Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns in Japanese Conversations and Essays

By

Miyabi Ozawa

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

The requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Japanese)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2024

Date of final oral examination: 5/13/2024

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Junko Mori, Professor, Japanese

Naomi Geyer, Associate Professor, Japanese

Jacee Cho, Vilas Associate Professor, English Language and Linguistics

Michiko Kaneyasu, Associate Professor, Japanese Language and Linguistics, University of

California Los Angeles

© Copyright by Miyabi Ozawa 2024

All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgments

This is one of the most difficult parts of writing a dissertation, and I cannot thank enough the many individuals who have supported me in various forms throughout the process. I feel extremely fortunate to have worked with everyone who has been part of this endeavor.

First and foremost, I would like to express my utmost gratitude to my advisor, Professor Junko Mori, for being the best advisor and educator I could ask for in exploring this dissertation topic. I would not have been able to even start this interdisciplinary study without her. I cannot thank her enough for her invaluable guidance, advice, patience, and encouragement at all times. I am also deeply grateful for her warm welcome to the Wisconsin family and for helping me to make lifelong connections with wonderful people who are and were at UW-Madison, which has broadened my perspective on researching, learning, and teaching languages.

I am deeply grateful to my dissertation committee members. Professor Naomi Geyer gave me insightful feedback on multiple projects related to this dissertation in Japanese linguistics and pedagogy courses as well as my own teaching of her Japanese courses. All these experiences shaped my academic interests and deepened my understanding of both discourse-functional linguistics and Japanese language pedagogy. Professor Michiko Kaneyasu's invaluable guidance and feedback on my data analysis have been crucial to this dissertation project. I deeply appreciate the time she devoted to discussing my analysis whenever I was stuck. Professor Jacee Cho's teaching in applied linguistics and methodologies laid the foundation for my dissertation research. Her course was definitely one of my favorite courses and best memories at UW-Madison.

I would also like to thank my other teachers, including Professors Douglas Maynard,
Barbara Fox, Kira Hall, Yoko Fujii, and Tomoko Endo. Professors Maynard and Fox taught me

the fundamentals of conversation analysis and the study of language use, and I enjoyed all of my discussions with them, which greatly helped me pursue my own research within this framework. Professor Kira Hall taught me the beauty of linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis, and teaching linguistics. Professor Yoko Fujii gave me endless encouragement whenever and wherever I was ever since I learned sociolinguistics from her. Professor Tomoko Endo gave me enormous support during my time in Japan for the last two years of my doctoral program. Without my discussions with her and her students on my conversational data and their emotional support, I could not have come to where I am now.

I also extend my sincere gratitude to all the wonderful people I was able to connect with at UW-Madison. I am particularly thankful to Takako Nakakubo-sensei for supporting me as a teaching supervisor and for teaching me what it is to be a Japanese language instructor and educator in the United States. My appreciation also goes to Professors Charo D'Echeverry and Kenia Hara for their valuable feedback on my English translations on the essay data. I also thank Ju Lim and Paul Bruthiaux for their help with writing and proofreading.

I am immensely grateful to the many friends, colleagues, and students who have been a part of my graduate student life inside and outside UW-Madison and the United States. While there are too many to name here, their presence, both physically and virtually, has made this journey enjoyable and memorable.

Lastly, I am deeply grateful to my family in Japan, who always support my decisions and pray for my health. I would also like to thank my partner, Samuel Eshima, for being my best friend and dissertation buddy. My attempt to explain this dissertation to an aerospace engineer helped me consider the meanings of my dissertation and of linguistics in a broad sense.

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the use of first-person singular pronouns in Japanese conversations and essays from usage-based approaches. The Japanese language allows for many forms of non-overt arguments, including non-overt first-person singular pronouns. While previous studies have tended to focus on the unmarkedness of non-overt first-person singular pronouns, few studies have investigated the actual use of first-person singular pronouns. Furthermore, even fewer studies have focused on usage across different modes (e.g., spoken and written discourse) and genres (e.g., conversations, public speeches, essays, expository writing, etc.) of discourse. Exploring this understudied use of first-person singular pronouns across different modes and genres of discourse thus contributes to usage-based approaches.

Grounded in the interdisciplinary orientation of usage-based approaches, this study adopts multiple methodologies to explore the use of first-person singular pronouns in conversations and essays. Conversations consist of spontaneous, interactive, and unplanned discourse collaboratively constructed by multiple parties, while essays are planned discourses written by single writers. Based on these differences in the nature of each mode, the study specifically draws on Interactional Linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001, 2017) and Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al., 1974) to analyze conversational data by focusing on the use of these pronouns in interactional contingencies among multiple parties. Simultaneously, it employs a discourse analytical-perspective, including Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann & Thompson, 1987), to analyze essay data by examining the usage of these pronouns with reference to the rhetorical organizations of the texts.

This study analyzes how the unit of "turns" in conversations and "segments" in essays that include first-person singular pronouns work when speakers and writers make assertions

(Vatanen et al., 2021) and initiate their narrative of personal experience. The findings reveal that in conversations, turns with first-person singular pronouns (1) account for not aligning with the structure of the conversation by demonstrating epistemic authority, (2) display a personal and strong internal description without any explicit formulation for soliciting agreement, and (3) change the participation framework in specific sequential contexts. In essay data, the segment with first-person singular pronouns serves to articulate the main point of the essay or to facilitate the readers' understanding of the content. In addition, these data show that the turns and the segments including a first-person singular pronoun exhibit different morphosyntactic features that are associated with how these units with the first-person singular pronoun work within each dataset.

Table of Contents

			Page		
Acknow	ledge	ments	i		
	Abstract				
	Table of Contents				
	List of Tables and Figures Conventions				
Conven	uons		X		
Chapte	r 1	Introduction	1		
1.1.	Poi	nt of Departure	1		
1.2.	Foc	us of the Study	3		
1.3.	Org	anization of the Study	5		
Chapte	r 2	Literature Review	7		
2.1.	Intr	oduction	7		
2.2.	Usa	ge-Based Approaches	8		
2.2	.1.	How usage-based approaches treat grammar as opposed to traditional syntax	8		
2.2.2.		Sentences and utterances in Japanese from a usage-based approach viewpoint	9		
2.2	.3.	Usage-based approaches as interdisciplinary framework	12		
2.3.	Pre	vious Studies of the Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns in Japanese	15		
2.4.	Hov 22	w Usage-Based Approaches Account for Different Modes and Genres of Discount State of Control of Con	ırse		
2.4	.1.	Linguistic features and modes of discourse	22		
2.4.2.		Language use across modes and genres of discourse	26		
2.4.3. writing		Towards a comparative analysis of spontaneous spoken interaction and essay 28			
Chapte	r 3	Data and Methodology	33		
3.1.	Intr	oduction	33		
3.2.	Cor	eversational Data	33		
3.3.	Ess	ay Data	38		
3.4.	Met	hodology for Conversational Data	46		
3.4	.1.	Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics	46		
3.4.2.		Conventions	49		
3.5.	Met	chodology for the Essay Data	50		
3.5	.1.	Discourse Analysis	50		

3.5	5.2.	Conventions	59
3.6.	Sun	nmary	59
Chapte	er 4	Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns in Conversational Japanese	61
4.1.	Intr	oduction	61
4.2.	Firs	t-Person Singular Pronouns in Sequences Involving Assertions	63
4.2	2.1.	Preference organization and epistemics in sequence involving assertions	64
	2.2. rsons,	First-person singular pronouns in sequences involving an assertion about third events, activities, or objects	l 69
2	4.2.2.1	. Display (or lack) of epistemic access to the target(s) in an account	71
	4.2.2.2 asserti	Displaying personal and strong internal descriptive utterances as new on or agreement	80
4	4.2.2.3	Summary and discussion	86
4.2	2.3.	First-person singular pronouns in sequences involving assertions about self	87
4.2	2.4.	Discussion and Conclusion	97
4.3. Expe	Firs rience	t-Person Singular Pronouns Used When Initiating the Telling of Personal	98
	3.1. swer	Setting a range of informing in an account for not providing a type-conformin 100	g
4.3	3.2.	Changing participation frameworks	106
4	4.3.2.1	. Initiating a second story	107
4	4.3.2.2	. Initiating trouble talk	111
4.3	3.3.	Summary and discussion	117
4.4.	Con	clusion	119
Chapte	er 5	Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns in Japanese Essays	122
5.1.	Intr	oduction	122
5.2. Conv		ctural Differences Between Sentences in Essay Data and Utterances in onal Data that Include First-Person Singular Pronouns	126
5.3.	Firs	t-Person Singular Pronouns Used to Express Assertions	132
5.3	3.1.	Assertions negating the view being written about	134
5.3	3.2.	Other type of assertion	144
5.3.3.		Summary and discussion	151
5.4. Them	Firs selves	t-Person Singular Pronouns Used When Demonstrating the Writer's View toward	ard 153
5.5. Expe	Firs rience	t-Person Singular Pronouns Used When Initiating a Narrative of Personal	168
5.5	5.1.	Shift in focus on more specific information for the main argument	170

5.5.	2. At the beginning of the essay	177		
5.5.	3. Summary and discussion	183		
5.6.	Conclusion	185		
Chapter	6 Discussion and Conclusion	188		
6.1.	Introduction	188		
6.2. Conve	Similarities and Differences in the Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns be reations and Essays	etween 188		
6.2. thir	1. Use of first-person singular pronoun in speakers' and writers' assertioned persons, events, activities, or objects	s about 189		
6.2. wri	2. Use of first-person singular pronoun in speakers' assertions about them ers' demonstrations of their view toward themselves	selves and 190		
6.2. stor	3. Use of first-person singular pronoun in speakers' and writers' initiation ytelling or narrative about personal experience	of 192		
6.3. Genre	Conclusion: When and How First-Person Singular Pronoun Occurs in Two Is and Modes of Discourse	Different 194		
6.4.	Contributions of the Study	196		
6.5.	Limitations of the Study and Future Research	197		
Reference		199		
Appendi Appendi	x A: Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study (English)	214		
Appendix A: 1 ermission to Take 1 art in a Human Research Study (English) Appendix B: Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study (Japanese)				
	x C: IRB Approvals for the Study	216 218		

List of Tables and Figures

Table 3.1 Overview of selected conversations between two to four close friends (NINJAL)	35
Table 3.2 Overview of selected conversations between two friends (video-recorded by the	
author)	36
Table 3.3 Overview of postpositional particles accompanying first-person singular pronouns	
spoken data	37
Table 3.4 Overview of targeted essays	41
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Table 3.5 Overview of postpositional particle accompanying first-person singular pronouns	
written data	44
Table 3.6 Preference format of selected action types	48
Table 3.7 Nucleus and satellite relations	54
Table 3.8 Multinuclear relations	58
Table 4.1 Distribution of forms of first-person singular pronouns in selected sequential conte	exts
	62
Table 4.2 Distribution of particles accompanying first-person singular pronouns in selected	
sequential contexts	62
Table 4.3 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular	02
pronouns in sequences involving an assertion about third persons, events, activities, or object	ts 70
	15 70
Table 4.4 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular	00
pronouns initiating personal experience	99
Table 5.1 Distribution of forms of first-person singular pronouns in selected actions	123
Table 5.2 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying first-person singular pronou	
in selected sentences	126
Table 5.3 Sentential position of first-person singular pronouns in conversational data	129
Table 5.4 Sentential position of first-person singular pronouns in essay data	129
Table 5.5 Examples of sentential position of first-person singular pronouns in essay data	130
Table 5.6 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular	
pronouns in sentences involving an assertion about third persons, events, activities, or objects	s 133
Table 5.7 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular	5100
pronouns used when demonstrating writers' view toward themselves	154
1	154
Table 5.8 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular	1.00
pronouns in utterances initiating a narrative about the writer's personal experience	169
Figure 3.1 Description of Best Essays on the publisher's website	38
Figure 3.2 Description of Best Essays 2020 on the publisher's website	38
Figure 3.3 RST diagram for Text 1	56
Figure 3.4 RST diagram for Text 2	57
Figure 4.1 Accounting sequence structure 1	70
Figure 4.2 Accounting sequence structure 2	71
Figure 5.1 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 1	134
Figure 5.2 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 2	138
Figure 5.3 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 3	140

Figure 5.4 Visual representation of the use of first-person singular pronouns in relation to	the
organization of the essay	142
Figure 5.5 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 4	145
Figure 5.6 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 5	148
Figure 5.7 Visual representation of use of first-person singular pronouns in relation to rhe	torical
structure and organization	151
Figure 5.8 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 6	154
Figure 5.9 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 7	156
Figure 5.10 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 8	160
Figure 5.11 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 9	162
Figure 5.12 Visual representation of use of first-person singular pronouns in relation to	
rhetorical structure	166
Figure 5.13 Visual representation of use of first-person singular pronoun in relation to rhe	torical
organization	167
Figure 5.14 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 10	169
Figure 5.15 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 11	172
Figure 5.16 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 12	176
Figure 5.17 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 13	178

Conventions

List of abbreviations used in interlinear glosses

ACC accusative
AUX auxiliary verb
ASP aspect marker
CAUS causative
CONJ conjunction
COP copula

DEM demonstrative FP final particle GEN genitive

HNR honorific marker HThonorific title interjection IJ LOC locative negation NEG nominalizer NOM particle P PST past PSS passive

Q question particle QT quotative particle SUB subject particle TOP topic particle

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Point of Departure

In Japanese, there are many forms of the first-person singular pronouns, including *watashi*, *boku*, *ore*, and so on. These forms are associated with levels of formality and gender identities (e.g., Kataoka, 2002; Shibatani, 1990; Suzuki, 1973) along with other pragmatic factors (e.g., Abe, 2010; Yee & Wong, 2021). However, first-person singular pronouns are not usually overtly expressed in everyday Japanese because the language allows for non-overt arguments. Consider the following examples:

 $(1.1)^1$

Context: Nao and Kana are discussing girls who often go to "night pools."

```
Nao: ya: ee iku jyoshi tte sootoo jishin aru tte omowanai?
well IJ go girls TOP very confidencehave QT think.NEG
'Don't (you) think that those girls who go [to night pools] have so much
confidence?'

Rana: e, __omou __omou.
IJ think think
'(I) think so too.'
```

(1.2)

以前はどんなふうだったっけ、と_考えてみるが、___思い出せない。

izen wa donnna huu datta kke, to __ *kangaete miru ga,* __ *omoidasenai.* before TOP how COP Q QT try to think but can't remember

'(I) try to think about what it used to be like but (I) can't remember.'

¹ Underscoring indicate segments where an overt first-person singular pronoun could be inserted. In English translations, parentheses () are added to indicate slots where overt pronouns are inserted in the translation, and brackets [] indicate additional information that is not overtly written but can be helpful in understanding the meaning.

The first example is taken from a naturally-occurring conversation between two speakers, and the second is taken from an essay. In the first example, two speakers, Nao and Kana, are discussing girls who go to "night pools." In line 2, the subject of the verb *omou* ('think'), which refers to the speaker herself (Kana), is not overt. In the second example, the subjects of *kangaete miru* ('try to think') and *omoidasenai* ('can't remember'), which refer to the writer herself, are not overt either. As these examples show, even when the reference to the speaker or writer is not explicitly stated, it is still possible for listeners or readers to understand the intended meaning.

These features are not novel topics in related literature. From the perspective of cognitive semantics, the speaker as the center of the epistemology is often not overtly stated in Japanese, for example when expressing internal states. Iwasaki (1992) provides the following examples and explanation of this feature:

- (1.3) watashi wa kanashikatta. I TOP sad.PST 'I was sad'
- (1.4) *merii wa kanashikatta.

 Mary TOP sad.PST

 'Mary was sad.'
- (1.5) kanashikatta sad.PST '(I) was sad'

(Iwasaki, 1992, p. 3, adapted by the author)

An adjective form such as *kanashii* ('sad') is normally permissible only with a first-person subject, as shown in Examples (1.3) and (1.4). If the subject is not in the first person, the sentence must be marked with an evidential marker (Iwasaki, 1992). Thus, a sentence without an evidential marker shows that the speaker is talking about himself or herself, even though the subject is not explicitly mentioned, as in Example (1.5). Because the speaker, the center of the

epistemology, is often not overtly stated in Japanese, Examples (1.2 and 1.3) from conversations and essays do not need the first-person subject to be overt. Furthermore, a number of scholars have discussed the unmarkedness of the "absence," "omission," "non mention," or "ellipsis" of first-person singular pronouns in Japanese (e.g., Hinds, 1971, 1975; Nariyama, 2003; Okamoto,1985; Okazaki, 1994). Some scholars have also explored the relationship between these features and potential socio-cultural backgrounds (e.g., Fujii, 2016, 2020; Hanks et al., 2019; Hasegawa & Hirose, 2010; Hinds, 1986; Ide, 2006, 2020).

Despite the fact that numerous studies, including those mentioned above, are associated with the unmarkedness of non-overt first-person singular pronouns in Japanese, few studies have investigated the actual use of first-person singular pronouns based on systematic analysis. Furthermore, even fewer studies have investigated the use of first-person singular pronouns in different discourse modes (i.e., spoken and written) and genres (i.e., conversation, speech, essay, expository writing). Investigating the understudied use of first-person singular pronouns in different modes and genres of discourse is essential if we are to revisit our views of language and contribute to usage-based approaches, which allow analysts to discover regularities in language use in everyday life and propose reconceptualization of grammar. In particular, investigating a single linguistic form across different genres and modes of discourse can lead to a profound understanding of its use to the extent that "several different situational characteristics can be associated with a single linguistic characteristics" (Biber & Conrad, 2009: 69).

1.2. Focus of the Study

Analyzing language use across different modes and genres of discourse requires researchers to select comparable datasets. I chose naturally-occurring conversations and

collections of essays because they are different yet comparable. Conversations and essays differ in nature as the former is a spontaneous, unplanned, and interactive spoken discourse, and the latter is planned written discourse. However, both include units ("turns" in conversations and "segments" in essays) in which the speaker or writer expresses their subjective position toward persons (including themselves), events, activities, or objects as well as their personal experiences. I therefore focus on these units that include first-person singular pronouns in these different types of discourse, aiming to reveal how these units with first-person singular pronouns work within different types of discourse. To this end, this study asks the following research questions:

- 1) In conversations, when speakers use first-person singular pronouns in turns to express subjective position toward persons (including themselves), events, activities, or objects and initiate telling of the personal experience, how are these turns designed and in what sequential contexts do they appear?
- 2) In essays, when writers use first-person singular pronouns in segments to express subjective position toward persons (including themselves), events, activities, or objects and initiate telling of the personal experience, how are these segments designed and how do they appear within the rhetorical structure and organization; and
- 3) Are there any similarities or differences in the use of first-person singular pronouns in conversations and essays in Japanese?

These questions have not yet been resolved and require analysis within usage-based approaches, which have an interdisciplinary orientation. That is, very few studies of the use of first-person singular pronouns have been conducted. In addition, scarcely any studies have focused on the comparisons of spontaneous spoken interaction and essay writing. Investigating

language use in different yet comparable data is critical to revisiting views of various conceptualizations of grammar.

1.3. Organization of the Study

This chapter introduced a brief background and the focus of this dissertation. It also explains how the study will contribute to usage-based approaches by filling in gaps in previous studies.

The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 introduces the scope of usage-based approaches. It also provides an overview of the few previous studies of the use of first-person singular pronouns and discusses gaps in relevant scholarship. It illustrates previous studies of different genres and modes of discourse and explains how this dissertation approaches the use of first-person singular pronouns across different modes and genres of discourse. Chapter 3 provides an explanation of the datasets and the methodologies used for analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, namely Interactional Linguistics, Conversation Analysis, and Discourse Analysis. Chapter 3 also describes my rationale for selecting specific genres and modes of discourse for this study as well as the methodologies used to analyze each dataset. Chapter 4 investigates the use of firstperson singular pronouns in conversational data. The analysis reveals that turns with first-person singular pronouns are occasioned in specific sequential contexts and execute three types of actions: (1) accounting for not aligning with the structure of the conversation by demonstrating epistemic authority; (2) displaying a personal and strong internal description; and (3) changing the participation framework in specific sequential contexts. The chapter also shows the relationship between these actions and the morphosyntax of the utterances in these turns. Chapter 5 examines the use of first-person singular pronouns in essay data. The analysis shows that firstperson singular pronouns are strategically used in segments within the rhetorical structure and organization of the essays to articulate their main point or to facilitate readers' understanding of the content of the essay. The analysis also highlights the relationship between morphosyntactic features of the sentences in these segments and how they work within the rhetorical structure and organization of the essay. Finally, Chapter 6 draws conclusions regarding the use of first-person singular pronouns in conversations and essays as well as key similarities and differences. It also discusses some implications and contributions to the usage-based approaches within linguistics. Finally, it reviews some limitations of the study that may lead to future research agendas.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

As introduced in Chapter 1, this study adopts usage-based approaches, which aim to unveil how language is used based on actual data. Contrary to traditional approaches in formal linguistics, which mostly analyze constructed examples at the sentence level, usage-based approaches closely observes language use beyond sentence level and describes how such use is patterned in its morphosyntax (i.e., grammar) as a result of recurrent use in everyday life (Bybee, 2010; Hopper, 1987, 1988, 2001, 2004). With the development of recording devices, studies within usage-based approaches have analyzed a wide range of linguistic data and uncovered new linguistic insights based on empirical evidence (e.g., Biber, et al., 2021; Iwasaki, 2021; Iwasaki & Ono, 2002; Kaneyasu, 2019; Matsumoto, 2021; Ono, 2006; Ono & Iwasaki, 2002).

In Section 2.2, I briefly introduce the broadly defined usage-based approaches, which challenges traditional syntactic approaches to grammar. I then provide an example of how usage-based approaches account for *utterances* as opposed to traditionally defined *sentences*. I then discuss the interdisciplinary orientation of the usage-based approaches based on some historical background. In Section 2.3, I introduce the few studies of the use of first-person singular pronouns along with unsolved issues this dissertation aims to clear up. In Section 2.4, I introduce previous studies of language use across different modes and genres of discourse and discuss how this dissertation deals with the use of first-person singular pronouns across different modes and genres of discourse.

2.2. Usage-Based Approaches

2.2.1. How usage-based approaches treat grammar as opposed to traditional syntax

Usage-based approaches demonstrate that language use affects grammar at the usage-based level.² This view challenges traditional syntactic studies, which approach grammar as an innate and static phenomenon, a typical case being generative grammar. Generative grammar is based on the idea that all human beings have "universal grammar" in their brain, which enables them to generate grammatical sentences (e.g., Chomsky, 1965). In this perspective, the generated sentence represents the surface structure, which is the result of syntactic movement from its underlying structure. This conceptualization of grammar rests on the assumption that a grammatical sentence follows a canonical word order derived from the underlying structure. Furthermore, generative grammar relies on constructed examples as its primary data and analyzes these mostly at the sentence level (e.g., Chomsky, 1965; Jackendoff, 2002).

The above view of grammar has been challenged by scholars from the early 1970s along with the development of recording devices, which allows for the analysis of a broader range of data occurring in our everyday lives. These studies analyze actual language use beyond the sentence level and take the dynamicity of grammar into consideration. This work falls into subcategories of linguistics, including cognitive grammar and linguistics, construction grammar, (discourse)-functional linguistics, functionally-oriented linguistics, West Coast discourse-functional linguistics, and usage-based linguistics (Ono & Suzuki, 2014). All of these approaches can be broadly defined as usage-based approaches.³

² Details of this approach are discussed in a later section.

³ This explains why not all linguistic studies of language in use self-identify as usage-based. In this study, I use both "usage-based grammar" and "usage-based approach" to reflect the diversity and interdisciplinary orientation of studies of language in use, an issue I further discuss in later sections.

Bybee (2010) proposes that usage-based grammar be thought of as "the cognitive organization of one's experience with language" (p. 8). Usage-based grammar is grounded in the idea that grammar emerges through repetition or frequent use, resulting in grammaticalization (Bybee, 2010; Hopper, 1987, 1988, 2001, 2004). In contrast to generative grammar, which separates syntax and morphology, usage-based grammar considers these two components together as constituting grammar. This is evidenced by the fact that all types of units such as words, morphemes, and syllables proposed by linguists show gradience due to variation within the domain of the unit (Bybee, 2010), making it difficult to determine its boundaries. To make this point, Bybee (2010) presents the example of the English verb "go," which occurs as a simple lexical morpheme as well as in many other constructions, including "go ahead," "go wrong," "go bad," "go boom," "let's go have lunch," and "be going to" and the quotative "go" as in "I go 'what you mean?" As shown in these examples, usage-based approaches see grammar as morphosyntax patterned through frequent use in everyday life.

Additionally, while generative grammar assumes that grammar is independent from the context, usage-based grammar approaches grammar *within* the context. The background to the above points will be discussed further in later sections.

2.2.2. Sentences and utterances in Japanese from a usage-based approach viewpoint

Usage-based approaches observe actual language use and its morphosyntax beyond the sentence level, including discourse and interaction. Thus, what has been traditionally considered a sentence based on constructed examples is challenged by usage-based approaches with the evidence from actual discourse and interaction in everyday life.

With regard to Japanese, Ono and Iwasaki (2002) discuss how traditional definitions of "sentence" are not always applicable in everyday language use. Traditionally, a "sentence" in

Japanese has long been defined as consisting of a subject and a predicate (Otsuki, 1898, cited in Ono & Iwasaki, 2002), a word (Yamada, 1909, cited in Ono & Iwasaki, 2002), or a unit of *bunsetsu*, which is a unit consisting of a free morpheme or of a free morpheme followed by a dependent morpheme (e.g., a noun followed by a case particle) (Hashimoto, 1948, cited in Ono & Iwasaki, 2002). Furthermore, a "sentence" may consist of layers of smaller units, each consisting of an objective element (e.g., a case particle) (Tokieda, 1941, cited in Ono & Iwasaki, 2002). Yet such conceptualizations of a "sentence" are not necessarily observable in everyday life. This is especially the case for spontaneous spoken Japanese such as conversations, where the term "utterance" is often used to represent tokens of speech that may (or may not) consist of fully-formed sentences. Based on observation of Japanese conversations, Ono and Iwasaki (2002) and Iwasaki and Ono (2002) provide working definitions of an "utterance" as follows: 5

- (1) An independent linguistic form not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form (Bloomfield, 1955: 170, cited in Ono & Iwasaki, 2002 and Iwasaki & Ono, 2002).
- (2) An utterance ends when a predicate is produced in the finite form.
- (3) An utterance is (or can be) followed by an interactional marker.

In this way, unit of a "sentence" may not always be applicable to the one of an "utterance." This is why studies conducted in usage-based approaches underscore the importance of observing actual data to investigate language use.

With regard to the structure of the utterance, word order is one element to consider.

Usage-based approach challenges what is considered "correct" or "grammatical" word order in

⁴ For this reason, I use the term "utterance" to refer to the production of speech in spontaneous conversations.

⁵ Ono and Iwasaki (2002) and Iwasaki and Ono (2002) use the term "sentence" in their work in order to compare it with what is traditionally considered a "sentence" based on constructed examples.

prescriptive grammar. Japanese is known as a predicate-final language with the canonical word order of subject-object-verb (Kuno, 1973; Shibatani, 1990). However, the canonical word order is not always maintained in spontaneous spoken Japanese, in which the subject, object, or other constituents may appear after the predicate (Kuno, 1978; Clancy, 1982; Ono & Suzuki, 1992; Iwasaki & Ono, 2002; Ono, 2006). Such grammatical constituents are known as "post-predicate elements" (Ono & Suzuki 1992), "postpositions" (Hinds, 1982), or "right dislocation" (Inoue, 1976). The non-canonical word order in spontaneous spoken Japanese is pragmatically motivated and can be considered grammaticalized use. For example, Ono (2006, p. 148) discusses how two expressions asking "What is it?" in Japanese using different word orders (shown in 2.1 and 2.2. below) have different pragmatic meanings:

- (2.1) nani sore what it 'What!?'
- (2.2) sore nani
 it what
 'What is it?'

Ono's conversational data shows that the first construction is used when the speaker is jealous of the fact represented by the previous interlocutor's utterance. However, such a pragmatic effect is not observed in the second expression. Furthermore, Clancy (1982, p. 68) argues that in spontaneous spoken narrative, word order can be occasioned by "afterthoughts" produced after sentence-final falling pitch and an audible pause (Kuno 1978), with the speaker adding information to make certain that the listener has understood.

As I have shown, what is traditionally considered a "sentence" is not necessarily seen in everyday language use from the observation of actual data.

2.2.3. Usage-based approaches as interdisciplinary framework

Usage-based approaches treat the frequency of certain configurations in larger units (including discourse and interaction) an essential clue to understanding linguistic structure. In fact, multiple theories and methodologies related to language use and cognition, discourse, and interaction across disciplines support such a view. These theories and disciplines constitute usage-based approaches.

As briefly mentioned in Section 2.2.1, usage-based approaches are supported by works in subcategories of linguistics, including cognitive grammar and linguistics, construction grammar, (discourse)-functional linguistics, and functionally-oriented linguistics. The origin of these subcategories can be traced back to functional linguistics, which focuses on "natural" grammar by referencing how language is used. In this perspective, "the fundamental components of meaning in language are functional components," and "each element in a language is explained by reference to its function in the total linguistic system" (Halliday, 1985, F40). Functional linguistics relates to cognitive linguistics informed by social science and psychology and discourse-functional linguistics informed by sociology and anthropology. 6 Cognitive linguistics concerns linguistic forms and functions that reflect the user's cognitive patterns and seeks universality of linguistic knowledge (Langacker, 1987). Discourse-functional linguistics is interested in the realization of morphosyntax in discourse and focuses on the grammatical system as embedded in communication (Chafe, 1980; Halliday, 1985). Because of this historical background within and across disciplines, usage-based approaches relate to theories of language use concerned with cognition, discourse, and interaction, thus revealing its interdisciplinary orientation in the study of language in everyday lives.

⁶ Further discussion of this historical development can be found in Ono and Suzuki (2014), Otani and Nakayama (2020), and Schegloff et al. (1996).

Language and cognition is among the key components of usage-based approaches as well as the main focus of cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics is concerned with how linguistic knowledge, that is knowledge of meaning and form, forms a conceptual structure (Croft & Cruse, 2004). As regards grammar, cognitive linguistics considers that cognitive processes govern language use (Croft & Cruse, 2004). Thus cognitive linguistics posits that the speaker's or writer's beliefs are represented in the structure of the utterances or sentences produced.

Consideration of discourse, which is "language beyond isolated sentences" (Chafe, 1994), is another important dimension of usage-based approaches as well as the focus for discourse analysts. Grounded in anthropology or linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis is interested in how the discourse is influenced by the speaker's cognition and sociocultural background in relation to the context, which may include the setting of the talk as well as the interlocutor(s) and audience (e.g., Duranti, 1997; Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Gunter, 2014). Discourse analysis is "committed to an investigation of what that language is used for" (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 1), an approach applicable to a wide range of datasets. Supported by a diverse range of works influenced by anthropology and cultural studies, discourse analysis considers grammar as morphosyntax organizing knowledge, cognition, information, texts, and interaction (Du Bois, 2001, pp. 88-89). With regards to the relationship between language use and informational or interactional relation, rhetorical organization and structure are also key factors. For example, Rhetorical Structure Analysis (RST) (Mann & Thompson, 1987) reveals language use in the hierarchical structure of the informational text. Overall, discourse analytical works see the frequency of certain configurations in discourse as an essential clue to understanding

⁷ "Discourse analysis" here differs from what is associated with the French social theorist and philosopher Michel Foucault, whose form of discourse analysis tries to show "how conventional ways of talking and writing within a culture serve political or ideological functions in that they constrain or circumscribe how people think and act as social beings" (Foucault, 1970, cited in Wooffitt, 2005, p. 39).

linguistic structure (Brown & Yule, 1983, pp. 22-23), thus contributing to usage-based approaches (Ono & Suzuki, 2014, p.3).

Interaction is another critical factor that influences grammar in everyday language use. The main methodologies used to analyze interaction in our everyday life that contribute to the manifestation of usage-based grammar include Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks et al., 1974), which originated in ethnomethodology in sociology, and Interactional Linguistics (IL) (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001, 2017), which developed from discourse-functional linguistics. The methodologies of CA and IL, which take an action-oriented view of language, reveal how interactants participate in everyday communicative activities as well as how grammatical structure emerges as the outcome of situated actions in which participants engage. However, the main goal and focus of CA and IL differ as a result of their different origins. CA, grounded in sociology, is primarily interested in what social action is accomplished by language use in the sequence of conversation (Sacks, et al., 1974). On the other hand, IL, which emerged from linguistics, aims to better understand "how languages are shaped by interaction and how interactional practices are molded through specific languages" (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001, p.3). Based on these features, studies of interaction using CA and IL contribute to usage-based approaches by showing how morphosyntactic features contribute to achieving an action or function over the course of interaction.

In brief, usage-based approaches have an interdisciplinary orientation based on historical background as well as various studies of language in use. Because usage-based approaches are an outcome of disciplines with different analytical foci partly due to the nature of the data, convergent and divergent perspectives naturally exist within the usage-based approaches. I will

come back to discuss this point after presenting previous studies of the use of first-person singular pronouns in Japanese in the next section.

2.3. Previous Studies of the Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns in Japanese

As discussed in the previous section, observation of actual data is essential to understanding language in use. However, as briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, very few studies have examined the actual use of first-person singular pronouns in Japanese. In this section, I will introduce previous studies of the use of these and discuss the gap this dissertation aims to fill. In particular, I will introduce the discourse analytical studies by Ono and Thompson (2003) and Lee and Yonezawa (2008), which show how first-person singular pronouns are used beyond referential considerations (i.e., disambiguation) in conversation. First-person singular pronouns used for referential consideration primarily occur to assist the interlocutor's better understanding of the reference. After reviewing these studies, I will introduce the discourse analytical study by Maynard (2007), which discusses first-person singular pronouns in relation to perspectives and voice in various modes and genres of discourse. This will lead to a discussion of some unsolved issues this dissertation aims to clarify.

Ono and Thompson (2003) investigated how overt first-person singular pronouns work beyond their referential scope (i.e., disambiguation) in informal conversation. They showed that these pronouns can be overt even when the referent is clear and that such overt forms involve functions including "emotive" and "frame-setting" ones. As shown in Examples (2.3) and (2.4), emotive first-person singular pronouns occur with a predicate that "expresses the emotion/feeling of the speaker" (p. 331).

(2.3) **atashi** suki

I like

```
'I like (it).'
```

(2.4) sugoi warukute watashi terrible bad 'I (feel) terrible.'

(p. 330; glossing adapted by the author)

According to Ono and Thompson, the utterances in (2.3) and (2.4), which concern the speaker's internal state, would be "perfectly acceptable in their contexts" without the first-person singular pronoun (p. 331). That is, as explained in Chapter 1, the speaker as the center of the epistemology is not often overtly stated in Japanese, as when expressing internal states (Iwasaki, 1992). In addition, One and Thompson (2003) note that 60% of first-person singular pronouns carrying an emotive function are placed after the predicate, as in Example (2.4), while the rest of the first-person singular pronouns in their dataset occur mostly before the predicate. Supported by other work that shows similar results in terms of word order and emotion, 8 Ono and Thompson (2003) suggest that such emotive usage (i.e., first-person singular pronouns occurring post-predicate) appears to constitute grammaticalized use.

On the other hand, when a first-person singular pronoun appears with a frame-setting function, it "provides a subjective framework for, or stance towards, the rest of the utterance" (Ono & Thompson, 2003, p. 332). Let us observe the following example:

```
(2.5)
 > atashi dakara kakkoii
                            to omo
                 good:looking QT
   okonoko no supootsu de kakkoii
                                      to omotta no
            of sports
                        in good:looking QT thought NOM TOP
   boy
   juudoo to kendoo
```

⁸ Ono and Thompson (2003) cite the work of Fujiwara (1986, 379), which similarly shows first-person singular pronouns occurring after the predicate, thus showing the speaker's emotion in conversation. Ono and Thompson also discuss the potential of grammaticalized usage based on studies by Fujiwara (1982, 1985, 1986) and Suzuki (1999).

judo and kendo

'So I thought – cool, what (I) thought (was) cool in boys' sports (are) judo and kendo.'

(Ono & Thompson, 2003, p. 332; glossing adapted by the author)

As we can see in Example (2.5), this type of first-person pronoun occurs because the speaker "knows in general that the utterance is going to have something to do with him/herself but…has not formulated the morphosyntax (or even the trajectory) of the utterance itself" (Ono & Thompson, 2003, pp. 336–337). The first-person singular pronoun *atashi* in Example (2.5) occurs in a separate intonation unit from the predicate (i.e., *omotta no wa*), 9 suggesting that the first-person singular pronoun carrying the frame-setting function is not planned together with what follows.

In addition to the emotive and frame-setting functions of first-person singular pronouns, Lee and Yonezawa (2008) show that these pronouns can have functions of contrast and emphasis in spontaneous conversations with different formality levels. Contrastiveness "involves two or more elements which are in contrast with regard to certain action, event or state" (Lee & Yonezawa, 2008, p. 741). By way of illustration, Example (2.6) include the first-person singular pronoun *watashi* with a contrastive function:

(2.6)

Minasan wa gakkoo no jugyoo dake shitara sorede ii tte iu ka... everyone TOP school study only if.do that's.enough how.to.say

dakara nanimo nai toki wa oshaberishite sugoshitari shitemo in.other.words nothing when TOP chat spend.time even.though

> ii kamoshirenai kedo **watashi** wa n, motto benkyooshinakya na tte... good maybe but **I** TOP well more have.to.study FP QT

'For undergraduates, it's OK just to do course work...how to put (it)... in other words, when they have nothing to do, maybe it's OK for them to chat or

⁹ An intonation unit is a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour (Du Bois et al., 1992).

to do something else, but, for me, **I** feel, mm, (I) have to study more...'
(Lee & Yonezawa, 2008, p. 739; glossing adapted by the author)

In Example (2.6), the speaker contrasts undergraduate students (*minasan* – "everybody") and herself in terms of the amount of study that is required on a daily basis. That is, undergraduates may spend their free time chatting, while the speaker, who is a graduate student, feels the need to study constantly. In this example, contrastiveness is conveyed with the first-person singular pronoun *watashi* and the focus particle *wa*, which is widely recognized as being used to show that the noun preceding the particle contrasts with others (Kuno, 1973).

In other examples provided by Lee and Yonezawa (2008), contrast can also be shown with other particles such as *ga*, which is known as "exhaustive listing" (Kuno, 1973), that provides information regarding those responsible for the action or state expressed by the predicate in contrast to others who do not have such responsibility. Furthermore, *shika* "only" and *dake* "only" also accompany contrastive first-person singular pronouns to show that the action expressed by the predicate is limited to the person in question in contrast to others (Lee & Yonezawa, 2008, p. 740). Lee and Yonezawa explain that the contrastive meaning would not be sustained without the combination of overt first-person pronoun and particle. This first-person singular pronoun's usage to express contrastiveness is supported by Chafe (1976), who argues that "in languages in which the subject is sufficiently identifiable by the verbal morphology, independent pronouns are used for contrastiveness" (p. 37).

_

¹⁰ An example of contrastive first-person singular pronouns with *shika* is shown in the following conversation in Lee and Yonezawa (2008, p. 740).

A: Suihanki wa atashi shika tsukawanai.

rice.cooker TOP I only not.use

^{&#}x27;As for the rice cooker, only I use (it).'

B: Ja, hoka no minnna wa gohan tabenai tte koto? then other everyone TOP rice not.eat QUE thing

^{&#}x27;Does it mean then others don't eat rice?'

In addition to their contrastive function, Lee and Yonezawa (2008) demonstrate the function of "emphasis" played by first-person singular pronouns. They explain that "[t]he overt specification of a subject can be seen as 'extra' or 'additional,' especially when the intended meaning is already well conveyed without such specification" (p. 741). Let us observe the following example:

```
(2.7)
   A: Tashikani. Shibikku aruite temo zenzen iwakan nai shi
      certainly
                 Civic
                          even.is.walking at.all strange.feeling absent FP
      Maa, demo inakamachi ni itte miru to chotto uiteshimau tteiu no ga
                  country.town to if.try.to.go
                                             a.bit
                                                    stand.out
      wakaru to omou kedo.
              OT think but
      know
      'Certainly. (We) don't feel strange when walking in Civic, right? Well, but if
      (one) goes to a country town, (one) will know that (he/she) stands out.'
   B: Aa, soodesu ka. Aa.
       ah that.is
                  Q ah
       'Ah, is that so, ah.'
> A: Un. Boku ga Meruborun ni iku tochuu ni, tomodachi to kuruma de
       yeah I SUB Melbourne
                                to go on.the.way friend
                                                             with car
      itta n desu kedo, ...
      went COP but
     'Yeah. When I was on my way to Melbourne, (I) went (there) with my friend
      by car, and ...'
   B: Hai.
      yeah
     'Yeah.'
   A: de, tochuu no inakamachi ni tomatta toki ni, anoo hirumeshi kuoo to, so
           on.the.way country.town stopped when well
                                                          lunch
      'So, on the way (to Melbourne), when I stopped in a country town, well, (I)
        wanted to have lunch ...'
```

B: *Hai*. yeah

'Yeah.'

A: chotto ginkoo de kane oroshite kuru tte komonwerusu ni haittara a.bit bank money draw come Commonwealth.Bank enter

minna miru n desu ne. everyone look NOM COP FP

'So, (I) went to the Commonwealth Bank to get some money, and when (I) entered the bank, all the people there looked at me.'

