

An Analysis of Shifts in Participation Roles in Japanese Storytelling in Terms of Prosody, Gaze, and Body Movements*

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0. Introduction

When we tell a story to others about our experiences, we all become actors and actresses. We not only present the story line as a narrator but also we act out what people said or did to invoke the scenes of the past and vividly reconstruct them in front of our audience. In other words, we have to shift our roles as narrator and characters as we tell the story. In this paper, I will analyze shifts in participation roles in a storytelling segment of a casual conversation among Japanese friends, focusing on direct quotations, or more precisely “demonstrations” (Clark and Gerrig 1990), in terms of prosody, gaze, and body movements, as well as syntactic structure.

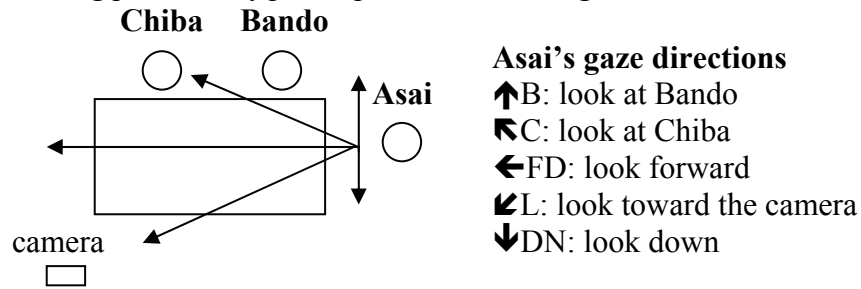
In his analysis of participation framework, Goffman (1981) proposed the notion of “footing,” by which a speaker changes his/her roles of utterance production as “animator,” “author,” or “principal.” Participation framework has also been analyzed from more interactive perspectives. Goodwin (1984) pointed out that in the course of storytelling the participants interactively organized their talk, as well as visibly displayed actions such as gaze and body movements. Goodwin (1997) found that not only a narrator but also her recipients displayed evaluation vocally as well as non-vocally and coordinated the evolving storytelling through “byplay.” Building on these studies of participation framework, I will examine how the storyteller strategically assumes several different roles using prosody, gaze, and body movements and how she shifts not only her roles but also roles of other participants in the conversation in order to involve them in the story of her own experience.

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1. Data and Methods

The conversational data examined in this study are contained in an approximately one-minute storytelling segment of a Japanese casual face-to-face video-taped conversation among three intimate female friends in their early twenties—Asai, Bando and Chiba, who were studying ESL at a university in the United States at the time of recording. I videotaped their conversation in a small university classroom. The figure in (1) shows the seating positions of the participants and Asai’s gaze directions. I put Asai’s gaze direction and description of her body movements under the gloss of Asai’s utterances in transcription.

(1) *Seating positions of participants and Asai’s gaze directions*

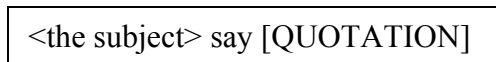


2. Analysis

2.1. Quotation in Japanese conversation

First, I would like to explain briefly about the Japanese quotation pattern compared that of English. In English, the subject and the verb *say* come before the quotation, as illustrated in (2).

(2) *English quotation pattern*



In (3), Ann is quoting what her husband Don said to her, while she is telling a story to her dinner hosts about a certain kind of wallpaper in her friend’s new house. Ann prefaces her direct quotation of Don’s utterance with *Do(h)n said* (the subject and the verb *say*).

(3) *Quotation in English* (Goodwin 1984:226)

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

In Japanese, the quotative particles *to*, *tte* or *toka*¹ are used to mark quoted speech or thoughts. These quotative particles and *iu* ‘say’ come after the quota-

¹ *Tte* is an informal version of the quotative particle *to* and is used quite frequently in colloquial language. *Toka* ‘or something’, originally a combination of a quotative particle *to* and a question

tion, as illustrated in (4). Therefore, a listener cannot project the beginning of quotation in Japanese.

(4) *Japanese quotation pattern*²

<the subject>	ga	[QUOTATION]	to	iu
	subject		tte	say
	particle		toka	
			quotative	
			particle	

In (5), Eko is quoting what Jane said to her while she is telling a story about Jane's popularity. Eko prefaces her quotation with *Jane ga* 'Jane' (the subject + the subject particle) and marks the end of the quotation by *toka itte* 'or something say and' (the quotative particle + *itte* 'say-and'³).

