

ENACTMENT IN JAPANESE TALK-IN-INTERACTON:
DESIGN, RESPONSE, AND SEQUENTIAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

by

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates an interactional phenomenon wherein participants enact themselves or others. Speakers produce enactments by utilizing specific designs of lexis, grammar, and prosody, as well as body orientation. Using Conversation Analysis (CA), this study examines how participants in Japanese talk-in-interaction design, deploy, and respond to stretches of talk as enactments and accomplish certain interactional goals with those enactments.

Conversation participants deploy enactments to depict a wide range of there-and-then situations. The present study focuses on two types of enactments: enactments of A-events and of B-events. A-events refer to information that speakers have more access to than recipients do, while B-events are information that recipients have more access to than speakers do (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). When tellers deploy A-event enactments in tellings, participants inevitably engage in coordinating the two layers of here-and-now and there-and-then sequence organizations. This study explicates how participants organize intersections between the two sequences. Participants also enact B-events to show their understanding of co-participants' tellings. These enactments demonstrate their producers' varied levels of understanding about B-events, and make tellers' (dis)confirmation a next relevant action. In pursuing an empirical examination of these types of enactments, this dissertation contributes to a better understanding of the interactional facets of enactments.

Throughout the analyses of the above types of enactments, this dissertation is also concerned with the projectability of Japanese enactments. The predicate-final structure of the Japanese language leads to "delayed projectability" (Fox, Hayashi, & Jaspersen, 1996; Tanaka, 1999, 2000), and Japanese enactments are no exception: syntactic markings of enactments appear after the production of enactments and thus only retrospectively indicate preceding

enactments. This study demonstrates that despite such syntactically delayed projectability, various linguistic and non-linguistic resources utilized before and during the production of enactments assist participants in comprehending Japanese enactments.

Various research disciplines have investigated multifunctional characteristics of enactments from different analytical standpoints. This dissertation employs CA as its analytical framework to conduct an empirical inquiry regarding participants' own orientations toward enactments, and discusses how the findings of the present study contribute to enriching the understanding of the target phenomenon of enactments.

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Transcription Conventions

1. Transcript symbols

[the beginning of overlapped talk
(.)	micro-pause
(0.0)	length of silence
::	noticeably lengthened sound
=	latched utterance
-	cut-off
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
.	falling intonation
↑	shift into especially high pitch
↓	shift into especially low pitch
()	unintelligible stretch
(word)	transcriber's unsure hearing
(())	transcriber's descriptions
hh	audible outbreath
.hh	audible inbreath
(hh)	laughter within a word
> <	increase in tempo
< >	decrease in tempo
° °	quieter than the surrounding talk
CAPS	relatively high volume
bold	enactment marker
“ ”	enactment in English translation

2. Abbreviations

AD	address term
COM	complementizer
COP	copula
FP	final particle
LK	nominal linking particle
N	nominalizer
NEG	negative morpheme
O	object marker
PAST	past tense
PL	suffix indicating plural
SB	subject marker
TAG	tag-like expression
TP	topic marker
Q	question marker

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Focus of the study

This study examines Japanese enactment, an interactional phenomenon wherein participants in conversation design a stretch of talk as different from their here-and-now voice in a current site of interaction. Through enacting themselves or others, conversation participants accomplish various social actions. In the following case (1.01), Sae is telling her recipients a story about how her family recently bought a new electric blanket. She designs a part of her utterance, *denki moofu wa chigau wa::* “electric blankets are different,” not as her own here-and-now utterance but as a there-and-then utterance of her father, who is not present at the current interactional site.

(1.01) [ZRG3135]¹ Blanket

Sae: *otoosan ga denki moofu wa chigau*
 father SB electric blanket TP different

wa:: tte² itte.
 FP *tte* say
 Father said, “electric blankets are different.”

A speaker may also design a part of an utterance of his or her own voice in a there-and-then situation. In (1.02), the participants are talking about Japanese college students who often have drinking parties. In line 1, Joo asks Kei if she goes to those kinds of drinking parties. In line

¹ See p. ix for transcription conventions.

² Enactment markers in original Japanese (the first line) are set in bold and their word-by-word gloss (the second line) are *italized*. In English translation (the third line), the onset and offset of enactments are marked with quotation marks. The grounds for this approach to representing the target constructions of Japanese enactment in transcripts will be given in detail in 3.2 of Chapter 3.

2, Kei answers that she goes and makes others drink. In line 4, Kei designs her utterance, *nome yo nome yo::* “drink drink,” as her own there-and-then utterance.

(1.02) [OSK3643] Drinking

- 1 Joo: *ika n to? soo yuu no.*
 go NEG Q so say N
 Aren't you going to those things?
- 2 kei: *iku, meccha iku kedo nomasu.*
 go very go but make.someone.drink
 I do, I go very often but I make others drink.
- 3 Joo: *h h [nomasu dake?*
 make.someone.drink only
 Only making others drink?
- 4 Kei: -> *[nome yo nome yo:: toka.*
 drink FP drink FP toka
 “Drink drink.”

These examples belong to what has traditionally been called “directed reported speech.” In structural linguistics, it has been considered that there are two types of reported speech: direct reported speech and indirect reported speech. In direct reported speech a current speaker quotes the exact words of an original speaker, whereas in indirect reported speech a current speaker adopts the content of past utterances according to the circumstances of the reporting context (Jespersen, 1924; Li, 1986). These two types are marked grammatically. Examples in the above two excerpts are considered direct reported speech because of their certain grammatical features, (i.e., the use of final particles both in [1.01] and [1.02], and the imperative form of a verb in [1.02]), which indicate the preservation of the interpersonal modalities employed by the original speakers. The use of an original utterance’s temporal, spatial, and personal deixis is also considered a recurrent characteristic of direct reported speech.

However, the above definition of direct reported speech is problematic as a reference of the target phenomenon in the present study for two reasons. First, the binary distinction between direct and indirect reported speech, based on their structural formations, does not deal with intricate compositional aspects of the focal phenomenon in Japanese conversation. For instance, lexico-syntactic properties that contribute to the distinction between direct and indirect reported speech in Japanese are scarce as compared to those in languages such as English. Whereas, in English, the lack of complementizer “that” may be recognized as direct reported speech, Japanese employs the same complementizer *to* (or its variants) for both direct and indirect reported speech. Thus, the basic syntactic formation of both types of reported speech in Japanese is schematically presented as “quoted material + a complementizer + a verb of communication” (Fujita, 2000; Teramura, 1982). Also, unlike in English, indirect reported speech in Japanese does not undergo a change in tense, mood, or word order, which would formally differentiate them from direct report speech. In result, the distinction between direct and indirect reported speech in Japanese is structurally blurred (Coulmas, 1985; Kameda, 2000; Kuno, 1988; Maier, 2009).³ Accordingly, in line 5 of the following case (1.03), it is difficult to discern whether the utterance is direct or indirect reported speech as far as its linguistic formation is concerned; it can be construed either as “((grandpa)) said, ‘*ohagi*’” or as “((grandpa)) said that ((he wanted to eat)) *ohagi*.”⁴ *Ohagi* is a Japanese rice cake covered with bean jam.

(1.03) [JSH0556] Ohagi

1 Mayu: *uchi no jiichan wa ano (0.8)*
 home LK grandpa TP uhm

³ However, it has been observed that English speakers may also sometimes mix the structures of direct and indirect reported speech. Coulmas (1986) refers to such reported speech “quasi-direct speech.”

⁴ This second reading as indirect reported speech is possible due to the pervasive phenomenon of ellipsis in Japanese. Japanese ellipsis is not restricted to some particular grammatical element, but to noun phrases, main verbs, as well as postpositional particles (Hinds, 1980). Thus, the interpretation of “((he wanted to eat))” in “((grandpa)) said that ((he wanted to eat)) *ohagi*” being ellipted leads to the analysis that the utterance is indirect reported speech.

My grandpa, uhm,

2 *kekkyoku haigan datta n desu kedo::,*
 after.all lung.cancer COP.PAST N COP but
 after all had lung cancer, but,

3 *nani ↓ga tabe tai? tte*
 what SB eat want.to tte

4 *uchi no okaasan >ga kii tara,<*
 home LK mother SB ask when
 when my mom asked, “what do you wanna eat,?” then,

5 -> *(.) ohagi (.) t(t) te it(h) te(h)*
 ohagi tte say
 ((grandpa)) said, “ohagi.” /
 ((grandpa)) said that ((he wanted to eat)) *ohagi*.

In fact, *ohagi* in line 5 is produced in the speaker’s prominent thick voice, which creates a contrast against other parts of this multi-unit turn. This prosodic design of the turn-constructural unit signals its representation of there-and-then grandpa’s utterance. Thus, as this case demonstrates, the focal phenomenon—the production of certain stretch of talk as a there-and-then utterance—needs to be comprehended through the analyses of both its grammatical and non-grammatical aspects.

The second issue with respect to the specification of the focal phenomenon of this study arises from the assumption that direct reported speech is a rendition of the exact words of an original speaker in the past. Previous studies have pointed out that the form and meaning of the original utterance are in fact inevitably altered in the reporting context and therefore never able to be duplicated (Dubois, 1989; Lehrer, 1989; Mayes, 1990; Tannen, 1989). The present study takes the same position and presumes that all “reported” utterances, regardless of their original utterance’s possible existence and of their potential gradients of authenticity, are designed by

current speakers as the there-and-then voice of themselves or others for the purpose of achieving some particular social action in an ongoing interaction.

Taking the above definitional issues into consideration, the present study employs the term “enactment” to refer to the focal interactional phenomenon of linguistically and/or non-linguistically designing certain stretches of talk as there-and-then voice. The next section will outline the objectives of this study.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The point of departure for the present study is to elucidate participants’ orientations toward enactment in Japanese talk-in-interaction. In order to explore this main theme, this study aims:

- 1) to examine how stretches of talk are designed to be heard as enactments.
- 2) to describe features of sequential organization in which participants deploy and respond to enactments.
- 3) to elucidate how enactments serve to accomplish particular actions in these sequential environments.

The present study will investigate these research aims by adopting Conversation Analysis (CA), a rigorously empirical and data-driven research method of social interaction. CA aims to discover and describe the fundamental organizational features that participants use to produce and recognize their own and their co-participants’ conduct in interaction. Employing CA as the analytical framework, the present study sheds light on how participants make sense of what it is they are doing with Japanese enactment.

Throughout the analyses of data for pursuing the above objectives in the framework of CA, this study is concerned with the issue of temporality and projectability regarding the production of Japanese enactments. As an utterance is produced, its linguistic structure along with other accompanying interactional elements appears bit by bit through the passage of time (Hopper, 2011). This aspect of temporality in interaction is tied to another concept of projectability: the incorporation of syntactic, semantic, and prosodic as well as other multimodal resources in interaction that helps recipients anticipate what would come next in a current speaker's turn at talk (Clayman, 2013; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Schegloff, 1996a). Previous CA studies of typologically different languages have shown that the difference in canonical word order alters the temporal realization of turns at talk in those languages. For instance, whereas in Germanic languages such as English, turn beginnings make it possible to project what it will take for the unit to be complete, in Japanese, which is a verb-final language, this kind of early projection is not possible (Fox, Hayashi, & Jaspersen, 1996; Hayashi, 2003a; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Tanaka, 1999, 2000).

As for the current target phenomenon of enactment, syntactic constructions like "she said" project a forthcoming enactment in English, a language with a canonical Subject-Verb-Object structure (Schegloff, 1987). On the other hand, in Japanese, a Subject-Object-Verb language, an enacted material is often placed between the subject and the predicate. Furthermore, the subject and the subject marker tend not to be stated when contextually understood. Thus, in theory, the recipients of Japanese enactments have fewer clues for identifying the onsets of enactment. See the schematic formations of English and Japanese enactments below.

<u>English</u>	[enacted subject] + [verb of communication] + <ENACTMENT>
<u>Japanese</u>	([enacted subject] + [subject marker]) + <ENACTMENT> + [enactment marker] + [verb of communication]

Chart 1.1 Canonical structures of enactments

Through the investigation of how Japanese enactments are designed, deployed, and responded to for accomplishing certain actions, the present study also aims to answer how participants' temporal realization of enactments is managed during unfolding talk-in-interaction.

Enactment (or direct reported speech) has long been a target of inquiry in various research disciplines, such as linguistics, pragmatics, anthropology, philosophy, and literary theory. These studies have investigated the multidimensional characteristics of enactment from different analytical standpoints, proposing the function of enactment as indicating evidentiality (Chafe, 1992; Li, 1986; Mushin, 2000; Shuman, 1992), distributing responsibility (Hill & Irvine, 1992; Hill & Zepeda, 1992), providing authenticity (Coulmas, 1986; Du Bois, 1986; Li, 1986; Philips, 1986, 1992), or implementing communication strategies such as interactants' relationship building or lending a dramatic effect to conversation (Brown & Levinson, 1978; Labov, 1972; Otsu, 2005; Tannen, 1989; Wierzbicka, 1974). By taking the analytical perspective of CA, which is unique from these literatures, the present research conducts an empirical inquiry of enactment in interaction, and endeavors to discuss its findings' implications to enrich the earlier findings regarding this target phenomenon of enactment.

1.3 Organization of the study

This dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 reviews studies relevant to the present study and describes the structural formations of Japanese enactment. Chapter 3 describes the analytical framework fundamental to the analyses in subsequent chapters, and then illustrates an overview of the data analyzed in this study. This chapter also provides analyses of some data excerpts to demonstrate the significance of the analytical focus on the temporal realization of Japanese enactment. Chapter 4 focuses on enactments deployed in tellings, and investigates how interactants organize two layered sequences of here-and-now and there-and-then interactions in those telling activities. Chapter 5 examines enactments used as understanding checks, elucidating the positional and compositional features of such enactments as well as the responses these enactments receive. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of this dissertation and discusses the implications of this study for the existing research on enactments, as well as the directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of literature related to the current research. First of all, Section 2.2 surveys how past studies have discussed the phenomenon of introducing there-and-then voices of self and others in here-and-now interactions. As briefly stated in Chapter 1, it is practically impossible to reproduce the exact words of past utterances. This section first provides an overview of past studies that contend with this issue of authenticity of enactment. Then the section clarifies the present study's analytical stance toward the issue, stating a rationale for employing CA to pursue this study's objectives.

Section 2.3 discusses the terminology of enactment by reviewing how the term "enactment" is used in past studies of interaction. The review of these previous studies reveals that the definition of enactment varies depending on the foci of each study. This section organizes similarities and differences among these past studies' usages of the term, and then specifies the definition of enactment in the present study.

Three sections following 2.3 deal with different compositional aspects of Japanese enactments. Section 2.4 surveys the concepts of temporality and projectability, and illustrates a potential issue for temporal realization of Japanese enactment, which is due to the syntactic structure of the language. Section 2.5 provides an overview of the structural formations of Japanese enactment by referring to previous studies on enactment markers. Then Section 2.6 discusses the necessity of a multimodal analysis for the holistic understanding of the compositional features of enactment.

Finally, Section 2.7 addresses another aspect regarding the deployment of enactment that is relevant to the current study, namely, the issue of epistemicity: knowledge distribution among participants in interaction. Chapters 4 and 5 of this study will examine enactments that involve different epistemic interrelations between speakers and recipients with regard to the enacted information. Thus, this final section provides preliminary guidance on this matter of epistemicity and enactment.

2.2 Authenticity, multivoicedness, and footing

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, most early linguistic research assumes that direct reported speech is the reproduction and the rendition of the exact words of an original speaker (Jespersen, 1924; Li, 1986). However, a number of studies criticize that assumption, proposing that the form and meaning of an original utterance are inevitably altered in a reporting context. Mayes (1990), for instance, investigates the authenticity of reported speech in her collection of 320 naturally occurring examples in English and claims that at least 50 percent of her examples are doubtful regarding their authenticity; these include “improbable quotes,” such as reported speech being attributed to more than one person, and “impossible quotes,” whose content is hypothetical. Tannen (1989) asserts that all reported utterances are ultimately constructed by a current speaker at the time of talk. She proposes the term “constructed dialogue,” arguing that the term “reported speech” is a misnomer. These claims are also supported by psycholinguistic research. Lehrer (1989) examines research subjects’ memory of prose, revealing that they tend to remember the meaning of utterances rather than the form and concluding that verbatim recall is unlikely.

The improbability of exact reporting is also supported by Vološinov's (1929/1973)⁵ concept of multivoicedness. Vološinov states that language is inseparable from society and reflects multiple voices. He observes that multivoicedness exists in all language use, and it is especially clear in reported speech, which must always be considered as "speech within speech, utterance within utterance and at the same time, as speech about speech and utterance about utterance" (p. 115). This observation is also expressed by Bakhtin (1981, 1986), who claims that people's talk time is mostly occupied by their report of what they have said and thought of others and of themselves. Speakers can also assimilate the talk of others to various degrees, thus expressing "varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness'" (Bakhtin, 1986: 89). In other words, speakers can appropriate an utterance by adjusting it to their own utterance.

Echoing Vološinov and Bakhtin, Goffman (1981) proposes a model, the deconstruction of the speaker in "footing," for the analysis of the different kinds of "speakers" that can co-exist within an utterance. According to the notion of footing, the speaker subsumes the following three different roles: "animator," "author," and "principal." Animator is a person uttering a particular sequence of words or sentences and engaging in acoustic activity. Author refers to an agent who scripts the lines; this person chooses the sentiments or beliefs that are being expressed in addition to the words through which they are expressed. Principal is a party whose positions or viewpoints are attested. Goffman states that one prominent instance of the co-existence of these different speakers is reported speech, wherein the three roles can be played by different parties recurrently.

Examining enactment in the data corpus of this study reveals that what is structurally designed as "reported" does not seem to be always a reproduction of an assumed preexisting

⁵ There has been considerable debate over whether Bakhtin wrote under the name of Vološinov. The evidence for that argument, however, is far from conclusive.

original utterance. Moreover, interactants themselves in the current data rarely display their orientation to its “authenticity.” Thus, along with the above studies, the present study postulates that all utterances are created by current speakers for the achievement of some interactional work at the moment of talk and places its analytical focus on what interactants do with this interactional tool.

Furthermore, the present study distinguishes its methodological stance from Goffman’s framework of footing. Although Goffman’s footing provides great insight into the investigation of reported speech in social interaction, his analysis is limited to a form of typology and lacks empirical data. He focuses exclusively on the isolated utterance of a single individual without taking into account the dynamic relationship among participants within which the talk is situated. Goodwin (2007) criticizes Goffman’s static categorization of participation, proposing that:

participation can be analyzed as a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events (p. 24-25).

This feature of interaction—wherein conversation is co-constructed by multiple participants in a moment-by-moment fashion—has been discussed extensively in CA literatures (e.g., Goodwin, 1979; Hayashi, 2003a; Lerner, 2002); each participant’s conduct reciprocally influences others’. To substantiate this argument, the present study also deploys CA as its analytical framework, explicates how speakers’ and recipients’ monitoring of each other’s participation in interaction shapes the design of enactment, and investigates the interactional relevancy of doing enactment at the moment of interaction.

2.3 Enactment

The term enactment is generally understood as acting out a role or play on stage. An increasing number of studies point out that, in interaction, people enact themselves or others by utilizing both linguistic and non-linguistic resources with which they demonstrate certain ideas rather than describe them (Clark & Gerrig, 1990). Among those studies, however, the definition of the term enactment varies depending on the analytical foci of each study. This section first provides an overview of the use of the term in previous studies and then presents the definition of enactment in the present study.

Several studies define their analytical target as enactment based on its structural formation. For instance, Holt (2007) states that, while most instances of reported speech in her corpus are preceded by a pronoun-plus-speech-verb (e.g., “she said”), there are also a number of cases that are not accompanied by any kind of grammatical component. Holt calls those free-standing reported speech enactment. Through the sequential analysis of the target enactments in her audio telephone conversation data, she asserts that those enactments are often used in the context of hypothetical scenarios, portraying the words of invented characters.

Fox and Robles (2010) explore the syntactic formation of the non-human subject “it” with the quotative use of “be like.” Fox and Robles argue that “it’s like” can preface thoughts, feelings, and attitudes which are internal and affect-laden assessments of a prior utterance or event. They point out that those assessments marked by “it’s like” are often “response cries” (Goffman, 1978) such as “oh,” “mm,” “wow,” and “man,”⁶ and they call these “it’s like-enactment.” Fox and Robles claim that the impersonal syntax “allows the speaker to shift epistemic authority for assessment toward a more impersonal and therefore perhaps more general,

⁶ Goffman (1981: 114) defines “response cries” as interactional resources that “show or index the mental state of the transmitters [...] to clarify the drama of their circumstances.”

authority” (p. 717), and, as a result, the collocation of “it’s like-enactment” is presented as a natural, generic response that anyone in the same circumstances would give.

Streeck (2002) focuses on the concurrent production of utterance and body conduct and examines the usage of the German “so” (equivalent to the English “like this”) and the American English “like” as markers for some unit of body behaviors. Streeck labels such body behaviors introduced by “so” and “like” enactment, claiming that the types of enactments prefaced by these two words are different. In the case of the German “so,” the enactment is a descriptive gesture such as the use of hands to indicate the size, shape, and location of what is being talked about. As for the American English “like,” it constitutes a mimetic enactment, i.e., “a performance in which the speaker acts ‘in character’ rather than a situated self” (p. 581). Streeck further discusses that, in both uses of “so” and “like,” enactments are generally designed in the integration of talk and body movements. He also points out that the American English “like” can also preface mimetic enactment that is not accompanied by any linguistic resource.

Unlike the studies mentioned above, Sidnell (2006) employs the term “reenactment” instead of enactment, emphasizing the aspect of his focal phenomenon as being re-presentation of what the speaker experienced in the past. He distinguishes reenactment from direct reported speech by defining reenactment as re-presenting not just linguistic features of the original utterance such as lexis, grammar, and prosody, but also body orientation, gaze and gesture. In this study, Sidnell addresses the question of how recipients are able to parse a larger telling into descriptive telling on one hand and reenactment on the other. Through the multimodal analysis of English video-recording data, Sidnell reveals that, while the initiation of the reenacted segment is typically marked syntactically by the use of some quotative verb (e.g., like, goes, all,

etc.) along with the initiation of reenacting gesture, its completion is often marked by the return of a speaker's gaze to the recipients from a reenacting space.

Thompson and Suzuki (2014) follow Sidnell's definition of "reenactment," and examine how tellers' and recipients' gaze directions contribute to constructing reenactments in both English and Japanese data. In the explanation of their data collection, Thompson and Suzuki mention that their collections of "reenactment" cases include those that depict hypothetical events rather than past events, although those are not the focus of their article.

The above studies generate two major concerns in terms of the definition of enactment. The first relates to whether or not non-linguistic elements are mandatory for the design of enactment. Holt's (2007) and Fox and Robles' (2010) definition of enactment relies primarily on its linguistic elements. In Streeck (2002), Sidnell (2006), and Thompson and Suzuki (2014), on the other hand, non-linguistic features such as gaze direction and body movement are considered a crucial part of their definition of (re)enactment. The present study examines the multimodal designs of enactment and thus focuses on both its linguistic and non-linguistic aspects. However, the focal enactment does not have to carry prominently both linguistic and non-linguistic features; some cases may be accompanied by more relatively pronounced body movement while others may be designed with more elaborated linguistic resources. Some others may be featured by their distinguished prosodic qualities. In any case, a stretch of talk is in some way designed to be attributed to a there-and-then speaker but not to a current speaker.

The second issue regarding the definition of enactment is whether or not the terms "enactment" and "reenactment" should be distinctively used. Sidnell (2006) chooses the term "reenactment" so as to describe their target phenomenon of re-presentation of past experiences. On the other hand, Holt (2007) notes that her focal type of "enactment" (i.e., free-standing

reported speech) is frequently produced as hypothetical utterances. Thompson and Suzuki (2014) adopt the term “reenactment” to include demonstrations of both past events and hypothetical events. Fox and Robles (2010) and Streeck (2002) do not clearly define the difference between “enactment” and “reenactment” while still using both terms in their studies. As discussed in Section 2.2, the present study presumes that all the utterances designed as there-and-then voice are ultimately the current speakers’ creation. Therefore, this study uses the term “enactment” regardless of the possibility of the existence of their original utterances.

2.4 Temporality and projectability

This section first summarizes the concepts of temporality and projectability (i.e., key notions of participants’ anticipation of unfolding talk-in-interaction that the present analysis draws upon) and then discusses the significance of the investigation of Japanese enactment’s temporal realization in interaction. Conceptualizing language as a socially organized form of interaction, rather than as a static and abstract system of signs, leads to the acknowledgment that temporality is a crucial feature of interaction. When an utterance is produced, its linguistic structure, along with other accompanying interactional elements, emerges moment by moment (Hopper, 2011). A temporally unfolding utterance displays a progression toward a possible completion point, the arrival of which opens up an opportunity for other participants to start talking and become the next speaker. In other words, spoken interaction unfolds in accord with the norm that interactants should take turns at talk, with the restriction of one party speaking at a time (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).

The coordination of interactants’ turn taking system is highly ordered, with the transition from one speaker to the next recurrently managed with a minimum of silence between turns and

with little overlap. Sacks et al. (1974) account for the local management of conversational turn-taking as follows. Turns are incrementally built out of a succession of turn-constructive units (TCUs) such as sentences, clauses, phrases, and individual words. Each TCU is recognizable as possibly complete, and its completion establishes a transition-relevance place (TRP) where a change of speakership becomes relevant. Thus, a TCU is a vital component for organizing interaction. What enables smooth turn transition at a possible TRP is projectability of the future trajectory of the utterance before the entire TCU is produced.

Subsequent research reveals that numerous behaviors are implicated in the process of projecting TCU, such as syntax (Sacks et al., 1974), prosody (Ford & Thompson, 1996; Selting, 1996), pragmatics (Ford & Thompson, 1996; Goodwin, 1996; Mandelbaum, 2013; Schegloff, 1980), and gaze (Rossano, 2010). These resources are usually concurrently deployed so as to signal a TCU completion. However, Clayman (2013) points out that these resources are not co-equal in projecting completion and that syntactic completions seem to be more frequently employed while other resources tend to concentrate at syntactic boundaries.

How the syntactic projection works depends on the syntactic structure of a language. Word ordering of a language is one of the practices that interactants may employ for projecting the shape of an upcoming turn. For instance, English utterances are usually produced in a Subject-Verb-Object order with prepositional phrases. Japanese, on the other hand, bears its syntactic characteristic furnished by Subject-Object-Verb order with the use of postpositions. Whereas turn beginnings in English are critical locations for turn projection and thus enable “early projection” (Schegloff, 1987), turn beginnings in Japanese do not tend to have elements that syntactically project the upcoming organization of talk, resulting in “delayed projectability” (Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996; Tanaka, 1999, 2000).

This difference in syntactic projectability between the two languages presumably affects the projectability of enactment in both languages. In English, “she said” projects a forthcoming utterance as enactment, in which the enacted subject (“she”) and a verb of communication (“said”) are prototypically produced before the enactment (Lerner & Takagi, 1999; Schegloff, 1987). Examine (2.01) for an example of enactment cited from Goodwin (1984: 226).

(2.01)

Ann: *Do(h)n said (0.3) dih- did they ma:ke you take
 this wa(h)llpa(h)p(h)er? er(h)di dju pi(h)ck
 i(h)t ou(h)t.*

In Ann’s turn, “Do(h)n said” syntactically projects the forthcoming enactment of Don’s past utterance. In Japanese, on the other hand, enactment is usually placed between an enacted subject and an enactment marker followed by a verb of communication. See (2.02) in which the enactment marker *toka* is used.

(2.02) [SGK0040] Marriage

Kiko: *okaasan ga >yatarato< †tanaka kun to
 mother SB excessively Tanaka AD with

 kekkonshi tara:? **toka** yuu ne n.
 get.married why.don’t.you toka say N COP
 Mom excessively says, “why don’t you get married to Tanaka?”*

Unlike in the English example (2.01), the subject in (2.02), *okaasan* “mother,” only projects that an upcoming predicate will be something about mother and does not by itself foreshadow that enactment is forthcoming. The enactment marker *toka* and the verb of communication *yuu* “say” appear after enactment is produced. Tanaka (2000), who examines the interactional use of the complementizer *to*, states that the spate of talk is marked as a quote (or

enactment, in this study) only after the quote (enactment) has been produced. In the same vein, the construction of the enactment marker *toka* and its following verb of communication in (2.02) only retrospectively indicates that what is proceeding is enactment. Furthermore, speakers of Japanese often do not verbally specify the subject of enactment when it is contextually given. Therefore, with regard to its syntactic construction, Japanese interactants have fewer clues that project forthcoming enactment.

Despite the syntactically delayed projectability of Japanese enactment, however, the participants in the current database rarely exhibit any difficulty in comprehending enactments proffered by participants in interaction. Thus, it can be assumed that the projection of Japanese enactment is assisted by other linguistic and/or non-linguistic resources that are accumulated in preparation for the launch of enactment and are deployed within the design of enactment. By investigating the mechanism of the projectability of Japanese enactment, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of how the juxtaposed deployments of multimodal resources are coordinated for organizing temporally unfolding interaction. The following two sections review such compositional features of Japanese enactment: Section 2.5 surveys syntactic components of enactment markings, and Section 2.6 discusses the relationship between Japanese enactment and multimodality.

2.5 Structural formation of Japanese enactment

This section provides an overview of structural formations of Japanese enactment by referring to previous studies on quotation markers. What is called “enactment” in this study is referred to as “reported speech” or “quotation” in most past studies. This section maintains those terms originally used in the reviewed literature. It should be noted, however, that “reported

speech” and “quotation markers” (grammatical indicators marking a certain stretch of preceding talk as reported speech) should be understood as the equivalent of “enactment” and “enactment markers” respectively as far as their structural formations are concerned. The terms “enactment” and “enactment marker” will be employed for the rest of this study except for the present section of the literature review.