(Lee & Yonezawa, 2008, pp. 747–748, glossing adapted by the author)

In this excerpt, Speaker A first says that they would be likely to attract attention if they were in a more rural area. Then A talks about his personal experience in a small town on the way to Melbourne. As the speaker begins his storytelling, he uses the overt first-person singular pronoun *boku* and narrows the general topic down to a personalized one, that is, himself. The overt first-person singular pronoun is seen as adding extra emphasis to the specification of the subject, which becomes more salient. As indicated in Example (2.7), Lee and Yonezawa (2008, p. 741) discuss how this type of first-person singular pronoun "is often employed as an effective strategy to assist the discourse management," which includes "personalizing a discourse topic." In so doing, "the speaker refers to him/herself, and hence subsequent personalized contents of the utterance are to be expected" (pp. 747–748).

As shown in previous studies by Ono and Thompson (2003) and Lee and Yonezawa (2008) of the use of first-person singular pronouns, these pronouns involve specific pragmatic functions in discourse. Both discourse analytical studies further suggest that overt first-person singular pronouns, which are marked in Japanese conversations, are relevant to expressing something personal to the speaker, including subjectivity or contrastive intent involving others, including co-participants. As the speaker's expression of such intent is conveyed within the interaction, research investigating the use of first-person singular pronouns in interactional

contingencies is critical to revealing their usage vis-à-vis interaction. Furthermore, these studies limit their data to spontaneous conversations, and the use of first-person singular pronouns in other types of data remains under-investigated.

While most previous studies concern the use of first-person singular pronouns in spontaneous conversations, Maynard (2007) examined their use in a variety of sources, including interview dialogues, television dramas, various dialogues, novels, essay collections, and explanatory books. Using these multiple sources in her study, Maynard (2007) investigated Japanese first-person singular pronouns by focusing on the concepts of perspective and voice by adopting the "theory of Place of Negotiation¹¹" which she elaborated. Within this framework, she particularly analyzes the overt form *watashi*, non-overt usages (zero form), as well as the reflexive pronoun jibun, showing their different usages. By comparing the overt form with the non-overt form and the reflexive pronoun, the analysis shows that the overt form *watashi* appears in the following situations: (1) when self is divided into the self-identifying objectified self; (2) when the self is foregrounded in the context; (3) when a specific mention assists discourse organization; and (4) when the self 's personal voice needs to be foregrounded. Maynard concludes that various self-referencing terms contribute to different kinds of self-presentation, thereby creating fluid images about ourselves. While Maynard (2007) reveals features of Japanese first-person singular pronouns in terms of perspective and voice in her dataset, it does not examine usage in terms of genres or modes of discourse by considering the characteristics of each dataset.

¹¹ In her theory of Place of Negotiation, there are three kinds of selves associated with three places of negotiation: "thinking self," "feeling self," and "interactional self." For details, see Maynard (2007, pp.46–47).

As I have shown, while a few studies have demonstrated some features of the use of first-person singular pronouns, more research is needed to unveil the use of these pronouns across modes and genres of discourse. In particular, systematic analysis of their use in the present dataset by appreciating the nature of each dataset will fill this gap. To this end, it is critical to adopt appropriate methodologies that will take into consideration the nature associated with each dataset. The next section will discuss how to account for different modes and genres of discourse in usage-based approaches.

2.4. How Usage-Based Approaches Account for Different Modes and Genres of Discourse

This section discusses how usage-based approaches account for different modes and genres of discourse and provides the justification for my research approach to datasets consisting of different modes and genres. In Section 2.4.1, I begin by summarizing earlier studies, which focus on the linguistic structure and style of different modes of discourse. Section 2.4.2 then presents recent studies that show relationships in language use across different genres and modes of discourse. Section 2.4.3 discusses how this research will analyze different modes and genres of discourse. Finally, I briefly discuss the justification for adopting particular datasets and methodologies as part of this research.

2.4.1. Linguistic features and modes of discourse

Earlier usage-based linguistic studies of different types of data have tended to focus on the mode of discourse (i.e., spoken versus written) and show characteristic uses of constructions in aggregate across certain modes, thus revealing general patterns (e.g., Biber, 1983; Chafe, 1982; Tannen, 1982). For example, Chafe (1982) shows that spoken English discourse is

characterized by "fragmentation" and "involvement," while written discourse is characterized by "integration" and "detachment". That is, spoken discourse is composed of fragmented utterances with the intention of involving the listener. Involvement is achieved through various linguistic forms and practices in spoken discourse, including first-person references, speaker's mental processes, monitoring of information flow, emphatic particles, fuzziness, and direct quotes. In contrast, writing is characterized by integration, which involves packing more information into an idea unit through nominalizations, participles, attributive adjectives, conjoined clauses, series, sequence of prepositional phrases, complement clauses, and relative clauses. In addition, detachment in writing distances the language from specific, concrete states and events. An example of the device of detachment in English is the passive voice, which suppresses the direct involvement of an agent in an action.

In Japanese too, researchers argue that written and spoken languages are produced for completely different purposes and in different modes (e.g., Yamanaka, 1988) and use different styles. Differences between spoken and written Japanese includes word order (Clancy, 1982; Iwasaki & Ono, 2002; Ono, 2006), sentence and utterance length (Clancy, 1982; Iwasaki & Ono, 2002), use (or non-use) of postpositional particles (Shibatani 1990; Lee, 2002; Ono & Thompson, 2003), use (or non-use) of final particles (Clancy, 1982; Shibatani, 1990), and ellipsis (Clancy, 1982; Shibatani, 1990).

With regard to word order, the canonical word order of subject-object-verb is observed in writing but not always maintained in speaking. As discussed in Section 2.2, speakers may produce utterances with non-canonical word order in spontaneous spoken Japanese for pragmatic motivations (e.g., Ono, 2006). On the other hand, non-canonical word order is rarely seen in Japanese writing. In her comparative study of spoken and written narrative, Clancy (1982) shows

that writers invariably place relative clauses and other modifiers before head nouns, whereas speakers sometimes produce a noun first and then add one or more modifiers. Speakers' verbalization of relative clauses after (rather than before) their head nouns can be motivated to clarify reference. In this way, word order often differs between spoken and written discourse.

The length of a sentence in written discourse and of an utterance in spoken discourse are also discussed by scholars, especially those who study clause-chaining in spoken discourse. Unlike a sentence in Japanese written discourse, an utterance in Japanese spoken discourse allows clause-chaining, enabling the stringing together of many clauses to form an extremely long sentence. Clause-chaining is achieved through the use of the tenseless *te* and *tara*, *ren'yoo-kee*, and *to*. These are bound morphemes affixed to conjugating words such as verbs, auxiliary verbs, adjectives, and the predicate formative (for further discussion, see Iwasaki, 1992).

Example (2.8) shows such features in spoken discourse:

```
daremo inai kara
nobody exist.NEG because
'no one was there, so'

kondo koo itte
this.time this way go.TE
eki no toori e dete
station GEN street LOC go.out.TE
'I went out on the street in front of the station, and'
```

(2.8)

eki yori moo chotto saki ga station than more a.little ahead SUB takahashi-san toko datta n de (name)-Mrs. place COP.PST NOM TE 'a little beyond the station was ztakahashi's house, so'

eki e ittarastation LOC go.TARA'I got to the station, then'

(Ono & Iwasaki, 2002, pp.107–108, adapted by the author)

The use and non-use of postpositional particles also represent a crucial difference between spoken and written Japanese. Postpositional particles, which attach to the noun phrase, play an important role as they define the grammatical role of the noun phrase in the argument structure of Japanese. In written Japanese, postpositional particles are usually overt, while in spoken Japanese, they can be non-overt. There have also been discussions of how the particles can be "omitted" or "not-overt" in informal conversations, including the nominative ga and the accusative o (e.g., Tsujimura, 2013) and the topic marker wa (Lee, 2002; Shimojo, 2006). 12

Furthermore, final particles such as *ne* and *yo* frequently occur both internally and at the end of sentences in spoken Japanese, where they serve to monitor and regulate the progression of communication, but are not typically used in formal speech or written Japanese due to their level of formality (Shibatani, 1990).

Ellipsis, or non-overt, forms are characteristic seen in spoken Japanese but not in written Japanese. Shibatani (1990) argues that ellipsis is influenced by the formality factor as well as the high frequency of information exchange between participants in conversations. Clancy (1982) analyzed referential choice in spoken and written discourse and found that unlike written discourse, spoken discourse relies heavily on ellipsis, or non-mention.

These basic differences between spoken and written discourse are essentially related to the static nature of written discourse compared to the dynamic nature of spoken discourse (Iwasaki & Ono, 2002; Ono & Iwasaki, 2002). Ono and Iwasaki argue that spoken discourse is constantly being shaped and that its utterances are characterized by phenomena that include incrementation, false starts, repetition, reformulation, substitution, interpolation, and inversion. However, within the spoken and written modes of discourse, there are different genres (e.g.,

¹² Lee (2002) discusses how the "zero particle" has its own function, which is different from the overt particle in spoken discourse, a usage that does not constitute particle "omission" in this sense.

conversations, public speeches, conference presentations, novels, essays, expository writing), according to which speakers' or writers' language use may differ. The next section summarizes more recent studies conducted in the usage-based approach that consider language use across different genres as well as the modes of discourse and how they may relate to each other.

2.4.2. Language use across modes and genres of discourse

While previous studies have tended to discuss differences between spoken and written modes of discourse, as previously mentioned, there are various genres (e.g., conversations, public speeches, conference presentations, novels, essays, expository writing) within both the spoken and written modes. Linguistic styles and the structure of sentences or utterances will differ depending on the genres of discourse, each of which may have a different audience, medium, and purpose. Thus language use in different modes of discourse can be correlated with genre.

For example, Iwasaki (2015) suggests that speakers may employ more abstract grammatical resources, including some acquired from written language, in more complex verbal activities such as politicians engaging in debates or interviewees reconstructing past experiences. Based on these examples, Iwasaki hypothesizes a "multiple-grammar model" that explains how usage-based grammars for spoken language and written language exist separately yet are simultaneously accessible by the user.

While multiple-grammar theory assumes that grammatical constructions and conventions depend on genres, Matsumoto (2021) argues for the flexibility and fluidity of grammar across genres, which is accounted for by sociocultural factors. Her data consist of four different communicative settings: two spoken (casual conversation with a friend and an informal oral presentation) and two written (a personal letter to a professional friend and expository writing).

In these datasets, Matsumoto specifically focuses on the following three constructions: (1) heavy headed noun-modifying clause constructions, which integrate complex information; (2) noun phrases with postpositional particles, which are associated with written discourse; and (3) constructions specific to interactional involvement (p. 108). Matsumoto argues that language users understand this variability and its relationship with conventions, which can be interpreted through the concept of "indexical order" (Silverstein, 2003)."¹³ As Matsumoto (2021) explains,

The first-order association is between the function of the construction and a communicative purpose of a (micro-) context. Then sociocultural beliefs about the genre's communicative purposes may mediate linking between the first-order association with a specific genre. This is the second-order association, which can be perceived as a convention of genre. The function of the construction is still paired with the form, but the pairing has layers of meanings and ordered associations. (p.116)

Matsumoto (2021) emphasizes that such associations, especially second-order associations, depend on the user's belief system and are therefore not necessarily shared by all users.

Matsumoto's study thus implies the importance of considering sociocultural aspects of language use in different genres of discourse in order to account for usage-based grammar.

As we have seen, recent studies of different modes and genres of discourse reveal the nature of grammar and its relationship with different genres and modes of discourse. These perspectives show how different theories and disciplines together account for language use and the constitution of grammar in everyday life. More specifically, multiple-grammar theory is

¹³ Silverstein (2003) shows the role of the concept of "indexical order" in sociolinguistics by arguing that "semiotic agents access macro-sociological plane categories and concepts as values in the indexable realm of the micro-contextual" (p. 193). According to Silverstein, there exists a foundational or presupposed indexical value, which is the first order, and this entails "creative" value, the second order, realized through ideological intervention. In this process, metapragmatic discourse works as mediator produced in and informed by the broader political and economic and social context of the material world.

inspired by the combination of cognitive linguistics and discourse-functional linguistics traditions. As regards the interrelationship between genres and styles, Matsumoto (2021) shows the importance of also taking sociocultural perspectives into consideration. At the same time, these studies show that language use depends on genres of discourse and can be correlated across modes. The next section will discuss how my research will approach the use of first-person singular pronouns across different genres and modes of discourse.

2.4.3. Towards a comparative analysis of spontaneous spoken interaction and essay writing

To analyze similarities and differences in the use of first-person singular pronouns across modes and genres of discourse, it is essential that the datasets be comparable and that appropriate methodologies be selected according to the features of the data. For this reason, I selected two different yet comparable datasets, in which the speakers or writers may demonstrate their subjective positions and express their personal experience. Specifically, I will analyze conversations where the speakers are involved in spontaneous spoken interaction, and essays, where the writers are involved in writing while imagining potential readers. Based on these datasets, I will analyze when and how first-person singular pronouns are used to make assertions and initiate a storytelling or narrative of their personal experience in different types of discourse. To better understand the nature of each discourse, I will adopt Interactional Linguistics (IL) and Conversational Analysis (CA) for spontaneous spoken interactions and a discourse analytical perspective for essay writing.

Conversations are spontaneous spoken interactions dynamically co-constructed by multiple parties: the speaker(s) and the listener(s), or "(co-)participants." I adopt IL and CA to observe how the use of first-person singular pronouns is occasioned in the course of interactions. As will be discussed further in Chapter 3, IL and CA consider that participants participate in

interactions by, for example, taking turns to speak (i.e., produce utterances). Over the course of interactions, the participants' turns construct a "sequence." In my conversational data, I specifically focus on sequences where the speakers make assertions and where they initiate the storytelling of personal experience. I provide details of methodologies and terminologies in Chapter 3.

Essays are called *zuihitsu* in Japanese. Though the genre is widespread in Japanese, it is not clearly defined. Tachikawa (2009) points out that in essays, where writers freely express themselves, they never attempt to be strongly persuasive. This approach characterizes the essay texts, which are meant to be relaxing and enjoyable reading material. Thus the essay can be seen as a unique genre that has been nurtured in the history of Japanese literature while being related to other genres. In essays, a form of planned discourse, writers demonstrate their thoughts about the main theme in a coherent and effective manner through their choice of title, rhetorical structure, and organization. For this reason, theories and methodologies that consider informational relations within the essay are essential from a discourse analytical perspective. Thus this dissertation will specifically consider the title, rhetorical organization (i.e., how a particular essay is organized into parts, or "three-part organization") along with the rhetorical structure within each part to analyze when and how first-person singular pronouns are used in the hierarchical structure of the text. Rhetorical structure will be analyzed by adopting Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), which considers the relationship between the "segments" (the units to be used in this framework, which will be explained in Chapter 3) that constitute the hierarchical structure of the texts. Fox (1987) also adopts the methodologies of RST and CA to compare the use of linguistic forms across different genres and modes of discourse by acknowledging differences of these discourse. She shows how English discourse anaphora is associated with the

rhetorical structure of the texts in expository writing and is comparable to how discourse anaphora in turns in conversations is associated with sequential designs. As discussed in Fox (1987), the methodologies of RST and CA are different yet comparable as they parse the texts and transcribe conversations into component units (i.e., "segments" in RST and "turns" in CA). Details of these methodological frameworks will be provided in Chapter 3.

By using these methodologies, this dissertation will focus on: 1) where the speaker and writer make assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects; 2) where the speaker makes assertions about themselves and the writer demonstrates their view toward themselves; and 3) where the speaker and writer initiate their narrative of personal experience.

Assertions in this study are understood based on the definition by Vatenen et al. (2021), namely the turn or segment in which the speaker or writer describes or makes a claim concerning something about the world, often attaching an evaluative and personal stance. For example, the following two examples represent assertions.¹⁴

(2.9) "It's better when it remains open. so uhm we'll see how (it) feels the relationship is."[Context: the interlocutor is talking about spending a night with her love interest](2.10) "In Estonia, the basic problem is that all [students] simply sit and do nothing."(Vatanen, 2018)

As we can see from these examples, the term "assertion" encompasses a broad range, including assessment, which typically consists of copula and adjectives (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987).

These assertions can be identifiable by their morphosyntax and other linguistic or semiotic

¹⁴ These examples are taken from Vatanen (2018), who originally defined the term "assertion" in this way. These examples were originally in Estonian, and (2.9) and (2.10) are Vatanen's English translations.

features. For example, the following morphosyntactic linguistic features in Japanese are considered to occur with assertions: epistemic markers, which shows epistemology or attitude, such as *kana*, *jan*, and *kamo shirenai*; adjectives which shows general uncertainty over the circumstances addressed (Schiffrin, 1990); declaratives with copula; nominalizers (e.g., McGloin, 1980; Najima, 2007); and other features showing the "speaker as the center of evaluation and attitude," including negative polarity, passive constructions, and expression of regret such as the suffixes *chau* or *te shimau* (Iwasaki, 1992, pp. 7-12.). However, identification of assertions is not necessarily straightforward as they are realized within the sequence in conversations and the rhetorical structure in writing. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will discuss these points further with examples.

While the speaker's assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects are comparable with the writer's, the speaker's assertions toward themselves are not comparable with the writer's given the nature of essay writing. In essay writing, rather than responding to the co-participants' assessment regarding the speakers, writers imagine prospective readers and their process of following the writer's self-analysis on a given theme. Given these differences exist in these data, the second focus of my study is the speaker's assertion about themselves and the writer's demonstration of their view toward themselves. I will discuss this point further in Chapters 3 and 5.

Another focus of this study is the speaker's or writer's initiation of a storytelling or narrative about their personal experience. Personal experience consists of specific events the speaker or writer underwent in the past. Furthermore, personal experience is considered personal to the speaker or writer but new information to the interlocutor, co-participant, or imagined reader. Personal experience in conversation is typically expressed in storytelling through

multiple Turn Constructional Units, ¹⁵ while in essays, it is expressed in narratives of past experience. Thus my study will focus on how the speaker or writer initiates a storytelling or narrative of their personal experience.

This chapter reviewed literature relevant to the methodological framework selected for this research and described how I will analyze the datasets across different modes and genres of discourse that represent different activities. Chapter 3 will explain the datasets and methodologies in more detail to show how to analyze both conversational data (Chapter 4) and essay data (Chapter 5) as different yet comparable datasets.

¹⁵ This term will be explored in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

Data and Methodology

3.1. Introduction

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, this research aims to discover when and how firstperson singular pronouns are used to express subjective position and initiate telling or narrative
of the personal experience in conversations and essays. By taking the different nature of the
datasets into consideration, the study will examine whether there exist any similarities and
differences in terms of the usage across the different modes and genres of discourse. To this end,
the study will analyze different yet comparable datasets and adopt methodologies according to
the features of each discourse.

In this chapter, I will illustrate two datasets: naturally occurring conversations and a collection of essays. I will then discuss the methodologies to be adopted for each dataset. Specifically, in Section 3.2, I will explain the conversational data and the target of the analysis. In Section 3.3, I will illustrate the essay data and the target of that analysis. Section 3.4 will explain the methodological framework adopted for the conversational data, and Section 3.5 will provide the methodological framework adopted for the essay data. Finally, I will summarize the chapter and outline the organization of subsequent chapters.

3.2. Conversational Data

The conversational data consist of two sets of video-recorded naturally occurring conversations between close friends: one of the sets consists of six conversations between two to

four friends¹⁶ taken from the Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation (CEJC) made available by the National Institute for Japanese Language (NINJAL) and Linguistics.¹⁷ The other sets consist of four conversations between two friends¹⁸ video-recorded by the author in Tokyo and Kanagawa in 2018. The description of these two datasets is summarized in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

-

¹⁶ All participants except Okamura are from the Kanto region, which includes Tokyo, Kanagawa, Chiba, and Saitama prefectures, and speak Standard Japanese. Though Okamura is from Osaka, no regional dialect was observed.

¹⁷ CEJC consists of various conversations "embedded in naturally occurring activities in daily life" (Koiso et al., 2022, p. 5587).

¹⁸ All participants except Taka and Yuu are from the Kanto region, which includes Tokyo and Kanagawa prefectures and speak Standard Japanese. Taka is from Osaka and speaks the Kansai dialect. Yuu is originally from Gifu and spent several years in Aichi prefecture while in graduate school. However, Yuu's speech shows no strong regional dialect.

Table 3.1 Overview of selected conversations between two to four close friends (NINJAL)¹⁹

Conversation	Participants (gender, age)	Approximate length of conversation (mins)	Place of conversation
K003_012a	Sacchi (female, 20-24), Shiori (female, 20-24)	12	A restaurant
K003_012b	Sacchi (female, 20-24), Shiori (female, 20-24)	32	A restaurant
T005_008	Takeda (male, 35-39), Okamura (male, 35-39), Nakata (male, 35-39)	27	A restaurant
T006_002	Ogata (male, 25-29), Aoki (male, 20-24), Tominaga (female, 20-24)	46	A university classroom
T006_008	Ogata (male, 25-29), Kaneko (male, 25-29), Koga (male, 25-29), Hamada (male, 25-29)	17	A bar
T006_009	Ogata (male, 25-29), Nemoto (male, 25-29)	14	A bar

¹⁹ All names are pseudonyms.

Table 3.2 Overview of selected conversations between two friends (video-recorded by the author)²⁰

Conversation	Participants (gender, age)	Approximate length of conversation (mins)	Places of conversation
1	Toshi (female, 25-29), Mika (female, 25-29)	16	An apartment in Kanagawa
2	Nao (female, 25-29), Kana (female, 25-29)	32	A university room in Tokyo
3	Miya (female, 25-29), Taka (male, 25-29)	31	A private room in Tokyo
4	Miya (female, 25-29), Yuu (male, 25-29)	36	A private room in Tokyo

Using multiple data sources broadens the scope of investigation of language use. For example, in conversations, forms and frequency of overt first-person singular pronouns differ between speakers. Aside from the first-person singular pronouns, other linguistic features are specific to individuals.

250 overt first-person singular pronouns were found in the conversational data. The forms of such pronouns include *watashi*, *watakushi*, *atashi*, *ore*, *boku*, and *uchi*. Moreover, most of these pronouns are not accompanied with postpositional particles. As explained in Chapter 2, in Japanese, postpositional particles accompanying the noun phrase define the grammatical role of the noun phrase in the argument structure. Table 3.3 summarizes the postpositional particles accompanying the first-person singular pronouns in the conversational data.

²⁰ All names are pseudonyms.

Table 3.3 Overview of postpositional particles accompanying first-person singular pronouns in spoken data

	Number	Rate (%)
Zero particle	113	45.2
wa	33	13.2
ga	24	9.6
no	30	12.0
то	23	9.2
tte	2	0.8
dake	8	3.2
to	2	0.8
de	1	0.4
ni	2	0.8
niwa	1	0.4
kara	2	0.8
yori	1	0.4
sa	1	0.4
datte	1	0.4
ne	6	2.4
Total	250	100.0

As we can see in these tables, the highest number of particles attached to a first-person singular pronoun in conversational data is the zero-particle, or 45.2%, while the topic particle *wa* is seen in only 13.2% of cases. In this dataset, both the zero-particle and the case particle *wa*

mark the nominative, showing that a majority of first-person singular pronouns are nominative. In response, the study will focus on those first-person singular pronouns that are nominative, being marked by the particles *wa*, *ga*, and *mo* as well as the zero-particle.

The structure of utterances with nominative first-person singular pronouns in my conversational data are mostly characterized by simple sentences that include one predicate. Moreover, first-person singular pronouns appear before or after predicates. I will discuss the features of such utterances with first-person singular pronouns in my conversational data in Chapter 4.

3.3. Essay Data

The essays to be analyzed are taken from ベスト・エッセイ 2020 (*The Best Essays* 2020), a collection of essays by different writers published by *Mitsumura Tosho* in 2020. Using this collection of essays from different writers will broaden the scope of my investigation of language use. For example, the form and frequency of overt first-person singular pronouns differ between writers: eight of the writers never use one, while other writers do so on multiple occasions. Aside from first-person singular pronouns, other linguistic features are specific to individual writers. For instance, writers may use punctuation, paragraphing, and styles differently.

The *Best Essays* series consist of collections of essays published each year in different venues, including newspapers and magazines. The essays compiled in this series are carefully selected by the editors for being particularly worth reading. The following description appears on the publisher's website as an introduction of the series:

「毎年、その年に新聞・雑誌などで発表された数多くのエッセイの中から、読み応えのあるものを精選し、まとめあげたエッセイ集です。日常生活の機微を切り取ったエッセイの妙味を、どうぞご堪能ください。」

Figure 3.1 Description of *Best Essays* on the publisher's website

Translation by the author:

"This is a collection of essays compiled from a large number of essays published in newspapers and magazines each year. We hope you will enjoy the essays, which capture the subtleties of everyday life."

The Best Essays 2020 collection is introduced in the following way on the publisher's website (https://www.mitsumura-tosho.co.jp/shoseki/essay/book-es2020):

無常なる人生の秘密は、細部に宿る。 あの人のふと漏らした一言、あの路傍で揺れる花の色……。 世がさだめなきからこそ、人は書くのだろう。 伝わる、残る、心に届く言葉の数々が、ここに一。

一本書編纂委員 藤沢 周

平成から令和へ―メモリアルなこの年に、新聞や雑誌等に発表された数多くのエッセイの中から、特に選りすぐった 77 篇!

Figure 3.2 Description of *Best Essays 2020* on the publisher's website

Translation by the author:

The secret of impermanent life lies in the details.

A single word a person suddenly uttered, the color of a flower swaying by the side of the road......

It is precisely because the world is uncertain that people write.

Here are words that will be conveyed, that will remain, that will reach the heart.

Fujisawa Shu, Editorial Board member

From the *Heisei* to the *Reiwa* periods: 77 essays specially selected from many essays published in newspapers, magazines, and other sources during this memorable year!

The descriptions above show the characteristics of the essay as a genre, in which, as discussed in Chapter 2, writers freely express themselves without adopting a strongly persuasive tone, making for relaxing and enjoyable reading material (Tachikawa, 2009).

Best Essays 2020 compiles texts on a variety of themes by writers from a variety of backgrounds. However, the essays compiled in the book can be categorized into a number of types based on what and how the essays were written. For example, some essays include the writer's assessment about general qualities (such as "courage"), with which potential readers are expected to be familiar. Other essays consist of stories about the writer's close friends who passed away. For the purpose of comparing these essays with the targeted conversational data, where participants discuss topics accessible to the participants throughout the interaction, I excluded essays in which writers express their own view of a target supposed to be inaccessible or unknown to potential readers.²¹

The targeted essays are divided into two types: (1) Essays in which writers assess themselves by highlighting some aspects of themselves; and (2) Essays in which writers express their view toward the target (e.g., persons, things, activities), which is supposed to be accessible to potential readers. Type (1) essays include evaluations of the writers themselves, which can be agreed or disagreed with by readers, while in Type (2) essays, potential readers can also argue for or against the topic, which they can readily access. Table 3.4 summarizes information regarding the targeted essays examined in this study.

²¹ This includes memorial essays about someone readers are not expected to know well.

 Table 3.4 Overview of targeted essays

Type	Page	Title	Title in English translation	Writer	Writer's name (in <i>romaji</i>)
2	10	灰になれ	Be ashes	森絵都	Mori Eto
1	13	憧憬、その先の話	Beyond longing	古市憲寿	Furuichi Kenju
1	26	ハートはピリオド	A heart is a period	河合香織	Kawai Kaori
1	29	ぼくの勇気につい て	On courage as I see it	最果タヒ	Saihate Tahi
2	37	ティッシュの否定 形	Negative form of tissue	伊藤亜紗	Ito Asa
2	61	暮らすことは変化 を受け入れること	To live is to embrace change	角田光代	Kakuta Mitsuyo
1	65	九十九の憂鬱	Ninety-nine melancholies	東山彰良	Higashiyama Akira
2	84	お菓子の家	The house of sweets	木皿泉	Kisara Izumi
2	89	梅雨の前に	Before the rainy season	奥本大三郎	Okumoto Daisaburou
1	101	愛しの「国語辞典」様	Dear beloved Japanese Dictionary	福島暢啓	Fukushima Nobuhiro
2	105	体重計が測るもの	What the scales measure	久保友香	Kubo Yuka
2	114	毎日が楽しいとい う生き方	A way of life where every day is fun	最相葉月	Saisho Hazuki
2	117	「知りたい」とい う気持ち	The desire to know	三浦しをん	Miura Shiwon
1	121	恥の感覚	Sense of shame	酒井順子	Sakai Junko

2	124	「終わり」で失う 議論の場	Discussions lost in the end	ロバート・キャンベル	Robert Campbell
2	137	のどはこわい	The throat is scary	三木卓	Miki Taku
2	158	北斎のたくらみ	Hokusai's trick	朝井まかて	Asai Kamate
2	166	ウチナーンチュ肯 定した革命	Revolution that affirmed Uchinanchu	池上永一	Ikegami Eeichi
1	169	仕合わせなお弁当	Assorted lunch boxes	高村薫	Takamura Kaoru
1	175	できることならス ティードで・渋谷	If possible, I wish to go there by Steed Shibuya	加藤シゲア	Kato Shigeaki
2	203	すらすら一気	Smoothly in a single gulp	平田俊子	Hirata Toshiko
2	208	人は本を読まなく なったけれども	Although people have stopped reading books	津野海太郎	Tsuno Kaitarou
1	213	耳覚めの季節	The season of the awakening of the ear	青山七恵	Aoyama Nanae
1	218	プラ田プラ夫	Purata Purao ²²	長嶋有	Nagashima Yuu
2	224	最期に食べるもの	What to eat at the end of life	平松洋子	Hiramatsu Yoko
2	227	氷白玉	Ice shiratama	南條竹則	Nanjo Takenori
2	235	古代エジプトの天地人	Ancient Egyptian heaven, earth, and man	吉村作治	Yoshimura Sakuji
2	255	人はなぜ働くのだ ろうか?	Why do people work?	長瀬海	Nagase Kai

 22 This is the nickname of the writer.

2	264	AIは死なない	AI will never die	藤原正彦	Fujiwara Masahiko
1	269	転校生の時間	Time for transfer students	東直子	Higashi Naoko
2	285	漱石が見抜いた 「職業」の本質	Soseki's insight into the nature of the profession	藤原智美	Fujiwara Tomomi
1	295	おさがりの教え	The teachings of Osagari	山西竜矢	Yamanishi Tatsuya
1	310	行動せねば・・・ 思い知る	I learned that I must take action	ほしよりこ	Hori Yoshiko
2	324	助けられて考える こと	Thoughts on being helped	加藤典洋	Kato Norihiro
1	333	声を忘れるとき、 言葉を消すとき	When we forget our voice, when we erase our words	牧田真有子	Makita Mayuko
1	346	祭りの夜の秘密	Secrets of the festival night	村上由佳	Murayama Yuka
2	350	気づく	To notice	飯塚大幸	Iizuka Daikou
2	354	平成最後の年	The last year of the Heisei era	金田一秀穂	Kindaichi Hideho

Within these selected essays, there are 480 first-person singular pronouns, whose forms include *watashi*, *watakushi*, *atashi*, *ore*, *boku*, and *uchi*. ²³ Of note here is that the Japanese writing system has three kinds of scripts: *Kanji* (Chinese characters), *Hiragana*, and *Katakana*.

 23 The form *ware* (我) was also found in the essay data. However, it is excluded from the analysis because it is seen only a few times and not seen at all in the conversational data.

Each kanji consists of a written symbol representing a word (morpheme), while hiragana and katakana, collectively known as kana, are phonetic symbols. For example, the first-person singular pronoun watashi can be written as $\not \equiv k(kanji)$, $\not \equiv t$ (hiragana), or $\not \equiv t$ (katakana). Though the kanji $\not \equiv t$ can be pronounced as either watashi or watakushi, I counted the kanji as watashi. The postpositional particles accompanying the first-person singular pronouns are summarized in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Overview of postpositional particle accompanying first-person singular pronouns in written data

	Number	Rate (%)
Zero particle	9	1.9
wa	223	46.5
ga	59	12.3
no	88	18.3
то	17	3.5
dake	3	0.6
to	12	2.5
de	1	0.2
ni	24	5.0
niwa	7	1.5
nimo	1	0.2
kara	1	0.2
yori	2	0.4
ya	2	0.4

nitotte	6	1.3
nitotte wa	3	0.6
nitotte mo	1	0.2
noyouni	1	0.2
tono	1	0.2
toshite wa	2	0.4
e	1	0.2
towa	2	0.4
nado	1	0.2
nanka	2	0.4
o	11	2.3
Total	480	100.0

As we can see in Table 3.5, in the essay data, the topic particle wa is the most frequently used (46.5%) followed by the genitive no ("of" – 18.3%)²⁴ and the case particle ga (12.3%). However, in the conversational data, the case particle wa represents only 13.2% of the total, and the zero-particle comprises only 1.9%. The frequencies shown in Table 3.5 are thus quite different from those found in conversational data, as seen in Table 3.3.

The structure of sentences that include first-person singular pronouns in the essay data show different features from the structure of utterances that include first-person singular pronouns in the conversational data, as discussed in Section 3.2. First, most sentences are complex and include more than two predicates, unlike the utterances observed in the

 $^{^{24}}$ As the particle no was not frequently seen in the spoken data, the study excludes cases accompanying no and focuses on the nominative cases.

conversational data. Second, some structures are not often observed in the utterances in conversational data, including noun-modifying constructions. I will discuss structural features in relation to discourse in Chapter 5 along with actual examples.

3.4. Methodology for Conversational Data

3.4.1. Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics

Conversational data, which is structured by multiple parties, will be analyzed mainly by adopting Interactional Linguistics (IL) and Conversation Analysis (CA). IL and CA observe sequences of turns in social interaction that are collaboratively co-constructed by the participants. Sequential analysis is concerned with how a turn is composed as well as where that turn is produced as part of a sequence. In this perspective, speakers are seen as building courses of action through talk, and this is done through sequences (Clift, 2016). By investigating the language used in naturally-occurring interactions, IL aims to discover how "the linguistic structures and practices that participants themselves deploy and orient to" are reconstructed (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017, p. 16). In contrast, being grounded in sociology, CA has a primary interest in understanding how interaction works and in uncovering the mechanisms of "how turns at talk are coordinated, how actions are constructed and recognized and how they are made to cohere in sequence of interaction" (p. 4). Since my study investigates when and how first-person singular pronouns are used in conversational sequences and how this contributes to the execution of particular actions, both IL and CA are relevant. By looking at the use of firstperson pronouns in relation to the sequential context and ongoing action formation rather than simply looking at the utterance by itself, we can identify usages that can only be discovered in sequences in Japanese daily conversations.

Sequential analysis concerns how human interactions are organized on a turn-by-turn basis along with the operation of a mutually understood assumption called "the architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage, 1984). Therefore, the concept of "turn" and "turn-taking" is the most critical aspect of conversational structure. The units of which turns can be constructed are referred to as "turn-constructional units (TCUs)." TCUs can be single lexical items, phrases, clauses, or sentences. The end of a TCU is referred to as a "transition-relevant place" (TRP), where the transition from one speaker to another can occur. Turn-taking rules are described in Sacks et al. (1974) as follows:

Rule 1 - Applies initially at the first TRP of any turn:

- (a) If the current speaker selects a next speaker in the current turn, the current speaker must stop speaking and that next speaker must speak next, the transition occurring at the first TRP after next-speaker selection.
- (b) If the current speaker does not select the next speaker, any other party may self-select, the first speaker gaining rights to the next turn.
- (c) If the current speaker does not select the next speaker and no other party self-selects under option (b), the current speaker may (but need not) continue.

Rule 2 - Applies at all subsequent TRPs:

- (d) When rule 1(c) has been applied by the current speaker, at the next TRP, rules 1(a)—
- In this perspective, studies are concerned with how participants take turns to execute a particular action in the targeted sequence.

(c) apply recursively at the next TRP until a speaker change is effected.

A sequence of turns consists of "adjacency pairs," which include the first action by the first speaker (the first-pair part) and the second action by the next speaker (the second-pair part)

(Clift, 2016, pp. 140–141). Standard examples of adjacency pairs are question-answer, invitation-acceptance, offer-acceptance, request-comply, and announcement-assessment. In this framework, the term "preference" describes the treatment of certain actions as non-equivalent, or "preferred" over the other. "Preference" means that some responses build social solidarity with the speaker of the first pair part, while others threaten that social solidarity. Responsive actions that build social solidarity are referred to as "preferred," while responsive actions that threaten social solidarity are referred to as "dispreferred." Table 3.6, which is taken from Mori (1999a, p. 113), shows the preference organization for some selected action types.

Table 3.6 Preference format of selected action types

1 st action	$2^{nd} a$	ction	
Action	Preferred Response	Dispreferred Response	
Request	Acceptance	Refusal	
Offer/Invitation	Acceptance	Refusal	
Assessment	Agreement	Disagreement	
Self-deprecation	Disagreement	Agreement	
Accusation/Blaming	Denial	Admission	

In this dissertation, the term "alignment" is used to refer to structural alignment, where the preferred second is produced in the conversation, as opposed to "disalignment," where the dispreferred second is produced. Therefore, the preferred second "aligns" with the structure of conversation while the dispreferred second "disaligns" with the structure of conversation.

The preferred response is typically delivered in a prompt and unqualified manner and is not accountable, whereas dispreferred responses are produced in a delayed and qualified manner and are accountable. For example, when recipients decline a request, an invitation, or an offer made by the prior speaker, the response tends to be delayed, and the responder provides an account for the dispreferred action. Heritage (1984, p. 266) illustrates a typical example of dispreferred response:

(3.1) (SBL: 10: 14)

- B: Uh if you'd care to come over and visit a little while this morning I'll give you a cup of .coffee.
- A: hehh Well that's awfully sweet of you, I don't think I can make it this morning
 - \rightarrow .hh uhm I'm running an ad in the paper and-
 - \rightarrow and uh I have to stay near the phone.

A's turn above shows hesitation, appreciation of the offer, and then declination. The declination is followed by the account for the declination, which demonstrates a circumstance preventing the speaker from performing an affiliative action. By doing so, speakers avoid threatening the "face" of either party or the relationship between the two (cf. Levinson, 1983, p. 337; Heritage, 1984, pp. 269–273).

As I briefly discussed above, both IL and CA observe interactional contingency in the sequences of turns produced by multiple parties within the mutually shared conversational systems described above. Adopting these methodologies will enable me to analyze when and how first-person singular pronouns are used in interaction.

3.4.2. Conventions

The conversational data used in this study were transcribed based on Jefferson's (2004) transcription methodology. Each transcription utilizes the following conventions:

- [Overlap = Latching
- {laugh} Laughter accompanying speech
- Continuing intonation

He says	Underlining indicates stress or emphasis
£ Oh okay £	British pound signs indicate talk produced while smiling
	(i.e., "smile voice")
°hello°	Talk appearing within degree signs is lower in volume relative to
	surrounding talk
?	Rising intonation
	Falling intonation
(0.8)	Numbers in parentheses indicate periods of silence, in tenths of a
	second. A period inside parentheses is a pause less than two-tenths
	of a second.
bold	First-person singular pronoun
Н	Head-movement (vertical, up to down)

As regards translation, the second line indicates morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, while the third line shows the translation at the sentence level. In addition, two types of conventions, "(...)" and "[...]," are used for the purpose of showing the data more precisely. As Japanese speakers often do not use overt pronouns, pronouns that are non-overt in the original utterance but are needed for the English translation are indicated in parentheses (). In addition, because of the structural difference between Japanese and English, there are cases that need free rather than literal translation, and this is indicated in brackets [].

3.5. Methodology for the Essay Data

3.5.1. Discourse Analysis

With regard to written essays, a type of planned discourse written by a single writer, a discourse analytic perspective is adopted. As explained in Chapter 2, discourse analysis drew from observations and insights from a variety of related disciplines and theories. This study will rely on theories and approaches used to analyze the main point, organization, and structure of the

texts to observe when and how first-person singular pronouns are used to express the writer's subjective position and initiate their narrative of personal experience. This is because planned discourse is structured to convey the writer's main point in a coherent manner by utilizing rhetorical organization and structure. Identification of the writer's main argument, rhetorical organization, and structure will thus help to investigate when and how first-person singular pronouns are used in essays.

The writer's main points, ideas, or arguments are described as *shudaibun* in Japanese (Lee, 2008, p. 3), which translates to "thesis statements." As thesis statements unify the texts as a whole (Nagano, 1986),²⁵ identifying these is an important step in understanding the organization of the essay. To identify the main point of each essay, the study primarily considers the title of the essay. This is because titles in Japanese texts function to bring the readers closer to the text and organize what they will read so as to help them understand the thesis (Meiji Tosho Shuppan, 1991). Depending on what the title represents, thesis statements may therefore repeat or paraphrase the title or reflect the writer's subjective position on the issue or topic expressed in the title. This approach is based on the *Kokugo kyoiku kenkyuu daijiten* ("A Comprehensible Dictionary of Japanese Education Studies) published by Meiji Tosho Shuppan (1991), which outlines multiple ways in which titles are made, including the following:

- (1) To indicate the thesis or the central topic
- (2) To introduce the topic
- (3) To summarize the contents
- (4) To trigger time, place, people, and events
- (5) To indicate the thesis implicitly or symbolically

²⁵ "Toukatsu suru (統括する)" is the Japanese term used in Nagano (1986).

(6) To indicate the call for the reader

Given these features of titles and their relationship with thesis statements, this research will assume that the main point repeats or paraphrases the title when the title itself shows the writer's subjective position, including features (1), (3), (5), and (6) above. Alternatively, it will consider that the thesis statement shows the writer's subjective position on the issue introduced in the title, when the title includes features (2) or (4). For example, the following sentence shows the main point of the essay in the essay titled "Ancient Egyptian heaven, earth and man" (古代工ジプトの天地人). This title shows the topic of the essay, which is Ancient Egypt. Thus the main point shows the writer's subjective position with regard to the topic, as in (5.1) below:

(5.1)

私はこの論理的で素晴らしい思想を考え出した古代エジプト人に深く敬意を表したい。 watashi wa kono ronriteki de subarashii shisoo wo kangaedashita kodai ejiputojin ni hukaku keei wo arawashitai.

