Positionally-Sensitive Grammar:
Reversed polarity questions in Japanese

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Abstract

The present study explores how grammar is adapted to, or affected by, different sequential positions. It presents an analysis of a type of negative question called a Reversed Polarity Question (RPQ) (Koshik, 2002, 2005, 2010) in naturally occurring Japanese talk-in-interaction. The data examined in this study comprises 12 video-recorded everyday conversations. The RPQ examined in this study has been recognized as a relatively new grammatical item with a distinctive intonation contour and is generally considered a resource for a request for agreement. However, the ways in which the RPQ is utilized in actual interaction have not been investigated in the literature. This study, which employs conversation analysis, is thus the first attempt to systematically investigate the RPQs actually utilized by conversational participants. The present investigation is specifically focused on RPQs deployed in first and second positions within assessment sequences. The study reveals their commonalties and differences. RPQs deployed in these positions commonly convey the speaker's evaluative statement about a particular object or person on the basis of participants' symmetrical access to the object or person that is established in the preceding or subsequent talk. Such a statement appeals to the participants' common sense, knowledge, or reasoning, which is invoked by the relationship between the statement and the preceding or subsequent talk. Also by the use of the interrogative formulation, the RPQ makes a response conditionally relevant. However, the RPQ deployed in second position conveys extra-meanings, which fundamentally emerge from the particularity of its second-ness. The statement expressed by the RPQ in second position is designed to be an alternative statement to a prior assessment. That is, by the conditional relevance of the question-answer adjacency pair invoked by the use of the interrogative formulation, the RPQ undermines the first-ness of a prior assessment and establishes itself as a new first pair part (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Another important finding of the present study concerns the range of practices by which the RPQ speaker establishes participants' symmetrical access to a matter at hand and thereby creates an environment for the production of the RPQ. Significantly, these practices differ, depending upon the positions in which the RPQ occurs. This difference affects the kinds of actions implemented by the RPQ.

For Hilda, Shoma,and Junsei

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Introduction

1 Phenomena

The present investigation was motivated by repeated observations during my recorded conversational data. As I observed the data, I repeatedly encountered a particular type of yes/no negative question with a distinctive intonation contour, indicated by an arrow in examples (1) and (2), which has been recognized as a new type of declaratively-formatted negative question or "prosody-based" negative question (Tanaka, 2010; Tsai, 1996; Wakita, 2003).[1]

(1)MUGS5

((A and B, who study in the same department of the same university, are discussing two departments, which were newly established at their university.))

01 B: [*sugoi ooi tte*-]
so many QT
'(It's said) that ((*K-gakubu*)) has so many ((English classes)).'

02 →A: [*demo nanka saa*,] *cho:: omotta n da kedo sa,*
but like FP really thought N BE although FP

03 → *jookomi to sa,* ***kabuttenai***?
jookomi with FP overlap
'But like, you know, ((I)) really believe, you know, doesn't ((*K-gakubu*)) overlap with *jookomi*?'

[1] Unlike other languages such as English, in which an interrogative is formulated by syntactic inversion, in Japanese an interrogative is generated by adding a question particle such as *ka* or *no* to the end of the sentence. A declarative type of question is another type, which can be established by the use of rising intonation and/or B-event statement (Labov & Fanshell, 1977), which is formulated to state the matter to which the recipient of the question has primary access. The questions in examples (1) and (2) fall into this latter type. See further details of the question types in Section 3.3 of Chapter 3.

04 B: *nn tashikani* [*ne*(h)hhhh]`
yeah certainly FP
'Yeah ((it)) certainly ((does)), doesn't it?'

05 A: [h h h h h]

(2)O-S

((O and S are talking about a hairless doll in a picture that S took during her recent trip.))

01 O: .hh *kirenai jan nee*?
can.cut.NEG TAG FP

02 (.) *nanka*,(.) *yaranakatta jeniichan* [*toka*] *koo*,
like played.NEG jeniichan like this
'.hh ((we)) can't cut it, can we? Like, didn't you play (with) Jeniichan and the like? ((Like)) this way,'

03 S: [d-]
DF

04 O: *kittari*.
cut.and
'((You do things like)) cutting and the like.'

Figure 1.1 …*KOWAKUNAI*…

05 →S: *demo* ***KOWAKUNAI***? [*hutsuuni kao ga*.]
but scary.NEG I.bet face SUB
'But ISN'T ((the doll)) SCARY? I bet its face ((is scary)).'

06 O: [*n*:: *kowai kowai*.]
yea::h scary scary
'Yea::h ((it's)) scary ((it's)) scary.'

As can be observed from the intonation contours given above the original Japanese transcripts, any native speaker of Japanese will notice the peculiarity of the prosody, which can be recognized as a hallmark of the question type. The distinctive prosody can be easily distinguished from the prosody of an ordinary question. Soon I found the negative question, as seen in the above examples, quite interesting, not only because of its distinctive prosody,

but also because a number of interesting characteristics gradually appeared as I was looking into it.

First, the negative question as in the above examples is not utilized to request information, like an ordinary question. It is recurrently utilized to offer an assessment while it seeks agreement from the recipient. For example, let us consider how the negative question in example (1) is generated. What the negative question does (line 3) is to express A's opinion, which is projected by the first part of her turn, *cho:: omotta n da kedo* ('((I)) really believe, you know,') (line 2). That is, with the negative question, A expresses what she feels about the new departments. Like the negative question in example (1), the indicated negative question in example (2) may express how the speaker feels about the hairless doll in the picture, rather than requesting information about that hairless doll. It should be noted that the entity being questioned by the speaker in line 5 is a co-present object, the hairless doll in the picture, which can be equally accessed by both participants. (In fact, the picture that O is currently holding was taken by S.)

Second, the negative questions in the above examples express statements of the opposite polarity to that of the question form. This can be demonstrated by the way in which the recipient responds. In both examples, the recipients initiate their responses with particles such as *nn* and *n::*, meaning 'yeah'. In doing so, they affirm what the questioners have just said rather than denying it.

It should be noted that in Japanese answers to negative questions are quite different from those in other languages like English. The English *yes* and *no*, when answering a negative question, must be followed by an affirmative statement and a negative statement, respectively. The corresponding Japanese *hai* ('yes') or its variants, such as *nn* and *n*:: ('yeah') found in the above examples, and *iie* ('no') are quite opposite. Kuno (1973) explained:

> The words *hai* (or *ē*) and *iie* are used to mean 'what you've said is correct' and 'what you've said is incorrect'. So if you state a question in a negative way, the standard Japanese answer turns out to be the opposite of standard English 'yes' and 'no', which affirm or deny the FACTS rather than the STATEMENT of the facts. (p. 273, emphasis original)

Thus, in Japanese, *hai* ('yes') or its variants, such as *nn* and *n*:: ('yeah'), and *iie* ('no') or its variants, when answering a negative question, introduce a negative statement and an affirmative statement, respectively (Kuno, 1973; Martin, 1975). Consider the following invented example.

(3)Kuno (1973, p. 273) with slight modifications of the glosses

Kumamoto e ikimasendeshita ka?	**Negative Question**
Kumamoto to went.NEG QP	
'Didn't you go to Kumamoto ((Prefecture))?'	
Hai, *ikimasendeshita*.	**Answer with *Hai***
yes went.NEG	
'No, I didn't. (Lit. Yes, I didn't.)'	
Iie, *ikimashita yo*.	**Answer with *Iie***
no went FP	
'Yes, I did indeed. (Lit. No, I did indeed.)'	

In answering a negative question *Kumamoto he ikimasendeshita ka*? ('Didn't you go to Kumamoto ((Prefecture))?), *hai* ('yes') precedes a negative statement while *iie* ('no') precedes an affirmative statement.

Following the above principle in answering the negative question, *nn* and *n::* in examples (1) and (2) should then be followed by negative statements. However, they are not. Rather, they are followed by affirmative statements. It suggests that the negative questions in

these examples can be understood quite opposite to the one in example (3). In fact, the negative questions in these examples are treated as reversed polarity statements, or 'affirmative' statements, by the recipients.

Third, the negative questions in examples (1) and (2) are deployed in a sequence of assessments, but the actions implemented by the two negative questions differ from each other in certain respects. The action implemented by the negative question in example (1) is an initial assessment to which the recipient will respond next. The action implemented by the negative question in example (2), on the other hand, is a second assessment, which can be understood as an alternative statement to the prior assessment (line 1) offered by O. The difference between these examples in terms of action seems to be derived from the positions in which each of them is deployed. If that is the case, it is possible to understand that actions implemented by a particular grammatical item may vary according to the positions in which it is deployed. Such an understanding will provide us with fresh insight into how grammar is shaped by social interaction as its natural habitat. This last point makes me confident that this type of negative question will be worthy of further investigation into the interplay between language and social interaction.

2 Methodology

In my thesis, I adopt conversation analysis (CA) as a methodology, since it is the most established and tenable methodology which provides rigorous analyses of conversational interaction. In what follows, I will introduce CA and its methodology. Particularly, I will focus on how conversational data, specifically ordinary conversations, are characterized and treated in conjunction with their transcriptions. I will then introduce some of the basic

concepts in CA, which are relevant to the present investigation, and discuss how analysis on language use might look when utterances are considered to be forms of social action emerging in or through the sequence organization of talk-in-interaction.

2.1 Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis (CA) was established as a distinct discipline in the 1960s by Harvey Sacks in collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, under the influence of ethnomethodology and the Goffmanian perspective on interaction order. It was created in order to explicate intelligible courses of action in interactional actuality, reaching an interdisciplinary synthesis of social interaction and language use (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). The central goal of CA is to discover and describe the procedure by which participants produce and interpret the types of actions which accomplish their particular interactional goals in ordinary and mundane conversation (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Maynard & Clayman, 1991). The use of ordinary conversation as data is the hallmark of CA, although it is generally considered by linguists to be messy and disordered (e.g., Chomsky, 1965). This focus is based on the recognition that ordinary conversation is "the most basic and primordial environment for the use and development of natural language" (Schegloff, 1996, p. 54). However, the analytic claims are not limited to one type of conversational material only: ordinary conversation. In fact, more and more research has focused on specialized or institutionalized conversational materials in the CA literature.[2] However, ordinary conversation between intimates is still considered "the basic form of speech exchange

[2] The following volumes are instances that exclusively concentrate on work on institutional talk: Antaki (2011), Clayman & Heritage (2002), Drew & Heritage (1992), Freed & Ehrlich (2010), Heritage & Clayman (2010), and Heritage & Maynard (2006).

system" from which other forms of conversation such as ceremony and debate may derive (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 730).

2.2 Data collection and transcribing conversation

The conversational data of CA are collected by means of audio and video recording equipment, which allows analysts to make possible empirical claims based on actual interactional phenomena. This technological advantage expands the scope of analysis in which some phenomena have been previously overlooked, and shapes the rigorous and empirical investigation of social interaction found in CA (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). The use of such data is contrasted with experimental data, sociological interviews, and intuitively constructed data, all of which are manipulated by analysts to control conditions and anticipate results (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, pp. 2-5). The methodological advantages of the use of recorded data are, firstly, to provide ample justification that "analytic conclusions will not arise as artifacts of intuitive idiosyncrasy, selective attention or recollection, or experimental design" (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p. 4). Another advantage is that such data allow investigators to maximize the precision of observations of specific interactional phenomena situated in actual contexts by the repeated and detailed use of recorded data. Moreover, with the use of such data, other scholars can directly access the data on which analytic claims have been made, thereby minimizing individual biases in such claims (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Psathas, 1990). All these advantages reflect the way in which CA analysts treat the data, as Psathas (1990) puts it, "we are seeking to *discover* phenomena, not validate prior conceptualizations and interpretations *about* phenomena" (p. 7, emphasis original).

The recorded data are transcribed in detail according to the notational conventions

developed by Gail Jefferson (1985, 2004). The general conventions include indication of the beginning and end of overlapping talk, length of silence in tenths of a second, cut-offs of words or sentences, rising/falling/continuing intonation, and lengthening of a sound(s) within a word. Further detailed transcription symbols such as particular voice qualities, various pitch levels, and/or non-verbal signs are occasionally included, depending on the patterns or practices currently focused on. In CA, it is assumed that nothing occurring in talk-in-interaction can be ignored. It is well-known that even a pause has a significant interactional import; for example, a pause after the prior speaker's assessment can be heard as the precursor of the recipient's (the current speaker's) disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984). However, it is important to note here that this transcription system is not considered to be a perfect reflection of the details of all the particulars observable in the recorded materials. Rather, it facilitates analysts in making a closer observation of a particular phenomenon which cannot be adequately captured by the raw data (i.e. recorded data), thereby allowing them to systematically compare the set of focused patterns in the data base which are implemented for the accomplishment of a particular action (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). Therefore, the transcriptions work most efficiently and effectively when in close conjunction with the recorded materials. To put it another way, by observing both data and transcriptions, a particular conversational practice can be adequately captured and thus considered describable.

2.3 Units of conversation

In their seminal paper, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) proposed the turn-taking system for conversation. According to Sacks et al., in ordinary conversation one party is

entitled to produce one unit of talk when having a turn. Such a unit of talk is called a "turn-constructional unit (TCU)" (Sacks et al., 1974). A TCU for English can be sentential, clausal, phrasal, lexical, or other types. Each type of TCU projects a recognizable point of possible completion. When a TCU comes to a possible completion point, speaker change becomes relevant. The place where speaker change may occur is a transition-relevance place (TRP). At each possible TRP, the turn-taking rules will apply.[3] That is, at each TRP, either the current speaker may select a next speaker or another may self-select. In this way, speaker transition will occur. Otherwise, the current speaker may continue and construct another TCU, which will then come to a next TRP.

Replacing grammatical terms such as a sentence or clause with TCUs seems to come from CA analysts' concern with how a turn's talk, taking place at a particular moment of an ongoing interaction should be understood. Schegloff (1996) said:

> (T)he issue here is not one of terminologies: the aim is not to replace terms like "sentence" or "clause" with "turn-constructional unit." Talking in turns means talking *in real time, subject to real interactional contingencies*. Whether articulated fluently or haltingly, what results is produced piece by piece, incrementally, through a series of "turns-so-far." These features support the openness of talk-in-progress to considerations of interactional import and reactivity, recipient design,

[3] Sacks et al., (1974, p. 704) proposed the following set of rules governing the turn-taking.

(1) At the initial transition-relevance place of an initial TCU:

(a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.

(b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.

(c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c reapplies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

> moment-to-moment recalibration, reorganization and recompletion, and to interactional co-construction (cf., for example, Goodwin, 1979). When the grammar we attempt to understand inhabits actually articulated talk in interaction (rather than constructed prototype sentences), as it does in the habitat of a turn-at-talk in a series of turns through which a sentence may develop embodying a course of action, its realization in structured real time for both speaker and recipient(s) is inescapable. (pp. 55-56, emphasis original)

Schegloff's concern with units of conversation clearly departs from linguists' concern with static and abstract linguistic constructs, such as sentence and clause, which are isolated from real-life interactional contexts. Importantly, a TCU is understood as a vehicle for accomplishing one or more actions. The construction of a TCU is done for interactional participation in the exigencies of real-time interactional contingencies. Therefore, a TCU may not be simply reducible to any traditional grammatical terms. Understanding of units of conversation in this way may shed new light on the interplay between language and social interaction.

2.4 Sequence organization

An utterance does not occur singly. Utterances or turns at talk successively proceed one after another. The central concern in CA, since its inception, is this sequential aspect of utterances or turns implemented as forms of social action, and the way in which a particular sequence of utterances or turns is interactionally organized in a methodical fashion by participants and thus provides the basis for their intersubjective understanding of each other's conduct. A

sequence is defined as a pair or a series of utterances or turns in which particular conversational actions are embedded. The insistence in CA on sequences as the primary units of analysis is based on the recognition that an utterance cannot occur or be understood singly. But in the real world of interaction, an utterance always occurs in a structurally defined place within a sequence of utterances (Schegloff, 1984, p. 34). Utterances are thus understood in the first place by reference to their placement, particularly in relation to the prior utterance (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1984; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). To put it another way, a conversationalist displays his or her understanding of the prior utterance in his or her turn-in-progress. This retrospective understanding of an utterance is assumed to provide the warrant for how conversationalists participate in each other's conduct, and in tandem constitute the ground for achieving their intersubjective understanding, as well as recognizing and modifying the misunderstanding of each other's conduct.

The most basic sequence organization is an "adjacency-pair" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). An adjacency-pair is a sequence of actions which exhibits the relative ordering of utterances or turns produced adjacently by different speakers. The first position of such ordering, called the "first-pair part (FPP)", precedes the second position called the "second-pair part (SPP)," but not vice versa. These pair parts then form a pair type, whose instances include question-answer, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance/refusal. An adjacency pair is further characterized by the "discriminative relation" between FPP and SPP. That is, an FPP has the authority to restrict possible candidates among SPPs (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). For example, the question as an FPP requires its SPP to be a possible answer. Therefore, as Schegloff (2007) puts it, "not every second pair part can properly follow any first pair part" (p. 13). This selection restriction imposed by the production of an FPP is warranted by the recognizability of the FPP emerging as a certain pair-type. For instance, the FPP in a question-answer sequence is thus made recognizable as a question within that sequence for

the next speaker, who is supposed to produce a possible SPP within it, through the syntax of the utterance and its prosodic signals such as rising intonation. Importantly, however, it does not mean that a certain FPP (e.g., question) must receive an SPP (e.g., answer) as a next which is responsive to the former. The adjacency-pair organization is most appropriately understood by its property of conditional relevance (Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff, 1972). Conditional relevance can be defined as a property in which "given the first, the second is expectable; upon its nonoccurrence it can be seen to be officially absent" (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1083). The outcome emerging from this property is that the "absence" of an FPP is noticeable, thereby evoking some inferences relevant to that absence. This noticeability of absence is accountable due to the participants' orientation to practices of next-speaker-selection, a part of the turn-taking rules proposed by Sacks et al (1974). That is, the speaker, who produces a certain FPP, necessarily selects the next speaker, who should provide an SPP responsive to that FPP. Therefore, the silence or absence of the SPP is attributable to the next speaker (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Another outcome is that when another FPP occurs in the place where a possible SPP responsive to the FPP in the same pair-type is expectable, it will be heard as somehow a preliminary to the SPP. The relevance of the SPP to the FPP, to which it is directed, is therefore sustained until the SPP is directly attended to by its producer, unless the SPP is nullified by the failure to demonstrate the imminent preliminary action(s) in an appropriate way (Levinson 1983, p. 304). In other words, while the FPP and the SPP in a certain pair-type do not necessarily occur temporally one after another, the former still orients to the latter, such that it will be accomplished later in the larger course of talk.

The payoff for attending to sequence organization, particularly the adjacency-pair organization, is that a type of action implemented by an utterance can be recognizable not only for overhearing analysts, but also for conversational participants in the first place by the reference to the preceding utterance (FPP) projecting that forthcoming action. In other words,

participants may "build utterances in a sequential fashion to make them intelligible and to show understanding in precise ways" (Maynard & Clayman, 1991, p. 399). This suggests that sequence organization is far more critical than any other factor such as syntax and semantics for understanding what participants do in ongoing talk, while other such factors are important resources which can be heard as constituents of the action being developed in a turn-at-talk. As Schegloff and Sacks (1973) put it:

> [S]ome utterance may derive their character as actions entirely from placement considerations...Finding an utterance to be an answer, to be accomplishing answering, cannot be achieved by reference to phonological, syntactic, semantic, or logical features of the utterance itself, but only by consulting its sequential placement, e.g., its placement after a question. (p. 299)

This suggests that some of the ways in which a particular grammatical resource work in a turn-at-talk is most properly understood by reference to the sequential placement in which such a resource is embedded. Such a way of looking at a particular grammatical resource will create the possibility of providing a fresh and deep insight into how grammar works in the emerging course of talk-in-interaction. The present study is one attempt to systematically characterize a particular grammatical resource with special reference to sequence organization in talk-in-interaction.

2.5 Preference organization

A first pair part (i.e., FPP) and a second pair part (i.e., FPP) of an adjacency pair discussed

above do not merely refer to the order of these parts. As previously noted, the occurrence of a particular second pair part is conditioned by a particular first pair part that projects its second part. In other words, a particular first pair part (e.g., question) makes relevant a particular response (e.g., answer) as its second pair part that is of the same pair type as the first. The relevance of a second pair part responsive to a first pair part is further characterized by a different level of organizational feature. That is, a first pair part (e.g., question) makes conditionally relevant not only a particular response type (e.g., answer), but also alternative but non-equivalent responses (e.g., answers with either yes or no to yes/no questions) that "embody different alignments toward the project undertaken in the first pair part" (Schegloff 2007, p. 58). This organizational feature is generally recognized as "preference" which is our next focus of attention.

Preference does not refer to psychological predilection or desire. It refers to a structural feature that can be observed in the design features of a turn as a response (i.e., second pair part) to a first pair part (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). A preferred response to the initial assessment is, for example, agreement. The design features of such a response are that it "maximizes the occurrences of the action being performed with them, utilizes minimization of gap between its initiation and prior turn's completion, and contains components that are explicitly stated instances of the action being performed" (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 64). Pomerantz provided the following instances:

(4) (JS:II: 28) (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 65)

```
01   J:  T's- tsuh beautiful day out isn't it?
02 →L:  Yeh it's just gorgeous ...
```

(5) (M.Y.) (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 65)

```
01   A:  That (heh) s(heh) sounded (hhh)
02 →B:  That sound' --- that sounded lovely ...
```

In these examples, the second speakers explicitly state their agreements without delay, or any noticeable gap between first pair parts and second pair parts.

In contrast, disagreement is an instance of a dispreferred response. The design features of such a response are that it "minimizes the occurrences of the action being performed with them, in part utilizing the organization of delays and nonexplicitly stated action components, such as actions other than a conditionally relevant next" (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 64). Here are some instances of disagreements borrowed from Pomerantz (1984):

(6) (NB: IV: 11.-1) (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 72)

```
01   A:  God izn it dreary.
02 →    (0.6)
03   A:  [Y'know I don't think-
04 →B:  [·hh It's warm though,
```

(7) (SBL: 1.1.10.-9) (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 73)

```
01   B:  I think I'll call her and ask her if she's
02       interested because she's a good nurse, and I
03       think they would like her don't you?
04 →A:  Well, I'll tell you, I haven't seen Mary for
05       years. I should- As I remember, yes.
06   B:  Well do you think she would fit in?
07 →A:  Uhm, uh, I don't know, what I'm uh
08       hesitating about is uh -- uhm maybe she would.
09       (1.0)
10   A:  Uh but I would hesitate to uhm --
```

In example (6), after A's initial assessment, there is a noticeable gap (line 2). B's response is not either a stated agreement or a stated disagreement. It may be heard as a weak disagreement with a dispreferred turn shape. In example (7), A prefaces her response to B with "well" and gives a rather long account (lines 4-5), through which she delays expressing her qualified agreement (line 5). B then asks a question, which seems to further elicit agreement from A (line 6). B's response (line 8), however, expresses another qualified agreement after a fairly long hesitation, which may cause an inter-turn gap (line 9). She then

takes back her previous stance and expresses further hesitation. Throughout her response, B does not explicitly state her disagreement, although she might implicate it. B's response here can be heard as a weak disagreement. These (weak) disagreement turns in the above examples exhibit design features related to dispreferred responses.

The above examples clearly illustrate that the differences between the two turn types regarding preference, that is, preferred response and dispreferred response, are attributed to the design features of actions (i.e., agreements and disagreements), which respond to the prior actions (i.e., initial assessments). The structural differences between these two turn types can be found not only in agreements and disagreements, but also in acceptances and rejections of requests, offers and proposals (Heritage, 1984; Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 2007).

2.6 Interactional grammar

Recently, much attention has been paid to the intersection of grammar and actual conversational interaction through the collaboration of conversation analysts, anthropologists, and discourse-functional linguists, under the rubric of 'interaction and grammar' or 'interactional linguistics' (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen & Ford, 2004; Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). In this enterprise, grammar is not considered to be solely the reflection or product of a speaker's mental process. Rather, it is shown that grammar is a type of resource for accomplishing a specific interactional goal in the contingency of real-time negotiations between speaker and hearer(s), thereby being dynamically shaped and modified by temporally unfolding conversational interaction. The analytic focus in this work is on an aspect of action(s) accomplished by a particular utterance which can be seen as an outcome of a particular usage of grammar. This

action-focused perspective, which is borrowed from the methodology of conversation analysis, enables us to expand the horizon of understanding of grammar and to give a novel and real picture of grammar, which we are actually using in real-life. The present study tries to contribute to this rapidly growing body of work.

3 Objectives

Employing the methodology of CA, the present study attempts to explore position-specific grammar, or what is so called "positionally sensitive grammar" (Schegloff, 1996), that is, how a particular grammatical resource can be adapted to, or constrained by, different sequential positions in which it is deployed. To this end, it will focus specifically on a particular type of yes/no negative question deployed in assessment sequences as observed in examples (1) and (2), and investigate how it can be differentiated in terms of action and practice, depending on different positions within assessment sequences. The scope of the present investigation is limited to the particular type of negative question utilized in first and second assessment positions. I acknowledge that there are other sequential contexts in which the negative question can be utilized. I believe, however, that as an initial attempt to identify position-specific actions and practices implemented by the use of the negative question, it will be more useful to delve into the characteristics of the negative question deployed in two related positions within the same action sequence (i.e., first and second assessment positions). In other words, by focusing on these two related positions, the way that positionally sensitive grammar works will become evident and the reflexive relationship between grammatical usage and the sequential position in which it is deployed will be profiled.

The goal of the present thesis is to elucidate discrete actions accomplished by the

particular type of yes/no negative question deployed in first and second assessment positions, as in examples (1) and (2), by systematically investigating how it can be adapted to, or affected by, these positional variations in which it is deployed. A range of objectives that will be achieved in the present investigation are given below:

- To explicate how the type of yes/no negative question is understood as it is and how it can be differentiated from an ordinary negative interrogative which requests information, particularly in terms of epistemic modality (i.e., to what degree the speaker can access knowledge and information about a particular entity relative to the recipient) **(Chapter 4)**
- To describe general characteristics of the type of yes/no negative question from which position-specific characteristics will be derived by its deployment in different sequential positions, namely first and second assessment positions **(Chapter 4)**
- To uncover position-specific actions accomplished by the use of the type of yes/no negative question and scrutinize how these actions are formulated in a larger sequential context **(Chapter 5 & 6)**
- To describe a range of practices through which the type of negative question deployed in different sequential positions is introduced in the emerging course of interaction and explicate how these practices will affect actions accomplished through use of the negative question **(Chapter 5 & 6)**
- To synthesize commonalities and differences between the negative interrogative deployed in first and second positions and give a better understanding of positionally sensitive production of the negative interrogative **(Chapter 7)**

By achieving these objectives, I hope to show that the line of investigation conducted by this study under the rubric of positionally sensitive grammar can give new insight into grammar

for conversation and thereby make an important contribution to the growing body of work on conversation-analytic studies of the Japanese language.

4 Outline of the Thesis

The subsequent chapters are organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I will provide a literature review of previous studies on topics relevant to the present study. I will first introduce the notion of "positionally sensitive grammar" proposed by Schegloff (1996), as a foundation for the present investigation, and give warrant for how positionally sensitive grammar will shed new light on the research into the interlocking relationship between grammar and social interaction by taking up several representative studies conducted in previous studies. Subsequently, I will provide an overview of previous studies of questions in conversation and introduce the type of question investigated in this study. I will then offer a review of previous conversation-analytic studies of assessments. Assessments are a major action type which is accomplished by the use of the type of question focused on in this study. In Chapter 3, I will provide some preliminaries for the subsequent analyses developed through the following chapters. I will introduce the data used in this study, and present several aspects of the structure of the Japanese language for facilitating the readers to better understand the subsequent analyses. I will then provide an overview of existing studies of conversational grammar in Japanese. In Chapter 4, I will describe the general characteristics of the particular type of yes/no negative question focused on in the present study. Chapters 5 and 6 will concentrate on position-specific actions and practices implemented by the negative question in first and second assessment sequences respectively. Chapter 7 will provide a synthesis of the discrete actions and practices found in the previous two chapters into a whole picture of

the negative question implemented in assessment sequences. I will also give remarks on the contributions achieved in the present thesis, and offer some directions for future studies.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on reviewing existing studies on topics relevant to this investigation. In what follows, I will first introduce the notion of "positionally sensitive grammar" proposed by Schegloff (1996). I will then give rather extensive reviews of prior works on it and show how positionally sensitive grammar can provide a deep insight into the interlocking relationship between grammar and social interaction. Subsequently, I will concentrate on a review of questions in conversation, and introduce the type of question investigated in this study. I will then provide an overview of conversation analytic studies on assessments as social activities in talk-in-interaction, which are focused actions in this investigation.

2 Positionally Sensitive Grammar (PSG)

One of the themes proposed by Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson (1996), by way of endorsing the exploration of the interlocking relationship between grammar and social interaction is how grammar is organized by social interaction. Under this theme, grammar is considered to be a product of social interaction, and can thus be assumed to be shaped by the organization of turns, sequences, activities, participant frameworks, contingencies, and other interactional

factors, which become relevant at a particular moment of interaction. This is based on the recognition, as discussed in previous work on conversation analysis, that social interaction, particularly ordinary and mundane conversational interaction, "is the universally commonplace medium for language acquisition, language maintenance, and language change" (Schegloff et al., 1996, p. 37). Therefore, Schegloff (1996) says:

> It should hardly surprise us if some of the most fundamental features of natural language are shaped in accordance with their home environment in copresent interaction, as adaptations to it, or as part of its very warp and weft…if the basic natural environment for sentences is in turns-at-talk in conversation, we should take seriously the possibility that aspects of their structure – for example, their grammatical structure – are to be understood as adaptations to that environment. (pp. 54-55)

From this point of view, grammar is seen as an organizational device for a turn at talk and is thereby as a resource to build a turn constructional unit (TCU), which is composed of a clausal, sentential, phrasal, or lexical unit. Such an understanding of grammar then naturally leads to a general inquiry of how a particular form of grammar, or a particular type of TCU, is adapted to a particular interactional context. In this way, Schegloff (1996) has proposed the notion of "positionally sensitive grammar" (hereafter PSG) as one possibility for further exploring grammar for conversation. The notion of PSG is that at least some grammatical resources are shaped by the sequential positions in which they are deployed by participants in interaction (Fox, 2007; Schegloff, 1996).

In what follows, I will take up some of the prior work which has been presented as an instance of PSG. As will be shown, PSG has been conceived in diverse ways from researcher

to researcher, depending on types of TCUs and phenomena that they have been looking at.

3 Prior Studies on PSG

In previous conversation-analytic studies, PSG was not the sole aim of exploration. Rather, with the exception of Fox (2007), who concentrated on PSG in one whole section, it was only briefly mentioned as an indication that their studies may be cases of PSG. On the other hand, PSG seems to be viewed quite differently by researchers. As far as I am aware, there have been no literature reviews which focus specifically on studies of PSG and demonstrate how differently PSG can be viewed. It is, thus, useful here to provide a rather extensive overview of PSG. In what follows, I will introduce different views of PSG by taking up several important works, thereby situating the present study within these views.

Some researchers observed a range of grammatical resources utilized in a specific sequential position and identified how use of different grammatical resources may index the speakers' diverse stances towards the prior utterance and cause different interactional outcomes (Fox & Thompson, 2010; Raymond, 2003; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009, Stivers & Hayashi, 2010). Other researchers examined the same grammatical resource occurring in the same position but in different types of action sequences, and showed how positionally-sensitive deployment of that grammatical resource can be accomplished as different types of actions (Hayashi & Yoon, 2009). Others showed that a particular order of grammatical items formatted as a resource to accomplish a particular interactional function can be placed in a specific sequential position (Sugiura, 2010). Others revealed a more contingent deployment of a particular grammatical resource, which is grammatically linked to a particular element in the prior utterance, as a case of PSG (Hayashi, 2003). Further, others

investigated a particular grammatical resource deployed in different sequential positions and identified discrete practices performed by the use of that grammatical resource (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006).

3.1 "Grammar*s*" of answers

One way of exploring PSG is to observe different grammatical resources utilized in a specific sequential position and to identify how actions performed through use of these resources can be treated differently by participants. Research has shown that answers to questions are a case in which different grammatical designs can reflect the speaker's diverse stances towards the preceding question. While the grammars of answers to questions have been rather minimally attended to by traditional linguists (Fox, 2007), the framework of PSG sheds a new light on our understanding of how the grammars of answers can be organized and shaped by social interaction. Here I will introduce several works on two related but different types of answers to questions: namely, answers to yes/no questions and those to *wh*-questions, and show that different grammars of answers can be understood as resources for different interactional accomplishments by participants.

3.1.1 Answers to yes/no questions

Several researchers have looked at a range of grammatical resources utilized for answers to yes/no questions (Fox, 2007; Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Raymond, 2003; Stivers & Hayashi, 2010). Raymond (2003) revealed alternative response types for answers to yes/no

questions, namely "type-conforming response" and "nonconforming response." A type-conforming response is one that is initiated with a responsive token such as *yeah, no,* or their variants. Such a TCU beginning in this particular position is conditioned by the immediately preceding question formulation. That is, an answer with either *yes* or *no* is constrained by the grammatical format of the preceding question, namely the yes/no interrogative syntax. A nonconforming response is, on the other hand, one that is initiated without *yes* or *no* and thus resists the constraint set by the question formulation. Raymond (2003) argued that these alternative response types (i.e., type-conforming response and nonconforming response) deployed in this specific sequential position engender different interactional consequences.

Consider the next two segments taken from Raymond (2003).

(8) Raymond (2003, p. 953) ((Tre=Trevor, Les=Leslie))

```
01  Tre:    Hello?
02           (.)
03  Les:I→   Oh is that Trevor,
04  Tre:R→   Yes it's me. ((Type-Conforming Response))
05           (0.2)
06  Les:     Oh: it's your posh voice.
07           (0.2)
08  Tre:     °hheh he° Yes this's my posh voice.
```

(9) Raymond (2003, p. 953) ((Dan=Dana, Les=Leslie))

```
01  Dan:     (eight) [two two one five si[x,]
02  Les: I→          [.hhhhhhhh          [Oh hello is that Dana,
03  Dan: R→  It tis. ((Nonconforming Response))
04  Les:     .hhh Oh Dana:- (.) eh: Gordon's mum's he:re?=
05  Dan:     =Oh hello:
```

Both examples are taken from the openings of the telephone conversations and in each of them the same speaker, Leslie, produces almost identical questions as the first pair parts (FPP) of the question-answer adjacency pairs. In example (8), Leslie, in line 3, formulates the

yes/no interrogative by way of displaying a candidate recognition. Raymond (2003, p. 953) points out, following Schegloff (1979), that this type of question formulation at the beginning of telephone conversation is employed to display the questioner's stance that he or she can recognize the called party but cannot recognize his or her voice (for example, due to the called party's illness). Trevor, in line 4, provides a type-conforming response by accepting the terms set by the yes/no interrogative syntax that Leslie built and treats Leslie's question formulation as adequate. In line 6, the follow-up utterance produced by Leslie explains that she has difficulty recognizing Trevor's voice which sounds unusual. Trevor in line 8 confirms what Leslie has just said. In contrast, Dana's nonconforming response to the recognition question posed by Leslie in line 3 of example (9) exhibits the departure from the constraint set by the interrogative syntax built by Leslie. By responding to Leslie with that nonconforming response, Dana treats the preceding question as problematic. Dana's problematic treatment of Leslie's question formulation is heard as noticeable by Leslie. Rather than characterizing Dana's voice as unusual, Leslie first tries to redo the candidate recognition, but cuts off and instead identifies herself using a familiar phrase ("Gordon's mum") for Dana. Thus, not only Dana but also Leslie treats her question formulation in her prior turn as inadequate, and thereby expands the sequence and revises what she has said.

Examples (8) and (9) clearly illustrate that the choice of the type-conforming response and the nonconforming response is interactionally motivated. Both of these response types are deployed by reference to the particular sequential position. The position in which they occur is specified by the immediately preceding question formulation, namely the yes/no interrogative. In this sense, their deployment is positionally sensitive. Importantly, the use of these different grammatical resources (with or without *yes* or *no*) affects the subsequent course of action. Thus the "grammars" of answers cannot be reduced to the rule of grammar. They are most properly understood as interactional practices for conversational participants.

Stivers and Hayashi (2010), looking at Japanese and English conversational data, showed that while type-conforming responses and nonconforming responses can be observed in both Japanese and English, further response types (what they called "transformative answers") can be observed in both languages precisely in the same sequential position as type-conforming responses and nonconforming responses. Like nonconforming responses, transformative answers display the speaker's resistance to the preceding question. However, transformative answers show a higher degree of resistance than nonconforming responses do. Stivers and Hayashi argued that while nonconforming responses "contest agency over the terms but do accept them insofar as they do not seek to ALTER them," with transformative answers the question's recipient "work(s) to adjust the prior question's terms or agenda retroactively and implicitly" (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010, p. 3, emphasis original).

Stivers and Hayashi (2010) demonstrated that there are two kinds of transformation involved. One kind is pertinent to the turn design of the preceding question, that is, to some lexical, syntactic, or morphological component of a turn. To illustrate this, they showed the following Japanese example.

(10) Stivers and Tanaka (2010, pp. 4-5)

```
01   KYO:  [u::n.
           'Yeah.'

02   MAY:  [.hhh >a  soo< nanao to  robin (0.4) kappuru  na   n da  tte sa::.
                    oh so   NAME  and NAME       couple   LINK N BE  QT  FP
           .hhh '>Oh yeah< Nanano and Robin (0.4) are dating, ((I)) heard.'

03         (0.3)

04   KYO:  nanao  demo yameru n deshoo.
           NAME   but  quit   N TAG
           'But Nanao is quitting, right?'

05         (0.3)

06 →MAY:  kubi.
           fired
           '((She's)) fired.'
```

07 (0.6)

08 KYO: *rashii desu yo ne*::.=[*eh ka*]*ppuru na no*::?=
seem BE FP FP couple BE FP
'It seems like it. =Oh are ((they)) dating?='

09 MAY: [*u*::*n*.]
'yeah.'

Here Kyoko (KYO) and Mayumi (MAY) are talking about their mutual friend, Nanano, on the phone. The focus is on the question-answer adjacency pair consisting of lines 4 and 6. According to Stivers and Hayashi, Kyoko in line 4 asks for a confirmation that Nanao is going to quit the dance troupe to which he has belonged for many years. Mayumi in line 6 confirms that Nanao is going to leave the troupe, but she replaced the verbal predicate *yameru* ('quit'), which is produced by Kyoko, with a nominal predicate *kubi* ('fired'). By doing so, Mayumi resists the preceding question's turn design, thereby "retroactively adjusting the terms of the question" (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010, p. 5). The type of answer that Mayumi produced is one kind of transformative answer.

Another kind of transformation involves the agenda behind the question. With a transformative answer that resists the agenda behind a question, the answerer "adjust(s) the question by working to shift its focus, bias, or presupposition(s)" (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010, p. 13). See the following example.

(11) Stivers and Hayashi (2010, p. 5)

```
01   NOR:  (eh) nyu- bosuton  tte  nyuuyooku  kara  chikai wake.
                    Boston   QT   New.York   from  close  reason
           'Is Boston close from New York?'

02 →HIR:  ee::to kuruma de y- yojikan gurai ssu  kedo ne:.
           well   car    by    4.hours about BE   but  FP
           'Let's see, ((it))'s about 4 hours by car.'

03   NOB:  a  yojikan ka.=
           Oh  4.hours QP
           'Oh 4 hours.='

04   HIR   =a ha:i.
           '=Yes.'

05   NOB:  a soo: hu::n.
           'Oh is that so. I see.'
```

In line 1, Noboru (NOB), who is less familiar about the geography of the east coast of the United States, asks Hiroshi (HIR), who lives in Boston, whether Boston is close to New York. The question produced by Noboru here embodies the subjective measure of the distance between these places. However, Hiroshi's transformative answer in line 2 resists the question's agenda in terms of the bias that Noboru showed through the subjective measure. With that answer, Hiroshi thus "propose(s) a retroactive transformation of the question from a question about relative proximity to a question about absolute distance" (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010, p. 5).