As mentioned in previous sections, the basic syntactic formation of enactment in the postpositional Subject-Object-Verb language of Japanese is schematically presented as “an enacted subject + a subject marker + enacted material + a complementizer *to* (or its stylistic variant *tte*) + a verb of communication such as a verb of communication” (Fujita, 2000; Teramura, 1982). An example shown earlier is reproduced below in (2.03).

(2.03) [ZRG3135] Blanket

Sae:	[enacted subject] [SB] [-----enacted material-----]
	<i>otoosan ga denki moofu wa chigau</i>
	father SB electric blanket TP different
	 -----] [marker] [verb of saying]
	<i>wa: tte itte.</i>
	FP tte say
	Father said, “electric blankets are different.”

The complementizer *to* (or *tte*) is, in various ways called a “quotation marker,” “quotative particle,” or “case particle” (Makino & Tsutsui, 1986; Martin, 1975; Okamoto, 1995), and it is roughly equivalent to the English complementizer “that.” Syntactically, *to* (or *tte*) treats the clause directly preceding it as a quote and embeds it as a direct object of the verb which follows it (Tsujimura, 2007).

While early linguistic studies of reported speech have focused primarily on their prescriptive structural formation based on invented examples or written texts, more recent studies examine spoken data and have discovered different kinds of quotation markers. One of

those markers is the particle string *toka*, the combination of a complementizer *to* and a question particle *ka*. In the example below, *toka* is used with its following verb of saying.

(2.04) [SGK0040] Marriage

Kiko:	[enacted subject] [SB] <i>okaasan ga >yatarato<</i> mother SB excessively	[-----enacted material--- ↑ <i>tanaka kun to</i> Tanaka AD with
	-----] <i>kekkonshi tara:?</i> get.married why.don't.you	[marker] [verb of saying] <i>toka</i> <i>yuu ne n.</i> <i>toka</i> say N COP

Mom excessively says, “why don’t you get married to Tanaka?”

Previous studies claim that the addition of the question marker *ka* to *to* enables a speaker to indicate some vagueness about what is quoted (Ikeda, 2009). Thus, *toka* is used to mark reported speech when a reporting speaker’s certainty of the structure and/or of the content of the reported utterance is low (Oikawa, 2000; Suzuki, 2007).

Another marker is the utterance-final *mitaina*. Its frequent use has been recognized in spoken Japanese, and it is utilized to mark reported speech without a following. In the excerpt below, a speaker is enacting her co-participant Sanae’s boyfriend.

(2.05) [WKR3818] Boyfriend

Ami:	<i>nanka sa, sanae chan ga sa:, shuushoku</i> like FP Sanae AD SB FP getting.job
	 <i>de, iku toki mitaini,</i> because.of go when like Like, when Sanae left for a new job,
->	[-----enacted material-----] [marker] <i>gomen baka datta, mitaina h</i> sorry idiot COP.PAST <i>mitaina</i> “sorry I was an idiot.”

Mitaina is prototypically placed in front of a noun to constitute a noun modifier as in “X *mitaina* Y” meaning “X-like Y,” and indicates the similarity between X and Y. Thus, previous studies argue that the utterance-final *mitaina* as a marker of reported speech has been grammaticalized from its original grammatical function, maintaining its semantic feature: an indication of similarity/approximation. With the utterance-final *mitaina* as a quotation marker, a speaker can signal his or her addressee that he/she is distancing him/herself from the content of the reported utterance (Fujii, 2006; Maynard, 2005; Suzuki, 1995).

Unlike *to* and *toka*, the marker *mitaina* is not typically followed by a verb of communication. However, it can sometimes be followed by a noun *kanji* “feeling” while marking a preceding reported speech. The corpus of this study also contains some cases of these. An example is shown in Excerpt (2.06), where a speaker enacts himself complaining to his friends who constantly visit his dormitory room at late night.

(2.06) [HKK1027] Dormitory

Nao: [-----enacted material-----] [-----marker-----]
moo kyoo tsukareta, mitaina kanji. h h
 now today got.tired *mitaina kanji*
 “I’m tired today.”

As explained earlier, *mitaina* can be placed before a noun, constituting a part of a noun modifier. *Kanji* is a noun, which means “feeling.” Thus, when an enactment is followed by *mitaina kanji*, the whole noun phase construction means “a feeling like X,” wherein X refers to the enactment (as shown below).

<ENACTMENT> *mitaina kanji*: “a feeling like <ENACTMENT>”

Maynard (2005) observes the same construction in her corpus, and points out that, when reported speech is followed by *mitaina kanji*, the speaker places further distance between him/herself and the reported content.

Furthermore, in the current database, the utterance-final *tekina*, which is the combination of a suffix *teki* “like” and the *na*-type adjective morpheme, is also observed as carrying a similar grammatical function to the utterance-final *mitaina*. See (2.07), where a speaker is enacting a Japanese comedian who openly says on TV that he thinks his preferred types of women are good.

(2.07) [RKN4154] Preference

	[-----enacted material-----]	[marker]
Chie:	<i>ore, ore no konomi ee yaro</i>	TEKINA.
	I I LK preference good TAG	<i>tekina</i>
	“Isn’t my, my taste good?”	

In her discussion of the phenomenon in which reported utterance marked by *tekina* modifies a following noun, Maynard (2007) notes that, in her data corpus, she has also observed one example of reported utterance-marking *tekina* being used at the utterance-final position. This usage of *tekina* is also introduced in Kin (2012). The number of this *tekina* in the current database is relatively small as compared to other types of markers. Also, although it is theoretically possible to place *kanji* “feeling” after *tekina* to mark its preceding enacted material (like *mitaina kanji*, as discussed above), such marking is not found in the current database.

Finally, there are studies that examine the utterance-final *to/tte* as a quotation marker. An example is shown in Excerpt (2.08) below. A speaker is demonstrating an utterance that she often directs to customers who try to steal goods at a pharmacy shop where she works.

(2.08) [KK0704] Camera

Kana: [-----enacted material-----] [marker]
uchi de, bideo kamera ga arimasu to.
 our.place at video camera SB exist to
 “Inside ((our shop)), there is a surveillance camera.”

While past linguistic studies which base their analysis on invented examples argue that the verb following the quotation marker *to/tte* such as *iu* “say” and *omou* “think” are often elided or unexpressed (Martin, 1975), Okamoto and Ono (2008) examine naturally occurring conversation data and claim that the usage of the utterance-final *tte* is the result of grammaticalization from its status of an object complementizer. They investigate the grammaticalization process, arguing that the use of the utterance-final *tte* belongs to either one of two different stages of its grammaticalization. In the first stage, the *tte*-marked clause can be linked to the immediately preceding linguistic context, in which it is construed as having some kind of semantic relation to the preceding clause. In the second stage, there is no explicit mention of a verb of communication in the immediately preceding context to which the *tte*-marked clause can be linked as its object complement. Okamoto and Ono contend that the second type of the utterance-final *tte* has been grammaticalized from the first type. Regardless of the structural difference, however, the particle *tte* in both types indicates the quotative nature of a *tte*-marked clause.

Hayashi (1997) explores the interactional significance of the particle *to/tte* in an utterance-final position from a perspective of CA, and addresses how they are situated within the temporal unfolding of talk-in-interaction. He proposes four different usages of the utterance-final *to/tte* (marking direct quotes, marking hearsay, hedging, and distributing responsibility), and claims that those usages appear to involve quotation based on the inherent association of *to/tte* with reported speech.

Past research of Japanese reported speech indicates that researchers' definition of reported speech primarily relies upon its syntactic formation as being marked by one of the quotation markers discussed above. In other words, the precedence of those markers is defined as reported speech based on the markers' inherent association with quotation. Furthermore, with regard to *toka* and *mitaina*, prior research attempts to ascertain the characteristics of reported materials in accordance with the original lexico-semantic meanings of the quotation markers (such as the question marker *ka* in *toka* and *mitaina* as the indication of similarity and approximation).

In contrast to the previously mentioned studies, the present study aims to demonstrate how the production of a unit of talk, which may be composed of these quotation markers along with their marking quoted materials, is designed and can be recognized as enactment in a moment-by-moment fashion in a temporally unfolding talk. The grammatical markers mentioned above are one of the syntactic devices to retroactively signal a certain stretch of preceding talk as enactment. However, this study shows evidence that that recipients' recognition of enactment produced by a speaker does not solely rely on the syntactic construction of utterance, but is assisted by the juxtaposition of multimodal aspects in interaction. (See Section 3.3.1 for more discussion.) Thus, the present study empirically explores how different modalities, including vocal and non-vocal behaviors as well as environmental semiotic resources, are integrated so as to contribute to participants' recognition of enactment. The next section will shed light on the relationship between the current study of enactment and multimodality.

2.6 Embodiment

Understanding how participants in talk-in-interaction make sense of each other's conduct requires examination of, not only the linguistic features of their talk, but also the other semiotic resources integrated in their talk. Bodily practices such as gestures, gaze, posture, and facial expressions can be crucial elements for the production of utterances, contributing to the interpretation of the social action performed by the utterance. In other words, language is one of the diverse semiotic resources that participants utilize to assure the formation of coherent courses of action in interaction (C. Goodwin, 1984, 1994, 1996, 2000a, 2000b, 2007, 2013; M. H. Goodwin, 1980; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992; Hayashi, 2003a; Iwasaki, 2007, 2009; Kendon, 2000; Mondada, 2007; Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Nakamura, 2009; Turk, 2007).

These embodied characteristics of talk-in-interaction become more intricate when they are coordinated with the deployment of enactment. The indexical meanings of multimodal resources need to be understood in a larger activity of social interaction (introducing a there-and-then interaction into a here-and-now interaction) in which these resources are embedded.

Haviland (2000) asserts:

[n]arrated spaces are laminated over these [local and interactional] immediate spaces, substituting for the here-and-now a narratable there-and-then. Narrated entities can in turn be denoted by indexical devices, including "pointing" gestures, whose referents must be iconically mapped from one laminate onto another (p. 40).

Thus, there are central questions related to the use of multimodal resources in the interactional phenomenon of enactment: 1) how do participants use both linguistic and non-linguistic resources to compose enactments, and 2) how do participants multimodally delineate the boundary between here-and-now talk-in-interaction and there-and-then enacting interaction?

In terms of the multimodal features of the composition of enactments, past studies have pointed out that participants often mobilize non-linguistic resources such as facial expressions, gestures, postural shifts, material objects, spatial environments, and even co-participants' bodies to enact certain characters in there-and-then situations (Fox & Robles, 2010; Koike, 2001; Nishizaka, 2008; Sidnell, 2006; Streeck, 2002; Yamamoto, 2013, 2014). As for the demarcation of here-and-now and there-and-then utterances, the manipulation of gaze directions and/or bodily movements tends to occur concurrently with linguistic resources at the onset and the offset of enacted utterances (Sidnell, 2006; Streeck 2002; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014).

The present study focuses on the multimodal aspects of Japanese enactments and explores how diverse embodied conduct is relevant to the actions performed through the deployment of the enactments. Through the microanalysis of the focal phenomenon of enactment, this study aims to contribute to a growing understanding of how multimodal resources are managed concurrently and integrated to form coherent courses of action in human interaction.

2.7 Epistemicity and enactment

This last section in this chapter addresses another concept that is critical to the current study: epistemicity, a social matter of knowledge distribution among participants in interaction. Enacting a character from a there-and-then interaction requires participants to have certain knowledge about the enacted figure. Differently put, enacting in a here-and-now interaction signifies an enacting participant's epistemic level regarding the enacted matter.

Among studies of enactment in the framework of CA, Clift (2007) discusses specifically the relation between enactment and epistemicity. She focuses on assessment activities in English conversation data, and highlights a phenomenon wherein participants use enactments in

assessment sequences in their interactions. Like other grammatical resources speakers draw upon to claim epistemic authority toward assessable matters,⁷ enactments are, as Clift argues, another resource with which participants assert epistemic authority over co-participants. Thus, participants act out enactments based on past experiences, deploying them as evidential displays.

The type of enactment that Clift (2007) focuses on is what Labov and Fanshel (1977) label “A-event” information. Labov and Fanshel propose a taxonomy of events that are talked about in interaction in terms of the distribution of knowledge among the participants. They distinguish between two types of information: “A-events” and “B-events.” An A-event is an event or a piece of information to which a speaker has more access than a co-participant does. In a B-event, a co-participant has more access than a speaker does.

Past CA studies of enactment, including Clift’s (2007) study mentioned above, have focused on the practice of enacting A-events (e.g., Goodwin, 2002; Haakana, 2007; Holt, 1996, 2000; Sidnell, 2006; Suga 2012), but few studies have focused on enactments of B-events despite their frequent use in talk-in-interaction (except for Yamamoto, 2013, 2014, which will be reviewed in Chapter 5). The present study will examine enactments of both A-events (Chapter 4) and B-events (Chapter 5), and explore how participants establish intersubjectivity about their epistemic attribution regarding the deployment of enactments. By doing so, this study aims to reveal how participants orient to, negotiate, and claim different degrees of epistemicity to enacted information.

⁷ Heritage and Raymond (2005) argue that speakers’ differential rights to assess referents are tacitly encoded in who produces an assessment first and who second. They examine a range of grammatical practices through which the producers of first and second assessments can index the relative primacy and subordination of their assessments relative to that of co-participants. For instance, the producer of the first assessment would downgrade his/her epistemic authority over the assessable by using some evidential weakening such as “seems,” “sounds,” or tag questions. Conversely, the producer of the second assessment would upgrade his/her epistemic authority by giving the *oh*-prefaced assessment, using tag questions, or using negative interrogatives.

Chapter 3

Methodology, Data, and Focal Enactments

In this chapter, Section 3.1 presents the analytical framework of the present study (3.1.1), and describes some key analytical concepts (3.1.2). Then, Section 3.2 provides information about the current database and the transcript notation. Lastly, Section 3.3 demonstrates the significance of the analytical focus on the temporal realization of Japanese enactment (3.3.1), and explains the selection of focal types of enactments (3.3.2).

3.1 Analytical framework of the study

3.1.1 *Conversation Analysis*

The present study adopts Conversation Analysis (CA) as its analytical framework. CA was initially developed in collaboration between Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson in the later 1960s. It seeks to discover the methods by which members of a society make sense of each other through their turns-at-talk and sequences. Thus, CA analysts take an emic approach in order to describe a member's perspective rather than initiating analysis based on some prescribed theory. The goal of CA is to explore the systematicity of conversation in order to show how patterns of communication unfold.

Speakers display in their current turns if and how they understand a prior turn and how they orient to it by designing their responses to it (Schegloff, 1984). In other words, throughout the course of interaction, every turn-at-talk shows its speaker's interpretation of what the prior turn was about. This is often described as "next-turn proof procedure" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998: 15), which is the basic analytical tool used in CA to ensure that analyses reveal

participants' production of talk-in-interaction as an orderly accomplishment oriented to by the participants themselves. In addition, CA considers that actions in interaction are accomplished through the use of specific resources such as grammar, prosody, gaze, and bodily movements in particular sequential environments. Thus, both position and composition play a crucial role in making these practices recognizable as implementing particular actions. Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 299) state that "a pervasively relevant issue (for participants) about utterances in conversation is 'why that now.'"

Employing CA as its analytical framework, the present study situates itself in the interdisciplinary research domain of "interaction and grammar," which has developed within different research groups of functional linguists, linguistic anthropologists, and sociologists who work as conversation analysts (e.g., Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). The primary goal of this area of inquiry is to scrutinize the relationship between the organization of social interaction and grammar. Scholars in this domain of research regard the relationship between interaction and grammar as they influence and organize one another: while serving as a significant resource for participants' contribution in their social interaction, grammar can also be regarded as a consequential outcome of a social interaction. This view of "interaction and grammar" has inspired a growing number of studies that investigate interactions in different languages, including Japanese (Ford & Mori, 1994; Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996; Hayashi, 2003a; Iwasaki, 2009; Lerner & Takagi, 1999; Mori, 1999; Nishizaka, 2008; Tanaka, 1999, 2000). The present study aims to contribute to this area of research by offering a systematic analysis of the interactional phenomenon of enactments in Japanese talk-in-interaction.

3.1.2 *Adjacency pair and sequence expansion*

This subsection explains concepts of adjacency pairs and sequence expansions, which are particularly instrumental for the analyses of data in the present study. The basic rule of operation for the production of adjacency pairs, i.e., a unit for sequence construction, is critical to the analysis of both here-and-now and there-and-then sequences in this study. When an enacted utterance is introduced in here-and-now interaction, the enactment demonstrates a part of a sequence from the there-and-then interaction that revolves around the turn-taking system. The turn-taking system in there-and-then interaction is organized as it is in here-and-now interaction, and so, enacted sequences are arranged based on adjacency pair organization. Thus when speakers deploy enactments, they engage in coordinating both here-and-now and there-and-then sequential organizations in order to manage an ongoing talk-in-interaction. Simultaneously, recipients analyze those enactments both in the context of the there-and-then interaction and in that of the here-and-now to provide responses.

Sequences are minimally constructed of two turns at talk: an adjacency pair consisting of a first pair part (FPP) and a second pair part (SPP). According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), the minimal, unexpanded form of an adjacency pair is characterized by the following features: (i) composed of two turns, (ii) produced by different speakers, (iii) adjacently placed, (iv) relatively ordered such that FPPs precede SPPs, (v) pair-type related such that particular FPPs are paired with particular SPPs. Table 3.1 provides examples.

Table 3.1 Adjacency pairs (Adapted from Stivers [2013: 192])

First-pair part action (FPP)	Second-pair part action (SPP)
Summons	Answer
Greeting	Greeting
Request for action	Granting/denial

Request for information	Informative answer
Invitation	Acceptance/declination
Offer	Acceptance/declination
Accusation	Admission/denial
Farewell	Farewell

The concept of adjacency pairs is not a framework for an internalized rule of action patterns, but the relationship between paired types is what participants themselves orient to in finding and constructing orderly sequences of talk (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990).

While the adjacency pair structure is the basis of sequences in talk, it is possible for those sequences to be expanded in different places in their production. Sequence expansion is constructed in relation to a base sequence of a FPP and a SPP. Expansions may occur prior to the base FPP (pre-expansion), between the base FPP and the base SPP (insert expansion), and following the base SPP (post-expansion). Most examples of expansion are also sequences in their own right made up of FPPs and SPPs, and thus they are also called “pre-sequences,” “insert sequences,” and “post-sequences.”

As will be examined in detail in Chapter 4, when a teller enacts there-and-then interaction during here-and-now telling, he or she can enact a single turn, a two-turn base sequence, or expanded sequences from the there-and-then interaction. No matter how it is composed, the enactment needs to be located somehow in the here-and-now telling sequence. This study will present tellings containing enacted sequences that consist of the different number of turns, examining how such varied numbers of enacted turns are positioned systematically in relation to here-and-now telling sequences.

3.2 The data

The database for the present study consists of 31 face-to-face audio and video-recorded ordinary, non-institutional conversations between 2 to 4 native speakers of Japanese. This database was collaboratively created with co-researchers for the purpose of examining how participants in Japanese ordinary conversations organize their social actions using vocal and non-vocal behaviors. There are 93 total participants: 60 females and 33 males. Their ages range from early twenties to early fifties. These participants were recruited in the following manner. The researchers contacted acquaintances both in Japan (mainly the researchers' hometowns) and in the United States, and then requested that these acquaintances contact other friends and/or acquaintances to ask if they would participate in this research. Participants were asked to have free conversation that last at least 30 minutes. Thus, participants of each conversation know each other as friends, as acquaintances, and/or as colleagues. The recordings took place both in Japan and in the United States.

The researchers asked participants to meet at sites chosen by either the researchers or participants. Before a conversation began, at least one of the researchers arrived at a designated site to set up a video camera and an IC recorder. Before starting the recording of the conversations, the researcher(s) provided participants with consent forms, explained the research procedures, and asked the participants to sign the consent forms. To avoid influencing the setting or the participants (cf., Maxwell, 1996), the researcher(s) left the room once the participants started their conversations. Before leaving the room, the researcher(s) asked participants how long they are willing to be recorded, and, at the end of this designated time, came back to the room and stopped the recording. The length of the recordings ranges from approximately 30 minutes to 2 hours and 30 minutes. Many of the participants spoke so-called standard Japanese

or Kansai dialect, spoken mainly in Western Japan. However, some participants occasionally spoke other dialects. Participants were not given any particular topic to discuss; they were instructed to talk freely. All of the participants' names as well as nouns that could identify any of them are replaced with pseudonyms.

Among 31 conversation data sets, there appears to be variations in the frequency of occurrence of enactment. There are some particular participants who use it frequently and some who use it infrequently. Also, some recorded groups use it more than other groups.⁸ Thus, the present study focuses on the 20 out of 31 video-recorded conversations in which frequent use of the target enactment is observed. The total number of enactments found in the 20 conversations is 385. The overview of the 20 conversation data sets is provided in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Description of each conversation

data	participants (sex)	place	length (min)
CHN	Abe (M) Nami (F) Yuki (F)	classroom	54
DBT	Ken (M) Nami (F) Yuki (F)	participant's home	58
DNS	Miki (F) Shuu (M) Taku (M)	study room in library	65
DS	Jiro (M) Ryo (M)	study room in library	48
GT	Ken (M) Nami (F) Tatsu (M)	participant's home	93

⁸ Types of activities that participants engage in during their conversations (e.g., storytelling) may also be one of the factors that influence these variations in the frequency of the use of enactment.

	Yuki (F)		
HKK	Mie (F) Nao (M) Tama (F)	office	47
JSH	Kazu (M) Mayu (F) Yuji (M)	classroom	35
KBN	Azu (F) Naoki (M) Rui (M)	study room in library	58
KK	Aya (F) Chie (F) Kana (F) Mako (F)	participant's home	50
NYR	Kii (F) Rika (F) Sae (F)	participant's home	100
OJN	Abe (M) Kato (M) Ogawa (M)	classroom	66
OL	Aiko (F) Rina (F) Yumi (F)	meeting room	46
OSK	Joo (M) Kei (F) Masa (M)	study room in library	43
OTR	Ako (F) Fumi (F) Rena (F) Yuka (F)	study room in library	55
RKN	Aya (F) Chie (F) Kana (F) Mako (F)	Japanese inn	45
SB	Aki (M)	classroom	43

	Dai (M) Koji (M)		
SGK	Eri (F) Kiko (F) Natsu (F) Yuri (F)	participant's home	144
SHR	Kaori (F) Nao (M) Yui (F)	office	40
WKR	Ami (F) Mio (F) Sanae (F)	study room in library	94
ZRG	Rika (F) Sae (F) Tomo (F)	office	77

All the conversations were transcribed according to the conventions of CA developed by Gail Jefferson. In order to make the transcription accessible to readers unfamiliar with Japanese, a three-line convention is adopted. The first line presents the original utterance written in roman letters; the second line provides a word-by-word gloss; and the third line offers an approximate English translation. The description of a speaker's body conduct may also be provided when relevant to the analysis. Some Japanese items that are essential to the current analysis but cannot be precisely translated are *italicized* in the English translation.

As for the transcription of enactment turns, the following points should be noted. First, translations of enactment markers are not provided in the third turn, because they cannot be precisely translated into English. In fact, some previous studies translate an enactment marker *mitaina* into "be like" based on their semantic similarity (Fujii, 2006; Maynard, 2005; Suzuki, 1995). However, translating *mitaina* into "be like" brings about the issue of how to translate

another enactment marker, *tekina*, which also has a similar meaning. In addition, sociocultural meanings that may be attributed to the use of each Japanese enactment marker may not completely reflect on their English translations, and vice versa. To examine semantic differences among different enactment markers is a valuable inquiry but is beyond the scope of the present study. Second, in the third line of transcripts, quotation marks are placed on the onset and offset of enactments to make the English translation more accessible. English translations of Japanese enactment turns without quotation marks tend to become unclear especially in terms of where enactments start, because the onset of enactments is not syntactically marked in Japanese (as discussed in 2.3 of Chapter 2). However, it should be noted that the use of quotation marks in translation already reflects the researcher's analysis of which part of an utterance is designed as enactment.⁹ Thus, readers are urged to inspect both the translation and the gloss to capture the temporal production of Japanese enactments. To support that, enactment markers are indicated in bold in the first line of original Japanese so that readers can easily identify where and how enactment offsets are syntactically marked.

⁹ Goodwin's (2007) discussion regarding multivoicedness of enactment is also of importance here. Goodwin argues that it is actually impossible to mark a stretch of talk as enactment by putting quotation marks before and after the enacted material. See an example below.

(3.01) (from Goodwin [2007: 29], originally cited in Goodwin [1984: 226])

Ann: *Do(h)n said (0.3)dih-did they ma:ke you take
 this wa(h)llpa(h)p(h)er? er(h)di dju pi(h)ck
 i(h)t ou(h)t.*

In this turn, what follows "Do(h)n said" is designed as a past utterance of an enacted subject, i.e., Don. However, Goodwin claims that there is in fact a much more complex lamination of voices in this turn. The enacted material contains a series of laugh tokens (indicated with "(h)"), which are not to be heard as part of what Don said, but instead, as the current speaker's (i.e., Ann's) commentary on what Don did through his talk. By inserting laugh tokens into the enacted material, Ann displays her stance toward Don's past utterance, formulating his talk as something laughable at the here-and-now interaction. This type of voice lamination in enacted utterance is also observed in the current database. While appreciating and agreeing with Goodwin's argument, however, the present study still supplies quotation marks to the English translation in transcripts for the sake of readers' ease of understanding. Thus, readers are also encouraged to refer to the first line of the Japanese original utterance to fully capture the multivoiced nature of enactment.

3.3 Focal types of enactments

3.3.1 Temporal realization of Japanese enactments

Before explaining the data selection for this study in 3.3.2, this subsection highlights the significance of examining enactment as a temporally developing construct within a turn at talk. As shown in Section 2.4, this study includes, as the target of its analysis, a large number of enactments that are syntactically marked as enactments with various kinds of enactment markers (*to*, *tte*, *toka*, *mitaina*, *mitaina kanji*, and *tekina*). These markers are typically placed after enactments. However, recipients' comprehension of these enactments as such does not always hinge upon syntactic markings (see Section 2.3 for more details about the “delayed projectability” of the Japanese language). This subsection presents some example cases in which participants respond to enactments before or without hearing the production of enactment markers, and demonstrates that recipients identify enactments by relying on both the linguistic and non-linguistic compositional features of enactments.

The first excerpt below shows a case in which recipients respond to an enactment as soon as the enactment arrives at its offset boundary (i.e., before the enacting speaker starts producing an enactment marker). The three colleagues (Aiko, Yumi, and Rina) are chatting after work in a room in their office building. Immediately prior to the segment, they talked about how Yumi was late to their meeting (for the data recording), so Aiko called the office room where Yumi and Rina work. The focal enactment appears in line 2, in which Aiko enacts Yumi.

(3.02) [OL2453] Office call

- 1 Aiko: *datte denwa shi tara meccha asetteta mon,*
 because phone do when very be.in.a.hurry N
 Because when I called, ((Yumi)) was so much in a hurry,
- 2 ((anxious tone))
 -> *HAI HAI [h [mitaina h h*
 yes yes *mitaina*

“yes yes.”

3 Rina: [Huh [s(h)o s(h)o s(h)o s(h)o.
Right right right right.

Manipulating the volume and tone of her voice (loud volume and anxious tone) and making a serious facial expression during the production of the repeated response tokens *HAI HAI*, Aiko, in line 2, acts out Yumi’s response to Aiko’s phone call. Rina first reacts to Aiko’s enactment with laughter in line 3. Then Rina produces successive confirming tokens with laughter inserted. (Rina shares an office with Yumi, and thus Rina was with Yumi when Aiko called their office.) Rina’s first confirmation token in line 3 is launched simultaneously with Aiko’s production of the enactment marker *mitaina* in line 2. Thus, Rina, a recipient of Aiko’s enactment, responds to and treats Aiko’s enactment as such without hearing its syntactic marking at all.

The next case further shows that recipients can recognize enactments while not relying on syntactic compositions. The excerpt below presents an enactment without a following enactment marker. Yet, through their responses, recipients indicate that they comprehend the enactment. The segment is taken from a three-party conversation. Prior to the segment, Naoki was telling Rui and Azu that his girlfriend Lucy bought a bike to commute to college. Rui and Azu asked Naoki a question about whether Lucy can ride a bike or not, to which Naoki answered that Lucy has been practicing. Then in line 1, Azu asks Rui if he can imagine Lucy riding a bike, soliciting Rui’s agreement with her statement regarding her surprise about Lucy’s riding. In response to Azu’s question in line 1, Rui in lines 2-3 quickly states that he cannot imagine it either. Then in line 4, Azu also partially repeats Rui’s turn, displaying her agreement. In overlap with Azu, Rui

quickly produces *nanka* “like” in a low volume in line 5.¹⁰ The focal enactment follows this *nanka*.

(3.03) [KBN2748] Bicycle

- 1 Azu: *datte nanka soozoo deki naku* [*nai desu ka?*
because like imagine can NEG NEG COP Q
Because like, can’t you imagine?
- 2 Rui: [*soozoo deki*
imagine can
- 3 *nai yone,*
NEG FP
Can’t imagine, can you?
- 4 Azu: [*deki nai.*
can NEG
I can’t.



Figure 3.1



Figure 3.2



Figure 3.3

- 5 Rui: -> [*>°nanka°< (.) nao[ki, naoki.*
like Naoki Naoki
like, “Naoki, Naoki.”

- 6 Azu: [*>Un< Soo soo soo,*
Yeah, right right right,
- 7 *yu(h)tte soo.*
say seem
(Lucy) seems to be saying so.

¹⁰ In the current database, *nanka* “like” tends to appear immediately before the production of an enactment. (See also line 22 of Excerpt [5.02] on p. 106, line 9 of Excerpt [5.11] on p. 136, line 11 of Excerpt [5.12] on p. 140, and line 7 of Excerpt [5.13] on p. 146.) This observation requires more systematic research.