'I wish to express my deepest respect for the ancient Egyptians, who came up with this logical and wonderful idea.'

The writer's main point is conveyed by adopting a particular rhetorical organization which enhances the essay's overall coherence. In Japanese, rhetorical organization includes a three-part organization, five-part organization, and *kishotenketsu*, a four-part organization.

Three-part organization consists of *joron* (initial, introductory part), *honron* (middle, main part), and *ketsuron* (final, concluding part). This organization applies to the internal structure of expository, persuasive, descriptive, and narrative discourse (Maynard, 1998). Five-part organization consists of *okori* (beginning), *uke* (leading), *hari* (main point), *soe* (supplement), and *musubi* (conclusion) and applies primarily to expository and persuasive discourse. *Ki-shoten-ketsu* organization, the four-part organization, consists of *ki* (topic presentation), *shoo* (topic

development), *ten* (surprise turn), and *ketsu* (conclusion). In addition, another four-part organization also exists and is used in *ronsetsubun*, such as editorials. This structure includes *joron* (introductory remarks), *jirei no teiji* (example), *ronri no teiji* (cohesiveness, logic), and *ketsuron* (concluding remarks), or statements as to how the new discovery changes the position. I will use these terms to analyze the organization of the essays by referring to these definitions.

Within each "part" in these organizations, the rhetorical structure of the text will be analyzed by adopting Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) (Mann & Thompson, 1987). RST is a method for analyzing discourse structures composed of multiple sentences. It was first proposed in the 1980s and has been applied to automatic summarization (Marcu, 2000). A Tcl/Tk-based interactive tool was developed to support manually editing and visually showing the structure (O'Donnell, 1997). This tool aids the segmentation of texts and the graphical linking of these segments into an RST diagram. For the purpose of visually presenting the analysis in this study, I will use the RST Tool Version 3.43 released in December 2003.

According to Mann and Thompson (1987), RST can be applied to a variety of texts and text sizes to identify hierarchical structure in texts. RST describes the relations between text parts in functional terms, identifying both the transition point of a relation and the extent of the items related. It provides a comprehensive approach to describing texts, unlike the process of creating, reading, or understanding them. The specific RST analytical steps are described as follows:

(1) Divide the text into units. Unit size is arbitrary in RST, and can be lexical items or paragraphs or larger. The units are referred to as "segments". While the unit or "segment" is arbitrary, the examples that will be provided in the analysis chapter show the unit of

²⁶ "Tcl" is a programming language and "Tk" is a cross-platform widget toolkit. The combination of Tcl and the Tk extension is referred to as "Tcl/Tk" and enables building a graphical user interface natively in Tcl.

- segments are mostly the unit of sentences. In this study, the term "segment" is used to primarily show the hierarchical structure of essays in RST, and the term "sentence" is used to primarily explain the morphosyntactic structure.
- (2) Identify spans and relations. This can be either top down (i.e., progressive refinement) or bottom-up (i.e., aggregation). The relation is described with the "nucleus," which plays a central role in the process, thus realizing the main goals of the writer, and the "satellite," which provides supplemental information to the material contained in the nucleus. Each segment contributes to the relation set. Some of the relation sets are summarized in Table 3.7 below.

Table 3.7 Nucleus and satellite relations

Relation Name	Nucleus	Satelite
Antithesis	Ideas favored by the author	Ideas disfavored by the author
Background	Text whose understanding is being facilitated	Text designed to facilitate understanding
Circumstance	Text expressing the events or ideas occurring in the interpretive context	Interpretive context of situation or time
Concession	Situation affirmed by author	Situation apparently inconsistent but affirmed by author
Condition	Action or situation whose occurrence results from the occurrence of the conditioning situation	Conditioning situation
Elaboration	Basic information	Additional information
Enablement	An action	Information intended to aid the reader in performing an action

Evaluation	A situation	Evaluative comment about the situation
Evidence	A claim	Information intended to increase the reader's belief in the claim
Interpretation	A situation	Interpretation of the situation
Justification	Text	Information supporting the writer's right to express the text
Motivation	An action	Information intended to increase the reader's desire to perform the action
Non-volitional Cause	A situation	A situation that causes another one but not through anyone's deliberate action
Non-volitional Result	a situation	Another situation caused by a previous one but not through anyone's deliberate action
Otherwise (anti- conditional)	Action or situation whose occurrence results from the lack of occurrence of the conditioning situation	Conditioning situation
Purpose	An intended situation	The intent behind the situation
Restatement	A situation	A reexpression of the situation
Solution	A situation or method supporting full or partial satisfaction of the need	A question, request, problem, or other expressed need
Summary	Text	A short summary of the text
Volitional Cause	A situation	Another situation that causes a previous one through someone's deliberate action
Volitional Result	A situation	Another situation caused by a previous one through someone's deliberate action

For example, let us observe how Mann and Matthiessen (1991) analyze Text 1, "Not

Laziness," using RST. Text 1 is the first paragraph from an editorial in *The Hartford Courant*.

Text 1: Not Laziness

- 1. Farmington police had to help control traffic recently
- 2. when hundreds of people lined up to be among the first applying for jobs at the yet-to-open Marriot Hotel.
- 3. The hotel's help-announcement for 300 openings was a rare opportunity for many unemployed.
- 4. The people waiting in line carried a message, a refutation, of claims that the jobless could be employed if only they showed enough moxie.
- 5. Every rule has exceptions,
- 6. but the tragic and too-common tableau of hundreds or even thousands of people snakelining up for any task with a paycheck illustrates a lack of jobs,
- 7. not laziness.

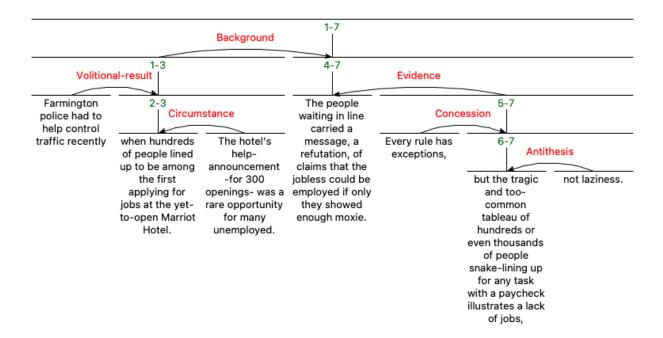


Figure 3.3 RST diagram for Text 1

As we can see in Figure 3.3, the horizontal lines show the text dimensions, which are tied within two segments. Looking at the highest-level segments (i.e., 1-3 and 4-7), we can see that Segments 1-3 represent background information for Segments 4-7. That is, the fact that hundreds of people lined up to be at the job openings at the Marriott Hotel (Segments 1-3) is the background information for the writer's assertion that they want jobs and are not lazy (Segments 4-7). If we look at Segments 1-3 in more detail, Segment 1 is another situation caused by the situation in Segment 2 through the people's deliberate action of lining up to be among the first applying for jobs at the yet-to-open Marriot Hotel. Segment 3 works as a circumstance for Segment 2, showing the interpretive context of the situation described in Segment 2. Then, if we look at Segments 4-7 in more detail, the fact that people waiting in line shows joblessness (Segments 5-7) is evidence for the writer's critical viewpoint that negates the claims that the jobless could be employed if only they showed enough "moxie," or determination (Segment 4). Within Segments 5-7, Segment 5 shows the situation apparently inconsistent but affirmed by the author, and Segments 6-7 are the situation affirmed by the author, illustrating the Antithesis relation. That is, in Segment 7, the editorial writer considers the thesis that unemployment can be explained in terms of laziness, but she clearly favors the proposition in Segment 6. In this way, RST analysis shows the relationship between the segments and the hierarchical structure of the texts.

Let us now look at another example of different types of relation sets. If a relation does not have a particular span of text that is more central to the author's purpose, it is called "multinuclear." Examples of multinuclear relation sets are shown in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 Multinuclear relations

Relation Name	Span	Other Span
Contrast	one alternate	the other alternate
Joint	(unconstrained)	(unconstrained)
List	an item	a subsequent item
Sequence	an item	a subsequent item

For example, Text 2 (Mann & Thompson, 1987, p. 75) includes the relation set of contrast, as we can see in Figure 3.4. Text 2 consists of the abstract introducing a *Scientific American* article.

Text 2

- 1. Animals heal,
- 2. but trees compartmentalize.
- 3. They endure a lifetime of injury and infection
- 4. by setting boundaries that resist the spread of the invading microorganisms.

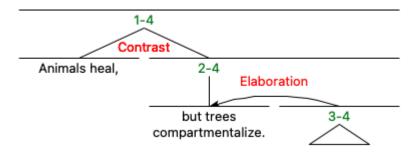


Figure 3.4 RST diagram for Text 2

Segments 1 and 2 of this text fit the definition of "contrast:" Animals and trees are similar in being living organisms but differ in many respects. Segments 1 and 2 compare one of these differences, namely their reactions to injury and disease. This is how RST parses texts into

component units. By using RST, this study analyzes the relationship between patterns in the use of first-person singular pronouns and discourse structure. This is comparable to the methodology of IL and CA, which also parses the transcribed conversation to review underlying patterns in the interactional structure (for a similar discussion, see Fox, 1987). However, they also differ considerably given that unlike IL and CA, RST does not deal with the contingency of co-constructed interactions.

3.5.2. Conventions

The analysis of the essay data will be shown in Japanese script along with the translation. Transliterations and glossing will be also provided for the targeted sentences that include first-person singular pronouns. The reason for providing data in the Japanese script is to show how writers use it in their essays, including their selection of *kanji* for words as well as punctuation marks.

Furthermore, as the rhetorical structure and organization will be analyzed, multiple units will be shown. The label "PART" and related number (e.g., "PART 1") will show which organizational part of the essay is being presented. For example, if only the first part is shown among three-part organizations, this will be indicated as PART 1. The label "Paragraph" and related number refer to which paragraph within the part is shown (e.g., "Paragraph 1" for the first paragraph). "Segments" will be indicated in subsequent lines.

3.6. Summary

In this chapter, I illustrated the data and methodologies I will use in this dissertation. I specifically discussed how these comparable datasets and targets of the analysis were selected as well as the justification for the methodologies to be adopted. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the use

of first-person singular pronouns in the conversational data. I will show how first-person singular pronouns are occasioned in the interactional contingency, which will be compared to their use in the essay data in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4

Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns in Conversational Japanese

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the use of first-person singular pronouns in conversational data. To compare the use in essay data in Chapter 5, this chapter will focus on three action sequences:

1) the speakers' assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects; 2) the speakers' assertions about themselves; and 3) the speakers' initiations of a storytelling about their personal experience, all of which will be explained in the following sections. As we saw in Chapter 2, previous studies suggest that overt first-person singular pronouns in Japanese conversation are relevant to expressing something personal to the speaker such as the speaker's subjectivity or a contrastive sense of others, including the co-participant(s). Analyzing these three types of action sequences, which include these features, allows us to examine how first-person singular pronouns are relevant in presenting something personal.

The chapter aims to provide a usage-based account of the use of first-person singular pronouns in actual conversational data. After presenting an overview of the cases to be analyzed in this chapter, I will present how first-person singular pronouns are used in turns as well as what morphosyntactic features are observed in the turn construction. Based on the analysis, I will discuss how the use of these pronouns is triggered by ongoing interactional contingencies.

In my data, there are 54 overt first-person singular pronouns in the targeted action sequences. The distribution of the forms and of the particles accompanying the first-person singular pronouns are summarized in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, respectively.

Table 4.1 Distribution of forms of first-person singular pronouns in selected sequential contexts

Form	N	%
watashi	29	53.7
atashi	7	13.0
ore	16	29.6
boku	1	1.9
uchi	1	1.9
Total	54	100.0

Table 4.2 Distribution of particles accompanying first-person singular pronouns in selected sequential contexts

Particles	N	%
Ø	38	70.4
то	8	14.8
wa	3	5.6
ga	5	9.3
Total	54	100.0

Table 4.1 shows that the form *watashi* occurred most frequently in the data. Of note here is the fact that the forms *watashi* and *atashi* are all used by the female speakers and *ore* and *boku* by the male speakers in this conversational dataset. In addition, Table 4.2 also shows that nominative first-person singular pronouns in the selected action sequences are often followed by a zero-particle in the conversational data. This is significantly different from the essay data, as will be shown in Chapter 5.

In the following sections, I will show cases where first-person singular pronouns are used in sequences involving assertions (4.2) as well as initiating a storytelling of a personal experience (4.3). Finally, Section 4.4 will discuss the usage of first-person singular pronouns based on these findings.

4.2. First-Person Singular Pronouns in Sequences Involving Assertions

In this section, I will discuss the use of overt first-person singular pronouns in sequences involving assertions. As introduced in Chapter 2, "assertion" in conversation refers to a turn in which the speaker describes or makes a claim concerning something about the world, often attaching an evaluative and personal stance (Vatanen, 2014; Vatanen et al., 2021). For example, the following two excerpts in my Japanese conversational data are both considered sequences involving an assertion. While Excerpt 1 includes an assessment turn that includes the adjective *kakkoii* ('cool') in line 1 followed by disagreement in line 2, Excerpt 2 includes an assertion in line 1 followed by agreement. Both cases show the speaker's evaluative personal stance toward something or someone in the world.

Excerpt 1: Kabayaroo

```
O1 Sacc: ya: are meccha kakkoii kara ne
IJ that very cool so FP

'well that is super cool'

O2 Shio: kakkoyoku wa nai kara ne
cool TOP NEG so FP

'(that is) not cool'
```

Excerpt 2: Girls who go to "night pools"²⁷

```
Nao : ya: ee iku jyoshi tte sootoo jishin aru tte omowanai? well IJ go girls TOP very confidence have QT think.NEG
```

²⁷ Underlining was added to segments where an overt first-person singular pronoun may be inserted.

However, the above cases do not include overt first-person singular pronouns. The utterances in lines 1 and 2 in Excerpt 1 do not syntactically require the first-person singular pronoun, while the utterance in line 2 in Excerpt 2 could have the first-person singular pronoun overtly as the subject of the verb *omou* ('think'). In fact, cases without overt first-person singular pronouns, as in these examples, are more frequently seen in my datasets. The question is when overt first-person singular pronouns appear in such sequences. Before presenting when and how first-person singular pronouns are used, Section 4.2.1 discusses preference organization and epistemics in sequences involving assertions as basic background information for the analysis provided in later sections.

4.2.1. Preference organization and epistemics in sequence involving assertions

In a sequence that involves assertions to be studied in this section, participants in conversations express and negotiate their internal or evaluative position about a particular target or circumstance. As we will see in more detail below, when participants express and negotiate their internal or evaluative positions, different features are associated with whether and how participants align with previous assertions, which indicates their orientation towards or preference for agreement (Pomerantz, 1984). For example, straightforward agreement tends to be initiated with prompt timing, which can be followed by elaboration. On the other hand, features of disagreement include delaying, qualifying, and providing accounts to avoid direct assertions. In addition, when the recipient shows disalignment, the speaker might pursue alignment. The

sequence exhibiting these features may develop until the participants find middle ground, acknowledge co-existing multiple perspectives, or change the topic to terminate the discussion.²⁸

For example, in Excerpt 3 below, four participants are talking about *Kamome*, a restaurant they all know. In line 1, Kaneko asks whether *Kamome* is still open. In line 2, Ogata then negates its existence, followed by confirmations by Hamada (line 4) and Koga (line 5). In line 6, Ogata again makes an assertion, saying *tsubureta ppoi* ('seems like they are closed'). Following this assertion about the existence of *Kamome*, Hamada utters *uso* ('(you) are lying'), a news receipt token. The token delays the agreement, showing disalignment of the structure of conversation. Hamada then accounts for not being able to align in line 13.

Excerpt 3: Kamome

```
01
        Kane:
                Kamome tte mada anno?
                kamome OT vet
                'is Kamome still open?'
02
        Ogat:
                [nai yo.
                 no
                    FP
                 'no'
03
        Hama:
                [a=
                 oh
                 'oh'
04
        Hama:
                 =e. na[i no.
                   IJ no
                   'what, are they closed?'
05
                         [nai[no?
        Koga:
                         no
                         'are they closed?'
06
        Ogat:
                              [tsubure[ta ppoi.
                              closed
                                            seems like
                              'seems like they are closed'
07
                                       [uso:.
        Hama:
                                       lie
                                       '(you) are lying'
08
        Koga:
                                       [a. soo nan da.=
                                        oh so
                                               COP COP
                                       'oh (I) see'
```

²⁸ These features parallel the findings about an "opinion-negotiation sequence" by Mori (1999), in which co-participants negotiate their individual internal and evaluative position about a circumstance.

```
09
        Ogat:
                 =nan[ka:.
                   like
                  'well'
10
        Kane:
                      [ma:ji:de:.
                       seriously
                       'seriously?'
11
        Hama:
                      [e.=
                       IJ
                       'eh'
12
        Ogat:
                 =iya.=
                   well
                   'well'
13
        Hama:
                =ore tsui konaida made sonzai kakunin shiteta
                      just recently until existence confirmed
                 'I have confirmed (their) existence until recently'
                                  da kedo.
14
                [ki qa shita n
        Hama:
                 feel.like
                               NOM COP but
                 '(I) feel like'
15
                [e. datte konomae
        Ogat:
                 IJ because the other day
                 'eh because the other day'
16
        Ogat:
                iya. da-
                well so
                'well, so'
17
        Ogat:
                nanka sa Kamome no mae ni jidohanbaiki atta ja[:n.
                       FP Kamome in.front.of
                                               vending machine there COP
                'well, there was a vending machine in front of Kamome, right?'
18
        Hama:
                                                                        yeah
                                                                        'yeah'
19
        Ogat:
                are nakami marumaru nakunatten no.
                                                     NOM
                that content whole
                                       lost
                'it was empty'
20
        Kane:
                (
                   )
21
                maji de:.
        Hama:
                really
                'really?'
22
        Koga:
                he[e
                IJ
                'uh huh'
23
        Ogat:
                   [dakara: __ wakannai.
                                understandable.NEG
                   'so (I) don't know.'
24
                                  da kedo:,=
        Ogat:
                yoru tootta n
                night go.through NOM COP but
                '(I) went through there at night though'
25
        Hama:
                =un
                 yeah
                 'yeah'
26
        Ogat:
                dakara:
                so
                'so'
27
        Ogat: jidohanbaiki: mattaku nakunaru tte koto wa sa
```

vending machine at all lost QT thing TOP FP

'the fact that there is no vending machine means'

Namome jitai moo nai kanousei takakunai?

Kamome itself already no potentiality high

'Is (it) likely that Kamome itself has already closed, isn't it?'

In analyzing interactions using Interactional Linguistics and Conversation Analysis, "who knows what" turns out to be of extreme importance to participants as they try to make sense of their interactions together. Knowledge (i.e., "epistemics") in interaction means participants' right and obligations to know (or not know) certain things. Thus orienting knowledge over the course of an interaction may change the action a turn conveys. In this regard, orienting knowledge becomes procedurally consequential for social interaction; that is, it becomes consequential for what is happening now and therefore for what (should) happen next.²⁹

To make an assertion and negotiate a subjective position, knowledge of the target(s) being discussed is crucial because co-participants negotiate their internal and evaluative position based on the information they obtain with regard to the target. Whether one has access to the target or not is referred to as "epistemic access," which is expressed through epistemic stance, which captures the moment-by-moment positioning of participants with respect to each other in and through talk (Clift, 2016, p. 203). Relative epistemic access to the target is schematically encapsulated as K+ (more knowledgeable) and K- (less knowledgeable) (Heritage, 2012). In general, when relatively unknowing (K-) speakers ask questions, relatively knowing (K+)

_

²⁹ For example, let us look at the English example below:

⁰⁵ MAR: .hhh We hear fr'm Leslie occasionally.

^{06 (0.3)}

⁰⁷ MAR: [(0.7)/.t.hhhhhhh]=

⁰⁸ RON: =What is she (.) up to.

In line 5, Marcia utters "Leslie," a person reference form she considers recognizable to Ron. Through her deployment of this person reference form, she reveals what she takes Ron to know about the world. In this way, she is mobilizing her own knowledge as well as orienting to Ron's knowledge.

speakers make assertions. Furthermore, when speakers indicate greater familiarity with the referent compared to the interlocutor (i.e., relative authority of knowledge), they claim "epistemic primacy." According to Stivers et al. (2011), in social interaction, people orient themselves to asymmetries in their relative right to know about some state of affairs and their relative right to tell, inform, assert, or assess something. This asymmetry in the depth, specificity, or completeness of their knowledge can be termed "epistemic primacy." Epistemics is shown in utterances, as in referential forms, determiners, tense, and evidential markers as co-participants negotiate their assertions with attention to the epistemic stance displayed in moment-by-moment fashion.

Excerpt 3 above shows how participants demonstrate their epistemic stance in negotiating the existence of the restaurant *Kamome*. Kaneko, who asks a question in line 1, indicates her K—stance, which is followed by the assertion by Ogata in line 2, showing his K+ stance. Ogata again asserts in line 6 with K+ stance following Ogata and Hamada's confirmations in lines 4 and 5. Hamada indicates that he cannot agree with the assertion by uttering his personal experience of confirming the restaurant the other day in lines 13 and 14. To the extent that personal experience is "owned" by speakers, they have the relative right and authority over the experience. In this sense, Hamada displays epistemic primacy over Ogata as a result of confirming the existence of the restaurant *Kamome* in his account in line 13, which is followed by *ki ga shita* ('feel like'), downgrading his certainty in line 14. From line 15, Ogata introduces the fact that the vending machine in front of the restaurant was empty, thus reasoning about his position. However, Ogata's reasoning does not negate or disagree with Hamada's experience of seeing the restaurant. As we will discuss in the sections below, the participants' epistemic access to the

target is relevant in the use of overt first-person singular pronouns in sequences involving an assertion.

Looking at the co-participant's next turn following the turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun will enable us to see what was accomplished by the speaker's previous turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun. The analysis below presents how turns with overt first-person singular pronouns contribute to the execution of particular actions in the sequence involving "assertion." In the following sections, we will see examples of sequences involving assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects (4.2.2) and those about the participants (4.2.3) to examine when and how overt first-person singular pronouns are used in these action sequences. Although, as will be discussed later, different mechanisms work depending on the target of the assertions, similar features are observed in the use of first-person singular pronouns

4.2.2. First-person singular pronouns in sequences involving an assertion about third persons, events, activities, or objects

In the data, sequences that involve "assertions" about third persons, events, activities, and objects included 25 overt first-person singular pronouns, including *watashi* (16 cases), *atashi* (4 cases), *ore* (4 cases), and *uchi* (1 case). As discussed in previous chapters, postpositional particles, which attach to the noun phrase, play an important role as they define the grammatical role of the noun phrase in the argument structure of Japanese. For this reason, I provide the distribution of the postpositional particles attached to overt first-person singular pronouns in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular pronouns in sequences involving an assertion about third persons, events, activities, or objects

Particles	N	%
N/A	17	68.0
wa	1	4.0
ga	4	16.0
то	3	12.0
Total	25	100.0

As I will discuss in the following subsections, there is a correlation between the morphosyntax and the actions executed by the turns, including overt first-person singular pronouns. I will show the two major patterns of turns, including overt first-person singular pronouns.³⁰ The first type of turns with overt first-person singular pronouns displays (or lacks) epistemic access to the target(s) in account (4.2.2.1), and the second type displays a personal and strong internal description in a new assertion or agreement (4.2.2.2). As we will see in the following subsections, both types of turns share two features: 1) they do not follow multiple Turn Constructional Units (TCU) such as a storytelling; and 2) most overt first-person singular pronouns in these turns are not followed by a particle.³¹

 $^{^{30}}$ Other less frequently seen types of utterances with overt first-person singular pronouns include cases where the speaker initiates a topical talk after aligning the previous assertion made by the co-participant and where the speaker conveys agreement with the particle mo.

³¹ Only three cases attach the case particle ga. In these cases, there are multiple characters in the conversation, and ga is primarily used to disambiguate the speaker from other people.

4.2.2.1. Display (or lack) of epistemic access to the target(s) in an account

There are 12 cases of turns with the overt first-person singular pronoun displaying epistemic access to the target in the account. These turns display either lack of epistemic access or epistemic primacy to the target in the account when the speaker does not align with the coparticipant with regard to their view towards the target. As illustrated in Figures 4.1. and 4.2. below, first-person singular pronouns are seen in Speaker B's account for not being able to align with Speaker A (Figure 4.1) or in Speaker A's account to pursue an agreement (Figure 4.2). In both these sequential contexts, after overt first-person singular pronouns are used in the account, the co-participants accept the account.

Speaker A: Assertion

→ Speaker B: Account for not aligning with the assertion with the overt 1SG

Speaker A: Accept the account

Figure 4.1 Accounting sequence structure 1

Speaker A: Assertion

Speaker B: Not aligning with the assertion

→ Speaker A: Account in pursuing an agreement with the overt 1SG

Speaker B: Accept the account

Figure 4.2 Accounting sequence structure 2

Of the 12 cases, four appear in turns displaying a lack of epistemic access to the target in the account for not being able to align with the co-participant, as seen in Figure 4.1. For

example, in Excerpt 4, where Kana and Nao negotiate their views on the danger of playing in the river, the first-person singular pronoun *watashi* is used (line 4) in the account for not being able to align with the co-participant's assertion about the scariness of playing in the river (line 1).

Excerpt 4: Playing in the river

```
01
               hutsuuni watashi<sup>32</sup> kawaasobi
                                                   de shinu jishin ga aru
        Kana:
                normally
                                    playing in the river LOC die
                                                               confident
                'I am confident (I) will die by playing in the river'
                ehhehehehe ((laugh)) ((putting her hand on her mouth))
02
       Nao:
               'hahaha'
0.3
       Nao:
               1150?
                lie
               'seriously?'
               ((Kana is putting her hand on her mouth and probably open her
               mouth to say something, but nothing is heard/ audible))
04
       Nao:
                ya watashi sonnna kawa itta koto nai,
                well I
                            such
                                    river
                                           haven't been
                'well I haven't played in the river that much'
05
        (0.4)
                         da kedo, kihon. teki ni saa
06
        Kana:
                not NOM COP but
                                    basically
                                                      FP
                '(I) [also] haven't, but basically'
07
       Nao:
                yes
                'veah'
08
                suinan jiko tte saa umi yori mo kawa ja nai?
        Kana:
                drowning accident TOP FP sea than
                                                     river COP not
                'drowning accidents occur in rivers more than seas, huh?'
09
        (0.8)
10
        Nao:
                aa soo[nano kanaa
                oh so COP FP
               'oh maybe'
```

Following Kana's assertion about playing in the river, Nao laughs (line 2) and asks "Seriously?" (line 3), which delays and projects a dispreferred response.³³ In line 4, Nao displays her lack of epistemic access to the river, which shows her inability to make a judgment as an account for not

³² The overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* here is not our target of the analysis in this section as it is in a different position from our focus.

³³ The turn can also be taken as a news receipt giving the go-ahead for extended talk.

being able to agree with Kana's assertion about the scariness of playing in the river (line 1). Claiming lack of epistemic access works here as a strategy to account for disagreement rather than a simple display of the state of unknowing because the speaker could still state an opinion or evaluation or agree with the prior speaker based on limited knowledge (Mori, 1999a, p. 120). Following a pause in line 5, Kana expresses that she has not been to the river that much either (line 6) and continues her utterance by seeking agreement (line 8). Importantly, Kana's turns in lines 6 and 8 do not negate or disagree with Nao's turn in line 4 as Kana accepts Nao's account. Thus, an overt first-person singular pronoun is used in the turn that displays the speaker's lack of epistemic access to the target in the account, which is then accepted by the co-participant.

Of the 12 cases, the remaining eight cases display the speaker's epistemic primacy to the target in the account for not being able to align with the co-participant(s), as in Figure 4.1, or to pursue agreement, as in Figure 4.2. The epistemic primacy, which indicates greater familiarity with the target compared to the interlocutor, can be based on something personal to the speaker, including an experience or situation, which are not accessible to the other. As we will see in Excerpt 5, one of the sequential contexts where the turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun is observed is when the speaker expresses a personal experience or situation as an account for not being able to totally affirm or agree with the assertion.

Excerpt 5: Ebikuriimu raisu ('Shrimp cream rice')

Context: Four participants, who are old friends from the same junior high school, are in a restaurant in their neighborhood. Kaneko found *ebikuriimu raisu* – 'shrimp cream rice' – on the menu, which is nostalgic to them.

```
01
                are kyushoku igai de tabeta koto nai [yo.
                that school means except
                                         haven't eaten
                                                             FP
                '(I) haven't eaten one except at the school lunch.'
02
        Kane:
                                                             '(I) haven't'
                ebikuriimu raisu tte.
03
        Koqa:
                shrimp-cream-rice
                'shrimp-cream-rice'
04
        Ogat:
                un.
                ves
                'yeah'
                doko ni ittara kuen no ka tte yuu.
05
        Kane:
                where LOC go
                                 can eat NOM Q QT say
                'where the heck can (we) eat (such food)?'
06
        Hama:
                {laugh}
07
        Koga:
                ne.
                FP
                'right'
08
        Ogat:
                oh
                'oh'
09
        Koga:
                [youshoku na no?
                                       nan na no mitaina.
                 Western food COP NOM what COP NOM like
                'Is it a western food? Or what?'
                [ore tsukutta yo. ((pointing at himself when saying
10
       Ogat:
                 tsukuttayo))
                 Ι
                      made
                               FP
                 'I made it'
                £tsukutta£? hahahaha
11
        Kane:
                   made
                           hahaha
                   '(you) made it? hahaha'
12
        Ogat:
                  tsukutta __tsukutta
                               made
                  made
                  '(I) made (it)'
                £e. jibunde?£
13
        Kane:
                 IJ by yourself
                'by yourself?'
14
        Ogat:
                un.
               yes
               'yeah'
15
        Kane:
               £jiSAku ka£
                 self-made Q
                 'self-made'
```

In Excerpt 5, the participants negotiate their view of the availability of "shrimp cream rice" on the menu. In line 5, Kaneko doubts the availability of shrimp cream rice in the form of a rhetorical question, which is followed by laughter from Hamada in line 6 and alignment by Koga in line 7. While these three participants are moving forward to agreement about the unavailability of shrimp cream rice asserted by Kaneko in line 5, in line 8, Ogata utters the change-of-state token a, showing that the preceding inquiry was unexpected and marks a shift in awareness (Hayashi & Hayano, 2018). He then brings his personal experience of making shrimp cream rice with the first-person singular pronoun *ore* in line 10. Ogata's turn in line 10 preceded by a in line 8 disaligns with Hamada's assertion in line 6 in a way that precludes cooperation by facilitating the proposed activity or sequence, accepting the presuppositions and terms of the proposed action or activity, or matching the formal design preference of the turn. Following the turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun ore, Kaneko confirms Ogata's assertion while laughing (line 11), which facilitates Ogata's elaboration. Similar to Excerpt 4, Kaneko's turn does not negate or disagree with Ogata's account in line 10 with the overt first-person singular pronoun. Instead, Kaneko accepts Ogata's account and further facilitates Ogata's elaboration.

As we have seen so far, overt first-person singular pronouns appear in accounts for not aligning the co-participant's assertion. Interestingly, in my data, there is no direct disagreement with an assertion by employing an overt first-person singular pronoun such as the utterances "I disagree," "I don't agree," "I don't think so," and so on. Overt first-person singular pronouns are seen when the speaker displays epistemic authority, which co-participants cannot negate or disagree with. Therefore, we can assume that overt first-person singular pronouns are deployed when the speaker commits to the validity of the view that the preceding utterance is true to convey disalignment in a rather indirect manner so as to avoid potential face-threatening.

Similar features are seen in the turns with overt first-person singular pronouns in accounts for the speaker's previous assertion to pursue the co-participant's agreement, as depicted in Figure 4.2. The overt first-person singular pronoun again appears to express a personal experience or situation, with the speaker able to commit to its validity as an account for the assertion. In Excerpt 6, Shiori asks Sacchi about the size of the home stadium of each baseball team in Japan. According to this conversation, the size of stadiums corresponds to how popular they are. Sacchi says that the Giants have a large stadium because they are popular (lines 1 and 3). Shiori then questions the case of Yokohama Stadium (line 5), indicating that she is less knowledgeable (K–) and Sacchi is more knowledgeable (K+) about Yokohama Stadium.

Although Sacchi answers in line 7, the discussion of stadium size continues as Shiori clarifies his meaning (lines 10 and 11). Sacchi repairs (lines 18, 20, and 22), but Shiori does not show any uptake (lines 23).

Excerpt 6: Yokohama stadium

```
01
               demo jaiantsu wa hiroi.
       Sacc:
                    Giants
                              TOP big
               'but Giants' (stadium) is big.'
              ((Sacchi shows the size with hands gesture))
02
       (2.4) ((Shiori imitates Sacchi's gesture))
03
              ninki dakara ((Sacchi does the same gesture again))
       Sacc:
               popular so
               'because (they are) popular'
04
       (1.5)
05
       Shio:
               e yokohama kore gurai? ((Shiori shows the size with a hand
               gesture to exaggerate the small size.))
               IJ Yokohama this
                                about
               'well is Yokohama's (stadium) about this size?'
06
       (0.6)
07
               kon gurai. ((Sacchi points to a cup in front of her on the
       Sacc:
               table.))
               this about
               'about this'
08
       (2.2) ((Shiori smiles and Sacchi also smiles back.))
09
       Sacc: hun((laugh))=
               haha
```

```
'haha'
10
       Shio:
               =>jaiantsu ga kore gurai< dat tara
                  Giants
                           SUB this
                                    about
                                             COP if
                  'if Giants' (one) is that big'
                 ((Shiori demonstrates her understanding by pointing at a big
                  dish to indicate the size of the Giants stadium in front of
                  them on the table.))
11
       Shio:
               kore gurai.=
               this
                    about
               'about this size'
               ((Shiori demonstrates her understanding by pointing at a small
                 cup to indicate the size of Yokohama stadium in front of them
                 on the table.))
12
               =sou sou sou
       Sacc:
                yes yes yes
                'yes yes yes'
13
        (1.2)
                  ((Shiori tilts her head))
14
       Sacc:
               iya.
               no
               'no'
15
       Sacc:
               sore ii sugita na.
                     say too much FP
               that
               'that one (I/you) exaggerated'
16
        (0.5)
17
       Shio:
               Ε!
               IJ
               'what?'
18
       Sacc:
               ko:re no: ((Sacchi indicates the size of the big dish in front
               of them on the table.))
               this
                     GEN
               'this'
19
       Shio:
               un.
               yes
               'yes'
20
       Sacc:
               hanbun gurai ja nai.
               ((Sacchi demonstrates the half size of the big dish.))
                       about COP NEG
               'about half (of this) maybe'
21
        (0.8)
                ((Shiori drinks))
22
       Sacc:
               kore no hanbun.
               ((Sacchi repeats the same gesture to demonstrate
               the size))
               this GEN half
               'half of this'
                ((After observing Sacchi's gesture, Shiori puts her drink on
23
        (2.5)
                 the table and gazes toward Sacchi again with smile.))
24
       Sacc:
               ima ninki damon.=
                now popular because
               'because (they are) popular now'
               =chiketto torenai mon. atashi.
25
                ticket
                          cannot take because I
                'I cannot get the tickets'
26
              hont[oni?
       Shio:
               really
```

```
'really?'
27
        Sacc:
                     [beisuta:zu.
                     Baystar's
                     'Baystar's'
28
        Sacc:
                soo soo
                yes yes
                'yes yes'
29
        Shio:
                tada de sa: are ja nakute?
                     and.FP that COP NEG
                'isn't [it because] free and'
30
        Sacc:
                yes
                'no'
31
        Shio:
                ano hamasuta
                                    ga yoku- ii kara ja nakute.
                that Yokohama Stadium SUB good
                                                    because COP NEG
                'well isn't (it) [just] because Yokohama Stadium is good?'
        (0.4)
32
33
        Sacc:
                hamasuta,
                                soo soo soo soo.
                Yokohama Stadium yes yes
                                         yes yes
                'Yokohama Stadium, yes'
34
        Shio: hamasuta
                                ga minna sukina dake desho
                Yokohama Stadium SUB everyone like
                'everyone likes Yokohama Stadium, that's it, right?'
```

In line 12, Sacchi affirms Shiori's clarification of the size of Yokohama Stadium (produced in lines 10 and 11) but initiates self-repair (lines 14 and 15). Sacchi then repairs in lines 18, 20, and 22 by using gestures to show that the size is actually larger than indicated by Shiori in line 11. Sacchi's repair is followed by a (2.5) pause when Shiori puts down her drink and gazes toward Sacchi again to facilitate Sacchi's further explanation. With no uptake by Shiori, Sacchi self-selects and continues in lines 24 and 25 by accounting for her previous assertion in line 22. The account in line 25 includes an overt first-person singular pronoun, which displays Sacchi's epistemic primacy to the target (i.e., how large the stadium is). She expresses her own experience of not being able to get a ticket, which shows that the BayStars are highly popular now. As Sacchi explained in lines 1 and 3, the size of the stadium corresponds to the popularity of the team. Therefore, the fact that she cannot get BayStars tickets accounts for the fact that BayStars is popular and Yokohama stadium is big.

Sacchi's epistemic primacy about her personal experience (displayed in line 25) plays an essential role in the account for pursuing agreement because Sacchi seems more knowledgeable about baseball in general compared to Shiori, based on the asymmetrical epistemic stance displayed over the course of the interaction. In lines 1 and 3, Sacchi asserts that the Giants' stadium is big because they are popular in declarative utterances on the basis of direct access to them (i.e., the size of the stadium) in the first position, implying a claim of primary epistemic or moral right to assess that state (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 34). In addition, Shiori positions herself as K— by confirming the size of Yokohama stadium (lines 5, 10, and 11), and Sacchi does so as K+ by informing (lines 7 and 12). These utterances, which show Shiori and Sacchi's epistemic access and rights about these elements, suggest that Sacchi is more knowledgeable in general about baseball than Shiori. Therefore, Sacchi's personal experience of not being able to get Yokohama Baystars tickets in line 25 is a crucial factor that supports her assertion in line 22.

Following the turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun in line 25, Shiori confirms (line 26) and asks if competition for tickets at Yokohama Stadium comes from the quality of the stadium itself, not the popularity of the BayStars, in lines 31 and 34. Similar to Excerpt 4 and 5, Shiori's turn does not negate or disagree with Sacchi's account with an overt first-person singular pronoun. Here, Shiori's turn is produced based on her acceptance of Sacchi's account.

In terms of the morphosyntax of the utterance of the turn in line 25, the overt first-person singular pronoun occurs after the predicate, *chiketto torenai mon* ('cannot get the tickets'), which is different from Excerpt 4 and 5. As the canonical word order in Japanese is the subject followed by a postpositional predicate, the utterance in this example has a non-canonical word order. Ono (2006) and Fujii (1991) show that a pragmatically marked element comes before other constituent(s), which influences the order of the utterance. In line with these earlier

80

findings, the utterance in the targeted turn in Excerpt 6 shows that the predicate is given

importance because it explains the popularity of the BayStars. The first-person singular pronoun

is then added to show that competition for tickets is based on personal experience and not

necessarily generalized.

As we have seen, the turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun displays the

speaker's lack of epistemic access or of epistemic primacy toward the target as the evidence

provided in the account. These accounting turns are then accepted by the co-participant(s) in the

following turn. Thus the qualitative differences in depth of knowledge grounded in experiences

and expertise between the speaker and the co-participant(s) are relevant in showing the overt

first-person singular pronoun in the account. In this sense, the overt first-person singular pronoun

indexes the speaker's epistemic authority (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

4.2.2.2. Displaying personal and strong internal descriptive utterances as new assertion or

agreement

The second significant pattern seen in the turns with the overt first-person singular

pronoun displays a personal and strong "internal description" (Iwasaki, 2014) as a new assertion

or agreement. There are five such cases in my data. Internal description, as opposed to external

description, describes situations that are internal to a person and are not directly observable or

verifiable from outside. Examples of internal description are shown below.

(4.1) Taroo ga hannin da

to omou COP QT think

(name) NOM culprit

1 :

'(I) think Taro is the culprit.'

(4.2) koko ga itain da yo here NOM painful.NOM COP FP 'It hurts here, you see.'

(4.3) *suki yo* like FP

'(I) love (you), you know.'

(Iwasaki, 2014, p. 59, glosses adapted by the author)

The internal description with overt first-person singular pronouns in my conversational data are observed when speakers acknowledge potential gaps with the co-participants' affective or epistemic stance toward the target(s) but expresses a personal and strong assertion that they do not necessarily expect agreement from the co-participant(s). Such internal descriptions show the speakers' mental process, characterized by the predicate, such as the verb *omou* ('to think') and *wakaranai* ('do not understand'), emotional conditions, such as *yada* ('to hate' or 'to mind'), and belief in "extreme case formulation" (Pomerantz, 1986).³⁴ As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, the subject of the internal description in Japanese is the speaker unless evidential markers mark it and thus is not necessarily overt.

An example of a turn with overt first-person singular pronoun displaying an internal description is shown in Excerpt 7 below, where Sacchi and Shiori talk about a security guard they saw in a baseball stadium. Here, the overt first-person singular pronoun appears in post-predicate position, when the speaker assesses the security guard in an extreme case formulation by using a word *zettai* ('absolutely').

