Navigating Friendships in Interaction

Bushnell and Moody present a rich investigation into the navigation of friendships, adopting discursive and ethnographic perspectives to examine Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and English interactional data.

Since the definition of friendship is hard to pin down, most sociocultural anthropologists have tended to focus on issues of kinship and descent, while leaving friendship as a residual or interstitial issue. However, this book puts friendship as the central focus and offers unique perspectives from the participants themselves. The interactional work implicated in the accomplishment of making and being friends, and the trials and tribulations of friendship, are both explored through the many detailed analyses showing how the participants navigate the calm and rough waters of friendship in and through their everyday interactions.

Researchers, undergraduates, and postgraduate students in the fields of conversation analysis, pragmatics, and other social sciences will benefit from the real-life examples in the book as well as the analysis.

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Navigating Friendships in Interaction

Discursive and Ethnographic Perspectives

**Edited by Cade Conlan Bushnell and
Stephen J. Moody**

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Contents

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Navigating friendships in interaction: An introduction

Stephen J. Moody and Cade Bushnell

American religious leader Thomas S. Monson (1927–2018) once said: "We can't direct the wind, but we can adjust the sails." Just as sailors must navigate the unpredictability of smooth and stormy waters, so too are human friendships characterized by the need to navigate mutual affiliation and interpersonal trouble, the unpredictability of which necessitates its own interactional adjustments. Friendship is a crucial aspect of social life and self, but such relationships do not exist outside individual social encounters. Rather, it is the very navigation of social interaction, itself comprised of moment-to-moment adjustments, through which friendships are built, altered, or even destroyed.

Though previous research in sociocultural anthropology has examined friendship as a human cultural construction (e.g., Desai & Killick, 2010), such work tends to focus on issues of kinship and descent, leaving friendship as a residual or interstitial issue. One reason for this may be the seemingly nebulous nature of friendship, and a concomitant difficulty in defining it objectively; while kindship is generally an objectively definable human relationship, "friendship" is much more subjective and dynamic, and does not always conform to external relationship categories. As Desai and Killick (2010: 6) argue, attempts to provide a typology of friendship may end up obscuring a nuanced understanding of the "place and form of friendship." In other words, by seeking to first impose an acontextual definition of friendship on the study of extra-familial relationships, debates have largely been concerned with adjudicating various ways to reify the notion of "friendship," consequently relegating the role of the participants' own social actions in defining their interpersonal relationships to the periphery. This is despite the central role of participant actions in building up friendship relationships in the first place.

An important reason why friendship resists attempts at general conceptualization is that the very notion of what constitutes a "friendship" is culturally inflected. For instance, while Desai and Killick (2010) maintain that, for most scholars, a conceptualization of friendship should entail a discussion of sentiment, Carrier (1999) argues that sentiment does not appear to be a universal element in friendship for every culture. Issues of equality and voluntarism have also been debated. However, as Bell and Coleman (1999) point out, these concepts seem to be based in Western ideologies of individuality and

autonomy; notions that may not be shared by other cultures. Thus, the lived reality of people seems to refuse attempts by the social scientist to produce a general, universal definition. Friendship, it seems, is interactionally defined and culturally bound, and therefore, as Beer and Gardener (2015: 427) pointedly observe, producing a general definition of friendship "challenge[s] even the most muscular of social theories." Thus, while objective conceptualizations are appealing to the extent that they avoid the problem of needing multiple and possibly conflicting definitions of friendship, they obscure meaningful differences in how friendships form and are maintained in disparate interactional and cultural contexts.

Charting a new course with a discursive approach

A discursive approach, rooted in ethnomethodology and ethnography, helps to resolve many of the issues mentioned earlier by viewing friendship as endogenously determined in and through social interaction, thereby allowing for accounts that consider the particularities of cultural values, assumptions, and practices as they are worked up and brought to life in and for particular interactional moments by the participants themselves. Where prior work has tended to relegate friendship to a peripheral position due to the difficulty of conceptualizing it, these studies bring the notion of friendship to the forefront by centering the need to view it from a participant perspective, rather than attempting to impose a definition of friendship on our observations of social interaction. Given the unpredictability of moment-to-moment interaction, this approach highlights the interactional adjustments undertaken by participants as they initiate and maintain friendships, and navigate troubles and unexpected contingencies that might threaten interpersonal relationships. Additionally, by focusing on friendships in East Asia, this work highlights how the notion of friendship correlates and contrasts with that of the Western world, where most research on the topic is situated, thereby further emphasizing the need to conceptualize friendship from a participant perspective.

Indeed, there have been very few prior studies that have described the actual interactional processes and practices of "doing being friends." So far, prior research has examined "icebreaking" practices (Ide & Bushnell, 2018; Bushnell, 2020), practices for making friendship categories visible during a phone conversation (Nishizaka, 2012) and during a research interview (Chasin & Radtke, 2013), and the construction of "friendships" for an underlying commercial motive (Kong, 2003). A few recent studies have also examined practices of friendship in interactions among pre-teen children (García-Sánchez, 2017; Björk-Willén, 2017; Theobald et al., 2017) and a teenager and college-age participant (Greer, 2017). To our knowledge, however, this volume, which brings together discursive and ethnographic work from both sides of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans to examine how social actors themselves define friendship within the cultural context of East Asia, represents the first attempt to describe the intertwining of specific interactional instances

and the larger issue of friendship between adults as a human endeavor. Thus, the research embodied in this book seeks to surpass the theoretical quagmire observed by Beer and Gardener (2015) through respecifying friendship as a members' notion (see Garfinkel, 1967) and describing practices of human friendship in terms of "how members concert their activities to produce and exhibit the coherence, cogency, analysis, consistency, order, meaning, reason, [and] methods[,] which are locally, reflexively accountable orderlinesses" (Garfinkel, 1988: 108) (Yamaguchi, who reflects on the other contributions from an evolutionary perspective, is an exception). By taking such a view, rather than trying to pin down a universal notion of friendship though the invocation of pre-held analytical categories, this volume applies approaches based in ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, categorization analysis, and linguistic anthropology to identify and describe the concrete interactional practices deployed by participants as they publicly construct their relationship according to locally constructed and managed notions of friendship. Such a "radically emic approach" (Markee, 2000: 48) has the potential to offer a useful avenue whereby "longstanding puzzles" (Beer & Gardener, 2015: 431) are bypassed, and access is gained to a view of the horizon of the actual, mundane, lived interactional practices of being friends.

Organization of the book

The current volume is divided into three thematic sections and concluded with a coda. The authors of the first section, *Embarkation*, examine interactions between previously unacquainted participants in order to begin to describe the interactional processes through which the first ripples of friendship are brought into being.

   Conversations among those with established friendships will often draw from prior relational histories. However, those with no such histories must first build them by drawing from other sources for conversational topics. This is where the first chapter, by Kim, is focused. Her study draws from conversations-for-learning, settings in which participants are institutionally assigned conversational partners they have not met previously but with whom they are expected to hold substantial conversations. Kim shows how initial conversations make use of salient information such as cultural differences, but in later conversations, participants begin to draw from newly formed relational histories. As the building of such histories constitutes an aspect of how friendships form, this investigation provides a look at how the burgeoning friendships can be made visible in the mundane and often unnoticed practice of topic selection. The second chapter, by Okada and Seigel, examines data from online interactions in English as a lingua franca between previously unacquainted Japanese and Swedish interactants. They focus in on displays of empathy in the interaction of one dyad, in particular, to explicate the occurrence of what they term "awkward moments" (i.e., prolonged silences). In their analysis, they show that strong displays of empathy following trouble-telling, through

reformulation and the provision of a second story, do not always lead to collaborative topic development, or to the development of positive social relationships, such as friendship. They insist that in order to understand why this is so, we must look beyond the turn-level establishment of empathetic communication to how the interaction plays out following such displays of empathy. In the final chapter of this section, Bushnell describes a set of sequential structures observed in two interactions between unacquainted dyads of first- and second-language speakers of Japanese. These dyads participated in an institutionalized exchange of opinions where they were provided with a list of topics to choose from. In the first interaction, Bushnell shows that the participants develop a recurrent pattern characterized by a series of relatively brief question–answer adjacency pairs. The second dyad, contrastingly, repeatedly "unpacked" the base sequences through initiating and developing post-sequential expansions following the provision of the answer to the initial question. Bushnell demonstrates that these participants were able to delve into much deeper levels of knowing one another through such sequential expansion. Bushnell augments his sequential analysis by drawing upon ethnographic data gathered through a questionnaire and participant observation, and notes the likelihood that the second dyad was more successful in charting a course toward developing a relationship as "friends."

In the second section, *Open sea*, the authors detail the varied interactional courses taken by their participants for maintaining and developing established friendships. First, Moody examines how categorization work reflects institutional versus interpersonal relationships, using the context of foreign language housing programs, which are used to simulate a language immersion environment. Interactions in this setting necessitate navigation of tensions between an institutional mandate that conversations focus on language learning and a residential setting that is more conducive to unstructured social talk. Moody shows that practices that build up categorizations ostensibly reflective of exogenous institutional roles (e.g., language expert or language learner) are primarily deployed as in situ constructions for doing immediately relevant actions (e.g., answering a question). Indeed, interactionally built-up categorizations need not match institutional roles, and as such, this chapter illustrates some ways that people maintain orientation to interpersonal relationships, including friendships, even when institutional structures favor other forms of social organization.

Next, Inouchi turns attention to the notion of affiliation, showing how a group of learners in Japan build common identities with each other through particular joking practices. The style of humor deployed by these learners implicates voices and identities that they see as unique to their particular social group. This, in turn, sets up a distinction with "idealized native speakers," and in the process establishes mutual affiliation and identification with each other. Participants in the study even label their practices as "our language," thereby clearly delineating their affiliation from others as represented in their particular style of humor. Thus, interactional practices that build up common

group identities present a way to understand the notion of "friendship" that is grounded in participant understandings.

Continuing with the notion of affiliation, Spain describes another interactional practice that uses gestures to signal mutual connection with others, specifically the act of pointing at an interlocutor. Given that friendships are built on commonalities in interests or ideas, Spain describes how interlocutors will point at each other in moments of heightened recognition of such commonalities. As such pointing is also accompanied by co-occurring displays of epistemic primacy, Spain demonstrates that mutual affiliations are themselves in-the-moment constructions. This way of "doing commonalities" thus constitutes an interactional practice through which friendships are ratified and maintained throughout an interaction.

Finally, Namba shows how participants display mutual alignment through affective displays in response to information sharing. In narratives, participants may disclose personal information. Then, through the work of aligning to such disclosures, participants synchronize their micro-actions-in-talk in ways that further build up broader social cohesion. That is, actions that are oriented toward establishing local alignment to particular personal disclosures further contribute to the development of the kind of "togetherness" that underlies friendship relationships.

In the third and final section, *Stormy weather*, the authors focus on moments that potentially ride on the edge of friendship and estrangement. This section begins with Park's examination of three interactions among groups of Korean women. In her analysis, she focuses on how the participants use reported speech to share with the group complainable actions by either non-present third parties or co-present participants in the interaction. Park demonstrates how, in sequences where complaints are registered against a non-present person, the participants use the turns following the complaint to display affiliation and agreement through the joint accomplishment of complaining together. Contrastingly, in complaint sequences where the complaint targets a co-present participant, the following turns are characterized by denials, defenses, or accounts. Park argues that, through treating certain actions by co-present others as violations of social norms defining friendship by complaining about them, the participants are able to publicly construct those norms and make visible the boundaries of acceptable behavior for their friendship group. Park also shows how complaints about both co- and non-present participants can function to construct a local understanding of "good friend."

Next, Chu examines how participants respond to ostensibly non-cooperative behavior in ways that work to maintain a relationship despite potential threats to it. For instance, when refusing an offer, participants will engage in various forms of jocular mockery and playful abuse, which involve a diminishing or downgrading of a target in ways that are linguistically flagged as non-seriousness (see Haugh, 2010). As jocular mockery blends elements of retort (the mockery) with elements of playfulness (the jocularity), this practice allows the responder to package face-threatening acts within otherwise

affiliative actions, thereby mitigating potential harm to the relationship. Chu discusses how Chinese culture, in particular, makes use of jocular abuse as an affiliative device.

Using data from online training meetings in a football club at a Japanese university, Ide, Sakai, Aoyama, and Tashima uncover some of the roles of *ijiri* ("teasing") for constructing membership and accomplishing bonding as friends within the group. Applying a microethnographic methodology, the authors focus on the more relaxed moments following the formal training sessions when the participants were "cooling down." They describe how the participants employ *ijiri* as one type of poetic practice through which they initiate a rhythmical collaborative participation framework, or *nori*. The authors note that *ijiri* is typically initiated by senior members of the group, and *nori* is developed as junior members then follow by successively producing additional instances of *ijiri*. They also note that, while one function of *ijiri* is to evoke laughter and promote group solidarity, it is a fine line to walk; they point out that in one instance in their data, one of the senior members (a coach) scolds one of the junior members for going too far with his *ijiri*. Thus, they argue, *ijiri* is also deeply implicated in the construction and manipulation of social power, and thus may be seen as one kind of communicative competence necessary for friendly interaction across broad swaths of Japanese society.

Finally, Sekizaki focuses on interactional moments following the appearance of face-threatening acts in conversations between close Japanese friends. Using discourse analytic methods, he uncovers ways in which the participants seek to restore and maintain a balance between threatening and satisfying face demands. Through his analysis, Sekizaki shows that the participants demonstrate and solidify for one another their relationships as "close friends." In particular, he demonstrates that in conversations between intimately acquainted participants, negative evaluations may be exchanged, which threaten the positive face of one of the participants, and this may subsequently result in mutual face-threatening acts. Sekizaki argues, however, that such actions may be followed by a publicly displayed sensitivity to and concern for each other's face statuses, and that the ultimate goal seems to be a mutual satisfaction of positive face. Sekizaki argues that the coordination of positive face is particularly important for maintaining friendships, and that the participants display their orientations to this in and through publicly monitoring and maintaining the appropriate level of positive face status.

In the coda, Yamaguchi completes the volume by providing a metaperspective on the investigation of interactional tides of friendship developed in the previous chapters. Taking an evolutionary perspective, Yamaguchi highlights three themes he finds common across the previous 11 chapters in the volume: temporality, embodiment, and interculturality. Through considering possible connections between evolutionary perspectives on friendship and the discursive approaches embodied in the previous chapters, he argues that while the discursive approaches ground us in ecologically valid instances of actual, recorded conduct, the scope of the research may also be extended to the biocultural and

neurological aspects of human sociality. Yamaguchi concludes the volume by pointing to what he terms "anti-psychologism" in discursive approaches and "quantificationism" in evolutionary and psychological theories. He suggests that researchers need to develop approaches to usefully interrelate and integrate these two stances in order to facilitate further an interdisciplinary science of human social behavior, including the particular behaviors associated with friendship.

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1 Doing "being friends" in conversation-for-learning

From language learner-tutor to buddies

Younhee Kim[1]

Introduction

The creation and maintenance of personal relationships is an important part of life. While in the field of interpersonal communication, the personal relationship is conceptualized by distinguishing it from the role relationship (Bridge & Baxter, 1992), personal relationships (such as friendship) often evolve from existing work relationships (such as being colleagues). One dominant approach to the study of interpersonal relationships in communication is to treat them as an independent variable that affects the way in which participants interact with each other (e.g., Berger & Calabrese, 1975). A view that stands in contrast to this is the one that sees relationships as an inherently communicative phenomenon; i.e., a relationship is something that is accomplished in and through interaction rather than something that pre-exists and therefore externally influences interaction (Hopper & Drummond, 1992). This view aligns with the ethnomethodological approach that sees relationships as "something we DO rather than something we HAVE" (Mandelbaum, 2003: 465, emphasis in original). The current study draws on this view and aims to examine how participants do "being friends" in a particular type of institutional talk, conversation-for-learning (Kasper & Kim, 2015). The study also builds on the observation that friendship could emerge and evolve from an initial institutionally defined relationship, such as language learner and language tutor. The current study aims to describe interactional practices by which participants achieve "doing being friends."

Conversation analytic approach to relationship construction in interaction

While interaction in role relationship categories such as teacher–student, doctor–patient, or parent–child has been extensively researched in conversation analysis literature, (e.g., Drew & Heritage, 1992), relationship categories outside institutional roles, such as friends (e.g., cousins, siblings, or classmates), acquaintances, or strangers, remained relatively unattended to until recently, perhaps due to the nebulous nature of social distance and emphasis on the requirement not

to bring context into analysis unless its procedural consequence can be shown in the data (Schegloff, 1997). However, as Pomerantz and Mandelbaum (2005) have succinctly summarized, participants in interaction constantly orient to relationship categories in designing their own actions and interpreting interlocutors' actions. Pomerantz and Mandelbaum (2005) observe that social actions identified and described by conversation analysts are often relationship category specific. For example, in Mandelbaum's (1987) description of conjoint action by couples in launching a story in interaction, the practice whereby one participant refers to shared past experience and the other recognizes it and forwards a story about it is imbued with relational implication. Such action sequences are produced by, and reproduce, the relationship between their enactors.

Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) also report on a similar method in doing "acquaintedness": a referencing and tying device that presupposes a shared experience in generating topical talk. In comparison of how acquainted and unacquainted pairs generate topical talk, Maynard and Zimmerman show how practices for introducing a topic both display and accomplish features of social relationship such as the distance and intimacy of interactants. While *setting* talk was used by both acquainted and unacquainted dyads to initiate topical talk, when it was used by acquainted dyads, Maynard and Zimmerman observe, it allows participants to display and achieve a degree of "anonymity," which in turn accomplishes distance in relationships. Acquainted dyads have some shared past experience, which informs them as to what the other can be relied upon to know and thus "permits laconicity in topic initiation" (Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984: 301).

Around the same time, Jefferson et al. (1984) argue that the introduction of obscenities into talk can be an index of intimacy. Introducing obscenities or improprieties can be a risky act, as it may or may not be taken up by the interlocutors. By uptaking the other's improprieties through laughter or even using additional improprieties, interactants accomplish intimacy in interaction (Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005). Laughter provides a critical resource in responding to improprieties and teasing, as it displays appreciation, but not necessarily outright affiliation. As Glenn (2003: 122) observes, two distinct sequential activities, *laughing along* and *resisting* in response to teasing and improprieties, help participants "accomplish in-the-moment relationship and identity." Laughing along can move talk forward to a moment of co-implication, while resistance can serve to discontinue the activity proposed. As a midpoint response to teasing and improprieties, laughter figures in both activities, demonstrating its usefulness as a resource in managing the ongoing construction of relationships, which is subject to moment-to-moment adjustments, for parties in interaction. Another activity by which participants in interaction may formulate a relationship as "close" is teasing. Drew (1987) notes how teasing can be a conventional index for how comfortable parties-in-talk have come to feel with one another (Haugh, 2014).

In examining how interactants in telephone conversations enact involvement that constitutes being in a relationship, Morrison (1997) reports on

a few interactional practices such as "tracking inquiries" and "proffering news." A tracking inquiry is a "request for a report of an activity or event one knows to have occurred [in the other party's life] since the last conversation" (Morrison, 1997: 39). Similar to other interactional practices that carry relational implication, tracking inquiries are based on "mutually assumed knowledge" (Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984: 303). The speaker utilizes knowledge from a prior conversation to formulate the question concerning what is happening in the other's life. By using tracking inquiries, the speaker shows that "I know that you know that I know" and hence makes available a sense of a shared history between the interactants. Through tracking inquiries, the speaker conveys that the activity asked about matters to the recipient. In summary, tracking inquiries serve to invoke a prior occasion when relevant knowledge was shared, provide continuity across the discontinuity that transpires during times of non-co-presence, and show the speaker's interest or concern.

Morrison (1997) observes that interactants can also enact involvement by proffering news, i.e., sharing news in their life without being prompted to do so. The recipient can then align with the implied sense of the proffered news.

In summarizing studies that treat relationships as something participants achieve in interaction rather than as a state of affairs that underlies their talk, Pomerantz and Mandelbaum (2005) provide a summary list of relationship-implicative practices and conduct identified in conversation analysis (CA) literature, which is reproduced below.

1. Inquiring about tracked events + providing more details on one's own activities
2. Discussing one's own problems + displaying interest in the other's problems
3. Making oblique references to shared experience + forwarding the talk about shared experience
4. Using improprieties + taking up the other's improprieties by using additional improprieties

The significance of these practices in regard to relationship construction is found in two aspects: interactants enact close relationships by performing these actions or, alternatively, interactants may be made accountable when no such practices are found in interaction between incumbents of such relationship categories.

While not exactly relationship-implicative practices, Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) note that when the parties' categorical co-membership or co-participation in category-bound activities is made visible by pre-topical sequences, it may provide for the possibility of doing "affiliation," whereby participants achieve intimacy.

Lastly, it has to be emphasized that enacting and achieving relationships in interaction is a joint accomplishment, with one party engaging in

relationship-implicative practices and the other party ratifying and aligning with those practices (Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005).

Data

The data for the current study consist of roughly 14 hours of audio-recorded conversation between two Korean adolescent boys and one American graduate student. The encounter was arranged as part of conversation-for-learning (Kasper & Kim, 2015), which is a pedagogical arrangement set up with a view to maximizing the potential benefit of interaction for participants' language learning. While conversation-for-learning can take various formats (see Kasper & Kim, 2015, for different varieties of setup for conversation-for-learning), the encounter that forms the basis of the current study was arranged in such a way that the two Korean boys (C and J) met with T (American graduate student) every two weeks and "hung out" in various places such as fast-food restaurants, local cafés, or someone's home. The participants also "hung out" at the International Auto Show when it was hosted locally. No instruction other than "hang out and talk" was provided for the meetings. The meetings lasted for nine months, starting in September 2004, within one month of the time of the two boys' arrival in the U.S., and ended in May 2005, when the next year's Spring semester came to an end. For the first four months, Y, who is a Korean graduate student, occasionally participated in conversation, as she was present helping to record the conversation. In the following analysis, the longitudinal nature of the dataset enabled analysis of change over time, and more specifically, helped emergent and changing orientation to membership categories and relationships come into view.

Analysis 1. Topic generation: Interculturality to biographical

One dimension that showed the development of the participants' relationship was located in procedures of generating topical talk, as well as the types of topics that they talked about. Excerpt 1.1 presents a sequence from the very first encounter between C and T. Y was present as a facilitator, and the meeting was taking place at a local ice cream parlor.

```
1.1 McDonald's [Sept 19]
631    (3.9)
632 Y: mwe  mwel     [cohahay Chungho-? Uh go ahead
       what what:ACC like: Q    Chungho   uh go ahead
       "what what do you like Chungho? Uh go ahead"
633 T:             [did you:
634 T:→uh (0.4) d- (0.9) you guys have mcdonalds,
635    in korea?
636    (0.6)
637 C: yeah
638 T:→a:nd (0.3) have you eaten mcdonalds here?
```

```
639     (1.2)
640 T:→is there difference? L'k do they se:rve
641 different foods? between the (1.4)
642     [(0.6) Korean mcdonalds en=
643 C: [uh::
644 T: =united states mcdonalds?
645 C: the biggest difference is pfrice.
646     (0.4)
647 Y: ehhh cheaper [(.) or?
648 T:             [oh yah?
659     (1.0)
650 C: American (0.3) m mcdonald is much (0.5)
651     expensive.
652 T: much more expensive?
```

Y and T almost simultaneously start a turn, making a topic-initiating move (lines 632 and 633). As Y yields her turn to T, T continues with his topic-initiating move (line 634). Note that it takes two preliminary questions (lines 634, 638) before T is able to properly launch his main question, asking whether there is any difference between Korean McDonald's and United States McDonald's (lines 640–642, 644). The topic is built over a series of turns, which involves consecutive expansion. This seems to have to do with the need to estimate and ensure shared background knowledge between the two participants in their initial encounter (Svennevig, 1999). Also, T's nomination of topics concerning things Korean (McDonald's in Korea) and things American[2] (McDonald's) makes visible T's potential categorization of C as a Korean who recently came to the U.S. This is in line with the findings of previous studies that observe how orientation to interculturality serves as a resource for topic generation in initial encounters among participants from different cultural backgrounds (Mori, 2003). However, as will be shown in this chapter, change arises both in the way topics are initiated and in the types of topics talked about as the meetings continue over time.

The data with which I would like to compare Excerpt 1.1 comprise the following extract, which took place roughly six months after Excerpt 1.1.

1.2 Italian V12 sound [Mar 13]
```
265 C: is it sweet?
266     (0.9)
267 T: no (0.3) >there's almost no flavor.<
268     (5.9) ((sound of chewing rice cake))
269 C: (clears the throat)
270     (2.5)
271 C:→so I finally (0.4) heard (1.9) Italian vui
272     twelve sounds
273     (2.6)
274 T: o↑h when you're walking, you- when you walk
275     by?
```

```
276      (1.9)
277  C:  m no. (0.7) I mean I went to the (0.4)
278      dealership, but (4.8) showroom (0.6) was
279      (0.5) just five, but (1.8) behind the
280      showroom, (0.7) there was a (1.8) place like
281      parking lot, (1.7) in (1.9) the building,
282      (0.5) back of the showroom, .hh en
283      [(0.4) there=
284  T:  [°um°
285  C:  =were (0.6) all (0.5) expensive exotic cars,
286      (3.5)
287      ((sounds of smacking)) audi Hawaii also
288      sells (2.8)lotus¿ (0.4) Ferrari, en
289      maseratis
290  T:  hm
291      (3.1)
292  T:  do they start 'em up?
```

After a sizable pause following a brief exchange of question-and-answer about the taste of the rice cake (lines 265–267), C makes a topic-initiating move (line 271). Note that his topic-initiating move takes the form of an announcement prefaced by "so." As observed by Bolden (2008), while this announcement is not connected to the immediately preceding talk (the taste of the snack or even what T was talking about before that), the sequence-initial *so* serves to mark the status of the upcoming utterance as something that the speaker has meant to launch all along, hence rendering the upcoming topic the interaction's core business.

The way C initiates a new topic in line 271 presupposes T's knowledge of *Italian V 12* and assumes that the news that he had heard the sound of that particular engine type, *Italian V 12*, is tellable/reportable in this relationship. The relevance of the action of telling the news does not flow from the immediate sequential environment. Instead, it invokes a previous occasion when they had talked about high-end cars by presupposing recognizability (Goodwin, 2003) of *Italian V12* to T. More importantly, so-prefacing, similarly to its use in institutional talk, marks the status of the upcoming topic as the interaction's core business, i.e., regular stuff that they talk about, pending and delayed (Bolden, 2008). C's move is ratified by T, who immediately recognizes the assessable nature of the reference and invites further talk by asking a question (line 274); hence, the topic is successfully launched.

Excerpt 1.2 shows two points: the "laconicity" (Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984: 301) with which topical talk is established and the types of topics that they talk about, more specifically, the status of car talk as main core stuff they talk about. One can argue that the former was made possible due to increased shared knowledge between the two participants, which stands in contrast to Excerpt 1.1.

The contrast that Excerpt 1.2 presents in comparison to Excerpt 1.1 concerns not only the amount of work that it takes to launch a mutually oriented topic, but also the types of topics that are launched. While orientation to interculturality (Mori, 2003) served as a salient resource for generating topical talk in Excerpt 1.1, Excerpt 1.2. shows that "car talk" has been established as regular stuff they talk about. This observation is based on examining the entire corpus of the data, not only based on Excerpt 1.2. As I have showed in Kim and Carlin (2022), car talk seems to have obtained the status of an "ultra-rich" topic (Sacks, 1992), not only in the sense that they talked more about cars than other things but also in the sense that it provided a gateway to other favored topics, such as car-racing movies, computer games (car-themed), first driving experiences, and driving-related pranks.

In addition to "car talk," another emerging topic that was recurrently talked about was biographical talk. In Excerpt 1.3, which took place four months after the first meeting, C, a freshman in high school, following a question from T, is talking about where he wants to go to college.

1.3 I hate study [Jan 16]
```
1    C: but uh (1.5) a:s (2.2) my parents (1.0)
2       don't like my wa(h)y,
3    T: is it that they don't want you to go: to:
4       (.) a:nother school, like international,(.)
5       school, they'd rather you to stay in
6       korea?
7    C: uh: like (0.7) ts my father is professor,
8       so (1.5) my father, ah no, not my father,
9       uh my mother wants, us to be, especially
10      me, to be study (1.2) until die(hh)
11   Y: hah hah hah hah hah
12   C:→but I hate study. I hate study so I don't
13      know how   to study: an I don't know (0.4)
14      the reason why I should study, en when
15   Y: so you don't wanna go to: a university in
16      Korea.
17   C: uh
18   Y: you're not planning to go to (.) university
19      to.
20      (1.0)
21   Y: sounds like.
22   T: just wanna go to good design school, en out
23      there on the job market?
24   C: go to design school or (.) uh (.) if I
25      cannot do the  design or something like that,
26      I ju- I will find some  other ways to related
27      to (.) cars
```

Prior to Excerpt 1.3, topic talk on foreign language learning led to C's self-disclosure of his plan to learn Italian, which led to revealing his passion for

Italian cars. This in turn led to C's self-disclosure of his long-harbored desire to attend a design school in Pasadena, California. He then concludes his telling by noting his parents' objection (line 1), in response to which T asks a further clarification question (lines 3–6). C's response "my mother wants us, especially me, to study until die" (lines 9–10), designed as extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), conveys a strong affective stance, which is soon followed by a more explicitly formulated form of emotional self-disclosure, "I hate study. I hate study" (line 13). In response to Y's and T's ensuing clarification questions, C continues to talk about what he wants to do after high school (lines 23–26).

While self-disclosure is not a household term in EMCA research (see Antaki et al., 2005; Haugh & Carbaugh, 2015), it is widely acknowledged in social psychology and communication research that self-disclosure plays a crucial role in developing and maintaining relationships (Finkenauer et al., 2018). Termed *autobiographical talk* by Maynard and Zimmerman (1984), and *self-presentational sequence* by Svennevig (2014), a handful of CA research also reports on practices of self-disclosure in the initiating stage of a relationship, drawing our attention to how essential self-disclosure is in establishing common ground and helping to find mutually involving topics. Self-disclosure and interpersonal relationships are regarded as "mutually transformative" in social psychology (Derlega et al., 1993). More specifically, self-disclosure affects the nature of the relationship, and the latter affects the content and impact of self-disclosure. While C's expression of his emotion using hyperboles ("my mother wants us, especially me, to study until die") and emotion words ("I hate study") provides one glimpse of personal self-disclosure, an increasing number of self-disclosure sequences are observed in the data as the participants get to meet each other regularly. Arguably, this growing amount of self-disclosure would affect the nature of the relationship they enact at each moment.

It is to be noted that this self-disclosure was not prompted by means of explicit questions but was volunteered by speakers. In comparing explicit/direct and indirect self-presentation sequences, Svennevig (2014) reports that groups who were engaged in indirect self-presentation sequences (present and elicit information about one another in passing) reported being more pleased about their conversation. In the data of the current study, self-disclosure sequences were most often incidentally occasioned while they were talking about something else rather than prompted by explicit questions. Another such example is provided in the following. In Excerpt 1.4, T and C are at the International Auto Show, and they just stopped in front of a particular model of Audi.

```
1.4 Audi [Apr3]
68   T: look at this.
69      (0.6)
70   T: see: y' can never be comfortable. you're
71      just (tongue clicks)
```

```
72      (0.5)
73  C:  yeah=
74  T:  =crushed
75      (5.1)
76  T:  an' for an audi, you'd, you'd wanna ha:ve
77      uh, (0.8) a manual, because they're so:
78      peppy, like there're so much (1.0) go. (.)
79      you know my my (0.4) uhm (0.4) step mother,
80      owns one of these, en I'd take it out, en
81      (0.6) every once in a while, en, whi!
82      (0.7)
83  C:  many people say that (0.4) you know the tee
84      tee, (0.3) tee tee es, manual, transmission
85      feels [really good.
86  T:  [yeah thet's wut she ha:s. (1.3) I
87      don't think she has the high-end, the the
88      better one. but,(0.4) it's nice
89  C:  sure
```

While enthusing about the car (lines 76–81), T proffers his opinion that one should drive a manual version (lines 76–77). T backs up this view with his knowledge about the features of the car ("because they're so: peppy, like there's so much go"), which is presented as if first-hand knowledge. T soon moves on to describe how he had access to driving one: "you know, my my (0.4) uhm (0.4) my stepmother owns one of these" (lines 79–80). While this utterance serves to provide information on how T had access to the car (hence supporting that his view of the car is based on first-hand knowledge), it incidentally reveals some personal information as well. Excerpt 1.4 shows that while the focus of the conversation was on how nice the particular car was, personal life information is incidentally mentioned in its peripheral detail. Through those self-disclosure sequences, T and C were seen to establish a common pool of personal information over the course of a nine-month period.

Analysis 2. Establishing shared histories and referring to conversations in the past

As the history of conversation accumulates, the pool of shared knowledge between the participants naturally expanded, including knowledge about the other person's life. It was often observed that the two participants referred to prior conversations by tapping knowledge gained from prior conversations in launching topic talk or adding peripheral details to the current talk. By referring to past conversations, participants achieve mutual recognition of their shared interactional histories. One such practice is tracking inquiries (Morrison, 1997). The speaker of a tracking inquiry invites the other to provide updates on the other party's activity that they talked about the last time they spoke. Both C and T deployed tracking inquiries, although C did this less

than T. C started to do it five months after the initial meeting (February 27), which is presented in the following as Excerpt 1.5.

In Excerpt 1.5, at a topic-bounding position (Button & Casey, 1984, 1985; Sacks, 1992), where the previous topic about the frozen cheesecake has come to an end, C initiates a question that asks T about his motorcycle lesson.

```
1.5 Motorcycle [Feb 27]
444  C:  m about one mini- one minute, (0.8) one
445      minute (0.5) (it'll sweat) .hhh
446  T:  m
447      (1.2)
448  C:→ um- (0.6) how's your (.) motorcycle?
449  T:  finished. (0.3) I'd, yesterday was my last
450      day a class. a:nd, I got uh ninety fi:ve
451      percent (0.3) on like, on the driving
452      part, (0.7) uh (0.7) they had us go through
453      a cou:rse, so we had t' do: (0.5) u:h a
454      tu:rn, we'd accelerate in the, turn, (.)
455      t' like come out, (0.5) kind of more
456      quickly, (0.3) they'd to do fast stop, (0.3)
457      so we're practicing, it was raining
458      yesterday morning, (0.7) an' (0.5) so they
459      want us to see what it's like to stop
460      quickly in the rain. an' you sto:p (.) en
461      the bike was ps::::::: en slides, so we were
462      (.) doing'at sliding, (.) few times='at was
463      kind of fun, (0.7) uhm (0.6) ((tongue
464      clicks)) and then, dodging, a car, (0.4)
465      like if it was a car, here you have to go
466      fast and then (0.6) get out of the way real
467      quick, (0.6) so, passed all those, an'then
468      the written test. (1.0) °so I should get° my
469      licence next week,
470  C:  that's good
471      (1.0)
472  T:  I went shopping for bikes today this
473      morning, and went to the military base.
474      (0.7) and I saw: five or six
```

Prior to Excerpt 1.5, T was talking about how he and his friends used to have fun with playing darts. After that talk came to a close with laughter from both the speaker and the recipients, talk has temporarily shifted to the frozen cheesecake, i.e., how long it will take for it to thaw out (lines 444–445). After a 1.2-second pause, at this topic-bounding position, C asks an other-attentive question, which displays his knowledge of what T has been up to since their prior meeting. By using a tracking inquiry, C not only displays his knowledge and awareness of T's recent activities but also signals that this activity matters

to him, thereby expressing concern and care. Note that T responds to this with a topic-embracing move as he volunteers more information on the brought-up topic. Instead of stopping after his summary report, "finished" (line 449), he goes on to describe the scenes at his motorcycle lesson in close detail (weather, types of skills he had to practice, when he will get his license, etc.). C provides an assessment (line 470), and T continues his motorcycle talk, now shifting to talk about motorcycle shopping.

Making a tracking inquiry involves using one's memory of reports offered in previous conversation to ask for updates about particular activities. Alternatively, knowledge about the other party gained from the previous interaction can be indicated in a more incidental manner by deploying referential practices that communicate recognizability of a certain detail mentioned in prior talk. In the following excerpt, T is telling a story about how he would fool his female friends when he first got his car.

```
1.6 Ten horns [Feb 13]
60   T: also, we'd fool some people when i first
61      got my car? some girls, ((knocking on the
62      table)) were riding with me. (0.7) en i'm
63      driving. en i'd say this car has like ten
64      horns, °it's like° i'd push it pee pee pee
65      peep, like that, en then i'd say, look down
66      under here, en i, reach down underneath here,
67      en use  the horn with this hand, pew pew bee,
68      like this, en  she thinks there's a horn down
69      here, en then i- i do down here, and she's
70      always looking at this hand for,   y'know
71      [en i'm always pushing with this one
72   J: [hhe hhe heh heh heh
73   T: >so she's always like< what? so she's
74      looking around for i(hh)t heh always honking
75      a different horn hen there eventually i'll
76      show 'er i jus go pee pee(hh)
77      [pee(h) heh heh  [heh heh he
78  CJ: [heh heh        [heh heh he
79      (2.0)
80   C: m <so. what happened after that?>
81   T: she hated me. she thinks i'm stupi(h)d. heh
82      heh heh
83      (1.8)
84   T: 't wz just teasing.
85      (2.0) ((clears the throat))
86   C: you mean, (.) the jeep?
87   T: um?
88   C: you mean the, your fir- first car, the jeep?
89   T: the jeep? no, not- it wouldn't work in that
90      one.
```

T's story of how he had fooled his female friends with his first car suc-cessfully elicits laughter from the recipients (lines 72 and 78). With laugh-ing together marking a potential story completion point (lines 77–78), the resumption of turn-by-turn talk is relevant. C asks a question that prompts T to tell more of his story (line 80), and T provides a response designed to be humorous (note that his turn in lines 81–82 is interspersed with laugh particles), following which the storytelling is brought to completion with T's assessment, "it was just teasing" (line 84). At this point, while further talk on T's story is still relevant, the sequential structure of conversation seems to have returned to turn-by-turn talk. It is at this point that C asks an ancillary question, "you mean, (.) the Jeep?" (line 86), which is responded to with T's repair initiation (line 87).

The focus of our analysis is on C's repair in line 88. Initially, it looks like C treats the problem embedded in T's repair initiation as a hearing prob-lem (Svennevig, 2008), which is shown in the first half of his turn, where he repeats his preceding turn, "you mean the" (line 88). But, this initial attempt is quickly abandoned and replaced by a more fully expanded referential form: "your fir- first car, the Jeep?"

Notably, in T's story, the car was not a focal item. It was implicitly referred to in passing[3] when he set the background of the story, "when I first got my car" (lines 60–61). C's question (line 86) foregrounds the car as a focal object. In so doing, both its model (Jeep) and the past conversation (Jan 16) where T talked about his first car are invoked and potentially made relevant for the sub-sequent development of interaction. While it turns out that it was not the same car that C was thinking of (lines 89–90), C's repair initiation invokes the past conversation in which T talked about his cars and displays C's knowledge of it.

One can also indicate one's knowledge and awareness of what the other party has previously reported by invoking and implicitly referring back to a previous conversation. In Excerpt 1.7, the two Korean boys (C and J), who are brothers, and T and Y are chatting over a meal in a family restaurant. C launches a new topic by reporting what happened to him and his brother the previous morning.

1.7 Spray water through the window [May 8]
```
1    C: he was scolded by my- my father in the
2       morning
3    Y: today?
4    C: uh yesterday (1.8) and (2.9) I was sleeping
5       at the time, and when I (.) woke up by the
6       (1.2) shouting, sound, (2.4) uh my father
7       told me (0.7) uh told us to (1.0) get out
8       (2.3)
9    Y: including you?
10   C: yeah
11   T: [hah hah hah hah hih hih
12   C: [I didn't know the reason
```

```
13   Y:  and you're sleeping? ((smiley voice))
14   T:  so(h)  [(.) £he just took you out of the bed=
15   Y:         [heh heh all of a sudden
16   T:  =and£ push you out the door?
17       (4.3)
18   C:  we should go out before he touch us
19       (0.8)
20   C:  but
21   T:  um((swallowing something)) >I know<
22   Y:  heh heh heh
23   T:  when you're uh: (.) y'know when you have
24       your own kids one day, are you gonna use the
25       same technique? (0.8) y'know whenever
26       there's som[e (.) yell at this: (0.5) go(h)=
27   C:             [I do(h)n't kno(hh)w heh heh
28   T:  =outsi(h)de heh heh en spray with water
29       through th(h)e throu(hh)gh the window heh
30       heh heh
```

C's description of what happened that morning (lines 1–7) elicits laughter from T. The puzzlement of being told to go out as he is being woken up by the yelling sound is conveyed even before C says it explicitly ("I didn't know the reason", line 12). T affiliates with the story not only with laughter but also by offering an exaggerated version of reformulation: "So, he just took you out of bed and push you out the door?" (lines 14, 16). Exaggeration and smiley voice render his remark hearable as shifting to non-serious and humorous mode. C responds with a "po-faced" answer (Drew, 1987) by providing more details: "we should go out before he touch us" (line 19). T responds with an acknowledgment token "um" and the emphatic "I know" (line 21) while swallowing food, before delivering a main response in lines 23–26. T asks, in a mock-serious tone, if C will do the same to his own kids when he has them. The joking or humorous nature of this question is made visible in the extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) ("whenever there's some (.) yell at"), infiltrated laughter, and most notably, extra detail, which was added though not mentioned in C's current story ("spray with water through the window," lines 28–29). Note that T's laugh becomes more intense to the extent that he had to repeat the part "through the, through the window" when he added this last detail (lines 29–30). Notably, this detail was reported by C in a previous encounter (Mar 13) when he complained about being scolded by his dad and being ejected from the house as punishment. The constraint of space prevents me from presenting the entire excerpt here. But in that episode, C had mentioned that their father threw some water at them through the window while he and his brother J were standing outside waiting for his father to relent and allow them back in. That story included many details, such as how the window was left open, and they tried to beg forgiveness through the open window, but his dad would spray water through the window. The last detail had elicited a

big burst of laughter from T, who also asked a clarifying question, almost in disbelief, whether his dad was angry or laughing when he threw water through the window. By retrieving a detail from a similar episode told in the prior conversation and plugging in to the current episode, T achieves public recognition of a shared history between them.

Back to the current episode, C responds to the tease by going along with it: He says, "I don't know," interspersed with laugh particles (line 27) (see Drew, 1987, for a range of responses to teases that vary from serious to non-serious). The addition of the last detail (spraying water through the window), which was originally told in C's story on a previous occasion, increases the exaggerated nature of teasing and allows them to laugh together, which in turn accomplishes public recognition of shared memory. It not only invokes the previous occasion where C has made a similar complaint about being kicked out of the house but also allows T to achieve affiliation with C by responding to his complaint with a joke that conveys his sympathy, communicating something along the lines of "yes, I know your father can go too far. I remember you told me about a similar incident before." Drawing upon Sacks (1992), Glenn (2003: 53) observes that laughing together offers "relationally potent moments," which may contribute to the enactment of a close relationship. Drew (1987) notes that teasing can be a conventional index of how close/comfortable they have come to be. In this way, it both signals and contributes to the ongoing construction of intimacy.

Furthermore, in sharing his report of his father's unfair/unreasonable punishment, C's category membership as a teenage boy comes to the fore, and T picks it up in designing his response to it. The father–son relationship described in C's story is used as a resource in constructing T's teasing question. Complaining about a parent can be reasonably thought of as a category-bound action for a teenager, and T is orienting to this projected membership in constructing his response to it, thereby enacting a different relationship than that of institutionally generated ones (language learner and tutor).

Analysis 3: Asymmetrical to symmetrical

Given that language expertise was the main characteristic of the participants based on which the meetings were arranged, it is not surprising that word search sequences (Brouwer, 2003) were among the frequently occurring activities. While Brouwer (2003) argues that there are word search sequences where the speaker is not necessarily seeking the other's help but rather is engaged in "doing thinking," the language expertise asymmetry and the objective of language learning that are the premises of the interactions made inviting or seeking help a salient feature of the word search sequences found in our data. As expected, most often, C was the one who sought and invited help with word search when he encountered a problem with finding and using an appropriate word. Excerpt 1.8 provides one such example. Prior to Excerpt 1.8, C and T had been talking about traffic jams in Washington D.C. and California.

Readers join the excerpt as C brings up a particular type of road in Seoul that
he liked.

```
1.8 Overpass [Feb13]
12   C:  .hh uh in (.) seoul, I r- really (0.5) liked
13        (.) one of the (0.7) .hh (1.3) freeway?
14        (0.6) not really freeway, but, (1.8) [(0.6)
15   T:    [.hhh
16   C:  uh:: (1.2) ((smacking)) that was a road
17        that (0.9) like uh whole bridge, long
18        bridge, (0.7) but not a bridge. (0.7) i
19        mean, (0.5) city is here, (1.4) just (0.3)
20        without (.) river, or some (.) kind of that,
21        but (1.3) uh:=
22   T:  =ts like an overpass? (0.9) other, other
23        streets below it? (1.9) ((snapping sound))
24   C:  uh (1.2) ((snapping sound twice)) over uh
25        (1.9) becos (0.6)  there are so many (.)
26        shops (0.5) uhs (0.5) uh alongside the road,
27   T:  um=
28   C:  =uh- (1.1) the (1.4) presiden- president:
29        (1.1) in (0.3) nineteen seventi:es (0.4)
30        made a special road (1.1) that (0.9) .hh i
31        don't know uhh what is it (0.3) in english,
32        (0.6)
33   T: b't does the road go over?
34        (0.6)
35   C:  eh uh, (1.3) like (.) start here en. (0.4)
36        here's the city en, just (0.6) °like this°
37        (1.1)
38   T:  could be a highway, could be a overpass,
39        (2.3)
40   C:  i loved the road, but: (0.9) now, (0.8)
41        the (0.5) mayor
```

The difficulty that C displays in formulating the word to continue his turn
is obvious (lines 13–14, 16–21). C first formulates it as "freeway," delivered
with a try-marked intonation that indicates his uncertainty of the term. Then,
he negates the term ("not really freeway" in line 14) and further describes it
as "like uh whole bridge, long bridge" (lines 17–18), following which he yet
again negates that descriptor as well ("but not a bridge" in line 18).[4] Offering
a lexical item that is semantically contiguous while conceptually less accurate
is a well-documented strategy in second language communication research
(Faerch & Kasper, 1983). By proffering a semantically close lexical item and
subsequently negating it, the speaker is able to provide some information
about the searched-for lexical item while demonstrating that the target lexi-
cal item has not yet been found (note the construction *it's not X*), and thus

encourage recipient participation. After a few more attempts by C to describe the type of the road in question, T offers a candidate solution: "like an over-pass?" (line 22). The main sequence continues without C adopting either of the suggestions (lines 40–41).

While this pattern where C invites help with his word search and T provides a candidate solution was more or less predominant in the first half period of recording, I started to see a couple of instances where the roles of who initi-ates word search and who provides the solution get reversed in the last three meetings, particularly in the meeting that took place at the International Auto Show. Excerpt 1.9 provides one such example. T and C are looking at a type of sports car.

```
1.9 Spoiler [Apr 3]
1    C: so nice
2    T: is this the one with the: (.) the rising,
3       (1.0) u:h what is it called?
4    C: suspension?
5    T: uh no i-
6    (0.5)
7    C: yeah spoiler
8    T: yeah the spoiler comes out
9    C: yeah
10   T: this is the coolest I've ever seen. I was
11      driving …
```

After C's comment on the car, delivered in an admiring tone (line 1), T is about to ask a question/make a comment about the car, but soon encounters a problem, as indicated with the sound stretch in "the:" (line 2), repeated pauses, non-lexical hesitation marker "u:h" (line 3), and the explicit word search marker "what is it called?" C's first offer of a candidate solution is rejected (line 5), but soon C offers another word (line 7), which is accepted by T (line 8). Following this, they continue to enthuse about the car and share their experience of seeing the car on the street (lines 10–11).

One can say that word search sequences where the language learner seeks help with word search and the tutor provides a candidate solution form a type of fingerprint sequence for conversation-for-learning as institutional interac-tion (Kasper & Kim, 2015). The participants are orienting to their identities as a novice language user and an expert language user, which formed the basis for the initial setup of the meeting. When the roles in the activity are reversed, however momentarily, it tips the balance of asymmetry initially assumed in terms of language expertise, hence departing from the typical organization of interaction in institutional settings (Waring & Yu, 2018).

In addition to the reversed role performance in word search sequences, the data also presented a growing number of instances where the two participants exchanged their views on cars on a more symmetrical footing. Excerpt 1.10 and

Excerpt 1.11 present such examples. Excerpt 1.10 took place at the Auto Show. T provides a comment on the paint job of the car they are watching (line 600), and C responds with another technical term for that type of paint job (line 602).

```
1.10 Dual layer paint [Apr 3]
600  T: dual layer paint
601     (2.9)
602  C: chameleon
603     (0.6)
604  T: yea:h
```

```
1.11 Jackie Chan [Mar 13]
1    C: eh Chris Tucker's (0.3) en (.) .hh (0.3)
2       actually, Jackie Chan:'s (.) movie (0.3)
3       always have Mitsubishi cars, (0.7) like
4       (0.4)
5    T: um [cuz he's advertising for them, right?
6    C:    [um
7    C: yeah. (0.6) these are evolution (.) or
8       Mitsubishi, [(0.4) Pajero or Montero=
9    T:         [°ya:h°
10   C: =(0.9) or (1.1) uh there:'s (0.3) uh old,
11      movie¿ (0.4) that (1.7) I guess it was
```

While T and C were talking about Jackie Chan's movie *Rush Hour*, again the talk shifts to cars. They just talked about *Corvette Stingray*, the car owned by the character Detective Carter, played by the actor Chris Tucker. Now, C is shifting the focus to different company cars (Mitsubishi), commenting on how Mitsubishi cars are always featured in Jackie Chan's movies. As C seems about to add an example of Mitsubishi cars shown in Jackie Chan's movies, a short pause occurs (line 4), which is utilized by T as a turn entry point (line 5). T first indicates his incipient speakership via "um" and provides the reason for the connection between Jackie Chan and Mitsubishi cars (line 5). Note that while T advances the talk by providing the reason for what C has just said, T also formulates his contribution with the turn-final particle "right" delivered in a rising intonation, hence eliciting C's confirmation. After providing an acknowledgment, "yeah," C proceeds to provide examples of Mitsubishi cars and furthers the talk by bringing up another old movie where Jackie Chan starred and a legend car that was featured in that particular movie. What we see here is how T and C co-construct car talk by contributing their respective knowledge to the conversation. Despite C's apparent disfluency, marked by recurrent intra-turn pauses, his knowledge on the subject matter allows him to achieve greater symmetry in the way they construct the talk, occasionally leading the conversation as well.

Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate changing aspects of the relationship between two participants in conversation-for-learning over the course of time (nine months) through some features of talk-in-interaction that enact and reflect their relationship. Those features included topic generation procedures (Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984), an expanded pool of shared knowledge (which was most clearly shown through the practice of referring to past interaction), and symmetrical versus asymmetrical footings (Drew, 1991; Waring & Yu, 2018) achieved in interaction, each of which is interwoven and concurrent with the others. For example, "laconicity in topic initiation" (Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984: 301) was only made possible due to the expanded pool of shared knowledge between the participants.

The context of this particular series of encounters, conversation-for-learning, made the job of finding a mutually orientable topic a mandatory task. In selecting what topic would be relevant and appropriate to talk about and at what level of detail (Schegloff, 2000), participants orient to each other's membership categorization (Hester & Eglin, 1997; Fitzgerald & Housley, 2015). The topics they launch are closely related to membership categories they project upon each other and orient to (Kim & Carlin, 2022). In the initial encounter, orientation to interculturality provided a salient resource for generating topics (Mori, 2003) (Excerpt 1.1). The questions asked reflected the participant's categorization of the co-participants as a newcomer to the U.S. or a Korean. However, participants' orientation to the initially salient membership categories changed as the pool of shared knowledge expanded. The topics that were talked about displayed more personal orientation. For example, one of the mundane topics in conversation-for-learning, "do you speak any other language?," would lead to self-disclosure, such as talk about his future plans and obstacles, including some emotional disclosure ("I hate study") (Excerpt 1.3). In such episodes, C's category membership as a teenage boy is foregrounded and oriented to. Similarly, when C talks about happenings in his daily life with his family, especially complaints about his father, his category membership as a teenage boy is foregrounded and oriented to. The projected father–son category pair in C's original story is re-used in T's response as well (Excerpt 1.7).

The expanded pool of shared knowledge about each other allowed them to identify co-membership, such as "car geek." As Svennevig (2014) notes, the identification of common interests or knowledge serves to lay grounds for emotional connection, as it enables the participants to display their involvement in a topic. The exhibited similarity was quickly used for topical talk and gradually obtained the status of an "ultra-rich" topic (Sacks, 1992). It is an "ultra-rich" topic not only in the sense that they talked more about cars than other things but also in the sense that it provided a gateway to other favored topics, such as car-racing movies, computer games (car-themed), first driving experiences, and driving-related pranks. Another notable feature about

their car talk is the way T and C constructed their car talk as "member talk," i.e., the amount of background knowledge assumed. What made their talk about cars "member talk" lay in what was *not* said rather than what was said. For example, in Excerpt 1.2, C did not have to say "something very exciting happened to me. I heard an Italian V12 engine sound this morning. V12 is a particular type of engine used for racing cars for luxury car brands such as Ferrari and Maserati." The fact that the announcement "so, I finally (0.4) heard (1.9) Italian V12 sounds" was able to serve as an adequate topic initiator in a topic-bounding position relied on the fact that T and C had talked about this before (past interaction providing a context for what interactants can do in the current interaction) and T and C are in a relationship where the hearing of high-end car engines is regarded as reportable news. Through the past interactional history, they each know that the other can be relied upon to possess a certain amount of knowledge on cars and can engage in conversation about cars at this level. Their category membership as a "car geek" is foregrounded and oriented to (Excerpts 1.9, 1.10, 1.11).

When they are engaged in car talk, the asymmetry in terms of language expertise seems to be superseded by content knowledge. In assuming and confirming how much background knowledge is taken for granted, T and C's car talk demonstrates the features of "member talk," where we see the two participants talking on a symmetrical footing. The sequential organization of word search sequences over time also reflected this trend.[5] While it happened very rarely, when the instance happened where the initial role distribution of seeking and providing help with word search was reversed (Excerpt 1.9), I argue that we can take this as indexing a momentary tipping of the balance of asymmetry, moving the relationship onto an ordinary, more symmetrical footing. Given that friendship is the least institutionalized form of sociality (Suttles, 1970), moving out of "typical" sequential pattern of word search in conversation-for-learning can be seen as getting one step closer toward developing a relationship beyond the institutional context.

This study highlighted reference to shared knowledge and shared interactional history as one of the most significant practices to enact a close relationship. The ways in which T and C invoke previous conversation in constructing a reference (Excerpt 1.6), providing an affiliative response to a complaining story (Excerpt 1.7), and crafting a tracking inquiry (Excerpt 1.5) not only contribute to the ongoing construction of intimacy but also suggest a possibly enduring character of the relationship by bringing in the notion of temporal continuity. Pomerantz (1998: 130) observes:

[I]nteractants enact their personal relationships in their current interactions. Yet what they do, say, and feel in the present may be connected to conversations (and more generally experiences) in the past. For interactants, past interactions may provide a context for events in a current interaction.

When T responded to C's story about being ejected from the house with a joking question by implicitly referring to the similar episode shared by C in prior conversation, and C recognizes it (Excerpt 1.7), it becomes a powerful moment of laughing together (Glenn, 2003) and public recognition of their shared interactional history.

While the notion of temporality has been central in CA, the concern with temporality was, rather, confined to immediate sequential context. Recently, there has been a growing amount of research interest in different levels of time analytically relevant to the interaction (Au-Yeung & Fitzgerald, 2022; Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2021). An expanded notion of temporality, as it is oriented to and utilized in interaction in constructing context and personal relationship, seems to be a prime topic for further investigation.

In this chapter, I have examined how two people meeting for the practical purpose of language learning find something to talk about, launch a topic, and align to each other in making conversation. While talking was the business of the encounter, it provided affordances for developing an interpersonal relationship, as any form of social contact might potentially do. Drawing on the EMCA perspective, which regards relationships as a local accomplishment and subject to ongoing step-by-step management within talk, this study provides a series of vignettes where the two participants align to each other, orienting to each other's different category memberships as they are made relevant in talk-in-interaction moment-by-moment, hence enacting a different relationship. As Nishizaka (2012) observes, all conversations between two parties are embedded in the relationship between them. The intelligibility of singular actions is embedded in and obtained by reference to the relationship category they are orienting to. On the other hand, "being friends" is talked into being in the same way as institutional roles are talked into being (Heritage, 1984). Even if the relevance of a particular membership categorization device (Sacks, 1992) is established at the beginning of the encounter (e.g., language learner and tutor), "the issue of which relationship type between the parties to the encounter (whether 'friend- friend' or 'acquaintance-acquaintance', for example) is embodied in and through the actual development of interaction still remains" (Nishizaka, 2012: 22). The EMCA perspective on relationship enabled documentation of how the initial relationship for which the encounter has been arranged might be going through some shifts as participants' orientation to each other and toward the activity changes by highlighting the reflexive relationship between talk and interpersonal relationships.

Notes

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2 Before Excerpt 1.1, T in fact, asked what C's favorite American food was.

3 While it is referred to with "this car" within the story, it was within T's reported speech to his female friends who were riding the car with him.
4 This is very similar to what Kurhila (2006) describes in her analysis of second-language interaction as "negating a semantically contiguous referent."
5 See Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2019) for a case study of changing practices for word search sequences over time.

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2 "Awkward moments" during first-time informal online ELF interaction and their social relational consequences

Yusuke Okada and Aki Siegel

Introduction

Initial interactions between unacquainted participants have been studied to reveal how "friendship" between them arises in the process of communication. It has been suggested that in addition to sharing knowledge on an issue or thing, sharing an affective stance on an issue or event is one of the keys for building a friendship relationship in initial interaction; that is, the recipient's display of a relevant affective stance that matches the speaker's affective stance indicated in the speaker's telling of an event is considered to be a practice of a close relationship (e.g., Jefferson, 1988; Mandelbaum, 1991; Svennevig, 1999, 2014; Wong, 2021). It is a moral order for the recipient to provide an affectively relevant response after the previous speaker's affectively loaded telling of an event (see Heritage, 2011: 160–161) to build empathic communication; morality seems to be sustained even in initial interaction (Flint et al., 2019). However, to the best of our knowledge, the question of whether and how the display of a relevant affective (re)action leads to the construction of friendship, or any close relationship, between unacquainted participants in the initial interaction has not been fully investigated. Is the establishment of an empathic moment at the turn level sufficient to build a friendship?

This chapter aims to closely examine actual interactional sequences of empathic communication between unacquainted participants in an English as lingua franca (ELF) initial interaction and the subsequent development of the sequences in their discussions. The study particularly focuses on empathic communication that contains an "awkward moment," where neither interlocutor takes a turn and both remain silent after a possible empathic moment. Such a moment indicates a problem in the preceding empathic communication. We demonstrate through the analysis that achieving empathetic moments in talk at the turn level does not necessarily indicate a close interpersonal relationship being built between the speakers. Paradoxically, such a study will suggest what should not be done for unacquainted participants to go beyond becoming acquainted.

In the following sections, we will first explain the findings of discourse analytic studies on initial interactions between unacquainted participants, and

studies on empathy in interactions and how it is concerned with interpersonal and social relationships. We then describe the data used for this study and show detailed analyses of selected excerpts of the actual initial ELF encounters between L2 English speakers. As a conclusion, we discuss the main contributions of this study, namely, how speakers' orientation to self-presentation sometimes prevents the subsequent development of reciprocal empathic exchange after a turn-level empathic moment, and how such undeveloped talk represents a seemingly similar but critically different identity in the participants, which is consequential to the interpersonal relationship.

Literature review

Participants' (inter)actions to build relationships in initial encounters

Most studies that investigate actual initial interactions between unacquainted participants have focused on how they present or disclose themselves to each other. Obtaining a certain amount of personal information about each other is important for the participants to find a topic that both can contribute to developing; otherwise, participants may choose an unfavorable topic, which may prevent them from building a good interpersonal relationship (see Svennevig, 2014). It was revealed that the ways in which unacquainted participants present themselves differ according to the type of initial encounter. For instance, in speed-dating interactions, where the goal of the talk for unacquainted participants is to establish a new romantic relationship, the participants voluntarily topicalized their prior relationship histories through question and answer exchanges about such histories (Korobov, 2011; Stokoe, 2010).

In initial interactions between people who are not particularly seeking a romantic relationship but who are simply gathered according to a shared leisure time activity or the same educational background, the unacquainted participants ask questions about the interlocutor's occupation or membership in a community group, which provides an opportunity for the answerer to present themselves as a socially acceptable person (Svennevig, 2014). Through the reciprocal exchange of questions and answers about their memberships in social groups, the unacquainted participants pursue a topic that both have knowledge of or interest in; once either participant finds an element that they have some knowledge of in the co-participant's answer, they get out of the reciprocal exchange and voluntarily take a turn to show knowledge and interest, which results in topic development.

In the pursuit of topic development, disaffiliation between participants is sometimes caused by the recipient's misunderstanding of the speaker's speech. Disaffiliation is performed when the hearer does not "[display] support of and [endorse] the teller's conveyed stance" (Stivers, 2008: 35). Flint et al. (2019) investigated initial interactions of Australian and British speakers of English and found that there is a sequential pattern for resolving disaffiliation in the interaction. When a hearer provides a response that presents their misunderstanding of the speaker's personal preference on an issue, the hearer

is interactionally seen as disaffiliated with the speaker. In such a situation, the hearer provides an extended account of their misunderstanding to repair the interactional trouble of disaffiliation and to change their stance so that they can be seen as affiliative with the speaker's personal preference. In their effort to develop a topic, unacquainted participants orient to the avoidance of being misunderstood by or misunderstanding other participants. Thus, it seems to be true that "[m]utual involvement in a topic may lay the ground for emotional connection (affection)" (Svennevig, 2014: 323). Svennevig (2014) argues that emotional connection or affection promotes close interpersonal relationships (p. 314). However, as noted before, how emotional connections are discursively built by unacquainted participants in their first encounters is consequential to the subsequent development of the topic; Svennevig (2014) does not describe the development of the interpersonal relationships.

Empathic communication and its consequences

Before examining how emotional connection is consequential to interpersonal relationships, we should first consider how people can actually build an "emotional connection" or empathy in interactions. Based on a microanalysis of ordinary conversations between relatives and friends in the U.S., Heritage (2011) clarifies how the speaker makes it relevant for the recipient to display a relevant empathic response to the speaker's telling of a personal experience, and what resources the recipient can use to show a certain degree of emotional display to establish an empathetic moment. For the speaker to obtain a relevant empathic response, they need to do prefatory work such as deploying a prefaced utterance or reported speech, such as "Do you wanna die laughing?" or "I said, 'What have you done?'." Otherwise, "empathic moments can slip by unacknowledged" (Heritage, 2011: 163).