These two kinds of transformative answers are alternative response types, in addition to type-conforming responses and nonconforming responses, that participant can utilize in response to a preceding yes/no question. Importantly, the positionally sensitive deployment of these response types reflects the answerers' diverse stances towards that question. Here we can see that grammatical practices observed in specific sequential position are diversified by stances taken up by participants.

3.1.2 Answers to *wh*-questions

Another sequential position in which alternative grammatical forms can be observed is a responsive position after *wh*-questions. Fox and Thompson (2010) focused specifically on a kind of *wh*-question that they called a "specifying question," which "seek(s) particular pieces of information" (p. 135).[4] The authors examined a range of response types occurring after that kind of question, and identified two broad types of response types. They have coined the terms of these response types, "phrasal responses" and "clausal responses" (or "Phrase-in-Clause (PiC) responses"), respectively. According to Fox and Thompson, phrasal responses to *wh*-questions "do simple answering", constitute "the most frequent response type in this environment," and indicate "no trouble with the sequence" (Fox & Thompson, 2010, p. 151). On the other hand, clausal responses (i.e., PiC) to *wh*-questions "indicate trouble with the sequence the question initiates," and are "less frequent than phrasal responses" (ibid: 152). These responses are also "always preceded by delay or preface," and "regularly turn-expanded by an account from the responder" (ibid: 152).

Let us take a look at an instance of phrasal responses.

---

4 Fox and Thompson (2010) distinguished "specifying questions" from another kind of *wh*-question, "telling questions." They argued that the latter kind of question is utilized to "seek extended responses-reports, telling, stories, accounts, and so on" (Fox & Thompson, 2010, pp. 135-136). They provided an instance shown below:

Fox and Thompson (2010, p. 136):

```
01 →VIV:  So what did you guys do today?
02        (1.8)
03  NAN:  N-mm
04 →NAN:  I went grocery sho:pping 'n we went over to the ma:ll
05  NAN:  .pt .hhh
06        (0.5)
07 →MIC:  Bought some vitamins=
08 →NAN:  =The mall was [pa:]:cked.
09  SHA:                [Oh yeh?]
10        (0.5)
11  NAN:  Cause of Valentine's Day?
```

According to the authors, Vivian and Shane having been invited to dinner by Michael and Nancy. The *wh*-question initiated by Vivian in line 1 seeks an extended response by way of proffering a topic. Nancy then responds and begins an extended telling (line 4) and Michael joined the telling as a co-teller (line 7).

(12) Fox and Thompson (2010, p. 134)

((The participants have been discussing Felicia's elderly mother-in-law's recent relocation to Felicia's area))

```
01   Felicia:  I might have to move, though.=I don't think she could
02             handle that dri:ve
03             (0.4)
04   Lisa:      (No:), Ri:ght
05             (.)
06   Felicia:   Y'know u[p the mountain. I don't think so.
07   Lisa:              [°Your driveway (no)°
08             (0.8)
09   Lisa:      Or the driveway itself is (just [ )
10   Felicia:                                   [(hehe[he )
11   Lisa:                                           [( [ )
12   Felicia:                                           [(the the
13             drive) and ↑the driveway hh [(he he).
14   Lisa:                                 [( )hehehe
15 →Molly:     .hhh How ↑far up the canyon are you.=
16 →Felicia:   =Ten miles.
17             (0.8)
18   Molly:    °So I was close by the other day ( )=
19   Felicia: =NU-UH!=
20   Lisa:     =Why were yu-=
21   Molly     =Thought about you.
```

Firstly, some background information of the conversation is in order. According to Fox and Thompson, Molly and Lisa live down in a local town, while Felicia lives up a mountain road that is far away from the town. Fox and Thompson's analysis has shown that in lines 1-14 Molly and Lisa are saying that it is difficult for Felicia's mother-in-law, who is now living with Felicia, to drive up the mountain road. This talk engenders Molly's question in line 15, which is formatted as a *wh*-question. This question is deployed to seek a specific piece of information, namely the distance. Felicia's answer in line 16 is delivered as a phrasal response, 'ten miles', which is the precise one that Molly has been seeking. This answer is produced without delay, which indicates no trouble on the part of the answerer. Fox and Thompson (2010) have noted that the question-answer sequence consisting of lines 15 and 16 seems to constitute a pre-sequence which may project a base sequence in the subsequent talk.

The next example is an instance of clausal responses.

(13) Fox and Thompson (2010, p. 138)

```
01  Teresa:    You weren't done till two in the morning?
02  Jennifer:  No[:, even later.
03  Betty:       [Oh I was done at three fifteen
04  Jennifer:  She a- had pasta and [then she went back and
05  Teresa:                         [Betty:::::
06             (0.5)
07  Jennifer:  clea[ned more.
08  Betty:         [Well? (°I had to°) finish.
09             (1.2)
10 →Teresa:    What time did we get home.
11             (0.4)
12 →Betty:     We got home at one thirty:
13             (0.9)
14  Betty:     And then I I k- I went to Fatty Jay's, ((laugh))(h) And the(h)y
15             [were clo(h)sed ((hehehe))
16  Teresa:    [((hahe))
17  Jennifer:  If they've [closed, you know you're up late.
18  Betty:                [I was starving:. Like I'd only eaten ( ) once.=
19             =°I° have to eat like (0.6) every four hours.
```

Following Fox and Thompson (2010), the three participants, Teresa, Betty, and Jennifer, work in the same café below the apartment where all of them live together. Of these participants, Teresa and Betty are partners. Prior to the segment, Teresa initially asked Betty what time she had finished cleaning. Teresa's question in line 1 came back to that previous question. The question is delivered in a complaint-relevant format. Betty's provides an answer, in line 3, which can be understood as a transformative answer that may resist the question's agenda in terms of its presupposition. She then gives an account by way of defending herself (line 8). Teresa, however, extends the sequence in progress, and reformulates the prior question into a *wh*-question that pursues the issue of when Betty and herself came home (line 10). Betty's response to the wh-question is accomplished as a clausal response (line 12). Through the deployment of the clausal response, Betty treats the preceding *wh*-question as problematic. Fox and Thompson (2010) offer two accounts for the problematic aspect of the clausal response produced by Betty:

> Betty uses this response format to treat the question as inapposite, on two grounds:

> first, Teresa, the questioner, was copresent for their return home and thus should know the time of their return; and second, Betty is concerned to maintain her defense that working until 3 a.m. was justifiable. (p. 139)

On top of these accounts, these authors also note that the delivery of the clausal response here is noticeably delayed. This delay in delivery can be understood as a reflection of Betty's treatment of the question as problematic. Further, the authors pointed out that the intonation of the clausal response deployed by Betty is rising, which can be characterized as "defensive."

In connection to Fox and Thompson (2010), Schegloff and Lerner (2009) reported a specific type of response to *wh*-questions, namely *well*-prefaced response. These authors proposed:

> (W)ell-prefacing in response turns to *wh*-questions serves as an alert to the questioner and others that the response will be in some respect not straightforward, and that it should therefore not be parsed as such, but rather requires attention to the way(s) in which it is not straightforward to allow a proper understanding. (p. 101)

The next example is an instance of *well*-prefaced response which I have borrowed from their work.

(14) Schegloff and Lerner (2010, p. 93)

```
01   Wes:  (Dih')/('n) they letchya in Friday's the othuh night?
02         (1.0) ((Virginia nods))
03   Wes:  They did.
04         (0.3) ((Virginia nods))
05 →Wes:  W:hich side 'juh go in.
06 →Vir:  (mt) Wull we wen' in the eighteen °you know° but we
07         walked (under) the twenty one.
08   Wes:  (       )
09         (1.7)
10   ???:  hhh
11         (0.3)
12   P/B:  Who' dja go with.
13         (0.6)
14   Vir:  (mm) (0.3) Beth and Legette.
15         (0.3)
16   P/B:  ↑O:h.
17         (2.0)
18   Wes:  Well what- d:'ju have a fake ID card? or they didn'
19         check it.
20   Mo?:  (Mm::!)/(Mmooh!)[I didn' get a roll. Could I have a roll.
21   Vir:                  [They didn' ask me for' it.
22   Mo?:  <°Good.
```

The focus of talk here is about how one of the participants, Virginia, who is 14 years old, could get into a local nightspot several nights despite her age. In line 3, the *wh*-question initiated by Wesley, who is a Virginia's elder brother, further pursues what he has asked in his prior turn and requests a specific piece of information, which is projected by the question phrase ('which side'). As Schegloff and Lerner (2009) have observed, the *well*-prefaced response produced by Virginia in line 4 is not straightforward in the sense that the answer contains more than one side, although it accepts the terms of the question.

While phrasal responses and clausal responses conform to the type of formulation initiated by *wh*-questions, *well*-prefaced responses do not necessarily conform to it. Looking back to examples (12) and (13), both the phrasal response and the clausal response conform to the formulation projected by *wh*-questions. The phrasal response in (12) specifies the distance by accepting the formulation of the question instantiated by the question phrase ('how far'). Likewise, the clausal response in (13) specifies the time by accepting the

formulation of the question instantiated by the question phrase (‘what time’). However, the *well*-prefaced response in example (15) is accomplished as a response which does not conform to the formulation of the question (compared with the one in example (14), which conforms to the formulation of the question). In other words, the answerer does not answer what the questioner pursues.

(15) Schegloff and Lerner (2009)

```
01   Lis:  ↑ehh heh heh [heh he-] hh=
02   Ile:               [Uh:m]
03   Ile:  =Well now look d'you want me
04         ti[h come over'n get her? Or wha:t.=
05   Lis:    [°(        )°
06   Lis:  =↑( ) please yerself dear we'll we were g'nna t-bring'er
07         ↑back b't chor very wel[come
08 →Ile:                          [No well when'r you when'r you going
09         to back her↓ba:ck.=
10 →Lis:  =.hhh Uh well you said wait til ah:fter the New ↑Yea:r.
11         (0.2)
12   Ile:  Yeh. well ah mean you – you: - you choose the da:y.
13         (0.2)
14   Lis:  Oh:ah °mean° t'morrow will do ez far ez I'm [concerned]=
15   Ile:                                            [T'morrow]=
16   Ile:  =That's fi[:ne.
17   Lis:            [She gets me up et six every morning she-
18         p- (.) welcome tih go::?
19         (.)
```

Example (15) is a telephone conversation between two women, Ilene and Lisa. Ilene, who is the owner of the dog in question, offers to go and brings her dog back by herself (line 4). Lisa, who seems to take care of her dog at the kennel, accepts it but she also offers to bring Ilene’s dog back her home (lines 6 and 7). Ilene seems to back off her offer by a turn-initial *no*, builds a *wh*-question which embodies time formulation, and asks when Lisa will return the dog to her home (lines 8 and 9). The *well*-prefaced response produced by Lisa does not conform to the formulation instantiated by the prior question. It thus does not constitute an answer projected by the question. Rather, it “treats the *wh*-question as implementing a complaint and furnishes a justification” (Schegloff & Lerner, 2010, p. 112).

One thing in common between grammars of answers to yes/no questions and grammars of answers to *wh*-questions discussed, thus far seems to be that grammars of answers in general are diversified by the degree to which they conform or disconform to the type of formulation, set by the sequence-initiating question. The degree of conformity or disconformity displayed by a variety of response types can be understood as, in the first place, an outcome of answerers' contingent alignment or disalignment with the preceding action implemented at a particular local interactional context. It is therefore important to underscore that a variety of response types, or a variety of grammatical alternatives, in this particular sequential position are organized not by rules of grammar, but rather by social interaction in which what we call grammar inhabits.

3.2 Third positioned minimal acknowledgement tokens

The previously described studies approach the project of exploring PSG by looking at a range of grammatical resources utilized in the same sequential position. However, one can look at the positionally sensitive deployment of a single grammatical resource. By so doing, one can identify how that single grammatical resource can be designedly deployed in a specific position to accomplish a particular interactional task.

Hayashi and Yoon (2009) investigated the use of minimal acknowledgement tokens in Japanese and Korean, particularly those similar to 'yeah/mhm' in English, that is, *un* and its variants in Japanese and *um* and its variants in Korean. They looked at these tokens occurring in third position within a sequence of turns, as shown in the following diagram:

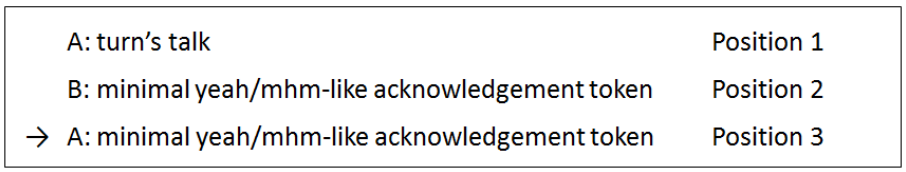


Diagram 3.1 Hayashi and Yoon (2009, p. 251)

These authors noted that these tokens are produced by the primary speaker of talk in progress, not by its recipient, as indicated in the above diagram. They found that these tokens are utilized to perform two types of actions. One type of action performed by the use of these tokens is to propose imminent closure of the topic-in-progress. Hayashi and Yoon (2009) noted that this usage of third-position minimal response tokens utilized to exit from the topic in progress is not unique to Japanese and Korean, but in fact can be observed in English in similar sequential contexts. The other type of action is to indicate the relevance of closure of the unfolding turn. In this case, the primary speaker of talk who produces a syntactically incomplete turn in first position deploys these tokens in third position to indicate that he or she is not going to add more talk and thus treat the turn-so-far as completed. In doing so, the speaker avoids producing something delicate and invites the co-participants to infer what is not being said. Hayashi and Yoon (2009) argued that the deployment of these tokens as a device to exit from such a syntactically incomplete but pragmatically possible complete turn "is fitted to the type of turn-constructional practices described for Japanese and Korean" (p. 272). They went to argue:

> (D)ue to the limited mid-turn projectability of how the turn will eventually develop, recipients of Japanese and Korean conversations are systematically motivated to provide acknowledgement tokens at turn-internal junctures where the speaker's turn is still not yet complete. When, as it happens, the speaker decides that the syntactically incomplete bits of talk that the recipient has just acknowledged are already sufficient

> from the perspective of executing an action, he or she can take advantage of the intra-turn acknowledgement token produced by the recipient as an opportunity to counter it with another minimal token and thereby indicate that the speaker is not going to continue with the turn any more. (ibid, p. 272)

Of particular importance here is it that the above two actions implemented by the use of minimal tokens in third position can be made possible only after a co-participant's acknowledgement in the immediately prior turn. If that co-participant had responded to the prior talk in a different way, there would have arisen a different interactional outcome. It is in this sense that the deployment of these tokens and the actions implemented by such deployment are positionally sensitive. The deployment of the tokens and the actions implemented by such deployment are crucially dependent upon their position of occurrence, immediately after a turn in which the same token is produced by a co-participant. The usage of these tokens in third position thus arguably constitutes another instance of PSG.

3.3 Prosodically-charged assessment response as a resource for a sequence closure

One may expand the scope of PSG by taking into account prosodic properties, along with lexical and morpho-syntactic resources, deployed in a specific sequential position. Sugiura (2010) attempted to explore this line of investigation. This study identified a positionally sensitive deployment of a prosodically-charged assessment response in Japanese as a way to bring an ongoing topic to close.

Sugiura (2010) reported one type of adjectival usage pattern in Japanese conversation that is employed in a specific sequential position: an assessment response in an informing

sequence. I demonstrated that Japanese adjectives are frequently produced with various prosodic manipulations, such as prolongation or contraction of certain sound(s), at the climax of an informing/telling, thereby displaying their producers' strong outward emotional involvement, as they are adapted to the here-and-now interactional demands at that particular moment. Despite the fact that these adjectives are manipulated in different ways (i.e., they are produced either as contracted forms, as extended forms, or as mixed forms embodying both contraction and prolongation), a common practice done by deployment of these manipulated forms can be observed. That is, these manipulated forms, what I call Prosodically-Charged Adjectival Forms (PCAFs), are recurrently deployed to bring an ongoing talk to close. Importantly, it was demonstrated that PCAFs employed as a topic-closing indicator are best understood as a positionally-sensitive device. This positionally-sensitive formulation of PCAFs consists of two features: PCAFs are produced in a particular turn format (non-lexical token + PCAF); PCAFs within such a format are utilized precisely when an ongoing talk is ascending to its peak or climax. Moreover, it was also shown that the orientation toward a topical shift realized by the employment of the format is jointly accomplished by co-participants who attend to the developing course of talk.

Let us take a look at one instance. In this conversation, S, a high school teacher, is talking to his three former students, K, Y, and C, about New Zealand where he is going to go to study for his Ph.D soon. Here S is asking K a question about the population of New Zealand, which S supposes would be unknown by all participants including K.

(16) Sugiura (2010, pp. 522-523)

```
01   S: nyuujiirando  no   jinkoo     wa   ikutsu  deshoo?
        New.Zealand   GEN  population TOP  what    BE
        'What is the population of New Zealand?'
```

```
02   K:  ee::? (.) ee::? (1.5) e  nihon  ga  ichioku::,
         ee        ee          e  Japan  SUB 100.million
         'ee? ee? (1.5) e Japan has 100.million and,

         ((22 lines omitted, in which K, Y and C make guesses about the population of
         New Zealand))

03   S:  saa, kotae  wa, (1.0) yonhyakurokujuuman'nin.
         now  answer TOP       4.6.million.people
         'Now the answer is (1.0) 4.6 million people.'

                  NON-LEXICAL TOKEN + PCAF
04 → K:  e[e::::],          sukuNA.
         ee                 small
         'ee::::, ((that's)) small.'

05   Y:    [ee:::].
         'ee::::.'

06   C:  demo atashi  tsugi sensee  ga  iitai       koto  wakaru  yo.
         but  I      next  teacher SUB want.to.say thing know    FP
         'But I know what you want to say next.'
```

Following S's question (line 1), K searches for a candidate answer to the question as to the population of New Zealand by reference to that of Japan (line 2). During the several exchanges omitted in the above transcripts, the recipients, K, C and Y, each provide a candidate answer to the question raised by S. After hearing candidate answers from all the recipients, S produces the answer as an informing (line 3). Note that by chopping his turn into three intonation units and especially by inserting a long pause before the production of the target element, S designs the turn to be heard as the climax of the sequence in progress. In line 4, with rising intonation, K delivers a highly stretched version of a non-lexical token *ee* to show great surprise, overlapped by the same token produced by Y in line 5. Then K's own prepositioned non-lexical token, as well as Y's overlapping one, is followed by the Prosodically Charged Adjectival Form (PCAF), *sukuNA* ('small'), which strengthens her display of emotional involvement in the assessment activity by using a more explicit assessment term with greater amplitude. The pre-positioned non-lexical token and the PCAF constructed by K constitute a special turn format. This format is designed to signal that the ongoing topic/sequence should come to an end. In fact, further talk about the ongoing topic

does not ensue. Rather, such a signal indicated by the format is ratified as a topic closure by co-participants, as shown by the fact that C then takes up the primary speakership and begins a new and anticipatory topic, which S (the primary speaker) may talk about next (line 6).

This example clearly shows that the topic closure, which is proposed by the positionally sensitive deployment of the format in which a PCAF is embedded is oriented to not only by the producer of the format but also all other participants currently attending to the common course of talk. Therefore, it should be understood that the topic closure indicated by the format is jointly accomplished by the parties engaged in the current talk.

However, I argued that the interactional move initiated by the format is sometimes overridden by the way in which the format is deployed as a dispreferred action or the way in which the inherently contingent nature of interaction comes into play. The next excerpt is one such instance in which the topic closure initiated by the use of the format is withheld. In this conversation, A is talking with K, who is her mother, about what an old couple, both of whom are K's friends, do when the husband goes to work.

(17) Sugiura (2010, pp. 527-528)

```
01  A: … dan'nasan ga::, asoko no  kado  o::, (.) asoko no,  aru jan.
         husband  SUB  there GEN corner OBJ     there GEN  is  TAG

02     wataru jan. >shingoo      ga  aru  jan<. asoko  o   watatte
       cross  TAG   traffic.light SUB exist TAG   there  OBJ cross

03     mienakunaru made  okusan ga  zutto       mimamotte, saigoni
       cannot.see  until wife   SUB all.the.time watch      finally

04     ok- dan'nasan ga  hurikaette    te   o   hutTE,
       wi- husband   SUB turn.back.and hand OBJ wave

05     (0.5) itterasshai na  no.
             take.care   BE  N
       '((The)) husband is at the corner there, there, isn't it? There's a traffic
       right, isn't it? She watches ((him) all the time until he crosses and cannot
       be seen, and finally the husband turns back and waves his hand (0.5)((says))
       "Take care".'
```

NON-LEXICAL TOKEN + PCAF

06 → K: *ee:::* ***naga(h)::(h)::i(h)*** [*hh*]
ee long
'ee::: ((that's)) lo::::ng.'

07 → A: [*DE*]*SHO:?hhhhhhhh* *asoko*:: *aru* *jan.*
is there is TAG

08 *kerun no* [*tokoro made*::],
Kerun GEN place until
'Is ((it))? There, you see? Until Kerun's place.'

09 K: [*un. maiasa*]?
yeah every-morning
'Yeah. Every morning?'

In lines 1-5, A reports what she witnessed about the old couple. The story goes that when he husband goes to work, the wife watches her husband go to work until she finally cannot see him. A goes on to say that the husband turns back and waves his hand to the wife instead of saying good-bye. Here A delivers the informing by attending to fine details (e.g., the exact point of location where the wife cannot see the husband, the way in which the wife watches the husband, and the way in which the husband waves his hand to the wife), and thereby designs the informing in a more dramatized fashion, rather than simply summarising what she witnessed without attending to such details. By extending the details of what she witnessed, A seems to design the informing to elicit from K a particular type of response that she expects to receive, that is, a response with a particular assessment adjective, *nagai* ('long'), which is iconic to the length of A's extended informing. Further A also dramatizes the informing towards the end of the extended informing. By increasing the amplitude (i.e., *hutTE* ('wave')) and inserting a long pause before producing the final element, A brings the extended talk to its climax. In line 6, since such a sweet scene depicted by A is rarely encountered not only among her generation but also in Japanese culture in general, K displays great surprise with a prolonged non-lexical token *ee*:::, immediately followed by the PCAF *naga(h)::(h)::i(h)* ('((that's)) lo::::ng') (line 6). Despite its production at the precise

timing, however, the PCAF format employed by K does not successfully bring the topic to completion. This can be explained by A's overlapping utterance in line 7. Rather than ratifying the topic closure proposed by K, A elicits further involvement from K. It is worth noticing here that this elicitation is conveyed with greater amplitude than the PCAF, which leads to the preemption of the proposed topic closure. A then goes on to recount the exact location where she witnessed this unusual situation (lines 7-8), and successfully obtain K's further involvement (line 9).

This example illustrates that the topic closure signaled by the format can be withheld through here-and-now negotiations of participants where some interactional need emerges. Interestingly, however, even in a case such as the above instance, the positionally-sensitive production of the format in which PCAF is embedded still remains relevant. The format in (17) is located precisely at the peak of the extended informing. This can paradoxically provide evidence that conversational co-participants, or at least their producers, still orient to the topic closure signposted by the deployment of the format in this particular sequential context (i.e., topic closure).

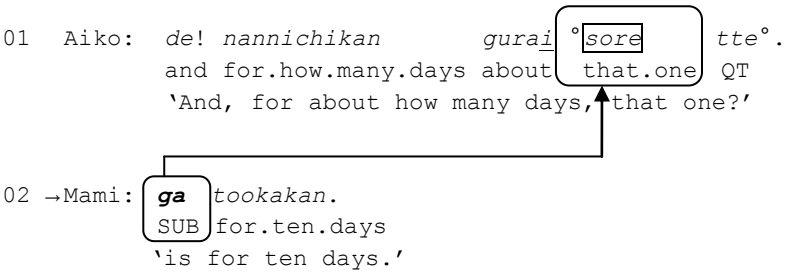
In prior studies, little work has focused on the interrelationship between particular grammatical forms and their prosodic shapes, as this study does. One reason may be that phenomena such as PCAFs may be too informal and thereby considered as unimportant and unworthy of investigation by traditional linguists. As the study uncovered, however, the use of PCAF is quite consequential in the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction, once the interactional function is taken into account. PCAFs cannot be described as just a matter of style or fashion of speaking. Rather, as the study showed, the use of PCAFs is situated within a particular turn format (i.e., non-lexical token + PCAF) by reference to the sequential position in which the format is located and the specific task implemented by the format in that particular position.

3.4 Postposition-initiated utterances

Hayashi (2003) demonstrated the contingent nature of PSG by showing that a particular grammatical resource can be placed by reference to the temporally and sequentially unfolded structure of the prior speaker's turn. According to Hayashi, the speaker of Japanese sometimes produces a "postposition-initiated" utterance, which can be heard as odd if it is viewed in isolation. However, such an utterance can be designedly positioned by reference to the unfolding grammatical structure of the prior speaker's turn.

In addition to its predicate finality, Japanese is recognized as a postpositional language (e.g., Kuno, 1973; Martin, 1975; Shibatani, 1990). In contrast to English, in Japanese the noun precedes the postpositional particle that marks the grammatical role of the preceding noun such as subject, object, and indirect object. When examining actual interactional data, however, Hayashi (2003) found that conversational participants often initiate a turn with a postpositional particle, as in the following example.

(18) Hayashi (2003, p. 174)



Here in line 1 Aiko is asking a question to Mami about the duration of her recent trip to Nepal and India. Mami's answer to that question in line 2 is initiated with the subject particle *ga*, which would normally be positioned after a certain nominal component. Hayashi demonstrated that this postposition-initiated utterance, which would not have made sense in

its own right, is in fact properly understood as an answer to the preceding question by taking into account the sequential context in which it was deployed. That is, Mami precisely positioned the subject particle immediately after the target nominal component, the demonstrative pronoun *sore* (‘that one’), and thereby incorporated that nominal component into her action-in progress. In this particular example, Hayashi (2003, p. 176) pointed out that because the subject particle “can only be attached to a nominal,” the quotative particle *tte* in the prior turn, which is located immediately before Mami’s turn, is “skipped in the process of searching for the target.”

From a slightly different perspective, we can see that by beginning her turn with the postpositional particle, Mami designs her turn in such a way that her incipient turn is recognizable as a “non-beginning” (Schegloff, 1996) and can be heard as noticeably so. Mami’s turn is thus designed to be understood only by reference to the sequence-in progress, specifically the immediately preceding turn built by Aiko. Hayashi (2003) thus suggested that “postposition-initiated utterances have been shown to be ‘positonally sensitive’ in that they are placed in a specific position vis-à-vis the target nominal in the prior utterance to achieve the integrity and intelligibility of the utterances” (p. 202).

3.5 Differential claims of epistemic rights

The prior studies discussed thus far mainly focused on a range of grammatical resources deployed in a particular and single sequential position. In this section, we will look at the work done by Heritage and Raymond (2005), who showed that a single grammatical resource is deployed in different sequential positions to perform discrete practices. Although their work was not undertaken for the purpose of investigating PSG in its own right, it suggests

another possible line of research on PSG.

In their seminal paper, Heritage and Raymond (2005) described some of the ways in which participants index their relative epistemic rights and responsibilities regarding knowledge and information about a state of affairs in the midst of the ongoing interaction. They focused particularly on activities of assessments, or sequences of assessments, in which participants unavoidably show how much they can access knowledge and information about the matter at hand relative to each other (Ogden, 2006; Pomerantz, 1984)[5]. Their concern is how participants manage their rights to knowledge and information about the matter at hand, considering each other's face. They identified a range of practices for managing these rights, looking closely at first and second positions of assessments in which participants index their rights to knowledge and information about a particular referent being assessed. Among these practices, of our particular interest is a practice in which participants index their relative epistemic rights by the use of the tag question format.

Heritage and Raymond (2005) argued that a tag question employed in first position

---

5 Pomerantz (1984), for example, showed that a participant who lacks sufficient knowledge to assess the matter at hand declines a proffer of his or her assessment. Here are two examples that Pomerantz gave:

(a) Pomerantz (1984, p. 57)

```
01   A:  An how's the dresses coming along. How'd they look.
02 →B:  Well uh I haven't been uh by there- ...
```

(b) Pomerantz (1984, p. 58)

```
01   A:  How is Aunt Kallie.
02   B:  Well, I (suspect) she's better.
03   A:  Oh that's good.
04   B:  Las' time we talked tuh mother she was uh better
05   B:  Uh Allen, (she wants to know about  ),
06       (2.0)
07 →A:  No, Allen doesn't know anything new out there either.
```

Each of the arrowed participants shows their insufficient knowledge of the matter and thereby declines their offers of assessments. Pomerantz (1984) thus argued:

> The speaker's claiming insufficient knowledge serves as a warrant for their not giving assessments because assessments are properly based on the speakers' knowledge of what they assess. One of the ways of warranting a declination, then, is to deny the proper basis, that is, sufficient knowledge, for its production. (p. 58)

within an assessment sequence indexes the speaker's downgraded epistemic access to the matter, while a tag question employed in second position within the sequence indexes the speaker's upgraded epistemic access to the matter. Let us look more closely at their discussions on the use of the tag question in first and second positions.

In contrast with simple declarative evaluations that index unmediated access to the matter at hand, Heritage and Raymond (2005, p. 20) demonstrated that the speaker utilizes the [statement + tag] format in first assessment position as a means to exhibit his or her downgraded epistemic access to the matter at hand and thereby "cedes epistemic authority in the matter to her co-participant." Consider an example borrowed from Heritage and Raymond (2005):

(19) Heritage and Raymond (2005, p. 20)

```
01   Jen:  Mm [I: bet they proud o:f the fam'ly.=
02   Ver:     [Ye:s.
03 →Jen:  =They're [a luvly family now ar'n't  [they.
04   Ver:          [°Mm:.°                     [They are: ye [s.
05   Jen:                                                  [eeYe [s::,
06   Ver:                                                        [Yes.
07   Jen:  Mm: All they need now is a little girl tih complete i:t.
```

Here Jenny and Vera assess Vera's grandchildren in the midst of the talk. Jenny's assessment in line 3 is formulated in the tag question format. According to Heritage and Raymond (2005), the format deployed by Jenny is designed to be not so much an assertion to be agreed with as an invitation of response from Vera, who has primary rights to assess her own grandchildren. In fact, Vera's agreeing turn is not initiated with an agreement token such as *yes* or its variants as a type-conforming response. Rather, it is formatted as a [confirmation + agreement token] turn format (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). In this way, Vera's action prioritizes confirmation rather than agreement with Jenny's initial assessment. By so doing, Vera claims her primary rights to assess the matter at hand, that is,

her own grandchildren.

Let us see another instance given by Heritage and Raymond:

(20) Heritage and Raymond (2005, p. 21)

```
01   Ile:  No well she's still a bit young though isn't  [she <ah me]an:=
02   Nor:                                                [She::]
03   Ile:  =uh [:
04   Nor:      [She wz a year: la:st wee:k.
05   Ile:  Ah yes. Oh well any time no:w [then.]
06   Nor:                                [Uh:::]: [:
07   Ile:                                         [Ye:s.=
08   Nor:  =But she[:'s (          )]
09 →Ile:           [Cuz Trixie started] so early [didn't sh[e,
10 →Nor:                                         [°Oh::    [ye:s.°=
11   Ile:  =°Ye:h°=
```

Here Ilene and Norman, who are dog breeders, are talking about one of the Norman's younger dog in terms of its breeding potential. In line 9, by way of comparison, Ilene takes up another Norman's dog, Trixie, and asserts that it "started so early". Just as in the previous example, this assessment is followed by a tag which downgrades her epistemic access to the dog relative to Norman, who is Trixie's owner. In other words, using the tag question format, Ilene acknowledges Norman's primary rights to assess that dog. In line 10, Norman's second assessment is initiated with a particle *oh*, which conveys a "change of state of orientation" or indexes epistemic independence (Heritage 1984, 2002b). Heritage (2002b, p. 201) showed that *oh*-prefaced (dis)agreements are "a systematic way of indicating that a speaker has independent access to and already holds a position on the matter at issue." *Oh*-prefacing (dis)agreements are thus established on the basis of the speaker's own experience of the matter. Heritage (ibid, p. 202) then claims that "this baseline claim of epistemic independence is often associated with and a resource for conveying superior knowledge of and/or rights to assess the matter under discussion." In this way, Norman claims his epistemic primacy to knowledge and information about Trixie.

While Heritage and Raymond (2005) argued that a tag question downgrades first assessments in terms of socio-epistemic rights to knowledge and information about the matter, as in examples (19) and (20), it upgrades second assessments. They demonstrated that the tag question utilized in second assessment position indexes upgraded claim of rights to assess the matter, which the prior speaker has just claimed superior rights to assess. In other words, using that format, the speaker of the second assessment resists the prior speaker's claim of superior rights to assess the matter and thereby claims his or her primary rights to assess that matter. Let us consider example (21) which is also borrowed from Heritage and Raymond:

(21) Heritage and Raymond (2005, pp. 28-29)

```
01   Ver:  ehr: they readjer comics: 'n everythink yihkn [o:w
02   Jen:                                                [Yeh: w'l
03         I think he's a bri:ght little boy: uh [:m
04   Ver:                                        [I: do=
05   Jen:  =l [ittle Ja]: [:mes,] uh  [Pau:l. yes.]
06   Ver:    [Pau:l,]    [mm- m] mm  [Pau::l,]
07   Jen:  Mm:. [Yes.
08   Ver:       [Yes.
09        (0.3)
10   Ver:  [Yes (                )]
11 →Jen:  [Yeh James's a little] devil ihhh ↑heh heh
12   Ver:  [That-
13   Jen:  [.huh .hh [h He:-
14 →Ver:           [James is a little bugger  [isn'e.
15   Jen:                                     [Yeh-
16   Jen:  Yeah [(into) everythi]ng.
```

In this example, Jenny and Vera are talking about Vera's two grandsons. The initial agreement on a positive evaluation of one of the grandsons between Jenny and Vera (lines 3 & 4) runs into trouble at the beginnings of the lines 5 & 6: Jenny produces one of the grandsons, James, while Vera, a grandmother, produces the other, Paul. Once this trouble arises, Jenny accepts what Vera said in the latter half of the line 5 and gives several agreement tokens in line 7. In line 11, Jenny negatively assesses James. According to Heritage and Raymond, this negative assessment of James seems to be done so as to defeat

the inference that Jenny is merely going along with Vera. To put it in another way, Jenny seems to give confirmation that what she meant in her initial assessment is about Paul, but not James. However, this assessment is problematic in the sense that it is declaratively formulated, which indexes Jenny's superior access to James relative to Vera, who is James's grandmother. Vera's second assessment in line 14 is our focus.

Heritage and Raymond argued that Vera's second assessment, which is formulated in the [statement + tag] format, resists Jenney's claim of superior access to James. By deployment of the interrogative syntax embodied within the format, Vera undermines the "firstness" of Jenny's initial assessment and establishes her assessment as a "new" first pair part. She then invites response from Jenny. Using the tag question, she thus claims her superior rights to assess the matter. Heritage and Raymond (2005) puts it:

> In this case, then, the tag question, by inviting a response, positions Vera's evaluation as a first action to be agreed or disagreed with. In this way, it attenuates its responsiveness to Jenny's initial evaluation, thus asserting Vera's rights in the matter. (p. 29)

Jenny in fact accepts the "terms of agreement" set by Vera and agrees with Vera in the subsequent turn (lines 15 & 16).

The above observations on the use of the tag question illustrate that the speakers deploy a particular grammatical resource in different sequential positions to accomplish discrete practices. The findings made by Heritage and Raymond (2005) thus indicate that the use of a single grammatical resource can be positionally sensitive in the sense that it is deployed to perform discrete practices by reference to particular sequential positions. This leads to another possible and more general inquiry into the relationship between grammar and

position: how and to what degree are grammatical functions, or practices performed by a particular grammatical resource, adapted to, or constrained by, particular sequential positions? The present investigation will contribute to this line of investigation.

3.6 Summary

In this section, I introduced the concept of positionally sensitive grammar (PSG) and presented various ways to explore how grammar works in talk-in-interaction. One of the ways to explore PSG is to look at a range of lexico-grammatical resources utilized in a specific position (i.e., grammars of answers). Another way to explore PSG is to focus on a single grammatical resource designedly deployed in a specific position and the task accomplished by that grammatical resource (i.e., third positioned minimal acknowledgement tokens). Another way to explore PSG is to tease out a package of both grammatical and prosodic elements, which is designedly located in a particular sequential position (i.e., prosodically-charged assessment response). An exploration of PSG can be made by looking at a particular lexico-grammatical resource contingently deployed by reference to the temporally unfolded structure of a turn-in-progress (i.e., postposition-initiated utterances). A further exploration of PSG can be conducted by looking at how a single lexico-grammatical resource is adapted to different sequential positions by interactional demands (i.e., different claims of epistemic rights indexed by an English tag question). These different ways of exploring PSG reflect the diverse ways in which researchers conceive PSG. This shows the tremendous potential for expanding the scope of investigating how grammar is organized by the structure of social interaction, rather than giving an impression of inconsistency from an analytical or a methodological point of view. The present investigation will contribute to

broadening the potential of PSG.

4 Questions in Conversation

Asking questions is one of the most mundane and ordinary things that people do in and through talk-in-interaction taking place in various settings. For the past few decades, questions have been highlighted by many conversation-analytic studies (Enfield, Stivers, & Levinson, 2010; Freed & Ehrlich, 2010; Halonen & Sorjonen, 2008; Hayashi, 2010; Heinenmann, 2006, 2008; Heritage, 2002a, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Heritage & Roth, 1995; Koshik, 2002, 2005; Monzoni, 2008, 2009; Park, 2011; Raymond, 2003, 2010; Robinson & Heritage, 2006; Schegloff, 1984; Steensig & Drew, 2008; Stivers, 2010; Stivers & Rossano, 2010; Takagi, 1999; Weber, 1993). In this section, I will discuss how questions have been recognized and treated by previous conversation-analytic work, which takes a rather different approach to questionhood from a linguistic approach. Among many types of questions, I will then discuss the rhetorical question most relevant to the present study. Finally, I will introduce the so-called reversed polarity question investigated in the subsequent chapters and give a rather extensive review of it.

4.1 The definition of a question

How do we understand a certain utterance as a question? The answer is seemingly quite obvious, but in reality difficult to provide. It seems that a certain utterance can be readily understood as a question by reference to its grammatical form, namely an interrogative syntax,

employed by an interlocutor. However, an interrogative syntax is not necessarily utilized to perform an illocutionary act of questioning. Rather, it is utilized to perform a wide range of illocutionary acts such as requests, offers, and invitations (Goody, 1978; Hyme, 1972; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985). Yet, one may believe that a question can be accomplished mostly by the use of the interrogative syntax. Weber (1993) reported, however, that in her corpus of everyday English conversations, 41% of all the questions are accomplished by the use of declarative clauses or non-clausal forms such as particles, words, or phrases, while 59 % of all the questions are accomplished by the use of the interrogative. Further, it should be noted that unlike languages such as English, some languages such as Italian and Yélî, which do not have any means for morpho-syntactic marking of polar questions (Enfield et al., 2010; Heritage, 2012a), hinge upon other features of a question through which a certain utterance can be recognized as a question.

It can be argued that a question can be evoked by rising intonation. As Bolinger (1957) pointed out, however, a question can also be delivered with falling intonation. In fact, Quirk et al. (1985) reported that while rising intonation is typical for yes/no questions, falling intonation occurs not infrequently. Their data taken from the Survey of English Usage showed that as for English yes/no questions, 430 questions were delivered with rising intonation and 290 with falling intonation.

As illustrated in the above discussions, a question cannot be defined either by grammatical form or by intonation type. Stivers (2010) found that some questions do not rely either upon the interrogative syntax or upon the intonation type.[6] Bolinger (1957) said accordingly: “The difficulty of definition betokens a complex which is not only made up of ingredients, but whose ingredients may vary as to presence or absence or proportionate

6 According to Stivers (2010), which follows Geluykens (1988) and Weber (1993), declarative questions do not hinge upon intonation. Their intonation ranges from strongly rising intonation to slightly rising intonation, and falling intonation.

weight" (p. 1).[7] He went on to say: "Actually no single ingredient is always either sufficient or necessary" (ibid: 2). Looking at ordinary conversation, however, participants can understand a certain utterance as a question without any difficulty or confusion. How can they do that?