³⁴ According to Pomerantz (1986), in extreme case formulation, speakers often present their strongest case, including specifying extreme cases for their claims, in order to legitimize a claim about accusing or defending.

Excerpt 7: White security guards

Context: Shiori and Sacchi are talking about a baseball game that they watched that day. They say they are happy to have been able to watch the game. Just before the excerpt, Sacchi says that she had sent a photo (probably one she took at the game) to her coworker and her coworker was impressed. The following excerpt begins after a 3.8 second pause, when Shiori remembers the interaction between Sacchi and the police at the baseball stadium.

```
01
                nanka yakyuu senshu wa koe kakeru to seishintoitsu
                       baseball players TOP talk to
                                                        when practicing mindfulness SUB
                'well if (one) talks to baseball players then that will prevent them from
                practicing mindfulness'
02
                .hh doono koono de koe kakecha ikenaishi,
        Shio:
                     etcetera etcetera and talk to
                                                     must not
                'so (we) cannot talk to them and'
03
        Shio:
                 .hh[nanka iroiro kimuzukashi.
                             various difficult
                '(they) are difficult in many ways.'
04
        Sacc:
                     [datte sa nn mita desho?
                                    saw right
                     because FP
                     '(you) saw it right?'
                ((Sacchi looks at Shio, and Shio's gaze is toward her foods.))
05
        Sacc:
                        wa
                             goenryo kudasai toka itteta
                autograph TOP refrain
                                      please
                                                and said
06
                ano keibiin
                                no ano shiroi keibiin.
                that security guard GEN that white
                                                  security guard
                'the white security guard who said like please refrain from asking them for an
                autograph'
                [zetta↑i YADA atashi:
07 →
        Sacc:
                 absolutely hate
                'I absolutely hate (him/her)'
08
                [shiroi ((laugh))
        Shio:
                 white
                'white'
09
        Shio:
                shiroi keibiin ((laugh)) ((Sacchi starts slurping noodles.))
                         security guard
                white
                'white security guard'
10
        Shio:
                ii↑kata.
                way of saying
                'your way of saying'
11
        (2.9)
                ((Sacchi are slurping noodles and Shio are putting foods on her
                 ceramic Chinese spoon.))
12
        Shio:
                chirashiteta monn ne:=
                dissipated
                               because FP
                '(he/she/they) dissipate people huh?'
13
        Sacc:
                =un.
                 yes
                'veah'
14
                minna no koto.
        Shio:
                everyone GEN thing
                'everyone'
```

In lines 1 to 3, Shiori brings up the topic of how difficult the baseball players were, judging from their interaction with the security guard(s) at the baseball stadium. That is, the guard(s) warned Shiori and Sacchi not to talk to the baseball players during their mindfulness practice before the game. Shiori's turn in line 3, namely '(they) are difficult in many ways,' conveys a negative affective stance toward the baseball players. Sacchi then affiliates with Shiori's stance through the use of *datte*, which "reinforces agreement among the participants while collaboratively presenting their stance against a third party" (Mori, 1999a, p. 63), and shifts the target of the assessment to a specific security guard in the white uniform (*ano shiroi keibiin*) who warned them about it (lines 5 to 7). The overt first-person singular pronoun *atashi* is present immediately after this extreme case formulation in line 7. This occurs beyond referential consideration because the subject of the internal description in Japanese is not semantically necessary, as mentioned above.

To analyze the cause of the overt form in this example, the word order and sequence are relevant. First, the overt first-person singular pronoun is used in post-predicate position, which is non-canonical word order in Japanese, as in Excerpt 6. As discussed above, non-canonical word order in interaction is to a large extent pragmatically motivated (Fujii, 1991; Ono, 2006); that is, a word that has "relative importance" (Givón, 1988) is uttered prior to other words. In this sense, semantically and pragmatically strong words such as *zettai yada* ('absolutely hate') come before the subject *atashi* ('I'). Unlike the case in Excerpt 6, the overt form in Excerpt 7 is not semantically required as it is the subject of the predicate indicating internal description. The overt first-person singular pronoun is therefore added to underscore how the internal descriptive utterance is a personal one and is not necessarily agreed upon. This is because Sacchi does not

know to what extent Shiori might agree with her assertion in line 7 despite a strong possibility of getting agreement. That is, Shiori does not claim a stance toward the security guard, while she claims a negative affective stance toward the baseball players (line 3). Thus the overt first-person singular pronoun occurs in a turn designed as a strong personal internal description that does not necessarily expect agreement from the co-participant at a point where the speaker is likely to receive agreement.

While most cases of this type are found in new assertions related to previous talk, as in Excerpt 7 above, one case appears in a strong agreement designed as an upgraded second assessment (Pomerantz, 1984). In Except 8 below, Kana and Nao talk about their mutual friend Kaneda. The utterance with the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* is seen in line 4.

Excerpt 8: LINE³⁵ message

```
01
               e, demo >kanpeki datta yone< [homekata
               IJ but
                         perfect
                                  COP
                                          FP
                                                 praising way
               'but the way he praised (me?) was perfect huh?'
                ((putting her hand on her mouth))
02
       Nao:
                                                  Η
                                                  'yeah'
03
               teka tokuni rain ga
                                        sugokatta
               rather particularly LINE SUB great.PST
               'particularly (his) LINE messages were impressive.'
                ((pointing at toward Kana's side))
04
               rain kan-, demo anna no hajimete da yo [watashi
      Kana:
                LINE
                            but
                                 such NOM first time
                                                      COP FP
               '(his) LINE message was perfect, and (it) was the first time for me [to see] such
                (a message).
                ((putting her hand on her mouth))
05
       Nao:
                                                              [uuun un
                                                               yes
                                                                     yes
                                                               'veah'
06
               ii hito sugiru yone?=
```

³⁵ LINE is a widely used platform in Japan for instant communications on electronic devices operated by LY Corporation. LINE users exchange texts, images, video, and audio.

```
good person too much FP
                   '(he)' is too nice right?
07
                =demo shikamo choudo
                                            homete hoshii tokoro o
        Nao:
                                                            place
                       also
                                just
                                            praise
                                                    want
08
                 chanto homete kureteru [n
                                                      tte ( )((gesture for
                                                  da
                 emphasis))
                 well
                          praise
                                  AUX.ASP
                                             NOM COP QT
                 'and (he) praises the points (for you/us) that (you/we) want to be praised'
09
                                             [un honttoni.
        Kana:
                                             yes really
                                             'yes indeed'
```

In line 1, Kana assesses Kaneda's way of praising Kana in the past. Nao aligns in line 2 and then shifts the target of the assessment to a LINE message at line 3, expressing it as *sugokatta* ('great'). To this first assessment toward the LINE message, Kana strongly agrees by upgrading the first assessment in line 4. That is, she utters the word *kan*-, which is assumed to be a cut-off of *kanpeki* ('perfect'). She continues with *hajimete da yo*, which means 'for the first time' followed by the particle *yo*, showing her independent or primary epistemic access (Hayano, 2013, p. 50) and ending with the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* in post-predicate position. By pointing out the speaker's own experience with the particle *yo*, she claims her epistemic independence and primacy, which the co-participant is not able to agree or disagree with. In this sense, this turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun is also designed as a personal and strong internal description she does not necessarily seek agreement with.

As we have seen, when participants face a potential gap in affective or epistemic stance toward the target but are likely to be agreed with, they utter a strong internal description with the overt first-person singular pronoun in the form of an extreme case formulation. Those turns are found in a new assertion towards a relevant target, as in Excerpt 7, or in agreement, as in Excerpt 8. As the examples above show, in such cases, the first-person singular pronoun can occur in post-predicate position and is seen as added after the pragmatically important element to indicate that the strong internal description is a personal one, which can be disagreed with.

4.2.2.3. Summary and discussion

In this section, we saw two major types of turns in which the overt first-person singular pronoun is used in the sequence that involves an assertion about third persons, events, activities, or objects. In the first type, turns with overt first-person singular pronouns display epistemic access to the target(s) in account and demonstrate epistemic authority, which the co-participant accepts. In the second type, turns with overt first-person singular pronouns display a personal and strong internal description in a new assertion or agreement, with a high probability of being agreed with by the co-participant.

This analysis suggests that different usage in different social actions reflects the nature of the contingency of conversation. That is, first-person singular pronouns are used in relation to the participants' epistemic and affective stance displayed in the interaction. Thus overt first-person singular pronouns are seen when the speaker refers to something personal, such as personal experience or internal state, which they can commit to validity. These turns appear in the negotiation of epistemic and affective stance about the target in sequences involving assertion about third persons, events, activities, or objects, thus avoiding potential face-threatening.

Compared to previous studies of the use of first-person singular pronouns, including Ono and Thompson (2003) and Lee and Yonezawa (2008), the analysis in this section showed similar patterns as well as new findings. As regards similarities, first-person singular pronouns used in accounts for not aligning with the co-participant's previous assertion show the speaker's contrastive intent, as discussed in Lee and Yonezawa (2008). While Lee and Yonezawa point out that such usage of first-person singular pronouns accompanies particles such as the contrastive *wa*, the findings reported in this section demonstrate a similar usage without any particle. This suggests that the first-person singular pronoun itself may show contrastiveness as discussed in

Chafe (1976). Furthermore, the use of the first-person singular pronouns in the internal description shows similarity with the "emotive" function discussed by Ono and Thompson (2003) in terms of the morphosyntax of the utterance (i.e., the first-person singular pronouns occurred in post-predicate positions). However, this section shows the use of first-person singular pronouns in interactional contingency. That is, we saw that first-person singular pronouns are occasionally used to display epistemic authority in order to account for disaligning the structure of the conversation, which is then accepted by the co-participant, a new finding regarding the use of first-person singular pronouns in interaction.

4.2.3. First-person singular pronouns in sequences involving assertions about self

Overt first-person singular pronouns are also seen in sequences involving assertions about participants of the interaction. In this section, I will analyze the features of major patterns and compare these with features analyzed in the last section with regard to how first-person singular pronouns are deployed to express and negotiate participants' internal or evaluative positions.

Assessments of participants work differently from assessments of events, activities, objects, or third persons due to the different features associated with epistemic authority and preference organization. Epistemic authority, which shows the "ownership" of the assessment, is to a large extent attributed to the identities of the participants. Because one is considered more knowledgeable and authoritative about the self compared to others, assessment of co-participants needs to be cautious with respect to how to claim an epistemic stance relative to the co-participants in social interactions. For example, in the first assessment, which generally conveys epistemic primacy (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), the speaker may defer to the co-participants'

right to assess themselves. This can be achieved by, for example, formulating the first assessment in a tag question positioned so as to invite a response as the first matter to be addressed by the co-participant. Following the first assessment, the second speaker modulates the claim of epistemic stance in the second assessment. When assessed about themselves, second speakers may undercut any relative inferiority in epistemic right by designing the second assessment so as to convey that their position on the matter is already settled (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

Responding to the first assessment relates to the cooperation of multiple constraint systems in preference organization. This is especially the case for the compliment response. According to Pomerantz (1978), there are two interrelated systems of constraints and another potentially incompatible one in response to the compliment. The first system consists of the recipient's agreement (or disagreement) with prior compliments. The second system, which is interrelated to the first one, is associated with accepting or rejecting prior compliments. The preferred second is generally the supportive action, which legitimizes, ratifies, or affirms the first assessment. In this sense, agreement and acceptance are the preferred second while disagreements and rejection are dispreferred. However, these two interrelated systems of constraints may conflict with the third system, which involves the speaker's minimization of self-praise. The solutions for these potentially incompatible constraints include evaluation shifts, including downgrading the praise, and referent shift, which refocuses the target of the assessment away from the recipient.

Furthermore, given the methodological understanding of talk-in-interaction in CA, all utterances are contextually understood by participants by reference not only to the formulation of utterances but also to their placement within the sequential development of the interaction

(Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Levinson, 2013; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007). Thus, the action of assessment is conveyed differently depending on the assessed party's treatment and the sequential location (Imamura, 2018). In fact, Imamura shows that turns that contain positive coparticipant assessment terms may not always perform the action of complimenting. While compliments could be understood either as supportive actions or as assessments that typically follow appreciation, agreement, or disagreement, positive co-participant assessment utterances do not always receive these responses.

In the conversational data in this study, there are 14 overt first-person singular pronouns in turns that assert about the speaker, 10 of which occur in turns that express a certain feature or aspect of the speaker that has been assessed by the co-participant in the previous turn(s). This section will focus on the major patterns observed in these 10 cases. The forms of these overt first-person singular pronouns are *watashi* (4 cases), *atashi* (1 case), and *ore* (6 cases). The distribution of the postpositional particles accompanying them is that 9 cases are zero postpositional particles and only one case is the topic marking particle *wa*.

The assertion about the speaker with an overt first-person singular pronoun shows different features depending on how the first-pair part is designed to present the assessment. When the first-pair part connotes some features about the second speaker that are not positive, the second speaker makes assertions about themselves using the overt form by negating the presupposition and claiming epistemic primacy. On the other hand, when the first-pair part includes some positive features about the second speaker, the second speaker makes an assertion

about themselves using the overt form by mostly shifting the referent.³⁶ Below, I will illustrate some examples of each case.

Five cases appear in an account when the speaker does not fully align with the coparticipant's assessment toward themselves. Turns with overt first-person singular pronouns
negate the presupposition of the co-participant's previous utterance by expressing a stronger
degree than the one presupposed in the previous turn. In such cases, the overt first-person
singular pronoun appears in a post-predicate position. Similar to the features observed in the
account for the assertion about the object, people, or activities discussed in 4.2.2, the turn with an
overt first-person singular pronoun in the account also follows the acceptance of the account by
the co-participant. Thus, the turn with the overt first person-singular pronoun that asserts about
the speaker themselves also claims epistemic authority.

For example, in Excerpt 9, Maya asserts that she is always humble after being tacitly assessed as not being humble. Here, Maya appreciates that Taka incorporates the video recording for her research in line 1. In reaction to this appreciation, Taka laughs in line 3 and asks why Maya is so humble, presupposing that she is not usually humble. In line 6, Maya begins with *iya* to oppose or vindicate Taka's assessment (Kushida, 2005) and then asserts about herself, ending with the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi*. This assertive utterance includes the word *itsumo* ('always') to express a strong degree of the frequency of being humble, and negate the presupposition of the previous utterance produced by Taka. In the following turn (line 7), Taka points out that Maya is the one who is different from usual. Taka's utterance in line 7 thus

³⁶ Two cases appear to align with the claims of their epistemic stance relative to the first assessment, which is not necessarily taken as positive or negative. In these utterances, the speaker establishes epistemic congruence by conveying alignment.

highlights the unusualness of the situation of this video recording Taka mentioned before this excerpt instead of negating or disagreeing with Maya's utterance in line 6.

Excerpt 9: Video-recording

Context: Maya is setting up a video camera to video-record the conversation with Taka. Taka expresses that he is becoming nervous. Maya asks Taka to be relaxed.

```
01
               arigatougozaimasu moo hontoni ((bowing))
                thank you very much
                                    very really
                'thank you so much, really.'
02
       Taka:
               hehehehe
                hahaha
                'hahaha'
03
       Maya: hahahaha
               hahaha
                'hahaha'
0.4
       Taka:
               nani sono kenkyo na no
                           humble COP NOM
                what that
               'Why are (you) so humble?'
05
               hahaha
       Maya:
               hahaha
                'hahaha'
               iya kenkyo desu
06 → Maya:
                                     yo watashi itsumo. desho?
                   humble COP.HNR FP I
                                                          right
                                                  usually
                'no I am always humble, right?'
               socchi ga itsumo doori ja nai n
07
       Taka:
                                                       ja nai?
                your side SUB as usual
                                         COP NEG NOM COP NEG
                'you are the one who is different from usual, aren't you?'
               e hontonii?
08
       Mava:
               oh really
               'oh really?'
09
               sonna koto nai?
       Taka:
                      thing not
                such
                'don't you think so?'
```

Similarly, Excerpt 10 below also involves assertion about the speaker with first-person singular pronoun, which negates the presupposition of the co-participant's previous utterance. This assertive turn expresses a stronger extent of the speaker's "strike zone," an aspect negatively assessed in the previous turn by the co-participant. The assertive turn ends with the overt first-person singular pronoun in post-predicate position, following the co-participant's

acceptance. In this conversation, four male friends, Hamada, Koga, Kaneko, and Ogata talk about their daily life. Before the excerpt, Kaneko asked if Hamada has many opportunities to find someone to date. Responding to that question, Hamada explains that he cannot meet anyone suitable in his workplace and does not have anyone he is interested in. Hearing Hamada's trouble, in line 1, Koga suggests that Hamada should be open to more people.

Excerpt 10: Hamada's strike zone³⁷

Context: Hamada says that he does not have someone he is interested in.

```
01
        Koga:
                     sutoraiku zoon hirome ni mottokanaito sa:.
               moo
                                                                 FP
                already strike zone
                                       wide
                                                   must bring
               '(you) must have a wide strike zone'
02
                soo[dane:. °soo da.
        Kane:
                    COP FP
                              SO
                                 COP
                yes yes'
03
                   [iya. zenzen hiroi yo. [ore.
       Hama:
                          at all
                                   wide
                                         FP
                    'I really have a wide strike zone.'
04
        Kane:
                                              [hahahaha{{laugh}}
                                               'hahahaha'
05
       Koga:
                £iya iya iya[iya£
                 IJ
                    IJ
                           IJ
                'well well well'
06
                              [iya zenzen hiroi yo.
       Hama:
                               no at all
                                            wide
                                                 FP
                               'really wide'
07
       Koqa:
               {{laugh}}
80
        Ogat:
               doo doo? jyussai ue.
                how how ten years above
                'how about those who are ten years older?'
```

In line 3, Hamada asserts that he is open to many people by using the overt first-person singular pronoun *ore*. His assertion about himself is different from what Koga thought about Hamada; that is, Koga's turn in line 1 presupposes that Hamada is not open to many people. By using *iya* in line 3, Hamada opposes or vindicates Koga's assessment (Kushida, 2005), which is

³⁷ "Strike zone" here describes the range individuals may be willing to date.

presupposed by the turn in line 1. In line 5, Koga reacts by saying *iya iya iya iya*, a repetition often used to soften the tone of the utterance rather than completely negating the previous utterance (Yamane, 2003). Koga's utterance with a softened tone in line 5 is produced with laughter and does not continue further, but Koga laughs again in line 7. However, Koga's turn does not negate or disagree with the Hamada's utterance in line 3. Thus, similar to Excerpt 9, the turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun in line 3 does not follow a negation or disagreement.

As we saw in Excerpts 9 and 10, overt first-person singular pronouns appear when the speaker does not align with the co-participant's assessment of themselves, which is delivered in the preceding turn. Such turns with overt forms express personal situations, experiences, customs, or practices and claiming epistemic primacy and authority. Furthermore, we also saw a number of morphosyntactic characteristics. When the speaker negates the presupposition of the first assessment by the co-participant in expressing a stronger degree than the one presupposed in the previous turn (e.g., *itsumo* ('usually') and *zenzen* ('at all'')) in extreme-case formulation, the overt form appears in post-predicate position. This is similar to the findings in 4.2.2.2, which showed that utterances with first-person singular pronouns post-positionally are constructed in extreme-case formulation.

Now let us look at the other pattern: the overt first-person singular pronouns in responsive turns to positive assessments or compliments. These turns shift the referent of the assessment in account for weak agreement. These are preferred responses considering the multiple systems of constraints explained earlier. For example, in Excerpt 11, Ogata positively assesses Nemoto's small appetite (lines 4 and 7), which Nemoto weakly agrees with (line 13)

and shifts the referent of the assessment with the overt first-person singular pronoun (lines 16 and 17).

Excerpt 11: Nemoto's small appetite (1)

Context: Two old friends, Ogata and Nemoto, converse at a restaurant to eat and drink.

```
01
                tabete ii kara ne.
        Nemo:
                        good so
                                 FP
                '(you) can eat (them), ok?'
02
        Ogat:
                un.
                 yes
                'yeah'
03
        (0.3)
04
        Ogat:
                ii ne.
                good FP
                'good'
05
        Nemo:
                e?
                IJ
                'what?'
06
        Ogat:
                iya
                'well'
07
        Ogat:
                omae sore ga urayamashii mon ne.
                you that SUB envy
                                                   FP
                                              so
                '(I) envy your [small appetite]'
08
        Nemo:
                nande.
                why
                'why?'
09
        Ogat:
                un.
                yes
                'yeah'
10
                ((Ogata is drinking))
        (1.7)
11
        Ogat:
                shooene jan.
                energy saving right
                '(it is) energy saving, right?'
12
        (1.3)
13
        Nemo:
                maa soo da ne.
                well so COP FP
                'well maybe'
14
        Ogat:
                un.
                yes
                'yeah'
               ((Nemoto is drinking))
15
        (3.9)
16
        Nemo:
                da- tabehoudai toka
                     all-you-can-eat etcetera
                'so all-you-can-eat for example'
17 \rightarrow Nemo:
                gyakuni ore son da to omou monn ne
                conversely I
                              loss COP QT think so
```

```
'it is disadvantageous for me'
18
                un. {{laugh}}
        Ogat:
                 ʻyeah'
19
                konomae honto
        Ogat:
                 last time really
                'last time, really'
20
        Ogat:
                hitosara shika kutte nakatta monn ne.
                one plate
                                         NEG
                                                         FP
                           only
                                  eat
                'you only ate one plate'
```

In line 1, Nemoto allows Ogata to eat the food on the table. Hearing this, Ogata acknowledges in line 2 and makes a positive assessment about Nemoto's small appetite in line 4. Having trouble understanding what is assessable, Nemoto initiates a repair in line 5. Ogata then self-repairs in line 7, stating that he envies Nemoto's small appetite, which tacitly assesses Nemoto's small appetite positively. After Nemoto asks for a reason in line 8, Ogata answers that *shooene* ('energy saving') is the reason in line 11. In line 13, Nemoto weakly agrees using *maa*, indicating an awareness of his limitations and weakens the force of the agreement (Morita, 1989; Okada, 1994). According to Mori (1999b), *maa* is used at the initiation of a self-qualification to express the speaker's hesitation or a sense of limitation. Following Nemoto's agreement prefaced by *maa*, Ogata aligns in line 14 at the sequence-closing third. Following the potential sequence closure and (3.9) pause, Nemoto initiates self-qualification to express his hesitation by shifting the referent of the assessment to "all you can eat," which he cannot benefit from (lines 16 and 17). The overt first-person singular pronoun *ore* appears in a turn in line 17, when Nemoto shifts the referent of the assessment to the downside of his small appetite.

Furthermore, the overt first-person singular pronoun shows that the proposition of the utterance ("all-you-can-eat is disadvantageous") is a personal case as it is advantageous for people in general. Here, the overt first-person singular pronoun is used in a turn that shifts the referent as well as express the fact that the proposition is a personal case and is not necessarily

true for everyone. Nemoto's turn is accepted by Ogata in line 18, thereby establishing epistemic authority.

In this section, we saw how overt first-person singular pronouns are deployed in response to the first assessment by the speaker. Depending on the design of the first assessment, the turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun executes different actions with different morphosyntactic features. To the turn that assesses features that are not positive, the speaker negates the presupposition by employing an overt first-person singular pronoun and referencing a personal situation, custom, practice, or experience. Such a turn establishes epistemic authority, being accepted by the co-participant's next turn. The designs of these turns are characterized as extreme-case formulation using a post-predicate overt first-person singular pronoun. As we observe the same morphosyntactic features in 4.2.2.2, this non-canonical word order is largely associated with a pragmatic cause: elements that have relative importance are uttered first. However, unlike the cases observed in 4.2.2.2, the overt first-person singular pronoun is not employed to highlight the utterance as a personal one that does not necessarily seek agreement. In this case, as speakers are most knowledgeable about themselves, they demonstrate epistemic primacy over the interlocutor. This shows that the speaker utters pragmatically more important elements first and then utters a first-person singular pronoun to underscore epistemic authority.

On the other hand, when the speaker responds to the positive assessment or compliment, the utterance with the overt first-person singular pronoun shifts the referent of the assessment in the account for weak agreement. We saw above that the speaker shifts the referent of the tacit compliment as a solution to avoid self-praise through the overt first-person singular pronoun. Here, the overt first-person singular pronoun highlights the fact that the utterance produced is a personal case as opposed to a general tendency. Like other cases, turns with overt first-person

singular pronouns are accepted by the co-participant in the next turn, establishing epistemic authority.

We saw that turns with overt first-person singular pronouns could serve to demonstrate epistemic authority. In addition, we observed that responsive turns with first-person singular pronouns have different features depending on the design of the first assessment by the coparticipant. When the first assessment is not positive, the speaker makes an assertion about themselves in an account for disagreement. On the other hand, when the first assessment is positive, the speaker makes an assertion about themselves by shifting the target of the assessment. These two different sequential contexts reflect the speaker's awareness of the systems of constraints in preference organization.

4.2.4. Discussion and Conclusion

In Section 4.2, we saw features of turns with overt first-person singular pronouns in the sequences that involve assertions about third persons, events, activities, objects, or the speakers themselves. The analysis has shown different morphosyntactic features depending on the sequential position and action that the turn executes, as well as how the turn aligns with the coparticipant's previous turn. Such features reflect the speaker's awareness of preference organization and negotiation of epistemic stance over the course of the interaction.

We observed some common morphosyntactic characteristics across the cases. First, many first-person singular pronouns are attached without any particles. This is a significant finding in sequences that include an assertion in conversational data, as will be discussed in more detail in the next section and later chapters. Second, while many overt first-person singular pronouns occur in utterance-initial position, some are post-positioned. In the latter cases, a pragmatically

more important element comes before the first-person singular pronouns. Many of these utterances are designed in extreme-case formulation except for cases of pursuing agreement, where the overt first-person singular pronoun in such utterances modifies the proposition based on the personal case.

Furthermore, we saw interesting characteristics of disalignment: turns with overt firstperson singular pronouns account for disaligning the structure of conversation by referencing the
speaker's own state or experience and indexes epistemic authority. In this sense, the overt firstperson singular pronoun shows the speaker's commitment to the validity of the information
conveyed as evidenced by the speaker themselves in disalignment, a dispreferred response. In
other words, when the dispreferred response is delivered with an overt first-person singular
pronoun, the speaker commits to the validity of the position based on personal evidence.

4.3. First-Person Singular Pronouns Used When Initiating the Telling of Personal Experiences

As seen in the last section, overt first-person singular pronouns are relevant to expressing something personal, including personal experience in sequences involving assertions. This section will analyze sequential contexts in which the turns with overt first-person singular pronouns initiate the speaker's storytelling of personal experience. Storytelling consists of multiple Turn Constructional Units (TCU) and describes events in a temporal sequence. This section therefore looks at first-person singular pronouns that project multi-unit turns.

In talk-in-interaction, a story is "triggered" when something said at a particular moment in conversation can remind a participant of a particular story (Jefferson, 1978). Although a story is not necessarily "topically coherent" with the talk in progress, it is methodically introduced into

turn-by-turn talk to give purpose to the appropriateness of the storytelling. Some techniques include the use of a disjunct marker such as "oh," which signals that the talk to follow is not topically coherent with the adjacent prior talk. Given these basic features of the initiation of storytelling, this section investigates how storytellings initiated by a turn with an overt first-person singular pronoun in Japanese are locally occasioned along with other linguistic resources.

There are 23 overt first-person singular pronouns in my data occurring in turns initiating the storytelling of the speaker's personal experience. Forms include watashi (12 cases), atashi (2 cases), ore (7 cases), boku (1 case), and uchi (1 case). The distribution of the postpositional particles attached to overt first-person singular pronouns is shown in Table 4.4. As shown in this table, many cases are not followed by a particle, which is similar to cases seen in sequences involving assertions. However, this case distinctively shows that more than 20% of these consist of the particle mo, which will be discussed with examples below. As we will also discuss in the following subsections, overt first-person singular pronouns are partially characterized by different particles attached to them. In addition, all the examples of overt first-person pronouns in this case come before the predicates, which is a canonical order and differs from the cases seen in sequences involving assertions. Below, I will illustrate some significant patterns of such cases to analyze the operation of first-person singular pronouns occurring upon initiating a storytelling of personal experience.

³⁸ Three such cases are seen in sequences involving assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objectives and are counted in that category in 4.2.2.

Table 4.4 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular pronouns initiating personal experience³⁹

Particles	N	%
Ø	14	60.9
то	5	21.7
wa	2	8.7
ga	2	8.7
Total	23	100.0

4.3.1. Setting a range of informing in an account for not providing a type-conforming answer

One of the environments where the speaker recounts a personal experience is when prompted by others. That is, "other" selects "self" to take a turn and let "self" initiate the personal experience. This is done by others requesting information or proffering a topic. In my data, there are six turns with overt first-person singular pronouns initiating the storytelling of a personal experience prompted by others in such a way. These turns set a range of information to be provided in the account for not being able to answer the co-participant's request for information or topic proffering in a straightforward manner.

In Excerpt 12 below, Mika initiates her storytelling of a trip in Europe, a topic proffered by Toshi. The overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* occurs in line 10, where Mika limits the information she can convey.

³⁹ In the cases of *mo* and *ga*, the data contains one case of each attaching to the interjective particle, which appears after a phrase or clause and solicits involvement from the addressee (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 67). Among the cases of *mo*, one case attaches to the particle *ne*, as in *ore* "*mo ne*" ('I also,'). Among the cases of *ga*, one case attaches to the particle *sa* as in *uchi* "*ga sa*" ('I,').

Example 12: Trip to Europe

```
01
        Tosh:
                a nee
                oh hey
                'hey'
02
       Mika:
                un=
                yeah
                'yeah'
03
        Tosh:
                =igirisu
                            ni sundeta toki ni
                 Great Britain LOC lived
                                          when LOC
                  'when (you) lived in Great Britain'
04
        Mika:
                yeah
                'yeah'
05
                kekkou yooroppa ryokou shita? tte yutte[ta yone
        Tosh:
                        Europe
                                   trip
                                          did
                                                  QT say.PST.ASP FP
                '(you) visited around Europe a lot, didn't (you) say that?'
06
       Mika:
                                                             [a un un un.
                                                              oh yeah yeah yeah
                                                              'oh yeah'
07
       Mika:
                __shita ne, __shita
                  did
                        FP
                                did
                '(I) did.'
08
        Tosh:
                supein toka it-. ta?=
                Spain
                        etcetera went
                'did (you) go to Spain and so on?'
09
       Mika:
                =ya, demo ne:, yooro-. ppa: toiuka (0.8)
                 no but
                           FP
                                  Europe
                                                 or rather
                 'well but, rather than Europe,'
                °watashi° sugu ninshin shita kara
10
       Mika:
                            soon pregnant did
                 'I soon became a pregnant, so'
                warito nee, sono berugii ni ittari toka wa shita [n da kedo,=
11
       Mika:
                              that Belgium LOC
                                                  go.and etcetera TOP did
                                                                           NON COP but
                relatively P
                '(I) went to Belgium and so on but'
                                                                            [°aa iine.°
12
        Tosh:
                                                                              ah nice
                                                                            'oh that is nice'
13
       Mika: =huransu mo itta n
                                         da kedo
                         also went NON COP but
                France
                '(I) also went to France but'
14
        Tosh:
                un
                yeah
                 'yeah'
15
       Mika:
                °sore igai wa anmari ittenakute°((Mika is shaking her head))
                 that except TOP not very much go.ASP.NEG
                '(I) didn't go to many places except them'
16
       Mika:
                sore igai wa↑
                    except TOP
                'except these places,'
```

```
17
       Mika:
               rondon nai de,
                                 iroiro kokunai de ironna tokoro ni
               London inside LOC various domestic LOC various
                                                              places
                                                                       LOC
               '(I) went to various places in London'
18
       Tosh:
               un un
               yeah yeah
                'yeah'
19
       Mika:
                sou sou sou°
                yes yes yes
                'yes'
```

In lines 3 and 5, Toshi asks if Mika often visited European countries when she lived in Great Britain. Following Toshi's request for information in the form of a polar question in lines 3 and 5, Mika responds in the affirmative in line 7. Toshi then asks if she went to Spain in line 8. In line 9, Mika utters 'Europe' and then *toiuka* as a repair preface, which presents the repair solution as an alternative better suited to the speaker's purpose (Hayashi et al., 2019). In line 10, Mika then explains her pregnancy situation at the time, which limited the number of places she could visit in Europe. In lines 13 and 15, Mika shows that she did not go to any countries other than Belgium and France, which finally answers Toshi's question as to whether she visited Spain. If we go back to line 10, the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* occurs to account for not being able to straightforwardly answer the polar question by showing the scope of what Mika can inform since she cannot inform anything about Spain, the topic proffered by Toshi.

Similarly, the following excerpt between Yuu and Maya also includes the overt first-person singular pronoun to set the scope of explanation. After Yuu proffers the topic of Maya's life in the U.S., Maya starts her storytelling by setting the scope of her explanation in line 5, indicating that where she lives is Boulder, Colorado with the use of an overt first-person singular pronoun in the relative clause that modifies the nominalizer *no* in a cleft construction.

Excerpt 13: Life in the U.S.

```
01
        Yuu:
                amerika doo? seikatsu wa.
                America
                         how
                               life
               'how is your life in America?'
02
        Maya:
                amerika waa(.)a, ki-, kikimasu? katari kikimasu?
                America
                          TOP
                                 oh
                                          listen.HNR
                                                     discourse listen.HNR
                'America is -. Oh will (you) listen to my discourse?'
03
                        kiku kiku haha ((laugh))
        Yuu:
                        listen listen haha
                'yes, (I) will listen. haha.'
04
                amerika wa:: soo ne
        Maya:
                America TOP
                'America is, hmm'
05
       Maya:
                                        kororado syuu tte iu tokoro no,
                watashi iru no
                                    wa
                                                   state QT say place
                          stay NOM TOP Colorado
                'where I am at is [somewhere in] what is called Colorado state'
06
        Yuu:
                yeah
                'yeah'
07
                borudaa,
        Maya:
                Boulder
               'Boulder'
08
        Yuu:
                un
                yeah
                'yeah'
09
                tte iu tokoro [nanda
                                               kedo
                QT say place
                                 COP.NOM.COP though
                'that named place, but'
10
                               [un, un
        Yuu:
                                yes yes
                                 'yeah'
11
        Maya:
                kororado syuu tte no
                Colorado
                          state QT NOM TOP
                'Colorado state is'
12
        Yuu:
                yeah
                'yeah'
```

Similar to Excerpt 12, the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* in line 5 above sets the scope of Maya informing, accounting for the fact that she cannot reveal everything about her life in the U.S., the topic proffered by Yuu in line 1. While the turns with the overt first-person singular pronoun in Excerpts 12 and 13 are designed with different morphosyntax (i.e., the one in Excerpt 12 is a simple sentence while the one in Excerpt 13 is a relative clause that modifies the

nominalizer *no*), both are used when the speaker sets the scope of their storytelling, accounting for not straightforwardly answering the co-participant's request for information or proffering a topic.

Overt first-person singular pronouns also occur in accounts when the speaker is unable to answer in a type-conforming manner to a request for information seeking the speaker's evaluative stance about a target. In Excerpt 14, Maya utters the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* in line 8 to initiate her storytelling about her experience with Professor Zhan as an account for not being able to answer Yuu's polar question, i.e., whether Professor Zhan is cool (line 1),

Excerpt 14: Prof. Zhan

```
01
                kakkoii hito?
                cool
                          person
                'is (he) a cool person?'
02
        (1.0)
               ((Maya is thinking and Yuu is looking at Miya))
03
        Yuu:
                [moo taishoku?
                 already retired
                '(is he) already retired?'
04
       Maya:
                [wakannai=
                 know.NEG
                '(I) do not know'
05
        Yuu:
                daijyo[bu?
                alright
                '[is he/ are you] alright?'
06
        Maya:
                      [a demo kowakatta kekkou.=
                       oh but
                                scary
                                           very
                       'oh but (he) was scary'
07
        Yuu:
                =a soo.
                 oh so
                 'oh [I see]'
                 watashi nikai kurai oaishita koto ga atte,
0.8
        Maya:
                 Ι
                                  about meet.HON have a experience
                 'I have seen him twice and'
09
        Yuu:
                yes
                'yeah'
10
        Maya:
11
        Yuu:
                un,un
```

((Maya's storytelling continues))

To Yuu's request for information in the form of a polar question in line 1, Maya utters wakaranai ('I don't know') after a (1.0) pause. According to Endo (2023), wakaranai shows the speaker's lack of knowledge, serving as a discourse signal that may end the topic. Thus instead of answering Yes or No to Yuu's question, Maya displays her lack of knowledge, potentially ending the topic. She then shows a change of cognitive state from non-knowing to knowing using a change-of-state token a (Endo, 2018) and says kowakatta kamo in the past tense, thereby shifting the topic from Professor Zhan's appearance to her own impression of his personality based on having met him twice, a past experience. In line 8, she utters the overt first-person singular pronoun watashi and initiates her telling of her personal experience with Professor Zhan that made her scared of him. The storytelling, which depicts her experience with him, sets a range of information she can provide about Professor Zhan, which works to account for why she provides an answer that is not type-conforming to Yuu's question in line 1. In such cases, the overt first-person singular pronoun appears to contribute to the initiation of the speaker's personal experience prompted by the other. In these sequential contexts, the speaker accounts for not being able to provide a straightforward answer through the use of overt first-person singular pronouns without any postpositional particle.

As we have seen in this subsection, first-person singular pronouns occur in turns that initiate telling of personal experience, prompted by the co-participant. The use of the first-person singular pronouns in Excerpt 12, 13, and 14 are similar to the "frame-setting" function discussed

by Ono & Thompson (2003), but differ in terms of the morpho-syntax and sequential position. Morphosyntactic characteristics of the utterance that include first-person singular pronouns with frame-setting function are characterized as a "not well-formed" utterance where the speaker "has not formulated the morphosyntax (or even the trajectory) of the utterance itself" (Ono & Thompson, 2003, pp. 336-337). However, the cases in Excerpts 12, 13, and 14 do not have such characteristics as the first-person singular pronouns occur with the constituents required by the argument structure. In addition, while Ono and Thompson (2003) do not focus on the occurrence of first-person singular pronouns in interactional contingency, Excerpts 12, 13, and 14 show that first-person singular pronoun occur with a specific action, namely the account for not providing a type-conforming answer to the co-participant's request for information or topic proffering. Given these points, these cases reveal additional features of the first-person singular pronouns discussed as having a "frame-setting" function by Ono and Thompson (2003).

4.3.2. Changing participation frameworks

Another sequential context in which speakers initiate a telling of their personal experience with first-person singular pronouns is when they self-select to initiate a second story or trouble talk locally occasioned in the interaction by changing their participation framework. The overt first-person singular pronouns in the turns that initiate such storytelling occur with the predicates in the past tense. Furthemore, unlike the cases seen in the section above, here, some first-person singular pronouns accompany the particle *mo* or *wa* depending on the type of storytelling as well as how the speaker positions the talk to be relevant to the preceding talk by the co-participant.

4.3.2.1. Initiating a second story

In my datasets, seven overt first-person singular pronouns occur in turns that initiate a "second story." A second story is told after the co-participant's own story by picking up at least one of the points in the first story (Sacks, 1992 [1968]). Prior to initiating a second story, the teller is required to display an understanding of the previous talk by reformulating what the person just said or telling their own story from the same perspective of the previous one (Sacks, 1992 [1968]). Second stories may express sympathy by involving actions such as agreement, saying "you did the right thing" and thus expressing sympathy (Sacks, 1992 [1968]).

Of these seven cases, four overt first-person singular pronouns accompany the particle mo ('also'), two the zero-particle, and one the topic particle wa. For example, Excerpt 15 below demonstrates that the overt first-person singular pronoun with the particle mo is used to highlight a similar experience she had with the previous teller by initiating a second story. Excerpt 15 begins when Kana starts talking about the trouble she had at not being able to send a message to Kaneda, their mutual friend, whom she likes. Hearing Kana's trouble, Nao shows acknowledgement in line 7 and then expresses that she had a similar experience from line 8. In line 8, Nao formulates an utterance modeled on the one she just recalled through the change-of-state token a, initiating a second story with the overt first-person singular pronoun watashi accompanied by the particle mo ('also').

Excerpt 15: LINE message

```
01 Kana: mezurashii koto ni sa:,
rare thing LOC FP
'it is extremely rare,'
02 Kana: watashi<sup>40</sup> ga chanto rain okutta n da kedo saa, ((gesture))
```

⁴⁰ The first-person singular pronouns *watashi* in lines 2, 4, and 6 are not the focus of the study as they do not occur to initiate the storytelling of personal experience.

```
SUB properly LINE send.PST NOM COP but
                                                                    FP
                'but I have properly sent a LINE to (him)'
03
       Nao:
                yeah
                'yeah'
04
                moo saa watashi ga okutte tomatteru kara sa ((gesture))
        Kana:
                already FP I
                                  SUB send
                                              stop.ASP
                                                         because FP
                'well now it is stopped after I sent the last LINE'
05
                un un
       Nao:
                yes yes
                'yeah'
                watashi kara okuru no wa hukanou na wake, moo
06
        Kana:
                         from send NOM TOP impossible NOM reason already
                'so it is impossible for me to send (him) a message again'
07
                aaaa soo da yone
       Nao:
                oh
                     so
                         COP FP
                'Oh I see'
08
       Nao:
                .hh a demo watashi mo soo datta ki ga suru
                                     also so COP.PST feel like
                'well but it was the same for me too,'
09
                nanka ikkaime no rain,
       Nao:
                       first time GEN LINE
                'well in the first exchange (we did),'
10
        Kana:
                un un
                yes yes
                ʻyeah'
11
                a demo demo, Nao,
       Nao:
                        but
                oh but
                               Nao
                'well but I'
12
        Kana:
                un
                yes
                'yeah'
13
                henshin mo kitenai to omou. ((hand gesture of indicating her))
                         even come.NEG QT think
                'I haven't even had any replies I think.'
14
       Nao:
                tabun sono ikkai _ kaeshite, kouiu,
                maybe that
                                       reply.CONJ
                             once
                'maybe (I) replied like this and'
               ((gesture of exchange with her and another person))
               soo nakatta kiga suru((gesture of message exchange))
15
                    NEG.PST feel like
                'yeah (I) think so'
```

In Excerpt 16, a turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun without particle initiates a second story. In this conversation, Aoki and Tominaga talk about their experience of taking a specific course and evaluate the professor as *junan* ('flexible'). After hearing their story, Ogata recalls his own experience that also supports the professor's flexibility by employing the change-

of-state token *a* (line 18). This second story, which shows alignment to Aoki and Tominaga's assessment of the professor, is initiated by the overt first-person singular pronoun *ore* (line 18). His telling continues until line 28.