For the recipient to construct an empathic moment, there are resources to show different levels of emotional involvement to the speaker, including those to display avoidance or decline in the speaker's affective stance. An ancillary question, or asking an aspect of the speaker's experience instead of directly responding to the speaker's emotional display, is one of the resources that the recipient can use to avoid displaying their relevant emotion to the speaker and invoke a topic change. Parallel assessment, or assessing not the speaker's experience itself but a generalized experience, is another resource for the recipient to respond to the speaker's emotional stance. For instance, when the speaker talks about their trip to England and evaluates it with "That trip was great!," the recipient response, "I love traveling to foreign countries, too," is not directed toward the speaker's personal experience. Therefore, parallel assessment may allow the recipient to take a detached stance toward the speaker in that what the recipient evaluates is not the speaker's experience per se but a de-particularized experience. In contrast to these resources, the recipient can show emotional convergence to the speaker's stance by imaginary assessment or providing an imaginary action, putting themselves in the

speaker's shoes (e.g., a recipient's response "Oh God that'd be fantastic" after the speaker's evaluation of a pie she ate: "it was so good") (Heritage, 2011: 170; see also Kuroshima & Iwata, 2016). The recipient can also provide a hypothetical reaction from an observer's perspective, namely, the reaction that the recipient would provide if the recipient observed the speaker's experience of the event. Unlike subjective assessment, providing a response from a hypothetical observer stance is less emotionally engaged in the speaker's telling and emotional stance. The recipient can also use response cries, such as "oh," to indicate a low level of emotional investment; however, since it creates uncertainty as to what the response cry is directed at (i.e., the speaker's experience of an event or the speaker's recounting of the experience), it needs to be clarified later in the subsequent interaction; otherwise, the recipient may appear disengaged in the speaker's telling (see Jin et al., 2022). These interactional techniques and resources employed by the speaker and the recipient in potentially empathic moments suggest that there is a moral order that the participants are expected to follow during such moments, namely, to provide a relevant empathic response to the speaker's emotional stance.

In some types of institutional interactions where an interpersonal or social relationship between the participants is at stake, the normative expectation of establishing empathy is relevant and therefore consequential. Prior (2018) analyzes how participants' interpersonal relationships are managed through empathic communication in a qualitative interview where an L2 English user is asked about his experience as an adult immigrant to the U.S. and Canada by an L1 English speaker. In the conveying of his experience as an adult immigrant, the interviewee occasionally talked about his emotions. When the interviewer failed to produce an immediate affiliative response to the interviewee's foregrounded emotion (e.g., "It's really hard"), the interviewee pursued it by providing detail (e.g., "That's why I'm stressed") and reformulating the original, such as "That's very tough." The interviewer displayed his empathy for the interviewee's emotional stance by lexical reformulation: in the case of this example, the interviewer used "That's scary." After obtaining the interviewer's empathic response, the interviewee further reformulated the interviewer's word into "scared," which confirms that the interviewer and the interviewee share an emotional stance toward the interviewee's experience. The pursuit of an empathic response is a practice for the speaker to show that they are attentive to the recipient's comprehension of the speaker's telling; the construction of empathic communication is what the participants are concerned with even in the institutional type of verbal interaction. The co-construction of empathic moments resulted in the development of the topic, which is important for achieving the aim of qualitative interviews.

An extreme example of the consequence of participants' spoiling of a potential empathic moment is discussed by Okada (2019), who investigates political and business communication between a representative of a Japanese automotive parts company and members of the U.S. Congress at U.S. congressional hearings. The topic of the hearings was a defect in the company's

product, which had allegedly caused deaths and injuries in the U.S. At one of the hearings, a senator accused the company of using suspicious material to make the product; a newspaper reported that the material was the possible cause of the defect. In a verbal exchange with the Japanese representative, a senator asked whether the company still used the suspicious material, to which the representative replied "Yes." The senator immediately said, "That's worrisome," but the representative did not respond to the emotion-laden utterance. After a pause, the senator added "to me" to her comment, which not only foregrounded the fact that the senator was taking the emotion as her own face-to-face experience but upgraded the moral obligation for the representative to give an affective response. However, the representative remained silent, and the senator had to move on to the next question to utilize the limited time allotted to her, showing frustration by prefacing her turn with trouble markers (Bilmes, 2014) and delays ("uhm (0.6) uh- eh-"). The outcome of the missed opportunity to co-construct the potential empathic moment led to harsh criticism from the media for the company's lack of understanding of automotive safety. This case suggests that a potential empathic moment is consequential to relationships with others.

What causes a recipient to sometimes disattend a speaker's emotional display over their personal experience? Regarding the silence practiced by the Japanese company's representative in the congressional hearing, Okada (2019) suggests that a business management strategy of avoiding a possible unnecessary outcome may be a reason why the recipient was reluctant to show the relevant emotional stance. In Mandelbaum's (1991) study of ordinary conversations between friends and relatives of American native English speakers, the recipient of a complaint story tactically chose not to attend to the speaker's affective stance by asking about an aspect of the story, no matter how much the speaker "fished" for an empathic response. Mandelbaum (1991: 134) argues that the norm of offering a relevant empathic response suggests that "not engaging in the work of friendship is to disattend another's attempt to complain"; she then speculates that the recipient dares to do so, for example, to evade being seen as criticizing the complaint object in the same manner as the speaker. In addition to the participant's (recipient's) sensitivity to self-categorization, their lack of pragmatic competence to provide a relevant empathic response could be another reason for the representative's lack of response. Okada (2019) pointed out that the pragmatic competence of the representative, an L2 speaker of English, might not have been at a level that would allow him to build an empathic moment in English. Alternatively, it could be an individual style, as Wong (2021) found in her comparative study of how L1 English speakers respond to an L2 English speaker's complaint story; that is, there is a difference even among L1 English speakers in whether a recipient can notice the speaker's display of emotional stance and provide a relevant emotional response. Whatever the reason, the result of an unattended empathic moment can bring about serious consequences to interpersonal or larger social relationships (between a person and society or a group of people).

Research questions

The studies reviewed thus far indicate that unacquainted participants are sensitive to the presentation or categorization of not only themselves but also the other participants in the initial interaction. Mutual involvement in developing a topic is suggested as a way to construct a close interpersonal relationship, as it provides an opportunity to generate more presentations of each other and build an empathic moment (Svennevig, 2014); however, unacquainted participants may prioritize a repair of mis-categorization of the self and other over topic development.

Moreover, even though in verbal interactions, including ordinary conversations and some kinds of institutional talk, participants are normatively expected to build empathic communication and use a variety of resources to achieve its construction, a possible categorization of the self that is made relevant by an empathic action may make the participants choose to "disattend" to a possible empathic moment to avoid such an unfavorable categorization. This possibility suggests that a participant's orientation to a favorable presentation of the self can carry more significant weight in regard to their action formulation than an orientation to building empathic communication. Simultaneously, the participant's lack of pragmatic competence to perform an emotionally relevant action was suggested as another possible cause of disattention. However, the question of why, or what motivates the participant's violation of the normative action, cannot be answered with certainty (Mandelbaum, 1991). It is important for us to address the following: (1) how a particular participant's (re) action constructs empathic communication; (2) how it leads to the subsequent development of the conversation; and (3) how such a sequence implicates the interpersonal relationship between the participants. These are questions that have not been answered in previous studies of actual initial interactions between unacquainted participants, let alone initial L2 interactions, which we aim to address.

Data and method

The data used for this study were collected as part of a larger project on cross-cultural online exchanges between students studying in Sweden and Japan. The participants of the project were recruited by researchers working at Swedish and Japanese universities, who announced the project to their students; students enrolled in the project because they were interested in cultural exchange between Sweden and Japan. Each participant reported their interests, such as literature or travel, as well as their partner's preferred gender and age, to the researchers; according to the information, the researchers assigned a conversation partner to each participant. The participants were required to hold a conversation session with the assigned partner through online communication software at least once and to record the conversation. In the case where the participants wanted to continue to talk to their partners, all participants had the opportunity to hold more than one conversation session on the online

communication software within a two-month period; several pairs held two or three sessions during the period.

The participants in the current study were Maria (L1 Swedish) and Hiromi (L1 Japanese); their names are pseudonyms. Maria was enrolled in a master's program in English at a Swedish university, and Hiromi was enrolled in a master's program in applied linguistics at a Japanese university. Both participants were functionally proficient English users at the CEFR B2–C1 level.[1] The researchers paired Maria and Hiromi, and provided them with information, including the email address of their partner. The participants arranged the schedule of the conversation session themselves. During the project period, the pair only conversed once, while other pairs spoke several times. One of the participants commented negatively on her experience in the conversation during the retrospective interview. Therefore, a close investigation of the initial interaction of the pair will provide insight into the (non-)establishment of an interpersonal relationship.

The recorded data capture the pair's initial interaction, which was their first time talking to each other; the conversation lasted approximately 55 minutes. Although the data consist of a kind of elicited conversation (Taguchi & Roever, 2017), in that the conversations were set up for the project, the participants had a genuine interest in different cultures, and a real motivation to get acquainted with people from different cultures, similar to Svennevig's (1999, 2014) studies of initial conversations. Furthermore, what to talk about in the conversations was left up to the participants; thus, the participants were "entirely themselves" (Taguchi & Roever, 2017: 92).

The recorded data were transcribed using standard Conversation Analysis (CA) conventions developed by Jefferson (2004) with multimodal transcription conventions developed by Mondada (2018), and analyzed using CA to examine the sequential organization of a (possible) empathic moment and its interactional and interpersonal trajectory. CA provides a method by which to uncover participants' interpretations of the utterances and behaviors constituting the interaction through close consideration of their responses and the ways in which their utterances and behaviors are formatted (see Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). CA is an emic, structural-functional approach that sees an interaction as a structured system composed by a sequence of utterances and non-verbal behaviors; so, the meaning of each utterance and behavior as an action makes sense by its position within the sequence (see Bilmes, 1988). For example, an utterance works as a question when the following utterance answers what the preceding utterance asks; even when no answer follows, the preceding utterance serves as a question if the non-answer is subsequently sanctioned. The format of the following turn publicly shows the participant's interpretation of a prior utterance and behavior. Categorization of oneself and other participants into specific person types, such as "heartless" or "therapist," is also reflected in the way participants take and use a turn (Hester & Eglin, 1997; Sacks, 1992). The current study focuses on a detailed analysis of the excerpts of an interaction in which one of the unacquainted participants displayed their emotional

stance toward their own personal experience, and the other participant was normatively required to show their emotional stance toward their partner.

Analysis

In the first case, the participants seemed to successfully co-construct an empathic moment around one of the participants' telling of her experience; however, this resulted in an awkward moment, which further led to a topic change. This is an exchange in which about six minutes had passed since the beginning of the conversation. As we can see in Excerpt 2.1a, the part of the interaction begins with the topic proffered by Hiromi, which brings about shared positive affective assessments of teaching children and that children are interesting to observe.

Excerpt 2.1a

```
1    H:  I've been teaching k͟ids for like ↑three years,
2        (0.5)
3    M:  [↑oh: that is fun.
4    H:  [*in my workplace
     h  *smiles---------->
5        (0.2)
     h  -->
6    H:  +↑hm it is.+  really.
     h                    -->
     m  +nods 3 times+
7        (.)
     h  -->
8    H:  >kids're< really* .hhh interesting to see £observe£
                    -->*
9           .hh ehe[hehe
10   M:           [yeah
11        +(.)+
     m  +smiles+
```

The topic of teaching children was further developed by Maria in Excerpt 2.1b, which is 12 lines after the end of Excerpt 2.1a. Maria discloses that she also works with children at a preschool as a part-time job (lines 393–394), which leads to the mutual confirmation that they have something in common (lines 409–411).

Excerpt 2.1b

```
393  M:  +.tch (0.6)+ yeah I- I work part time: at a preschool,
     m  +opens mouth+
394  M:  so I also like working with kids. [but it's only (.2)
395  H:                                    [↑oh↓:
396  M:  =outside of school °just-° (.) yeah part time work
397      ehehe
```

```
398  H:  part time work but- +↑RIGHT now?+
     m                       +nods twice+
399          (0.6)
400  M:  uh:: +well they don't really+ +need+
     m        +upward gaze-----------+ +gazes at camera+
401      anyone during the summer.
402      (0.5)
403  H:  ah[↓:
404  M:  [↓yeah. but- but during the: (0.3) +°the terms°+
     m                                      +nods-------+
405      (0.4) +(0.5)+
     m          +nods+
406  H:  +↑rea↓lly,
     m   +nods -->
407      (0.3)+ (0.2)
     m     -->+
408  M:  +h[m.+
     m   +nods twice+
409  H:    [↑hm >so we got something< *in £common£
     h                               *smiles----->
410      (0.3)*
     h     -->*
411  M:  hehe £yeah£ huh
```

In the omitted part (lines 412–449), Hiromi and Maria discuss the details of Maria's work duties, and Maria concludes with the evaluation that it is a good job, to which Hiromi agrees. Thus, by the start of Excerpt 2.1c, the topic of teaching children had been developed as a positive activity. Hiromi then asks a question in line 450 of Excerpt 2.1c, "£↑don't they cry?£ huh-huh."

Excerpt 2.1c

```
450  H:  £↑don't they cry?£ huh-huh
451  M:  ahahaha £they +do:£+    but- (0.3)
     m                  +tilts head+
452  H:  they do [right? when they se[parate from their moms=
453  M:          [but-              [yeah
454  H:  =or dads <↑ve[↓ry> +horrible,+  (.) .hh crier(h)
455  M:               [yeah
     m                      +nods twice+
456          (0.8)
457  M:  *yeah*  some of them +at least. ja younger ones+
     m   *smiles*             +downward gaze-----------+
458  M:  +a[haha+
     m   +gaze at camera+
459  H:    [*mhm.*
     h     *nods 3 times*
460      (1.4)
```

The incorporation of laughter into the question suggests that Hiromi presents this question as non-serious. Maria's response is laughter and confirmation (line 451). She also adds "but-"; however, before she says what follows the contradiction marker, Hiromi responds to Maria's reply and further develops the topic of children's crying in lines 452 and 454. After seeing the pause in line 456, Maria starts her turn with another repetition of the confirmation token "yeah" and then narrows down Hiromi's claim by defining children with "some of them at least. ja younger ones." While limiting the object of evaluation, she shares the casual attitude of the negative direction of the evaluation with Hiromi through laughter (line 458). Thus, through the display of affiliation to a similar emotional stance, the participants establish empathic moments. In the following excerpt, we also obverse how achieving an initial affiliative stance leads to a "high point" (Selting, 2017) of the storytelling and heightened emotive state.

Excerpt 2.1d

```
461 H:  .hhh (0.4) *I've been tal*king about <how> to persuade
                   *upward gaze--*
462     kids
463     (0.3)
464 H:  to come in to the class+room+ £with my coworkers£
    m                           +nods+
465     re(h)ce(h)ntly .hh huh [.hhh it's my- like (super)=
466 M:                         [mm hm
467 H:  =recent topic.
468     (1.0) *(0.2) +(0.2)+* (0.9)
    h         *nods twice---*
    m               +smiles+
469 H:  <some kids will *(0.2)*    (0.2) £kick you.>
    h                   *glances left*
470     and kids will punch you.£
471 M:  +huh £oh [yeah£+
    m   +smiles--------+
472 H:           [↑yeah?
473     +(0.3)+
    m   +shakes head with eyes closed+
474 M:  [hm
475 H:  [£yesterday: .hh I had one trial kid,£ (0.6) +(0.3)+
    m                                               +nods+
476     <four years old boy,> (1.1) and +(0.2)+ he REALLY, (.)
    m                                   +nods+
477     couldn't separate from his mom. he was *really sticky*
    h                                          *smiles ------*
478     (0.7)
479 M:  oh:
480 H:  (y'know) +(.) whatever I ask him+ >to do:< he's like
```

```
     m                +nods 5 times----------+
481     mom can't come together with me [like £no your mom=
482 M:                                  [ah:
483 H:  =cannot come£ .hh +then ((sniffs))+ he was almost
     m                    +nods 3 times---+
484     *like (.) moving his legs (1.1) up and ↑down,*
     h  *shows hand gesture mimicking legs up & down*
485     (0.7)
486 M: +h:m+ *yes* [fragile.] need a *lot of patience.
     m +nods+
     h        *nods 3 times------------*
487 H:           [ h : m . ]
```

The establishment of empathy works as a preface for Hiromi to develop a story about her recent troublesome experiences with children. Through lines 461 to 467, Hiromi mentions what she has been talking about with her cow-orkers with laughter ("£with my coworkers£ re(h)ce(h)ntly. hh huh" in lines 464 to 465). The recipient, Maria, shows her alignment or supports the progress of Hiromi's storytelling (Stivers, 2008) through a continuer (Schegloff, 1982). After seeing a long pause and Hiromi's nodding in line 468, Maria smiles in the same line, which can be seen as her display of affective affiliation with Hiromi's casual tone displayed in her storytelling. Hiromi then takes a turn again to add details about the recent experience at work with a smiley voice in lines 469 to 470 and receives reciprocal laughter and a news-recipient response from Maria ("huh oh yeah") in the immediately following turn. Maria shows another affiliative action in line 473 by shaking her head with her eyes closed, which indicates that she treats Hiromi's talk about her experience with the violent actions of children negatively (Figure 2.1). Overlapping Maria's alignment with "hm" in line 474, Hiromi develops her story by shifting the focus of the talk to an experience with a specific child she took care of just recently (lines 475–477). Seeing the gap of silence in line 478, Maria produces a response cry "oh:" in line 479, which shows Maria's empathy by displaying shock; however, it is unclear which part of Hiromi's talk Maria is shocked by. Upon receiving Maria's response cry, Hiromi further elaborates on her experience with the child: she describes the situation precisely and vividly by representing the child's and her own voice ("he's like mom can't come together with me like £no your mom cannot come£") in lines 480 to 481 and 483 as well as the child's action, "he was almost like moving his legs (1.1) up and ↑down," in lines 483 to 484, accompanied by hand gestures that mimic the movement of the legs (Figure 2.2). The detailed description and re-enactment of the incident indicates a story's climax and invites the recipient's display of an empathic response (Heritage, 2011: 177). During the story, Maria shows another response cry by "ah:" in line 482 and an alignment by frequent nodding in line 483; after the story reaches the climax, Maria takes a turn to show her emotional involvement in Hiromi's talk (line 486). The

Figure 2.1 Line 473
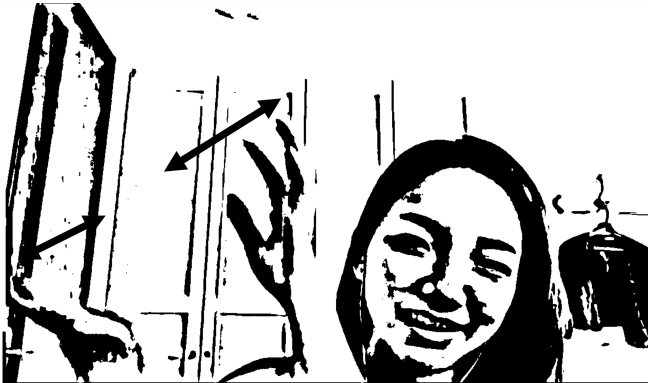
Figure 2.2 Line 484

turn-initial "h:m yes" accompanied by nodding at line 486 shows that she stands by Hiromi's side and therefore shows her (Maria's) affiliation. Then, she unpacks what she is affiliating or taking the same affective stance with Hiromi by "yes (children are) fragile, (we) need a lot of patience." The utterance reformulates what Hiromi has conveyed in her talk from the recipient's perspective (cf. Heritage, 2011; Prior, 2018). Hiromi confirms Maria's affective stance with the assessment token "right" in line 488 and laughs. Here, we can say that both participants have built an empathic moment.

Excerpt 2.1e

```
461 H: right *.hh huhuhuh*
    h       *gazes right*
462    +(0.3)+ *(0.9)*
```

```
      m    +nods+
      h              *nods 3 times*
463  H:  .hh £they're cute£ *though.
                              *gazes left--->
464      (1.3) *(.)*
      h        -->*gazes at camera*
465  M:  ↓hm.
466      +(.)+                       *(1.1)*
      m    +nods with down gaze+
      h                              *nods 4 times*
467      (6.5)
468  H:  hm
469      (4.1)
470  H:  I wonder what teachers see.
471      (2.8)
472  H:  from our (0.2) conversation.
```

However, the empathic moment leads to an awkward moment. In Hiromi's turn, terminal laughter (Shaw et al., 2013) accompanied by gaze aversion in line 488 works as a post-completion stance marker (Schegloff, 1996), suggesting her detachment from evaluating her own experience negatively. When Hiromi's gaze returns to the camera (i.e., computer screen), Maria responds with a nod instead of reciprocal laughter; therefore, the reaction suggests that Maria treats Hiromi's action as an indication of taking a turn and yielding it. Then, after a couple of nods, Hiromi takes a turn in line 490 and provides another evaluation of the children, "£they're cute£ though." As the attached "though" indicates, while Hiromi acknowledges that the negative evaluation of the children is correct, she juxtaposes a contrastive positive evaluation that is also applicable to the same object (i.e., the children); by bringing two opposite evaluations together, she suggests her ambivalent affective stance toward the children and her experience. However, the new affect-laden assessment does not receive any affective response from Maria; instead, after a long 1.4-second gap of silence in line 491, it receives an alignment token "hm" in line 492 and a nod with downward gaze in line 493. Hiromi replies with repeated nods upon Maria's nodding in the same line. Hiromi's positive evaluation of the children is left affectively unattended by Maria, and an extremely long silence occurs before Hiromi finally changes the topic in lines 497 and 499.

This "awkward moment," when the conversation stops progressing for a long time was brought about by empathic communication. It is the issue of epistemic access and categorization that prevents the recipient from constructing empathy after the slot. As reviewed earlier, responding to the prior speaker's affective telling inevitably foregrounds the respondent's epistemic status and categorization of the respondent and the speaker (see Okada, 2019; Heritage, 2011; Mandelbaum, 1991). Therefore, Maria's reformulation foregrounds that she has shared epistemic access to children and the job of teacher (i.e., teachers need patience), because she is a member of the category

"teacher of children." However, it also categorizes Hiromi as a person who has a negative attitude toward children and her job. Her positive re-evaluation of children ("cute") provides not merely a different perspective on children but also a re-categorization of herself as a person who can find a positive aspect of children and her job. To provide a relevant level of empathic response to the re-evaluation, the recipient, Maria, needs to have the same level of epistemic knowledge about children and, of course, a positive attitude toward children and her job as a primary school teacher. The latter would not be a problem, as she showed such a positive affective stance toward children and her job in Excerpt 2.1a; however, she might find that evaluating the object "they" is difficult because it is outside her epistemic territory (Heritage, 2013). That is, what the assessed object "they" in Hiromi's "£they're cute£ though." refers to is unclear; it might refer to the category "children" that includes children in general, but it might be the particular children taught by Hiromi, or what the children do. If it is the latter, it is difficult for Maria to provide an affectively endorsed response to Hiromi, as she has no basis for providing such a response without the information she has received from Hiromi, and she has already used up the information for her previous assessment. Thus, no epistemic slot is available for Maria to provide an empathic response to Hiromi's new evaluation. Giving alignment to Hiromi so that she can develop her own independent experience seems to be the only listenership behavior left for Maria, which is what she did.

The analysis of Excerpt 2.1 reveals that the awkward moment was constructed by the participants' demonstrations of their orientations to categorizations and epistemic statuses of themselves and each other. Reformulation of the storyteller's affective stance on their experience is a strong way for a recipient to show empathy (Heritage, 2011; Prior, 2018). While such a reformulation may lead to a mutual confirmation of the same group identity—one of the components of friendship (see Sierra, 2016)—it carries the risk of presenting a categorization that does not align with the categorization the storyteller is trying to pursue. Displaying a different affective stance to their own experience is a way for storytellers to represent another categorization of themselves, but such a re-categorization brings up an epistemically difficult situation for the recipient to respond empathically to the new affective stance. From the preceding analysis, it can be said that whether an empathic moment is constructed at a turn level cannot be sufficient evidence of the construction of a close interpersonal relationship between participants; as the emotional response inevitably involves the categorization of the storyteller, it may cause the storyteller's resistance to the categorization in the subsequent talk and therefore could impair the topic development.

The following excerpt (Excerpt 2.2) shows that an awkward moment itself was used as a way to negotiate self-categorization. Similarly to the previous case, the awkward moment worked as what it was; that is, it led to an unsmooth topic change by establishing no empathy between the two participants. Part of the interaction in Excerpt 2.2 occurred approximately ten minutes after the

end of Excerpt 2.1. The excerpt started after Maria and Hiromi exchanged
information about how COVID-19 was spreading in their countries, and that
they both hoped that the situation would improve soon, as everyone was tired
(lines 783–789). Maria then takes a turn to initiate the telling of her recent
troubles.

Excerpt 2.2a

```
783  M:  h:m I hope it will be better soon. hu[huh
784  H:                                        [uh:m.
785       (0.3)
786  H:  >everybody is really< tired.
787       (0.9)
788  M:  yeah.
789  H:  mm hm.
790       (0.9)
791  M:  I ap- I applied to go: ↑abroad?
792       (0.3)
793  M:  *next- next semester?
     h   *opens eyes and mouth widely--->
794       (.)*
     h   --->*
795  H:  oh:.
796       (.)
797  M:  so:[: a- and in September, yes t- to the juu kay,
          ((UK))=
798  H:     [are you able to do?
799  M:  .hh uh: (0.4) but now I'm not sure. I'm still- I still
800       don't know if I can go or not.
801  H:  <oh god>
802       +(.)+
     m   +nods+
803  H:  that sounds too [bad.
804  M:                  [+yeah.+
     m                   +smiles+
805       (.)
806  H:  .hhh wh[at timing
807  M:         [+yeah I really hope to (go.)+
     m          +downward gaze--------------+
808       (0.3)
809  H:  *h:m*
     h   *nods 3 times*
810  M:  +ehehe +
     m   +smiles+
811  H:  it's all a[bout the timing huh?
812  M:            [+£but-£
     m             +gazes left-->
813       (0.4) +(0.2)          +(0.2)+
```

```
    m        -->+gazes at camera +raises eyebrows--->
814 M: yeah+
    m    -->+
815       +*(0.5)          %(2.1)%          *(2.5)*+
    h    *rest face with r-hand -------------*scratches face*
    h                        %nods 6 times%
    m    +gazes at camera --------------------------+
```

In line 791, Maria introduces a topic, namely, that she has applied to a study-abroad program. Hiromi looks at the camera for 0.3 seconds and then shows a surprised face, which overlaps with Maria's further talk in line 793. Maria adds a detail to the topic that it is "next semester" (line 793). To this, Hiromi verbally shows her surprise by the response cry "oh:." in line 795. Taking this as an alignment, which is evidenced by the turn-initial "so" in line 797, Maria continues her talk about the study-abroad plan; Hiromi simultaneously overlaps Maria's turn and asks a question, indicating her interest in the possibility (line 798). Maria responds to the question with confirmation and adds a detail of the trajectory "to the U.K." Then, Maria shows an affective stance to her application of studying abroad in the U.K. with, "but now I'm not sure. I'm still- I still don't know if I can go or not" in lines 799 to 800. Her expression of anxiety receives an empathic response from Hiromi through a strong response cry "o:h go:d" in the immediately following turn (line 801). Maria acknowledges this by nodding (line 802). In the following turn, Hiromi clarifies the propositional content of the emotion preliminary (see Heritage, 2011: 173–176) with "that sounds too bad" (line 803). Overlapping Hiromi's explicit display of a negative affective stance, Maria produces "yeah" with a smile (line 804). Up to this point in the excerpt, the two speakers seem to have achieved a shared empathetic moment through a mutual alignment of affective stances. However, in the turns that follow, the different stances of the speakers become apparent.

   After seeing a brief pause in line 805, both Hiromi and Maria clarify their own utterance: Hiromi's new utterance in line 806 upgrades her negative, pessimistic stance to Maria's experience; however, Maria's utterance in line 807 foregrounds that her affective stance on her experience is not entirely negative. Along with a smile and smiling voice (lines 804 and 807), her utterance indicates that she looks at a positive future in a difficult situation. Thus, a divergence between the two participants' orientations to Maria's experiences emerges. However, they do not seem to be oriented towards divergent affective stances. Hiromi's hums and nodding after a 0.3-second pause in line 809 can be seen as her understanding of Maria's stance, but it turns out that it is not so; on the contrary, she pursues more responses from Maria regarding her interpretation of Maria's experience. In line 811, Hiromi reformulates what she said in line 806 in an extreme way (Edwards, 2000; Pomerantz, 1986) in a question format; therefore, this time, Hiromi is explicitly and strongly making

relevant an alignment action (i.e., a response) and affiliation (i.e., an affective endorsement of her negative stance) from Maria.

Unfortunately, no immediate alignment or affiliation was obtained. Hiromi's utterance again overlaps with Maria's utterance, "£>but ah<£" (line 812). After 0.4 seconds of silence, Maria turns her eyes back to the camera and says "yeah" with her eyebrows raised (lines 813–814), but she does not provide any further responses that explicitly display her affective stance. The following sequential slot in line 815 is filled with Maria gazing at the camera and Hiromi's showing some kind of thinking through certain behaviors. Hiromi then takes another turn in line 816 in Excerpt 2.2b.

Excerpt 2.2b

```
816  H:  (well) my friend >my best friend< canceled (.) her
817      wedding because of the [spread?
818  M:                         [oh:
819      (0.2)
820  M:  +h:m+
     m   +frowns+
821      +(0.2)+
     m   +nods 3 times+
822  H:  that was a sad- saddest news ever.
823      *+(2.0)    +(1.3) *(0.4)*
     h   *nods 4 times---------*gazes left*
     m   +nods 6 times-+gazes at camera-->
824      *(.)           *(2.5)*+
     h   *gazes at camera*   *gazes left*
     m   ------------------------->+
825      +*(1.0)
     h   *gazes at camera-->
     m   +down gaze-->
826  H:  was the schooling +on↑line?*+
     h                      -->*
     m                   -->+gazes at camera+
```

Hiromi's turn in lines 816 to 817 is prefaced with "well": it indicates that she thinks that her upshot "it's all about timing" is somehow accepted and her subsequent talk is a "my-side" telling (Heritage, 2015) of an "it's all about timing" experience. Her experience was that her best friend's wedding was canceled due to the spread of COVID-19. The repair of "my friend" to "my best friend" shows her understanding that the intensity or impact of the experience does not suffice if it is "a friend," but that it should be a "best friend" to display empathy for Maria's misfortune about her study-abroad plan (cf. Bilmes, 2019). Maria's response to Hiromi's telling is the response cry "oh:" (line 818), but she does not clarify the propositional content of the emotional preliminary, such as with "Oh, it'd be very hard." Instead, she provides

affiliations through a hum (line 820) and nodding (line 821). Upon receiving the nodding, Hiromi gives an upshot of her experience, "that was the sad-saddest news ever" (line 822). The repair of "sad-" to "saddest" again represents Hiromi's orientation to show that, to her, the impact of the experience is compatible with that of Maria. However, what Maria shows to Hiromi's extremely formulated second story (Edwards, 2000; Pomerantz, 1986) is nods (line 823); no explicit affective stance is displayed. Then, an awkward moment occurs, where both avoid taking a turn in lines 824 to 825. Within the long pause (7.3 seconds in total), they both avoid directing their gazes to one another. This awkward moment leads to an abrupt topic change in line 826 by Hiromi's question about a completely different issue.

Maria's less normative responses construct the awkward moment in terms of the affective endorsement of Hiromi's empathic responses to what Maria is experiencing. As analyzed earlier, Hiromi provided a negative affective response as an empathic response to Maria's telling based on her interpretation of the story; Hiromi's interpretation diverges from Maria's affective stance, which is not only pessimistic but also positive. Therefore, their divergent interpretations are also a matter of different categorizations of Maria. According to Hiromi, Maria is pessimistic in a devastating situation, similarly to Hiromi's best friend, who gave up her wedding, but Maria presents herself as a person who does not give up hope in such a difficult situation. Then, if Maria responds empathically to Hiromi's reformulations and second story, it suggests that she admits the validity of Hiromi's categorization of her. Therefore, to negotiate the categorization and represent herself, Maria may have practiced less empathic reactions to Hiromi's "empathic" responses to her story of her recent study-abroad application experience. Maria's pursuit of self-representation resulted in the awkward moment and non-subscription of the same group identity.

The analysis of these excerpts of an initial interaction between two unacquainted ELF speakers suggests that an empathic moment is not necessarily followed by an interactional sequence that leads to a friendship relationship, such as a sequence where the participants find the same group membership. On the contrary, we have seen an exchange where the discrepancy between the participants is foregrounded, even though one of the participants tried to establish strong empathic communication.

Discussion and conclusions

This study aimed to explore the sequential and interpersonal/social consequences that a possible empathic moment brings to an initial interaction between unacquainted participants. Using data from an initial interaction between unacquainted Japanese and Swedish students conducted in ELF, the analysis focused on the case where an empathic moment resulted in an "awkward moment" so that we can obtain some insights into what would prohibit unacquainted participants from going beyond getting acquainted. When one participant told the other of a recent troublesome experience, the other

participant, playing the recipient role, provided normatively strong affective responses, such as through a reformulation and a second story to show empathy with the storyteller's affective stance; therefore, at the turn level, empathic communication was established. However, it was also found that such a turn-level establishment of empathy does not always lead to mutually engaged topic development or the development of interpersonal or social relationships, such as confirming the same group identity; instead, her less empathic or non-empathic reactions to the recipient-role participant's reformulation and second story produced an awkward moment, which resulted in an abrupt topic change.

Reformulation and telling a second story are considered strong forms of empathic response (Heritage, 2011; Prior, 2018); however, because they are based on the respondent's interpretation of the previous speaker's telling, they might represent the previous speaker in a way that they are not trying to pursue. The storyteller (i.e., the previous speaker) may then choose to provide another affective stance to re-categorize themselves or provide a less empathic response to the recipient's affective stance displayed in their reformulation or second story. By doing so, the storyteller can negotiate the categorization predicated upon the affective stance. These findings indicate that categorization or representation of the self is more crucial to unacquainted participants than establishing empathy. Therefore, we should not rely on an empathic moment co-constructed at the turn level as a sign of a budding friendship relationship between unacquainted participants (cf. Wong, 2021). How an empathic moment that is accomplished by the participants' momentary affective convergence works for the interpersonal relationship between the participants depends on whether the participants can endorse their presentations or categorizations of themselves in the category structure embodied in the trajectory of the subsequent talk.

We have not discussed how their being L2 English speakers and being from different cultures affected the interactions. When the participants were taking on the interactional role of the recipient of a trouble talk of the other participant, both made a relevant empathic response to the speaker's emotional stance. As recipients of trouble-telling, both Maria and Hiromi made affectively relevant responses. Thus, they did not spoil a possible empathic moment but competently enacted the moment (cf. Okada, 2019). What they did *not* perform was to revise their affective stance when they found that it did not match the ones that the other participant tried to pursue. However, as we have seen in the two excerpts, it seems difficult for participants to alter the direction of their affective stance when it is not explicitly rejected, as in the case of initial interactions between L1 English speakers (Flint et al., 2019). The other thing the participants did not do was to make their rejection of the recipient's categorization of the speaker recognizable when they found that the recipient's affective stance was not what they had pursued. Their less explicit denial of foregrounding the recipient's categorization through the practice of proffering another affective stance and of providing a non-affiliative response

made it epistemically difficult to revise their affective position. Furthermore, the latter practice we found in Excerpt 2.2 to implicitly reject the recipient's affective stance has some risk of implicating a negative interpretation; that is, the norm of providing an emotionally affiliative response instructs that the lack of it should be treated as that it is unavailable, and non-availability can be attributed to the participant's lack of competence (see Bilmes, 1993 on response priority). Such speculation was cited as an account by one of the participants as a reason why they did not go "beyond getting acquainted" (Siegel & Okada, 2023).

The participants' cultural backgrounds may have influenced their interaction; that is, both Swedish and Japanese are known to be humble and reserved, and the associated cultural norm that instructs people not to "talk too much" might have affected their interaction (Daun, 1986). Of course, this is no more than conjecture, and we should avoid imposing a stereotypical interpretation on the data. However, if both participants in the data wanted to overcome the awkward moment to construct a close interpersonal relationship but were unable to do so because of their unintentional orientation to their L1 culture, it calls for instructional intervention. As Waring (2013) points out, what constitutes an "appropriate" action in L2 interaction is not always obvious to L2 learners. Moreover, what is "appropriate" in the learner's L1 may not be transferred to L2.

In the current globalized world, intercultural communication between L2 users such as we have seen here is very common, and how to overcome cultural differences to achieve mutual intelligibility and successful communication is one of the themes recently addressed by intercultural pragmatic studies (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). Although the discussion here is a hypothetical consideration, it is meaningful to suggest to L2 speakers what obstacles they may face in ELF interactions to accomplish fruitful communication, such as making friends.

Note

1 CEFR B2 level is considered as "upper-intermediate" and C1 level as "advanced." See here for details: https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/level-descriptions

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3   Getting to know you

A microethnography of "(not) making friends" in first-time interactions in Japanese

Cade Bushnell

Introduction

In first-time interactions, participants must initially converse with no knowledge of one another. Such participants normally ask questions in search of possible topics. Asking questions about a co-participant is one way to show interest, thus stimulating the development of a favorable relationship. However, sometimes things that seem straightforward turn out to be somewhat complicated. If questions are perceived as being too personal or interrogating, they could damage a nascent relationship. Such difficulties may be amplified for speakers of a second language.

In the following, I examine the interactions of two pairs, each consisting of one native speaker and one second-language speaker of Japanese. The native speaker in both pairs is the same person. Using microethnography (see LeBaron, 2008), I examine sequences initiated by personal questions from the second-language participants in each pair. Personal questions are aimed at finding out about the other person. In the analysis, I describe in particular the role of post-sequence expansions (PSE) in the accomplishment of self-disclosure. I also consider responses on a questionnaire administered following the interactions, and information gathered through participant observation. Based on these materials, I consider how the participants begin to develop a durative friendship (or not).

Previous studies

Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) analyze the initiation of topical talk in dyadic interactions in a quasi-experimental setting. Some dyads were previously acquainted; others were not. According to their findings, both types of pairs used their present circumstances to proffer topics. Additionally, already acquainted pairs drew upon common experiences for topics. On the other hand, the unacquainted participants issued questions that functioned to categorize (see, e.g., Sacks, 1995) each other, as shown in Excerpt 3.1.

Excerpt 3.1: Year in school (Maynard and Zimmerman, 1984: 305)
```
1   B1:  Are you a freshman?
2   B2:  No, second year.
3   B1:  Oh.
```

According to Maynard and Zimmerman (1984), through asking about B2's year in the university, B1 makes the category "university student" relevant to the interaction. Thus, B1 invokes category-bound knowledge as a resource for topical talk (1984: 305–306). The researchers also examine sequences where the participants ask each other about activities in which they participate, and so forth. They refer to these types of sequences as "pre-topical sequences."

Building upon Maynard and Zimmerman (1984), Svennevig (1999) also examines data taken from first-time interactions. However, Svennevig's participants were under circumstances, such as school and work, that would require that the participants continue to interact with one another. In his analysis, Svennevig describes how the participants related personal information and managed topical talk, using side sequences to search for points in common.

Svennevig (1999) focuses especially on "self-presentational sequences." According to Svennevig, such sequences are constituted by three positions. The first position contains a question. This question often asks about membership status or place of origin. In the second position, the recipient of the question responds by disclosing personal information. Finally, in the third position, the issuer of the question receives the response so offered. This can be done by minimally acknowledging the response, encouraging further expansion, or reciprocating with personal information. Thus, using such a sequential structure, participants in initial encounters may accomplish topical talk as they obtain information about each other.

Mori (2003) and Imada (2015) examine interactions between native and second-language speakers of Japanese (JL1 and JL2). Mori (2003) analyzes data from first-time interactions between three JL1 and two JL2. These participants were university students participating in a conversation circle. Mori shows how her participants sometimes managed topical talk by making relevant each other's interculturality. At other times, however, they set interculturality aside, treating each other as, for example, "baseball fans." Imada (2015) also examines identity construction practices. Tracking interactions over time, she shows what kinds of identities participants adopted in their interactions, and how they categorized each other. By demonstrating how categorization practices change over time, Imada provides a view of the development of relationships across a series of temporally spaced interactions.

While the present study holds in common with Imada (2015) a goal of bringing to light the co-construction of interpersonal relationships between JL1 and JL2 speakers, it differs in that it focuses sharply on the germination of the relationship in the first interaction rather than tracking changes more broadly over time. Thus, while Imada patches together a series of interactional "snapshots" (see Brouwer & Wagner, 2004) in order to show the process of

relationship building over time, the present study aims to describe in more fine-grained detail some of the concrete interactional processes observable during the participants' first-time interactions in particular.

Data, participants, and methodology

The data were originally collected for an unrelated project focusing on inter-cultural communication.[1] First-time interactions between pairs of Japanese students and international students from China and Korea were arranged, and audio and video recordings were made. The entire data set includes 12 exchanges of approximately 30 minutes each. There were 18 participants in all: 6 Japanese students, 6 Chinese students, and 6 Korean students. The Japanese students each participated in two exchanges, one with a Chinese student and one with a Korean student. The Chinese and Korean students each participated in one exchange. The Japanese language ability of the inter-national students was of a level sufficient for unhindered communication in spoken Japanese. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 22. At the beginning of each exchange, seven topics[2] were provided in the form of a list and task cards. The participants were instructed to exchange opinions about any of the topics, and that they could move on to other topics according to their interests, and that it did not matter how many topics they covered. In each exchange, the two participants sat facing each other; a video camera was placed to the side of the participants and a small digital audio recorder placed between them.

Interactions arranged for the purposes of research are very different from naturally occurring interactions, which typically constitute data for conversa-tion analytic research. However, in the analyses of the present study, I treat the data as natural instances of "getting to know one another in an institu-tional context." Such a context should likely be similar to other institutional settings, such as pairwork in the classroom or work, where participants have an institutionally assigned task; they might take opportunities to learn about one another and continue further relations in the future, or not.[3] With this in mind, the present study first looks at how the participants orient to the insti-tutional situation in which they find themselves, how they structure the task they have been assigned, and how they use this as a resource to progress their interaction. The analysis then describes the procedures that the participants use to accomplish "getting to know one another" within this particular insti-tutional setting.

The data were reviewed repeatedly. Data selected for in-depth analysis were transcribed according to conversation analytic conventions (see Jefferson, 2004), with careful attention paid not only to the participants' talk but to their body movements and gaze as well. Then, a micro-level description of the participants' interactions was developed using a microethnographic approach (see, e.g., LeBaron, 2006, 2008). In conversation analysis, in general, a rela-tively large number of similar action sequences are taken from a broad range of

situations in order to describe context-free, generalizable practices-in-talk, and how they are used in context-sensitive ways. In a microethnographic approach, on the other hand, conversation analytic methods, context analytic methods (e.g., Kendon, 1990, 2004; Streeck & LeBaron, 1997), as well as ethnographic methods, such as interviews and participant observations, are brought to bear on a single situation or activity seen through a relatively small number of cases. In this way, a meticulous analysis is developed of how participants organize themselves and their actions within a situation or activity. Microethnography then seeks to connect micro-level descriptions with larger contextual issues demonstrably relevant for the participants themselves (see Schegloff, 1991). In the present chapter, I consider possible connections between what the participants describably accomplished in their interactions and the larger issue of developing, over time, a durative relationship characterizable as friendship.

Analysis

Topic list and task cards: Resources for progressing the interaction

The participants were to discuss topics provided to them. As will be shown, when the participants oriented to the task, they constructed a sequential pattern differing from that observed in free conversation. As previous research shows, in first-time interactions where the participants are free to talk about anything, they first tend to ask each other questions to establish common topics. Conversely, following brief self-introductions, which tended to be limited to exchanges of name, year in school, course of study, and place of origin, the participants of the present study quickly moved to the topic list with which they were provided as a resource for progressing their interaction.

   An example is seen in Excerpt 3.2. In the moments preceding, Kondo (K) and Zhang (Z) were discussing a topic from the list: "mandatory study abroad." Then, making a stepwise transition (Jefferson, 1984), they moved to talk about travel abroad by retired elderly Japanese. Zhang says that there are many such Japanese tourists who visit China, and Kondo says this might be because they have time and money. In the first line of Excerpt 3.2, she cites pensions and retirement funds as sources of money for elderly Japanese tourists.

Excerpt 3.2: Task cards as resource to progress interaction
```
1    K: nenkin, nenkin ↑janai desu ne,
         pension   pension   not   C   IP
         "Pension, not pension you know"
2        nanka (.) demo goroojin   wa kekkoo: (0.8)
         well          but  elderly.people T  quite
         "Well, but elderly people are quite"
3        toshi totteru hito wa taishokukin   toka
               aged.people     T   retirement.money and
         "aged people (have) retirement money and"
```

```
4        nenkin toka (.) kekkoo yuufuku na imeeji.
         pension and       quite   affluent   M  image
         "pensions and, they seem quite affluent."
5        (1.2)
6    Z:  e:,  [da- daitai wa,
         um   ab-  about    T
         "Um, ab- about"
7    K:  [eheh
8    Z:  [[ima wa ikura?
           now  T  how.much
         "how much now?"
9    K:  [[daitai? daitai dono gurai
           about   about  how  much
10       na n deshoo [ne?
         C  N C        IP
         "About? About how much might it be, huh?"
11   Z:  [e heh heh heh=
12   K:  chotto waka(h)nnai kedo(h) heh heh un. ]
         little  don't.know  but
         "I'm not really sure, but"
13   Z:  =.h h h h   e  h e h   .h h                        ]
14       a: [::: naruhodo ((looks at cards))
         ah       i.see
         "Ah, I see."
15   K:  [un.
         yeah
         "Yeah."
16       un. ((looks at cards))
         yeah
         "Yeah."
17       (0.6)
18   Z:  ((reading from card)).h u:n. daigaku::see::
                                      um    uni.student
19       ni kaigai de ryuugaku  wo:
         D  abroad  at  study.abroad O
         Um, (requiring) university students to study abroad..."
         ((continues))
```

In lines 1 through 4, Kondo says that older people seem "affluent" (*yuu-fuku*) because of their pensions and retirement funds. Since Kondo's utterance includes no predicate (i.e., it ends with the noun "image"), grammatically speaking, it is not yet complete. It is produced with descending, final intonation, however, and so is hearable as being pragmatically complete. In addition, as she produces the word "image," she lowers her hand as if to tap the table. This creates a visual display of completion, as if marking an imaginary period (see Figure 3.1a and b). In line 5, however, there is a 1.2-second silence. In the first 0.3 seconds of this silence, Kondo retracts her hand, but for the remaining 0.9 seconds, the participants look at each other (Figure 3.1c). In

line 6, Zhang breaks the silence with "e:," displaying a stance of slight surprise (Figure 3.1d), and in lines 6 and 8, she asks about how much money elderly people receive. Kondo's laugh in line 7 seems to orient to Zhang's apparent surprise.

Not responding to a question when one has been issued is an effective claim that an answer is unavailable for some reason (see Bilmes, 1988). In addition to claiming an inability to provide an answer by virtue of its not being visible as one, Kondo's utterance in lines 9 and 10, a rhetorical question, simultaneously provides an explanation for why Kondo is not able to provide the answer to Zhang's question; it suggests that Kondo does not know. Then, in line 11, Zhang laughs in overlap with the last part of Kondo's talk in line 10, and in line 12, Kondo responds to this laughter by confessing that she does not know, and by laughter of her own. In line 13, Zhang continues to laugh in complete overlap with Kondo's talk and laughter in line 12. Through their "laughing together" (Jefferson et al., 1987), Kondo and Zhang seem to treat Kondo's response to Zhang's question with another question, and her (Kondo's) subsequent confession of not knowing, as humorous rather than problematic. Then, in line 14, Zhang says, "Oh:::: I see" (*a:::: naruhodo*), and Kondo moves to cooperatively close the sequence by saying, "yeah" (lines 15 and 16). It is noteworthy that as they close the sequence, both Zhang and Kondo direct their gaze to the task cards on the desk. After 0.6 seconds of silence, Zhang begins a new turn by reading aloud from a card (lines 18 and 19); they continue to read other cards together following the excerpt.

In Excerpt 3.2, Kondo and Zhang turned their attention back to the task cards, as the progressivity of their interaction started to falter when Kondo was unable to provide an answer to Zhang's question. Thus, they display an
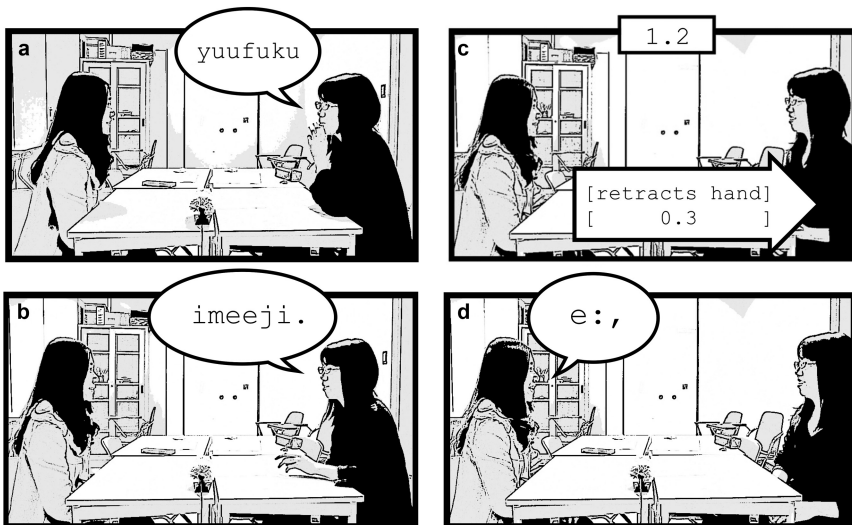

Figure 3.1 Kondo visually displays completion.

orientation to the cards as being one resource for circumnavigating sequential dead ends. The availability of such a resource also brings the possibility of forgoing the potentially risky work of topic development, which, by virtue of this being a first-time encounter, would require more personal questions. A framework for legitimate action is provided here by the task itself. By orienting to the given task as what they are "supposed to be doing," it is possible for the participants to engage in the interaction without stepping out of that framework, and thus to interact with each other in an "unproblematic" (Garfinkel, 1967: 9) way. By using the cards, the participants do not have to engage in personal questioning. In other words, the cards provide a kind of "safe zone" within which they can carry out their interaction as a task.

There are many instances in the data where the participants use the cards to develop "safe" interactions. In fact, for many of the participants, their interactions emerged simply as a joint completion of the task. However, there were also instances when participants left this "safe zone." At times, they ventured into each other's personal lives, moving far away from the task. In so doing, they risked the possibility of personal incompatibility, embarrassment, rejection, or the awkwardness of being confronted with the fact that there is no substantial common ground between them. On the other hand, if the participants oriented to just doing the task, it would be difficult for them to really get to know each other. In this sense, asking each other personal questions and getting to know each other on a deeper level can be seen as a foray into beginning to construct a friendship. Simultaneously, it instantiates a public display of willingness to entertain such a possibility, which may (or may not) be sequentially reciprocated by the other.

In the following, differences in the structure of question-and-answer sequences developed by the two pairs of participants are described in detail in order to shed light on how they leave the task to explore the details of each other's lives (or not). Following this, based on the results of a questionnaire and ethnographic observations conducted just after the completion of the exchanges, I consider how the differences in sequential structuring seem to have been perceived by the participants themselves and the effects this might have had on the (non-)conception of friendship by the two pairs.

Getting to know you: Two different sequential organizations

In this section, I examine the organization of question-answer sequences in the interactions between Kondo (Japanese) and Choe (Korean) and between Kondo and Zhang (Chinese). These sequences were aimed at obtaining personal knowledge of the co-participant and may be considered a type of "self-presentational sequence" (Svennevig, 1999). Each of the sequences examined in the present study was initiated by the second-language speaker (i.e., Choe or Zhang). Of particular interest are the observable differences in the organization of these sequences in the interactions between Kondo and Choe, and between Kondo and Zhang.

Series of discrete sequences

When Choe initiated a new sequence via a question, it was typically either brought to a close with no PSE, or if there was PSE, it served only to close the sequence or problematize some aspect of Kondo's answer. As a result, their interaction is characterized by a series of un-expanded question-answer sequences in short succession.

Excerpt 3.3 is a typical example. Prior to the excerpt, Kondo and Choe drew a task card directing them to talk about cosmetic surgery. They proceeded to discuss public opinion about cosmetic surgery in both Korea and Japan. In so doing, they displayed their orientations toward the task itself. Then, they expanded the topic to consider physical characteristics that men look for in women in both Japan and Korea, and then dating in general. As they discussed dating practices, Kondo mentions that her sister's boyfriend always pays for their dates. This move by Kondo creates a possibility for the participants to shift from discussing society in general to a more specific and personal level.

Excerpt 3.3: Kekkon shimashita ka
```
1    C:  kekkon shimashita ka? oneesan.
         marry   did        Q    older.sister
         "Did your older sister marry?"
2    K:  ya: mada desu kedo ne,
         no  yet  C    but  IP
         "No, not yet you know,"
     c   ((nods twice and then gazes into space))
3    C:  ^ha:_____[::
         "Ah"
4    K:  [un.
         "Yeah."
5        (0.9)
     c   ((gazing into space))
6    C:  ^he:_____[:: o(soo ka)o
         he                   really
         "Oh really."
7    K:             [e hhheh
     c                          ((pointing to K with R-hand, palm up))
8    C:  ima: ima- kare^shi i [masu?
         now  ha-  boyfriend  have
         "Do you have a boyfriend now?"
     k   (nods))
9    K:  [a ^imasu.
         a   have
         "Oh, I do."
10   C:  .hh [wa::h
         "Wow"
11   K:  [e demo warika- warikan na n
          e but  split-       split.bill  C  N
```

```
12        desu yo: atashi wa. heh heh
          C     IP  I       T
```
          "Eh but in my case we split the bill."
```
13   C:   e::↑:::?
```
          "Eh?"
```
14   K:   un.
```
          "Yeah."
```
15   C:   .hh soo desu ka° yap [pari.o
              that  C    Q    as.expected
```
          "Really, just as I expected."
```
16   K:   [ma betsuni ii n desu
           well  no.matter  N C
17        yo ne h eheh heh .hhh
          IP  IP
```
          "Well, it doesn't matter, right"
```
18   C:   renraku wa dono gurai desu ka? isshuukan.
          contact  T   how.much  C   Q   one.week
```
          "How often do you talk with him during the week?"
```
          ((continues))
```

Excerpt 3.3 contains two complete question-answer sequences and the beginning of a third. The first is initiated by Choe's question in line 1 and continues through her receipt of Kondo's answer and laughter in lines 6 and 7, respectively. The second begins with Choe's question in line 8 and runs through her display of an evaluative stance in lines 13 and 15, and Kondo's reaction to this in lines 14 and 16 to 17. Finally, in lines 18 and 19, Choe issues another question, included only to show the sharp boundary between the second sequence and an ensuing third. In the analysis, I pay particular attention to the emergent interactional pattern characterized by a series of brief question-answer sequences.

As noted, by mentioning her sister and her sister's boyfriend just prior to Excerpt 3.3, Kondo opens up the possibility of moving from talk of general dating practices to a discussion of personal specifics. Then, in line 1, Choe asks about Kondo's sister's marital status, thus furthering this possibility. When Kondo answers in the negative in line 2, Choe nods twice and receipts Kondo's answer with *ha:::* ("really") (Figure 3.2). She then stares into the distance, which seems to indicate that she will not pursue any further details. Thus, "ha:::" here seems to function here as a "sequence-closing third" (SCT; see Schegloff, 2007). In response, Kondo says *un* ("yeah") in line 4, in overlap with the last part of Choe's "ha:::"; by offering only this simple token of confirmation, Kondo aligns with Choe's move to close. Then, after 0.9 seconds of silence, Choe essentially repeats her sequence-closing move from line 3 by saying *he:::: soo ka* ("oh really") and again staring into the distance in line 6 (Figure 3.3). Kondo again responds minimally with a short laugh in line 7. Thus, when Kondo answers Choe's question, Choe does not try to expand the sequence but immediately moves to bring it to a close. For her part, Kondo

aligns with this by offering only a minimal response, and makes no further attempt at sequence expansion.

In line 8, Choe undertakes a new turn constructional unit (TCU), asking if Kondo herself has a boyfriend. Kondo responds in the affirmative, overlapping Choe's talk (line 9). In line 10, Choe produces ".hh wa::," which expresses surprise (through the sudden inbreath) and yearning or admiration (through the elongated "wa" token, which is also imbued with a breathy acoustic quality). In line 11, Kondo begins to produce talk in overlap with Choe's vocalization. As if in anticipation of Choe's forthcoming expression of admiration, which has already been projected by her facial expression, Kondo deploys *e demo* ("oh but"), which hearably objects to Choe's forthcoming display of admiration. Then, as Choe's vocalization ends, Kondo provides evidence of why admiration may not be in order: she and her boyfriend split the bill on their dates. In fact, against the backdrop of their just-prior talk, this is hearable as a self-deprecation.[4]

In line 11, when Kondo first utters "split the bill" (*warikan*), her action of self-deprecating becomes observable, and it should be possible for Choe to respond by either contesting or accepting it. But, Choe simply continues to gaze at Kondo. Upon confirming Choe's steady gaze, Kondo cuts off and restarts her turn by repeating *warikan*. Choe only gives two small nods in response to Kondo's cutoff and resumption. In line 12, Kondo extends the *yo* at the end of her TCU and adds *watashi wa* ("as for me"). By so doing, she "recompletes" her TCU (see Schegloff, 1996), creating a space in which Choe might respond more substantially. Then, at the end of her turn, she adds a laugh, which acts as a "post-completion stance marker" (Schegloff, 1996: 92) that treats "splitting the bill" as not being a serious problem.

When Choe finally does produce a response, she does so with "e:::::?" (line 13), which, by its stretched-out production and rising pitch, indicates a stance of negative surprise and dubiousness. Kondo responds with a low-volume minimal confirmation, "yeah" (line 14). Choe receipts this with *soo desu ka* ("is that right"), and then says *yappari* ("I knew it") (line 15), which seems to refer back to their talk about how Japanese people typically split the bill on dates. However, Kondo overlaps Choe's *yappari* to say that she is fine with splitting the bill, and again displays a non-serious stance toward the situation via laughter (lines 16 and 17). At this point, Choe initiates a new sequence by asking another question, this time about the frequency with which Kondo is in contact with her boyfriend (line 18).

Thus, in lines 1 to 2, and 8 to 9, Choe directs questions to Kondo. In lines 2 and 9, respectively, Kondo provides answers, thus completing the adjacency pairs. Furthermore, neither of these sequences is characterized by post-expansion. Rather, Choe, in particular, displays an orientation to moving on to a next sequence. It is notable that Kondo's self-deprecation following the second sequence might have provided for a post-expansion focused on categorization work in regard to Kondo, her boyfriend, and their relationship (see,

Figure 3.2 Choe staring into the distance.

Figure 3.3 Choe staring into the distance again.

e.g., Bushnell, 2014; Fitzgerald & Housely, 2015; Sacks, 1995; Stokoe, 2012; Watson, 1978). However, this possible trajectory seems to be cut off by Choe, who initiates a new adjacency pair, somewhat abruptly, via another question in line 18. Thus, within this short spate of talk, we see Choe asking three questions, initiating three discrete sequences. Excerpt 3.4 provides a further example of this pattern of multiple sequences in short succession, as well as an expansion specifically aimed at problematizing an aspect of the second-pair part provided by Kondo.

Excerpt 3.4: Shiokuri moratteru nde
```
1    C: a jikka      wa doko::
        ah family.home T   where
        "Ah where is your parents home?"
```

2   K: jikka   desu ka?
         family.home C   Q
         "My parents home?"
3   C: hai.
         "Yes."
4   K: e::to hyoogo-ken   tte yutte:
         um   Hyogo Prefecture QT say
5   kansai no hoo ni aru n desu kedo:
         Kansai M way D is N C   but
         "Um it's in a prefecture called Hyogo in the Kansai region but"
6   (0.8)
7   K: ano: oosaka no: chikaku tte
         um   Osaka M   near   QT
8   ittara wakarimasu ka?
         if.say understand   Q
         "Um if I told you it's near Osaka would you understand?"
9   C: hai hai hai.
         "Yes yes yes."
10   K: ano hen   na n desu yo.
         that vicinity C N C   IP
         "It's in that area."
11   C: e::.
         "Yes."
12   K: nishi nihon ni atte,
         west Japan D is
         "In western Japan,"
13   C: ja, koko dewa ima doko ni
         well here at   now where D
14   sundeirassharu n desu ka?
         living-HON   N C   Q
         "Well where are you living now here?"
15   K: koko dewa, asoko   ni suupaa
         here at   over.there D supermarket
16   aru janai desu ka.
         is   not   C   Q
         "Here, there's a supermarket over there, right."
17   C: a:
         "Ah."
18   K: ano hen.
         that area
         "It's in that area."
19   C: soo desu [ka:.
         that C   Q
         "Really."
20   K: [un.
         "Yeah."
21   C: yachin toka seekatsuhi toka
         rent   and living.expense and

```
22        taihen desu ne:.
          terrible  C    IP
          "Rent and living expenses are terrible huh."
23   K:   ma: shiokuri moratteru nde:
          well support   receiving    so
24        anmari [zeetaku wa ienai     n desu ne:
          not.very extravagant T cannot.say N C   IP
          "Well I'm receiving support from home
          so I can't really complain you know"
25   C:         [heh heh heh heh heh .hh
26        a:: a baito     toka wa shitenai [n desu ka?
          ah  ah part.time.job and  T  not.doing  N C     Q
          "Ah ah aren't you doing any part-time work?"
27   K:   [a
           ah
28        shitemashita, mukashi.
          was.doing          long.ago
          "Ah I was a while ago."
```

Just prior to Excerpt 3.4, Choe and Kondo were talking about Kondo's boyfriend's research. Then, without prompting, Choe issues a question asking about the location of Kondo's parents' house (line 1). In response to this abrupt question, Kondo initiates repair by requesting confirmation (line 2). Once Choe provides the requested confirmation (line 3), Kondo begins to produce an answer (line 4). Before starting the TCU, she indicates that she is "thinking" by producing the filler *eto*. She then says the name of the prefecture in which her parents' house is located: Hyogo. Then, by adding *tte yutte* ("it is called X") and stating that it is located in the Kansai region, she displays an orientation to the possibility that Choe does not know of Hyogo Prefecture. Then, while looking at Choe, she adds *n desu kedo* (line 5), which functions here to segment her utterance-so-far to provide a space for a response from Choe. However, 0.8 seconds pass in silence (line 6). Kondo treats this silence as making relevant further clarification by mentioning the proximity of Hyogo Prefecture to Osaka. After Choe claims an understanding of Osaka (line 9), Kondo states the general location of Hyogo Prefecture in relation to Osaka (line 10). Then, Choe receipts Kondo's explanation with "e:::" while looking into the distance (line 11), thus moving to end sequence (Figure 3.4). In line 12, Kondo says, *nishi nihon ni atte* ("It's in western Japan and"). While this utterance by Kondo is grammatically incomplete, it is produced with descending intonation. Additionally, Kondo lowers her right index finger to the desk as she produces *atte*. In this way, she intonationally and visually ends her utterance with a "period" (Figure 3.5).

In lines 13 and 14, Choe asks Kondo where she lives now. By initiating a new question-answer sequence, Choe treats the immediately preceding sequence as being finished. This question proposes a minor topic shift from the location of the home of Kondo's parents to where Kondo currently lives.