Simultaneously with Chie's *mitaina*, Kana co-produces the exact same enactment marker in line 6. Kana's co-production of *mitaina* is made possible based on her understanding that Chie's prior turn is an enacting utterance, which projects a possible enactment marker in the following turn space.

The above cases have demonstrated that syntactic features are not always essential to recipients' recognizability of Japanese enactments and that recipients may comprehend enactments as such through their observation of participants' multimodal conducts in temporally unfolding turns at talk. Thus, this study attempts to describe in detail how participants, in a moment-by-moment fashion, make sense of what is being done as enactments during talk-in-interactions in the postpositional structural language of Japanese. Based on this analytical premise, the present study selects its focal types of enactments, which will be specified in the next section.

3.3.2 Selection of focal enactments

The present study defines its focal types of enactment as stretches of talk that are linguistically and/or non-linguistically designed as different from a speakers' here-and-now voice. Like the example cases provided thus far, a large number of the target enactments are grammatically marked by one of the enactment markers (*to*, *tte*, *toka*, *mitaina*, *mitaina kanji*, *tekina*) with or without a following verb of communication. In addition, the present study also includes cases that are not syntactically marked as enactment and yet designed as so with other linguistic and/or non-linguistic resources. Those cases are enactments without an enactment

(3.07) [RKN1708] McDonald's

- 1 Mako: *moshi sa, shigoto kubi ni nat temo sa:,*
if FP work dismiss to become even FP
Even when losing a job,
- 2 Kana: [((nod))
- 3 Aya: [((nod))
- 4 Mako: -> *chotto toriaezu ashita kara*
a.little for.the.time.being tomorrow from
- 5 -> *makudo de baito shite omae*
McDonald's at part.time.job do you
- 6 -> *kuwaseru wa gurai no hito janai to sa:,*
make.someone.eat FP about LK person NEG if FP
If ((he is)) not a person like, “for the time being, from tomorrow I’m
gonna work part-time at McDonald’s and feed you,”
- 7 Kana: ((nod))
- 8 Chie: ((nod))
- 9 Mako: *iya ya NA tto [omou.*
dislike COP FP COM think
I’ll be disguised, I think.
- 10 Aya: [un, hon[ma ya na:
yeah true COP FP
Yeah, that’s true.
- 11 Chie: [soo ya na:
so COP FP
That’s true.

The enactment, *chotto toriaezu ashita kara makudo de baito shite omae kuwaseru wa* “for the time being, from tomorrow I’m gonna work part-time at McDonald’s to feed you,” is designed to be heard as what Mako’s future husband should say, and it, with an adverbial particle

*gurai*¹² and a nominal linking particle *no*, syntactically modifies the following noun *hito* “person.” Then, this noun phrase (i.e., enactment + *gurai no hito*) is embedded in a larger sentence and is followed by a negative predicate *janai*. It is also followed by *to* “if” and transformed to an *if*-clause. When the production of this *if*-clause is finished, recipients Kana and Chie in lines 7 and 8 nod, passing up the opportunity to take a turn and exhibiting their understanding that Mako’s immediately prior talk is preliminary to her upcoming talk. In other words, Mako’s turn design up to this point prevents recipients from treating the enactment in the noun-modifying part as a complete action that Mako is pursuing at the moment of talk.

Then in line 9, Mako provides a main clause of her previous utterance. When the completion of the main clause is projected, Aya, and then Chie, produce agreement (lines 10, 11). The timing as well as the action (i.e., agreement) of recipients’ responses indicates that they treat Mako’s turn as not merely a demonstration of her hypothetical husband, but as her assessment of the demonstrated husband. This case clearly poses the potential difference in actions to be pursued between enactments embedded in noun-modifying constructions and those that are not. Therefore, enactment in a noun-modifying construction is excluded from the current target so as to focus specifically on participants’ designs of and responses to the enactment itself.

There is, however, one exception in this selection of cases; the utterance-final *mitaina kanji*, shown earlier in Section 2.4 is included in the present study as an enactment marker.

¹² The adverbial particle *gurai* generally makes a noun-modifying form when a nominalizer *no* is attached to it. An invented example is shown below.

sore gurai no koto wa shitteru yo.
 that much LK thing TP know FP
 I know things as much as that.

The construction of *gurai* conveys the propositional meaning of approximation (“about,” “more or less”), an implication of “at least,” a meaning of comparison (“as...as,” “so...as”), an implication of “rather” or “sooner...than,” and a meaning of degree (“so...that,” “enough to...”) (Yamaguchi & Akimoto, 2001). Unlike its prototypical usage, however, enactment in lines 4-6 of (3.07) is placed before *gurai* and turned into a part of a noun-modifying construction.

Grammatically speaking, when an enactment is followed by *mitaina kanji*, the enacted material is transformed into a part of a noun modifier, modifying the following noun, *kanji* “feeling.” However, the noun *kanji* does not convey a meaning of certain concrete substance, but it rather provides a hedging effect (Maynard, 2005). Thus, this study treats the utterance-final *mitaina kanji* as one of the enactment markers, and includes turns consisting of an enacted material with *mitaina kanji* into the analytical target.

Section 3.3 has shown how speakers deploy both linguistic and non-linguistic resources—lexicons, grammar, prosody, bodily movements, gaze directions, and facial expressions—for their compositions of Japanese enactments. The excerpts presented in 3.3.1 have demonstrated that recipients also monitor speakers’ multimodal designs of enactments composed in a moment-by-moment fashion so that they comprehend what speakers are doing as enactments. This finding, that recipients’ identification of enactments does not depend solely on their syntactic structure, verifies the rationale behind the current study’s case selections. These cases include enactments without syntactic markings or any vocal elements, as exemplified in 3.3.2. While still attending to this issue regarding the projectability of Japanese enactments, the next two chapters will focus on participants’ interactional accomplishments through the deployment of enactments of A-event (Chapter 4) and of B-event (Chapter 5).

Chapter 4

Interrelationship between There-and-Then and Here-and-Now Sequential Organizations

4.1 Introduction

Speakers often deploy enactments while telling A-events, information that speakers have more access to than recipients do (Labov & Fanshel, 1977), and they depict what protagonists said and/or did in the past. This chapter focuses on enactments produced in interactants' tellings, and examines how the sequential organization of there-and-then enacted sequence is interwoven into that of here-and-now telling sequence. When tellers deploy enactments, they inevitably engage in coordinating the two layers of sequential organizations to manage an ongoing talk-in-interaction. Meanwhile, telling recipients need to analyze those enactments both in the context of there-and-then interaction and in that of here-and-now interaction. That is, recipients are to find a relevant connection between what is enacted and how it would constitute a telling so that they can provide their responses to the telling at an appropriate time.

When introduced in telling, enacted utterances demonstrate parts of sequences from there-and-then interactions, which revolve around the turn-taking system. The turn-taking system in there-and-then interaction is organized as it is in here-and-now interaction, and so enacted sequences are arranged based on adjacency pair organization. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, an adjacency pair consists of first pair part (FPP) and second pair part (SPP): a FPP sets up and projects the relevance of a SPP (Schegloff, 2007). For instance, a FPP "summons" produced by a speaker makes an "answer" from a recipient its conditionally relevant SPP in the next turn (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).¹³ If a there-and-then request is enacted in a here-and-now telling, a there-and-then acceptance or rejection is anticipated to follow. In fact, tellers often develop a

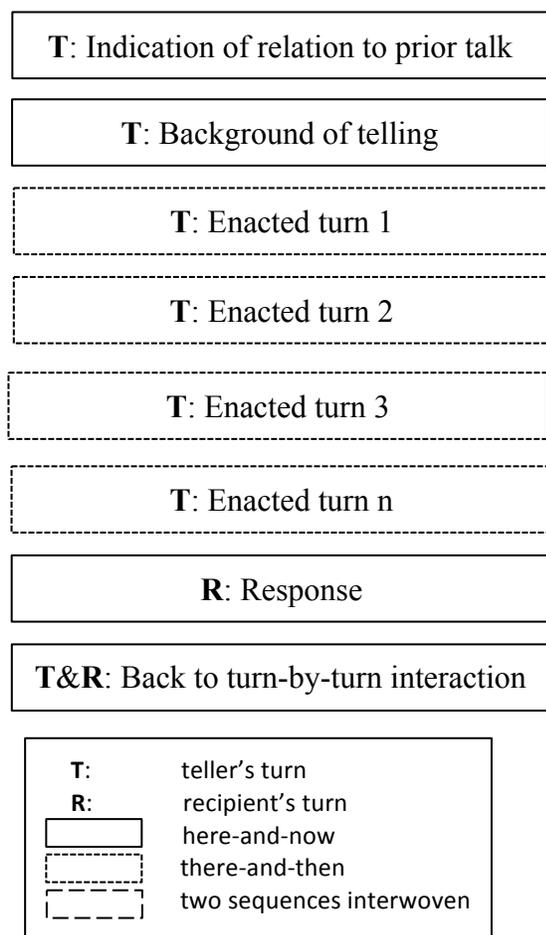
¹³ See Section 3.1.2 for more details about the concept of adjacency pairs.

first enacted turn into an enacted sequence by producing a second enacted turn or more. In these cases, an enacted sequence is embedded in a here-and-now telling sequence, and these two different layers of sequences are systematically interwoven to organize ongoing interactions.

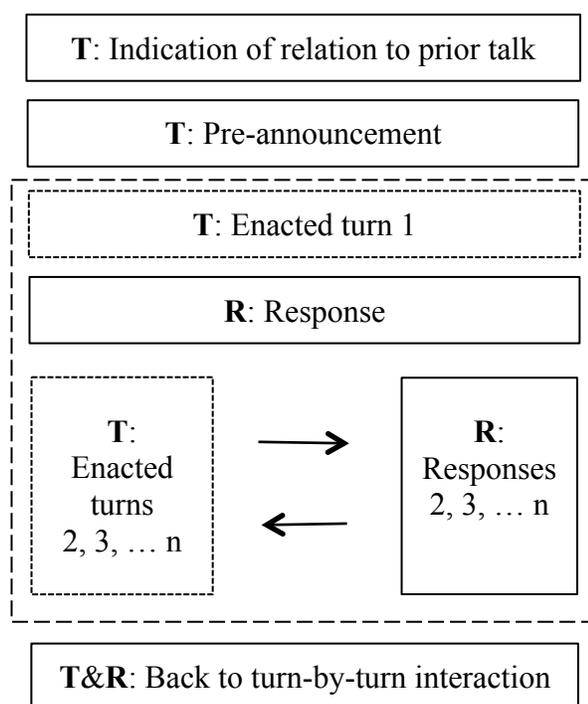
Past CA studies have examined enactments in different languages, revealing that speakers of enactments delineate the boundary between here-and-now and there-and-then utterances by manipulating lexical choice (Bolden, 2004; Golato, 2000), prosody (Klewidz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999), grammatical markings (Fox & Robles, 2010; Golato, 2000), gaze direction (Sidnell, 2006), and body movement (Streeck, 2002). However, these studies focused on the design (or fuzziness) of boundaries between here-and-now and there-and-then utterances only within a turn where a single enacted utterance is embedded. These studies have not discussed the interrelationship between sequential organizations of the two layers of interactions.

To analyze how the two different layers of sequences are concurrently organized and affect each other, this chapter focuses on two distinct organizational types of the here-and-now and there-and-then sequences. In the first organizational pattern, Type (I), recipients provide their responses after tellers' serial productions of multiple enacted turns. Thus, enacted there-and-then sequences that appear in cases of this type do not intersect with here-and-now telling sequences. In the second organizational pattern, Type (II), recipients provide responses immediately after first enacted turns. Consequently, subsequent enacted turns and here-and-now telling sequences are interwoven. Furthermore, recipient responses that follow the first enacted turn influence the design of the subsequent enacted turns, which also indicates the mergence of the two different layers of interactional sites. These two types are schematically presented below.

Type (I)



Type (II)

**Chart 4.1** Organizational differences of here-and-now and there-and-then sequences in tellings

As the above schema shows, a there-and-then enacted sequence(s) is clearly demarcated from a here-and-now telling sequence in Type (I). In these cases, tellers initiate their telling while indicating its relation to the prior talk (initial characterization). Then they set the stage for the forthcoming enacted interaction by providing information such as time, place, and to-be-enacted-characters (background of telling). After this description of the telling background, an enacted there-and-then sequence(s) is successively produced. In Type (II), on the other hand, tellers first minimally indicate the topical relationship of their forthcoming telling with the prior talk, and then launch a pre-announcement, which projects news delivery in the following turn.

The first enacted turn is launched in such a position where a delivery of news is anticipated. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 in this chapter focus on the above two types of sequential organizations respectively, and reveal the systematicities of interactions involving the production of enactment in telling.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the boundary between the two sequential organizations of here-and-now and there-and-then interactions. Even though an enacted there-and-then sequence is demarcated from a here-and-now sequence (as in Type [I]), a here-and-now element can still be employed within the production of an enacted sequence. For instance, each enacted turn from a there-and-then sequence may bear an accompanying enactment marker, which itself is a here-and-now grammatical component. Therefore, the boundary between there-and-then and here-and-now sequences is defined by recipients' explicit responses during an unfolding organization of telling. In addition, as will be shown in the following data analyses, both the demarcation (Type [I]) and the mergence (Type [II]) of here-and-now and there-and-then sequences are tellers' and recipients' collaborative work, accomplished by their observation of each other's moment-by-moment conduct. Thus, the above schematic chart should be understood as a simplified representation of sequential organization that highlights the prominent difference between the two types.

4.2 Enacting there-and-then interaction without intersecting here-and-now interaction

This section examines Type (I), a systematic pattern of organizing here-and-now and there-and-then sequences, in which the two sequential layers do not intersect (see the schematic chart in Section 4.1). In the excerpts examined in this section, tellers produce multiple enacted

turns successively to build up a sequence(s) from a there-and-then conversation, and recipients provide their responses after tellers' serial productions of those multiple enacted turns.

The number of enacted turns that each telling carries varies depending on where in the there-and-then interaction tellers start enacting. For instance, some tellers may enact a question-answer (Q-A, hereafter) sequence by initiating it with an enacted turn of question, while others may start enacting a turn of answer. The number of enacted turns also depends on the contingency of the here-and-now interaction; tellers may extend an enacted sequence(s) by analyzing when and how recipients respond to those enactments.

The following subsections analyze cases with different numbers of enacted turns produced in tellings. In 4.2.1, tellings include two to three enacted turns, the end of which recipients treat as an appropriate point to transition to a next speaker. In 4.2.2, a teller first produces a minimal sequence of two enacted turns, which potentially prepares a sequential slot for recipient responses in the following turn. The teller, however, extends the enacted sequence by adding enacted turns. This extension of the enacted sequence is collaboratively co-constructed by a teller and recipients, resulting in the postponement of the timing of recipient responses.

4.2.1 Enacted sequence minimally substantiating initial characterization of telling

This subsection first demonstrates a case in which a minimal two-turn sequence is enacted (4.2.1.1). Then it presents three cases of enactments of sequence expansions: pre-expansion, insert expansion, and post-expansion (4.2.1.2). In all four cases in this subsection, enacted sequences minimally substantiate certain characterizations projected at the initiation of telling. In other words, how and where in interaction a telling is occasioned projects a possible completion of the extended telling. Based on that projection, participants locate a position for

recipient response at a possible completion point of the enacted sequence. That is, the two to three enacted turns are successively produced without explicit responses from here-and-now recipients.

4.2.1.1 Enactment of a minimal two-turn sequence

In the first excerpt, (4.01), an enacted sequence, composed of a Q-A adjacency pair, receives recipient responses when the enacted turn of the SPP approaches its possible transition relevance space. This excerpt is from a conversation among four friends, and the conversation data were recorded at the home of one of the participants, Eri. Prior to the focal segment, participants talked about Eri's father's enthusiasm for this hobby, photography. Then Natsu mentioned a photo of Eri's family (placed on the table where they were sitting) being blurry. In response, Eri said that her father got angry because the photo was taken when Eri and other family members were drunk while her father was not present.

After Natsu's understanding check about the reason for Eri's father's anger in lines 1-2, Eri confirms Natsu's understanding with a negative response token at the beginning of her turn in line 5. Then Eri starts a telling in which she enacts her there-and-then interaction with her father, producing an enacted sequence of a Q-A adjacency pair (lines 8-12). Placed after a minimal confirmation to Natsu's understanding check, this telling initiation helps recipients hear Natsu's forthcoming talk as further clarification of her father's anger.

(4.01) [SGK2945] Family photo

- 1 Natsu: *honde otoosan ga okotta no wa jibun no*
 and father SB get.angry N TP self LK
- 2 *s-shashin o hi[hansareta kara janai n ya.*

photo O was criticized because COP.NEG N COP
 And the reason why your father was angry was not because he was
 criticized about his own photo.

- 3 Yuri: [doko? [doko? mi tai.
 where where see want.to
 Where? Where? I wanna see.
- 4 Eri: [((point to the photo))
- 5 Eri: cha, sakki- sakki
 no a.little.while.ago a.little.while.ago
- 6 otoosan otta kara na:
 father exist because FP
 No, a little while ago, a little while ago, my father was here, so,
- 7 Kiko: on.
 Uh huh.
- 8 Eri: -> >chott-< †NANde †kore konna boyaketen
 hey why this this.much being.blurred
- 9 -> ne yaro, **tte** yut tara na,
 N I.wonder tte say when FP
 ((I) said, “hey, why is this so blurred? I wonder,” then,
- 10 -> <†SORE wa NA> (.) mee to NA,
 that TP FP eye and FP
 “That’s, with your eyes and
- 11 -> yubi no san ten de na(h),
 finger LK three points with FP
 fingers, with the three points,
- 12 -> kamera o kotee se[naakan [ne n.
 camera O fix have.to.do N COP
 you have to fix the camera.”

- 13 Natsu: [n h H H [H h h
- 14 Kiko: [E HE HE HA HA
- 15 Yuri: *hon(h)ma(h) ya(h) boya(h)ke(h)te(h)ru.*
 really COP being.blurred
 Oh yeah, it's blurred.
- 16 Eri: *se yaro? Hhhh*
 so TAG
 Right?

In lines 5-6, Eri, after the negative response token, quickly continues her turn and provides the background for her forthcoming telling, setting the scene with a time reference *sakki* “a little while ago” and describing the situation of her father being at home. While Natsu is eating and Yuri is standing up to see the photo, Kiko in line 7 maintains mutual gaze with Eri and produces a continuer, aligning herself with her reciprocity of Eri’s further telling. After this, Eri produces an enacted Q-A sequence.

During Kiko’s continuer in line 7, Eri moves her gaze from Kiko to diagonally downward, which can be seen as preparing to shift from the here-and-now to the there-and-then interaction (cf., Sidnell, 2006; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014). Then, as she is tilting her head to her right, Eri in line 8 produces the first enacted turn, *>chott-<↑NANde ↑kore konna boyaketen ne yaro*, “hey, why is this so blurred? I wonder.” With this question, Eri enacts herself seeking advice from her father in the there-and-then interaction.

The place after the production of this enacted question is not treated as a sequentially relevant position for recipient response. As stated earlier, Eri’s telling was initially characterized as “further clarification of her father’s anger” with regard to the blurred photo. However, this

first enacted turn of question does not express the information about Eri's father's anger, and thus it has not yet estimated a possible arrival at completion of telling. Here-and-now recipients are to anticipate that this enacted question may be followed by an enacted answer, a conditionally relevant SPP of an enacted question, and that the enacted answer may demonstrate Eri's father's anger. In addition, the way the end of this enactment is retrospectively marked projects the enacted SPP grammatically, which contributes to here-and-now recipients' continuing reciprocity. The current TCU (where the enacted FPP is embedded) is marked by the prospective link *-tara* "when" in *yuttara*, which projects a forthcoming main clause. Thus, Eri's turn-in-progress projects the consequence of the event as the next action (Lerner & Takagi, 1999).

Eri continues her turn in line 10 and produces the second enacted turn, <↑*SORE wa NA*> (.). *mee to NA, yubi no san ten de na(h), kamera o kotee senaakan ne n*, "That's, with your eyes and fingers, with the three points, you have to fix the camera." Eri demonstrates a there-and-then answer from her father, who gives instructions on how to take a better photo. When this enacted turn approaches its transition relevance space, Natsu and then Kiko start laughing, treating the end of line 12 as a possible completion of the there-and-then sequence. Thus, in this excerpt, a minimal two-turn enacted sequence from the there-and-then interaction does not intersect with the here-and-now interaction.

4.2.1.2 Enactment of sequence expansion

Enacted sequences can also consist of three enacted turns, depicting there-and-then sequence expansion. 4.2.1.2 presents three excerpts, each of which contains an enacted sequence with pre-expansion, insert expansion, or post-expansion. Excerpt (4.02) is from a conversation

among three researchers from Japan who work at a university in Wisconsin, U.S.A. In this excerpt, there-and-then interaction is again introduced as a Q-A sequence. Unlike (4.01) examined in 4.2.1.1, however, the completion of the Q-A sequence is not treated as a sequentially relevant position for recipient responses. Rather, recipients launch their responses after the third enacted turn of a post-expansion to the Q-A sequence. The focal enacted sequence, embedded in Aki's telling, is initiated after the conversation participants have talked about how people in the town (in Wisconsin) are out of fashion because, compared to bigger cities like New York, Wisconsin is rural.

(4.02) [SB3641] Wisconsin

- 1 Dai: *koko wa inaka dakara[:hh*
here TP rural so
This place is rural, so
- 2 Koji: [hhhhhhh
- 3 Aki: *inaka desu yone.*
rural COP FP
It's rural, isn't it?
- 4 Dai: *sore wa zettai soo da yo.*
that TP definitely so COP FP
It's definitely so.
- 5 Koji: *a:: sok ka[:::*
oh so Q
Oh, I see.
- 6 Dai: [A↑:↓: *nyuuyooku no hito wa*
oh.yeah New York LK people TP
Oh yeah, people in New York
- 7 [chanto suutsu kite:::
neatly suit wear
wear suits neatly, and
- 8 Aki: [un *chigau chigau.*
yeah different different
Yeah, they are different, different.

- 9 Koji: [hhh ha:: .hhh .hhh
- 10 Dai: *kawa gutsu haite[: onnanohito wa hiiru*
leather shoes wear women TP heel
they wear leather shoes and women
- 11 Aki: [e:: e::
Yeah yeah
- 12 Dai: *haiteru yo.*
wear FP
wear high heels.
- 13 Koji: *ma:: soo de(h)shoo ne[::: hhh*
well so I.guess FP
Well yeah I guess so.
- 14 Aki: [no:: boku ano amerika
uhm I uhm America
- 15 *kuru maeni [nihon [no:[:naka de::*
come before Japan LK inside at
Uhm, before I came to America, in Japan,
- 16 Dai: [hhh [hhhh
- 17 Koji: [hhh
- 18 Aki: *ano amerikajin no tomodachi to hanashitete:::*
uhm American LK friend with talking
Uhm, I was talking to an American friend, and
- 19 -> *.h omae doko iku n da tte ki- kikarete,*
you where go N COP tte as- be.asked
((I)) was as- asked, “where are you going,?” and,
- 20 -> *wisukonshin tte it tara,*
Wisconsin tte say when
((I)) said, “Wisconsin,” then,
- 21 -> *↓a::: aimu so:ri:, toka it[te,*
oh I’m sorry toka say
((he)) said, “oh, I’m sorry,”
- 22 Dai: [HHhhh

- 23 Aki: -> .*h sonna tsumaranai toko iku* [no=
such boring place go N
- 24 Dai: [ahhhh
- 25 Aki: -> =*kawaisoo da yo toka iwarete::[:*
pitiful COP FP *toka* be.told
(I) was told, “going to such a boring place is so pitiful.”
- 26 Koji: [*hidoi koto*
awful thing
- 27 *iimasu ne:::*
say FP
That’s awful.

While Dai and Koji are still laughing at what they have just said about the differences in fashion between New York and Wisconsin (lines 16-17), Aki starts his turn in lines 14-15, providing a time reference (before coming to the U.S.) and background (talking to an American friend) for his forthcoming telling. The way Aki initiates his turn without any indication of disjunction for this telling introduction may help recipients prepare to hear that Aki’s forthcoming telling has some topical relation with their prior talk—fashion in New York and Wisconsin. When his turn nears its end in line 18, Aki secures both recipients’ gazes and reciprocity for his ongoing multi-unit turn. Then from line 19, Aki starts enacting his there-and-then interaction with the American friend.

The first enacted turn of question, *omae doko iku n da*, “where are you going?” is retrospectively indicated as being an utterance directed to Aki by a passive form of a verb of saying. In other words, the enacted protagonist is identified as the American friend rather than Aki himself. This enacted question projects Aki’s there-and-then answer as a sequentially relevant SPP, and, in fact, the second enacted turn, *wisukonshin* “Wisconsin,” follows in line 20.

Here-and-now recipients do not treat the sequential position after this second enacted turn as a relevant place for their responses because the relation of the thus-far enacted Q-A sequence to the preceding topic has not been indicated (in terms of how the telling would support or refute the talk about fashion in different places in the U.S., for instance). In fact, recipients maintain their reciprocity, and Aki, in the third enacted turn (line 21), enacts his friend, saying ↓*a::: aimu so:ri:*, “oh, I’m sorry.” Designed as a response to the immediately prior enacted answer, this sympathetic response is produced as a post-expansion of the enacted Q-A sequence. By enacting the friend’s display of sympathy toward Aki’s moving to Wisconsin, Aki demonstrates the friend’s negative assessment of Wisconsin, which corresponds with the here-and-now participants’ assessment stated in the prior talk.

When Aki grammatically marks the end of the third enacted turn with an enactment marker *te*, Dai starts laughing, treating the place after the marker as a sequentially relevant position for the intersection between here-and-now and there-and-then interaction. After receiving Dai’s laughter in line 22, Aki moves his gaze direction from Dai to Koji, and extends the enacted third turn by adding an explicit account for Aki’s American friend’s sympathy for Aki. Then Koji provides an assessment of the friend’s enacted utterance when the enacted third turn comes to another possible completion point. Thus, there-and-then interaction in (4.02) is constituted of the post-expanded Q-A sequence, and during that production the here-and-now telling sequence does not intersect.

The next excerpt, (4.03), shows another instance in which three enacted turns are utilized to demonstrate there-and-then interaction. An enacted there-and-then interaction initiates with a summons-answer pre-sequence. Recipient responses are produced after the enacted third turn of the main social action of complaint in the there-and-then interaction. In this excerpt, not only the

vocal design but also the non-vocal design of the three enacted turns prominently contributes to the concurrent organization of the two layers of sequences.

This excerpt is from a conversation among four Japanese friends who engage in different types of jobs in Japan. The focal enacted sequence is embedded in Kana's telling, which follows her statement of why she needs to educate her younger colleagues: her job as a shop attendant at a large pharmacy requires teamwork, and she might be in trouble because of other colleagues' blunders.

(4.03) [KK2453] Customer

- 17 (0.7)
- 18 Kana: *ma taigai[:,*
well generally
Well generally,
- 19 Mako: [a::
Yeah.
- 20 Kana: *sono, dekehen ko ga reji hitoride*
that incompetent girl SB cashier alone
- 21 *miteya[ru kara:,*
watching because
that incompetent girl is watching the register, so,
- 22 Mako: [un.
Uh huh.
- 23 Kana: *de isogashiku nat tara reji yonde ne*
and busy become when cashier call FP
- 24 *tte yuu shisutemu de,*
COM say system and
and the system is like calling others when the register becomes
busy, and
- 25 Mako: [un.
Uh huh.
- 26 Chie: [fu:[::n.

I see.

27 Kana: [sono aida jiyuuni shigoto ga dekiru tte
that during freely work O can COM

28 yuu kanji na n ya kedo::
say like COP N COP but
during that time I can work freely and something like that, but

29 Mako: [°un.°
Uh huh.

30 Chie: [fu:::n.
I see.

31 Kana: meccha isshookenmee, betsu no shigoto
very hard different LK work

32 shiteru tokini, okyakusan ni:
doing when customer by
When ((I'm)) working very hard on something else, by a customer,



Figure 4.01

((lowered pitch
with furious tone))

33 -> O:::I tte iwaren ne yan ka,
hey tte be.told N TAG FP
((I)'m told, "hey,"



Figure 4.02



Figure 4.03

34 -> ((astonished
tone))
.h EH?, **mi (h) taina**,
what mitaina
“What?”



Figure 4.04

35 -> ((lowered pitch with furious tone))
REJI KONDORU YARO::[: **mitaina**.
cashier being.crowded TAG mitaina
“The cash register is crowded.”

36 Mako: [a::::
Oh yeah.

From line 18, Kana starts explaining how the shift routine works at her pharmacy: an “incompetent” co-worker usually cashiers alone while other staff engage in different types of jobs, and it is this co-worker’s responsibility to ask for help from other employees when there are too many customers at the cash register. By being placed in this specific position in the talk, this explanation about the work system is hearable as one example that illustrates the necessity of teamwork at Kana’s pharmacy.

In lines 31-32, Kana produces a subordinate *when*-clause, *meccha isshookenmee betsu no shigoto shiteru toki ni* “when I’m working very hard on something else,” and sets the scene of the telling as being when she is engaging in work other than cashiering. From here, Kana introduces a potential protagonist *okyakusan* “customer” in line 32 and starts the production of the three successive enactments from line 33.

The first enactment *O:::I* “hey” is produced after the postpositional particle *ni* (which follows *okyakusan*). This *O:::I* is separated from Kana’s here-and-now utterance and recognized as an enactment for the following four reasons: First, *O:::I* is a summons generally used when a speaker calls from a distance to get a person’s attention, but when producing this summons, Kana has already been securing the recipient Mako’s gaze (Figure 4.01). Second, the pitch of the *O:::I* is lowered and the volume of voice is dramatically raised, which prosodically separates *O:::I* from the prior utterance in Kana’s turn. Third, Kana presents an infuriated look that contributes to the recognition that her *O:::I* is an enactment (Figure 4.01). Finally, the *O:::I* is followed by the enactment marker *tte* and then by *iwareru*, the passive form of the verb *iu*, “to say.” This syntactic construction marks the offset of the enactment and clearly indicates that this *O:::I* is a customer’s voice directed toward Kana.