(5) *Japanese quotation* (from my data corpus)

Eko: (0.4) *Jane ga, ima Daniel:: ga:, kuruma de:,*
 Jane SUB now Daniel SUB car by
 (0.4) *mukae ni kite-kureta toka itte,*
 welcome to come-AUX QT say-and
 'Jane says now Daniel came to pick me up by car or something, and'

A speaker also sometimes omits *to iu* (the quotative particle + 'say') after the quotation, so that the end of quotation is also sometimes not clear in terms of syntactic structure. In addition, since in Japanese conversation a speaker often does not indicate the subject of a quotation, syntactic structure does not clearly indicate who said the quoted speech as in (6).

(6) *Simplified Version of (8)*

89 Asai: [U:n. soide ittara:,
 Yeah. And then when (I) went (to the window),
 → *kon↑ni↓chiwa:: hoomusu↑te:i:?* [((laughter))
konnichiwa 'hello'. *hoomusutei?* 'home-stay?'
 90 Chiba: [((laughter))
 91 Bando: [((laughter))=
 92 Chiba: =*Saki ni kika[rete shi(h)ma(h)tta.*
 (You) ended up being asked first.

particle *ka*, is used as a quotative particle to indicate "the speaker's uncertainty about the quoted report" (Makino and Tsutsui 1986:489).

² [The subject + *ga*] can be placed after [quotation + *to*].

³ *Itte* 'say-and' is the gerund form of the verb *iu* 'say'. The fundamental function of the gerund form of verbs, adjectives and copula is to link sentences, clauses, and phrases.

- 93 Asai: [U(h)n. hh
Yeah.
94 Chiba: ((laughter))
→ 95 Asai: (0.6) *Hai*. [t(h)ok(h)a i(h)tte:,
Hai ‘Yes’ or something, (I) said and,

In (6), Asai quotes the immigration official’s speech in 89A and Asai’s own speech in 95A, but she does not indicate the subject of quoted speech for either utterance. She also omits *to iu* (the quotative particle + ‘say’) after the quoted speech of the immigration official in 89A *konnichiwa. hoomusutei?* ‘hello. home-stay?’⁴ This raises the question of how a speaker indicates different voices to depict a story in which there is more than one character without explicitly stating the subject of the quotations.

2.2. Multiple devices for multiple voices: prosody, gaze and body movements

In this section I will demonstrate how the storyteller manipulates her voice, gaze, and body movements to shift among four different roles in her story. Prior to Asai’s storytelling, the participants were talking about the questions they were asked at an international airport immigration window when they entered the United States. For example, when foreigners land at Los Angeles International Airport, an immigration official checks their passports and entry visas and usually asks them several questions in English about purpose and length of stay. In the transcribed excerpt, Asai is telling a story about her experience at an immigration window when she first came to the United States. She is telling her co-participants that she practiced the answers to the questions she thought she would be asked in English by the immigration official. However, since the immigration official asked her questions in Japanese with an American English accent, Asai ended up answering those questions in Japanese.

During her storytelling, she plays four different roles: narrator, Asai herself, and two immigration officials. As I mentioned above, in Japanese conversation, syntactic structure not only does not always indicate who the subject of the quotation is but also where the beginning and the end of the quotation are. However, the storyteller in my data strategically used prosody, gaze, and body movements to mark the beginning of a quotation and to indicate a shift in her roles as narrator, the immigration officials, and Asai herself as in (7) and (8).

Prior to Excerpt (7), Asai told her co-participants that there were about three long lines of people who were waiting at the airport immigration windows and a fourth line was added while she was waiting. In (7), she is saying that she was told to line up in the new fourth line by the immigration official outside the desk,

⁴ *Hoomusutei* ‘home-stay’ is a Japanese coined word from English, which literally means “staying in a person’s home,” but it usually refers to “staying with an American family for a certain period to study English.”

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who was directing people to different lines. She indicates the role shift from the narrator to the immigration official by the use of pronouns and body movements.