From the perspective of a larger topic of the location of domiciles, this may be seen as a coherent move. On the other hand, from the point of view of sequence organization, Choe's question in lines 13 and 14 abruptly closes the previous sequence and starts a new sequence independent of the previous one. In lines 15 and 16, Kondo begins to formulate an answer, requesting confirmation from Choe about a landmark in the vicinity using *asoko* ("over there"). Following Choe's minimal response (line 17), Kondo gives the approximate location of her current residence in relation to this landmark (line 18). Then, Choe says *soo desu ka* ("I see"), which seems to function as a sequence-closing third (line 19), to which Kondo responds minimally with the affirmative token *un* ("yeah") (line 20), thus closing the sequence.
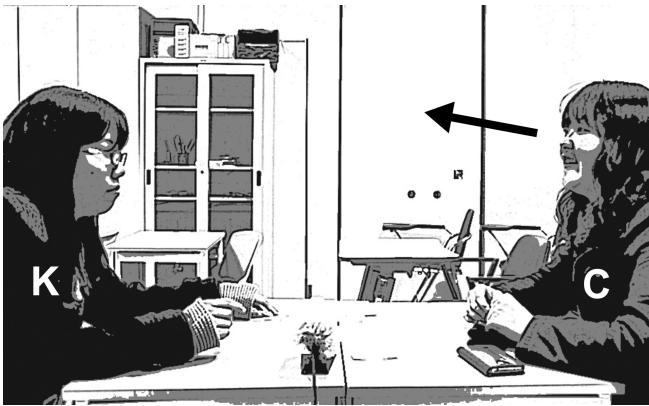

Figure 3.4 Choe moves to end.

Figure 3.5 Kondo enacting a "period."

Then, in lines 21 and 22, Choe initiates a new TCU, requesting an affiliative display from Kondo in regard to the difficulty of making ends meet as a student. Here again, as in lines 13 and 14, Choe undertakes a slight change of topic while still maintaining overall coherence in the flow of the topical talk. In lines 23 and 24, Kondo responds by saying that she is receiving money from her parents and would not be able to make ends meet without it. Once Kondo has said that she is receiving money from her parents, in line 25, Choe begins to laugh in overlap with Kondo's talk. Choe's laughter begins just after Kondo has produced the word *anmari* ("not very"), and so it is possible that she hears Kondo's talk-up-to-this-point as saying that Kondo does not find it difficult to make ends meet since she is receiving money from her parents, and that Choe's laughter is oriented to this interpretation. Once Kondo has finished saying that she cannot complain, Choe produces *a::* (line 26), which seems to treat Kondo's statement about receiving money as something unexpected (note the elongation and rising intonation). Following this, Choe asks Kondo if she is not working part-time. The negative formulation of this question, the final *n desu ka*, which makes relevant an explanation, and the *a::* token that prefaces the utterance, seems to express an assumption that Kondo would properly be working part-time under such circumstances, and treats such a breach of expectations as warranting explanation. Thus, Choe's question 1) problematizes Kondo's response in lines 23 and 24, where she mentions that she is receiving money from her parents, and 2) potentially categorizes Kondo as a "mooch." In line 27, Kondo displays her understanding of this potential negative categorization by countering it immediately with an attenuating claim that she was working previously, a "first-priority response" characteristically produced in overlap with Choe's talk in line 26 (Bilmes, 1993, 1995). From line 28 onward (omitted), Kondo adds further credibility to her claim by elaborating on the content of her previous job.

Through the analysis of Excerpts 3.3 and 3.4, we have seen how Choe asks Kondo a series of personal questions in short succession. Subsequent expansions of the base sequence were shown to be absent or problematizing. In general, as soon as one sequence closes, Choe starts a new one by asking another question. This results in an interactional pattern featuring a series of short, discrete sequences. Figure 3.6 is a graphic representation of this pattern.

Figure 3.6 shows a pattern in which the participants move on to a next sequence without attempting substantial expansion of the prior base sequence. Such a pattern is observed repeatedly in the exchange between Choe and Kondo. Their interaction lasted approximately 30 minutes. During this time, Choe initiated 27 sequences by asking personal questions to Kondo.[5] In 17 of these (about 60%), the base sequence was closed with minimal or no post-expansion, as in lines 3–7 of Excerpt 3.3 and lines 19–20 of Excerpt 3.4. Even in the ten sequences featuring more substantial post-expansion, the overwhelming majority of these (seven) were problematizations of some aspect of Kondo's response in the base sequence. These problematizations were
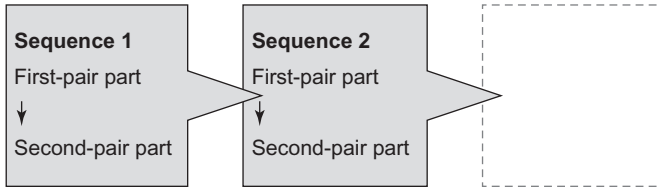
Figure 3.6 Series of discrete sequences.

typically initiated by an evaluative stance from Choe, as in lines 10, 13, and 15 of Excerpt 3.3 and lines 25–26 of Excerpt 3.4, and were expanded by Kondo's justifying responses. Ultimately, Choe would invariably go on to ask another question, thus initiating a new sequence.

Sequences upon sequences

In this section, I examine the exchange between Zhang and Kondo. Their interaction also lasted approximately 30 minutes. A total of nine self-presentation sequences were initiated through personal questions by Zhang to Kondo. In stark contrast to the exchange between Choe and Kondo, substantial postexpansion features in each of these sequences. Some of these PSEs were extensive and elaborate, with expansions of expansions; Zhang asks approximately 15 questions in total within the PSEs. We have space to consider only one of the simpler instances here.

In the moments preceding Excerpt 3.5, the participants were talking about mandatory study abroad, a topic from one of the cards. Kondo says that she has never studied abroad, and lists as reasons for this a lack of money and necessity.

Excerpt 3.5: Kekkoo nigiyaka na tokoro desu yo ne?
```
1    Z:  nanka, ichido nanka kaigai: ni::
         like    one.time like    abroad    D
2        nanka ryokoo toka ni:
         like travel and D
3        [[iku to iu ganboo wa nai desu ka?
           go QT say desire  T  not  C    Q
```
"Don't you have any desire to like travel like abroad like one time or something?"
```
4    K:  [[a:,
           "Oh"
5        ma ippen:: ichido dake: amerika ni
         well once   one.time only    America  D
6        itta koto ga aru n desu kedo,
         went thing S  have N C    but
```
"Well I have been to America once, only one time but,"

```
7    Z:  hee [:: n-
         "Wow n-"
8    K:  [kankoo de. u [n:
          tourism as   yeah
         "As a tourist. Yeah."
9    Z:  [kankoo de,
          tourism  as
         "As a tourist,"
10   K:  kankoo de.
          tourism  as
         "As a tourist."
11   Z:  n:  [::
         "Neat"
12   K:  [ma tano- tashika ni tanoshikatta
          well fu-  certainly D  was.fun
13       n desu kedo.
          N C   but
         "Well it was fu- it certainly was fun but."
14   Z:  doko ni itta n de [su ka?
          where D  went N C      Q
         "Where is it that you went?"
15   K:  [a  nyuuyooku desu.
          oh New.York   C
         "Oh New York."
16   Z:  e:: nyuuyooku [desu ka?
          wow New.York    C    Q
         "Wow New York?"
17   K:                  [soo.
                        "That's right."
18       [[((de so-))
             and th-
         "And th-"
19   Z:  [[kekkoo nigiyaka na tokoro [desu yo ne?
          quite   lively   M  place    C   IP IP
         "That's quite a lively place, right?"
20   K:  [un un un un.
           "Yeah yeah yeah yeah."
21   Z:  hee::,
         "Wow"
```

After Kondo's explanation that she plans to live and work in Japan, Zhang asks if she is interested in visiting other countries (lines 1 and 3). This is a personal question topically related to the task-at-hand. In response, while emphasizing her limited experience with *ichido dake* ("only once"), Kondo admits that she has been to the United States (line 4). Zhang responds with *hee::* (line 5). In line 6 of Excerpt 3.3, we saw a very similar token produced by Choe. However, the actions accomplished are clearly very different. First, when Choe says *hee::* in line 6 of Excerpt 3.3, she directs her gaze above Kondo as if she

were looking into the distance. Additionally, as soon as she says *hee::*, she produces *soo ka* ("I see"), which seems to decline the pursuit of further explanation. Kondo, for her part, displays an understanding of the closing-relevance of Choe's actions. On the other hand, in line 5 of Excerpt 3.5, as Zhang produces *hee::*, she gazes intently into Kondo's eyes (see Figure 3.7). Upon receiving Zhang's gaze, Kondo immediately starts to speak in overlap with Zhang's *hee::*, expanding the sequence by adding supplementary explanation (line 6). In so doing, Kondo displays her own analysis of Zhang's actions as making relevant an expansion of the sequence. Zhang resolves the overlap by cutting off her talk in line 5, but not before she says "n-," which is hearable here as possibly being the beginning of the word *nande* ("why"); Zhang may have been starting to ask Kondo about the purpose of her visit to the United States, but then terminated this action upon seeing that Kondo was already beginning to offer additional information. Thus, while the *hee::* produced by Choe in Excerpt 3.3 moves to close the sequence, Zhang's *hee::* in Excerpt 3.5 makes relevant further explanation, which is jointly realized by the participants in the form of a PSE (see, e.g., Schegloff, 2007).

In the lines following this initial PSE, we see that Kondo provides only a minimal explanation, that she went to the United States for *kankoo* ("sightseeing"), produced with falling intonation and followed by *un* ("yeah").[6] This does not seem to orient to further explanation, but Zhang immediately repeats Kondo's *kankoo* in line 7, hearably encouraging a continuation. Then, when Kondo again repeats *kankoo* with falling intonation (line 8), Zhang blinks several times and then purses her lips and produces *n* in a greatly prolonged manner and with a rising intonation (Figure 3.8). This constellation of actions seems to express intense interest in what Kondo is saying.

In response to Zhang's display of interest, Kondo begins a TCU in which she evaluates her own experience of tourism in the United States (line 10). First, she produces the discourse marker *ma*, which here indicates a concession toward the stance of positive affect indexed by Zhang's *n:::*, after which

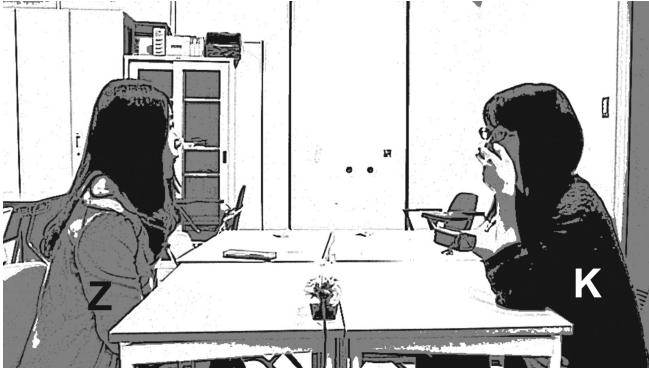*Figure 3.7* Zhang gazing into Kondo's eyes.

Figure 3.8 Zhang blinking and pursing her lips.

she produces *tano-*, which is hearable as the first part of *tanoshikatta* ("it was enjoyable"). However, she then initiates self-repair by cutting off and inserting *tashika ni* ("certainly"), which she then follows with *tanoshikatta* ("it was enjoyable"). This self-repair to insert *tashika ni* ("certainly"), along with the final *n desu kedo* ("it was X, but"), seems to modulate her positive assessment by suggesting that there was a yet-unmentioned negative side to her trip. Then, Zhang moves towards further expansion of the sequence by asking Kondo about the specific destination of her trip (line 11), thus making relevant an unpacking of Kondo's utterance in line 4, while simultaneously skirting around the negativity hearable in Kondo's downgraded assessment of her trip in line 10.

In line 12, Kondo answers that she went to New York. She answers in overlap with the last part of Zhang's question and prefaces her answer with *a*; these actions, especially the *a*, which here seems to mark a realization of previously omitted information, seem to treat her provision of this information as being late. In response to Kondo's answer, Zhang issues *e:: nyuuyooku desu ka* ("wow, New York?"), while widening her eyes and leaning forward, gazing intently at Kondo, embodied actions which make it clear that she is not just acknowledging the information Kondo has provided, but making relevant a response. Kondo responds immediately by giving a positive confirmation in line 14, in overlap with Zhang's utterance. In lines 15 and 16, Kondo and Zhang simultaneously attempt to begin new turns, resulting in an overlap, which is resolved as Kondo cuts off her turn, allowing Zhang to continue. Having secured a turn space, Zhang offers a candidate description of New York as a "lively place" (i.e., *nigiyaka*) and makes relevant a further expansion of the sequence through requesting a confirmation from Kondo via *desu yo ne*, produced with questioning intonation. In line 17, Kondo overlaps with an affirmative confirmation, hearably emphatic through its intonation and reduplication, *un un un un* ("yeah yeah yeah yeah"). Zhang receipts this with *hee::* (line 18), which she produces here again in conjunction with

gaze intently directed to Kondo's eyes, thus treating Kondo's response as interesting new information. In the further expansions that follow (omitted for reasons of space), Kondo tells of how she went to Broadway to see a musical, and Zhang expresses a desire to visit New York herself someday but laments that she doesn't have the money for such a trip right now, which effectively brings the participants back to where they started just prior to Excerpt 3.5, when Kondo had given her lack of money as one reason for not studying abroad. Following this, the participants re-enter the task of discussing mandatory study abroad.

The analysis of Excerpt 3.5 has shown how Kondo and Zhang coordinate a movement away from the task into talk about personal experience. This is accomplished through an initial personal question by Zhang and a subsequent series of PSEs aimed at unpacking Kondo's base answer. Finally, the participants co-accomplish a return to the task-put-on-hold through closing their PSE and reorienting to the topic on the task card. This foray into the personal lives, experiences, and desires of the participants allowed the construction of an interactional space wherein they could demonstrate personal interest, treating one another as individuals and not just as strangers who happen to be co-participants in a task inconsequential to their actual lives.[7] Zhang and Kondo can be observed to linger on almost every base sequence, unpacking them through PSE and expansions of them, resulting in the construction of spaces wherein they could mutually display affect and interest to and for one another. This interactional pattern is shown graphically in Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9 shows how, once the participants reach a possible closing-relevant point in the base sequence, which is composed of a personal question (i.e., base first-pair part; FPPb) and an answer (i.e., base second-pair part; SPPb), Zhang asks additional questions, or expresses excitement or interest, and so on. These actions make relevant further sequences aimed at unpacking details of the base answer. These PSEs themselves also consist of questions and answers (i.e., p-FPP and p-SPP), which may in turn result in PSE. A similar
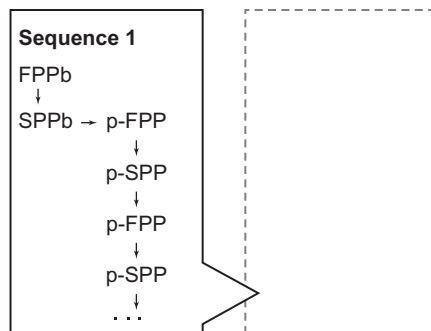

Figure 3.9 Sequences upon sequences.

pattern was observed in each one of the self-presentational sequences initiated by Zhang throughout her interaction with Kondo (nine instances in all).

Discussion

Imada (2015) describes the participants' membership categorization work and how their identities and relationships changed over time. However, she does not specifically consider post-expansions of "self-presentational sequences" (Svennevig, 1999) as being one location for such categorization practices. Similarly, though Svennevig (1999) does mention encouragement of sequence continuation as a possible action type in the third position of self-presentation sequences, he does not examine in detail how participants might construct a space, or how this might concretely develop as a PSE. Furthermore, neither Imada (2015) nor Svennevig (1999) give substantial consideration to how phonological features, such as prosody, laughter, and timing, and embodied actions, such as hand and body gestures, gaze direction, and facial expressions, can be involved in the process of initiating and doing post-sequential identity work.

Unlike Svennevig (1999) and Imada (2015), which both use longitudinal data from spontaneous interactions, the present study uses data from single interactions. The participants met each other for the first time in order to participate in exchanges using topics provided them for the specific purpose of recording their interactions. By subjecting these data to microethnographic analysis, I have been able to observe in detail some of the specific procedures used by the participants to achieve "getting to know each other." As a result of the analysis, structural differences were described in sequences initiated by Choe and Zhang, respectively, through personal questions to Kondo. Specifically, in the case of Choe and Kondo, at potentially closing-relevant points in the sequences, following an answer from Kondo, Choe regularly receipted Kondo's answer minimally while disengaging her gaze, and then asked another question unrelated to the previous sequence. This resulted in a series of discrete sequences. In contrast, in the case of Zhang and Kondo, after Kondo provided a second-pair part to the base sequence, Zhang regularly displayed interest or excitement through embodied action, facial expression, gaze, and prosodic manipulation, and through additional questions related to Kondo's answer. These actions made relevant the co-construction of subsequent sequences aimed at unpacking the second-pair part of the base sequence. Through such PSE, the participants jointly constructed interactional spaces wherein they could retreat from the task-at-hand and focus on their nascent relationship through mutual displays of interest, praise, and building and co-displaying positive affect, enjoyment, and affiliation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described how the participants got to know one another and began to co-construct a mutual relationship with each other through harnessing a general sequential structure of talk-in-interaction, that is, question-answer sequences, and post-sequential expansions of the base sequence. In particular, the analyses have identified and described in some detail PSE as a location wherein the participants were able to engage in relationship building in their first-encounter interactions. Whether or not the participants in this study achieved getting-to-know-you beyond superficial greetings was shown to be closely tied to differences in the unfolding of the sequential structure of the talk. More specifically, the interaction between Choe and Kondo prominently featured a series of discrete question-answer sequences, which resulted in an interactional pattern that never departed from the task they had been given. The interaction between Zhang and Kondo, on the other hand, was characterized by their use of PSE to create and extend a space far removed from the demands of the task, where they could engage in further identity work, affiliation, and relationship building.

   In closing, I touch upon possible connections between these fleeting moments of interactional affiliation and the development of a more durative amicable relationship, built up and maintained over time and across individual interactional instances. Two forms of ethnographic data exogenous to the video data are brought to bear. The first data are the results of a questionnaire administered to all participants following their exchanges. In this questionnaire, interestingly, Kondo stated that she felt Choe had "asked a lot of questions" (*shitsumon ga ooi*); she made no such comment about Zhang, even though Zhang had in fact asked a total of around 24 questions (i.e., 9 personal questions initiating base sequences, and about 15 questions within expansions of those, as noted earlier). As mentioned, Choe asked a total of 27 questions, so there was no substantial quantitative difference in the number of questions asked by the two; the difference thrown into relief by Kondo's comment was a qualitative one.

   The second data are fieldnotes based on participant observations of the moments following the exchanges. When Choe and Kondo left, they made no further attempt at communication. In the case of Zhang and Kondo, however, they continued talking for a while, and even exchanged contact information. Of course, it is impossible to specify with certainty how these additional ethnographic data might be related to the differences in sequential structures observed in the interactions. Particularly in regard to the participant observations, we cannot know if there was a causal or correlational relationship with the observed sequential structures, or if these data are actually unrelated and instead tied to other factors not considered in the analyses of the present study, such as preferences and emotional response. There should exist numerous other plausible factors, such as appearance, hobbies, values, and so on, that may make participants in initial interactions feel that they are mutually

compatible or incompatible. On the other hand, if unacquainted participants did not avail themselves of PSEs to do getting-to-know-you, they likely would not have much of an opportunity to find out about many of these things.

Although such factors are beyond the scope of ethnomethodological analysis (see, e.g., Sacks & Garfinkel, 1970; Heritage, 1984), as Moerman (1988) argues, we conduct our relationships through the generic machinery of everyday conversation—practices including turn-taking, sequence organization, and repair. It is precisely through such generic practices that we maintain, negotiate, terminate, and as shown in the analyses of this chapter, initiate our relationships. Hence, it is safe to say that it was by utilizing these lifeless "dry bones" (1988: x–xi), in conjunction with the vitality of categorization practices, embodied action, gaze, prosody, and facial expressions, that Kondo and Zhang were able to breathe life into their interaction, and into their nascent relationship.

Notes

1 Data collection was supported by a Kaken Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (26370586, PI: Myeongja Heo).
2 i.e., 1) Lowering the legal age of adulthood, 2) Raising the age for beginning school, 3) Raising consumption tax, 4) Making study abroad mandatory, 5) Emphasizing physical appearance, 6) Cosmetic surgery, and 7) Mandatory military service.
3 Although in a classroom, for example, participants would be minimally institutionally constrained to share the same space on subsequent occasions; there was no such constraint here, as this was understood to be a one-time encounter.
4 Prior to the excerpt, Choe says she had heard that the Japanese always split the bill when they go on a date. She also says that in Korea, men always pay for dates. Kondo said that her sister's boyfriend always pays when they go on a date, even though he is Japanese; both Choe and Kondo evaluate this positively.
5 Note that this averages out to about one question per minute by Choe throughout the approximately 30-minute exchange; almost no questions were issued by Kondo.
6 Note that, as is evident in the somewhat reticent way she answers here, Kondo does not seem to be "in a different mood" or "more open" than she was in her interaction with Choe. This strongly suggests that it is Zhang's behavior that is triggering the PSEs. I am indebted to Steve Moody for this observation.
7 It may be noted that for many of the dyads, their exchange remained focused sharply upon the given task.

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4 Social relationships and institutional roles

Categorizing "novice" and "expert" in foreign language housing

Stephen J. Moody

Introduction

Friendships form and are managed within social contexts. Institutional contexts may place external constraints on how individuals interact, consequently influencing the ways that people navigate interpersonal relationships, including friendships. Such constraints may include, among other things, norms for appropriate interactions, specific roles within the institution, and organizational hierarchies establishing power relationships. The ethnomethodological interest lies in explicating how participants themselves understand such institutional positions as relevant (or not) in forming and navigating friendships.

The institutional context of focus in this study is a university-sponsored foreign language housing (FLH) program where Japanese is the target language. Used by universities to simulate a language immersion environment, FLH programs are dedicated housing facilities where residents commit to speaking in a target language while otherwise engaging in unstructured social activities typical of communal living (see Dewey et al., 2011, for an overview of FLH programs in the United States). With respect to interpersonal relationships, FLH contexts present a hybrid environment characterized by the simultaneous demands of language learning and social living (Bown et al., 2011; Moody & Tsuchiya, 2020). Interactions arise spontaneously for the purpose of accomplishing activities typical of those between roommates, yet they are situated in a setting where all have agreed to institutional rules that influence how they interact with each other.

A further complexity is introduced by the presence of two "resident leaders" in the particular program of this study. These resident leaders are fellow students who are highly proficient (usually L1 speakers) of the target language and who have been assigned by the institution to live alongside their language-learning peers. These leaders are granted institutional power but are otherwise fellow students of similar class standing. Thus, the social-and-learning hybrid nature of this environment is exaggerated in interactions involving resident leaders. Do other participants consider them fellow roommates, peers, or friends? Or, do they treat them as instructors or leaders? This chapter addresses these questions by analyzing interactions involving language corrections—an

activity leaders are institutionally obligated to engage in—with the goal of exploring how residents see them: as roommates engaged in social interaction, or as leaders fulfilling institutional roles.

The foreign language housing setting

The FLH program where the present study was conducted is sponsored by a large private university in the United States. The program hosts apartments for nine different languages, of which the Japanese House is the focus of this analysis. The Japanese House consists of two six-person apartments, and one resident in each apartment is designated as resident leader. The resident leader is always an L1 Japanese speaker or a Japanese-English bilingual speaker. The other five residents are learners of Japanese who have completed the equivalent of at least two years of university-level Japanese study. Most residents rated as Intermediate-Mid or Intermediate-High according to the proficiency ratings defined by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), although the range was wide, with some speakers as low as Novice-High and some as high as Advanced-Mid (Tsuchiya & Moody, 2020). All residents, including leaders, were enrolled as undergraduate students in the sponsoring university and were between the ages of 19 and 25.

The FLH institutional environment constrains interactions by setting rules, specifying roles, and establishing hierarchies as follows.

Rules for interaction. Program participants sign an agreement to speak exclusively in their target language while in common areas of the residence. Residents also agree to participate in a communal dinner four times each week. This time is explicitly designated as a space for practicing Japanese conversation, but the conversations were spontaneous and unstructured. Students were expected to self-monitor compliance with language agreement; resident leaders might report egregious instance of non-compliance to a faculty supervisor, but otherwise, there was no formal enforcement of the agreement.

Specified duties and roles. Resident leaders are institutionally obligated to provide corrective feedback to residents when they hear unnatural or incorrect Japanese. They are also required to have a 15-minute individual conversation with each resident every week. Other residents were also given assignments, such as a "vocabulary builder," who is to provide a list of new words to practice each week, and an "activities coordinator," who is to plan occasional social activities that give opportunities to practice Japanese conversation.

Organizational hierarchies. Because the FLH program exists to help students learn a language, power relationships tend to form around language expertise, whether perceived or real. In reports to faculty supervisors, residents noted a tendency to talk less in the presence of those with a higher perceived proficiency in Japanese, and some even reported feelings of

subordination if they felt their Japanese was not good enough. Moreover, although the formal institutional position of resident leaders only has jurisdiction over linguistic issues, other residents tended to view them as program leaders, for instance, relying on them for information about FLH policies. Consequently, those with higher proficiency may enjoy a larger role in decision-making and social activities (see also Bown et al., 2011), although motivated lower-proficiency participants can still meaningfully contribute to FLH interactions (Mori & Matsunaga, 2017).

Sequential membership categorization analysis

I use sequential membership categorization analysis to examine how residents manage interpersonal relationships within the constraints of an FLH institutional context. This analytical approach helps uncover how actions taken by participants work to build up various categorial understandings of their positions vis-à-vis one another. Thus, the goal of the analysis is to examine what categories are made relevant by participants and how these define their interpersonal relationships.

Originating with the work of Harvey Sacks, membership categorization analysis (MCA) is an ethnomethodological approach that begins with the premise that participants in social interaction use categories to make sense of the world. Hester and Francis (1997) describe MCA as uncovering participants' "reality analysis," in that by revealing the categorial resources participants hold to be relevant for making sense out of ordinary conversation, we consequently shed light on just how they understand objects in the world to be interrelated.

The core set of tools in MCA is "membership categories," "membership categorization devices," and "category-bound predicates." Membership categories are descriptors—usually based on a referent's identity, social position, interactional role, and so on—sufficient for identifying a referent (Sacks, 1974, 1992; Stokoe, 2012). Categories can then be collected into membership categorization devices (MCD), which describe how those categories are commonsensically—in Sack's words, how they "go together." For instance, consider the phrase "a student talked to a teacher." Although it is possible that this means some person who happened to be a student talked to some other person who happened to be a teacher, it is most natural to hear it as meaning that the student is in a class taught by that teacher. That is, categories are heard to be relevant to the extent that they tell us something meaningful about the relationship between their referents. Finally, category-bound predicates consist of the set of obligations, rights, values, actions, or other characteristics that are naturally associated with a given category, such that a category label is understood to entail such predicates. Thus, it is precisely the categories of "student" and "teacher" that provide a framework for understanding of the act of "talking to," namely, that their talking to each other is a relevant product of this specified categorial relationship.

More recently, studies using MCA have begun to draw on sequential analytic perspectives such as conversation analysis (CA). This allows an analyst to focus not just on *what* categories are relevant, but on *how* those categories emerge in the course of interaction. Indeed, Watson (1997) contends that normal forms of talk, which necessarily occur in sequence, are naturally "categorially given." Bushnell (2014) proposes to formalize sequential approaches to MCA in a method he refers to as "sequential categorization analysis," which considers three ways that categories are made relevant in talk.

Turn-generated categories. First are turn-generated categories, which relate to the CA notion of adjacency pairs (Watson, 1997, 2015). When a given turn in interaction is recognizable as performing a category-bound activity, the two parts of an adjacency pair invoke the categories to which those activities are bound. For instance, when one person points at an object and asks, "what is this?," such an action can be heard to propose a "questioner-answer" categorization framework, and the response will be heard as relevant to that framework.

Sequence-generated categories. Next, there are sequence-generated categories, which Bushnell describes as categories that are built up and predicated by underlying turn-generated categories. For instance, the turn-generated categories of questioner-answerer might build up a larger sequence where the questioner is a "novice" asking a (perceived) "expert" for information. In this case, the turn-generated categories of "questioner" and "answerer" can be said to build up the sequence-generated categorial framework of "novice/expert."

Formulation-generated categories. Finally, some categories may be implicated explicitly, such as through the use of labels, names, direct reference, and so on. Bushnell refers to these as formulation-generated categories, which provide a resource for participants to make categorial knowledge relevant through explicit reference. In particular, once a referent is labeled as an incumbent of a certain category, the things said about that referent are commonsensically interpreted within the heading of the given categorial label (see also Jayyusi, 1984).

Analysis

The data are comprised of video recordings taken during selected dinnertime conversations at the FLH over a three-year period at a schedule of roughly one week every other month. During observation weeks, the residents were asked to set up a video camera to record mealtime conversations, including pre-meal preparation and post-meal discussions. A typical recording lasted between 1 and 2 hours, and the full project gathered roughly 50 hours of usable conversations. Rough transcripts and translations were produced by a team of research assistants under the supervision of three faculty advisors.

The FLH program institutionally recognizes resident leaders as "experts of Japanese," while other residents are positioned as novices. The institution further endows these respective categories with obligations to teach and correct Japanese or to learn and practice Japanese, respectively. However, as the FLH residents collectively live together as roommates, they naturally engage in interactions oriented toward navigating social relationships. While external perspectives might take these positions as license to make a priori assumptions of, say, power differentials that affect how they form friendships, the analytical task here is to instead uncover how participants endogenously form categories relevant to understanding their interpersonal relationships through the performance of actions bound to institutional or social categories.

I consider three sets of examples. Expectedly, given the institutional setting, many conversations in the FLH program deal with language-related topics. In the first set of examples, I illustrate how the actions of language questions and corrections may implicate sequence-generated categories such as "novice" and "expert," and consider whether these implicate institutional roles or social relationships. In the second set, I show that actions ostensibly bound to institutional categories can be applied to participants who do not actually occupy the corresponding institutional role, such as when learners are treated counter-institutionally as "Japanese experts." In the final set, I show how potential institutional categorizations are rendered irrelevant in favor of pursuing actions bound to social relationships. The concluding discussion then considers what these data suggest about the navigation of interpersonal relationships, including friendships, within established institutional structures.

Note that for simplicity, in the analysis I refer to the resident leaders as "leaders" and the Japanese-learning participants as "learners," while the term "residents" refers to all participants, including both leaders and learners.

Reproducing institutional categories

I first show some ways that actions taken by participants build up a "novice/expert" framework, which may implicate institutional roles of "learner" and "leader." Perhaps the most common way that "novice/expert" frameworks are made relevant is through actions that defer to resident leaders on matters of correct Japanese, as in the following example.

Excerpt 4.1
```
        ((places hands on chest))
1   W: wa^tashi janai n da yo, kono meisaku wa.
        me        C-NG N C IP    this   masterpiece T
        ((holds hand out toward J))
2       kono ^meitantei    ga.
        this     great detective  S
        "Not me! This masterpiece is (the work of) this great detective."
```

```
3    Y: $meitantei  ka?$ hahaha
         great detective  Q
```
"Great detective, huh?"
((gazing at W))

```
4    B: ^meisaku tte?
         masterpiece Q
```
"Meisaku?"
((gazing at Y))   ((shifts gaze over shoulder toward B))

```
5    W: ^e:tto ne:: (0.5) ^subarashii sakuhin
          uh   IP            wonderful    work
```
"Uh, a wonderful work (of art/literature)."

```
6    Y: yuumei no mei da yo
         famous M  mei  C  IP
```
*"The **mei** (in meisaku) is the same as in famous (yuumei)."*

```
7    B: yummei no   mei?
         relation none IP   IP
```
"The same as in famous?"
((re-establishes mutual gaze with W))

```
8    Y: ^un
          yeah
```
"Yeah."

```
9    B: naruhodo
         I see
```
"I see."

In this interaction, Wei (W), a resident leader, creates a play on words using the prefix *mei*. Having the same Chinese character as the second syllable of the word *yuumei* ("famous"), *mei* can be appended to some nouns to identify them as especially well-known, unique, or excellent. Here, using a gesture, she labels Jared (J), another resident leader, with *meitantei* ("great detective"). This is a play on Jared's name, which is the same as a titular character in a Japanese animated television program. As part of the play, she also uses *mei-saku* ("masterpiece"), which likewise uses the prefix *mei* to identify a work of art that Jared produced, but which another resident, Ben (B), had mistakenly attributed to Wei earlier. Also listening is Yuko (Y), a native speaker of Japanese and a friend of Wei's.

This example illustrates a common sequence in the FLH data: on hearing an unknown word, a learner asks a leader for a definition (as in line 4), which the leader provides (as in line 5). Sequentially, this constitutes a question-answer adjacency pair, which, following Watson (1997), can be seen as bound to the turn-generated categories of "questioner" and "answerer." As Watson argues, participant actions entail obligations and entitlements related to their part of an adjacency pair. For instance, by asking a question, a speaker not only makes relevant a next response to that question, i.e., an answer, but also takes on the obligation to accept or reject the answer provided. In this way, Ben can be seen as proposing a "questioner/answerer" framework and, through the use of gaze, nominates Wei as potential answerer. Wei accepts this framework

in the subsequent turn by engaging in an action that predicates the category of "answerer."

As Bushnell (2014) illustrates, turn-generated categories of this nature potentially make relevant the sequence-generated categories of "novice/expert," because the question/answer pair (lines 4 and 5) is embedded within a sequence wherein Ben is asking for knowledge that he does not have but which Wei is recognized as having. That is, by initiating a question with gaze directed toward Wei, Ben publicly documents that he lacks information he supposes is known by Wei. Wei then provides the answer (lines 5 and 6), thereby publicly documenting that she does possess the knowledge, which further ratifies the "novice/expert" framework. In this way, the sequential adjacency pair of question-answer performs actions that establish turn-generated categories of "questioner/answerer," which builds up the sequence-generated categories of "novice/expert," of which Ben and Wei are respective incumbents.

That question-answer pairs implicate "novice/expert" categorial frameworks is a mundane observation common in a wide range of interactional settings (e.g., Dings, 2012; Vickers, 2010; Yu & Wu, 2021). Here, it is tempting to take this as evidence of the relevance of institutional categories, that is, to conclude that Ben asked a question *because* he is (exogenously) a learner and Wei answered it *because* she is (exogenously) a leader. Such reasoning would conclude that question-answer pairs thus reflect an institutional structure in which the leaders act as knowledgeable experts, and social relationships form around this structure.

However, viewing the interaction from an ethnomethodological perspective, we are obligated to ask whether participants themselves understand the "novice/expert" framework to predicate institutional roles or something else. In fact, a potential link between "expert" and "resident leader" breaks down in this interaction. To see this, consider that before producing her answer, Wei first deploys a hesitation marker, *etto ne* (line 5), which initiates a "word search" (Brouwer, 2003) while simultaneously directing her gaze toward Yuko. As Greer (2013) demonstrates, this set of actions publicly recognizes Yuko as also potentially able to resolve the word search, consequently revealing assumptions about her linguistic identity. In other words, because Yuko is not a resident leader, recognizing her as a potential knower of the word *meisaku* must be based on *linguistic* rather than *institutional* categorial positions.

This latter point merits a bit more examination. Because it is Wei, not Ben, who looks to Yuko to invite her to join as an answerer, we might understand this as Wei signaling that Yuko has relatively more knowledge of Japanese than she has herself. Moreover, we might be tempted to link this to Wei's cultural identity, as Wei is of Chinese heritage. If that is true, and Ben shares that understanding, then his directing a question to Wei rather than Yuko might *not* be related to his assumptions about linguistic identities and, therefore, could signal that he views Wei as a leader to whom questions ought to be directed. However, this possibility appears unlikely. Although Wei is of Chinese heritage, she was born and raised in Japan, she claims Japanese as a first language, and other residents would occasionally refer to her as a "native

speaker." Even more relevant to this interaction, because Wei used the word *meisaku* ("masterpiece") initially, she has publicly demonstrated knowledge of it already. As such, it seems as likely that Ben would direct his question to her for that reason as because of Wei's a priori institutional role. Second, although Wei does look to Yuko, Yuko never provides an answer. Instead, she defers to Wei, who proffers *subarashii sakuhin* ("wonderful work") as an answer (line 5). Yuko only then follows Wei to give an added detail (line 6). Thus, the participant's understanding of Wei's social position in this instance appears to be more fundamentally related to her identity as "knower of the word *meisaku*" than as "resident leader" or even "Japanese speaker."

Indeed, although explicit formulation-generated categories are not frequently used in the data, when they are, they also implicate *linguistic* rather than *institutional* identities. For instance, in the next example, a language correction in conjunction with overt recognition of the institutional context led to a resident leader self-categorizing explicitly based on her linguistic identity.

Excerpt 4.2

```
1    D: kamera no mae ni tabeteta, (.) [hazukashii
        camera   M   front DA  was eating          embarrassing
        "It was embarrassing eating before the camera."
2    H:                    [un::
                            Yeah
        "Yeah."
3    T: mae de.
        in front of
        "In front of"
4    D: mae de? (0.4) arigatoo.
        in front of        thanks
        "In front of? Thanks."
5        (2.8)
6    H: ( )
7    D: hahahaha
8    H: kono ko wa meccha nihongo machigatteru tte
        this   kid T  very      Japanese  mistaken         QT
        "(They're) going to say this kid's Japanese is pretty bad."
9       watashi mo (.) neitibu supiikaa dakara
        I            also    native     speaker      so
10      machigatta nihongo o ha- (.) hanashitara
        mistaken      Japanese  O           if speak
11      hazukashii yo.
        embarrassing   IP
        "I'm a native speaker, so it's embarrassing if my Japanese is
        wrong."
```

Where the first example showed how "novice/expert" frameworks emerge when a learner asks a question, here, a similar framework emerges when a

learner receives unsolicited correction from a leader. Just prior to this excerpt, Diana (D), a learner, had been eating in front of the camera but slid her chair out of view. Hanako (H), a resident leader, commented on this, to which Diana explained that she was embarrassed to eat in front of the camera (line 1), incorrectly saying *mae ni* ("before"), which uses *mae* ("front") with the particle *ni*, which references a temporal location, for instance, to indicate an activity that occurred before another one. Takashi (T), another resident leader sitting next to Hanako, then corrects this to *mae de*, replacing the temporal marker *ni* with the locative marker *de* (line 3), which refers to spatial rather than temporal location. Diana accepts the correction by thanking Takashi (line 4).

As with question-answer pairs, correction-uptake pairs of this nature also occurred regularly in the data and illustrate another way in which a "novice/ expert" categorial framework may emerge. By offering a correction, one takes on the authority and knowledge to provide a correction, thereby framing the corrector as "expert" and the recipient as "novice." When the next action is acceptance of the correction, the recipient effectively endorses the framework and their own categorial position within it.

As in the prior excerpt, the fact that it happens to be a leader providing a correction to a learner makes it tempting to conclude that correction-uptake sequences like this are a product of the institutional relationships between participants. However, such a conclusion again appears unwarranted. To see this, consider that when participants in this sequence display heightened awareness of the institutional context, Hanako self-categorizes based on her *linguistic* identity. First, although the video camera was present for research purposes, residents were also informed that the research would help improve the FLH program. Thus, they tended to see the camera as an institutional presence. In this particular sequence, the presence of the camera is explicitly acknowledged by Diana (line 1). Next, following the correction, Hanako comments on her own propensity to make mistakes in Japanese. This action is done with further recognition of the institutional setting as she deploys *kono ko nihongo meccha machigatteru tte* ("They are going to say this kid's Japanese is pretty bad") (line 8). Critically, this turn is suffixed with the quotative *tte*, which is hearable as voicing those watching through the camera, i.e., institutional overseers. Additionally, *kono ko* ("this kid"), as used here, is a diminutive self-reference. Thus, this turn is a type of self-deprecating humor wherein Hanako diminishes herself by voicing a hypothetical institutional assessment of her Japanese.

Hanako's action of doing self-mockery through a negative assessment of her own Japanese ability makes relevant the obligation that she should speak (what she perceives to be) good Japanese. Given the FLH-mandated responsibilities for leaders, this obligation could predicate the institutional category of "leader," but it could also predicate the linguistic category of "expert speaker" (see Hosoda, 2006). Hanako's explicit self-categorization makes the latter of these the relevant one by linking "native speaker" to her embarrassment over making mistakes—note that the causal marker *dakara* (lines 9–11) makes this

link overt. She associates the prior obligation of "should not make mistakes in Japanese" with a linguistic rather than institutional identity.

If residents' actions are building up *institutional* categories, this would suggest a way that exogenous institutional constraints potentially impact the formation of friendships. However, if residents' actions build up *linguistic* categories, this may instead suggest that any potential friendships are in situ products of social interaction that can develop without regard to institutional structures. These two excerpts suggest that interactional activities appearing to be part of the institutional setting, i.e., correcting incorrect Japanese, are organized by categorial frameworks that are relevant *to those activities* rather than to the institution per se. While "novice/expert" frameworks may implicate institutional relationships (e.g., "leader/learner"), question and correction sequences work up categories more relevantly understood as related to linguistic identities. So, although we cannot entirely rule out the institutional position of leaders as a factor in why learners direct questions to them, the public actions of both suggest that leaders are more recognizably categorizable as "expert" on the basis of being seen as "knowledgeable of the Japanese in question" rather than by virtue of being resident leaders.

Crossing institutional category boundaries

The next set of examples further supports the preceding claim that perceived linguistic identities are more relevantly implicated by question and correction sequences than institutional categories by showing that, contrary to institutional position, leaders are also categorizable as "novice" and learners as "expert" when they perform actions that build up different sequence-generated categories. For instance, in the next excerpt, one leader asks a question in response to a correction that consequentially positions himself as "novice" in this particular instance.

Example 4.3
```
1   J: nanka kaitenzushi   de:, (0.6) dore gurai (.)
       um    conveyor belt sushi at            how much
2      iketa?
       go/do
       "So, how much could you do at a conveyor belt sushi place?"
3      (0.5)
4   B: hitori no hito ga:, (.) sanjuuyon-mai?
       one     M  person S         thirty four -plates
       "One person did thirty-four plates."
5   J: sanjuuyon-mai? (0.8) sugee
       thirty four -plates       wow
       "Thirty-four plates? Wow."
6   W: kan.
       pair
       "It's kan."
```

```
7          (0.7)
8    K:  sanjuuyon (.) nani?
         thirty-four      what   T
         "Thirty-four, what?"
9    W:  kan.
         pair
         "kan"
10   B:  like a- (.) plates?
11   J:  sara tte kan to iu  no?
         plates QT pair QT call Q   T
         "Plates are called kan?"
12   W:  >chigau chigau chigau< ano (0.6) kan tte
          no      no     no      um           pair  QT
13        (0.5) sara ichi-mai ni futattsu aru jan?
              plates one -plate  on two      have right
         "No, no, no. Um, you have two (pieces of sushi) on a plate,
          right?"
14   J:  un.
         yeah
         "Yeah."
15   W:  ik-kan
         one -pair
         "That's one kan."
16        (1.5)
17   J:  naruhodo.
         I.see
         "I see."
```

Here, Jared (J), a resident leader, is talking with Ben (B), a learner, about
times when they ate too much sushi. Here, two pieces of background informa-
tion are helpful. First, Jared is half-Japanese and was raised in America but in
a home that primarily spoke Japanese. He self-identifies as a Japanese-English
bilingual, but probably favored English as his dominant language, and pro-
ficiency measures rated him close to scores expected from an L1 speaker of
Japanese. Second, the participants here are discussing *kaitenzushi* ("conveyor
belt sushi") restaurants. *Kaitenzushi* patrons sit at a table as sushi passes by on
plates carried by a conveyor belt. Patrons take plates they find appealing and
pay accordingly, so it is common to measure how much they ate in terms of
"plates" rather than "pieces" of sushi.

In this interaction, an issue emerges regarding the correct way to linguisti-
cally quantify sushi. When Jared asks Ben how much he ate, Ben responds by
telling him about someone else who ate 34 plates of sushi. In Japanese, quan-
tifications are usually suffixed by a classifier noun, and in this case, Ben deploys
sanjuuyon-mai ("thirty-four plates") using the classifier *mai*, which references
flat objects such as plates. While Jared assesses this with *sugee* ("incredible"),
Wei, another resident leader, interjects to proffer *kan* as the correct classifier.
Kan is roughly equivalent to "pieces" of sushi, as opposed to Ben's use of

mai, by which he seems to mean "plates" of sushi. A question and correction sequence then follows in which several participants, including Jared, indicate uptake and acceptance of the correction. For instance, Ben tries to understand *kan* in terms of plates (line 10), and Jared explicitly asks Wei if *kan* references plates (line 11). Wei further explains the meaning of *kan* (lines 12–15), and Jared accepts the explanation (line 16).

The questioning by Jared, although his institutional position is resident leader, publicly documents a lack of Japanese knowledge regarding the proper way to quantify sushi in this scenario. As with other language questions and corrections, the actions of correcting and uptake build up sequence-generated categories of "expert/novice." Therefore, by offering a correction, Wei takes on an action associated with the role of "expert" and consequently takes on the authority or obligation to provide this information. Jared's next actions of recognition and uptake, in turn, predicate the category of "novice" with respect to the particular issue at hand. However, Jared is institutionally a resident leader, which, according to the institutional definition, ought to entail "language expert." Put another way, if one did not previously know the institutional positions of Jared and Wei prior to observing this interaction, one might conclude that Jared is an institutional learner (in this instance), but the fact that he is not shows that categorial frameworks are locally constructed objects that need not adhere to exogenously defined categories. What is relevant, and displayed publicly, is relative knowledge of *a particular linguistic item in this particular moment*, and therefore Jared is categorizable as "novice" for this purpose.

That Jared's and Wei's respective categorizations are local constructs is further seen when noting that Wei's definition of *kan* is itself incorrect. For instance, she seems to suggest that *kan* refers to a pair of sushi on a single plate (lines 12, 13, and 15). However, *kan* actually refers to a single piece of sushi (such that two pieces on a plate could be counted as two *kan* "pieces" rather than one plate). Furthermore, *kan* is not likely to be used as a counter at all, with most native speakers of Japanese preferring to count units at *kaitenzushi* with *sara* ("plate"). Yet, these objective linguistic truths are irrelevant to the interaction itself, as Jared and Ben both accept Wei's explanation unproblematically. This reality supports the argument that exogenous institutional positions, as well as objective concepts of language correctness, are not sufficient explanations of participants' actual understandings. In cases such as this, what matters is that participants treat each other as "expert" and "novice" vis-à-vis the issue presently at hand. This treatment need not correlate with external categories.

Not only are leaders thus potentially categorizable as "novice" in certain instances, but learners can also be categorized as "expert," as in the following.

Excerpt 4.4

```
1   C: genki?
       well
       "How are you? (lit. Are you well?)"
```

```
2    E:  eh:: (.) genki to omoimasu.
         uh        well   QT think
         "Uh, I'm well, I think."
3        (1.5)
4    K:  $to omoimasu?$
          QT think
         "You think?"
5    E:  haha
6    D:  hak- hak- (0.3) hakkiri shiranai n desu ka?
                          surely   not know  N C    Q
         "Do you not know for sure?"
                         ((looks at David while pointing hand with palm up))
7    E:  hai. (0.2) uh ^kimochi?
         yes            feeling
         "Yes. Uh, feeling?"
8    D:  hakkiri.
          surely
         "Hakkiri."
9    E:  hakkiri? (.) like directly?
         surely
         "Hakkiri? Like, (meaning) directly?"
10   D:  surely (0.8) shiranai n desu ka? (0.5)
                       not know  N D     Q
11       genki ka doo ka
         well    whether or not
         "Surely. Do you not know (for sure), whether or not you are
         well?"
12   E:  ah:.
         "Ah."
```

This sequence begins when Christina (C), a learner, asks Erik (E) how he is doing (line 1). As Erik had just entered the room, Christina's question is hearable as a routine phatic greeting. Erik, however, does not respond routinely, instead saying that he thinks he is just okay (line 2), deploying *to omoimasu* ("I think"), which indicates epistemic uncertainty. That Erik's response is understood as unexpected is then seen when Kaitlyn (K), also a learner, repeats *to omoimasu* with a laugh (line 4), and David (D), another learner, asks if he doesn't "clearly know" (line 6).

In his turn, David uses *hakkiri* ("clearly" or "certainly"), which Erik apparently does not recognize, triggering a questioning sequence. First, Erik gives an affirmative response, but after a short pause deploys *kimochi* ("feeling") with rising intonation hearable as a "try mark" (Psathas, 1995; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) that seeks confirmation or affirmation (line 7). He simultaneously looks at David and holds his hand toward him in a gesture that is recognizable as nominating David to provide confirmation. David responds by restating *hakkiri* (line 8), which Erik repeats again with try-marking and a potential English equivalent (line 9). David then corrects Erik's suggestion by proffering his

own English equivalent integrated into the syntactic position of *hakkiri* in his original Japanese turn (line 10), followed by an expansion (line 11). In this way, David's turn is hearable as providing the correct definition of *hakkiri*, which Erik accepts with a display of uptake (line 12).

This sequence thus proceeds sequentially as a question and correction: David produced a term unknown to Erik, Erik tried an English equivalent and sought confirmation, and David corrected it to a different term, which Erik accepts. Thus, by initiating a try-marked potential solution, Erik proposes a "novice/expert" framework, which David ratifies by providing the sought-after information. Yet, David, who is here categorizable as the "expert," is not *institutionally* a leader, so therefore his publicly recognized incumbency in an "expert" category is local and with respect to the word *hakkiri* as used in this instance.

Indeed, even labels that explicitly implicate institutional positions are likewise local constructs and may, therefore, be applied in ways incongruent with the institution. For instance, several minutes after the sequence in Excerpt 4.4, another potential act of correction led to David being overtly categorized as *sensei* ("teacher").

Excerpt 4.5
```
1    C:  watashi wa shinu kana?
         me       T  die    Q
         "I think I'll die."
2    D:  eh nani? (0.2) [shinu?
         huh what        die
         "Huh, what? Die?"
3    C:                 [haha
4    D:  iya shinanai yo. (0.8) zettai shinimasen.
         no  will not die IP    definitely will not die
         "No, you won't die. You definitely won't die."
5    K:  ja. (0.2) nan to ieba ii  no? (.) sensei.
         well      what QT say  good Q        teacher
         "Well, what should (she/we) say, teacher?"
6    D:  etto (1.2) sensei janai yo.
         uh         teacher not   IP
         "Uh, I'm not a teacher."
7    K:  senpai.
         upper classmate
         "Upper classmate."
```

Just prior to this extract, Christina (C), a learner, was complaining about stress related to an upcoming exam, emphasizing this by hyperbolically saying she thought she would die (line 1). David reacts to her use of *shinu* ("die") with *eh nani?* ("huh, what?"), suggesting an affective stance of surprise, and then indicating *shinu* ("die") as the word that triggered this affective response (line 2). He then grammatically negates *shinu* (line 4). This sequence of actions is

hearable as a disagreement with Christina's use of *shinu*. Kaitlyn (K), another learner, then joins the interaction to ask how Christina's initial turn should have been said (line 5), deploying the formulation-generated category *sensei* ("teacher"). David responds to this categorization by rejecting it (line 6), to which Kaitlyn alters the category from *sensei* ("teacher") to *senpai* ("senior classmate") (line 7).

Now, David's negation of *shinu* does not appear to be a rejection of it as incorrect Japanese but rather, as an over-exaggeration of Christina's situation. This is because he deploys a grammatical negation of *shinu* by suffixing it directly with the negative marker *nai* to produce "you won't die" (line 4) as opposed to some other construction that indicates a language problem (such as, say, "you shouldn't say 'die'"). That is, he negates the prospect of dying, not the use of the word itself. However, Kaitlyn's responding question asks what should be said instead of using "die," which suggests a linguistic question, especially as she then associates this with the category *sensei* ("teacher"). Kaitlyn's actions here, therefore, position David as having the needed expertise to answer her question. Then, even when David attempts to reject this positioning, her reformulation of his categorial incumbency as *senpai* ("senior classmate") maintains a "novice/expert" framework.

It is worth noting that the categorization of *senpai*, rather than *sensei*, is objectively aligned with institutional positions: David had resided in the FLH program longer than Kaitlyn and Christina. However, beyond designating "leaders" and "learners," the institution does not endow any particular responsibilities or obligations on residents based on seniority. Thus, Kaitlyn's explicit invoking of seniority appears to not reflect institutional organizations as much as it is hearable as justifying David's ability to answer her question: he previously rejected *shinu* and thus demonstrated ostensible knowledge of what should be said, and Kaitlyn points this out by invoking a categorial label.

Thus, where the first set of excerpts shows that relationships are formed around local action rather than external institutional structures, this second set shows that residents are even categorizable in ways that are contrary to institutional positions, further suggesting that relationships are local rather than institutional products. A final set of examples similarly illustrates that potential "novice/expert" institutional frameworks may be rejected entirely in favor of pursuing actions oriented toward local interpersonal relationships.

Prioritizing relational actions

Much of the prior work on multilingual interaction suggests that interactions occurring in learning-focused institutional settings (e.g., classrooms or study-abroad programs) involve explicit attention to language-related concerns and, consequently, to linguistic identities (e.g., Kasper & Kim, 2015; Richards, 2006). However, in unstructured social settings, participants often ignore language trouble when it does not impact intersubjective understanding (Firth, 1996; Kurhila, 2004). In the learning-plus-social environment of the FLH,

residents are concerned with linguistic "correctness" as a consequence of institutional requirements, but yet may similarly ignore language trouble for social reasons. One way this occurs is through the use of English, as illustrated in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 4.6

```
                              ((shifts gaze toward Wei))
1   R:  karifonia no:: (0.4) ^like (0.5) hontooni
        California    M                        really
        "Like, in California … it's really …"
2       (1.0)
3   J:  [huh?
4   W:  [eh?
         huh
        "Huh?"
5   R:  karifonia-shuu no (.) like roads
        California        M
6       and infrastructures (.) they're always super
7       crowded. (0.3) nihongo de nan to iu no?
                       Japanese  in what QT say Q
        "Like, the roads and infrastructures in California, they're
        always super crowded. How do you say it in Japanese?"
8   W:  ah demo daijoobu da yo (0.3) aggressive ni
        ah  but  okay    C  IP                      D
9       unten-shitara daijoobu da yo.
        drive-if           okay     C  IP
        "Ah, but it's okay. If you drive aggressively, it's okay."
```

Here, Rebekah (R), a learner, was telling a narrative about driving in the state of California. During this narrative, she encountered trouble trying to formulate a turn in Japanese, marked by hesitations and the English word "like" (line 1). She also shifts her gaze to Wei (W), a resident leader, as learners often did when encountering trouble or questions (see Excerpt 4.1). After a pause, she then switches to English to complete the turn (lines 5–7), subsequently reverting back to Japanese to ask how to say her prior English turn in Japanese (line 7).

Rebekah's question in line 7, like those seen in earlier excerpts, is the first part of a question-answer adjacency pair that proposes a novice-expert categorial framework. Additionally, as Greer (2013) shows, when encountering trouble during narratives in a second language, participants will use their first language to specify what they intend to say, deploying gaze to pick out participants who can help, thereby publicly exposing their assumptions about the linguistic identity or perceived expertise of others. This is what Rebekah does, which effectively categorizes Wei as one with the necessary knowledge to provide the required Japanese.

However, in contrast to the leader's response in earlier examples (e.g., Excerpt 4.1), Wei does not answer Rebekah's question. Instead, she reacts to the narrative by offering driving advice (lines 8–9). Moreover, in this advice, she also uses the English "aggressive" rather than Japanese. Thus, she ignores Rebakah's linguistic question and instead orients to the ongoing social activity of narrative telling. In this way, the participants thus establish the narrative context as an activity in which social interaction is prioritized over the institutional goal of language learning (see also Moody & Tsuchiya, 2020).

Comparing Excerpts 4.1 and 4.6, then, shows that when presented with a potential novice-expert categorial framework, leaders have choices in their response. By responding with an answer, they follow actions that build up a "novice/expert" framework as part of an institutional activity, but by ignoring the question, they instead constitute the activity as a social one. Put another way, Rebekah's narrative-plus-question works to make two sequence-generated categorial frameworks potentially relevant: "novice/expert" and "participants in a narrative." Wei then selects the framework in which to deploy her response.

Another way that residents emphasize social actions over institutional obligations is through the activity of language play. Language play is another well-known phenomenon wherein participants intentionally manipulate linguistic structures in ways that are not "correct" but have humorous effects (e.g., Bell, 2005; Bushnell, 2009). Language play was also commonly observed in the FLH data, as in the following (see also Moody & Tsuchiya, 2020).

Excerpt 4.7
```
1    B:  demo kekkon-suru:: (1.0) kekkon-shi- (.)
         but   marriage                 marriage
                ((turns gaze toward J))
2        >nanka< ^(nan daroo)
          um         what  C
         "But marriage, um, what is it?"
3    J:  >nan daroo nan daroo<
          what C      what C
                                         ((points hand ahead))
4        kekkon-suru michi o, (0.4) ^ayumu=
         marriage     road   O           walk
         "What is it? What is it? Walk the path to marriage."
5    B:  =ayumu
          walk
         "Walk."
6        (6.2)
7    B:  kekkon-doo
         marriage-way
         "The Way of Marriage"
8    J:  hahahahaha $kekkon-doo$ haha
                     marriage-way
         "The Way of Marriage"
```

In this interaction, Ben (B), a learner, and Jared (J), a resident leader, were collaboratively and facetiously offering marriage advice to other participants. Excerpt 4.7 begins toward the end of this conversation as Ben attempted to summarize their advice as "the path to marriage." However, Ben fails to produce this in Japanese (line 1) and asks Jared for help (line 2). Jared responds by proffering *kekkon-suru michi o ayumu*, "walk the road to marriage" (line 4). As with Rebekah in the prior example, Ben encounters trouble and initiates a question-answer pair to invite a leader to help. Jared, in turn, may then endorse the implied "novice/expert" positioning by answering or may continue to pursue the ongoing social activity of "giving playful advice." In this case, Jared provides an answer to the language question.

However, instead of accepting the answer, Ben responds by proposing an alternative solution, *kekkon-doo*. This term appends the suffix *doo* ("road/path/way") to the noun *kekkon* ("marriage") to produce something akin to "the way of marriage." Although using *doo* as a suffix in this way is common for traditional cultural practices and values such as *ken-doo* ("way of the sword"), a form of Japanese martial arts, and *bushi-doo* ("way of the warrior"), the samurai code of ethics, the *doo* suffix is not used with *kekkon* ("marriage") in standard Japanese. Thus, Ben's production of *kekkon-doo* is a form of language play, and Jared appears to understand it this way by laughing and repeating it rather than correcting it.

As noted earlier, language questions may be resolved with a sequential pattern that involves 1) a question, 2) an answer to that question, and 3) an indication of uptake (Seedhouse, 2005), and builds up a potential "novice/expert" categorial framework. In Excerpt 4.6, this framework is rendered irrelevant by the recipient of the question when Wei takes an action that orients to the ongoing narrative. In Excerpt 4.7, the recipient, Jared, does answer the question and thus endorse the "novice/expert" positioning, but Ben then renders it no longer relevant by engaging in language play. Then, Jared's joining the play rather than correcting it furthers the original activity of "giving playful advice" rather than engaging in a language-learning activity. In this way, language play sequences illustrate another possible way that participants may prioritize social activities over institutional obligations, consequently relegating institutional categorial frameworks to a subordinate position to social ones.

This is not to say that social actions are done without influence from the institutional setting. For instance, following another sequence of language play, participants explicitly labeled the play as "bad."

Excerpt 4.8
```
1    W:  dame da.
         bad  C
         "It's bad."
2    B:  dame na nihongo o tsukacchatta
         bad   M  Japanese  O used
         "We used bad Japanese."
```

```
3   W: dame na tsu:- (.) nihongo tsukatte
       bad  M              Japanese  use
       "We used bad Japanese."
4   A: shokuji de wa
       mealtime  at  T
       "During mealtime."
5   W: sumimasen deshita.
       sorry        C
       "I'm sorry"
6      (1.0)
7   W: demo, kore nanka tanoshii yo ne.
       but   this  kind of fun        IP  IP
       "But this is kind of fun, huh?"
```

Prior to this example, several residents had engaged in a sequence of language play (see Moody & Tsuchiya, 2020 for the full sequence). Following that sequence, Wei (W) assessed it as *dame* ("bad") (line 1). Ben (B) then expands this to specifically specify the Japanese they used as the target of assessment (line 2). Wei apologizes for it (line 5), although this is followed by a second assessment of the activity as "fun" (lines 7–8).

This series of "bad but fun" assessments works to retroactively reframe the prior play as something that falls outside the bounds of institutional obligations but which is allowable as a social activity. FLH institutional categories ("leader" and "learner") entail certain obligations to focus on speaking and learning correct Japanese. Language play, however, involves intentional manipulation of grammatical structures in ways that are recognized by participants as incorrect. Thus, the "bad" assessment shows an understanding of categorial obligations corresponding to institutional roles, even while the co-occurring assessment of "fun" seems to predicate social identities instead. For instance, "friends" or "roommates" are categories that might be understood as entailing actions related to "having fun" or "joking around." Thus, the "bad but fun" assessment implicates the hybrid nature of the FLH setting and displays an understanding of the simultaneous relevance of institutional and social categories that residents occupy.

It is noteworthy that activities in which institutional categories or obligations are bypassed are largely those of narrative telling and language play—activities in which interpersonal bonding is particularly salient. In this sense, as participants orient more toward social relationships, it appears that institutional positions become less consequential or more easily ignored.

Concluding discussion: Leaders or friends?

The three sets of examples analyzed here collectively illustrate that actions which may ostensibly reflect institutional positions via "novice/expert" relationships are more relevantly oriented toward local activities. Through this examination, the study suggests that interpersonal relationships, including

friendships, are built and maintained locally through the activities participants are immediately engaged in, more than being products of institutional organizations. I now turn to a brief concluding discussion of what these categorization practices might tell us about the navigation of social relationships vis-à-vis the particular FLH institutional structure in which the interactions are situated.

The FLH designates "leaders" and "learners," and further endows leaders with the right and obligation to monitor and correct learners' Japanese. As such, we might expect these institutional relationships to influence how participants interact with each other and, consequently, how they form and maintain friendships. The first set of examples (Excerpts 4.1 and 4.2) shows how the interactional activities of questioning and correcting build up potential "novice/expert" categorizations. Then, because those institutionally designated as "leaders" become incumbents of the category of "expert," such actions appear to interactionally reproduce the institutional hierarchy (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). If true, such an observation might then lead to the conclusion that resident leaders are treated as superiors, and this, in turn, may impact how other learners interact with, and therefore form relationships with, leaders.

However, as the first set of examples further shows, the sequence-generated category of "experts" is more relevantly understood by participants as predicating linguistic identities such as "native speaker" or "Japanese expert" than institutional roles. Thus, the "novice/expert" framework is related to the question or correction at hand. This point is further illustrated by considering that in the second set of examples (Excerpts 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5), resident leaders are categorizable as "novice" when they lack information to resolve a given issue, and likewise, learners are categorizable as "experts" when they are perceived as having knowledge that another participant does not—usually because they demonstrated such knowledge prior in the interaction or possibly over multiple interactions. As such categorial positionings run contrary to the pre-established FLH organizational structure, we can conclude that, again, social relationships between residents as a whole are understood based on immediately relevant action rather than external constraints. Then, the final set of examples (Excerpts 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8) show that actions potentially making institutional "novice/expert" frameworks relevant may also be rendered irrelevant when participants prioritize ongoing social activities such as narratives and language play, where social bonding is especially salient.