4.2 A question as a situated social action: A conversation-analytic perspective

The idea that one may attempt to give a definition to a question by virtue of particular grammatical and/or prosodic signals seems to overlook the very fact that a question is not a linguistic object (Schegloff, 1984; Sidnell, 2010). In fact, Bolinger (1957) said:

> A question appears to be a behavior pattern, and is as real – but as hard to pin down – as other behavior patterns: aggressiveness, deference, anxiety, or embarrassment. No inclusive definition can cover the pattern and at the same time meet the demands of scientific parsimony. (p. 5)

While Bolinger acknowledged that a question cannot be linguistically defined, he ended up by classifying types of questions, as "the only substitute", which can be linguistically defined.

In contrast to linguistic traditions, conversation analysts take a rather different perspective on understanding of a particular utterance as a question. In conversation analysis, a question is viewed as an "interactional object" (Schegloff, 1984), or a social action

[7] "Ingredients" that Bolinger (1957) proposed are (1) interrogative distribution, (2) interrogative syntax, (3) interrogative intonation, and (4) interrogative gesture. Interrogative distribution refers to the fact that a question can be made recognizable by reference to an answer that it usually solicits. Interrogative syntax refers to devices such as inversion (e.g., 'Do you like it?'), interrogative tags (e.g., 'It's all right, isn't it?'). Interrogative intonation refers to terminal rising or terminal high pitch, which signals questions more often than non-questions. Interrogative gesture includes lifting eyebrows, gazing at the hearer, inclining one's head toward the hearer.

performed through a turn at talk. A question, just as any other kind of social action performed through a turn at talk, can be actualized as a contingent achievement on a case-by-case basis in interactional reality. The indefinable characteristic of a question in terms of morpho-syntactic coding or intonation pattern can be reasonably understood by considering this contingent nature of a question as a social action. Thus, rather than defining a question in terms of its grammatical and/or prosodic forms, conversation analysts begin by considering how a certain utterance can be situated as a question in the course of ongoing interaction.

Of particular importance here is the fact that a particular utterance deployed as any kind of social action is placed somewhere in a sequence of utterances (Schegloff, 1984; Sacks & Schegloff, 1973). Schegloff (1984) argued that its sequential positioning, rather than lexico-grammatical and/or prosodic resources utilized by the speaker, is a useful resource to identify the kind of action accomplished by a particular utterance. By the adjacency-pair organization introduced in Chapter 1, questions and answers work as paired actions. A question is normatively deployed as the first pair-part of an adjacency pair and an answer is required next as the second pair-part by the principle of the conditional relevance. Thus, a question can be identified by the relative ordering of a question and an answer.

Another important resource to identify a question performed through a turn at talk can be how the turn is designed to be heard as a question by the recipient (Sidnell, 2010; Heritage, 2010, 2012a; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Previous conversation-analytic studies indicated a range of features of turn design that include grammar (Heritage & Roth, 1995; Sidnell, 2010; Stivers & Rossano, 2010), prosody (Sidnell, 2010; Stivers & Rossano, 2010), epistemic stance (Heritage, 2010, 2012a; Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Heritage & Roth, 1995; Stivers & Rossano, 2010), agenda setting (Heritage, 2010), presupposition (Heritage, 2010), preference (especially for polar questions) (Heritage, 2010), and speaker gaze (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). The features discussed in the studies may not be exhaustive. Further efforts

must thus be required to tease out other features. However, the emphasis should not be placed on developing an exhaustive list of features concerning the production of a question. As noted earlier in this section, a question as a social action is always a contingent outcome which emerges out of a particular interaction between particular parties. The number of features that contribute to the production of a question and the extent to which individual features interact with each other are by themselves contingent on a case-by-case basis in a particular interactional context (See Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

Here I need to point out that turn design should be understood as a useful resource not for the speaker alone, but for both the speaker and the recipient. Turn design is crucial to the participants' mutual orientation toward the intersubjective understanding of what is being said. On the part of the speaker, he or she constructs a particular turn at talk to be interpreted as a question by taking into account the principle of "recipient design" (Sacks et al., 1974). The speaker thus embodies a range of features of the turn, discussed above, by which a particular action is performed, in a way that what is being said can be interpretable for the particular recipient. These features are thus not randomly adopted by the speaker. Rather, these features may possibly be contingently, but selectively, adopted by the speaker in such a way that the recipient can interpret the kind of action performed by the turn. On the part of the recipient, he or she needs to actively interpret the kind of action performed by the immediately prior turn by reference to the range of the features embodied in the turn. Thus, how a particular utterance can be identified as a question hinges upon its recipient's active interpretation of the projected course of action performed by that utterance. Such an interpretation can be made possible by taking into account the range of features of that utterance.

Importantly, however, as Sidnell (2010) pointed out, turn design alone does not suffice to identify a particular turn at talk as a question. Rather, the emphasis should be placed not

only on turn design but also on sequential positioning as mentioned above. These two resources are constituted to enhance the recognizability of a particular utterance as a question. In other words, the use of these two resources is crucial to interpretation, or identification, of a particular utterance as a question.

4.3 Subtypes of questions as social actions

In the above sections, I suggested that a question can be viewed as an interactional object rather than a linguistic object, and that a particular utterance can be interpreted or identified as a question by reference to turn design and sequential positioning. However, what a question means as a social action seems to be quite broad and less clear. Traditionally, a question has been considered as an action that seeks information from the addressee (e.g., Levinson, 1983). This information seeking sense of a question may not suffice to encompass every single case of question (Steensig & Drew, 2008). Cross-linguistic surveys of question-response sequences in everyday conversation edited by Enfield et al. (2010) revealed that questions are utilized not only to seek information but also to do other-initiated repairs ("Huh?" or "What?"), to request confirmation ("So you're coming tomorrow night"), and to make an assessment while eliciting agreement ("Isn't it beautiful out today?") (e.g., Brown, 2010 for Tzeltal; Enfield, 2010 for Laos; Hayashi, 2010 for Japanese; Levinson, 2010 for Yélî; Rossano, 2010 for Italian; Stivers, 2010 for American English; Yoon, 2010 for Korean). In addition to these four major subtypes of questions, these surveys showed that a small number of questions are utilized as offers, requests, suggestions, rhetorical questions, and outlouds.[8][9] The surveys indicate that a question as a social action can be a rather broad

8 According to the coding scheme of the surveys (Stivers & Enfield, 2010, p. 2623), outlouds refer to a type of

category that encompasses a wide range of more locally specific actions or subtypes.

Interestingly, the above surveys also revealed that some of the above subtypes of questions rely more heavily on the use of a particular lexico-morphosyntax. For instance, Stivers (2010) found that in American English, interrogative syntax is more heavily used as a resource for requesting information than any other grammatical form, but not for other subtypes of questions. On the other hand, declarative questions are the most common resource for other initiation of repair.

4.4 Rhetorical questions

The type of question investigated in the present study falls into the category of so-called rhetorical questions. In the literature, the rhetorical question was recognized as a special subtype of question. According to Quirk et al. (1985):

> The rhetorical question is interrogative in structure, but has the force of a strong assertion. It generally does not expect an answer. A positive rhetorical yes-no question is like a strong negative assertion, while a negative question is like a strong positive one. (p. 825)

The rhetorical question, which seeks no answers, is contrasted with the typical question, which seeks unknown information and thereby makes the recipient's response relevant

question "delivered to no one in particular often with lower volume and do not appear to be designed to secure a response (e.g., "Now where are my keys." while looking in a bag)."

9 Some of the findings in the surveys seem to be inconsistent in coding a type of social action. While the coding scheme (Stivers & Enfield, 2010, p. 2621) says that "requests for immediate physical action (e.g., "Will you hand me a pencil?"; "Can you open the door?") were not coded if it was a physical action that was the relevant next response." However, Yoon (2010, p. 2792), for instance, included such requests.

(Angeliki, 1991; Frank, 1990; Goody, 1978; Maynard, 1995, 2002; Schmidt-Radefeldt, 1977). To seek no answers is thus considered to be one of the important characteristics of the rhetorical question. Recent studies, however, have revealed that in actual interaction, the conditional relevance of response following the immediately preceding question can be retained by the use of the interrogative syntax and/or prosody, and that the recipient of the rhetorical question does not provide information but produces a certain kind of response (Koshik, 2002, 2005, 2010; Takagi, 1999). Thus, to seek no "answers" does not necessarily mean to seek no "responses" from the recipient of the rhetorical question.

Another important characteristic generally discussed in the literature, other than the one that the speaker does not expect an answer from the hearer, is that the speaker can claim knowledge and information about what is being said, while the respondent may not be able to claim such knowledge and information (Angeliki, 1991; Freed, 1994; Koshik, 2002, 2005, 2010). Angeliki (1991), for instance, classified what she called "question situations", or the act of questioning, into four types: information questions; rhetorical questions; examination questions; and interrogation questions. Of these four types, like "examination questions" (Angeliki, 1991) which are posed by teachers for students for the purpose of testing the latter's knowledge (e.g., "How many syllables does the word Y contain?"), she viewed rhetorical questions as known-information questions on the basis of the questioners' information status. Freed (1996) also made a similar claim. In her view, rhetorical questions are questions, which contain "*information that the speaker already knows* which is communicated to the hearer in the form of question as part of the speaker's expressive style" (Freed, 1996, p. 631, emphasis original).

Further, Maynard (1995) pointed out that while a typical question (i.e., an information-seeking question) results from a straightforward relationship between the linguistic form and its conveyed meaning, the rhetorical question results from a mismatch

between the linguistic form (e.g., “Is it necessary to shout like that?”) and its conveyed meaning (e.g., “You shouldn’t shout like that.”).

A further important characteristic of the rhetorical question is the type of action conveyed through it. The previous conversation-analytic studies revealed that the rhetorical question recurrently responds to a prior action or talk and becomes a vehicle for doing a disaffiliative action towards that prior action or talk, such as a complaint, accusation or challenge (Clayman, 2010; Clayman & Heirtage 2002; Egbert & Vöge, 2008; Halonen & Sorjonen, 2008; Heinenmann, 2008; Heritage, 2002a; Koshik, 2002, 2005, 2010; Maynard, 1995, 2002; Monzoni, 2008; Steensig & Drew, 2008; Takagi, 1999). However, how can one distinguish rhetorical questions from other kinds of questions? The studies indicated that rhetorical questions can be distinguished from other kinds of questions by specific lexical items (Egbert & Vöge, 2008; Halonen & Sorjonen, 2008; Maynard, 1995), prosody (Maynard, 1995; Stokoe & Edwards, 2008), prefaces and accounts (Stokoe & Edwards, 2008), sequential environment (Egbert & Vöge, 2008; Heinemann, 2008; Koshik, 2002; 2005; 2010; Monzoni, 2008) and epistemic access (Heritage, 2002a; Koshik, 2002, 2005, 2010). Note, however, that the studies agreed that syntactic format alone does not determine whether an unfolding ‘question’ is utilized as a disaffiliative action towards a prior action or talk, that is, as a rhetorical question (Steensig & Drew, 2008).

4.5 Reversed polarity questions (RPQs)

Among rhetorical questions, the present study particularly focuses on what Koshik (2002, 2005, 2010) termed, “**reversed polarity questions**”. According to Koshik, reversed polarity questions (hereafter RPQs) refer to a kind of (rhetorical) question that carries an assertion of

the opposite polarity to that of the grammatical form of the question. In this section, I will give a rather extensive review of Koshik's work on RPQs in English, on which the present study is based.

In her paper, Koshik (2002) initially gave the following example as a typical instance of RPQ in English, which she cited from Heritage (2002a).

(22) Koshik (2002, p. 1855) cited from Heritage (2002a)

```
01   IR:  W'l Mister President in your zea:l(.) for funds during
02 →      the last campaign. hh didn't you put the Vice President
03        (.) an' Maggie and all the others in your (0.4)
04        administration top side. hh in a very vulnerable position,
05        hh
06        (0.5)
07 →IE:   I disagree with that.hh u- How are we vulnerable because...
```

Koshik argued that the negative interrogative deployed by the interviewer in line 2 is not accomplished as a question that requests information from the recipient. Rather, through the negative interrogative, the interviewer claims epistemic access to information about the matter under discussion and thus makes an assertion. In fact, the interviewee does not treat the interviewer as someone who lacks a particular piece of information under discussion. Rather, the interviewee treats the prior turn as an assertion that can be disagreed with. Of particular importance here is the way in which the negative interrogative conveys that assertion. The negative interrogative employed by the interviewer reverses its polarity and conveys an assertion of the polarity opposite to that of the form of the question.

In addition to the above example from a broadcast news interview, Koshik found numerous examples of RPQs in her English corpus of one-on-one second language writing conferences. Example (23) clearly shows that the RPQ conveys a reversed polarity assertion. According to Koshik, the focus of the talk is on the student's paper in which he discusses the leadership of Charles de Gaulle by reference to the concept of "charismatic leadership"

discussed by Zalenznik, whose work the student cited. At the beginning of this segment, the teacher summarizes the student's text which discusses charismatic leadership and accepts what the student has written (lines 1-8). The teacher then attends to the text during the 2.5 second pause, and asks a question which treats the student's inclusion of the concept of consensus leadership in the text as problematic (lines 10-11). Subsequently the student tries to justify why he included that concept in the text (lines 12-13, 15). The interrogative deployed by the teacher in lines 16 and 17 is our focus of attention.

(23) Koshik (2002, p. 1860)

```
01   TC:  Here you're talking about <satisfying the needs>.
02        (1.0)
03        and sympathai- (0.2) sympathizing with the
04        leader's cause:
05        (1.8) ((TC eyegaze on text as if reading))
06        That's what a charismatic leader (2.0)
07        causes in his followers.
08        Rights. Ok(.) so
09        (2.5) ((TC eyegaze on text as if reading))
10        ↑Why do you talk a↑bout consensus leadership
11        here.
12   SD:  Because that was the other thing that (0.2)
13        Zaleznik talked about. (hh)=
14   TC:  =um hum[:
15   SD:         [besides(.) uh charismatic leadership.=
16  →TC:  =are you gonna talk about it? in relation to:
17        de Gaulle?
18   SD:  (this)nuh uh. heh:=
19   TC:  =not right here, right?=
20   SD:  =uh uh.=
21   TC:  yeah.=
```

The interrogative deployed in lines 16 and 17 is a grammatically affirmative question format ("are you…?"), which prefers a *yes* answer in terms of its grammatical design. Koshik (2002, p. 1860) argued that the interrogative constructed by the teacher is an RPQ that conveys a reversed polarity assertion: "You're not gonna talk about it in relation to de Gaulle".

Koshik clearly illustrated how the question deployed by the teacher carries a reversed polarity assertion. According to her observations, the interpretation that the RPQ carries a

reversed polarity assertion can be made possible by taking into accounts two elements. One of these elements is the questioner's state of knowledge. Koshik (2002) argued:

> (P)rior to asking the RPQ it has already been established, either from the immediate linguistic context or from the extra-linguistic context, that the questioner has access to the information which answers the question, and it is in this way that RPQs are heard as epistemic stance displays rather than as information-seeking questions. (p.1869)

In this example, the teacher has already read the paper and prior to the turn in progress, she discussed with the student the focus of the paper, which is on charismatic leadership. He knows the answer to the question that he has just posed: "consensus leadership", to which the pronoun "it" (line 16) in the turn refers back, is irrelevant and thus should not be included in the text.

The other element that should be taken into account by way of understanding the RPQ as a display of a reversed polarity assertion is "the trajectory of action established in the sequence and the RPQ's placement in that trajectory of action" (Koshik 2002, p. 1868). In this example, prior to the production of the RPQ, the targeted portion of the student's text is already brought into the talk and treated as problematic (lines 10 and 11): "Why do you talk about consensus leadership here?". The trajectory having been established through this preceding context, an RPQ is positioned by referring back to that problematic part of the text. In this way, the RPQ carries an assertion of the polarity opposite to that of the question form. Thus, "(b)y conveying a negative assertion about a portion of student text, RPQs can act as veiled criticisms of that text, showing that it is problematic" (Koshik 2002, p. 1860). To put it simply, through the trajectory of action established in the prior context, the RPQ is utilized to make an assertion of the polarity opposite to that of the question form, through which the

producer claims that he or she knows the answer to the question deployed at a particular moment.

The RPQ conveying a reversed polarity assertion strongly projects an answer of the polarity opposite to that of the question form, that is, a *no* answer as preferred. The student's answer (line 18) is actually initiated by *no* without pause or mitigation, which shows that the answer is a preferred response.[10] The teacher then agrees with the student's answer (lines 19 and 21), which "shows that her RPQ was not asking for information, but was seeking confirmation of an implied negative assertion" (Koshik, 2002, p. 1867).

Koshik thus showed how a particular type of yes/no interrogative can be understood as a display of a reversed polarity assertion, by systematically analyzing the speaker's status of knowledge about the matter at hand and the placement of the RPQ within the trajectory of the action established prior to the production of the RPQ. Her work is, however, delimited to RPQs deployed as a particular institutional practice (i.e., teachers' practice for a pedagogical purpose) within a particular sequential context (i.e., problem-solving sequences in writing conferences) in a given language community (i.e., middle-class North American culture) in its own rights. There thus remains much room for further investigations of this particular type of interrogative. The present study will thus further investigate this type of interrogative, but the one observed in Japanese everyday conversation, which is recognizable as a case of RPQ.

[10] A preferred response to the RPQ is a case of "cross-cutting preference" (Schegloff, 2007). Schegloff (2007) puts it:

> Once we appreciate that more than one adjacency pair may be set in progress at the same time by the same turn-constructional unit, we are alerted to the fact that more than one preference structure may be involved – which it is carrying. And these two preference structures may be congruent or cross-cutting. (p. 76)

Here in example (16), the interrogative, deployed as a first pair part, prefers a *yes* answer as a second pair part in terms of its grammatical format. However, in terms of action which the speaker performs, it prefers a "no" answer as a second pair part. So here one preferred response for one aspect of a first pair part is a dispreferred response for the other. In the case of this example, or RPQs in general, the interrogative displays a preference for an answer of the polarity opposite that of the question form in terms of action that it carries.

5 Assessment Sequences

This section gives an overview of existing studies on a sequence of assessments focused on in the present study. The section begins by showing different kinds of environments in which an assessment emerges in an ongoing interaction. It then touches on definitional matters surrounding assessments. Subsequently, it shows how a sequence of assessments is sensitive to the organization of preference. It then takes up an issue of distribution of knowledge between participants about what is being assessed, that is, how the interlocutors' relative socio-epistemic rights to knowledge and information are indexed through actions of assessments. Lastly, I will show how an assessment is accomplished by simultaneous use of multiple semiotic resources, such as talk, prosody, gaze, facial expressions and bodily conduct, which work in concert with each other to produce a meaningful action.

5.1 Assessments and their loci

Assessing things or persons in some fashion is one of the most frequently observable activities in talk-in-interaction. According to Pomerantz (1984), there prove to be three major loci of the occurrences of assessments. One locus is when participants are partaking in an activity. To illustrate it, she gave the following example:

(24) Pomerantz (1984, p. 57)

```
01  J:  Let's feel the water. Oh, it...
02  R:  It's wonderful. It's just right. It's like bathtub water.
```

In this instance, J invites R to join an activity by feeling the temperature of the water at hand.

With an assessment, R in line 2 partakes in the activity.

Another locus can be found within the speaker's report of a past event. As noted by Pomerantz (1984), the speaker does not depict a past event alone, but tends to include the conclusion or point within the depiction of the event. Each of the following examples consists of two parts. In the first part, the speaker produces a report which depicts his or her direct experience of an event. In the second part, the speaker produces an assessment which expresses his or her sense of the experience.

(25) Pomerantz (1984, p. 58)

```
01  J:  (1) I –n then I tasted it (2) it w'z really horrible...
```

(26) Pomerantz (1984, p. 58)

```
01  B:  (1) I just saw Wengreen outside (2) an' she's an she's in bad shape.
```

The third locus is in the subsequent turn to the initial assessment. Pomerantz (1984) noted that proffering a second assessment immediately after the prior speaker's initial assessment is another way in which a participant co-participates in an activity. Here are a couple of instances.

(27) Pomerantz (1984: 59)

```
01   J:  T's- tsuh beautiful day out isn't it?
02 →L:  Yeh it's jus' gorgeous...
```

(28) Pomerantz (1984: 60)

```
  ((J and R are in a rowboat on a lake.))
01  J:  It's really a clear lake, isn't it?
02  R:  It's wonderful.
```

From these loci of the occurrences of assessments, it is reasonable that assessments can be understood as "products of participation" (Pomerantz, 1984: 57).

5.2 Definitions

Though assessments have been much studied from a conversation-analytic framework (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2008; Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009; Goodwin 1986; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992; Haddington, 2006; Hayano, 2011; Lindström & Heinemann, 2009; Lindström & Mondada, 2009; Mondada, 2009a, 2009b; Mori, 1999; Ogden, 2006; Pomerantz, 1984; Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä, 2009; Stivers & Rosano, 2010; Sugiura, 2011), a range of terms related to assessments seem not always consistently used in prior studies. While I acknowledge that strictly defining these terms a priori is far from ideal, using these terms without any norm may cause misunderstanding and confusion. Therefore, I will provide some necessary definitions of the terms specifically used for the present study. Most of the definitions provided here are based on Goodwin (1986) and Goodwin and Goodwin (1987, 1992). First, an ***assessment*** in the present study refers to one in the sense of Goodwin (1986). That is, an assessment is broadly defined as "an analysis of the particulars of what is being talked about" (Goodwin, 1986, p. 210). It means that even an action, which is actualized without a clear lexical content (e.g., 'Oh wow' and 'Ah:::'), also counts as an assessment when it displays such an analysis with an appropriate intonation contour and/or with one or more non-verbal elements. Then, a referent (i.e., a thing or a person) being assessed, as in the particular lake attended to by both participants in example (28), can be referred to as an ***assessable***. An assessable is evaluated by the expression of a particular term, such as assessment adjectives "clear" and "wonderful" as found in example (28). Such a term, which can be the most crucial element, or speech signal, of the action of assessment, can be referred to as an ***assessment term***, or ***evaluative descriptor***. Further, considering the case where the order of assessments needs to be specified, an initial assessment, as in the one proffered by A in example (28), is defined as a ***first assessment*** and its position as a ***first assessment***

position. The subsequent assessment in response to the initial assessment, as in the one proffered by B in example (28), is defined as a ***second assessment*** and its position as a ***second assessment position***. In this definition, a second assessment includes an assessment whose referent is the same as a prior assessment but shifted its focus. Pomerantz (1984) provided the following instance as an exceptional case:

(29) Pomerantz (1984, p. 98)

```
01  A:  They look nice together.
02  B:  Yes they're lovely.
```

Pomerantz explained that the initial assessment proffered by A is made on "how they look together". On the other hand, the second assessment exhibits a slight referent shift. B's assessment is made on their appearance. While Pomerantz offered the above instance as an exceptional case, my database include many such cases in which second assessments involve (sometimes clear) referent shifts. In the present study, I regard these cases as instances of assessments on condition that a subsequent assessment is oriented to the same object or person as in a prior assessment.

5.3 Preference

Pomerantz (1984) dealt with how second assessments can be shaped in response to the initial assessment by virtue of the organization of preference. As already seen in Chapter 1, preference refers not to personal desires or psychological motives of the speaker, but to structural features of a particular turn at talk that is designed to perform a particular activity. Initial assessments are generally followed by alternative types of assessments, namely agreements and disagreements. These alternative types of assessments are produced in

different turn shapes by the organization of preference. Agreements as preferred seconds are generally immediate and unmitigated, minimizing the gap between the prior turn's completion and the agreement turn's initiation. As in example (30), which repeats example (27), an agreement as a preferred second is performed straightforward without delay.

(30) Pomerantz (1984, p. 59)

```
01   J:  T's- tsuh beautiful day out isn't it?
02 →L:  Yeh it's jus' gorgeous...
```

In passing, let me point out that L's agreement with J's initial assessment of the weather is accomplished as an upgraded agreement (Lindström & Mondada, 2009; Ogden, 2006; Pomerantz, 1984).[11] Here L employs a stronger evaluative term (i.e., gorgeous) than J does (i.e., beautiful), thereby showing a strong agreement with J's initial assessment.

Disagreements as dispreferred seconds, on the other hand, are generally delayed, mitigated, and/or accounted for. In contrast, a disagreement turn as a dispreferred second is delayed and mitigated as in example (31).

(31) Pomerantz (1984, p. 70)

```
01   A:  God izn it dreary.
02 →    (0.6)
03   A:  [Y' know I don't think-
04 →B:  [.hh It's warm though,
```

11 Pomerantz (1984) demonstrated two common techniques to upgrade a prior speaker's initial evaluative statement. One such technique as in example (30) is as follows: an agreeing speaker incorporates a stronger evaluative term than the prior speaker into the agreeing turn. Another technique is that an agreeing speaker uses an intensifier to modify an evaluative term produced by the prior speaker, as shown in the following instance:

Pomerantz (1984, p. 65)

```
01   M: You must admit it was fun the night we we[nt down
02 →J:                                            [It was great fun…
```

Here J intensifies the initial statement produced by M through the the use of the intensifier, *great*, that modifies a same evaluative term, *fun*, that M just employed.

Note, however, that agreements are not always preferred seconds. Neither are disagreements always dispreferred seconds. As Pomerantz (1984) demonstrated, when initial assessments are self-deprecations, agreements are dispreferred seconds and disagreements preferred seconds. In such a case, too, second assessment turns are shaped in accordance with the organization of preference, as in examples (32) for agreement dispreferred and (33) for disagreement preferred.

(32) Pomerantz (1984, pp. 90-91)

```
01   W:  ...Do you know what I was all that time?
02   L:  (No).
03   W:  Pavlov's dog.
04 →      (2.0)
05 →L:   (I suppose),
```

(33) Pomerantz (1984, p. 84)

```
01   R:  Did she get my card.
02   C:  Yeah she gotcher card.
03   R:  Did she t'ink it was terrible.
04 →C:   No she thought it was very adorable.
```

In example (32), in response to W's self-deprecation, L's weak agreement in line 5 is substantially delayed by an indication of a gap in line 4. In example (33), on the other hand, C's disagreement with R's self-deprecation is performed straightforwardly without delay.

5.4 Epistemics

A growing number of studies have dealt with ***epistemics***, that is, how the speaker claim his or her territory of knowledge about a particular state of affairs relative to the co-participant(s) (e.g., Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992; Hayano, 2011; Heritage, 2002b, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Morita, 2002, 2005; Pomerantz, 1984; Raymond &

Heritage, 2006; Stivers, 2005; Stivers et al., 2011). According to these studies, participants utilize various practices of speaking to index their relative access and rights about knowledge and information about a particular state of affairs. Their relative claims of knowledge and information may range from nearly absolute inequality to nearly absolute equality (Heritage, 2013). In some situation, speaker X has almost absolute knowledge about a state of affairs that will be expressed, while speaker Y has almost none. In another situation, speakers X and Y may have equal access and information about a state of affair that will be expressed. In such situations, participants monitor their relative epistemic positions and thereby employ different speaking practices to claim their relative epistemic access and rights about a state of affairs being said.

In connection to assessments, many researchers identified various practices of speaking through which the speaker indexes his or her relative epistemic position. Heritage (2002b) demonstrated that an *oh*-prefaced second assessment claims the (dis)agreeing speaker's epistemic independence about knowledge and experience through the use of the change-of-state token (i.e., *oh*). Heritage and Raymond (2005, 2006) revealed that English speakers utilize different lexico-grammatical resources to index their differential epistemic rights to assess the matter at hand. Stivers (2005) showed that in English conversation two types of modified repeats - partial and full repeats - which occur in different sequential contexts are both deployed to index the speaker's primary rights to make the statements relative to the prior speaker. Morita (2002, 2005) found that Japanese speakers claim different levels of access to the matter at hand by the use of different final particles embodied within their assessments. Hayano (2011) also made a similar finding. She argued that the speaker's assessment marked by final particle *yo* indexes his or her primary access to what is being assessed, while the speaker's assessment marked by final particle *ne* makes a weaker claim of access to what is being assessed relative to the recipient. These studies showed that the use of

particular lexico-grammatical resources for producing an assessment is interwoven with claiming the speaker's relative knowledge or information of a state of affairs relative to his or her co-participant. The present study will thus highlights the aspect of distributions of participants' knowledge and information in order to properly capture the characteristics of actions and practices, deployed by the grammatical resource which will be investigated in the later chapters of the thesis.

The claim of knowledge about a particular evaluative state of affairs is made not only by a particular lexico-grammatical resource deployed by the speaker, but also by a sequential position within an assessment sequence. Heritage and Raymond (2005) argued that offering a first assessment invokes an implied claim that the speaker has primary rights to assess the matter at hand relative to the recipient. Their argument is supported by the distributional facts that in several hundred ordinary English conversations, first assessments are rarely upgraded and are in fact quite commonly downgraded; conversely, second assessments are rarely downgraded and are quite commonly upgraded. This can be understood as a consequence of participants' "recurrent social need to compensate for the primary claims of first position and the secondary claims of second position" (Raymond & Heritage, 2006, p. 685).[12]

In epistemics in relation to assessments, it is important to note how participants access a particular evaluative state of affairs and on what basis they claim their knowledge about that state of affairs relative to each other. Participants' access to knowledge can be based on their first-hand, immediate experience, or on their second-hand, mediated experience (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987; Heritage, 2012a, 2013; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). It should be noted, however, that access to knowledge is not a simple matter; even

12 In the present thesis, I do not presuppose that the same can be said of ordinary Japanese conversations. That is, that is, producing the first assessment implies that the speaker has epistemic primacy about a matter being assessed. In an assessment sequence, unlike in a question-answer sequence, it does not matter who goes first or second. That is, when people evaluate things, anybody can go first or second. Apart from the distributional facts raised by Heritage and Raymond, there might not be much evidence to prove that a first assessment carries an implied claim of epistemic primacy.

participants' equal physical access to a certain object or person does not gurantee their epistemic equality (Heritage, 2012a, 2013; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). Additional factors such as the recency of information, privacy, identity, and/ or expertise may be simultaneously taken into account (ibid). Therefore, access to knowledge should be understood in both physical and social terms. Of particular importance is the distinction between epistemic access and epistemic authority. In the present study, epistemic access can be understood as a broader term of accessing a referent state of affairs in physical and social terms; moreover, epistemic authority can be understood as a type of epistemic access, which refers to a participant's superior epistemic access to a referent state of affairs by reference to his or her personal information, identity, and/or expertise.[13] This important disctintion between epistemic access and epistemic authority is crucial in understanding how the negative interrogative invesatigated in the present study is located in a particular interactional context and how the speaker claims a particular epistemic position using that negative interrogative. This topic will be discussed in the main chapters.

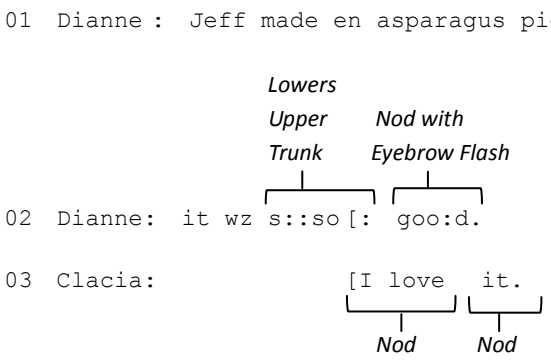
5.5 Assessments as multimodal accomplishments

Goodwin and Goodwin (1987, 1992) showed that assessments are accomplished through simultaneous deployment of multiple semiotic resources such as talk, prosody, gaze, facial expressions, bodily conduct, and sequence organization, which work in concert with each other to form a meaningful action. They revealed how the producer of an assessment incorporates these multiple resources into an integral whole within an emerging course of action, in response to a particular recipient. Following the Goodwins, more and more

[13] See footnote 2 in Raymond and Heritage (2006) for discussion of social sources of epistemic authority.

researchers have undertaken the multimodal analysis of assessments (Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009; Goodwin, 1980, 2007; Haddington, 2006; Lindström & Heinemann, 2009; Lindström & Mondada, 2009; Mondada, 2009a, 2009b; Ogden, 2006; Ruusuvuori & Peräkylä, 2009; Stivers & Rosano, 2010; Sugiura, 2011). Here is a classic instance from Goodwin and Goodwin (1987), which shows how participants utilize multiple resources to concurrently heighten their involvement in an assessment activity as their utterances unfold:

(34) Goodwin and Goodwin (1987, p. 32)



Dianna in line 2 produces an initial assessment. In the emerging course of the production of the assessment, she gradually intensifies the degree of involvement. It is actualized not only by the use of a vocal element such as an intensifier *so* in the middle of the TCU. Rather, it is actualized by the use of a number of both vocal and non-vocal elements. As clear from the transcripts, during the production of the initial assessments, Diane performs a number of non-vocal actions. First, she lowers her upper body as she produces an intensifier. She then delivers an eyebrow flash with a nod as she produces an assessment term *good*. These non-vocal actions are not separate actions. Rather, they are incorporated into a single assessment activity together with the way in which the utterance is articulated (i.e., both an intensifier and an assessment term are noticeably lengthened in sounds). In this way, Dianne enhances her involvement in the assessment activity. Likewise, Clacia, who is the recipient of the initial assessment proffered by Dianne, is not just a passive hearer. Rather, as an active

co-participant, she collaboratively engages in the assessment activity and displays a strong form of agreement with Dianna's initial assessment. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) explained that this can be understood from the following considerations. First, the content of the talk is compatible with Dianne's initial assessment. Second, Clacia's agreement is done with her nods, along with her vocal conduct. Third, her agreement is produced not after Dianne's turn, but at the very moment when Dianne's turn is being constructed. In this way, Clacia demonstrates that her view is quite attuned with Dianne's. Thus, just as Dianne does, Clacia displays her heightened involvement in the assessment activity by the simultaneous use of the multiple semiotic resources which work in concert with each other to make her own action-in progress visible. This example indicates that in order to properly capture the type of action (not limited to an assessment) performed by an interlocutor, it should be necessary to take into account a range of different semiotic resources, progressively and simultaneously utilized as a whole package by the interlocutor.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I first outlined the concept of positionally sensitive grammar proposed by Schegloff (1996) as a framework of the present study and extensively reviewed existing studies on it. Subsequently I gave an overview of the previous studies on questions in conversation and introduced the type of question investigated in the subsequent chapters, that is, reversed polarity question. I then reviewed prior conversation-analytic works on assessment sequences, which are a type of action sequence, focused on in the present investigation, particularly in terms of the organization of preference, epistemic issues, and multimodalities. On the basis of the literature reviewed in this chapter, the remainder of the

thesis will try to characterize actions and practices deployed by a particular type of yes/no question, which can be adapted to, or constrained by, different sequential positions.

Chapter 3

Preliminaries

1 Introduction

This chapter is preliminary to the main investigation that will develop in the subsequent chapters. Section 2 will provide information about the data used in the present study, in addition to ethical issues regarding data collection and procedures followed to maintain the privacy of participants who voluntarily participated in the study and gave their consent to record their conversations. Section 3 will introduce some aspects of the structure of the Japanese language. Section 4 will provide an overview of several important findings reported by prior studies on Japanese conversational grammar. Sections 3 and 4 are designed especially for those readers who may not be familiar with the Japanese language, which is the target language of the present investigation. These sections will provide some necessary background which will enable the readers to better understand the subsequent analyses that will develop in the rest of the thesis.

2 The Data

This section will introduce the data employed for the present analysis and present the distributional facts of the target Reversed Polarity Question (RPQ) found in the data. Subsequently, this section will discuss ethical matters with respect to data collection, and

present procedures followed when I approached and invited participants to voluntarily participate in this research project.

2.1 Data descriptions

The data examined in this study consists of 12 video-recorded everyday face-to-face conversations. These conversations are drawn from talk between two, three or four parties. The participants of conversations are all native speakers of the Tokyo dialect, who are friends.[14] The ages of the participants range from twenty years old to early thirties. The total length of the conversations is approximately 10 hours. The descriptions of the conversations are given in Table 3.1.

[14] All the names found in the conversations, both of participants and of people they discuss, have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

Transcript Title	Length	Description
New Apartment	38’22	Two women, T and M, talk, mainly about apartments for rent while looking at different flyers.
O-S	79’51	Talk between two female friends, S and O, centers around S’s recent trip to Malta.
MU1	36’07	Three male graduate students talk together. The topic varies.
MU2	34’07	Two female and one male university classmates talk, primarily about their job interview processes.
MU3	28’47	Three female and one male undergraduates talk about various topics.
MUGS1	19’46	Talk between two female university classmates is on flyers about foreign trips.
MUGS2	20’22	Two female friends talk about different topics surrounding their daily life.
MUGS5	21’23	Two female friends talk about their university life.
MUGS6	18’42	Two female undergraduates talk about their romantic life.
TU1	47’36	Two graduates, one female and one male, talk about various topics.
TU2	47’32	Talk between two female graduate students, A and B, is primarily about A’s recent trip.
TU3	49’42	One female and one male friend mainly talk about their experiences about foreign countries.

Table 3.1 Database

For the purpose of the present research, only relevant portions of the recorded conversations were transcribed according to the CA conventions: that is, each conversation was heard manually, and then identified and transcribed as fragments of talk, including the target type of

RPQ.

For the transcripts presented in this study, I followed a common practice of a three-line transcription to present transcripts of talk in languages other than English to English-speaking audiences. An original Japanese utterance is provided in the first line, followed by word-by-word glosses in the second line. The third line shows an English translation, in which the reader may find some disfluency or awkwardness since the vernacular translation may reflect the temporal progress of emerging talk. In addition to the transcripts, certain figures which show participants' embodied actions are given in order to capture the use of a range of non-verbal resources (which are often accompanied by verbal resources) deployed by participants at a particular moment.

2.2 Data distributions

The database consists of 71 instances of the target type of RPQ. Of these instances, 61 instances are cases in which RPQs are used as assessments.[15] Of these RPQs, 47 instances are identified as first assessment RPQs while 12 other instances as cases of second assessment RPQs: the remaining two instances are not clear cases of first or second assessment RPQs.[16] This distribution shows that RPQs are predominantly used to make assessments and that the first assessment position is the most prevalent site for participants to deploy the RPQ to evaluate states of affairs. The subsequent chapters present and analyse clear and representational cases of first and second assessment RPQs found in the data to best

[15] Ten other instances are used as resources for other actions such as a challenge to a prior speaker's confirmation question and a challenge to a prior speaker's request for a reason (Sugiura, 2012).

[16] One instance appears as an evaluative response to a prior speaker's quoted speech that contains a third party assessment of an object. The other instance that occurs in a four parties' conversation is unclear whether it is used for the current RPQ speaker to express an agreement with a prior speaker's assessment or it is used for the current RPQ speaker to invite other speakers than a prior speaker to agree with her view of a particular state of affairs.

illustrate positionally sensitive characteristics of RPQs.

2.3 Ethical issues and procedures

Ethical treatment of the audio- and video- recording of conversations is an increasingly important issue for CA researchers (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2011; ten Have, 2007). CA researchers need to attain formal consent from potential participants before undertaking audio- and video-recording. In what follows, I will describe the ethical procedures followed during conversational data collection for the purpose of the present research, and explain the measures taken to protect the participants' privacy.

This study followed *Guiding Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants at the University of Auckland 2007*.[17] These guidelines define the principles that govern research involving human participation, including matters of privacy, informed consent, social and cultural sensitivity, and the responsibilities of each researcher to protect human research participants. According to these guidelines, any research involving human participation must receive approval from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC). Thus, to obtain this approval, I submitted for review the research project application form to UAHPEC. The application form requested information of potential participants, the methodology of approaching these participants, the research procedure, the methodology to obtain fully informed consent from participants, and the methodology of data storage and usage. Based on the application form, I prepared the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and the Consent Form (CF), which were submitted to

[17] The current version of Guiding Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants at the University of Auckland can be accessed at: http://www.auckland.ac.nz/webdav/site/central/shared/documents/2011/Guiding%20Principles%20for%20Research%2024%20Feb%2010-%20Bookmark.pdf.

