-AUX FP
171 (.)
172 M: ^ari[gatoo:^
thank.you
173 N: [demo hito ni yoranai?
but person to depend
174 (.)
175 K: hito ni yoru? u::n
person to depend uhm
176 (1.)
177 naka: yoshi do no- ni yoru yo ne?
relationship good level to depend FP FP
178 (.)
179 M: iya, moshi kako chan no kuruma dattara:
no if Kako-chan LK car COP-AUX
180 (.) >iya< sutaabakkusu
no Starbucks
181 K: huh huh koko [de oroshite
here at drop.me.off
182 M: [(oroshi) chigau chigau tte,
drop wrong wrong QT
183 oroshite tte iereru n da kedo,=
drop.me.off can.say-NEG NOM COP but

Round 8

- 184 N: =hito no ku[ruma tte?
person LK car QT
- 185 M: [hito no-
person LK
- 186 N: (.) >dooyuu koto?<
how thing
- 187 N: kako [chan ga
Kako-chan S
- 188 S: [hito mo ita tte koto [na n desho?
person too existed QT thing COP NOM TAG
- 189 M: [hito-
person
- 190 M: >chigau< hito ga, mukae ni kita yatsu ni,
wrong person S pick.up came thing in
- 191 toorimichi da kara,
on.the.way COP because
- 192 isshoni nokketette ageru <yoo ni>, yutte ageru yo tte.
together ride.in give so.as.to say give FP QT
- 193 (.)
- 194 S: a ja hito ga unten shi[teta n da
oh then person S drive was.doing NOM COP
- 195 M: [soo hito ga unten
right person S drive
- 196 [(suru) kako chan ja nai kara,
do Kako-chan COP NEG because
- 197 ?: [()
- 198 ?: sore wa
that TM
- 199 S: sore o itte kurenakya.
that O say give-NEG-AUX
- 200 N: sore yutte kurenaito,
that say give-NEG-AUX
- 201 (.)
- 202 N: [huh huh huh huh
- 203 K: [so so so so
right right right right
- 204 M: huh huh huh huh
- 205 N: wa[karu
understand
- 206 S: [sore dattara waka[ru
that COP-AUX understand
- 207 M: [sutaa maaketto de
Star Market at
- 208 (.) ^arigatoo: sayonara: ^
thank.you good.bye
- 209 N: soo ja naito anmari nimo mikiko-chan ga kawai[sosugiru
that COP NEG-AUX too.much Mikiko-chan S pathetic too.much
- 210 M: [huh huh huh

211 N: °kako chan ni wa ienai n da:°
 Kako-chan to TM can.say-NEG NOM COP
 212 K: huh huh atashi sakki no- saisho ni,
 I before at.first
 213 okita shunkan ni kiita kara.
 happened moment in heard because
 214 M: huh huh huh
 215 (.)
 216 K: demo nando kiitemo omoshiroi
 but many.times hear-AUX funny
 217 M: huh huh huh huh
 218 (1.)
 219 M: aa(h) shimatta: nihonjin dooshi de
 oh dear Japanese fellow with
 220 kono komyunikeeshon misu o okoshite shimatta: tte.
 this communication mistake O made AUX QT
 221 K: .hh su[t(h)aa
 star
 222 S: [sutaa wa dame da yo.
 star TM no.good COP FP
 223 M: huh huh [huh
 224 K: [sutaba made itte ku[renaito
 sutaba until say give-AUX
 225 S: [sutaba made iwanakya.
 sutaba until say-AUX

English Translation

Pre-storytelling

((Naomi is in the kitchen, not present in the conversation))
 1 M: This pair of scissors is stylish.
 2 (.)
 3 M: Is this made in the US?
 4 S: It's *mujirushi-ryoohin*. ((the name of a Japanese brand))
 5 M: Oh, I had a feeling it was from Japan.
 6 S: [*mujirushi-ryoohin* ((trying out intonation patterns of
 this word))
 7 *mujirushi* (.) *ryoohin*?
 8 ?: uh huh [huh
 9 M: [Either way is OK.
 10 M: *mujirushi*[-*ryoohin*
 11 K: [*mujirushi-ryoohin*.
 12 M: You don't need to say *ryoohin*
 13 Just leave it out.
 14 K: Just call it *muji*
 15 M: Do you call it *muji*?
 16 K: Yeah I do.
 17 S: *Muji*. [So, if someone asks "What's this?",
 would you say "It's *muji*"?
 18 M: [*muji*
 19 M: [*MUJI*:

20 K: [If someone asks "What's this?", I'd say "It's *muji*"
 21 M: *muji*.
 22 K: I'd say "I bought it at *muji*."
 23 (.)
 24 M: °Oh, wow°
 25 M: That's short. But I wouldn't cut it that short.
 26 K: WELL [in LONDON or somewhere
 27 S: [()
 28 K: There are shops run by *muji:rushi-ryoohin*. And,
 29 K: [over there,
 30 M: [Is it called *muji*?=
 31 K: =It is called *muji*.
 32 (.)
 33 S: Really?
 34 K: I think there is a web site called *muji dot com*.
 35 (2.)
 36 M: () I call it *mujirushi*.
 37 (.)
 38 M: I leave out *ryoohin*.
 39 I just shorten it because it is too,
 40 long to say and I mess it up. [That's why
 41 S: [huh
 42 M: I call it *mujirushi*.
 43 S: huh huh huh
 44 ?: hh .hh hh

Storytelling "Star"

Round 1

45 M: That reminds me, my .hh Starbucks huhu=
 46 K: =hh Star [Market

Round 2

47 S: [What?
 48 M: .hh hh hh .hh It was .hh when
 49 (.) .hh I was talking to Kako. .hh
 50 uhm (.8) she said "Are you going somewhere now?" So,
 51 I said "Yeah, I'm just going out to study."
 52 I was saying that. .hh
 53 And, before that- after that
 54 (.) uhm I said "I like studying
 55 S: yeah
 56 M: at coffee shops."
 57 I was going on.
 58 Then, she said "Where are you going?" So,
 59 I .hhhhh meant Starbucks.
 60 But I somehow cut off at *sutaa*.
 61 K: [hh hh hh
 ((Naomi comes back from the kitchen, and joins the conversation))
 62 K: hh hh (Then) she said "I'll give you a ride"
 63 M: [she said "I'll give you
 64 a ride."=
 65 K: =When Mikiko was dropped off