While it is not possible, as an empirical matter, to definitively conclude whether or not resident leaders are considered "friends" by other learners, the fleeting and institutionally irrelevant nature of actions that build up "novice/expert" categorial frameworks suggests that even within institutional constraints, residents tend to orient to the immediacy of social interaction. This is consistent with studies of social interaction in other multilingual contexts (e.g., Firth, 2009). That is, even institutional activities such as language corrections are actually engaged in based on local contingencies and perceptions of relative epistemic access to a question at hand, and do not

necessarily occur in accordance with institutional mandates. So, while leaders are institutionally designated in a position of power, residents ultimately interact with them based on the needs of the local activities in which they are engaged. Indeed, social actors placed in *any* situation will tend to manage relationships as interpersonal rather than institutional. Thus, the formation and maintenance of friendships are local achievements, not institutional ones.

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5 Voicing the belonging

Joking practices with deviant Japanese among international students at a Japanese university

Ayumi Inouchi

Introduction

"*Waa, ano futari warui nee! Ano futari nikkensei danee!* [Wow, those two are so bad! They are so *nikkensei*!]," Jorge[1] screamed to Laura and Gana when they crossed the road where there was no crossing sign. When I started field-work among a group of 12 international students, all of whom were referred to as *nikkensei* after the name of their scholarship, I often encountered such commentaries on their own behaviors. When they drank dozens of beers at *izakaya* bars, when they openly told dirty jokes, and most particularly, when they performed jokes which feature uses of Japanese that deviate from its normative usage, they proudly exclaimed that this is how *nikkensei* behave.

When I asked about their joking practices, they explained that this is what they called "*nikkensei* jokes" (*nikkensei jooku*), and what makes their group distinctive. The resources for the joking are Japanese words or phrases that grammatically or pragmatically deviate from normative use, such as slang, impolite expressions, as well as grammatically incorrect sentences understood as "non-native." They described those resources as "rude," "weird," and "bad words" that had previously come up in their conversations. Every time they found someone's use of Japanese hilarious, they explicitly stockpiled those words and phrases for future resources for joking by yelling to each other, "Let's make this our language, let's make this *nikkensei*'s language!" Why do they laugh at each other by using specific linguistic elements of Japanese? What is the "*nikkensei*" that they refer to, which seems to be something beyond a mere institutional category? What kind of social meanings do these practices have for their lives in Japan? How might these joking practices contribute to the formation of their groupness and belonging?

By exploring ethnographic and discursive data of joking practices with deviant Japanese among international students learning Japanese, this chapter aims to illuminate dynamics of human friendship that emerge within language and its ideologies. Drawing on the Bakhtinian concept of voicing, I examine how the participants' mobilization of various Japanese linguistic resources allows them to invoke multiple stereotyped images of people circulating in Japanese language education and Japanese society. The analysis will illustrate how their

voicing and subsequent co-alignments contrastively entextualize and configure participants' own positioning and belonging in Japanese society. It further reveals that their negotiation of positioning with the Japanese language is inevitably embedded in and also contributes to recirculating dominant ideologies about Japan, the Japanese, and the Japanese language. Yet, the result highlights how in using Japanese as a lingua franca, they transformed their language of learning into "our language," the very site where their own culture and belonging emerged. The overall purpose is to shed light on a critical role of language in use, wherein human relationships are enacted in the very midst of engagement, rather than as a priori conditions prefabricated elsewhere.

Background: International students in Japan

First, let me begin with a brief overview of the social context in which international students in Japan are situated. Due to Japanese government policies targeting a greater expansion of the number of international students since 1987, the number of international students studying in Japan has increased dramatically over the past three decades. In 2019, right before the COVID-19 pandemic happened, more than 30,000 international students had been studying at Japanese higher education institutions (JASSO, 2020).

While university students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds in Japan are becoming more diverse, marginalization and difficulties in building friendships with regularly enrolled so-called "Japanese" students, who are assumed to have been raised in Japan and are ethno-nationally and culturally monolithic, have continuously been reported as crucial issues that international students face in their student life in Japan (Yokota, 1991; Oonishi, 2016). Shao-Kobayashi (2017) reports that international and exchange students are institutionally and spatially separated from "Japanese" students on campus due to the different educational programs they belong to, which reinforces blanket labeling and stereotyping toward each other and feelings of otherness among international students.

However, international students are not only spatially alienated from the rest of the university; their status as Japanese language learners also makes them linguistically peripheral in Japanese society. Aspects of Japanese language education have reproduced this ideological boundary between "Japanese" and "foreign others" who are inept in Japanese language and culture. Scholars have recognized that language teaching is a social activity that reproduces specific views and ideologies of language, especially serving to maintain ethno-national identity by formulating the learners as "foreign others" (e.g., Pennycook, 1994). As has been critically revealed in multiple fields of linguistics and discourse studies, there is a persistent idealization of the "native speaker" as the standard for learning in the academics and practices of language education. There, learners are positioned as "imperfect speakers" on the straightforward track toward the imaginary and ever-elusive goal of "native speaker" (Firth & Wagner, 1997). In the context of Japanese language education, the "idealized

Japanese" who is a native speaker of a homogeneous "imaginary normalized Japanese language" (Kubota, 2014: 21) is implicitly set as a goal for the "deficient learners" (see also Doerr, 2009; Sato & Doerr, 2014; Houghton et al., 2018). It is naturalized, unquestioned, and invisible that the right to determine the "correctness" of Japanese is never on the side of the learners, and that their Japanese language use is always subject to monitoring and correction by Japanese people (Miyo & Chung, 2006). Such native-speakerism has led to marginalization of Japanese learners, who are distinguished from idealized native Japanese speakers as forever outsiders to the Japanese language and thus, Japanese society (Heinrich, 2021).

Critical studies of Japanese language education have called for a rethinking of dominant ideologies around the Japanese language and pedagogical practices, yet even these critiques tend to emphasize Japanese language learners as oppressed, passive beings. Most studies are based on interviews with individuals, and there are still few studies that depict how these ideologies operate in everyday interactions and how learners themselves negotiate their positioning agentively using their linguistic resources, including Japanese (Hatori, 2009). Although the studies analyzing actual learner interactions have been accumulating in the past decade, their main focus is still on the interactions and relationship building between Japanese language learners and Japanese people. The aspect of relationship and community emerging in the very midst of using Japanese as a lingua franca among learners from diverse countries who do not share a common language has always been overlooked. Taking a discourse-centered approach to the culture of linguistic anthropology (Sherzer, 1987), the present study explores the international students' linguistic practice using various Japanese language elements, and its social meanings embedded in their everyday lives. Particularly in this analysis, I will focus on how their linguistic performances elicit multiple images of personhood circulating in Japanese language education and society, and then illustrate how they negotiate their own positioning and establish their belonging within the language they learn.

Theoretical framework: Voicing of figures

The Bakhtin-originated concept of voice is useful for understanding how language gets linked to socially shared ideas about people. Voicing is rooted in Bakhtin's idea that to speak is always to take on the voices of others (1981), which thus acknowledges that to speak is to invoke various types of persons. Agha (2005) developed this idea to articulate that voices are not essential attributes of persons but socially characterized personas, or figures of personhood who get linked to performable signs through the semiotic process of voicing that invoke them. In our daily interaction, speakers evoke various figures by mobilizing a range of semiotic resources attributed to types of persons. Although Agha coined the term "figure of personhood" as a broader concept of voice to extend its scope to the case of nonlinguistic semiosis, the notions of figures and voicing are quite overlapping. Following Reyes (2016),

I use "voicing" to refer to the process of invoking figures by assigning identifiable qualities through speech, and "figures" to call the recognizable types of personhoods that are being voiced in interactions for my analysis of discursive data in this present chapter.

As Reyes (2016) emphasizes, note that figures of personhood (or what she also calls stereotypes) have less to do with real, flesh-and-blood individuals than with ideas about people. Those are the images of typified groupings, which mediate and direct our interpretation of recognizable signs that we identify in encounters with others. Voices are not static facts but rather, require constant typification and thus may change through discursive processes by which such figures can be evaluated and valorized.

Importantly, voicing necessitates contrasts and role alignments (Agha, 2005). No figure can be distinct unless it is contrasted with other competing figures in the surrounding text structure. In other words, the identifiability of figures presupposes voicing contrasts, or the contrastive individuation of one voice against another. For example, the self-assertive and annoying "Westernized" Japanese figure returned from studying abroad only becomes recognizable when contrasted with other juxtaposed figures, such as the popular imagination of "typical" Japanese as indirect and humble, in a specific interactional context. At the same time, when interactants encounter a voice in interaction, they are motivated to position themselves relative to the evoked figure by expressing their orientation, or stance toward the figure, such as disgust, contempt, sympathy, or assimilation. Such displays of congruence/noncongruence to a figure across interactional turns are role alignments. Since interactional co-alignment with other participants, such as laughing together or taking the same evaluative stance on the object, generates bonding among the interlocutors (Ide & Hata, 2020), voicing and the subsequential alignments of people across interactional turns serve the important focal points to study where social positioning and friendship dynamically emerge.

Drawing upon these theoretical notions, I analyze how international students' mobilization of various Japanese language features within interactional settings invoked multiple figures that were meaningful in their everyday life in Japan. In doing so, I illustrate how, amid the unbalanced power relations embedded in Japanese language education and thus, Japanese society, they negotiate their positioning and configure their belonging in the very midst of using their language of learning through joking. The analysis also reveals how their performances of voices engaged them in the recirculation of figures and dominant ideologies regarding Japan, the Japanese, and the Japanese language.

Fieldwork, participants, data

The data derive from ethnographic fieldwork with a group of 12 exchange students at a national university in suburban Tokyo. The students were all participants in an exchange program with a year-long scholarship from the

Japanese government for the 2017–2018 academic year. They referred to themselves as *nikkensei* after the abbreviation of the name of their scholarship, *nihongo-nihonbunka kenshuu ryuugakusei* (Japanese studies students).[2] The group was comprised of seven females and five males in their twenties, three each from Brazil and Mongolia, two from Vietnam, and one each from Russia, Cambodia, China, and South Korea. All were majoring in Japanese language and culture at their home universities and had been certified to have intermediate-high to advanced levels of Japanese proficiency. They came to Japan at the same time of the year, lived in the same on-campus dormitory, took most of the same required courses, frequently gathered for meals after classes and on the members' birthdays, and thus, shared much of their exchange life and built close relationships.

Although Japanese was the medium of instruction in classrooms and a lingua franca of their daily communication, outside the classroom they often selectively used specific Japanese words and expressions which they themselves understood to deviate grammatically and/or pragmatically from the general normative usage of Japanese and thus evaluated as "bad words," as mentioned in the beginning. Before the study, I was serving as a writing tutor for one of them. In a conversation with her, I became interested in their language practices, leading to the start of my fieldwork. I attended one of their required courses as an auditing student and slowly approached each of them over time and tried to build a relationship with them, which eventually made my participation in their daily lives possible. The study, combining participant-observation, semi-structured interviews with each member, and audio/video recordings of interactions, was carried out from April to September 2018. Besides the audio/video recordings of their interaction at restaurants, bars, and karaoke boxes outside the university, to obtain fine-quality audio/video recordings, I arranged "classroom snack parties" in which four to five *nikkensei* students were invited to a classroom with audio/video recorders set in at a time to chat freely over prepared snacks. Follow-up interviews with some members via online chats on social media were also conducted in 2020.

Analysis: Figures in the *nikkensei* jokes

As a result of examining and classifying the *nikkensei* jokes observed in the data, three figures circulating in the context of Japanese society, and particularly of Japanese language education, were observed: (1) incompetent learners of Japanese, (2) overtly polite and distant Japanese as in textbooks, and (3) actual Japanese who use non-standard Japanese speech. The following sections closely examine excerpts of *nikkensei* jokes as well as their metapragmatic explanations about the local meanings associated with each linguistic resource.[3] I will discuss how the linguistic performance of *nikkensei* jokes engaged in voicing three identifiable figures meaningful to their life in Japan, and the contrastive positioning of themselves relative to those figures.

Figure of incompetent learner of Japanese

The "incompetent learner of Japanese" figure was being voiced by the inten-
tional usage of forms of speech understood as "non-native." Excerpt 5.1 is
from the interview with Eva, explaining several examples of *nikkensei* jokes
around this part (A in the transcript is the researcher). Beginning with "Yes
yes yes! There are a lot of jokes using incorrect Japanese," she started report-
ing on when several *nikkensei* students, including Eva, were having lunch in
the school cafeteria and found one of their Japanese professors sitting nearby.
They discussed in whispers how to talk to her, and a phrase Eva proposed as a
greeting to the professor caused bursts of laughter.

Excerpt 5.1
```
1    E:  sousousou! kono nihongo wo- >nanka<
         yes yes yes    this  Japanese  O   like
         "Yes yes yes! We have a lot of this kind of jokes, like,
2        machigatteru nihongo wo tsukatteru jooku
         incorrect           Japanese  O  using          jokes
         jokes using incorrect Japanese language."
3        ippai arimasu
         a lot of    being-H
((3 lines omitted))
7    E:  konomae no akigakki no koto da kedo:
         last       M  fall term  M  event  CP  but
         "It was in the last fall term."
8    A:  un
         hm
9    E:  syokudoo de, nikkense- hoka no nikkensei to
         cafeteria   C  nikkensei     other M  nikkensei    with
         "I went to eat in the cafeteria with other nikkensei students,
10       shokuji ni ittara sensei ga ita
         eating     DA  went    professor  S   being
         and there was one of our professors."
11   A:  n::
         uh-huh
         "Uh-huh."
12   E:  soshite sensei, maa tooku kara mitara
         and       professor  well distant from  when.see
         "And, well, we saw the professor from a distance
13       aa nanka, aa dou ieba ii  kana tte minna
         ah like     ah  how if.say good  Q     QT  everyone
         and all discussed how we should talk to her
14       hanashiatte soshite a:dareka- a watashi haha
         discussed        and          ah who  Q   ah me
         and ah, who was that? Oh, it was me, haha.
15       watashi ittano wa n: a:
         I            said  N  TP  hm  ah
         What I said was, hm, ah,
```

16   sensei, nani kutte irasshaimasu ka? hahahah
          professor   what   chow   being-H   Q
          'Professor, what are you chowing down on?' hahahaha"

What is laughed at here is the use of *kutte*, a vulgar or colloquial form of the verb *taberu* ("to eat"), which appears with the honorific *irasshai masu ka*. Japanese honorifics, *keigo*, include grammatically encoded polite forms, vocabularies, and terms of address for self and others. These are expressions of deference and/or formality toward the addressee or referent, and thus most basically index social hierarchal relationships in interactional contexts (Okamoto, 1999). A Japanese speaker is normatively and conventionally expected to use honorifics as signals of deference toward superiors. At school, students are generally expected to address their teachers politely using honorific forms. Hence, her hypothetical use of a vulgar verb here to the professor is quite impolite and socially inappropriate. Yet, their laughter suggests Eva's utterance is a joke that is understood as a deviant way to speak toward a professor.

Eva explained this as a joke of "pretending to be an incompetent learner of Japanese" in the interview. That is, by the incorrect use of honorifics in this scene, she mocks the figure of a poor learner who tries hard to speak properly but ends up speaking rudely to the professor because of her lack of Japanese proficiency. This performance presents the figure of the "incompetent Japanese learner" in this interaction. Mocking is a social act of attributing negative value to a mocked object, typically through some form of mimicry (Chun, 2009). In a temporary embodiment of the voice of the mocked target, the mocker's voice structurally merges with it yet arises implicitly distinct and superior. It thus typically derogates the mocked speakers while simultaneously elevating the persona of those who do the mocking (Hill, 1998; Chun, 2009). Therefore, by voicing "incompetent learner" through mockery and subsequently aligning through laughing together, they differentiate themselves, who are also Japanese learners, as more "competent learners," and place themselves in a superior position. This positioning of them as upper-level learners of Japanese is also revealed in her metapragmatic interpretation in the interview. When I asked her with whom they can tell this kind of joke, she declared that the "level" is crucial to play with the "rules" of the Japanese language.

Excerpts 5.2

1   E: maa reberu ga hikui nara, tsuujinai desune.
          Kono, ruuru wo ijiru tame ni, mazu ruuru wo
          oboenakereba naranaindesune. Dakara nanka
          kutte irassyaru to iigachi na hito ni
          ¥tsuujinai desu ne¥
          "Well, if your (Japanese proficiency) level is low, you can't get
          the jokes. To mess with the rules (of Japanese language), you
          must remember those first. So, you can't tell the joke to
          someone who tends to say 'kutte irassyaru.'"

```
2    A: seikai dato omocchau kara?
        "Because they'd assume it's correct?"
3    E: soo soo soo soo soo!
        "Yes yes yes yes yes!"
4    A: jya nikkensei nara zettai tsuujiru tte-=
        "And, you think that nikkenseis would definitely understand-"
5    E: =un minna reberu takai kara. Ippai ijitte ii
        "Yes, because everyone's level is high. (We) can mess around
        (with Japanese) a lot.
```

However, the voicing of the "incompetent learner of Japanese" figure contrastively invokes another shadowy figure into the scene—the "Japanese" figure as an evaluator of the learner's Japanese. Although they didn't explicitly mention it, the reason why the unintentional use of vulgar expression by the incapable learner can be funny to them here assumes that the addressee of the utterance, the Japanese professor, will "correctly" understand the language as deviant and therefore be baffled. Upon understanding this misuse, this professor might correct, or tolerantly overlook, this innocent (though actually quite intentional) rudeness of the poor learner. However, the professor's qualification and entitlement to the right to evaluate the learner's Japanese is never in question. Here, I argue, emerges the figure of the "Japanese as native speakers," implicitly shared by the participants, as those who are assigned a right to judge the learner's Japanese usage. From here, it is shown that the coupled figures of "Japanese learners" and "Japanese as native speakers," which have been pointed out to be inherent in Japanese language education, are in play in the daily interaction of learners.

However, in this scene, they are not just ridiculing the "incompetent learner" assimilating with "Japanese" as an authority. Rather, what they are accomplishing by this act is making fun of the professor, although hypothetically, by pretending to be a learner who cannot use honorifics well and speaks rudely with no intention. Thus, they are differentiating themselves from the figure of "Japanese as native speakers" here, too. But in countering the authority of a Japanese faculty member, they are in fact engaging in undermining the status of other learners, thus reproducing the dichotomy of learners as imperfect speakers and Japanese as evaluators. A similar pattern of *nikkensei* jokes in which they pretend to be foreigners with low Japanese proficiency by intentional misuse of Japanese in a way that simultaneously makes fun of the Japanese addressee was reported by several other *nikkensei* students. The voicing of the "incompetent learner" by using Japanese forms considered non-native, however, positions *nikkensei* students between "incompetent learners" and "Japanese as native speakers," only on the racetrack embedded in Japanese language education—a Japanese language ability competition where somehow "Japanese" alone are exempted from joining and are beyond the finish line from the beginning. The voicing of the "incompetent learner of Japanese" figure thus contributes to the recirculation of native-speakerism by othering learners who lack Japanese language ability in Japanese society. Their positioning through the voicing of "incompetent learner" is depicted in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 The positioning of *nikkensei* through the voicing of "incompetent learner of Japanese"

Figure of polite and distant Japanese

At the same time, some of the *nikkensei* jokes more actively voice this "idealized Japanese" figure, mainly drawing on Japanese honorifics. By differentiating themselves from the "Japanese language of Japanese people," which is given as a goal to the learners, they detach themselves from their positioning as learners in Japanese language education and actively enact the intimate "*nikkensei*" groupness.

Excerpt 5.3 is an interaction between Laura, Mai, Thao, and Jenna at a classroom snack party. In line 1, Laura, who arrived late to the classroom, asked the other three *De, nani shabetteta? Watashi ga kuru mae ni* ("So, what were you talking about before I came?)." Jenna and Thao reply that they were just eating snacks, but Mai suddenly attempts a playful confrontation in line 7.

Excerpt 5.3

```
1    L:  de(.)nani shabetteta? watashi ga kuru mae  ni
         So   what talking.were   I       S   come before DA
         "So what were you talking about before I came?"
2    J:  a[::  shokuji suru haha
         ah    eating   do
         "Ah, we were eating, haha."
3    T:  [ma:  tabeta bakariyo [tabeta no bakari
         well  ate    just   IP  ate     N  just
         "Well (we) just ate. Just ate."
4    L:  [shokuji sita
          Eating   did
          "You ate."
5    T:  so:
         right
         "Right."
6    J:  shokuji no koto=
         eating    M  N
         "(We talked) about eating."
7    M:  =waruguchi shita
         abuse        did
         "(We) said bad things about you."
8    L:  >soo desu ka<
         so   C    IP
         "I see."
```

```
9    M:  un(.) ^Laura san=
         yes            suffix-H
                 ((^smirks at Laura))
         "Yes, Ms. Laura."
10   L:  =UHHAHAHAHAHA!
11   T:  AHAHAHAHA
12   M:  [^nanka(.) ijime  no yatsu ga ne
         like           bullying M  N     S   IP
         ((^smiling to Jenna))
         "(This is) something about bullying."
13   L:  [Laura, [<san>
         "Ms. Laura."
14   T:              [^↑san!=
         ((^seeing face to face with Laura and matching the timing of utterance))
                    "Ms.!"
15   J:  =AHAHAHAHAHAhahaha  san san
         "ahahahahahahahahaha Ms. Ms."
16   L:  san san [@yamete yoo sugoi-@
         Ms.  Ms.     CA-stop  IP    very
         "Ms. Ms. Stop it, this is very-"
17   M:  [hahahahaha[hahahahahaha
18   T:  [kore wa suggoi hidoi yo!
          this   T  very     bad    IP
         "This is very bad!"
```

Mai, with a stony face, looks down and mumbles that they "said bad things about" Laura (line 7). Without showing surprise, Laura responds with the same serious face turned to Mai to say, *Soo desu ka* ("I see"), shifting to a polite style with sentence final honorifics *-desu* (line 8). Mai, who heard this response, calls out Laura's name with the honorific address term *-san* (line 9). As soon as she says that, looking up at Laura and raising the corners of her lips with a sly grin, Laura bursts into laughter. Thao also joins in the laughter, and while Mai tries to explain the joke to Jenna, she and Laura smile and look at each other, synchronizing their breathing while repeating *-san* loudly in unison. Jenna also starts laughing and repeats *-san* twice, and so does Laura again. At last, Mai begins laughing as well, and the laughter becomes further amplified after Thao shouts, *Kore wa suggoi hidoi yo!* ("This is very bad!")

In this interaction, Mai's pseudo-confrontational utterance contextualizes the play framing (Bateson, 1972), which is cooperatively built up by Laura's and Mai's style shifts to honorifics. Still, it is the use of the honorific suffix *-san* that crucially triggered the laughter here. The poetic recurrence of *-san*, repeated in overlapping voices while looking at each other and manipulating timing and prosody, generates phatic resonance among them and cooperative alignment that highlights and objectifies *-san* as laughable.[4]

-San is the most common honorific suffix attached to a person's name for addressing someone in Japanese society, where last name and suffix use

are dominant, contrary to many Western cultures, where the first name is predominant. As *-san* indicates a certain degree of respect and can be used regardless of age, gender, or the social position of an addressee, it is the most unmarked, standard, as well as the safe, go-to form used across multiple settings in Japan (Moody, 2018). Although dropping *-san* can index more familiar relationships, it is not so rare to observe *-san* even between friends or colleagues. In the previous section, I raised hierarchical relationships as one of the indexes of Japanese honorifics. Another index of Japanese honorifics is the non-intimate/outgroup relationship among interlocutors (Okamoto, 1999). The use of honorifics brings a lack of closeness/familiarity into interaction, as it indexes interpersonal distance. Thus, the use of *-san* among *nikkensei* students, who were close enough to call each other by their first names, created virtual interpersonal distance, effectively culminating in the play framing.

However, it may be said that the joke of creating distance through a style shift to the honorific form is not limited to *nikkensei* but is a commonly observable phenomenon. Yet, if the style shift itself were just funny here, would the word *-san* be exaggeratedly singled out and laughed at this much? What does *-san* mean to them? In a follow-up interview via online chat, Mai explained this joke as follows.

Excerpt 5.4
M: shitashii tomodachi dattakara hutsuu niwa namae
    dake[de] yobu kedo / Nihonjin ppoi teineina
    hanashikata wo mane shite / sonnani shitashiku
    nai koto wo joodan ni shitayo."
    "Though I usually call them just by their first names as we are close
    friends / I mimicked the polite way of speaking like Japanese
    people / and made a joke about not being so close."

That is, their use of *-san* was a mimicry and thus, a mockery of the "polite way of speaking like Japanese people." For *nikkensei* students, who call each other by their first names, the use of *-san* was associated with the image of polite Japanese, who tend to address them with honorific address terms. In other words, here they are not merely utilizing *-san* as a resource for play framing with its general index of unfamiliarity, but also mockingly voicing a figure of overtly polite, distant Japanese.

As many previous studies have pointed out, Japanese honorifics have deep ideological ties to essentialized Japanese-ness. In scholarly and folk theories of Japanese national character (*nihonjinron*), as well as in popular worldwide imaginations about Japan, Japanese polite language and its elaborateness have long been taken as evidence of the uniqueness and virtue of the Japanese, who are extraordinarily oriented to status asymmetries, politeness, and consideration to others (Yamashita, 2001; Shibamoto-Smith & Cook, 2011; Miller, 2015). The appropriate use of honorifics is considered an essential skill to be a full-fledged

member of Japanese society even today, as notably manifested in the formalized instructions on how to use *keigo* as part of the business etiquette training for young employees of Japanese companies (Dunn, 2011). Such ties between honorifics and idealized visions of Japanese people play a role in Japanese language education as well. In classrooms, it has been a common practice to ask learners to address each other with *-san*, and to introduce verbs in the polite form (*-desu/-masu* forms) first, so that the learners can fit into Japanese society while avoiding being rude and disadvantaged. In textbooks, instructions about honorifics and Japanese politeness implicitly characterize Japanese people as selfless, reliable, compassionate, and modest, and expect learners to aspire to these traits (Heinrich, 2005). On the other hand, the mystification of the complicatedness of *keigo* has led people to set different expectations and standards for the use of honorifics of learners than they do for the Japanese. It consequently makes the teaching and using of *keigo* an arena for the othering of Japanese language learners and other foreigners in various settings in Japan, from classrooms and workplaces to mainstream mass media (Maeda, 2002; Moody, 2014; Takeuchi, 2021). In short, *keigo* has been the language most subjected to ideological pressure to attribute Japanese-ness to it. As a result, honorifics become a domain in which the ideological division of Japanese and non-Japanese is especially salient.

I argue that among *nikkensei*, the use of *-san* evoked this historically activated and maintained figure of "idealized Japanese," polite and humble normative speakers of the Japanese language. But in their *nikkensei* joke, they mocked this voice and thereby elevated their persona above this figure. Through the alignments of laughing at and evaluating the voice as "bad" and "bullying" language, they othered the "idealized Japanese" to be aspired to. And, they position themselves in contrast to this figure and textualize their own groupness, that is, casual, friendly, intimate "us": the *nikkensei*. This voicing let them go off their assigned racetrack between the dichotomy of learners as imperfect learners and Japanese people as idealized native speakers in language learning, as illustrated in Figure 5.2.

Figure of "actual" Japanese

Although an image of Japanese as a group who speak homogeneous, standardized Japanese is pervasive, speech styles in actual Japanese are, unsurprisingly, quite diverse (Kubota, 2014). Many of the *nikkensei* students were highly aware and interested in this diversity of Japanese speech styles and picked up various forms of colloquial Japanese or slang by eavesdropping on the chatter of others around them. Lastly, I explore a *nikkensei* joke that incorporates the speech styles considered as youth vernacular and reveal their voicing of another kind of "Japanese" figure distinct from the "idealized Japanese," and their positioning toward it.

Here, I discuss the use of *-ssu* style, a colloquial abbreviation of the standard copula verb *-desu* and the polite verb suffix *-masu*. One day, *nikkensei* students and I went to a restaurant to have dinner. At a long wooden table, I was in the
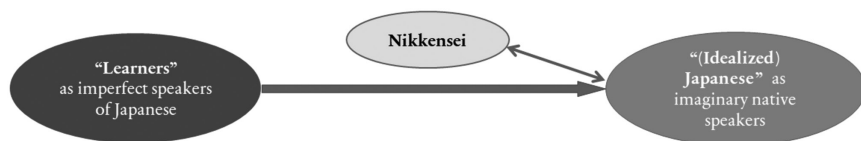
Figure 5.2 The positioning of *nikkensei* through the voicing of "idealized Japanese as a native speaker"

corner seat next to Wei. Laura was in front of me, and next to her was Eva. When people started calculating the bill after eating, Eva realized that she had forgotten to bring her wallet. Shortly after Laura offered to pay for her, Eva thanked Laura by saying *azassu*, a shortened form of *arigatou gozaimasu* ("thank you very much") with the final suffix -*ssu*, which caused laughter among them.

```
  Excerpt 5.5
1    E:  azassu
         thanks CP
         "Thanks."
2    L:  AHAHAHAHAHAHAHA
3    W:  hahahahahaha
4    L:  ^azassu
         ((^smiling to Eva))
         "Thanks."
5    W:  ^azassu
         ((^griming at Laura))
         "Thanks."
6    E:  azassu(.) maji yabai ssu(.) daijobu ssu
                    really cool  CP    alright   CP
         "Thanks. You're really cool. It's alright."
7    L:  ((plops down on the table and laughs hard voicelessly))
```

As soon as Eva said *azassu*, laughter erupted around them. Laura turned her smile to Eva and repeated *azassu*, and so did Wei with a grin. When Eva smirked and further rhythmically continued *azassu. maji yabaissu. daijoobussu*, Laura also laughed hard with her head down on the table while banging her hand on it. Their exchanges seem to go beyond expressing gratitude and are exchanged only to utter -*ssu*.

-*Ssu* form has been observed notably among young male college students since around the 1990s, and is now widely spread as non-standard, youth vernacular to display friendly politeness substituting the normative honorifics of standard Japanese (Nakamura, 2020). Yet, of course, -*ssu* is not a funny and laughable expression by itself. Why, then, is it understood as joking for the *nikkensei*? To understand this, let us examine their metapragmatic interpretation of this. The following is an excerpt from the interview with Arban, who often used -*ssu* as a joke.

Excerpts 5.6

```
A:   tatoeba maji yabaissu toka wa gaikokujin wa
     amari tsukawanai noni, watashitachi wa tada
     nihonjin mitaini(.) jyoodan toshite soo ittari
     shimasune
```
*"Foreigners don't really use 'really cool-ssu,' for example, but we
say so, just like Japanese people, as a joke."*

Here, we can see that *-ssu* was associated with the way of speaking "just like Japanese people" among them. But, the explanation of the use of *-ssu* as speaking "like Japanese people" is the same as the explanation of *-san* in the previous section. Are they the same "Japanese"? The emergent youth vernacular *-ssu* is that of Japanese excluded from the standard Japanese and not taught in classrooms, but actually used widely by people in practice. Therefore, I argue that the use of *-ssu* voices the "actual Japanese" that they eavesdrop on in Japan who use a greater variety of Japanese, which is different from the figure of an "idealized Japanese" who is a native speaker of a homogeneous "imaginary normalized Japanese language" (Kubota, 2014: 21). By saying "actual Japanese" here, I am not saying that there are genuine, real Japanese people. Rather, it is another figure of personhood they enact and typify through their voicing, presumably facilitated by their lack of interaction with the "Japanese" students on campus (Shao-Kobayashi, 2017). It also embodies the essentialized tie between the Japanese language and Japanese people and its value. Such language appears to have value in that it is a more real "Japanese language of the Japanese people" that is inaccessible in the context of Japanese language education. In the comment "foreigners don't usually say," we can see that they delineate themselves from other foreigners, presumably including other learners of their home countries who have not experienced living in Japan as they have. By using varieties of Japanese inaccessible in learning settings, or what Arban refers to as speaking "just like Japanese people," they position themselves as superior to other foreigners or learners in terms of their knowledge and performability of the more genuine, authentic "Japanese language of the Japanese people," which is different from their scale of competence in Japanese language education.

At the same time, however, what is interesting here is that he says they speak like Japanese "as a joke." This suggests that despite their incorporation of the speech associated with "actual Japanese," they are distancing themselves from that figure, too. The careful observation of the interactional data leads us to think that they are not necessarily speaking truly "like Japanese." Recall Excerpt 5.4 to see how they actually used *-ssu* in interaction. The overt use of *-ssu* at the end of every single sentence in this example is at variance with the general use of *-ssu*. Indeed, *-ssu* of *nikkensei* jokes can be understood as a mockery that parodically mimics how to speak "just like Japanese people."

In sum, *nikkensei* jokes featuring non-standard varieties of Japanese, such as youth vernacular, voice the figure of "actual Japanese" who use diverse
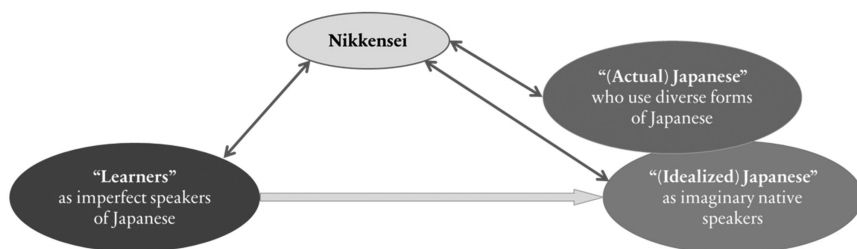
Figure 5.3 The positioning of *nikkensei* through the voicing of "actual Japanese"

variations of Japanese. By differentiating themselves from other foreigners/ learners by using such inaccessible variation in Japanese language education, on the one hand, they contribute to recirculating the legitimacy and value of the "Japanese language of Japanese people." But on the other hand, they also disassociate themselves from the "actual Japanese" figure in voicing—they sought not to be "Japanese" in using the Japanese language. Through cooperative alignments in which they mocked and laughed at the "actual Japanese" figure, they created an elaborate positioning of *nikkensei* who were distant from both "idealized Japanese" in Japanese language education as well as "actual Japanese" who use a variety of language patterns. This complex positioning of *nikkensei* is illustrated in Figure 5.3.

Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has explored the social meanings of joking practices with deviant Japanese language among international students who have been studying at a Japanese university. In analyzing the voices performed in their joking practices, dominant ideologies bound to the Japanese language and its education were revealed. Under the native-speakerism that takes Japanese people as legitimate speakers of Japanese, they are alienated from the Japanese language. While they are expected to speak like (idealized) Japanese, they are also kept away from speaking like (actual) Japanese. Yet, the analysis also shed light on their artful positioning vis-à-vis these uneven power relationships. First, the "incompetent learners of Japanese" figure was voiced by the intentional usage of forms of speech understood as "non-native." By mobilizing "incorrect" expressions, they mocked the figure of a learner who tries hard to speak fluently but ends up speaking rudely due to his/her lack of Japanese language ability. This performance positions them as more advanced learners of Japanese. However, this voicing implicitly contributes to the recirculation of the persistent native-speakerism regarding Japanese people as the legitimate evaluators of the learner's Japanese use. Second, an honorific address term was brought in to create a pseudo-confrontation as play in the interaction, while simultaneously mimicking the widely circulated figure of the typical "Japanese" figure being overly polite and distant. I argued that this is also the figure of "idealized Japanese"

that has been targeted for them in the context of Japanese language education. By mocking this figure, they contrastively disassociate themselves from the lineal racetrack of language ability, which aims to be able to speak Japanese like an idealized native speaker. Third, the incorporation of youth variants of Japanese deviating from standardized Japanese voiced the figure of "actual Japanese" who use diverse language variants, unlike the imaginary "idealized Japanese" in Japanese language education. This voicing places them above other foreigners/learners by incorporating inaccessible variants of Japanese in the classroom they encountered while studying abroad and demonstrating their authentic knowledge of the "real" Japanese language of Japanese people. On the other hand, by over-performing and mocking the voice, they also separate themselves from the "actual Japanese" figure. Thus, their joking practices position them in a complex milieu in Japanese society and Japanese language education, as neither just foreigners nor Japanese people.

These conventionalized voicing and subsequent cooperative alignments with each other resulted in creating their distinct groupness. In the repetition of joking, they gradually attached each Japanese word or phrase they stocked as a resource for future joking with their groupness, with explicit labeling of them as "*nikkensei* jokes" or "our language." In other words, through the joking practices, they were engaging in the entextualization and emblematization (Agha, 2007) of the particular use of Japanese, and thus reflexively in the configuring of their own figure of "*nikkensei*," which embodies their unique social persona and belonging for their lives in Japan. This ethnographic investigation highlights the critical role of language in use, wherein human relationships dynamically emerge and are established in relation to the inherent power relations simultaneously enacted within those relationships.

There have been numerous critical examinations of native-speakerism in Japanese language education and the essential connection between the Japanese and the Japanese language. Proposals have been made to decouple learning, using, and mastering the Japanese language from "becoming Japanese," and to encourage learners to be legitimate users of the language who construct their Japanese-speaking selves using a diverse repertoire of Japanese (e.g., Takeuchi, 2020; 2021. This chapter responds to such calls but also takes a closer look at actual everyday interactions of learners of Japanese, which have tended to be overlooked, showing them as active social actors and users of language, transforming the Japanese language into their own language.

The performance of *nikkensei* jokes was the very site in which their positioning and belonging as a group of international students in Japan was negotiated and enacted. Their joking is neither a language that can be evaluated in the context of Japanese language education as proficiency nor a language that can be used as is in other communities. However, the *nikkensei* jokes that emerged from playing within the Japanese language created a community that some of them described as "like a family," which deeply supported their student lives in Japan. Indeed, "our language" is where friendship resides.

Acknowledgement

Notes

1 All the personal names of *nikkensei* students are pseudonyms.
2 Nihongo-nihonbunka kenshuu ryuugakusei (Japanese studies students) are undergraduate international students who are to "study for a period of one year at designated Japanese universities in order to deepen their understanding of the Japanese language, Japanese affairs and Japanese culture" (MEXT, 2017: 1). Application qualification includes having majored in fields related to the Japanese language or Japanese culture at a home university, studied Japanese studies for one year or more total, as well as Japanese language proficiency sufficient for receiving higher education in Japanese.
3 With the permission of the original publishers, this paper contains conversation excerpts that have been analyzed within different theoretical frameworks in Inouchi (2022).
4 The indexical-iconization of linguistic and other behavioral acts through repetition and intertextual congruence, as well as the micro-level resonance of people's speech and voices, is deeply involved in the emergence of the social persona of *nikkensei* and the ritualization of *nikkensei* jokes as its emblem, but this chapter does not deal with these aspects in depth due to the limitations of space. For more detailed discussions on their practices as speech plays and interactional rituals, see Inouchi (2022).

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6 Pointing out shared commonalities

An investigation into pointing-initiated affiliative sequences as interactional co-displays of friendship

Drew Spain

Introduction

Since the age of Cicero and perhaps before, friendship has been at least partially associated with "harmony in tastes, pursuits, and sentiments" (Caine, 2014: xi). So, it is hardly a surprise that centuries later, social scientists seeking to study friendship would find appeal in the similarity hypothesis, or the hypothesis that friends are more likely to be similar than non-friends and that is part of the underlying attraction between them (Rawlins, 1981; Bukowski et al., 2009). Support for this hypothesis, however, has not been definitive, with some studies showing a correlation in some areas (Izard, 1960; Rubin et al., 2006) and others suggesting empirical support is weak at best (Izard, 1963; Rubin et al., 1994; Hamm, 2000). Bukowski et al. (2009), acknowledging this, propose that perceived similarity between friends is likely both a consequence and an antecedent of mutual responsivity and coordination in interaction.

This chapter takes up a viewpoint more closely in line with this idea. Rather than place emphasis on a priori similarities determined through a researcher's essentializing lens, we instead ask how friends formulate and orient to similarity within interaction. In other words, we view friendships as "emergent ties with their own properties rather than as the consequence of the individual attributes each actor brings to the interaction" (Adams & Allan, 1998: 2), and similarity as an emergent construct that is mutable and constantly undergoing renegotiation within ever-changing contexts.

To investigate one way in which individuals "do" similarity as friendship, we look at the site of friendship in action—interaction—from an ethnomethodological and multimodal perspective. Specifically, this study examines multiparty sequences of three to four interlocutors in which individuals use pointing to invite a reciprocal display of mutual affiliation from another member, thereby demonstrating to each other and others that they share some special quality relevant to the interaction, or, in other words, that they are bonded via a jointly constructed similarity.

In the following section, we present a brief overview of modern research locating friendship in communication and interaction, and turn an eye toward affiliation's role in its achievement therein.

Friendship in communication

Much early research on friendship focused on correlates and antecedents, and subjective methodologies such as questionnaires and separate interviews contributed to a lack of real insight into the actual formation, maintenance, and dissolution of friendships, leading scholars such as Rawlins (1981) to move increasingly toward locating friendship within communication and interaction. This more modern view of friendship treats it as a dynamic process and an "incessant achievement" (Rawlins, 1992: 7), one that occurs over a succession of interactions (Rawlins, 1981, 1991; Hinde, 1995; Adams & Allan, 1998; Bukowski et al., 2009).

Rawlins (1991) argues that, more so than relationships with rigidly defined normative features such as familial ties or business partnerships, friendship "fundamentally derives [its existence and persistence] from how the friends communicate and the extent to which their treatment of each other is mutually edifying" (p. 101). One branch of friendship research has attempted to describe the defining features of this communication by contrasting interactions between friends and non-friends. Notable findings, as laid out by Bukowski et al. (2009), include the following: friends exhibit higher "reciprocity," or the tendency to act in similar fashion, either in concert or in succession (Hinde, 1979); friends show increased coordinated positive affect and cooperation (Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995; Foot et al., 1977); and friends demonstrate more mutual laughter and coordinated activity during tasks (Newcomb & Brady, 1982).

These studies make a case for the importance of coordination and mutual affiliation to interaction between friends. But although they provide this valuable insight, as research not conducted from an ethnomethodological perspective, they nevertheless fail to describe concretely how friends do friendship in the minutiae of interaction. Ethnomethodological research conducted explicitly on friendship remains scant; however, the following studies each testify both to the efficacy of such a perspective and to the possibilities of further research illuminating friendship practices. They also offer us a closer look at the actual practices by which friends affiliate with each other.

In Imada's (2015) longitudinal study of friendship development between international and Japanese students, for example, subjects achieved affiliation through the construction and deployment of recyclable shared membership categories during teasing and self-deprecation–compliment sequences. They did so as part of an ongoing effort to protect their friends' face and share information, ways of thinking, and feelings with each other, in what Imada points to as important practices that contribute to the formation and maintenance of friendships.

Other ethnomethodological studies forgo a longitudinal approach in favor of focusing on ways of doing friendship in the moment. Wong (2021), for example, looks at what she terms "micro-moments of creation and connection" (p. 24) during trouble-telling stories between L1 and L2 speakers of English, in which friendship is enacted by aligning to the interactional project and affiliating when doing so becomes relevant. Similarly, Bushnell (2020) looks at moments of "micro-bonding" between L1 and L2 speakers of Japanese, defined as fleeting co-displays of mutual affiliation. Interactants used laughter to display to each other positive affective stance, mutual affiliation, and joint alignment to interactional frames and deviant behavior in instances of bonding, which, Bushnell argues, when taken together over time, could be conceived of as displays of friendship. These two studies provide important examples of affiliation's role in the moment-to-moment accomplishment of friendship.

Bateman (2012) and Chasin and Radtke (2013) observe friendship practices through a wider lens that includes the presence of a third party in addition to the friendship dyads at their center, offering us a look at friendship practices performed in opposition to an excluded party. Bateman (2012) analyzes interaction between children playing and identifies their usage of the collective pro-term "we" to identify themselves as an exclusive dyad or, alternatively, to break the exclusivity of a dyad open and gain entry. They use "we" to make displays of affiliation observable and demonstrably relevant to those present, effectively announcing themselves as friends. Chasin and Radtke (2013) conducted joint interviews with friend dyads and explored what they term "friendship moments," or moments where friends draw on locally shared resources such as prior experiences or knowledge and address each other directly to affiliate. These moments were oriented to as exclusive between the friend dyad, in opposition to the non-friend interviewer. Chasin and Radtke also noted that friendship moments are marked by a personal stake in affirming each other's perspectives, and that friendship displays such as these are variable and relational according to context.

A common thread of affiliation, and in particular mutual affiliation that highlights friends' togetherness, runs through the studies summarized here. This chapter attempts to add to these studies and shed light on one systematic interactional practice used by interlocutors to mutually affiliate in a marked and visible manner. We consider these moments of mutual affiliation over the sharedness of some status—whether as holders of the same opinion or epistemic status regarding an interest—as displays of friendship designed for each other and outsiders.

Extra-lingual semiotic resources and affiliation

Before jumping into our main analysis, it is pertinent to formally define affiliation and review a few studies that focus on the contribution of extra-lingual semiotic resources to coordinated and mutually affiliative practices.

Often defined alongside alignment, a concept that refers to participants' cooperation at the structural level of interaction in which they may further the activity or sequence at hand, match the formal design preference of an action, or accept proposed interactional roles and presuppositions, affiliation is cooperation at the affective level (Steensig, 2019; Stivers, 2008; Lindström & Sorjonen, 2013). Interlocutors affiliate with each other by displaying empathy, performing actions in line with the prior action's preference, such as accepting a proposed invitation, etc., and matching, supporting, and endorsing another speaker's stance (Steensig, 2019). Affiliation has been described as prosocial in that, unlike alignment, it is not omnirelevant and is produced primarily as a response to another's affective stance (Stivers et al., 2011; Lindström & Sorjonen, 2013; Steensig, 2019). For this reason, affiliative practices become ways in which people "[show] that [they] are 'with' someone" while also "mitigating threats to social solidarity" (Lindström & Sorjonen, 2013: 368). In other words, it is easy to see how, as the ethnomethodological studies on friendship described previously attest, affiliation might be intimately linked to doing friendship.

Interlocutors employ a wide variety of verbal and non-verbal resources when producing affiliative responses. But while research on verbal affiliation strategies remains the most numerous, non-verbal and extra-semiotic resources also contribute greatly to affiliative practices (Lindström & Sorjonen, 2013).

For instance, Lerner (2002) explores the role of prosody as an affiliative resource in utterances produced in tandem with another speaker. The practice of choral co-production, in which interlocutors share a turn slot and match each other both verbally and prosodically, shows great coordination among speakers. It is a maximally affiliative way of demonstrating agreement and establishing co-ownership of an experience while concomitantly demonstrating togetherness, or shared entitlement to speak. Here, we will explore one other such way in which participants "come together" over their shared entitlement to some idea, including one example that itself generates an occasion for choral co-production.

This chapter, however, places its focus on the contribution not of prosody but of embodied resources—in particular, gesture and pointing—to the interactional achievement of mutual affiliation. Both Lerner (2002) and Joh (2018) discuss the phenomenon of gestural matching, in which two participants perform the same gesture synchronously by observing each other's projected movements within contexts where both response via gesture and conjoined participation are relevant, although the latter provides a more in-depth exploration. Like choral co-production, gestural matching allows participants to display the shared nature of their knowledge and understanding of each other and contributes to constructing solidarity within interaction (Joh, 2018).

Although the gestures Lerner (2002) and Joh (2018) treat consist mainly of spontaneous gestures, as opposed to the instances of pointing that are the subject of this study, Joh (2018) describes one example of participants pointing at each other simultaneously upon the nearly concurrent successful

completion of a word search in a show of affiliation characterizing the success of the word search as a joint accomplishment. This differs from the alternating and overlapping practice of pointing that accompanies sequences of reciprocal agreement to be explored within this chapter, but nevertheless offers us a look at the potential for embodied gesture to play a main role in performing mutual affiliation.

Finally, although not necessarily mutual, an affiliative function of pointing specifically related to our analysis is its ability to characterize agreement, already an affiliative action, as particularly strong. Sugiura's (2011, 2013) multimodal analysis of pointing in multi-party conversation shows that, even when the verbal content of a response does not indicate a strong degree of agreement, its production together with an instance of pointing at the speaker of the prior utterance makes publicly available its intensity.

Following from Sugiura, and in line with the studies referenced earlier that touch on mutual affiliation performed in part via extra-lingual semiotic resources, this chapter examines the usage of pointing as a resource for affiliation in conversations between three or more participants. It also answers Lindström and Sorjonen's (2013) call for both more analysis of how resources such as gaze, gesture, and body orientation interact with affiliation, and more research on affiliation within larger groups as opposed to between dyads.

Method

The current study employs multimodal conversation analysis to describe the moment-to-moment actions carried out by conversational participants within interaction. In keeping with an ethnomethodological viewpoint, it considers participants' actions from an emic standpoint, or one that prioritizes the participants' own interpretations of what is happening as shown through their own understandings made visible in the talk (Sacks et al., 1974). In addition, it values participants' actions on both sides of the traditionally formulated roles of speaker and listener, acknowledging that talk-in-interaction is, at all times, the joint accomplishment of two or more participants (see Goodwin, 2000, for example).

Within this framework, gestures are treated as one of an array of semiotic resources that work together to produce meaning (Yasui & Sugiura, 2019). Moreover, because the production of gestures depends on input from recipients, such as gaze, they are understood to be a joint action between producer and recipient. As necessary in the analysis, we will refer to the following gestural phases, following Kendon (1972, 1980, 2004): resting at home position (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002), preparation (movement of the relevant body part(s) into position to perform the gesture), stroke (the climactic, or main, movement), and recovery, which is a return to home position.

The particular gesture implicated in our analysis is pointing, defined as using some part of the body, typically the pointer finger, or an object, to draw recipients' attention toward some target (Clark, 2003; Kita, 2003; Kendon, 2004;

Mondada, 2007). Although it is a deictic gesture, or a gesture that refers to something specific in context, its interactional functions are not limited to connecting verbal ideas with persons, places, or things in the immediate environment (see Yasui & Sugiura, 2019, for a review). We will see later in this chapter how participants use pointing to produce a combination of multiple effects for the purpose of displaying themselves as a unit on the basis of some shared quality.

Data

The conversational data presented in this study were chosen based on its participant makeup; all data contain at least three active participants in an effort to explore both how pointing is used within multi-party conversation and how participants might display that they are "with" each other.

The excerpts analyzed in the first section following come from the Sakura corpus made available through TalkBank (MacWhinney, 2000), and each features a set of four Japanese university students speaking in Japanese. The students were instructed to begin conversation on the topic of preferences in romantic partner but were allowed to drift away from it naturally. In the first set of data, participants consisted of two girls and two boys. The second set of data features four boys. Students knew each other from their classes, and several of the students were friends.

The excerpt analyzed in the following section is taken from data the author collected personally from a Tokyo sharehouse where Japanese and foreign residents live together. The data were recorded during a typical yet spontaneous gathering in the lounge; residents came and went freely. The participants who are the focus of the data are a L1 Japanese speaker, an American L2 Japanese speaker, and an Australian L2 Japanese speaker. They are speaking in Japanese.

All data were transcribed using conversation analysis conventions (Jefferson, 2004) and includes English translations.

Analysis

The following analysis will explore multi-party data in which speakers use pointing to advance sequences dedicated to performing mutual agreement in a marked and public manner. The first section, which analyzes L1 Japanese data, will show that these mutually affiliative sequences are made relevant in contexts where displaying solidarity facilitates some interactional agenda. In the second section, data between L1 and L2 Japanese speakers discussing a shared interest will be considered in order to emphasize that marked displays of mutual affiliation, here over a subject requiring specific epistemic access, may simultaneously function as a tool to highlight a pair's exclusivity.

"Exactly!": Displaying social solidarity through mutually affiliative sequences

Excerpt 6.1a shows part of a conversation between a group of four Japanese university students (A and B are female; C and D are male) discussing their

preferences regarding a romantic partner. It is part of a larger sequence in which one of the male students, C, has posed a question to one of the female students, A, designed to tease her. Further context follows the transcript.

Excerpt 6.1a

```
1    A:  ↑otoosan yori toshue deatta koto ga nai kara
         father    than  older    met   N  S exist- NG CA
2        wakannai      naa
         understand-NG  IP
         "I haven't met anyone older than my father so I don't know."
3    D:  fu:n
         hm
4    C:  a:
         oh
5    A:  [nanka-
          like
          ((looks at A))
6    B:  [^>sono hito ga miryokuteki dattara< nansai
           that person S  appealing       PO        how old
7        demo kan[kee nai yo ne.
         but   relation exist-NG IP  IP
         "So long as the person is appealing it doesn't matter their age."
8    A:  [soo  soo  soo  soo
          right right right right
          "Right right right right."
9    C:  [a: nanka maa [iru yo ne, [nanka
          oh like  well  exist IP IP     like
          "Oh, well I guess there are people like that, aren't there."
10   B:            [un      [a sono toshi
                    yeah      oh that  age
11       dattanda: betsuni demo suki da shi: mitaina
             C      particularly-NG but  like C because  QT
         "'Oh, they were that old? But it doesn't matter because I like
         them anyway.' Like that."
           ((raises arm))   ((points at B))
12   A:  un^ (.) SOO^ DA YO,
         yeah    right  C  IP
         "Yeah. That's exactly it!"
         ((points at A))
13   B:  ^(aa naccha(h)un daroo) (hh) [ne
           that   become   PO            IP
         "It would probably end up that way, wouldn't it?"
         ((points at B))
14   A:  [^SOO
         right
         "Exactly!"
         ((points at A))
15   B:  ^NE [hhh
         IP
```

> *"Right!"*
> ((points at B))
> 16   A: [^SOO
>   right
> *"Exactly!"*

Before the preceding excerpt, A had been talking about her boss at her part-time job in the food industry and how his technique with the frying pan was *kakkoii* ("cool"). Extrapolating from his prior knowledge that her boss is much older in age and tying it back to the larger context of the discussion about dating, C then asked her, with the teasing implication that she finds her boss attractive, what her upper limit for a partner's age would be. Despite displaying some resistance to the question, A eventually answers, although she insists that her way of thinking does not conform to the expectations C has laid out that her opinion might be *kyooretsu* ("extreme"). She tells C, as well as the other participants, that she has no theoretical upper limit for age, and that if she fell in love with someone then that would be it. C reacts to this with exaggerated surprise and poses her a further inquiry: what if the man in question was even older than her father?

Excerpt 6.1a begins immediately after this second question, which was in part designed as a vehicle to continue C's teasing of A and advance his characterization of her opinions as *kyooretsu*. In her utterance in lines 1–2, A answers that she hasn't met anyone older than her father, so she can't know for sure, a response that, in leaving open the possibility that such a thing might still happen, is in line with the stance she has displayed up to this point, that a large age gap in a relationship is not particularly transgressive. D and C make minimally responsive receipt tokens in lines 3–4. It is at this point that B, addressing A via gaze, reformulates A's statement from earlier in the talk that liking someone is a larger concern than whatever their age may be. She turns back to both boys near the end of her utterance, potentially nominating one of them to provide a response. A affirms that B's interpretation of her stance is correct by repeating the agreement token *soo* ("right") a total of four times (line 8).

Following B's reformulation and the momentary display of solidarity between A and B, C downgrades his prior stance that anyone who would consider a large age gap has extreme views (line 9). B then begins another utterance in lines 10–11 that reformulates A's stance yet again, this time employing prosody and the quotation marker *mitaina* to perform the inner thoughts of a woman unaware and uncaring of her older partner's age. A splits her reaction to B's utterance into two parts. First, facing C, she produces an *un* ("yeah"), which endorses B's utterance and does so in a way directed at C. Second, she turns to B and points in her direction in time with an emphatic *soo da yo* ("Yeah. That's exactly it!").

Pointing here has several effects that contribute to the construction of the repetitive sequence following it in lines 12–16. Perhaps most obviously, it makes overtly visible a shift in the participation frame from one that included
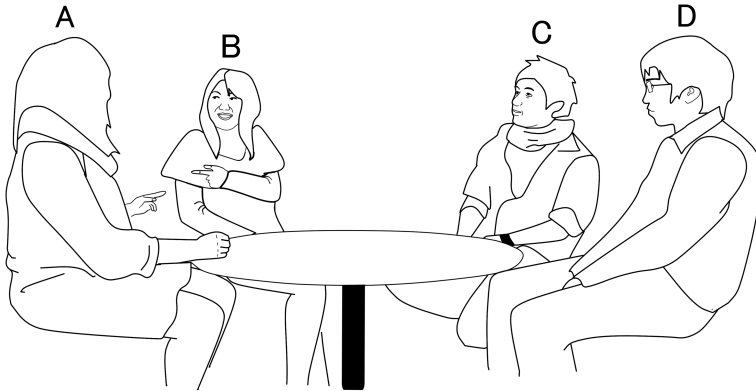
Figure 6.1 A and B point at each other

all four participants to a much narrower frame between A and B, which is ratified in turn by B's returning point (Figure 6.1; see also Nishizaka, 1992; Yasui, 2019). In addition to this and its contribution to the strength of A's agreement (Sugiura, 2011, 2013), the act of pointing at B retroactively characterizes her prior utterance as one that taps into A's own epistemic authority regarding her stance (Yasui, 2019). In other words, A acknowledges B's lines 10–11 utterance not only as one contributing to her side of the debate, but as one that shows B understands and shares her stance. Finally, one more effect of pairing her line 12 agreement with pointing is the creation of an interactional slot in which B is invited to respond and build upon their shared agreement.

When B points back at A in line 13 and produces an utterance soliciting further agreement, she does exactly this. Moreover, the production of this agreement facilitates a sort of echo effect: In lines 14–16, A and B take turns repeating the agreement tokens *soo* and *ne* ("right"), a particle that indicates an affective common ground between speaker and addressee and solicits their involvement (Cook, 1990), together with alternating instances of pointing at one another. During this extended sequence of agreement, C and D remain quiet, orienting to the exclusivity of the participation frame.

The sequence of mutual agreement and affiliation closes when both A and B return their pointing gestures to home position and reorient their bodies to face C and D, but its effects linger, which can be seen in Excerpt 6.1b, a continuation of 6.1a.

Excerpt 6.1b
```
1   C: nenree wa kankee nai to.=
          age    T  relation exist-NG QT
         "Exactly!"
2   A: =kankee [na:i
          relation   exist-NG
         "Exactly!"
```

```
3    B:  [kankee nai.
          relation  exist-NG
         "Exactly!"
4    C:  e- ja: sono >isee ni      motomeru jooken<
          IP  then that   opposite sex DA   wish for   requirement
5        toshite:, (0.3) nenree [wa nai      [to
           as                   age     T  exist-NG   QT
         "Exactly!"
6    A:  [nenree wa [nai
          age       T    exist-NG
         "Exactly!"
7    B:  [nenree
          age
8        wa nai
         T  exist-NG
         "Exactly!"
```

In the above excerpt, C addresses A and B as an association (Lerner, 1993; Kangasharju, 1996; Gordon, 2003) in confirming their joint thesis. In turn, A and B exhibit the features of choral co-production (Lerner, 2002), aligning themselves with C's action by responding in concert as a team (lines 2–3). We can observe this happening once more as C produces a more explicitly summative formulation of A and B's thesis in lines 4–5, to which they answer once again in near unison.

As this makes clear, the mutually affiliative sequence launched and sustained by pointing, in concert with other semiotic resources, that took place in Excerpt 6.1a's lines 12–16 accomplished at least two things: 1) participants A and B made it visible to each other and others that they share a mutually aligned affective stance regarding the age of prospective partners, and 2) the sequence bound them together as an interactional association in a much more visible way than merely mutually elaborating each other would have. In other words, the momentary narrowing of participation frame in which their solidarity over an opinion and their togetherness as a unit were brought to the fore of the interaction in opposition to a third party functions as a co-display of friendship.

This same type of mutually affiliative sequence in which pointing plays a key role can be seen in our second set of data, whose context is both similar and dissimilar to that of Excerpts 6.1a and 6.1b. Excerpts 6.2a and 6.2b feature a group of four male Japanese university students (G, H, J, K). Earlier on in the interaction, K was asked what he wanted from a relationship. At first, he answered that he would just like to be able to have fun together, but when explicitly prompted by G and H to divulge his *honne*, or honest answer, the conversation turned toward sexual matters, and he admitted to a tendency toward sadistic play. Approximately a minute and a half later, after some more talk on the subject, Excerpt 2a begins when G asks J whether his preference lies with masochism or sadism.

Excerpt 6.2a

```
1    G: J ijimeraretai no iji- imejimetai¿
            bully PA want M         bully want
        "J, would you rather be hurt or hurt someone else?"
2       (0.7)
3    J: <ijimeta:i ccha ijime[tai.>
           bully want  as for  bully want
        "I suppose I'd rather hurt someone else."
4    G: [o:↑:[:.
5    K:      [o::
6    G: iu ne:.
        say IP
        "How bold."
7       (1.0)
8    K: dooiu   ijimekata   shitai no¿
        what kind bully method  do want IP
        "What kind of sadistic play do you want to do?"
9       (0.5)
10   J: dooiu    ijime↑kata?
        what kind  bully method
        "What kind of sadistic play?"
11      (1.0)
12   J: sonna   repaatorii ga nai   kedo, [ore ni wa.
        that kind repertoire    S exist-NG but    I    DA  T
        "That's not really in my vocabulary."
13   G:                                   [HEHE[HE .H
14   K:                                   [    [h .h
15      (2.1)
16   J: iya- (.) wakannai,      yoku.
        no           understand-NG   well
        "No. I don't really know."
```

Following a 0.7-second pause, J responds in line 3 that he prefers to "bully" a partner. However, the design of his utterance, which uses the formulation of A + *ccha* + A, an abbreviated form of A + *toieba* + A, which can be glossed as "if I were to say," projects a stance of having some reservations about the strength of the preference he has just admitted to. G and K respond in lines 4–6 with noises and words of appreciation. Then, K asks J in line 8 what kind of sadism he is into, a question his utterances across lines 10–16 reveal he is unprepared to answer. His line 12 utterance in particular stands out, given that instead of simply answering that he is not sure what he would like to try, he goes so far as to say that he does not have the vocabulary necessary to answer. In doing so, he orients to his own status as a relative novice in matters of sadism and masochism, which, in this interactional context where the participants have agreed to share their true thoughts on this delicate subject, puts him at a potential social disadvantage. In other words, J is unable to match the bar already set by participants such as K who have given somewhat detailed accounts of their

preferences. His actions in Excerpt 6.2b, a continuation of 6.2a, orient to this when he initiates an agreement sequence retroactively characterizing his potentially inadequate answers in Excerpt 6.2a as having been due to an issue with the binary choice given to him.