Since a summons-answer sequence is composed of an adjacency pair, the production of the FPP (*O:::I*) projects an enacted SPP in the next turn. In fact, Kana in line 34 produces the second enactment *EH?* “What?,” a response token with which a speaker displays surprise concerning what other participants have said in prior talk.¹⁴ Placed right after the enacted

¹⁴ Hayashi (2009) examines the use of the non-lexical response token *eh* by focusing particularly on three different sequential environments: *eh*-prefaced questions after informings, *eh*-prefaced responses to assessments, and *eh*-prefaced responses to inquiry. He claims that *eh* is used by its speaker to propose a noticing of something in a talk that departs from his/her pre-existing knowledge, supposition, expectation, or orientation. Although Hayashi does not investigate the use of *eh* as a response to a summons, the *EH* from Excerpt (4.03) seems to make a “noticing of departure,” a characteristic Hayashi describes in his analysis.

summons, this *EH?* is heard as Kana's enacted response in the there-and-then interaction. Kana's body movement during this enactment is distinctive: she abruptly looks back as if being yelled at from behind by a customer (Figure 4.02). The offset boundary of this second enactment is then marked by an enactment marker *mitaina* that is synchronized with her body movement. After saying *EH?*, Kana quickly looks at Chie and inserts a laugh token in *mitaina* (Figure 4.03). Thus, the offset is designed through the coordination of syntax and prosody, and body movement.

The sequential position after this second enactment is not yet treated as a relevant place for recipient response. Regardless of its form, a SPP of a summons makes further talk by the summoner conditionally relevant because a summons-answer sequence projects some future action as the reason for the pre-sequence. At the same time, however, this generic summons-answer pre-sequence does not project what will be done in that further talk. In addition to this sequential constraint that the summons-answer poses in interaction, the initial characterization of this telling helps here-and-now recipients to wait to find a possible completion of the ongoing enacted sequence. As stated earlier, this telling is initiated presumably to exemplify the importance of teamwork at Kana's pharmacy. Recipients maintain their reciprocity because the thus-far enacted summons-answer sequence does not substantiate the point of telling.

Soon after line 34, Kana quickly presents a serious facial expression again and looks back at Mako (Figure 4.04). Kana produces the third enactment in line 35, *REJI KONDORU YARO:::*. "The cash register is crowded." The pitch, volume, and gaze direction that Kana accompanies with this enactment are almost identical with the first enactment, *O:::I* "hey," from line 33. Thus, the enacted character of this third enactment is recognized as the same customer who was enacted earlier. The design of the speech feature is also noticeable. A strong "r" sound and choice of crude words can be associated with the image of a particular social group in Japan:

middle-aged men who are very rough and rude, for example (Kinsui, 2011). Kana also accompanies a pointing gesture with this final enactment as if enacting the customer pointing to the crowded register. Finally, the offset is marked by the enactment marker *mitaina*.

Mako's acknowledgement token, *a:::* "Oh yeah" (line 36), the first here-and-now recipient response after the initiation of Kana's enactment, overlaps with the enactment marker of the third enactment and displays Mako's orientation to the completion of the enacted sequence. Thus, with various interactional resources—the adjacency nature of the enacted interaction, the proximate placements of the enactments to each other through their multimodal designs, and the amount of information expected to be conveyed through the enactments in this telling—the there-and-then interaction is developed without here-and-now intersection in this excerpt.

The final excerpt in this subsection illustrates a case of an enacted repair sequence. Generally speaking, an other-initiated repair is launched immediately after a trouble-source turn, and anything in a talk can be a trouble-source. Thus, depending on whether it occurs after a FPP or a SPP, an other-initiated repair can consist of the beginning of either an insert-expansion or a post expansion. Excerpt (4.04) is the former case: an other-initiated repair is placed after a FPP. In this excerpt, this repair initiation is itself a FPP and makes a SPP conditionally relevant. In (4.04), here-and-now responses become relevant after this repair sequence.

The participants from Excerpt (4.04) are Abe, Yuki, and Nami. On the day of the recording, 40 minutes before Nami arrived, Abe spoke with Yuki about how he dealt with a complaint he received from his neighbor, adding that he likes dealing with people's complaints. Prior to the focal segment, Abe was retelling the same story to Nami, and then in lines 1-2, Yuki reports to Nami that Abe loves dealing with complaints. Nami claims her understanding of what has been reported (lines 7), and Abe provides confirmation (line 10). Yuki enacts a hypothetical

Abe, saying, “I can smooth things over with my smile” (lines 11, 12, 14), and assesses Abe’s attitude as “overconfident” (line 17). After all the interactants have reached a consensus that Abe really likes dealing with complaints, Abe initiates a telling in line 22 about his experience of going to “enlightenment seminars,” a kind of large-group awareness training in which career counselors provide advice about self-development to seminar participants.

In his telling from line 22, Abe enacts his past interaction between a counselor (whom Abe calls *sensee* “teacher” in line 28) and himself at an enlightenment seminar. This analysis focuses on the three enacted turns in lines 26, 31, and 32, and shows how Abe designs the first enacted turn of the counselor as a trouble source, which is then followed by an enacted repair sequence.

(4.04) [CHN4534] Face

- 1 Yuki: *so, soo yuU: kureemaa daisuki*
 that that like claimer love
- 2 *ya ne n te,*
 COP N COP COM
 I heard that he loves such complainers like that.
- 3 Nami: *a: a a[:::*
 Oh oh oh.
- 4 Yuki: [*kureemaa taioo ga daisuki*
 claimer dealing SB love
- 5 [*ya nen te.*
 COP N COM
 I heard that he loves dealing with complainers.
- 6 Abe: [*h h h h*
- 7 Nami: [*a, a demo wakaruu::.*
 oh oh but can.undertand
 Oh oh but I can understand.
- 8 Abe: *h .h [h.*

- 9 Yuki: [mo:, [or-,
Like, I-
- 10 Abe: [meccha suki ya [ne n.
very like COP N COP
I like it very much.
- 11 Yuki: [mo:[: ore
like I
- 12 no egao de::,
LK smile with
Like “with my smile,”
- 13 Nami: [a:::
Oh.
- 14 Yuki: maru[ku osame taru [mitaina,
smoothly resolve giving.favor.of mitaina
“I can smooth things over with my smile,”
- 15 Abe: [H h h
- 16 Nami: [un un un.
Yeah yeah yeah.
- 17 Yuki: kono [jishinkajoo.
this overconfidence
this overconfidence.
- 18 Nami: [toriaezu zenbu koo, ki↓ku
first.of.all all like.this listen
First of all, listen to everything,
- 19 [(.)kara hajimaru n yaro?
from start N TAG
from that, he starts, right?
- 20 Yuki: [n soo h so(h)o so(h)o so(h)o °so.°
Yeah right right right right right.
- 21 Nami: h h [h
- 22 Abe: [mo (.) ironna nanka, keehatsu
like various like enlightenment
- 23 seminaa toka it temo:,

seminar etc. go even
Like even when I go to various enlightenment seminars,

24 Yuki: °un un.°
Uh huh.

25 Nami: °un.°
Uh huh.

26 Abe: -> ((-----in a lowered voice-----))
anata no buki wa (.) SORE DESU tte
you LK weapon TP that COP tte
“your weapon is that,”



Figure 4.05

27 >ore< yubi sasareta mon >ore<,
I finger was.pointed N I
I was pointed at, I was,

28 [sennsee n[i.
teacher by
by a teacher.

29 Nami: [a::::::::::[:::
Oh yeah.

30 Yuki: [°uso ya[n.°
lie TAG
No kidding.



Figure 4.06

31 Nami: [n:: °n::°
Uh huh.

32 Abe: -> [nan dek ka? >yu tara,<
what COP Q say when
(I) said, “what’s that,?” then,

33 -> (.) *kao desu.*
 face COP
 “your face.”



Figure 4.07

34 Yuki: [KA HA HA HA HA HA HA

35 Nami: [((*successive nodding with smile*))



Figure 4.08

The first enactment, *anata no buki wa (.) SORE DESU* “your weapon is that,” in line 26 is designed as the there-and-then counselor in the following ways: First, prosodically, this stretch of talk is produced in a markedly lowered voice tone that contrasts with Abe’s prior units of talk. Second, the use of *anata* “you” can signal its feature as enactment, because, unlike the English “you,” the use of *anata*, a formal second person pronoun in Japanese, is marked. The frequency of the use of *anata* is not high, since speakers generally prefer to use addressees’ names, titles, or nicknames (Shibamoto Smith, 2004). Indeed, Abe does not use *anata* to refer to his co-participants for the rest of the conversation but uses their names instead. Third, in this enacted turn, there is a speech style shift in which the polite form of the copula *desu* is used instead of its casual form, *da* (the form the interactants generally use throughout this data). Fourth, this first enactment is syntactically marked by the enactment marker *tte* and then by the passive form of

the action verb *sasu*, “to point.” Finally, a prominent body movement accompanies this enactment; during the micro pause before *sore* “that,” Abe brings up his pointing finger and points to the center of his face (Figure 4.05).

This enacted informing turn of the counselor is then followed by a question, *nan dek ka*, “what’s that?” in line 32. In this sequential position, this question is heard as the second enacted turn, which depicts Abe’s other-initiated repair. With this repair initiation, Abe, in the there-and-then situation, seeks to identify the referent of the deixis *sore* “that” in the immediately prior enacted turn. As stated earlier, an other-initiated repair is itself a FPP and makes a SPP of repair a conditionally relevant next response. Thus, an enacted turn of repair is projected in the next turn of the there-and-then interaction. Abe embeds this second enacted turn of a repair initiation in a subordinate *when*-clause, which syntactically projects the main clause of his further extended talk. In fact, Abe continues his turn and produces the third enacted turn.

In line 33, Abe produces the third enacted turn, *kao desu*, “your face.” Designed to be the counselor’s repair, this enacted turn specifies the referent of *sore* “that.” During this enacted turn of repair, Abe moves toward and points in the direction of his right side (Figure 4.07) as if bodily enacting the counselor pointing at Abe. As this third enacted turn reaches its TRP in line 33, Abe looks back to Yuki, who bursts into laughter (Figure 4.08). Thus, the end of this enacted repair sequence is treated as a sequentially relevant place for here-and-now recipient responses. The there-and-then interaction enacted up to this point supports Abe’s earlier statement about his skill of dealing with complaints.

Unlike in other excerpts examined thus far in this subsection, the demarcation between the two layers of here-and-now and there-and then sequences becomes ambiguous once in this excerpt (between lines 29-31). After the first enacted turn of the counselor’s informing statement,

Nami in line 29 produces an acknowledgement token, displaying her understanding about the information given in Abe's prior turn. However, Nami, instead of providing more explicit assessment, continues to provide a continuer, "Uh huh," in line 31, indicating that she is prepared to hear Abe's further upcoming unit of talk.

Meanwhile, Yuki in line 30 says, °*uso yan*°, "no kidding" (Figure 4.06), treating the first enacted turn as news (cf., Hayano, 2013). However, the prosodic feature of Yuki's °*uso yan*° is not compatible with an analysis of it as a news receipt because she produces the news receipt (line 30) in a markedly low volume. Hence, Yuki's reaction is ambivalent; its lexical meaning and positioning in the sequence is inconsistent with the traits of a news receipt. Yet, as a whole, the turn design seems incompatible with the characteristics of surprise about news. This rather ambivalent response may be the result of an unclear connection between the referent of the deixis *sore* "that" and the target of Abe's (i.e., the enacted counselor's) pointing.

What is significant is how Abe treats Nami's and Yuki's here-and-now reactions in lines 29-31. Goodwin (1986a) argues that recipients have at least two structurally different ways of responding in the midst of another participant's extended talk: assessments and continuers. According to Goodwin, a teller waits to produce a subsequent unit of talk while a recipient's assessment is in progress. On the other hand, a teller proceeds to a subsequent unit while a recipient is producing a continuer. In the present case, Abe treats Nami's and Yuki's actions as continuers by initiating his production of the second enacted turn (line 32) without waiting for his recipients to complete their turns (lines 30, 31). Then, Abe designs the ambiguity of the referent of the deixis in the first enacted turn and utilizes that ambiguity (in both here-and-now and there-and-then interactions) as a resource to develop an enacted repair sequence in the subsequent talk. This design also helps recipients reorient to align themselves with reciprocity

during Abe's enacted repair sequence. Thus, by monitoring each other's actions in progress, the participants precisely coordinate to locate an appropriate intersection between here-and-now and there-and-then interactions.

Subsection 4.2.1 has shown four cases of Type (I), in each of which enacted sequence consisted of two or three turns (i.e., a Q-A sequence [4.01], a post-expanded Q-A sequence [4.02], a pre-sequence with a FPP of a base sequence [4.03], and a trouble source FPP with an insert expansion of a repair sequence [4.04]). In each excerpt, enacted turns from there-and-then interaction were successively produced without intervention of here-and-now recipients' explicit responses. The separation of the two layers of interactions was coordinated based on the initial characterization of telling, on the organization of the enacted sequence, and on the multimodal design of extended turns consisting of serial enactments.

4.2.2 Extending enacted sequence to postpone its intersection with here-and-now sequence

This subsection continues to analyze Type (I), but focuses on a case in which the intersection between the two layers of here-and-now and there-and-then sequences gets postponed. In 4.2.1, enacted sequences, i.e., a two-turn sequence or three turns of sequence expansion, minimally substantiated certain characterizations projected at the initiation of telling. In the excerpt examined in 4.2.2, Yuki, the teller, first produces a minimal two-turn enacted sequence, after which can be a potential completion point for her enactment of the here-and-then interaction. However, Yuki extends the enacted sequence by adding more enacted turns, which postpones the timing of here-and-now recipient responses.

Prior to segment (4.05), participants have been discussing possible reasons for why some young Japanese men, instead of following current fashion trends, tuck in their shirts. From line 1,

Yuki offers another reason: some young men may think that letting their shirts hang out is delinquent behavior. From line 8, Yuki supports her point by submitting a story about a boy from her neighborhood. In this telling, Yuki enacts a there-and-then conversation between the boy and his mother. The enacted conversation begins with a two-turn Q-A sequence (lines 25, 26, 28). Then the first enacted Q-A sequence is followed by another Q-A sequence (lines 31, 32, 34).

(4.05) [GT012320] Shirt

- 1 Yuki: *ato::,*
 And,
- 2 Ken: *°nn.°*
 Mm.
- 3 Yuki: *da- dasu no ga::,*
 le- leave.out N SB
- 4 *chotto hu↑ryoo tte omotteru,*
 a.little delinquent COM thinking
 thinking that leaving them hanging out is a bit delinquent,
- 5 (0.8)
- 6 Tatsu: [a[:::
 Oh.
- 7 Yuki: [ko.
 kid
 that kind of a kid.
- 8 Yuki: *a↑noo uchi no kinjo no kodomo de:*
 Uhm my.home LK neighbor LK child COP
 Uhm a child in our neighborhood,
- 9 Ken: *u:n.*
 Uh huh.
- 10 Yuki: *>kodomo te yuu ka-< ma,*
 child I.mean well
 A child, I mean- well,
- 11 *takeshi no sukina oniichan ya ne n kedo:,*
 Takeshi LK favorite big.brother COP N COP but

an older boy that Takeshi likes, but,

- 12 *chuugaku:see narahatte:,*
middle.school.student become
he is in middle school now,
- 13 Ken: °un.°
Uh huh.
- 14 Yuki: *anmari: koo wa:: tte yuu*
not.much like.this MIM COM say
- 15 *taipu ja nai ne n.*
type COP NEG N COP
he is not the type to be in your face.
- 16 Tatsu: °un.°
Uh huh.
- 17 Yuki: *demo: yappari:: mawaride: chotto yanchana*
but as.expected around a.little rowdy
- 18 *ko toka dara tto koo dashiteru yan*
kid etc. MIM COM like.this leaving.out TAG
- 19 *shatsu o.*
shirt O
But you know, around him, kind of rowdy kids leave theirs hanging out,
right? Their shits.
- 20 Ken: *un un °un.°*
nn nn nn
- 21 Yuki: *de yappari sore ni chotto*
and as.expected that with a.little
- 22 *ii na tto omotte,*
good FP COM think
And you know, he thought that it was kind of cool,
- 23 *aruhii dara tto shite[kaettekite n te dashite.*
one.day MIM COM do came.home N COM leave.out
I heard that one day he came home with his handing out.
- 24 Tatsu: [((*nodding*))]
- 25 Yuki: -> *funde ↑o↓o doo shita n? °tte yutte,°*

- and ooh how did Q tte say
And said, “ooh what happened?”
- 26 -> *okaasan ga doo shita↑: n? tte yut tara:*
mother SB how did Q tte say when
Mom said, “what happened?” and then,
- 27 Ken: *un.*
Uh huh.
- 28 Yuki: -> (0.7) °*nanka, chotto yattemita [tte yutte,* °
somehow a.little tried.to.do tte say
(he) said, “er, just tried it out.”
- 29 Ken: [h.heh heh heh
- 30 [.h
- 31 Yuki: -> [*funde, e↑e anta ga- gakkoo de sore de*
and what you sc- school at that with
- 32 -> *yatteta↑: n? tte jigyoo.*
was.doing Q tte class
And “what? were you at school like that? in class.”
- 33 Tatsu: [°hh° ((smile & scratch his nose))
- 34 Yuki: -> [°iya, ano soko kado magatta tokoro kara.°
no uhm there corner turned place from
- 35 h. [*hh.HAHA [TT(H)E YUT(H)T(H)E(H)E .h*
tte say
(He) said, “no, uhm after coming around the corner there.”
- 36 Ken: [*hHAHAHA [k(h)aw(h)a(h)i::*
Cute.
- 37 Tatsu: [((laughing face))

From lines 8-15, Yuki specifically identifies the boy from her neighborhood in terms of his relationship with Yuki’s family (Yuki’s son’s friend) and his age (being in middle school), as well as his characteristic of not being the type to be in one’s face. Yuki further explains that the boy wants to emulate some disobedient boys who leave their shirts hanging out (lines 21-22).

Then in line 23, Yuki sets up the time, *aruhi* “one day,” for her forthcoming telling with a “once-upon-a-time format” (Jefferson, 1978) and describes the event: the boy came home with his shirt out. It is after this description of the background of the event that Yuki produces successive enactments.

In line 25, Yuki enacts a question asking the boy why he came home with his shirt hanging out. Yuki does self-repair in line 26, explicitly stating the enacted subject: *okaasan* “mother.” This enacting turn is formed in a subordinate *when*-clause, syntactically projecting that a main clause is forthcoming. What is projected to come in the main clause is a conditionally relevant SPP of a question, i.e., an answer from the boy.

In line 28, Yuki enacts the boy’s answer, (0.7) *nanka, chotto yatte mita*, “er, just tried it out.” The design of this enactment conveys the enacted boy’s somewhat hesitant attitude. For instance, the 0.7-second silence, which is attributed to Yuki’s turn due to her projected turn continuation, indicates the delay of the enacted boy’s response. Also, the word choice for the enacted utterance contributes to the design of this hesitant tone; although its literal meaning is “a little,” *chotto* is often used to semantically qualify the degree of a certain condition (Matsumoto, 2001). In this enacted utterance, *chotto* modifies the compound verb *yatte mita* “tried to do” and serves to lower the degree of the enacted speaker’s intention to leave his shirt out. Furthermore, Yuki imparts the boy’s hesitation by producing the enactment with a lowered voice. Hence, the thus-far enacted Q-A sequence demonstrates an episode that supports Yuki’s opinion about why some young men hesitate to make their shirts hang out. Therefore, the second enacted turn in line 28 can be a possible completion of the enacted sequence that was the initially projected.

Yuki, however, indicates that recipient responses are not relevant after the second enacted turn in line 28, by designing her transition from lines 28 through 31 in the following ways. Yuki

produces the here-and-now syntactic marking of enactment, *tte yutte* (i.e., the enactment marker and the verb of saying), in a lower tone of voice as if its preceding enactment is prosodically still unfolding. During the production of this syntactic component of enactment marking, Yuki also suppresses her laughter. Soon after, she produces the connective *funde* “and,” indicating the continuation of the story. Then she places a reactive token, *e↑e* “what,?” which cues the continuation of the enacted sequence. The enacted reactive token is immediately followed by another enactment of the mother further questioning her son as to whether or not his shirt was out while he was in school. The enactment in lines 28-31, featuring, like the first enactment of the boy, a lower volume and hesitant tone of voice, serves as the son’s answer. The son took his shirt out when he got close to home but not to school. Thus, in addition to the information provided through the first enacted Q-A sequence, the second enacted Q-A sequence upgrades the demonstration of the boy’s hesitant attitude toward the shirt-hanging-out fashion.

This extension of the enacted sequence postpones a sequentially relevant position for recipient responses, and such postponement is coordinated between the teller and recipients. A recipient Ken initiates laughing in line 29 when Yuki’s first enacted Q-A sequence is about to reach its completion point (Figure 4.09, see below). As soon as Yuki produces the connective *funde*, however, Ken, instead of providing further comments such as assessments, gazes from Yuki back to the water bottle in his hand and reengages in moving the bottle away (Figure 4.10).¹⁵ In doing so, he displays his understanding that Yuki’s extended turn is still in progress, and collaborates in the achievement of Yuki’s extension of enacted sequence. Thus, the initiation of an enacted *eh*-prefaced question, i.e., a FPP of the second Q-A sequence, helps recipients

¹⁵ Goodwin’s (1984) study seems relevant to what Ken does here. Goodwin demonstrates how story recipients’ gazing is organized throughout storytelling. He states that unlike regular turn-by-turn talk, storytelling activities allow recipients to look away from the storyteller during a background segment of the telling. However, once the story enters the climax segment, recipients gaze toward the storyteller to show heightened attention.

prepare to listen to its sequentially relevant enacted SPP of answer. Consequently, the teller and the recipients treat the position after the enacted answer of the boy (line 34) as the second possible completion point of the enacted sequence. While terminated with Yuki's inserted laughter, the enactment also receives a burst of laughter and an assessment ("cute") from the recipients in lines 30-31 (Figure 4.11).

(4.05) [GT012320] Shirt

Line Speaker

29-30 Ken Laughter



Figure 4.09

31-32 Yuki 3rd enacted turn (Mother's question)



Figure 4.10

34 Yuki 4th enacted turn (Boy's answer)
36 Ken Laughter & Assessment
37 Tatsu Laughter



Figure 4.11

Section 4.2 demonstrated one systematic way of organizing here-and-now and there-and-then sequences when enactment is deployed during telling (Type [I]). In this type, the two layers of sequences did not intersect with each other. That is, recipients aligned with their reciprocity

during tellers' production of a series of multiple enacted turns, orienting to be the audience of the demonstration of there-and-then interaction between protagonists. Participants coordinated the intersection of the two layers of sequences by referring to different interactional resources. First, the way tellers initiated their tellings in relation to the prior talk served as an indication of a possible completion point of enacted sequences. Such initial characterizations of telling cued recipients to what the tellers' demonstration of the enacted sequence was to convey in the particular moment in the here-and-now interaction. Second, participants organized enacted there-and-then sequences based on the turn-taking system that revolves around adjacency pairs. For instance, the first enacted FPP projected its conditionally relevant enacted SPP, and that sequential constraint helped participants manage to locate a possible completion point of the enacted sequence. Finally, tellers produced multiple enacted turns successively, designing them multimodally as a continuous extended turn. This signaled that a transition of speakership was irrelevant during the demonstration of the enacted there-and-then sequence.

4.3 Interweaving of there-and-then enacted interaction and here-and-now interaction

Section 4.2 focused on cases where here-and-now recipient responses were produced at a possible completion of an enacted sequence, and thus the intersection of the two layers—there-and-then and here-and-now interactions—did not occur within an enacted there-and-then sequence (Type [I]). Section 4.3 examines another organizational pattern of the two-layered interaction: Type (II), in which recipient responses are launched immediately after the first enacted turn, leading to the interweaving of the here-and-now and there-and-then sequences in the subsequent interaction. (For the schematic configuration of Type [II], refer to Section 4.1.)

Through the analyses of two excerpts, this section highlights the following aspects of the organizational structure of Type (II). Tellings of this type are organized as an announcement sequence, and the sequence is initiated with a pre-announcement that withholds the characteristics of prospective news. Then here-and-now recipients treat the first enacted turn as a newsworthy there-and-then utterance, which makes the here-and-now recipient responses relevant in the immediate next turn.

The first case, Excerpt (4.06), is from a conversation between three friends. The participants are talking about *Arashi*, a Japanese male pop idol group that is popular with Japanese young women. That Yuri is a big fan of *Arashi* is shared information among the participants. In line 1, Kiko tells Yuri (the *Arashi* fan) that she has been listening to *Arashi*'s songs, which Yuri positively assesses in lines 3 and 5. Then in line 8, Natsu launches a pre-announcement by placing a disjunctive marker *ah-* "oh," displaying that she suddenly remembers something that was triggered by the prior talk (Jefferson, 1978), and a request, *kiite*:: "listen." In response, Kiko and Yuri, potential recipients of Natsu's upcoming talk, provide a "go-ahead," a SPP of a pre-announcement, by shifting and keeping their gaze directions toward Natsu.

(4.06) [SGK1050] Arashi

- 1 Kiko: *saikin zutto arashi no kyoku*
recently over.and.over Arashi LK songs
- 2 *kiiteru wa.*
listening FP
Recently I've been listening to *Arashi*'s songs over and over.
- 3 Yuri: *uson, i[i koto yan,*
lie good thing TAG
Really? That's a good thing.
- 4 Kiko: [*honma*::.
Really.
- 5 Yuri: *ii kokorogake ya de, [sore.*

good attitude COP FP that
That's a good attitude.

- 6 Kiko: [soo, [()]
Yeah
- 7 Natsu: [A H H h
- 8 Natsu: *ah- kiite::, anna:: h h h h h*
oh listen uhm
Oh, listen, uhm,
- 9 *yuri chan no, na:, koto o na:,*
Yuri AD LK FP thing O FP
- 10 *nanka, () nanka arashi o katteru*
like like Arashi O buying
- 11 *n ya: to omotte tara na,*
N FP to think when FP
While I've been thinking that Yuri's been buying *Arashi*,
- 12 *tsui saikin ha-kkaku shite n ya kedo na,*
just recently became.apparent N COP but FP
just recently it became apparent, but,
- 13 -> ((----in an extra high pitch-----
(.)↑eh o↑kaasan mo arashi no fan
oh mother also Arashi LK fan
-----))
- 14 -> *kurabu [haitte [(h)n(h)de:: h h h h*
club joining FP
"Oh, I'm also in *Arashi*'s fan club."
- 15 Yuri: [A HA HA [HA HA HA h h h h h
- 16 Kiko: [HA HA HA HA HA HA
- 17 Kiko: [USO:::::::::::
lie
No kidding.



Figure 4.12



Figure 4.13

- 18 Natsu: -> [↑E:: (h) : (h) : , uso ya (h) : : : n ,
 what lie TAG
 “What? No kidding,”
- 19 >**mi (h) ta (h) i (h) na .**<
 mitaina
- 20 Yuri: [h .h .h h h .h
- 21 Natsu: -> [.h.h sore yuri chan ni hookoku
 that Yuri AD to report
- 22 -> shi toku wa:: t[te itte. h h h
 do get.done FP tte say
 ((I) said, “I’m gonna report that to Yuri.”
- 23 Yuri: [meccha omoshiroi yan,
 very funny TAG
 That’s so funny.
- 24 chotto yonde koko ni.
 a.little call here to
 Bring her here.

During the production of a pre-announcement in line 8, Natsu laughs, indicating her stance toward the upcoming news as laughable. In lines 9-11, Natsu implies the relevance of her upcoming news to the prior topic by mentioning that she has been thinking about Yuri being an *Arashi* fan. Then Natsu in line 12 says, *tsui saikin ha-kkaku shite n ya kedo na*, “just recently it became apparent.” This foreshadows that her upcoming news is about her new discovery, which somehow relates to *Arashi*, and thus helps recipients prepare to identify such information in Natsu’s following turn. Following this initial characterization, Natsu produces the first enacted

turn, *o*↑*kaasan mo arashi no fan kurabu haitte (h)n(h)de*::, “I’m also in *Arashi*’s fan club” in line 13.

This enactment starts with a reactive token *eh* in an extra high pitch, which, in this intra-turn position, indicates the initiation of enactment. Then, *okaasan* “mother” is produced in the same continuing high pitch. In Japanese, family terms such as *okaasan* “mother” can be used as a first person pronoun when the speaker is the mother of the recipient. At this point in the turn, this enactment is recognizable as the demonstration of Natsu’s mother’s utterance directed to her daughter. Then Natsu continues enacting her mother’s there-and-then informing statement about her participation in the *Arashi* fan club.

In subsequent turns, recipients treat this first single enacted turn as an announcement of news, displaying the shared knowledge required to comprehend the newsworthiness of the enactment: their mothers’ generation would go wild for *Arashi*, a male pop idol group typically popular with young girls, to the extent that they would actually become members of the fan club. During Natsu’s production of *haitte* “to join” in line 14, the recipients initiate intensive laughter and show their recognition of what is being enacted as an announcement of a newsworthy there-and-then utterance. Following her laughter, Kiko in line 17 provides a news receipt, *USO*::: “no kidding,” a conditionally relevant SPP to a news announcement (Maynard, 1997; Terasaki, 1976). In other words, the position after the first enacted turn becomes a sequentially relevant slot for the intersection between here-and-now and there-and-then interactions.