66 M: [I said "No thanks. I'm fine, I'm fine." But
67 the place where I was dropped off was at Star Market.

Round 3

68 S: hh hh hh hh But (.)
69 if you go to the light, or then if you go left
70 M: [huh huh No, well(.)
71 After I got in the car, (.)
72 and when the car zipped away,
73 I realized "Wait a minute, *sutaa* is star, but
74 (.) it's the market."
75 SO I realized that.
76 .hh .hh But, I couldn't tell her "Let me get off here".
77 (.8)
78 M: So, I went to Star Market.
79 S: =You could have said "I meant Starbucks. Sorry."
80 M: hh hh .hh
81 K: The place you got out of the car was Star Market?
82 ?: huh huh
83 N: Did you get out of the car at Star Market?
84 M: huh huh
85 K: "Thank you"
86 M "Thank you" (.) I said that
87 ?: huh huh
88 K: Makes me wonder "How could you study at Star Market?"
89 S: huh huh huh I'm with you. It's odd, isn't it?
90 Kako should've thought of you more,
91 [don't you think?
92 M: [hh hh .hh huh huh
93 K: She should have asked you "Are you OK with the market?"
94 M: huh huh Yeah yeah
95 ?: ([)
96 ["See you" [I said

Round 4

97 N: [Was that Kako?
98 M: I was talking with Kako.
99 She said "Where are you going?" (.) So,
100 "I like studying at coffee shops"
101 I was telling her something like that
102 N: Yeah
103 M: Then, we were talking blah blah blah .h
104 She said "Where are you going?" =
105 = I meant Starbucks but just said
106 *SUTA(g)A* hh hh *SUT(h)AA*
107 K: But, [*sutaa* is Star Market.
108 M: [((breathy laughter))
109 M: hh .hh [hu(g)h hu(g)h
110 N: [*Sutaa* is Star after all.
111 M: hu(g)h huh huh
112 S: You have to say *sutaba* to mean Starbucks.
113 M: [*sut(h)ab(h)a*

114 K: [sutaba
 115 Yeah, sutaba, for sure.
 116 M: But, we were already talking about coffee. So,
 117 .hh (.) Right after cutting off at sutaa, I wondered
 118 "Oh, it didn't come out right" But,
 119 (.) I thought she could understand what I meant.
 120 ?: [hh hh
 121 M: huh huh. We were talking about coffee shops.
 122 (.5) Then, she said "I'll give you a ride"
 123 (.) Then, at University Avenue,
 124 .hh .hh (1.0) at the moment the car turned down the road=
 125 S: ="Pull over right there"
 126 M: But the moment had passed.
 127 S?: [(oh, ok)
 128 N: huh huh huh huh huh
 129 M: "°Oh°"
 130 ? fu-
 131 K: You thought "This is wrong"

Round 5

132 S: [You intended to walk to Starbucks, didn't you?
 133 M: At first .hh (.5) I was going to
 134 (.) catch the bus there. But,
 135 she said "I'll give you a ride because it's on the way"
 136 (.)
 137 S: Oh, it was on the way. So,
 138 it was too late to say, "Turn left".
 139 N?: [huh huh huh huh
 140 (.)

Round 6

141 S: What did you do after that?
 142 M: Well, I was dropped off at Star Market
 143 N: [hh hh
 144 M: After I said "Bye, thank you" [
 145 ?: [()
 146 M: I thought I've got to catch the bus.
 147 .hh (.) Then, since I left the house ahead of
 148 the bus schedule
 149 N: \$Poor Mikiko\$
 150 M: huh huh .hh I left the house earlier. So,
 151 I was thinking that I could catch the same bus
 152 from there too. But,
 153 the bus already passed the stop near Star Market.
 154 So, I had to wait for a while. [huh huh

Round 7

155 S: [(that)
 156 Kako does not know that, does she?
 157 M: Yeah. And,
 158 (.) I was wet with rain. huh huh
 159 N: Oh, you're not comfortable enough with her
 to ask for a ride all the way back to Starbucks.

160 M: .hh .hh No, well, n- That was-
 161 (.) uhm It was actually a friend's car.
 162 N: (un[nnn?])
 163 M: [Not her car.
 164 (.) It was someone else's car.
 165 N: But even so,
 166 S: Right after the car took a right turn,
 167 K: [Well
 168 I probably could not tell her the truth, if I were in the
 same situation
 169 (1.)
 170 I would tell her "Thank you".
 171 (.)
 172 M: "Thank [you"
 173 N: [But doesn't it depend on the person?
 174 (.)
 175 K: Depending on the person? Yeah.
 176 (1.)
 177 It depends on how close we are.
 178 (.)
 179 M: No, if it had been Kako's car,
 180 (.) I could have said "No, I meant Starbucks"
 181 K: huh huh "Drop me [off here"
 182 M: [(off) "You took a wrong turn"
 183 "Please drop me off" I could have said that.

Round 8

184 N: =Someone else's [car?
 185 M: [Someone else's-
 186 N: What do you mean?
 187 N: Kako [was
 188 S: [That means there was someone else too, right?
 189 M: [Someone else--
 190 M: No. It was someone else's car, and he/she was on his/her way
 191 to pick Kako up. So she said to me that since it was on the
 192 way, she asked her/him to give me a ride with them.
 193 (.)
 194 S: Oh, then, someone else was driving.
 195 M: [Right. Someone else was driving.
 196 Not Kako. That's why.
 197 ?: [()
 198 ?: That is...
 199 S: You should have told us that.
 200 N: You should have told us that. Otherwise,
 201 (.)
 202 N: [huh huh huh huh
 203 K: [yeah yeah yeah yeah
 204 M: huh huh huh huh
 205 N: I get it
 206 S: [If that's the case, I understand now.
 207 M: [At Star Market,

208 (.) I said "thank you, good bye"
 209 N: Of course! If you hadn't, how pathetic would that be?
 210 M: [huh huh huh
 211 N: I thought you were not comfortable enough to say that kind of
 thing to Kako.
 212 K: huh huh I first heard the story before
 213 I heard the story right after it happened. So,
 214 M: huh huh huh
 215 (.)
 216 K: But it's still funny even after I've heard it many times
 217 M: huh huh huh huh
 218 (1.)
 219 M: I realized "Oh, gosh, even between Japanese,
 220 we miscommunicate"
 221 K: .hh su[t(h)aa
 222 S: [sutaa is not good.
 223 M: huh huh [huh
 224 K: [You should say *sutaba*. [Otherwise
 225 S: [you should say *sutaba*.