UAHPEC along with the application. The PIS presented details to potential participants on their participation during the recording of their conversations, the duration of these recordings, the storage and usage of these recorded materials and transcripts, and the possible assessments of these transcripts by other researchers. The CF confirmed the information in the PIS and stated that participation in the recording of conversation is voluntary, and asked potential participants to sign an agreement. The PIS and CF were originally prepared and written in English (See appendices 3 and 4). However, because these participants are native Japanese speakers, the PIS and CF were translated into Japanese to avoid any misunderstanding related to the forms.[18]

After obtaining the approval from UAHPEC, I approached my friends via phone or email, requesting their participation as well as that of their friends in this research project. On agreeing to participate via phone or email, I contacted each potential participant in person or by email to confirm their agreement before participating in the project and provided each of them with a PIS and a CF written in Japanese. After receiving signed CFs from the potential participants, the conversations were recorded at location where the participants felt most comfortable.

On completion of the recordings, as shown in Section 2.1, relevant portions of recorded data were transcribed according to CA conventions. These transcriptions were done on my personal computer. The audio- and video-files and the transcript files were stored on memory disks, which were stored in a locked cabinet. Copies of these files stored on my personal computer were password-protected. As indicated in the PIS and CF, other researchers were allowed to use these transcripts and sound files only on their password-protected computers.

Regarding the treatment of the data in this thesis, the anonymity of all the participants' names was preserved thereby facilitating participants' privacy. Participants' names used

[18] The project title shown in the PIS and CF does not conform to the title of the present thesis. It is because the focus of this thesis has been narrowed down, thereby resulting in an altered title.

throughout the thesis are pseudo names.

3 Structure of Japanese

Sections 3 and 4 are intended to provide some necessary background for the main investigation that will develop in the rest of the thesis, for those readers who may not be familiar with the Japanese language. In this section, I will introduce some aspects of the structure of Japanese language generally recognized in the literature.

3.1 Word order

Japanese is known as an SOV language where S stands for subject, O for object, and V for verb (Kuno, 1973; Shibatani, 1990). Example (35) is a typical transitive sentence which is assumed to reflect canonical word order in Japanese.

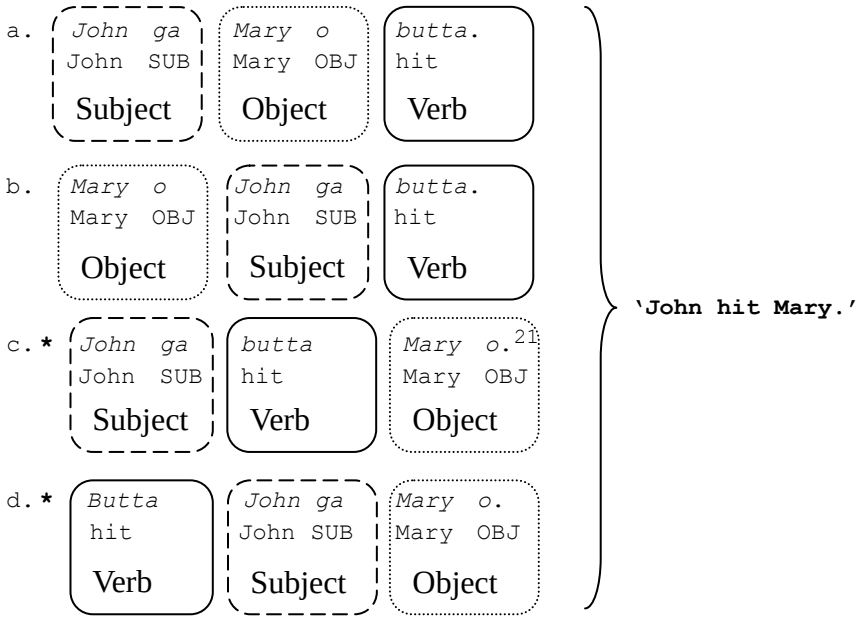
(35) Kuno (1973, p. 3) with slight modifications of the glosses

'John hit Mary.'

In the literature, it was reported that the requirement that verbs should appear in sentence-final position is quite rigid in Japanese, while it is not in other SOV languages such

as Turkish and Hindi.[19][20] Aside from the strict verb-finality, it has been recognized that other elements such as subject and object can be scrambled, as in example (36)a-d.

(36) Kuno (1973, pp. 3-4)



Example (36) shows that a and b, which meet the verb final requirement, are grammatical, while c and d, which do not meet the verb final requirement, are ungrammatical.

3.2 Postpositional particles

Another important characteristic of the Japanese language is that Japanese is a postpositional language. As indicated in previous examples, all grammatical and functional relations are expressed by postpositional particles. As in example (36), case relations such as subject and object are represented by particles that follow nouns. Likewise, grammatical relations

19 As in Japanese, the verb-final requirement is rigid in some other SOV languages such as Korean, Mongolian, Burmese and Tamil (Kuno, 1973).

20 It should be noted that in Japanese adjectival predicates and nominal predicates also appear in sentence-final position.

21 An asterisk that precedes the sentence indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical.

between constituents that are expressed in English by prepositions, subordinating conjunctions, and coordinating conjunctions, are expressed by postpositional particles. Importantly, postpositional particles also follow verbs to express a range of the speaker's attitudes or stances (Iwasaki, 2002; Kamio, 1990, 1997; Shibatani, 1990). These particles are called sentence-final particles. Of particular relevance to the present study are those particles which display the speaker's epistemic stance towards what is being said. Let us see the following constructed examples:

(37)

01 A: *tookyoo wa ii tenki desu* ***yo*** .
Tokyo TOP good weather BE **FP**
'As for Tokyo, it has a good weather.'

02 B: *a soo desu ka*.
oh so BE QP
'Oh I see.'

(38)

01 A: *kyoo wa ii tenki desu* ***ne*** ?
today TOP good weather BE **FP**
'As for today, it is fine, isn't it?'

02 B: *soo desu ne*.
so BE FP
'It is, isn't it?'

In example (37), the sentence-final particle *yo* which is added after the copula displays the speaker's primary access to what is being said, while in example (38), the sentence-final particle *ne*, which functions similarly to an English tag question, displays the speaker's and hearer's equivalent access to what is being said (Hayano, 2011)[22].

22 Comparatively, Morita (2002) argued that the use of *ne* indexes the speaker's subordination in terms of knowledge and information of a matter at hand.

3.3 Yes/no questions

In his recent study, Hayashi (2010) identified three types of yes/no questions in conversational Japanese, namely, “the interrogative type”, “the declarative type”, and “the tag-question type”. The interrogative type refers to a type of question formulated by the use of a sentence-final question particle such as *ka* or *no*, without the syntactic inversion which can be observed in languages such as English (Kuno, 1973; Shibatani, 1990). As can be clearly seen from invented examples (39) a-b, the only difference between the declarative sentence and the interrogative sentence in terms of form is whether or not the sentence is accompanied by the question particle at the end of the sentence.

(39) Kuno (1973, p. 13)

a. *kore wa hon desu*.
   this TOP book BE
   ‘This is a book.’

b. *kore wa hon desu* ***ka*** ?
   this TOP book BE QP
   ‘Is this a book?’

The declarative type refers to a type of question delivered in the form of declaratively formatted utterance, without the use of the question particle. According to Hayashi, it can be distinguished from its declarative counterpart by the use of rising intonation and/or by formulation as a “B-event statement” (Labov & Fanshell, 1977), by which the speaker expresses a matter which falls into the recipient’s domain of knowledge. Example (40) is a case in which a declaratively formatted utterance is understood as a question.

(40) MUGS2

((B is planning to go on a trip with her boyfriend. A is confirming whether B will stay over with him for that trip.))

```
01   A:  tomari          desho:?
         stay.over.night BE
         '((You are going to)) stay over night, right?'

02   B:  nn.
         year
         'Yeah.'

03 →A:   oya     daijo:bu?
         parents ok
         'Is ((it)) ok for your parents?'

04   B:  yutt- heiki       jan?
         sai-  unconcerned TAG
         '((I)) sai- ((They're)) unconcerned, aren't they?'
```

The question produced by A in line 3 is understood as a question by virtue of rising intonation. It is also formulated as a B-statement. What A is asking is how B's parents may react to her plan to stay over with her boyfriend for the trip. It is reasonable to assume that A does not know B's parents' thoughts about the matter but B does. Thus, by asking a question, A claims that what is being asked about is within B's territory of knowledge and information. In other words, A treats the matter at hand as one to which B has primary access.

The tag-question type refers to a type of question which ends with various tag-like sentence-final expressions, which are utilized to elicit the addressee's agreement or request confirmation of some part of the preceding talk. According to Hayashi (2010), such expressions include the "grammaticalized negative expression" (Iwasaki, 2002) *janai* and its variants, the modal auxiliary *deshoo* and the combination of sentence-final particles *yo* and *ne*.

4 Conversational Grammar of Japanese

The present study has been inspired by many important findings uncovered by previous studies on Japanese conversational grammar. These findings were made possible by the collaboration of discourse functional linguists and conversation analysts. In this section, I will briefly overview several of these findings, thereby providing some necessary background of the nature about Japanese conversational grammar for the subsequent analyses. Also through the discussions of these findings, I will demonstrate that conversational grammar can be found to be worthy of further investigation in its own right.

4.1 "Sentence" in conversation

The notion of a sentence as an abstract linguistic construct is undoubtedly accepted in the linguistic literature. However, discourse functional linguists, Iwasaki and Ono (2001), challenged the traditional understanding of a sentence, which may only apply to written languages. Their close observation of conversational data unveiled an extensive clause-combining system in the Japanese language, where many clauses are chained particularly with non-finite *-te* (*-de*) and *-tara* (*-dara*) forms and/or other conjunctive particles. One of the excerpts which they provided extends to 12 clauses combined with these elements. A "sentence" of such length frequently occurs, thereby constituting the core of Japanese spoken discourse. Iwasaki and Ono argued that this extensive clause-combining system allows a sentence to be left open for further extension until it is finally brought to an end with a finite predicate. The traditional understanding of a "sentence" does not capture this aspect of spoken language properly. Of particular importance here is the way in which such a

clause-combining system contributes uniquely to sentence production. Iwasaki and Ono (2001) stated that this system is managed by what they term "online mechanisms," which are systematically organized by conversational interaction. Consider the following example:

(41) Iwasaki and Ono (2001, p. 182) with slight modifications of the glosses[23]

```
01  A:  ano naze ka tte yuuto
        uhm why  QP QT  say.if
        'uh if (I may) say the reason'

02      anoo katagawa  no  ruumumeeto ga  anoo detei-
        uhm  one.side  GEN roommate   SUB uhm  went.out
        'uh the roommate on the other side, uh, had gone ou-'

03      muubuautoshita node
        moved.out       so
        'had moved out, so'

04 →    katagawa no  anoo ookina ne hondana  ga  aru  deshoo
        one.side GEN uhm  big    FP bookcase SUB exist TAG
        'uh there is a big bookcase on the other side, right?'

05 →    ano  [tsukue  no  ue  ni  ookii hondana] ga  arimasu  ne
        uhm   desk   GEN top on big   bookcase SUB exist   FP
        'Uh there is a big bookcase above the desk, right?'

06  T:      [haa e   arimasu]
              oh  yes exist
        'Oh, yes, (there) is.'

07  A:  are  ni  hon  ga   haittenakatta  monde
        that in  book SUB was.in.NEG   so
        '(there) were no books in that so'

08      are  ga   gataan to taoreta  n desu  yo
        that SUB  bang   QT  fell    N BE    FP
        'that fell (down with a) bang'
```

In Example (41), A and T, both of whom are in the same dormitory and familiar with its layout, are talking about their experience of the Northridge Earthquake in California. This

[23] Iwasaki and Ono (2001) adopt the transcription conventions developed by Du Bois, Cumming, Schuetze-Coburn, and Paolino (1992). Therefore, their conventions are substantially different from the conventions adopted in my study, which are developed by conversation analysts. The most notable difference between their system and mine is that their transcription is based on the intonation unit (IU) defined as "a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour" (Du Bois et al. 1992, p. 17), while mine does not reflect such a unit. This does not mean that I neglect prosodic features in conversation. Rather, CA-based conventions, as seen in the Appendix, actually exhibit detailed observations of prosodic aspects of conversation such as intonation, pitch, and tempo, like the intonation-based conventions of Du Bois et al.

example exhibits an intricate sentential structure which consists of 7 clauses. According to Iwasaki and Ono (2001), the emergence of this structure is characterized by the clause combining system, which is realized by conditional particles *to, node,* and *monde* in lines 1, 3 and 7. It is also characterized by modifying *detei-* (‘went out’) into *muubuaut* (‘move out’) in the middle of the unfolding utterance (lines 2-3). This is what they called “reformulation,” which is equivalent to “repair” in conversation analysis, which “cover(s) a wide range of phenomena, from seeing errors in turn-taking such as those involved in much overlapping talk, to any of the forms of what we commonly would call ‘correction’ – that is, substantive faults in the contents of what someone has said” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 57). The emergent structure of the sentence is further characterized by a phenomenon observed in lines 4-5. Here the speaker, A, interposes side comments within his/her own emerging sentence in lines 4 and 5, in order to ascertain whether T is familiar with the bookcase and its location. A then continues to produce additional elements of the emerging sentence, which is finally closed off in line 8. Because of this interpolation, the whole sentential structure produced by A is then far from a ‘well-formed sentence’ and may even be considered to be a case of ‘performance error’ by some linguists, who are preoccupied with the conception of sentence as generated by an “ideal speaker”. However, Iwasaki and Ono (2001) argued that only with the interpolated elements in lines 4 and 5, does the whole sentence become intelligible, in that *are* ‘that’ in line 7 actually indexes *hondana* (‘the bookcase’) within the interpolated clauses in lines 4 and 5, and thus make the whole course of sentential production coherent. This suggests that in spoken discourse the coherence of the sentential structure may rely heavily on the on-line mechanisms discussed by Iwasaki and Ono (ibid), which must be captured to reach a better understanding of sentence formation in Japanese.

4.2 Fragmented nature of Japanese conversation

Another important finding made by the studies on Japanese conversational grammar is that in addition to the extensive clause-combining system discussed above, non-clausal elements are also chained one after another in Japanese spoken discourse. This means that a syntactic clause does not constitute a basic unit in Japanese conversation, but rather it is frequently broken into a number of smaller units marked by pauses or separate intonation contours. In contrast, a syntactic clause is a prototypical unit in spoken English (Iwasaki, 1993; Iwasaki & Tao, 1993; Maynard, 1989). Example (42), drawn from Iwasaki and Tao (1993), illustrates this.

(42) Iwasaki and Tao (1993, p. 6)[24]

01	*yamato-san ga* ***nee***,	NON-CLAUSAL (NP)
	Yamato.san SUB FP	
	'Mr. Yamato, you know,'	
02	*kekkyoku* ***nee***,	NON-CLAUSAL (other)
	in.short FP	
	'in short, you know,'	
03	*wareware o* ***nee***,	NON-CLAUSAL (NP)
	we OBJ FP	
	'us, you know,'	
04	*sohuto no* ***nee***,	NON-CLAUSAL (other)
	software GEN FP	
	'software, you know,'	
05	*shigoto nitaisuru*.	NON-CLAUSAL (other)
	job towards	
	'to the job,'	
06	*hyooka ga ano hito* ***nee***,	NON-CLAUSAL (other)
	evaluation SUB that person FP	
	'evaluation, he, you know,'	
07	*shitenai*.	CLAUSAL
	do.NEG	
	'doesn't do'	

[24] Iwasaki and Tao (1993) also follow the transcriptions conventions proposed by Du Bois et al. (1992). See footnote 2 for discussion.

08 *hyooka* *o*. NON-CLAUSAL (NP)
evaluation OBJ
'(high) evaluation'

09 *zettai*. NON-CLAUSAL (other)
never
'never'

'Mr. Yamato never evaluates our software job.'

Example (42) blatantly exhibits the fragmented feature of spoken Japanese discourse. In this example, each line is separated into an individual Intonation Unit (IU), which is roughly defined as "a stretch of speech uttered under a single intonation contour" (Du Bois et al. 1992, p. 17). Of the total 9 IUs which constitute the coherent sentence, there is only one clausal IU (line 7), which is not even a full clause, but more properly understood as a semi-clause due to subject ellipsis. NP IUs can be frequently observed not only in this example but also in spoken Japanese discourse in general. It should be noted that most IUs in this example are delivered with the final particle, *ne* 'you know', which is utilized to elicit the hearer's participation (in lines 1,2,3,4 and 6) (Iwasaki & Tao, 1993, p. 7). The frequent use of non-clausal IUs suggests that phrasal incrementation is a source of flexibility in the progressive expansion of utterances in spoken Japanese discourse, in the same manner that clause-combining is a source of extendablility for the continuation of the emerging sentence production.

4.3 Word order flexibility, ellipsis, and preference structure

As previously noted, Japanese is regarded as a strictly predicate-final language (Kuno, 1973; Martin, 1975; Shibatani, 1990). Both discourse functional linguists and conversation analysts, however, have shown that in Japanese conversation many elements are actually added after

the predicate for interactional purposes and that the Japanese word order is thus flexible (Fox, Hayashi & Jasperson, 1996; Hayashi, 2003; Iwasaki & Ono, 2001; Mori, 1999; Ono & Suzuki, 1992; Ono, 2006 a, 2006b; Tanaka, 1999, 2005).

Along with word order flexibility, the ubiquity of ellipsis is also an important aspect of Japanese conversational grammar.[25] Unlike English, Japanese allows the core arguments such as subject and object, and even the verb to be unexpressed (Fox et al., 1996; Hayashi, 2003; Iwasaki, 2002; Kuno, 1973; Shibatani, 1990; Tanaka, 1999). See example (43) below, which is borrowed from Hayashi (2003).

(43) Hayashi (2003, p. 21)

```
Chika :  hokkaidoo  itta  tte itta  kke.
         Hokkaido   went  QT   said  QP
         'Did (I) tell (you) that (I) had gone to Hokkaido?'
```

In example (43), the subjects of the main clause and of the subordinate clause, and the indirect object of the main clause are unexpressed. Because of such phenomena, Japanese syntax, particularly in conversation, is considered "more loosely organized" than the syntax of other languages such as English, which requires the major elements (i.e. subject and verb) to be expressed (Fox et al., 1996).

In her conversation analytic study, Tanaka (2005) demonstrated that the word order and ellipsis found in conversation are important resources for organizing preferred and dispreferred responses to sequence-initial utterances. According to her observations, Japanese speakers organize preferred responses (e.g., agreement) by deploying "non-canonical" word order, that is, by placing a predicate (e.g., an agreement component) at the earliest opportunity without expressing other constituents such as subject and object. By so doing,

[25] As discussed in Section 3.2, Japanese grammatical relations such as subject and object are generally marked by postpositional particles. It should be noted, however, that in casual conversation postpositional particles are frequently elipted (Fujii & Ono, 2000; Tsutsui, 1984). Particle ellipses, just as ellipses of the core arguments such as subject and object, are another characteristic of Japanese conversational grammar.

they are able to maximize their affiliation with the prior speaker. Tanaka also argued that as an alternative to ellipsis, Japanese speakers may place other constituents, such as subject and object, after a predicate (e.g., an agreement component). Like ellipsis of subject and object, such a post-predicate construction also allows speakers to position the predicate at the earliest opportunity. Therefore, the post-predicate construction is another way in which Japanese speakers are able to show their definitive affiliative stance through the earlier production of a predicate.[26]

Example (44), which was discussed in Tanaka (2005), shows that one of the speakers, Mai, deploys both non-canonical word order and the post-predicate construction, thereby constructing a preferred response. In this example, Ami and Mai are summing up their discussion about how fast their respective baby sons have been growing.

(44) Tanaka (2005, p. 405)

```
01  Ami:  Yappa      otokonoko tte   chigau    n da
          after.all boys      TOP   different N BE
          'After all, boys are different,'

02  Ami:  =[↑ne:
             FP
          'aren't ((they))?'

03 →Mai: =['N:   ↑chigau↓   yo    =zenzen=
            yeah {different FP}  { completely          }
                 {  PREDICATE }  {POST-PREDICATE ADVERB}
         'Yeah, ((they)) are different, completely'

04  Ami: =Hu:n
         'Right'

05       (0.4)

06  Mai:  Yokku  nomu  shi ne.
          well   drink P   FP
          '((He)) drinks a lot as well, you know.'
```

Following an initial summary assessment made by Ami regarding their respective baby sons

26 Tanaka (2005) also reported that in organizing preferred responses, Japanese speakers position the main clause before the subordinate clause, and thereby display their affiliation with prior speakers earlier.

(lines 1-2), Mai displays her agreement with Ami (line 3). Note that in Mai's agreeing turn, a predicate (an agreement component) ↑*chigau*↓ *yo* ('((they)) are different') is placed before an adverb *zenzen* ('completely') while the subject is left unexpressed. The predicate is thus placed at the earliest opportunity. This makes it possible for Mai to show her full agreement with Ami.

In contrast, dispreferred responses are organized by deploying "canonical" SOV word order in which the main grammatical constituents such as subject and object are overtly expressed. Organizing their responses in this way, Japanese speakers delay producing a predicate (e.g., a declination component) and try to mitigate disaffiliation with the prior speaker.[27]

Example (45), also discussed by Tanaka (2005), constitutes a clear instance that shows how dispreferred responses are organized by the use of word order variability. This talk arose from an editorial meeting where the members including a professor and his former student, Akira, are discussing who should write an article.

(45) Tanaka (2005, pp. 410-411)

```
01  Prof:  (Daka) sore o   boku ga =ne (1.4)
             so   that OBJ I    SUB FP
            'So for me ((to write)) that, you know (1.4)'

02          kono shigoto to::g zuibun       o  ni- niteru  tokoro ga
            this task    with considerable DF si- similar place  SUB
            'considerable si- similarities with this task'

03          arimasu yo ne:
            exist   FP FP
            'exist, you know'

04          (1.7)
```

[27] Tanaka (2005) noted that dispreferred responses organized by deployment of canonical word order generally contain one or more of the following features: delay; structural complexity; prefacing by elements projecting their dispreferred status; delivery with disfluencies such as cut-offs, soundstreches, laugh tokens, or breathiness; accompanying accounts; also they often contain an indirect or mitigated declination component.

05 *dakara* (.) *sore o* (.) *kaite mo ii shi ne*
so that OBJ write too good CONJ FP
'So ((I)) wouldn't mind writing that'

06(Akira): ((sniff))

07 →Akira: *eg to* (.) *ta*(.)*da* (.) **{*CONNECTIVE*}**
Uhm only
'Uhm (.) on(.)ly ((that)) (.)'

08 → *sensei wa* **{*TOPIC*}**
Prof. TOP
'as far as you are concerned,'((sarcastically))

09 → *nanika betsu no koto o kakareru to iu*
something else GEN thing OBJ write.POL QT say
'that ((you)) would be writing something else'

10 → (.) *ketsui hyoomei o* **{*DIRECT OBJECT*}**
resolve declaration OBJ
'(.) a declaration of resolve'

11 → [*zuibun mae ni* **{*OBLIQUE*}**
considerably before P
'some time ago'

12 Prof: [*Ah*!
'Oh!'

13 →Akira:[*nasareta hazu desu node* **{*VERB component*}**
did.POL must.have BE CONJ
'((you)) are known to have made'

14 Prof: [*sore*:: *wa a himitsu*
that TOP DF secret
'That is a secret'

cumulative gloss of lines 7–13 **'Uhm (.) on(.)ly ((that)) (.) as far as you are concerned,((you)) are known to have made a declaration of ((your)) resolve, some time ago, that ((you)) would be writing about something else'**

In lines 1-3 and 5, the professor offers that he is willing to write that article. In lines 7-11 and 13, however, Akira indirectly declines the professor's offer by explaining a reason for the declination. This indirect refusal consists of many pre-verbal constituents (i.e., a connective expression (line 7), a topic phrase (line 8), noun-modifying clause (line 9), a direct object (line 10) and an oblique (line 11)) before finally placing the predicate component, *nasareta hazu desu node* ('((you)) are known to have made'). The turn built by Akira is a typical

instance of canonical word order.[28] By utilizing canonical word order, in which the normative orientation of the predicate finality is observed, and by massively extending the turn with many pre-verbal constituents, Akira delays producing his (implicit) refusal as a dispreferred response.[29]

Tanaka's study indicates that the occurrence of ellipsis and word order flexibility are not merely accidental, nor a matter of disfluency in conversation. Rather, conversational participants skilfully build elliptical or non-elliptical turns, using word order flexibility as a resource, particularly in the case where these turns are built as responses to a prior speaker's action, and thereby express affiliation or mitigate disaffiliation with the prior speaker.

4.4 Delayed projectability

Finally, conversation analysts revealed the delayed projectability in turn-taking of Japanese conversation (Fox et al., 1996; Hayashi, 2003, 2005; Tanaka, 1999, 2001). That is, although some turn-initial connectives, discourse markers, interjections, etc. projecting a type of action implemented in a turn-in-progress show up earlier, the projection of the turn transition is regularly delayed due to the normative orientation to the predicate-finality of the language. The frequent use of clause-combining, non-clausal incrementation and ellipsis noted in the prior discussions are now most properly understood as a systematic basis for the delayed projectability of turn shape and turn transition in Japanese talk-in-interaction (Fox et al.,

28 As Tanaka noted, although the subject, *sensei* ('((you))'), is left unexpressed (line 13), it has already been expressed as a topic (line 8).

29 Tanaka (2005) also argued that while the current speaker is building a dispreferred response by placing many pre-verbal constituents before the predicate component which completes his or her utterance, his or her co-participants (including the prior speaker) are able to anticipate the trajectory of the dispreferred turn-in-progress and may try to find an opportunity to pre-empt the emerging dispreferred action or even convert the dispreferred action to a preferred action in order to maintain social solidarity.

1996; Hayashi, 2003; Tanaka, 1999, 2001). This is contrasted with the early projection found in English, in which the expressed subject and verb can anticipate the turn shape or turn type performed as a certain action and thus foreshadow a possible completion point of the turn (Fox et al., 1996). Hayashi (2003, 2005) reported that due to this delayed projectability, the co-construction of an utterance is also routinely delayed.

Research on Japanese conversational interaction discussed thus far shows that conversational grammar has its own system (i.e. clause-combining, fragmented-ness, word-order variability), which substantially differs from the written or "idealized" grammar normally presupposed in the linguistic literature. While the system arising from the features of Japanese conversation exhibits considerable flexibility and extendability, it results in the delayed projectability of turn shape and turn transition. This outcome requires conversational participants to "wait and see how each increment within an emerging turn contributes to the progressive expansion of resources for projectability of the future course of the turn" (Hayashi, 2003, p. 95). On the other hand, this extensive system can in turn provide a systematic resource for co-participants to produce the turn-final object(s), which is finally made available by the delayed projection (Hayashi, 2003).

4.5 Short summary and discussions

In Section 4, I introduced some of the recent studies on conversational grammar in Japanese. These studies, which were contributed to by discourse functional linguists and conversation analysts, identified several important characteristics of conversational grammar that were previously unrecognized: extensive clause-combining; fragmented-ness; ellipsis; word order flexibility; and delayed projectability. These findings seem to be rather bizarre and generally

disregarded by many linguists who adopt different approaches to descriptions of the language, as well as in standard textbooks of the language. However, once taking into account how grammar is utilized by actual participants in conversation, one can easily observe the notable characteristics identified by the above studies. All of the findings presented by the above studies are made possible by a close examination of how grammar is actually used in conversational interaction. On the other hand, the findings suggest that some of the important concepts in traditional linguistics, such as "sentence" and "canonical" word order, should be subject to reconsideration in view of how grammar in conversation is organized. In this way, the above studies on conversational grammar allow us to modify or renew our previous understanding of Japanese grammar in general, and provide a fresh and deep insight into the nature of Japanese grammar specific to conversational interaction.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter, as a preliminary to the main investigation that follows, I first introduced the data that will be examined in this study. I then briefly presented certain aspects of the structure of the Japanese language, which may help some readers unfamiliar with the language to better understand the rest of the thesis. Subsequently, I presented some of the notable findings on Japanese conversational grammar, which could otherwise have been overlooked, looking closely at how grammar is utilized by conversational participants in real-life conversation. These findings shed new light on ways in which grammar in conversation is organized quite differently from that which is generally presupposed by grammarians or that which can be found in standard textbooks of the language. Following the studies on conversational grammar discussed in this chapter, the present study will make

another attempt to reveal how grammar is utilized by conversational participants.

Chapter 4

General Characteristics of Yes/No Reversed Polarity Questions in Japanese

1 Introduction

The primary objective in the present thesis is to explore how grammar is adapted to positional variations and how interactional practices implemented by the use of grammar are affected, or constrained by, these positional variations. To this end, the study will focus on a particular type of yes/no negative interrogative in Japanese, or what Koshik called "reversed polarity questions (RPQs)" (Koshik, 2002, 2005, 2010), in first and second assessment positions in which interlocutors exchanges their assessments of various entities. Before exploring RPQs occurring in these positions, the present chapter will initially try to capture the general characteristics of Japanese RPQs as a starting point.

2 Reversed Polarity Questions in Japanese

The focus of the present thesis is on a particular type of yes/no negative interrogative, which is recognizable as what Koshik called a "reversed polarity question (RPQ)", introduced in Chapter 2. Several studies (Tanaka, 2010; Tsai, 1996; Wakita, 2003) have reported that (1) this type of negative interrogative has emerged quite recently and is widely used by the

younger generation in conversation, (2) the most notable characteristic of this interrogative is its marked intonation, and (3) the function or meaning of the interrogative can be considered a request for agreement. However, there has been no study that systematically investigates the interactional practices performed through the use of this interrogative in everyday talk-in-interaction. Thus, the present study aims to investigate the ways in which this interrogative can be deployed as a practice in interactional actuality. The study is particularly concerned with how this interrogative is adapted to positional variations in ongoing interaction and how practices performed through the use of the interrogative in question are affected by these positional variations. To this end, the focus of analysis is delimited to particular sequential positions, namely first and second positions within assessment sequences in which the type of interrogative is most actively employed by conversational participants.

2.1 Non-RPQs

As a point of departure, we will look at some cases of yes/no negative interrogatives, which are not recognizable as RPQs. These cases of interrogatives do not convey reversed polarity statements. Interlocutors employ these interrogatives as questions that request information. Let us now take a look at the first instance. In example (46), four university friends are talking about their mutual male friend, K. Of these participants, A and F are currently active participants while B and O are mainly hearing what A and F are talking about. In lines 1 and 2, A is asking F, who is the only female participant, if K is popular among female students. The inter-turn gap between A's question and the initiation of B's answer (in line 3) breaks the contiguity of first and second pair parts, which indicates that a preferred affirmative response

will not ensue. In line 4, B's answer is not initiated by yes, no, or its variants, but by a mitigation marker, *nanka* ('like'). It thus turns out to be not simply a dispreferred response but a nonconforming response in the form of a dispreferred response, through which F seems to resist the question formulation set by A (Raymond, 2003). In line 5, A then revises the previous question to exhibit the reverse preference (Sacks, 1987; Schegloff, 2007). The revised question, which is negatively formatted, is of particular interest.

(46) MU3

```
01   A:  k to-
         k and

02       onnanoko no   nakade ninki      aru?
         girls    GEN  among  popularity have
         'K and- ((is he)) popular among girls?'

03       (1.0)

04   F:  nanka k wa::,
         like  k TOP
         'Like, as for K,'

05 →A:   wadai ni mo   denai?
         topic as even appear.NEG
         '((He)) doesn't become even a topic?'

06   F:  wadai ni mo   denai.
         topic as even not.appear

07       [toriaezu].
         for.the.time.being
         '((He)) doesn't become even as a topic, for the time being.'

08   A:  [hhhhhh.]hhhh
```

The negative interrogative produced by A is not a case of RPQ. It does not carry a reversed polarity assertion. Rather, it conveys a negative proposition and invites a grammatically negative answer as a preferred response. It should be noted that A does not claim access to the information about what he conveys through the revised question. What he is doing here is asking if what he is guessing based on F's reaction to his prior question is correct. In line 6,

in fact, F's response is a grammatically negative answer. This provides evidence that A's negative question is not treated as a case of RPQ by B, who is the recipient of the question. F's response here is still a nonconforming response but in the form of preferred response. Just like an English "full modified repeat" (Stivers, 2005), by repeating the prior question's statement, F seems to claim her primary rights or access to the matter at hand. F actually adds the increment *toriaezu* ('for the time being') to her answer and seems to claim that she will get more information in the future and that she is thus the one who is the source of the information about the matter.

Example (47) is another case of negative interrogative which is not made recognizable as an RPQ. In this example, two female friends, A and B, are talking over a travel brochure which advertizes various trips in different parts of the world. Prior to this segment, while they initially talked about Disneyworld, which was mentioned in the brochure, B then shifted the talk to the management of the Walt Disney Company. B then actively talked about it with enthusiasm, while A, who showed less familiarity with it through her responses (mainly through news receipt tokens and confirmations about what B had just said), was a relatively passive hearer. After a lapse, omitted from the transcripts, this segment begins.

(47) MUGS2

01 B: *ittakotoaru*? ((tapping on a specific part of the brochure))>*dhizuniirando*.<
have.been.to disneyland
'Have ((you)) been there? ((Tapping)) Disneyland.'

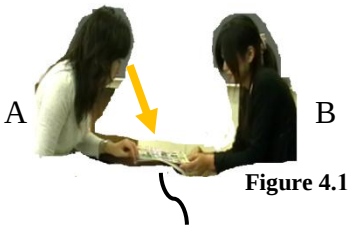


Figure 4.1 …*oorando*…

02 A: *waarudo*::, *tte kore wa are da yo ne? ano*::, *oorando*?(0.2) *no hoo*?
disneyworld TOP this TOP that BE FP FP uhm orlando GEN one
'Disneywor::ld, you mean, is this that one? uh::m, Orlando? (0.2)((Orlando's)) one,right?'

03 B: *ka na.*
QP FP
'((It)) can be.'

04 A: *kariforunia no yatsu wa ittakotowaaru yo.*
California GEN one TOP have.been.to FP
'As for the California one, ((I)) have been there.'

05 B: *ho::::*
'aha::::'

06 A: *demo kocchi ittakotonai.*
but this have.been.to.NEG
'But I haven't been to this one.'

07 (3.0)((B is flipping several pages of the brochure))

08 B: *>dhizuira-< dhizuniirandohoteru choo tomattemitai.*
disneyla- disneyland's.hotel very want.to.stay
'I want to stay at a disney resort hotel very much.'

09 A: hhh

10 (1.0)

11 A: *mirakosuta dakke?*
miracosta BE.QP
'Hotel Miracosta?'

12 B: *u[n].*
'Yeah'

12 A: *[are]*hhh
that
'((Is)) that ((Hotel Miracosta?))'

13 B: *mirakosuta* hhhhh
miracosta
'((That's)) Hotel Miracosta.'

Figure 4.2 ...*mirakosuta*...

14 (1.0)

15 A: *hu:::*
'Whew:::'

Figure 4.3 ...*hu*:::...

16 (0.5)

17 →B: *dhizuniirando toka suki janai?*
disneyland like like TAG
'((You)) don't like Disneyland and the like, do you?'

```
18      (2.0)((A does not attend to B's question))

19  A:  atashi? dhizuniirando?=
        I       disneyland
        'I? ((You mean,)) disneyland?'

20  B:  =n>   [anma]ri   kyoomi   nai      wa:: tte  kanji  suru.<
         yeah  very      interest have.NEG FP   QT   sound  do
        'Yeah, ((it)) sounds like you are not very interested in ((it)).'

21  A:        [suki da yo].
               like BE FP
        '((I)) like it.'
```

In line 1, B's question, which is initially obscure due to the absence of a place term, is modified first by tapping on a specific part of the brochure several times for specifying that term and then by vocally producing it. In line 2, A initiates an insertion sequence, through which she asks confirmation of the location of Disneyworld by searching for it both verbally (i.e., a place holder, *are* ('that'), and a word-search item, *ano*:: ('uh::m')) (Hayashi, 2003) and nonverbally (i.e., looking at the brochure to find the place term) (Figure 4.1). In line 3, B hesitantly agrees with the term (i.e., Orlando) that A eventually produced with a hesitation, which is shown by a brief pause (i.e., 0.2 second in line 2) before her turn completion. In line 4, A now answers the question that B has asked, and said that instead of Disneyworld in Orlando, she had been to Disneyland Resort in California. After B showed surprise (line 5), A then said that she had been to the one that they are now looking at in the brochure (line 6). After a long lapse during which B quickly turns over several pages of the brochure, B expresses her wish to stay at accommodation run by the Walt Disney Company (line 8). By so doing, she shifts the focus of the talk. In contrast, A does not express a similar stance but by producing several laugh tokens, she seems to show a lack of interest in staying there (line 9). After a brief lapse (line 10), which further seems to show that A does not have an interest in the accommodation, A then asks a question by way of specifying a particular accommodation that B may wish to stay at (lines 11 and 13). B acknowledges that the accommodation in her mind is the one that A has just guessed (line 12). There is another

lapse again (line 14), through which the current topic is brought to close. A then produces an interjection *hu*::: ('whew:::') (line 15), during which she is moving her chair away from B and leaning backward (Figure 4.3). Compare this embodied gesture with the one established before (Figure 4.2). Through these verbal and nonverbal displays, A's orientation to the closure of the current topic is now obvious. A's display of this orientation leads to B's subsequent question, which is of our interest.

The negative yes/no question produced by B (line 17), like the one in example (46), does not carry a reversed polarity statement. Rather, B is asking confirmation that A does not like something related to Disneyland, based on the prior talk. This is warranted by A's own subsequent account (line 20), *anmari kyoomi nai wa:: tte kanji suru* ('((it)) sounds like you are not very interested in ((it))'). A's response, on the other hand, is opposite to what B has just guessed. During an inter-turn gap (line 18), A does not attend to B's question. Because of this, A initiates an insertion sequence to confirm what B has just asked, by repeating a couple of key words (line 19). After B's confirmation (line 20), A then says that she actually likes something related to Disneyland (line 21), which overlaps with A's account of why A asks the question in the prior turn.

It should also be noted that through the deployment of the negative interrogative, B does not claim her rights to assess the matter at hand. Whether A likes something related to Disneyland is A's internal feeling, something that B cannot directly access. It falls into A's "territory of information" (Kamio, 1990, 1997). In other words, it is only A who knows the answer to the question or who has absolute rights to state her internal feeling about the matter. Thus, the question posed by B reflects this asymmetry of the distribution of the information about the matter between A and B. The questioner's status of knowledge or epistemic stance towards the matter relative to the recipient's is crucial in understanding the negative interrogative in this example not as a case of an RPQ.

2.2 RPQs

The type of yes/no negative interrogative focused on in the present study is a **reversed polarity question (RPQ)** introduced in Section 4.5 of Chapter 2. In contrast to the negative interrogative discussed in the previous section, the RPQ is utilized as a resource to display the speaker's statement of the polarity opposite to that of the question form, just as the RPQ is used in English. In this section, I initially try to delineate how a particular yes/no negative interrogative can be made recognizable as an RPQ.

Let us now look at example (48), which is an extended version of example (1). In this example, two students, who both study in the English department of the same university, are talking about two academic departments recently established by the university. Prior to this segment, they talked about these departments, which they call *jookomi* and *K-gakubu* respectively, and they complained that English teachers are currently taking much more care of these departments than of the English department, which A and B belong to. Here in this segment, they are now focusing on one of the departments, *K-gakubu*, which provides a great number of English classes per year. At the beginning of this segment, A is requesting a confirmation from B about whether these classes are conducted in English.