Excerpt 16: Prof. Sakashita's course

Context: Just before the excerpt, Aoki and Tominaga start talking about a recent situation in a specific course, which Ogata has also taken before. Aoki took the course more recently than Ogata, while Tominaga is currently enrolled in the course. Aoki and Tominaga explain that the professor only gives a lecture biweekly, assuming that the students are busy. Aoki then exemplifies that the professor once canceled the class on Christmas Day, assuming that the students had their own plans on that day.

```
ano hito ju:nan nan-
01
        Aoki:
                that person flexible COP
                'that person is flexible'
02
        Tomi:
03
                maama jibun mo yasumitai n
        Aoki:
                                                  deshoo kedo,=
                        self
                              also rest.want
                                             NOM maybe but
                '(he) himself also wants to take a rest though'
04
        Ogat:
                [un
                 yes
                 'yeah'
05
        Tomi:
                [{{laugh}}
06
        Aoki:
                {{laugh}}
07
        Aoki:
                sore o:.
                that ACC
                'for that'
08
        Aoki:
                jyunan ni taioushite [kureru n
                                                        de
                flexible LOC deal with
                                           give
                                                    NOM so
                '(he) deals with them in a flexible way'
09
        Ogat:
                                          [00
                                           wow
                                            'wow'
10
        (0.9)
11
        Ogat:
                s[o:
                yes
                'yeah'
12
                  [saikin wa moo (0.3) nishu: ni i[kkai shika
        Aoki:
                   recently TOP already
                                          once a two weeks
                  'recently once a two weeks'
13
        Ogat:
                                                      [aa
                                                       oh
                                                       'oh'
14
                yannaissu ne=
        Aoki:
                do.NEG.polite FP
                '(he) does'
```

```
15
       Ogat:
               =00
                 wow
                 'wow'
                a, are da:
16
        Ogat:
                oh that COP
               'oh'
                ((Ogata gazes away from the co-participants and claps))
17
        (1.1)
                ((Aoki and Tominaga look at Ogata))
18
       Ogat:
                ore, ano Sakashita san uketeta toki:
                      that Sakashita
                                      HON took
                'when I was taking Prof. Sakashita's course,'
                ((Ogata gazes back to the co-participants))
19
        Aoki:
                yes
                'yes'
20
                saisho no gokai gurai dete:
        Ogat:
                        GEN fifth time about
               '(I) attended the first five classes and'
21
                ato betsuni ii yo: tte yuwarete:
        Ogat:
                after particularly good FP QT say.PSS
                '(I) was told that (I) do not have to [attend classes] after'
22
        Aoki:
                {{laugh}}
23
        Ogat:
               {{laugh}}
24
        Tomi:
               {{laugh}}
25
        Ogat:
                chokuchoku nomi ni ike it-
                             drink LOC go
                frequently
                'go for a drink [with him] frequently and'
26
        Ogat:
                itte kou kinkyo
                                        o (0.2) wakareba: ttsutte
                      such current situation ACC
                                                  understand.if QT.say
                'only if (he) understands (my) current situation, [that's what] (he) said'
27
        Aoki:
                hai hai
                yes yes
                'yes'
28
        Ogat:
                de tesuto n
                                toki dake deta n
                           GEN when only attend NOM COP
                and test
                'and (I) attended the exam only'
29
        (0.5)
30
        Tomi:
                wow
                'wow'
31
       Aoki:
                a: a: a:
                oh oh oh
                'oh'
```

As we saw in Excerpts 15 and 16 above, overt first-person singular pronouns with the particle *mo* or without particle occur in turns that initiate the speaker's second story to make their storytelling relevant to the participant's previous talk. We saw that the particle *mo* is used to tell a similar experience and that zero particle is used to tell an experience that aligns with the

previous assessment. Furthermore, both cases show that the speaker designs the turn like the one just recalled based on an experience relevant to the prior talk in the past tense by using the change-of-state token *a*. By bringing the relevant cases just recalled, the speaker displays first-hand experience and direct access to the matter, thereby changing the mapping of the epistemics. Such action results in changing the participation framework; the speaker who utters the overt first-person singular pronoun becomes the teller of the relevant second story.

4.3.2.2. Initiating trouble talk

Another occasion for initiating a storytelling of an experience through the use of firstperson singular pronouns is to talk about a trouble. Three overt first-person singular pronouns are seen when the speaker initiates trouble talk after inquiring about the co-participant's case. Toe (2008) labels such sequences as "clue question sequences" and shows that "the respondent recognizes from the clue question that the person posing the question is troubled in relation to the question and would like to talk about this trouble" (p. 135). While Toe's targeted sequences are found in his conversational data, where mothers talk about child rearing and indicate troubles about this topic, such sequences are also seen in my conversational data, which include a variety of topics. The overt first-person singular pronouns in the turns initiating trouble talk are accompanied by zero-particle or the contrastive particle wa to create a contrast with the coparticipant's case. This feature differs from cases that initiate a second story we saw in the last subsection. For example, in Excerpt 17 below, Yuu asks Maya if she has already visited a professor they both know. After hearing Maya's personal experience, Yuu initiates his trouble talk about an experience with the professor through the use of the overt first-person singular pronoun *ore* and the contrastive particle wa to contrast with Maya's case in line 19.

Excerpt 17: Prof. Doi

Context: Yuu and Maya are graduate students who have worked with Professor Doi in Japan. Yuu asks Maya, who recently came back from the U.S., if she has already visited the professor.

01	Yuu :	chanto Doi sensei ni aisatsu shita? properly Doi teacher LOC greet did (1:1
02	Maya:	'did you (properly) go to greet Prof. Doi?' sensei ni teacher LOC 'to the professor?'
03	Maya:	un, dooyuu imi? yes what meaning 'yes what do (you) mean?'
04	Yuu :	Doi sensei ni aisatsu itta? Doi teacher LOC greet went 'did you go to greet Prof. Doi?'
05	Maya:	mochiron mochiron. of course of course 'of course'
06	Yuu :	kaette kara sugu ? return from soon 'right after (you) came back?'
07	Maya:	un yes
08	Yuu :	'yeah' sasuga as expected 'nice as expected'
09	Maya:	'nice, as expected' mochiron ssu of course COP 'of course'
10	Maya:	moo jyugyou moukemashita shi already class also taken and '(I) have also taken the course already'
11	Yuu :	a! ssoo oh so 'oh I see'
12	Maya:	un yes 'yeah'
13	Maya:	нннн
14	Maya:	SO SO
7.4	riaya.	so 'yes'
15	Yuu :	heee huh 'huh'
16	Yuu :	ryoukou yann ne favorable COP FP

```
'[your relationship with Prof. Doi is] favorable, huh?'
17
       Maya:
                'yeah'
18
                ннн
       Maya:
19
                ore wa kyou,
      Yuu :
                I TOP today
                'Today, I'
                ikitai tte ittara kyou wa ikemasen tte itte
20 → Yuu :
                go.want QT said.when today TOP go.able.NEG QT say.CONJ
                'told (him) that (I) wanted to visit (him), but (he) said (he) would not be able to
                go [to his office] today'
                ((Maya tilts her heads while Yuu utters.))
21
        Maya:
                kyou Doi sensei to zutto
22
        Maya:
                                               meeru shiteta
                today Prof.Doi
                                   with all the time mail do.PST.ASP
                '(I) have been emailing with Prof. Doi for a whole day today'
23
                aa soo!
        Yuu :
                oh so
                'oh (I) see!'
```

In line 19, where Yuu utters the overt first-person singular pronoun *ore* with the contrastive particle *wa*, he is reporting that he was not able to meet Prof. Doi, whom he wanted to meet, unlike Maya. Hearing this trouble, Maya acknowledges this in line 21 with head nodding and takes a turn to resume her case in line 22, which interrupts Yuu's trouble talk. Yuu's utterance in line 20 ends with the conjunction *te* and could have continued his trouble talk.

Similarly, Excerpt 18 below shows that the speaker's trouble is initiated by the overt first-person singular pronoun, which brings up a personal experience. In line 237, Aoki utters *ore* to initiate talk about his trouble, which is related to what he has asked Ogata before when he requested Ogata to provide information in lines 1 to 10, 16, 29, 31, 36, 37, 41.

Excerpt 18: Job hunting

Context: In this conversation, three participants, Ogata, Aoki, and Tominaga, talk about job hunting. Ogata is a second-year graduate student who has finished job hunting recently. Aoki is a senior who is job hunting now. Tominaga is a junior and will be job hunting next year. In this conversation, Ogata talks about his experience of job hunting after being asked by Aoki. Just before the excerpt, Ogata lost his cell phone, and all three participants tried to search for it. After

the phone is found, Aoki starts to talk about job hunting, the topic they had been talking about until Ogata lost his phone.

```
°demo are ssu ka°
01
        Aoki:
                  but
                        that COP Q
                  'but is that so?'
02
        Aoki:
                ano hikaeshitsu de:
                that waiting room
                                    LOC
                'at the waiting room'
03
        Ogat:
                yes
                 'yeah'
04
        Aoki:
                nanka
                like
                'like'
05
                chotto nakayoku nattoku to ii mitaina [tte yuu
        Aoki:
                         get along well become
                                               if good like
                                                                  QT
                 "(it) is better to get along with [the other candidates]"
06
        Ogat:
                                                                oh
                                                               'oh'
07
        Aoki:
                kaitearun [su kedo:.
                              COP but
                 'such (advice) is written [in somewhere such as reference books]'
08
        Ogat:
                             [a:
                              oh
                              'oh'
09
        (0.5)
10
                               su ka ne
        Aoki:
                doo nan
                how COP.NOM COP Q FP
                 'what [do you think about it]?'
11
        Tomi:
12
        Ogat:
                iya
                no
                 'well'
13
        Ogat:
                demo sore: wa:. soo da
                                             to-
                       that
                              TOP
                                   so
                                         COP OT
                 'but that is true'
14
        Ogat:
                soo ja nai yappa
                     COP NEG after.all
                 'it is so after all'
15
        Ogat:
                yappa
                after all
                 'after all'
16
        Aoki:
                 [chotto hanashitoita hou ga ii su ka
                          speak in advance better
                                                      COP Q
                 'is (it) better to speak a little in advance?'
17
                 [datte ikinari,
        Ogat:
                  because suddenly
                 'because suddenly,'
```

(11 lines omitted)

```
29
        Aoki:
                kara sore mo hukume chotto: (.) kikitai n
                            also including little
                                                         listen.want NOM COP FP
                 'so (I) want to listen to [your advice] including that'
30
        Aoki:
                ano tojitsu (0.2)
                well that day
                'well, on that day,'
31
                hi[kaeshitsu ga dooyuu kanji ni natte[te;
        Aoki:
                                SUB how
                                            feeling LOC become.ASP
                waiting room
                'how the waiting room would be like'
32
        Ogat:
                    yes
                   'yeah'
33
        Tomi:
                   [yoosu {{laugh}}
                    situation
                   'the situation'
34
        Ogat:
                                                            [un un
                                                             yes yes
                                                             'yeah'
35
        Aoki:
                kyou no hanasu toki
                today GEN talk
                                  when
                'when (you) talk on the [interview] day'
36
                             ga aru no ka mitaina tokoro o:
        Aoki:
                no kuuki
                GEN atmosphere SUB exist NOM Q like
                                                           place
                                                                   ACC
                'whether there is any specific atmosphere'
37
        Aoki:
                cho[tto: senpai ni onegai shita nara to
                                   LOC asking
                                                do.PST if
                           senior
                '(I) would like to ask (you) [to talk] about such things'
38
        Ogat:
                    [un un
                     yes yes
                     'yeah'
39
        Ogat:
                a:
                oh
                'oh'
                omotteru n de
40
        Aoki:
                   think
                            NOM so
                   '(I) think in that way so'
41
                chotto senjin
                                   onegai [shi£masu£
                         predecessor please
                'please [let us know], predecessor'
42
        Tomi:
                                         [huhuhu
                                          hahaha
                                          'hahaha'
```

(186 lines omitted)

(Ogata explains his case by bringing up his personal experience for two minutes. After that, he loses his cell phone and finds it.)

```
229 Ogat: atta ata arigatou
COP COP thanks
'there it is, thank you'
```

```
230
        Ogat: {{laugh}}
231
        Aoki: {{laugh}}
232
        Ogat:
                yoshi.
                 well
                 'well'
233
         Ogat:
                daijyobu da ne.
                          COP FP
                 fine
                 'it is fine right?'
234
         Aoki:
                iya:.
                 no
                 'well'
235
         (0.5)
                korekara desu yo. shukatsu wa. ((Looking at Tominaga))
236
         Aoki:
                 from now on COP FP job hunting TOP
                 'job hunting has just started'
237 →
        Aoki:
                ore tabun ne
                     maybe FP
                 'maybe I'
238
                hachigatsu kurai ni sankousho katta kara ne:.
        Aoki:
                 August
                             about LOC reference book bought so
                 'bought a reference book around August so'
                 ((Looking down on the table))
239
         (0.9)
240
        Aoki:
                 .hh maama Tominaga san wa ii[yo.=
                           Tominaga HON TOP good FP
                     well
                  'well Ms. Tominaga is fine'
                 ((Looking at Tominaga again))
241
         Ogat:
                                                [00.
                                                 wow
                                                 'wow'
((Aoki continues his talk))
```

As we saw in Excerpts 17 and 18, the speakers initiate their trouble talk with the overt first-person singular pronoun after asking about the co-participant's case in order to make their own talk relevant. The particle attached to the first-person singular pronoun is the contrastive *wa* to indicate that this case is different from the co-participant's case as in Excerpt 17 or zero-particle as in Excerpt 18. In addition, overt first-person singular pronouns occur with the predicates in the past tense, thereby signaling that the speaker initiates talk about what happened in the past.

4.3.3. Summary and discussion

In this section, we analyzed how a turn with the overt first-person singular pronoun initiates telling of personal experience occasioned in the interaction. We noted two major patterns. First, after being asked for information or offered a topic by the co-participant(s), the speaker sets his/her range of informing by accounting for not being able to straightforwardly provide information regarding the request or the topic. Here, zero-particles are attached to the overt first-person singular pronoun. Second, the speaker changes the participation framework by initiating either a second story or trouble talk. In this case, overt first-person singular pronouns accompany the particle *mo*, *wa*, or zero-particle depending on the type of storytelling to follow as well as how it is shown to be relevant to the prior talk by the co-participant. Furthermore, these utterances with the overt first-person pronouns are mostly in the past tense, except for the case in Excerpt 13, showing that the speaker initiates stories in the past.

Unlike cases in the sequence that involve assertions (Section 4.2), all overt first-person singular pronouns occur before the predicate and project the speaker's storytelling of personal experience in multiple TCUs. Kushida (2001) explores the mechanism behind the speaker's case-telling initiated by the first-person singular pronoun after the other's case-telling in Japanese conversations, which he calls "my-case-telling series." According to his study, the speaker's case-telling in "my-case-telling series" demonstrates that he/she has understood the preceding "case-telling" by the co-participant, and this co-membership is evoked through the co-participant's and the speaker's case-telling. These findings by Kushida align with what I have found in the initiation of a second story with a first-person singular pronoun in my datasets. That is, the second story is preceded by the co-participant's case-telling on the similar topic, and the speaker demonstrates their understanding of the co-participant's case-telling and doing co-

membership by showing that they share similar experiences. However, my datasets further show some morphosyntactic characteristics of the turns that initiates these telling; that is, a second story is initiated with the turn with the first-person singular pronoun that accompanies the particle *mo* ('also'). In addition, the last subsection showed that a trouble talk is also initiated after the co-participant's case-telling by the turn with first-person singular pronoun in the "clue question sequences" (Toe, 2008). Thus this section has shown additional findings on how first-person singular pronouns are used in the turn that initiates a telling of a personal experience.

Furthermore, similar to the "frame-setting" function discussed by Ono and Thompson (2003), this section shows that first-person singular pronouns are used to talk about "something about themselves" in the subsequent turn(s). However, this section showed several different new findings of the use of first-person singular pronouns in terms of the turn and sequential design within the interactional contingencies. With regard to the turn design, Ono and Thompson (2003) claim that the utterance with a first-person singular pronoun with a frame-setting function is typically not "well-formed" as the speaker has not formulated the morphosyntax at the time of the utterance. However, my data show that turns with first-person singular pronouns do not have such features and further that these turns are characterized by different morphosyntax depending on the action the turn executes in the sequential context. With regard to sequential design, this section showed that turns with first-person singular pronouns follow multiple TCUs (storytelling), and the type of the storytelling (e.g., a second story, trouble talk) differs depending on the preceding case-telling by the co-participant as well as the design of the turn that initiates the speaker's storytelling.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we saw how overt first-person singular pronouns occur in the contingency of the conversation by particularly focusing on three action sequences: 1) the speaker's assertion about third persons, events, activities, or objects; 2) the speaker's assertion about themselves; and 3) the speaker's initiation of a telling of personal experience. We also saw that the use of first-person singular pronouns is associated with the participant's epistemic stance displayed in interaction and awareness of constraints on preference organization. In addition, we have seen that the turn with the first-person singular pronoun has different morphosyntax depending on the action that the turn executes in the distinctive sequential contexts.

As I discussed, overt first-person singular pronouns are frequently used when displaying the speaker's epistemic authority, where they can commit to the validity of the utterance or subsequent talk. Turns with overt first-person singular pronouns accomplish different actions depending on the sequential position and a type of sequence where they occur. Throughout the chapter, we observed three key actions: 1) accounting for not being able to align with the structure of the conversation, including not providing a preferred response or type-conforming answer; 2) displaying a personal and strong internal description; 3) and changing the participation framework.

In terms of the morphosyntactic features of the utterances, the first-person singular pronouns in types (1) and (2) are mostly not accompanied by any particle, and the word order differs depending on what to highlight in the utterance within the action sequence. We saw that overt first-person singular pronouns occur in utterance-initial position when accounting for not being able to align with the co-participant's assertion or not providing a straightforward answer. This may suggest that overt first-person singular pronouns occurring utterance-initially in these

distinct sequences indexing the subsequent utterances or talk will disalign the structure of the conversation. On the other hand, we saw that first-person singular pronouns occur in post-predicate position, the non-canonical word-order in Japanese, when the speaker: (a) pursues agreement; (b) displays a personal and strong internal description; or (c) negates a presupposition about the speaker. Ono and Thompson (2003) discuss how post-predicate first-person singular pronouns occurring when the speaker expresses an emotion are grammaticalized. The examples in my data align with their findings to the degree that some utterances express the speaker's emotion. However, the utterances with post-positional overt first-person singular pronouns in my data are more precisely characterized as the following: in the case of (a) and (b), first-person singular pronouns in the postposition highlight the fact that the proposition of the utterance is based on a personal case, not a general one, and in the case of (c), they highlight the proposition by expressing a stronger degree than the one presupposed in the previous utterance.

In the case of first-person singular pronouns in type (3), particles sometimes follow depending on the subsequent talk in relation to previous talk. With regard to word order, all first-person singular pronouns occur before predicate to project multiple TCUs, which is different from cases in types (1) and (2). This suggests that the overt first-person singular pronoun is uttered to take a turn and show that the speaker is going to talk about something about themselves, which is similar to the "frame-setting" function discussed in Ono and Thompson (2003). My data further suggest that morphosyntax, including word order, matters in the interaction not only to index the relative importance of the elements within the utterance first but also to execute certain actions.

By presenting an analysis of the above cases, the chapter showed how particular interactional contingencies are associated with the speakers' explicit mention of first-person

singular pronouns. We also saw different morphosyntactic features depending on the sequential design. In Chapter 5, we will look at cases in essays to compare their use in different types of discourse.

Chapter 5

Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns in Japanese Essays

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyze the use of first-person singular pronouns in essay data, aiming to explore how units of segments that include first-person singular pronouns work similarly and differently compared to those observed in conversational data discussed in Chapter 4. Given the features of essay writing, which is different from spontaneous spoken interaction, I will focus on units (i.e., segment) that include first-person singular pronouns and express: (1) the writers' assertions; (2) the writers' demonstration of their view toward themselves; or (3) the writers' initiation of the narrative of their personal experience. In Chapter 4, we saw that the use of first-person singular pronouns in conversational data depends on the sequential contexts and design. In Chapter 5, I will show that the use of first-person singular pronouns in essay data is largely associated with the rhetorical organization and rhetorical structure of the essays. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss how morphosyntactic features of sentences within units (i.e., segments) that include overt first-person singular pronouns in essay data are different from the utterances within the units (i.e., turns) that include first-person singular pronouns in conversational data. Furthermore, the chapter will discuss how these morphosyntactic features are associated with the rhetorical organization or structure of the essays.

In the targeted actions in my essay data, 80 overt first-person singular pronouns were found. The distribution of their forms is shown in Table 5.1.

 Table 5.1 Distribution of forms of first-person singular pronouns in selected actions

Form	N	%
watashi	57	71.3
watakushi	1	1.3
boku	22	27.5
Total	80	100.0

Comparing Table 5.1 and Table 4.1 in Chapter 4, while *watashi* and *boku* are seen in both essay and conversational data, *watakushi*⁴¹ is seen only in essay data. Similar to the conversational data, the essay data also shows the form *watashi* is most frequently seen. However, unlike the conversational data, the forms *watashi* and *boku* are used here by writers regardless of their gender, and *watakushi* is used by a male writer.

Similar to the conversational data we observed in Chapter 4, essay data also show that first-person singular pronouns are not always present. For example, Essay 1, *boku no yuuki ni tsuite* ('On courage as I see it') written by Saihate Tahi, begins with the sentence shown below. The subject of this sentence is the writer (i.e., the first person), but it is not overtly indicated by the first-person pronoun. In the examples from the essays below, underscoring indicates the spot where an overt first-person singular pronoun could be syntactically slotted in. ⁴² In the English translations, parentheses are added to any first-person singular pronoun that is not overt in the original Japanese text.

⁴¹ The form *watakushi* refers to the one written in *hiragana* (わたくし). Cases of *kanji* 私 are counted as *watashi*, as discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴² I put the underline before the verb to show the interpretation of which verbs have the subject of the first-person in non-overt form.

Essay 1: 「ぼくの勇気について」(最果タヒ) [1.1-2, p. 29⁴³]

自意識過剰について指摘する人は多いけれど、 でもそれを心から「悪い」と思っている人はいないのではないかと__思う。

jiishikikajo ni tsuite shiteki suru hito wa ooi keredo, self-consciousness about point out people TOP many but demo sore o kokoro kara "warui" to omotteiru hito wa inai no de wa nai ka but that ACC from bottom of the heart "bad" QT think.ASP people TOP not.exist NOM COP TOP NEG Q to __omou.

QT think

'While many people talk about being overly self-conscious, (I) don't think that anyone really considers this a "bad" thing.'

The sentence above could include the first-person singular pronoun as a subject of the predicate *omou* ('think'), but it is not overt. As discussed in previous chapters, verbs indicating the speaker's or writer's mental process (such as *omou*) are not usually accompanied by an overt first-person singular pronoun in Japanese. In addition to such semantic features affecting the morphosyntax, discursive factors also come into play in the essay data, with the first paragraph tending to lack overt first-person singular pronouns, as in this example. In written Japanese, the non-overt first-person singular pronoun in the first paragraph has a dramatic impact on the reader because "by not using *watashi*, the writer places herself in the world of here-and-now" (Maynard, 2007, p. 271).

There are many cases in the essay data where the overt first-person singular pronoun is not syntactically required but still conveys the writer's subjectivity. Moreover, a wider variety of modality expressions are used to convey the writer's subjectivity, allowing the sentence to dispense with overt first-person singular pronouns. These include conjectural and inferential expressions such as *kamoshirenai*, *daroo*, *hazu da*, or *de wa nai ka* (the combination of negation

-

⁴³ The lines and pages indicated here in brackets are the actual lines and pages in the book.

of the copula and question particle). For example, the sentence below from Essay 2, "hito wa naze hataraku no darouka" ("Why do people work?") written by Nagase Kai includes the expression de wa nai ka at the end to show the writer's subjectivity toward the targeted issue in this essay, a feature not seen in the conversational data.

Essay 2: 「人はなぜ働くのだろうか?」(長瀬海) [1.7-8, p. 259]

そうではない、もっと、軽々しく働く、あるいは、働くのを辞める、 そんな社会こそがいま求められているのではないか。

so de wa nai, motto, karugarushiku hataraku, aruiwa, hataraku no o yameru, that COP TOP NEG more lightly work or work NOM ACC quit sonnna kaisha koso ga ima motomerareteiru no de wa nai ka. such company exactly SUB now needed NOM COP TOP NEG Q 'Rather, (we) seek a society in which people work more casually or quit working altogether.'

While other patterns of construction without the overt first-person singular pronouns are observed in the essay data, under what circumstances does the overt first-person singular pronoun appear? Section 5.2. will show some of the structural features of those sentences, including first-person singular pronouns, which are different from the utterances in conversational data. From Section 5.3 onwards, I will present the first-person singular pronouns used when the writers express their subjective positions and when they initiate narratives of their personal experience. I will also present some morphosyntactic features of sentences with overt forms that contribute to delivering specific information within the paragraph or part of the essay.

5.2. Structural Differences Between Sentences in Essay Data and Utterances in Conversational Data that Include First-Person Singular Pronouns

In this section, I will show structural features of sentences that include first-person singular pronouns in the essay data but not in the conversational data. First, unlike the utterances in conversational data, which are mostly structured as simple sentences or even "poorly organized" sentences from a prescriptive linguistics perspective (e.g., sentences that lack a particle or predicate), the essay data have sentences that are "well-organized" and more complex, exhibiting more patterns. In this sense, looking at postpositional particles attached to first-person singular pronouns is even more helpful in identifying the structure of sentences as postpositional particles assign to that structure. Table 5.2 below shows the distribution of postpositional particles attached to first-person singular pronouns in sentences that express the writer's subjective position and initiate their narrative of personal experience.

Table 5.2 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying first-person singular pronouns in selected sentences

Particle	N	%
Ø	2	2.5
то	6	7.5
wa	57	71.3
ga	15	18.8
Total	80	100.0

Table 5.2 presents postpositional particles attached to nominative first-person singular pronouns in selected sentences in the essay data, a finding that is significantly different from the

conversational data shown in Table 4.2 in Chapter 4 in a number of respects. First, while a large number of overt first-person singular pronouns are not followed by any particle in the conversational data, there are only two such cases in the essay data. Second, unlike the conversational data, the particle *wa* is the most frequently used in the essay data. This large number of particles *wa* in the essay data includes cases marking contrast (5.1), topic (5.2), or both (5.3). This is significantly different from the conversational data, which have only cases marking contrast.

- (5.1) watashi wa ienai to omoimasu.
 - I TOP say.NEG QT think.COP
 - 'I don't think (we) can say that [although other people may say so].'
- (5.2) soko de watashi wa tasukerarete kangaeteiru.

there LOC I TOP help.PASS think.ASP

'Receiving such help makes [me] think.'

(Literal translation: 'There, I am helped and think.')

- (5.3) watashi wa zensoku-mochi de nodo wa binkan dearu.
 - I TOP have-asthma and throat TOP sensitive COP
 - 'I have asthma and my throat is sensitive [although other people may not].'
 - 'I have asthma and my throat is sensitive.'

In the sections below, I will show how the particle wa is used to mark a first-person singular pronoun as a topic or a contrast depending on how the segments including these sentences work differently. Third, the particle ga more frequently follows first-person singular pronouns in the essay data than in the conversational data. As the example below shows, all first-person singular pronouns with the particle ga in the targeted sentences are in noun clauses in complex sentences in the essay data, which is different from cases in the conversational data. (Brackets [] in the examples below indicate a noun phrase that includes an overt first-person singular pronoun, and <> indicates a clause that includes an overt first-person singular pronoun.)

- (5.4) [[watashi ga kyoto de kozoo o shiteita] chugakusee

 I SUB Kyoto LOC young Buddhist priest ACC do.ASP.PST junior high school student
 no koro] no hanashi desu.

 GEN around the time GEN story COP
 - 'This is a story from around the time when **I** was a young Buddhist monk in Kyoto as a middle school student.'
- (5.5) somosomo [[watashi ga shosetsu o kakihajimeta] kikkake] wa, In the first place I SUB novels ACC write.begin to.PST trigger TOP seikatsuku no tame dearu.

 hardship of life GEN because COP

'The reason I began writing novels in the first place was because (I) was struggling to make ends meet.'

As we saw in the examples above, since sentences in essays have different structural features and patterns from utterances in conversations, it is natural that overt first-person singular pronouns should occur in different ways within the structure, namely in different morphosyntactic positions in the sentence. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below illustrate where the overt first-person singular pronoun occurs within the utterances or sentences, which are largely influenced by structural differences. The tables below use "initial," "middle," and "final" to show the position within the utterance or sentence. ⁴⁴ The term "initial" includes cases preceded by a morpheme such as an interjection, adverb, or connective. The term "middle" includes cases preceded by a grammatical constituent such as an object of a transitive verb marked by the accusative marker *o*, a quotation marked by the qualitative *to*, a clause, or a noun phrase. The term "final" refers to cases occurring in a sentence or utterance-final. "Other" means cases embedded in a noun phrase. Table 5.5 shows examples from the essay data followed by their

⁴⁴ The comparison aims to show a broad picture of the different structures while acknowledging the limitation of comparing differences between "utterances" and "sentences" by the same criteria.

transliteration, glosses, and English translation. (Blackets [] are used to indicate the noun phrase and <> to indicate clauses.)

Table 5.3 Sentential position of first-person singular pronouns in the conversational data

1SG ⁴⁵ position	N	%
Initial	39	72.2
Middle	7	13.0
Final	7	13.0
Other	1	1.9
Total	54	100.0

Table 5.4 Sentential position of first-person singular pronouns in the essay data

1SG position	N	%
Initial	29	36.3
Middle	30	37.5
Final	0	0.0
Other	21	26.3
Total	80	100.0

.

 $^{^{\}rm 45}$ 1SG stands for first-person singular pronoun.

 Table 5.5 Examples of sentential position of first-person singular pronouns in the essay data

	Preface	Sample sentence
Initial	N/A	ぼく は、だから自意識への指摘で、人を傷つけることだけは したくない (5.6)
	interjection	いや、僕もそう思うんですよ (5.7)
	noun	いま私はそう思っています (5.8)
	adverb	それこそ ぼく はぼくの傷口を撫でて、そうして目の前の生き物を傷つけたくないと思っている (5.9)
	connective	しかし、 私 はブラックという言葉はマジックワードだと思っている (5.10)
Middle	object (accusative)	そういうとっさの攻撃を、 ぼく はどうやってぼくにやめさせ られるだろう (5.11)
	quotation	きっと積み重ねた経験と学習の賜物だと思うのですが、さらに自分が成長できるのは、むしろ選んでいない負の出来事ではないかなと 私 は思います (5.12)
	clause	ならば、もし今手持ちのしゃべる機会が壊れて、あたらしい 無音の機械を取りそろえたとき、 私 はこの「開けっ放し!」 とか「終わったよ!」がない家を、さみしく思うのだろうか (5.13)
	noun phrase	発信した直後 わたくし は少し慌ただしい日々を送ることになった (5.14)
Other	私が京都で小僧をしていた中学生の頃の話です (5.4.)	
omei		小説を書きはじめたきっかけは、生活苦のためである (5.5.)

- (5.6) **boku** wa dakara jiishiki e no shiteki de **I** TOP therefore self-consciousness LOC GEN pointing out by hito o kizutsukeru koto dake wa shitakunai people ACC hurt thing only TOP do-not-want-to
 - 'I can at least avoid hurting people by pointing out their self-consciousness.'
 (Literal translation: 'I, therefore, do not want to hurt people by hurting people's self-consciousness.')
- (5.7) iya, **boku** mo soo omou n desu yo IJ I also that think NOM COP FP 'Well, **I** think so too.'
- (5.8) *ima watashi wa soo omotte imasu* now **I** TOP so think.ASP 'Now **I** think in that way.'
- (5.9) sorekoso **boku** wa boku no kizuguchi o nadete, that just **I** TOP I GEN the mouth of a wound ACC stroke sooshite menomae no ikimono o kizutsuketakunai to omotteiru. in that way before.my.eyes GEN living creatures GEN hurt not.want.to. QT think.APS
 - 'That's exactly what I'm thinking about, stroking my wounds and not wanting to hurt the creature in front of me in that way.'
- (5.10) shikashi, watashi wa burakku to iu kotoba wa majikku waado da to omotteiru. but I TOP black QT say word TOP magic word COP QT think.ASP 'But I think the word "black" is a magic word.'
- (5.11) [sooiu tossa no kogeki] o, **boku** wa douyatte boku ni yamesaserareru darou that sudden attack ACC I TOP how I LOC stop.CAUS.PASS COP 'How can **I** make myself stop such a spur-of-the-moment attack?'
- (5.12) kitto tsumikasaneta keiken to gakushu no tamamono da to omou no desu ga, maybe accumulated experience and learning GEN result COP QT think NOM COP but [sarani jibun ga seicho dekiru no wa, mushiro erandeinai hu no dekigoto more self SUB grow can NOM TOP rather choose.not negative GEN events dewanaika na] to watashi wa omoimasu.

 COP.not.Q FP QT I TOP think.COP
 - '(I) am sure that this is the result of accumulated experience and learning, but I believe that it is rather the negative events that (we) do not choose that allow us to grow even more.'
- (5.13) <naraba, moshi ima temochi no shaberu kikai ga kowarete, then if now holding GEN speaking machine SUB broken atarashii muon no kikai o torisoroeta toki,> new silent GEN machine ACC arrange.PST when watashi wa kono "akeppanash!" toka "owatta yo!" ga nai ie o, I TOP this left open and done FP SUB not house ACC

samishiku omou no darou ka. lonely think NOM maybe Q

- 'Then, if (my) current talking machine were to break down and (I) replaced it with a new silent one, would **I** miss this house without the "(You) left it open!" or "[It's] done!" alerts?
- (5.14) [hasshinshita chokugo], watakushi wa sukoshi awatadashii hibi o okuru sent out immediately after I TOP little hectic days ACC spend koto ni natta become.PST

'Immediately after (I) sent out the message, things got a little hectic for me.' (Literal translation: 'I became to be a little busy spending days.')

As we have seen, there are morphosyntactic differences between sentences in essays and utterances in conversation, including the use of overt first-person singular pronouns. In the following sections, I will show how these morphosyntactic features are associated with the rhetorical organization or the structure of the essays, in other words, the articulation of the main point of the essay. I will show specific cases where first-person singular pronouns are used in assertions in Section 5.3 as well as cases of writers demonstrating their own view toward themselves in Section 5.4.46 First-person singular pronouns used to initiate a narrative of a personal experience will be discussed in Section 5.5, and Section 5.6. will discuss and conclude the use of first-person singular pronouns in these actions based on the findings.

5.3. First-Person Singular Pronouns Used to Express Assertions

In this section, I will discuss the use of the overt first-person singular pronouns in assertions. In correspondence to the term used in Chapter 4, "assertion" in essays means a segment in which the writer describes or makes a claim concerning something about the world,

⁴⁶ As will be discussed, given the differences in nature in the activities in question, unlike in the conversational data, there are no assertions about the writers themselves in the essay data. This chapter thus focuses on similar actions to be compared with cases in conversational data.

often attaching an evaluative or personal stance. Assertion in essays therefore includes opinions about the topic addressed in the essays, a judgment about factual information, or an opinion. In written Japanese, opinion (*iken*) is often compared with fact (*jijitsu*) or description (*kijyutsubun*). While *iken* is most likely characterized by the morphosyntax (e.g., Kabashima, 1983; Maynard, 1997), it can also be labeled according to the function it deploys. For example, Kido (1992) explains that *iken* has three functions, including *shucho* ('assertion'), *hyooka* ('evaluation'), and *riyuu* ('reason'). *Shucho* expresses an opinion about the text, *hyooka* expresses a judgment about a fact or an opinion, and *riyuu* expresses opinions that are the bases of *iken*.

Like conversational data, the essay data show assertions about different targets, including third persons, events, activities, or objects. My data contains 25 overt first-person singular pronouns occurring in assertions, including *watashi* (18 cases) and *boku* (7 cases). The distribution of postpositional particles attached to overt first-person singular pronouns is shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular pronouns in sentences involving an assertion about third persons, events, activities, or objects

Particle	N	%
то	1	4.0
wa	19	76.0
ga	5	20.0
Total	25	100.0

Table 5.6 shows that most cases of first-person singular pronouns accompany the particle *wa*, followed by *ga* and *mo*. In the following subsections, I will provide examples of patterns showing how assertions with overt first-person singular pronouns are made. I will also discuss how the use of first person-singular pronouns is associated with particles, rhetorical structure, and organization of the essay.

5.3.1. Assertions negating the view being written about

The most significant pattern of assertion with overt first-person singular pronoun is by negating the view that has been presented. Such assertions are in alignment with the main point of the essay, facilitating the reader's understanding of the main point. There are eight such cases in my data. In these cases, overt first-person singular pronouns accompany the contrastive particle *wa*, which contrasts with views others may have about the assertion. These contrastive views are further shown in antithetic relation or a question-answer in negative polarity in the interpretation or evaluation relation set in RST.

For example, consider Essay 1, titled *boku no yuuki ni tsuite* ('On courage as I see it') written by Saihate Tahi, which is written in *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*, the four-part organization. In *ki* (topic presentation), the writer introduces the topic of how he sees courage, and then moves on to *shoo* (topic development), where he introduces an example. Then in *ten* (surprise turn), the writer starts demonstrating his view on courage, which he developed while writing this essay. In *ketsu* (conclusion), the writer concludes his view on courage. The title of the essay introduces the topic (on courage as the writer sees it), and the writer's main point (i.e., how he sees courage) is

written toward the end of the essay in the fourth part, the ketsu, a concluding part.⁴⁷ The targeted sentence is shown in Segment 16 below in the first introductory part (ki), where the writer challenges popular behavior that is not understandable. The target sentence in the segment is accompanied by glossing and translation, which was introduced earlier in the chapter, is shown again below (5.6).⁴⁸

Essay 1:⁴⁹「ぼくの勇気について」(最果タヒ) [l. 1~9, p. 29/1. 1~5, p. 30]

PART 1

- 1. 自意識過剰について指摘する人は多いけれど、
- 2. でもそれを心から「悪い」と思っている人はいないのではないかと__思う。
- 3. 自分が自分であること、
- 4. 自分として生きようとすること、
- 5. 幸せになりたいと思うこと、
- 6. 承認されたいと思うこと、
- 7. どれもまっすぐにつながっていて、
- 8. それを悪と見なすことは、
- 9. 誰にとってもブーメランなのだ。
- 10. それでも指摘する人がいて、
- 11. 指摘され恥ずかしくなる人がいて、
- 12. それは結局指摘されたその人の中にもともとあった「罪悪感」が、目を覚ましたというだけだ。
- 13. 他人の群れの中にいれば自分を中心にしか世界を見つめられないことを
- 14. 恐ろしく__思う。
- 15. どうしてずっと平和を願っていられないのか。
- → 16. ぼくは、だから自意識への指摘で、人を傷つけることだけはしたくない。

⁴⁷ At the end of the essay, the writer specifically states that what he considers courage is to call the feeling of being obliged to help others "love," as follows: だれかの危機的状況に「なんとかしなくては」と感じてしまう。それを、愛と呼ぶ勇気を、ぼくは決して手放さない。('When someone is in crisis, I feel I have to do something about it. I will never give up the courage to call this "love".')

⁴⁸ The same example sentence is shown earlier in this chapter.

⁴⁹ Overt first-person singular pronouns targeted in the discussion were bolded by the author for analytical purposes.

- 17. 自分の中にある誠実さや美意識や怒りや正義を賭け、相手に対するのではなく、 相手の中にある罪悪感を利用した、単なる攻撃を、ぼくはする必要を感じない。
- 18. そこに勝利はないし、
- 19. 敗北もない。
- 20. それによって研ぎ澄まされる愛も正義も優しさもない。
- 21. 悪意さえも介在しないんだ。
- 22. ただ、「相手はこう言われたら傷つくだろう」という予感があり、
- 23. それを理由に動いただけだ。
- 24. 自らの武器も爪さえも使わずに、相手の傷口をひきさくやりかた。
- 25.「傷つけたかった」という事実しか残らないのに
- 26. どうして、きみは傷つけたのだろう。

Translation by the author (Essay 1: "On courage as I see it" (Saihate Tahi))

PART 1

- 1. While many people talk about being overly self-conscious,
- 2. (I) don't think that anyone really considers this a "bad" thing.
- 3. Being ourselves,
- 4. trying to live as ourselves,
- 5. wishing to become happy,
- 6. looking for approval
- 7. these are connected in a straight line,
- 8. and if you see this as a bad thing
- 9. it will boomerang on you.
- 10. Even so, there are people who will point out this behavior
- 11. and people who become embarrassed by being pointed out,
- 12. which is just results from their "sense of guilt" being awakened.
- 13. When you're in a group and can only see yourself as the center of the universe—
- 14. (I) think that's horrifying.
- 15. Why can't (they/we) just pray for peace?
- → 16. I can at least avoid hurting people by pointing out their self-consciousness.