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPT OF "SHOPLIFTING"

- 1 S: *soide ne, atashi mo ne,*
and FP I too FP
- 2 *dekinakatta no mukashi*
could.not.do NOM in.the.past
- 3 *ikkai yaruto ne, kekkoo ne,*
once if.do FP pretty FP
- 4 *ano manbiki shita toki ja nai kedo ne=*
SF shoplifting did time CP NEG but FP
=shita ko [to nai kedo
did NOM NEG but
- 5
- 6 M: *[shita- n(h)ai(h)*
did NEG
- 7 S: *nanka koo atashi demo dekiru n da tt(h)e y(h)uu*
SF SF I even can.do NOM COP QT say
- 8 *yorokobi ga*
pride S
- 9 S?: *°nai° [.hh*
NEG
- 10 N: *[atashi chicchai toki manbiki shita koto aru*
I little time shoplifting did NOM have
- 11 (1.)
- 12 N: *mh mh mh ima (dakara)*
now (because)
- 13 M?: *hh hh hh=*
- 14 K: *=nani o:*
what O
- 15 N: *chicchai toki ni (shita koto) aru?=*
little time in (did NOM) have
- 16 S: *=hoshikute hoshikute shooganakute ya[cchatta no?*
want want can't.help did-AUX NOM
- 17 N: *[u↓n↑n*
no
- 18 N: *[yoochien no toki*
preschool LK time
- 19 S: *[okaasan o*
mother O
- 20 (.)
- 21 S: *komarase[(tai to omotte yatta)*
trouble-AUX QT think did
- 22 N: *[suggoi oboeteru*
very.much remember
- 23 N: *mo aru yo.*
too have FP
- 24 *waraibanashi de okaasan ni mo yutteta n da kedo ano*
funny.story COP mother to too was.saying NOM COP but SF
- 25 S: *fff fff ((blowing))*

26 N: [keshoohin no nanka sa
cosmetics LK something FP
27 S: [zz zz zz ((slurping))
28 N: yo↑ochien gurai tte
preschool about QT
29 soo yuu no ni kyoomi ga <atta n-> no ka
that say NOM in interest S had NOM Q
30 yoku wakaranai kedo,
well don't.know but
31 kinjo no onnanoko.
neighborhood LK girl
32 sono kinjo no onnanoko ga sa,
that neighborhood LK girl S FP
33 [shoogakkoo nisannensei de saa,
elementary.school 2nd-3rd.year at FP
34 S: [ff ff zz [zz
35 N: [ijiwaru na waru- waru datta wake
mean bad bad was reason
36 S: zz zz ((slurping))
37 N: de sono ko to isshoni,
and that kid with together
38 mukaashi: inaka ni sundeta kara,
in.the.past the.country in lived because
39 >sono< koosetsu ichiba mitai no ga atta wake
SF municipally.run.market like NOM S existed reason
40 ?: ichiba?
market
41 N: i[wayuru (.)
so-called
42 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
43 N: hitotsu no koo tatemon naka ni
one LK SF building the.inside in
44 chicchai koo (.) omise ga koo
small SF store S SF
45 (.) ippai haitteru tte ka ne?
many exist QT Q FP
46 soko no, (.) keshoohinyasan mitaina tokoro.
there LK cosmetics.store like place
47 demo sore mo .hh sonna saa
but that too that FP
48 (.) oshare na [keshoohin (yasan ja) nai wake yo.
fancy cosmetics (store COP) NEG reason FP
49 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
50 N: (>ko dakara<) zakkaya to issho ni natte(ru no)=
SF so general.store with together become NOM
51 S: =un un un
yeah yeah yeah
52 N: soide,
and

53 S: >aru yo ne soo yuu to [ko<
 exist FP FP that.type place

54 N: [ri- (1.) ri- rippu. (.4) no,
 lip LK

55 (1.)

56 N: [kuchibeni ja nakutte,
 lipstick COP NEG

57 S: [ff ((blowing))

58 M: [honto ni chotto iro ga tsuku yoo na?
 really little color S put like

59 S: [zz ((slurping))

((Insert Expansion))

Subsequence 1

60 N: un, nanka moo [koo yuu ne? sore ga:
 yeah SF SF like.this FP that S

61 M: [irotsuk[i
 tinted

62 ? : [irotsuki
 tinted

63 N: kurukuru kurukuru mawaru no (yo)=
 ONM ONM go.around NOM FP

64 N: =de sashite atte ko kurukuru (.) mawaru
 and stick AUX SF ONM go.around

65 S: denki de?
 electrically

66 N: u|un?
 no

67 (.)

68 N: ano [ne
 SF FP

69 S: [erabu toki ni?
 choose time at

70 N: erabu toki ni koo kurukuru mawasu jan:=ano
 choose time at SF ONM turn COP? SF

71 S: zz zz ((slurping))

72 N: paamu gaaden ni mo aru janai?
 Palm Garden¹⁰⁸ at too exist TAG?

73 N: kurukuru: tte mawasu- mawasu
 ONM QT turn turn

74 (1.2)

75 N: jidoo hanbaiki nimo aru desho?
 vending.machine too have TAG

76 kuru[kuru
 ONM

77 M: [AA hai hai hai hai un un un un
 oh yes yes yes yes right right right right

78 N: dakara aayuu kanji de te de mawasu no yo=
 so like.that hand by turn NOM FP

¹⁰⁸ See Footnote 89.

Subsequence 2

79 M: =ano: yuwa-
SF so-called
80 chotto chigau ke[do:
little different but
81 N: [>zenzen kore waka[tte kurenai<
at.all this understand get.NEG
82 M: [shachihata: no:
Shachihata LK
83 (.)
84 N: A soo [soo soo soo
oh right right right right
85 M: [INKAN no
stamp LK
86 N: [soo soo
right right
87 M&?: [(([laughing])
88 S?: [inkan no (.) ^aa sore SORE II^
stamp LK oh that that good
89 M&?: [((laughing))
90 N: [sore suggoku ii
that very good
91 N: da- minna ga motteru [sono (onne) imeeji.
everyone S having that image
92 ?: [()
93 M: shachiha[ta
Shachihata
94 K?: [shachiha[ta:
Shachihata

Subsequence 3

95 S: [paamu gaaden wa chotto ne:
Palm Garden TOP just FP
96 K? doko ni aru no
where at exist NOM
97 N: hm hm gomen
sorry
98 S: keeki no tokoro ja nai=are katte ni=
cake LK place COP NEG that on.its.own
99 N: =keiki no. [un
cake LK right
100 S: [are katte ni=
that on.its.own
101 M: =A huh huh huh WAK(h)ATT(h)A:[huh huh huh
oh understood
102 N: [(wakatte kureta)
understood get
103 ?: atashi mo ima
I too now
104 N: (sugu no) mo:=
right LK