(7) *The immigration official outside the desk directing people*

82 Asai: *Shitara*:

And then

↓DN

→

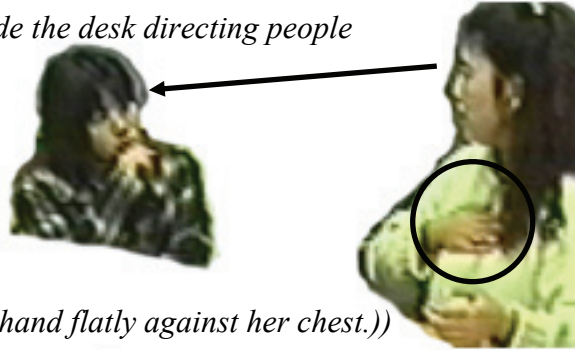
atashi kara:

I from

↑B

((Asai puts her right hand flatly against her chest.))

And then, from me



→

omae kara

you from

↑B

((Asai motions to lightly grab Bando's left upper arm with her right hand.))

from you



kocchi narabe t(h)te i(h)wa(h)re(h)te;

here line QT say-PASS-and

↑B

↖C

((Releasing Bando's arm, Asai motions as if she is bringing Bando's arm toward her and then away from her making a 90-degree curving motion.))

line up here, (I) was told, and,

In line 82A, she says *atashi kara*: 'from me' as she puts her right hand on her chest. Next, she says *omae kara* 'from you' as she lightly grabs Bando's left upper arm with her right hand, and then says *kocchi narabe t(h)te i(h)wa(h)re(h)te*: 'line up here, (I) was told, and' as Asai motions as if she is bringing Bando's arm toward her and then away from her making a 90-degree curving motion.

There is no significant change in prosody in line 82A except that she puts more emphasis on *atashi kara*: 'from me'. Her change from *atashi kara* 'from me' to *omae kara* 'from you' is not replacement as self-initiated self-repair in the same-turn. Rather, Asai is indicating the shift in roles from the narrator to the immigration official and clearly marking the beginning of the quotation by the use of pronoun *omae* 'you' and by body movements. In addition, not only is she quoting the immigration official's speech but she is also demonstrating what the

immigration official did to her by supplementing the information with the immigration official's body movements, i.e. grabbing Asai's arm and taking her to the new fourth line. I also contend that Asai's quotation here is not an exact direct quotation in a strict sense, because she translated what she thought the official said to her in English into Japanese.⁵ It is worth noting that in 82A she did not mimic the immigration official's voice, as she did in lines 89A, 97A and 99A of Excerpt (8), where she exactly quotes what the immigration official said in Japanese.

Prior to Excerpt (8), she told to her co-participants that she was instructed to line up in the new fourth line and she kept practicing the expected answers in English feeling very nervous. In (8), Asai is telling what another immigration official at the desk asked her in Japanese and how she responded to him in Japanese at the immigration window. She indicates the beginning of the quotation and shifts in roles through prosody and gaze.

(8) *Asai and the immigration official at the desk*

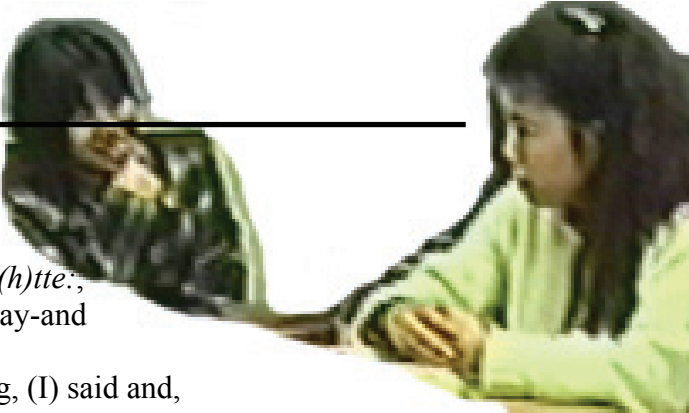
89 Asai:[U:n. soide ittara:,
 yeah and then went-if
 ↑B ↖C
 Yeah. And then when (I) went (to the window)

→ kon↑ni↓chiwa:: hoomusu↑te:i:? [((laughter))
 hello home-stay
 ↑B ↖C
 ((Asai points at Bando with the index finger of her right hand.))
 konnichiwa. hoomusutei? 'hello. home-stay?' (In Japanese with an American English accent)



⁵ It is also interesting to note that Asai translated the English word *you* not into the more neutral word *anata* 'you' but into *omae* 'you', which is deprecatory except when a husband uses it to speak to his wife. Her word choice here reflects and indicates how she interpreted the immigration official's behavior and manner of talk.