 (Literal translation: I, therefore, do not want to at least hurt people by pointing out self-consciousness.)
 - 17. I don't feel the need to attack people via their sense of guilt for [their/my] sense of sincerity, aesthetics, outrage, moral code, or the like.
 - 18. There is no victory
 - 19. nor defeat.
 - 20. This doesn't sharpen our feelings of love, justice nor generosity.
 - 21. Even animosity does not come into play.
 - 22. It is just that someone sensed "others will be hurt if they are talked to like that,"
 - 23. and (they) took action.

- 24. The way of scratching their wounds without using weapons or even fingernails.
- 25. Even though the fact that "(we) wanted to hurt (them)" would remain,
- 26. why did you hurt (someone)?
- (5.6) **boku** wa dakara jiishiki e no shiteki de **I** TOP therefore self-consciousness LOC GEN pointing out by hito o kizutsukeru koto dake wa⁵⁰ shitakunai people ACC hurt thing only TOP do-not-want-to

'I can at least avoid hurting people by pointing out their self-consciousness.'
(Literal translation: 'I, therefore, do not want to hurt people by hurting people's self-consciousness.')

As we can see in Essay 1 above, Segment 16 shows an assertion that includes the overt first-person singular pronoun *boku* in sentence-initial position. Interestingly, the referents of the first person are not overt in Segments 2 and 14, and *boku* in Segment 16 is the initial overt mention of a first-person referents in this essay. Segment 16 contrasts the writer's assertion about courage with a group of people in antithetic relation, with the writer asserting a position that is contrastive to that of a group of people for whom she does not have positive regard.

The RST analysis shown in Figure 5.1 shows that Segment 16 is in antithetic relation with the two segment sets. These segment sets are associated with rhetorical questions (Segments 15 and 26) and the answer in a negative polarity (Segment 16).

 $^{^{50}}$ The combination of *dake* ('only') and *wa* shows a contrast, which is similar to the contrastive particle *wa* (Kubota & Ido, 2023; Ido, 2016).

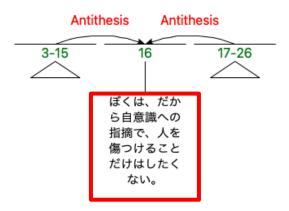


Figure 5.1 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 1

First, Segments 3 to 15 are in antithetic relation with Segment 16. Segments 3-12 describe how there are people who talk about being overly self-conscious in spite of seeing this as a bad thing that will boomerang on them, while others become embarrassed when this is pointed out to them. In Segments 13 and 14, the writer expresses a critical view toward those people who point out this behavior by only seeing themselves as the center of the universe. This view is further elaborated by a rhetorical question in Segment 15: "Why can't (they/we) just pray for peace?". A rhetorical question is generally considered to have the illocutionary force of a strong assertion of opposite polarity (Inada & Imanishi, 2016). Based on the idea expressed in Segments 3-12, Segments 13-15 are therefore what the writer does not support, and this is contrasted with the assertion in Segment 16.

Second, Segments 17 to 26 are also in the antithetic relation with Segment 16. That is, the writer disagrees with the idea of attacking (i.e., criticizing) people via their sense of guilt as expressed in Segment 17 for the reasons stated in Segments 18, 19, and 20. This idea is further elaborated in Segments 22 and 23 as well as in Segments 24 and 25 and is eventually critiqued in Segment 26 in the form of a rhetorical question. All in all, Segments 17-26 represent what the writer does not support, and this contrasts with the assertion made in Segment 16. Here, an overt

first-person singular pronoun is used in an assertion in Segment 16, which is in antithetic relation with the two sets of segments that end with a rhetorical question.

Furthermore, within the morphosyntax of the sentence in Segment 16, there are several resources that convey the contrastive sense. First, the overt first-person singular pronoun *boku* and the contrastive marker *wa* are followed by a comma. A comma in written language can be considered a subvocalization (Chafe, 1988), and this is the case in Japanese also (Niikuni, 2015, p. 31). Iwasaki (2002) notes that in spoken Japanese, the particle *wa* is generally uttered with stress to show a contrastive sense. Here, the comma works to show the contrastive sense. The contrastive relationship between the writer (*boku*) and other people is shown by the antithetic relations previously discussed. Second, the combination of the contrastive particle *wa* and negative polarity also contributes to convey the contrastiveness as it negates the corresponding affirmatives (McGloin, 1987). This allows the writer's assertion to be conveyed in the rhetorical structure along with this morphosyntax.

Similar features are also seen in Essay 2, titled "hito wa naze hataraku no darou ka" ("Why do people work?"), written by Nagase Kai in a five-part organization. The title introduces the topic ("Why people work") and the writer's main point about this topic is made toward the end of the essay in Segments 66 to 69, Paragraph 13 in the fifth part. The targeted sentence (Segment 63) is also in the fifth part, which is further elaborated by segments that include the main point. The target sentence (Segment 64) with glossing and translation is provided in (5.15) below.

Essay 2: 「人はなぜ働くのだろうか?」(長瀬海) [1.7-15, p. 259/1.1-2, p.260]

PART 5 Paragraph 12

- 56. そうではない、もっと、軽々しく働く、あるいは、働くのを辞める、そんな社会 こそがいま求められているのではないか。
- 57. 退屈と労働倫理のセットはそこから抜け出せる、 一手だ。
- 58. なぜなら、この考えは人を絶えず上昇させるこれまでの労働倫理を打ち消して、 横滑りさせることが可能だからだ。
- 59. つまり、その気になれば、辞めることだってできる、ということだ。
- 60. 人は退屈から逃れるためだけに働いているのだ。
- 61. だったら、いまの仕事が嫌なら辞めりゃあいい。
- 62. そして新しい、何かを、退屈から逃れられる何かを見つければいい。
- 63. 呑気な考えだろうか。
- → 64. 私はそうは思わない。
 - 65. こうした、人を追い詰めるわけではない、実存に沿った考え方こそが、いまの労働社会に必要だ。

Paragraph 13

- 66. 逃げるための、労働倫理を。
- 67. 下降できる、労働倫理を。
- 68.「いやだ!」と言える、労働倫理を。
- 69. いま求められているのは、そういった類の思考様式なのではないだろうか。
- 70. そんなことを怠け者である私なんかは思っているのである。

Translation by the author (Essay 2: "Why do people work?" (Nagase Kai))

PART 5

Paragraph 12

- 56. Rather, (we) seek a society in which people work more casually or quit working altogether.
- 57. Breaking free from a cycle of boredom and work ethic is one way out.
- 58. This concept allows for lateral movement, undermining the conventional work ethic that drives people upward.
- 59. In other words, (you) can quit if (you) want.
- 60. People work just to escape boredom.
- 61. So if (you) don't like your current job, quit.
- 62. Then, find something new, something to escape the boredom.
- 63. Is this a carefree idea?
- \rightarrow 64. **I** don't think so.
 - 65. This kind of existential thinking that does not drive people into a corner, is what today's working society needs.

- 66. (We) need a work ethic that allows (us) to escape.
- 67. A work ethic that allows (us) to descend.
- 68. A work ethic that allows (us) to say, "No!"
- 69. (We) need this way of thinking now.
- 70. That's what lazy people like me think, anyway.

(5.15.) watashi wa soo wa omowanai.

I TOP so TOP think.not
'I don't think so'

As in Essay 1, the assertion with the overt first-person singular pronoun sentence-initial position in Segment 64 shows the contrastive sense with the contrastive particle *wa* as well as the antithetic relation set. As we can see from the RST analysis in Figure 5.2 below, Segment 64 is in antithetic relation with the rhetorical question in Segment 63, whose "carefree idea" is explained from Segments 56 to 62 as background information. This antithetic relationship is shown by the rhetorical question answered in negative polarity in Segment 64.

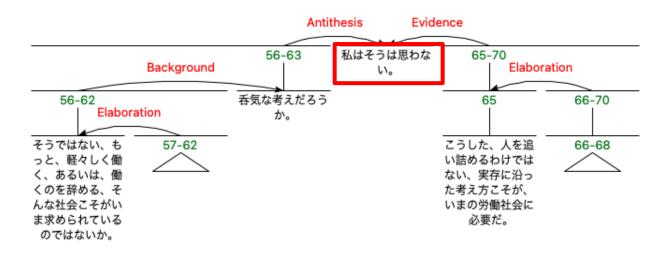


Figure 5.2 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 2

Finally, consider Essay 3, "hito wa hon o yomanakunatta keredomo" ('Although people have stopped reading books'). The title introduces the topic of "people have stopped reading."

The writer's main point is stated toward the end of the essay, showing her subjective position on

the issue that "people have stopped reading."⁵¹ The essay is written in five parts, and the targeted sentence with the overt first-person singular pronoun is in the first introductory part, which facilitates the reader's understanding of the main point of the essay. The target sentence (Segment 4) with glossing and translation, which was introduced earlier in the chapter, is shown again below.

Essay 3: 「人は本を読まなくなったけれども」(津野海太郎) [1.1-9, p.208]

PART 1

Paragraph 1

- 1. 以前にくらべて、いまの人が本を読まなくなっているのはたしかでしょうね。
- 2. ここまで本ばなれがすすめば、それを否定するのはむずかしい。
- 3. でもだからといって、このままいったら、いずれ私たちの暮らしから「読書する 習慣」がまったく消えてしまうだろう、とまでいえるかどうか。

Paragraph 2

→ 4. 私はいえないと思います。

Paragraph 3

- 5. -本はひとりで黙って読む。
- 6. たいていはじぶんの部屋で。

Paragraph 4

- 7. それが普通の意味での「読書」だとすれば、この習慣はそうそう簡単には消えないでしょう。
- 8. ただし、その習慣をささえる社会の常識といったものは、以前とは変わっていく かもしれない。
- 9. その可能性は大きいと思う。

Translation by the author (Essay 3: "Although people have stopped reading books" (Tsuno Kaitarou))

PART 1

-

⁵¹ The writer makes the following statement: そうした新しい環境で、人びとは「本はひとりで黙って読む」という習慣を、私たちとちがうやり方でひきついでいくだろう。(''In this new environment, people will inherit the habit of reading books alone and in silence in a different way than we do.)

Paragraph 1

- 1. It's pretty clear that people don't read nearly as much as they used to.
- 2. One can hardly deny that when books are so unpopular.
- 3. Even so, does this really mean that "reading" will disappear from our lives as a result? Paragraph 2
 - 4. I don't think (we) can say that.

Paragraph 3

- 5. —(We) read books silently by ourselves.
- 6. Usually in our room.

Paragraph 4

- 7. If that is "reading" in a conventional sense, the habit will not disappear so easily.
- 8. However, societal norms which support the habit may change over time.
- 9. (I) think it is highly likely.

(5.1.) watashi wa ienai to omoimasu.

I TOP say.NEG QT think.COP

'I don't think (we) can say that.'

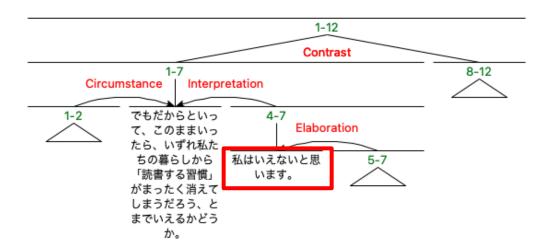


Figure 5.3 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 3

In Segment 4, the first-person singular pronoun *watashi* is overt and sentence-initial. This assertion responds to the question posed in Segment 3. This sentence is interrogative and is

answered with an overt first-person singular pronoun in negative polarity, which shows the writer's interpretation of the question.

As we saw in Essays 1, 2, and 3, assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects with an overt first-person singular pronoun are often depicted by negating a possible view people in general may hold. These assertions align with the main point of the essay, facilitating the reader's understanding of the writer's main point. In terms of morphosyntactic features, the first-person singular pronoun is marked by the contrastive particle *wa*, which contrasts with the writer's own view with others. These contrastive views are further shown in the antithetic relation set or a question-answer in negative polarity in the interpretation or evaluation relation set.⁵² Furthermore, the predicate of such sentences is characterized by a verb that shows the writer's mental process, thus providing the writer's internal description. In the conversational data shown in Chapter 4, there is no direct disagreement with the use of first-person singular pronouns and these predicates. Thus the use of first-person singular pronouns to make an assertion that is different from others' views is a significant feature of written Japanese.

5.3.2. Other type of assertion

Another frequently seen pattern of the overt first-person singular pronoun used in assertions is when the writer articulates the main point of the essay. In this case, the segment with the overt first-person singular pronoun also has a verb that shows the writer's mental process. In this case, the overt first-person singular pronoun is either sentence initial or in midposition following the quotation and marked by the quotative particle *to*. Segments with overt

⁵² An evaluation relation set is similar to the examples in the interpretation relation set. The difference is that the assertions in the evaluation relation set show the writer's subjective position toward a target in a positive way whereas those in the interpretation relation set do this in a negative way.

first-person singular pronouns are also found in the satellite of the interpretation or evaluation relation set. This means that the assertion with the first-person singular pronoun is made toward a certain segment(s) that has been (or will be) presented. Furthermore, the use of the overt first-person singular pronouns relates to how the essay is organized into parts. When the essay is written in three-part organization, the writer's main point with the overt first-person singular pronoun is placed at the beginning of the main part (at the beginning of the second part) or immediately before the main part (at the end of the first part). When the essay is written in four or five-part organization, an overt first-person singular pronoun is seen in the final part. Figure 5.4 below shows a visual representation of this usage in relation to the organization of the essay.

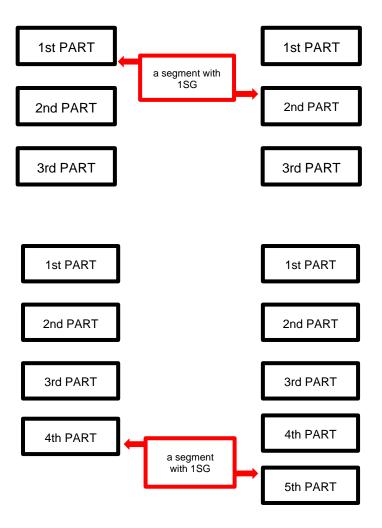


Figure 5.4 Visual representation of the use of first-person singular pronouns in relation to the organization of the essay

In Essay 4, titled "kodoo seneba... omoishiru ('I learned that I must take action')" written by Yoshiko Hori, the writer expresses the importance of taking action based on her past experience. The title introduces the topic that we must take action, and the writer's main point is stated at the end of the first part, which is that negative events we do not choose allow us to grow even more. The essay is written in three-part organization (ki-sho-ten). The first part (ki) is a topic presentation, where the writer states that she realized that nothing happens unless we take

action. The second part (*sho*) is a topic development, where the writer illustrates a specific experience in the past that is related to the topic stated in the first part. The third part (*ten*) is a surprise turn, which describes what happened after the experience stated in the second part. This supports the writer's main point, namely that "I believe that the negative events that (we) do not choose allow (us) to grow even more," which is presented in the first part.

The segments presented below are from the first part and the beginning of the second part of the essay. The segment with the overt first-person singular pronoun occurs at the end of the first part (Segment 7), and the glossing and translation are provided in (5.12) below. As we can see in the segments and RST analysis in Figure 5.5, Segment 7 interprets a situation presented in Segment 4 ('When (you) pursue something (you) are good at or a goal you have set for (your)self, (you) may experience some setbacks, but (you) will learn from them.'), which is elaborated in Segments 5 and 6. Furthermore, Segment 7 conveys the main point of the essay, being followed by the narrative of her personal experience in the second and the third parts, which support the main argument.

Essay 4: 「行動せねば・・・思い知る」 (ほしよりこ) [l. 1~9, p. 310/l. 1~5, p.311]

PART 1

Paragraph 1

- 1. 最近、つくづく__思うのが、行動に移さない限り何も起こらない、ということです。
- 2. どんなに強く願っていても学習し続けない限り語学は上達せず、心の底で誰かの ことを激しく想い続けていても、相手に伝えない限り関係に進展はなく、華麗に 楽器を演奏する姿を想像してもレッスンを始めなければ楽器はただの置物です。
- 3. 才能があると言われている人だって行動で示せなければ何も伝えることができない。

- 4. 得意なことや、自分で決めた一つの目標に向かって突き進むと、いくつかの挫折 も経験しながら身についていくことがあります。
- 5. それはスポーツや、料理、音楽や、望んだ 職業や、在りたい自分の姿など。

- 6. ある程度経験を重ねると次の行動や選択について迷いがなくなり、より密度が濃く失敗の少ないやり方を選ぶことができるようになります。
- → 7. きっと積み重ねた経験と学習の賜物だと_思うのですが、さらに自分が成長できるのは、むしろ選んでいない負の出来事ではないかなと**私**は思います。

PART 2

Paragraph 3

- 8. 私の場合それは入院でした。
- 9. 丈夫な自分が入院することになるとは夢にも思いませんでした。
- 10. その日は絶対に休むことができない対談があったのに、起き上がることもできず、即入院となりました。

Translation by the author (Essay 4: "I learned that I must take action" (Hori Yoshiko))

PART 1

Paragraph 1

- 1. Recently, (I) have come to realize that nothing happens unless (we) take action.
- 2. No matter how strongly (you) wish for it, (you) will not improve your language skills unless (you) continue to learn; Even if (you) have intense feelings for someone deep down, a relationship will not progress unless (you) tell the other person [how you feel]; Even if you imagine yourself playing an instrument brilliantly, that instrument is just a decoration until you start taking lessons.
- 3. Even those said to be talented cannot convey anything unless (they) demonstrate it through action.

Paragraph 2

- 4. When (you) pursue something (you) are good at or a goal (you) have set for (your)self, (you) may experience some setbacks while learning along the way.
- 5. This could be in sports, cooking, music, a desired career, or a desired self image.
- 6. After gaining a certain amount of experience, (you) may find (yourself) less hesitant about your next step or choice, allowing for a more dense and less failure-prone approach.
- → 7. (I) am sure that this is the result of accumulated experiences and learning. However, I believe that the negative events that (we) do not choose allow (us) to grow even more.

PART 2

- 8. In my case, it was hospitalization.
- 9. Since (I) considered myself healthy, (I) never dreamed that (I) would end up in the hospital.
- 10. Although (I) had an interview that day that (I) could not miss, (I) could not even get out of bed and was hospitalized immediately.
- (5.12) kitto tsumikasaneta keiken to gakushu no tamamono da to omou no desu ga, maybe accumulated experience and learning GEN result COP QT think NOM COP but [sarani jibun ga seicho dekiru no wa, mushiro erandeinai hu no dekigoto

more self SUB grow can NOM TOP rather choose.not negative GEN events dewanaika na] to watashi wa omoimasu.

COP.not.Q FP QT I TOP think.COP

'(I) am sure that this is the result of accumulated experience and learning, but I believe that it is rather the negative events that (we) do not choose that allow us to grow even more.'

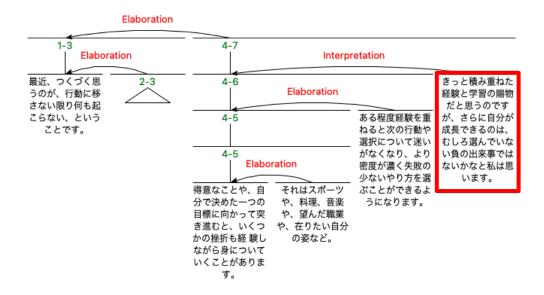


Figure 5.5 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 4

In essays in four- or five-part organization, the overt first-person singular pronoun in the main point is seen in the last paragraph of the essay. For example, Essay 5, titled "kodai ejiputo no tenchijin (Ancient Egyptian heaven, earth and men)" introduces the topic of Ancient Egypt. The writer's main point, which is the subjective position on the issue, is seen in the last paragraph. Essay 5 is organized into ki-sho-ten-ketsu form. In the first part (ki), the topic of Ancient Egypt is presented, which is developed in the second part (sho). In the third part (ten), the writer describes what he learned in the exhibition of King Tutankhamun, which came as a surprise. The fourth part (ketsu) concludes his view towards Ancient Egypt. As we can see from the segments from the fourth part below, the overt first-person singular pronoun watashi is used

at the end of the part (Segment 40), where the author asserts his view toward Ancient Egyptians based on what he described in the previous parts. The sentence (Segment 40) with glossing is shown in (5.16) below. As we can see from the RST diagram in Figure 5.6, this assertion is made to evaluate the previous segment (Segment 41).

Essay 5: 「古代エジプトの天地人」(吉村作治)[l. 11~15, p.238~239]

PART 4

Paragraph 8

- 37. それほどまでに来世への執着を形にした古代エジプト人だったが、永遠の棲み処となるはずの墓は、埋葬後まもなく墓泥棒の餌食となり、財宝は持ち去られてしまった。
- 38. その中で唯一、奇跡といっていいのが、ツタンカーメン王墓であり、目を見張るような副葬品が 3000 年の間、守られてきたのである。
- 39. ハワード・カーターによって永い眠り を妨げられて、
- 40. ツタンカーメン王もお気の毒でならない。
- 41. 永遠の命を来世に夢見て、この世の生き方を律し、辛さを乗り越えていた古代エジプト人。
- → 42. **私**はこの論理的で素晴らしい思想を考え出した古代エジプト人に深く敬意を表したい。

Translation by the author (Essay 5: "Ancient Egyptian heaven, earth and man" (Yoshimura Sakuji))

PART 4

- 37. The ancient Egyptians were so obsessed with the afterlife that they constructed elaborate tombs meant to be their eternal home. However, these tombs soon became prey to grave robbers, their treasures taken away.
- 38. The only miraculous exception was the tomb of King Tutankhamun, where a spectacular collection of funerary artifacts was preserved for 3,000 years.
- 39. When Howard Carter interrupted his eternal slumber,
- 40. (I) cannot help but pity the King.
- 41. The ancient Egyptians lived disciplined lives and overcame hardship by dreaming of eternity in the afterlife.
- → 42. I wish to express my deepest respect for the ancient Egyptians, who came up with this logical and wonderful idea.

(5.16) **watashi** wa kono ronriteki de subarashii shisoo o kangaedashita kodai ejiputojin ni I TOP this logical and wonderful idea ACC coming up ancient Egyptians to hukaku keii o arawashitai.

deeply respect ACC express.want to

'I wish to express my deepest respect for the ancient Egyptians, who came up with this logical and wonderful idea.'

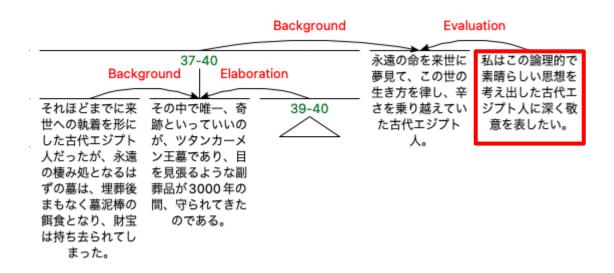


Figure 5.6 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 5

As we saw in Essays 4 and 5, the other frequently seen type of assertions with overt first-person singular pronouns convey the main point of the essay. These assertions interpret or evaluate a stated segment inside the part, as we can see in the above RST diagrams, and occur in the first or the last part depending on the rhetorical organization of the essay.

5.3.3. Summary and discussion

In this section, we saw the use of the first-person singular pronouns in assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects. We also saw some features in the morphosyntax, rhetorical structure, and rhetorical organization of the essay. In 5.3.1, we saw that the writer makes an assertion by negating a view people in general may have. In such an assertive sentence,

the overt first-person singular pronoun follows the contrastive particle *wa* and occurs sentence-initially. We also saw that these assertive sentences are mostly in negative polarity, showing the contrast with the corresponding affirmative (McGloin, 1987). Furthermore, antithetic relations and a question-answer in a negative polarity in interpretation or evaluation relation sets also contribute to showing a contrast. First-person singular pronouns are therefore overt when conveying contrastive views in these ways. In 5.3.2, we saw another type of assertive sentences with an overt first-person singular pronoun. These assertive sentences interpret or evaluate a stated segment and convey the main point of the essay within the rhetorical organization; the placement of these assertive sentences depends on the organization of the essay.

Compared with the conversational data discussed in Chapter 4, assertions in essay data can be characterized in a number of ways. First, first-person singular pronouns are marked by the particle *wa* in essay data while they are mostly marked by zero-particle in conversational data. Second, many assertions are made in negative polarity, and the contrastive sense is conveyed explicitly along with other linguistic resources in essay data. This contrasts with assertions that are indirectly conveyed in accounts in conversational data. Third, another type of assertion in essay data showed that the main point is conveyed with first-person singular pronouns within the organization of the essay, a feature of a planned discourse. As we saw in Chapter 4, turns with first-person singular pronouns in the sequence involving assertions in conversations occur for interactional causes rather than for conveying the main point of the speaker. Fourth, while the conversational data have overt first-person singular pronouns utterance-initially or finally, the essay data have them mostly in sentence-initial or in mid-position, and no sentence-final case is observed. Fifth, while internal descriptions with overt first-person singular pronouns are

internal descriptive form. That is, in conversational data in Chapter 4, we saw that internal descriptive utterances are only observed in assertions that are strong and personal to the extent that they do not seek agreement. Thus assertions in essays are characterized by their morphosyntax and delivery, a configuration different from conversational data and attributed to the nature of each discourse.

5.4. First-Person Singular Pronouns Used When Demonstrating the Writer's View toward Themselves

In the essay data, many overt first-person singular pronouns are observed when writers demonstrate their view toward themselves. In these sentences, the writers take an objective point of view toward themselves and express the objectified self (Werth, 1999, as cited in Maynard, 2007). Although Chapter 4 shows assertions about the speakers themselves, somewhat different features are found in the essay data given the different nature of each dataset. That is, while in conversation, speakers sometimes face the necessity to talk about themselves to account for something, as discussed in Chapter 4, in essays, the writers imagine prospective readers and their process of following the writers' self-analysis on a given theme.

There are 33 such cases in this dataset, mostly accompanied by the particle *wa*, as we can see in Table 5.7. The particle *wa* mostly marks the first-person singular pronouns as a topic rather than conveying a contrastive sense, unlike in the sentences in assertion discussed in 5.2.

Table 5.7 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular pronouns used when demonstrating writers' view toward themselves

Particle	N	%
Ø	1	3.0
то	3	9.1
wa	24	72.7
ga	5	15.2
Total	33	100.0

A characteristic shared in many of the examples is that segments with the first-person singular pronouns convey the main point of the essay or evidence for that main point at the beginning or the end of a paragraph.⁵³ These segments are the nucleus of the part, showing their central role in its function and thus realizing the main goals of the writer (Mann & Thompson, 1987). This characteristic further suggests that the use of first-person singular pronouns relates to the rhetorical structure and organization of the essay. Figure 5.7 below shows the features of overt first-person singular pronouns within the rhetorical structure and organization.

⁵³ Two of the essays in my dataset include an exceptionally large number of overt first-person singular pronouns that are not placed at the beginning or the end of the paragraph. This accounts for the large number of sentences demonstrating the writers' view toward themselves.

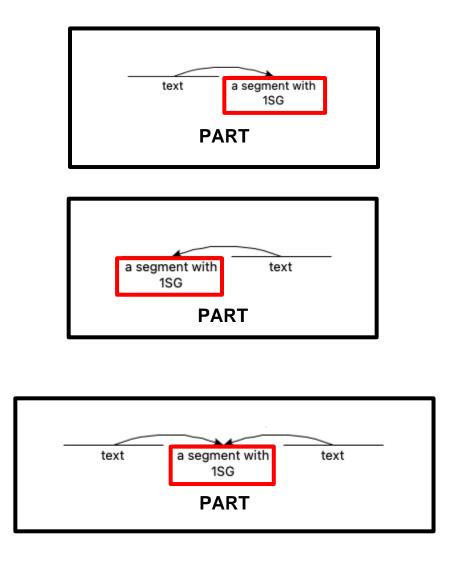


Figure 5.7 Visual representation of the use of first-person singular pronouns in relation to rhetorical structure and organization

Furthermore, most of these segments are supported by the writer's particular experience in the past, which has been (or will be) narrated in the essay. Other frequently seen cases shift the discussion or explanation from general information or belief concerning the theme of the essay to

a personal one, which leads to the main point of the essay. With regard to the morphosyntax, many of the overt first-person singular pronouns occur in mid-position most of them following a noun phrase or a clause.

There are eight cases where writers demonstrate their view toward themselves with an overt first-person singular pronoun either at the beginning or at the end of a paragraph based on past experience. These segments show essential evidence to support the main point of the essay as a whole. Let us look at Essay 6, "Tasukerarete kangaeru koto ('Thoughts on being helped')." The title summarizes the content of the topic, and the writer articulates the main point that "the best way is to think with the help of others" towards the end of the essay. This essay is organized in the three-part configuration (joron-honron-ketsuron). The first part (joron) introduces how the writer has come to realize that he learns from being helped. The second part (honron) then brings up a specific experience he had with his students which made him think in that way. The third part (ketsuron) concludes that the best thing is to be helped and think, which is the main point of the essay. The target segment with the first-person singular pronoun occurs at the beginning of Paragraph 3, the last paragraph of the first part, as indicated below. This target segment expresses the evidence for the main point of this essay. The glossing of the target sentence (Segment 3), which was shown earlier in the chapter, is provided again in (5.2) below.

Essay 6: 「助けられて考えること」(加藤典洋)[l. 1~9, p.324/l. 1~2, p.325]

PART 1

Paragraph 1

1. 大学をやめてから4年がたつが、自分がだいぶ教える相手に助けられてきたことに気づきはじめている。

⁵⁴ The author writes: 一番よいのは、人に助けられて考えること、というのがいまの私の結論である ('My current conclusion is that the best way is to think with the help of others.').

2. 私がこれまで書いたもののなかで例外的なロングセラーとなり、刊行後 20 年にしていまなお、年に1度ほど増刷を続けている「言語表現法講義」なる本の、私の他の本との大きな違いは、これが、学生の作文を集めてなった本、つまり学生とのやりとりをそのままに記した、学生たちに大いに助けられて生まれた本だということである。

Paragraph 3

- → 3. そこで私は助けられて考えている。
 - 4. そのことがこの本に厚みと広がりを与えていると思う。

PART 2

Paragraph 4

- 5. そもそも、教室でのやりとりでも学生に教えられることが多かった。
- 6. 中で忘れられないのが、次の「(手で) 守る」ことと「(目で)守る=見守る」こと の内的連関をめぐる話である。

Translation by the author: "Thoughts on being helped" (Kato Norihiro)

Paragraph 1

1. Four years have passed since (I) dropped out of college, and (I) have begun to realize how much (I) have been helped by those (I) teach.

Paragraph 2

2. Even twenty years after its publication, the major difference between this book and others is that it is a collection of student essays, capturing interactions with students directly. In other words, it is a book that was born with significant help from (my students).

Paragraph 3

- → 3. Receiving such help makes **me** think. (Literal translation: There, **I** am helped and think.)
 - 4. [It is precisely all the help I received] that gives this book its depth and breadth.

Paragraph 4

- 5. In fact, (I) learned a lot from the students, even during classroom interactions.
- 6. One thing that has stayed with (me) is the following story about the internal connection between "protecting (with the hands)" and "watching over (with the eyes)."
- (5.2.) soko de watashi wa tasukerarete kangaeteiru.

there LOC I TOP help.PASS think.ASP

'Receiving such help makes [me] think.'

(Literal translation: 'There, **I** am helped and think.')

The first part presents the author's past experience before explaining further about how he has been helped to think in the second part. His personal case of being helped and thinking, stated in Segment 4, is evidence for the main point of the essay, which is that the best thing is to

be helped and think. The overt first-person singular pronoun occurs in Segment 3, which is the nucleus of this part and conveying the main idea, as illustrated in Figure 5.8.

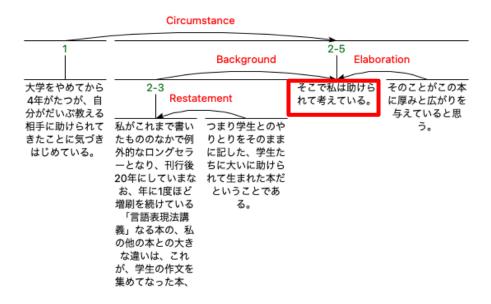


Figure 5.8 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 6

Similarly, Essay 7 below also includes a segment with an overt first-person singular pronoun that demonstrates the writer's view toward himself and shows the main idea of the part. In this case, the sentence also conveys the main point of the essay. The title of Essay 7, "Doukei, sonosaki no hanashi ('Beyond longing')" indicates the trigger of the time and event, that is, what happens to him after longing for a trip, and he expresses how he finally realized that journeys in the imagination are different from actual journeys in the third part as his main point. This essay is organized into three parts (joron-honron-ketsuron). In the first part (joron), the writer introduces a topic, namely the longing that comes from the word "trip." The second part (honron) discusses how after experiencing trips to many places, he realized that actual trips are completely different from those we imagine. The third part (ketsuron) concludes that regardless of his understanding about the facts stated in the second part, the writer thinks that he will

continue going on trips but will not stop complaining about them. The segments below are the third part, with the first-person singular pronoun *boku* used at the end of the part (Segment 59), the nucleus of the part, as shown in Figure 5.9, conveying the main idea of the part as well as the main point of the essay. Segment 58 is preceded by background information in Segments 52 to 57. The glossing of the sentence (Segment 59) is provided in (5.17) below.

Essay 7:「憧憬、その先の話」(古市憲寿) [l. 1-8, p. 17]

PART 3

- 52. ここまで読んでくれた読者は、突っ込みたくなっただろう。
- 53. そんなに文句ばっかり言うなら、どこにも行かなければいいじゃないか、と。
- 54. いや、僕も⁵⁵そう思うんですよ。
- **55.** どうせどこに行っても満足できないなら、もうどこにも行かなければいいのにって。
- 56. だけどそれでもどこかに行こうとするのは、小さかった頃の憧れを捨て切れていないからなのだと思う。
- 57. いつか夢に見たような、憧憬を抱いたような場所に、きっと次こそは辿り着けるのではないか。
- 58.「ずっとこの場所に来たかった」と感じられる場所があるのではないか。
- → 59. そんなかすかな期待を胸に、**僕**は新しい場所を訪れては、「やっぱりいまいちだったな」と皮肉を言い続けていくのだろう。

Translation by the author: Essay 7: "Beyond longing" (Furuichi Kenju)

PART 3

- 52. Readers who have read this far may be tempted to say something like:
- 53. "If (you) are going to complain so much, why don't (you) just stay home?"
- 54. Well, I think so too.
- 55. If (I) am not satisfied with any of the places (I) go, then (I) should simply not go.
- 56. The reason (I) still try to go places is because (I) never gave up the longing (I) had when (I) was a child.
- 57. (I) am sure that next time (I) will reach the place that (I) have dreamed of and longed for.
- 58. There must be a place out there that makes me feel like (I) have always wanted to be there.
- → 59. With this faint hope in (my) heart, **I** will continue to visit new places, and then ironically say, "It was just okay."

⁵⁵ I do not provide an analysis of the use of the first-person singular pronoun *boku* accompanying the particle *mo* here because this is not a major pattern to be focused on in this section.

- (5.17) sonnna kasukana kitai o mune ni, **buku** wa atarashii basho o otozurete wa, such faint hope ACC heart LOC **I** TOP new place ACC visit TOF "yappari imaichi datta na" to hiniku o iitsuzukete iku no darou. after all not good COP.PST FP QT sarcasm ACC say.continue to go NOM maybe
 - 'With this faint hope in (my) heart, I will continue to visit new places, and then sarcastically say, "it wasn't good enough after all.'

As shown in (5.17), the first-person singular pronoun occurs after an adverbial phrase, followed by the topic particle *wa*. Furthermore, the segment ends with *darou* to express an expectation about the writer himself.

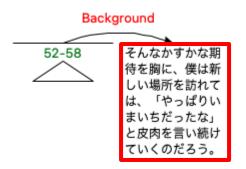


Figure 5.9 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 7

As we have seen, writers demonstrate their view toward themselves with an overt first-person singular pronoun by conveying the main idea of the part (i.e., the nucleus of the part in RST). When such segments are in the first or second part, they show essential evidence for the main point of the essay as in Essay 6. When these occur at the end of the essay, this configuration is designed to assert the writer's future such as by using *-darou*, showing the main point of the essay, as in Essay 7.

Another frequently seen pattern in the demonstration of the writer's view toward themselves with first-person singular pronouns is shifting the focus to the writer, a pattern mostly

observed at the beginning of a paragraph. This is mostly done by posing a rhetorical question to the writer based on the information provided previously and indexing the main point of the essay to come that interprets the rhetorical question. For example, in Essay 8, "Kurasu koto wa henka o ukeireru koto ('To live is to embrace change')," the writer states her opinion about living, which is to embrace change, and the overt first-person singular pronoun is seen in a rhetorical question in the last part of the essay (Segment 41). In terms of the organization of this essay, it is divided into three parts (ki-sho-ten). In the first part, the writer introduces her recent state of not being able to remember changes a town has undergone. In the second part, the writer develops the topic by extending it to changes in home appliances in addition to changes in towns. The third part then discusses how hard it is to recall something we are used to in general. In the third part, after asserting the writer's view toward changes in our lifestyle, the rhetorical question leads to the main point of the essay at the end of the paragraph, which is that living is to embrace change, as stated in the title. The glossing for the targeted sentence (Segment 41), which was provided earlier, is presented again in (5.13) below, showing that the first-person singular pronoun occurs after a temporal clause, which is marked by the brackets <>.

Essay 8:「暮らすことは変化を受け入れること」(角田光代)[l. 4~15, p. 63/l. 1–13, p. 64]

PART 3

- 33.以前はどんなふうだったっけ、と考えてみるが、思い出せない。
- 34. 炊飯器や洗濯機はどんな音で作業の終了を告げていたのだっけ。
- 35. 冷蔵庫が注意を促さないせいで、戸を開け放したままにしたことはあったのか。 Paragraph 8
 - **36.** こういう機械音がなかったからといって、でも、静かだったわけではないだろう。

- 37. ご飯が炊ける音も、湯が沸く音も、掃除機も、今よりずっと耳障りだったよう気もする。
- 38. 思い出せない。
- 39. 思い出せないことに、見知った店舗がなくなったときのようなさみしさすらも感じない。
- 40. すでに慣れすぎているんだと思う。

Paragraph 9

- → 41. ならば、もし今手持ちのしゃべる機械が壊れて、あたらしい無音の機械を取りそろえたとき、私はこの「開けっ放し!」とか「終わったよ!」がない家を、さみしく思うのだろうか。
 - 42. この静かな機械が壊れたら、次はやっぱりしゃべる機械にしようと考えたりするのだろうか。

Paragraph 10

- 43. 建物よりも、もっとずっとひそやかに、奥ゆかしく、それまでの存在を気づかせることなく、今まであった音は消えていく。
- 44. はさみが切符を切る小気味いい音、固定電話のけたたましい呼び出し音、レコードの雨のような音、パチンコ屋さんの前を通ると聞こえたにぎやかな音楽。
- **45.** いつから耳にしなくなったのか、思い出せないくらいそれらはさりげなく消えて、あたらしい音に変わっていく。

Paragraph 11

- 46. 変わるだけで、町から、私たちの暮らしから、音が消えることはない。
- 47. あたらしいにぎやかさ、あたらしい耳障りのなかで私たちは暮らしていく。
- 48. 町の変化にはいちいち戸惑う私も、音の変化は気づかないうちに受け入れて、しゃべる家電に無意識に口答えしながら、この先も暮らしていくのだろう。

Paragraph 12

- 49. けれども一方で、昔からあり続けて、ふだんはなんとも思っていないような音が、いつのまにか聞こえない暮らしにはなってほしくないとも思う。
- 50. 虫の声とか雷鳴とか、どこかの犬の鳴き声、木々の葉のこすれる音、土砂降りに変わる瞬間の音、子どもの澄んだ笑い声や赤ん坊の威勢のいい泣き声なんかが。 それらが聞こえない暮らしは、やっぱりずいぶんさみしいと思うのだ。

Translation by the author: Essay 8: "To live is to embrace change" (Kakuta Mitsuyo)

PART 3

- 33. (I) try to think about what it used to be like but (I) can't remember.
- 34. What kind of sound did the rice cooker and washing machine make to signal the end of their cycles?
- 35. Did (I) ever leave the refrigerator door open because it didn't remind [me] to close it? Paragraph 8
 - 36. Just because there were no mechanical noises doesn't mean that it was quiet.

- 37. (I) have a feeling that the sounds of cooking rice, boiling water, and vacuuming were much more annoying than they are now.
- 38. [But] (I) can't remember.
- 39. Being unable to remember doesn't even fill (me) with the same sadness (I) feel when a familiar store disappears.
- 40. (I) guess (I) am already too used to it.

Paragraph 9

- → 41. Then, if (my) current talking machine were to break down and (I) replaced it with a new silent one, would I miss this house without the "(You) left it open!" or "[It's] done!" alerts?
- 42. When the silent machine breaks down, will (I) want a talking machine again? Paragraph 10
 - 43. The sounds that used to be there are fading away much more quietly than the building itself with a discretion that doesn't draw attention to its existence.
 - 44. The satisfying sound of scissors cutting a ticket, the shrill ring of a landline telephone, the rain-like sound of a vinyl record, the lively music (we) used to hear when (we) walked past a pachinko parlor.
 - 45. When did (I) stop hearing them? They subtly faded from memory, replaced by new sounds.