In the news delivery sequence, a recipient’s news receipt tends to make a news deliverer’s confirmation and/or elaboration relevant in the next turn (Maynard, 1997). Thus, Kiko’s here-and-now news receipt in line 17 may solicit Natsu’s here-and-now confirmation and/or elaboration. Instead, however, what follows Kiko’s news receipt is Natsu’s continuation

of enacting the there-and-then sequence. While overlapping with Kiko's *USO:::* "no kidding" in line 17, Natsu in line 18 produces an enacted SPP to the enacted FPP of her mother's announcement. With this enacted SPP, Natsu enacts herself, producing an elongated reactive token $\uparrow E::(h):(h):$ and then facing toward her left side while shaking her left arm as if reacting to the impact of the news (Figure 4.12). After producing the enactment $\uparrow E::(h):(h):$ in line 18, Natsu secures mutual gaze with Kiko and then continues the second enacted turn by adding another TCU, *uso ya(h):::n*, "no kidding" (Figure 4.13).

Although Natsu continues enacting the there-and-then sequence (as described above), the design of her second enacted turn reflects the influence of here-and-now interaction. The lexical choice of *uso ya:::n* in Natsu's enacted SPP is almost identical with Kiko's here-and-now SPP, *USO:::*, produced a second earlier in line 17. In other words, Natsu incorporates a here-and-now recipient announcement response with the design of her there-and-then announcement response, indicating the mergence of the two layers of interactions. By doing so, Natsu, at the here-and-now interactional site, shows her affiliative stance toward Kiko in terms of how Kiko reacted to Natsu's report.

Finally, in lines 21-22, Natsu, while overlapping with Yuri's laughter in line 20, gazes toward Yuri and launches the last enactment in her telling. Natsu says *sore yuri chan ni hookoku shi toku wa::*: "(I'm) gonna report that to Yuri," which is syntactically marked by the enactment marker *tte* and by a verb of saying *itte*. While demonstrating Natsu's there-and-then utterance directed to her mother, this enactment metalinguistically describes what Natsu is doing right now at the here-and-now interaction, and it retrospectively characterizes the information conveyed through the first enacted turn as worthy reporting news (especially to Yuri, who is also an *Arashi* fan). Thus, this third enacted turn is produced not only as an extension of the there-and-then

sequence but also as an elaboration of the announcement—a relevant third turn of the here-and-now announcement sequence. This third enactment is then followed by Yuri’s assessment, *meccha omoshiroi* “so funny,” in line 23.

As shown above, the telling in the excerpt is organized as an announcement sequence, another way of organizing tellings. Maynard (1997) states that while pre-announcements often provide a certain valence of a subsequent turn of news announcement, they sometimes withhold the ascription of such valence to build up a dramatic effect for the announcement of news. Excerpt (4.06) featured this type of telling organization. The telling in this excerpt was initially prefaced by a pre-announcement with little characterization of the content of news-to-be-told (except for the topical relation to the prior talk). In other words, Natsu’s pre-announcement only projects that some kind of newsworthy information will be due in her following turn. After the pre-announcement sequence, Natsu produced the first enacted turn, which was treated as an announcement of a newsworthy past utterance of a protagonist. This led to the interweaving between the here-and-now interaction and the subsequent enacted there-and-then sequence. Also, by treating the first enacted utterance as news, recipients display their shared knowledge required to comprehend the newsworthiness of the enactment: that their mothers’ generation would go wild for *Arashi*. In other words, understanding of a possible completion point of an enacted sequence is highly contingent upon co-participants’ shared knowledge about what could be news for them.

The next case (4.07) demonstrates another example of Type (II), in which recipients treat the first enacted turn as news by itself, leading to the interweaving of here-and-now and there-and-then sequences immediately after the first enacted turn. Similar to (4.06), in (4.07) recipients’ treatment of the first enacted turn as a newsworthy announcement relies heavily on co-

participants' shared historical knowledge about what the enactment can imply (to the enacted protagonist as well as to the here-and-now co-participants).

Before the focal segment, Yuki was telling three other participants that her niece Saki, who is in primary school, has been listening to CDs of Tatsu's band (Tatsu, one of the interactants, is the lead singer of the band). In lines 1-3, Yuki topicalizes one of the CDs that has many pictures on it, and after Tatsu displays recognition of the particular CD in line 4, Yuki in lines 5-6 provides a pre-announcement. While this pre-announcement serves to project her further talk as worth reporting, it only minimally indicates that the forthcoming news will be somehow related to the CD. This contributes to building up a dramatic news delivery. Also, while verbally producing the pre-announcement, Yuki keeps pointing to Tatsu, bodily indicating that the primary recipient of her upcoming announcement is Tatsu. Then, in line 8, Yuki launches her announcement in the form of an enactment.

(4.07) [GT0745] CD

- 1 Yuki: *honde: (.) ano shiidii aru yan ka:,*
and that CD exist TAG FP
And there is that CD, right?
- 2 *ano ippai shashin ga wa:: tte*
that a.lot picture SB MIM COM
- 3 *aru yan kaa.*
exist TAG FP
That, there are many pictures, right?
- 4 Tatsu: *hai.*
Yes.
- 5 Yuki: *an naka de:, sugoi de, atashi kore*
that among in amazing FP I this
- 6 *oota toki yuoo to omottete n kedo:,*
met when say.VOL to thinking N but
Among them, amazing, I was thinking to tell this when I see you, but

7 Tatsu: h



Figure 4.14

Figure 4.15

Figure 4.16

8 Yuki: -> *((-----in a defiant tone-----))*
obaachan, kore dare? kono onnanohito.
 grandma this who this woman
 “Grandma, who’s this? this woman.”

9 Nami: [1 *WA::::::::::::::::::*
 Wow.

10 Tatsu: [1 *.h HAH HAH HAH HAH*

11 Nami: [2 *onnanoko ya::::.*
 girl COP
 she’s a girl.

12 Yuki: [2 *MO::, wakatta?*
 now understood
 Now get it?

13 Tatsu: ([] *((while nodding))*

14 Yuki: -> *((defiant tone))*
 [*mo:o, (.) kore dare? °tte. °*
 like this who tte
 Like, “who’s this?”

15 Tatsu: *hai hai.*
 Okay okay.

16 Yuki: -> *<HAI HAI.> (.) to omotte.*
 okay okay to think
 ((I) thought, “okay okay.”

17 *zozo, sugoi (.) °to [omotte. °*
 MIM amazing to think
 I was shivering and thought, “amazing.”

- 18 Nami: [kawai.
Scary.
- 19 Yuki: un.
Yeah.

The enactment in line 8, *obaachan, kore dare,?* “Grandma, who’s this?” is produced as a demonstration of Saki’s question to her grandmother in the there-and-then interaction. It starts with the family addressed term *obaachan* “grandma.” Prior to this segment in this here-and-now conversation, Yuki mentions that her mother often takes care of her grandchildren, including Saki. This background information as well as the immediately prior talk about Saki helps recipients recognize that the enacted protagonist is Saki, who directs this question, “Grandma, who’s this,?” to her grandmother (i.e., Yuki’s mother) in the there-and-then interaction. Yuki produces *obaachan* “grandma” in a defiant tone—which separates it from her preceding utterance—and, with a displeased expression, looks up at Tatsu (Figure 4.14). As soon as she reaches mutual gaze with Tatsu, Yuki looks down at and points to a spot on the table, tapping this place a couple of times with her finger (Figure 4.15). Yuki continues enacting Saki asking her grandmother *kore dare,?* “who’s this?” Yuki’s bodily movement, synchronized with her enactment, is recognizable as Saki pointing to one of the pictures on the CD. Then, while gazing back at Tatsu (Figure 4.16), Yuki rushes through to another enacted TCU, elaborating on *kore* “this” to *kono onnanohito* “this woman” and specifying the gender and the range of age of the person Saki is trying to identify.

Before proceeding with the analysis of this segment, it should be noted that at least Yuki and Tatsu, up until this moment in the interaction, have already shared that Saki likes Tatsu. After the focal segment of Excerpt (4.07), Yuki and Tatsu will bring up another episode of Saki having written romantic letters to Tatsu. This information was not accessible to the researcher at

the time this segment was first analyzed. However, as examined below, the way participants oriented to the first enacted turn in this excerpt implied that they had the shared knowledge.

The first enacted turn (Saki's question) makes an answer by Saki's grandmother sequentially relevant in the next turn in the there-and-then interaction. However, the recipients, instead of waiting for Yuki's production of further enactment, quickly provide responses to the first enacted turn, which brings about the intersection between there-and-then and here-and-now interactions. Here-and-now recipients, by displaying surprise with a non-lexical reactive token (Nami in line 9) and by bursting into laughter (Tatsu in line 10), treat what was demonstrated (i.e., Saki's inquiry about the identity of a woman on Tatsu's band's CD cover in a displeased manner) as a laughable newsworthy utterance. In line 11, Nami further comments *onnanoko ya:::*, "she's a girl," more explicitly displaying her understanding of Saki's jealousy of the woman in the picture. In other words, these recipients' treatment of the first enacted turn implies their shared knowledge that helps them comprehend Saki's motivation for her there-and-then question.

After receiving these responses from recipients, Yuki neither resumes her enactment of there-and-then interaction nor precedes her here-and-now announcement sequence with an elaboration on it. Instead, Yuki, in line 12, secures mutual gaze with Tatsu (who was initially assigned to be a primary recipient of Yuki's announcement) and checks his understanding of the earlier enactment by soliciting his confirmation of it. Tatsu provides an answer by nodding, confirming his understanding in line 13.

After this here-and-now Q-A sequence, Yuki resumes her enactment of the there-and-then interaction by partially redoing the first enacted turn of Saki instead of chronologically advancing the enacted there-and-then interaction. In doing so, Yuki prepares another sequential

slot for recipients to respond to this enactment. In that slot, Tatsu this time produces his response, *hai hai* “okay okay,” while smiling. With these repeated tokens of affirmation, Tatsu displays his understanding of what was enacted and of what the enactment is supposed to convey. Tatsu’s response in the here-and-now interaction is then incorporated into Yuki’s further enactment of the subsequent there-and-then sequence.

With a slower speech rate and with a more emphasized volume of voice, Yuki, in line 16, lexically repeats what Tatsu just said, <*HAI HAI*>, “okay okay,” and then she syntactically marks it with an enactment marker and with a verb of thinking. Yuki designs this <*HAI HAI*> as her own enacted thought in the there-and-then moment (when she either witnessed the interaction between Saki and her grandmother or heard about the event), as her reaction to Saki’s there-and-then question about the woman on the CD cover.

The *hai hai* “okay okay” produced by Yuki (line 16) and by Tatsu (line 15) are not completely identical. While Yuki’s <*HAI HAI*> is designed as an enactment of herself demonstrating her there-and-then recognition of her niece’s jealousy of the woman on the CD, Tatsu’s response of *hai hai*, directed to Yuki’s telling, displays his understanding of both what Yuki enacted and the newsworthiness of the implied meaning of the enactment. Regardless of the difference, Yuki’s lexical design of her own enacted turn provides an example of the influence of here-and-now interaction on the enactment of there-and-then interaction. This influence indicates the mergence of the two layers of interactions.

Then in line 17, Yuki use the assessment term, *sugoi* “amazing,” which she used earlier in her pre-announcement (line 6), and retrospectively designs it as another enacted thought of hers. This enacted assessment is further followed by Nami’s here-and-now assessment, *kowai* “scary” (line 18), which eventually leads Yuki’s announcement sequence to its closure. The way

Yuki directs her telling to its closure—by utilizing a recipient’s here-and-now response as a part of her own enacted there-and-then response to the first enacted turn—is similar to the phenomenon observed in the previous case of Excerpt (4.06). In both cases, the design of enacted turns produced after the first enacted turn reflects the mergence between here-and-now and there-and-then interactions.

Section 4.3 examined cases of Type (II) in which two different layers of here-and-now and there-and-then sequences were interwoven. Here-and-now tellings of this type were organized in the form of an announcement sequence with which tellers provided news on their own initiative (in contrast to tellings which are solicited by a question, for instance). Tellers initiated this telling sequence with a pre-announcement, which prepared recipients to anticipate some sort of newsworthy information in the following turn. After framing the prospective telling as a news announcement, tellers launched the first enactment to which recipients responded with news receipts. To comprehend the newsworthiness of the first enacted turn, recipients entailed not only this sequential structure but also their historical knowledge shared with tellers. Furthermore, in this type of telling, recipient responses to the first enactment led to the interweaving of the here-and-now telling sequence and the subsequent there-and-then enacted sequence. During the interweaving of the two sequences, here-and-now interaction can also influence the design of the enactment of there-and-then interaction.

4.4 Summary of Chapter 4

This chapter focused on the deployment of enactment in tellings of A-events (Labov & Fanshel, 1977), and showed the systematicity of enacting self and others in conversation. An increasing number of CA research investigates how stretches of talk are produced as enactment

in temporally unfolding talk-in-interactions in different languages such as English (Clift, 2007; Fox & Robels, 2010; Goodwin, 2007; Holt, 1996, 2007; Klewicz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Sams, 2010; Sidnell, 2006; Streeck, 2002), Finnish (Haakana, 2007), German (Golato, 2000; Streeck, 2002), Korean (Kim, 2004), Russian (Bolden, 2004), and Japanese (Koike, 2001; Nishizaka, 2008; Suga, 2012). However, these studies focus particularly on boundary designs between there-and-then enacted materials and here-and-now utterances within a turn. The present chapter conducted an investigation of boundary designs not within a turn but between sequential organizations of the two layers of there-and-then and here-and-now interactions. With this wider analytical scope on the issue of here-and-now and there-and-then boundaries, this chapter revealed that the two different layers of sequences were concurrently organized and affected each other, and that such organizations were contingent upon the integration of multimodal designs of enacting turns, the turn-taking system infiltrated into the both two interactional sites, an ongoing here-and-now course of actions, and participants' shared knowledge about the enacted state of affairs.

The first organizational pattern examined in this chapter, Type (I), featured demarcation between the there-and-then enacted sequence and the here-and-now telling sequence, and thus the two sequential layers in this type did not intersect. In Type (I), tellers produced multiple enacting turns successively to build up a sequence(s) from a there-and-then conversation. Recipients provided their responses after tellers' serial productions of those multiple enacted turns. Participants coordinated the demarcation between the two layers of sequences by locating a possible completion point of the enacted sequence in reference to the initial characterization of telling, to the development of the there-and-then interaction based on the turn-taking system, and to the multimodal design of the serial production of multiple enacted turns. In this type, tellings

were organized in a way that recipients aligned themselves with the position of the audience for the there-and-then interaction between protagonists, which was demonstrated through successive production of multiple enacted turns.

The number of enacted turns that each case carried varied depending on how the enacted sequences were to substantiate the initial characterization of telling. Thus, depending on the case, an enacted there-and-then interaction was composed of a minimal two-turn sequence, a pre-expanded sequence, a post-expanded sequence, or an insertion sequence. In addition, Type (I) indicated the potential for the extension of enacted sequences, in which a teller extended an enacted sequence after its first possible completion, postponing the sequentially relevant position for here-and-now recipient responses. The teller organized such postponement of the timing of recipient responses by juxtaposing different resources such as grammar, prosody, and speech rate, based on which recipients also timed their responses.

People routinely attend to their basis of knowledge or sources to show evidentiality when the state of affairs is yet uncertain (Pomerantz, 1984). Enactments are said to have the function of showing evidentiality: the production of enactment is often associated with a speaker's experience of having directly heard those enacted words, and having direct experience can be interpreted as being evidential (Hill & Irvine, 1992). However, from the perspective of Conversation Analysis, Clift (2006) argues that enactment does not itself establish evidentiality, which is inducted based on the sequential position of the enactment in interaction. In Type (I), enacted sequences were produced by tellers and analyzed by recipients as substantiation of the initial characterization of telling. Put differently, those enacted sequences were placed in a position where providing evidentiality for the preceding statement becomes relevant. Thus, along with Clift's claim, the analyses of the current chapter elucidated that, when situated in the

sequential organization of Type (I), enactments of A-events served to provide tellers' evidentiality with regard to the plausibility of the initial characterization of telling.

In the other organizational pattern, Type (II), the two layers of here-and-now and there-and-then sequences intersected at an early stage of telling. In this type, tellers organized their tellings as announcement sequences, and, after a pre-announcement, produced the first enacted turn as the demonstration of a news announcement. Recipients started to produce their responses immediately after the first enacted turn, and oriented to the first enacted turn as a newsworthy utterance. While the initial characterization of telling in Type (I) provided recipients with hints for the timing of their response initiation at a possible completion point of enacted sequence, pre-announcements in Type (II) only minimally indicated the topical relation with the prior talk and projected that what was to follow was built to be some sort of news delivery. Thus, the understanding of the newsworthiness of the first enacted turn in Type (II) entailed co-participants' historically shared knowledge about the enacted matter. Hence, a teller not only announced new information (through enactment) but also presented it in a way that the enactment provided a sequential opportunity for interactants to publicly negotiate, construct, and reconstruct their relationship in interaction.

After recipient responses to the first enacted turn, tellers continued to develop the enacted sequence while recipients provided further responses, and this led to the interweave between the here-and-now and there-and-then sequences in the subsequent interaction. During the interweaving of the two sequences, the design of the here-and-now recipient turns influenced that of the enacted turns, and this indicated the mergence of the two interactions. Past CA studies have shown that a speaker's telling of an extended turn is accomplished collaboratively between tellers and recipients, and that a teller modifies the trajectory of telling while taking recipients'

moment-by-moment reactions into account. For instance, Goodwin (1986b) claims that recipients' assessments of unfolding tellings provide tellers choices of either aligning themselves with or countering recipients' proposals for assessments. Mandelbaum (1989) shows that recipients' questions in the midst of telling may shift the focus of the subsequent telling. The sequential organization of Type (II), in which tellers appropriated recipient responses to further develop there-and-then enacted sequences, also demonstrated the collaborative aspect of tellings in a way that the structural design of enacted interaction was contingent upon when and how recipients responded to the enactment in progress.

Chapter 5

Demonstration of Understanding through the Deployment of Enactments

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on cases in which tellers produce enactments to demonstrate what they have experienced (i.e., A-events, in which tellers have more access than recipients to information). In this chapter, the analytical focus shifts to cases in which interactants enact what co-participants have experienced (i.e., B-events, in which recipients of the enactment have more access than producers to information). In other words, producers of enactments in this chapter are recipients of the enacted information provided by co-participants. This chapter refers to interactants who originally provide certain information as “tellers,” and it refers to interactants who enact the received information as “recipients.”

Past CA studies of enactment have focused intensively on the practice of enacting A-events (Clift, 2006; Goodwin, 2002; Haakana, 2007; Holt, 1996, 2000; Sidnell, 2006; Suga 2012); yet, aside from research by Yamamoto (2013, 2014), enactments of B-events have received little attention. Yamamoto exclusively examines enactment of B-events, focusing specifically on enactments of story characters deployed by storytelling recipients.¹⁶ Yamamoto claims that the environment in which these enactments are positioned in the storytelling sequence is arranged through storytellers’ use of verbal and/or bodily enactments. Placed after

¹⁶ Yamamoto calls these enactments “*serifu*-utterances.” In Japanese, *serifu* means “lines in a play.” Yamamoto explains why she employs the term *serifu*-utterance as follows. *Serifu*-utterances in her database largely overlap with what has been widely called “direct reported speech.” However, most researchers define the phenomenon of “direct reported speech” based solely on its syntactic structure. By using the term *serifu*-utterance, Yamamoto attempts to capture the multimodal aspects of this phenomenon, including its prosodic and gestural features. The present research incorporates Yamamoto’s stance toward the significance of these multimodal aspects, but, because the Japanese noun *serifu* is generally used to refer to vocal productions, this study employs the term “enactment” to include an extended phenomenon in which interactants enact without any vocal utterances (an instance of this is Excerpt [3.06] shown in 3.3.2 of Chapter 3).

storytellers' enactments, recipients' enactments continue the tellers' enacting turns or sequences, and they bring the storytelling sequence to its closure. Yamamoto argues that storytelling recipients deploy enactments to demonstrate their detailed understanding of a story being told.

About a third of the 44 cases of recipients' enactments in the present database are similar to the enactments that Yamamoto (2013, 2014) focuses on in terms of their sequential and interactional features. However, in the current database, recipients' enactments are also observed in other sequential positions in interaction: positions that are not preceded by a storyteller's enactment. Consequently, their positional differences affect the trajectory of subsequent sequences in interactions; whereas B-event enactments examined in Yamamoto's study generally receive minimal acknowledgement from storytellers, other types of recipients' enactments, which the current chapter will examine, can receive different types of responses, including disconfirmations and corrections, by tellers who have more access to enacted information. Thus, the sequential configuration of the focal type of recipients' enactments is indicated as follows.

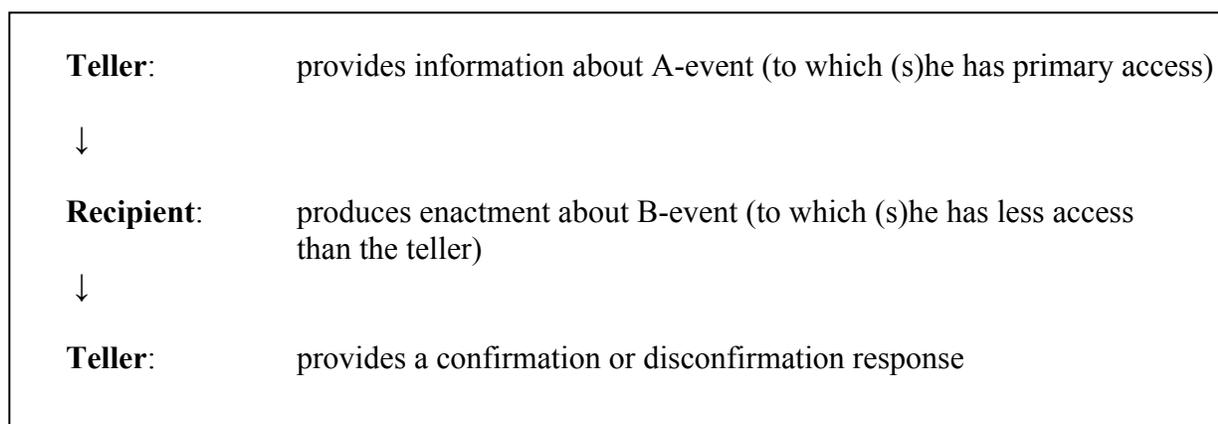


Chart 5.1 Schematic chart of the sequential configuration focused on in Chapter 5

This chapter analyzes this type of recipient enactment and calls it “B-event enactment.” Section 5.2 describes those B-event enactments' compositional features in relation to tellers'

prior turns. This section illustrates two distinct ways that recipients design their B-event enactments. Section 5.3 investigates tellers' response types to B-event enactments. Through the analyses of the variations of tellers' responses, this section contends that B-event enactments enable recipients to try out their varied levels of comprehension about ongoing talk in the interaction while at the same time they (B-event enactments) also help tellers check recipients' understanding. Finally, Section 5.4 provides a summary of the chapter.

5.2 Recipients' enactments as demonstrations of their understanding of B-events

The focal B-event enactments in this chapter are placed after a teller's turn that provides certain information to which he or she has primary access. This section describes how these B-event enactments are designed to be identifiable as such, while elucidating their compositional features in relation to tellers' prior turns. The analyses of the current database show that two types of B-event enactments perform different actions. The first type is used to articulate a protagonists' there-and-then utterance, the content of which was not explicitly provided in a teller's prior turn. The second type is used to reformulate a teller's prior turn in an enactment of the teller's there-and-then inner thought.

The first two excerpts in this section exemplify the first type of B-event enactments. In this type, a teller's prior turn typically contains some sort of description, but not demonstration, of a there-and-then protagonist's action that requires a verbal behavior. A B-event enactment produced in the next turn proffers a candidate demonstration of such a verbal action of the protagonist. The first example, Excerpt (5.01), is taken from a conversation among three participants. Yui and Kaori are college students at the same university, majoring in Japanese language and culture. Nao has graduated from the same university, and he currently engages in

Japanese language education. Prior to the segment, Nao told Yui and Kaori that he has been pursuing his career teaching Japanese in the U.S. despite his parents' opposition, and that his parents had disagreed with Nao's decision to study Japanese at the university from the very beginning. In lines 10-11, Kaori launches a B-event enactment, demonstrating a possible past utterance of one of Nao's parents. In the transcripts, turns that contain a B-event enactment are indicated with single arrows.

(5.01) [SHR3650] Parents

- 1 Nao: *motomoto hantaide nanka,*
 from.the.beginning oppose like
 From the beginning, ((my parents)) opposed, and like,
- 2 *tsuneni hantai o oshikitte kiteru kara:*
 always opposition O break.down come so
 I have always been breaking down their opposition, so
- 3 Yui: *eh, hantaisarete:, koko wa doo toka yuu*
 oh be.opposed here TP how toka say
- 4 *teenan toka wa atta n desu ka?*
 suggestion etc. TP existed N COP Q
 oh, you were opposed, and was there any suggestion, like,
 "how about here?"¹⁷
- 5 *oyagosan ka[ra].*
 parents from
 from your parents.
- 6 Nao: *[mo sore wa nai sore wa*
 well that TP no.exist that TP
- 7 *nai.*
 no.exist
 Well there wasn't such a thing, no.

¹⁷ This stretch of talk, *koko wa doo*, "how about here?" is also another B-event enactment, with which Yui demonstrates Nao's parent's possible past utterance. However, this enactment is excluded from the analytical target in the current study because it is embedded in a noun-modifying construction. As stated in Chapter 3, when an enactment is used as a part of a noun-modifier, it becomes difficult to distinguish what is done with enactment itself from what is done with the whole noun-modifying construction. Consequently, recipients' responses may also vary because of the differences in their syntactic positions. See 3.3.2 for more discussion.

- 8 Yui: *n: n[:*
Uh huh.
- 9 Nao: [*toriaezu hantaishite kuru [kara:*
first.of.all oppose come so
First of all they oppose, so
- 10 Kaori: -> [*>demo< demo*
but but
- 11 -> *nande soko na n da, mitaina?*
why there COP N COP *mitaina*
“But but why there?”
- 12 Nao: *n: [>nanka demo< tabun sore o*
yeah well but maybe that O
Yeah well but maybe against that
- 13 Yui: [*a::*
Oh.
- 14 Nao: *chanto, iikaeseru riyuu ga are ba[:*
properly can.talk.back reason SB exist if
if I have a good reason to talk back.

In lines 3-5, Yui asks Nao if his parents suggested some alternatives to his choice of university. Nao responds by saying that they opposed him without providing alternatives (lines 6, 7, and 9). When Nao’s turn in line 9 approaches its transition relevance space, Kaori takes a turn in line 10, saying, *>demo< demo nande soko na n da*, “but but why there?” The turn-initial repeated conjunctions, *>demo< demo* “but but,” do not carry any explicit linguistic cues signaling that they are a part of enactment. Thus, these turn-initial elements project Kaori’s possible here-and-now disagreement. However, the rest of Kaori’s unfolding turn retrospectively formulates her utterance as enactment in the following way.

After the turn-initial conjunctions, Kaori produces a question, *nande soko na n da*, “why there?” She does not design this question as her own here-and-now utterance but, by

manipulating speech style, as a there-and-then utterance. In Japanese, speech styles are generally represented by two predicate ending forms: *desu/masu* form (which is also known as the polite form) or *da* form (known as the plain form, the abrupt form, the naked form). These styles are identified as indexing different social contexts between participants such as social distance and relative social status that are determined by different status and/or degree of intimacy (Ikuta, 1983; Nazikian, 2010). For instance, the *desu/masu* form marks socially formal and polite contexts while the *da* form marks socially informal and casual contexts.¹⁸ During this conversation, Kaori consistently uses the *desu/masu* form when talking to Nao, Kaori's senior. However, the utterance—*nande soko na n da*, “why there?”—is formed in the *da* form. In addition, sentence-final forms in speech styles with the *da*-form are one of the gender-marking linguistic features (Okamoto, 1996, 1997), and the use of utterance-final *n da* (a nominalizer and a copula) in questions is typically associated with a male speaker rather than a female one. Thus, the speaker of this question is not hearable as Kaori, a female participant. After the production of this utterance, Kaori places an enactment marker *mitaina* and grammatically marks her preceding utterance as an enactment.

Placed immediately after Nao's statement about his parents' persistent opposition to his career choice (line 9), this enacted utterance, produced by Kaori, can be understood as a candidate utterance of Nao's parent directed toward Nao in a there-and-then situation. The referent of the deixis, *soko* “there,” is hearable and comparable with the other deixis *koko* “here,” which Yui used earlier in line 3 to refer to a university that Nao's parents would have recommended. In other words, the *soko* “there” in Kaori's B-event enactment refers to the

¹⁸ However, recent discourse-based studies indicate that such characteristics as polite/formal and casual/informal are insufficient to explain various functions of the two forms in diverse contexts, and they claim the importance of investigating motivations for the style shifting in dynamic, ongoing discourse instead of characterizing the style shifting as associated solely with the sociocultural features (Cook, 2002; Makino, 2002; Okamoto, 1999).

university Nao decided to go to (as opposed to a possible alternative university). Thus, Kaori demonstrates her understanding of the B-event by enacting Nao's parent—presumably his father—seeking Nao's reason for his decision. Therefore, this B-event enactment articulates the verbal action (through which Nao's parents oppose their son), which Nao described, but did not enact, in the prior turn in line 9. Also, Kaori, while gazing at Nao during her production of the enactment, designs this B-event enactment turn as interrogative with the turn-final rising intonation, which shows Kaori's orientation to solicit confirmation from Nao.

The next case, Excerpt (5.02) is another example of this type of B-event enactment. The excerpt is from a conversation among four friends. Prior to the segment, Rena has been telling co-participants about her company's financial status. Because of budget shortages, her company, which sends employees overseas to help organize international conferences for other companies and organizations, cannot afford to send Rena to London to help organize a conference. In line 24, Ako produces a B-event enactment, demonstrating a candidate utterance of a protagonist from Rena's telling.