105 S: =demo are wa
but that TOP
106 N: (wakannai []
don't.know
107 S: [(shizen ni) mawattete
automatically go.round
108 aketa toki ni [tomatteru,
open time at stop
109 N: [aa soo ka soo ka.
oh right right
110 M: ^ha-^ (.) hank(h) hanko:
stamp stamp
111 K: hanko hanko.
stamp stamp

Subsequence 4

112 N: >\$wakatte\$ kureta?< ato jidoo hanbaiki de
understand get and vending machine COP
113 N: _yu< gui:n [yu< gui:n_ tte
ONM ONM QT
114 S: [a are wa: nanka demo [(te de wa dekinai yo)
that TOP SF but hand with TOP can't FP
115 M: [sore wa sore wa ne:,
that TOP that TOP FP
116 M: (.) furui desu yo moo
old COP FP already
117 K: huh huh huh uh uh uh
118 (.)
119 N: soo?
right
120 S?: ima [mo
now too
121 N: [ima mo aru ja:n
now too exist COP?
122 M: a< a gakko no [arimasu (ne)
oh oh school LK exist FP
123 N: [(gakkoo no)
school LK
124 M: >hai hai [hai hai<
yes yes yes yes
125 S: [sandoicchi minna isshookenmei
sandwich all eagerly
126 ?: [()
127 S: [(katte)
buy

Subsequence 5

128 N: nan tte itt(h)ra ii no ka wak(h)a[r(h)anai=
how QT say good NOM Q don't.know
129 S: [(ikkai aketara)=
once open

- 130 N: =kurukuru hu .hh .hh
ONM
- 131 N: sore wa te de >nanka< [shachihata de:
that TOP hand with SF shachihata COP
- 132 ? [()]
- 133 N: te de mawasu jan.
hand with turn.around COP?
- 134 N: yoku an jan. ko suki na yatsu erabu no ni
commonly exist COP this.way favorite one select NM
- 135 N: de soo yuu yatsu de:,
and that say one COP
- 136 kuchi- rippu sutikku ga sasatteta no yo:.
kuchi- lipstick S stuck.in NOM FP
- 137 S: zz zz ((slurping))
- ((Resumption of the base sequence – telling sequence))**
- 138 N: sore o ne:, koyatte te ne:
that O FP this.way QT FP
- 139 atashi wa totte kichatta no [(yo).
I TOP take came NOM FP
- 140 K: [uh hh<
- 141 N: tomodachi no- tomodachi tte oneechan to.
friend LK friend QT older.girl with
- 142 S: futari de itta no?
two.people went NM
- 143 N: °futari de itta no. kowakatta no. sugoku°
two.people went NM scared NM very
- 144 S: yonsai desho↑:
4.year.old TAG
- 145 N: °(soo da yo)°
right COP FP
- 146 S: yoochien toka hairitate gurai ja nai?
kindergarten and.the.like newly.entered about COP NEG
- 147 (.)
- 148 K: (oi<) k(g)ora: tte okorare nakatta?
hey hey.you QT be.scolded NEG
- 149 N: ↑u↘n u↑n (iwarete []
no be.told
- 150 S: [mitsukan nakatta no?=
be.caught NEG NM
- 151 N: mitsukan nakatta no.
be.caught NEG NM
- 152 N: [dakara
so
- 153 S: [sore dake [shita dake-
that only did only
- 154 N: [(sugoi)
very
- 155 S: haitte detekita dake na no?
go.in go.out only COP NM
- 156 (.7)

157 N: *sore ga ne? sono: (1.) koosetsu ichiba ttee,*
that S FP SF municipal market QT
158 *doo yuu mono ka tte yuuto:*
how one Q QT say
159 K: *koo wa koo desu ka? ((hand writing the character koo))*
koo TOP koo COP Q
160 N: *ooyake (.) kooen no koo.*
public park LK koo
161 S: *zz zz ((slurping))*
162 N: *setsubi no setsu. (.) koosetsu ichiba.=*
facility LK setsu koosetsu ichiba
163 S: *=un*
yeah
164 N: *(tte yuu n da yo) ne?*
QT say NM COP FP FP
165 S: *un nanka waka[ru yoo na ki ga suru*
yeah SF understand like mind S do
166 M: *[(hajimete kiita)*
first.time heard

((Insert Expansion))

Subsequence 1

167 S: *yane tsuiteru no?*
roof attach NM
168 N: *yane tsuiteru=ano: ↑chaina taun no,*
roof attach SF China Town LK
169 *°() mitai [na kanji de°*
like sense COP
170 S: *[oo hai hai hai hai*
oh yes yes yes yes
171 N: *hitotsu no tatemono na n da kedo*
one LK building COP NM COP but
172 *naka ni hairu to omise ga ippai aru wake*
inside enter if store S many exist reason
173 *(iwa[yuru-]*
so.called
174 S: *[nantoka ma-*
something
175 *nantoka maaketto pureesu toka ni mo aru yo ne?*
something market place and.the.like at too exist FP FP
176 *[chaina-*
China

Subsequence 2

177 M: *[kooka shita mitai na tokoro desu ka?*
elevated.structure under like place COP Q
178 N: *>iya iy(h)a iya iya<*
no no no no
179 M: *uh ha ha ha*
180 N: *ano(h): futsuu no [ichiba*
SF ordinary LK market

181 K?: [(jaa)
so

182 M: *ichiba*=
market

Subsequence 3

183 K: =(ja) *futsuu ni nanka (1.2) waikere mitai na?*
so ordinary SF Waikele like

184 (1.)

185 N: [(sore) *yane ga nai desho?*=
that roof S don't.exist TAG

186 M: [(haha)

187 K: =°aa so *kka:*°
oh right

188 (2.)

Subsequence 4

189 N: °(nan daroo)° *na- na- nani ga aru kashira.*
what guess what S exist wonder

190 (.8)

191 N: [(chaina taun)
China Town

192 S: [(ano dakara) *ma- mauka- (.) >nan da kke na< makapu- (.)*
SF so what COP FP FP

193 *maaketto pureesu >datta kkee< aa yuu no ja nai?*
market place COP FP that.type TAG

194 N: *makapu?*
"makapu"

195 M: °*maka[pu*°
"makapu"

196 S: [*nanka ko*
something SF

197 N: *A< hai hai. [hai makapu hai hai.*
oh yes yes yes "makapu" yes yes

198 S?: [(*maaketto no naka ni*)
market LK inside

199 S: *naka ni:, yaoyasan toka ippai atte:*
inside vegetable.store and.the.like many exist

200 (.)