(48) MUG5

```
01  A:  nanka jugyoo ga  soo  eigo   na-
        like  class  SUB yes  English BE
        'Like classes are conducted in English-'

02  B:  nn    nn.
        yeah  yeah
        'Yeah yeah.'

03  A:  na  n da  yo nee?
        BE  N BE  FP FP
        'Right?'
```

```
04   B:  [sugoi ooi   tte-]
          so    many  QT
         '(It's said) that ((K-gakubu)) has so many ((English classes)).'

05 →A:  [demo nanka  saa,] cho::  omotta  n da  kedo     sa,
          but  like   FP    really thought N BE  although FP

06 →     jookomi to   sa,  kabuttenai?
         jookomi with FP   overlap.NEG
         'But like, you know, ((I)) really believe, you know, doesn't ((K-gakubu)) overlap
          with jookomi?'

07   B:  nn   tashikani [ne(h)hhh]`
         yeah certainly  FP
         'Yeah ((it)) certainly ((does)), doesn't it?'

08   A:                 [hhhhh] hitsuyoonai daroo tte  omou  n [da.]
                                 unnecessary BE    that think N  BE
         'I think that ((it)) is unnecessary.'
```

A's confirmation request is hesitantly produced with a cut-off in the middle of its delivery in lines 1 and 3, which may indicate some trouble in selecting an utterance final element(s) through which A must unavoidably show her epistemic rights or access to what she said, relative to her co-participant, B (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). This is resolved by B's quick ratification in line 2, which indicates that B also knows what is being talked about. Immediately after B's ratification, A finally produces the utterance final elements *n da yo ne*, of which *yo ne* particularly displays her similar access or equal authorship (Morita, 2002) to the information delivered in line 1, relative to B. Overlapping B's talk in line 4, which seems to reinforce the ongoing confirmation activity by focusing on the number of English classes, A tries to shift the focus of talk from a kind of admiration to a criticism of *K-gakubu* through the deployment of a compound turn constructional unit (compound TCU) in which a negative interrogative is embedded (lines 5 and 6).[30] Following

30 As noted in Chapter 1, a conversational turn is generally constructed as a sentential, clausal, phrasal, or lexical unit, all of which are termed as a turn constructional unit (or TCU). Each type of TCU comes to a possible completion point, and then transition to a next speaker can become relevant. However, as Lerner (1991) showed, a turn is often constructed as a single turn, but as a two-part utterance format such as *if X, then Y*. In such a format, the first part, *if X*, foreshows the second part, *then Y*. Therefore, upon a possible completion point of the first part, an utterance with such a format is still recognizable as a continuation to the second part. Lerner termed this type of turn format as a compound turn constructional unit (compound TCU). In the case of example (2), X *dakedo*, Y 'although X, Y' is recognizable as a compound TCU, through which the first part X *dakedo*

the turn-initial *demo*, which explicitly marks a turn-in-progress as a departure from A's previous stance of *K-gakubu*, the first part of the compound TCU projects the second part as A's expressed stance of *K-gakubu*, by saying *cho:: omotta n da kedo* ('((I)) really believe'). In this way, the negative interrogative, *jookomi to sa, kabuttenai*? ('doesn't ((*K-gakubu*)) overlap with *jookomi*?'), which is delivered in the second component of the compound TCU, conveys A's critical statement of *K-gakubu*, and can be recognized as an RPQ.

So how can the negative interrogative deployed by A be made recognizable as an RPQ, which is understood not as a question, but as an assertion? First, this is warranted by evidence that the negative interrogative is preceded and projected by the phrase, *choo omotta n da kedo* ('((I)) really believe'). Such a phrase is normally followed by a speaker's view or opinion. Second, notice that B's response is explicitly marked by the final particle *ne* (line 7). The final particle *ne* in responsive position is recurrently utilized to express an agreement with the prior speaker (Hayano, 2011; Morita, 2002, 2005). This indicates that B, who is the recipient of the negative interrogative, treats the prior utterance as A's view or opinion. Third, B's agreement is actualized in the polarity opposite to that of the question form (i.e., B's response does not contain the negative suffix *-nai*, which can indicate that her agreement is actualized as a statement of the same polarity as that of the question form). This indicates that B treats the negative interrogative as a view or opinion of the polarity opposite to that of the question form. Fourth, using the negative interrogative, A claims epistemic access to knowledge of the matter at hand, as in Koshik's examples of the RPQs discussed in Chapter 2. What A expressed through the interrogative is her thought based on knowledge of the matter at hand. These four features of the interrogative seem to correspond to those of RPQs in English. Because of this reason, I will call this type of interrogative an RPQ.

Example (49), which is an extended version of example (2), further clarifies the

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foreshows the second part, Y.

features of the RPQ. In this example, O and S are talking about S' recent trip to Malta while looking at various pictures that S took during that trip. O here noticed one of the pictures showing a doll, which has no hair. She then puts a picture in front of herself in order to let S see that picture (Figure 4.4). The question that O initiated in line 1 is formulated in a way in which its answer is known: O has already seen the hairless doll. The question thus seems to be heard as a doubt or a criticism in a way in which the status of that doll is unusual.[31] In line 2, rather than responding to the prior question, S characterizes the kind of doll as a real-looking doll. Line 4, S then negatively assesses the doll. In line 5, rather than participating in the assessment activity initiated by S, O revises the prior question (line 1) and reformulates it in a grammatically negative format to ask for confirmation of what she has just seen in the picture. S then gives confirmation in the form of preferred response (line 6). After a one second pause during which O is looking at the picture again (line 7), O produces an exhalation to display surprise, and then makes a critical statement that people cannot cut the doll's hair and invites agreement from S (line 8). Since O does not receive an immediate uptake from S, who withdraws her gaze from O (Figure 4.5), O builds another TCU to produce a question for confirmation (lines 9 & 11). This question for confirmation is designed to invoke a possible common experience of cutting dolls' hair, which O and S may have had in their childhood, by taking up *Jeniichan*, one of the most popular fashion dolls produced by a Japanese toy company. The question thus seems to help S's uptake of the prior assessment by invoking a possible common experience between O and S. In line 12, S begins her turn with the connective *demo* ('but'), which can be utilized for a departure from the trajectory of the action initiated by O but may not necessarily be utilized for a (strong) dispreferred action. Subsequently, pointing to the doll in the picture, S produces a negative interrogative, *kowakunai*? ('Isn't ((the doll)) scary?'), which assesses the doll from a different

31 In Japan, dolls selling in shops generally have hair. O seems to refer to this knowledge and feels that the doll in the picture is odd.

perspective than O (line 12). The negative interrogative that S produced is a case of RPQ, which is of our focus here.

(49) O-S

Figure 4.4 Showing a picture

01 O: ((Showing a picture of the doll to S)) *ko*:: *atama tsurutsuru*(.) *na no*?
this head bald-headed BE QP
'Like this, is it bald-headed?'

02 S: *kooyuu nanka riaruna oni* [*ngyoo na n da yo. gaikoku tte*.]
this like real doll BE N BE FP foreign.country TOP
'Like this, like, ((it's)) a real-looking doll. As for a foreign country.'

03 O: [.h h h h h h h h h h h h h h]hh[*ke g-*]
hair SUB
'((Its)) hair is-'

04 S: [*kawai*]*kunai deshoo*?
pretty.NEG BE
'((It))is not pretty?'

05 O: *ke ga nai n da ne*?
hair SUB have.NEG N BE FP
'((The doll)) doesn't have hair, does it?'

06 S: *soo*.
'Right ((it doesn't.))'

07 (1.0)((O is looking at the picture again))

08 O: .hh *kirenai jan nee*?
can.cut.NEG TAG FP

((S withdraws her gaze from O.))

Figure 4.5 …*nanka*…

09 (.)*nanka*,(.) *yaranakatta jeniichan* [*toka*] *koo*,
like played.NEG jeniichan like this
'.hh (we) can't cut it, can we? Like, didn't you play (with) Jeniichan and the like? (Like) this way,'

10 S: [d-]
DF

11 O: *kittari.*
cut.and
'((You do things like)) cutting and the like.'

12 →S: *demo KOWAKUNAI*? [*hutsuuni kao ga.*]
but scary.NEG I.bet face SUB
'But ISN'T ((the doll)) SCARY? I bet its face ((is scary)).'[32]

13 O: [*n*:: *kowai kowai.*]
yea::h scary scary
'Yea::h ((it's)) scary ((it's)) scary.'

14 S: [*shikamo chotto riaruna ookisa da shi.*]
besides a.bit real size BE FP
'Besides ((it)) is a bit real in size.'

15 O: [*se- s- s-* .h *DEKAI yo.* h h h h]hhhhh
DF DF DF BIG FP
'DF DF DF .h ((It's)) BIG.hhhhhhhhh'

The RPQ produced by S, like the one in example (48), carries a statement of the polarity opposite to that of the question form: it states, "the doll is scary". S then further elaborates on what she has just evaluated regarding the doll, first by referring to the scary face of the doll and then by referring to the size of the doll, which looks like a real human. By so doing, S claims epistemic access to the information about the doll. This provides evidence that through the use of the RPQ, S expresses her opinion based on what she has seen in the picture, but does not request information from O. It should also be noted that the RPQ is delivered with greater amplitude than the surrounding talk and thus seems to display the speaker's emotive stance towards the matter at hand. This further supports the above analysis. Further, the RPQ makes O's response relevant next by the conditional relevance of the question-answer adjacency pair initiated by the interrogative formulation. O's response (line 13), which overlaps with S's elaboration, displays her strong agreement which can be heard by the repeats of the same assessment term, *kowai* ('scar'). Importantly, this agreement is actualized as a grammatically affirmative statement, that is, a statement of the polarity opposite to that of the question form produced by S. Thus O, who is the recipient of the RPQ, treats the

32 The word, *hutsuuni*, which is used in a colloquial sense, is translated as 'I bet' in the transcripts, while it is generally translated as 'normally'.

question produced by S as an RPQ.

2.3 Morpho-syntax of the RPQ

In previous studies (Tsai, 1996; Wakita, 2003), it was claimed that the RPQ ends with the present negative form of an *i*-adjective as seen in example (49) (i.e., *KOWAKUNAI* ('not scary')). As Tanaka (2010) indicated, however, and as the present database proves, the RPQ takes various forms. As far as my database is concerned, the predicate of the RPQ includes *i*-adjectives, *na*-adjectives, nouns and verbs.[33] The RPQ must embody, either a negative suffix, *-nai* ('not'), or a "grammaticalized negative expression" (Iwasaki, 2002), *-janai* (which derives from copula *ja* and a negative suffix *–nai*), depending upon the type of the predicate.[34] Here are some instances in which the predicate is boldfaced and surrounded with a square box.

(50) *i*-adjective

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33 In Japanese, there are two types of adjectival categories termed *i*-adjective and *na*-adjective (or nominal adjective) (Iwasaki, 2002; Martin, 1975; Shibatani, 1990; Uehara, 1998). The formal difference between these two categories, as generally presented in the literature, is that an *i*-adjective has its own inflectional paradigm, functions as predication and modification without taking the copula, and exhibits marked status for reference function, as does the verb. On the other hand, a *na*-adjective is uninflected and more unmarked for reference function than an *i*-adjective or a verb, and takes the copula for predication and modification, as does a noun (Uehara 1998). However, *i*-adjectives and *na*-adjectives exhibit certain commonalities, by which they can be distinguished from other categories such as nouns and verbs: both categories depict a particular property of a thing; only these categories can be modified by some types of adverbs such as *totemo* ('very'); only an *i*-adjective and a *na*-adjective can follow comparative expressions (Ohkado, 1991; see also Shibatani, 1990).

34 As for *–janai*, there are said to be two types of *–janai* (Tanomura, 1988; Uehara, Fukushima, & Kitano, 1999). One type of *–janai* is used to negate the proposition, while the other is used to express the speaker's affective stance. In the latter type, McGloin (2002) considered it as a rhetorical question marker. According to McGloin, it "is rhetorical in that this form does not negate the proposition nor ask for information from the addressee" (2002, p. 137). In this sense, the rhetorical *–janai* can be another type of RPQ. The rhetorical *–janai* and the RPQ investigated in this study share a property in that they do not negate the proposition. However, these two resources are quite different in terms of function or action. Based on prior studies, the rhetorical *–janai* has several functions such as expressing a non-challengeable attitude (Kawanishi, 1994), or requesting confirmation of a fact (Tanomura, 1998; Hasunuma, 1995). The type of RPQ investigated in the present thesis gains its own functions or actions along with its distinctive pitch contour: however, it is not a new type of rhetorical *–janai* because it embodies not only *–janai* but also the negative suffix *–nai* at a possible turn-final position, both of which do not negate the proposition. Thus, the type of RPQ discussed in this thesis and the rhetorical *–janai* should be separate linguistic items, each of which is used to perform different types of actions.

S: *demo* ***KOWAKUNAI***? [*hutsuuni kao ga*].
but scary.NEG I.bet face SUB
'But ISN'T ((the doll)) SCARY? I bet its face ((is scary)).'

(51) *na*-adjective

B: *nanka kon,* (0.5) ***suzushigejanai***?
like dark.blue cool.feel.TAG
'Like, dark blue, doesn't ((it)) have a cool feel?'

(52) noun

T: *nande konna tokoro ni senmendai tsukeru no tte* ***kanjijanai***?
why such place at sink put QP QT feeling.TAG
'Don't ((you)) feel like why ((someone)) puts a sink at such a place?'

(53) verb

A: [*demo nanka saa,*] *cho:: omotta n da kedo sa,*
but like FP really thought N BE although FP

jookomi to sa, ***kabuttenai***?
jookomi with FP overlap.NEG
'But like, you know, ((I)) really believe, you know, doesn't ((*K-gakubu*)) overlap with *jookomi*?'

2.4 Pitch contour of the RPQ

Recent conversation-analytic studies have shown that prosody is an integral part of social action in a turn at talk (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996; Couper-Kuhlen & Ford, 2004). Of particular interest is the role of pitch as a resource for action. A growing number of studies have shown that an interactant utilizes pitch, along with other prosodic features, as a useful resource to accomplish a particular action (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen, 1996; Günthner, 1996; Local, 1996; Local & Walker, 2004; Selting, 1996; Walker, 2004, 2007). In Japanese talk-in-interaction, Mori (2006), for instance, showed that a type of token, *hee*, generally treated as a news-receipt token is utilized as other actions such as an assessment when considering a particular pitch configuration together with a particular sequential placement. Shimotani (2008) studied a non-lexical reactive token, *eh*, commonly understood as surprise,

exclamations, or doubt; she demonstrated that various shapes of pitches with different lengths and volumes can reflect the *eh*-speaker's different interactional and affective stances as well as different types of cognitive processing. The present study also tries to show that pitch or pitch contour plays an important role as an interactional resource.

The RPQ investigated in this study embodies a unique pitch contour, which can be understood as the hallmark of this grammatical resource. The pitch contour of the RPQ has been generally considered as a new type of intonation. In fact, researchers have shown that the pitch contour of the RPQ is noticeably different from the one delivered with a typical question (Tanaka, 2010; Tsai, 1996; Wakita, 2003). Unlike the pitch contour of a typical question (i.e., non-RPQ), the pitch contour of an RPQ keeps rising towards the end of the utterance without any pitch falls, which should otherwise be observed (Tanaka, 2010; Tsai, 1996; Wakita, 2003).[35] The present data also shows a striking difference between non-RPQs and RPQs, particularly in terms of the pitch configuration of the turn-final predicate. Let us take a look at Figures 4.6 - 4.9 below.[36]

35 It has been said that when a negative yes/no interrogative is delivered with a typical question intonation, it has pitch falls after accent nuclei. Tsai (1996), for example, argued that in the case of the interrogative, *kore, omoshirokunai*? ('This, isn't ((it)) interesting?'), pitch-falls can be observed on the antepenultimate mora *ku* and the final mora *i* when the interrogative is delivered with a typical question intonation. In contrast, she said that when it is delivered as an RPQ, no such pitch-falls can be observed.

36 In order to adequately capture the difference between RPQs and non-RPQs in pitch contour, I used *Praat*, which has been developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink (Refer to http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/).

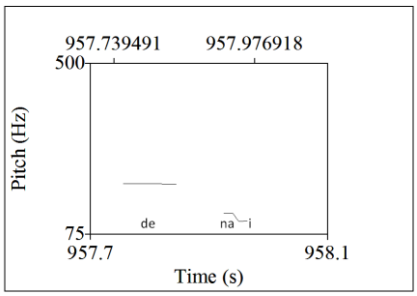


Figure 4.6 *denai*?

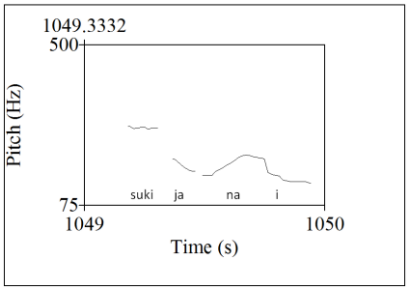


Figure 4.7 *sukijanai*?

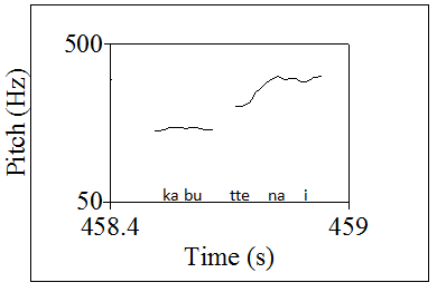


Figure 4.8 *kabuttenai*?

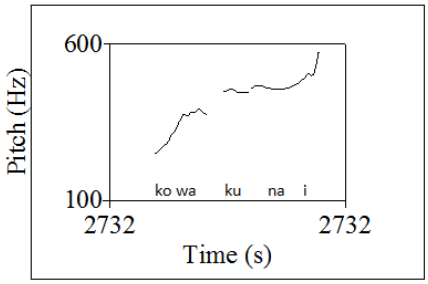


Figure 4.9 *kowakunai*?

Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show the pitch configurations of the non-RPQs in examples (46) and (47), whereas Figures 4.8 and 4.9 show the pitch configurations of the RPQs in examples (48) and (49).

Let us first closely look at the pitch configurations of non-RPQs. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show that non-RPQs follow their usual pitch accent patterns; there are observable pitch-falls on the right places. In Figure 4.6, the initial pitch delivers 201 Hz on the first mora, *de*, which is perceived as the accent nucleus.[37] It then significantly falls to 127 Hz on the second mora, *na*, which is the initial mora of the negative suffix *–nai*. It further falls to 107 Hz on the final mora. In Figure 4.7, the initial pitch carries 283 Hz on the first mora, *su*. During the production of the antepenultimate mora, *ja*, it sharply drops to 155 Hz, and then slightly rises when the penultimate mora, *na*, is delivered, however again dropping to 137 Hz on the final mora.

In the RPQs, in contrast to the non-RPQs, the pitch contour is abruptly uplifted in the

[37] I used "pitch listing" in *Praat* to measure the height of the pitch in Figures 4.6-4.9.

middle of the predicate and keeps rising gradually towards the end of the predicate. In Figure 4.8, the initial pitch marks 204 Hz on the first mora of the predicate, *ka*, then sharply rises up to 329 Hz during the production of the antepenultimate mora, *te*, and leaps to 458 Hz on the last mora, *i*. Similarly, in Figure 4.9, the initial pitch carries 260 Hz on the first mora of the predicate, *ko*, abruptly rises to 455 Hz on the antepenultimate mora, and further rises up to 495 Hz on the final mora, *i*. In both cases of the RPQ, there are two noticeable absences of the pitch-falls. In these cases, there is no observable pitch-fall on the antepenultimate mora, which should otherwise receive a low pitch according to the pitch accent patterns of *kabuttenai* in Figure 4.8 and *kowakunai* in Figure 4.9, respectively. Rather, as shown in the above figures, there is an abrupt pitch-rise on the antepenultimate mora, instead of the fall that would otherwise come after the accent nucleus. Tanaka (2010) noted that the absence of a pitch-fall after the accent nucleus of a word preceding the negative suffix *-nai* is crucial in distinguishing RPQs from non-RPQs. In these cases, the original pitch accent pattern of the negative suffix *–nai* is also lost. In other words, there is no observable pitch-fall on the final mora, *i*. Therefore, as prior studies showed, the intonation of the RPQ rises towards the end of the final mora within the predicate. This important characteristic is confirmed in all instances of RPQs collected in my data.

This distinctive prosodic configuration of the RPQ can lead to an important consequence for both the RPQ speaker and the recipient. Conversely, the RPQ speaker can use this marked pitch contour as a vehicle for embodying a specific type of action, which can be distinguished from an action performed by the use of an ordinary pitch contour. On the other hand, this distinctive pitch contour can be a key resource for the recipient to understand the type of action performed by an interrogative construction that unfolds as an RPQ.

2.5 Epistemic access claimed by the RPQ

Prior studies have shown that when parties offer assessments of states of affairs, they must have a certain epistemic stance or access to knowledge and information about those states of affairs (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992; Hayano, 2011; Heritage, 2002b, 2011; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Pomerantz, 1984; Morita, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Stivers, 2005; Stivers et al., 2011). Heritage and Raymond (2005, 2006) extensively discussed the issue of epistemic stance, particularly focusing on assessment sequences wherein "participants can become involved in complex negotiations concerning the management of their relative rights to knowledge and information" (Raymond & Heritage, 2006, p. 684). Heritage and Raymond (2005, 2006) demonstrated that such stance or access is displayed on the basis of how each party knows a particular state of affairs to assess relative to other co-present parties, and whether each party has rights to assess that state of affairs and in what terms. Each party's displayed epistemic stance about a state of affairs can be differentiated in terms of whether that state of affairs is first-hand experience or second-hand experience, or whether it is a co-present object that both parties can equally access. Heritage and Raymond then showed that each speaker's stance, differentiated in terms of level or degree of access to knowledge and information about a particular state of affairs (i.e., superior, equal, or secondary access to a state of affairs) relative to others, is indexed by design features of the turn. In offering an assessment of a state of affairs, the assessor's management of relative epistemic rights to knowledge and information about the state of affairs, therefore, becomes an unavoidable issue.

As discussed in Section 4.5 of Chapter 2, Koshik (2002, 2005) argued that the questioner's (i.e., the RPQ speaker's) status of knowledge about the matter is a crucial element when an RPQ is heard as an RPQ by the recipient. In her study, all the cases of RPQs

are produced by teachers and their recipients are students. As Koshik pointed out, just as in doctor/patient interaction and other institutional talk, there is an interactional asymmetry between these two groups of participants which is unique to writing conferences as a particular type of institutional context. Teachers who employ RPQs to criticize a portion of students' papers are experts in the matter at hand, while students are supposed to comply with teachers' comments made via RPQs. Although Koshik did not discuss the relative epistemic rights over the matter between the RPQ speaker and its recipient, her study implies that teachers employ RPQs to claim their superior rights to assess the matter at hand relative to students who, albeit the authors of the papers, are less knowledgeable about the matter and thereby comply with what teachers have just said.

On the other hand, in everyday conversation, especially when people are engaged in assessment activities, the asymmetry found in institutional talk is not always warranted. As Heritage and Raymond (2005, 2006) showed, participants constantly monitor relative epistemic rights over different entities and claim rights or access to these entities relative to each other by considering each other's face. It should also be noted that, as discussed in Section 3.5 of Chapter 2, even a single grammatical resource (i.e., an English tag question) is used to index differential epistemic rights to the matter, depending upon the positions within assessment sequences where it is deployed. Of course, there are some grammatical resources which can be used to consistently index similar epistemic strength albeit located in different positions.[38]

Our particular interest here is in what type of epistemic stance the RPQ speaker claims, specifically in the context in which he or she is assessing a state of affairs with the RPQ. In the present study, I propose that irrespective of the positional variations (i.e., first and second assessment positions), the RPQ speaker claims symmetrical epistemic rights or access to

38 The negative interrogative, for instance, claims epistemic supremacy over the matter at hand in both first and second positions within assessment sequences. See Heritage and Raymond (2005) for further detail.

knowledge and information about the matter relative to the recipient. This seems to be partly supported by particular grammatical resource utilized for the RPQ: the simple non-past form, or the basic form, with no final particles. Taking example (48) as an instance, A's critical comment on *K-gakubu* conveyed through the RPQ is not marked by either a final particle *yo* or *ne*, through which the speaker can display her primary or downgraded epistemic access to information and knowledge about a state of affairs, relative to the recipient (Morita, 2002).[39]

Not only the grammatical resource described above, but also a prosodic resource seems to partly contribute to the speaker's adjustment to symmetrical rights to assess states of affairs, relative to the recipient. Compared with a declarative statement with a falling intonation, a statement of the RPQ with a rising intonation seems to display the speaker's weaker epistemic claim. While the RPQ is delivered with rising intonation just as a typical question, there is a striking difference between the RPQ and a typical question, in the shape of the intonation, as shown in Section 2.4. Through its distinctive intonation, the RPQ seems to claim a different epistemic stance than a typical question which may not claim access to information or knowledge of the matter at hand. Thus, together with the grammatical resource discussed above, the marked intonation is attributed to the level of the strength of epistemic access claimed by the RPQ.

The level of the strength of epistemic access claimed by the RPQ discussed here will be more firmly supported by the analysis of the preceding and subsequent sequential context. As will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters, in some case, the RPQ speaker makes an effort not to foreground either the recipient's or her epistemic authority in the unfolding talk that precedes the RPQ. The RPQ speaker does so by taking up a particular aspect of the assessable, which does not solely belong to her territory of knowledge (e.g.,

39 In Japanese, unlike in English, the speaker's epistemic stance is generally marked turn-finally, as seen in Chapter 3. Sentence final particles, which regularly appear at a possible turn completion, are one of the resources to mark epistemic stance.

something that only the RPQ speaker experienced), and thereby tries to establish equal epistemic access to that particular aspect. In other cases, both the RPQ speaker and the recipient try to fill possible epistemic gaps through confirmation activities or mutually attending to a co-present object, thereby establishing epistemic equivalence between the participants. In these ways, the RPQ speaker creates the basis for the production of the RPQ, and claims the symmetrical epistemic rights to assess a particular state of affairs relative to the recipient through the use of the RPQ.

2.6 The orientation to preference for agreement

Since the interrogative form generally mandates a response from the recipient through the conditional relevance of a question-answer pair, the RPQ makes alternative responses relevant (Koshik, 2002, 2005). These alternative responses that the RPQ makes relevant are not equivalent. They are differently organized by the operation of preference. Preference, as we have seen in Chapter 1, does not refer to psychological predilection or desire. It refers to a structural feature that can be observed in the design features of a response (i.e., a second pair part) to a first pair part (Heritage, 1984a; Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). A preferred response is done straightforwardly, delivered without delay while a dispreferred response is often unstated, delayed, or elaborated. It should be noted, however, that in the case of an RPQ sequence, two kinds of preferences, or "cross-cutting preferences", are involved (Schegloff, 2007). One kind of preference is activated by the grammatical format of the RPQ. Therefore, in terms of its grammatical format, the RPQ, instantiated by the negative interrogative formulation, may invite a response of the same polarity as a preferred response. The other kind of preference is activated by the action that the RPQ is conveying. Therefore, in terms of

its action, the RPQ may invite agreement, or a response of the opposite polarity, as a preferred response. Here we see "the response which is the preferred second pair part for one aspect of the first pair part turn is dispreferred for the other" (Schegloff, 2007, pp. 76-77). The issue here is which of the two preferences the RPQ orients to. I argue that the RPQ orients to the preference structure of the action that it invites. Thus, responses to the RPQ are organized by that preference structure; an agreement is organized as a preferred response and a disagreement is organized as a dispreferred response. In Sections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2, I will show how these responses are organized by that preference structure, by looking at their design features.

2.6.1 Agreement as a preferred response to the RPQ

As already seen, the (negatively-formatted) RPQ conveys a statement of the opposite polarity. An agreement as a preferred response to the action implemented by the RPQ is thus expressed in a grammatically affirmative statement. The design features of an agreement correspond to those of a preferred response. Let us look at example (54) that repeats a part of example (48), which focuses on the RPQ sequence that consists of lines (5)-(7). Here B's agreement is grammatically affirmative (i.e., it does not contain the negative suffix *nai* ('not')). It is then organized as a preferred response:

(54) MUGS5

05 A: [*demo nanka saa,*] *cho:: omotta n da kedo sa,*
but like FP really thought N BE although FP

06 *jookomi to sa, kabuttenai*?
jookomi with FP overlap
'But like, you know, ((I)) really believe, you know, doesn't ((*K-gakubu*)) overlap with *jookomi*?'

```
07 →B:  nn   tashikani [ne(h)hhhh]`
        yeah certainly  FP
        'Yeah ((it)) certainly ((does)), doesn't it?'
```

Three features of B's agreeing turn are of special interest. First, B's agreement with A's evaluation is delivered without any noticeable gap between the initiation of B's turn and the completion of A's turn. Second, by placing an agreement token *nn* ('yeah') at the beginning of the turn constructional unit, the contiguity between the initial assessment proffered by A and B's agreement with A is maximized (Tanaka, 2005). Third, B's agreement is more firmly established or more explicitly marked by the final particle *ne*, which displays B's "explicit marking of alignment" (Morita, 2005).

The next excerpt further illustrates that an agreement with an initial assessment via the RPQ is a preferred response. Here H is asking M about his working experience as a tutor at *juku*, or a cram school, where secondary school students generally study various subjects until late at night to prepare for their entrance exams.[40] In the excerpt below, H asks M what grade students M taught there (line 1). M answers H's question and says that he mainly taught students in the third year of junior high school (line 2). Upon the receipt of that answer, H then assesses the situation that M had experienced. H's turn which embodies her assessment of that situation via the RPQ is constructed as a two part utterance, or a compound TCU, which consists of an X-*kara,* Y ('because X, Y') format. The first part of the compound TCU (line 3) constitutes a reasoning on which the forthcoming assessment produced in the second part is based. The reasoning that H establishes in the first part is a kind of common knowledge about students in the third year of junior high school: whether they will pass their entrance examinations or not is at stake. This reasoning is aligned with by

40 In Japan, one's academic background or attending schools with good reputation is almost always considered as top priority in getting a good job. There is bitter competition among children to enter good schools. In order to survive such competition, many students attend a private institution called *juku* in addition to an ordinary educational institution. At *juku*, students can take subjects of their own choice depending on their needs. They study at *juku* from evening till late at night and even school holidays in order to get into a good school.

M (line 4). Upon hearing M's alignment, H produces an RPQ *nanka puresshaa janai?* ('Like, doesn't it make ((you feel)) pressured?') in the second part of the compound TCU (line 5). Our focus is H's agreement with that assessment, which is delivered in a grammatically affirmative form (in line 6).

(55) MU1

```
01   H:  nannensee  ni  oshieteta no?
         what.year  to  taught    QP
         'What year ((did you)) teach?'

02   M:  ore wa  chuusan    ga  ookatta   kana. chuusan?
         I   TOP third.year OBJ had.many  QP    third.year
         'I ((taught)) many ((students in the)) third year. Third year?'

03 →H:  ja   kookoojuken                kakatteru   kara,
         Then high.school.entrance.exam  be.at.stake  because
         'Then because ((their success in)) high-school entrance exams is at stake,'

04   M:  soo. [to::],
         right  and
         'Right, a::nd'

05 → H:        [nanka] puresshaajanai?
                 like   pressure.TAG
         'Like, doesn't it make ((you feel)) pressured?'

06 → M:  SOO(h). KEKOO   presshaa de,
         Right   pretty  presuure and
         'RIGHT. ((It makes me feel)) PRETTY pressured and,'

07   H:  ne?
         'Right?'
```

Four features of M's agreeing turn should be noted. First, like example (37), M's agreement is constructed without any noticeable gap between the initiation of M's agreeing turn and H's turn completion. Second, by placing an agreement token *soo* ('right') at the beginning of the turn, M maximizes the contiguity between H's initial assessment turn and M's agreeing turn. Third, the turn-initial agreement token *soo* ('right') is produced with greater amplitude than the surrounding talk, and thereby delivered to be heard as M's strong affiliation with H's evaluation via the RPQ. Fourth, this agreement token is further followed by M's confirmation,

KEKKOO puresshaa de (‘((It makes me)) PRETTY pressured and’), by which M shows an upgraded agreement. All these features are structurally designed to constitute a preferred response.

2.6.2 Disagreement as a dispreferred response to the RPQ

In contrast, a disagreement with a statement via the RPQ is expressed in a grammatically negative form and organized as a dispreferred response in terms of design features of the turn. The design features of the disagreeing turn responsive to the RPQ correspond to those of a dispreferred response. That is, a disagreeing response to the RPQ typically delays with noticeable gaps and/or hedges, and avoids an explicitly stated disagreement.

Example (56) is an instance in which a disagreement with an initial statement expressed by the RPQ is organized as a dispreferred response. In this example, S is reporting her recent trip to Malta to her friend, O, by showing various pictures that S took during the trip. Here O picks up one of the pictures that S took in her host family’s house, and finds that there is a dressing table in the corridor of the house. Since it is rare in Japan that there is a dressing table in such a place, the situation in the picture seems to make O feel odd. An RPQ *chotto kowakunai* (‘Isn’t ((it)) a little scary?’) deployed by O in line 1 is constructed to evaluate this situation. S then seems to disagree with O’s evaluation. S’s response embodies typical design features of a dispreferred response.

(56) O-S

```
01 → O:  kyoodai          ga  konna tokoro ni  attara       chotto   kowakunai?
         dressing.table SUB this  place  at  existed.CONJ a.little scary.NEG
         'When the dressing table is a place like this, isn't ((it)) a little scary?'
```

```
02       (0.5)

03 → S:  [demo::],
          but
          'bu::t,'

04   O:  [yoru  toka-] yoru  agaru      toki.=
          night like   night go.upstairs when
          'Like, ((at)) night- when ((you)) go upstairs ((at)) night.'

05 → S:  =biiandobii  toka  mo  ookatta  yo.
          B&B         like  too had.many FP
         '((There were)) many ((such cases)), ((at)) B&B and the like, too.'
```

First, S's response to the initial assessment offered by O is prefaced by a connective *demo* ('but') that signals a forthcoming disagreement (Mori, 1999). Second, the delivery of the turn-initial connective is noticeably delayed, as shown by the gap between O's initial assessment and S's response to it in line 2. Third, S avoids a stated disagreement. Instead, S slightly shifts the focus of attention to the placement of a dressing table that can be found at B&Bs in Malta, rather than the placement of the specific dressing table in the picture attended to by both O and S (line 5). What S seems to be doing here is providing evidence that locating a dressing table in the corridor is not something scary but something that can be usually observed in Malta. Since the information articulated here can be accessed only by S, who experienced the situation, S claims her primary access to the information relative to O, as indicated by the final particle *yo* (Hayano, 2011). Fourth, the production of S's talk in line 5, which would otherwise be immediately followed by the preceding connective in line 3, is also substantially delayed. It is produced only after O's account, given in line 4, for the evaluative statement done via the RPQ, by means of which account O further elicits agreement from S. All these features of S's response to the RPQ correspond to those of a dispreferred response.

Example (57) shows that a response to an RPQ, which is seemingly a display of alignment, turns out to be a dispreferred response, when considering the design features embodied by that response. Interestingly, it also shows that the trajectory established by the

RPQ can be significantly modified by the interactants. In this example, A and B are talking about *yukata*, a Japanese piece of clothing that people wear on some special occasions in summer. In this segment, B first says that the only color of *yukata* that she likes is dark blue and then implies that she has a *yukata* of that color, by saying *kaikaeru- kaeru hitsuyoo nai jan* ('((there is)) no need to buy and replace- replace ((the old one))') (lines 1-3). A then requests a confirmation of whether B really has a dark blue one (line 5). B then ratifies this, but with a 'nonconforming response' (Raymond, 2003) to a yes-no question first (line 6), followed by a re-confirmation with *so* ('right') (line 8) after A's response that displays unexpectedness.[41] The way in which B ratifies A's confirmation request (i.e., B first ratifies it with a nonconforming response, followed by a re-confirmation only after A's response) seems to invite A to further expand the sequence in progress by responding to B's statement about her favorite color of *yukata*. Line 9 displays A's understanding or probable sympathy for B's expression of liking of that color of *yukata*. In line 10, B produces a RPQ, *nanka kon*, (0.5) *suzushigejanai*? ('Like, dark blue, (0.5) doesn't ((it)) have a cool feel?'). The RPQ is hesitantly produced, as indicated by the 0.5 second pause before constructing the evaluative term *suzushige* ('a cool feel').[42] B's evaluative statement via the RPQ deployed here may be understood as an account for why she still wants to buy a new *yukata* of the same color (i.e., dark blue) as the old one, as indicated in lines 1-3. Our special attention is directed to how A responds to the RPQ in line 12 and how that response affects the subsequent course of talk.

41 Raymond (2003) showed that in English there are two types of responses to yes/no interrogatives, namely 'type-conforming response' and 'nonconforming response'. Type-conforming responses which include either a *yes* or a *no* are the default response type constrained by the conditional relevance of the yes/no interrogative of the first pair part, which makes relevant a response that embodies either a *yes* or *no*. Nonconforming responses are, on the other hand, the other response type, which departs from the constraints set by the conditional relevance of the yes/no interrogative. Raymond then argued that since the yes/no interrogative is specially designed for a particular recipient by orienting to the principle of recipient design, nonconforming responses to the interrogative indicate some trouble or resistance against the design of the interrogative and thus affect the subsequent trajectory of the course of action. According to Raymond (2003), the subsequent trajectory observed after nonconforming responses to the yes/no interrogative is an expansion of the sequence in progress. In the case of Japanese, type-conforming responses contain either a *nn* ('yes') or *nn nn, iya* ('no') (or their equivalents). Nonconforming responses do not contain either of these tokens.

42 Here *suzushige* ('a cool feel') refers to a sense of cool breeze, not to a sense of being fashionable and attractive in a colloquial sense in English.

(57) MUGS2

01 B: *yukata wa kon:: janakya ya na n da yo nee*
yukata TOP dark.blue TAG.CONJ dislike BE N BE FP FP

02 *nantonaku.=sonna n dattara kaikaeru- kaeru*
somewhat so N BE.CONJ buy.and.replace buy.and.replace

03 *hitsuyoonai jan* [*mitaina* hhhhh]
need.NEG TAG like
'If ((*yukatas*)) are not dark blue, I don't like them somehow, you know. So, like, ((there is)) no need to buy and replace- replace ((the old one)), you know.'

04 A: [*ya*(h):(h):(h):(h)hhh]
no

05 *konna no motte n no*?
dark.blue GEN have N QP
'No:::. Do ((you)) have a dark blue one?'

06 B: *motteru kon.*
have dark.blue
'I have. ((I have)) a dark blue one.'

07 A: *a*:::
'Oh:::'

08 B: *soo.*
'Right.'

09 A: *tashikani. kon ni nanka,* (0.2) *wakaru kamo.*
indeed dark.blue to like understand may
'Indeed. For dark blue, like, ((I)) can understand ((why you like a dark blue one)).'

10 → B: *nanka kon,* (0.5) *suzushigejanai*?
like dark.blue cool.feel.TAG
'Like, dark blue, doesn't ((it)) have a cool feel?'

11 → (1.0)

12 → A: *un.*
'Yeah.'

13 B: *nantonaku. kurai kedo iro ga.*
somehow dark although color SUB
'Somehow ((it has that sense)). Although ((it's)) dark. The color is ((dark)).'

14 A: *nn.*
'Yeah.'

15 B: *iro sonomono ga.*
color itself SUB
'The color itself is ((dark)).'

First, A's response to the RPQ lacks a stated agreement. It only displays A's minimum alignment via a stand-alone, single alignment marker *un* 'yeah.' Second, A's response to the RPQ in line 12 is noticeably and substantially delayed, as indicated by the 1.0 second gap between the initiation of A's response and B's turn completion (line 11). The delayed production of A's minimal alignment further mutes the strength of alignment. These two features correspond to those of a dispreferred response.

These features embodied in T's response, in fact, seem to be understood as those of a dispreferred response by the RPQ speaker, B. In response to A's minimum alignment, B subsequently adds several increments to her prior evaluation via the RPQ (line 13). All these increments back down and modify her prior evaluative statement via the RPQ. A then aligns with this downgraded evaluation (line 14). This time A's alignment, which is also displayed by a stand-alone, single alignment token like the one in line 12, is delivered without any recognizable delay. A's alignment is thus recognizable as a preferred response in terms of the timing of delivery, although it is far from a full alignment. This suggests that A produces similar alignment tokens in separate placements (i.e., lines 12 and 14) in crucially different ways. The alignment token in line 12 is actualized as a dispreferred response to B's assessment via the RPQ while the one in line 14 is actualized as a preferred response to B's downgraded assessment modified by the increments. Therefore, A's dispreferred response to the RPQ here significantly affects the subsequent course of action.