Excerpt 6.2b
```
1    G: H (wa) ijimeraretain ja.
           T        bully PA want   Q
         "H, you want to be bullied, don't you."
2    H: ↑soo: demo nai ↓ore.
           like that  C  NG     I
         "Not exactly."
3    G: ↑soo    nano?
           like that  Q
         "Really?"
4       (0.5)
5    H: ijimetai shi, ijimeraretaku wa naru.
           bully want  CA     bully PA want     N  become
         "I want to bully, but sometimes I also want to be bullied."
6    G: hh
         ((points at H))
7    J: ^>sore da yo [ne<
             that  C  IP   IP
         "That's exactly it."
8    K: [(nani sore)
             what   that
         "What are you saying?"
         ((points at J))
9    H: ^sore da yo [ne
             that    C  IP    IP
         "That's it, isn't it?"
10   G: [(mein ni wa dou shitai.)
             main DA T   how want do
         "What do you mainly want to do."
         ((points at H))            ((lowers hand))
11   J: ^SORE [DA YO NE.^
             that    C   IP IP
         "That's exactly it!"
         ((H lowers hand))
12   G: [ja toriaezu emu^ hH[H
           then anyway      M
         "Okay, we'll put you down as a masochist for now."
13   J: [HH
14   H: h chiga-(h)
             differ
         "What-"
15   J: docchidemo ikimasu yo mitaina
           whichever      go       IP  QT
         "It's like you could go either way."
```

```
16      (0.5)
17  H:  kamatte hoshii tte iu no mo aru yo
        tease    want  QT say N too exist IP
```
        "I also want to be teased sometimes."

In line 1 of Excerpt 6.2b, attention turns to H as G shifts the sadism versus masochism question to him, done formally through a conjecture that H is a masochist. H pushes back against this assumption in line 2, which prompts G to respond with *soo nano* ("really?"), a question demanding further explanation regarding his answer. H's line 5 utterance fulfills this demand, and he clarifies that he has both sadistic and masochistic tendencies. It is almost immediately after this that J points at H while rushing through the utterance *sore da yo ne* ("That's exactly it.") in line 7. This combination of the deictic *sore* ("that") and the final particle *yo ne*, in contrast with the blanket agreement shown by A's pointing-initiated *soo* in Excerpt 6.1a, specifies that it is the contents of H's line 5 utterance problematizing the binary choice between sadism and masochism that J not only agrees with but retroactively claims equal and independent epistemic access to (Hayano, 2017).

As in Excerpt 6.1a, pointing makes important contributions to how J's claim that he and H share equal access to the same opinion is received. It extends an invitation to H to narrow the participation frame to the two of them and solicits a corresponding show of agreement, opening up a mutually affiliative sequence. H responds by pointing back at J (see Figure 6.2) and repeating his assessment verbatim, thus orienting to the proposed change in participation frame and activity. Similarly to the data in Excerpt 6.1a, J points back to H another time and repeats his and H's utterance with even greater volume in a sort of interactive echo of mutual affiliation. Finally, the sequence comes to a close when J lowers his hand at the tail end of his line 11 utterance, and H in turn lowers his, returning to home position.

Although the mutually affiliative sequence here does not lead into anything quite so synchronized as the choral co-production from Excerpt 6.1b, it is notable that despite the general stance oriented to in K's and G's utterances in lines 8, 10, and 12 that H's line 5 answer was inadequate in proving he is not a masochist, H and J are able to continue to resist the others' agenda to lock them into a single category, as demonstrated in lines 15–17. In essence, performing agreement with one another in so public a manner and presenting themselves as a team allowed J and H to recover and protect their position to a certain degree. In addition, their display to one another and the others of solidarity and togetherness presents them as a friendship unit for the duration of the sequence.

Mutual affiliation as an exclusive activity

In the prior section, we saw that participants may invoke pointing-initiated mutually affiliative sequences in contexts where having another "on their side"
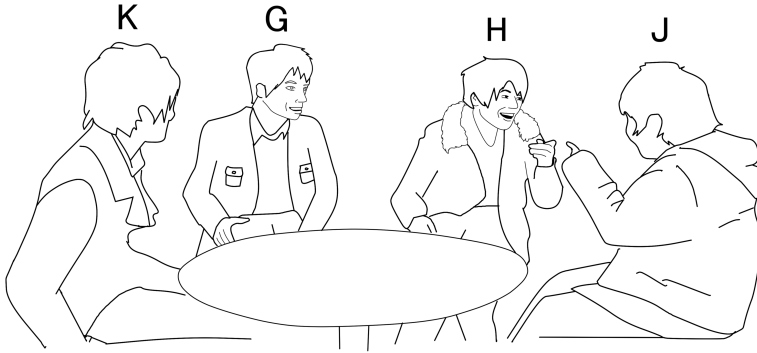
Figure 6.2 H points back at J

to ratify or explicate their argument or opinion might be interactionally beneficial. In this section, we will see participants mutually affiliate in a different context: returning the subject of conversation to one which only they have full epistemic access to.

The data presented in Excerpt 6.3 are part of a conversation taking place in a large group setting involving multiple residents of a Tokyo sharehouse, or communal living space, but is between three participants (T, an American L2 Japanese speaker; J, an Australian L2 speaker; N, a Japanese L1 speaker). It comes at the tail end of a much larger sequence on the topic of the reality show *Ru Paul's Drag Race* that, due to page length concerns, will be described here rather than shown.

Excerpt 6.3

```
1   T:  dakara (0.9) ouen suru. hhhhhh
        because         cheer  do
        "That's why I'm rooting for her."
2   J:  Y[vie Oddly ( )
                      ((points at N with splayed hand))
3   T:  [demo Yvie ^[meccha (e)?
         because      super  good
        "But isn't Yvie super cool?"
                              ((points at T))
4   N:  [Yvie ^meccha ii
               super   good
        "Yvie's super cool."
        ((shakes hand twice))     ((lowers hand))
5   T:  [^ii kanji da yo ne: (.) >soo ^soo soo<
         good feeling C  IP  IP       right right right
        "She has good vibes, doesn't she? Yeah, exactly."
        ((points at T several times in rapid succession, then shakes closed fist))
```

```
6    N:   [^meccha ii meccha ii
              super  good super   good
          "She's super cool, super cool."
7    N:   [[>soo soo soo soo soo soo<
             right right right right right  right
          "Yeah!"
8    T:   [[>soo soo soo soo<
              right right right right
           "Yeah!"
9    N:   meccha ii [no.
          super    good IP
          "She's super cool."
10   T:   [omoshiroi. meccha(h) omoshiroi.
          interesting      super        interesting
          "She's interesting. Super interesting."
11   N:   [ne::
           IP
          "Right."
12   T:   [hhhh
13   J:   [yeah, mou mitaku naru ne hh
           already watch-want become IP
          "Yeah, makes you want to watch, huh."
```

The conversation begins when N approaches the table where T and J are sitting, and T asks her if she has been watching the newest season of an unnamed show that turns out to be *Ru Paul*, indicating that they share a history of discussing the show together. A few turns wherein they begin to assess the new season later, J interrupts to ask which number season they are discussing. More talk establishes that J has not caught up and thus has less knowledge of the show, and accordingly, T directs a first assessment of a contestant named Yvie Oddly to N, who has the requisite epistemic access; however, this assessment sequence is interrupted by J, and later on, T reformulates his assessment, this time designed for J as recipient. Excerpt 6.3 opens on the final part of this reformulation, as he specifies the reason why he roots for Yvie is that they share a hometown.

In line 2, J begins to say something about Yvie Oddly, but before she has even produced a full word, T turns back to N and, using the contrastive connecting marker *demo* ("but"), retries his assessment of Yvie from earlier in the conversation. He does this together with an open hand point, seeking agreement from N both verbally and in a way that makes visible the shift in participation frame back to the two of them. N responds in kind in line 4, pointing at T and timing her utterance so that it nearly overlaps with his, showing a high level of affiliation (see Figure 6.3). The sequence continues in lines 5 and 6, where T and N's utterances overlap. T shakes his splayed hand twice to point back at N twice more while paraphrasing his assessment and then follows it up with a series of repeated *soo* before finally lowering his hand.

At the same time in line 6, N repeats the phrasing *meccha ii* ("super good") from T's initial assessment twice more while pointing back at T several times in rapid succession, segueing into a shaking closed fist before returning to home position. They each repeat *soo* numerous times in lines 8–9 to emphasize even further the degree of their agreement over Yvie Oddly. The assessment sequence finally wraps up in lines 10–12, where they each reformulate their positive assessments of her in a slightly more subdued manner, that is, based on their gazes, still mainly attentive to each other rather than to J. In line 13, J produces her own assessment. However, its subject is not Yvie Oddly, nor is it *Ru Paul*. Rather, she assesses the previous display by T and N of their mutual excitement over the new contestant as something that makes her want to be able to join in with such excitement, at the same time acknowledging that she remains outside it.

As in the previous excerpts, a marked display of mutual affiliation was made relevant by participants—here as part of an ongoing effort by T to share a positive assessment of Yvie Oddly with N, the only other member with sufficient epistemic access to do so. In the talk leading up to the pointing-initiated sequence, interactional moves by J expanded the participation frame to include her while establishing her comparative lack of knowledge regarding the show. On the other hand, T's attempt to return to the original two-member participation frame and bring up Yvie Oddly was short-lived, and more talk followed between the three participants, which continued to make relevant their uneven epistemic status. Finally, although T reintroduced the topic of Yvie Oddly within this uneven framework, his line 3 utterance using *demo* signaled a shift back to the interactional activity he had attempted numerous turns earlier of seeking agreement from N regarding his assessment of Yvie Oddly. Pairing his utterance with the act of pointing at N helped make visible the recipient of his request for affiliation and at the same time, made it equally visible who was not invited to affiliate.
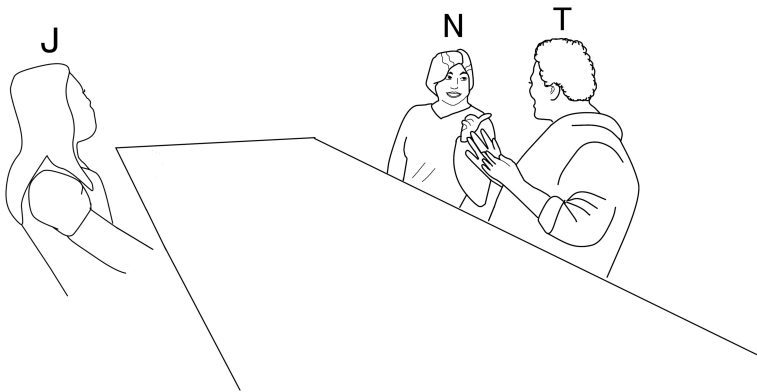

Figure 6.3 T and N point at each other

Of course, this invitation alone would not have accomplished much without a partner to accept the change in frame and return the projected stance. N's returning point, her partial repetition of T's assessment, and the enthusiastic affect she exhibited through embodied action (i.e., rapid pointing, etc.) and prosody contributed equally to transforming lines 3–12 from simply a mutually affiliative sequence to one that was marked and exclusive to those with the requisite epistemic access, or in other words, those who were able to bond over the latest happenings in the show. Thus, this display of mutual affiliation over the shared interest and knowledge that formed its base became a collaborative interactional project that highlighted the coordination and togetherness of the participants involved. In this sense, it may be considered a means of presenting oneself and a willing partner as a bonded friendship unit for at least the duration of the sequence.

Discussion

Our analysis has described a practice in which interlocutors use pointing together with a statement or solicitation of agreement in order to propose a momentary narrowing of participation frame and invite another to engage in a sequence whose activity centers on the overt display of mutual affiliation regarding some opinion or stance, thus displaying themselves as friends. In the first section, we saw this practice in action during a teasing sequence following B's contribution in arguing on behalf of A's position. A was able to use pointing plus verbal affirmation to project the stance that B had understood her on an intimate level, and the sequence this initiated rendered visible their strengthened solidarity. It also led to their acting as a coordinated team in pushing back against the teasing.

In the second set of data, J initiated a similar sequence via pointing after having been unable to articulate an answer to a sensitive question on par with previous answers from other participants. In doing so, he was able to make an implicit retroactive epistemic claim to H's answer, which problematized the binary nature of the choice given to them and thus, was a move to absolve him of his former inability to answer. In addition, he and H mutually affiliated in a visible manner, performing solidarity for each other and others who would mischaracterize H despite his answer.

The analysis in the following section explored a pointing-initiated mutually affiliative sequence in a less socially precarious context. T's and N's pointing at each other, in combination with a strong display of concerted affect and shared sentiment, repositioned them not only as insiders but as insiders with exclusive epistemic access to both the topic and the shared experience of having watched the show. In other words, they engaged in the simultaneous act and exhibition of bonding while performing exclusivity.

Although each of these mutually affiliative sequences differed slightly in interactional context, length, and whether the verbal resources of the initial utterance explicitly solicited a response, they are all united by the use of

pointing to begin and mainly sustain them. The question, then, is: what properties of pointing make it the go-to resource in these sequences?

For one, its use as a tool to strengthen agreement cannot be overlooked (Sugiura, 2011, 2013). It is arguably at least partially this feature that— even when the verbal agreement it accompanies does not formally demand an answer, as with Excerpt 6.1a's original *soo*—compels the pointed-at party to affiliate in kind; in this way, strong agreement seems to function somewhat like a compliment, in that some form of acknowledgement is in order. Relatedly, pointing's ability to make changes in participation frames overtly visible (Nishizaka, 1992) not only marks the entire sequence as taking place between two particular people but frames this shift as the first part in a new sequence, thus making relevant a response.

In addition, the visible reorientation of the participation frame achieved by participants' pointing is a key feature of these mutually affiliative sequences. It is this visibility that divides those able to affiliate from those shut out of the sequence, and as we saw in each example, this may have interactional effects on the talk that follows and participants' positioning in it.

Lastly, pointing's ability to "spotlight" a previous utterance, or retroactively characterize it (Streeck, 2017; Yasui, 2019), allowed participants in the data to make certain claims about their epistemic access to others' stated words or opinions. For example, in Excerpt 6.1a, A was able to frame the utterance made by B that was aligned supportively in her favor as exactly what she had been thinking, itself an affiliative move. And in Excerpt 6.2b, J retroactively characterized H's answer and the thinking exhibited therein as one he had previous and independent epistemic access to. This allowed him not only to potentially save face but to claim complete harmony in opinion with H.

When we consider that the resources used for constructing an affiliative response depend in part on the larger activity in progress (Lindström & Sorjonen, 2013), it is little surprise that the mutually affiliative sequences showcased in this chapter rely on these features of pointing in their execution. Nor is it a surprise that interlocutors might choose to perform mutual affiliation in such a visible manner within these contexts. Similarly to how Joh (2018) noted that the affiliative practice of gestural matching is often performed in environments where some form of resistance to a participant's interactional agenda has been displayed by a third party, the pointing-initiated mutually affiliative sequences in our data, particularly those of the full Excerpts 6.1 and 6.2, occurred generally in contextual environments in which performing social solidarity might further some agenda. And, although it differs largely in some respects, it can also be said that the larger activity of Excerpt 6.3, in which affiliation over their enjoyment of *Ru Paul's Drag Race* and its contestants was delayed by several changes in participation frame involving a third party with less epistemic access, influenced the participants in their choice of markedly visible affiliative resources.

By so visibly mutually affiliating through these pointing-initiated sequences, participants may accomplish the following: 1) performing solidarity in contexts

where doing so facilitates the accomplishment of some action in opposition to a third party, 2) managing who has access to the interaction as a competent member by performing exclusivity, and 3) generating positive affect and a sense of togetherness through affiliating mutually. The solidarity, togetherness, and exclusivity put on display by participants is not merely for show; participants come together to construct them in interaction, shaping that interaction in turn to reflect their status in that moment as two people sharing an affinity for some idea, opinion, interactional agenda, or interest. In other words, participants break away from the activity at hand and momentarily reorient the focus of the interaction to each other and a shared mutually constructed similarity around which a display of solidarity, togetherness, and exclusivity forms. The performance of these three elements together may be regarded as a performance of friendship itself, and the type of mutually affiliative sequence outlined in this chapter and constructed in part through pointing provides one way in which participants may interact as friends.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that the traits, ways of thinking, and identities participants choose to emphasize and claim as shared properties are chosen from among many available options. What they ultimately orient to as shared opinion or experience does not necessarily have to reflect pre-existing qualities, nor does it have to be particularly exclusive from an outside perspective. What is important is that participants orient to it in that moment as a shared and exclusive trait vis-à-vis some other(s). For instance, the participants in Excerpt 6.3 could have repositioned themselves as fans of the show in general rather than watchers of the newest season in order to include J as a competent member of their talk. It was their interactional moves, however, that ultimately positioned themselves as insiders, not their inherent epistemic status. This reminds us analysts that participants are the ones who decide the criteria for which traits may become interactionally significant similarities. Put differently, it is friends who jointly and purposefully accomplish friendship, and they do so across a number of superficial dissimilarities such as ethnicity or first language, emphasizing other shared qualities as opportunities to mutually affiliate come up in their interactions.

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7 Togetherness to build friendship

Rhythmic synchrony through mutual reactions in Japanese multi-party interaction

Ayako Namba

Introduction

The nature of friendship indicates how people build a close personal relationship in their everyday life (Hayes, 2018). Friendships are often described in terms of intimacy or psychological closeness. People in intimate relationships in particular feel close or safe enough to engage in self-disclosures that they would not in other types of interpersonal relationships (Hinde, 1987). Interactionally, self-disclosure refers to acts in which one party in a relationship communicates information to another party—the "friend"—that is personal in that it is information not regularly shared with those with whom one does not have an intimate relationship. In this sense, friendships can be seen through the sharing of information that is limited to those in the friendship relationship.

The relationship between such sharing of information and intimacy is significant in some cultures and interactions. Such examples include Japanese, as social boundaries between *uchi* (ingroup) and *soto* (outgroup)[1] are clearly distinguished from one another. *Uchi* (ingroup), which indicates closer relationships, likely shares more private information than *soto* does, in accordance with certain linguistic styles: plain or formal form. This is accomplished through linguistic items, such as honorifics, to reflect on a social distance and power between the interactants (Ide, 1989). Thus, by sharing and marking such information with the linguistic style, participants in interactions orient to their intimate relationship and build a more solid friendship.

Other dimensions of relationships include "reciprocity" and "complementarity" (Hinde, 1987) in social interaction, as they govern responses and reactions to the prior interlocutor(s). The former shows how a respondent conveys a message that has the same quality as the interlocutor's (e.g., repeating the same phrase or behavior as the one he/she displayed), whereas the latter indicates the way of responding or reacting in a different way from the previous one (e.g., one person may lead and the other may follow) (Hinde, 1987).[2] Each facet then intertwines with fundamental aspects of everyday interaction to build friendship. However, there remain further issues in regard to how such *uchi* people could deeply develop and maintain their relationship,

and how multiple responses and reactions between the interactants constitute "rhythmic synchrony,"[3] containing both reciprocity and complementarity with tempo and rhythm in order to increase and share common ground at the micro scale, and how such rhythmic communicational practices activate mutual responses and reactions between the interactants, and accomplish sharing a sense of "togetherness" between them to impact on the way they build their friendships at the macro level.[4]

This chapter aims to explore how rhythmic synchrony plays a role in creating a sense of togetherness in developing and maintaining friendships. This study uses concepts from discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, including style shifting (Jones & Ono, 2008; Otsu, 2007; Takano, 2008), contextualizing process (Gumperz, 1982), and information structure (Chafe, 1976; Prince, 1981, 1982) to demonstrate how the interactional practices of reciprocity and complementarity reflected through the achievement of rhythmic synchrony work as "contextualization cues" and are displayed at the micro level of the ongoing interaction. Then, it argues how these features impact the entire interpretive frame on the macro level. It finally considers how this intersection between micro and macro confirms common ground in ways that may work toward the establishment of "togetherness" between participants. The chapter thus shows how multiple participants in an already established *uchi* group further develop and maintain their relationships, specifically through the ritualized practices of self-disclosure.

Overview of this study

This section describes some of the ways that interactional practices in everyday communication might implicate friendship relationships. I will first note three key elements of friendship in dealing with such practices, and then define an interactional system that facilitates active interactions between the interlocuters. I will further illustrate the concept of "rhythmic synchrony" based on this system and its interactional effect called "togetherness." Research gaps will finally be specified following these discussions.

Key elements to build friendship

Although it is assumed that the people who belong to an *uchi* group maintain their friendship, such maintenance must be carried out in social interaction (Wood, 2017). Three elements, "self-disclosure," "reciprocity," and "complementarity," which are among multiple elements Hinde (1987) notes, are essential to how people build friendship in interactions.

First, "self-disclosure" is "revealing aspects of the private self which would normally not be disclosed" (Hayes, 2018: 299). This element contains a crucial component of intimacy between participants regardless of their social groups: either in *uchi* (ingroup) or in *soto* (outgroup) (Ide, 1986; Miyake, 1993). To be more specific, self-discourse impacts the entire process of relationships at

any stage: beginning and continuing. For instance, Ide (2005: 200) suggests that self-disclosure is evaluated positively as honesty and openness (see also Katriel & Philopsen, 1990). In her study, Ide reveals that self-disclosure is embedded in small talk, laughter, and other verbal practices, which she calls "parallelism" (Ide, 2005: 204). In this sense, responses and reactions to one's self-disclosure contribute to shaping such an interaction. Self-discourse also affects a first-meeting conversation between strangers. For instance, Ide and Bushell (2018: 255–256) note the importance of "ice breakers" in first meetings in Western societies, in which participants use jokes to help co-participants feel immediately at ease (see also Murata, 2015). Likewise, self-disclosure in a first meeting may work as an icebreaker to bring a "bonding"[5] referring to "*kizuna*" ("a sense of co-presence, belonging, and a feeling of being connected with others as well as the place of interaction") (Ide & Hata, 2020: 2) between the participants. The beginning of public speeches in Western societies may often include jokes as icebreakers. Such jokes may come from a person's disclosure, which is closely relevant to his/her private information. Such a joke containing the disclosure tightens the social distance between the speaker and the audience, and then creates a bonding effect between them.

Hinde's (1987) second and third key elements of friendship are "reciprocity" and "complementarity." According to Hinde, reciprocal interactions are defined as "those in which the participants each do the same thing" (1987: 36), in contrast to complementary ones, where a participant takes an opposite role from that of the other (Hayes, 2018). Both functions are performed in response to a conversational partner, but each plays a distinctive role. For example, Hinde argues that complementarity may exclusively appear in dominance and power, as in the case of a pupil–teacher relationship, for example, while reciprocity may more likely be embedded in friendships. The following extract shows these two notions:

Excerpt 7.1

```
1   M:  =e kaki hajime wa jaa yonde mite:mitaina=
        oh write start   TP anyway read try I     like
        "(he/she said) like,
        'can (you) read what you have written in the beginning?'"
        ((raising her right hand))
2   S:  =huhu
         laugh
        "huhu"
3   M:  boku wa[ijime niwa hantai desu[tokaHAHAHAHA
        I      TP bully  DA   disagree C   like laugh
        HAHAHAHAHAHA
        laugh
        "(he said)like, 'I am against bullying'HAHAHAHAHAHAHA
4   S:  [huhu           [HAHAHAHAHAHA
         laugh           laugh
        "huhuHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA"
        ((S: looking up))
```

```
5    Y:                    [huhahahaHAHA
                            laugh
        HAHAHAHAHAHA
        laugh
        "huhahahaHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA"
        ((Y: shifts her body forward touching her face with the left hand))
6    K:                    [HAHAHAHAHAHA
                            laugh
        HAHAHAHAHAHA
        laugh
        "HAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA"
```

In this excerpt, co-participants K, S, and Y react to teller M (lines 2, 4 to 6)
when she describes how her student interacts with the other teacher in class
(lines 1 and 3). The teller's quotation to display her student's voice further
fulfills a humorous function. One of the co-participants, S, initially displays
complementary reactions through laughter to the teller's humorous descrip-
tion (lines 2 and 4), obviously displaying listenership to the telling. Both the
teller and the other participants show reciprocity through shared and synchro-
nous laughter. The teller also joins this laughing together (line 3), which is the
same reaction leading to reciprocity as the previous one S displays (lines 2 and
4). The other participants, Y and K further join the teller and S through shared
and synchronous laughter as another display of the reciprocity (lines 5 and 6).
Hence, all the co-participants, including the teller herself, display their recip-
rocal and complementary reactions through synchronous and shared laugh-
ter. Such mutual reactions between all the participants should shape an active
engagement in the ongoing interaction, and distinctly characterize the way of
building a closer relationship. As Hinde (1987) suggested earlier, this frag-
ment illustrates how both reciprocity and complementarity play a significant
role both in friendship building and in shaping the entire interaction.

Mutual reactions and responses

The way of reciprocity and complementarity described in the previous section
is relevant to the reactions and responses to a participant, and reflects on the
relationships between participants involved in an ongoing interaction. Another
essential feature that makes a difference in building friendship through social
interaction is mutual responses and reactions between the participants. I will
first illustrate three steps to establish such a system, and note the types of reac-
tions and responses constitutive of the system in the following.

   Namba (2011) presents the concept of "listenership," defined as "a fun-
damental contribution by the listening side [ratified participants] that brings
about a [co-creating] conversation in mutual engagement" (p. 4, revised by
the author of this chapter). This is quite easily applied to a dyadic conversa-
tion, but multi-party interactions develop more flexibly. A "mutual response

and reaction system" (Namba, 2011) between the participants is essential in dealing with a more active interaction like the case in which multiple conversation roles are intertwined and merged with one another. Figure 7.1 shows the flow.

Any conversational role usually is unfixed in the beginning of the multi-party interaction; however, one participant in the ongoing flow who holds information may voluntarily share it with other participants. Step 1 in Figure 7.1 begins when the listener responds to the teller through the delivery of various signals, for instance backchannels, nods, smile, laughter, and so forth. Step 2 then happens when the teller further responds to the previous listener(s). It is at this moment that mutual reactions begin to emerge. Finally, Step 3 is when the participants establish a mutual response/reaction system. Overall, these steps present a fundamental basis to capture how mutual responses and reactions are established between interlocutors.

Both verbal and non-verbal channels further define this system, in particular, linked up to the listener contributions. The former includes "reactive tokens" (Clancy et al., 1996) consisting of listener reactions: *aizuchi*, repetitions, resumptive openers, and collaborative finishes. Clancy et al. (1996), by a comparative study of the three languages, reveal that Japanese reactive tokens are more frequent than those of Chinese and American English. This finding suggests that the listener in Japanese interaction actively involves the speaker through coping with these verbal reactions in the ongoing conversation. Likewise, non-verbal channels in the latter also play a significant role in the establishment of the mutual response and reaction system. Kita and Ide (2007) show synchronous reactions of both *aizuchi* and nodding in Japanese interaction. Nodding, as mentioned in *aizuchi* studies, also happens more

STEP 1

L ──────────────▶ T

Delivery of various signals including reciprocity and complementarity from the listeners

STEP 2

L ◀────────────── T

Delivery of various signals including reciprocity and complementarity from the teller

STEP 3

L ⇄⇄⇄ T

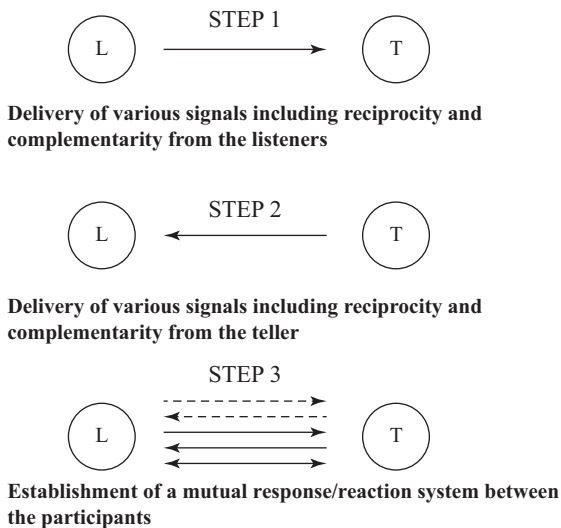**Establishment of a mutual response/reaction system between the participants**

Figure 7.1 Mutual response/reaction system (L: listener, T: Teller) (Namba, 2011)

frequently in Japanese interaction than in that of American English (Maynard, 1986). Both verbal and non-verbal channels of the listener side in Japanese interaction intertwine with one another in a complex way and shape the active participation style of the ongoing interaction. Hence, the mutual response and reaction system signify a dynamic involvement in the ongoing friendship formation, and these micro-level response and reaction practices, consisting of both verbal and non-verbal communication, play a distinctive role in intertwining with one another, and in the establishment of the system as a whole.

Rhythmic synchrony

When mutual responses and reactions between the co-participants as mentioned earlier are activated in the ongoing interaction, their practices become more reciprocal and complementary. Such mutual practices, including both reciprocity and complementarity, shape the fundamental basis of "synchrony," which the co-participants weave together using both rhythm and tempo in the ongoing interaction.

Daibo (2009) addresses the impact of synchrony in the field of social psychology. According to him, synchrony is characterized in that communication practices between co-participants synchronize with one another, and that they become closer in the course of their interaction. Daibo shows one instance by supposing that one participant touches his/her hair just after making a statement. Likewise, when the other participant subsequently expresses his/her agreement touching his/her hair, this communication practice is an example of synchrony.

The key factors that govern the concept of synchrony are rhythm and tempo. Scollon (1982) presents the term "rhythmic ensemble" from discourse studies by examining how the co-participants embody their communication practices together both through "ensemble" and "tempo." These two elements have a distinctive role in dealing with face-to-face interaction; at the same time, they complementarily work with one another in the ongoing interaction. Scholars in the field of communication illustrate practical instances of the rhythmic ensemble in face-to-face interactions, and such instances include repetitious head movements or synchrony of head movements, which "contributes to the rhythm by beating the tempo of the conversation" (Maynard, 1986: 151). Kita and ide (2007) also argue that synchronized nodding and *aizuchi* correspond with the notion of rhythmic ensemble. As self-disclosure in public discourse functions to build people's relationships, such disclosure is likely embedded in small talk, and this rhythm and tempo may be crucial in such a talk. Ide (2005), from the field of linguistic anthropology, focuses on a process to bring "rhythm of resonance" through parallelism and laughter. She explains that "rhythm of resonance" is the system through which participants feel a sense of sharing the situated field through the ongoing interaction. One of the major characteristics, "parallelism," derived from "poetic functions" (Jakobson, 1960), contains repetitions and rhyming of

verbal expressions and phrases, and this appears both in one's own speech and in multi-party interactions. Moreover, the notion of "resonance" (Du Bois, 2007, 2014) is closely involved with repetition and parallelism (Kataoka, 2022: 18). Ide explains that the participants likely find a shared perspective on the current topic pursued through their interaction, and that they probably adopt paralleled expressions. She gives a further, more detailed account of how these ways cause a rhythm of resonance, and subsequent laughter and smile work as the evidence that the participants have recognized such a rhythm. In this sense, laughter and smile function as a lubricant throughout the entire interaction. Gumperz (1982) also notes the role of "conversational synchrony" and the crucial association between responses and rhythm, and suggested that "[w]hen the relationship of speakership moves to listeners' responses was measured, it was found that these tend to be synchronized in such a way that moves and responses follow each other at regular rhythmic intervals" (1982: 141). This explains how conversational synchrony between the speaker and the listener(s) displays an ensemble based on their anticipatory collaborative practice, in that "conversational synchrony requires some degree of predictability and routinization, such as is most commonly acquired by shared culture and similarity of interactive experience" (1982: 141). In this sense, the participants' sharing experiences and taking rhythm together through their interactional practices shapes the fundamental basis of conversational synchrony.

Togetherness

Co-creating the ongoing interaction between the participants, as described in such distinctive ways, may help to invoke a sense of togetherness. Rhythmic synchrony, based on their mutual responses and reactions, including both reciprocity and complementarity, constitutes a possible way to voice togetherness in interaction (Sugawara, 1996). Sugawara suggests the importance of the essential power of physical communication through the interactions that contain synchrony and repetitions, as a sense of togetherness is created when one's voice is shared with others. Ide (2005) further emphasizes that, by exploring the features of small talk in American society, the interlocutors in the ongoing interaction fully feel the sense of being together vis-à-vis a rhythm of synchrony with parallelism (2005: 204). These studies suggest how togetherness, which is created through the communicative practices of synchrony at a single moment of the ongoing interaction, has a significant impact on activating the entire interaction. However, there remain two crucial questions: how does rhythmic synchrony through mutual response and reaction practices at a micro level shape togetherness at a macro level (in the entire interaction), and how might this process build friendships? To explore these questions, an intersection between the micro and the macro, drawing on discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, will be examined in the later sections.

Research methods

Based on the gaps in the previous research, this section will describe the methods of the present research, including analytical frameworks and data collection. The present study draws on discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics to discover an intersection between the micro and the macro approaches, and more specifically, to find discourse functions of rhythmic synchrony at the micro scale and its impact on the entire interaction leading to sharing togetherness between the multiple participants at the macro scale. Throughout this intersection, the study will identify the distinctive ways of development and maintenance for navigating friendship: contextualization, style shifting, and information structure.

In order to discover the intersection between rhythmic synchrony and togetherness mentioned in the previous section, it is pivotal to consider such an intersection by adopting perspectives including both the micro and the macro. In this sense, to focus on style shifting is valuable in the forthcoming analysis. Style shifting refers to "the use of two or more styles, even ostensibly mutually exclusive styles, within a single speech event or written text" (Jones & Ono, 2008: 1). Major research on the style shifting analysis relies on a stylistic contrast of the linguistic forms: the plain and the polite (Ikuta & Ide, 1983; Maynard, 1991; Geyer, 2008; Ikuta, 2008, etc.). Style in conversational joking, which works as a social practice, can be another target to explore style shifting in everyday conversation. By broadening the sense of style shifting, Otsu (2007) examines what types of style shifts are involved in conversational joking. She demonstrates humorous effects obtained by mimicking the style of a third person through quotative devices, such as changing voice tone. Takano (2008) further expands the study of style shifting analysis by exploring prosodic features, based on a limitation of the existing research focus: the linguistic form between the plain and the formal. The majority of the existing research on style shifting focuses on the speaker, with the listener's side rarely being addressed. As touched upon earlier as a broader sense of style shifting (Otsu, 2007; Takano, 2008), there is still much room for the discovery of broader stylistic devices. This study will pursue routinized practices of rhythmic synchrony by covering stylistic devices both in the speaker and in the other interactants at the micro level. To identify such devices is meaningful in that they may function as "contextualization cues" (Gumperz, 1982). The present study will then seek to discover the multi-layered and accumulated contextualization cues from the beginning to the end. To do so, it will be necessary to reveal the entire "contextualizing processes" that leads to the establishment of a "friendship-building frame" at the macro scale ("frame" in Goffman, 1974; "interpretive frame" in Gumperz, 1982).

Another approach to finding such an intersection between the micro and the macro comes from the information structure consisting of two phases: given (old) information and new information. Chafe defines the former as that "knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the

addressee at the time of the utterance," whereas the latter is "what the speaker assumes he[/she] is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he[/she] says" (1976: 30). The former information can also be regarded as a common ground or shared knowledge between the co-participants; in contrast, the latter information indicates "an entity assumed not to be already known to the hearer" (Prince, 1982: 302). To regard this information contrast not as a clear-cut division, but as a continuum, plays a pivotal role in the consideration of the relationship between information transfer and synchrony (Gumperz, 1982: 143). Gumperz further notes that "contextualization processes" make a difference, as they bring predictions about the entire course of interaction. In his argument, conversation synchrony is involved in certain automatic reactions to non-verbal cues, which are presented only through microanalysis. By dealing with such reactions, he suggests, "if it can be shown that smooth, synchronous exchanges favor the establishment of shared interpretive frames, […] measures of speaker-listener response rhythms can provide a basis for indices of communicative effectiveness" (1982: 143). Such an account significantly affects the current research interests in the intersection between rhythmic synchrony at the micro level and sharing a sense of togetherness at the macro level.

The data for the analyses of the present study consist of 6.1 hours of video-recorded multi-party conversations in Japanese. Four participants joined in each session (around 50–60 minutes), and eight total sets were conducted. Data collection was conducted in August, 2014, at a Japanese university. All the participants were college students aged 18 to 21, and their relationships were based on *uchi* relationships, for instance, close classmates taking the same course and close friends in the same club activities. I did not provide the participants with any instruction on what to talk about, allowing them to talk freely in order to create a circumstance of naturally occurring interaction. After they started to talk, I left the room, and came back when 60 minutes had passed.

The following section, based on these research methods, will unveil multi-layered facets of routinized practices in rhythmic synchrony and their associations with the impact of togetherness as the sense of building friendship. The first half of the micro-scaled analysis covers the routinized practices of rhythmic synchrony by shedding light on both reciprocity and complementarity, and discovers how they will fulfill the essential roles of contextualization cues. The latter half of the macro-scaled analysis, by connecting the preceding micro-scaled analysis, will reveal how the multiple practices of the rhythmic synchrony expand common ground between the interlocutors and create togetherness through the contextualizing processes to reach the friendship-building frame by following up the information structure and broadening style shifting.

Analysis

Reciprocity and complementarity

As mentioned in the previous section, reciprocity and complementarity shape rhythmic synchrony, which impacts on the entire process of building

friendship. In this section, I will identify how such key elements are embedded in the ongoing interaction, and how they play a role in forming rhythmic synchrony.

The following excerpt illustrates how both verbal and non-verbal reactions display reciprocity and complementarity. Participants: A, B, C, and D are talking about their part-time jobs. B had just told the others that he works in a cram school, and D then asks a question.

Excerpt 7.2

```
1    D:  chikoku see hen no↑
         late       being not Q
         "Aren't you late (for your work)?)"
2    B:  ikkai shita hhhh meccha kire rareru n yo
         once  did   laugh very    upset P    M  IP
         "((I) did once hhhh (my boss) scolded (me))"
3    C:  [hattu hhuhuh
          oh     laugh
         "what?! hhuhuh"
4    D:  [huhhahaha
         laugh
         "huhhahaha"
5    B:  ikkai juppun   kurai chikokushi te chari ga,
         once  10 minutes around being late    and bike  S
         chari ga hazureta koto ni shite, wazato     te
         bike  S  broken   N   DA do and  on purpose hand
         wo yogoshi te
         O  mess       and
         "Once (I) was late for 10 minutes, so (I lied and told him)that my
         bike was broken, and (I) made my hands dirty on purpose, and"
6    C:  [huhahaha
         laugh
         "huhahaha" ((clapping hands))
7    D:  [huahahahaha laugh "huahahahaha"
8    A:  oru oru oru
         C   C   C
         "(I) know (such a person) (I) know (I) know"
9    B:  suimase:n te hhuhuh=
         sorry      and laugh
         "(I told him, like,) 'I am sorry' huhhhuh"
10   C:  =kore ga:hahaha=
          this  S  laugh
         "(look) this (dirty hand), hahaha" ((put her hand out))
11   D:  =hora:          hahaaha
          you know        laugh
         "see (this hand), hahahaha" ((put her hand out))
```

In answer to D, B confesses that he once had been late for his work and that his boss had then scolded him. During this confession, he laughs (line 2) as a self-deprecation (Namba, 2017; Kim, 2014).[6] C and D react by laughing at B (lines 3 and 4) following his prior laughing. C, at the same time, verbally shows her surprised reaction (line 3). C and D display their reciprocity through shared laughter as the same reaction, and C's surprised expression shows an opposite role and illustrates complementarity as the most expected and ideal reaction to B's confession.[7] B further discloses more details, saying he was ten minutes late and made up a story that his bike was broken, even soiling his hands on purpose to support his false claim (line 5). The other participants, C, D, and A, all react to B's cover-up through shared laughing and clapping hands (lines 6 and 7), and reactive expressions (line 8). The shared laughter between C and D suggests that they adopt the same reactions at the same time to display reciprocity, while C, D, and A show different reactions from teller B to fulfill complementarity through laughter (C and D), clapping hands (D), and reactive expressions (A).[8]

Reciprocity and complementarity are likewise seen when C and D co-create B's past performance with him as he describes his apology by quoting what he said to his boss when the boss scolded him (lines 9–11). Their spontaneous reactions to B through synchronous laughter and hand gesture consist of reciprocity by containing the same reactions (laughter and hand gestures to display putting their hands out) and complementarity through taking different roles in response to the teller (laughing at his description and co-creating B's utterances together) to signal that they are joining in making B's story together in that they are acting out B's story by showing their hands to B's boss. The other participants fulfill these ideal and expected reactions to B when he discloses his personal failure, and these mutual relations deepen their togetherness in the course of the interaction.

Another interesting point in reciprocity and complementarity is a tight connection with rhythm and tempo. A couple of conversational fragments (lines 5 to 11) display such elements. There is a certain acceleration in rhythm and tempo when the use of a non-finite form "-te" (and) (Namba, 2008) is displayed in B's description of more detail in his past story, that he made his hands dirty on purpose. The subsequent synchronous laughter between C and D as a display of both reciprocity and complementarity proves that they share in beating the synchronous tempo, and C's clapping hands further accelerate it. A's proceeding repetitious reactions *oru oru oru* (I know I know I know) (line 8) impact on beating their tempo together. Such mutually shared and joint tempo together plays a role in the embodiment of their rhythm taking. Moreover, the synchronous laughter to index the playfulness of this ongoing interaction may motivate B to recount his further story with another -te form (line 9). C's joint description of this story with a quotation (by acting as B in such an imaginative story) sequentially beats tempo, and D's further quotation (by acting B in the story) makes her beat tempo together (line 11). Their shared laughter and the hand gesture between C and D (lines 10 and 11)

to fulfill both reciprocity and complementarity also corroborate the beating tempo. This collaborative tempo plays a role in their rhythm taking together.

Information structure

Information structure also affects how reciprocity and complementarity in reactions are shaped. The notions of "new information" and "old (or given) information" reflect how the participants perceive the ongoing interaction and their relationship with other participants. Chafe (1976) describes new information as "what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says," whereas old information is "that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance" (p. 30). Although it seems the speaker is responsible for the treatment of information according to this description, the perception of the other participants also carries significant impact. For instance, "common ground" or "shared knowledge" of information between the participants affects how they present information in the ongoing interaction (Prince, 1981). This, in turn, shapes rhythmic synchrony. In the case that one participant starts to tell his/her own experience, we might expect that other participants will categorize it as new information. The following excerpt illustrates how both a teller (M) and the other participants share her experience and build intimacy through mutual involvement. Here, the participants are talking about rumors surrounding a couple of high schools when M starts to disclose her own experience related to her part-time job as a cram school teacher. She explains how one high school student she teaches is a bad student.

Excerpt 7.3a
```
1    K:  kekkoo are ja:
         rather  that  IP
         "(students from the school ) are quite, well…"
2    K:  nanka (0.2) gara     warui=
         like           vulgar   bad
         "like (0.2) (they) are vulgar fellows"
3    S:  =fuun
         uh huh
         "(I) see"
4    K:  S to[K wa gara warui tte iu
         S and K T  vulgar bad    QT  say
         "(I) heard (the students coming from) S and K are vulgar fellows"
5    M:  [meccha warui!
          so    bad
         "(they are) very bad!"
         ((M: pointing K, and covering M's mouth by her right hand.))
6    M:  mecch warui n yo!
          so     bad    N IP
         "(they) are very bad!"
```

K explains a rumor surrounding S and K high schools (lines 1 to 4), and M agrees with K by pointing and repeating her prior turn (line 6). This agreement is emphasized through the use of *meccha* ("so"), with high tones (lines 5 and 6). M's reaction suggests that she is confident on this matter. The use of a final particle "*yo*" in her reaction (line 6) also corroborates her confidence in terms of the information management, as "*yo*" is chosen when a speaker holds more detail than the listeners do (Kamio, 1990; Maynard, 1993).[9] These reactions to illustrate her solid confidence make her describe more detailed information by mentioning her student in the following conversation phase.

As the interaction continues, teller M shifts to describe her student, who is relevant to the rumor, by mimicking him, and the emergence of rhythmic synchrony can be seen in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 7.3b

```
7    M:  moo nanka moo konna kanji de
         well like    well  like this feeling C
         kuru n [yo
         come N   IP
         "well (you know) (he) umm comes to (me) like this"
         ((M: mimicking him with putting her hands on her hips and walking))
8    K:  [HAHAHAHAHA
         laugh
         "HAHAHAHAHA" ((Holding K's stomach))
9    Y:  [hahahahahahhahahhahahahahah
         laugh
         "hahahahahahhahahhahahahahah"
10   S:  [HAHAH A[HAHAHAH kawaii ja n
         laugh          cute    NG Q
         "HAHAH A HAHAHAH (he's) cute"
         ((S: laughing out loud looking up))
11   M:  [HAHAHAHAHAHAHA
         laugh
         "HAHAHAHAHAHAHA"
         ((M: clapping her hands twice))
12   S:  kawaii ja n
         cute     NG Q
         "(he's) cute" ((S: pointing M, and mimicking what M did))
13   M:  [meccha dekai shi:
          very    big   and
         "(he's) very tall and,"
         ((M: showing his height with her right hand,
         S: clapping her hands))
         moo    zutto    yatteru keitai ijiri nagara
         oh well whole time doing   mobile  touch  while
         koo    yatte ya tte[kuru shii
         like this do and  do  and come  and
         "(he's) been on his phone and comes (to school) like this"
         ((M: mimicking him, S: laughing out loud by holding her face
```

```
14   S:  [HUHAHAHAHAHAHAH
         laugh
         "HUHAHAHAHAHAHAH"
         HUHAHAHAHHAHAHAHHAHAHAHAHA
         laugh
         "HUHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA"
15   M:  nani        omae:[((M: looking up)) mitaina
         what        you                     like
         "like,'what the hell are you doing?'"((M: looking up))
16   K:  [hu[huhuhu
         laugh
         "huhuhuhu"
17   Y:  [huhuhuhu hahahah
         laugh
          "huhuhuhu hahahah"
```

In response to the prior telling, the other participants react with synchronous
and shared laughter,[10] clapping hands, and reactive expressions (lines 8–12;
lines 15–20). These responses occur following M's mimicking description of
the student, through which she also uses hand gestures, facial expressions, body
postures, and movement (lines 7, 11, 13, 14). These interactional maneuvers
compliment M's ongoing telling. The responses from others (K, Y, and S)
further illustrate reciprocity in that they share the same responses (synchronous
laughter in lines 8–10; shared laughter in lines 15–19). Regarding the synchro-
nous laughter (lines 8–11), it can be noted that teller M further joins in such
laughter together, and this establishes a mutual responsive system (Namba,
2011) among all the participants. In addition, the speaker uses *mitaina* ("like")
(line 15), which marks her inner voice towards the student by imaginably
assuming that she teaches him at the cram school. Along with an upward gaze
and the use of *omae* ("you") (line 15), this performance is hearable as humor-
ous to the other participants, as seen in their laughing reactions to fulfill both
reciprocity (the delivery of the same reactions between the other participants)
and complementarity (the display of opposite roles from the teller). In addition
to laughter, the assessment *kawaii jan* ("(he)'s cute isn't (he)?") and clapping
hands emphasize that other participants react with positive affect. K's holding
her stomach (line 8) and S's repeating M's movement (line 12) further cor-
roborate rhythmic synchrony between all the participants, and they build up
togetherness through such synchronous devices in the ongoing interaction.

   Comments to the student are shared after the speaker has completed her
detailed description of him in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 7.3c
```
18   K:  yoo    are ja [na,
         how dare that  C    IP
         "how dare (he can do that),"
         ((K: putting hands on her head, S: keeps laughing))
```

```
19   M:   [u:n
          yeah
          "yeah"
20   K:   benkyoo shiyoo[tte juku        ni kuru[na
          study      will    QT  cram school    DA come IP
          "(how dare) he can come to the cram school, like '(I')ll study hard'"
21   M:   [u:n
          yeah
          "yeah"
22    M:  [u:n
          yeah
          "yeah"
23   S:   tashi(h)kani=
          right
          "right"
24   M:   =u:n
          right
          "right"
```

In contrast to M's previous description of her student, which the others treated as new information, here we see a shift to the exchange of shared information. As evaluations play a crucial role in sharing mutual perspectives between the teller and the other participant(s) (Labov and Waletzky, 1967), verbal reactions in this excerpt mainly indicate shared evaluations towards the student. K gives a negative comment on the student (lines 18 and 20). Then, the other participants confirm a shared negative evaluation with reactions *u : n* ("yeah") and *tashikani* ("that's right") (lines 21–24). Repetitions of back channeling *u : n* ("yeah") illustrate reciprocity (lines 21, 22, 24). Such backchannels, at the same time, display complementarity as reactions to K's negative evaluations, and the other verbal agreement (line 23) further corroborates such complementarity. These reactions, which are swift and synchronous with one another, reflect both tempo and rhythm, and they corroborate synchrony between all the participants. Rhythmic synchrony is achieved in ways that display togetherness between the participants in ongoing sharing of both information and mutual evaluations.

Rhythmic synchrony to togetherness in contextualizing processes

Participants' perception of information structures is not fixed, but rather, is dynamically altered through the display of mutual reactions during an interaction. Mutual reactions at the micro level, which include reciprocity and complementarity, affect the entire conversation flow at the macro level. As Hinde (1987) notes, self-disclosure is essential in building intimate relationships. Displays of reciprocity and complementarity in mutually coordinated reactions, in terms of some of the ways that participants might engage in such self-disclosure, further impact on how participants present information during an ongoing interaction. Self-disclosure as ritualized practices in everyday

life likely contains personal information such as personal lives and feelings.[11] As the access to such private information is usually limited, such information is likely to be new to other interactants. To share such personal information as new might facilitate friendly relationships (Coupland & Ylanne-Mc Ewen, 2000; Murata, 2015). This section will argue how the interactional practices of rhythmic synchrony between the interlocutors associate with the entire information flow from the beginning of the self-disclosure to the sharing of common ground in the end, which might make a difference in building friendship.

In the following excerpts, I consider the relationship between the rhythmic synchrony and the information structure. In the following excerpt, participants are talking when A starts to disclose an aspect of her high school experience. In turn, the other participants display reciprocity and complementarity in reactions to this new information.

Excerpt 7.4a
```
1.   A:  uchi H(high school)yakara,
          I      school name      CA
       "I am from H high school, so"
2.   D:  a:
          oh
       "(I) see"
3.   A:  H(high school)de[(.)
          school name       and
       "(I)'m from H high school(.)and"
4.   C:  [a:         a: a:        a:
           oh         oh oh        oh
       "(I) see"
5.   A:  yakara moo, chuugaku   juken ya n(.)
          CA      quite  middle school exam   C Q
       "so,(we really have to take)the entrance exam
       for the middle school"
6.   C:  un      un    un un
          yeah  yeah yeah yeah yeah
       "uhhuh uhhuh uhhuh uhhuh uhhuh ((B&D: nodding))
7.   A:  suru n yo:
          do    N IP
       "(we) take the exam"
```

Reactions based on backchannelling (lines 2, 4, 6) and nodding (line 6) occur successively, which displays listening as A begins to disclose information about her experience in an overseas high school. These reactions display both complementarity and reciprocity, as others display listenership in response to an ongoing telling by a speaker (Namba, 2011). In addition, repetitions of the backchannelling (lines 2 and 4) and synchronous nodding between the participants (line 6) further show the same reactions as the display of reciprocity. Such reactions at minimum shed light on the display of listening to the

speaker, as most of the information contents belong to her, and they are likely to be new to them. To summarize, the beginning of the speaker's disclosure includes at minimum the display of listenership, which consists of both reciprocity and complementarity. Reciprocity between other participants is significant in this phase. Their complementarity, including minimum reactions (not having detailed comments and reactions), further illustrates that the others are focused on listening to the speaker's disclosure; the information is categorized as new to the others, in that most of the information source is derived from the speaker.

Although a distinction of the conversational role between the speaker and the other participants in the previous excerpt is clearly displayed, their mutual responses and reactions, reflecting both reciprocity and complementarity, are more actively exchanged in the subsequent disclosure.

Excerpt 7.4b
```
8.   A: yakara shooroku   toka no jiten de,
          so        sixth grade  like  N  stage  DA
          "so at the stage of the sixth grade,"
          ((B: nodding))
9.   A: igirisu iku tame ni iku ((A: fisting her hand)),
          U.K.     go    for  DA go
          mitaina[ka(h)nji
          like       feeling
          "like(h), "I'll go (to the school) for going to U.K." ((A: fisting her hand))
10.  B: [sore wa moo     shi[ttotta n ya:
          that  T   already  have known   M  C
                       "you knew about it?" ((A: nodding))
11.  A: [minna shittoru,
          all      know
          [H   ittu tara igirisu [ike ru kara:
          school went if    U.K.        go  can  CA
          "everyone knew (ir), cause (we) can go to U.K.
          if we entered H school"
12.  D: [ettu(xxx)                       [ettu
          oh      oh
     →    "oh           oh"
13.  D: [(xxx)hirano chan shittoru↑
          name                 know
     →    "(xxx)do (you) know Hirano-chan?"
14.  C: [(xxx)
     →    "(xxx)"
15.  A: shittoru!
          know
     →    "(I) know (her)!"
16.  D: ettu doko ittan↑
          oh      where went
     →    "oh which university did (she) go?"
```

The other participants continue to react with nodding from the speaker's previous description (Excerpt 7.4a, lines 8, 10); however, their reactions gradually shift from minimal reactions to more active ones that include detailed comments (lines 10) and further questioning (lines 13, 16). This occurs when the ongoing contextualization is dynamically activated through the exchanges between all the participants. Thus, more activated reciprocity and complementarity are available to locate with one verbal element of the participant's reactive comments, which contain the meaning of questioning to confirm what the speaker meant, *shittottanya* ("(you) knew it?") (line 10). This element works as a trigger, as it causes further mutual reactions between the teller and the other participant through reacting (lines 11, 15) and further questioning (lines 13, 16). A responds by repeating the same comment, *shittoru* ("(everyone) knows it"), to the prior questioning (line 11). Another participant, D, signals through a "resumptive opener" (Clancy et al., 1996) *ettu* ("oh") that she intends to be involved in this exchange (line 12), and then questions through another repetition of the element *shittoru* ("know") in order to check whether or not D and A have a mutual friend (line 13). Responding with the same element *shittoru* in an emphasized tone (line 15) suggests that they have established their common ground through such a friend. In these ways, this repetition of one verbal element among the participants supports more solid reciprocity and demonstrates that this element is tightly embedded in complementarity through the mutual reactions between the participants. Style shifting of the reactions from the previous minimal ones to the more dynamic ones characterizes how the ongoing interaction dynamically flows by linking up to the way of shaping rhythmic synchrony. Moreover, the rhythmic synchrony observed in this phase shows how the participants begin to build a common ground through more solid reciprocity and complementarity, and this corroborates togetherness.

Questioning and answering practices between participants support complementarity through the exchange of information, which in turn works to increase the common ground between them. The practices in these data are followed by moments in which participants deploy mutual reactions through embodiment and parallel action, such that the prior questioning practice is recognized as resolved. The resulting reciprocity and complementarity then work to shape rhythmic synchrony. Moreover, the common ground gradually being developed through these mutual reactions from the beginning of the interaction (Excerpt 7.4a) may also impact the information structure dynamically in the later ongoing interaction.

Further questioning and answering practices also work to contextualize transitional moments in which the current style of rhythmic synchrony dramatically shifts into a different one. The following excerpt displays such a transition period.

Excerpt 7.4c

((After the previous phase, D questioned A several times to search for
having another common ground between A and D. Question and answer
sequences between A and D continue. Likewise, C starts questioning A by
looking for a common ground between them.))

```
32   C:  ettu M    wakaru↑
         oh    name know
     →   "oh do (you) know M?"          ((C: looking at A))
33   A:  wa(h)karu(.)mo(h)to(h)kare
         know              ex-    boyfriend
     →   "(I)(h)know(.)(he's my) ex(h)-boy(h)friend"
         [huhuhuhhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
         laugh
         "huhuhuhhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu"
34   C:  [wa: HAHAHAHAHAHAHA ((hands clap))HAHAHA
         wow         laughlaugh
         "wow HAHAHAHAHAHAHA((hands clap))HAHAHA"
35   B:  [e:       HAHAHAHAHAHAHA((hands clap))maji de:
         oh    laughsure
         "wow HAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA((hands clap))really?"
         ((D: smiling))
36   B:  sugoi
         great
         "great"
37   D:  uun          huh
         yeah         laugh
         "yeah huh"
38   B:  koko mo
         here  also
         "we both are also"
39   C:  Tokyo yobikoo    da kke:
         Tokyo  Cram School  C   Q
         "from Tokyo Cram School, right?"
40   B:  [Tokyo yobikoo
         Tokyo    Cram School
         "Tokyo Cram School"
41   A:  [(xxxxxxxxxxx)
         "(xxxxxxxxxxxxx)"
42   D:  sugoi
         great
         "great"
```

C responds to the earlier talk by deploying *wakaru* ("know") to search for
common understanding between C and teller A in relation to the display of
the crucial role of one key element *shittoru* ("know") in the previous phase.
A fulfills both reciprocity and complementarity by repeating the verb element
wakaru ("(I) know"). This reply confirms that C and A have now established
common ground with respect to knowledge about their mutual friend M. The

teller's further disclosure with a couple of laugh particles that person M used to be her boyfriend is identified as the climax in the entire conversation (line 33). The following synchronous and shared reactions of the other participants prove that the disclosure is the most powerful to be deeply involved in these playful exchanges (lines 34 and 35). The wide range of their mutual reactions includes both verbal and non-verbal ones: an interjection *wa : e :* ("wow") and a reactive expression (Clancy et al., 1996) *maji de :* ("really?") as the verbal products, and synchronous and shared laughter, clapping hands, and smiling as the non-verbal ones. It is apparent that every single type of reciprocity and complementarity is reflected in the mutual reactions. This series of the inter-woven rhythmic synchrony between the verbal and the non-verbal creates a solid togetherness in such a moment.

Another shift in reactions appears just after the described climax, which works as a transition in the ongoing conversation flow. The participants start to share their evaluations of the ongoing interaction as "reactive expressions" (Clancy et al., 1996), e.g., "*sugoi*" (great) through the repetition (lines 36 and 42), whereas they attempt to confirm another common ground between the participants B and C by questioning and responding with the repetition, *Tokyo yobikoo* ("Tokyo Cram School") (lines 39 and 40). In addition to these char-acteristics of style shifting in the mutual reactions, the absence of non-verbal reactions such as hand claps and high and emphasized tones tells us that the ongoing conversation through the transition is flowing into a static mode. With respect to the information structure, all the participants start to share the new information which the teller disclosed through their mutual evalu-ations. As Hinde (1987) notes that self-disclosure is one of the fundamental factors to build friendship, teller A welcomes the other participants to a more *uchi* community. Their mutual reactions through a wide range of rhythmic synchrony also play a role in discovering their common ground, and this flow at the macro level may direct the participants to establish their *uchi* relations.

Final style shifting following the previous transition suggests that all the participants maintain their *uchi* relations by sharing their common ground without any new information.

Excerpt 7.4d

```
43   B:  ha::
         wow
         "wow"
44   A:  bikkuri(h)suru wa: hhh
         surprised    C   IP  laugh
         "(I'm)surprised(h)hhh"
45   C:  suge:
         great
         "great"
46   B:  meccha suge: hahaha
         so      great  laugh
         "so great hahaha" ((B: Pointing at A))
```

47   D: [huhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
          laugh
          "huhuhuhuhuhuhu"
48   C: [hahahahahahaha
          laugh
          "hahahahahahaha"
49   B: yaba
          gosh
          "oh (my) gosh"
50   C: sugo
          great
          "great"
51   A: seken tte semai na: [huhuhuhu
          world QT   narrow IP   laugh
          "the world is small huhuhuhu" ((D: nodding three times))
52   C: [hahahahahaha
          laugh
          "hahahahahahaha"
((B: nodding))
53   A: bikkuri shita wa:
          surprised   F
          "(I) am surprised"
54   C: sore na:
          that   IP
          "it is"
55   A: bikkuri shita:
          surprised
          "(I) am surprised"
56   B: sugo
          great
          "great"
57   C: wa:
          wow
          "wow"
58   A: bikkuri shita
          surprised
          "(I) am surprised"
59   C: bikkuri shita kocchi mo ya: huhahahaha
          surprised   here   also. IP   laugh
          "(I) am surprised too huhahahaha"
60   D: [huhuhuhuhu
          laugh
          "huhuhuhuhu"
61   A: [(xxxxxxxx)
          "(xxxxxxxxx)"
62   B: itsu tsukiatta n su ka↑
          when datedM   IP Q
          "when did (you) date (with him)?"

Given more details, the participants now begin to build mutual evaluations and reactive comments while displaying both reciprocity and complementarity. Repetitions to show reciprocity are significant in this final phase through the mutual evaluations such as *bikkurisuru* ("surprised") (lines 44, 53, 55, 58, and 59), *suge :* , *sugo*, and *yaba* ("amazing, great, and gosh") (lines 45, 46, 49, 50, 56), mutual nodding (lines 53 and 54), and shared laughter (lines 46–48, 51–52, 59–61). These displays of reciprocity span both verbal and non-verbal resources, and the participants further display complementarity through those mutual reactions as well as through interjections such as *ha :* ("what!?"), *wa :* ("wow"). These interjections also work to express surprise from teller A. It is obvious that all the mutual reactions are in relation to information disclosed earlier in the interaction without any new information. The final style shifting of the mutual reactions embodies rhythmic synchrony in both verbal and non-verbal practices as the micro-level to aim for sharing their common ground, and leads to their being filled with togetherness in the entire interaction at the macro-scale.

Concluding remarks

The micro- and macroanalyses of the previous excerpts show how rhythmic synchrony constitutes multi-layered interactional practices and how participants form togetherness by sharing the speaker's self-disclosure, by increasing common ground, and then by building friendship. In the microanalysis, both reciprocity and complementarity shape the mutual reaction system between the participants. Reciprocity is established by repeating the responses and reactions in prior turns, and through synchronous shared activities, which include both verbal and non-verbal practices such as *aizuchi*, reactive expressions, nods, laughter, clapping hands, and the like. Displays of complementarity include questioning and answering, co-constructing event sequences in addition to the verbal and non-verbal practices of reciprocity. Both the reciprocity and complementarity constituting these micro-scaled interactional practices are also associated with beating tempo and then, with rhythm taking. The previous multi-layered analyses illustrate that the rhythmic synchrony based on these micro-practices working as contextualization cues gradually accelerate to increase common ground between the interactants, and then to share them by shaping the interpretive frame at the macro-level conversation flow. This intersection between the micro and the macro indicates two outcomes: information structure and style shifting. The former, information structure, suggests how exchanging new information through rhythmic synchrony has accelerated the interactants to increase common ground, and more activation of the mutual responses and reactions has eventually led them to share such common ground in the entire interactional processes. Responsive and reactive practices in style shifting further corroborate this intersection, as minimal responses and reactions to the teller's new information have circulated through reciprocity and complementarity. Their circulation, further, has brought more interactive

consequences (through parallelism by questioning and answering sequences), and ultimately shifts into the sharing stage through verbal and non-verbal repetitions and shared laughter without any new information. Rhythmic synchrony based on reciprocity and complementarity creates togetherness moment by moment, and the variety of conversation practices in such micro-scaled rhythmic synchrony is eventually filled with a saturation of togetherness between all the interactants for the development of friendship.

Notes

1 Sociocultural boundaries in Japanese society, which signify interpersonal relationships among *uchi* (ingroup), *Soto* (outgroup), and *yoso* (outgroup of outgroup) (Miyake, 1993), govern this limitation in sharing the information. In *uchi* groups, which include closer people, such as family members, partners, and friends, such information may apparently be flagged by participants as knowledge to which they have exclusive or privileged access relative to others outside of the relationship, e.g., the *soto* and *yoso* groups.

2 Some of the examples in the latter include *aizuchi* (backchannelling), smiling, nodding, verbal agreeing, questioning, and so forth to the prior interlocutor.