Subsequence 5

201 S: *a demo are: atashi mo kyoto no obaachan no uchi ni*
oh but that I too Kyoto LK grand.mother LK home to

202 *itta toki ni hh*
went time at

203 ?: ()

204 S: *itta. hh=*
went

205 N: =*honto kansai [no (n [da.] jaa=*
really Kansai LK NM COP so

206 S: [(*iya*)
no

207 M: [*hh*

208 S: =°suimasen desu° ((to Mikiko or Kaoru))
 sorry COP
 209 S: kansai na no ka na:. sore ka: (1.2) doo na n daro=
 Kansai COP NM Q FP that or how NM COP guess

Subsequence 6

210 =demo yuki no ooi toko da tte aru n ja nai no:?
 but snow LK much place COP QT exist NM COP NEG FP
 211 N: A [kuromon ichiba
 oh Kuromon market
 212 S: [aakeedo mitai ni natte n no yo
 arcade like be NM COP FP
 213 (.)
 214 K: AA AA >nani< AAKEEDO ppoi kanji?
 oh oh what arcade like sense
 215 N: aakeedo ja nai [no sono ne
 arcade COP NEG FP that FP
 216 S: [ano ne nagaaku wa nai kedo nantonaku koo
 SF FP long TOP NEG but somehow SF
 217 M: hiroi?
 spacious
 218 (.7)
 219 S: taii[ku kan nanka ni-
 gym something

Subsequence 7

220 N: [(chaina tau-)
 China Tow-
 221 N: chai[na taun ni aru omise na no
 China Town at exist store COP NM
 222 S: [()
 223 N: omise tte yuu ka ne,
 store QT say Q FP
 224 S: zz [zz ((slurping))
 225 N: [koko ni nikuya ga aruto omottara,
 here at meet.store S exist think
 226 kocchi ni (1.2) tamagoya toka sa
 here at egg.store and.the.like FP
 227 K: AA AA WAKATTA.
 oh oh got.it
 228 N: kocchi ni °yasaiya toka°=
 here at vegetable.store and.the.like

Subsequence 8

229 S: =faamaasu maaketto wa itta koto aru? soko no.
 farmers market TOP went thing have there LK
 230 (1.2)
 231 S: waado no.
 Ward LK
 232 (.7)
 233 ?: °nai°
 don't.have

234 S: °aa nai ka.° (.) °wakatta°
oh don't.have Q got.it

Subsequence 9

235 K: ko- cho- a natte ko- aa kocchi kocchi
oh become oh here here

236 K: a wakaru< wakaru=
oh understand understand

237 N: =wa↑ka↓ru↑u=
understand

238 K: =(kocchi) u- usugurai kanji no
here dim sens LK

239 N: usugurai kanji na n da kedo
dim sense COP NM COP but

240 omise no buusu ga nanka iroiro aru↑:=dakara
store LK booth S SF various exist so

241 (1.)

Subsequence 10

242 S: soko paamanento na no?
there permanent COP NM

243 (.4)

244 N: e?
huh

245 S: idoo shichau wake ja nai desho? soko no:=
move do reason COP NEG TAG there LK

246 N: =chigau chigau
wrong wrong

247 mo- mo: [soko (ni)
already there at

Subsequence 11

248 K: [chotto yuka ga >chotto< nureteru kanji no
a little floor S a little wet sense LK

249 S: zzz ((slurping))

250 N: uun betsuni nurete[ru
no not.really wet

251 K: [huh huh=

252 M: [huh huh

253 K: =[uetto na kanji na:
wet sense

254 N: [nurete-
wet

255 N: nurete nakutemo [(ii n da kedo)
wet NEG OK NM COP but

256 S: [(chuuoo) ichiba ja nai no?
central market COP NEG NM

257 K: huh huh huh huh imeeji yo sore=
image FP that

258 N: =un
yeah

Subsequence 12

- 259 N: *dakedo [aimai na no yo dakara shootengai*
but unclear NM FP so shopping.mall
- 260 S: *[zzz ((slurping))*
- 261 N: *(.7) o, (.4) nagaaku shita n ja nakute,*
O lengthen NM COP NEG
- 262 M: *yoko?*
horizontal
- 263 N: *iya ↑hyu tte yatte ko- koko ni mo omise ga aru*
no ONM QT do here too store S exist
- 264 *a< koko ni mo koko ni mo*
oh here too here too
- 265 *demo, kono tatemono jitai no iriguchi wa ikko na no yo.*
but this building itself LK entrance TOP one COP FP FP
- 266 *(1.2)*
- 267 N: *kok kara haittettara, a< keshoohin a<*
here from enter oh cosmetics oh
- 268 *(1.) tte (.) °()°*
QT
- 269 S: *de jaa nani omise ni sa gara tte*
then so what store in SF ONM QT
- 270 *hairimasu tte kanji ja nai n da.*
enter QT sense COP NEG NM COP
- 271 N: *>sou na no.<*
right COP FP
- 272 *dakara sono keshoohinyasan no tona[ri ni wa:,*
so that cosmetics.store LK next to TOP
- 273 S: *[zzz ((slurping))*
- 274 N: *fukuyasan dattari suru wake yo. mo- moo ne?*
clothing.store COP do reason FP SF FP
- 275 *soide:,*
and
- 276 K: *kono- kore wa nan desu ka ((referring to a side activity))*
this this TOP what COP Q
- 277 N: *nde: [kono*
and this
- 278 K?: *[huh huh*
- 279 M?: *[huh huh huh huh*
- 280 S: *[zz zz ((slurping))*
- 281 N: *[sono:*
that
- 282 N: *ri[ppu su[tikku tte yuu no wa,*
lipstick QT say one TOP
- 283 S: *[s [s ((slurping))*
- 284 N: *omise no naka ni hairanaku temo yokatta wake yo.*
store LK inside not.enter if good reason FP
- 285 *kekkyoku kono:*
after.all this
- 286 *(.6)*

287 S: *shoomen ni*
in.front.of

288 N: *soo soo soo [(miru)*
right right right see

289 S: *[michi o aruite tara koko*
aisle O walk if here

290 K: *kuru [(kuru mawatte) ta huh*
ONM ONM go.round

291 ?: *[()*

292 N: *so kuru- katte ni mawatte nai n da kedo ne*
right automatically go.round NEG NM COP but FP

293 K: *huh huh*

294 N: *soi[de*
and

295 K? *[()=*

296 S: *[zz z ((slurping))*

297 N: *=soo soo soo*
right right right

298 *kocchi ni okashiyasan ga attari suru n da kedo,*
here candy.store S exist do NM COP but

299 *sono ko- da- demo sonna moo zenzen oboete nai*
that but that already at.all remember NEG

300 *mo doo yatte tottaka wa,*
SF how did take TOP

301 *tada mo oboeteru no wa sugoku kowakatta no: dake oboeteru.*
just SF remember NM TOP very scared NM only remember