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- 90 Chiba: [((laughter))
 91 Bando: [((laughter))=
- 92 Chiba: =*Saki ni kika[rete shi(h)ma(h)tta.*
 ahead in ask-PASS ended-up
 (You) ended up being asked first.
- 93 Asai: [U(h)n. hh
 yeah
 ↙C ↑B
 Yeah.
- 94 Chiba: ((laughter))
- 95 Asai: (0.6) Hai.
 yes
 ←FD
 Hai. 'Yes'.
- 
- [t(h)ok(h)a i(h)tte.;
 QT say-and
 ↑B
 or something, (I) said and,
- 96 Chiba: [((laughter))
- 97 Asai: (0.6) Is-shuu↑kan?
 one week
 ↑B
 ((Asai extends her right index finger toward Bando.☝))
 Is-shuukan? 'One week?' (In JPN with an A-English accent)
- Ni-shuu*↑kan?
 two weeks
 ↑B
 ((Asai extends her right index and middle fingers toward
 Bando.☝))
Ni-shuukan? 'Two weeks?' (In JPN with an A-English accent)
- 98 Chiba: *Ni[hongo de?*
 Japanese in
 In Japanese?

- 99 Asai: [San-shuu↑kan?
 three weeks
 ↑B ↖C ↑B
 ((Asai extends her right index, middle and ring fingers toward Bando.))
 San-shuukan? ‘Three weeks?’ (In JPN with an A-E accent)



>toka iu kara:,< un.
 QT say so yeah
 ↖C
 or something, (he) says, so yeah.

(0.8) yon-shuuka(h)n. [((laughter))
 four weeks



((in a softer voice))
 ((Asai tilts her head slightly to the left, and then raises her right hand with four fingers extended to the side of her face.))
 Yon-shuukan. ‘Four-weeks’.

- 100 Chiba: [((laughter))
 101 Bando: [((laughter))

In 89A, first Asai is describing what she did as a narrator *soide ittara* ‘and then when (I) went (to the window)’. Then she says *kon↑ni↓chiwa::*. *hoomusu↑te:i:?* ‘hello. home-stay?’ as she turns her gaze back to Bando. She indicates her shift in roles from the narrator to the immigration official by mimicking his Japanese with an American English accent as well as by shifting her gaze towards Bando. She is also demonstrating the official’s body movements, i.e. his pointing gesture, when she says *hoomusutei* ‘home-stay’. In 95A, Asai is demonstrating how she responded to the official’s question in Japanese. It is

important to note that she uses different registers of *yes* in 93A and in 95A. When she agrees with Chiba and responds affirmatively in 93A, she uses a casual form *Un* ‘Yeah’ and when she quotes her response to the immigration official’s question in 95A, she uses a formal form *Hai* ‘Yes’.

In addition, in 95A, she clearly marks the boundary of her quotation by gaze shift. After responding to Chiba in 93A *U(h)n* ‘Yeah’, Asai shifts her gaze from Bando and looks forward in 95A. In 95A, after a 0.6 second pause, she quotes her own speech *Hai* ‘Yes’ while still looking forward. Then she says *to ka itte* ‘or something (I) said, and’ as she looks at Bando. In other words, her quotation, or more precisely, her demonstration starts from the beginning of the 0.6 second pause when she looks forward and ends just before she says *to ka itte* ‘or something (I) said, and’ when she looks at Bando. Asai’s demonstration of her response to the immigration official is not only marked by gaze shift but also laughter and facial expressions. In 93A, Asai responds to Chiba as she is laughing and smiling at Chiba and Bando. When Asai is demonstrating her response to the official, namely the 0.6 second pause and *Hai* ‘Yes’ in 95A, she looks serious without smile. Then when she exits her demonstration, she smiles at Bando as she says *toka itte* ‘or something (I) said and’ laughing.