Paragraph 11

- 46. Sounds just change; they will never disappear from the town or from our lives.
- 47. We will continue to live amidst the new hustle and bustle, the new noise.
- 48. Although every change in this town bewilders me, (I) unconsciously accept the change in sounds and continue to live (my) life, subconsciously arguing with the talking household appliances.

Paragraph 12

- 49. At the same time, however, (I) hope (our) lives don't become ones where (we) cannot hear the sounds (we) usually don't pay much attention to but that have been around for ages.
- 50. The sound of insects, thunder, a dog barking, the rustling of leaves, the moment rain turns into a downpour, a child's clear laughter, or a baby's uninhibited cry. (I) think it would be very lonely to live without these sounds.
- (5.13) <naraba, moshi ima temochi no shaberu kikai ga kowarete, then if now holding GEN speaking machine SUB broken atarashii muon no kikai o torisoroeta toki,> new silent GEN machine ACC arrange.PST when watashi wa kono "akeppanash!" toka "owatta yo!" ga nai ie o, I TOP this left open and done FP SUB not house ACC samishiku omou no darou ka. lonely think NOM maybe Q

'Then, if (my) current talking machine were to break down and (I) replaced it with a new silent one, would **I** miss this house without the "(You) left it open!" or "[It's] done!" alerts?

As we can see the RST analysis in Figure 5.10 below, the rhetorical question with the overt first-person singular pronoun in Segment 41 places the background information in Segments 33 to 40. The rhetorical question is then answered (interpreted) in Segment 48 onwards, the main point of the essay. The part as a whole presents and discusses the writer's view on living life, with Segment 41 as the nucleus. Thus another environment where the overt first-person singular pronoun is used in segments demonstrating the writer's self-perception is when indexing the main point of the essay to come in the nucleus of the part. As we saw in the above examples, in most cases, such sentences are constructed as a rhetorical question, which is uniquely seen in this type of written data.

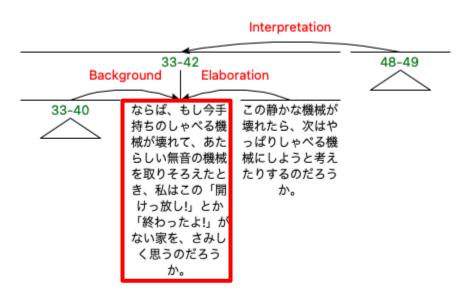


Figure 5.10 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 8

Finally, the example below presents a different sentence structure. The targeted segment provides the main point of the essay based on the writer's relevant past experience written about

in the previous paragraphs. In Essay 9, titled "Boku no yuuki ni tsuite ('On courage as I see it')" the target segment with an overt first-person singular pronoun is seen at the beginning of the third paragraph (or part). This essay is written in a four-part organization (ki-sho-ten-ketsu). In the first part (ki), the fact that people unconsciously hurt others is presented as the issue to be discussed. It is then developed in the second part (sho), with some examples. In the third part (ten), the writer reflects herself based on what she discussed in the first and second parts. The fourth part (ketsu) concludes by saying that she feels obliged to help others in critical situations, calling such a feeling of love "courage," the main point of the essay.

The segments below are from the third part of the essay. Segment 38 has the overt first-person singular pronoun *boku*, the nucleus of the part. This is where the writer presents the assertion based on what she has written about (i.e., her experience), as indicated in a cleft construction beginning with *-no wa* clause), *kokomade kaite omotta no wa* ('what I thought after writing this all is'). The glossing and translation is provided in 5.18 below. The assertion made in Segment 38 is the evidence for the fact that she feels obliged to help others in critical situations, which is part of the main point of the essay.

Essay 9: 「ぼくの勇気について」 (最果タヒ) [1.6-12, p.31]

PART3

- → 39. ここまで書いて思ったのは、ぼくは人をこころから、傷つけたくないのだということだった。
 - 40. それは優しさとかではなく、鳥肌が全身に出そうな、そんな感覚だ、
 - 41. 小さな生き物を手のひらに載せられた時のような感覚。
 - 42. どうしてこんなやわい状態で、生きてしまっているんですか。
 - 43. できる限り傷つけたくない、人を傷つけるということから無縁でありたい。
 - 44. そして、それがどうしてなのかぼくにはわからない。
 - 45. あまりにもあたりまえに、 命を大切にするとか、人を傷つけないとか、思って しまっているけれど、いつそう信じることにしたのかわからない。

Translation by the author: Essay 9: "About My Courage" (Saihate Tahi)

PART 3

Paragraph 3

- → 39. After writing all this, I realized that **I** do not want to hurt people from the bottom of my heart.
 - 40. It is not a feeling of kindness, but a feeling that gives me goosebumps all over my body,
 - 41. like when a small creature is placed in the palm of my hand.
 - 42. How could (they) have lived in such a terrible state?
 - 43. (I) don't want to hurt as much as possible, I want to be free from the idea of hurting people.
 - 44. And I don't know why. (Literal translation: And why it is is not understandable for me.)
 - 45. (I) take it for granted that (I) value life and that (I) would never hurt anyone, but (I) don't know when (I) decided to believe that.
- (5.18) [<koko made kaite omotta> no] wa, [<box>boxu wa hio o kokoro kara, this until write think.PST NOM TOP I TOP people ACC heart from kizutsuketakunai no da> to iu koto] datta. hurt.want to.NEG NOM COP QT say thing COP.PST
 - 'After writing all this, I realized that **I** genuinely do not want to hurt people.'
 (Literal translation: 'After writing all this, what (I) thought was that **I** do not want to hurt people from the bottom of my heart.')

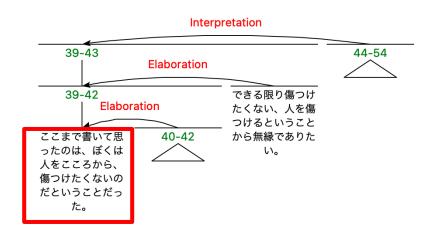


Figure 5.11 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 9

As shown in the structure of the targeted sentence in 5.18, this sentence takes a topic-comment structure, X wa Y da; a complement clause is marked by the nominalizer no and the topic marker

wa is followed by the nominalizer *koto* ('thing'). Such structure shows a well-formed a cleft construction, which is not often seen in conversations; the speaker unlikely ends with a clause marked by a nominalizer (cf. Mori, 2014). In my conversational data, as shown in Excerpt 13 in Chapter 4, there is only one cleft construction with overt first-person singular pronoun. As shown below again, the cleft construction in line 5, 7, and 9 in Excerpt 13 follow multi-unit turns.

Excerpt 13: Life in the U.S.

```
05 \rightarrow Maya:
               watashi iru no wa kororado syuu tte iu tokoro no,
                         stay NOM TOP Colorado
                                                 state QT say place
                'where I am at is [somewhere in] what is called Colorado state'
06
       Yuu:
                yeah
                'yeah'
07
       Maya:
               borudaa,
                Boulder
                'Boulder'
80
        Yuu:
                veah
                'yeah'
                tte iu tokoro [nanda
09
       Maya:
                                               kedo
                                 COP.NOM.COP though
                QT say place
                'that named place, but'
```

Contrary to conversational data, the cleft construction in (5.18) in Essay 9 convey the writer's main point of the essay. Though Kaneyasu (2019) found such uses of cleft-constructions in editorials, the example in Essay 9 shows that such feature of the cleft constructions are also seen in essays with the overt first-person singular pronoun within the rhetoric structure and organization.

As we have seen, the overt first-person singular pronouns in the segments that demonstrate the writer's self-perception convey the main point of the essay or evidence for the main point. These segments occur in paragraph-initial or final position, being the nucleus of the

part. In Essay 6, 7, and 9, we saw that the segment that demonstrates the writers' view toward themselves with the overt first-person singular pronoun is supported by the past experience previously narrated or that will be narrated onwards. In Essays 8 and 9, such cases are also seen when shifting the discussion or explanation from general information or belief concerning the theme of the essay to a personal one, which leads to the main point of the essay. The sentences in these segments are in the form of rhetorical questions that question the writers themselves or in well-formed cleft constructions. These features are not frequently seen in the conversational data. In this way, the segments that demonstrate the writers' view toward themselves are characterized by these morpho-syntaxes and associated with the rhetorical structure and organization of the essay to convey the main point, a feature specifically seen in written data, a planned discourse.

5.5. First-Person Singular Pronouns Used When Initiating a Narrative of Personal Experience

24 overt first-person singular pronouns are used to initiate a narrative of the writer's personal experience. Such cases are seen at the beginning of the retrospective part or paragraph or immediately before them. Most of the personal experience initiated by the overt first-person singular pronoun provides the time frame of their narrative as background information in the part where it is used, and either supports the main argument of the essay as a whole or gives essential information to help readers understand the theme of the essay.

The distribution of the postpositional particles accompanying these overt first-person singular pronouns are summarized in Table 5.8. As we can see, the most frequently seen particle is wa, and it marks the topic. In addition, compared to the other cases discussed in Section 5.3

_

⁵⁶ One case overlaps a case of assertion about the self.

and 5.4, the particles *ga* and *mo* are observed more frequently. As we will see in later subsections, the particles following the overt first-person singular pronoun depend on the connection with the previous sentence as well as the sentence structure.

Table 5.8 Distribution of postpositional particles accompanying overt first-person singular pronouns in utterances initiating a narrative about the writer's personal experience

Particle	N	%
Ø	1	4.5
то	2	9.1
wa	14	63.6
ga	5	22.7
Total	22	100.0

There is a striking characteristic in morphosyntax that is partially related to the distribution of accompanying postpositional particles: many overt first-person singular pronouns in this type occur in a noun-modifying construction (NMC), a complex noun phrase in which the head noun is modified by a clause. ⁵⁷ This includes one that works as a subject in a noun clause that modifies the head or the one that works as the head that is modified by a clause. In noun clauses, information regarding the first-person (i.e., the writer) is packaged, which results in involving condensed information in the sentence as a whole. In addition, overt first-person singular pronouns as a head in NMCs occur for grammatical reasons since the head of the noun clause needs to be overt in Japanese grammar.

⁵⁷ Few such cases are observed in Section 5.2.

In the following subsections, I will illustrate some frequently seen patterns of overt firstperson singular pronouns in initiating the narrative of the writer's personal experience. As we
will see below, the most frequently seen pattern occurs when changing the perspective from
general information or belief about the theme of the essay to a personal case. Another pattern
consists of the initiation of the essay at the beginning of a whole text. Furthermore, as we will
see in the RST diagrams for each pattern, the segment with the overt first-person singular
pronouns are mostly in the satellite of the background or circumstance or the nucleus of the
elaboration. This means that the segments with overt first-person singular pronouns at the
beginning of the narrative provides basic information of the part developed in the following
segments.

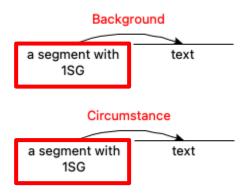


Figure 5.12 Visual representation of the use of first-person singular pronouns in relation to rhetorical structure

5.5.1. Shift in focus on more specific information for the main argument

The most frequently seen pattern in segments with overt first-person singular pronouns is to shift the focus to more specific information or argument for the main point. Such segments are placed after an introduction to the essay at the beginning of the second part of the essay or immediately before it to initiate the narrative of the personal experience that supports the main point of the essay.

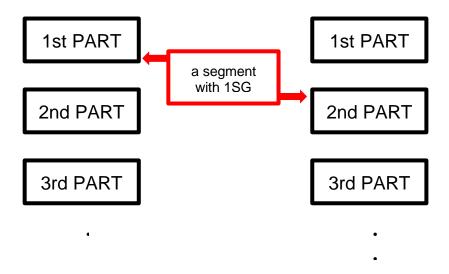


Figure 5.13 Visual representation of the use of first-person singular pronoun in relation to rhetorical organization

For example, in Essay 10 *Kizuku* ("To notice") below, the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* occurs in the segment that shifts the general introduction of "to notice" to the narrative of the writer's past experience (Segment 6). The glossing of Segment 6 is presented in (5.4) below.

Essay 10: 「気づく」(飯塚大幸)[l. 1~9, p. 350/ l. 1–5, p. 351]

PART 1

Paragraph 1

1. 「仏」の字は、インドの原語で「ブッダ」と言います。

- 2. その意味は「気づく」ことです。
- 3. 「悟る」とか「目覚める」とも訳されますが、要するに気づきです。
- 4. 何に気づくかが問題です。
- 5. 大いなる気づきと、その気づきに至る道を説くのが仏教と言えるでしょう。

PART 2

Paragraph 2

- → 6. 私が京都で小僧をしていた中学生の頃の話です。
 - 7. 「わしの部屋へ行って床の間を見て来なさい。」
 - 8. こう言いつけられた私は、あわてて雑巾を手に取り、師匠の部屋へすっ飛んで行きました。

Paragraph 3

- 9. ほこりが残っていないか、水滴を拭き忘れていないか、クモの巣がないか、壁を 傷つけていないか、はたまた香炉や花入れの向きが間違っていないか。
- 10. 顔を床の間に近づけて色々点検しましたが何も気になるものはありません。
- 11. 困り果てて戻って来た私に対し、師匠は言いました。「わしの活けたきれいな花が目に入らなかったか?」

Paragraph 4

- 12. 掃除の良し悪しが問題ではなかったのです。
- 13. 掃除をしている私が床の間の花を見て気づいたかどうか。
- 14. 中学生の純真な心に、果たして床の間の美しい花が映ったかを聞いたのです。
- 15. あえて「見なさい」と言わないで自らで気づくのを待つ。
- 16. 今に想えば、ちょっと意地の悪い、しかし本当の親切でした。

Translation by the author: Essay 10: "To notice" (Iizuka Daikou)

PART 1

Paragraph 1

- 1. The kanji "仏" means "Buddha" in its original Indian language.
- 2. ["Buddha"] means "to notice."
- 3. It is sometimes translated as "to sense" or "to awaken," but this basically means "to notice."
- 4. The problem is what to notice.
- 5. It could be argued that Buddhism teaches (us) about noticing and the path leading to it.

PART 2

Paragraph 2

- → 6. This is a story from around the time when **I** was a young Buddhist monk in Kyoto as a middle school student.
 - 7. "Go into my room and look at the *tokonoma* [alcove]," (my master ordered).
 - 8. I quickly grabbed a dust cloth and rushed to his room.

- 9. Was there dust, water droplets, or cobwebs (I) had forgotten to clean? Did I leave scratches on the walls? Or face incense burners or flower vases the wrong way?
- 10. (I) put my face close to the alcove and inspected everything carefully, but nothing seemed amiss.
- 11. When I returned in despair, (my) master said to me, "Did you not see the beautiful flowers I arranged?"

Paragraph 4

- 12. (It) was not about the quality of (my) cleaning.
- 13. (It) was about whether I, while cleaning, noticed the flowers in the alcove.
- 14. [My master] had asked (me) if the beautiful flowers in the alcove had made an impression on the pure heart of a middle schooler.
- 15. [He] didn't explicitly tell [me] to look, but waited for (me) to notice on (my) own.
- 16. In retrospect, [what he did] was a little mean, but (it) was truly an act of kindness.
- (5.4.) [[watashi ga kyoto de kozoo o shiteita] chugakusee

 I SUB Kyoto LOC young Buddhist priest ACC do.ASP.PST junior high school student
 no koro] no hanashi desu.

 GEN around the time GEN story COP

'This is a story from around the time when I was a young Buddhist monk in Kyoto as a middle school student.'

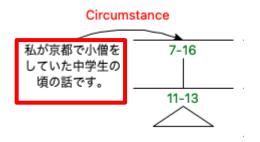


Figure 5.14 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 10

The title *kizuku* ("to notice") introduces the topic of "noticing," and the main point of the essay is that "Buddhism teaches (us) about noticing and the path leading to it" in Segment 5. The essay consists of four parts: *joron* (introductory remarks); *jirei no teiji* (example); *ronri no teiji* (cohesiveness, logical); and *ketsuron* (concluding remarks). The segments presented above

include the first paragraph of the essay, which is *joron*, and the second paragraph of the essay, which is the beginning of *jirei no teiji*. After presenting the issue of noticing, an important concept in Buddhism, in *joron*, the writer presents his personal experience as an example in order to develop the writer's opinion about noticing in *jirei no teiji*. Thus, in the rhetorical organization, the personal experience is written for the purpose of supporting the main point of this essay.

The structure of the sentence that includes the overt first-person singular pronoun is shown in (5.4). The overt first-person singular pronoun is the subject in the noun clause that modifies the head *chugakusee no koro* ('around the time when I was a junior high school student'). This sentence construction allows the writer to show an interpretive context of situation and time (i.e., circumstance) in the following segment.

In Essay 11, "*Kyuuji kyuu no yuutsu* ('Ninety-nine melancholies')," a first-person singular pronoun occurs in a segment that shifts general information about the writer to a specific past experience he had with regard to the theme of the essay in the second part. The title shows the topic of the essay, and the main point (we have to have ninety-nine melancholies to do something we love) is written in four-part organization (*ki-sho-ten-ketsu*).⁵⁸ In the first part, the writer introduces himself as someone who recently became a full time writer. The writer then initiates his narrative of why he became the full time writer with an overt first-person singular pronoun. This narrative of his past experience proves the main point of the essay: we have to have ninety-nine melancholies to do something we love. The target sentence (Segment 6) with the glossing is shown in (5.5).

⁵⁸ The author wrote: 好きなことをひとつやるためには、好きではないことを九十九もやらなければならない ('To do one thing you love, you have to do ninety-nine things you don't love.').

Essay 11: 「九十九の憂鬱」(東山彰良)[l. 1-8, p. 65]

PART 1

Paragraph 1

1. 今年から専業作家になった。

Paragraph 2

- 2. 長らく大学で非常勤講師をしていた。
- 3. 長らく、というのは二十五年くらいという意味である。

Paragraph 3

- 4. 専業になることに、強いこだわりや憧れがあったわけではない。
- 5. しかし体力面、精神面、 そして生活環境の変化などにより、このタイミングが ベストだろうと判断した。

Paragraph 4

- → 6. そもそも私が小説を書きはじめたきっかけは、生活苦のためである。
 - 7. いまから二十年前、 私の人生はどうしようもなく行き詰っていた。

Translation by the author: Essay 11: "Ninety-nine melancholies" (Higashiyama Akira)

PART 1

Paragraph 1

1. This year, (I) became a full-time writer.

Paragraph 2

- 2. For a long time, (I) was a part-time lecturer at a university.
- 3. By "for a long time," (I) mean about twenty-five years.

Paragraph 3

- 4. (I) never had a strong desire or yearning to become a full-time writer.
- 5. However, (I) decided that this was the best timing, considering factors like (my) physical health, mental well-being, and changes in the living environment.

Paragraph 4

- → 6. The reason **I** began writing novels in the first place was because (I) was struggling to make ends meet.
 - 7. Twenty years ago, my life was at a standstill.
- (5.5.) somosomo [[watashi ga shosetsu o kakihajimeta] kikkake] wa, In the first place I SUB novels ACC write.begin to.PST trigger TOP seikatsuku no tame dearu.
 hardship of life GEN because COP

'The reason I began writing novels in the first place was because (I) was struggling to make ends meet.'

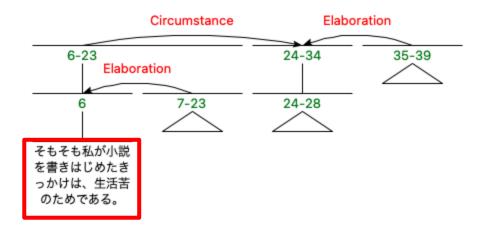


Figure 5.15 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 11

As we can see in Figure 5.15, the segment with the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* (Segment 6) is the nucleus of the elaboration in Segments 7-23 as well as a satellite of the circumstance in Segments 24-34. This example also suggests that the segment with the overt first-person singular pronoun initiating the narrative provides basic information within the part that is further developed in the following segments. Specifically, the segment provides the time frame of the narrative, as we also saw in Essay 10.

Furthermore, in terms of the morphosyntactic features seen in (5.5), the overt first-person singular pronoun marked by a particle ga is the subject of a noun complement. Therefore, as in the example (5.4) in Essay 10, the overt first-person singular pronouns are in the noun modifying construction, which condenses the information related to the subject (i.e., the writer him/herself), which works as background information of the following segment in the same part.

As we saw in this section, Essays 10 and 11 show that an overt first-person singular pronoun is used in a noun-modifying construction in segments that provide the time frame of the initiated narrative. The main clause of these sentences are written in the non-past tense,

representing "a narrator-as-a-friend point of view," in which the narrator directly speaks to the reader (Maynard, 1998).

5.5.2. At the beginning of the essay

Although, as was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, most essays do not include overt first-person singular pronouns at the beginning of the essay, there are cases where the writer begins an essay with a narrative of their experience with an overt first-person singular pronoun. In such cases, the first-person singular pronoun is in the clause or phrase accompanied by the particles wa or ga, showing the time frame of the narrative as background information for the introductory part. This is the same feature seen in section 5.5.1. However, the main clause of these sentences at the beginning of the essay is in the past tense as the writer takes the narrator's point of view, describing the character (i.e., the writer) along with various related features (Maynard, 1998).

For example, Essay 12, "AI wa shinanai ('AI will not die')" starts with the overt first-person singular pronoun watashi that is modified by the relative clause as seen in (5.19) below.

(5.19) [[shogi ga tokui datta] watashi] wa daigaku ichinensei no aki ni Shogi SUB good at COP.PST I TOP university first-year GEN fall LOC gakunai shogi taikai de junyusho shita.

student Shogi tournament LOC won a second prize

'I was good at $shogi^{59}$ and won second prize at an intramural shogi tournament in the fall of my freshman year of college.'

(Literal translation: 'I, who was good at *Shogi*, won the second prize in an intramural *Shogi* tournament in the Fall of (my) first year in college.')

⁵⁹ Shogi (将棋), also known as Japanese chess, is a two-player strategy board game that has been played in Japan for centuries.

As we can see in the sentence with glossing in (5.19), the overt first-person singular pronoun is modified by the relative clause and is the subject of the sentence in the past tense.

Let us look at where the sentence is located in the organization of the essay. In Essay 12, which is organized into three parts (*ki-sho-ten*), the writer presents the fact that AI does not die as an important difference with human beings. In the first part, the writer begins narrating his past experience as an introduction that eventually made him reflect on AI and the difference with human beings, the theme of the essay. An overt first-person singular pronoun is used at the beginning of the essay with a noun-modifying construction, serving as the subject of the sentence.

The segments below are from Paragraphs 1 and 2, which consist of the introductory part. The overt first-person singular pronoun is in Segment 1, in which the writer states that he was good at *shogi* and won second prize in a *shogi* tournament. As we can see in the following segments, this triggered him to go to a *shogi* hall (Segment 2), where he met a boy who eventually made him quit doing *shogi* and decide to pursue mathematics (Segments 12 and 13). As depicted in Figure 5.16, the sentence with the overt first-person singular pronoun in Segment 1 shows background information for Paragraph 1, which is also background information for Paragraph 2. The overt first-person singular pronoun serves as the head in the noun-modifying construction, condensing the information about the first-person (writer himself).

Essay 12: 「AI は死なない」(藤原正彦)[1.1-9, p. 264/1.1, p. 265]

PART 1

- → 1. 将棋が得意だった私は、大学一年生の秋に学内将棋大会で準優勝した。
 - 2. 自信を持った 私は腕試しに千駄ヶ谷の将棋会館を訪れた。
 - 3. 係に二段と告げたら小学校四年生くらいの 男の子との対局を指示された。
 - 4. 「ムッ」とした。

- 5. 坊ちゃん刈りは慣れた手つきで箱から駒を五枚取り出すと、「それでは振らせていただきます」と言った。
- 6. 先手を決めるということで対等の勝負ということだ。
- 7. ますます「ムッ」とした。
- 8. 駒を並べた後、坊ちゃん刈りが深々と頭を下げた。
- 9. とことん「ムッ」とした。
- 10. 一気に潰そうとしたら反撃され木端微塵にやられた。
- 11. プロの卵だった。

Paragraph 2

- 12. 子供にひねられる程度の才能、と大好きだった将棋に見切りをつけた。
- 13. 好きな碁とマージャンも断ち数学への邁進を決意した。
- 14. ついでに女も断った。
- 15. 最後のものについては頓珍漢な女房が「モテなかっただけでしょ」と言う。

Translation by the author: Essay 12: "AI will never die" (Fujiwara Masahiko)

Paragraph 1

- → 1. I was good at *shogi* and won second prize at an intramural *shogi* tournament in the Fall of my freshman year in college.
 - 2. With (my) newfound confidence, I visited the Sendagaya *shogi* Hall to test my skills.
 - 3. When I told the staff I was a second rank player, (they) instructed (me) to play against a boy in the fourth grade.
 - 4. This ticked me off.
 - 5. The boy, who had a bowl-cut hairstyle [bocchan kari], took five pieces from a box with practiced ease and said, "(I) will now shuffle the pieces [to see who goes first]."
 - 6. Deciding who went first meant it would be a fair match.
 - 7. This ticked (me) off even more.
 - 8. After the pieces were lined up, the bowl-haired boy bowed deeply.
 - 9. This ticked me off no end.
 - 10. When (I) tried to crush him quickly, (he) swiftly fought back and utterly defeated (me).
 - 11. (He) was a budding professional player.

- 12. Considering my talent to be nothing more than a child's luck, (I) gave up on (my) beloved *shogi*.
- 13. (I) also cut ties with my favorite games of *go* and mahjong and decided to pursue mathematics.
- 14. (I) even swore off women.
- 15. For this last decision, (my) ridiculous wife says (I) simply wasn't popular.

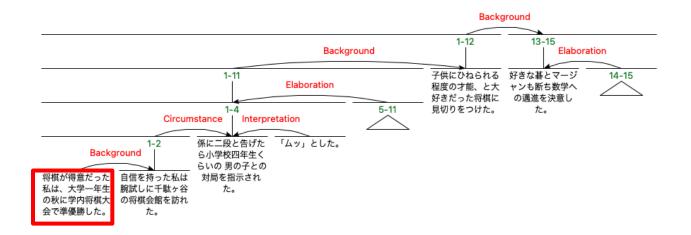


Figure 5.16 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 12

Essay 13, titled "*shiawase na obento* ('Assorted lunch boxes')"⁶⁰ also has the overt first-person singular pronoun at the beginning of the essay (Segment 1 below). The segment also becomes background information of the introductory part, as we can see in Figure 5.17. In this essay, the writer states that her body and mind are full when she sees a particular food she originally ate with her family. The introductory part is the narrative of her past experience in which she went hiking with her family and ate that food.

Essay 13: 「仕合わせなお弁当」(髙村薫)[l. 1-9, p. 169/l. 1-11, p. 170]

- → 1. 私がまだ就学前だった 1950 年代の終わりごろ、
 - 2. 二つ違いの弟と父母の家族四人で 毎週末、六甲山や摩耶山にハイキングに行った。

⁶⁰ The organization of this essay is different from the traditional and typical organizations seen in written Japanese and introduced in Chapter 2.

- 3. そのとき持ってゆくお弁当はいつも中身が決まっていて、おにぎり、卵焼き、牛肉大和煮の缶詰かコンビーフの缶詰、そしてごく細い千切りにしたキャベツの塩もみにマヨネーズだった。
- 4. 行楽弁当と呼ぶには手抜きの、家族だけのごく簡単なお昼、といったところだろうか。

Paragraph 2

- 5. 母としては、毎週末のことだし、冷凍食品もない時代にそれほど手間ひまをかけられなかったに違いないが、それでもずっと同じ中身が続いたのは、家族がそれなりに気に入っていたということでもある。
- 6. そう、私の舌が覚えている限りでは、とても美味しかったのだ。
- 7. とくにコンビーフと塩もみキャベツとマヨネーズの組み合わせが。
- 8. いや、そこに甘い卵焼きと香ばしい摺りごまの塩にぎりを加えた全部が、口のなかで一つになったときが。

Paragraph 3

- 9. ハイキングでお腹をすかせた子どもにとってはおにぎりだけでご馳走だが、シンプルな塩にぎりに、マヨネーズであえたコンビーフとキャベツを合わせた B 級の美味は、私のもう一つの舌の原点になったかもしれない。
- 10. 基本的に素材そのままのシンプルな味で育った舌にとって、マヨネーズはいわば 駄菓子のような誘惑の味で、コンビーフはもちろん、ゆで卵や芽キャベツの上に 搾り出すだけで、子どもにとって完全無欠の一皿が完成する。
- 11. コンビーフはジャガイモと炒めたり、マッシュポテトと重ねてシェパーズパイ風にしたりもするが、それでも個人的にはマヨネーズで食べるのが一番だと思うのは、やはり私の美味が家族の思い出とともにあるせいだろう。

Translation by the author: (Essay 13: "Assorted lunch boxes" (Takayama Kaoru)

Paragraph 1

- \rightarrow 1. Around the late 1950s, when **I** was still in preschool,
 - 2. (my) two years younger brother, (my) parents, and (I) would go hiking on Mount Rokko and Mount Maya every weekend.
 - 3. (Our) boxed lunches were always the same: rice balls, rolled omelets, canned beef stew or corned beef, and thinly shredded cabbage with salt and mayonnaise.
 - 4. (It) was a very simple lunch, a family meal more casual than your typical picnic excursion.

Paragraph 2

- 5. Since it was the weekend, my mother probably didn't put in much effort in making these lunches, though frozen foods were not an option at the time. But the fact that the lunches continued to be the same for so long was a sign that (my) family liked them well enough.
- 6. As far as my palate can remember, they were very tasty,
- 7. especially the combination of corned beef, salted cabbage, and mayonnaise.
- 8. Actually, (it) was only when the sweet egg omelet and the fragrant sesame-salted rice balls were added to the mix that it all came together in my mouth.

- 9. For a hungry child on a hike, the rice balls alone were a treat. When (they) were combined with the B-grade deliciousness of corned beef and cabbage with mayonnaise, (they) became a delicacy for my taste buds.
- 10. For those who grew up with the simple taste of plain ingredients, mayonnaise was like the tempting taste of cheap candy. Just squeezing it on top of things like corned beef, boiled eggs, or bean sprouts was enough to make a child's perfect dish.
- 11. Corned beef can be stir-fried with potatoes or layered with mashed potatoes in a shepherd's pie, but (I) personally still think eating it with mayonnaise is the best. Perhaps this is because my tastes are still mixed with family memories.

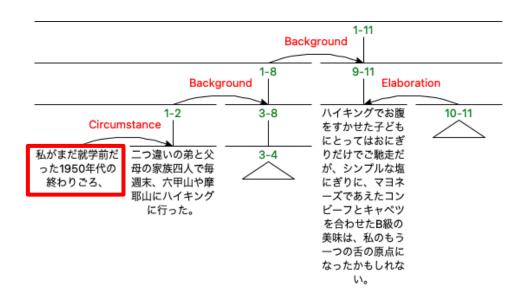


Figure 5.17 RST Diagram for the targeted part of Essay 13

In this case, the overt first-person singular pronoun *watashi* in Segment 1 is marked by *ga* and is the subject in the noun clause modifying the head, *1950 nenndai no owari goro* ('around the end of the 1950s'). Similar to the case in Essay 12, this example also shows that the sentence with the overt first-person pronoun at the beginning of the essay contains condensed information by having a noun-modifying construction. In addition, like the case observed in Essay 12, the main clause of the targeted sentence (composed of Segments 1 and 2) in Essay 13 is also in the past tense. Segments 1 and 2 are depicted in the following way:

- (5.21) [[watashi ga mada shugakumae datta] 1950 nenndai no owari goro],

 I SUB yet pre-school COP.PST 1950s GEN end around
 futasu chigai no ototo to hubo no kazoku yonin de maishumatsu,
 two difference GEN brother and parents GEN family four-people with every weekends
 rokkosan ya mayasan ni haikingu ni itta
 Mt. Rokko and Mr. Maya LOC hiking LOC go.PST
 - 'Around the end of the 1950s, when **I** was still in pre-school, every weekend, my two younger brothers, my parents, and (I) would go hiking on Mount Rokko and Mount Maya.'

As we saw in this subsection, the experience initiated by the overt first-person singular pronoun at the beginning of the essay is in the past tense and provides the time frame for the narrative in the structure of a noun-modifying construction. As the segments describe the background information of the "part" where it is located, the necessary information is packed and condensed in the clauses. This morphosyntactic feature differs from the conversational data, where more information is described in the following turns in simple sentences.

5.5.3. Summary and discussion

In this section, we saw how the overt first-person singular pronouns are used when initiating the narrative of the writer's personal experience. While Chapter 4 showed that the storytelling of a past experience is locally occasioned in interaction with overt first-person singular pronouns, this section shows that the narrative of a personal experience in essays provides the time frame for the narrative, which helps to convey the main point of the essay and facilitate the reader's understanding with the following morpho-syntactic features.

First, the overt first-person singular pronouns occur in a noun-modifying construction that condenses the information, and such sentences are in the segments providing background

information (or circumstance) for the following segments in RST. Takara (2012) and Matsumoto (2021) discuss how semantically heavy nouns including personal pronouns are unlikely to be the head of noun-modifying constructions in Japanese conversation. However, Matsumoto also shows exceptional cases of such constructions in conversations, which are not used when describing background information regarding the content of the conversation. The findings of the current chapter as well as of Chapter 4 show that overt first-person singular pronouns in noun-modifying construction are seen in specific contexts (i.e., providing a time frame as background and circumstance) in the essay data, which is different from the conversational data. Moreover, this further implies that heavy head noun modifying constructions are unconventional and thus occur for a pragmatic purpose, as discussed in Matsumoto.

Second, overt first-person singular pronouns occur with a predicate in the past tense. This characteristic was also seen in turns that initiate the storytelling of the speaker's personal experience in conversational data. In essay data, we see the relationship between the tense and the location of the segment including the first-person singular pronouns with respect to the rhetorical organization. When the segment is located after an introduction to the essay at the beginning of the second part of the essay or immediately before it, the predicate of the main clause is in non-past tense while the predicate of the subordinate clause is in the past tense. However, when it is located at the beginning of the essay, the predicate of both the main and subordinate clause is in past tense. A potential reason for this finding is that these segments are written from different points of view (narrator-as-a-friend point of view and narrator's point of view).

⁶¹ The only exception was the utterance with the cleft construction in Excerpt 13.

Despite these different morphosyntactic features observed in essay data, the use of first-person singular pronouns in initiating the personal experience in the essay data is to some extent similar to that seen in the conversational data. As I show in Chapter 4, the turns with first-person singular pronouns initiating the storytelling of personal experience project a storytelling about the current speaker. Unlike the "frame-setting" function by Ono and Thompson (2003), the morphosyntax of the utterance in these turns are "well-formed" and depends on the subsequent storytelling (e.g., storytelling for answering the co-participant's request for information or topic proffer, a second story, trouble talk). Therefore, in these morphosyntax, these turns provide an interpretive framework for the subsequent talk of their personal experience to the co-participants. In essay data, the segment with the first-person singular pronoun provides a time frame of the subsequent narrative as the reader's interpretive framework. Therefore, turns and segments with first-person singular pronouns both provide an interpretive framework for the subsequent storytelling or narrative of their personal experience, a similarity seen between conversational and essay data.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we saw how the overt first-person singular pronouns appearing in essays are relevant to the rhetorical structure and organization of the essay along with morphosyntactic features that are not seen in conversational data.

RST analysis showed how a segment with an overt first-person singular pronoun conveys particular meanings in relation to the previous and following sentences along with other linguistic devices. Furthermore, analyzing target sentences with overt first-person singular pronouns within the organization of the essay as a whole showed that the sentences in these

segments are strategically written to convey the main point of the essay or to facilitate the reader's understanding of the content. This contrasts with the conversational data in Chapter 4, which showed the turns with overt forms are attributed to the co-participant's epistemic stance displayed in interaction and to awareness of constraints on preference organization.

Furthermore, in this chapter, we saw a wider variety of structures of sentences in the targeted segments compared to the utterances in the targeted turns observed in Chapter 4. The morphosyntactic features in these sentences are associated with the rhetorical structure and organization. For example, unlike in the conversational data, we saw many examples of the particle wa in the essay data, where it is used as a contrastive and topic marker. As we saw in 5.3.1, the writer's assertions include first-person singular pronouns accompanying the particle wa, showing a contrast with other people. The contrastive intent is conveyed in the questionanswer set in the relation sets that include antitheses, interpretation, and evaluation. The particle wa as a topic marker follows first-person singular pronouns in other types of segments including those that demonstrate the writers' view toward themselves (Section 5.4) and those that initiate a narrative of the writer's personal experience (Section 5.5). In addition, in 5.4, we saw some constructions that were not very much observed in conversational data, including the morpheme darou, darou ka (in rhetorical question) and cleft construction in sentences that demonstrate the writer's view toward themselves. Finally, in 5.5, we saw first-person singular pronouns occurring in noun-modifying constructions when providing a time frame and initiating a narrative of personal experience. These varieties of morphosyntax in essays show features of planned discourse.

While different features are depicted, there are some similarities between the use of firstperson singular pronouns in essays and conversations. First, both datasets have assertions that are shown as personal and different from those of other people, including co-participant(s) in conversations as well as people in general. Second, both datasets show that first-person singular pronouns are used to provide a framework for interpretations of the subsequent talk or narrative upon initiating the personal experience with the predicate mostly in the past tense. In Chapter 6, I will discuss similarities and differences between the two different modes to conclude this study of the usage of the overt first-person singular pronouns in a usage-based approach.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

In this dissertation, I have provided a usage-based account for the use of first-person singular pronouns across different genres and modes of discourse. I particularly focused on how overt forms are used when the speaker or writer expresses subjectivities or initiates narrating their personal experience in spontaneous spoken interaction and essay writing. The analyses in Chapter 4 and 5 showed morphosyntactic features in the targeted units in each dataset associated with the action-sequence in conversations and the rhetorical structure and organization in essays. I showed that first-person singular pronouns are overtly used in specific sequential designs in the contingency of on-going interaction in conversation (unplanned and spontaneous discourse) but strategically used in essays (planned discourse). Section 6.2 below will provide a more detailed discussion based on the analyses presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Section 6.3 will conclude with an examination of the uses and circumstances under which first-person singular pronouns occur in both conversation and essays. Section 6.4 will discuss the contributions of this study, and Section 6.5 will outline its limitations as well as future research agendas.

6.2. Similarities and Differences in the Use of First-Person Singular Pronouns between Conversations and Essays

This study identifies both similarities and differences in the use of first-person singular pronouns in conversations and essays. This section summarizes the findings from the previous chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) and discusses the use of the first-person singular pronouns in conversations and essays.

6.2.1. Use of first-person singular pronoun in speakers' and writers' assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects

When a speaker or writer makes assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects, several noteworthy observations emerge. First, in both conversations and essays, it is apparent that many first-person singular pronouns occur when the speaker or writer conveys contrastive or opposite views. However, the delivery of these contrastive or opposite views differs in the two different modes, especially in terms of the degree of explicitness. In conversations, the expression of a contrastive or opposite view is shown in a rather indirect manner in the account by displaying epistemic authority, a design the other cannot negate or disagree with. In essays, on the other hand, it is shown more explicitly through morphosyntactic features as well as the rhetorical structure. Specifically, the first-person singular pronoun is marked by the contrastive particle wa, frequently appearing in negative sentences. Such morphosyntax structures allow the writer to deliver a contrastive view with the corresponding affirmative in the discourse. Rhetorical structure also conveys the contrastive sense, such as in antithetic or interpretative relation sets. Furthermore, some sentences with a first-person singular pronoun occur in the nucleus to show the central message of the part and convey the main point of the essay as a whole.

Second, in both conversations and essays, overt first-person singular pronouns in internal descriptive utterances or sentences show the speaker's or writer's subjectivity even though the subject of the speaker is not semantically required. However, the frequency and word order of these utterances and sentences differ across different modes of discourse. In conversations, there are a few cases in limited sequential context, with the internal descriptive utterances seen when

speakers express a personal and strong assertion to the degree that they do not necessarily expect agreement from co-participants. In essays, on the other hand, all assertions are internal descriptive sentences. Furthermore, in terms of morphosyntax, while many first-person singular pronouns in internal descriptive utterances occur in post predicate position in conversations, in essays, many are sentence-initial (when the sentence conveys a contrastive or opposing view or the main argument of the essay) or in mid-sentence (when the sentence conveys the main argument of the essay). While previous literature discusses word order features across modes of discourse (e.g., Clancy, 1982; Kuno, 1982; Iwasaki & Ono, 1992; Ono, 2006), this study makes a further contribution by noting that word order is associated with sequential position and action in conversation and with rhetorical organization in essays. Thus when the speaker or writer makes assertions about third persons, events, activities, or objects, both similarities and differences are seen in the use of first-person singular pronouns in two different genres and modes of discourse.

6.2.2. Use of first-person singular pronoun in speakers' assertions about themselves and writers' demonstrations of their view toward themselves

This research also analyzed the use of first-person singular pronouns in the speakers' or writers' expression of subjective position toward themselves. As discussed in previous chapters, by acknowledging the differences underlying the nature of each dataset, this research compared speakers' assertions about themselves in conversations and writers' demonstrations of their view toward themselves in essays. Due to the differences that exist between each dataset, the analysis showed different characteristics.

In conversations, turns with overt first-person singular pronouns demonstrate writers' epistemic authority about themselves and reflect speakers' awareness of systems of constraints in

preference organization. That is, depending on the design of the first assessment by the speaker, the turn with the first-person singular pronoun executes different actions with different morphosyntactic features. In a non-positive assessment, a turn with an overt first-person singular pronoun negates the presupposition by referencing the speaker's personal situation, custom, practice, or experience and demonstrating epistemic authority. In utterances in these turns, the first-person singular pronoun occurs in post-predicate position. On the other hand, in a positive assessment, the turn shifts the referent of the assessment in account for weak agreement as a preferred second. In such cases, the first-person singular pronoun is found in mid-utterance.