3 See also "rhythmic ensemble" (Scollon, 1982) and "conversational synchrony" (Gumperz, 1982).

4 Gumperz (1982) accounts for an intersection between the micro and the macro, in that multiple interactional practices at the micro scale (e.g., both verbal and non-verbal signs) functioning as "contextualization cues" are associated with the establishment of the entire conversational processes at the macro scale, indicated as an "interpretive frame."

5 The concept of "bonding" also derives from a dialectic in conversational humor: "bonding" and "biting" (Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 1997)

6 Namba (2017) discusses laughter in self-deprecation when the participants share failures and serious accidents. In this example, the speaker shows his failure in his part-time job. His laughter is self-deprecation as a mitigating device. The following laughter, which derives from the other interactants, indicates they take the previous self-deprecation as humor. Kim (2014) also argues that co-participants self-deprecate together through shared laughter in Korean and Japanese interaction.

7 B's confession apparently fulfills the role of teller, as he describes his past story by connecting every single action through non-finite forms *-te* ("and") (Namba, 2008).

8 A also emphasizes accepting that such a cover-up happens often by repeating, *oru oru oru* ("I know such a person like you") (line 8).

9 Japanese final particles in terms of grammatical perspectives function as a speaker's modality (Masuoka, 1991). In his theory of territory of information, Kamio (1995) proposes a difference of two final particles between "*yo*" and "*ne*," and explains that the speaker in the former case gets closer access to the information, whereas in the latter case, both the speaker and the listeners are equal in access to the information. Maynard also illustrates a similar observation by presenting a theory called "theory of relative information accessibility and/or possessorship" (1993).

10 Synchronous laughter happens when the participants simultaneously laugh together, while shared laughter is observable when a participant laughs and then, the other interlocutor also joins the laughter.

11 See also Murata (2015) in her discussion on small talk in business meetings.

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8 "She says she's going to buy leather boots"

Displays of (dis)affiliation in friends' responses to reported complaints

Yujong Park

Introduction

This chapter addresses how friendship is negotiated during interactional episodes involving girlfriends engaged in conversation about mutually known parties, both present and absent, during which they complain about or accuse others through reported speech (e.g., "This is what she/he said"). Supporting close friends when they express criticism is a characteristic reported by prior discourse studies apropos interactions between female friends (Coates, 1996, 2015; Johnson & Aries, 1983). Friendships between girlfriends are characterized by friends defending each other and talking about others (Goodwin, 1990). With a few exceptions (e.g., Goodwin, 1990), the existing research has relied primarily on interviews with friendship groups and their recollections to describe the diverse actions including complaints articulated within friendship groups (Johnson & Aries, 1983).

Using real-time conversations to ascertain the ways in which friends tackle complaints and accusations could help us understand how complaints are accomplished in sequences, followed by discrete moment-by-moment responses tendered within social contexts. Scant research has compared complaints directed at a co-present party or an absent third party in such contexts, even though responses offered by participants may differ (Drew, 1998). Still fewer studies have examined complaints in Korean interactions (e.g., Yoon, 2020). The present investigation bridges this gap in the extant research by analyzing how membership in a friendship group is occasioned and probing the norms applied in real-time Korean interactions during the process of delivering complaints. Such an evaluation of complaint sequences during friendship-related conversations by women could reveal the norms governing the act of being a good friend and disclose the types of responses expected in the local contexts. Existing scholarly investigations have indirectly examined reported speech and its use in the delivery of complaints (Haakana, 2007). However, the study of the function of reported speech in friendship interactions during the delivery of complaints could contribute to our understanding of how friendship is interactionally negotiated and constituted through conversations.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the types of (dis)affiliative actions performed by friends responding to acts of complaining delivered via reported speech in two contexts. Friends produce affiliative practices to support the actions of the complainer critiquing a third party. However, the complainee's co-presence triggers denials from the complainee and leads to explicit disaffiliation with the preceding complaint. Comparing these two contexts, the present study reveals that complaints registered during interactions between female friends do not unilaterally prefer a single type of response; rather, the preference organization is significantly contingent on the presence of the complained-about party. These results demonstrate that friendship is constructed in sequences that occur moment by moment as friends make sense of each other and their social worlds. The study's analysis reveals crucially that friendships between women are not created as linear or constant variables assembled in individual minds (i.e., I am your friend). Instead, such associations are accomplished within social contexts (i.e., The way I talk shows that I am being your friend).

The first two sections of the paper present the theoretical and methodological framework applied in the study. The next two segments employ conversation analysis (CA) to examine displays of (dis)affiliation in complaint sequences. This basis informs the ensuing discussion on the issue of building friendships in interactions between female friends.

Prior research

Prior research on complaints and reported speech

Previous research has primarily studied complaints as speech acts and investigated the linguistic strategies used to deliver them (Boxer, 1995; Chen et al., 2011; Olshtain and Weinbach, 1993). This line of research has helped scholars understand the structure of complaints and ascertain how people construe this speech act. However, such studies do not adequately describe how complaints are actually performed in the form of a negotiated activity between speakers. Additionally, they do not elucidate the normative expectations associated with complaints in differing social contexts. Complaints have been analyzed in CA research in terms of sequences of interaction following an initial action, the complaint, which accords relevance to a specific type of paired action that either affiliates or disaffiliates with the complaint. In general, positive, affiliative responses are preferred over dispreferred negative or disaffiliative responses (Dersley & Wootton, 2000; Drew, 1998; Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 1988). CA research has demonstrated how complaints are accomplished as a joint activity that is negotiated in interactions between participants in a step-by-step manner (Heinemann & Traverso, 2009). Thus, the ways in which recipients respond to complaints and how participants subsequently manage their interactions regarding the complaint become significant for the entire complaining action. This study references the findings of prior

CA research to examine the different ways in which Korean women who are close friends actualize complaints.

CA research has claimed that ordinary conversations demonstrate a preference for agreement, which is manifested through varied aspects of turn and sequence organization (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, 1987). For example, disagreement turns are frequently produced with delays: in fact, the part of the disagreement turn that enacts the divergence is often pushed back to the latter part of the turn. Bilmes (2014) called these delays or accounts that accompany dispreferred responses *reluctance markers*, which are based usually on commonsense psychology rather than statistical generalization. Research on the preference model has also noted that certain sequence types or initiating actions could direct subsequent utterances in distinctive ways (Pomerantz, 1978). For instance, agreements are not always preferred after self-deprecations or compliments. Schegloff (1988) and Coulter (1990) have described ways in which complaints directed at an immediate recipient are followed immediately by denials. Conversely, Drew (1998) explicated the properties of complaints made about third parties absent from the immediate discussion, demonstrating that denials do not follow such complaints.

The existing research on complaints has distinguished "third-party complaints" from "complaints about a recipient" (Drew, 1998; Lurcuck, 2021; Traverso, 2009). In third-party complaints, a participant expresses negative feelings about what they present as a complainable matter apropos a person other than the recipient. For example, a complaint referring to a third party may be delivered as "*pyenipsayngi nay yokul haysse*" ("A transfer student accused me"). In this instance, the speaker deploys a negative stance toward the complainable conduct demonstrated by a third party. Conversely, complaints about a co-present party concern the recipient and are usually tendered directly to the recipient (cf., Tannen, 2004). Such complaints are face-threatening because they are often accusatory and may trigger disagreements in the turns that follow. Excerpt 8.1 shows a husband complaining about the undercooked noodles prepared by his wife, who is co-present (see Appendix for transcription notations and abbreviations).

Excerpt 8.1 (Yoon, 2020, p. 11, modified) Talk between husband, wife, and husband's sister

```
        ((Husband starts eating spaghetti))
1       ^(1.0)
2   H:  aywu    .h tel ik-ess-canha. (i-ke).
        DM         less cooked-UNASSIM   this-thing
        " Aywu .h ((they)) are undercooked. (These noodles)."
3   W:  kwanchanh-untey::
           then      you   mind   upset        RE-DECL-QP
        "((They are)) okay ((to me)) though::"
```

The husband employs the response cry *aywu* (Goffman, 1981) and the adverb *tel* "less" to complain about his wife's cooking. In response, the wife

rejects the complaint and repudiates her husband's claim of undercooked noodles by using an incomplete clause ending with *-nuntey*, which is often used in disaffiliative contexts to signal indirect dissent (Park, 1999). The wife immediately disagrees with the complaint by rejecting the claim that the noodles are undercooked in an indirect manner (line 3, "They are okay to me though"). The current study demonstrates that how parties respond is significantly influenced by whether the complaint is directed at a co-present or an absent party.

Traverso (2009) has evidenced that complaining is subject to numerous complications, just like other interactional activities such as trouble-telling or confiding. According to Traverso (2009), it is very difficult to find a smoothly developed sequence of one person complaining and the other subsequently expressing compassion or support. Rather, a somewhat convoluted and painstaking progression of the sequence occurs until the expression of affiliation by the recipient, after which the expression of support continues up to the closure of the sequence (see also Lurcuck, 2021). Traverso identifies four stages of complaint sequences in her data set: 1) initiation, 2) core portion, 3) complaint development, and 4) closing. The complaint is introduced in the first phase. Phase 2 occurs when the complaint is approved by the recipient(s) via an expressed agreement about the complaint topic and the articulation of affiliation with the complainer. In Phase 3, participants further explore the complaint and its ramifications until they can steer themselves toward the closing phase.

Studies have widely examined reported speech or reported thoughts related to complaints, as complaints are often delivered by reporting the utterances or ideas of others (Haakana, 2007: 153). The difference between direct and indirect reported talk can also be noted, because each type shapes complaint sequences in a slightly different way. Direct reported talk is designed to make a complaint appear more accurate and credible (Holt & Clift, 2007; Heinrichsmeir, 2021). However, opting for indirect reported talk could allow complainants to downplay their role in the transgression. Reported speech functions importantly in painting the complainee in a negative light and to some extent, designates the complainant as a victim. The organization of reported speech in complaint sequences also entails the complex practice of complaining, specifically in relation to identity work (Heinrichsmeier, 2021). Self-positioning is important in complaint sequences when affiliation is sought and is, therefore, crucial in building friendship relations. In using reported speech, complainants can choose who is animated to speak and when. This control allows them to avoid the attribution of negative identities by employing selective animation to position the complainee as egregious (Goodwin, 2010). The present study shows how girlfriends may accomplish their identity as close friends through (dis)affiliating with different types of complaints delivered via reported speech.

Affiliating and disaffiliating responses after complaints

Actions such as complaints convey facets of the social relationship between speakers and recipients. Recipients also position themselves relationally

through their responses to actions. For instance, a speaker complaining about others treats the recipient as a friend who will support and affiliate with the speaker's actions. In interactions, friends position themselves moment by moment vis-à-vis others in discrete ways. Agreeing with each other about an evaluation (e.g., that class was great) or sharing a perspective on certain circumstances (e.g., she was really funny) represent forms of cooperation. It is widely accepted that "preferred format actions are normally affiliative in character while dispreferred format actions are disaffiliative" (Lindström & Sorjonen, 2012: 367). This study uses the notion of affiliation to describe a general feature of interaction and social relation that is bound by the organization of preference. Further, the term *affiliation* is used in this chapter to describe actions with which the recipient displays support for the affective stance displayed by the co-participant. Affiliation allows social cohesion in participants engaged in interaction, and often generates a shared expectation and evaluation of behavior. Affiliation often takes agreement one step further and leads to collaboration and cooperative complaining.

Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig (2011) employed the terms *alignment* and *affiliation* to explain the two principal forms of cooperation in human interaction. According to Stivers (2008: 21), alignment denotes the structural level of cooperation, whereas affiliation concerns the affective level of cooperation. Thus, "affiliative responses are maximally prosocial when they match the prior speaker's evaluative stance, display empathy and/or cooperate with the preference of the prior action." Table 8.1 presents a summary of the two concepts. Alignment is relevant after every interactional contribution, but affiliation is relevant only after utterances that take a stance or evince specific action preferences.

Researchers have examined how affiliation is co-constructed during the introduction and development of complaints (Drew & Walker, 2009; Heinemann, 2009). Heinemann (2009) demonstrated that affiliation is more common in third-party complaints because it prevents the complainee from registering a defensive response to the complainant. A complaint recipient's active response involves affiliation to the extent that the recipient collaborates in the act of complaining and forms a coalition with the complainant. The environment of third-party complaints allows the exclusion of the complainee. Participation, like affiliation, must be established interactionally, creating an intimate alignment between participants that enables seamless navigation of complaint interactions. Drew and Walker (2009) explored interactional

Table 8.1 Overview of alignment and affiliation features (Steensig, 2019, p. 249)

Alignment: structural level	Affiliation: affective level
Facilitate and support activity or sequenceTake proposed interactional rolesAccept presuppositions and termsMatch formal design preference	Display empathyMatch, support, and endorse stanceCooperate with action preference

circumstances in which complaints were collaborative, and affiliative and dis-affiliative responses were "two sides of the same coin" (Drew & Walker, 2009: 2412). They demonstrated that collaborative complaints may turn disaffiliative when the complaint recipient takes a complaint too far. Complaints can also be initiated but not developed. Their progression is based on their interpreta-tion by co-participants. In such instances, recipients topicalize the material of the initiated complainable and co-construct the complaint sequence with the initiator. However, after an apparently collaborative and affiliative interaction, one participant may take the complaining too far, creating a misalignment between participants.

The present study examines cases in which friends affiliate or disaffiliate with a prior complaint in contexts where the complained-about party is or is not co-present. The study's analyses concern the types of complaints or accu-sations friends discuss through reported speech to determine the orientation of the parties toward being good friends. The two research questions to be prosecuted are as follows:

1. How do friends (dis)affiliate with reported complaints about a present or absent party?
2. What kind of implications do such (dis)affiliations indicate for the compre-hension of social norms governing the definition of being a good friend?

Method and participants

The data comprised approximately three hours of videotaped interactions between three groups of female Korean friends in varied locations. The friends in conversation were Korean women in their 20s and 30s. The recordings were made using a portable video recorder with a built-in microphone. The friendly encounters had no pre-determined objectives. The friends used routines and rituals to continuously display their concern for the other participants, care-fully listened to the worries and problems of other members, and allowed each other access by recounting anecdotes and stories about their everyday lives. Consent for recording their conversations was obtained from participants, and all identifying information was removed to protect the privacy of the parties. Participants considered themselves close friends, had known each other for at least one year, and met occasionally (one group of friends had been acquainted for 11 years). Twenty instances of complaints directed at an absent third party and eight instances of complaints directed at a co-present party were identified in the data. Four examples from the collected data are included in the analysis presented in this chapter.

The present study utilizes CA to develop a microanalysis of the moment-by-moment embodied processes through which the recorded interactions unfolded (Goodwin, 2000, 2010, 2013; Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). CA attempts to uncover the methods, resources, and real-time practices through which participants "produce their own behavior and understand and deal

with the behavior of others" (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984: 1). CA views cognitive activities as "multiparty interactive fields" (Goodwin, 2007b: 12), within which "multiple participants are building in concert with each other the actions that define and shape their lifeworld" (Goodwin, 2000: 75). All data were transcribed by the author, and all names have been changed to preserve confidentiality. Korean is romanized using the Yale system (Sohn, unpublished), which represents the actual sounds, rather than the standard Korean orthography. The three lines used in the transcript represent the sound, the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and the English translation, respectively.

Analysis

A variety of actions are performable by co-participants after a complaint is delivered (Traverso, 2009; Yoon, 2020). This section illustrates that responses may be either affiliating or disaffiliating, depending on whether the complaint is directed toward an absent or a co-present party. The analysis demonstrates how such responses orient to the social norms governing the building and maintenance of friendships. The analysis encompasses two sections: the first attends to affiliative responses by recipients after complaints are registered against absent parties; the second addresses disaffiliative responses. Notably, friends were rarely overtly disaffiliative in the collected data set; rather, their disaffiliative stances were more implicitly articulated. The existing research on English interactions between friends has also reported that overt displays of disaffiliation are less prevalent than expected (Lurcuck, 2021).

Complaints against absent third parties: Affiliating responses

Complaints about a third party were frequently delivered using reported speech in the recorded interactions between female friends. When a friend tendered a complaint about a third party, the other participants affiliated with the complaint by laughing along, producing an upgrade, or narrating a related story. The complaints found in the data were never left unattended. Furthermore, they were developed into fully-fledged activities in which participants were completely engaged for extended sequences that transcended simple adjacency pair sequences. The third-party complaint sequences appeared to denote one locus for the display of how friendships are conducted and how friends represented being friends.

   In the following excerpt, Amy indirectly constructs the target complaint (lines 2–4) by reporting a call that she has received from her friend. In this instance, five women aged in their 20s and working as teaching assistants (TAs) chat and share snacks as they are seated in a TA's office. In the excerpt, Amy recounts a bad experience with a student who had posted bad remarks about Amy on the departmental website.

Excerpt 8.2 Amy, Jin, Min, Sunny, Nayoung (at a TA's office)

1   (2.0)
        ((Amy shifts gaze toward Jin))

2 A: ^Chinku-ka cenhwa-ka o-n ke-ya:
      Friend   NOM phone call NOM come-ATTR thing IE
      "A friend called (me):="

3 A: kureteni: ne maum shimlanha-keys-ta-ko
      then   you mind   upset   RE-DECL-QP
      "then (she) said you must be upset"

4 A: shihem-to e(hh)lma a(h)n nama-ss nuntey hhh
      exam   ADD much   NEG   left-PST   CIRCUM
      "with the exam coming up (and everything) hhh"
        ((Amy turns her head toward Min and gazes at her))

5 ??: ^hhh hng hng [hhe hhh
      "hhh hng hng   [hhe hhh (simultaneous laughter)"
        ((Min gazes toward Amy))

6 M: [^chinku-ka te napp(hh)-a hhahh
      friend-NOM.   more bad-IE
      "(your) <u>friend</u> is bad hhahh"

7 M: way sihem-to elma an nama-ss-nuntey hhh
      why exam-ADD   much NEG left-PST-CIRCUM

8   ku yayki-lul hay-cwe hhh hhheh
      that story-ACC   say-give
      "Why tell that story (to you) when the exam is not far away?"
        ((Amy nods her head))

9 A: ^kuraykat-ko acwu.
      so-CONN(QP)   very
      "So (that's what happened) (I had a) very (hard time).   "

10   (0.5)

11 A: kunte:y tuleka-ni-kka:
      but   enter-DET-INTERR
      "But: when (I) entered the (web)site:"
        ((Amy turns her gaze toward Jin))

12 A: ^mit-ey kulay-ss-eyo,=
      below-LOC say:this-ANT-IE-HON
      "(they) wrote this below,="

13 A: =ilehkey senbay-tul-i:: ike-nun
      like:this   senior-PUL-NOM   this:thing-TOP
        ((Amy makes an x sign with her fingers))

14 A: cokwo-il-i ^ani-lako::=
      TA-job-NOM   not-COMP(QP)
      "like this, seniors (said that) this is not a TA's job.="

15 M: =coun senpay-lul twu-ess-kwun-yo.
      good senior-ACC   have-PST-UNASSIM-HON
      "=seems like (you) have nice seniors (around you)."
        ((Amy lowers her gaze toward the cookies in front of her))

16 A: hmmm, ^kuremyense:: [sensayngnim-i.
      at the same time   teacher-NOM
      "hmm, and [the teacher::

```
17   S:  [wuri-kwa ay-tul-to
         our-department kid-PLU-ADD
18       ala cwe-ya ha-nuntey.=
         know. Give-IE.  Do-CIRCUM
```
"[Students at our department should also acknowledge (our work)="
```
19   J:  =maca maca.
         right  right
```
"=right right."

    After a pause (line 1), Amy begins to tell a story (line 2, "A friend called me") about a friend who inquired about her feelings regarding a negative comment on the departmental homepage. The complainable material is implicitly delivered by imitating the friend's vocalization (line 3, "you must be upset") and is upgraded by specifying the time of the post (line 4, "with the exam coming up hhh"). Such evaluative reflections are central to the organization of most reported speech (Goodwin, 2007a; Voloshinov, 1973). The target complaint is implicit because it could be interpreted in two ways: 1) a complaint about the friend who had her called her to notify her about this incident, and 2) a complaint about the person who posted such a negative post on the Internet. Amy's quoting of her friend's words contains laughter particles that invite the other participants to laugh along with her (Jefferson, 1979), and her invitation is followed by her friends laughing together. Min receives Amy's gaze during this laughter and verbally affiliates with the complaint by criticizing the friend who had called her (line 8, "why tell that story to you when the exam is not far away?"). Min affiliates with and warrants or supports the hardships associated with Amy's exam-related preparations by making negative assessments about Amy's friend. Amy nods immediately after Min's complaint. However, when none of the other participants affiliates by responding to the second, post-related, potential complaint regarding the person who posted negative comments about her (0.5 second pause in line 10), Amy further explains in line 14 that her senior colleagues supported her: "seniors said that this (what the student criticized) is not a TA's job." Min affiliates with Amy by positively evaluating the actions of the seniors (line 15, "seems like you have nice seniors around you"). Once again, she does not criticize the student who posted mean comments about Amy on the website. Amy continues to narrate how a teacher had also taken her side (she later mentions that the teacher had told her to erase the post). At this point, Sunny interrupts the conversation by shifting the focus to students in her department. Ultimately, the complaint is co-constructed by Amy and her friends. It is noteworthy that Amy uses reported speech to formulate the complainable matter ("My friend called me and asked me if I read the post") instead of directly complaining about the student ("A student posted a negative comment about me"). Amy also employs the complaint sequence to implicitly convey a negative attitude toward her friend's conduct as well. Min affiliates by explicitly complaining about the insensitive actions of Amy's friend. This example shows how the act of being a good friend may involve

"not delivering bad news right before an important exam." A good friend should be aware that Amy has been preparing for the Korea national teacher's exam (a highly competitive exam that is held once a year) for a very long time. This social norm is delivered through the performance of complaints and the responses offered to the complaints. This example shows how category-bound predicates (Jayusi, 1984) associated with being a "good friend," such as alerting a friend about threats to their reputation, may not always be applicable in local communicative contexts, and the opposite may be true.

Later in the sequence, Amy uses reported speech to add that the person who posted the mean comments must have been a transfer student from another university and not someone from their own department (Excerpt 8.3, lines 24–26). Again, all her friends agree that the person who wrote the mean comment on the bulletin must be someone from outside the department. Interestingly, Amy employs the reported speech format (e.g., "Students said …") to deliver the complaint as well as the supportive comments she received from her seniors and other friends.

Excerpt 8.3 (continued from Excerpt 8.2)
```
24   A:  aetul-i hanun mal-i pyenipsayng-ina
         Students-SP do-TOP speech- NOM transfer.student-or
         "Students said that (the person who wrote the post)
25       jenhaksayng-in-ke kat-ta-ko
         transfer.student-ATTR-NOM    seem-DC-QP
         must be a transfer student from another university"
26       wulikwasayng-i ani-n-ke kat-ta-ko::
         Our.department.student-NOM NEG-ATTR-NOM seem-DC-QP
         "not a student from our department they said::"
```

The case presented in Excerpt 8.4 displays how friends can criticize a mutually known third party. Unlike the previous example, in which the friends appeared to cooperate in building the complaint and articulated their affiliation against an unknown third party, in this instance, the friends affiliate with each other in complaining about a mutual friend who did not attend the gathering. Three friends, Michelle, Leslie, and Suyeon, meet at a café and talk about a fourth friend (Jiho) who had initially promised to attend their gathering. Suyeon has taken a graduate class with Jiho and has finished writing her final paper. Jiho had said she might not make it to the present meeting because she had not yet finished writing her own paper. In this context, Leslie engages in an elaborated complaint initiation stage in order to make the initial complaint proposition recognized and validated by her friends. Excerpt 8.4 presents the complaint initiation phase (Phase 1, Traverso, 2009).

Excerpt 8.4 Michelle, Leslie, Suyeon at a café
```
1    M:  hhh-huh [-huh-huh.
         "hhh-huh [-huh-huh."
```

2   L: [hih-hih hhhh
              "hih-hih hhhh"
3   L: kuntey ku-key paper-ka <u>mwe</u>-ey tayhan-ke-ya?=
            by.the.way that-thing paper-NOM. what-to   about-thing-be:IE
              "By the way, that paper, <u>what</u> is it about?="
            ((Leslie gazes toward Suyeon))
4   L: ^mwe-ey tayhay ssu-nun ke-ya?
            what-to   about   write-ATTR. thing-be:IE?
              "<u>what</u> do (you) have to write about?="
            ((Leslie looks at Suyon who is reading a coupon book))
5   ^(1.0)
6   M: [Suyeni.
            (name)
              "[Suyeni."
7   S: [na-hanthey [mal-ha-nun ke?
            me-at   talk-do-ATTR thing
              "[Are you talking to me?["
8   L: [e e <u>e::</u>
                  yes yes yes
              "[Yes yes <u>yes::</u>"
9   S: mwe- ette-n ke?
            What which-ATTR thing
              "What- which thing?"
10 L: ku-ke.
            That-thing
              "that thing"
11 S: kim   kyosunim kke?
            ((last name)) professor   thing
              "Professor Kim's?"
12 L: >ani ani ani,< jiho-lang kachi tut-nun ke.
             No   no   no   ((name))-with.   Together listen-ATTR thing
              ">no no no,< the thing/class (you're) taking with Jiho."
13 S: ah:: ku-ke? [>ku-ke-<u>nun::</u>
             Oh   that-thing [that-thing-TOP
              ">Oh:: that thing? [>That thing is::"
14 L: [mm.
             yes
              "[Yes."
15 (0.2)
16 S: [kunyang   ]
            just
              "[Just   ]"
17 L: [mwe ilehke:y] mwe ilk-ko sse-yatwey-nun ke ani-ci.=
            what like.this   something read-CONN write-must-ATTR thing not
            .to.be-COMM
              "[Like this] (you) don't have to read anything and then write, do you.="
18 S: =ani-ya.   ]
            Not.to.be-IE
              "=No (you don't)."

```
19   L:  caki honca sayngkakha-[ko ssu-nun-ke-ci.
         self   alone  thing-CONN          write-ATTR-thing-COMM
         "(you) think about (it) yourself [and then write, don't you."
20   S:                        [u::ng ung.
                                yes    yes
                                "[Yes:: yes."
21   S:  kenyang ha:n han hakki tongan paywu-n-ke-l
          just        one   one semester during.   learn-ATTR-thing-ACC
22   S:  'nyang poye cwu-nun sik-inte:y
          just       show give-ATTR    way-CIRCUM
          "just, (it's) just (you) show what you've learned during
          one: one semester you know:"
23   L:  ah::::.
          oh
          "Oh:::."
24   S:  numwu taykanghey-kac(hh)iko nays(hh)-e
          too      do.carelessly-and.                    Hand.in-since
          "Since (I wrote it) halfheartedly and handed it in(hhh)"
25   S:  [hhehh molu-[keys-se.=
                      Not.know-DCT-IE
          "[hhehh (I) don't know [.="
26   L:  [a::     [ani,
          oh        no
          "[Oh::      [No,
27   L:  =waynyahamy::en Jiho-ka kuke-l ssun-ta-ko
          because                ((name))-NOM that-ACC write-DC-QT
28       an onta-nun ke-ya: kelay-
          not come-ATTR   thing-IE     so
          "=(I ask) because:: Jiho (said that she) won't be coming
          because (she) has to write that thing: so-"
```

Here, Leslie asks Suyeon about the final paper (line 3, "By the way, that paper, what is it about?") and tries to confirm that the final paper does not require extensive work. Rather, it entails the simple task of recording a personal opinion (line 17, "you do not have to read anything and then write, do you"). However, Suyeon is initially preoccupied with a coupon book and answers the question (line 4, "what do you have to write about?") after a series of repair sequences involving the target recipient of the question (line 6, "are you talking to me?"), the object in question (line 9, "what- which thing?"), and the class to which Leslie refers (line 11, "professor Kim's?"). Suyeon displays trouble in answering the question (lines 13–16) even after the object in question is confirmed. At this point, it may be unclear for Suyeon that Leslie has an agenda or that she is framing the paper as not taking up so much time to write. Realizing this misunderstanding, Leslie then changes the format to a simple closed question that only requires a yes/no answer to make it easier for Suyeon to answer: she wishes to emphasize that writing the target paper would not take up so much time (line 17, "you don't have to

read anything and then write, do you"). Finally, Suyeon laughs, responding that she does not know because she completed the task halfheartedly. Leslie follows by rejecting the terms of Suyeon's answer (line 26, "oh:: no,") and delivers the complaint concerning the question she has just asked (Example 5, line 27, "I ask because Jiho said that she won't be coming because she has to write that thing:"). The initiation stage ensures that the parties are aligned in accepting that Jiho's excuse for not coming ("I have to write a paper") is unjustified. The core complaint only surfaces after this extensive groundwork is prepared. Questions, such as the ones delivered by Leslie, can be used to elicit information that often links to a form of accusation or criticism of a behavior (Schegloff, 2005).

Excerpt 8.5 Michelle, Leslie, and Suyeon (Excerpt 8. 4 continued)

```
27   L:  =waynyahamy::en Jiho-ka kuke-l ssun-ta-ko
         because            ((name))-NOM that-ACC write-DC-QT
```
"=(I ask) because:: Jiho (said that she) won't be coming

```
28       an onta-nun ke-ya: kelay-
         not come-ATTR  thing-IE   so
```
because (she) has to write that thing: so-"

```
29   L:  nay[-ka. hehhh ku]-ke echapi=
         I-NOM            That-thing by.any.rate
```
"I [(said) hh that] thing is by any rate="

```
30   M:  [hhahhha hhha ]
```
"[hhahha hhha] "

```
31       ((Server(W) approaches the table with coffee and tea))
32   S:  =mwe ilehkey [ssu-
         DM   like.this     write
```
"=Um like this [write-"

```
33   W:  [mochaccino enu pwun i-sim-nikka?
         Mochaccino.    Which person. Be-SH:POL-INTERR
```
"[Who ordered Mochaccino please?"
```
         ((Leslie points toward Min))
```

```
34   M:  ^  yeki-yo:
         here-IE:POL
```
"Here:"

```
35   S:  ku-ke. Ecey-kkaci-ntey. Hh[uh-huh huh-huh-huh
         that-thing yesterday-until-CIRCUM
```
"That (paper). But (it) was due yesterday. Hh[uh-huh huh-huh-huh"

```
36   L:  [e, an-sse-ss-e:.
         Yes  not-write-PST-IE
37   L:  Jiho-ka hangsang kuleh-tuti::.
         ((hame))-NOM always.       be.so-like
```
"Yes, (she) didn't write (it). Just like Jiho does everytime.

```
38   S:  e huh-huhhh
         right
```
"Right huh-huhhh"

```
39   L:  kelaykacikwu::.
         So
```

"So::."

```
40        (4.0) ((Server places drinks on the table))
41   S:  na chelem cengmal amwulehkeyna nay-ci. Kunyang wancen
         mak.
         me like   really  carelessly  hand.in-COMM just  totally roughly
```
"Like me (she) should just hand in a rough (draft). Just totally rough."

```
42   L:  kuntey Jiho-nun ilpwule sayngkakha-ko kule-nun ket
         kat-kito hay.=
         but  ((name))-TOP intentionally think-CONN. be.so-ATTR  thing
         seem-also do:IE
```
"But Jiho also seems like she thinks (about it) and does this intentionally.="

```
43   L:  =waynyamyen ecey cenhwa-ha-lttay pwunmyeng (.) 'hhh
           because    yesterday phone-do-ACC-when  precisely
```
"=because yesterday when (we) were on the phone (she) precisely (said) (.) 'hhh"

```
         ((Leslie covers her mouth with her right hand))
44   L:  ^na onul an-ss(hh)u-l-ket kath-kwu:: hnh-hnh-heh
          I  today not-write-ACC-NOM    seem-CONN -
```
"I don't think I'll write(hh) today:: hnh-hnh-heh"

```
45   M:  mm. [ayay ssu-l sanygkkwk-ul an-ha-ko]
          Yes   not.at.all write-ACC thought-ACC not-do-CONN
```
"Yes (hh). [Not thinking about writing (it) at all]"

```
46   L:  [hhhh kunikka aya::y] nayil kunyang ssu-l
            right    not.at.all tomorrow just      write-ACC
```
"[hh right not at all::] just thinking that (she'll) write it tomorrow and"

```
47   L:  ke-lul sayngkak-hako >ecey-pwute kelay-ss-ten-ket
         kat-ey.
         thing-ACC think-and        yesterday-since do.so-PST-RT
         -NOM  seem-IE
```
">since yesterday (she) was in that state. [wow::

```
         ((S begins to pour tea into her cup from a tea pot))
48   S:  ^uwa:: nemwu yayppu-ta [kuchi.
         Wow    really  pretty-DC      right
```
"Really pretty [right."

```
49   L:  [ung=
          Yes
```
"[Yes="

```
50   L:  =ung i-ke-nun way han-pen te kelu-la-ko
         iss-nun-ke-ya?
         Yes this-thing-TOP why one-time   more
         filter-RT-CONN.  exist-ATTR-thing-be:IE
```
"=Yes why is this thing here (is it) to filter (the tea) one more time?"

```
51   M:  ung.
         Yes
```
"Yes."

```
52   L:  a::
         Oh
```
"Oh::"

```
52      (2.0)
53  M:  [ nemwu yayppu-ta.  ]
          really     pretty-DC
        "[(The teaware is) really pretty.]
54  L:  [ kelayse:: Jiho-poko:] i-ccok-ulo o-myen wuli-ka
          So.       ((name))-to DC  this-way-toward come-if  we-NOM
55      kachi yaykihay-cwu-n-ta-ko hay-ss-e,
        together  talk-give-IMPFV-DC-QT    say-PST-IE
        "[(So I told) Jiho)] if she comes here,
        we'll talk about it together with her, "
56      ke-k(hh)i-ey tayhayse(hhh).
        that-at about
        "about that (hhh)."
57  S:  ne? huhhuh kelekey. Jiho.
        You     be.so    ((name))
        "You? Huhhuh So. Jiho."
```

Using reported speech, Leslie quotes Jiho's reasons for not making it to the gathering in lines 27 to 28: "Jiho (said that she) won't be coming because (she) has to write that thing: so." She generalizes Jiho's behavior (line 37, "Yes, she didn't write it. Just like Jiho does everytime.") Suyeon affiliates verbally with her statement with a "yes" and laughs. A silence ensues as the server places the drinks on the table, after which Suyeon continues her assessment of Jiho's conduct by comparing it with her own practices in line 41: "Like me (she) should just hand in a rough (draft). Just totally rough." Leslie uses reported speech to complain about Jiho's procrastination (lines 43–44, "She precisely said I don't think I'll write today"). Previous studies have recurrently linked reported speech with a speaker's assessment, which can appear before or after the utterance, or may be embedded within it (Buttny, 1997). In this instance, the reported speech embeds a negative evaluation of the target. In line 45, Michelle affiliates herself further by co-constructing the complaint about Jiho though an upgrade: *ayay* "not at all." After a brief conversation about the teaware, Leslie reports that she had offered to help Jiho write the paper if she came to the meeting. This practice is pivotal to an individual's affiliation with a complaint: the person tried to resolve the problem that caused the complaint (Lurcuck, 2021).

This section highlighted how diverse applications such as laughter, reported speech, upgrades, and agreements were used in an interaction to display affiliation with a complaint about an absent third party. In the local contexts examined for the current study, reported speech appeared to be an important tool in making the complainable available for inspection by those who were not present at the time of its production. After having been able to inspect the complainable, friends can deliver their complaints and affiliative responses to them. The target sequences also evinced how friends locally produced the act of "being a good friend." Excerpt 8.2 elucidates that a good friend is someone who does not deliver bad news to a close friend when an important event is

imminent. Excerpt 8.4 clarifies that a good friend is someone who does not favor writing a final paper over meeting close friends. The next section outlines the practices involved in disaffiliating with a complaint directed at a co-present party and scrutinizes how friendship norms are addressed in such contexts.

Complaints targeting co-present parties: Disaffiliating responses

The previously cited cases comprised critiques targeted at absent third parties. The instances referenced in this section show friends complaining about a co-present friend's comments or actions. Disaffiliating responses are offered to complaints in this context, and the stances of the speakers are misaligned. Disaffiliating practices can avoid face-threatening interactions by simply avoiding the act of affiliating. For example, denials or readjustments, instances in which complainees maintain that they have not committed the complained-of action, or insist that they have changed their opinions, may be observed when complaints target a co-present party.

Excerpt 8.6 features three close friends sharing ice cream at June's house. Lee uses reported speech to express her discontentment with Kim's decision to buy leather boots (instead of fur boots), an act that Kim considers to have violated a social norm that friends should buy the same items. Drew (1998) notes that complaints about conduct are not intrinsically regarded as violations; rather, the moral reprehensibility of conduct is constituted through the social participant's practices: alternative competing versions of the same conduct are possible. As in Excerpt 8.4, Lee lays the groundwork for delivering the core complaint by first aligning with June that buying fur boots instead of leather boots was a good decision (lines 12–14, "They're pretty" and "Thrifty, right?").

Excerpt 8.6 Lee, June, and Kim
```
        ((L scoops icecream and eats it))
11   L:  Na-nun ^(0.5) kajuk-ul sal-lako kulay-ss-nun-taym.
         I-TOP       leather-ACC buy-QT intend-PST-CIRCUM-but
         "I was going to buy the leather ((boots)) but."
         ((J points toward the boots while nodding))
12   J:  Mmmm. ^[Yeapp-e.]
         Yes    pretty-IE
         "Mmmm. [(They're) pretty]""
         ((L points toward the boots))
13   L:  [^>Ce-kay kwanchan-un-ke] kath-ase<=
         that-thing okay-ATTR-NOM        seem-CAU
         "[>They seemed pretty] so<""
14   J:  =Alddulha-ci?
          Thrifty-COMM
         "Thrifty, right?"
         ((L nods her head))
```

```
15    L:   ^kulayto unni-nun kacuk san-tanda.
             but        older.friend-TOP leather   buy-QP
             "But she(Kim) says she's going to buy leather ((boots))."
16    J:   e:h?
             what?
             "What?"
             ((L moves her head up from the icecream and gazes at J))
17    L:   ^unni-nun ka[cuk san-tanda.]
             she-TOP       leather    buy-QP
             "She(Kim) says [she's going to buy leather ((boots)).]"
18    K:   [Ah ni::::] kacuk sako ship-ess-nuntay=
             No           leather buy want-PST-but
             "[No:: :] (I) had wanted to buy leather but="
             ((L turns her gaze toward K))
19    L:   ^=cakku po-nikka maum-I pakke-ss-eyo?
             repeat see-then mind-SM chane-PST-HON
             "((you)) changed your mind after seeing that again?"
20          (0.8)
21 K:   U::h
             yes
             "Ye::s"
             ((L looks down at icecream))
22    L:   ^ce-ke sa-yo, kwanchan-ayo.
             That-thing buy-HON   okay-HONThrifty-COMM
             "Buy those, (those boots are)) fine."
23    K:   hheh saynkak com haypopko hhe.
             think       a.little do-ACC-CONN
             "hheh (I'll) think about it a bit hhe."
```

Lee delivers the complainable in line 15, immediately after the positive evaluation of Kim's decision to buy fur boots, by reporting Kim's words: "she (Kim) says she's going to buy leather boots." It is rather unclear whether Lee's accusation in line 15 is delivering a direct complaint or merely displaying a complainable matter. As suggested by Watson (1978), knowledge and intention are measuring-rods for the assessment of actions, and it appears that in this context, Kim takes Lee's accusation as a complaint. Kim is seated next to Lee, and even though she quotes Kim, Lee's gaze direction is fixed on June, who had told her to buy the fur boots she is currently wearing. After a repair sequence (line 16, "what?") and a repetition of the complaint, Kim rejects this understanding with an overlapped "no." When accused of preferring another type of boots (leather) rather than the fur boots June wanted Lee to buy, Kim revises her initial decision by directly rejecting the claim (line 18, "No::") and contrasting the timeline ("I had wanted to buy leather boots but"). Kim's responses are disaffiliative, as she challenges the validity of Lee's complaint directly with the negative token *ani* "no" in the overlap. It is also noteworthy that Kim's overlapping turn is incomplete and ends with a *-nuntey* ("but"), offering an accountability point (Park, 1999). In this manner, Kim invites

Lee to infer her incomplete statement. Lee finishes Kee's incomplete turn by appending her interpretation using a questioning intonation (line 19, "you changed your mind after seeing (my shoes) again?"). After a brief pause, Kim responds to this question in the affirmative with an elongated *U::h* "Yes::" (line 21) while avoiding Lee's eye gaze. A further remark is made by Lee in line 22 in which she explicitly advises Kim to buy the fur boots (line 22, "Buy those"). Kim indirectly disaffiliates with this advice by interspersing her offer to think about it with laugh particles (line 23, "hheh I'll think about it a bit hhe").

The next example presents an additional case in which a complaint (or a complainable matter) attracts a disaffiliating response by the co-present party. Kim complains about June's exaggerated tone of voice when she was talking to a mutual friend on the phone, negatively characterizing June's conduct using reported speech (line 14, "It seemed like you were dating her, really. 'Did you eat unni?'"). After a pause of one second, June laughs and rejects this reading of her tone of voice by generalizing this behavior.

Excerpt 8.7. Lee, June, and Kim

```
01   L:  ilen salam-i hato manha-se ttakhi an manna-to(h)
         [hhehhe]=
         This.kind.of people  so many-thus really NEG meet-CIRCUM
         "(she) has so many like this that (she) doesn't have to plan a meeting
         [hhehhe]="
02   K:  [kelay?]
         really
         "[Is that so?]"
03   L:  =ta ile-khey manna-key twey-iss-e.=
         everyone this-way meet-RESUL become-PST-IE
         "(she) gets to meet everyone in the end."
14   K:  =kkok sakui-nun ket katey. Wancenhi. Bab meke-ss-e
         unni?
         Like dating-ATTR NOM seem completely rice eat-PST-IE older.friend
         "It seemed like (you) were dating (her). really. "Did you eat friend? (high
         tone)"
15       (1.0)
         ((L looks at J))
16   J:  huh hhh wenray na-nun ke-le-nuntey. ^Hhh hng hh
         usually I-TOP that-IMPFV- CIRCUM
         "huh hhh I do that to everyone but. hhh hng hh"
         ((L moves her head up from the icecream and gazes at J))
```

Unlike in Excerpt 8.6, where the disaffiliative response following the complaint was delivered immediately by the complained-about party, in Excerpt 8.7, June's response following Kim's complaint is followed by a one-second pause (line 15) and a brief chuckle at the beginning of her turn (line 16). The silence displays the disaffiliative stance of the respondent: June does not

agree with Kim's characterization of her tone of her voice. As in Excerpt 8.6, June's disaffiliating response to Kim's complaint is incomplete and ends with -*nuntey* ("but"). Park (1999) demonstrated that incomplete clauses that end with -*nuntey* are frequently used in Korean to provide dispreferred responses such as disagreements, denials, and declinations. Speakers use *nuntey*-clauses in dispreferred contexts to deliver background information rather than to offer explicit rejections more indirectly. In both Excerpts 8.6 and 8.7, the recipients of the complaints disaffiliate by using incomplete clauses that end with -*nuntey*; the implications of the unstated clause are expected to be inferred. June also directs her gaze at Lee while stating that her tone of voice toward that person was not unusual (line 16) and by the end of the turn establishes mutual gaze with Lee. By using eye gaze, June forms an alliance with Lee as opposed to Kim in an implicit manner.

This section revealed the deployment of diverse practices adopted to display non-affiliation in instances when complaints are directed at a co-present party. The complained-about matters in these interactions were also related to the notion of maintaining and building friendship and solidarity. For example, in Excerpt 8.6, the act of not buying the same type of boots was considered a violation of norms for being a friend, and in Excerpt 8.7, the action of talking to a third party as if she were a close friend (when she is not) was considered to be a complainable matter. The present study suggests that investigating complaints may be one way of glimpsing into how doing good friends as a social norm is constructed through interaction.

Conclusion

Complaints about a co-present party and third-party complaints can be distinguished from each other by whether the responses that follow them in discourse are affiliative or disaffiliative (Curl et al., 2002). When directly targeted by complaints, co-present participants may defend their conduct or revise their wrongdoing. Conversely, participants in a conversation respond to third-party complaints by expressing their affiliation with the complaint. This chapter presented an analysis of responses to both co-present party and third-party complaints delivered via reported speech. To accomplish this objective, the concept of affiliation and disaffiliation was employed in order to contribute to our understanding of complaint responses in friendship interactions.

The analysis also revealed types of social norms that friends treated as having been violated by examining the complaining actions within the interactions. What friends considered to be complainable was elucidated by locating the complained-about matter and pinpointing how the recipients treated the complaints to showcase the requirements of "being good friends." For example, the acts of prioritizing an assignment over meeting friends and buying a product that differed from the goods bought by one's friends were considered complainable matters that described misconduct. Therefore, certain

complained-about behaviors may not inherently be complainable, but may be constructed as such through interactional practices. Such practices are constructed through selective descriptions that use reported speech and are designed for the specific purpose of complaining in a particular context. Reported speech casts the perception of complainability into the public domain in order to convince others of a potential transgression. The present study evidenced the manner in which a complaining activity represents an actual site of social organization in which friendship norms are dynamically embodied in distinct shapes. Friends participate in the complaining activity as an actual site of social organization within which they can achieve the actual status of a member. Evidently, friends indicate though the act of complaining that the target party has violated a certain norm that is shared within friendship groups.

The analyses of the present study described the practices of human friendship in terms of "how members concert their activities to produce and exhibit the coherence, cogency, analysis, consistency, order, meaning, reason, and methods, which are locally, reflexively accountable orderlinesses" (Garfinkel, 1988: 108). Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig (2011) reported that understanding human sociality represented a fundamental goal of domains across the social sciences. Querying sociality denotes an essential task for the evaluation of the extent to which human behaviors are prosocial and cooperative. We must understand how, when, and to what extent people cooperate in social interaction at the micro level if we desire to understand prosociality. To relate the current study to the volume's research theme, this study suggests that sequences consisting of complaints and the responses that follow them represent important spaces in which women build friendships and construe prosociality. In addition, the analysis of complaints in friendship interactions may contribute to our apprehension of the relationship between grammar, interactions, and social organization (Antaki & Widdicombe, 2008; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001) as well as social norms and the negotiation of the friendship identity through interactions.

The current study is limited because it investigated only complaints targeted at people instead of objects or emotions. For example, agentless complaints were also quite frequently found in the data set of the present study but were not considered for the current analysis. Subcategories of agentless complaints could encompass grievances about life, for instance, "I'm so stressed all the time" or "I have no motivation." They could also involve inanimate protests such as "the weather is so horrible" or "this chair is uncomfortable." Further studies could investigate such types of complaints in interactions and examine the responses that follow them vis-à-vis friendship-building practices. Finally, the data set did not contain overt displays of disaffiliation or arguments. Further studies could collect instances in which friends are being explicitly disaffiliative or are involved in arguments to check whether the current analysis is equally valid in those contexts.

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9 Jocular mockery in Chinese mealtime conversation

Yeming Chu

Introduction

This chapter aims to examine how native Chinese participants construct and maintain relationships through mealtime conversations.

Even though "cooperative" (Grice, 1975) communication is typically a focal point of relationship building, it is not always synonymous with politeness in linguistic forms (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987: 97, 229). In our daily lives, there are real, seemingly "non-cooperative" interactions involving pseudo-conflict (see Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). These interactions can often bring about a crisis in interpersonal relationships. Friendship is formed and managed not only through these crises but also in the practice of daily interactions.

The present study aims to investigate the methods by which individuals cope with pseudo-conflicts and crises between friends and the resulting implications for "doing friendship" within sociocultural contexts. Furthermore, this investigation supports the view that interpersonal relationships, including friendships, are not fixed entities, but are co-constructed by the participants in interactions within the sociocultural context.

This chapter will analyze two non-cooperative interactions at a dinner party between Chinese native speakers, and how they cope with interactions that have the potential to cause a reissue in their relationships with one another. The term "non-cooperative" here refers to verbal and non-verbal behaviors that convey a lack of alignment with the proposals or actions of the other participants. This section delves into the management and creation of interpersonal relationships in dynamic, everyday interactions.

The data were collected from a conversation between four Chinese native-speaker friends. Examining data that include "jocular mockery" (Haugh, 2010: 2106), I will describe how intentionally "face-threatening acts (FTA)" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 60) were used as an opportunity for jocular mockery and how participants are seen to co-construct their interaction to maintain their relationship in their mealtime conversations.

Literature review

"Non-cooperative" interactions as relational work

As previously mentioned, to analyze interpersonal relationships in interactions, it is crucial to examine not only instances of "cooperative" (Grice, 1975) interactions but also (seemingly) "non-cooperative" interactions. Scenes of non-cooperation in interpersonal relationships have been the subject of international scholarly inquiry utilizing various terms such as "disagreement" (e.g., Tsutsui, 2016), "teasing" (e.g., Otsu, 2004; Takanashi, 2020), "jocular mockery," and "jocular abuse" (e.g., Haugh, 2010; Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). Even in the presence of general amicability, non-cooperation is manifest in daily interactions in ways that are not always at odds with positive interpersonal relationships but rather, constitute a fundamental aspect thereof. In this section, after reviewing related studies from Japan, Europe, and the United States, I will analyze prior studies on Chinese interpersonal communication and outline the perspective of this chapter.

First, I will delve deeper into the concept of jocular mockery (Haugh, 2010; Haugh & Bousfield, 2012) and mock impoliteness (Leech, 1983; Haugh & Bousfield, 2012).

Haugh (2010), drawing upon observations of first-encounter interactions between university students in an Anglo-Australian setting, examined the role of what he calls jocular mockery in interpersonal relationships, specifically within the context of "not taking oneself too seriously" (Goddard, 2006, 2009: 38; Haugh, 2010). Jocular mockery is a form of teasing characterized by a shared orientation toward fostering solidarity and friendly relationships (Haugh, 2010: 2107). Haugh (2010: 2107–2108) further describes that when doing jocular mockery, the speaker uses a non-serious frame to ridicule something significant to themselves, another person present, or a third party who is not present in the interaction. Haugh (2010: 2113–2115) also notes that jocular mockery is often deployed as a response to excessive praise and points out that although it appears to be a "disaffiliative stance" (pp. 2111, 2114) that may potentially threaten the other participants' face during a first encounter, it can also serve as a trigger for fostering relationships among others (p. 2114). Thus, jocular mockery can serve as an opportunity for further relationship development between participants (pp. 2113–2116).

In connection with the research conducted by Haugh (2010), Haugh and Bousfield (2012) employed corpus data to investigate "mock impoliteness, jocular mockery, and jocular abuse" (p. 1099) in Australian English and Northwest British English. This work builds upon preceding analyses by both Fox (2004) and Goddard (2009), which demonstrate the sociocultural value of "not taking yourself too seriously." Haugh and Bousfield (2012) argue that "jocular mockery" and "jocular abuse" are particular realizations of "mock impoliteness," which involves "denoting evaluations of potentially impolite behavior as non-impolite" (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012: 1103).

Jocular abuse and jocular mockery are both found to be highly dependent on situational context. Therefore, identifying the recipient of the teasing and their perception of it, as well as those of one or more participants in the situation, becomes crucially important. While one key feature of jocular abuse is its employment of specific linguistic forms marked by negative valuing or undermining, such as the use of the term "nobhead" (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012: 1108), the cases examined in this paper are not characterized by such forms but rather, by a pragmatic low valorization of the other participants, including their suggestions, actions, and belongings within the situational context.

While the concepts of jocular mockery and abuse have been studied primarily using data from English-speaking interactions, some studies in Japanese have also addressed these topics and how they might differ from Western cultures. For instance, Otsu (2004) focuses on methods of "playful conflict" (pp. 44–46), a form of positive politeness that is realized in everyday interactions between Japanese friends. The analysis centers on two key points: the initiation of "playful conflict" (pp. 45–46) in Japanese conversation, and how interactions occurring in Japanese daily conversations are understood as "play" (p. 45). According to Otsu's (2004: 47) analysis, there are two methods of initiating conflict play: the participant who wishes to initiate the conflict expresses the conflict themselves, or they intentionally say something incorrect to elicit the other party's conflict. Additionally, Otsu (2004) points out that "laughter," "repetition of utterances," "manipulation of prosody," and "style switching" (Otsu, 2004: 49–51) can act as cues that make the "play" comprehensible (Otsu, 2004: 49–51). This study sheds light on conversations among young Japanese women, where insult expressions are not commonly used. In contrast to Western research, Otsu's study is notable for the comparatively low emphasis placed on offensive words or impolite linguistic forms.

While Otsu examined playful conflict, Takanashi's series of studies, which also focus on "frames of play" (Takanashi, 2016: 103) in interaction, discuss the presentation of an individual's self-image and the construction of identity through play (Takanashi, 2016, 2020). Takanashi (2016) examined a conversation between two female friends in their 20s and focused specifically on the concept of "frames of play" (Takanashi, 2016: 103), a concept put forth by Bateson (1972), Goffman (1974), and Gumperz (1982), in which speakers provide "contextualization cues" (Gumperz, 1982: 131) indicating a playful nature. Takanashi's (2016) analysis reveals that "intersubjective identities" are co-constructed through a process of "stance-taking" and that this dynamic process also shapes the participants' identities (p. 103). Furthermore, playful interactions may potentially bring risk to the relationship between participants, yet they are important in shaping interpersonal communication, as they also add color and nuance (Takanashi, 2016: 114).

Then, Takanashi (2020) delves into the examination of "teasing plays" (pp. 148–158) in the context of interactions between men and women at drinking parties. This study analyzes the manner in which "identity work" (p. 150) leads to the formation of self-image through dynamic interaction.

Through her examination of these teasing cases, Takanashi (2020) points out that the participants' self-image is co-constructed socioculturally through a multi-faceted stance, taking into account the context that arises temporarily in the interaction, the roles and relationships of the participants, and the characteristics of the interaction, and that it is jointly adjusted by the participants (p. 180). Through this analysis, Takanashi unpacks the dynamic self-presentation of participants in interpersonal communication, as well as one aspect of the construction of dynamic interpersonal relationships through visualized interaction (Takanashi, 2020: 170–172).

Chinese jocular abuse

Thus far, we have observed that seemingly non-cooperative interactions are observed in various languages and cultural communications and hold significant implications for interpersonal communication. Because the present study focuses on Chinese interactional jocular mockery, in this section, I will examine the findings of previous studies that have focused on jocular mockery and abuse in interactions of Chinese conversations.

Qiu, Chen, and Haugh (2021) focus on a phenomenon they call "jocular flattery" (p. 225) in everyday Chinese online conversations. According to them, jocular flattery is a kind of interaction that contains "exaggerated positive evaluation of the targets as non-serious" (Qiu et al., 2021: 228). In other words, jocular flattery is a kind of action that makes fun of others by lifting them up. Their study finds three actions that can invoke jocular flattery: 1) "overdone actions," which mark a previous action in interaction as exaggerated, 2) "unfulfilled actions," such as the participant's failure to keep commitments and appointments, as well as the target's efforts to mitigate this disadvantage by offering sophisticated justification, and 3) "out-of-place actions," which means that the seemingly "good side" of the target is somehow shown or revealed in an unsuitable context (pp. 230–233). Their study also identified six types of actions that respond to jocular flattery, including "reciprocating the jocular flattery," "non-serious rejection," and so on (Qiu et al., 2021: 235). They also point out that jocular flattery in Chinese conversations can create an informal atmosphere while also working to maintain interpersonal relationships by doing entertainment. Jocular flattery can thus be seen as a reflection of the sender's orientation toward maintaining an amicable relationship with the receiver (Qiu et al., 2021: 237–239). This format is culturally distinctive in that it concentrates on a type of verbal commendation and affirmative assessment of others, in contrast to the European and American studies that concentrate on contemptuous, mocking, and denigrating interactions.

Zhao (2020), using Chinese social networking chat data as a case study, focuses on "*hudui*" ("reciprocal jocular abuse") (p. 45), another type of confrontation that takes the form of interactional play. Zhao (2020) points out the characteristics of the sequential environment of *hudui*; that is, *hudui* represents a symmetrical form of aggression between online interlocutors, which

distinguishes it from other previous studies (p. 45). The following is part of an excerpt from Zhao (2020: 51). (The original transcript is given in Chinese characters, and the author of this article has changed it to *pinyin*.)

01 [A publishes a photo and a textual message saying that "three idiots"—including herself and her two roommates—went to a beach.]
 02 B: *ming ming zhiyou ni sha*
  Undoubtedly you are the only one who is stupid
 03 A: *ni hai bushi sha*
  You are stupid, too

<div align="right">Zhao (2020: 51, Example 2)</div>

According to Zhao (2020), the sequential environment of *hudui* in Chinese online interaction can be co-constructed as "insult and counter-insult" (p. 53, 59), and the "counter-insult" itself can also play a role as a trigger of further *hudui* action, so *hudui* can be seen as a "conversational ping-pong game" (p. 59).

Zhao (2020) indicates that interlocutors frequently use two ways to start a sequence of *hudui*. First, they identify the use of "personalized negative vocatives" and "personalized negative assertions" (Zhao, 2020: 50–51; Culpeper, 2011: 135), through which they describe the other interlocutor's appearance, mental state, abilities, or competence in a degrading way (pp. 50–51). Second, speakers may begin *hudui* by using a pretended disregard of others' feelings. Then in response, referring to the concept of "tit-for-tat" (Culpeper et al., 2003: 1564), Zhao (2020) further points out that the existence of "turn parallels" (p. 53). Zhao (2020) indicates that this kind of *hudui* practice in Chinese conversations can be considered as a way to realize the relational work in the Chinese sociocultural context (p. 55–57).

In another study, Chen (2019) used data from Chinese novels in which characters used offensive words ("abusive terms") (p. 55) against their companions or relatives, such as "You're a nuisance! Who cares? Get away!" (Chen, 2019: 59). Following Culpeper et al. (2017), Chen calls this phenomenon a kind of jocular abuse, pointing out that in the Chinese context, this also contains both a "negative message and positive message" (pp. 57–59). For example, Chen describes how a fictional character who had not seen her grandmother for a long time was called an "ass-kisser" by her grandmother upon their reunion (p. 58). However, the grandmother was simultaneously smiling and tearful when uttering the abusive term, and from a series of subsequent responses by the recipient, it was clear that the character did not take the abuse seriously. Therefore, the author suggests that this type of jocular abuse mixes the initiator's certain level of dissatisfaction and forgiveness, and conveys dual messages of positivity and negativity, ultimately being recognized and treated as a joke by both interlocutors (p. 58). As a result, Chen points out that such playful confrontations can promote relationships among characters, solidarity, and affinity among the interlocutors, as well as provide

an opportunity for quarrelling couples to reconcile, and ultimately contribute to the author's creation of characters and narrative progress in the context of the novel (p. 62).

In media contexts, Gong and Ran (2020), focusing on the use of teasing by Chinese TV interview hosts, point out that teasing in an institutional setting is not a promotion of solidarity but a tool for the host to construct professionality appropriate to the situation (Gong & Ran, 2020: 70–76). Additionally, using conversations from Chinese TV dramas, Chen and Ran show that conflict with the other party has the function of constructing identity (p. 15). For instance, intentional impoliteness can construct a "powerful identity," "prominent identity," and "affective identity" (Chen & Ran, 2013: 28). Chen and Ran indicate that "affective identity," which refers to the distance in a relationship, can be strategically used in interaction by interlocuters to reach their communicative intent.

As most of these previous studies examine the functions of teasing interactions in TV programs or online chats, insufficient research has been conducted on the "being friends" process in Chinese face-to-face communication. In this sense, it is necessary to focus on dynamic relationships in highly synchronous everyday face-to-face conversations, rather than less synchronous interactions such as those in TV programs or online chats.

In this chapter, I use jocular mockery in the following sense: a form of humor that maintains relationships through a series of "non-cooperative" interactions like refusals, teasing, or negative evaluations. Additionally, as Terkourafi (2008) posited that the definition of politeness and impoliteness ought to center on its "perlocutionary effect" (Terkourafi, 2008: 56–57, 60), this study also adopts this stance in its consideration of jocular mockery. While linguistic forms may be considered, the primary focus is not on any particular form but on evaluating the entire speech event as a whole.

Method

As mentioned earlier, interpersonal relationship building is dynamically constructed in the course of interactions. To describe the relationships that emerge in each such interaction, I use a qualitative approach that focuses on the dynamic interaction itself, taking an ethnographic view (Hymes, 1972, 1989; Ide et al., 2019). I also use the notion of "social indexical" (e.g., Koyama, 2012), which is concerned with how social information such as identities and power relations are referenced in interaction. For example, when we ask someone, "Are you angry?" he or she will often say, "No, I'm not angry." Conversely, if you laugh at the other person and declare, "I'm going to get angry," the participants may understand that you are not actually angry. In other words, the intended meaning differs from what is said, and this meaning is understood through the use of contextualization cues and other signals.

The specific data will be analyzed in the form of three excerpts extracted from approximately two hours of talk involving four Chinese friends in Japan,

collected at a dinner party where they reunite for the first time in over a year. Friends A, B, C, and D, as well as the author, gathered in the apartment of A, which is located in Osaka prefecture, for a hot pot party. Including the author, all participants had previously studied at the same Japanese university. A, B, and the author are males, while C and D are females. During college, B, C, and the author lived in the same dormitory, where A and D would occasionally visit for parties or gatherings. At the time of data collection, B and D were still students, while A and C had graduated. The author had moved to another school. Because of these changes, the participants had not met each other for over one year prior to this interaction. In the data presented here, the author had already finished eating and was resting in the back room, so the interaction only includes A, B, C, and D.

Analysis

In this section, I examine how interlocutors cope with a refusal that might risk damaging the relationship between participants. In Excerpt 9.1a, A noticed C was covered with sweat and so offered clothes for C to change into, but C refused the offer.