In 97A and 99A, she also uses prosody, gaze shift, and body movements to indicate her shift in roles from the narrator to the immigration official and from the narrator to Asai herself respectively. In 97A and the first line of 99A, Asai looks at Bando, uses pointing gestures, and uses an American English accent to demonstrate how the immigration official asked Asai questions in Japanese with an accent. In the third line of 99A, Asai tilts her head slightly to the left and looks forward. Then, 0.8 seconds later she quotes her own speech *yon-shuukan* ‘four weeks’ as she demonstrates how she said it in Japanese using iconic pointing gestures, a softer voice, and a puzzled facial expression to indicate her confusion and perplexity. It should be noted that in 97A and in the third line of 99A, Asai uses the same strategy as in 95A. She clearly indicates shifts in her roles by gaze and starts her demonstration before her speech as shown by her gaze shift at the beginning of a 0.6 second pause in 97A and a 0.8 second pause in 99A.

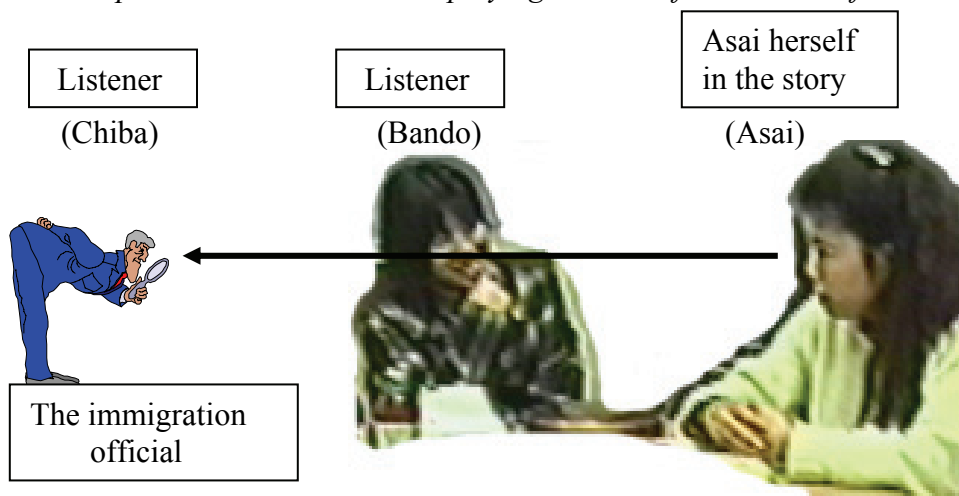
2.3. Shifting participation roles in storytelling

Now analysis of Asai’s demonstration brings us to another question. In 89A, 97A, and the first line of 99A, when she is demonstrating the immigration official’s speech, why does Asai look at and point to Bando? Why does she look forward in 95A and look to the left in the third line of 99A when she is demonstrating her own speech? Isn’t her mimicking voice of Japanese with an American English accent enough to demonstrate the official’s speech? To investigate the storyteller’s gaze shift and pointing gestures in more detail, let us examine 82A, 89A, 97A, and 99A where Asai is demonstrating the immigration official’s speech.

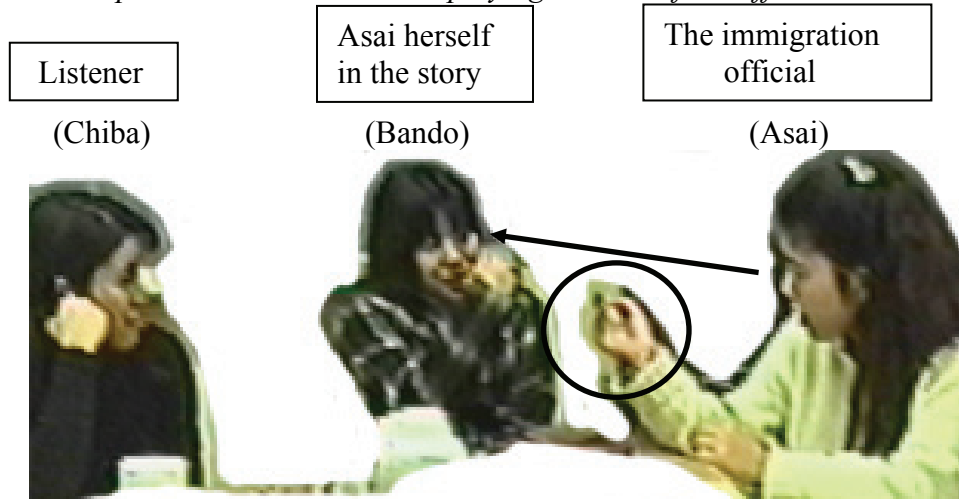
In 82A, as I mentioned earlier, Asai demonstrates what the immigration official said and did. Looking at Bando, Asai says *omae kara kocchi narabe* ‘from you line up here’ as she lightly grabs Bando’s left upper arm with her right hand,