(5.02) [OTR0046] Budget

- 1 Rena: *demo:: kugatsu mo:: mata, rondon ikeru kana*
but September too again London can.go FP
- 2 *to omot tara:, chotto: umaku itte nai*
to think when little well going NEG
- 3 *mita(h)ide::, okane [g-*
seem money
But I thought that I can go to London again in September,
but then ((my company)) doesn't seem to be doing well, and, money
- 4 Fumi: [hh
- 5 Rena: [*okane ga nai mitaide: hh*
money SB no.exist seem
It seems that we doesn't have money,

- 6 Yuka: [A ha ha h h
- 7 Ako: [h h h h h
- 8 Rena: .h [tsuretekare nai ka(h)mo(h)shi(h)re(h)na(h)i
be.taken.to NEG maybe
may not be taken ((to London)),
- 9 Yuka: [okane ga nai.
money SP no.exist
No money.
- 10 Rena: atashi h da(h)ke. hhh
I only
only me.
- 11 Yuka: EH::: hhhhhh rena chan dake?
what Rena AD only
What? Only you?
- 12 Rena: ((nod))
- 13 Yuka: Hh shigoto:: no[()
work
Work ()
- 14 Ako: [hitori bun tarinai
one.person amount insufficient
- 15 tte ko[to?
COM thing
You mean, ((your company)) doesn't have money for just one person?
- 16 Rena: [SOO. H h h
Right.
- 17 Ako: h h [ri(h)a(h)ru(h)ni. h[h ((to Yuka))
Specifically.
- 18 Yuka: [h h [sore,
that
- 19 Yuka: [riaru da yone [sore. ((to Ako))
specific COP FP that
That's specific, isn't it?
- 20 Rena: [ch- kinoo, [kino(h)o(h) iwareta n da mon

Rena's prior turn in lines 20-21. While being overlapped by Rena's repetition of the same adverb in line 23, Ako indicates her continuation of her turn with *nan^oka:* "like," and then produces a B-event enactment: *hitori bun chotto*, "the amount for one person is a bit" in line 24.

Ako designs this enactment as a candidate there-and-then utterance of the company president in the following ways. First, the enacted utterance consists of a noun *hitoribun* "the amount for one person" and a qualifier *chotto* (lit. "a little"). Ako recycles *hitoribun*, which she used earlier in line 14 in her candidate understanding of Rena's talk. *Chotto* is a pragmatic qualification of an action that indicates a speaker's hesitation (Matsumoto, 2001). Therefore, the use of the lexical item *chotto* without a following predicate (such as *tarinai* "insufficient," for instance) in the enactment depicts the enacted president's attitude toward his announcement to Rena in the there-and-then situation. Second, an enactment marker *tte* at the turn-final position grammatically marks its preceding utterance as an enactment. Third, placed immediately after Rena's description of the verbal action of the company president (i.e., Rena was "told" by the president), Ako's enacting turn (lines 22, 24) can be heard as what the president would have actually said to Rena in the there-and-then situation.

Regarding the turn composition wherein Ako's B-event enactment is embedded, the turn-final enactment marker *tte* is produced with rising intonation. During her production of the enacting turn, Ako directs her gaze toward Rena and chooses her as a primary addressee of the B-event enactment turn. These turn compositional features indicate Ako's orientation as seeking confirmation from the teller Rena, and are identical with those of B-event enactment in the previous case of Excerpt (5.01).

This section has thus far examined one type of B-event enactments, namely, enactments placed immediately after the description of a protagonist's verbal action ("opposing" in [5.01],

event enactment in (5.01) is marked by *mitaina*. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, *mitaina* is prototypically a pronominal form, as in “X *mitaina* Y,” meaning “X-like Y.” Since Nao’s turn in line 9 does not contain any noun, the *mitaina*-marked B-event enactment in lines 10-11 cannot be syntactically inserted into Nao’s prior turn.²¹ In the current database, *tte* and *mitaina* are both used as markers for other B-event enactments of this type—ones placed after tellers’ prior turns containing descriptions of protagonists’ verbal actions. Thus, the focal B-event enactment turns do not completely overlap with the PIEs that Hayashi and Hayano (2013) surveyed. Yet, they do share something in common with PIE: they are fairly compositionally dependent upon tellers’ prior turns.

Unlike the above cases, another type of B-event enactment does not compositionally depend upon a teller’s prior turn. In this second type of B-event enactment, recipients reformulate tellers’ prior turns that do not provide any description of past verbal actions. Such enactments typically depict tellers’ there-and-then inner thoughts. The following two excerpts are cases in point.

The first case takes place in a conversation among three men. They have been talking about how they shop at electronics retail stores. While Ogawa states that he leaves a shop as soon as he has bought what he needs, Kato says that he walks around all the floors of a store building. Immediately prior to the focal segment, Kato started providing an example of how he walks around a store when purchasing ink for a Canon printer. In line 1, Kato asks his co-participants whether they would check Epson’s ink even if they need ink for a Canon printer.

²¹ If *mitaini* (i.e., the adverbial form of *mitaina*) is used here instead of *mitaina*, Kaori’s B-event enactment turn becomes syntactically insertable, as in *toriaezu demo demo nande soko na n da mitaini hantaishite kuru kara*: “First of all they oppose like ‘**but but why there?**’ so.” However, the use of *mitaini* for this type of B-event enactments is not observed in the current database.

(5.04) [OJN0950] Ink²²

- 1 Kato: *nde ichioo ano kyanon kat tara*
and in.case uhm Canon buy when
- 2 *epuson no mo mi nai?*
Epson LK too look NEG
And just in case, when you buy Canon, don't you check Epson as well?
- 3 *(0.8)*
- 4 Kato: *h[hhhh*
- 5 Abe: *[hahahahh[hhhhhhhh*
- 6 Ogawa: *[soko made shi masen nee ehe[hehehe*
there till do NEG FP
I don't do that far.
- 7 Kato: *[hhhehehe*
- 8 Abe: *.hhh kya- kyanon shika motte hen noni*
Ca- Canon only have NEG although
- 9 *[epuson mi temo [shaanai.*
Epson look even.if cannot.help
It's useless to check Epson if you only have Canon.
- 10 Ogawa: *[o::n, [miru hitsuyoo ga nai*
Yeah look necessity SB no.exist
- 11 *kara ne[e.*
because FP
Yeah, there isn't necessity to check it, so.
- 12 Kato: *[yaa dakara maa tashoo hora*
well because uhm a.little look
- 13 *kongo ne?*
future FP
Well because, uhm, a little bit for the future?
- 14 Ogawa: -> *nn aa, kondo kau n yat*
uh oh next.time buy N COP

²² Although B-event enactments usually receive tellers' (dis)confirmation responses, the B-event enactment in this excerpt (lines 14-15) does not. While Ogawa starts producing the B-event enactment, Kato secures mutual gaze with Abe and provides further justification for his earlier claim, which overlaps with Ogawa's B-event enactment.

In response to Kato, Ogawa first produces in line 14 an acknowledgement token *nn* “uh” and then soon launches onto a change-of-state token *aa* “oh” (cf., Heritage, 1984), displaying that some sort of realization has occurred. Then Ogawa continues his turn and demonstrates his understanding of the justification Kato provided in the prior turn (lines 12-13) by producing a B-event enactment—*kondo kau n yatt tara epuson no hoo ga, toku kana*: “if I buy the next time, I wonder if Epson might be more economical” (lines 14-15). The utterance-final *kana*: is typically used when a speaker expresses his or her uncertainty about the factual status of a proposition, and it often forms a monologue (Matsugu, 2005). Thus, with this utterance-final particle *kana*:, this enacted utterance is designed as an inner thought of the enacted speaker, Kato, who thinks that checking other brands’ inks is potentially useful if he needs to buy a new printer and ink in the future.

As the above analysis has shown, Ogawa reformulates what Kato said in the prior turn into a B-event enactment, depicting Kato’s there-and-then inner thought. Through the B-event enactment, Ogawa demonstrates his understanding of Kato’s justification. Unlike B-event enactments in (5.01) and (5.02), Ogawa’s B-event enactment in (5.04) is designed structurally independent from the teller Kato’s prior turns. His B-event enactment is not designed as syntactically or semantically insertable into the prior turn. However, Ogawa’s B-event enactment also shares features similar to those from the previous cases. His B-event enactment is prosodically designed as interrogative by producing a turn-final enactment marker *tte* with rising intonation. With this turn-final construction, Ogawa displays his orientation to soliciting confirmation from Kato.

The next excerpt is from a conversation among three colleagues who have been talking about what they typically do after arriving home from work. The target B-event enactment appears in line 12.

(5.05) [OL1600] TV

- 1 Aiko: *terebi tsukete: dorama tsukete tara,*
TV turn.on drama turn.on if
If I turn on the TV and put on a drama,
- 2 *>taigai neru °mitaina.°<²³*
usually sleep like
like I usually fall asleep.
- 3 Rina: *a: socchi wa shuuchuushite hen ne ya na.*
oh that.way TP concentrating NEG N COP FP
Oh so you aren't focusing on that.
- 4 Aiko: *un ZENNzen shuuchuushute hen.*
Yeah not.at.all concentrating NEG
Yeah, I'm not at all.
- 5 Rina: *a[hahahahaha*
- 6 Yumi: *[hhhh*
- 7 Aiko: *[HAHAHAHAHAHAHA*
- 8 Aiko: *atashi, nankkaimo dakara:, ano,*
I many.times so like
- 9 *makimodoshi suru hito?*
rewind do person
So I'm a person who rewinds many times?
- 10 *(.)*
- 11 Aiko: *>a[re soo ie ba< ima- hh*
oh so say if now
"Oh come to think of it, now"

²³ Although *mitaina* is placed at a turn-final position, the utterance that precedes it (lines 1-2) is not designed as enacted material, but it is grammatically and prosodically understood as providing a descriptive statement.

- 12 Rina: -> [eh ima mite hen katta [wa, **mitain**(h) a(h)
oh now watching NEG PAST FP *mitaina*
“Oh I wasn’t watching now.”
- 13 Aiko: [so(h) o so(h) o,
Right right
- 14 *mi(h) te(h) he(h) n.* [hhh
watching NEG
I’m not watching.
- 15 Rina: [hh

Immediately prior to the segment, Aiko told her co-participants that she does not read before going to bed because reading keeps her awake. Then in line 1, Aiko says that she turns the TV on instead, which makes her sleepy. In response, Rina checks her understanding by asking if Aiko does not focus on TV dramas. In the following turn, Aiko confirms Rina’s proffer of her understanding, and this leads to participants laughing. After their concurrent laughter, Aiko in line 8 describes herself as “a person who rewinds²⁴ many times.” As it is linguistically prefaced with *dakara* “so” (line 8), this information about Aiko’s habitual behavior is provided as a resultant situation of her not focusing on TV dramas. At the same time, by using the word *hito* “person” to refer to herself, Aiko, instead of describing her own behavior as a unique action, brings up a general characterization of a group of people who may rewind TV programs many times, and identifies herself as a member of this category.

Aiko designs her turn-final syllable *hito* “person” in line 9 with a rising intonation, which solicits recipients’ acknowledgement. However, Aiko’s turn is followed by a micro pause, during which Yumi, to whom Aiko directs her gaze, is drinking tea. After this micro pause, Aiko and Rina almost concurrently initiate a turn and produce similar enactments. A gap of less than a

²⁴ What people can “rewind” is usually video-recorded TV programs, not programs that are broadcasting in real time. Although Aiko does not provide the object of “rewinding” in line 9, recipients do not problematize it.

second in the timing of their initiations of enactments shows that Rina's enactment is not launched as a continuation of Aiko's enactment, but is precipitated by Aiko's turn in lines 8 and 9 and by the following micro pause in line 10.

In line 12, Rina says, *eh ima mite hen katta wa*, "oh I wasn't watching now." Placed in this position, this utterance, which is retrospectively marked with an enactment marker *mitaina*, can be heard as a candidate demonstration of Aiko having realized that she had not been focusing on the TV for a little while. In other words, Rina reformulates the prior turn of the descriptive characterization of Aiko's behavior into an enacted inner realization, proffering a more specific depiction of a possible there-and-then situation wherein Aiko rewinds a TV drama. The turn-initial token *eh* demonstrates an enacted there-and-then surprise in the speaker (Aiko); the time reference *ima* "now" as well as the choice of the verb's aspect—*mite hen katta*, "wasn't watching"—implies the relatively short duration of Aiko's lack of attention to the TV (rather than all night, for instance). Furthermore, this B-event enactment not only demonstrates Aiko's action of rewinding a TV drama but also presents the reason for her behavior (i.e., Aiko does not pay attention to the TV).

As noted earlier, Rina's enactment overlaps with Aiko's enactment. Both Aiko's enactment (*are soo ie ba ima*, "oh come to think of it, now") in line 11 and Rina's enactment (*eh ima mite hen katta wa*, "oh I wasn't watching now") in line 12 similarly demonstrate Aiko's there-and-then realization of not having focused on the TV for a little while. Whereas Aiko enacts herself and extends her prior informing turn of an A-event statement, Rina reformulates the B-event information provided in Aiko's prior turn into an enactment. Put differently, Rina utilizes a B-event enactment to demonstrate her understanding of the teller's prior turn (lines 8-9).

Section 5.2 investigated what recipients demonstrate through their deployment of B-event enactments. The focal type of B-event enactments in the present chapter featured two different types. In the first type, B-event enactments were launched immediately after tellers' turns wherein protagonists' past verbal actions such as saying or opposing were described. With these B-event enactments, recipients demonstrated protagonists' candidate there-and-then past utterances. These B-event enactment turns were designed compositionally dependent on tellers' immediately prior turns. In the second type, on the other hand, B-event enactments were structurally independent from tellers' prior turns. In cases of this second type, recipients reformulated tellers' prior turns in the form of the tellers' enacted inner thoughts that could have occurred at there-and-then situations. By providing B-event enactments in both ways, recipients demonstrated understanding of the immediately prior turns as well as of tellers' talk.

The B-event enactments examined in this section were often embedded in turns with turn-final interrogative intonation. In the current database, other B-event enactment turns tend to also be designed as interrogative grammatically and/or prosodically (as will be demonstrated in the next section). These turn constructional features index recipients' less epistemic authority about what they enact, and solicit tellers' (dis)confirmation for the enacted information. The next section will investigate how tellers, who have primary access to the enacted information, display their orientation toward and respond to B-event enactments.

5.3 Tellers' responses to B-event enactments

The previous section showed that recipients often construct B-event enactment turns as interrogative with rising intonation and/or with the use of a question particle at the turn-final position. With the turn constructions, recipients display less epistemic authority about the

enacted information and solicit tellers' (dis)confirmation. Section 5.3 analyzes the turn subsequent to B-event enactment and shows that tellers consistently respond to B-event enactments in the turn immediately following the enactments. This section first examines tellers' responses that feature tokens. By showing that tellers may respond to B-event enactments both with confirmation and disconfirmation tokens, 5.3.1 argues that B-event enactments can demonstrate recipients' varied levels of understanding of B-events and can also help tellers to check recipients' comprehension. This subsection also points out that tellers use a particular type of confirming token, *soo*, and discusses the interactional relevancy for the use of this token as a confirmation response to the focal B-event enactments. Then, 5.3.2 investigates another type of response: tellers produce their own version of enactment without any preceding (dis)confirmation token. This subsection discusses how tellers, by responding to B-event enactments in this way, prioritize the claim of their primary right to enact their own experiences over the confirmation of B-event enactment.

5.3.1 Tellers' responses with (dis)confirmation tokens

5.3.1.1 Tellers' confirmation responses with soo-type token

One of the ways that tellers respond to B-event enactments is to provide confirmation with *soo*-type tokens. In Japanese, there are basically two types of confirmation tokens: *nn*-type tokens and *soo*-type tokens. Both types of tokens can be used as an affirmative response to yes/no interrogatives. There are, however, important differences between these two tokens. First, while *nn*-type tokens can also be used as a continuer, i.e., a token used to pass an opportunity to take a turn (Schegloff, 1982), *soo*-type tokens do not serve as such. Second, only *soo*-type tokens

are used as an anaphora in a phrase, clause, or sentence.²⁵ Thus unlike *nn*-type tokens, *soo*-type tokens are heard as hinging upon the prior turn.

Among the literature on these two tokens (e.g., Bono, 2002; Sadanobu, 2002; Sato, 2005; Takubo & Kinsui, 1997), Kushida's (2011) conversation analytic study on responses to other-initiated repair is relevant to the present research. Kushida especially focuses on the practice of offering a candidate understanding as one way of initiating repair, and observes how a trouble-source speaker responds to a candidate understanding by using either a *nn*-type token or a *soo*-type token. According to Kushida, a *nn*-type token is used by a trouble-source speaker to simply confirm the repair-initiating speaker's understanding, whereas a *soo*-type token is used for acknowledging a recipient's assistance in reformulating the trouble-source speaker's turn. Thus, by responding with a *soo*-type token, the trouble-source speaker displays his or her stance toward the fact that the recipient has assisted in solving a trouble in speaking.²⁶

²⁵ Excerpt (5.06) shows an example of a *soo*-type token being used as an anaphora. The *soo* in Rika's turn of line 2 anaphorically refers to the reported information provided in Kii's prior turn of line 1.

(5.06) [NYR10805] Pizza

1 Kii: *ato shikago pizza toka anma kitaisen hoogaii tte iwareta.*
 and Chicago pizza TP much expect.NEG better *tte* be.said
 And I was told that it's better not to expect so much of Chicago pizza.

2 Rika: -> *ah soo na n?*
 oh so COP Q
 Oh, is that so?

²⁶ The following excerpt and its analysis are cited from Kushida (2011), and present an instance of a *soo*-type token response to a candidate understanding. After a participant S told co-participants that he bought a MD (Mini Disk) player, K challenges S by stating the unnecessary of buying it as a recording device. In response to K's challenge, S defends himself by saying that he wanted an MD player with *gaibu tanshi* ("an external terminal"). This phrase *gaibu tanshi* (line 8) is the trouble source. (The transcript conventions as well as the line numbers are kept the same as the original.)

(5.07) [Cafeteria: 1] (cited from Kushida [2011: 2726-2727])

8 S: >°*chau*°< *oreno wa sono (0.2) gaibu↑ tanshi ga*
 no mine TP that external terminal SP

According to Kushida (2011), the combination of the lexical property of *soo*-type tokens (i.e., as an anaphora) and its sequential position (i.e., as being produced after a recipient's candidate understanding) is what makes *soo*-type tokens a resource for a trouble-source speaker to acknowledge a recipient's assistance for the original formulation of talk. While a trouble-source speaker agrees with a recipient's candidate understanding as an independent formulation, the speaker does so in the capacity of his or her primary right to what is formulated in the candidate understanding. Thus, the teller can acknowledge assistance in formulation, as well as confirm understanding, with *soo*-type tokens.

In the current database, there also seems to be a tendency regarding the use of the two types of confirmation tokens as responses to B-event enactments. First, tellers tend to use *nn*-type tokens to respond to recipients' B-event enactments produced after the tellers' enactments

9	<i>hoshikatte n ya::n. =>daka< saisee senyoo demo</i> want N FP so play only even.though
10	<i>tsuito ttara yokatte[n kedo na.</i> attach if good though FP No, I just wanted (an MD player) with uhm (0.2) an external terminal.= So (one) without the recording option would have been fine.
11 O:	[a::a. Oh.
12 K:	<i>gaibu tanshi tte kono ano nanka</i> external terminal QP this that like
13	<i>oodio to tsunageru toka [sooyuu] yatsu::?</i> stereo CP connect etc. like.that thing By an external terminal, (y'mean) one to connect (it) to uhm, y'know, a stereo or something like that?
14 S: ->	[soo soo.]
15	-> °soo soo.°

After displaying a problem in word selection (with *sono* “that” and a short pause in line 8), S provides the phrase *gaibu tanshi* as a solution to his speaking problem. However, this solution is unsatisfactory in that it does not specify the terminal's function. In lines 12-13, K checks his understanding of *gaibu tanshi* by proffering an alternative formulation, which consists of a candidate description of the terminal's function. Kushida argues that this displays K's understanding not only of *gaibu tanshi* but of how the MD player may be worth buying. Also, from S's perspective, K's proffered formulation can be regarded as assistance for implementing S's intended action (of defending himself from K's challenge).

32 Yuka: -> *chanto chekku shita? mita[ina.*
 properly check did *mitaina*
 “Did you check it well?”

33 Rena: => [*n:n.*
 Yeah.

34 (1.5)

In line 26, the storyteller Rena enacts herself, demonstrating her there-and-then surprise at an officer’s careless work at an immigration check counter. Following this enactment by Rena, Yuka produces B-event enactments in lines 28 and 32, designing them as a continuation of Rena’s enactment. Rena responds to Yuka’s B-event enactments, minimally acknowledging them with nodding (line 29) and with a *nn*-type token (line 33).

Conversely, when B-event enactments are produced without tellers’ enactments in the preceding turn (as the focal type in this chapter), tellers appear to respond with *soo*-type tokens rather than with *nn*-type tokens. The present study argues that *soo*-type tokens are used as a display of tellers’ acknowledgement of recipient’s assistance in reformulating the tellers’ prior talk in the form of B-event enactment. The following two excerpts are provided as examples.

The first example of a teller’s *soo*-type token response to a B-event enactment is observed in Excerpt (5.05), which was presented in the previous section. As discussed in 5.2, in this segment, Aiko is telling her co-participants that she does not pay attention to the TV at all when it is on. Aiko characterizes herself as “a person who rewinds ((TV programs)) many times” in lines 8-9, which Rina’s B-event enactment reformulates in line 12.

(5.05) [OL1600] TV

1 Aiko: *terebe tsukete: dorama tsukete tara,*
 TV turn.on drama turn.on if
 If I turn on the TV and put on a drama,

- 2 >taigai neru °mitaina.°<
usually sleep like
like I usually fall asleep.
- 3 Rina: a: socchi wa shuuchuushite hen ne ya na.
oh that.way TP concentrating NEG N COP FP
Oh so you aren't focusing on that.
- 4 Aiko: un ZENNzen shuuchuushute hen.
yeah not.at.all concentrating NEG
Yeah, I'm not at all.
- 5 Rina: a[hahahahaha
- 6 Yumi: [hhhh
- 7 Aiko: [HAHAHAHAHAHAHA
- 8 Aiko: atashi, nankkaimo dakara:, ano,
I many.times so uhm
- 9 makimodoshi suru hito?
rewind do person
So I'm a person who rewinds ((TV programs)) many times?
- 10 (.)
- 11 Aiko: >a[re soo ie ba< ima- hh
oh so say if now
"Oh come to think of it, now"
- 12 Rina: -> [eh ima mite hen katta wa [**mitain**(h) **a**(h)
oh now watching NEG PAST FP mitaina
"Oh I wasn't watching now."
- 13 Aiko: => [so(h)o so(h)o,
Right right
- 14 => mi(h)te(h) he(h)n. [hhh
watching NEG
I'm not watching.
- 15 Rina: [hh

When Aiko characterizes herself as “a person who rewinds ((TV programs)) many times” in lines 8-9, she terminates the turn with rising intonation. This makes her recipients’ display of understanding relevant in the next turn. However, Yumi, to whom Aiko is directing her gaze, is drinking water and therefore is not physically available to take a turn. This physical constraint brings about a micro pause in line 10. It is after this micro pause that Rina produces a B-event enactment in line 12. In this sequential positioning, this B-event enactment is heard as Rina’s demonstration of her understanding of Aiko’s statement in lines 8-9.

When Rina initiates a B-event enactment in line 12, Aiko almost simultaneously starts her own enactment in line 11. Soon after Rina initiates her B-event enactment, Aiko shifts her gaze from Yumi to Rina while still continuing her enacting turn. Aiko uses a time reference *ima* “now” (which Rina has just used in her B-event enactment in line 12), cuts off the last mora of the word, and laughs. Then Aiko in line 13 repeats *soo*-type tokens twice in the overlap with an enactment marker *mitaina* that follows Rina’s B-event enactment. Aiko uses *soo*-type tokens to agree with the independent formulation of Rina’s B-event enactment, but such an agreement is done with Aiko’s primary access to what is demonstrated, which originally stems from her past experience. Thus, Aiko, by responding with *soo*-type tokens, not only confirms the content of Rina’s B-event enactment but also acknowledges Rina’s assistance in reformulating what Aiko stated in lines 8-9.

Further evidence for the above analysis comes from Aiko’s continuing turn in line 14. After *soo*-type tokens in line 13, Aiko says, *mi(h)te(h) he(h)n* “not watching” with laughter inserted. This is a partial repeat of Rina’s B-event enactment in line 12. As shown by Schegloff (1996b), such repeats claim that what the other participant (here, Rina) has put into words had been alluded but not yet explicitly articulated by the speaker (here, Aiko). In other words, Aiko’s

repeat response does the action of “confirming allusion” and thus indicates that Rina’s enacting reformulation of the B-event is what Aiko has inferred in her prior statement.

The next case, Excerpt (5.09), is another example where co-tellers respond to a recipient’s B-event enactment with *soo*-type tokens. The excerpt shows a segment in which a lengthy telling approaches its possible completion. In the telling, two co-tellers, Yuki and Ken, describe a conversation they had with Akiyama, a mutual friend, to Nami, another conversation participant. Throughout the telling, Yuki and Ken struggle to describe accurately how Akiyama communicates with others. The focal segment occurs approximately three minutes later, when Yuki and Ken still display difficulty providing an accurate description of Akiyama. From line 103 onward, Ken retries explaining Akiyama’s way of communication. In lines 111-113, Yuki joins in this process of explaining. It is after this explanation by Ken and Yuki that Nami produces a B-event enactment in line 116.

(5.09) [DBT3416] Mr. Akiyama

- 1 - 101 ((*Yuki & Ken have described Akiyama as
being bad at judging timing to speak
during conversation.*))
- 102 Yuki: *nantomo i e hen na:.*
anyhow say can NEG FP
I don't know how to say.
- 103 Ken: *boku ra wa:, are na n ya kedo ne, ano,*
I PL TP that COP N COP but FP uhm
We are like that, uhm,
- 104 *guai warui na: omo tara,*
condition bad FP think if
if we think we are out of place,
- 105 *kekko damattoku taipu de:.*
quite keep.quiet type and
we tend to keep being quiet,
- 106 Yuki: [*un.*]

Yeah.

107 Nami: [un un.
Uh huh.

108 Ken: *ji:: tto kamaetoku taipu* [na n ya kedo::,
MIM COM be.posed type COP N COP but
We tend to stay quiet, but,

109 Nami: [un un.
Uh huh.



Figure 5.01

110 Ken: *ma, () ya* [n na.
well COP FP FP
Well, (), right?

111 Yuki: [guai warui na to omo
condition bad FP COM think



Figure 5.02

112 *tara dondon mawari dasu ne n na,*
when more.and.more spin start N COP FP
If ((Akiyama)) thinks that his condition is bad, he starts spinning
more and more,

113 [karamawarishi dasu ne n na.

spin start N COP FP
 he starts spinning his wheels, right?

114 Ken: [HA ha h h h h

115 Nami: [A, SOo.
 oh so
 Oh, really.



Figure 5.03

116 Nami: -> ((-----in an anxious tone-----))
 nantoka boku ga shintoaka:::[n, tte
 somehow I SB have.to.do tte

117 Yuki: => [soo soo
 right right

118 Nami: -> [narahan [ne n na.
 become N COP FP
 ((Akiyama)) becomes, “somehow I have to make it,” right?

119 Yuki: => [soo [soo soo °soo. °
 Right right right right.

120 Ken: => [soo soo soo.
 Right right right.

121 Nami: soo ka.
 so Q
 I see.

In lines 103-108, Ken topicalizes the members of the past conversation, which included himself, stating that they remain quiet whenever they feel out of place during a conversation.

Then Ken uses a conjunctive particle *kedo* “but” at the end of line 108, which projects that something contrastive will be due in the following turn at talk. In line 110, he raises his hands and spins them in front of his torso (Figure 5.01) while saying something (unheard by the researcher). Slightly overlapping with Ken’s turn, Yuki takes a turn in line 111 and repeats the conditional *if*-clause that Ken produced earlier (“if [Akiyama] thinks that his condition is bad”). Then Yuki makes a hand gesture identical to Ken’s prior movements (Figure 5.02), and says that Akiyama, instead of staying quiet, “starts spinning more and more.” Nami first produces a news receipt (*A, SOo*, “Oh, really?”) in line 115 and then launches a B-event enactment in line 116.

As soon as Yuki’s turn in line 113 comes to its TRP, Nami takes a turn and says *nantoka boku ga shintoaka:::n*, “somehow I have to make it.” By producing this utterance in an anxious tone of voice and by utilizing the first-person pronoun *boku* “I,” which is generally used by male speakers (Ide, 1979; Lunsing & Maree, 2004), Nami enacts Akiyama’s inner thought of trying to make the conversation situation better. In addition, Nami spins her hands during the enactment (Figure 5.03), just as Ken and Yuki did before (Figures 5.01, 5.02). Thus, this enacted utterance is heard and seen as Nami’s reformulation of Ken and Yuki’s descriptions of Akiyama in lines 110, 112, and 113.

In response to Nami’s B-event enactment, Yuki and Ken provide confirmation responses with *soo*-type tokens (lines 117, 119, and 120). First, Yuki, while maintaining mutual gaze with Nami, nods and provides *soo*-type tokens when the enacted turn of Akiyama is about to reach its utterance-final element. After receiving Yuki’s confirmation, Nami quickly shifts her gaze toward Ken, who also starts launching *soo*-type tokens successively. By choosing *soo*-type tokens rather than *un*-type tokens, both Yuki and Ken not only confirm the accuracy of what Nami demonstrated through her B-event enactment, but also acknowledge that Nami’s

reformulation of Yuki's and Ken's prior turns assists their trial of describing Akiyama's characteristics.