Excerpt 9.1a How about changing into my shirt
```
1    A:  C     wo de  nazhong da de nazhong
         C's name  my POSS  kind of     big NOM  kind of
         ((c looks up at a))
2        ^chenyi ni yaobuyao huan yixia
         shirt      you  want it or not  change once time
         "I have that kind of oversized shirt. You can change
         into it if you like."
            ((c looks at her own clothes))
3    C:  ganma:^˚ya˚
         what       IP
         "Why."
4    A:  wo kan ni tian a
         I    see   you  oh my god
         "Hey, just look at yourself, oh my god."
         (0.5)
         ((a gesturing with his hand to his own face))
                    ((c smile))
5    A:  ^quan(h):::^shi(h)han(h)::hh
         all             C        sweat
         "It's all sweaty."
         (0.5)
6    A:  hh wo you nazhong te↓bie kuan de
            I     have   that kind of  super    wide   NOM
7        nazhong dayi ni yaobuyao huan
         that kind of  coat    you  want it or not  change
         "I have a very large size coat, how about changing into that?"
```

```
       (0.5)
          ((c bringing food to the mouth))
8→   C:  >˚buyong(h)buyong(h)^˚meishier˚(h)<
            no           no            it doesn't matter
         "No, no, it doesn't matter."
9    D:  bushi nizheyifu daihuier meifaer chuqu
         not really your clothes   late     cannot    go out
         "Um, maybe you won't be able to go out later with those
         clothes."
10→  C:  wo chui wo chuigan zai zaichuqu(.)
         I    blow  I   blow-dry   then  then go out
         ((c take a slice of meat)) ((c looks at her own clothes))
11       ^shibushi   ^quan quan bianse le
         is it               all    all   discolored  P
         "I will blow-dry it before going out. Is it all discolored?"
            12 A:  meibianse [shi juedui you chaoji choude
         no discolored    C   absolutely has   a super    stink
13       weidao
         smell
         "The color hasn't changed, but it has to be super smelly."
         ((B uses his left index finger to touch and
         check c's clothes))
14   B:  [haihao^
         it's okay
         "It's okay."
```

Lines 1–7 present a series of interactions that begin with A, who makes an offer (Schegloff, 2007) of his oversized shirt to A (lines 1–2). It is important to note that lines 1–2 are a "yes/no question" or "polar question" (Kamigaki, 2015), which contains an auxiliary verb *yao buyao* ("want it or not") (Zhang, 2018). As such, the subsequent response would be expected to be either "yes" or "no." However, C does not respond to the question immediately as expected. Instead, C looks at her clothes, asking *ganma ya* ("why") in line 3, thereby requesting a further explanation from A. After A's response in lines 4–5, A provides an offer again in lines 6–7 with the same content, and also the polar question form, as in lines 1–2. This time, C refuses A with an utterance of *buyong buyong meishier* ("no, it doesn't matter") in line 8. This utterance was produced in a low-volume and fast way. Notice that line 8 is a "second pair part" (Schegloff, 2007) to lines 6–7, while also functioning as a response to the pending question in line 1 (which is the same as line 7 in terms of content). At this point, the question-answer pair could be closed. However, in line 9, D answered *bushi* ("not really") to indicate an understanding of C's refusal while renewing the offer for C to change clothes again. C then replies in line 10, stating she will blow-dry her clothes before going out and asks if they are discolored in line 11. In lines 12–13, A reassures C that the color doesn't change while simultaneously emphasizing that the smell could be strong. This excerpt illustrates that C refuses (line 8, lines 10–11) the suggestion to change

clothes (lines 1–2, 6–7, 9) from A and D two times. Despite C's refusing twice, A persisted in trying to persuade C by emphasizing in lines 12–13 that the clothes would be smelly if C did not change. Seeing this as an opening, in the following Excerpt 9.1b, D and A launched a series of lobbying efforts simultaneously.

Excerpt 9.1b I don't care, let them look

```
15   D: weidao henzhong wo gen ni jiang [ni zhe
         smell      very strong  I   PRE you say       your this
16      weidao juedui hen zhong]
         smell      absolutely very  strong
           "It has to be be super smelly, it definitely has to be super       smelly."
17   A: [ni xianzai
         you now
18      shi kending wenbudao de [ni xianzai
         C     definitely    can not smell  NOM you  now
         ((A shake his head))
19      juedui ^wenbudao]
          definitely    can not smell
         "You definitely can't smell it now, you definitely cannot."
20   D: [ni xianzai
         you now
21      wenbudao ni deng]xia chuqu(.)nizhe yifu=
         can not smell   you later          go out        your        clothes
         "You can't smell it now. After you go out, your clothes…"
22→  C: =a nishuo   huoguo weier a
         you mean     hot-pot        smell
         "You mean the smell of hot-pot."
23   D: en
         yeah
         "Yeah."
         ((C raise her head and open her hands with exaggerated expression))
24→  C: ^wu:::suowei::::a
         do not care
         "I don't care."
         ((D turned back to get the drinking bottle))
25→  B: =hhh fanzheng C shuo wo burenshi
         anyway       C say      I    don't know
26      zhexie dabanren [hhhhhh
         these  Osaka people
         "C says 'anyway I don't know these Osaka people.'"
27   C: [dui a
         exactly
         "Exactly."
28   B: hhhhh[hhhhhhh
29→  C: [wusuoweia meiguanxi[tamen kanjiukan]
         it doesn't matter it's okay        they     look
         "It doesn't matter, I don't care, let them look if they like."
```

```
30   B:  [tamen(h)shuo(h)
         they          say
31       zhege(h) ren](h) zhege(h) ren(h) shi(h)
         this    guy  this        guy   C
32       shenme hh
          what
```
"They'll say 'what's wrong with this guy.'"
((D twists open the bottle cap while speaking))
```
33→  D:  bu care(.)^rang tamen wen
         donot care      let   them   smell
```
"(I) don't care, let them smell."

In Excerpt 9.1b, A and D produced a series of overlapping utterances to persist in suggesting that C should change clothes (lines 15–21). Then, C initiated a repair (Schegloff et al., 1977) by deploying "you mean the smell of the hot-pot" (line 22). From this point of view, it can be seen that C is coping with some interactional trouble, as she couldn't make a decision immediately on whether to accept or reject A and D's suggestions. Indeed, considering the entire context from lines 1–9 (Excerpt 9.1a), since A mentioned that C was covered with sweat, it is possible that C misunderstood A and D to be referring to the smell of her sweat. From this point of view, C's refusal so far can also be analyzed as arising from a misunderstanding of the reason for the suggestion to change clothes. After receiving affirmation from D (line 23), C responded with *wu:::suowei::::a* ("I don't care"), in a stretched tone, raising her head and opening her hands (line 24). C's interaction in line 24 can be analyzed as C employing highly exaggerated body language to convey that the smell of hot pot is a negligible issue when compared with the smell of sweat. Nonetheless, the fact is that C's verbal and non-verbal behavior is highly indicative of her disagreement with D and A's previous advice. In other words, C strongly conveyed her stance of "I don't mind the smell of the hot pot" by using both prosodic and physical resources, thereby rejecting the suggestion to change clothes.

It is worth noting that until the repair by C in line 22, including C's refusal to A and D in Excerpt 9.1a as mentioned earlier, C's behavior can be understood as her misunderstanding about what the smell referred to and therefore not understanding the true intention behind A and D's suggestion to change clothes. However, the repair in lines 22–23 clarify what smell is being referred to. At this point, C's refusal in line 24, through the use of non-verbal resources (raising her hand and opening her hands to emphasize that she does not mind this), has the meaning of threatening the face of A and D. It is worth noting that after this response, D turned back to retrieve the drinks (lines 24–25) and did not produce any further response. From this, it is important to note that C's reply in line 24 created a confrontational situation between A and D with which they must cope.

As a response to this confrontational situation, starting from lines 25–26, B immediately produced laughter and the utterance *fanzheng C shuo wo burenshi zhexie dabanren* ("C says 'anyway I don't know these Osaka people'"), which is an example of direct speech (Leech & Short, 2007). In line 25, B uses the report speech maker *shuo* to indicate that he is reporting C's speech directly, and this is reinforced through the use of the first-person pronoun *wo* and the indicative *zhexie* ("these"). This suggests that B is speaking from C's perspective and at the place where the reported speech occurred (i.e., a dinner party in Osaka). This is a way of stressing common ground through what Brown and Levinson call a "point-of-view operation" (1987: 117–121).

That said, B's direct quote is not what C actually said but is, rather, presented only ostensibly as a direct quote. According to Kamada (2000), reported speech may include things that were not actually verbalized, and thus, direct speech may be a creation of something that did not actually occur (p. 65). In this way, the reported speech disregards C's true thoughts, expressing B's feelings on behalf of C, which could threaten C's negative face. However, C demonstrates her concurrence with B by producing "exactly" in line 27. Up to this point, B utilized the hypothetical object of "Osaka people" (lines 25–26) as an outgroup to shift focus away from the confrontation between C and A, but now D creates a sense of ingroup among those present. From lines 29, 30–32, and 33, it should be noted that the third-person pronoun *tamen*, which refers to Osaka people, was used three times by C, B, and D. From this point of view, the hypothetical opposing perspective of "Osaka people" constructed by B using direct speech was accepted by the other interlocutors present. It is noticeable that in lines 30–32, B produced an utterance from the hypothetical Osaka people's point of view, while in line 33, D takes on the role of C and conveys C's attitude towards the Osaka people. The series of interactions in lines 30–33 can thus be viewed as a playful activity where the participant co-constructs humor and entertainment, which may in turn index intimacy.

Excerpts 9.1a and 9.1b depict a conversation surrounding A's proposal to offer his clothes to C to prevent her clothes from becoming wet with sweat or the smell of hot pot. A and D attempted to convince C several times, but C consistently refused. In terms of politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), this constitutes a face-threatening act that may threatens the positive face of A and D. This is evidenced by D's lack of response after C's utterance in line 24. Yet, it also becomes a venue for jocular mockery, which strengthens interpersonal relationships. C's persistent refusal, whether due to misunderstanding or not, is a form of non-cooperative action. However, B then leverages this non-cooperative behavior by initializing a playful frame (lines 25–33), which not only mitigates the potential face threat but also adds a lighthearted element to the dinner party. In other words, B utilized the non-cooperative disagreement to create jocular mockery. Thus, this example suggests that relationship-building actions, such as jocular mockery, can be built on actions that might otherwise threaten the relationship. In Excerpt 9.2, we focus on B's jocular

mockery of D, which is based on his own previous prediction and D's reaction to it.

Excerpt 9.2 There is no love among us

```
1    D:  weishenme nimen dou tingxia le
         why           you    all    stopped      P
         wo haizai chi a
         I    still     eat
```
"Why am I the only one still eating when you guys are already finished?"
(1.0)
((B looks at D with smile))
```
2    B:  dui ^wo zuihou(.)zuihou bei wo yuyan
         yeah  I   finally       finally  PASS  I    predict
         ((B indicates himself with his hands))
3        ^chenggong la wo shuo zuihou jiu D
         successfully   P  I   say   finally    just  D's name
4        yigeren zai chi
         oneperson  being  eat
```
"Finally, my prediction was successful. I said D would be the last one to finish."
((B clap his hands with big laugh))
```
5    B:  =hh^hhhhh
6    D:  =ni( )ni yikaishi yuyan de bushi C   ma
          you   you first       predict  NOM  not      c's name  Q
```
"Didn't you predict C at first?"
(1.0) ((B still laughing))
```
7    B:  meiyou wo houlai wo yuyande jiushi ni hhh
         not really  I   after   I   predict    is       you
```
"No, you were the one I predicted after."
((raising her head with closed eye))
```
8→   D:  ^B     laoshi women zhijian benlaijiu
         B's surname  teacher   we       among      in the first
         meiyou shenme ai xianzaijiu buyao zai
         no        any     love now              don't     again
         jiasahng hen le haoma
         add          hate  P   okay Q
```
"Teacher B, there is no love among us, now don't add hate, okay."
```
9→   B:  hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh
```

In Excerpt 9.2, while the others have finished their meals and stopped eating, D is the only one who continues to eat. D makes explicit acknowledgment of this in line 1. Then, in lines 2–5, B says that he predicted that D would be the last one to finish eating. It is noteworthy that in the conversations prior to this, B made an evaluation about the quantity of food consumed by C ("I think C has a really big appetite"), who is a female. In response to B's evaluation of C, D, also a female, challenged this by saying, "Do you think it's nice

to talk this way to a girl?" Although B reacted with a laugh, B's assessment also carries potential for a face-threatening act, especially when D links the assessment to C's being a female. However, despite this potential, B does not hesitate to declare his previous prediction that "D would be the last one to finish," thereby implying that D has a big appetite. Then, his laughter and accompanying claps can be seen to express a sense of being pleased with his own joke (line 5). Faced with B's triumphant declaration, D asks, "Didn't you predict C at first?" in line 6, and B still doesn't hesitate to answer "No, you were the one I predicted after" (line 7).

Then, in line 8, D addressed B as "teacher" with closed eyes, raising her head and beginning her statement. She emphasizes that "there is no love between them" and expresses a requirement not to add additional negative feelings anymore. This utterance directly suggests a lack of intimacy in D's and B's relationship, but given the non-verbal resources of D's interaction and the exaggerated tone, it can be seen as a form of jocular mockery. Additionally, it should be noted that "teacher" is used for B. Since B is not actually a teacher, this is a form of "exaggerated expressions" (Qiu et al., 2021: 228–230), which suggest a playful affective stance. Although this utterance can still be interpreted as D conveying her discontent, this does not affect the fact that on the whole, it is interactionally constructed as a playful frame.

What is noteworthy in this excerpt is that the declaration of relationship breakdown ("there is no love among us") indexically conveys the intimacy of the interlocutors. This is possible because it was perceived as play by the participants in the interaction. Although D said that there was no love between her and B (line 8), her non-verbal behavior suggests otherwise. She raises her head with closing eyes and uses exaggerated expressions when addressing B. These behaviors can be interpreted as indicating that D is not actually showing conflict towards B. Moreover, B responds to D with a big laugh at line 9, which suggesting that he perceives D's words as a joke. Also, similarly to Excerpt 9.1, this excerpt's interactions contain potential face-threatening acts. However, it can be argued that through such potential face threats, the interlocutors were able to successfully achieve jocular mockery, which consequently strengthened their relationship. B's risky mock towards D (in lines 2, 3, and 4) seems to have threatened D's face. However, such face threatening is based on an estimation of strong interpersonal bonds between B and D. Furthermore, as a reaction to B's jocular mockery in lines 2–4, when D mocks B in line 8, and B accepts that as a joke, their relationship can be viewed as withstanding such acts of face threatening and becoming stronger, ultimately strengthening their friendship.

Conclusion

This study examined two instances of jocular mockery that occurred at a dinner party. Excerpts 9.1a and 9.1b demonstrated the process of creating jocular

mockery by using a series of offer–refusal interactions. Here, jocular mockery is achieved as a result of these interactions, which initially might have created a discordant relationship but instead resulted in a playful frame among the participants. Then, in Excerpt 9.2, B mocks D by implying that she has a big appetite. However, this is countered by D with similarly playful responses. Thus, in both of these instances, potential face threats are mitigated with playfulness. Consider that in Excerpt 9.1, C could have chosen not to use exaggerated expressions or body movements to express that she did not care about the hot-pot smell, while in Excerpt 9.2, B doubles down on his prediction to mock D despite already having been accused of mocking C's appetite. These constitute potentially serious face-threatening acts, but the interlocutors instead use them as jocular mockery.

Previous studies have mentioned the tendency of Chinese intimate communication to be more face threatening. For instance, Zhao (2020) posits that based on online interactions, the interactions of apparent relationship breakdown in Chinese intimate interactions can be seen as an interpersonal construction (p. 53). Yang and Ren (2020) also indicated that Chinese TV show participants tend to use face-threatening strategies to make humor (p. 36).

On the topic of jocular mockery, this study breaks away from the analysis that is so far stuck at the level of online interactions and reality TV shows, provides empirical results on Chinese interactions in face-to-face communication, and is original in terms of using the crisis arising from the interactional context to finally realize jocular mockery.

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10 "*Ijiri*" as a poetic ritual of bonding among Japanese college soccer club members

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Introduction

This study investigates how the metapragmatic activity called *ijiri* ("teasing") in Japanese interaction walks a fine line between creating an adversarial relationship between the teaser and the teased and creating a sense of bonding among the participants and the place of interaction (Ide & Hata, 2020). The metapragmatic activity referred to as *ijiri* (from the verb *ijiru*; see Yoshizawa, 2020) is a verbal act of teasing and jocular mockery (see Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 1997; Geyer, 2010; Haugh, 2010), which is framed as ritualistic play in Japanese multi-party interaction. The act of *ijiri* involves direct and indirect utterances of negative evaluations against a particular target and their behavioral contexts, and is co-created and performed by multiple teasers as well as their spectators. Focusing on how acts of *ijiri* emerge in interaction, this chapter discusses how teasing functions as a poetic ritual for constructing friendly and congenial group membership within a particular community of practice.

Data for this study are taken from recordings of online training sessions among college soccer club members of a Japanese university during the quarantine months in 2020 under the COVID-19 pandemic. We aim to illustrate the emergence of the mutual interaction, called *nori* ("vibes"; from the verb *noru* "to ride a vehicle" or "to get in the rhythm": i.e., *rizumu ni noru*), between the members of the team as a metapragmatic poetic practice and describe it together with the acts of *ijiri* that lead to the generation of *nori*. By doing so, we focus on depicting the ritualistic characteristics of *nori*, which is a phatic and poetic linguistic practice, emergent in daily interactions among close relationships. Furthermore, this research discusses the historical and sociocultural significance of *nori* as a sociocultural practice that brings out not only a sense of bonding and unity among participants, but also potential conflict, disharmony, and disagreement. Likewise, we wish to deepen the understanding of *ijiri* and *nori* as a sociocultural practice in order to better understand the meaning of friendship and being comrades in Japanese society.

Theoretical background

Previous research on teasing has mainly offered analyses from the perspective of facework, using politeness theory as a starting point (Zajdman, 1995; Partington, 2008). In classical politeness theory, facework is reduced to individual desires and analyzed systematically in terms of the positive and negative effects of language forms and usage (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In contrast, impoliteness has been discussed recently as a dynamic phenomenon constructed through discourse, which are purposefully delivered face-threatening acts. In this chapter, we focus our analysis on the peer-to-peer *ijiri* practiced by university students in Japan, which is a kind of jocular mockery. As a theoretical background, we discuss the meaning of *ijiri* in relation to the metapragmatic notion of *nori* in Japanese daily interaction.

Ijiri as teasing and jocular mockery

In this section, we provide insight into the social practice of *ijiri* in daily Japanese conversation, and how metapragmatic responsibility, referring to how people use language appropriately in each context to convey meaning, is an implicit aspect of communicative competence.

In Japanese, there is a verb *karakau*, which means to tease or torment someone. This is a generic term, which shows up as a first translation for the English term "to tease." In contrast, *ijiri* is more of a slang term. The noun *ijiri* originates from the Japanese verb *ijiru*, which points to the act of 1) touching something thoughtlessly, 2) handling something for pleasure, and 3) moving things around without a purpose (Sanseido Japanese Dictionary, 2001 edition). In the 2008 edition of the same dictionary, a fourth meaning, "teasing," has been added (Yoshizawa, 2020: 197–198). The word *ijiri*, in the sense of meaning to tease someone, was popularized through the Japanese entertainment industry during the eighties and nineties, wherein "entertainers would hurl good-natured insults from the stage" to create intimacy with the audience and make them laugh.[1] *Ijiri* has become one of the key terms in the studies of youth culture in sociology in the 2000s, especially in relation to the social issue of *ijime* (bullying) in school contexts. Sociologist Doi (2009, 2014), for example, states how *ijiri* is casually conducted among junior and senior high school students for the surface construction of frivolous relationships, thus avoiding the types of serious conflicts that might lead to bullying.

Teasing is a genre of communication that involves playful or mock verbal and non-verbal expressions intended to make fun of someone. It provokes laughter or a playful response within the interactors, which index close relationships as a meta-message. But, not all performances of teasing are appropriately executed. Teasing creates opportunities for shared emotional laughter, but it can also result in unintended laughter (Bell, 2009). In addition, the power dynamics in teasing can be complex, influenced by social status, gender, and cultural norms. The person doing the teasing may have more power or status than the person being teased, which can confirm asymmetricity and a

sense of uncomfortableness and discordance (Takekuro, 2018). Likewise, *ijiri* as teasing can be the source of both bonding and biting (Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 1997). Moreover, teasing can be used as a political strategy among members of a community by interdiscursively altering the ritual meanings of signs and symbols, thereby transforming social positions and values (Sweet, 2019). Yet, *ijiri* differs from teasing per se, as there is a metapragmatic responsibility to co-construct a particular rhythm, or *nori*, in a collective manner, as explained next.

Ijiri and the emergence of nori as a metapragmatic framework

In this section, we discuss the poetic features of responsiveness to *ijiri*, referred to as *nori*. The noun term *nori*, originating from the verb *noru* ("to ride a vehicle" or "to get in the rhythm": i.e., *rizumu ni noru*), was used as a music term during the sixties. *Nori* could be referred to as tempo or groove, with vertical and horizontal physical movements (Ogawa, 2017; Etani et al., 2018). From the eighties, the term became widely associated with meanings beyond musical groove, denoting a collective feeling, excitement, mood, or atmosphere shared by the audiences and the places of interaction (Ogawa, 2017: 78).

In Japanese slang terms, *nori* is an evaluative term that can index the nature of human relationships and the place of interaction. People who go well together or share vibes have "matching *nori*" (*nori ga au*). A person with good or bad vibes is expressed as "having good or bad *nori*" (*nori ga ii* or *warui*). Onodera (2013), who conducted interviews with college students asking what it meant to *noru*, or to be in *nori*, summarizes the features of *nori* as a "behavior that smoothly elevated or maintained the mood of the situation without causing awkwardness" (Onodera, 2013: 52). Being in *nori* also created a pseudo-equality in human relationships, temporarily reducing and erasing the hierarchical orders within the group (ibid, p. 54), and a different level of intimacy. Onodera also explained the significance of collectively "riding the *nori*" (*nori ni noru*) for these college students as going with the flow of the conversation. With this metapragmatic framework of *nori*, each flippant, nonchalant utterance connects rhythmically to the next, bringing about a situation-dependent and instantaneous sense of collective belonging (Ogawa and Suzuki, 1995). Thus, creating *nori* collectively and keeping it within the interaction can be regarded as metapragmatic and symbolic acts of doing being friends/comrades (cf. Nishizaka, 2012) in Japanese society.

Ijiri and nori as poetic rituals

Likewise, the concept of *nori* highlights the importance of understanding the nuances and subtleties of verbal communication in teasing interactions and its role in shaping social relationships, especially friendship. However, there is little research focusing on how acts of *ijiri* lead to the emergence of *nori* as a discursive practice.

Thus, in this chapter, we analyze the complexity of teasing practices that lead to the emergence of *nori*. In the following analysis, we focus on two key concepts, which are 1) the relationship between style and stance in the interaction, and 2) language ideologies which this may illuminate—we do so from the microanalysis of *ijiri* interaction. First, we refer to style as multimodal techniques such as language form and prosody, while stance pertains to the position of the participants in the interactional context (see Du Bois, 2007). Within a particular community of practice, the meaning of style is interpreted according to the stance of the communicative participants (Park, 2013). Secondly, language ideologies pertain to the stance and implicit unconsciousness involved in these teasing practices, wherein the goal is to create *nori* rhythm in a collective and collaborative manner. As we shall see, the language ideologies of the participants who engage in *ijiri* are projected and constructed in the repetition and regularity of micro-indicators such as linguistically coded grammatical forms and interactional behaviors.

Finally, we wish to discuss these ritual rounds of teasing as a poetic practice. Poetic function is known as one of the fundamental indexicalities to understand interactive phenomena. The features of poetics are not limited to the genre of poetry or writing, because poetic function "focuses on the message for its own sake" (Jakobson, 1960: 356) in any kind of communicative event. In a poetic practice, a certain utterance or behavior (element A) may evoke a message that is greater than the original by yielding cohesion with another behavior (element B). There is a diachronic practice (Otsu, 2004, 2007) in which contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1982) evoke a metapragmatic frame as tacit knowledge and convey a message, such as a joke, beyond the content of the proposition. Cases of such emergent poetic meanings include the synchronic practice in which joint parallel utterances express improvisational humor (Takanashi, 2022) and teasing routines inducing value transformation as a product of historical and sociocultural construction (Sweet, 2020). Likewise, in this study, we wish to describe the poetic patterns observed in the rituals of *ijiri* with a focus on coherence, parallelism, as well as asymmetry.

Data and participants

Online training sessions and after-talk

Data for this study come from recorded online training sessions of a college soccer team during the COVID-19 pandemic in Japan, which started at the beginning of 2020. Before the pandemic, regular training sessions for this particular soccer team took place on the campus soccer field for about two hours in the evening, four to five days per week. Yet, with the first declaration of a state of emergency by the Japanese government on April 7, 2020, the team had to shift their training sessions to an online format. As the participants were prohibited by the university from physically gathering in any format, the online training sessions for these student athletes took place before class started each morning, with an hour of physical training led by their coaches.

Zoom was selected as the medium, and around 30 athletes, including student staff members and their graduate student coaches, joined the workout sessions from their own accommodations.

As mentioned, we focus our analysis on *ijiri* ("teasing") interactions which emerged during periods of small talk that followed the physical training sessions. We refer to these small talk periods as after-talk, and analyze the data that have been recorded using the Zoom recording function, with the consent of the participants. Data were recorded during the ten training sessions held between April 22 and May 22, 2020. The total length of the after-talk data is 59 minutes and 17 seconds (Figure 10.1).

Participants in the physical training sessions were student athletes, staff members, trainees who were undergraduate students, as well as their graduate student coaches, most of them majoring in sports sciences (see Table 10.1). When the online fitness training started experimentally in April, all participants had their cameras and microphones turned on. Yet, after a few sessions, everyone except the coaches started to mute their microphones to concentrate on the verbal instructions given by their coaches. The physical training typically consisted of high-intensity interval training wherein the coaches gave instructions and encouraged the trainees to keep up with their work. During the

Table 10.1 List of speakers engaged in the after talk

Pseudonyms (Player/Coach)	College Year/Age
Asada (Player)	Sophomore/19
Joe (Player)	Senior/21
Shuu (Player)	Sophomore/20
Nitta (Coach)	Grad (Masters)/23
Riku (Player)	Junior/20
Takeya (Player)	Junior/20
Wataru (Player)	Senior/21
Yanai (Coach)	Grad (Masters)/26

Figure 10.1 Screenshot of an after talk.

training, the coaches would typically use both the *desu/masu* distal forms and the casual plain forms with sentence ending final particles -*ne* in giving instructions.[2] However, they would mix and style shift using the plain form occasionally, the relaxed distal format, what is called "new honorifics" (*shin-keigo*: Nakamura, 2020). After the intense workout sessions, the coaches ended the sessions by leading a call-in-unison. This was also followed by a short confirmation of the weekly training schedule or a quick celebration of a member's birthday. Then, the participants would start logging off from the Zoom sessions.

Changes within the after-talk

After the training sessions, seven to ten members would stay logged in to participate in the after-talk. Typically, those who chose to stay would unmute themselves at the end of the training. This can be interpreted as a visualized statement of their willingness to participate in the after-talk. Yet, many of them left their webcam angles unaltered, so that their torsos would remain displayed in the camera rather than their faces; some did, however, adjust the webcams to show their faces. Typically, the after-talk time was spent as a cool down from the hard exercise, akin to being in the club room or the shower room, where athletes will chat while freshening up. While unmuting themselves, the participants freely moved during these times, taking a drink and wiping off sweat.

In all the ten after-talk sessions, a kind of *ijiri* teasing was observed. There were two noticeable changes observed across the series of ten after-talk sessions. First, the length of the after-talk gradually grew longer as the number of training sessions increased. The average length of talk from the first session to the fifth was 3 minutes and 52 seconds. Contrastingly, the length of talk doubled to an average of 7 minutes and 59 seconds from the sixth to the tenth session. Second, the number of *ijiri* teasing episodes increased with each of the sessions, especially in the latter half of the ten sessions. While there was a tendency for only a few participants to initiate the *ijiri*, more of the members would engage in the teasing and joking rounds, which led to the emergence of *nori* over time (Tashima, 2021).

Data analysis

In this section, we focus our analysis on how a particular commentary or a deviant behavior within the shared context is picked up as an act of *ijiri* and collaboratively expanded into the emergence and creation of *nori* throughout the interaction.

Initiating *ijiri* and the poetic emergence of *nori*

The online banter during the after-talk was always initiated by either someone spontaneously doing something deviant to become the target of *ijiri* or

someone claiming a source for *ijiri* within the shared context. Excerpt 10.1 is a case in which one of the after-talk participants changed his Zoom name as an intentional move to become a potential target of *ijiri*. Here, the student coach Yanai (Y) has rounded up the training session in line 1. During this closing, Wataru (W) changed his Zoom name to "Mayweather," after the name of the famous American boxer Floyd Mayweather Jr. This was spotted by Joe (J), who calls out to Wataru in line 3, speaking English with a Japanese accent. To this, Wataru reacts "hey, what's up?" with a faux American English accent (line 6), acting out the role of Mayweather himself. Joe then reacts to this prank and warns Mayweather (Wataru) that he should pay attention to what the coach says, as this is important in Japanese culture (line 7). Then, in line 8, Wataru keeps speaking in his Mayweather faux English accent as he moves away from the Zoom frame. To all this, coach Take asks the participants what would be the "correct way of doing *ijiri* in this case" in line 9.

Excerpt 10.1

```
1    Y: Otsukaresama de:su mata asatte
        Well done      C-H     again day after
        "Thank you for the great job, see you the day after tomorrow"
2       (2.0)
3    J: hey (1.5) meiwezaa hey (1.0) hey (1.0) mei-wezaa:.
        Hey     Mayweather hey       hey       Mayweather
        "Hey Mayweather, hey, hey, Mayweather"
4       (2.0)
5    Y: ((looks into the webcam smiling))
6    W: hey. What's up.
7    J: cho- meiwezaa chanto hanasi kikanaito. nanka meiwezaa
        Hey  Mayweather properly talk   listen-have to  um    Mayweather
        kore nihon no bunka dakara.
        this Japan  M culture because
        "Um Mayweather, you gotta listen to him. 'cause, Mayweather, this is like
        Japanese culture"
8    W: what's what's- What's the f**k. ((turns away from the
        webcam))
9    Y: kore wa sa: dou ijiru no ga seikai   nano?
        This T  IP  how ijiru  N  S  correct answer C IP
        "Someone tell me, what is the correct way to do ijiri in this case?"
```

In these data, we see that the small prank made by Wataru has been instantly noticed and immediately picked up by Joe as an opportunity for *ijiri*. Wataru's act can be regarded as an act of *boke*, which is a role played by one member of a *manzai* duo (a type of stand-up comedy performance in Japan). Reflecting the conversational characteristics of urban Osaka, *manzai* is based on the performers acting out the roles of *boke* and *tsukkomi* (Katayama, 2010; Tsutsumi, 2011). The *boke*, literally meaning "vagueness," is responsible for the out-of-context remarks, whereas the *tsukkomi*, literally meaning "to poke," would act

to correct or to bring back the twisted dialogue by the *boke* (Tsutsumi, 2011). As we would see further, the onset for *ijiri* during the after-talk is prompted by the visual cues on the Zoom screen as a source of stupidity, silliness, and flaunting social norms.

Also of interest here is the metapragmatic commentary by the coach, Yanai in line 9, revealing the fact that the act of *ijiri* is an expected and even a required response to a joking act, and that there is a shared expectation as to what may be the "correct answer" (*seikai*) or the appropriate reaction to these jokes. From this excerpt, we see that *ijiri* is a metapragmatic framework pertaining to a communicative competence with a certain style shared within the community of practice and a responsibility to react in a particular manner.

On a different day, Joe calls out to Riku (R) (line 1, Excerpt 10.2) at the start of the after-talk. He asks Riku to stop wearing his red short pants (lines 8 and 12), referring to the red training wear that Riku happened to be wearing on this particular day.

Excerpt 10.2

Figure 10.2 Riku displaying his red pants.

```
1     J:  Riku:.
          Riku
          "Riku:"
          (7 sentences omitted)
8     J:  Riku:.[(1.0) Riku akazubon yamete, akazubon.
          Riku         Riku red pants   stop    red pants
          "Riku:. Riku stop those red pants, red pants. "
9     R:  [hai.
          yes
          "yes."
10        (2.0)
11    R:  nan su ka:?
```

```
            what  C  IP
            "what's that?"
12    J:    Riku(.)akazubon yamete.
            Riku     red pants   stop
            "Riku (.) stop wearing the red pants."
            ((Turning the webcam down to show the red pants))
13    R:    iya iya iya ^ii desho.
            no  no  no    good C
            "Come on. what's wrong with them."
14    J:    Awanai jan.
            Suit-NG   IP
            "They don't suit you."
15    A:    Tattemi, tattemi.
            stand up     stand up
            "Go ahead, stand up."
            ((Spreading his legs showing the red pants))
16    R:    ^hore.
            here.
            "Here you go."
17    Y:    <¥akazubon nante:.¥>
            red pantss   what
            "Red pants of a:ll things:."
            ((Changing his posture and showing the red pants again, Figure 2))
18    R:    ^Mite:
            look
            "Take a look."
```

To Joe's sudden demand (lines 8, 12), Riku responds, "what's wrong with them" (line 13) while moving and changing the angle of his webcam so the screen would show his lower torso wearing the red pants. Joe repeatedly picks on Riku's red pants in line 14 as Asada (A) requests Riku to stand up and show the pants to him (line 15). To this, Riku immediately displays his red pants while code-switching to his Kansai regional expression by saying *hore* (line 16).[3] To this, the graduate student coach Yanai (Y) teases by calling out Riku's red pants in a laughing voice. Here, the term *akazubon* is a kind of neologism (Takanashi, 2020) that emerged in this interaction. Instead of using a compound noun (i.e., *akai zubon*) with the adjective *akai* ("red") and the noun *zubon* ("pants"), this new term has been recycled from Joe's talk in line 8 and repeated for the third time in this short interaction. To this, Riku spreads his legs to flaunt his red pants to the webcam (line 18, Figure 10.2).[4]

The *ijiri* in Excerpt 10.2 was initiated by Joe's calling out a particular member's name as displayed on the Zoom screen. The repetition of the name Riku and the consecutive focus on his outfit (lines 8 and 12) makes the participants pay attention to Riku's Zoom frame. After the request for a repair in line 11, Riku immediately responds to Joe's *ijiri* by moving his webcam (line 13) to show his outfit. We see here that Riku responds instantly to Joe's playful teasing in line 12, while making the teasing source apparent, and these two

lines constitute an adjacency pair. This collaborative pair work of *ijiri* and the response to the *ijiri* can be regarded as the appropriate actions to be taken in this interaction and as such, mark a display of interactional competence. We also see that similar adjacency pairs can be observed subsequently in lines 15 and 16, as well as lines 17 and 18, where Riku complies with Asada's request and Yanai's *ijiri* by showing off his pants. These rhythmic and collaborative productions of *ijiri*-response adjacency pairs can be regarded as *nori*, where the participants go with the flow in continuing the teasing and responding routine to create tempo and rhythm in the interaction. As we can see here, through lines 12 to 17, Riku's red pants are treated as a source of *ijiri*, but they do not necessarily constitute a *boke* as in the case of the intentional name-change by Wataru in Excerpt 10.1. It is unlikely that Riku chose the red outfit as an obvious act of *boke*, for other team members also occasionally wore red outfits. We also see that the initial *ijiri* by Joe (lines 8 and 12) worked as a kind of *tsukkomi* without a precedent *boke*, and that the recipient of the *ijiri* produced the *nori*-action, which embodied elements of a *boke*-type action of showing off the pants to the webcam. Likewise, we see that the recipient or the target of *ijiri* would also provide *boke*-type reactions (in this case, to show off his red pants to the webcam) to facilitate further *ijiri*-response sequences. Therefore, *nori* produced through the *ijiri*-response sequences is very much a collaborative act in nature, with the contribution coming from the teased and the teaser(s).

With respect to the form of speech, Riku, a sophomore, responds to Joe, who is a senior, using "new honorifics" (Nakamura, 2020), such as "*nan su ka:*? (what's that?)" as well as *tame-guchi*[5] such as "*ii de sho* (what's wrong with them)" and "*mite* (take a look)." Within the hierarchical relationships in Japanese society, juniors may speak respectfully to seniors using honorific forms, while seniors may choose to speak casually to juniors. Yet as Nakamura points out, the distal "*desu*" form has shifted into the new honorific "*su*-style" (as in *nan su ka* instead of *nan desu ka*; Nakamura, 2020: 74–75). The use of the *su*-style allows the speaker to index respect and distance on the phonetic level while showing a close, casual, and friendly stance to the interaction simultaneously. Thus, combined with the hint of Kansai regional dialect, which socially indexes casual banter (see Tanaka, 2011), the new honorific style that Riku utilizes creates an appropriate style in response to the *ijiri* teasing.

We now move to Excerpt 10.3, which starts with Wataru (W) and his coach, Yanai (Y), reflecting on the training session that has just finished. Wataru is responding to Yanai's inquiry using the *su*-style (*kitsukatta su yo*) in line 3. Shuu (S), who was temporarily out of the Zoom frame, returns to be in front of the webcam and starts to eat, holding a wooden rice bowl and pair of chopsticks (line 4, Figure 10.3).

Excerpt 10.3

Figure 10.3 Shuu eating in front of the camera.

```
1    W:  tsukare-ta::
          tired
          "I'm exhausted::"
2    Y:  kekko kitsu-katta::?
          pretty  intense-Past
          "Was it pretty intense?"
3    W:  iyaa kitsu-katta su yo::
          oh   intense     C  IP
          "Yeah, it was pretty intense::"
4        ((Shuu starts eating in front of the webcam, Figure 3))
          ((lines 5-14, J, A, and C are smiling.))
5    J:  ¥oi shuu kuu boke moo yatta kara.¥
          Hey Shuu  eating joke  already do-Past so
          "Hey Shuu, I already did that eating joke."
6    A:  ¥gooruden taimu iran te.¥
          golden      time   don't need QT
          "We don't need that golden time thing."
7    J:  ¥moo kuu boke yatta kara(.)ore mo.¥
          already eating joke  do-Past so      I  also
          "That eating joke (.) I've already done it."
8    A:  hh. hhh.
          "hh. hhh."
9    W:  Shuu, omae udetate shinagara kue yo.
          Shuu   you push-ups  while doing eat-IMP IP
          "Shuu, do push-ups while eating."
10       (5.0)
11   S:  chotto nani itteru ka (wakannai.)
          uh     what saying  Q  don't understand
          "I don't get that."
```

```
12   A: hh. hhh.
        "hh. hhh."
13      ((J, Y, big smiles))
        ((with a thin smile))
14   W: ^nande wakaran nen. nande wakaran nen.
        why   don't understand C  why don't understand C
        "How come you don't get it? how come?"
15      ((Shuu continues to eat; J, A, and C's smiles fade as
        they turn
        away from the webcam.))
```

In line 5, the senior Joe calls out Shuu and tells him in a smiling voice that the same joke has already been done before. Notice that Joe uses a playful neologism (Takanashi, 2020), naming and labeling Shuu's action with a made-up compound noun "*kuu-boke*" (eating joke), pointing to Shuu's goofy act of adjusting the camera so that his meal will be featured on the screen. Then, Asada (A), a participant younger than Shuu, admonishes that "golden time"[6] is unnecessary (line 6). Asada is referring to the knowledge shared within this team that "the prime time to eat for muscle-building is right after physical training." Here, Asada uses a casual form with the Kansai regional dialect, *iran te* ("don't need"), in line 6, making his utterance fit with the playful *ijiri* frame of interaction. Then, in line 7, Joe repeats that he himself has performed the same eating joke before, seeming to reference a tacit understanding that the same joke should not be repeated within this community of practice. Finally, Wataru jumps into the interaction and orders Shuu to eat while doing push-ups (line 9). Shuu acts as if he doesn't understand what Wataru is talking about (line 11), imitating a particular line used by a famous Japanese stand-up comic duo. To this, Asada laughs out loud while Joe and coach Yanai show a big smile to the webcam. Then, Wataru playfully laments the fact that Shuu did not get that joke using the Kansai regional dialect, adding the ending particle -*nen* to the informal verb expression *wakaran* ("not understanding").[7]

Here, we see that Shuu's deviant and silly behavior has been noticed and teased by Joe, and that this teasing has been expanded by two other participants, Asada and Wataru. The *ijiri* starts with Joe's comment that the joke has been already performed (lines 5, 7). Then, Asada shows alignment to Joe's stance and declares that Shuu's joke is not required while explaining the gist of the joke itself (line 6). Finally, the *ijiri* escalates into Wataru's unreasonable command, ending with the particle *yo* (line 9).[8] While Shuu refuses to comply with Wataru's order, Asada laughs, and Wataru acts as if he had been disappointed by Shuu for not reacting to his teasing act. Shuu kept eating, and the after-talk moved onto a different topic.

In the three excerpts that we have seen, it was always the senior member Joe who started the *ijiri* sequence. However, in Excerpts 10.1 and 10.3, either a senior (Wataru) or junior (Riku) participant engaged in the pranks,

Figure 10.4 Shuu wearing his contact lens.

whether intentionally or not. Also, these *ijiri* utterances are sequentially and collaboratively created by a team of participants (Joe, Asada, and Wataru in this case) consecutively without a pause, in a rhythmic manner. As mentioned earlier, these collaborative acts create a sense of *nori* emerging in this particular moment of interaction. Likewise, we see how *ijiri* can be made to emerge from the juniors to the seniors as well, as long as they do not initiate the *ijiri* but go with the flow by aligning their stance to the *ijiri*, repeating, rephrasing, and creating the *nori* rhythm through the *ijiri* acts (as in the case of Asada in Excerpt 10.2).

Next, we analyze another after-talk session, during which Shuu (S) inserts his contact lenses using the Zoom screen as a mirror (Figure 10.4). As he worked to insert his contact lens, widely extending his lower eyelid, the other participants treated this as being an action inappropriate for a chat room and a perfect target for *ijiri*. Four participants (Nitta, Joe, Wataru, and Asada) start to comment on Shuu's action, creating a round of *ijiri* that expands and leads to the emergence of the *nori* rhythm.

Excerpt 10.4a
```
1    N:  omae zoom no jibun no gamen de kontakuto suna.
         you  zoom M yourself M  screen by  contact-lens  don't do
         "Dude don't use your own Zoom screen to insert your contact lenses."
2        (1.0)
3        zoom no jibun no gamen de kontakuto suna yo.
         zoom M yourself M screen by  contact lens  don't do IP
         "Don't use the Zoom screen for your contact lens."
4    J:  [[kagami de (yare) yo.
         mirror  by do-IMP  IP
         "Do it with (the) mirror."
5    W:  [[imamade nani. kontakuto tsukete-nakatta n.
         until now  what   contact lens  weren't wearing  Q
         "So what, you weren't wearing your lenses 'til now?"
```

```
6    A:  hhhhh.>chigau chigau.<
         hhhhh        no    no
         "hhhhh. no no."
7    A:  [[kontakuto(   .)(.) kontakuto(   .)
         Contact-lens        contact-lens
         "Contact lens (   .)(.) contact lens (  .)"
8    W:  [[ragan de yattotta yan. ragan de yattotta yan.
         Naked-eyes by were doing C    naked-eyes by doing  C
         "You were training without your lenses. without your lenses"
```

The interaction starts with Nitta's (N) utterance in line 1, which makes the participants focus on Shuu's screen as a featured target of *ijiri*. Here, Nitta broadcasts to everyone what Shuu is doing and prohibits him from doing his action. After a short pause, Nitta repeats the same prohibition, describing the deviancy of Shuu's behavior. To this, Joe and Wataru produce overlapping banter about Shuu's act. Joe orders him to use the mirror (line 4), while Wataru mockingly inquires whether Shuu had joined the training session without wearing contact lenses (line 5). To this, Asada laughingly points out that the way Shuu is putting on his contact lenses is wrong (lines 6 to 7).

Following this, Wataru mockingly indicates how Shuu has conducted the physical training without wearing contact lenses or glasses (line 8), which is declared as another source of deviancy within this immediate context.[9] The consecutive picking on Shuu's act by the four members (N, J, W, and A) expands into a higher level of mockery in the following sequence.

In Excerpt 10.4b, which immediately follows 10.4a, Joe playfully performs a quotation of Shuu's imagined inner voice in a "reported thought" (Dunn, 2020) format and complains about Shuu's action in line 9. Then, in lines 10 to 17, Wataru starts a jocular mockery (Haugh & Bousefield, 2012) of Shuu's action by making an association between "inserting the lens" and "raising his middle finger" (see Figure 10.4).

Excerpt 10.4b

```
9    J:  hazushite:, nakami kakunin [shite:, (ja nai no yo.)
         take it off    inside   check         C no C IP
         "This isn't the time for your 'take my lens out and check the [inside::'
         routine"
10   W:     [mo::(  )(.)chau mou shine tte yatton
         damn         no   damn die-IMP QT  doing
11       nen. chau chau shine tte yatton ne n.(0.5) hutsuu
         naka- nakayubi
         IP   no   no  die-IMP QT doing C IP     usually middle
         middle-finger
12       de yaran nen. hutsuu.=
         by don't do P   usually
         "No that ain't it (.) you're simply telling us to die. no, no you're just
         doing 'f*ck off' to us. Normally you never use your middle finger for your
         contact lens. normally.="
```

```
13   A:  hh.
         hh
14   J:  =<¥sonna [kontakuto no hazushi kata nee yo. ¥>
         such    contact-lens M take-off  way  no  IP
         "=<¥ No one ever takes off contact lenses like [that ¥>"
15   W:  [ ˚nakayubi ˚
         Middle-finger
         "[ ˚middle finger ˚"
17   W   nan na n [sono shine tteyuu nakayubi tatetoru dake
         yan.
         what C N  that die-IMP QT say middle-finger raising   just C
         "You- you['re just saying f*ck you with your middle finger. "
18   J:  [yubi no hara de yare ya.
         finger M ball by do-IMP IP
         "[ Do it with the ball of your finger."
19   W:  nakayubi tatetoru dakeyan sore tadano.(1.0) nan ya
         nen sore.
         Middle-finger raiseing   just  C  that  just  what C IP that
         "You're just raising your middle finger that's all. (1.0) what the heck is
         that."
```

From lines 10 to 12, Wataru ridicules the deviancy of Shuu's act (which is most likely intentional) as simply raising his middle finger, as if telling the Zoom participants to die. Wataru supports this interpretation of Shuu's action by saying that normally people do not insert their contact lenses with their middle finger. Joe latches on to this, aligning with Wataru's statement, and laughingly comments in a blunt manner that no one takes out contact lenses in such a way (line 14). Again, Wataru overlaps Joe's utterance, repeating the target phrase *nakayubi* ("middle finger") in line 15, and rephrasing what he has stated in line 12 in line 17. Finally, Joe orders Shuu to handle the lens in a different way, using the command form *yare* ("do") (line 18), and then, Wataru for the third time criticizes Shuu for showing his middle finger (line 19).

In this sequence, Joe and Wataru take turns in maintaining and expanding the playful *ijiri* frame. While it was Nitta who originally started the *ijiri* action by mocking Shuu's inappropriate use of the Zoom screen as a mirror, the three other members aligned to conduct jocular mockery and expanded the frame of *ijiri*. Thus, the target of *ijiri* has shifted to Shuu's use of his middle finger, equating it with an obscene gesture. In Excerpts 10.4a and 10.4b, the teasers repeat particular styles of command forms such as *yare yo* (in line 4) and *yare ya* (line 18), both meaning "do it," as well as *yatton nen* ("doing": line 11) and *yaran nen* ("don't do": lines 10 to 11), which are both in casual form of Kansai regional dialect. We also see here that Joe, originally from Tokyo, style shifts to the Kansai regional dialect with the utterance *yare ya* in line 18, indexically aligning his speech with that of Wataru. The parallelisms in these sounds function to strengthen the frame of play as they collectively contribute

to the emergence of *nori* rhythm, collaboratively expanding the source of *ijiri* in its absurdity.

Features of ijiri

Throughout Excerpts 10.1 to 10.4, *ijiri* teasing has been initiated by what could be observed within the screen and shared as context by all the participants, whether that was the name displayed in Zoom, an outfit, or actions, such as eating or inserting contact lenses in front of the webcam. In other studies of online small talk, participants had the tendency to topicalize what could be clearly seen within the vision of the camera and shared by the co-participants (see Sunakawa, 2020; Sakai & Inouchi, 2022). Likewise, the participants of the current study started out their talk by casting a spotlight on a particular Zoom frame with visual information as a potential target of *ijiri* that all participants could easily get access to.[10] We could also see how some participants would voluntarily provide the source for *ijiri* by moving the webcam frame to highlight their deviant acts (Excerpts 10.3 and 10.4).

Another way the teasing act expands into a rhythmic round of *nori* can be explained from the repetition and resonance of certain terms emerging from the interaction. To explain the emergence of resonance, we provide Excerpt 10.5, which follows Excerpt 10.2, where Riku was teased about his red training pants. After Riku has shown off his red pants to the webcam (Excerpt 10.2, line 18), there are some exchanges about the background music by two of the participants. Then in line 25, Nitta again asks Riku to stop wearing his red pants, reduplicating the term *akapantsu* ("red pants") twice.

Excerpt 10.5 (continuing from Excerpt 10.2)
```
25   N:  riku(.) akapantsu yamero, akapantsu.
         Riku    red pants    stop-IMP   red-pants
         "Riku (.) the red pants, stop wearing the red pants."
26   J:  <¥sore oreno ya.¥>
         That  M    C
         "<¥ That's my line. ¥>"
27   N:  ((mutes himself for a moment))
28   Y:  [[hhh
         Hhh
29   J:  [[¥o. myuuto ni sunna. ¥ maji supe:su dake de
         sankashite kuru.
         wow mute    DA don't do-IMP really  space  only  by participate
         come
         "[[¥ Wow don't mute yourself. ¥ He just enters the conversation by only
         pressing 'space'."
30   N:  riku riku(.)gushiken yookoo irai no akapantsu yamero.
         riku  riku  Gushiken Yoko  ever-since M  red pants     stop-IMP
         "Riku Riku (.) stop wearing the legendary Gushiken Yoko-style red
         pants."
```

Nitta's statement in line 25 shows parallelism to Joe's statement in line 12 (Excerpt 10.2), with the same meaning but with a different word choice for pants (*pantsu* instead of *zubon*). Both *yamete* (Excerpt 10.2, lines 8 and 12) and *yamero* (Excerpt 10.5, lines 26 and 30) are expressions of prohibition, with the former being a request form, while the latter is an imperative. In response to this, Joe immediately and laughingly points out that Nitta's statement has been an imitation of Joe's previous comment (line 26). Then, in line 27, Nitta mutes himself as a reaction to Joe's accusation, which prompts a laugh from Yanai. Joe immediately ridicules Nitta's action in line 29, referring to the unmute function of the space key. Finally, Nitta ignores this and calls out to Riku twice in line 30. Here, Nitta associates Riku's red pants iconically with the legendary Japanese professional-boxer-turned-TV-celebrity, Gushiken Yoko. He engages in jocular mockery, indicating that only Riku or Gushiken would wear such a thing as red pants, and repeats the demand that Riku stop wearing them.

Repetition of words or phrases evokes in our mind coherence in various semiotic patterns involving phonemes, prosody, grammar, conversational sequence, and ritual practice (Kataoka, 2012, Kataoka, et al., 2022). From this interaction, we see that Joe's *ijiri* in line 12 of Excerpt 10.2 has been reproduced by Nitta with the same coherent grammatical structure in line 25 of Excerpt 10.5. Then, Nitta self-repeats line 25 into an expanded form in an extreme case formation (Pomerantz 1986) in line 30. Here Nitta recycles the same *ijiri* format by Joe and expands it for the second time, which functions as a kind of a punchline in this interaction (see Figure 10.5). In this way, Nitta shows his sympathetic stance by siding with Joe in teasing Riku about his red pants. This stance alignment is indexed in the iconic patterns in which the *ijiri* is delivered and the coherency created within that process.

Yet, even if such an indexical/iconic schema is formed by Joe and Nitta, who are aligning in the acts of *ijiri*, it is not clear whether it is also interpreted as a schema for Riku, who is the target of *ijiri*, and for the other participants, who are the online observers of the *ijiri*. In other words, there is a possibility that the recipient of the *ijiri* (in this case, Riku in his red pants) could be victimized for the sake of creating the *nori* rhythm within the group.

Actually, following Excerpt 10.4, where Shuu was criticized for raising his middle finger to the camera, the coach, Yanai, steps in and warns Wataru that he has gone too far. Yanai says that Wataru has overstepped the boundary and orders him to stop (*yamero yo*). He cites as a reason that "the atmosphere

Line 12 (J): Riku, **akazubon yamete** ("Riku, please stop those red shorts")

Line 25 (N): Riku, **akapantsu yamero** ("Riku, stop those red shorts")

Line 30 (N): Riku, gushiken yookoo iraino

akapantsu yamero ("Riku, stop those legendary red pants")

Figure 10.5 Resonance within the ijiri.

is getting tense" (*funiki waruku natten dakara*). Here, we can see how the collectively performed rounds of *ijiri* teasing for the sake of the emergence of *nori* walk a fine line between bonding and un-bonding within the place of interaction (Ide & Hata, 2020).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have observed the metapragmatic teasing activity called *ijiri* and the collaborative *nori* emerging through the interaction. Through our analysis, we may conclude the following. First, *ijiri* was prompted by visual information provided on the Zoom screen, whether that had been intentionally displayed or not. The teaser would call out the name of a particular individual (e.g., Mayweather, Riku, Shuu, or *omae*[11] in the four excerpts), casting a spotlight on a particular frame, and playfully criticizing the deviancy by describing and prohibiting those acts (Excerpts 10.2 to 10.5). Then, notwithstanding the difference of hierarchical positions, the college students in our data reacted instantly and collectively to create the teasing-and-response pair format. The use of new honorifics, (mock) Kansai regional dialects, and command forms worked to constitute the *ijiri* play frame, while stance alignment among the teasers was marked by repetition, parallelism, and the use of neologism in the interaction.

Second, the *ijiri* and the consecutive *nori* emerged out of a hierarchical relationship wherein the participants played their assigned roles as the teased, teaser, co-teaser, or bystanders in the moment-to-moment construction of participation. Moreover, not only the teaser but the teased would collaborate in expanding the absurdity, contributing to creating *nori* in the interaction. According to the informal interview conducted with the participants of the after-talk, *nori* had been recognized as acts that were made in response to "the expectations shared in the place of interaction," and that the participants found it significant to "align with the reactions of others and even go beyond what is being expected" (Tashima, 2021: 51). One of the participants also referred to *nori* as a "skill," which improves as one learns how others would tease and react to the teasing (Tashima, 2021: 52). Thus, *nori* would only emerge among those who share the same sociocultural contexts, or common ground. Likewise, in this soccer club, *ijiri* has become a habitual and ritualistic practice of creating and maintaining rapport and joint history, especially during the quarantine time when face to face interaction was extremely limited.

Finally, we wish to discuss *ijiri* and *nori* not only as a practice for bonding and creating unity but as a source of conflict and discordance. As Geyer (2010) examines, most anthropological literature treats teasing as "a form of behavior comprising both friendliness and antagonism," as teasing is related to "the enactment of power," "construction and negotiation of identities," and "development of interpersonal solidarity" (Geyer, 2010: 2122). As we

have discussed, *ijiri* and *nori* are daily interactional patterns that can create pseudo-equality on the surface of interaction by indexing alignment through improvised speech style shifts. Yet, because of the inherent nature of teasing to be context-bound, *ijiri* could be an exclusive and clannish act, leaving those unattended outside the community of practice as well as membership categorization. As we have seen in the case of the eating joke (Excerpt 10.3), *ijiri* and the emergence of *nori* could also potentially end up in creating bad vibes and aggression, beyond the scope of mock impoliteness (see Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). The targets of *ijiri* in our data seemed to have deliberately acted to induce *ijiri* and also joined in the collaborative action to achieve *nori* as a group routine. However, *ijiri* and *nori* would have potentially led to discordance, impacting on the *ijiri* recipient and other participants.

In this chapter, we have examined the poetic acts of teasing and reacting among college soccer club members. *Ijiri* and *nori* are performed within close relationships as well as beyond the context of friendship within a close community of practice such as among students and teachers, extending into business and work contexts among colleagues. Thus, *nori* and *ijiri* should be understood as one feature of communicative competence, not only for friendly engagements but also to maneuver within the complexities of society in modern-day Japan.

Notes

1 The Asahi Shimbun "Opinion: *Ijime* bullying should never be confused with *ijiri* ribbing," Vox Populi. March 29, 2019 (https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles /13067729, confirmed on February 6, 2023).
2 The graduate student coaches would talk while style shifting, mixing the polite form and the casual form. For example, they may use a direct request such as "Stretch your body to the ceiling" (ashi ue ni hiite:), "Let's try to aim at a minimum 160 RPM" (shinpakusuu 160 ijou wo mokuhyou ni ikitai to omoima:su) using the polite form, or "Push the ground with your hands, keep your body straight" (shikkari te de oshite ne:) using the casual form with the sentence ending particle.
3 *Hore* is an interjection, as *hora* in standardized Japanese.
4 From the video recordings, we can confirm that all Zoom participants had smiles on their faces, perceiving the entire interchange to be amusing.
5 *Tame-guchi* refers to the casual and informal way of speaking among peers, which does not include honorific speech or formal *desu/masu* forms. It is a speech style indexing equality among the speakers (Digital Daijisen Dictionary. *Tameguchi. Japan knowledge.* https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=2001021366800, Final access on March 14, 2023.).
6 "Golden time" is Wasei-Eigo, a Japanese-English term coined in Japan, meaning "prime time."
7 Wataru is not originally from the Kansai region but is from a region wherein the speech is quite similar to the Kansai dialect.
8 Unreasonable and/or forceful requests are often labeled as *mucha-buri* (*mucha* meaning "impossible" and *buri* "to cast") in Japanese slang.
9 The Japanese term "*ragan*" in lines 5 and 8 literally means "naked eyes," referring to eyesight without glasses or contact lenses.

10 Unlike face-to-face interaction, all the actions of the Zoom participants are easily available to each of them, as long as they are facing the camera (e.g., whether other participants are smiling). The authors wish to thank Cade Bushnell for pointing out this observation to us.
11 Second-person pronoun referring to an equal or lower status.

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11 Say that to my face

Maintaining an intimate relationship after face threatening through negative evaluation

Hironori Sekizaki

Introduction

People generally strive to maintain each other's "face" (as defined by Brown & Levinson, 1987). However, in daily interactions, it is not uncommon for one's face to be unintentionally threatened. Face threatening may be left unredressed if the participants are not in an intimate relationship, especially in such cases as first-time conversations, or if they choose to quit being friends. Considering these extreme cases, the participants would expect appropriate compensation to be made as long as they try to maintain an intimate relationship.

This chapter aims to explore the ways in which compensation can be made in order to better understand the nature of friendship. Using data from conversations between intimately related Japanese university students following actual instances of face-threatening situations, I will demonstrate one method of compensation.

Previous studies

In this chapter, I examine friendship from the perspective of "face." To do this, I begin by reviewing previous research on the concept of face. The theory of politeness put forth by Brown and Levinson defines face in terms of the basic wants of a rational person. One of the two wants is positive face, which is defined as a want to be desirable to at least some others, and the other is negative face, which is a want that one's actions be unimpeded by others. In order to maintain interpersonal relationships, people are assumed to consider these wants as they interact with each other.

The concept of "face" has been interpreted differently by various scholars. For instance, Goffman's notion of face, on which Brown and Levinson's face is partly based, is defined as "the positive social value" a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact (Goffman, 1967). Other scholars also view face as reflecting social norms or values (Matsumoto, 1988; Spencer-Oatey, 2008; Watts, 2003). An interactional view of face claims that face is discursive, evaluative, and argumentative (Geyer, 2008), or sees it as a phenomenon rooted in the relationship two or

more persons create with one another in interaction (Arundale, 2010). Due to these differing perspectives, "face" itself has become a subject of research interest (Haugh, 2009; Arundale, 2013).

Rather than focusing on the construction of face per se, the present study seeks to examine the how the participants conduct their interaction once a face threat has been issued. It is distinct from investigations that focus on the values and rights claimed by participants as members of society, or the ways in which "face" is constructed in response to those values and rights. Therefore, in this study, the term "face" is used based on the definition provided by Brown and Levinson. And from this perspective, intimate friends can be operationally defined as being a state in which their positive face is fulfilled in preference to their negative face, as they are assumed to have similar identities, interests, and desires (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 64).

In politeness theory, it is assumed that when performing face-threatening acts (FTAs), one tries to maintain the face of the interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The weightiness of an FTA is estimated by considering three factors: social distance between the speaker and the recipient, the power the recipient has over the speaker, and the degree to which the FTA is rated an imposition in that culture. A strategy for performing the FTA is then selected based on this estimation of weightiness. However, even with this estimation to avoid face threatening, face may still be threatened. As positive face violations, in particular, undermine friendships, compensation for the threatened face will be provided later. Regarding interaction after face threatening, Brown and Levinson (1987: 236–238) state that a "balance-principle" is at work and provide an example of how positive politeness can be used to restore the threatened face to its original level. Bayraktaroğlu (1991) also emphasizes the participants' need for a framework that incorporates three aspects: avoiding FTAs, reducing the impact of FTAs, and recovering from the consequences of FTAs. The concepts of "interactional imbalance" and face boosting act are introduced to help achieve this framework. These concepts demonstrate that when one participant's face is either satisfied or violated, the other will act to maintain an "ideal balance" of face between the speakers. The data used in this analysis are limited, but the systematization of politeness by including the post-utterance actions and the demonstration of face equilibrium across speakers is noteworthy.

This emphasis on capturing politeness, including the results of FTAs, can also be observed among Japanese researchers. For example, Usami (2008) introduced the "face-balance principle," which posits that if one participant does not reduce the degree of face threatening against the recipient enough, or at all, then the recipient will respond with the same degree of face threatening in order to achieve a balance. It also suggests that imbalances in the degrees of face threatening in a conversation can be resolved in subsequent conversations. Mimaki (2013) also notes the existence of FTA balance-seeking behavior, such as a participant committing excessive FTAs and subsequently committing FTAs against themselves, a recipient of an FTA committing new

FTAs in response, and a party who has received more FTAs from the interlocutor daring to do an FTA in response.

Despite this trend of analyzing politeness at the discourse level, there are still relatively few studies that have analyzed actual conversational data. Specifically, as far as the author is aware, only Mimaki (2013) has analyzed interactions at the discourse level beyond a few lines following an FTA. Additionally, as the data in Mimaki (2013) were drawn from first-encounter conversations, it is unclear what kind of interactions take place in addition to or following FTAs in order to restore balance in conversations between intimate friends.

Methods

The data for this study were collected from a corpus of 20 conversations between undergraduate students of Japanese in close relationships with one another. The participants in the present study were operationally confirmed as being close based on the follow-up questionnaire with five questions and the following procedures:

a) How well do you know the personality and preferences of your partner?
b) To what extent can you have a heart-to-heart talk with your partner?
c) How easy is your partner to talk to?
d) How much fun do you have with your partner?
e) How much do you want to be friends with your partner?

The term "partner" in the questions stands for the person who participated in the same conversation as the responder. The questions a) and b) delve into the extent of the participants' relationship. The questions c) to e) investigate the participants' perceptions and emotions regarding their partner. A 5-point Likert scale was used to answer each question, with 3 indicating a medium degree and higher numbers indicating stronger degrees. The participants in the present study were operationally regarded as being close and suitable for the research if both responses to questions a) and b) added up to 7 or more, and those to questions c) to e) added up to 10 or more. It is worth noting that high ratings regarding questions c) to e) just after the conversations indicate that adequate compensations for the face threatening have been made during the conversation.

There were ten conversations each between male and female participants, respectively. The participants were not informed of the purpose of the study in advance, but they were informed after their conversation ended. In case the participants ran out of things to talk about, they were asked to discuss "impressions you have of your interlocutor that you can mention on this occasion." The conversations took place in a relaxed setting where the participants could speak freely. Audio and video recording began after the topic was explained and the investigators left the scene. The average length of one conversation

was 24 minutes. A follow-up questionnaire after the conversation confirmed that all pairs were able to speak in a friendly and spontaneous manner.

Sequences featuring negative evaluation, which are typical actions that threaten the positive face of the recipient (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 66), were extracted for careful analysis. Negative evaluations were identified as when the speaker could be judged to view the subject as inappropriate based on the content and tone of the utterances. Typically included were utterances that contained negative evaluation words and expressions, and were stated in a serious tone of voice. Even if they did not contain negative evaluation words or expressions, those judged as negative evaluations because the receiver refuted or excused them were also included. On the other hand, if an utterance contained vocabulary or expressions of negative evaluation but was spoken in a cheerful tone with laughter, and the recipient did not refute or excuse it, it was excluded.