((Resumption of the base sequence – response sequence))

302 K: *demo ajishime nakatta n desu ka?*
but get.a.taste.of.success NEG NM COP Q

303 N: *shimenakatta ne ko- kowakute kowakute [shooganakatta*
didn't.get FP scared scared couldn't.help

304 S: *[<oneesan> ga yaru-*
older.girl S do

305 *yaroo tte itta no?*
let's.do QT said NM

306 N: *oneechan ga yaroo tte itta no.*
older.girl S let's.do QT said NM

307 *sono kinjo no.*
that neighborhood LK

308 *mii[chan*
Mii-chan

309 S: *[sono- sono ko*
that that girl

310 *moo [ima chanto*
already now properly

311 M: *[sono ko aji shimechattari [(shite ne)*
that girl get.a.taste.of.success do FP

312 K: *[hh hh*

313 S: *koosee shita kanaa.*
corrected Q

314 M: *huh huh*
315 M?: °*koosee dekinai*°
corrected can't
316 N: (*watashi*) *wa moo kowakute.*
I TOP SF scared
317 *de atashi ne? demo de? sore ga ne?*
and I FP but and that S FP
318 *dakara zuutto [motteta no*
so all.the.while keep NM
319 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
320 N: *d[e,*
and
321 S?: [(*tsukau*)
use
322 N: *tsukau mo nani mo nee,*
use TOP what TOP FP
323 (.7)
324 N: *kowai ja nai? nanka*
scary COP NEG SF
325 M: *a huh [huh*
oh
326 N: [*kaese tte iwaretara kaesanakya toka [sa*
return QT be.told must.return and.the.like SF
327 M: [hh
328 N: [(*kangaeteta*) *wake: iroiro.*
be.thinking reason in.many.ways
329 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
330 N: *de aso- soko no ichiba ni ikenakattari toka suru wake yo.*
ans there Lk market to can't.go and.the.like do reason FP
331 *de nee, nannen ka shite kara ne okaasan ni itta no.*
and FP several.years pass FP mother to tell NM
332 (.)
333 S: °*soshitara?*°
and.then
334 N: *soshitara MA(h)A(h)A tte mo(h)o nannen mo(h)*
and.then oh QT SF years SF
335 S: *nannen gurai?*
how.many.years about
336 N: *iyaa datte moo shogakkoo no*
well because SF elementary.school LK
337 N: *gonensei toka?=
5th.grade and.the.like
338 S: =zz[z ((slurping))
339 N: [*gonensei toka rokunensei toka.*
5th.grade and.the.like 6th.grade and.the.like
340 ((clink))
341 N?: °*sonna*°
such
342 M: *sore made kokoro no nakani ta[meteta n (desu) ne:*
that till mind in inside held.in NM COP FP*

343 N: [soo na no.
right COP FP
344 N: kowakatta no.
scared NM
345 K: jikoo jikoo (.) jikoo [(chu)
limitation limitation limitation
346 N: [de: (.) hikkoshita ato ka nanka ni
so moved after QT something
347 N: itta n da yo atashi. gonensee=
told NM COP FP I 5th.grade
348 S: =moo sono: <koosetsu> no?
SF that municipal LK
349 N: soo soo ichiba kara [()
right right market from
350 M: [hanarechatta
leave.away
351 N: demo moo ne de moo
but SF FP so SF
352 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
353 K: [de moo owarida tte omott(h)a?
so already end QT thought
354 M: hh hh
355 N: demo: so↑no toki ni wa mo sono ne?
but that time at TOP already that FP
356 omise wa mo nakatta no.
store TOP already not.exist NM
357 N: nakatta n [da kedo↓:,
not.exist NM COP but
358 S: [zz [zz ((slurping))
359 K: [Naomisan toru kara.
take because
360 N: soo [soo soo
right right right
361 K: [tsubure chatta n da yo
out.of.business NM COP FP
362 M?: [mhh hh hh
363 S?: .hh .hh .hh
364 K: shoobai agattari mitai na
ruin.business like
365 M?: huh huh
366 N: ne↓e::?
FP
367 M: >sorya< yonsai no ko ni
that 4.year.old LK kid by
368 nusumarechat tara shoobai [(agattari)
be.stole if ruin.business
369 K/S?: [(u:n agattari)
yeah ruin
370 M: .hh .hh

371 N?: (°soo°)
 right
 372 S: *sugooi*
 amazing
 373 N: *keeken ga ne? (.) aru yo?*
 experience S FP have FP
 374 S: °*naruhodo:*°
 I.see

English translation

1 S: And then, I
 2 used to not be able to do that either.
 3 Once I did, I did not feel guilty anymore.
 4 It's almost like shoplifting.
 5 Of course, I've never [done it though.
 6 M: [you never
 7 S: Somehow, I felt proud of myself
 8 and thought that even I could do it.
 9 S? Not [.hh
 10 N: [I shoplifted when I was little
 11 (1.)
 12 N: mh mh mh Now (because)
 13 M?: hh hh hh=
 14 K: =What (did you do/take?)
 15 N: When I was little I did. (or 'When you were little, did you
 do that?')¹⁰⁹
 16 S: =Were you dying to have something? Is that why you did it?
 17 N: [No
 18 N: [When I was in kindergarten
 19 S: [Did you
 20 (.)
 21 S: want to cause trouble for your mother? Is that why you did?
 22 N: [I remember it very well
 23 N: That's right too.
 24 I told her about it. Now, it is something we can laugh about.
 25 S: fff fff ((blowing))
 26 N: [It was cosmetics or something.
 27 S: [zz zz zz ((slurping))
 28 N: About kindergarten age,
 29 I might have been interested in those things.
 30 I don't remember though.
 31 There was a girl from my neighborhood.
 32 That neighbor girl
 33 [was in the second grade in elementary school.
 34 S: [ff ff zz [zz
 35 N: [She was mean and bad.
 36 S: zz zz ((slurping))
 37 N: And, I was with that girl.

¹⁰⁹ See Footnote 57.