The turn construction of Nami's B-event enactment as well as the timing of Yuki and Ken's responses to it reveals the interactants' orientations toward the deployment of B-event enactment. Nami linguistically designs her turn to seek confirmation: after marking her B-event enactment with an enactment marker *tte* and a verb *naraharu* "become," Nami further extends her turn incrementally with turn-final elements such as a nominalizer (*ne*), a copula (*n*), and a final particle (*na*). These utterance-final elements grammatically indicate Nami's orientation as overtly soliciting tellers' (dis)confirmation relevant in the next turn. The morphological combination of *ne* and *n* corresponds to *no da* in the so-called standard Japanese, and presents the preceding proposition as certain information. The combination marks that information as known or at least assumed to be known either to a speaker or an addressee, or both (McGloin, 1980). When a speaker assumes that his/her addressee has more knowledge about a certain piece of information, the speaker, by marking the information with *no da*, indicates that he/she has gained some amount of the information and now requests confirmation from the addressee regarding its validity (Nakano, 2009). The final-particle *na* (which corresponds to *ne* in the so-called standard Japanese) also indexes its speaker's epistemic stance toward the proposition, with which a speaker provides the information as equally shared by an addressee, soliciting the addressee's agreement (Hayano, 2013). Thus, with the turn-final construction of *ne n na*, Nami presents the B-event enactment as the demonstration of her degree of knowledge about the enacted information (which she has gained in the thus-far talk in the interaction) and seeks confirmation for it from Yuki and Ken.

In response to Nami's B-event enactment, however, Yuki and Ken provide confirmation responses with *soo*-type tokens (lines 117, 119, and 120) before Nami's production of the turn-final elements of confirmation seeking. Regardless of Nami's display of her epistemic stance toward her B-event enactment, Yuki and Ken, in the timing of their responses, evidently orient to their interactional position of judging the accuracy of the B-event enactment. In other words, the deployment of a B-event enactment in interaction itself makes a teller's (dis)confirmation a conditionally relevant next action.

5.3.1.1 focused on of the frequently observed types of tellers' responses to B-event enactment: confirmation responses with *soo*-type tokens. With the lexical feature of *soo*-type tokens anaphorically affirming the prior turn, tellers agreed with recipients' B-event enactments as independent formulations. At the same time, tellers performed such agreement based on their primary access to enacted information. Thus, tellers' *soo*-type confirmation responses indicate the tellers' acknowledgement of recipients' assistance in reformulating what the tellers have stated. It was also observed that tellers may launch *soo*-type confirmation responses before hearing the turn-final composition of B-event enactment that recipients design to seek confirmation from the teller.²⁸ This timing of tellers' production of *soo*-type responses showed their strong orientation toward an interactional position of (dis)confirming the content of B-event enactments regardless of the turn construction in which B-event enactments are embedded.

²⁸ This early production of tellers' confirmation tokens in response to B-event enactments also provides evidence that Japanese conversation participants do not rely solely on the syntactic design of enactment. As discussed in 2.4 in Chapter 2, Japanese enactments are, due to the predicate-final structure of the language, indicated as enactments retroactively by an enactment marker and its following verb of communication that are both placed after enacted materials. However, in real time conversation, different compositional aspects of an enactment being accumulated moment-by-moment cue participants to recognize a certain stretch of talk as enactment. For more detailed discussion about the recognizability of Japanese enactment, see 3.3.1 in Chapter 3.

5.3.1.2 Tellers' disconfirmation responses

In the cases examined above in 5.3.1.1, tellers confirmed the content of what was enacted with *soo*-type tokens. However, the current database shows that B-event enactments do not always receive tellers' confirmation but may get disconfirmation as well. 5.3.1.2 provides two excerpts and argues that recipients do not always proffer B-event enactments with a thorough comprehension of the B-event, but may deploy B-event enactments for proposing tentative understanding of tellers' ongoing talk and provide a sequential opportunity for tellers to verify their understanding.

The first case, Excerpt (5.10), is from a segment approximately three minutes before Excerpt (5.09), examined earlier in 5.3.1.1. Yuki and Ken are talking about a conversation they had the other day with some friends. In lines 1 and 3, Yuki states that among the members who participated in the conversation, only Akiyama did not have communication skills.²⁹ Then Yuki and Ken attempt to describe Akiyama's way of interacting with others, and, in response, a recipient Nami checks her understanding by deploying a B-event enactment.

(5.10) [DBT3416] Mr. Akiyama

- 1 Yuki: *honde ano: akiyama san dake ga:*,
and uhm Akiyama AD only SB
And uhm only Mr. Akiyama
- 2 Ken: *un.*
Uh huh.
- 3 Yuki: *nakatte n.*
didn't exist N
didn't have.

²⁹ Immediately before line 1, Yuki explained that the conversation participants (excerpt for Akiyama) were all communicative because they have features of a "koala," which, according to a zoological fortunetelling the participants know, indicates a person's high communication skill. So, what Yuki means by saying, "only Mr. Akiyama didn't have" (lines 1 and 3) is that Akiyama did not have the features of a "koala." Throughout this approximately one-hour conversation, the participants occasionally talk about this zoological fortunetelling, and among the three, Yuki especially appears to be very familiar with the fortunetelling.

- 4 (.)
- 5 Nami: *kaerahat[ta n?*
returned Q
Did he go home?
- 6 Ken: [a: [a: a:
Oh yeah yeah.
- 7 Yuki: [n:n, *uitehatta.*
no was.floating
No, he wasn't fitting in.
- 8 Yuki: [h h h h h h h h h
- 9 Nami: [*uitehatta.* A HA[HA H h h
was.floating
He wasn't fitting in.
- 10 Ken: [H H H H H
- 11 Nami: *doo yuu ko(h)[to? oh h h h h h .h ha ha*
how say thing
What do you mean?
- 12 Yuki: [h h h h h
- 13 Ken: *karamawari, mi(h)taina [kanji³⁰ [yaro?*
spinning like feeling TAG
It's something like he was spinning, right?
- 14 Nami: [a(h)h [soo na n?
oh so COP N
Oh, really?
- 15 Yuki: [soo soo soo soo.
Right right right right.
- 16 Nami: -> *hatsugenshi tara minna EH:::: >mitaina kanji*
speak when everyone what *mitaina kanji*
- 17 -> *ni [naru no<?*
to become N
When ((he)) speaks, everyone becomes, "what?"?

³⁰ Although *mitaina kanji* is used in this turn, the utterance that precedes it is not designed as enacted material, but it is grammatically and prosodically understood as a descriptive statement about Akiyama's condition.

- 18 Ken: => [ya::: s:
No.
- 19 Yuki: => [>iya< *nanka, doo yuu tara ee yaro na:.*
no like how say if good I.wonder FP
No, like how can I say.
- 20 Ken: *suberanai hanashi*³¹ *tte aru desho:?*
slip.NEG story SB exist TAG
There are unfailingly funny stories, right?
- 21 Nami: *un.*
Uh huh.
- 22 Ken: *are no gyaku ya ne n.*
that LK opposite COP N COP
((His talk)) is opposite to that.
- 23 Yuki: *soo soo soo soo.*
Right right right right.

Yuki first describes Akiyama as *uitehatta* “he wasn’t fitting in” (line 7).³² After Nami requests further clarification in line 11, Ken uses the word *karamawari* “spinning” for his description of Akiyama’s behavior in line 13, which receives Yuki’s agreement (line 15). In response to Ken’s turn, Nami also produces a news mark (line 14), but it is overlapped by Yuki’s agreement turn. After this overlap is dissolved, Nami produces a B-event enactment turn in lines 16-17, through which Nami depicts her candidate understanding of the situation of Akiyama “not fitting in” and “spinning” when engaged in conversation.

In line 16, Nami first produces a *when*-clause, *hatsugenshi tara* “when speaks.” By the time of the production of this *when*-clause, the subject of the action “to speak” is not overtly stated but, in this sequential position, is assumable to be either Akiyama or his interactants. Then

³¹ The literal meaning of *suberanai hanashi* is “a story which does not slip.” However, *suberanai hanashi* is used as a kind of idiom, in which *suberanai* means “won’t fail” or “won’t stumble.” Thus, *suberanai hanashi* refers to a story that is delivered usually in a comical way with a punch line.

³² The verb *uku* “to float” is metaphorically used to refer to a situation where one does not fit in conversation well.

- 117 Yuki: => [soo soo
Right right
- 118 Nami: -> [narahan [ne n na.
become N COP FP
((Akiyama)) becomes, “somehow I have to make it,” right?
- 119 Yuki: => [soo [soo soo °soo. °
right right right right.
- 120 Ken: -> [soo soo soo.
Right right right.

Thus, a recipient Nami utilizes B-event enactments twice (first at the beginning of tellers’ telling, and then around the topic closure) throughout this lengthy topical talk—wherein accomplishing Nami’s understanding of it has been an interactionally relevant issue—and demonstrates her understanding about B-event information at different stages of the ongoing talk.

The next case, Excerpt (5.11), is another example of a teller’s disconfirmation response to a B-event enactment. In (5.11), a recipient provides B-event enactments as candidate items for what a teller is recollecting. The B-event enactments are, however, disconfirmed by the teller, and they are followed by the teller’s correct version of enactment. The data is from a conversation among three friends, who work at different places in Japan. Immediately prior to the focal segment, the participants were complaining about younger colleagues’ generally poor performance. Then from line 1, Kana, who works at a pharmacy, recalls a statement by her subordinate that was surprising. Mako provides B-event enactments in lines 4, 8-10; those from lines 8-10 receive Kana’s disconfirmation.

(5.11) [KK3603] Calculation

- 1 Kana: >°nan yatta kana°< (1.0) eh? nan°k-° (0.5)
what COP.PAST FP what like
What was that? What? Like-,

wow pretty COP FP
 Wow, pretty ((bad)), isn't it.

In lines 1-3, Kana displays her difficulty recalling her subordinate's surprising statement. In response, Mako, in line 4, enacts a possible utterance of Kana's subordinate by launching a B-event enactment, *dekimasen*, "I can't," with turn-final interrogative intonation. Mako assists Kana by providing this candidate for the searched-for item.³⁴ In lines 5-7, Kana enacts her there-and-then inner thought reaction to her subordinate's statement. In this reaction, Kana depicts her subordinate's utterance as "can't do that," co-opts Mako's B-event enactment, and confirms Mako's candidate characterization of the subordinate's utterance. However, what the subordinate claimed to be unable to do is unclear because there the referent to "that" in "can't do that" is unspecified. Consequently, Mako launches more B-event enactments to provide candidates for that yet unstated information.

In line 8, Mako produces a B-event enactment of the subordinate's possible past utterance, *reji dekimasen*, "I can't do a cashier." Mako chooses *reji* "cashier," an essential position at a workplace like a pharmacy, as a possible task that the subordinate claimed not to be able to do. Mako composes this enactment turn with a following enactment marker *toka* in a rising intonation. As Mako's turn in line 8 approaches to a possible completion point after the marker, Kana, without responding, gazes away from Mako and makes a thoughtful facial expression. While capturing Kana's facial expression, Mako continues launching her second B-event enactment in lines 9-10, proposing another candidate for the missing content by replacing *reji* "a

³⁴ Hayashi (2003b) investigates the practice of word search in Japanese. Hayashi argues that a relevant recipient response to a word search can be to assist speakers by producing a candidate for a searched-for item. Hayashi explains that that a word search is a type of repair because participants orient to find a solution as a relevant next action after an initiation of word search. Although what is searched for in Excerpt (5.11) is not a single word but a story character's past utterance in a telling, a recipient assists in searching for the past utterance, and this assistance, provided through a recipient enactment, becomes relevant in (5.11).

cashier” with *okane no keesan* “calculation of money.” The latter can be regarded as an even more basic skill than cashiering. Mako marks this second enactment with an enactment marker *tekina* in a rising intonation, which solicits Kana’s confirmation.

After Mako’s second B-event enactment, Kana initiates a turn with *nanka* “like” and then disconfirms the accuracy of Mako’s candidates by producing a negative response token *cha* (which corresponds to *chigau* “no” in the so-called standard Japanese). In her continuing turn, Kana negates another possibility (cleaning a toilet), and then in line 12, she produces, with an enactment, a more accurate portrayal of the subordinate’s statement by saying, *shattaa no boo ga omotai desu*, “the pole for the shutter is heavy.”³⁵ In response, Mako, in line 14, first displays her surprise with *O::*: “Wow,” and then assesses the enacted utterance of Kana’s subordinate.

The above two cases have demonstrated how recipients’ B-event enactments can be disconfirmed by tellers. When disconfirming, tellers first placed a negative response token (*iya* and its variant *ya::* in [5.10], and *cha* in [5.11]),³⁶ and then to correct the inaccuracy of the B-event enactments. The next case shows a slightly different feature regarding a teller’s disconfirmation response to a B-event enactment. A teller first initiates her responsive turn with a confirming *soo*-type token, but then immediately cancels her confirmation and then points out the inaccuracy of the B-event enactment. The analysis of Excerpt (5.12) aims to show that to judge the accuracy of B-event enactment, tellers must closely examine them as an integrated construct of juxtaposed multimodal resources.

The three conversation participants in Excerpt (5.12) are friends who go to the same English language school in the U.S. Prior to the focal segment, Miki and Taku have been telling

³⁵ In Japan, it is common for pharmacies and other shops to have shutters in the front door. In this enactment, *shattaa no boo* “the pole for the shutter” refers to a pole that is used to hook onto a shutter to pull it down when closing shop.

³⁶ While *iya* is classified into the category of interjection, *cha* is originally a verb, meaning “to differ.” Although the investigation of the difference between them is an intriguing topic, it is beyond the scope of the present study.

Shuu that one of their common friends from the same school recently scored well on a standardized English language proficiency test for non-native speakers because she cheated. From line 2, Miki starts explaining how cheating is possible at the testing center. Shuu launches a B-event enactment in line 12 and checks his understanding of Miki's preceding explanation.

(5.12) [DNS0745] Cheating

- 1 Taku: *nanka kanningu °shita rashii.°*
like cheating did seem
Like, it seems that they cheated.
- 2 Miki: *soo, nanka kanningu ga dekiru rashii no,*
right like cheating SB can seem FP
Right, like, it seems that they can cheat.



Figure 5.04



Figure 5.05

- 3 *kooyuu shikiri ga nakute mazu, ato,*
like.this partition SB no.exist first then
First of all, there isn't a partition like this, and then,
- 4 Shuu: [he::
I see.
- 5 Miki: [*koo supiikingu yatteru, jan, speaking,*
this speaking doing TAG speaking
like they are doing a speaking ((test)), right?



Figure 5.09



Figure 5.10



Figure 5.11

12 -> ↑0o, soo na n da, fun(.) **mitai(h)na** h h
oh so COP N COP I.see *mitaina*
“oh, I see, ok.”

13 Miki: => so°o°(.) *iya, supiikingu no mondai.*
right no speaking LK questions
Right. No, it's a speaking test.

14 Shuu: n? (0.3) A::: [*soo yuu koto ka,*
huh? oh so say thing Q
Huh? Oh, I see.

15 Miki: [*soo soo soo.*
Right right right.

16 Shuu: >*soo yuu koto ka so kka*< *supiikingu ka,*
so say thing Q so Q speaking Q
I see, I see, it's speaking,

17 [*supiikingu na n da.*
speaking COP N COP
it's speaking.

Prior to Shuu's B-event enactment turn, Miki uses some bodily movements to articulate how the spatial setting of the testing center makes cheating possible. First, while bringing her arms up (Figure 5.04) and then down (Figure 5.05) in line 3, she explains that the space for each test taker is not partitioned. At this point, Shuu, in line 4, launches a news receipt, but Miki proceeds with her explanation in line 5, identifying the test type as “speaking.” (The standardized English test consists of assessments of four different skills: writing, reading, speaking, and

listening.) Then, in lines 6-8, Miki says that cheating becomes possible because a test taker sitting behind can tell the answers to a test taker sitting in front (Figures 5.06, 5.07). Here, her telling comes to its possible completion point.

In response to Miki's explanation, Shuu, in line 9, initiates his turn with a change-of-state token *a* "oh" (cf., Heritage, 1984), displaying that he has undergone a change in his state of knowledge. Then he produces a B-event enactment and tests his comprehension of what Miki has explained. In line 9, Shuu, while maintaining mutual gaze with Miki (Figure 5.08), sets the stage for his upcoming enactment by describing a test taker who is speaking during the test. While saying *sorede nanka* "and like" in line 11, Shuu moves his gaze direction from Miki toward the front of his body (Figure 5.09). Then he produces $\uparrow Oo$ "oh" with a shift in the pitch and volume of his voice, and he says *soo na n da, fun*, "I see, ok," while bringing up his right hand on the table, making a gripping shape, and moving it as if writing something with a pen (Figure 5.10). After a micro pause, he produces an enactment marker *mitaina*. In line 12, Shuu enacts an inner thought of a cheating test taker who listens for and writes down other test takers' answers. In doing so, he demonstrates his understanding of the scene that Miki explained in prior turns. As he produces the enactment marker in line 12, Shuu returns his gaze to Miki (Figure 5.11), choosing her as the primary addressee of his B-event enactment turn.

In line 13, Miki first responds with a *soo*-type confirmation token. She produces the second mora of *soo* in a lower volume and follows this with a micro pause. Then Miki launches a negative response token *iya* "no" and denies her immediately preceding confirmation. Miki follows the negative response token with a description of the test type: *supiikingu no mondai*, "it's a speaking test." Placed after the negative response token, this description of the test type is heard as Miki's correction of Shuu's understanding (i.e., the test is "speaking," not "writing").

Thus, with his movement of writing something with an imaginary pen, (Figure 5.10), Shuu makes his understanding observable in terms of the test type in which test takers cheat. That helps Miki visibly capture the inaccuracy of Shuu's comprehension. Put differently, the multimodal construction of a recipient's B-event enactment triggered a teller's detection of the recipient's misunderstanding of the information the teller has provided. After Miki's correction, Shuu displays recognition of his misunderstanding (lines 14, 16-17).

The subsection 5.3.1 investigated tellers' turns with confirming (5.3.1.1) and disconfirming (5.3.1.2) tokens as responses to recipients' B-event enactments. When tellers confirmed B-event enactments, they tended to choose *soo*-type tokens. Unlike *nn*-type tokens, which can also be utilized as a continuer, *soo*-type tokens anaphorically affirm certain elements in the prior turn. With this lexical feature of *soo*-type tokens, tellers agreed with recipients' B-event enactments as formulations independent from the tellers'. At the same time, tellers performed the agreement based on their primary access to the enacted information. Thus, this subsection argued that tellers, by responding with this token, indicate their acknowledgement of recipients' assistance in reformulating what the tellers have said.

When disconfirming B-event enactments, tellers first placed a negative response token, and then proceeded to correct the inaccuracy of the B-event enactments. This subsection also presented a case in which a teller canceled her initial confirmation and disconfirmed a B-event enactment. The analysis of this case showed that to judge the accuracy of B-event enactments, tellers must closely examine them as integrated constructs of juxtaposed multimodal resources.

In her study of B-event enactments that appear after storytellers' enactments, Yamamoto (2014) claims that recipients produce B-event enactments when they have transformed from being "unknowing recipients" to "knowing recipients" (Goodwin, 1979). That is, B-event

enactments corroborate those producers' comprehension of the story. Through the examination of tellers' both confirming and disconfirming responses, the current subsection has shown that, when produced without a teller's preceding enactment, B-event enactments can in fact demonstrate recipients' varied levels of understanding.

5.3.2 Tellers' responses with their versions of enactments

This subsection investigates another type of tellers' responses to B-event enactments: the production of tellers' versions of enactments. These types of tellers' responsive turns differ from those examined in 5.3.1 in terms of their turn-initial design without a (dis)confirmation token, and of the markedly early timing of their production. Through the analyses of two excerpts, this subsection describes the way tellers, by launching their more elaborate enactments in a slot competitive to recipients' B-event enactments, prioritize their primary right to enact and to display their epistemic authority regarding enacted information over confirming B-event enactment.

As has been extensively discussed in CA literature, epistemicity can be a crucial factor in formulating and understanding action (e.g., Hayano, 2011; Heritage, 2012; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Mondada, 2013). Put differently, participants' epistemicity is encoded into their turn compositions and sequence organizations. Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig (2011) state that there is a norm that interactants with more detailed knowledge have primary rights to make assertions regarding states of affairs. Epistemic authority refers to this differentiated epistemicity among participants that is grounded in factors such as their profession, expertise, or experience (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006).³⁷ This subsection reveals how tellers

³⁷ The term "epistemic authority" seems to be often used interchangeably with the term "epistemic primacy." For instance, Heritage and Raymond (2005) and Mondada (2013) do not provide explicitly differentiated definitions of

orient to recipients' deployment of B-event enactments while managing their primary right to enact what they experienced and their epistemic authority over the enacted information.

The first case, Excerpt (5.13), unfolds as a conversation between two participants. The focal segment (from line 1) follows Jiro's telling about what happened to him before coming to the recording of this conversation: last night Jiro got drunk and threw up in the bathroom at his friend's apartment, and so this morning he went back to the friend's place to clean up. After Jiro's telling about the incident, Ryo, from line 2, starts providing an upshot of Jiro's telling, in which a B-event enactment is utilized (line 8).

(5.13) [DS950] Vomit

- 1 (0.4)
- 2 Ryo: (°sono°) *jibun no haita mono o soojisuru*
 that self LK vomited thing O clean.up
- 3 *no mo nakanaka kitsui yone=*
 N also pretty hard FP
 Cleaning up one's own vomit is also pretty hard, isn't it?
- 4 =*>ma< tanin no mo sugoi mendokusai kedo.*
 well others LK also very troublesome though
 Well others' are also very troublesome, though.
- 5 Jiro: [*nakanaka kitsu°i°.*
 pretty hard
 Pretty hard.
- 6 Jiro: *n::n.*
 Uh huh.

these two terms while using “epistemic authority” in titles of their articles. Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig (2011), however, explain that “epistemic primacy” is a broader notion than “epistemic authority.” According to Stivers et al., “epistemic authority” refers to qualitative differences in knowledge level based on profession, expertise, or experience, while “epistemic primacy” includes differences in knowledge which are not based on those extra-interactional factors. For instance, “epistemic primacy” can be given to a participant who asserts an opinion in the first position (but not second). This chapter adopts the term “epistemic authority” to describe tellers' primary right to knowledge based on past experiences.



Figure 5.12



Figure 5.13



Figure 5.14

7 Ryo: *hitoban oku to sarani nanka*
 one.night leave when moreover like
 When leaving it overnight, even more like



Figure 5.15



Figure 5.16

8 -> [UO:::::[::: n h h h
 "Wow."

9 Jiro: => [>zai-< [UO::: yacchimatta:: **to** omotte, soo.
 wow have.done to think right
 ((I)) thought, "wow, I've done it," right.

10 *nanka, [ore wa(.) betsuni soojisun no wa*
 like I TP not.particularly clean.up N TP
 Like for me, cleaning up is

11 Ryo: [°n:n.°
 Uh huh.

12 Jiro: *ii n da kedo sa::*
 fine N COP but FP
 fine, but,

13 Ryo: *n::n.*
 Uh huh.

In lines 2-4, Ryo provides an assessment, *nakanaka kitsui*, “pretty hard,” for cleaning up one’s own vomit. After receiving Jiro’s agreement (line 5), Ryo in line 7 produces a *when*-clause, *hitoban oku to*, “when leaving it overnight,” which rephrases what Jiro reported he did (went back to his friend’s place this morning to clean up the vomit he threw up last night).³⁸ It is in the following main clause of this unfolding turn that Ryo produces a B-event enactment *UO*:....., “Wow,” with its preceding here-and-now adverbial modifier *sarani* “even more.” Placed in this position of the turn, this interjection, or what Goffman (1981) calls “response cry,” *UO*:..... can be regarded as an enacted reaction to vomit that was left overnight. Besides the deployment of the interjection, Ryo also multimodally composes his turn to launch the B-event enactment in the following ways: upon completion of the subordinate clause, Ryo stretches out his right arm (Figure 5.12); with the arm, Ryo makes a shape of a heap (of vomit, presumably) and produces a degree adverb *sarani* “even more” (Figure 5.13); during *nanka* “like,” Ryo makes a disgusted facial expression (Figure 5.14), and while keeping the face, he leans back and launches the B-event enactment *UO*:....., “Wow” (Figure 5.15).

To this B-event enactment, the teller Jiro responds as follows to claim his primary right to enact and to confirm the B-event enactment at the same time. While observing Ryo’s multimodally composed turn from line 7, Jiro starts his turn (line 9) simultaneously with the initiation of Ryo’s B-event enactment (line 8). Soon after hearing Ryo’s initiation of the B-event enactment, however, Jiro cancels what he was going to say (*zai*-, perhaps an initial part of a word *zaiakukan* “guilty feeling”). Then Jiro produces the same enacted interjection *UO*::: “wow” with his eyes closed (Figure 5.16) while overlapping with Ryo’s B-event enactment. After this

³⁸ In Japanese, there are four different types of conditionals; *to*, *tara*, *nara*, and *ba*. *To* in *hitoban oku to* “when leaving it overnight” is a grammatical element that frames what is described in the conditional clause as a recurrent situation, meaning “whenever” (McGloin, 1989). Thus, by choosing this particular conditional, Ryo rephrases Jiro’s situation in a more general sense.

enacted interjection, Jiro extends his enactment by saying *yacchimatta*·: “I’ve done it,” which is retroactively formed as his enacted past thought with the enactment marker *to* and its following verb *omotte* “thought.” Thus, Jiro, in his responsive turn of line 8, first appropriates the B-event enactment for a partial component of his own enactment, and then designs the extended enactment specifically as his own there-and-then past inner thought.

In addition, this extended part of enactment implies that Jiro’s there-and-then stance toward the event is slightly different from Ryo’s assessment. In his assessment, Ryo focuses on the hardship of cleaning up vomit (lines 2-4), and thus his B-event enactment in line 8 is heard as a reaction to the vomit being disguising. On the other hand, Jiro’s own version of the extended enactment demonstrates his sense of regret for what he has done (*chimatta* in *yacchimatta* is a contracted variation of an auxiliary verb, *te shimau*, which not only means the completion of an action but also adds a sense of regret for having done something that should not have been done [Makino & Tsutsui, 1986]). In his subsequent turn, Jiro makes his stance, that he is regretful, clearer, explicitly stating that he does not mind cleaning the vomit himself (lines 10, 12). Therefore, with this extended version of enactment, Jiro 1) converts a general reaction, one proffered in the form of B-event enactment, into his own there-and-then reaction, and 2) modifies his stance conveyed through the enactment. In doing so, Jiro claims his right to enact his own experience and displays his epistemic authority over his A-event. Meanwhile, by appropriating Ryo’s enactment, Jiro indicates a partial confirmation of the B-event enactment.

In addition, it should be noted that Jiro produces a *soo*-type confirmation token after his enactment in line 9. That is, unlike cases examined in 5.3.1.1 wherein tellers respond to B-event enactments only with *soo*-type confirmation tokens, in this case Jiro does not initially confirm Ryo’s B-event enactment linguistically with the token. In his study of responses to yes/no

interrogatives, Raymond (2003) shows that there is a preference for type-conforming over non-conforming answers to yes/no interrogatives. Type-conforming responses are a type of answer that the question makes relevant, while non-conforming responses are answers that do not match the type made relevant by the question. Thus, as Raymond states, deferral of a yes/no response to an interrogative question is a marked action.³⁹ Such preference for response types seems to apply to confirmation/disconfirmation of the candidate understanding. As examined earlier in 5.3.1, recipients often design B-event enactment turns as confirmation-seeking, and tellers respond to them as such by first providing (dis)confirmation tokens. In the present case, however, Jiro's (teller) responsive turn to Ryo's (recipient) B-event enactment consists of Jiro's version of the enactment preceding a confirmation token. In treating the production of his own enactment as the priority, the teller Jiro proposes that he has the position of enacting prior to and independent of his recipient Ryo.

The second case, Excerpt (5.14), provides another example of a teller responding to a B-event enactment with a more elaborate version of enactment. Unlike in the previous case, however, in this case the teller does not provide a confirmation token at all. This excerpt is taken from a conversation among three participants who are colleagues at a company in Japan. Prior to the segment, Aiko and Yumi tell Rina about Miko, their common friend from work, and then, from lines 1-10 onward, describe how Miko always wears peculiar, ethnic, and exotic accessories. After Rina in lines 11-12 provides a news receipt, Aiko in lines 13-14 launches an upshot of their telling, which is reformulated by Rina in the form of a B-event enactment in the immediately following turn in line 15.

³⁹ Heritage and Raymond (2005) argue a similar point with regard to responses to assessments. They point out that a speaker of the second position assessment may respond to the first position assessment by ordering his or her assessment prior to an agreement token. By doing so, as Heritage and Raymond claim, the speaker upgrades his or her epistemicity toward the assessable and claims epistemic authority.

(5.14) [OL0355] Fashion

- 1 Yumi: *nanka henna yatsu shiteru yone: ippai.*
like strange thing doing FP a.lot
She wears lots of strange things, doesn't she?
- 2 Aiko: *((nod once to Yumi while eating))*
- 3 Rina: *he:[:::::*
I see.
- 4 Yumi: *[osaete osaete are na no.*
suppress suppress that COP N
Her most conservative style is that.
- 5 Rina: *ah, soo na n ya.*
oh so COP N COP
Oh, I see.
- 6 Aiko: *chotto >dakara< are yone;*
a.little so that FP
So she is a little bit like that,
- 7 *kajuaru:: ya kedo, mata nanka,*
casual COP but also like
casual but also like,
- 8 *es- esuni[kkuna, >tte yuu ka,<*
eth- ethnic I.mean
eth- ethnic, I mean,
- 9 Yumi: *[esunikku °ppoi.°*
ethnic like
Ethnic-like.
- 10 Aiko: *ekizochikkuna mono ni hashiri taga[ru.*
exotic thing to run want.to
she wants to go for exotic things.
- 11 Rina: *[a::*
Oh,
- 12 *°soo na n ya.°*
so COP N COP
I see.