Rebuttal, excuse, or correction is the act of showing that there are valid reasons for the subject of the negative evaluation, or asserting that it should not be evaluated negatively, thus weakening or nullifying the face threatening caused by the utterance of the negative evaluation. An apology is also an act of acknowledging the content of the negative evaluation and violating one's own face. Thus, when there is a response such as a refutation, excuse, correction, or apology, the face threatening as well as the face imbalance is manifest in the interaction.

A discourse analytic methodology (Brown & Yule, 1983; McCarthy, 1991) is adopted for the analysis of these data. It is believed that when a face imbalance occurs, mutual actions for correction take place, and when equilibrium is re-established, the exchange is terminated and the topic is moved to another one (Bayraktaroğlu, 1991). Therefore, I define as a discourse the exchange in which the topic progresses from the negative evaluation that threatened the positive face to the shift of the topic. The interactions within the discourse are analyzed mainly in terms of the consideration of positive face.

Analysis

The analysis reveals two strategies for restoring face balance, both of which have been accomplished collaboratively: retroactive recovery of the face demands of a recipient of an FTA, and mutual face threatening.

Retrospective recovery of face

The participants employed two practices for recovering threatened face: satisfying the threatened face, and retroactively redressing or denying the face infringement.

Retroactive recovery of face

First, I examine data in which the participants collaboratively work to satisfy threatened face. The data are contiguous, but I have split the data into three

excerpts for ease of explication. Excerpt 11.1a shows a FTA towards F03, Excerpt 11.1b shows a positive face satisfaction of F03, and Excerpt 11.1c shows an exchange in which it is mutually confirmed that the act of face satisfaction to F03 performed in Excerpt 11.1b is not a formal one.

In Excerpt 11.1a, F04 expresses negative impressions of F03, such as "(F03) spends money" and "(F03) has no sense of direction."

Excerpt 11.1a
```
400 F04: okane wa tsukau wa.
         money  TP use     IP
         ((laughing))
         "You spend money."
401      ato nan da.
         then what CP
         "What else."
402 F03: e,okane tsukau?
         eh, Money   use
         "Eh, I spend money?"
403 F04: [uun.
         yes
         "Yes"
404 F03: [a,tsukau kamo.
         oh, use        maybe
         "Oh, maybe I do spend money."
405 F04: un, nanka roohika tte iu jan.
         yes like     spendthrift  QT  say isn't it
         "Yes, many people say that you're like a spendthrift,
         don't they?"
406 F03: un, [wakatteru.
         yes,    know
         "Yes, I know that."
407 F04: [ato nan da kke, nani ga aru?
         then what CP IP     what   SP there
         "What else? What other impression do I have of you?"
         ((slight pause))
408      ^hookoo onchi toka
         direction    poor sense example
         "You have no sense of direction, for example."
         ((big laugh))
409 F03: ^ya sore wa betsu ni inshou to kankei
         no that    TP particular      impression with relation
410      nai jan
         no isn't it
         "No, that doesn't have any relation to impressions, does it"
411 F04: soo.
         yes
         "You are right."
```

F04 gives a negative evaluation of F03 as "(You) spend money" (line 400) and then tries to continue with other impressions. F03 then questions, such as "I spend money?" (line 402). This demonstrates a typical feature of disagreement with the first evaluation (Pomerantz, 1984). When F04 follows up this confirmation (line 403), F03 acknowledges it herself by stating, "Oh, maybe I do spend money" (line 404). However, the *kamo* ("might") in this utterance is an abbreviation of the modality expression *kamosirenai*, which expresses a stance of lower probability (Kaiser et al., 2013), thus indicating an attempt to avoid confirming a negative evaluation to herself. Nevertheless, F04 continues the negative evaluation, stating, "Yes, many people say that you're like a spendthrift, don't they?" (line 405). This utterance expresses that F04's evaluation of F03 as a "spendthrift" is not her own personal evaluation, but one expressed by people around them.

And, the utterance seeks confirmation that F03 herself is aware of this by the *jan* ("isn't it"), which is a confirmation request form. Thus, F04's utterances up to this point are strong FTAs that confirm F03's acknowledgement of her evaluation as someone who spends money excessively and is a spendthrift (line 400), which F03 does not agree with. In fact, although F03 says, "Yes, I know that" (line 406), as if acknowledging the evaluation, she produces this utterance in a flat tone and low volume, which seem to express disappointment or disillusionment in regard to F04's evaluations of her, and it can be said that the series of utterances from F04 functioned as an FTA to F03. Thus, the positive face of F03 has been strongly threatened up to this point.

However, F04 tries to continue to describe her impression of F03, overlapping with the utterance (line 406) in which F03 acknowledges F04's negative evaluation of her. After recalling her impression (line 407), she again gives a negative evaluation, saying that "You have no sense of direction" (line 408). This utterance is countered with the objection pointing out that the evaluation of having no sense of direction is irrelevant to the activity of expressing impressions of one another, and is not an objection to the evaluation itself (lines 409, 410). Thus, it is unclear whether or not F04 is accepting the negative evaluation from F03 here, but at least, no explicit denial is being made.

Accepting this response (line 411), F04 begins to state a positive evaluation of F03 in Excerpt 11.1b.

Excerpt 11.1.b

```
412 F04: ma, demo doo nan daroo ne.
         well  but  how  N   suppose IP
         "Well but, I'm not sure what to say."
413      maa demo, maa demo nani?
         well but    well but    what
         "Well but, well but, what to say."
414 F03: [((slightly laugh))
415 F04: [boro mo dete kuru kedo, ii men mo
         shortcoming also appear come but,   good aspects also
```

```
416      dondon detekuru yo ne.
         a lot       come.out     IP  IP
```
"You know, lots of good aspects come out
in addition to your shortcomings"
```
417 F03: aa, [soo.
         oh,    so
```
"Oh, yeah?"
```
418 F04: [koo, kateeteki da toka sa.
         this way domestic     CP  example IP
```
"For example, you are a sort of domestic person."
```
419 F03: aa, soo.
         oh,   so
```
"Oh, yeah?"
         ((laugh))
```
420      yokatta^.
         Good
```
"That's a relief."
```
421 F04: ganbariyasan da toka.
         Hardworking person  CP  example
```
"And, a hardworking person."
```
422 F03: aan.
         umm
```
"Umm."
         ((laugh))
```
423 F04: [^moo detekuru kana.
         already come.out     IP
```
"I wonder if any more impressions will come out"
```
424      F03: [((slight laugh))
```

F04, while looking for words to question the certainty of the negative eval-
uation already mentioned (lines 412, 413), announces a positive evaluation
by saying, "You know, lots of good aspects come out in addition to your
shortcomings" (lines 415, 416). The fact that the evaluation will turn here is
foreshadowed by the use of a discourse marker *maa* at the beginning of the
utterance, which stops and redirects the progress of the discourse (Kumakiri,
2022). Then, F03 states her positive impression of F04 as being "domestic"
(line 418) and "hardworking" (line 421). F03 accepts these utterances with
"Oh, yeah?" (line 417, 419), but also expresses a feeling of reassurance by say-
ing "That's a relief" (line 420). Following a series of positive evaluations, F03
states only "umm" (line 422), which has characteristics consistent with disa-
greement as a typical response to praise (Pomeranz, 1978). The light laughter
of F03 in response to F04 (line 423), who looks for further positive evalua-
tion, also indicates a favorable reception of F04's series of utterances. From
these details, it can be concluded that the series of utterances by F04 from line
412 functioned as a positive evaluation. Therefore, it can be said that a satisfac-
tion of the positive face of F03 has taken place here.

Excerpt 11.1c

```
       ((laughing))
425 F03: ^nani isshookenmee foroo [shiten no?
       What   desperately        support  doing   N
       "Why are you supporting me now so desperately?"
426 F04: [wakan nai.
       know    not
       "I don't know."
427    iya iya foroo mo, foroo ja nakute
       No   no   support also support  CP  not
428    ryoohoo aru yo tte koto.
       Both     there IP QT   N
       "No, no, It's not that I'm trying to support you, rather my
       intention was to say there are both sides."
429 F03: aa, aa, aa, aa.
       oh,  oh  oh   oh
       "Oh, oh, oh, oh."
430 F04: hai, doozo.
       Here   please
       "Now it's your turn."
       ((both of them laugh))
431 F03: F04 chan^.
       First name address term
       "F04."
```

Following this, F03 states, "Why are you supporting me now so desper-
ately" (lines 425). The Japanese word *foroo* means to make up for something
that is lacking or has failed. Thus, this utterance refers to F04's positive evalu-
ation as if to make up for a series of negative evaluations. This utterance has
two functions. One is to treat F04's evaluation of F04 as "domestic" and
"hardworking" not as a positive evaluation of F03, but as a compensation for
F04's own failure, thereby preventing her own positive face from being uni-
laterally and excessively satisfied. The other is the function of critically stating
that F04's deliberate attempt to align positive evaluations is unnatural.

In either interpretation, the positive face between the participants
moves toward a balanced state: the positive face of F03 was threatened in
Excerpt 11.1a and satisfied in Excerpt 11.1b. If the positive face of F04 is uni-
laterally satisfied here, it could now turn around and lead to a situation where
the positive face of F04 is excessively satisfied. Therefore, by preventing the
one-sided and excessive satisfaction of the positive face, the opposite imbal-
ance can be prevented. Also, by referring critically to F03, the FTA received
from F03 in Excerpt 11.1a can be offset. Compared with the negative evalua-
tion F04 received in Excerpt 11.1a, which was a strong FTA against her per-
sonality, the criticism F03 receives in Excerpt 11.c is mild and limited to the
conversational setting. The difference can be explained by the positive evalua-
tion in Excerpt 11.1b.

F04's utterance in lines 427 to 429 can be interpreted as a criticism, as it was responded to with excuses. When F03 shows understanding in line 429, the initiative shifts back to F04, indicating that the positive face balance between the participants has been restored.

To summarize, in Excerpt 11.1a, F03's positive face was strongly threatened, but in Excerpt 11.1b, the positive face satisfaction was restored. This restoration was led by F04, who performed FTA; F04 continued FTA in Excerpt 11.1a after F03 appeared disappointed, but then turned around and started positive face satisfaction in Excerpt 11.1b. And in Excerpt 11.1c, minor adjustments were made to maintain this balance.

Retroactive redressing of the degree of FTA

Threatened face can be restored with a retrospective reduction of the degree of face-threateningness as well. In Excerpt 11.2a, two male childhood friends, who spent elementary through high school in the same school, experience a face threatening to M12 while they talk about their memories of their high school days.

Excerpt 11.2a

543 M12: chuugaku n toki sorenarini asondeta yone.
       junior.high   of time   considerably   played   IP
       "We hung out quite a bit when we were in junior high."

544 M11: un.
       yes
       "Yes."

545 M12: kookoo itte asobi wa mattaku wasurechatte
       high.school go   play   TP totally   forget
546   sa, daigaku itte kara "are, dooshite
       IP   university   go   from   oops   why
547   doo shiyoo" mitaina.
       how   will.do   like
       "I totally forgot about it when we went to high school, and when I entered a university I
       realized that and thought like "oops, why, what can I do"

548 M11: moo kookoo n toki, nanka metsuki
       really high.school of time   like   look.in.eyes
549   yabakatta mon hontni.
       awful   because really
       "(I agree,) because the look in your eyes was really awful
       when you were in high school."
       ((laugh))   ((laughing))

550 M12: ^metsuki ^yabakatta?
       Look   awful
       "The look in my eyes was awful?"
       ((laughing))

551 M11: ^yabakatta.

awful
"It was awful."
552 M12: da yone, nanka ne, hisookan tadayotteta
          CP IP   like   IP   sense of despair float
553   ki ga suru [warenaagara.
          feel S   do   to myself
          "I think so too, I think I seemed like I was being tragic."
554 M11: [un
          um
          "Um"
555 M12: wakannee
          know   not
          "I don't know."
556   okashikatta yone.
          Odd   IP
          "I was crazy, huh."

M12 mentions that they used to play together in middle school (line 543), but stopped spending time together in high school (lines 545–547). M11 then says that M12 was focused on studying during high school and that he had a terrible look in his eyes (lines 548–549). He also confirmed this evaluation (line 551) in response to a question from M12 (line 550).

M12 accepts the evaluation as "I think so too," but uses words such as "I think I seemed like I was being tragic" (line 553) and "I was crazy" (line 556), which convey a more negative evaluation than the word *yabai* (an expression that originally indicated a greatly increased degree), indicating that he perceives M11's utterance as a negative evaluation. Here, despite M12's use of ambiguous phrases such as "I think" and "I seemed like," as well as the phrase "I don't know" (lines 552–553, 556), the low volume seems to express depression or disillusionment in regard to the negative evaluations. Based on this analysis, we can conclude that M11's statements in lines 548 and 549 functioned as FTAs, causing M12 to lose face.

In Excerpt 11.2b, the low frequency of contact between the two is confirmed, suggesting that the impression that caused the face threatening in Excerpt 11.2a was not certain.

Example excerpt 11.2b
557 M11: maa anmari setten ga nakatta kedo ne
          Well not.very contact S did.not.have but   IP
558   kookoo n toki wa ne.
          High.school of time   TP IP
          "Well, we didn't really have any contact in high school,
          did we."
559 M12: uun, tashikani naa
          umm   sure   IP
          "Umm, you are right."
          ((slight pause))

```
560 M11: rooka de atte, ^"yo" tte iu gurai da yone
         corridor at  meet     hi  QT  say about  CP IP
         "Just sometimes saying "hi "in the corridor, right?"
561 M12: un, sonna [mon datta yone.
         yes that      extent CP    IP
         "Yes, it was like that, wasn't it."
562 M11: [sonna mon da yo
         That    extent CP IP
         "It was that extent."
         ((5 seconds silence))
563 M11: ^jaa boku kara no inshoo.
          Then I    from of  impression
         "I will tell my impression of you then."
```

M11 states that his contact with M12 was minimal (line 557). *Maa* at the beginning of this utterance stops and redirects the progress of the discourse (Kumakiri, 2022). Therefore, this utterance can be interpreted as describing the low frequency of their contact at that time, apart from the topic of F12's awful look in his eyes. At the same time, this utterance is tied to the negative evaluation by the contradictory conjunction particle *kedo*. Upon confirmation, he further explains that their interactions were limited to casual greetings in the hallway (line 560–561). When M12 agrees with this assessment (line 561), M11 overlaps his utterance with almost the same content. Once the infrequency of their interactions is mutually acknowledged, the topic shifts after a brief pause of five seconds (line 563). From this, it can be inferred that their face imbalance has been resolved by line 563.

By mentioning a lack of contact, the negative evaluation in lines 548 and 549 is mitigated in the context of Excerpt 11.2b, as it implies that the condition of M12's having a terrible look in his eyes may not always have been observed. On the other hand, mentioning a lack of contact can also be seen as threatening to the receiver's positive face, as it suggests a distant relationship. It is important to note that the reference to a low degree of contact is formulated as being in the past and does not indicate that this is true of their present relationship. Additionally, during the conversation, both parties actively agree with each other's views in lines 559 to 562 and overlap their statements, indicating a similarity in their thoughts. From this perspective, the reference to a low degree of contact is a minor infringement on M12's positive face within the conversational setting.

The retroactive mitigation of the face threat in Excerpt 11.2b was initiated by M11. The fact that the person who made the FTA initiated the face balance restoration is the same to Excerpt 11.1a. However, thereafter, M11 and M12 are working together to retroactively mitigate the face threatening to M12, mutually establishing that the face threatening was very minor in the first place.

Mutual face satisfaction subsequent to mutual face threatening

One way to ensure face balance among participants is through exchanges of mutual face threatening, as identified by Mimaki (2013). This study also found a pattern of interactional behavior, not previously noted in Bayraktaroğlu (1991) and Mimaki (2008), in which the conversational partner repeatedly seeks consent to express disagreement, despite having already expressed disagreement. Furthermore, the recovery from the mutual face damage in this exchange may contribute to the maintenance of friendship.

In Excerpt 11.3a, M09 is discussing his impression of M10, and he expresses a negative evaluation of M10 as having a "strange way of thinking" (lines 106, 107).

Excerpt 11.3a

```
106 M09: dakara,  chotto kangaekata    ga okashii  n  ya
         therefore little  way.of.thinking S  strange   N  CP
107      sootoo.
         pretty
         "So, your way of thinking can be said to be pretty strange."
108 M10: kangaekata  okashii   kana?
         way.of.thinking strange   Q
         "Is my way of thinking strange?"
109 M09: kangae kata tte iu ka kangaeru koto ga
         way.of.thinking  QT  say rahter think     thing  S
         ((slight laugh))
110      okashii.^
         strange
         "Your way of thinking, or rather what you think is strange."
111 M10: dakara,  nanka nan tsuu no, nan daroo  ne.
         therefore like  what QT say N   what CP       IP
         "So like, how can I say, what could it be."
112 M09: nan ya roo ne.
         What CP will IP
         "What could it be."
113      daka, nanka yoku wakaran  nen, tonikaku
         therefore like  well don't.know IP    anyway
114      omae no iu koto wa.
         you  of  say things TP
         "So, anyway, I can't much understand what you say."
115 M10: yoo wa.
         sum  TP
         "In short."
116 M09: omae no [naka de nanka nanka.
         you  of   inside at like    like
         "Inside you is like, like"
117 M10: [futsuu ja,  futsuu ja ya nano.
         Normal  CP   normal CP dislike N
         "I don't want to stay normal.
```

M09 states that M10's way of thinking is strange (lines 106, 107). Although *chotto* ("a little"), an adverb that weakens the degree, is also used here, *sootoo* ("pretty"), which strengthens the degree, is also used at the end as well. M09 continues negative evaluation over questions from M10 (line 108) by saying, "what you think is strange" (line 109, 110). In response, M10 attempts to explain the situation (line 111), and M09 adopts a wait-and-see attitude (line 112). However, M09 immediately follows up with, "I can't much understand what you say" (line 113 and 114). This utterance can be understood as a summary of his own opinion so far, since it begins with "so" for the conclusion and "anyway" to sum up the conversation. In response to this, M10 again explains that he does not want to be normal (lines 115, 117). The series of utterances by M09 can be said to have functioned as a negative evaluation, as M10 responded with disagreement (line 108) and explanation of the situation (lines 111, 115, 117). There was little laughter in either utterance, and no indication that they were exchanged as jokes.

After this threatening of M10's positive face, M09's positive face is threatened in Excerpt 11.3b. Excerpt 11.3b follows Excerpt 11.3a with an inserted exchange about a mutual acquaintance who happened to be passing by, followed by a confirmation as to the truth of what M10 intended to say in lines 115, 117.

Excerpt 11.3b

```
126 M09: nank hito to chigau koto kakitaku naru
         like  people with different  thing  want.to.write become
127      [yone tte.
           IP   QT
```
"I said you may want to write something that is different from what other people write (in a report)."

```
128 M10: [naru.
          become
```
"Yes, I do"

```
129 M09: minna sansee ttsttoru noni jibun dake
         everyone agree   QT.is.saying though self    only
          ((laugh))
130      hantai tte iitaku naru yo ne.ˆ
          disagree QT  want.to.say become IP  IP
```
"You may want to say NO while all the other people say YES, even though it is only you."

```
131 M10: sore wa nai.
         that   TP  no
```
"Not at all."
```
          ((laughing))
132 M09: ˆnai?
          No
```
"No?"

```
133 M10: sore wa jibun no kangae.
         that   TP  self  of   thought
```

     "That's your way of thinking."
     ((laughing))
134 M09: ˆ[aree?
     that
      "Huh?"
135 M10: [sore wa jibun no kangae da yo.
     that TP self of thought CP IP
     "That's your way of thinking."
136 M09: minna sansee nara ore hantai siyo kkanaa
     everyone agree if I disagree will.do Q
     ((laugh))
137   mitaina, ˆnai?
     llke no
     "Don't you feel like you are going to disagree if
     everyone else agrees?"
138 M10: un.
     Yes
     "No"
139 M09: a [soo?
     oh that
     "Oh, you don't?"
140 M10: [soko made hidoku wa nai.
     there until terrible TP not
     "I'm not so terrible like that."
141 M09: ((laugh))

Starting on line 126, M09 speaks for M10. This demonstrates positive politeness by showing understanding of M10's perspective (point-of-view operations, Brown & Levinson, 1987: 118–122). From the point of agreement on line 128, we can infer that M10's positive face is satisfied. However, the subsequent interaction then goes on to negatively impact M09's face.

M09 goes a step further by stating "You may want to say NO while all the other people say YES, even though it is only you" (lines 129, 130), implying that M10 holds an opposing viewpoint from that of others. However, this request for agreement is denied by M10 (line 131). M10's reaffirming response of "No?" (line 132) is also denied by M10 (lines 133, 135). M10's series of disagreements is presented without hesitation, laughter, or partial agreement, and is repetitive, clearly indicating his disapproval. In response to this denial, M09 says "Huh" (line 134) with a hint of laughter, which gives the impression that the statement is said in a playful manner. However, this use of an exclamation indicating surprise suggests that M10's response does not meet M09's expectations. Despite repeated denials, M09 continues to make requests for agreement (lines 136, 137), using point-of-view operation (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 118–122) to directly quote and represent M10's sentiments. Even after receiving another clear denial (line 138) from M10, M09 continues to press for confirmation (line 139). M10's final disapproval is

expressed as "I'm not so terrible like that" (line 140), which emphasizes the negative connotation that has not been used before.

In summary, M09 repeatedly requests agreement despite it being clear that M10 does not agree, and is denied each time. The exchange ultimately ends with M10 stating a negative evaluation of "terrible." Disagreement is a typical FTA to positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 66). Thus, in Excerpt 11.3b, we see that M09's positive face is threatened. Additionally, M09's laughter during the exchange suggests that he is not taking the situation seriously, which may contribute to repeatedly eliciting the disagreement from M10. Here, corroborative restoration of the face balance, which is initiated by the participant who performed the FTA, is observed again.

In line 140, M10 states the evaluation of "terrible." Evaluative terms serve to summarize the topic (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987). This may be why the focus shifts to M09. Then, in Excerpt 11.3c, M09's positive face is threatened more directly.

Excerpt 11.3c
```
142 M09: yaa mushiroo sore waa ore nan kedo ne.
         oh   rather      that  TP  I   N   but  IP
         "Oh, what I described applies to me (rather than you)"
143      jitsu wa sansee ya kedo hantai, aete hantai
         Actually T` agree   CP but  disagree  dare  disagree
144      shiteru mitaina.
         doing     like
         "Like, I dare to disagree although I actually agree."
145 M10: un, futsuu dakara wakannai n da yo,
         yes normal  because don't.understand N CP IP
146      kimi ga kitto.
         you  S  definitely
         "Yeah, you may not understand because you are not talented."
147 M09: ((laugh))
148 M10: dee.
         and.then
         "And then."
149 M09: un.
         um
         "Um."
150 M10: idaiteiru inshoo.
         having      impression
         "Impression (of you) that I have."
151 M09: ((laugh))
```

This utterance, in terms of face, is an FTA to M09's own positive face (self-humiliation; Brown & Levinson, 1987: 68). To this utterance, M10 responds, "you may not understand because you are not talented" (line 145, 146). Here, *futsuu* ("normal") in line 145 is a negative evaluation for M10, as stated in Excerpt 11.3a: *futsuu ja ya na no* ("I don't want to stay normal") (line 117).

Thus, the utterances of M10 in lines 145 and 146 are negative evaluations for M09. In the first place, preferred response to a demeaning utterance is negation, and even an affirming utterance is often accompanied by hesitation, pauses, and so forth (Pomerantz, 1984). The absence of such features in M10's utterance here also shows that M10 is not reluctant to threaten the face of M09.

Where the positive face of M09 continues to be threatened in this way, the topic turns away from M09 after line 148, and another impression begins to be formulated. This suggests that a balance in the face between the participants has been resolved to a certain degree. Both M09 and M10's positive face has been threatened (through Excerpts 11.3a to c), resulting in a low-level balance. This mutual threatening of positive face seems to contradict the maintenance of a friendship, but it is not left unaddressed. In fact, in the subsequent conversation (Excerpt 11.3d), a balance in the degree of face satisfaction is achieved. This adjustment of face satisfaction in a longer discourse may contribute to the preservation of friendships. In Excerpt 11.3d, M10 initiates a conversation about finding someone to share a drink with, which is something he enjoys.

Excerpt 11.3d
```
324 M10: madaa ima n toko M09 shika inai kara.
         yet    now of stage      only   not.there because.
         "So far I only have you (as a member of drinking pal)."
         ((laughing, as astonished))
325 M09: ^ore moo?
         I     also
          "Me too?"
         ((laughing))
326      ^ore mo haitton sore?
         I     also included    that
          "Am I also included?"
         ((laughing))
327 M10: ^Atarimae jan.
         Of course    isn't it
          "Of course"
328 M09: ((laugh))
329 M10: teeka musiro kongo M09 shika denasa soo ya.
          QT.say rahter    after           other.than not.exit  seem CP
          "Rather, it seems that I will have only you as a drinking pal
          from now on out."
         ((laughing))
330 M09: ^maji de?
         really   CP
          "Are you serious?"
         ((laughing))
331:     ^e nande ya nen. eeeeeeee.
         eh why    CP N       ehhhhhhhhh
          "What the hell. ehhhhhhh"
```

```
332 M10: muri desu mitai na.
          Impossible CP  like    CP
```
"(You may be like) no thanks."
((laughing))
```
333 M09: ^iichiko.
          Iichiko (brand name of a liquor in Japan)
```
"Iichiko"
((interrupted))
```
334 M10: [minna^.
          everyone
```
"Everyone."
```
335 M09: [maa maa kondo ikkyu    ittara omae no
          Well well  next.time Ikkyu (bar name) if.go    you    of
336       M10 M10 no botoru kiipu nomu kedo
          of   bottle     keep  drink  but
```
*"Well, well, next time I go to the bar, I will drink liquor
you have on reserve there."*
```
337 M10: zehi.
          please
```
"By all means."

M10 states that the only person with whom he drinks his favorite alcoholic beverage is M09 (line 324), indicating a shared interest and contributing to the fulfillment of both parties' positive face. M09 reacts with surprise but confirms the shared interest with laughter and without any indication of rejection (lines 325–326). Thus, M09 also takes it for granted that they share an interest. M10 then responds with "Of course" (line 327), further emphasizing the shared interest and contributing to positive face fulfillment. M10 also suggests that M09 will likely be his only drinking companion in the future (line 329), emphasizing the strength of their shared interest. M09 again reacts with surprise and laughter (lines 330–331), indicating that the shared interest and positive face fulfillment are well received.

By line 331, M10 has made a series of statements that fulfill M09's positive face through the use of positive politeness, such as addressing M09 by a nickname (lines 324, 329), one king of in-group identity markers (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 107–110). This is in contrast to the more formal terms, such as *jibun* ("yourself") (line 133, 135) and *kimi* ("you") (line 145) used during the FTAs in Excerpts 11.3b and 11.3c. While M09 doesn't accept the series of utterances from M10 willingly, he talks with laughter throughout the excerpt.

Here, after an utterance that speaks of M09's feelings and about the name of the beverage (lines 332–334), M09 now speaks of drinking the bottle M10 is keeping on reserve for himself at the drinking establishment (lines 335, 336). This utterance can be interpreted either as an expression of optimism (be optimistic; Brown & Levinson, 1987: 126–127) that M10 is interested in something he likes and will be allowed to drink it, or as an utterance that

assumes that M10 will recognize M09's desire. In fact, M10's welcoming "by all means" (line 337) indicates that it functioned as positive politeness.

In sum, after M10's positive face is threatened (Excerpt 11.3a), M09 triggers his own positive face threatening. Additionally, M10 takes advantage of this and further threatens M09's positive face (Excerpt 11.3b, c). After the face between the participants is balanced, with positive face threatened in this way for both, an exchange that satisfies both parties' positive face takes place a few minutes later within the same conversation (Excerpt 11.3d).

Discussion

In this chapter, I have analyzed how the participants make adjustments in the interactional moments following a threatening of face by negative evaluations. The analysis has taken particular note of the participants' corrections of face imbalances between them. Key practices that emerged from the analysis are summarized as follows:

1. There were three discourse practices for correcting face imbalance:
   • retroactively satisfying the positive face of the person who received the negative evaluation
   • retrospectively redressing the degree of face threatening of negative evaluation
   • mutual face-threatening acts and mutual face satisfaction
2. The second practice has not been pointed out in previous studies. Regarding the third point, the study newly showed that balancing the face through mutual FTAs occurs even among very close acquaintances and is followed by a mutual satisfaction of positive face

This fact suggests two points about the face of intimate friends. One is that when one participant's face is threatened, it is necessary to balance the face among the participants, even by threatening the face of the other participant. This has been pointed out in regard to FTA balance-seeking behavior in first-encounter conversations (Mimaki, 2008). What has become clear in the present study, which has dealt with conversations between intimate friends, is that it is not enough for both participants' face to be balanced in a state of infringement; balance is required in approaching the original level of fulfillment.

All these practices for correcting face imbalance were initiated by the person who performed the negative evaluation. This is because, after the recipient claims an act as a face-threatening act, the decision of whether to accept the claim and perform face satisfaction or deny it is left to the person who performed the FTA. However, once the correction was initiated, it was accomplished through the collaborative interaction of participants. In other words, it was neither solely (Brown & Levinson, 1987) nor fixedly (Bayraktaroğlu,

1991) performed by the performer of an FTA. This was true even in the case where the performer of preceding negative evaluation repeatedly induced the other participant to perform FTAs in turn.

In summary, the coordination of positive face plays a crucial role in maintaining friendships. In intimate relationships, conversation participants may exchange negative evaluations, which may threaten the positive face of one participant. As a result, the positive face of one of the participants may be violated, and mutual FTAs may also follow. However, the ultimate goal seems to be the achievement of a state where both participants' positive face is satisfied, and this was shown to have been achieved by reducing the degree of FTAs and satisfying the positive face retroactively. This highlights the importance of monitoring and maintaining the appropriate level of positive face status in order to maintain friendships.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the use of FTAs and the subsequent interactional flow in conversations between intimate friends, with the goal of understanding some of the ways in which friendships are maintained. It is also important to analyze interactions during the process of becoming intimate in order to fully understand how friendships are formed. Additionally, negative evaluations were taken up as an example of a typical act that threatens positive face. However, other forms of FTA can occur in conversation, and what is considered as a FTA can vary across cultures. Therefore, it would be beneficial to further examine actual face threatening in conversation and the subsequent reciprocal behaviors in different cultures.

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Acknowledgement

12 "Feeling close" while "being close"?

Toward integrating discursive approaches with evolutionary perspectives on friendships

Masataka Yamaguchi

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss possibilities for integrating "discursive" (i.e., ethnomethodological-conversation analytic and other discourse-analytic) approaches with evolutionary perspectives on friendships while recognizing obstacles (Henrich et al., 2010). For this purpose, I first identify and discuss three emergent themes: (1) temporality (see Chapters 1, 4, 9, 10, and 11, in particular); (2) embodiment, including such embodied actions as gestures, body movements, rhythmic synchrony, or laughing together (see Chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, and 10); and (3) interculturality (Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6), which can be contrasted with "homophily" or our tendency to seek friendships among similar people in terms of language/dialect, place of origin, educational background, worldview, sense of humor, hobbies and interests (McPherson, et al. 2001; Dunbar, 2021) (see Chapters 9, 10, and 11, in particular). These sociocultural dimensions of similarity are called the "seven pillars of friendship" in evolutionary psychology (Dunbar, 2018: 44–45; cf. Enfield, 2006). Building on the findings of this volume, I argue that discursive approaches can complement, and extend the scope of, the scholarship on friendships (e.g., Beer & Gardner, 2015; Bell & Coleman, 1999; Desai & Killick, 2010; Dunbar, 2021; McPherson, et al., 2001) by illuminating the ways in which our "being close" creates our "feeling close" in face-to-face interaction.

In what follows, I start with making explicit the fundamental assumptions of the authors and discuss the three themes that I have identified. Then, I consider how they are related to evolutionary concerns and argue for the contributions of discursive approaches to friendships, while noting challenges (Henrich et al., 2010). Specifically, I first describe the "social brain hypothesis" in order to frame the studies of friendship from an evolutionary perspective (Dunbar, 1996, 2018, 2021). On the theme of temporality, the notion of "causal frame" is explained, and the causal frame for situated interaction called "enchrony" (Enfield, 2022) is introduced to theorize temporal scales. Second, on the theme of embodiment, I take as an example the action of social laughter or "laughing together" (Dezecache & Dunbar, 2012; cf. Jefferson et al., 1987) and rhythmic synchrony between interlocutors (Chartrand &

Bargh, 1999) to connect these embodied actions with brain functions or with the hormones called "endorphins" (Dunbar, 2018, 2021).

Finally, the theme of interculturality is discussed with reference to the criteria of "seven pillars of friendship" (Dunbar, 2018, 2021), which emphasize the sociocultural dimensions of similarity among friends and indicate the odds against creating and maintaining "intercultural friendships." In the end, I suggest that we take seriously evolutionary theories to frame the phenomenon of human sociality and bonding. My discussion is informed by psychological and cultural theories of evolution on human cooperation and friendship (Dunbar, 2018, 2021; also see Enfield & Levinson, 2006; Levinson & Jaisson, 2006; Richerson & Boyd, 2005; Tomasello, 2000, inter alia).

Theoretical background and three emergent themes

Eleven essays collected in this volume build upon the traditions of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (Garfinkel, 1967; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 2007, inter alia) (Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8), those of linguistic anthropology in a holistic conception of "context" (Chapters 5, 7, 9, 10, and 11) (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Hanks, 1996; cf. van Dijk, 2009), and (im)politeness in pragmatics (Chapters 9, 10, and 11) (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Culpepper, 2011; Haugh, 2010), or combinations of these traditions, which are collectively called "discursive approaches to friendships."

The fundamental assumptions of the authors can be stated as follows: social interaction is situationally contingent or "occasioned," and social relationships are co-constructed in interaction, which is "locally managed and accomplished" so that our analytic focus should be directed to how we are "doing 'being friends'" (Nishizaka, 2012) in situ, rather than starting with "exogenous" or externally imposed social categories, institutional roles, or fixed relations. On these assumptions, we presume "a reflexive relationship between talk and interpersonal relationships" (Kim, this volume, Chapter 1). As empirical case studies of the discursive construction of friendships, some of the chapters demonstrate the utility of membership categorization analysis (MCA) and the analysis of sequential organization, which can be combined with ethnographic methods and/or multimodal analysis of embodied actions. For example, we see a synthesis of conversation analysis, MCA, and ethnographic methods (Bushnell, this volume, Chapter 3) or a combination of Hymesian ethnography of communication with impoliteness theory (Chu, this volume, Chapter 9) in this volume.

In the rest of this section, I discuss the three themes in my attempt to critically understand discursive approaches to friendships. By "temporality," I refer not only to a temporal scale, which is measured in quantitative terms (e.g., milliseconds, seconds, minutes, hours, etc.), but to a "causal frame" (Enfield, 2022) within which a phenomenon under consideration occurs. I will come back to the notion of "causal frame" later. At this point, it should be noted

that we need to conceptualize a temporal scale that goes beyond the *here-and-now* moment of interaction. As Kim (this volume, Chapter 1) shows, the categories of membership to which the participants orient can change substantially over time, and thus, an extended temporal scale (in her case, nine months) needs to be taken into account (also see Moody, this volume, Chapter 4, for the temporal scale of two years).

More implicitly, using a holistic notion of "context" (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Hanks, 1996; Streeck, 2013), I characterize the last three chapters (Chu, Chapter 9; Ide et al., Chapter 10; and Sekizaki, Chapter 11). In the interactions examined in these chapters, intended meaning is not explicitly signaled in observable behavior. Let me start with Gregory Bateson's concept of "mock aggression." To quote his famous observation at the Fleishhacker Zoo in San Francisco: "I saw two young monkeys playing, i.e., engaged in an interactive sequence of which the unit actions or signals were similar to but not the same as those of combat. It was evident, even to the human observer, that the sequence as a whole was not combat, and evident to the human observer that to the participant monkeys this was 'not combat'" (Bateson, 1972: 179). In technical terms, a sign functions at both "denotative" (or literal) and "meta-communicative" (or non-literal, "framing") levels. In Bateson's example, a mock aggression is simultaneously "a combat" at the denotative level but "not a combat" at the metacommunicative level, as he argues.

However, how do we know that a given sign does not implicate aggression or hostility but intimacy or friendliness on the metacommunicative plane? In addition to observable behavioral signs or "cues," I suggest that temporality becomes relevant in the last three chapters, in which jocular mockery (Chu, Chapter 9), *ijiri* ("teasing") (Ide et al., Chapter 10), and face-threatening acts (Sekizaki, Chapter 11) occur among close friends. In these chapters, "friendships" or relatively close social relationships are *presupposed* rather than discursively created at the moment of these interactions, because we need to assume that intimate relationships existed *prior to* the interactions in these chapters. By referring to the "social brain hypothesis," I will discuss how "costly" (i.e., time consuming and cognitively demanding) friendship is (Dunbar, 1996, 2018, 2021) in the section that follows.

Second, embodiment is identified as another major theme, which has been increasingly prominent in conversation analysis, linguistic anthropology, and other sociolinguistic and discourse-pragmatic traditions (e.g., Goodwin, 2000; Hall et al., 2016; Streeck, 2013). For the present purpose, the notion of "embodiment" is conceptualized with reference to the biological affordances and constraints of human bodies. To put it simply, embodied actions emerge from our bodily capacities, with which perceptual and sensorimotor systems ground the use of language in social interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016; also see Streeck, 2013). In this volume, for example, Bushnell (Chapter 3) demonstrates the necessity to include such embodied actions as "laughing together" (Jefferson et al., 1987), as well as gaze, gesture, and other body movements, in his analysis. All these actions are relevant to his analytic claim for the existence

of "two contrasting sequential patterns" in which the extensive use of post-expansions of self-presentational sequences made a difference in truly "getting to know each other." Other chapters that critically draw on the analysis of embodied actions include Chapter 6 by Spain, who focuses on the action of "pointing" for creating "togetherness," and Chapter 7 by Namba, who discovered "rhythmic synchrony" in interactions among Japanese college students. I will discuss how these embodied actions for creating "a feeling of togetherness" can be explained by a phenomenon known as "the chameleon effect" (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Lakin et al., 2003; Henrich, 2016).

Finally, the theme of interculturality is noted. The first chapters are particularly concerned with intercultural encounters for the purpose of foreign-/second-language learning/use (Kim, Okada & Siegel, and Bushnell, this volume, in Chapters 1, 2, and 3; also see Spain, this volume, Chapter 6), which is a unique feature in this volume. In the tradition of conversation analysis (CA), the notion of "culture" has not been theorized but generally assumed, so that "ordinary speakers" refer to "members of the same speech community" (Kasper & Omori, 2010: 475). In CA, *intra*cultural communication in a monolingual setting has been the norm for conducting research. However, in this volume, CA is usefully combined with MCA (see Bushell, this volume, Chapter 3 and Moody, this volume, Chapter 4) so that we can deal frontally with intercultural encounters in a foreign/second language from an ethnomethodological perspective.

Within the MCA framework, intercultural encounters are analyzed with the principled methods of CA, and the notion of "culture" may be defined as "participants' situated production of a shared but not necessarily harmonious social world" (Kasper & Omori, 2010: 478). In this volume, the notion of "culture" is assumed to be "locally accomplished," which may be formulated as "a stock-of-knowledge-in-action" (Fitzgerald, 2015). In the following section, I will conceptualize "(inter)culture" with the notion of "common ground" in an effort to make discursive approaches and evolutionary perspectives compatible (Enfield, 2006).

An evolutionary approach to friendship: The social brain hypothesis and Dunbar's Number

In commonsensical terms, Robin Dunbar defines friends as "the people who share our lives in a way that is more than just the casual meeting of strangers; they are the people whom we make an effort to maintain contact with, and to whom we feel an emotional bond" from an evolutionary perspective (Dunbar, 2018: 32). On this definition, "friends" refer to enduring relationships with whom we frequently interact and maintain the relations with "a sense of obligation and the exchange of favors" (Dunbar, 2021: 26).

By contrast, the notion of friendship in this volume is quite broadly conceived. As examined in the first chapters, first-time encounters between "strangers" are not generally recognized as conversations between "friends." For

the present purpose, however, the broadening of what counts as "friendship" should be justified on the discursive constructionist assumption of social relationships, or the production and management of friendships in and through social interaction. In other words, the focus of this volume is on illuminating the *processes* of bonding, such as getting to know each other, creating and managing affiliative stances, and/or maintaining presupposed intimate relationships. Furthermore, our relationships with friends are skewed or layered, given that we can have up to 150 friends but cannot allocate our time equally among them, which implies that we have various "kinds of friends." It thus makes sense to extend the scope of the scholarship on friendship in a broader way to include the process of *becoming* friends and/or various stages of social bonding, rather than the state of *being* friends.

To give the readers an overview of evolutionary perspectives on friendship, I first describe the "social brain hypothesis" (Dunbar, 1996, 2018). As originally proposed, the hypothesis is an explanation of why primates evolved larger brains for their body size than other animals, which further led to the discovery that group size and brain size (or the part called "the frontal cortex" in the neocortex) robustly correlate among primates (or apes, monkeys, and humans), among whom humans have the largest neocortex volume and group size. A short answer to the "why larger brains" question is that primates needed to handle their ecological problems with their social skills, which require large brains (or neocortices) that can solve complex social problems as a group, rather than individually (Dunbar, 1996).

More relevant to the present concerns is that the hypothesis projects "the circles of acquaintances" with the layers of personal social networks consisting of *circa* 150 friends (Dunbar, 2018, 2021), which set the limit of time that we can use for maintaining our friendship. The layers consist of 5 ("close friends"), 15 ("best or principal friends"), 50 ("good friends"), and 150 ("just friends" or our active network) (2021: 70–71). The last "just friends" layer with 150 people often coincides with the number of people we recognize on Facebook, which is called "Dunbar's Number." In short, we as humans have the limit of 150 friends due to the limitations of time resource and cognitive capacity.

By applying the social brain hypothesis to the studies of friendship, Dunbar proposes his "two-process model of social bonding" (2018). One component of the model is "social bonding" and the other "cognition" (pp. 37–41). The former addresses the issue of how costly it is to maintain friendship in terms of time, and the latter is concerned with cognitive demands and the relationships of "trust, obligation, and reciprocity." More specifically, "social bonding" refers to "grooming" for the purpose of bonding among apes and monkeys, and to social interaction (including gossiping) among humans, which provides a platform for the relationships of trust in our social networks. On this model, it is hypothesized that "the amount of time spent interacting with someone correlates with the perceived emotional closeness" (Dunbar, 2018: 37). The point is that "social bonding," whether grooming or gossiping, requires a

great deal of time. Our resource of time is limited, which gives the limitation of the number of friends we can have, and the quality of friendship varies in each layer.

On the other hand, the component of cognitive constraints for friendships critically involves the ability to "mind read" or "understand and work with many other individuals' mind states" (Dunbar, 2018: 41), called "theory of mind," which I will not discuss further in this chapter (also see Tomasello, 2000; Enfield & Levinson, 2006 for the theoretical explanations and examples of "capacity for intention attribution").

If we reconsider the three last chapters (Chu, Ide et al., and Sekizaki) from the perspective of the social brain hypothesis, it is highly unlikely that these interactions occurred among "just friends" in the outer layer of 150, but the presupposed relationships were "good friends" or perhaps "best friends" when they interacted. On the other hand, Okada and Seigel, and Bushnell, are concerned with the process of "getting to know each other," which is not captured by the layer of 150 friends. With these differences in the conceptualizations of "friendship" in mind, evolutionary perspectives can be connected to discursive approaches, if we broaden our scope of research to the biocultural aspects of human sociality and bonding, and brain functions in particular (Dunbar, 1996; Levinson, 2006; Enfield, 2006). In what follows, I discuss the three themes from evolutionary perspectives.

Temporality through an evolutionary lens: The enchronic frame

In the light of discussion so far, I suggest that we extend the scope of temporality and engage with the notion of "causal frame," which includes, but is different from, the notion of temporal scale. The latter refers to the duration of quantitatively measurable processes, while the former denotes "qualitatively different processes by which change and development occur" (Enfield, 2022: 3). For example, first- and second-language acquisition takes place within the causal frame of "ontogeny," i.e., development in the lifespan, while phonological or semantic changes in language require the causal frame of "diachrony" over historical time. The differences between ontogeny and diachrony are not merely differences in temporal scale but involve "distinct kinds of causal process" (p. 3; also see Tinbergen, 1963, for the original ethological proposal).

Directly relevant to the present volume is the causal frame of "enchrony," which is defined as "a form of joint action," characterized by "dynamic intersubjectivity, … mutual attention, and accountability" (Enfield, 2022: 3). This is the frame that conversation analysts have been centrally concerned with as "the primordial site of human sociality" (Enfield & Levinson, 2006). With the notion of "enchronic frame," research on social interaction and discursive approaches to friendships can be brought together with other research traditions in linguistics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, which address the evolutionary concerns that relate to human cooperation, bonding, and friendship (see Enfield & Levinson, 2006; Levinson & Jaisson, 2006). The

enchronic frame has been relatively neglected, but is indispensable for obtaining a complete picture of human sociality and bonding, as Enfield argues.

By referring to the concept of "causal frame," this volume will be a contribution to the studies of human sociality and bonding by situating it in the enchronic and ontogenetic frames. As an example, I refer to Kim (Chapter 1), who is acutely aware of the temporal scale of her research site. She suggests:

> While the notion of temporality has been central in CA, the concern with temporality was, rather, confined to immediate sequential context. Recently, there has been a growing amount of research interest in different levels of time relevant to the interaction analytically … An expanded notion of temporality, as it is oriented to and utilized in interaction in constructing context and personal relationship, seems to be a prime topic for further investigation.

For methodological purposes, we could exclusively focus on "immediate sequential context" or the sequential organization in the enchronic frame. However, we will also benefit from placing our research in the frame of ontogeny, in which second-/foreign-language learning occurs in the process of lifetime development, so that we can draw on the findings and insights in other research traditions, such as "language socialization" (see Kramsch, 2003; Ochs, 2003 for the tradition of "language socialization" and Lemke, 2003 for the notion of "timescale").

Embodiment from evolutionary perspectives

In connecting the second theme of embodiment with evolutionary perspectives, I explore how we are "feeling close" while "being close" in considering embodied actions. In doing so, I argue that embodied actions for bonding are not only discursively constructed but biologically consequential, which may have evolutionary significance in both "proximate" and "ultimate" terms, or "mechanism" and "adaptive value," respectively (Bateson & Laland, 2013; Tinbergen, 1963). It is also argued that discursive approaches to friendships can provide "raw data" taken from naturalistic observations, which complement, and extend the scope of, experimental studies in evolutionary psychology.

I start with discussing embodied actions from a "mechanistic" or physiological perspective (Tinbergen, 1963) by asking the following question: what is evidence for the invisible "feelings" and "emotions," if our "feeling close" by "sharing emotional experiences" is a significant component for bonding? Simply put, how do we know that interlocutors are actually "feeling close?" To answer this question, I take as example the action of "laughing together" (Jefferson et al., 1987) in Chapter 3 and the behavior of "rhythmic synchronization" in Chapter 7, with reference to the evolutionary studies that demonstrate the psychological and physiological effects of these actions. Specifically, it has been found that "laughing together" triggers the endorphin systems

(Dunbar, 2021), and behavioral synchronization causes not only affiliation with the interlocutor who unconsciously imitates one's behavior (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Lakin et al., 2003; Henrich, 2016) but the opioid system activation that releases endorphins in the brain (Lang et al., 2017). I elaborate on these points in the following.

While engaging in conversation, there are occasions in which we "laugh together" or laugh "in a chorus," which is a distinctive feature among humans, as great apes laugh individually. From a comparative viewpoint, it is known that the physiological mechanism of laughing among non-human primates is different from that of humans in the form of vocalization (Dunbar, 2021: 161). Non-human primates use a "simple exhalation-inhalation sequence," while humans adapted the form of vocalization to become "a series of exhalations," with which we rapidly empty the lungs and sometimes "can't get our breath back" (2021: 161). More interestingly, the physiological mechanism of human laughter has the biochemical effect of triggering the endorphin systems in the brain, which is indirectly evidenced by "an elevated pain threshold," as reported by Dunbar and his colleagues (Dezecache & Dunbar, 2012; Dunbar et al., 2012, 2016) in a series of experiments that provide "proximate" explanations of social laughter. In the light of the findings, it is not difficult to see the implications of "laughing together" for creating or maintaining friendships in social interaction.

Let us turn to Namba's "rhythmic synchronization" found in interactions among Japanese college students (Chapter 7). In social psychology, this phenomenon is known as the "chameleon effect" (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Lakin et al., 2003), which derives from "the perception-behavior link," defined as "nonconscious mimicry of the postures, mannerisms, facial expressions, and other behaviors of one's interaction partners" (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999: 893). By investigating social interactions in psychological experiments, Chartrand and Bargh propose that the chameleon effect is "the source of the observed smoother social interaction and interpersonal bonding produced by (nonconscious) mimicry" (1999: 897). Furthermore, from an evolutionary perspective, Lakin et al. (2003) review the past research on the chameleon effect, and argue that there is a "bi-directional relationship" between nonconscious mimicry and affiliation, which means that affiliation creates nonconscious mimicry, and nonconscious mimicry leads to affiliation between interlocutors (2003: 150–155; also see Henrich, 2016: 125).

More importantly to the present purpose, they speculate on the significant role of the chameleon effect in human evolution, which might have "[allowed] individuals to maintain harmonious relationships with fellow group members" (Lakin et al., 2003: 147). According to Lakin et al. (2003), chronologically, the chameleon effect first had "adaptive value" or the function of making communication smoother, which derives from the "link between behavioral mimicry and liking" in a situated context. Then, in phylogeny or the history of human evolution, the behavior might have "evolved to serve a 'social glue' function, binding people together and creating harmonious relationships" (p.

147). More recently, Lang et al. (2017) conducted a series of experiments in which "confederates" (or disguised participants on the research team) mediated behavioral synchronization to test its effects. By distinguishing between "two effects of synchrony" in terms of attitudes or "increased likability" and "trust-based behavioral cooperation" (2017: 192), they found that positive attitudes about others in behavioral synchronization do not cause the economic cooperation in a money game called "the Trust Game." However, the physiological processes of pain-threshold increase (which indicate the release of endorphins) are correlated with both positive attitudes toward others (or "likeability") and behavioral decision-making (or "behavioral cooperation") (2017: 196).

In sum, the embodied actions of "laughing together" and "rhythmic synchronization" have the mechanistic effects of triggering endorphins, and may have acquired the adaptive value of "a social glue function" in phylogeny (Lakin et al., 2003; Henrich, 2016; Dunbar, 2018, 2021). However, these findings are taken from strictly controlled experiments, which lack "ecological validity" or are unnatural due to the artificial research design in psychology (Cicourel, 2007; Rai & Fiske, 2010). From this perspective, discursive approaches to friendships can provide more ecologically valid data, taken from naturalistic observation and description of social interaction with the technology of digital recording. Thus, it is argued that the studies in this volume, such as Bushnell's and Namba's, complement, and extend the scope of, experimental studies in evolutionary psychology.

Interculturality from evolutionary perspectives

The theme of interculturality is finally considered. Chapters 1–3 and Chapters 10–12 in this volume can be contrasted in terms of "interculturality" versus "homophily." Furthermore, Spain (Chapter 6) analyzes both kinds of data in the form of "homophilous" (L1 Japanese speakers speaking in Japanese) and "intercultural" (L1 Japanese speaker, American and Australian L2 Japanese speakers speaking in Japanese) interactions. In what follows, I comment on his analytic assumptions in the light of "the homophily effect" and suggest that the notion of "common ground" (Clark, 2006; Enfield, 2006) should be introduced in order to conceptualize cultural knowledge and other implicitly shared assumptions in social interaction, or "a stock-of-knowledge-in-action" (Fitzgerald, 2015).

To give readers background, I first discuss the homophily effect, which refers to the social fact that "a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people" and has been established in the friendship literature (McPherson et al., 2001: 416). For example, it has been well documented in the sociological literature that "homophily in race and ethnicity" shows the deepest divide in social networks in the United States (McPherson et al., 2001: 420; also see Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Tatum, 2017, for example). Developing the concept of homophily further, Dunbar proposes the

criteria of "seven pillars of friendship," suggesting that friendships are based on "a limited number of dimensions," which consist of language/dialect, place of origin, educational background, worldview, sense of humor, hobbies, and interests (Dunbar, 2018: 44–45; Dunbar, 2021: 200–227).

In a situated context, it is not hard to imagine that we share a vast amount of cultural knowledge and implicit assumptions with someone we meet for the first time if she or he speaks the same dialect as ours. In a hypothetical scenario of his meeting a stranger of similar age to himself, both of whom are native speakers of Australian English, Enfield notes: "my new interlocutor and I will share vast cultural common ground from at least the core years of our linguistic and cultural socialization" (Enfield, 2006: 401). The key concept here is "common ground," which is technically defined as "the open stockpile of shared presumption that fuels amplicative inference in communication" from a Gricean perspective (p. 399). By "amplicative inference," he refers to the pragmatic fact that linguistically coded expressions invite inference, and the speaker leaves "much to be inferred by the listener" without making the speaker's intention explicitly stated. Thus, "the more common ground we share, the less constrained we are in communication," which is called the "logic of communicative economy" (p. 401). From this perspective, the process of "grounding" (or incrementing common ground) to create and maintain friendship will be more efficient if we share homophilous attributes such as shared language/dialect, place of origin, or educational background, among others.

If we take the homophily effect seriously, "intercultural friendships" pose a challenge, given that people who do not share a first language/dialect and other cultural attributes do not have much cultural common ground. Against the backdrop of the discussion on homophily and common ground, I consider Spain (this volume, Chapter 6), in which he concludes that "it is friends who jointly and purposefully accomplish friendship, and they do so across a number of *superficial dissimilarities such as ethnicity or first language*, emphasizing other shared qualities as opportunities to mutually affiliate come up in their interactions" (italics added).

Specifically, Spain highlights the embodied action of pointing found in the interactions of three groups in which multi-party interaction unfolds. His analytic focus is on "an affiliative function of pointing" in the construction of "agreement" in the interactional moments for advancing sequences. From a methodological perspective, it is perfectly justifiable only to look at interactional moves in the enchronic frame, in order to illuminate the process of creating and managing affiliative stances. Through his analyses, he argues that the participants with "dissimilar" background (an L2 Japanese speaker and an L1 Japanese speaker) overcame the "superficial dissimilarities such as ethnicity or first language" in the intercultural encounter.

From an enchronic perspective, I agree with his analytic assumptions that "[r]ather than place emphasis on a priori similarities determined through a researcher's essentializing lens, we instead ask how friends formulate and orient to similarity within interaction. … [We conceptualize] similarity as an

emergent construct that is mutable and constantly undergoing renegotiation within ever-changing contexts."

However, it seems fair not to dismiss the findings of the seven pillars of friendship (Dunbar, 2018, 2021), if we also consider more enduring aspects of social relationships, or friendships. Furthermore, I note that his data are divided into two a priori categories: two "shared L1 language" groups (L1 Japanese speakers speaking in Japanese) and a "non-shared L1 language" group (American, Australian, and Japanese speakers speaking in Japanese), which implicitly draws on the attribute of shared or non-shared first language to create "homophilous" and "intercultural" groups.

In order to resolve the apparent conflict between discursive approaches and evolutionary perspectives, I suggest that we introduce the notion of common ground (Clark, 1996; Enfield, 2006) to the situated context. For example, the homophilous interactions among Japanese college students (A, B, C, and D, and G, H, J, K) use the common ground for ingroups. Specifically, in lines 14–16 in Excerpt 6.1a, A and B repeated the agreement tokens *soo* and *ne*, "a particle which indicates an affective common ground between speaker and addressee … with alternating instances of pointing." This discursive practice of the repetition of agreement tokens invites amplicative inference, and is unlikely to occur unless A and B, two Japanese college female students, share a vast amount of common ground. In other words, arguably, the shared attributes of first language, gender, and age can have an interactional effect, as seen in this example.

In contrast, as Spain argues, a "display of mutual affiliation over the shared interest and knowledge" about the reality show called *Ru Paul's Drag Race* "became a collaborative interactional project that highlighted the coordination and togetherness of the participants involved," who were an American L2 Japanese speaker (T) and a Japanese L1 speaker (N), both of whom jointly "performed exclusivity" by excluding an Australian L2 speaker (J). In the interaction, the topic of the show was in the common ground of T and N, which contributed to taking a mutually affiliative stance or "togetherness" between them. In this interactional moment, the attribute of a shared first language was not a decisive factor, but the shared knowledge of the show contributed to the momentary solidarity. However, it remains to be seen whether T and N will become "true friends" or how long their relationship will last. To answer these questions, we need to investigate their changing relationship for a longer period, using different causal frames than the enchronic frame.

In sum, I suggest that while taking into account "the homophily effect," we analytically focus on revealing "common ground" (Enfield, 2006, Clark, 1996) in the analysis of interaction, so that we can explain "successful" intercultural encounters with reference to cultural knowledge, implicit assumptions, and other kinds of common ground. In short, by using the notion of "common ground," we can conceptualize "culture" as "a stock-of-knowledge-in-action" (Fitzgerald, 2015), which is pragmatically inferred from publicly displayed semiotic signs in interaction.

Discussion

In this section, I summarize the main arguments made in this chapter, and then state two major obstacles to integrating discursive approaches to friendships with evolutionary perspectives for further studies. In this chapter, I first identified three themes that emerged in this volume, which are temporality, embodiment, and interculturality. By referring to the relevant chapters in this volume, I discussed these themes from the perspectives of psychological and cultural theories of evolution. Specifically, I described the social brain hypothesis and referred to Dunbar's Number, which are applied to the studies of friendship. In doing so, I argued that we benefit from broadening our scope of research to the biocultural aspects of human sociality and bonding, with reference to brain functions.

Then, I introduced the notion of enchrony, which situates social interaction in an evolutionary frame. It has different causal processes from other frames such as ontogeny, diachrony, or phylogeny. As examples of the second theme, I discussed the embodied actions of "laughing together" and rhythmic synchronization by referring to brain functions, and specifically to the activation of endorphin systems. I suggested that discursive approaches can provide more ecologically valid data for investigating the process of "becoming friends," which complements psychological experimental studies by extending data sources to naturalistic settings. Finally, I considered the theme of interculturality with reference to the homophily effect. Taking as example situated interactions in Chapter 6, I suggested that we draw on the notion of "common ground" so that we can examine data from ethnomethodological and other discursive perspectives while taking into account the "seven pillars of friendship" that capture the empirical fact of the social dimensions of similarity or homophily found among friends.

Having summarized the main points, two major obstacles to integrating discursive approaches to friendships with evolutionary perspectives are considered. They can be formulated as "anti-psychologism" in discursive approaches and "quantificationism" in evolutionary theories. First, in the discursive approaches of this volume, it seems assumed that we should avoid speculating about the "internal states" of participants by not asking such a question as "what motivates the participant's violation of the normative action" (Okada & Siegel, Chapter 2), following Mandelbaum (1991). This anti-mentalistic stance is based on the "no-telepathy assumption," which represents a methodological conundrum in psychology and related disciplines: "how [one] can understand (and make [oneself] understood to) [one's] social associates solely on the basis of what is publicly observable" (adapted from Enfield, 2006: 408). In this chapter, I referred to the social brain hypothesis, brain functions in embodied actions, common ground, Gricean inference, and theory of mind (or intention attribution), all of which are deeply cognitive-psychological notions, although conversation analysts will resist such "mentalistic talk." However, as Enfield (2006) argues, at least, discursive analysts should

accept the idea of "modeling others' minds" in conducting social interaction, which can be further theorized in ethnomethodology and CA by recognizing the limitations of their behavioristic bias (also see van Dijk, 2009: 86–212, for a critical review on the issue of "anti-psychologism" in CA and linguistic anthropology).

On the issue of "quantificationism," I refer to a highly influential paper "The weirdest people in the world?" published in *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. In this paper, cultural evolutionists Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan criticize psychologists, who are exclusively focused on college students in WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) societies while making broad universality claims about the whole human populations based on the limited samples, which means that psychologists have been ignoring the linguistic and cultural diversity of the human species (Henrich et al., 2010). Recognizing that we need more culturally diverse populations for making generalization, Henrich et al. (2010) argue for having "comparative data across diverse populations" (2010: 82). From this perspective, the participants (or "subjects" in psychology) in this volume include non-WEIRD populations, who can contribute to broadening the database for behavioral sciences. However, the major obstacle to this interdisciplinary dialogue between discursive and evolutionary approaches concerns the methodological assumptions. As a response to the peer commentary (Rai & Fiske, 2010), Henrich et al. argue that ethnography should not be based on purely qualitative "thick description" but on "systemic, quantitative, and replicable aspects of life" (p. 114), which I call "quantificationism." The discursive approaches to friendships in this volume are thus not straightforwardly comparable to the quantification methods in psychology, and we need to develop new methods for a fruitful interdisciplinary science of human behavior in general, and cooperation, bonding, and friendship, in particular, for further studies. I hope that this commentary will be a first step toward the integration of the two approaches.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

Transcription conventions

→	arrow in the margin indicates focal lines
[	beginning of overlap
]	end of overlap
[[	start utterance at the same time
=	latching: stretching of prior sound
.	falling or final intonation
,	slightly rising intonation
?	rising intonation
(.)	a pause of no significant length
(1.0)	timed pause in seconds and tenths of seconds
( )	unclear section
(word)	unsure transcription
word-	cut-off
> <	fast talk
< >	slow talk
ζ ζ	talk between degree symbols is quieter than surrounding talk
BOLD	capitalization, bold, and underline indicate loud volume, stress, and emphasis
h	exhalation, laughter
(h)	laughter within an utterance
.h	inhalation
¥word¥	smiley voice
£word£	smiley voice
^	non-verbal detail (glossed above in double parentheses)
+	onset of embodied action (glossed below; producer indicated by a lower-case initial)
-->	continuation of embodied action (duration indicated by length of dashed line)

Grammatical Glosses

Chinese

BA:	Pretransitive marker
C:	Copula
DA:	Dative
IP:	Interactional particle
NOM:	Nominalizer
POSS:	Possessive
P:	Grammatical particle

Japanese

PA:	Passive
C:	Copula
Q:	Question marker
DA:	Dative
M:	Noun modification
N:	Nominalizer
-NG:	Negative
O:	Object
IP:	Interactional particle
PA:	Passive
CA:	Causative
PO:	Potential
Q:	Question marker
QT:	Quotation markerStylistic indicators (when necessary):
S:	Subject marker
H:	Honorific
T:	Topic marker
HU:	Humble
PS:	Plain style

Korean

ACC:	Accusative particle
ATTR:	Attributive particle
COMM:	Committal suffix
DC:	Declarative suffix
IE:	Informal ending
LOC:	Locative
NOM:	Nominative
POL:	Polite speech level
QP:	Quotative particle
TOP:	Topic-contrast particle

ADD:	Additive suffix
CIRCUM:	Circumstantial
CONN:	Connective
HON:	Honorific
IMP:	Imperative
NEG:	Negation
PLU:	Plural marker
PST:	Past/ perfect aspect suffix
RE:	Resultative
UNASSIM:	Unassimilated