38 We used to live in the country a long time ago.
39 >um< So there was a municipal market or something like that.
40 ?: Market?
41 N: So-called... (.)
42 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
43 N: There were little stores
44 in one building.
45 (.) There were lots of them
46 in there. (.) There was a place like a cosmetics store.
47 But that was not such a
48 (.) fancy cosmetics store, you know.
49 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
50 N: (>So<) It was combined with a general store=
51 S: =yeah yeah yeah
52 N: So,
53 S: >I know such stores. They are common.
54 N: ri- (1.) ri- It was rippu¹¹⁰. (.4)
55 (1.)
56 N: [It was not a "kuchibeni"¹¹¹
57 S: [ff ((blowing))
58 M: [Is it the one that just adds a tint?
59 S: [zz ((slurping))

((Insert expansion))

Subsequence 1

60 N: Yeah. How can I say this? Anyway, it
61 M: [tint
62 ?: [tint
63 N: goes round and round.=
64 N: =And it is stuck into a case, and goes round and round
65 S: Electrically?
66 N: No
67 (.)
68 N: Well
69 S: [When you pick one?
70 N: When you pick one, you turn the case, don't you? Uhm
71 S: zz zz ((slurping))
72 N: There is one at Palm Garden¹¹² too, right?
73 N: You turn it round and round.
74 (1.2)
75 N: There is also one at the vending machine, right?
76 Round and round
77 M: [OH yes yes yes yes yeah yeah yeah yeah
78 N: So it was like that. You turn it round by hand.=

¹¹⁰ See Footnote 58.

¹¹¹ See Footnote 59.

¹¹² See Footnote 90.

Subsequence 2

79 M: =uh: So-
80 It may be little different but
81 N: [>No one understands what I'm talking about
at all<
82 M: [Is it like *shachihata*¹¹³
83 (.)
84 N: Oh that's it [that's it.
85 M: [STAMP
86 N: [Right, right.
87 M&?: [(([laughing])
88 S?: [Stamp (.) ^Oh THAT'S GOOD.^
89 M&?: [((laughing))
90 N: [That's very good
91 N: So, now you all get the image I'm talking about.
92 ?: [()
93 M: *shachiha*[ta
94 K?: [*shachiha*[ta

Subsequence 3

95 S: [The one at Palm Garden wasn't really a good
example
96 K? Where is it in Palm Garden?
97 N: hm hm sorry
98 S: It's where the cakes are sold, isn't it? = But that one turns
by itself=
99 N: =At the cakes. [yeah
100 S: [that one turns by itself=
101 M: =A huh huh huh GET IT:[huh huh huh
102 N: [(Do you get now what I'm talking
about)
103 ?: I get it now.
104 N: (It's right there) uh=
105 S: =But that goes
106 N: (I don't know []
107 S: [round (automatically).
108 When someone opens it, [it stops,
109 N: [Oh that's right.
110 M: ^s-^ (.) stamp stamp
111 K: stamp stamp

Subsequence 4

112 N: Do you get it? And there is one at the vending machine.
113 N: _yu< gui:n [yu< gui:n¹¹⁴
114 S: [Oh but (you can't turn it by hand)
115 M: [that's
116 M: (.) already gone.

¹¹³ See Footnote 96.

¹¹⁴ See Footnote 98.

117 K: huh huh huh uh uh uh
 118 (.)
 119 N: Oh yeah?
 120 S?: It's still
 121 N: [We still have it now
 122 M: Oh oh one on campus. [We have it, yeah.
 123 N: [(on campus)
 124 M: >yes yes [yes yes<
 125 S: [Every one tries hard to buy a sandwich.
 126 ?: [()
 127 S: [(buy)

Subsequence 5

128 N: I don't know how to say=
 129 S: [(Once you open)=
 130 N: =It turns round and round hu .hh .hh
 131 N: by hand like *shachihata*.
 132 ? [()
 133 N: You turn it by hand, right?.
 134 N: It's common to pick up what you want, right?
 135 N: Anyway, it was something like that.
 136 *kuchi- rippu sutikku* was put in it.
 137 S: zz zz ((slurping))

((Resumption of the base sequence – telling sequence))

138 N: So it was like this,
 139 I took one with me
 140 K: [uh hh<
 141 N: with my friend- I mean the older girl.
 142 S: Did you two go alone?
 143 N: °We both went. I was very scared.°
 144 S: Weren't you four years old?
 145 N: °(yes I was)°
 146 S: Isn't that as young as one who has just entered kindergarten?
 147 (.)
 148 K: Didn't you get yelled at like "hey hey!"
 149 N: No (I didn't)
 150 S: [Didn't you get caught?=
 151 N: I didn't get caught.
 152 N: [So,
 153 S: [Did you only-
 154 N: [(really)
 155 S: Did you just go in and out of the store?
 156 (.7)
 157 N: Well, you know what? uhm: (1.)
 158 What *koosetsu ichiba* (("municipal market")) looks like
 159 K: Is *koo* like this? ((hand writing the character *koo*¹¹⁵))
 160 N: *Koo* is public (.) *koo* as in *kooen* (("park")).
 161 S: zz zz ((slurping))

¹¹⁵ See Footnote 67.

162 N: Setsu as in *setsubi* ("facility"). (.) *koosetsu ichiba*.=
163 S: =yeah
164 N: (That's what it was called)
165 S: Yeah I sort of feel like I know what you mean
166 M: [(It's first time I've heard of it)

((Insert Expansion))

Subsequence 1

167 S: Does it have a roof?
168 N: It has a roof. =uhm: In China Town,
169 °there is one that looks like () °
170 S: [Oh yes yes yes yes
171 N: It's one building. But
172 once you are inside, there are a lot of stores
173 (so-called)
174 S: [What-you-call-it ma-
175 Don't we also have them in what-you-call-it market place?
176 [China-

Subsequence 2

177 M: [Isn't it like the one underneath the tracks?
178 N: >no no no no<
179 M: uh ha ha ha
180 N: uhm(h): It's an ordinary market.
181 K?: [(so)
182 M: Market-=

Subsequence 3

183 K: =(So) Is it something just (1.2) like Waikele?
184 (1.)
185 N: [(That) doesn't have a roof, right?=
186 M: [(haha)
187 K: =°Oh that's right°
188 (2.)

Subsequence 4

189 N: °(Let me see)° wha- wha- I wonder what is there.
190 (.8)
191 N: [(China Town)
192 S: [(Well so) ma- mauka- (.) >What is it< makapu- (.)
193 place >wasn't it?< Isn't it something like that?
194 N: makapu?
195 M: °maka[pu°
196 S: [It's something like
197 N: OH< yes yes. [yes makapu yes yes.
198 S?: [(inside the market)
199 S: Inside the market, there are many stores, like a vegetable
store. And,
200 (.)

Subsequence 5

201 S: Oh, but I remember that when I went to my grandma's house
202 in Kyoto, hh
203 ?: ()

204 S: I went to that kind of market there hh=
 205 N: =Really? It's Kansai's market () then=
 206 S: [(well)
 207 M: [hh
 208 S: =°I'm sorry° ((to Mikiko or Kaoru))
 209 S: I wonder if it's in Kansai's region. Or (1.2) I don't know.