- 13 Aiko: *dakara isshoni fuku kai ni iku to*
so together clothes buy to go if
- 14 *omoshiroi yo.*
interesting FP
So, it's interesting to go shopping together.



Figure 5.17

- 15 Rina: -> *sore?* [*mitaina* n?
that *mitaina* Q
“That?””



Figure 5.18



Figure 5.19

- 16 Aiko: => [*Eh, soko te: dasu?* [(.) [*mitaina.*
wow there hand reach.out *mitaina*
“Wow, gonna get that?”
- 17 Yumi: [*a h [h h h h h*
- 18 Rina: [*h h h h h h*

During her turn in lines 13-14, Aiko directs her gaze at Rina, choosing her as a primary addressee of the upshot of the telling. In response, Rina produces a B-event enactment in line 15. Rina's B-event enactment carries a syntactically minimal design consisting of the spatial deixis *sore* “that” produced in rising intonation and of an enactment marker *mitaina*. Rina designs this

B-event enactment through her simultaneous deployment of body movements and of some spatial resources. She juts her jaw forward when starting her turn, gives Aiko a serious look, says *sore?* “that?” (Figure 5.17), and then immediately brings her jaw back to its original position while smiling. Rina differentiates prosodically between *sore* and *mitaina* by placing an assertive tone on *sore*. In addition, Rina designs her turn as interrogative, with a question particle *n* in a rising intonation at the turn-final position. This suggests that Rina is seeking confirmation for her candidate understanding of the nature of Aiko’s experience. As described below, Aiko responds to this B-event enactment with her more elaborate version of the enactment.

Aiko starts her turn in line 16, overlapping with Rina’s production of an enactment marker *mitaina*, and says, *Eh, soko te: dasu,?* “Wow, gonna get that?” Aiko uses *soko*, the same *so*-type spatial deixis as *sore* that Rina used in line 15. Aiko then produces an action verb *te: dasu* “to reach out” accompanied by rising intonation, which is similar to the prosodic design of *sore?* from Rina’s version of enactment. Aiko moves her gaze away from Rina and directs it toward the enacted space (Figure 5.18) that Rina created earlier by jutting her jaw forward (Figure 5.17). Aiko then brings her gaze back to Rina while producing an enactment marker *mitaina* (Figure 5.19). With this turn, Aiko enacts herself demonstrating a similar situation that Rina performed in the prior B-event enactment.

Similar to what was observed in the previous case of Excerpt (5.13), Aiko does not linguistically confirm Rina’s B-event enactment in this case. Instead, Aiko initiates her enactment as soon as Rina’s unfolding turn becomes recognizable as a B-event enactment. As a result, Aiko’s enactment is produced so early as to be sequentially competitive with Rina’s B-event enactment turn. In doing so, Aiko claims her primary right to enact her experience. In addition, the fact that Aiko’s enactment is designed more elaborately than Rina’s indexes Aiko’s

epistemic authority over the enacted information. Aiko simultaneously displays her recognition of what Rina has enacted, and confirms Rina's understanding by reusing some of the lexical, prosodic, and spatial resources utilized in Rina's B-event enactment for her own version of enactment.

This subsection focused on cases wherein tellers responded to B-event enactments with their own enactments. In these cases, tellers, instead of responding with (dis)confirmation tokens, competitively took turns with their versions of enactments and claimed their primary right to enact their own experiences. Tellers also designed their enactments to be more elaborate than recipients' B-event enactments in the prior turn, displaying their epistemic authority over the enacted information. At the same time, tellers confirmed recipients' understanding of the enacted content by utilizing some of the linguistic and/or non-linguistic resources that were employed in the recipients' B-event enactments.

This section examined two types of tellers' confirmation responses to B-event enactments: *soo*-type tokens (5.3.1.1) and tellers' elaborate version of enactments (5.3.2). The above analyses have demonstrated that both types of responses agreed to the content of the B-event enactments in some way or other. As has shown in the data hitherto analyzed, however, their differences in form foreground their distinct primary actions. With *soo*-type tokens, tellers linguistically affirmed B-event enactments as independent formulations, and treated the B-event enactments as assisting in reformulating the tellers' prior talk. Thus, tellers displayed their stronger orientation to their interactional position of validating the accuracy of the B-event enactments in the particular sequential position. On the other hand, when tellers responded with their elaborate versions of enactment in sequentially competitive positions, they prioritized offering detailed versions of their own enactments over confirming B-event enactments, claiming their primary

right to enact and displaying their epistemic authority over enacted information. Thus, depending on which response type a teller chose, the teller's primary orientation toward the B-event enactment fluctuated.

5.4 Summary of Chapter 5

This chapter focused on the phenomenon wherein interactants utilize enactments to depict B-events: information to which co-participants in conversations have primary access than do producers of the enactments (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). By paying attention to this specific type of enactment, i.e., B-event enactment, which has not yet been intensively investigated in previous research, this chapter elucidated how interactants orient to B-event enactments and what they accomplish with its deployment in interaction.

Section 5.2 examined compositional features of B-event enactments in relation to tellers' prior turns. This section first observed cases wherein recipients launched B-event enactments immediately after tellers' turns that described protagonists' past verbal actions. With this type of B-event enactment, recipients proffered candidate past utterances of the protagonists, designing the B-event enactment turns to be compositionally dependent upon the tellers' prior turns. This section also demonstrated another type of B-event enactments, in which recipients reformulated information provided in tellers' prior turns into the tellers' enacted past inner thoughts. Taking the form of enacted thoughts, the reformulation provided more specific depictions of there-and-then situations, potentially exemplifying what the tellers have just stated. With both types of B-event enactments, recipients demonstrated their candidate understanding of the B-event information given in tellers' prior turns at talk.

Section 5.3 investigated how tellers respond to B-event enactments in the immediately following turn. 5.3.1 focused on tellers' responses of confirmation and disconfirmation tokens. It was shown that when tellers provided confirmation tokens in response to B-event enactments, they chose *soo*-type tokens, which anaphorically affirm what was stated in a prior turn. Responding with *soo*-type tokens, tellers treated recipients' B-event enactments in prior turns as independent formulations, while at the same time agreeing with its formulation based on their primary access to the enacted information. In doing so, tellers acknowledged recipients' assistance in reformulating the tellers' prior statements.

This subsection then demonstrated how tellers could also disconfirm recipients' B-event enactments. When disconfirming, tellers first placed negative response tokens and then they proceeded to correct the inaccuracy of B-event enactments. This subsection further presented a case wherein a teller initiated her responsive turn with a confirming *soo*-type token but canceled it later within the same turn. The analysis of this case showed that judging the accuracy of B-event enactments requires tellers' close examination of them as integrated constructs of juxtaposed multimodal resources. Through the examination of tellers' both confirming and disconfirming responses, 5.3.1 has shown that B-event enactments can demonstrate recipients' varied levels of understanding, through which tellers check the recipients' comprehension of their prior talk.

5.3.2 focused on cases in which tellers responded to B-event enactments with their own versions of enactments. In such cases, tellers initiated their enactments to be sequentially competitive with recipients' productions of B-event enactments that were still in progress. In doing so, tellers claimed their primary right to enact their experiences. Tellers also designed their enactments to be more elaborate than the preceding B-event enactments, displaying their

epistemic authority over the enacted information. At the same time, the tellers confirmed recipients' understanding of enacted content by utilizing some linguistic and/or non-linguistic resources that the recipients employed in their B-event enactments.

Lastly, the analyses of recipients' productions of and tellers' responses to B-event enactments throughout this chapter elucidated interactants' orientations toward the deployment of B-event enactments in interaction. On the one hand, B-event enactment turns were frequently designed as interrogatives. This design indexed recipients' less epistemicity toward what they enacted and their orientation to soliciting tellers' (dis)confirmation for B-event enactments. On the other hand, tellers often launched their (dis)confirmation responses before recipients' B-event enactment turns arrived at such interrogative turn-final constructions. This timing of response productions revealed the tellers' strong orientation to their interactional position of (dis)confirming the B-event enactments, regardless of the constraint the prior turn might otherwise impose linguistically.

This chapter raised an important question as to the interactional rationale of choosing enactments as understanding checks. Both in social sciences and cognitive sciences, understanding has mainly been considered as a cognitive, private, individual phenomenon. In CA, on the other hand, understanding is, as has been documented throughout this chapter, not treated as a mental process but something publicly displayed by participants in interaction (Mondada, 2011). Sacks (1992) makes a distinction between two generic ways to show one's understanding: "claiming" and "demonstrating." Recipients may "claim" their understanding by providing continuers (such as tokens of interest, acknowledgement tokens, nods), repeating the turn, or

manifesting their understanding with a statement like “I understand.”⁴⁰ With these types of responses, recipients do not prove if they truly understand. On the other hand, recipients “demonstrate” that they do understand by reformulating what a co-participant has said. Sacks (1992: 141) uses the term “transformation operation” to refer to the practice of saying what one understands in different words than those used in the prior turn. B-event enactment is also regarded as one kind of transformation operation. However, despite having a compositional load, why are enactments still chosen for transformation operation even though non-enactment forms are available?

This chapter suggests that B-event enactment enables recipients to not only demonstrate their understanding but also to indicate an empathic stance toward tellers. Within B-event enactment, recipients express understanding of an enacted person’s characteristics, affectivity, or demeanor to other interactants at a particular there-and-then situation by manipulating choices of some particular (non-)linguistic elements in enacted utterances such as a first-person pronoun, speech style, hedging, a distinct tone or accent of voice, or facial expressions. In other words, by reformulating given information into B-event enactment (instead of rephrasing the information as mere objective facts), recipients present simulated experiences, showing that they have the knowledge required to reproduce a tellers’ experience. Hence, B-event enactment rests on a claim of recognizing the type of experience the teller has described. In his study on tellings of personal experience and their responses, Heritage (2011) states that a speaker’s telling of his or her own experience can be empathetically responded to by a recipient who also experienced it. Correspondingly, a recipient with no similar experience may have difficulty in managing a convincing display of empathic appreciation. Thus, B-event enactment—collective

⁴⁰ However, it has been pointed out that a statement of “I understand” and of “I don’t understand” can also be used for doing other jobs than showing understanding. These statements can be utilized in service of asking/offering help (Lindwall & Lymer, 2011) or closing/delaying a closure of a task (Mondada, 2011).

representations of recipients' understanding that is mobilized from the proffered information of B-event as well as from their own independent knowledge—is a resource for recipients to display their empathic affiliation toward tellers.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Summary of the study

Deploying CA as its methodological framework, this dissertation has examined a phenomenon wherein participants in conversations enact themselves or others by designing stretches of talk as different from their here-and-now voices in current sites of interaction. As stated in Chapter 2, the point of departure for this study was the perspective that speakers' and recipients' monitoring of each other's participation in interaction shapes the design of enactment and the interactional relevancy of doing enactment at the moment of interaction. Taking this premise as the basis for the examination, the present study investigated how Japanese enactments are designed, deployed, and responded to for accomplishing certain actions in talk-in-interaction. Each of the previous chapters explored this main theme of the present study by focusing on particular aspects of the deployment of enactments.

Chapter 3 (particularly Section 3.3.1) discussed the projectability of Japanese enactments. Due to its predicate-final language structure, Japanese is featured with its turn beginnings tending not to have elements that syntactically project the upcoming organization of talk, resulting in "delayed projectability" (Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996; Tanaka, 1999, 2000). The prototypical syntactic structure of Japanese enactment is not an exception to such delayed projectability; enacted materials are syntactically followed by enactment markers and, thus, marked as enactments retrospectively. In other words, with regard to its syntactic construction, Japanese interactants have fewer clues that project forthcoming enactment (cf., Tanaka, 2000).

This study paid attention to multimodal compositional aspects of enactments, and it revealed that recipients do not always rely solely on the syntactic structure of enactment for its recognition, and that recipients may comprehend enactments as such through their observation of participants' multimodal conducts in temporally unfolding turn at talk. This finding substantiated the methodological principle that understanding how participants make sense of each other's conducts requires examinations of the linguistic features of their talk as well as of other semiotic resources integrated into the talk.

Whereas Section 3.3.1 discussed the compositional design of enactments within single turns at talk, Chapter 4 expanded the scope of the analysis on the sequential organization involving in the deployment of enactments. This chapter focused on enactments utilized in tellings of A-events (Labov & Fanshel, 1977), in which tellers have more access than recipients to the information, and examined how the sequential organization of there-and-then enacted interaction is interwoven into that of here-and-now interaction. More specifically, this chapter scrutinized how tellers organized and recipients analyzed enacted there-and-then sequences in relation to here-and-now telling sequences in order to make and identify a sequential position as relevant for recipient responses. In order to investigate this inquiry, Chapter 4 analyzed two distinct organizational types of here-and-now and there-and-then sequences: Type (I) and Type (II). Type (I) is featured as showing no intersection between the two sequential layers during telling, while Type (II) presents an intersection of the two sequential layers at an early stage of telling.

In Type (I), tellers produce multiple enacting turns successively to build up a sequence(s) from a there-and-then conversation. Recipients provide their responses after tellers' serial productions of those multiple enacted turns. Participants coordinate the demarcation between the

two layers of sequences by locating a possible completion point of the enacted sequence in reference to: the initial characterization of telling, the development of the there-and-then interaction based on the turn-taking system, and the multimodal design of the serial production of multiple enacted turns. In this type, tellings are organized in a way that recipients align themselves with the position of the audience for the there-and-then interaction between protagonists, which is demonstrated through successive production of multiple enacted turns. The number of those enacted turns varies depending on how the enacted sequences substantiated the initial characterization of each telling. That is, an enacted there-and-then interaction is composed of a minimal two-turn sequence, a pre-expanded sequence, a post-expanded sequence, or an insertion sequence. Type (I) also indicates the potential for the extension of enacted sequences, in which a teller extends an enacted sequence after its first possible completion and postponed the sequentially relevant position for here-and-now recipient responses. Such a postponement of the completion of the enacted interaction is managed through the juxtaposition of different multimodal semiotic resources.

In Type (II), tellers organize their tellings as announcement sequences (Maynard, 1997; Terasaki, 1976), and, after pre-announcements, they produce the first enacted turn as the demonstration of news announcement. Recipients start to produce their responses immediately after the first enacted turn, treating the first enacted turn as a newsworthy utterance. Pre-announcements in Type (II) only minimally indicate their topical relation with the prior talk and project that what is to follow is some sort of news delivery. Thus, the understanding of the newsworthiness of the first enacted turn in Type (II) entails co-participants' historically shared knowledge about the enacted matter. The intersection between the here-and-now and there-and-then sequences initiates once recipients responded to the first enacted turn. In the subsequent

sequence, tellers continue to develop the enacted sequence while recipients provide further responses. Furthermore, during the intersection of the two sequential layers, the design of the here-and-now recipient turns can influence that of the enacted turns. This circumstance demonstrates the mergence of the two interactions. Also, tellers' appropriation of recipient responses to the subsequent enacted sequence indicates the collaborative aspect of tellings.

Through the analyses of the above two distinct types, Chapter 4 revealed that the interactional work that enactments of A-events serve to perform varies depending on sequential organizations wherein those enactments are situated. In Type (I), an enacted sequence substantiates an initial characterization of telling, providing evidentiality for the preceding statement. In Type (II), a single enacted utterance not only serves as an announcement of news but also provides a sequential opportunity for interactants to publicly negotiate, construct, and reconstruct their relationship. Thus, interactional accomplishments that participants can attain with the deployment of enactments depend upon the sequential placement of those enactments in interaction.

Chapter 5 investigated enactments of B-event (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). In B-event enactments, interactants depict information to which a co-participant(s) in conversation has primary access than does the producer of the enactment. Chapter 5 elucidated how interactants orient toward B-event enactments and what they accomplish through their deployment of the enactments in their interaction. The analyses in Chapter 5 first described how B-event enactments are designed to be identifiable as such, and how their compositional features relate to tellers' prior turns. Recipients (i.e., producers of B-event enactments) launch B-event enactments immediately after tellers' turns that describe protagonist's past verbal actions. With these B-event enactments, recipients proffer candidate past utterances of the protagonists, articulating

what was not explicitly stated in the prior turns. This type of B-event enactment turns is compositionally dependent upon tellers' prior turns. Recipients also deploy B-event enactments to reformulate the information provided in tellers' prior turns into the tellers' past possible inner thoughts. These reformulations, in the form of enactments, propose more specific depictions of there-and-then situations that potentially exemplify what the tellers have stated. In both types of instances, B-event enactments serve to demonstrate recipients' candidate understanding of the B-event information given in tellers' prior turns. By enacting given information, not rephrasing the information as mere objective facts, recipients claim the knowledge that is required to reproduce tellers' experiences. In other words, B-event enactments are collective representations of recipients' understanding mobilized from the B-event information proffered by tellers as well as from recipients' own independent knowledge. Thus, this chapter claimed that, through enacting simulated experience, recipients not only demonstrate their understanding of B-events but also indicate their emphatic stance toward tellers.

Chapter 5 also investigated tellers' responses to B-event enactments, revealing that their responses belong to two different types: responses with turn-initial (dis)confirmation tokens and tellers' own version of enactments. When tellers confirm B-event enactments, they use *soo*-type tokens and indicate that they treat recipients' B-event enactments as an individual formulation, while also agreeing with the formulation based on their primary access to the enacted information. In doing so, these tellers acknowledge recipients' assistance in formulating their prior statement. Tellers might also disconfirm B-event enactments occasionally. When disconfirm, tellers first place a negative response token, and then continue their turn by providing further clarification of the enacted information. Tellers' use of disconfirmation response along with their above-mentioned confirmation response demonstrates that B-event enactments allow

tellers to check what degree recipients comprehend ongoing B-event talk. Besides these responses, Chapter 5 also found that tellers might respond to B-event enactments with their versions of enactments. Adhering to more elaborate designs of their own enactments with no preceding confirmation token, tellers display their epistemic authority over the enacted information. At the same time, tellers confirm the recipients' understanding of the enacted content by utilizing some linguistic and/or non-linguistic resources that the recipients employed in their B-event enactment. By responding in this way, tellers indicate their interactional priority to claim their primary right to enact their own experience.

The analyses of the compositions of both recipients' and tellers' turns throughout Chapter 5 also elucidated interactants' orientations toward the deployment of B-event enactments in interaction. On the one hand, B-event enactment turns are frequently designed as interrogatives, which indexes recipients' less epistemic stance toward what they enact as well as their orientation to soliciting tellers' (dis)confirmation for their B-event enactments. On the other hand, tellers often launch their (dis)confirmation responses before recipients' B-event enactment turns arrive at such interrogative turn-final constructions. This timing of tellers' responses reveal that tellers strongly orient toward their interactional position of (dis)confirming the B-event enactments, regardless of the constraint the prior turn might otherwise impose linguistically.

In sum, the present study has elucidated some of the specific ways in which Japanese speakers design turns and organize sequences through the deployment of enactments in conversations. The analyses in Chapters 3 through 5 have demonstrated how temporality, embodiment, as well as the mechanism of turn-taking (which penetrates into both here-and-now and there-and-then interactions) are incorporated with the workings of grammar in the production of enactment. Furthermore, the analyses have shown that the use of such a

multimodally featured interactional property of enactment can be triggered in some particular sequential environments and that it also reciprocally shapes the sequential organization and relevancies of doing enactment at the moment of interaction.

6.2 Implications of findings

The findings reported in this dissertation make several important contributions to the fields of CA, interaction and grammar, discourse analysis, and functional linguistics. This section illuminates those points and discusses the implications of the current study's findings.

First of all, this study contributes to a better understanding of what has been referred to as “dramatization” of enactment. A number of discourse-based research have been pointing out for long that one of the major tasks that enactment implements is to bring a dramatic effect to conversation (e.g., Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Labov, 1972; Lucy, 1993; Mayes, 1990). For instance, Li (1986: 40) states that “[s]ince direct speech requires the reporter-speaker to act out the role of the reported speaker, it is a natural vehicle for vivid and dramatic presentation.” And this “vivid and dramatic presentation” of enactments makes conversation lively (Otsu, 2005; Tannen, 1989). In a similar vein, Wierzbicka (1974) uses the metaphor of theater, arguing that lexical materials with deictic semantics of enactments focus recipients' attention on the performed voices and allow the performative aspects of the enactments to take center stage. However, these studies rarely discuss in detail how such liveliness in conversation is sequentially constructed. Furthermore, Goffman (1981: 541) discusses how enactments should be treated by recipients, saying that “[t]he response we often seek is not an answer to a question or a compliance with a request but an appreciation of a show put on.” Yet, Goffman does not explain how such an appreciation is actually performed by recipients. Through the examination of

intersections between the there-and-then and here-and-now sequences (see Chapter 4), this study demonstrated that recipients do not launch here-and-now responses to every single enacted turn, but their responses are rather systematically timed at certain locations during unfolding there-and-then sequences. In other words, seeming liveliness of conversation is a product of the moment-by-moment organizations of the two-layered interactions.

Another major contribution of this study is a possible relation between the deployment of enactment and the degree of intimacy among interactants. Various studies have examined the correlations between enactment and the social relations of interactants, arguing that the use of enactment can lead to a high degree of intimacy among interactants. For instance, in their study of politeness theory, Brown and Levinson (1987) contend that deploying enactments in conversation is one of the positive politeness strategies with which a speaker can create rapport with recipients. Similarly, from an interactional sociolinguistic point of view, Tannen (1989), claims that the use of enactments (or what she calls “constructed dialogues”) can strengthen “interpersonal involvement” between speakers and recipients. Even though their points are provocative, these studies do not explain how such establishment of “intimacy” is explicitly defined and measured. The findings in this study suggest that the degree of intimacy between interactants can be studied not merely as the outcome of interactants’ psychological states, but as a public practice for speakers and recipients to build social organization. For instance, in the sequence organization of Type (II) examined in Chapter 4, tellers only minimally indicate the topical relationship of their forthcoming telling with the prior talk first, and then they launch the first enacted turn as an announcement of news. This telling structure, that incorporates the use of enactment, entails participants’ historically shared knowledge for their comprehension of the newsworthiness of the first enacted turn. Thus, by mobilizing this telling structure, tellers prepare

an interactional locus where recipients' comprehension of the enactment is tested out. At the same time, recipients, by responding to the enactment as news, prove their historical knowledge shared with the tellers. Therefore, the coordination between interactants, regarding the way of deploying enactments and of responding to those, demonstrates the intimacy among interactants. This intimacy is an observable product of moment-by-moment interaction as being constantly appraised, affirmed, and reaffirmed. The present study documented one of these aspects of interactants' practice of doing being intimate through the deployment of enactments.

The findings of this study also propose a novel perspective on the issue of multivoicedness (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Vološinov, 1929/1973) of enactments. Along with Goodwin (2007), who criticizes Goffman's (1981) static typological categorization of footing for its exclusive focus on the isolated utterance of a single individual, this study explicated how speakers' and recipients' monitoring of each other's participation in interaction shapes the multivoiced design of enactment. Through the analyses of different types of enactments, this study observed how the appropriateness of others' voices can be interactionally operated. Chapter 4 documented the way tellers utilize recipients' here-and-now responses for their production of subsequent enacted turns. Chapter 5 showed how recipients' B-event enactments are partially included in tellers' elaborate versions of enactments. In both cases, through the process of adopting recipients' lexical choices into the composition of enactments, tellers integrate multiple voices—voices of the enacted speakers, of the tellers themselves, and of the here-and-now interactants—into the enactments. In this sense, the understanding of such intricate features of enactments' multivoicedness is unattainable unless taking into account the dynamic nature of participation in which the talk is situated.

Last but not least, the present study raises the question of why people enact at all. Past studies in different fields such as philosophy, cognitive linguistics, historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and communication studies have long explored this apparently simple and yet truly complicated question, speculating that the influence of media (Streeck, 2002), cross-linguistic influences on languages (Buchstaller & Van Alphen, 2012), particular cultural preferences (Fox & Robles, 2010), or personal preferences (Buchstaller, 2014) act as possible answers. In the present study, Chapter 4 suggested that participants' interactional accomplishments with the deployment of enactments vary depending on here-and-now sequential organizations wherein those enactments are situated. In the two organizational types examined in Chapter 4, enactments served to corroborate a prior statement and provide evidentiality (Type [I]), or to present news in a way that gives interactants a sequential opportunity to publicly negotiate, construct, and reconstruct their relationship (Type [II]). Chapter 5 claimed that by choosing the form of enactment as a means to show their understanding, recipients (i.e., producers of B-event enactments) not only demonstrate understanding of tellers' prior talk but also indicate that they have the knowledge that is required to reconstruct tellers' individual experiences. In this way, recipients can display their empathic stance toward tellers. These findings imply that answers to "why people enact?" vary depending upon sequential environments wherein enactments are deployed for some particular interactional accomplishment, and that further investigation with microanalyses of enactments can become instrumental in shedding light on this theme.

6.3 Future directions

First of all, this study invites the analyses of a different kind of enactments that could not be included here. The focal types of enactments in this dissertation are those that depict either A-event (i.e., a producer's past experience) or B-event (i.e., a co-participant's past experience). In the current database, however, there are cases that cannot be classified into either A-event or B-event enactments. They are compositionally and/or contextually understood as demonstrating some hypothetical there-and-then situations: enacting fictions as well as possible utterances. The analyses in this study revealed that participants' orientations toward their epistemic relativity could influence how they organize interaction. A question arises, then, as to how hypothetical enactments would be treated in terms of participants' epistemic rights to the enactments. Future studies can investigate how interactants manage potential diversities among their epistemic orientations toward hypothetical enactments. This inquiry can be explored by scrutinizing in what sequential environments participants produce hypothetical enactments as well as what participants perform through the deployment of these enactments. Furthermore, elucidation of how the hypotheticality of these enactments contributes to the interactants' accomplishment of what they are engaging at the moment of interaction will contribute to unveiling the complexity of what it means to enact in talk-in-interaction.

Secondly, future studies can explore how the different types of enactment markers (e.g., *to*, *tte*, *toka*, *mitaina*, *mitaina kanji*, and *tekina*) contribute to performing distinct actions. Several CA studies investigate particular syntactic markings of and discuss the interactional roles of enactments in different languages. Golato (2000) examines enactments in German and contends that *und ich so* "I'm like" is frequently used to introduce enacted embodied materials that contribute to the climax of a story. Looking at Finnish conversation data, Haakana (2007)

focuses on the phenomenon of enacted thoughts that are introduced by the component *mina attelin et* “I thought that,” and claims that those enacted thoughts are one of the devices used to construct complaint stories. Holt (2007) observes that English enactments without any syntactic markings are frequently used in tellings of hypothetical scenarios, and that those enactments contribute to expand a joke initiation.

The focal languages of the above studies (i.e., English, Finnish, and German) are all non verb-final languages. Thus, in those languages, introductory components precede enacted materials and are not usually overlapped by recipient responses. This syntactic feature enables researchers to focus straightforwardly on the interactional efficacy of different enactment marking components. On the contrary, this study has shown that Japanese enactment markers, typically placed after enacted materials, tend to be overlapped by recipient responses and, therefore, do not often contribute to recipients’ identification of enactments in temporally unfolding interactions. This was documented through the analyses of data wherein recipients initiate their responses to an enactment in the prior turn before the enactment turn arrives at the production of an enactment marker. However, this finding is by no means conclusive as different kinds of enactment markers may perform distinct interactional works. For example, the current database includes segments of interaction where multiple participants successively and/or concurrently produce enactments, marking them with the same enactment marker.⁴¹ These instances suggest the value of exploring whether the use of some particular enactment markers is relevant for interactional accomplishments within specific activity environments in Japanese talk-in-interaction.

Third, by grounding the findings of this study in the analyses of enactments in so-called ordinary conversations, future research can further explore the deployment of enactments in

⁴¹ See Excerpt (3.04) in Chapter 3, for example.

institutional settings. As Bakhtin (1981: 338) states, in real life interactions “people spend most of their time talking about what others talk about by transmitting, recalling, and/or passing judgment on other people’s words, opinions, assertions, and information.” Hence it is assumed that enactments are also used in diverse institutional talks. Thus, it is worthwhile to study enactments in interactions among members of occupations, professions, or public bureaucracies in areas such as education, social services, business meetings, medicine, and mass media among others (cf., Heritage & Clayman, 2010). In fact, an increasing number of CA studies with data from different languages have started to focus on the employment of enactments in institutional settings: for example, broadcast news interviews (Clayman, 2007) and Juvenile offender group discussions at a day center (Rae & Kerby, 2007) in English, nursing shift handover meetings (Bangerter & Mayor, 2011) in French, and the court (Golatolo, 2007) in Italian. Future studies can analyze how Japanese enactments are also utilized in these institutional settings as an interactional tool to manage interactions involving specific goal orientations that are tied to their institution-relevant identities.

Lastly, this dissertation invites future research to explore the cross-linguistic facet of the operations of enactments. The discussion of the recognizability of enacted-ness in this study points to a promising area of future research, research that would explore how interactants of other predicate-final languages, such as Korean and Turkish, identify what their participants do as enacting in temporally unfolding interactions as well as how producers of enactments in those languages compose enactment turns so that the potentially low projectability of enactments would be compensated. In the analytical framework of discourse analysis, Park (2009) examines how multimodal resources of Korean enactments complement the absence or presence of grammatical elements that index enacted-ness, including the Korean enactment marker *ko*, which

is also typically preceded by enacted materials. He focuses specially on three types of enactments (i.e., “self-quotation,” “co-party quotation,” and “third-party quotation”), and argues that whether or not an enacted character is present at the conversational site determines the intensity of multimodal characteristics of enactments. Park’s finding suggests how this relationship between grammatical and multimodal resources is also a potential outcome of the predicate-final structure of the language. Thus, a direction for future research might be to investigate the relationship between grammar and bodily conduct with regard to the composition of enactments from a wider range of typologically similar languages and to explore potential universalities and particularities in the way enactments are realized in talk-in-interaction.

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