As discussed earlier (at the beginning of 2.6), the RPQ involves cross-cutting preferences: one preference activated by the grammatical format and the other activated by the action implemented by the RPQ. From the above examples (examples (54)-(57)), the RPQ exhibits its orientation to the preference of the action over the one of the grammatical format. Thus, an agreement with a statement via the RPQ is organized as a preferred response, whereas a disagreement with a statement via the RPQ is organized as a dispreferred response.

3 Summary of General Characteristics of Japanese RPQs

General characteristics of Japanese RPQs discussed thus far can be summarized as follows:

- *The RPQ delivers the speaker's evaluative statement of the opposite polarity to that of the question form.*
- *The RPQ shows its distinctive pitch contour.*
- *The RPQ speaker claims equal epistemic rights or access to knowledge and information about a state of affairs relative to the recipient.*
- *Such symmetrical epistemic stance can be indexed by grammatical and prosodic features embodied by the RPQ: the simple non-past form that is not accompanied by final particles (grammatical features) and the marked intonation (a prosodic feature).*
- *The RPQ makes a particular type of response relevant through the conditional relevance set by the interrogative construction.*
- *The RPQ orients to the preference of the action that it invites: the preference for agreement.*

The RPQ possesses these general characteristics. Some of these characteristics, however, will be operated in different ways depending on different sequential placements where the RPQ is utilized. In the rest of the thesis, this study will thus investigate how the above characteristics of the RPQ are adapted to different sequential placements, and will give a more complete picture of the RPQ.

Chapter 5

First Assessment RPQs

1 Introduction

The purpose of the present thesis is to investigate how the RPQ can be adapted to, or affected by positional variations. It will particularly focus on RPQs occurring in first and second assessment positions within assessment sequences. In this chapter, we will initially look at RPQs deployed in first assessment position. First assessment position is the arena where the RPQ is most actively utilized by conversational participants. I will show how the first assessment RPQ emerges in the course of an ongoing interaction. I will also demonstrate that the preceding context warrants symmetrical epistemic access to knowledge and information about a particular referent, and thereby establishes the basis for symmetrical rights to assess that referent which will be claimed by the first assessment RPQ. On that basis, using the RPQ, the speaker can make a particular evaluative statement that is assumed to be equally accessible and sharable for both the speaker and the hearer, by appealing to participants' common sense, knowledge, or reasoning. By so doing, the speaker invites agreement from the hearer. However, the study will also reveal that there are cases in which the RPQ is introduced without dependence upon the preceding talk. I will then try to characterize the nature of the evaluative statement expressed by the first assessment RPQ. I will further show that the kind of statement expressed by the first assessment RPQ can be anticipated from the preceding sequence of talk leading up to its production. Finally, I will conclude that these are the outcomes of the RPQ speaker's orientation to mutual agreement with his or her

co-participant(s) in a particular view or judgment of a state of affairs.

2 Practices for Introducing First Assessment RPQs

The first assessment RPQ generally emerges from the preceding talk in which a particular assessable is made visible or recognizable as something to which co-present parties can have symmetrical access. I will show two common practices in which the preceding talk allows participants to have symmetrical epistemic access to knowledge and information about a particular assessable and thereby provides grounds on which the RPQ speaker can claim symmetrical rights to assess that assessable. The tied relationship between the RPQ and its preceding context which is established through these practices invokes participants' common sense, knowledge, or reasoning. By appealing to such common sense, knowledge, or reasoning, the RPQ speaker evaluates a particular assessable. The evaluative statement expressed by the RPQ assumes that the speaker can equally share with his or her co-participants an assessment of the assessable initiated by the RPQ. I will also show another practice in which the RPQ speaker introduces an RPQ first and produces an additional context, through which he or she retrospectively establishes symmetrical access to what has just been assessed by the RPQ. With the provision of such an additional context on which the RPQ is based, the incipient RPQ can be understood as an evaluation which is assumed to be equally accessible and sharable for both the speaker and the hearer.

2.1 Practice 1: Use of the compound TCU format

There are two common practices by which the preceding talk shapes an environment in which participants' equivalent access to a particular referent can be recognizable prior to the production of the RPQ. One of these practices is that the first assessment RPQ speaker utilizes the compound TCU format (Lerner, 1991; Hayashi, 2003). In constructing a compound TCU, the first component generally attends to a particular (aspect of a) referent prior to the production of the RPQ by way of inviting a mutual orientation to that particular (aspect of the) referent that can be equally accessible by co-present parties. It then establishes symmetrical access to that (aspect of the) referent. The symmetrical access established by the first component can be retained in the second component by the projection of the first component, particularly by the use of certain conjunctive particles, such as *kara* ('because') or *nara* ('if'), which establish the causal linkage between the two components. In this way, the RPQ speaker warrants equal epistemic access to a particular referent and creates an environment for the production of the RPQ.

Example (58) is one instance in which such a practice can be observed. This segment of the conversation between two female university classmates occurs at the very beginning of the recording. The conversation took place in a relatively large university classroom which can accommodate more than 50 students at a time. After the researcher left the room (Figure 5.1), A and B look at each other (Figure 5.2). Then A starts to laugh and B responds to it with a smile and a nod (Figure 5.3) and they then enter the following segment of talk:

(58) MUGS 5

Figure 5.1 A&B are attending to the researcher walking out of the room

Figure 5.2 A&B are looking at each other

Figure 5.3 A laughs and B responds with a smile & a nod

FIRST COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU | SECOND COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

01 →A: .hh *nanka shinto naru to* | *kowakunai*?
like quietly become as | scary.NEG
'Like, as ((it)) becomes quiet, | doesn't ((it feel)) weird?'

FIRST ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

Compound TCU X-*to*, Y ('as X, Y')

02 B: *nn. =nanka, betsuni,*
yeah like you.know

03 *itsumo wa kudaranai koto shabetteru n da kedo,*
always TOP trivial thing chatting N BE although
'Yeah. Like, you know, although we are always chatting ((about)) something trivial,'

04 A: *n.*
'Yeah.'

05 B: *shabere tte iwareru [to],*
chat QT are.told when
'when we are told to chat,'

06 A: [hh]hhh[hhhh.hh]

07 B: [*ee mitaina*],
eh like
'((it's)) like 'what?'.'

After brief laugh tokens, A starts to construct a compound TCU, X-*to*, Y ('as X, Y'), the second component of which embodies an RPQ, *kowakunai*? ('doesn't ((it feel)) weird?') (line 1).[43] The first component of the compound TCU indexes a particular aspect of the current situation that both A and B are now jointly experiencing: they are alone in a large, quiet classroom, which should otherwise be full of students attending a lecture. It therefore indexes this particular aspect of the situation which is equally accessed by both A and B, and establishes a ground for claiming symmetrical rights to assess it. The RPQ embodied in the second component evaluates this particular aspect of the situation. The evaluative statement constructed by the RPQ in this way assumes that it can be equally shared by both its producer and its recipient. Such a statement can be generated by invoking the participants' common sense that one may feel strange or uncomfortable when two people are staying in a large, quiet classroom. With that statement, the RPQ speaker then elicits agreement from the recipient. B, who is the recipient of the RPQ, then aligns with A and describes another aspect of the same situation co-experienced by A and B (lines 2, 3, 5 and 7).

Example (59), which was previously presented as example (56), is another instance in which an RPQ is embodied within a compound TCU. In this talk, S and O have been talking about the host family's home that S had stayed with during her trip to Malta. Here, O found a picture of a dressing table located in a corridor (Figure 5.4) and began the segment below.

43 The word *kowai* usually means "scared". However, it also covers a wide range of meanings related to one's reaction to an unusual circumstance.

(59) O-S

Figure 5.4 Attending to one of the pictures

Figure 5.5 ...*konna*...

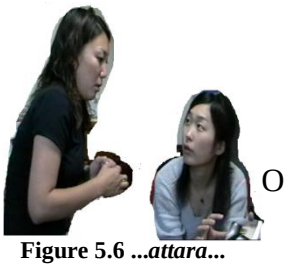


Figure 5.6 ...*attara*...

FIRST COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

01 → O: *kyoodai* *ga* *konna* *tokoro* *ni* *attara*
dressing.table SUB this place at existed.CONJ
'When the dressing table is at a place like this,

Compound TCU X-*tara*, Y ('when X, Y')

SECOND COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

02 *chotto* *kowakunai?*
a.little scary.NEG
isn't ((it)) a little scary?'

First Assessment RPQ

03 (0.5)

04 S: [*demo::*],
but
'bu::t,'

05 O: [*yoru* *toka-*] *yoru* *agaru* *toki.*=
night like night go.upstairs when
'Like, ((at)) night- when ((you)) go upstairs ((at)) night.'

06 → S: =*biiandobii* *toka* *mo* *ookatta* *yo.*
B&B like too had.many FP
'((There were)) many ((such cases)), ((at)) B&B and the like, too.'

As mentioned in example (56), the location of a dressing table in the picture is rather rare for Japanese people.[44] By attending to this aspect of the picture, O constructs a compound TCU X-*tara*, Y ('when X, Y'), in which an RPQ is embedded. The first component of the compound TCU appeals to the gap between the location of the dressing table in the picture and the one commonly found in Japan (i.e., the one in a bedroom). Here *konna tokoro* ('a place like this'), which contains a proximal deictic term *konna* ('like this'), refers to the

44 A dressing table is generally located in a bedroom in a Japanese house.

specific location of the dressing table within the picture. By the deployment of the deictic term *konna*, O simultaneously produces a pointing gesture with her index finger and thereby invites S to attend to that specific location of the dressing table (Figure 5.5). By so doing, O establishes symmetrical access to what will be assessed, that is, the location of the dressing table. In this way, O creates an environment for the production of an RPQ embodied within the second component of the compound TCU that follows. It should also be noted that during the production of the final elements *attara* of the first component, O directs a gaze at S to confirm their mutual orientation to the assessable (Figure 5.6). This allows O to more firmly establish their symmetrical access to the assessable. Then, by the projection of the first component in which the symmetrical access to the assessable is established, O makes an evaluation through the RPQ *chotto kowakunai*? ('isn't ((it)) a little scary?'), assuming that such an evaluation can be equally accessible and sharable for both O and S. This evaluation appeals to their common sense, or reasoning, that one may feel scared when seeing a dressing table at the place that can be seen on the picture. The assumption made by the statement through the RPQ, however, does not work well here, as we have seen in example (56). Although O tries to elicit agreement after the 0.5 gap by giving an elaboration in which she refers to a particular situation that makes people feel scared to see the dressing table at the location, S's dispreferred response, characterized by its delayed delivery and *demo*-preface (Mori, 1999), resists the evaluation produced by O. Through that response, S reports that she actually found a dressing table at such a location in many places during her trip. By so doing she not only claims her epistemic supremacy over the matter at hand, but also may treat O's evaluation as inadequate.

In example (60), T, who is visiting M's home, seeks advice from M about renting an apartment, showing various flyers of apartments for rent. Prior to this segment, they initially talked about the locations of the apartments while looking at the flyers. They then shifted the

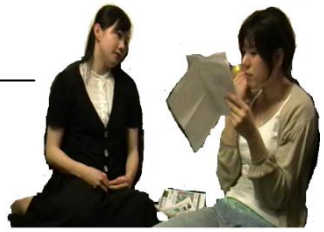
focus of talk to the number of burners on the gas stove in the kitchen. Both T and M agreed that the kitchen should have a two burner gas stove. Then M explained why she had finally chosen a two burner gas stove for her current home but had given up adding a fish griller below the gas stove.[45] During her explanation, M kept holding several flyers that advertise apartments for rent.

(60) New Apartment

```
01  M:  konro      wa  hutakuchi   ni shita.
        gas.stove TOP two.burners at did
        'As for the gas stove, I chose a two burner one.'

02      (1.5) ((M drinks beer looking at one of the flyers.))

03  M:  n:::n.
        'Let's see::.'
```



```
04      (1.5) (((M closely looks at one of the flyers.))

05  T:  demo ne::, [nanka-]
        but  FP     like
        'Bu::t you know, like,-'
```

Figure 5.7 M looks at one of the flyers

```
06 →M:                [NANA]MANNISEN  dattara
                      72,000.yen      BE.CONJ
                      'If ((it is)) 72000 yen,

                                      yokunai?
                                      good.NEG
                                      isn't ((it)) good?'
```

FIRST COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

SECOND COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

First Assessmet RPQ

Compound TCU X-*tara*, Y ('If X, Y')

Figure 5.8...*NANA*...
((M lowers the flyers))

```
07 →    eki     kara  tooi   kedo      ne.
        station from  far    although  FP
        'although ((it is)) far from the station, you know.'
```

45 In Japan, there is a kind of "comprehensive" gas stove, which includes a fish griller attached below the gas stove. What M gave up is purchasing that kind of "comprehensive" gas stove.

```
08   T:  narimasu:: wa::,
         Narimasu   TOP
         '(The property in)Narimasu:: i::s,'

09   M:  n
         'Yeah'

10   T:  nanka  narimasu  wa,
         like   Narimasu  TOP
         'Like, Narimasu is,'

11   M:  n     OOTO[ROKKU  jan].
         yeah  self-lock   TAG
         'Yeah ((it has))self-locking, you know.'

12   T:           [     benri]na   n  da  kedo::,
                       convenient N  BE  although
         'altho::ugh (it) is convenient,'

13       (2.0)

14   T:  jikka          tooku naru::.
         parents'.home  far   become
         '((It)) beco::mes far (from) my parents' home.'
```

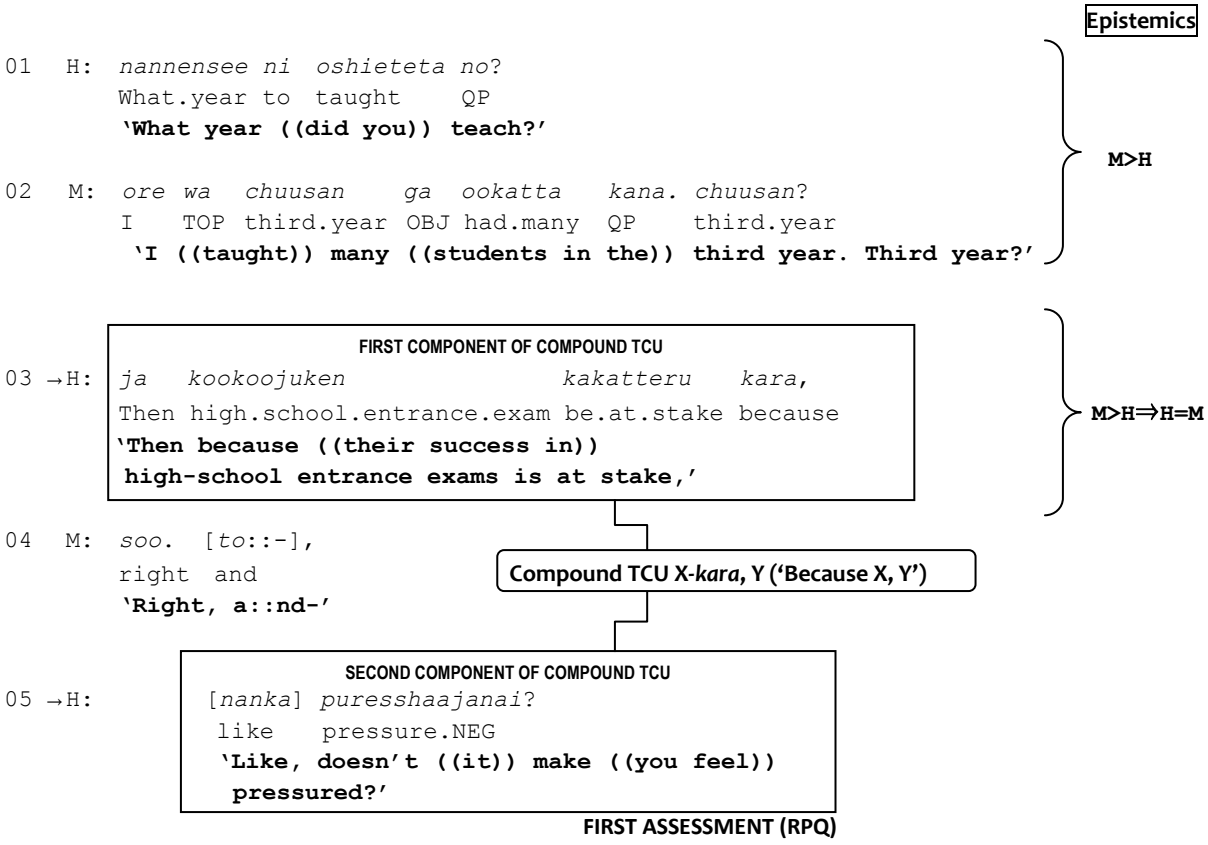
In line 1, M completes her current informing by repeating that she chose a two burner gas stove. Then M shifts her gaze towards the flyers that she is holding while drinking beer. T, on the other hand, does not respond to M's informing. In this way, the informing sequence initiated by M is now closed. In line 3, M here seems to find some information on one of the flyers that she is attending to. During a long pause in line 4 M then moves that flyer more closely to herself and T tilts her head toward the flyer that M is looking at, in order to see it (Figure 5.7). In line 5, T then initiates her turn with the connective *demo*, which indicates that she tries to tie back to the prior talk, but the turn is aborted due to M's simultaneous deployment of overlapping talk with greater amplitude and M's hand movement produced in such a way that T's talk is blocked by the materials that M is holding (Figure 5.8). M's turn in line 6 is constructed as a compound TCU in which an RPQ is embedded. The first component of the compound TCU refers to a specific piece of information, the rental price of an apartment for rent on the flyer M is currently attending to. It should be noted that the rental price that M is referring to is rather low in Tokyo. This knowledge about the market

price of apartments for rent can be equally accessed by both M and T. By appealing to that piece of information, M thus establishes symmetrical access to a particular aspect of the apartment for rent on the flyer. On the basis of the symmetrical access to that aspect, an RPQ, *yokunai* (‘Isn’t ((it)) good?’), embodied in the second component of the compound TCU is thus constructed. The evaluative statement expressed through the RPQ is, like examples (58) and (59), done by the assumption that both the RPQ speaker and the recipient can equally access and share that statement by appealing to their common reasoning or knowledge invoked by the relationship between the statement and its preceding talk, that is, renting an apartment at that price should be good. Although M invites agreement from T using the grammatical format of the RPQ, T does not respond to the statement expressed by the RPQ. M then attends to another aspect of the apartment on the flyer, that is, some distance between the apartment and its nearest station. M thereby extends her turn to modify her statement expressed by the RPQ, in order to make it easy for T to agree with her statement. In lines 8 and 10, however, T does not display her agreement. Rather she prefaces her turn with a connective *demo* (‘but’), which foreshows an ensuing disagreement (Mori, 1999), and then repeats the connective to delay delivering her dispreferred response. M in line 11, on the other hand, notices another aspect of the apartment on the flyer, that is, its self-locking system, and thereby further elicits agreement from T by emphasizing that aspect with greater amplitude. T in lines 12 through 14, however, continues to produce her dispreferred response to M, although she partially admits that the apartment on the flyer can be convenient.

Example (61), which repeats example (55), is another instance in which the RPQ is embodied in the compound TCU format. In this example, it can be observed how the RPQ speaker works to establish participants’ symmetrical access to a particular referent, to which there could apparently be asymmetrical access. In order to clarify this point, different

epistemic rights over different entities are shown next to the transcripts.[46]

(61) MU1



As has been shown in example (55), H is asking about what M experienced as a part-time tutor at a private cram school. The question-answer sequence, which consists of lines 1 and 2, indexes epistemic asymmetry between M and H (M>H). H cannot claim any access to the referent, the year of students that M was teaching at that time. It is M, who taught them, who can claim epistemic primacy to the referent. However, the compound TCU initiated by H in

46 In epistemics shown next to the transcripts, X>Y indicates that X knows the matter better than Y. X<Y indicates the contrary. X=Y indicates that X and Y equally know the matter.

line 3 does not index the same epistemic asymmetry as the previous sequence. Importantly, the first component embodies part of knowledge in common between M and H, *kookoojuken kakatteru* ('((their success in)) high-school entrance exams is at stake'). By reference to this knowledge, H establishes symmetrical access to a particular aspect of the referent, *chuusan* ('the third year'), being attended to ((M>H)⇒(M=H)). It should also be noted that the first component is expressed in the present tense. It would be possible for H to formulate the first component using the past form of the verb, *kakaru* ('be at stake,') thus referring to a particular experience that M had when he was teaching as a tutor. Rather, by formulating the first component in the present tense, she treats as equally accessible for both H and herself at least one aspect of the referent, the situation that students in the third year generally experience, and thereby claims symmetrical access to this particular aspect of the referent. The symmetrical access established in the first component in this way creates an environment for the production of a forthcoming RPQ, *nanka puresshaa janai*? ('Like, doesn't ((it)) make ((you feel)) pressured?'). Note that just like the first component, the RPQ as the second component is delivered in the present tense. The RPQ deployed in the second component thus assesses not a specific experience that M had in the past, but a general experience that anyone teaching those students should have had. Thus, by assessing such an experience through the RPQ, H claims equal epistemic rights over the matter and treats her assessment as a statement that can be equally accessed and shared for M and herself by appealing to the participants' common reasoning that one may feel pressured when teaching students in the third year. In line 6, M then displays his agreement with H. M's agreement here consists of two TCUs. In the first TCU, he shows his strong involvement in the assessment activity in progress with greater amplitude. In the second TCU, he adds an intensifier to the assessment term produced by H, and thereby not only shows his stronger involvement in the assessment activity but also seems to index his epistemic supremacy over the matter at hand relative to H.

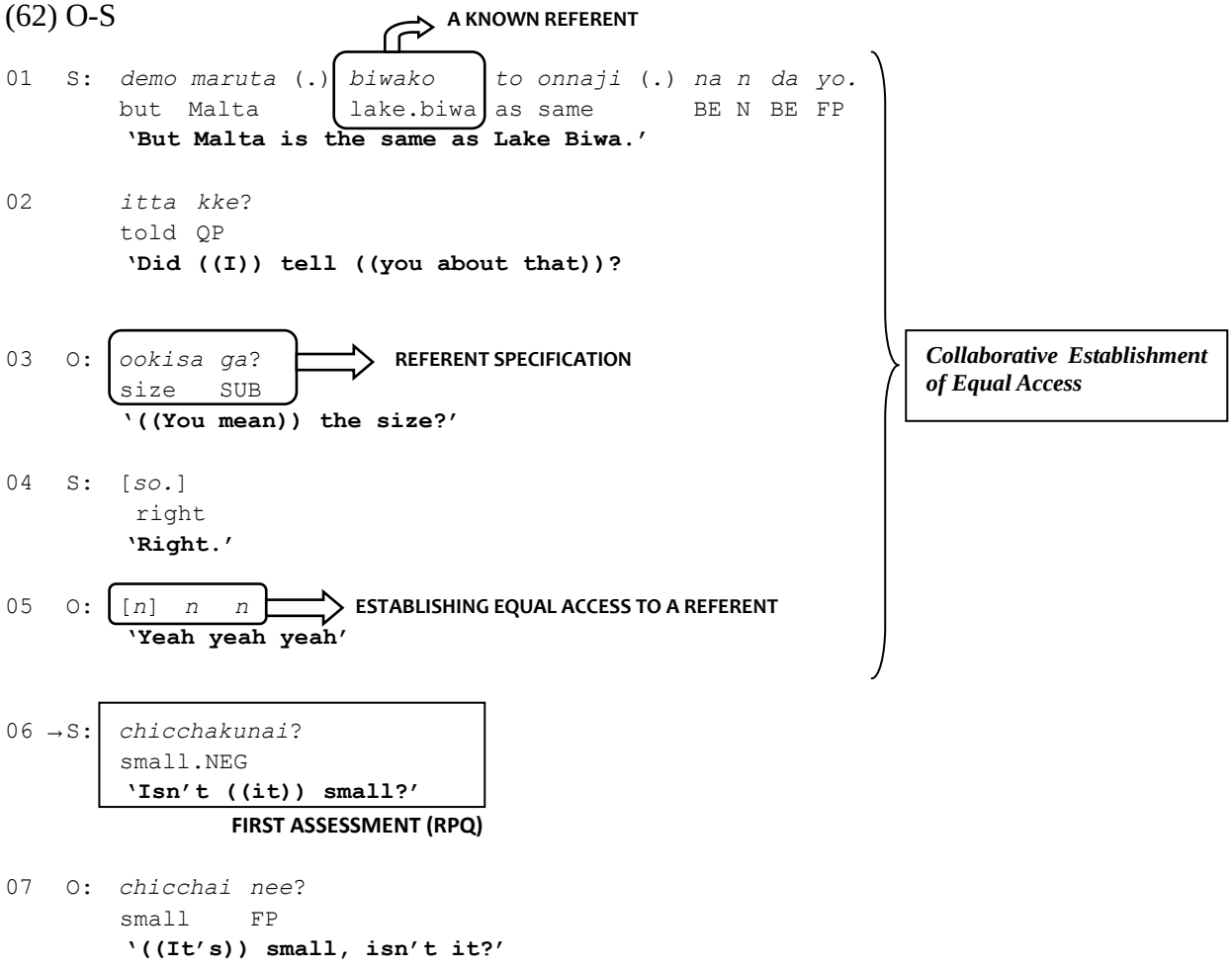
The examples (58)-(61) showed that a compound TCU format is utilized as a resource to create an environment for the production of the first assessment RPQ. The first component of the compound TCU establishes symmetrical access to knowledge and information about a state of affairs currently attended to by participants. Such access to the state of affairs is projected to the second component by way of the causal linkage embodied by the format, and can thereby indicate that the second component should be heard on the basis of the first component. In this way, the RPQ speaker establishes the basis for the production of the RPQ which claims symmetrical rights to assess the state of affairs. The evaluative statement expressed by the RPQ embodied within the compound TCU format is a statement that is expected to be equally accessed and shared by co-present parties, based on the speaker's assumption regarding the participants' common sense, common knowledge or common reasoning that people should feel or think in the same way.

2.2 Practice 2: Collaborative establishment of participants' symmetrical access to an assessable through confirmation activities

Practice 2 is that the preceding interactional activities, namely confirmation activities, contingently allow participants to collaboratively establish symmetrical access to a particular (aspect of) referent. On the basis of the collaborative establishment of symmetrical access to the referent, an environment for the production of the RPQ can be generated. The RPQ produced in this way claims equivalent epistemic rights to assess the referent and assumes that the statement via the RPQ can be equally accessed and shared by co-present parties. Example (62) is an instance. In this example, the preceding confirmation activity, which is coordinated by both the speaker of the RPQ and the recipient, warrants symmetrical access to

knowledge and information about a particular state of affairs, and thereby becomes a basis for the production of the RPQ. This production of the RPQ will then seek for mutual agreement on a particular aspect of that state of affairs. In this example, S is talking about her impression of Malta, which she has recently visited.

(62) O-S



In line 1, S provides an informing about Malta, which she has recently visited. Although S claims her superior access to this information by the use of the final particle *yo*, relative to O, who is the recipient of the informing, S's informing about Malta is done in a special way. That is, S's informing of Malta is associated with another referent, Lake Biwa, which is familiar for the recipient. What S says through her informing here is that a certain aspect of Malta is the same as that of the referent that both O and S can equally access, although that

aspect is left unspecified. Thus, this informing which embodies the association between a new referent (i.e., Malta) and a known referent (i.e., Lake Biwa) seems to be designed to create an environment in which both S and O can have symmetrical access to at least one certain aspect of the referent, Malta, currently being informed, once that aspect becomes specified. In line 2, S abruptly modifies the course of talk, and asks O whether the informing has been done before. This confirmation request indicates that S may change the orientation of her talk, depending on whether or not the confirmation is given by O. In line 3, however, O does not respond directly to S's confirmation. Rather, O displays her trouble understanding S's informing. That is, what aspect of Malta is the same as Lake Biwa. O thereby initiates a repair or another confirmation activity as an insertion sequence in order to specify the referent being discussed, by asking whether the target referent is the size of Malta. O's candidate understanding for specification of the referent, *ookisa ga*? ('((You mean)) the size?'), is validated by S in line 4. The insertion sequence that consists of lines 3 and 4 confirms that S's informing is about the size of Malta which is associated with Lake Biwa. It is important to note that the insertion sequence not only allows O to have correct access to S's informing, but also enables O to have equal access to Malta, at least one aspect of Malta (i.e., the size of Malta), relative to S, by reference to the size of Lake Biwa that O already knows about. In line 5, O provides the confirmation which has been requested by S in line 2, and acknowledges that S's informing was in fact received. Through that confirmation, O claims her equal access to knowledge and information about the size of Malta, relative to S. The series of turns collaboratively constructed by both S and O from lines 1 to 5 create an environment in which these participants can have equal access to the referent, the size of Malta. The production of the RPQ emerges on the basis of this kind of environment in which participants can have equal access to a referent being attended to. In line 6, S employs an RPQ, *chicchakunai*? ('Isn't ((it)) small?'). Importantly, the evaluation via the RPQ is

something to which both the RPQ speaker and the recipient can have symmetrical access, but not something to which the RPQ speaker can claim his primary access (e.g., people in Malta or tastes of food in Malta). The evaluation produced by the use of the RPQ is thus assumed to be equally accessible and sharable for the participants, by reference to their common knowledge about the size of Malta comparable to the size of Lake Biwa. In line 7, O displays an agreement with S by the use of "repetitional agreement" (Hayano, 2007) through which O claims that she has already held the same view independently of S.

Example (63) is another instance in which participants' collaboratively established symmetrical access to a particular assessable creates an environment for the production of the RPQ. In this example, T and M are talking about the size of an apartment for rent on the flyer that M is holding in her hand. Prior to the extract, both T and M did not grasp how the floor plan should be read. T then found that the size of the apartment is 28 square meters and said that it is large, but M was not familiar with such a measurement.

(63) New Apartment

Figure 5.9 …*yonjoo*…

01 M: *ja* *yonjoo* *purasu* *nanajoo* *tte* *koto*?
then four-tatami.room plus seven-tatami.room QT thing
'Then, you mean, a four-tatami room plus a seven-tatami room?'

Figure 5.10 …*kore de*…

02 T: *hora* *hora* *kore* *de* *nijuuichiheebee* *da* *yo*.
you.see you.see this at 21.square.meter BE FP
'You see? You see? This is a 21 square-meter one.'

03 M: *sokka.*
right.QP
'I see.'

04 *yonjoo* [*puraus nanajo* *na n da.*]
four-tatami.room plus seven-tatami.room BE N BE
'((This one)) is a four-tatami room plus a seven-tatami room.'

Figure 5.11 …|*kore de*…

05 T: [*kore de nijuuyon* *da yo.*]
this at 24.square.meter BE FP
'This is a 24 square-meter one.'

06 *n.*
'yeah.'

Figure 5.12 ...*sore*…

07 →M: *sore yokunai?*
that good.NEG
'Isn't that good?'
FIRST ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

08 T: *n*
'Yeah.'

09 (1.5) ((T is drinking beer.))

10 T: *demo suggoi ie ni chikai no* [*ne.*]
but very home to near GEN FP
'But ((that's)) near ((my parents')) home, you know.'

11 M: [*ii*] *jan?*
good TAG
'((That's)) good, isn't it?'

In line 1, M looks at the flyer (Figure 5.9) and asks T whether the size of 28 square meters is corresponding to the sum of a four-tatami room and a seven-tatami room.[47] During M's

47 In a Japanese floor plan, the size of a room is measured by the number of tatamis. One tatami is 180

question, T looks at another flyer to see the size of another apartment so that she can show M how large 28 square meters is. In line 2, T finds the size of the apartment much smaller than the one that M is attending to, and shows it to M (Figure 5.10). In line 3, M now seems to understand that 28 square meters corresponds to the sum of a four-tatami room and a seven-tatami room. Here M's understanding of the size of 28 square meters can be made without T's answer to M's question. How can this be made possible? Although T does not provide an explicit answer to M's question, the flyer that T showed in the prior turn seems to allow M to understand the relationship between two different ways of measurements (i.e., 28 square meters, and the sum of a four-tatami room and a seven-tatami room). That is, the material shows a floor plan which is much smaller than the one that M is holding (i.e., a four-tatami room and a seven-tatami room). Through observing that material, M can now have better access to the size of 28 square meters. M then asks for further confirmation about the size (line 4). In overlap with M's talk, T gives M another flyer (Figure 5.11), which shows another apartment whose size is again smaller than the size of the apartment on the flyer that M is holding (line 5). T then gives confirmation to M (line 6). Through these exchanges of turns, T, on the one hand, utilizes smaller apartments on different flyers as resources, thereby inviting M to understand the relatively larger size of the apartment that both T and M are currently attending to. M, on the other hand, utilizes the materials that T provided as resources, thereby filling in the gap between T and herself in knowledge about the size of the apartment, which is 28 square meters. In this way, T and M collaboratively establish their symmetrical access to the size of the apartment. On that basis, an RPQ, *sore yokunai*? ('Isn't that good?'), is produced. Here *sore* ('that') does not refer to the apartment on the flyer that T provided. Rather, it refers back to what M has said, *yonjoo purasu nanajoo* ('a four-tatami room and a seven-tatami room'), that is, the size of the apartment that both M

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centimeters in length and 90 centimeters in width.

and T are currently attending to. It should be noted that during the production of the RPQ, M separates the focused flyer from other flyers, and attends to it (Figure 5.12). By so doing, she connects the focused flyer with what *sore* (‘that’) refers to. The evaluative statement expressed by the RPQ, just as in example (62), is something that both the speaker and the recipient can equally access and share, based on their common reasoning that the size of the apartment that M is attending to should be good in comparison to other apartments on the flyers. In line 8, T seemingly displays her agreement. However, it turns out that T does not fully agree with M. After a rather long pause (line 9), T then continues her turn initiated by a connective *demo* (‘but’), which is a harbinger of an ensuing disagreement. She then takes up a negative aspect of the apartment as an account for why she cannot fully agree with M (line 10). T’s response to M is thus formed up as an “agreement-plus-disagreement” turn format, which may indicate T’s disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984).

In example (64), H, N, and T are discussing Japanese professional baseball. N informs H and T that his favorite professional baseball team won with high frequency when he watched the games on site. Prior to the segment of talk, N said that it has thus far won 80 percent of the games that he watched.

(64) MU1

```
01  T:  ja    ikkai gurai  shika  maketenai no?
        then  once  about  only   lose.NEG  FP
        'Then ((the team)) has lost only about once, hasn't it?'

02  N:  un. [ nanashoo-]
        yeah  seven.wins
        'Yeah. Seven wins-'

03  H:      [kaimakusen    desho?]
             opening.games BE
        'You mean, opening games?'
```

04 N: *nana- un [soo. nanashoo ippai gurai da mon.]*
seven yeah right seven.wins one.loss about BE thing
'Seven- Yeah. ((That's)) right. About seven wins and one loss.'

05 H: [h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h]

06 T: *nanashoo ippai ssu ka?*
seven.wins one.loss BE QP
'Seven wins and one loss?'

07 H: [((COUGH))]

08 N: [((NOD))]

09 → *sugokune:?*
great.NEG
'Isn't ((it)) great?'
FISRT ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

10 T: *sugoi ssu ne?*
great BE FP
'((It)) is great, isn't it?'

11 N: *miseteageyoo ka?*
show.give QP
'Do ((I)) kindly show ((it to you))?

In line 1, T, who hears the informing for the first time, asks for confirmation by reformulating what N has just said. N then gives confirmation and tries to give the number of wins (line 2), but H, who has previously heard the informing, comes in and requests N for another confirmation so that T can understand the informing properly (line 3). N gives confirmation and then restarts what he has tried to say in his prior turn and gives the number of wins and losses (line 4). As soon as H receives confirmation from N, he starts to laugh (line 5). By laughing, H displays his favorable stance towards N's informing. Subsequently T requests N for another confirmation about what N has just said (line 6). This confirmation request can be heard as T's display of surprise. N then gives confirmation with a nod (line 8). The succession of confirmation sequences (lines 1-8) allow the co-present parties to establish symmetrical access to the remarkable percentage of wins in the games that N watched. In this way, the environment for the production of an RPQ is created. N then employs the RPQ, *sugokune*:? ('Isn't ((it)) great?') (line 9). What N expresses through the RPQ is not something

that he can exclusively claim. Rather, it is something that the co-present parties can equally access and share on the basis of their common reasoning regarding the percentage of wins. T then displays agreement with N (in line 10).

The above two practices demonstrate how the first assessment RPQ is located in the ongoing course of interaction. The production of the first assessment RPQ hinges upon the preceding interactional context in which participants' equivalent access to a particular (aspect of a) referent is established. One of the practices is that the RPQ speaker builds a compound TCU by which he or she attends to a particular (aspect of a) referent, by way of establishment of participants' symmetrical access, and produces the RPQ by appealing to common sense, knowledge, or reasoning, as in examples (58)-(61). On the other hand, the RPQ is sometimes more contingently constructed on the basis of participants' mutual contribution to the establishment of equivalent access to an assessable, particularly through their confirmation activities in the course of interaction, as in examples (62)-(64). Through these practices, the RPQ speaker shows his orientation to mutual agreement in a particular view expressed by the RPQ, which is based on the assumption that such a view should be equally accessed and shared by co-present parties. It should be noted, however, that the RPQ speaker's orientation to mutual agreement may not be accepted by the recipient, as in examples (59), (60), and (63).

Practice 3: Retrospective establishment of participants' symmetrical access

There are a few cases in which the RPQ speaker introduces an RPQ before establishing participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand. In these cases, the RPQ speaker retrospectively establishes participants' symmetrical access in order to seek participants'

mutual agreement with the view expressed through the preceding RPQ. In this section, we will look at a couple of instances of these cases.

Let us take a look at the first instance. In this example, M, H and B, who are senior students at university, are talking about how they got acquainted with other university students when they recently had job interviews.

(65) MU2

01 M: *ore adoresu kookan shitakunai ha dakara*::,
I address exchange want.NEG faction because

02 *jibun* [*kara wa zettai iwanai n da kedo*::],
myself from TOP absolutely say.NEG N BE but
'Beca::use I am in a faction who don't want to exchange ((email)) addresses, although absolutely ((I)) do not tell ((it)) from myself,'

03 H: [*a soo*(h) *na*(h) *n*(h) [*da*(h).hhhh]hhhh]
oh so BE N BE
'Oh I see(h)hhhhhhhh'

04 B: [*e*(h)hhhhhh]hhhh
e
'E(h)hhhhhhhhh'

05 H: *shitakunai ha tte*,
want.NEG faction TOP
'A faction ((of people who)) don't want to ((exchange email addresses)) is.'

06 →M: *nanka mendokusakunai*?
like bothering.NEG
'Like, isn't ((it)) bothering?'

FIRST ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

RETROSPECTIVE ESTABLISHMENT OF SYMMETRICAL ACCESS

07 → *doose renraku* [*toranee shi*] *to ka omotte*.
probably contact make.NEG P QT QP think
'Probably ((I)) think ((that I)) won't contact ((those people I exchange email addresses with)).'

08 H: [*ya demo*]-
no but
'No. but -'

09 B: °*wakannai*.°
know.NEG
'(I) don't know.'

10 H: *s- SOyuu hito wa toranai kedo::,*
DF those person TOP make.NEG although
'No, not esp- (I do) not make (contact with some of) those (people).'