Subsequence 6

210 But aren't there ones in snowy places?
 211 N: Oh [Kuromon Ichiba¹¹⁶
 212 S: [It's something like an arcade
 213 (.)
 214 K: OH OH >what< Is that like an ARCADE?
 215 N: It's not an arcade uhm
 216 S: [uhm It's not long but
 217 M: spacious?
 218 (.7)
 219 S: like a gymnasium.

Subsequence 7

220 N: [(China Tow-)
 221 N: It is a store in China Town
 222 S: [()
 223 N: I mean, it's not a store.
 224 S: zz [zz ((slurping))
 225 N: [You find a meat store here, then
 226 here (1.2) you find an egg store.
 227 K: OH OH I'VE GOT IT.
 228 N: Here, there is °a vegetable store or something.° =

Subsequence 8

229 S: =Have you ever been to the farmers' market over there?
 230 (1.2)
 231 S: In Ward.
 232 (.7)
 233 K: °No°
 234 S: °Oh you haven't.° (.) °OK°

Subsequence 9

235 K: *ko- cho- oh, natte-* here and here ((*ko-*, *cho-*, and *natte-* are too fragmented to make English translation))
 236 K: oh I get it. I get it.=
 237 N: =do you know what I'm talking about?=
 238 K: =(Here) Is it a little dark?
 239 N: It's a bit dark. But
 240 there are a variety of store booths=so
 241 (1.)

Subsequence 10

242 S: Is it permanent?
 243 (.4)
 244 N: huh?

¹¹⁶ See Footnote 73.

245 S: That market is not traveling, is it? =
246 N: =It's not, it's not.
247 Just sitting [there.]

Subsequence 11

248 K: [Is the floor a bit wet?
249 S: zzz ((slurping))
250 N: No, not really wet
251 K: [huh huh=
252 M: [huh huh
253 K: =[It might be a little wet?
254 N: [wet-
255 N: It doesn't have to be wet. But
256 S: [Isn't it a (central) market?
257 K: huh huh huh huh That's my image=
258 N: =Yeah

Subsequence 12

259 N: But [it's hard to explain. So take a shopping street
260 S: [zzz ((slurping))
261 N: (.7) o ((object marker)) (.4) It's not long like that.
262 M: wide?
263 N: No, it's just kind of all plopped down and there is a store
here
264 oh, another one here and here's one, too.
265 But, as for the entrance of this building itself there is
just one.
266 (1.2)
267 N: When you enter here, you would find "oh< here's a cosmetics
store<"
268 (1.) You'd say something like this (.) °()°
269 S: So, it is not something like
270 you just enter the store through the doors.
271 N: >That's right<
272 So next to that cosmetics store,
273 S: [zzz ((slurping))
274 N: there is a clothing store or something.
275 So,
276 K: this- What is this? ((referring to a side activity))
277 N: And then [uhm
278 K?: [huh huh
279 M?: [huh huh huh huh
280 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
281 N: [uhm:
282 N: In fact, I didn't have to go into the inside of the store
283 S: [s [s ((slurping))
284 N: to take one of the lipsticks,
285 That's how it is. uhm
286 (.6)
287 S: In front of the store
288 N: Right right right [(look)
289 S: [you were just walking on the aisle, here.

290 K: Lipsticks were going round and round huh
 291 ?: [()
 292 N: Right, round- They didn't go round automatically, though.
 293 K: huh huh
 294 N: And
 295 K?: [()=
 296 S: [zz z ((slurping))
 297 N: =Right, right, right
 298 Here, there is a candy store or something. But
 299 I don't remember
 300 how I took one at all.
 301 What I remember is just that I was so scared. I remember only
 that.

((Resumption of the base sequence – response sequence))

302 K: But didn't you get a taste of success?
 303 N: I didn't. I couldn't help feeling scared and scared
 304 S: [<The older girl,> does
 305 did she say "let's do it"?
 306 N: She said "let's do it".
 307 My neighbor was
 308 Mii-chan
 309 S: [that- that girl
 310 I wonder if she is now [properly
 311 M: [I wonder she may have possibly got a
 taste of it.
 312 K: [hh hh
 313 S: corrected.
 314 M: huh huh
 315 M?: °she cannot be corrected°
 316 N: I was so scared.
 317 So, I, but, then, that
 318 so, I kept the lipstick all the while
 319 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
 320 N: and,
 321 S?: [(Did you use it)
 322 N: Did I? No, not at all,
 323 (.7)
 324 N: I was afraid of things like, you know,
 325 M: oh huh [huh
 326 N: [if I had been told to return it, I had had to return
 it.
 327 M: [hh
 328 N: [I was thinking about all that kind of stuff
 329 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
 330 N: So, I couldn't even go to the market because I was afraid.
 331 Then, several years later, I told my mom about it.
 332 (.)
 332 S: °and then?°
 334 N: And then she was just surprised and said "Oh dear. After so
 many years..."

335 S: About how long?
336 N: Well, I was already in elementary school.
337 N: I guess I was 5th grade. =
338 S: =zz[z ((slurping))
339 N: [It was maybe 5th grade or 6th grade.
340 ((clink))
341 N?: °such°
342 M: I'm impressed. You kept that to yourself till then.
343 N: [Yeah, I had.
344 N: I was afraid.
345 K: The statute of limitation, limitation, limitation [(chu)
346 N: [Then, (.) after we moved or sometime
later
347 N: I told my mom about it when I was 5th grade.=
348 S: =away from that municipal?
349 N: Yeah, yeah. We were away from the market [()
350 M: [You left away
351 N: But well, and uh
352 S: [zz zz ((slurping))
353 K: [So, you thought it was time to have closure?
354 M: hh hh
355 N: But at that time, the market was
356 gone already.
357 N: It was gone, but
358 S: [zz [zz ((slurping))
359 K: [Because you stole a lipstick
360 N: Yeha [yeah yeah
361 K: [the store went out of business, I bet.
362 M?: [mhh hh hh
363 S?: .hh .hh .hh
364 K: I guess their business was ruined.
365 M?: huh huh
366 N: Yeah, right.
367 M: Yeah, right. A 4-year-old could
368 steal from them. Their business should have been ruined.
369 K/S?: [(yeah, ruined)
370 M: .hh .hh
371 N?: (°right°)
372 S: That's unreal.
373 N: At least I have that experience.
374 S: °I see°

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLE IMAGES

(photos by Reiko Nishikawa)

Koosetsu ichiba ("Municipal market")



Kookashita ("Under railroad mall")

Aakeedo ("arcade mall")



Shachihata display case



Vending machine



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