In essays, in contrast, segments with first-person singular pronouns convey the main point of the essay at the beginning or the end of the paragraph. These segments are the nucleus of the part and show the central role of its function, thus realizing the main goal of the writer. In sentences in such segments, first-person singular pronouns are mostly placed in mid-sentence and follow a noun phrase or a clause. Furthermore, we have seen a wider variety of morphosyntax in essays, including *darou*, *darou ka* (in rhetorical questions), and well-formed cleft construction, which are not seen in conversational data, depending on the rhetorical structure and organization.

These differences between the conversational and essay datasets reflect the nature of each genre and mode of discourse. That is, in conversations, first-person singular pronouns occur when speakers need to talk about themselves in response to the first assessment about themselves produced by the co-participant, being aware of the epistemic stance and preference organization, the shared system among the participants. First-person singular pronouns occur when they face the necessity to demonstrate their epistemic authority to account for a particular action. On the other hand, in essays, writers demonstrate their view toward themselves being aware of the

potential reader's interpretation of the essays. As discussed in Chapter 2, essay is a genre where the writer freely expresses themselves (Tachikawa, 2009) and a type of a planned discourse, where writers demonstrate their thoughts within the rhetorical structure and organization. The usage of the first-person singular pronouns in a given segment to strategically convey the main point of the essay may be one of the conventions of essays. With regard to morphosyntactic characteristics, the examples in my data showed that the morpheme *darou*, *darou ka*, and the cleft construction, which are not seen in conversational data (except for one cleft construction), help the writer convey the main point of the essay.

6.2.3. Use of first-person singular pronoun in speakers' and writers' initiation of storytelling or narrative about personal experience

This research also focused on speakers or writers initiating storytelling or narrative about their personal experience. Both datasets show that first-person singular pronouns provide an interpretive framework for the subsequent talk or narrative of the personal experience with the predicate mostly in the past tense. However, differences are seen in terms of the circumstances under which the utterances or sentences with first-person singular pronouns appear as well as in their morphosyntactic features due to the nature of different genres and modes of discourse. That is, while storytellings in spontaneous spoken interaction are locally occasioned along with other linguistic resources, narratives in essay writing are expressed for the purpose of conveying the main point of the essay, with the occasional shift between the narrator-as-a-friend point of view and the narrator's point of view (for more details, see Maynard, 1988).

In conversational data, as discussed in Chapter 4, different morphosyntactic patterns are observed depending on how the storytelling is occasioned. I showed that there are two broad

patterns of initiating storytelling: one triggered by other(s), (i.e., the speaker is selected to take a turn by the other), the other by speakers themselves (i.e., the speaker self-selects to take a turn). In the former case, the first-person singular pronoun occurs without a particle in the turn, which sets a range of information to account for not being able to provide a straightforward answer to the co-participant's request for information or topic proffering. In the latter case, first-person singular pronouns occur in turns that initiate the telling of a second story or trouble talk by changing the participation framework (i.e., from listener or recipient of the story to storyteller). A second story is initiated by a turn that begins with the change-of-state token a and an overt first-person singular pronoun with the particle mo, the topic particle wa, or zero-particle. This morphosyntax allows speakers to show that they recall having had a relevant experience to the prior talk in the past and initiates the speaker's second story, which makes the case-telling relevant to the participant's previous talk and aligns with the previous assessment. Trouble talk, on the other hand, is initiated by a turn with overt first-person singular pronoun accompanied by zero-particle or the contrastive particle wa to indicate the contrast with the story previously told by the co-participant. By bringing up these relevant cases, the speaker displays first-hand experience and direct access to the matter, thereby changing the mapping of the epistemics. Such action results in changing the participation framework, with the participant who utters the overt first-person singular pronoun becoming the teller of the relevant story from recipient of the coparticipant's case.

In essays, as shown in Chapter 5, first-person singular pronouns occur at the beginning of or immediately before the retrospective part or paragraph. Notably, first-person singular pronouns occur mostly with noun-modifying constructions in a segment that provides a time frame for the narrative as background information or circumstance for the paragraph or part. In

addition, we have seen the relationship between the tense of the sentence that include first-person singular pronouns and its location in the rhetorical organization: when writers shift the focus of the more specific information on the main point, the main clause of the sentence is in a non-past tense: the "narrator-as-a-friend point of view" (Maynard, 1998, p. 77). But when they begin the essay with a retrospection, the opening sentence is in the past: the "narrator's point of view (p. 77)". This is relevant to the point of view the writer adopts.

6.3. Conclusion: When and How First-Person Singular Pronoun Occurs in Two Different Genres and Modes of Discourse

I have shown when and how the utterances and sentences with first-person singular pronouns occur in conversations and essays when speakers or writers express their subjectivities and initiate their narrative of personal experience. In conversations, overt forms are attributed to the co-participant's epistemic stance displayed in interaction and to the awareness of constraints on preference organization. In essays, on the other hand, overt forms are strategically used to express a particular meaning in rhetorical structure or to convey the main argument of the essay to potential readers.

In conversations, morphosyntactic features in the utterances which include first-person singular pronouns are associated with the action sequence. In particular, overt forms are used in utterances in turns that: 1) account for not aligning the structure of the conversation (including not being able to agree with the assertion by the co-participants or to straightforwardly answer the question); 2) display a personal and strong internal description without seeking for agreement by the co-participants; or 3) change the participation framework, including initiation of the second story or trouble talk. In 1), first-person singular pronouns accompanied by a zero-particle

occur in utterance-initial position except when pursuing agreement and negating the presupposition in the assertion about the speaker. This shows that first-person singular pronouns in utterance-initial position in the sequence that include assertions mostly index that subsequent utterances or talk will disalign the structure of the conversation. In 2), first-person singular pronouns accompanied by a zero-particle occur in utterance-final position in the internal description. Such morphosyntactic features seen in action of displaying personal and strong internal description suggest that first-person singular pronouns in utterance-final position show that the proposition is based on a personal case (not a general one), which do not necessarily need agreement, or emphasizes the degree of the proposition. Finally, in 3), first-person singular pronouns are accompanied by various particles and occur in utterance-initial position following multiple TCUs.

In essays, morphosyntactic features are associated with rhetorical structure and organization. Three usages related to rhetoric were observed: 1) an antithetic or interpretation relation set showing a personal or contrastive view between that of the writer and of people in general; 2) conveying the main point of the part in the nucleus to articulate the main point of the essay; or 3) providing a time frame of a narrative as background information or circumstance for the content of the essay. In 1), first-person singular pronouns accompany the contrastive particle *wa* in negative sentences that show the writer's internal description in a non-past tense. In 2), first-person singular pronouns occur with various particles and predicates in the sentence in a non-past tense, either in sentence-initial or mid-sentence position. In 3), first-person singular pronouns accompanied by the particles *wa*, *ga*, or zero-particle occur in noun-modifying constructions and the main clause of the sentence can be non-past except when it is placed at the beginning of the essay.

All in all, this dissertation has shown circumstances under which first-person singular pronouns occur in spontaneous spoken interactional and essay writing, which show both similarities and differences.

6.4. Contributions of the Study

The findings reported in this dissertation make important contributions to usage-based approaches and to linguistics. The study provides a usage-based account of the use of first-person singular pronouns in two different genres and modes of discourse as an additional contribution to usage-based approaches and to the study of different modes and genres of discourse. While previous studies discussed the concept of first-person singular pronouns in a number of aspects, few studies examine actual usage, and even fewer focus on the interaction or comparison of multiple modes or genres of discourse. This dissertation provides detailed interactional and discourse contexts where first-person singular pronouns occur along with their morphosyntactic features, which had not been investigated in previous work.

These findings of this study align with previous findings about the use of first-person singular pronouns but showed additional features. In conversational data, while this dissertation showed that some of the uses are similar to what Ono and Thompson (2003) and Lee and Yonezawa (2008) found, I also show their use in interactional contingency: that is, how they are used in turns along with the morphosyntactic features that execute certain actions in sequential contexts. In essay data, which has not been much explored in terms of the use of first-person singular pronouns, this dissertation adopts methodologies, including RST, that make it compatible with the framework of CA and IL. The dissertation showed the morphosyntactic characteristics of the segment including first-person singular pronouns and their association with

the rhetorical structure and organization of the essay. While the basic morphosyntactic differences between utterances in conversations and sentences in essays align with previous studies' claims regarding different structures and styles between spoken and written discourse, using multiple methodologies allowed this study to explore new usage-based evidence for the first-person singular pronouns. Specifically, this dissertation showed how first-person singular pronouns are morpho-syntactically deployed within comparable units (i.e., "turn" in conversational data and "segment" in essay data) and how these units work in these datasets.

6.5. Limitations of the Study and Future Research

The findings of this study lead to several directions for future research the current study did not explore. First, as the study focused on conversations and essays, expansion of the datasets to different modes and genres may show additional patterns of use of first-person singular pronouns. For example, more formal settings such as conversations among people with asymmetrical relationships may reveal different features, including a different tendency for postpositional particles accompanying first-person singular pronouns and fewer first-person singular pronouns occurring without particles. This is because previous studies show that the omission of particles is more likely to occur in casual conversations, such as among friends (e.g., Lee, 2002; Shimojo, 2006; Tsujimura 2013). Additionally, the frequency of the occurrence of first-person singular pronouns may differ in formal settings as speakers are expected to explicitly express information in more formal settings (e.g., Shibatani, 1990). As regards written data, analysis of different genres will strengthen the results of the current research by potentially revealing genre-specific usages. As discussed in Chapter 3, essays are a type of written discourse that is difficult to define and where writers can relatively freely write about their perspectives on

the issues they choose to focus on. The usage of the first-person singular pronouns found in this dataset may relate to such characteristics. Different genres of written mode of discourse such as novels, expository writing, news articles, compositions, and so on may show different patterns of use of first-person singular pronouns.

Second, other linguistic resources should be explored in more detail, including the interesting use of, for example, the verb *omou* ('think') in assertions made in conversational and essay data as well as and noun-modifying constructions when initiating a narrative of personal experience in the essay data.

Third, the study should be expanded to make additional contributions to pedagogy. This includes the expansion of the data to non-native speakers of Japanese as well as suggestions based on the actual language use found in the datasets. As this study showed how first-person singular pronouns are related to expressing subjectivities in different ways in different genres and modes of discourse, this third research agenda is particularly critical to Japanese language teaching and learning. Cardierno and Eskildsen (2015, p. 2) point out that "language learning is fundamentally usage-driven, from the frequency-biased contextualized exposure to and use of meaningful linguistic constructions to objectively observable cultural and interactional behavior in the target discourse community." In a similar vein, Masuda (2018, p. 14) discusses how usage-based approach contributes to teaching real language use as it deals with natural language data rather than theories based upon constructed data based on native speaker intuitions or an "idealized" native speaker. Future studies should thus seek ways of contributing to usage-based approaches linked to language pedagogy.

References

- Abe, H. (2010). Queer Japanese: Gender and sexual identities through linguistic practices.

 Palgrave Macmillan.
- Biber, D. (1983). Towards a taxonomy of discourse types. MS.
- Biber, D., Egbert, J., Keller, D., & Wizner, S. (2021). Towards a taxonomy of conversational discourse types: An empirical corpus-based analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *171*. 20-35. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.09.018
- Biber, D. & Conrad, S., (2009). *Register, genre, and style*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511814358
- Brown, G., & Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511805226
- Bybee, J. (2010). *Language, usage, and cognition*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511750526
- Cadierno, T., & Eskildsen, S. (2015). *Usage-based perspectives on second language learning*.

 De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110378528
- Chafe, W. L. (1976). Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subject, topic, and point of view. In C. N. Li (Ed.), *Subject and Topic* (pp. 25–55). Academic Press.
- Chafe, W. L. (1980). The deployment of consciousness in the production of a narrative. In W. L. Chafe (Ed.), *The Pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production* (pp. 9-50). Ablex.
- Chafe, W. L. (1982). Integration and involvement in speaking, writing, and oral literature. In D. Tannen (Ed.). *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy* (pp. 35–53). Ablex.

- Chafe, W. L. (1988). Punctuation and the prosody of written language. *Written Communication*, 5, 396–426. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741088388005004001
- Chafe, W. L. (1994). Discourse, consciousness, and time. University of Chicago Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). Aspects of the theory of syntax. MIT Press.
- Clancy, P. M. (1982). Written and spoken style in Japanese narratives. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy* (pp. 55–76). Ablex.
- Clift, R. (2016). *Conversation analysis*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139022767
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Selting, M. (2001). Introducing interactional linguistics. In M. Selting & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Studies in interactional linguistics* (pp. 1–22). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.10.02cou
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Selting, M. (2017). *Interactional Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139507318
- Croft, W., & Cruse, D. A. (2004). *Cognitive linguistics*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803864
- Du Bois, J. W. (2001). Grammar. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Key terms in language and culture* (pp. 87–90). Blackwell.
- Du Bois, J. W., Cumming, S., Schuetze-Coburn, S., & Paolino, D. (Eds.) (1992). *Discourse transcription*. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Linguistics, University of California Santa Barbara.
- Duranti. A. (1997). Linguistic anthropology. Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti, A. & Goodwin, C. (1992). *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*.

 Cambridge University Press.

- Endo, T. (2018). The Japanese change-of-state tokens *a* and *aa* in responsive units. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 123, 151–166. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.06.010
- Endo, T. (2023). Sequential positions and interactional functions of negative epistemic constructions in Japanese conversation. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics*, *39*(1), 37–57. https://doi.org/10.1515/jjl-2023-2005
- Fujii, Y. (1991). Nihongo bun ni okeru gojun no gyakuten Danwa goyouron teki shiten kara no kosatsu [Reversed word order in Japanese A discourse-pragmatic analysis]. *Gengo Kenkyu*, 99, 56–81. https://doi.org/10.11435/gengo1939.1991.58
- Fujii, Y. (2016). Nihonjin no comyunikeeshon ni okeru jikokan to ba [Sense of self and *ba* in Japanese communication]. In Y. Fujii & H. Takanashi (Eds.), *Dynamics of communication:*Analyses of natural discourse (pp. 39–62). Hitsuji shobou.
- Fujii, Y. (2020). Nihongo no ba shikousei to jyutsugo syugi o kangaeru: Eigo to no hikaku kara [Considering *Ba* and predicate orientation in Japanese: Comparison with English]. In S. Ide & Y. Fujii (Eds.), *Ba and language use* (pp. 61–103). Hitsuji Shobou.
- Givón, T. (1988). The pragmatics of word-order: Predictability, importance, and attention. In M. Hammond, E. A. Moravcsik, & J. R. Wirth (Eds.), *Studies in syntactic typology 17* (pp. 243–284). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.17.18giv
- Givón, T. (1995). Functionalism and grammar. John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/z.74
- Goodwin, C. (1996). Transparent vision. In E. Ochs, E. Schegloff, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), Interaction and grammar (pp. 370–404). Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M. (1987). Concurrent operations on talk: Notes on the interactive organization of assessments, *IPrA Papers in Pragmatics*, *I*(1), 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1075/iprapip.1.1.01goo

- Gunter, S. (2014). Understanding Pragmatics. Taylor and Francis.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). An introduction to functional grammar. Hodder Arnold.
- Hanks, W. F., Ide, S., Katagiri, Y., Saft, S., Fujii, Y., & Ueno, K. (2019). Communicative interaction in terms of *Ba* theory: Towards an innovative approach to language practice. *Journal of Pragmatics: Special Issue on Quo Vadis Pragmatics?*, 45: 63–71. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2019.03.013
- Hasegawa, Y., & Hirose, Y. (2010). Nihongo kara mita nihonzin: Syutaisei no gengo gaku [Japanese people seen through the Japanese language: The linguistics of subjectivity]. Kaitakusha.
- Hayano, K. (2013). *Territories of knowledge in Japanese conversation*, Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen.
- Hayashi, M., & Hayano, K. (2018). A-prefaced responses to inquiry in Japanese. In J. Heritage & M. L. Sorjonen (Eds.), *Between turn and sequence: Turn-initial particles across languages* (pp. 191–224). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.31.07hay
- Hayashi, M., Hosoda, Y., & Morimoto, I. (2019). *Tte yuu ka* as a repair preface in Japanese. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 52(2), 104–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2019.1608093
- Heritage, J. (1984). Garfinkel and ethnomethodology. Polity Press.
- Heritage, J. (2012). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge.

 *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 45(1), 1–29.

 https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.646684

- Heritage, J. & Atkinson, J. M. (1984). Introduction. In J. Heritage & J. M. Atkinson (Eds.), Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis (pp. 1–15). Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, J. & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(1), 15–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250506800103
- Hinds, J. (1971). Personal pronouns in Japanese. Glossa, 5(2), 146–155.
- Hinds, J. (1975). Third person pronouns in Japanese. In F. C. C. Feng (Ed.), *Language in Japanese society: Current issues in sociolinguistics* (pp. 128–157). University of Tokyo Press.
- Hinds, J. (1982). Ellipsis in Japanese. Linguistic Research.
- Hopper, P. J. (1987). Emergent grammar. *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 139–157. https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v13i0.1834
- Hopper, P. J. (1988). Emergent grammar. In D. Tannen (Ed.) *Linguistics in context: Connecting observation and understanding* (pp. 117–134). Ablex.
- Hopper, P. J. (2001). Grammatical constructions and their discourse origins: Prototype or family resemblance. In M. Pütz & S. Niemeier (Eds.), *Applied cognitive linguistics* I: *Theory and Language Acquisition* (pp. 109–130). De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110866247.109
- Hopper, P. J. (2004). The openness of grammatical constructions. *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, pp. 153–175.
- Ide, S. (2006). Wakimae no goyouron [Pragmatics of wakimae]. Taisyukan Shoten.

- Ide, S. (2020). *Ba* no goyouron: Seiyou moderu o hokan suru paradaimu [Pragmatics of *Ba*: The paradigm of the complement western model]. In S. Ide & Y. Fujii (Eds.), *Ba and Language Use*, pp. 1–35. Hitsuji shobou.
- Ido, M. (2016). Toritateshi no tougo to imi kara miru nihongo hitei kyokusei hyougen no kenkyuu [A study of Japanese negative polar expressions from the viewpoint of syntax and semantics of *toritateshi*]. Doctoral dissertation, University of Tsukuba.
- Imamura, A. (2018). Positive co-participant assessment terms and compliments in Japanese ordinary conversations: Interactional environments and treatments. Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Inada, T. & Imanishi, N. (2016). Nichieigo no shuji gimon o megutte: Gengo no huhensei to tayousei no tansaku [On rhetorical questions in English and Japanese An exploration of uniformity and variability in human language]. *Nagasaki Daigaku Gengo Kyoiku Sentaa Ronshu*, 4, 1–23.
- Inoue, K. (1976). *Henkei bunpoo to nihongo joo* [Transformational grammar and Japanese, Vol. 1]. Taishuukan.
- Iwasaki, S. (1992). Subjectivity in grammar and discourse: Theoretical considerations and a case study of Japanese spoken discourse (Vol. 2). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.2
- Iwasaki, S. (2002). Japanese (Vol. 5). John Benjamin. https://doi.org/10.1075/loall.5
- Iwasaki, S. (2014). Grammar of the internal expressive sentences in Japanese: Observations and explorations. In K. Kabata & O. Tsuyoshi (Eds.) *Usage-based approaches to Japanese grammar: Towards the understanding of human language* (pp. 55–83). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.156.07iwa

- Iwasaki, S. (2015). A multiple-grammar model of speakers' linguistic knowledge. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 26(2), 161–210. https://doi.org/10.1515/cog-2014-0101
- Iwasaki, S. (2020a). The non-predicative copula construction: A multiple-grammar perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 170, 426–444. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.09.002
- Iwasaki, S. (2020b). Gengo wa donoyouna katachi o shiteirunoka: Kojun bunpou no tajyusei to tougousei [Language shape: Dynamicity and syntax of individual grammar]. In H. Nakamura & N. Otani (Eds.), *Ninchi gengogaku to danwa kinou gengoagku no yuukiteki setten* [Toward dynamic interaction between cognitive linguistics and discourse-functional linguistics: New frontiers in the usage-based approach to grammar] (pp. 51–78). Hitsuji Shobou.
- Iwasaki, S. & Ono, T. (2002). "Sentence" in spontaneous spoken Japanese discourse. In J. L.
 Bybee & M. Noonan (Eds.), Complex sentences in grammar and discourse: Essays in honor of Sandra A. Thompson (pp. 175–202). John Benjamins.
- Jackendoff, R. (2002). Foundations of language: Brain, meaning, grammar, evolution. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198270126.001.0001
- Jefferson, G. (1978). Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), Studies in the organization of conversational interaction (pp. 219–248). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-623550-0.50016-1
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 13–31). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.125.02jef
- Kabashima, T. (1983). Bunsho kouzou [Structure of sentences]. In S. Mizutani (Ed.), *Asakura nihongo kouza 5: Unyou I.* Asakura Shoten.

- Kaneyasu, M. (2019). The family of Japanese *no-wa* cleft construction: A register-based analysis. *Lingua*, 217. 1-23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2018.10.002
- Kataoka, K. (2002). Shijiteki hishijiteki imi to bunkateki jissen: Gengo shiyouni okeru shihyousei ni tsuite [Referential and non-referential meanings and cultural practice: With regard to indexicality in language use]. *Japanese Journal of Language*, 4(2), 21–41. https://doi.org/10.19024/jajls.4.2_21
- Kawanishi, Y., & Iwasaki, S. (2018). Reason-coding in Japanese: A multiple grammar perspective. In M. E. Hudson, Y. Matsumoto, & J. Mori (Eds.), *Pragmatics of Japanese:**Perspectives on grammar, interaction and culture (pp. 17–48). John Benjamins.

 https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.285.01kaw
- Kido, M. (1992). *Bun no kinou ni motozuku shinbun toosho no bunsho kouzou* [Structure of newspaper letter based on the function of sentences]. *Hyogen Kenkyu*, *55*, 9–19.
- Koiso, H., Amatani, H., Den, Y., Iseki, Y., Ishimoto, Y., Kashino, Y., Kawabata, Y., Nishikawa, K., Tanaka, Y., Watanabe, Y., & Usuda, Y. (2022). Design and evaluation of the corpus of everyday Japanese conversation, *Proceedings of LREC*2022, 5587–5594.
- Kubota, Y., & Ido, M. (2023, March. 25). Dake to dakewa ni tsuite: Shizengengo no ronri o kangaeru [On *dake* and *dakewa*: Considering the logic of natural language]. Dynamic Pragmatics Association, Osaka University.
- Kuno, S. (1973). The structure of the Japanese language. MIT Press.
- Kuno, S. (1978). Japanese: A characteristic OV language. In W. P. Lehmann (Ed.), *Syntactic typology: Studies in the phenomenology of language* (pp. 57–138). University of Texas Press.

- Kushida, S. (2001). Watashi wa watashi wa rensa Keiken no "wakachiai" to kyouitsusei no kashika [On my-case-telling series: Doing co-membership in experience "sharing" activities.]. Shakaigaku hyouron, 52. 214-231. https://doi.org/10.4057/jsr.52.214
- Kushida, S. (2005). Iya no komyunikeshongaku: Kaiwabunsekino tachiba kara [Communication study of iya: From the perspective of conversation analysis]. *Gengo*, *34*(11), 44–51.
- Langacker, R. W. (1987). Foundations of cognitive grammar: Theoretical prerequisites (Vol. 1).

 Stanford University Press.
- Lee, D., & Yonezawa, Y. (2008). The role of the overt expression of first and second person subjects in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40, 733–767. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.06.004
- Lee, J. (2008). Kannichi shinbun shasetsu ni okeru "shucho no sutorategii" no taisho kenkyu. [A contrastive study of assertive strategies in Korean and Japanese newspaper editorials].

 Hitsuzi Shobo.
- Lee, K. (2002). Nominative case-marker deletion in spoken Japanese: An analysis from the perspective of information structure. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *34*(6), 683–709.
- Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00048-6
- Levinson, S. C. (2013). Action formation and ascription. In T. Stivers & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 103–130). Wiley-Blackwell. http://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch6
- Mann, W. C. & Thompson, S. A. (1987). *Rhetorical structure theory: A theory of text organization*. Information Sciences Institute.

- Mann, W. C., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1991). Functions of language in two frameworks. *Word*, 42(3), 231–249. https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1991.11435839
- Marcu, D. (2000). The theory and practice of discourse parsing and summarization. MIT Press.
- Masuda, K. (Ed.). (2018). Cognitive linguistics and Japanese pedagogy: A usage-based approach to language learning and instruction. ProQuest Ebook Central. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110456554
- Matsumoto, Y. (2021). Flexibility and fluidity of grammar: Grammatical constructions in discourse and sociocultural context. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *172*, 105–118. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.11.012
- Maynard, S. K. (1997). Danwa bunseki no kanousei: Riron, houhou, nihongo nohyoogensei. Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Maynard, S. K. (1998). *Principles of Japanese discourse: A handbook*. Cambridge University Press.
- Maynard, S. K. (2007). *Linguistic creativity in Japanese discourse*. John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.159
- McGloin, N. H. (1980). Some observations concerning *no desu* expressions. *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, 15, 117–149. https://doi.org/10.2307/488880
- McGloin, N. H, (1987). The role of *wa* in negation. In J. Hinds, S. Iwasaki, & S. K. Maynard (Eds.), *Perspectives on topicalization: The case of Japanese wa* (pp. 165–183). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.14.09mcg
- Meiji Tosho Shuppan. (1991). Daimei. In Kokugoo kyoiku kenkyu daijiten (p. 755).
- Mori, J. (1999a). Negotiating agreement and disagreement in Japanese: Connective expressions and turn construction. John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.8

Mori, J. (1999b). Well I may be exaggerating but...: Self-qualifying clauses in negotiation of opinions among Japanese speakers. *Human Studies*, 22, 447–473. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005440010221

Morita, Y. (1989). Kiso nihongo ziten [Basic Japanese dictionary]. Kadokawa Shoten.

Nagano, M. (1986). Bunshooron soosetsu [Review of bunshoron]. Asakura Shoten.

Najima, Y. (2007). Noda no imi, kinou [Meanings and functions of noda]. Kuroshio Shuppan.

Nariyama, S., (2003). *Ellipsis and reference tracking in Japanese*. John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.66

Nihon Bungeika Kyokai (Eds.). (2020). The Best Essays 2020. Mitsumura Tosho.

- Niikuni, K. (2015). Nihongo bun rikai ni okeru dokuten no yakuwari ni tsuite no ninchishinriteki kenkyu [A cognitive psychological study of functions of punctuation for understanding Japanese sentences]. Doctoral dissertation, Tohoku University.
- Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon* (pp. 335–358). Cambridge University Press.
- O'Donnell, M. (1997). Rst-tool: An rst analysis tool. 6th European Workshop on Natural Language Generation.
- Okada, M. (1994). A discourse function of *maa* "well" in Japanese spontaneous conversation. *Mid-America Linguistics Conference*, 188–201.
- Okamoto, S. (1985). *Ellipsis in Japanese discourse*. Doctoral dissertation, University of California Berkeley.
- Okazaki, S. (1994). *Ellipsis in Japanese conversational discourse*. Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University.

- Onishi, M. (1994). Semantic primitives in Japanese. In C. Goddard & A. Wierzbicka (Eds.), Semantic and lexical universals: Theory and empirical findings (pp. 361–386). John Benjamins.
- Ono, T. (2006). An emotively motivated post-predicate constituent order in a strict predicate final language. In S. Suzuki (Ed.), *Emotive communication in Japanese* (pp. 139–153). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.151.07ono
- Ono, T., & Iwasaki, S. (2002). Toward an understanding of "sentence" in spoken Japanese discourse: Clause-combining and online mechanisms. In K. Kataoka & S. Ide (Eds.), *Culture, interaction, and language* (pp. 103–131). Hituzi Shobo.
- Ono, T., & Suzuki, R. (1992). Word order variability in Japanese conversation: Motivations and grammaticization. *Text*, *12*, 429–425. https://doi.org/10.1515/text.1.1992.12.3.429
- Ono, T., & Suzuki, R. (2014). Situating usage-based (Japanese) linguistics. In K. Kabata & T. Ono (Eds.), *Usage-based approaches to Japanese grammar: Towards the understanding of human language* (pp. 1–9). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.156.03int
- Ono, T., & Thompson, S. A. (1997). Deconstructing zero anaphora in Japanese. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session and Parasession on Pragmatics and Grammatical Structure* (pp. 481–491). https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v23i1.1259
- Ono, T., & Thompson, S. A., (2003). Japanese (w)atashi/ore/boku "I:" They're not just pronouns. Cognitive Linguistics, 14(4), 321–347. https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.2003.013
- Otani, N., & Nakayama, T, (2020). Ninchi gengogaku to danwa kinou gengogaku [Cognitive linguistics and discourse-functional linguistics]. In H. Nakamura & N. Otan (Eds.), *Ninchi gengogaku to danwa kinou gengoagku no yuukiteki setten* [Toward dynamic interaction

- between cognitive linguistics and discourse-functional linguistics: New frontiers in the usage-based approach to grammar] (pp. 27–48). Hitsuji Shobou.
- Pomerantz, A. (1978). Compliment responses: Notes on the co-operation of multiple constraints.

 In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 79–112).

 Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-623550-0.50010-0
- Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes, In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 57–101). Cambridge University Press.
- Pomerantz, A. (1986). Extreme case formulations: A way of legitimizing claims. *Human Studies*, 9(2/3), 219–229. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00148128
- Sacks, H. (1992/1968). Second stories. In H. Sacks, *Lectures on conversation*, Vol. 1 (pp. 764–772). Blackwell.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, *50*,(4), 696–735.
- Schegloff, E. A., Ochs, E., & Thompson, S. A. (1996). Introduction. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 1–51). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620874.001
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007). Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis (Vol. 1). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791208
- Schiffrin, D. (1990). The management of co-operative argument: The role of opinions and stories. In A. D. Grimshaw (Ed.), *Conflict talk: Sociolinguistic investigation of arguments in conversation* (pp. 241–259). Cambridge University Press.

- Shibatani, M. (1990). *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008413100022167
- Shimojo, M. (2006). Properties of particle omission revisited. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, 26, 123–140.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication*, 23, 193–229. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2
- Stivers, T., Mondada, L., & Steensig, J. (2011). Knowledge, morality, and affiliation in social interaction. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 3–24). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511921674.002
- Suzuki, S. (2009). Vernacular style writing: Strategic blurring of the boundary between spoken and written discourse in Japanese. *Pragmatics*, *19*(4), 583–608. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.19.4.04suz
- Suzuki, T. (1973). *Kotoba to bunka* [Words in context: A Japanese perspective on language and culture]. Iwanami Shoten.
- Tachikawa, K. (2009). Nihongo zuihitsu tekusuto no tokucho ni tsuite: Shijigo no chosa o tooshite [Characteristics of Japanese *zuihitsu* (essay) texts: An analysis of demonstrative pronouns]. *Journal of the Faculty of Sociology, Ryutsu Keizai University, 19*(2), 1–9.
- Takara, N. (2012). The weight of head nouns in noun-modifying constructions in conversational Japanese. *Studies in Language*, *36*(1), 33–72. https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.36.1.02tak
- Tannen. D. (Ed.) (1982). Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy. Ablex.
- Toe, T. (2008). *Itoguchi shitsumon rensa* [Clue question sequence]. *Japanese Journal of Language in Society*, 10(2), 135–145.

- Tsujimura, N. (2013). An introduction to Japanese linguistics. Wiley.
- Vatanen, A. (2014). Responding in overlap: Agency, epistemicity, and social action in conversation. Doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki.
- Vatanen, A. (2018). Responding in early overlap: Recognitional onsets in assertion sequences.

 *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 51(2), 107–126.

 https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1413894
- Vatanen, A., Endo, T. & Yokomori, D. (2021), Cross-linguistic investigation of projection in overlapping agreements to assertions: Stance-taking as a resource for projection, *Discourse Process*, 58(2), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2020.1801317
- Wooffitt, R. (2005). Conversation analysis and discourse analysis: A comparative and critical introduction. Sage.
- Yamanaka, K. (1988). *Nihongo no katachi: Taisho shujigaku kara no apurochi* [The shape of Japanese: A contrastive rhetoric approach]. University of Tokyo Press.
- Yamane, C. (2003). Danwa ni okeru *iya* no youhou [Usage of *iya* in discourse]. *Okadai Kokubun Ronko*, Okayama University, *13*, 136–145.
- Yee, T., & Wong, J. (2021). Japanese first-person singular pronouns revisited: A semantic and cultural interpretation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 181, 139–161. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.05.025

Appendix A: Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study (English)



Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study – Page 1 of 2

Title of research study: An analysis of morphosyntactic features in Japanese conversations

Investigator: Miyabi Ozawa IRB Protocol Number: 18-0348

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to investigate morphosyntax in Japanese conversations and to reveal how it is dynamically constituted throughout the interaction. The collected data form a valuable linguistic resource and will be used in a range of academic research projects in linguistics, psychology, and speech and language processing.

We invite you to take part in this study because you are native Japanese speakers. We expect that you will spend 30 minutes to one hour on this study in July 2018 in Japan. We expect that 2-3 people will participate in each conversation for this study.

Explanation of Procedures

The data collection will take place at the researcher's apartment, the researcher's friend's apartment, Japan Women's University, a café, or a restaurant with two to three participants. Participants may eat and drink while having a conversation, which will be recorded on videotape.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

Whether or not you take part in this research is your choice. You can leave the research at any time, and this will not be held against you.

If you are a CU Boulder student or employee, taking part in this research is not part of your class work or duties. You can refuse to enroll or withdraw after enrolling at any time with no effect on your class standing, grades, or job at CU Boulder. You will not be offered or receive any special consideration if you take part in this research.

Confidentiality

Information obtained about you for this study will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. Research information that identifies you may be shared with the University of Colorado Boulder Institutional Review Board (IRB) and others who are responsible for ensuring

July 6, 2018

IRB Approval DateIRB Document Revision Date: November 28, 2017 HRP-502: TEMPLATE – Consent Document v3.2 compliance with laws and regulations related to research, including people on behalf of the Office for Human Research Protections. The information from this research may be published for scientific purposes; however, your identity will not be given out.

Ouestions

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the research team at miyabi.ozawa@colorado.edu

This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board (IRB). You may talk to them at (303) 735-3702 or irbadmin@colorado.edu if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Signatures

Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.		
Signature of subject	Date	
Printed name of subject		
Signature of person obtaining consent	Date	_
Printed name of person obtaining consent		

July 6, 2018

IRB Approval Date

IRB Document Revision Date: November 28, 2017

Appendix B: Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study (Japanese)



Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study – Page 1 of 2

研究タイトル (Title of research study):

An analysis of morphosyntactic features in Japanese conversations (日本語会話における形態的・統語的特徴の分析)

研究者 (Investigator): 小澤雅 IRB プロトコル番号 (IRB Protocol Number): 18-0348

研究の目的 (Purpose of the Study)

本研究の目的は、日本語会話における形態的・統語的特徴を調査することです。特に、そのような特徴が、相互行為の中でどのように動的に構成されているのかを調査します。この研究では日本語会話をビデオカメラで録音します。収集されたデータは大変貴重な言語資源となり、言語学・心理学・言語処理等の学術分野で使用される予定です。

この研究では、日本人の方を対象としており、会話収録のご協力をお願いしております。収録する会話は 30 分~1 時間程度のもので、2018 年 7 月に日本で収録予定です。 それぞれの会話収録では、 2^3 人に入って頂く予定です。

会話収録の流れ (Explanation of Procedures)

本データ収集は、研究者あるいは友人のアパート、日本女子大学、喫茶店、レストランで行われる予定です。それぞれの会話に 2~3 人に入って頂きます。会話中、飲食をして頂いて構いません。

会話収録参加のご協力とお取りやめの自由について (Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal)

会話収録のご協力は、あくまで自発的になされるものですので、ご協力を途中でお取りやめになられても結構です。 もしご協力者がコロラド大学の学生や職員の方である場合、会話収録参加は授業の一部でもなければ、強制でもありません。ご協力を断わられても、途中で辞退されても、大学の成績や業務に関わりません。また逆に、この研究に参加されることが、特別に考慮されるということもありません。

July 6, 2018

IRB Approval Date IRB Document Revision Date: November 28, 2017 HRP-502: TEMPLATE – ConsentDocument v3.2

研究の内密性 (Confidentiality)

プライバシーの侵害に関するご心配は全くございません。被験者の方々の身元証明に関わる情報は公には伏せさせて頂きます。 (コロラド大学の治験審査委員会(IRB)や、ヒトに関する研究の倫理委員会のような法的コンプライアンスに関わる団体に、この研究で得られた情報が共有される可能性はあります。) また、この研究で得られた情報は科学的目的の下に出版 される可能性がありますが、その際にも身元証明に関する情報は伏せさせて頂きます。

ご質問 (Questions)

もしご質問等ございましたら、研究者の下記の連絡先までご連絡ください。 miyabi.ozawa@colorado.edu

この調査は治験審査委員会(IRB)によって許可を得たものです。IRBに対してご質問がある場合には、下記の連絡先までご連絡ください。

(303) 735-3702

irbadmin@colorado.edu

ご署名 (Signatures)

本研究へのご参加に対する署名 (Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.)		
被験者の署名 (Signature of subject)、日付	(Date)	
被験者のお名前 (アルファベット活字体)	(Printed name of subject)	
承諾書の受理者の署名 (Signature of person obtaining consent)、日付(Date)		

承諾書の受理者の名前 (アルファベット活字体)

(Printed name of person obtaining consent)

July 6, 2018

IRB Approval Date

IRB Document Revision Date: November 28, 2017

Appendix C: IRB Approvals for the Study



Institutional Review Board 563 UCB Boulder, CO 80309 Phone: 303.735.3702 Fax: 303.735.5185 FWA: 00003492

APPROVAL

06-Jul-2018

Dear Miyabi Ozawa,

On 06-Jul-2018 the IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Submission:	Initial Application
Review Category:	Expedited - Category 6,7
Title:	An analysis of morpho-syntactic features in Japanese conversations
Investigator:	Ozawa, Miyabi
Protocol #:	18-0348
Funding:	Non-Federal
Documents Approved:	18-0348 Protocol (6Jul18); 18-0348 Consent Form - Eng (6Jul18); 18-0348 Consent Form - Japan (6Jul18); The content of email and message for recruitment.pdf;
Documents Reviewed:	Protocol; Local Review Letter for Miyabi Ozawa's research.pdf; HRP-211: FORM - Initial Application v8;

The IRB approved the protocol from 06-Jul-2018 to 05-Jul-2019 inclusive.

Before **5-Jun-2019**, you are to submit a Continuing Review and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure. This protocol will expire if continuing review approval is not granted before **05-Jul-2019**.

Click the link to find the approved documents for this protocol: <u>Summary Page</u> Use copies of these documents to conduct your research.

In conducting this protocol you must follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,
Douglas Grafel
IRB Admin Review Coordinator
Institutional Review Board



Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB 2/5/2020

Submission ID number: 2019-0946-CP001

Title: An analysis of linguistic and other semiotic features in Japanese

conversations

Principal Investigator: JUNKO MORI
Point-of-Contact: Miyabi Ozawa
IRB Staff Reviewer: CASEY PELLIEN

A designated ED/SBS IRB member conducted an expedited review of the above-referenced change of protocol application. The change of protocol application was approved by the IRB member. The change of protocol application qualified for expedited review pursuant to 45 CFR 46.110 and, if applicable, 21 CFR 56.110 and 38 CFR 16.110. You must log in to your ARROW account in order to view the specific changes approved by the IRB.

To access the materials approved by the IRB, including any stamped consent forms, recruitment materials and the approved protocol, if applicable, please log in to your ARROW account and view the documents tab in the submission's workspace.

If you requested a HIPAA waiver of authorization, altered authorization and/or partial authorization, please log in to your ARROW account and view the history tab in the submission's workspace for approval details.

You have identified the following financial sources to support the research activities in this IRB application:

None.

If this information is incorrect, please submit a change to modify your application as appropriate.

Please review the Investigator Responsibilities guidance (https://kb.wisc.edu/images/group99/shared/BSIR) which includes a description of IRB requirements for submitting continuing review progress reports, changes of protocol and reportable events.

If you have general questions, please contact the Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB at 608-263-2320. For questions related to this submission, contact the assigned staff reviewer.



Submission ID number: 2019-0946-CP002

Title: An analysis of linguistic and other semiotic features in Japanese

conversations

Principal Investigator: Junko Mori
Point-of-Contact: Miyabi Ozawa
IRB Staff Reviewer: Casey Pellien

A designated MRR IRB member conducted an expedited review of the above-referenced change of protocol application. The change of protocol application was approved by the IRB member on 7/13/2022. The change of protocol application qualified for expedited review pursuant to 45 CFR 46.110 and, if applicable, 21 CFR 56.110 and 38 CFR 16.110. You must log in to your ARROW account in order to view the specific changes approved by the IRB.

To access the materials approved by the IRB, including any stamped consent forms, recruitment materials and the approved protocol, if applicable, please log in to your ARROW account and view the documents tab in the submission's workspace.

You have identified the following financial sources to support the research activities in this IRB application:

None.

If this information is incorrect, please submit a change to modify your application as appropriate.

Please review the Principal Investigator and Study Team Responsibilities in the <u>Investigator Manual</u>, which includes a description of IRB requirements for submitting continuing review progress reports, changes of protocol and reportable events.

If you have general questions, please contact the Minimal Risk Research IRB at 608-263-2362. For questions related to this submission, contact the assigned staff reviewer.