In lines 1 and 2, M said that he is not a kind of person who exchanges email addresses with other people at a job interview. M's utterance is designed as a compound TCU, in which the conjunctive particle *kedo::* ('although') foresees the future course of action, which would be an informing that he eventually exchanged email addresses. In line 3, H employs a change-of-state token *a* ('oh') (Heritage, 1984b) and treats M's turn's talk-in-progress as newsworthy. Overlapping H's talk, B then co-aligns with H (line 4). The action projected by the prior component of the compound TCU which M has established in line 2 is then aborted by the intervention that H makes in line 5. In line 5 H repeats a part of M's prior talk, *shitakunai ha tte* ('A faction ((of people who)) don't want to ((exchange email addresses)) is'), which seems to be laughable for both H and B. H's utterance may ask M to account for what he means by that part, before M constructs the projected component of talk, and thus significantly modifies the ongoing course of talk. Therefore, rather than producing the projected component of the emerging compound TCU, M responds to H's prior intervening talk with an RPQ, which evaluates the event where people exchange their email addresses (line 6). Notice that this RPQ is, unlike the ones in the previous examples, introduced without establishment of participants' symmetrical epistemic access to the matter at hand. Rather, after producing the RPQ, M extends the TCU-in-progress by delivering a post-predicate component, or a re-completer, after the initial possible completion point (Hayashi, 2003; Mori, 1999; Ono & Suzuki, 1993; Tanaka, 1999). This additional component of talk, *doose renraku torenee shi to ka omotte* ('((I)) think ((that I)) won't contact ((those people I exchange email addresses with))'), retrospectively establishes participants' symmetrical access to what M has just assessed with the RPQ. It is constructed such that the recipient can make sense of M's evaluation via the RPQ. By this additional component, the statement via

the RPQ may be made intelligible by appealing to a common reasoning that one may not bother to exchange emails with someone that he or she met just once on a special occasion. In other words, without this additional component, M cannot establish participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand and have any basis for the statement expressed by the RPQ, which seeks agreement from his co-participants, H and B. It is by this additional component that the statement in the RPQ can be equally accessible and sharable for participants. In fact, in line 8, in overlap with M's additional component, H first produces *ya* ('no') plus a connective *demo* ('but'), which indicate that she does not agree with M. It should be noted, however, that H delivers a partial agreement after hearing the clausal increment following the RPQ. It should also be noted that the other recipient, B, also responds only after M has produced the additional component (line 9). B seems to withhold her stance towards M's statement. What is interesting here is that not only the RPQ speaker but also the recipients of the RPQ show their orientation towards the additional component on which the first assessment within the RPQ is based.

Another instance can be observed in the following example. In this example, A and B, who study at a same university, are discussing whether they can have a class party with their university classmates.

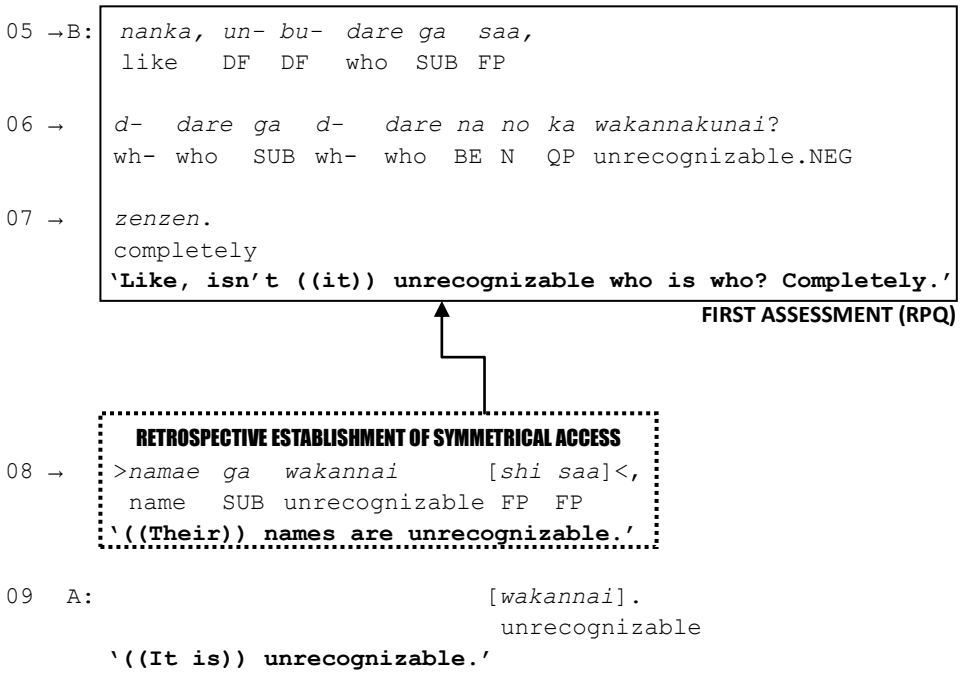
(66) MUGS2

```
01  A:  tteka      hennyuusee      to
        QT.say.or  tranfer.student with

02      nakayoku     naritai         n  da  ke[do    hon]to.
        make.friends want.to.become  N  BE  although really
        'Saying it or I really want to make friends with transfer-students, though.'

03  B:                                          [NE : : :]?
                                                 FP
        '((We do,)) don't we?'

04      (1.0)
```



In line 1, K shifts her focus of talk using the prefabricated phrase *tte ka* ('saying it or'), and says that she wants to make friends with transfer-students who come from different universities. T then displays her strong agreement with an elongated *ne*, which is also emphatically delivered with greater amplitude. After a long pause (line 4), T produces an RPQ, which assesses the degree to which K and T can recognize transfer students. The RPQ is then upgraded by a post-predicate addition *zenzen* ('completely') (line 7). Importantly, however, the RPQ is produced without the basis for the participants' symmetrical access to the degree to which they can recognize transfer students. It seems that at this moment it may be quite difficult for A to agree or disagree with what B has just said. This may be because B does not provide any common criterion of how much they know transfer students. In fact, after a possible completion point of B's turn (i.e., even after the first post-predicate addition, *zenzen* ('completely')), A withholds her stance towards what B has just said. What B does next is to build another post-predicate component, *namae ga wakannai shi saa* ('((Their)) names are unrecognizable') (line 8). By building this component, B specifies a particular aspect of the knowledge about transfer students and offers a criterion, that is, the names of

transfer-students, which are assumed to be unfamiliar for both A and herself, rather than the faces or ages of transfer-students that are relatively recognizable for them. By so doing, B retrospectively establishes the participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand. In this way, B provides the basis for the statement via the RPQ. A displays her agreement once hearing after the second post-predicate component on which the statement expressed by the RPQ is based. In other words, A's agreement is withheld until the second post-predicate component, specifically the criterion of the knowledge about transfer students, is provided.

These examples show that the RPQ can be introduced without participants' symmetrical access established within the preceding talk, as previously observed. In such a case, the RPQ speaker retroactively establishes participants' symmetrical access and thereby provides a basis for the statement expressed through the RPQ. This retroactive establishment of the symmetrical access is generally made by the RPQ speaker alone, not cooperatively done by both the RPQ speaker and the recipient. These examples have also shown that the statement expressed through the RPQ largely depends upon the context on which it is based. This can be understood by the above observations that the pre-posed RPQ tends to cause the second assessment to be temporally suspended until the retroactive establishment of participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand. To put it in another way, the recipient(s) carefully attends to the context on which the production of the RPQ is based, thereby withholding agreement or disagreement with the prior statement proposed by the RPQ until the delivery of the post-predicate component, which constitutes the basis of the RPQ. It suggests that the nature of the RPQ cannot be properly captured without the context on which its production is based.

3 The Nature of the Evaluative Statement of the First Assessment RPQ

In the previous section, I showed some of the ways in which the first assessment RPQ emerges in an ongoing interaction. In this section, I will focus on the nature of the evaluative statement expressed by the RPQ. Here I will show that (1) the kind of statement expressed by the RPQ is something foreseeable from the preceding talk leading up the production of the RPQ; and (2) the assessment term embodied in the RPQ is a generic descriptor that can denote a wide scope of evaluation of objects or situations. These two points contribute to the RPQ speaker's orientation towards mutual agreement with his or her co-participant(s) in the view expressed by the RPQ.

The statements expressed by the RPQs in first assessment position are generally foreseeable from the preceding talk. Such foreseeability relates to the aforementioned practices (i.e., Practice 1 & Practice 2 previously observed) through which participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand is established prior to the production of the RPQ. The preceding talk, in which participants utilize these practices to establish participants' symmetrical access to a particular assessable, allows the kind of statement expressed by the RPQ to be gradually narrowed down. In this way, the kind of statement expressed by the RPQ becomes foreseeable.

When the RPQ speaker utilizes the compound TCU format (i.e., Practice 1), as in examples (58)-(61), the first component not only establishes participants' equivalent access to an assessable but also significantly narrows down the domain of evaluation available and allows the hearer(s) to anticipate what kind of evaluative statement will come next. Take example (58), for instance. In addition to the current unusual situation that both A and B are experiencing (i.e., they are alone in a large university classroom which would usually be full of students attending a lecture), the first component, hh. *nanka shinto naru to* ('Like, as ((it))

becomes quiet'), is designed to be heard as something unusual. Brief laugh tokens and a hesitation marker *nanka* 'like' in the turn beginning indicate that the statement expressed in the turn-in-progress may be understood as not being positive. The subsequent part of the first component, *shinto naru* ('((it)) becomes quiet'), explicitly marks an unusual aspect of the current situation which both A and B can equally access. What A assesses, via the RPQ embodied in the second component, can be anticipated from this unusual aspect of the situation that is described in the first component.

Similarly, the first component of the compound TCU built by O in example (59) is designed to be heard as something unusual. As previously observed, it appeals to the gap between the specific location of the dressing table on the picture and the location of a dressing table commonly found in a Japanese house. O thus attends to the specific location of the dressing table in the picture by saying *konna tokoro* ('a place like this') with a pointing gesture, and thereby foregrounds its unusualness. Thus, the first component not only establishes symmetrical access to that location of the dressing table, but also narrows down the domain of evaluations available in the second component. This in turn allows the recipient to anticipate what type of assessment will follow.

In example (60), M attends to the rental price of the apartment for rent on the flyer in the first component of the compound TCU. M does so in such a way that the rental price is compared to the general market price of apartments for rent. In this way, M appeals to the rather low price of the apartment in the first component. The type of evaluation expressed by the forthcoming RPQ in the second component can thus be made foreseeable.

In example (61), the first component of the compound TCU constructed by H is designed so that the recipient can anticipate the kind of statement that will come in the RPQ in the second component. What H assesses via the RPQ in the second component seems to be a natural outcome, considering the situation specified by the first component, that is, the

situation where somebody is teaching Japanese junior high school students whose success in entrance exams is at stake.

In the case where participants' equal access to a referent is contingently established by the preceding talk (i.e., Practice 2), the foreseeable nature of the statement expressed by the RPQ is enhanced in a stepwise fashion, as can be seen in example (62). In example (62), S's informing that relates a focused referent (i.e., Malta) with a known referent (i.e., Lake Biwa), followed by the confirmation activity that aims to specify a particular aspect of the referent, allows O to anticipate the kind of assessment that is delivered by the forthcoming RPQ.

In example (63), as have been already seen, M initially asks T for confirmation about whether 28 square meters are equivalent to the sum of a four-tatami room and a seven-tatami room. T then gives confirmation twice by not only telling M the sizes of other apartments on different flyers, but also by showing these flyers to M. Thus, M not only receives confirmation about the size of the focused apartment, but also receives extra information by looking at other apartments on these flyers, on which their floor plans, rental prices, etc. can be compared with those of the focused apartment. By so doing, M seems to receive positive aspects of the focused apartment. In this way, the type of statement conveyed through the RPQ can be anticipated.

In example (64), the succession of confirmation sequences about N's informing not only contribute to the establishment of symmetrical access to the number of wins and losses of the games that N watched, but also foreground the notability of the percentage of wins. Thus, the statement expressed through the RPQ which signifies the notability of the percentage of wins can be anticipated.

However, the above foreseeability of the statements via the RPQs is absent when the RPQ is introduced by deployment of Practice 3 in which the RPQ speaker retroactively establishes participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand (i.e., Practice 3). In this

case there is no interactional space in which participants mutually orient to a particular assessable as a way of creating the basis for the statement via the RPQ. Thus, the kind of statement expressed by the RPQ cannot be narrowed down by the preceding talk. The hearer cannot anticipate what kind of statement will be delivered through the use of the forthcoming RPQ.

On the other hand, it is also important to underscore that the assessment terms embodied in the RPQs in example (58)-(66) tends to be those frequently employed by conversational participants. These descriptors can be categorized as a generic or non-specific type, such as *kowai* ('scary'), *sugoi* ('great), and *ii* ('good'), which can be used for a rather wide scope of evaluations. Utilizing such descriptors, the RPQ speaker seems to enhance the possibility that he or she can share the view expressed by the RPQ with his or her co-participant(s). In other words, the choice of the descriptor embodied in the RPQ is carefully made by the RPQ speaker for the purpose of eliciting agreement with his or her co-participant(s).

In this section, I have shown that the statement expressed by the RPQ is foreseeable from the preceding talk. As previously observed, in the preceding talk, participants utilize practices through which their symmetrical access to a particular assessable is established. During that talk, the domain of the evaluative statement via the RPQ is gradually narrowed down. In this way, the kind of statement expressed via the RPQ becomes foreseeable. Such foreseeability is, however, not relevant when the RPQ is introduced by the use of Practice 3. I have also shown that the RPQ generally includes a generic or non-specific type of descriptor that can cover a wide scope of evaluation and thereby expresses a general statement that co-participants can easily align with. These indicate that the RPQ speaker strongly orients towards mutual agreement with his or her co-participant(s) in a particular view or judgment expressed by the RPQ.

4 Summary

In this chapter, we have examined RPQs deployed as first assessments. It has been demonstrated that three practices are generally used to prepare for the production of the RPQ utilized in this particular sequential position. In Practice 1, the RPQ speaker utilizes the compound TCU format for introducing a first assessment RPQ. In this practice, the RPQ speaker brings the recipient's attention to a particular aspect of an assessable in the first component of a compound TCU. In this way, the speaker establishes participants' symmetrical access to the assessable. Participants' symmetrical access to the assessable can be retained by the causal linkage between the first and second components, which is established through the use of a certain causal connective. The speaker then introduces an RPQ in the second component. In Practice 2, the production of the RPQ is done more interactively by collaboration of the RPQ speaker and the hearer. In this practice, participants are first involved in confirmation activities through which they mutually elaborate an ongoing talk. Through confirmation activities, participants' symmetrical access to a particular (aspect of an) assessable is contingently established. On the basis of this contingent establishment of participants' symmetrical access, the speaker then introduces an RPQ. These two practices warrant the claim of the forthcoming RPQ through which the speaker claims equal rights to assess a particular assessable relative to his or her co-participant, as previously noted. In Practice 3, the speaker introduces an RPQ without establishment of participants' symmetrical access to a particular assessable. In this practice, the speaker extends the TCU in which the RPQ is embedded, and constructs a post-predicate component through which he or she retrospectively establishes participants' symmetrical access to the assessable. The data has shown that the recipient of the RPQ tended to withhold their stances towards the RPQ speaker until hearing the post-predicate component, constructed after a possible turn

completion. Thus, the recipient of the RPQ not only attends to the statement expressed through the RPQ, but also to the basis for that statement, that is, the kind of context in which participants' symmetrical access to an assessable is warranted. Thus, the relationship between the RPQ and its context, whether the former follows or precedes the latter, is strongly tied. Therefore, in order to correctly capture the nature of the RPQ, one must take that relationship into account.

What the RPQ speaker does is to evaluate a particular assessable on the basis of the speaker's assumption that such an evaluation can be equally accessible and sharable by both the speaker and the hearer. The evaluation is generated by participants' common sense, knowledge, or reasoning which is invoked within the above three practices which connect the preceding (or subsequent) talk and the statement via the RPQ. In this way, the speaker claims participants' symmetrical rights to assess the matter at hand. Using the interrogative formulation of the RPQ, the speaker then invites agreement from the hearer.

We have also discussed the nature of the first assessment RPQ. First, the preceding interactional context in which participants try to establish symmetrical access to a particular assessable narrows down the domain of the assessment expressed through the forthcoming RPQ. This enhances the foreseeability of the kind of assessment via the RPQ. Second, the kind of evaluative descriptor embodied within the RPQ tends to be a generic or non-specific type, which generally expresses a wide scope of evaluation. These two observations have shown that first assessment RPQs strongly orient to participants' mutual agreement. In the next chapter, I will investigate RPQs deployed in second assessment position, which are actualized in quite a different way from RPQs deployed in first assessment position.

Chapter 6

Second Assessment RPQs

1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will look at RPQs occurring in second assessment position. In doing so, I will examine how RPQs are adapted to, or affected by, positional variations. The present study will demonstrate that RPQs occurring in second assessment position are utilized to perform a fundamentally different action than those occurring in first assessment position, which we have observed in the previous chapter. RPQs occurring in second assessment position offer alternative views or judgments to that of the prior speakers. It will be shown that such views or judgments are generated by practices in which RPQs in this particular position are introduced. These practices, which will be carefully examined, are quite different from those through which RPQs in first position are introduced. Additionally, the present study will also demonstrate that RPQs in second position undermine the prior assessment by the use of the question formulation, which invokes the conditional relevance of the question-answer adjacency pair, thereby establishing itself as a new first assessment. Yet, alternative views or judgments expressed by RPQs in second position, which seem to be forcefully established in such a way, may be generated by way of opening up another possibility for participants' mutual agreement. The study will then examine the nature of the statement expressed by the RPQ. It will demonstrate that the nature of statements expressed by the RPQ in second position is less foreseeable in comparison with the nature of statements expressed by RPQs in first position. Finally, this chapter will discuss different strengths of

statements expressed by RPQs, which can be accomplished by the ways in which RPQs are deployed.

2 Practices for Introducing Second Assessment RPQs

2.1 Practice 1: Shifting the focus of the assessable

In the current database, there are three observable practices by which RPQs in second assessment position are introduced. In what follows, we will examine these practices in order to understand what action is performed through the use of the RPQs in second assessment position and how such action is generated by these practices.

Of these practices, the first two practices observed here involve the RPQ speaker's orientation to the shift of the focus of the prior assessment. In Practice 1, the RPQ speaker shifts the focus of the referent which the prior speaker has just assessed. That is, the RPQ speaker takes up another aspect of the same referent, which can be equally accessible for both the RPQ speaker and the hearer. By so doing, the RPQ speaker establishes the participants' symmetrical access to that aspect of the referent. In this way, an environment for the production of the RPQ is created. The RPQ thus evaluates that aspect of the referent by way of offering his or her alternative statement to the prior assessment.

First, let us consider example (67). In this example, two female friends, M and T, are talking about one of the men whom they met at a drinking party. Prior to this segment, they attended to a large bag that the man had brought to the party and wondered in a contemptuous tone why he had brought such a thing to the party. Here, T, in line 2, still shows her orientation to the man's bag by listing what he had in his bag. On the other hand, M, in lines 1 and 3, negatively assesses the man, based on his unusual behavior (i.e., bringing such a

large bag to the party) that both M and T observed at the party.

(67) New apartment

01 M: *nanka ne::,*
like FP
'Like, you know,'

02 T: *hon toka.*
book such.as
'((Things)) such as books.'

03 M: *kawatta hito da na:: to omotte.*
weird person BE FP QT think
'((I)) think ((that he)) is a weird person.'
FIRST ASSESSMENT

EQUALLY ACCESSIBLE REFERENT

04 →T: *nanka ikken* *mitame* *wa sa, ichiban, hutsuuppokunai*?
like at.first.glance appearance TOP FP most seem.normal.NEG
'Like, at first glance doesn't ((he)) look ((like)) the most normal ((attendee of all))?'
SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

05 M: *n- ee* [*soo*] *kana:::.*
yeah- e so wonder
'Yeah- Eh ((I)) wonder if ((he does)) so.'

06 T: [*soo.*]
so
'((I think he does)) so.'

Our focus is on T's second assessment expressed by the RPQ (line 4). T does not show her agreement with the prior assessment. Here T shifts the current focus of the referent and foregrounds another aspect of the referent. That is, T shifts the focus of the referent from the man's unusual behavior to his appearance. Note that both M and T can equally access the man's appearance, as both of them met the man at the party. By shifting the focus of the referent (i.e., the man), T creates another environment in which both participants' symmetrical access to the referent can be warranted. Based on this environment, T then offers an alternative view of the man using the RPQ. However, she does so in a way that T undermines M's initial assessment. By utilizing the question formulation of the RPQ, T

undermines the 'first-ness' of the first assessment and "provide(s) a putatively "new" first pair part for the previous speaker to respond to" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 29). It is important to underscore, however, that T's second assessment via the RPQ is designed in such a way that she may avoid an outright disagreement with the initial assessment offered by M. Note that the RPQ, which is constructed based on the environment in which participants' symmetrical access is established, conveys a statement that is equally accessible and sharable for both M and T. The statement is made in a way in which T appeals to a common sense understanding that the man's appearance should be normal. In this way, rather than displaying her outright disagreement with M's prior assessment, T opens up another possibility for mutual agreement with M by offering her alternative view expressed by the RPQ. However, in this instance, mutual agreement is not achieved. In line 5, M initiates her response to T with an agreement token, but aborts her turn immediately after that. M then restart her turn with an *eh*-prefaced response, which projects a disaffiliative action toward the prior speaker (Hayashi, 2009), and then drastically modifies her stance toward T's prior statement.

A similar observation can be made in example (68), which repeats a part of example (49). As previously observed, S and O are talking about a picture that shows a hairless doll.

(68) O-S

01 O: ((Showing a picture of the doll to S)) *ko*:: *atama tsurutsuru*(.) *na no*?
this head bald-headed BE QP
'Like this, is it bald-headed?'

02 S: *kooyuu nanka riaruna oni*[*ngyoo na n da yo. gaikoku tte.*]
this like real doll BE N BE FP foreign.country TOP
'Like this, like, ((it's)) a real-looking doll. As for a foreign country.'

03 O: [.h h h h h h h h h h h h h h]hh[*ke g-*]
hair SUB
'((Its)) hair is-'

04 S: [*kawai*]*kunai deshoo*?
not.pretty BE
'((It))is not pretty?'

05 O: *ke ga nai n da ne*?
hair SUB have.NEG N BE FP
'((The doll)) doesn't have hair, does it?'

06 S: *soo*.
'Right ((it doesn't.))'

07 (1.0)((O is looking at the picture again))

08 O: .hh *kirenai jan nee*?
can.cut.NEG TAG FP
'.hh (we) can't cut it, can we?
FIRST ASSESSMENT

((S withdraws her gaze from O.))

Figure 6.1 …*nanka*…

09 (.)*nanka*,(.) *yaranakatta jeniichan* [*toka*] *koo*,
like played.NEG jeniichan like this
Like, didn't you play (with) Jeniichan and the like? (Like) this way,'

10 S: [d-]
DF

Figure 6.2 O: …*jeniichan*…

Figure 6.3 S: …[*d-*]…

11 O: *kittari*.
cut.and
'((You do things like)) cutting and the like.'

Figure 6.4 …*KOWAKUNAI*…

EQUALLY ACCESSIBLE REFERENT

12 →S: *demo KOWAKUNAI*? [*hutsuuni kao ga*.]
but scary.NEG I.bet face SUB
'But ISN'T ((the doll)) SCARY? I bet its face ((is scary)).'
SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

13 O: [*n*:: *kowai kowai*.]
yea::h scary scary
'Yea::h ((it's)) scary ((it's)) scary.'

14 S: [*shikamo chooto riaruna ookisa da shi*.]
besides a.bit real size BE FP
'Besides ((it)) is a bit real in size.'

15 O: [*se- s- s-* .h *DEKAI yo* .h h h h]hhhhh
DF DF DF BIG FP
'DF DF DF .h ((It's)) BIG.hhhhhhhhh'

The first assessment offered by O, in line 8, critically assesses the doll, as the doll does not have hair that people can cut.[48] S, however, does not immediately respond to O's initial assessment. Rather, she withdraws her gaze from O (Figure 6.1), which appears to disalign with O's initial assessment. O then extends her turn to ask for confirmation by invoking a possible common experience that both O and S may have shared in their childhood, by taking up as an instance *Jenniichan*, one of the most popular fashion dolls in Japan, whose hair can be cut for fun (lines 9 and 11). By so doing, she appears to elicit agreement from S. During the production of O's extended turn, S gradually produces a pointing gesture (Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3), which points to the picture of the doll that O is holding in her hand, and thereby invites O to establish a mutual orientation toward the picture of the doll. In this way, S creates an environment in which participants' symmetrical access to the picture of the doll can be established. Based on this environment, S produces an RPQ, *demo KOWAKUNAI*? ('But ISN'T ((the doll)) SCARY?'), as the second assessment. The second assessment via the RPQ here, as in example (67), undermines the first-ness of the initial assessment produced by O and establishes itself as a new first pair part of the assessment sequence. However, this assessment is not so much a disagreement with the prior assessment as an alternative or different view to the prior assessment. Importantly, the assessment is accomplished by shifting the focus of the assessable. What S assesses through the RPQ is the face, or appearance, of the doll, rather than the doll's hair on which O's initial assessment has been

48 Dolls that can be purchased in Japan have long hair so that people can cut the dolls' hair in their own ways. O's critical assessment on the doll attended to can be appreciated by the fact that people, particularly young girls, generally play with dolls by cutting their hair in various ways.

made. Immediately after producing the RPQ, S retroactively specifies the assessable, *kao* ('face'), that is, the face of the doll. S then establishes the two participants' symmetrical access to the assessable on which the RPQ should be based. Interestingly, however, O's agreement with S's alternative first assessment via the RPQ is produced without waiting for the retroactive specification of the assessable. As observed above, symmetrical access to the face of the doll has in fact been established through the pointing gesture produced by S, prior to the production of the RPQ. As Figure 6.4 shows, O and S' mutual orientation towards the assessable has been made through the pointing gesture. Therefore, without the specification of the assessable, O's agreement with S's view expressed through the RPQ appears to be accomplished.

As examples (67) and (68) showed, the second assessment RPQ may not directly respond to the prior assessment. Rather, it withholds the speaker's stance towards the prior assessment and avoids his or her outright disagreement with the prior speaker. To do so, the speaker generally utilizes a particular practice in which he or she shifts some aspect of the prior assessment. In these examples, the RPQ speaker shifts the current focus of the assessable and foregrounds another aspect of that assessable that co-present parties can equally access. By so doing, the RPQ speaker not only avoids expressing an explicit disagreement with the prior speaker, but also establishes another environment for participants' symmetrical access. The second assessment RPQ thus assesses another aspect of the assessable that participants can equally access.

These examples also show that by utilizing the question formulation, the second assessment RPQ undermines the first-ness of the initial assessment and establishes itself as a new first assessment. It then offers an alternative view or judgment to the prior assessment. However, it is important to underscore that the statement expressed through the RPQ is made on the assessable to which both the RPQ speaker and the recipient have symmetrical access

and that such a statement is then assumed to be equally accessible and sharable by conversational co-participants. In this sense, the second assessment RPQ is designed in a way in which participants' mutual agreement can be accomplished.

As seen in the above examples, the second assessment RPQ speaker generally shifts some aspect of the prior assessment, thereby avoiding his or her explicit disagreement with the prior speaker. To do so, the RPQ speaker changes the current focus of the assessable on which the prior assessment is based, and picks up another aspect of the same assessable to which participants' symmetrical access can be established. The RPQ speaker then incorporates that aspect of the assessable into the ongoing talk, thereby establishing the basis for the production of the RPQ. By so doing he or she deploys the RPQ to express his or her alternative view or judgment to the prior assessment.

2.2 Practice 2: Shifting the perspective of the prior assessment

In the following examples, I will illustrate another practice in which the RPQ speaker shifts some aspect of the prior assessment. In this practice, the RPQ speaker makes a more substantive shift compared with Practice 1. The scope of the shift is not limited to different aspects of the assessable of the prior assessment, as in Practice 1. Rather, the speaker shifts the attention from the perspective of the prior assessment to his or her own alternative perspective. This shift is generally made by the use of the compound TCU format. Example (69) is a case in point. Prior to this segment of talk, F introduces a particular type of Korean electronic dictionary that can also be used as an MP3 player. In response to F's informing about that type of dictionary, M, in line 1, asks R for confirmation about whether there is a type of Japanese electronic dictionary with which people can watch TV. F in line 2 initiates

her turn by *e* (‘eh’) as a sign of “noticing of departure” (Hayashi, 2009), through which F notices something in the prior talk that departs from her pre-existing knowledge or expectation. Thus, rather than giving confirmation, F expresses her doubt and shows her resistance to the formulation of the question made by M. In lines 3 and 4, M picks up a particular function, One Seg, which enables people to watch TV, and redoes a request to F for confirmation by reformulating the prior question.[49] During M’s talk, F provides laugh tokens (line 5), through which she treats M’s talk-in-progress as inadequate. F does not give confirmation again. Rather, she undercuts M’s reformulated question by asking a question back to M about whether people can concentrate on studies with a dictionary that enables them to watch TV, by the use of the One Seg function (line 6). The question posed by F here is delivered with a falling intonation and can thus be heard as a rhetorical question, which appears to doubt the prior action or talk. M then agrees with F’s view, which is delivered with a minimal acknowledgement token *nn*. F then produces the same vocal token as M (line 8), which consists of a third position minimal response token. The third position minimal response token, which repeats the same token used in second position, is utilized as a resource to exit from the sequence-in-progress (Hayashi & Yoon, 2009). The turn-initial *demo* (‘but’), deployed by M in line 9 can be understood as an initiation of a new sequence (Mori, 1999). M then assesses the merit of the type of dictionary with the One Seg function. F, in line 10, initially overlaps M’s talk and echoes a particular part of M’s turn-in-progress, which appears to agree with M.[50] However, it is during the final element of the utterance that M is producing, *janai*, that F withdraws her gaze from M (Figure 6.5), indicating that she might modify her previous stance showing agreement. F then initiates the construction of the

49 One Seg is a new terrestrial digital broadcasting service for portable devices, such as cellphones and car navigation systems, through which people are able to watch TV on their portable devices.

50 Wouk (1999, 2001) argued that in Indonesian conversation participants repeatedly echo a particular discourse particle, *ya* (‘yes’), by way of building solidarity between them. Similarly, by echoing what M has just said, F in line 10 appears to make a display of solidarity at the moment.

(modified) second assessment (line 11), which is of our focus here.

(69) TU3

01 M: *nanka e nihon ni mo terebi miremasu mitai* [*na no nai*?]
like eh Japan in too TV can.watch like BE GEN exist.NEG
'Like, eh in Japan, too, isn't there ((a dictionary)), like, you can watch TV with it?'

02 F: [*e*? *jisho*] *da yo*.
eh dictionary BE FP
'Eh? ((I'm talking about)) a dictionary.'

03 M: *are*::?
uh-oh

04 *wansegu* [*tsuite*]*masu mitaina no nakatta kke*?
one.seg come.with like GEN existed.NEG QP
'Uh-oh::. there wasn't ((any dictionary)), like, it comes with One Seg?'

05 F: [.hh]

06 F: *sore benkyoo dekinai desho*. .hhh[hh]hh
it study can.NEG BE
'((You)) cannot study with it?.hhhhhhh'

07 M: [*nn*.]
yeah
'yeah.'

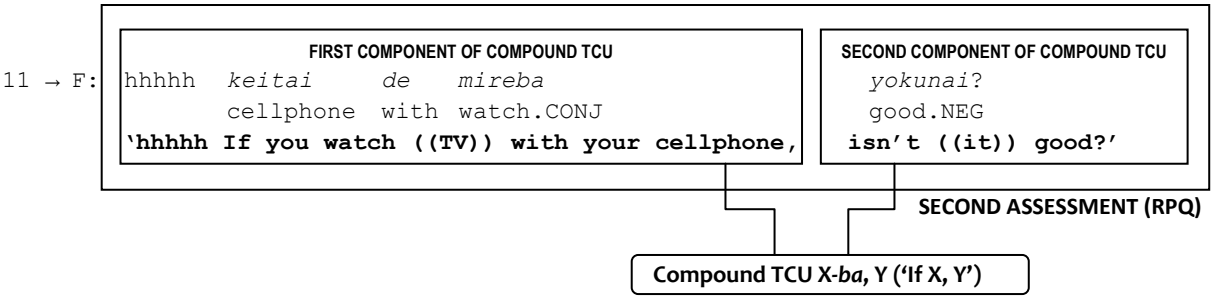
08 F: *nn*.
yeah
'Yeah.'

09 M: *demo terebi mireru* [°*toki toka wa*] zenzen ii n° *jana*(h)*i*(h)hh
but TV can.watch when etc. TOP very good N TAG
'But when you can watch TV, ((it)) is very good, isn't it?'

FIRST ASSESSMENT

Figure 6.5 M: …*jana*(h)*i*(h)hh…

10 F: [*terebi miru*.]
TV watch
'((I)) watch TV ((with it)).'



11 → F: hhhhh *keitai* *de* *mireba* *yokunai*?
cellphone with watch.CONJ good.NEG
'hhhhh If you watch ((TV)) with your cellphone, isn't ((it)) good?'

12 M: *a keitai de mireru n da yo nee*?
Oh cellphone with can.watch N BE FP FP
'Oh you can watch ((TV)) with your cellphones, can't you?

13 F: *nn soo soo*.
year right right
'Yeah ((that's)) right ((that's)) right.'

14 M: *demo denchi kuu n deshoo*?
but battery consume N BE
'But the battery is consumed, right?'

The second assessment produced by F is delivered with a compound TCU in which the RPQ is embedded. By utilizing a compound TCU, F responds to the prior assessment in a special way. In the first component of the compound TCU, she takes up another instance in which people can watch TV, that is, on their cellphones, thereby shifting the focus of the prior assessment. By so doing, she avoids taking the risk of expressing her explicit disagreement with the prior assessment. Note that compared with the practice that we have observed in examples (67) and (68), F does not change the focus of the assessable of the prior assessment. She makes a more substantive shift. She shifts the perspective of the prior assessment to her own perspective by bringing up a new case (i.e., a cellphone). However, the case that F brings up here can be equivalently accessed by both M and F. Both of them are familiar with a type of cellphone with the One Seg function. Therefore, by bringing up this case, F creates another ground on which participants' symmetrical access can be established, thereby creating an environment for the production of an ensuing RPQ just in the same way as the first assessment RPQ speaker does. The RPQ, *yokunai* ('Isn't ((it)) good?'), states that watching TV with a cell phone is equally as good as watching TV with the type of the

dictionary, thus presenting an alternative perspective to the prior assessment. The alternative perspective expressed by F is assumed to be equally accessible and sharable for both M and herself by appealing to their common sense that it is good to watch TV on a cellphone. Such an assumption, however, does not work in this case. While F invites agreement from M by the use of the question formulation, M in line 12 initially utilizes a 'change-of-state token' (Heritage, 1984b), *a* ('oh), and asks F for confirmation about whether it is the case that people can watch TV on their cellphones. By so doing, M makes his epistemically downgraded claim of access to the matter at hand.

The next example is an interesting case where both the first and second assessments are expressed by an RPQ. This case will clearly show discrete actions implemented by the RPQ in different sequential placements. Here O and S are attending to one of the pictures that S took during her trip to Malta. In that picture, they can see many cannons that might have been used in wars. In line 1 while pointing at one of the cannons, O asks S whether it can still be used. By asking this question, O indicates lack of access to the information about whether it can be used, but presupposes that S knows the information. In line 2, however, S also shows no access to that matter. The question-answer sequence reveals an equal level of (non-)access to that matter for the two participants. This interactional outcome creates a basis for the production of a first assessment RPQ. In line 4, looking closely at one of the pictures, O employs the RPQ to present a statement that the cannon, which both S and O can see in the picture, can be used. The statement expressed by the RPQ is assumed to be equally accessible and sharable for both S and O. The conditional relevance set by the first assessment RPQ then makes S's response relevant. S's second assessment is of our particular interest here.

(70) O-S

01 O: *e kore tsukaeru yatsu? kazari?*
eh this can-use thing ornament
'Eh this ((cannon)) can be used?
Or ((this cannon is)) for ornament?'

SHOWING EPISTEMIC ASSYMMETRY

02 S: *shirana::i.*
know.NEG
'I don't know.'

SHOWING NO ACCESS

03 (1.0)

04 →O: *mada tsukaesoo janai? kore.*
still seem.to.work TAG this
'Doesn't it seem that ((we)) can still use ((it))? This ((cannon)).'

FIRST ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

05 (1.0)

06 →S:

FIRST COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

tsukaetara
can.use.CONJ
'If ((we)) can use ((it=this cannon)),

Compound TCU X-*tara*, Y ('If X, Y')

Compound TCU Y, X-*tara* ('Y, if X')

SECOND COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

07 *demo abunakunai?*
though dangerous.NEG
isn't ((that)) dangerous, though?

ADDITIONAL COMPOUND TCU

konna, hoochishitetara.
like left.CONJ
Like, if it is left ((here like this)).'

SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

08 (1.0)

09 O: *e hito ga (.) koreru. e(.) koko ippanjin mo*
eh people SUB can.come eh here ordinary.people too

10 [*oritekuru-*]
come.down
'Eh people can come ((down to the site for the cannons)). Eh ordinary people can come down here (=the site) too.'

11 S: [>*iken no ka wakannai.*<] *sita. sita ni atta n da yo.*
can.go FP QP know.NEG down down at existed N BE FP
'((I)) don't know whether ((you)) can go. Down there. There were ((cannons)) down there.'

The second assessment produced by S does not show either an agreement or a disagreement

with O. Instead, she attends to the consequence that might follow after the use of the cannon and thereby offers an alternative perspective of the matter. Looking more closely at the design of S's second assessment turn, S constructs the first component of the compound TCU, *tsukaetara* ('if ((we)) can use ((it))'), through which she shifts the focus of talk to the consequence of use of the cannon that they are looking at. By so doing, S establishes a mutual orientation toward that consequence, one that can be equally accessible for both O and S, thereby creating another basis for the production of the second assessment RPQ, *demo abunakunai*? ('Isn't ((that)) dangerous, though?'). In passing, note that the connective *demo* ('though'), which is generally deployed in turn-initial position, is placed at the boundary between the first component and the second component as a type of mitigation (Mori, 1999). The RPQ embodied within the second component of the compound TCU then provides an alternative perspective to the prior assessment by appealing to a common reasoning that the consequence is undesirable. By utilizing the question formulation, it undermines the first-ness of the prior assessment and establishes itself as a new first assessment. S then adds another component, which links back to the second component, thereby retrospectively forming another compound TCU, 'Y, X-*tara*' ('Y, if X'). By so doing, S strengthens the statement expressed through the RPQ by attending to another aspect of the situation in which the cannon is located. While S employed the RPQ to invite agreement from O, O does not respond to S even after adding a post-predicate component to the RPQ. O in line 9, however, produces an *eh*-prefaced turn to indicate disagreement with S (Hayashi, 2009). It appears that she does not immediately take up her stance towards S's alternative view, expressed through the RPQ.

Examples (69) and (70) showed another practice in which the RPQ in second position is deployed. The RPQs deployed in these examples were introduced through the use of the compound TCU format, as already seen in one of the practices for first assessment RPQs.

The way in which the compound TCU format is utilized to introduce an RPQ is quite similar between the case of a first assessment RPQ and the case of a second assessment RPQ in the sense that the speaker utilizes the first component of the compound TCU as a resource to establish participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand as a basis for the production of the RPQ in the second component. However, in the case of the second assessment RPQ, the speaker not only utilizes the first component as a resource to establish participants' symmetrical access, but also to shift the focus of the prior assessment. By so doing, the speaker appears to avoid expressing explicit disagreement with the prior speaker and expresses the speaker's alternative assessment.

2.3 Practice 3: Introducing an RPQ without shifting the focus of the prior assessment

Example (71) shows two instances of RPQs. The first RPQ is introduced by the second component of the compound TCU format which shifts the focus of the prior assessment, similarly to the previous two examples. The second RPQ is deployed through a different practice; it is introduced without the use of the compound TCU format and thus retains the focus of the prior assessment.

Let us examine these two instances. Prior to the segment below, T showed her interest in one of the apartments listed on the flyers, which is quite near her parents' home. She then told M that her mother and sisters had said they were willing to pay some of the rent if she chose an apartment near their home. M then recommended T to persuade her father to pay the rent. T said that her father would probably pay at least 20,000 yen for rent per month. T further explained the merit of the apartment in which she had expressed her interest. That is, the landlord of the apartment requires only one month's deposit and one month's key money.

The following segment begins with the issue of the deposit and the key money that she is supposed to pay when renting the apartment.

(71) New Apartment

01 M: *reikin wa kaettekonai yo ne*?
key.money TOP return.NEG FP FP
'As for the key money, it won't be returned, will it?'