and brings her right hand toward her and then away from her. Now who is the immigration official looking at and holding with his hand? It is Asai that he is looking at and holding. In other words, Asai as the immigration official is treating Bando as Asai herself in the story. In 89A, after describing the scene as a narrator, Asai looks at Bando again and demonstrates the immigration official's speech *konnichiwa. hoomusutei?* 'hello. home-stay?' in Japanese with an American English accent as she points at Bando with the index finger of her right hand. Here again, Asai treats Bando as Asai herself and visually creates the scene where the immigration official is talking with Asai.

(9) *Participation roles when Asai is playing the role of "Asai herself"*



(10) *Participation roles when Asai is playing the role of the official*



In 95A Asai looks forward to play the role of Asai herself and demonstrates how she says *Hai* 'Yes' in Japanese to the official in a serious and nervous look. Then in 97A and the first line of 99A, Asai goes back to the role of the official

and treats Bando as Asai herself again. Asai as the official, looks at Bando as Asai herself, and asks questions, *Is-shuukan? Ni-shuukan? San-shuukan?* ‘One week? Two weeks? Three weeks?’ in Japanese with an American English accent as she is using iconic pointing gestures toward Bando. In the third line of 99A, Asai plays the role of herself again. She looks forward and tilts her head slightly to the left and demonstrates her response in Japanese toward the immigration official.

The figures in (9) and (10) illustrate how Asai changes the participation roles in her storytelling. From the story preface to the climax of her story (99A), when she demonstrates her own speech, Asai constantly looks forward imagining that the immigration official is in front of her. She looks and points at Bando with her fingers when she demonstrates the immigration official’s speech as if she is the immigration official and Bando is Asai herself. Asai shifts, not only her roles as narrator, the immigration officials and Asai herself back and forth, but also Bando’s roles from a listener to Asai herself, back and forth. She uses Bando, who is proximate to Asai, as a story material, i.e. one of the characters in the story, in order to make the story lively, to depict the scenes more vividly and to involve co-participants in her story.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I analyzed how the storyteller used syntactic features, pauses, prosody, gaze, and body movements to quote, or more precisely demonstrate her own speech and others’ speech in a Japanese conversation among three female friends. I pointed out that in Japanese conversation it is difficult to project the boundary of a quotation in terms of syntactic features because *to iu* ‘the quotative particle + say’ comes after the quotation if it is stated at all. I also pointed out that in Japanese conversation a speaker does not often state the subject of quotations; therefore, syntactic structure does not indicate who spoke the quoted phrase.

However, as demonstrated in this study, the storyteller in my data strategically used multiple devices such as prosody, gaze, and body movements to shift her roles from narrator to the other three characters in her story back and forth. She mimicked voices of the characters. She looked forward when she played the role of herself and she looked at a proximate co-participant when she played the role of the other characters, the immigration officials.

I also demonstrated that the storyteller used gaze and pointing gestures to shift the roles of a co-participant from a listener to one of the story characters. When the storyteller looked at and pointed at the proximate co-participant with her right fingers and demonstrated one of the characters, the immigration official, she treated the co-participant as another character, Asai herself. She used her proximate co-participant as a story material in order to make the story lively, to depict the scenes more vividly, and to involve co-participants in her story. My analysis suggests the importance of analyzing conversational data from multiple perspectives including prosody, gaze, and body movements as well as syntactic structure in order to reveal a true picture of participation and involvement in a conversation.

Appendix 1: Abbreviation of the gloss used in transcription

AUX	auxiliary	QT	quotative marker
PASS	passive morpheme	SUB	subject marker

Appendix 2: Transcription conventions in transcription

.	falling intonation	[overlap
,	continuing intonation	(0.5)	silence; in tenths of a second
?	rising intonation	(())	nonverbal behavior
:	vowel lengthening	↑↓	sharper rises or falls in pitch
=	“latched” utterances	><	compressed utterances
-	a cut-off or self-interruption	(h)	laughter within a word
<u>word</u>	emphasis by loudness or high pitch		

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