02 T: *n.*
yeah

03 *shikikin ga*:, (.) *anmari*- (.) *koo i*-
deposit SUB much like DF
'Yeah. As for the deposit, it's (.)much-(.)like-'

04 M: *n.*
'Yeah.'

05 T: >*ooyasan ni* [*yoru kedo*,]<
landload on depend but
'it depends on a landlord, but'

06 M: [*ano* : :]*kabe toka*::,=
uhm wall etc
'uh::m walls and etc.'

07 T: *soo soo.*
right right
'((That's) right ((that's)) right.'

08 M: *husuma ni ana o* [*aketari shinake*(h)*re*(h)*ba*(h):(h):(h),]
papered.door at hole OBJ open do.NEG.CONJ

09 T: [.h h h h h h h h h h h]

10 M: *HAKAISHINAKEREBA kaettekuru yatsu* [*desho*(h)?]
destroy.NEG.CONJ return thing BE
'If you don't make holes on papered doors, or if you don't destroy ((the apartment)), it will be returned, right?'

11 T: [*nn.*]
'Yeah.'

12 T: *koko ii ne*?
here good FP
'This ((apartment)) is good, isn't it?'
FIRST ASSESSMENT

13 (1.0)

Figure 6.6 M maintains her gaze towards the flyer on the sofa

14 → M:

FIRST COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

demo oya ga dashitekurerunara
but parents SUB pay.give.CONJ
'But if parents pay ((some for you)),

SECOND COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU

yokunai?
good.NEG
isn't ((it)) good?'

Compound TCU X-*nara*, Y ('If X, Y')

SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

Figure 6.7 …*demo oya ga*…

Figure 6.8…*dashite*…

Figure 6.9 …*yokunai*?...

15 (0.5)

16 *chikakuni sumu kara dashite yo tte dashitemoraeba ii jan.*
nearby live because pay FP QT pay.receive.CONJ good TAG
'It is good to tell ((them)) that you will live nearby and thus ask ((them)) to pay ((some)), isn't it?'

FIRST ASSESSMENT

17 (1.0)

18 →T: *nanka erasoojanai?* .hhhhhhh
like sound.arrogant.NEG
'Like, doesn't ((it)) sound arrogant?'

SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

19 M: *ii n janai?*
good N TAG
'((It)) is good, isn't it?'

20 T: *chikaku*(h)*ni*(h) *su*(h)*mu*(h) *kara dashite yo tte yuu no?*
nearby live because pay FP QT say QP
'Will I tell ((my parents)) that I will live nearby and then ask ((them)) to pay ((some))?'

In lines 1-11, M and T engages in a confirmation activity regarding the deposit and the key money, through which they confirm that 1 month's deposit will possibly be returned. This confirmation activity is the basis of T's forthcoming positive assessment of the apartment in which she has shown her interest. The first assessment produced by T in line 12 invites agreement by the use of the interactional particle *ne* (Morita, 2002, 2005). However, M does not respond immediately after the first assessment produced by T. During a rather long pause, M maintains her gaze towards the flyer on the sofa on which she is seated (Figure 6.6). Our first focus here is the second assessment produced by M in line 14.

The second assessment, which repeats the same assessment term *ii* ('good') used in the prior assessment, is seemingly an agreement, but it is far from a full agreement. Rather, it assesses the assessable (i.e., the apartment that T favors) in quite a different way than the prior assessment. Although the connective *demo* ('but'), placed turn-initially, is generally considered a signal of a forthcoming disagreement (Mori, 1999), here it appears to serve as a departure from the prior assessment. It appears to be utilized as a resource to introduce a different perspective from the prior speaker's. Then, the first component of the compound TCU refers back to what T said several sequences before: that is, her father is likely willing to pay approximately 20,000 yen for the rent if she chose an apartment near her parents' home (which has been mentioned prior to the segment but is omitted from the example). In this way, M introduces a different framework from which an alternative perspective will ensue. Because the information contained in that framework was previously introduced by T, it can be equally accessed by both M and T. The participants' symmetrical access is thus established in the first component. Based on the symmetrical access, M then deploys an RPQ, *yokunai*? ('Isn't ((it)) good?), through which she offers a different perspective from that taken by T. Another reason why the second assessment produced by M is far from a full agreement appears to be that during the production of the second assessment, she consistently does not

try to establish a mutual gaze with T. Instead, she picks up another flyer and continues to look at it throughout the turn (Figures 6.7-6.9). In other words, during the production of the second assessment, she attends to a different material, which is irrelevant to the prior assessment offered by T. Therefore, although M produces the same assessment term used by T, her assessment of the assessable is quite different from that of T. Rather, similar to the above examples, M undermines the first-ness of T's assessment, and establishes her assessment as a new first assessment, thereby inviting agreement from T. T, however, does not show her agreement with M. In line 16, M then produces a stronger form of assessment, through which she urges T to persuade her father to pay some money for the rent. In response to M's assessment, T employs another RPQ, *nanka erasoojanai*? ('Like, doesn't ((it)) sound arrogant?'), as the second assessment, which is our next focus.

The RPQ employed by T is introduced in a markedly different way from those observed above. The speaker does not shift the focus of the prior assessment by way of establishing participants' symmetrical access to the matter, prior to the production of the RPQ. Rather, the RPQ expresses an assessment of the same assessable as the prior assessment. However, the RPQ nonetheless offers an alternative view or judgment to the prior assessment, by appealing to the speaker's assumed common sense that taking advantage of one's parents' kindness and receiving money from them is not appropriate. I argue that the RPQ deployed without shifting the focus of the prior assessment so as to establish another environment for participants' symmetrical access to the matter at hand may express a stronger statement than the one deployed after shifting the focus of the prior assessment so as to establish such an environment. In other words, the former may be more disaffiliative than the latter. The strength of the statement expressed through the RPQ deployed, as in this instance, can be understood in terms of the following two features: first, because the RPQ makes an assessment of the same assessable as the prior speaker, its alternative view may claim its

incongruence with the prior speaker's view; second, the RPQ speaker's statement is expressed relatively earlier in the turn. Unlike in the other instances observed above, the speaker assesses the same assessable as the prior speaker does. Consequently, the speaker does not have to construct the context in which he or she shifts the focus of the prior assessment and creates another environment for the establishment of participants' symmetrical access. In addition, the speaker does not have to express the same assessable in subject position by reference to the prior assessment. The main component of the RPQ (i.e., the predicate component) is thus positioned immediately after the prior assessment. Thus, the speaker can express his or her alternative perspective at the earliest opportunity. It is this proximity between the prior statement and its alternative statement via the RPQ that will make the latter potentially understood as the speaker's stronger statement to, or the speaker's display of disaffiliation with, the prior speaker.[51] When these two features are taken together, the RPQ produced by T thus appears to convey a highly disaffiliative statement. However, it appears that T, who deploys the RPQ, tries to mute the force of her disaffiliative statement with M's prior statement. She does this by utilizing *nanka* ('like') turn-initially as mitigation and also by expressing her statement with laugh tokens, which may contribute to further mitigation of her statement.

Example (72) is another instance in which the second assessment RPQ is deployed without marking the shift of the focus of the prior assessment as a way of establishing participants' symmetrical access in the preceding talk. Prior to this segment, M, who is unfamiliar with Seoul in Korea, asked F, who has visited Korea, how far it is to the city center from an airport. Here F is trying to explain the case where people use one of the airports in Seoul.

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[51] The positioning of the RPQ is apparently relevant to preference structure. If the RPQ expressing an alternative statement is positioned immediately after the prior statement, it may be understood in the same way as a strong disagreement, which has a preferred turn shape (Goodwin, Goodwin, & Yaeger-Dror, 2002; Ogden, 2006).

(72) TU3

01 F: *haneda- haneda: kara iku hoo wa::,*
Haneda Haneda from go one TOP
'Haneda- The one which ((we)) head for from Haneda airport i::s,'

02 M: *un. e? hutatsu an no?*
yeah eh two exist FP
'Yeah. Eh? Are there two ((airports))?'

03 F: *a un. a soo. a hai.*
oh yeah oh right oh yes
'Oh yeah. Oh ((that's)) right. Oh yes.'

04 M: *sugge::.*
great
'((That's)) grea::t.'
FIRST ASSESSMENT

05 →F: *hutsu*(h)*u*(h)*ja*(h)*ne*(h):(h):(h)?
normal.NEG
'Isn't ((it)) normal?'
SECOND ASSESSMENT RPQ

06 [*koku*]- [*haneda ka*]*ra*::,(0.5) *iku to*,
inter- Haneda from go when
'Inter- when we go fro::m Haneda airport,'

07 M: [*ee?*] [*soo na no*?]
eh so BE FP
'Eh? Is ((that)) so?'

08 F: *kokunai kokunai de i-, no-, ano, hikoujoo na no.*
domestic domestic by DF GEN uhm airport BE FP
'((That's)) domestic- uhm the domestic airport.'

09 M: *he::::::.*
'I see::::::'

10 F: *haneda kokunaisen jan*?
Haneda domestic TAG
'Haneda airport is for domestic airlines, isn't it?'

11 M: *a kankokuban haneda mitai na no ga aru wake*?
oh Korean.version Haneda like BE GEN SUB exist reason

12 [*teka*]-,
or
'Oh you mean, there is a Korean version of Haneda airport? Or-'

13 F: [*soo*] *soo soo soo soo.*
right right right right right
'Right right right right right.'

In line 1, F explains how far it is to the city center from one of the airports where airplanes arrive from Haneda, Tokyo. In the explanation, *iku hoo* ('the one which ((we)) head for') indicates that there is more than one airport in Seoul. M responds to this particular piece of information by the use of a "noticing of departure" token *eh* ('eh'), followed by a question (Hayashi, 2009). According to Hayashi (2009), the *eh*-prefaced question after an informing, displays the speaker's stance that "the speaker has 'just now realized' that there is something that s/he still lacks a complete understanding of regarding some aspect of the prior informing, and that this 'sudden realization' has prompted him/her to produce a follow-up question albeit in a rather displaced/delayed manner" (p. 2113). By the *eh*-prefacing, M thus claims his sudden realization regarding the fact that there is more than one airport in Seoul. The question posed by M, which asks for confirmation about whether there are two airports available in Seoul, is then produced in a disjunctive manner within the current local sequential context. The several *a*-prefacing (equivalent to English *oh*-prefacing) responses produced by F, in line 3, seem to show her surprise that M does not know the number of airports in Seoul, which F assumed that M would have known. M, in line 4, makes an assessment of the fact that there are two airports in Seoul. F, in line 5, makes a second assessment in the form of an RPQ. As in the second instance of RPQ in example (71), the RPQ speaker does not shift the focus of the prior assessment. Rather, she makes an assessment of the same assessable, that is, the fact that there are two airports in Seoul. What she does by the use of the RPQ is to present her alternative view about the same assessable. The assessment produced in the form of the RPQ appeals to a common sense that a big city like Seoul should have more than one airport. In this way, it undermines the first-ness of the first assessment, and establishes itself as a new first assessment. Just as in the second instance in (71), since what F does is to offer their alternative view of the same assessable to the prior assessment and can thus be heard as a display of disaffiliation, she seems to lessen the

strength of the statement by producing the RPQ with laugh tokens as mitigation. In overlap with F's further explanation about the airport where airlines arrive from Haneda, M responds again with the *eh*-prefaced question, which asks F in a disjunctive way for confirmation about the fact that there are two airports in Korea.[52] By so doing, M appears to withhold the relevant response to F's alternative assessment via the RPQ.

The last two instances of second assessment RPQs illustrate that RPQs produced in the same sequential position can accomplish rather different types of actions. In these instances, the speakers made assessments of the same assessable as the prior speakers did, unlike the other instances observed above in which the speakers shifted the focus of the prior assessments before the production of the RPQs. The speakers of the RPQs in these instances thus seem to respond directly to the prior assessments and express their stronger alternative statements to, or their disaffiliation with, their prior speakers, relative to the other instances of RPQs previously observed. The strength of their statements can be captured by: (1) their expressions of incongruence with the prior speaker's view of the same assessable; and (2) the contiguity between their expressions of statements and the prior speakers' statements. Because of this, the speakers of the RPQs in these instances seem to lessen the strength of the statements by the use of resources, such as laugh tokens, for mitigation.

3 The Nature of the Evaluative Statement of the Second Assessment RPQ

As we have already observed through several instances in the previous section, the second assessment RPQ generally expresses its alternative view or judgment to the prior assessment.

52 M's follow-up question after the 'noticing of departure' token is disjunctive in the sense that the question does not refer back to the immediately prior talk. The question refers back to the informing that F delivered in line 1.

In this Section, we will look into the nature of the statement made by the second assessment RPQ in detail, in comparison with the nature of the first assessment RPQ. In Section 3 of Chapter 6, I have demonstrated that the statement expressed through the first assessment RPQ can be anticipated from the prior interactional context. I have argued that the anticipation of the statement expressed by the RPQ is made possible by the practices through which participants' symmetrical access to a particular assessable is established. In this section, I will demonstrate that the nature of the statement expressed through the second assessment RPQ is less foreseeable relative to the one expressed through the first assessment RPQ. This will be explained by: (1) the particularity of the second-ness; and (2) the speaker's attention to an unnoticed aspect of the prior assessment.

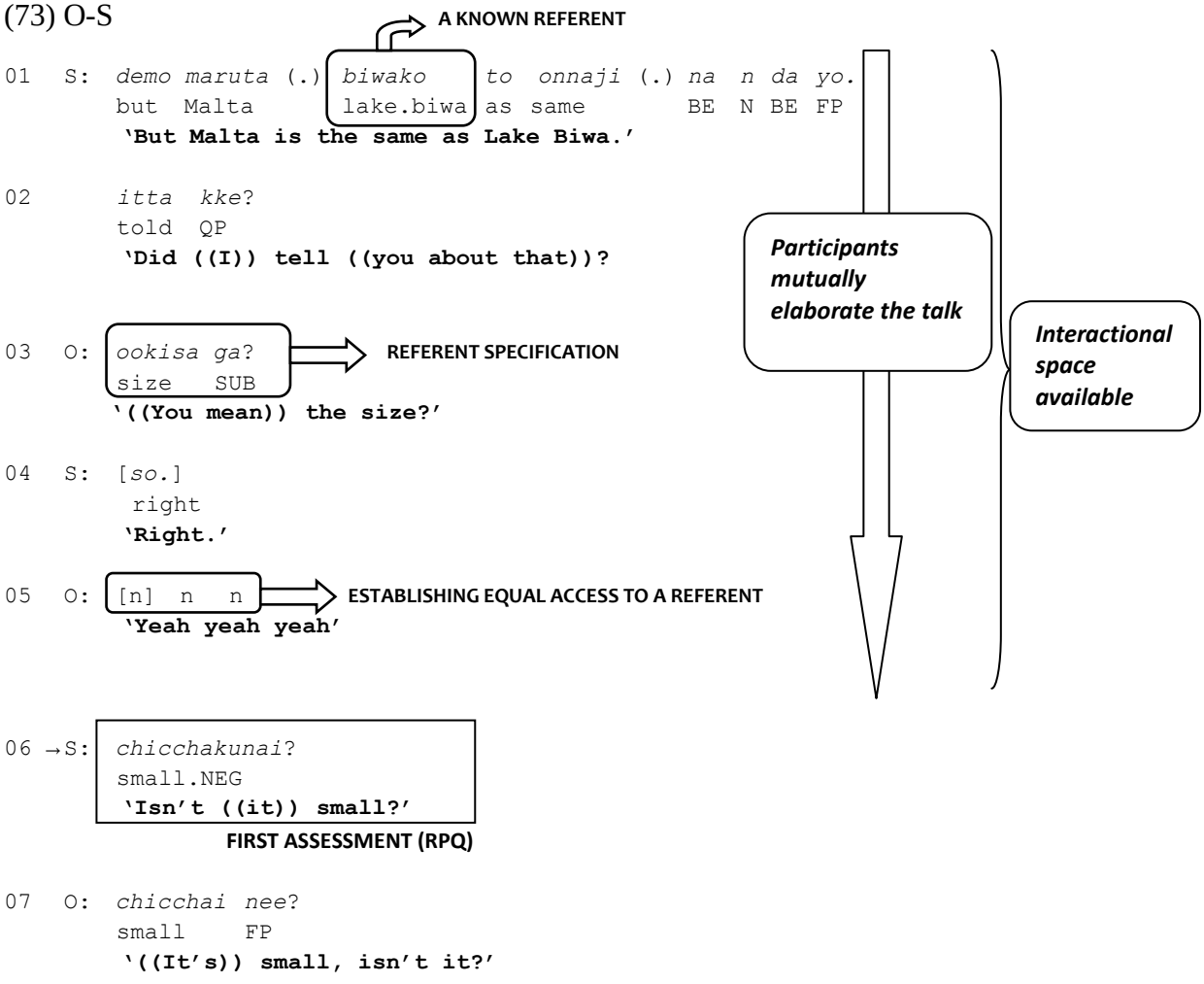
3. 1 The particularity of the second-ness

3.1.1 The case of the first assessment RPQ

It is useful here to first look at the foreseeable nature of the first assessment RPQ from a slightly different perspective from the one that we have observed in the previous chapter, by way of comparison with the less foreseeable nature of the second assessment RPQ. In the case of the first assessment RPQ, there is much interactional space available for the speaker and the hearer in which they can mutually elaborate the talk and make the statement in the RPQ foreseeable. On the one hand, the speaker can use as much prior talk as he or she needs to create interactional space in which to prepare the ground for the production of RPQ. In that interactional space, the speaker produces some elements which anticipate the forthcoming statement expressed by the RPQ. On the other hand, the hearer can use the prior talk in which he or she may have ample chance to jointly elaborate the talk in progress with the speaker of

the RPQ. The hearer can thus use the prior talk as a resource to anticipate what kind of statement will be expressed through the forthcoming RPQ. Taken together, the speaker of the RPQ and the hearer can thus use the prior talk as interactional space in which they can mutually orient to a particular assessable in a particular way. This will be clearly shown in the case of the practice in which the first assessment RPQ emerges within the context in which the speaker and the hearer mutually elaborate the talk through confirmation activities for establishing symmetrical access to an assessable (i.e., Practice 2 for first assessments RPQs). Let us look at the following example which repeats example (62).

(73) O-S



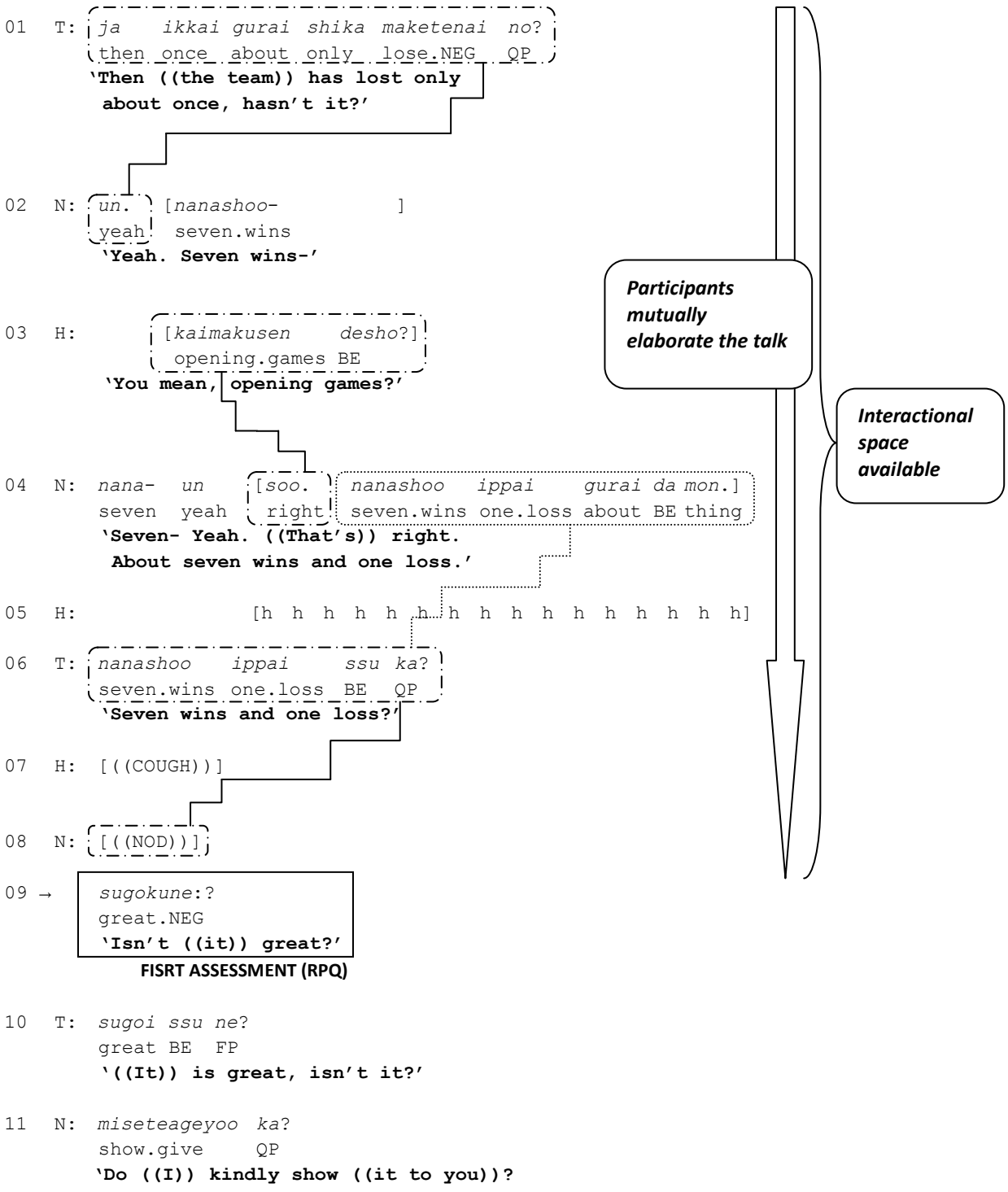
In example (73), both S and O utilize the prior talk as interactional space through which they

mutually elaborate the talk, which S initiated in line 1, up until S eventually produces the RPQ. Here S, who is the speaker of the RPQ, initiates an informing about Malta in a special way. S's informing is specially designed for O, who has not been to Malta, by introducing another object, *biwako* ('Lake Biwa'), which is quite familiar for O. On the other hand, the role of O, who is the recipient of the RPQ, should also be noted. O is not a passive recipient of the informing. Rather, up until the production of the RPQ, O actively joins the development of talk. In line 3, rather than giving confirmation to S, O tries to fill in the missing referent within the informing delivered by S. She gives confirmation to S only after the missing referent is specified. In this way, the forthcoming statement expressed through the RPQ is gradually becoming foreseeable. Thus, S and O, here, utilize the prior talk as interactional space in which they mutually elaborate S's initial informing. In this way, the foreseeability of the statement via the RPQ increases.

Example (64), reproduced as (74) below, is a clearer case in which participants successively engage in confirmation activities. Through these confirmation activities, they mutually elaborate N's informing, which is omitted in the segment, in such a way that the remarkableness of the informing is gradually increased. In this way, the kind of statement expressed through the RPQ becomes foreseeable.

In this example, as previously observed, N has informed about the remarkable percentage of winning games that he watched regarding his favorite professional baseball team. He has said that the percentage is over 80 percent so far. T in line 1 responded to that informing.

(74) MU1



T's response, in line 1, does not simply mark the prior informing either as new or as surprising. Rather, by asking for confirmation by providing *ikkai shika* ('only once') as a candidate number of losses in the games that N watched, T makes a contribution to the elaboration of N's informing, possibly with the purpose of enhancing the eventfulness of the

informing. H, who has known about N's informing prior to this conversation, then initiates another confirmation sequence, which asks whether the remarkable percentage of wins refers to opening games. The initiation of the confirmation seems to be designed to emphasize that N's favorite team has had a good start. In this way, H also contributes to the elaboration of N's informing. In line 4, after giving confirmation to H, N provides the approximate number of wins and losses. The number further elaborates the talk in progress, and makes N's own informing become more recognizable as remarkable. In response to it, T asks N for another confirmation. This confirmation request is done in a special way. T, here, repeats what N has said, but leaves out *gurai* ('about'), thereby exaggerating the number of wins and losses. By so doing, he seems to express his surprise and further enhances the eventfulness of N's informing. What N expresses through the RPQ in line 9 is based on what all the participants have thus far elaborated through the series of confirmation activities. It is quite clear that the foreseeability of the statement expressed through the RPQ is gradually made recognizable by participants' mutual elaboration of N's initial informing, which emphasizes its remarkableness.

3.1.2 The case of the second assessment RPQ

As already observed, the second assessment RPQ provides an alternative statement to the prior assessment. Importantly, its statement is less foreseeable, relative to the one expressed through the first assessment RPQ. This can be partly explained by the particularity of the second-ness. In second position, the RPQ speaker generally has to prepare the ground for the production of the RPQ and produce it in the same turn without the help of the prior speaker. Thus, before producing the second assessment RPQ, there is not much interactional space

available for the RPQ speaker and the hearer in which they can mutually elaborate the talk for increasing the foreseeability of the statement via the RPQ.

It should be noted that in second position, the RPQ speaker's response to the prior assessment is made relevant by the first assessment (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). In order to keep the contiguity between the first and second assessments, the speaker cannot wait to respond to it several turns later, after he or she makes his or her statement become foreseeable. Rather, the speaker establishes the basis for the production of the RPQ and produces it within the same turn.

Let us take a look at example (75), which repeats the assessment sequence in example (67).

(75) New Apartment

03 M: *kawatta hito da na:: to omotte.*
weird person BE FP QT think
'((I)) think ((that he)) is a weird person.'
FIRST ASSESSMENT

EQUALLY ACCESSIBLE REFERENT

04 →T: *nanka ikken* *mitame* *wa sa, ichiban, hutsuuppokunai?*
like at.first.glance appearance TOP FP most seem.normal.NEG
'Like, at first glance doesn't ((he)) look ((like)) the most normal ((party attendee of all))?'
SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

M's first assessment, which negatively assesses the man that both M and T met at the party, invites a response from T. The second assessment RPQ produced by T offers an alternative view about the man. Importantly, T establishes the participants' symmetrical access by introducing another aspect, *mitame* ('appearance'), as a basis for the production of the RPQ and produces the RPQ within the same turn. She does not elaborate the talk with M prior to the production of the RPQ, in order to make the statement via the RPQ foreseeable. Rather, by introducing that aspect of the man, she strongly appeals to a common sense between M

and herself about the man's appearance.

The less foreseeable nature of the statement via the RPQ is clearer in the next example, which repeats the assessment sequence in example (71).

(76) New Apartment

16 M: *chikakuni sumu kara dashite yo tte dashitemoraeba ii jan.*
nearby live because pay FP QT pay.receive.CONJ good TAG
'It is good to tell ((them)) that you will live nearby and thus ask ((them)) to pay ((some)), isn't it?'
FIRST ASSESSMENT

17 (1.0)

18 →T: *nanka erasoojanai*? .hhhhhhh
like sound.arrogant.NEG
'Like, doesn't ((it)) sound arrogant?'
SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

The second assessment RPQ deployed by T is an instance of Practice 3 in which the speaker assesses the same assessable as the prior speaker has just done. Since she is assessing the same assessable, T does not need to prepare the ground for the production of the RPQ. Rather, T utilizes the same environment for participants' symmetrical access to the assessable as the prior speaker, as a basis for the production of her own assessment. Using the RPQ, however, she assesses the same assessable in quite a different way than M has just done. She does this without elaborating the talk with M. Because of this, her statement is even less foreseeable relative to the one in example (75).

3.2 The speaker's attention to an unnoticed aspect of the prior assessment

Another reason why the statement via the RPQ in second position is less foreseeable lies in the nature of the statement itself. What the RPQ speaker tries to do in second position is to

offer an alternative statement, which is incongruent with the prior speaker's statement. The alternative statement via the RPQ in second position is crucially different from the prior speaker's statement.

Here it is useful to recall the two practices through which the RPQ speaker shifts some aspect of the prior assessment. What the RPQ speaker does is to attend to another aspect of the prior assessment, which may not have been noticed by the prior speaker. And what he or she offers through the use of the RPQ is an alternative statement which is accomplished through attending to something previously unnoticed.

Looking back on example (75), T brings M's attention to another aspect of the man that they met at the party. That aspect may not have been noticed by M in the prior talk. What T assesses is about that aspect. Thus, it may not be easy for M, who is the recipient of the RPQ, to anticipate the kind of the statement expressed through the RPQ.

A similar observation can be made in example (77), which repeats the assessment sequence in example (70). In this example, as previously observed, O and S are talking about the cannon in one of the pictures that S took during her trip.

(77) O-S

04 O: *mada tsukaesoo janai? kore.*
still seem.to.work TAG this
'Doesn't it seem that ((we)) can still use ((it))? This ((cannon)).'
FIRST ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

05 (1.0)

06 →S:

FIRST COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU
tsukaetara
can.use.CONJ
'If ((we)) can use ((it=this cannon)),

Compound TCU X-*tara*, Y ('If X, Y')

Compound TCU Y, X-*tara* ('Y, if X')

07

SECOND COMPONENT OF COMPOUND TCU
demo abunakunai?
though dangerous.NEG
isn't ((that)) dangerous, though?

ADDITIONAL COMPOUND TCU
konna, hoochishitetara.
like left.CONJ
Like, if it is left ((here like this)).'

SECOND ASSESSMENT (RPQ)

As previously noted, both the first and second assessments in this example are delivered through the RPQ. While O assesses the cannon in the picture in terms of its usability, S utilizes the compound TCU format, through which she shifts the focus to the undesirable consequence of the use of the cannon, and assesses that consequence. The consequence attended to by S, however, may not have been previously noticed by O. Thus, what S assesses here is about something that O has not previously noticed. Such an assessment cannot be foreseeable for O, who is the recipient of the RPQ produced by S.

3.3 Strengths of statements expressed by second assessment RPQs

As indicated in Section 2.3, differences in the strengths of statements expressed by second assessment RPQs lead to differences in the practices employed to introduce RPQs. In this

section, we will go into some more detail about the differences in the strengths of statements expressed by RPQs depending on the practices through which RPQs are introduced.

As previously noted, RPQs introduced through Practice 3, in which the speakers evaluate the same referents as the prior speakers do, express their stronger statements to, or their disaffiliation with, the prior speakers. This has been explained by: (1) the RPQ speakers' expressions of incongruence with the prior speakers regarding what is being assessed; and (2) the contiguity between the RPQ speakers' expressions of statements (i.e., the early positioning of the predicate component of the RPQ) and the prior speakers' statements. The strengths of the statements, or degree of disaffiliation, expressed by RRQs introduced through Practice 3 can be seen more clearly by comparison with RPQs introduced through Practices 1 and 2:

(1) In Practice 3, the RPQ speakers assess referents, which the prior speakers have just assessed, and thereby express their incongruence with the prior speakers' views about the referents. In Practices 1 & 2, on the other hand, the RPQ speakers assess different aspects of referents, which the prior speaker have just assessed, and do not necessarily express their incongruence with the prior speakers' views about the referents.

(2) In Practice 3, the RPQ speakers do not shift the focus of the prior assessments, unlike Practices 1 & 2 in which the RPQ speakers shift some aspect of the prior assessments in the preceding talk and establish another ground for the productions of the RPQs. Thus, in Practice 3, the core of the statement (i.e., the predicate component of an RPQ) is positioned earlier than in Practices 1 & 2, in which the core of the statement can be delivered with some delay.

These comparable observations among the practices give evidence that action types can be differentiated according to the practices through which they are introduced. Thus, a particular

action can be shaped not only by the sequential position in which a particular grammatical format is deployed, but also by the practice through which that grammatical format is produced.

In addition to the above points, variation in the strength of statements or in degree of disaffiliation expressed by RPQs can be further clarified by looking at their (preferred or dispreferred) turn shapes. The next example, previously examined as example (72), is an instance of an RPQ introduced through Practice 3. This instance is the strongest form of second assessment RPQs not only because it is introduced through Practice 3, but also because it is constructed as a preferred turn shape. Upon the completion of the prior assessment, the RPQ speaker, F, does not utilize any delaying device, such as silence, repair initiators, and/or turn prefaces, which can often be observed when a speaker does not agree with the prior speaker (Pomerantz, 1984). Rather, she initiates the construction of the RPQ immediately after the completion of the prior assessment turn. The second assessment initiated by F is actually formulated as a "preferred" turn in terms of its design feature. In this way, F seems to express quite a strong statement towards M.

(78) TU3

04 M: *sugge*::.
great
'((That's)) grea::t.'
FIRST ASSESSMENT

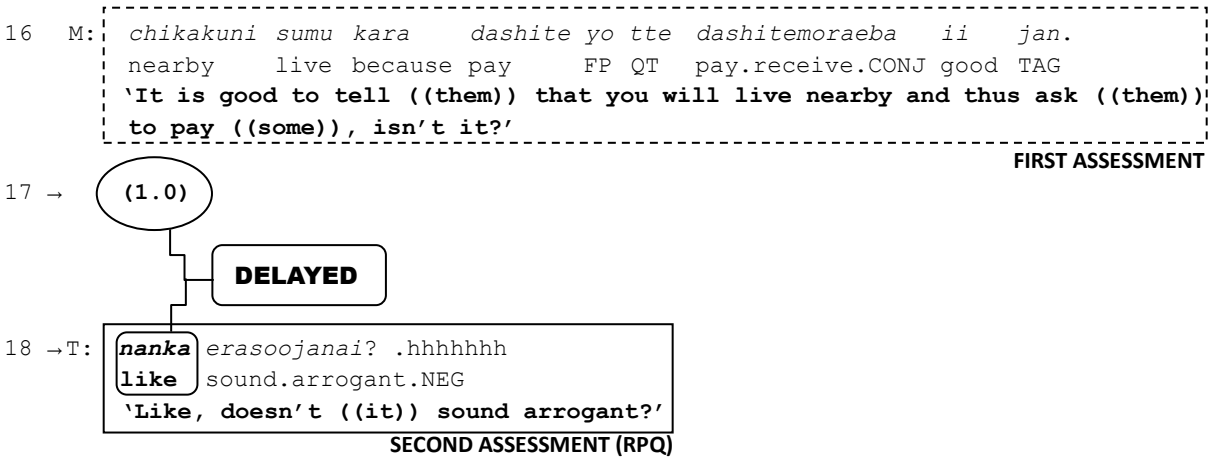
05 →F: *hutsu*(h)*u*(h)*ja*(h)*ne*(h):(h):(h)?
normal.NEG
'Isn't ((it)) normal?'
SECOND ASSESSMENT RPQ

The claim that the statement expressed by F can be understood as a strong one by reference to its turn shape is supported by prior studies. For instance, M. Goodwin (1983) has discovered that in contrast to an orientation to the preference for agreement in adult

conversation (Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff, 2007), in children's conversation aggravated disagreements tend to be produced without delay and/or without any preface. The turn shapes and intonation contours of such disagreements do not show an orientation to preference for agreement. Goodwin, Goodwin, and Yaeger-Dror (2002) also showed that disagreement is not necessarily dispreferred. By examining girls' disputes in the midst of the children's game of hopscotch, they found that participants tend to highlight rather than mitigating opposition by the use of a range of semiotic resources such as prosody and body position. Turn shapes of disagreements similar to the preferred turn shape of agreements have been found not only in children's conversation but also in adult conversation. In his recent work, Ogden (2006), who analyzed adult conversation, has also noted that "(o)vert disagreements are generally timed to come in either in overlap with the first assessment or very soon after it; they thus have the format of preferred turns, rather than the expected dispreferred turns" (p. 1763). The correlation between the strength of the statement (opposite to that of the prior statement) and the (preferred) turn shape is compatible with the correlation between the strength of the statement expressed by the RPQ which F produced and the turn shape.

In contrast, example (79), which repeats example (76), shows that the RPQ can express a weaker statement than the one in example (78), although both instances are cases in which the RPQs are introduced through Practice 3.

(79) New Apartment



The second assessment built by T contains typical features of a dispreferred second. After the completion of M's initial assessment which invites agreement, T initially responds with silence (line 17). T then produces a turn preface, *nanka* ('like'), which mitigates the statement that follows. In this way, the production of the predicate component of the RPQ is significantly delayed.

Examples (78) and (79) illustrate that while the RPQs in these examples are deployed through Practice 3, the strengths of the statements expressed by the RPQs are not equivalent. The different strengths are reflected by the preferred or dispreferred turn shapes of the second assessments in which the RPQs are embodied. These examples indicate that various strengths of statements expressed by second assessment RPQs can be actualized not only by the aforementioned practices through which the RPQs are introduced but also by the shapes of the turns in which the RPQs are embodied.

4 Summary

In this chapter, we have investigated RPQs deployed in second assessment position. In second position, RPQs are utilized to convey the speakers' alternative views or judgments to the prior speakers' assessments. By the use of the question formulation, RPQs in second position undermine the first-ness of prior assessments, and establish themselves as new first assessments, thereby making relevant responses from the prior speakers.

We have identified three practices by which second assessment RPQs are introduced. Of these three, the first two practices involve the speakers' shift of focus of the prior assessments. In these practices, the speakers shift some aspects of the prior assessments, and thereby create another ground for participants' symmetrical access as a basis for producing RPQs. In Practice 1, the speakers shift the focus of the assessables of the prior assessments, and thereby assess different aspects of the assessables. In Practice 2, the speakers utilize a compound TCU, just as the speakers of first assessment RPQs do. However, unlike the speakers of first assessment RPQs, the speakers of second assessment RPQs not only establish participants' symmetrical access. More importantly, they shift the focus from the prior speaker's perspective to their own perspective. By so doing, they offer alternative statements by means of RPQs. Practice 3 is quite different from the other two practices in that the speakers do not shift the focus of the prior assessments. Rather, they assess the same assessables as the prior speakers have just done. What they do is to offer quite different views or judgments about the same assessables as the prior assessments. By assessing the same assessables in quite different ways, the statements expressed through RPQs may be understood as the speakers' stronger statement about, or the speaker's disaffiliation with, the prior speakers' assessments. It has also been shown that the strengths of the statements expressed by RPQs introduced in Practice 3 are reflected by the contiguity between the main

components (i.e., the predicate components) of the RPQs and the prior assessments. Since in Practice 3 the speakers of RPQs do not engage in the shift of focus of the prior assessments, they construct the main components of the statements expressed by RPQs relatively earlier than in the other two practices. Thus, RPQs deployed in the same position may express statements of different strengths, depending upon the practices through which RPQs are introduced.

We have also demonstrated that statements expressed by RPQs in second position are less foreseeable, relative to those expressed by RPQs in first position. This has been warranted by: (1) the particularity of the second-ness; and (2) the speakers' attention to unnoticed aspects of the prior assessments, which are summarized as follows:

(1) In second position the RPQ speakers generally need to establish participants' symmetrical access and express their statements within a single turn without the help of the hearers, while in first position both the speakers and the hearers can use several exchanges of turns, through which they can mutually establish symmetrical access, before producing RPQs. In second position, there is not much interactional space for both the speakers of RPQs and the hearers in which to mutually elaborate the talk for establishing their symmetrical access to the assessables as a basis for the productions of RPQs.

(2) On the other hand, the RPQ speakers in second position attend to different aspects of the prior assessments which may not be unnoticed by the prior speakers in the preceding talk. RPQs in second position assess these aspects.

The lower degree of foreseeability which derives from the above two points is another important characteristic of the RPQ in the second position.

We have also discussed how various strengths of statements expressed by second assessment RPQ can be realized. It has been demonstrated that these strengths can be partly

explained by the aforementioned practices through which RPQs are introduced. Our claim is that RPQs introduced by Practice 3 convey stronger statements than those introduced by Practices 1 & 2. We have offered two reasons to warrant such a claim. First, unlike RPQs introduced through Practice 1 & 2, RPQs introduced through Practice 3 evaluate the same referents that the prior speakers have just evaluated, and thus explicitly demonstrate that the RPQ speakers' views are incongruent with the prior speakers' views. Second, RPQs introduced through Practice 3 express their views earlier than those introduced through the other practices. In Practice 3, the predicate component of the RPQ can be positioned right after the completion of the prior assessment, while in Practices 1 & 2, the RPQ speaker needs to produce some extra context in which he or she shifts some aspect of the prior assessment, before producing the predicate component of the RPQ. The close contiguity between the predicate component of the RPQ and the prior turn completion, which can be observed in Practice 3, reflects the strength of the statement expressed by the RPQ. Further, strengths of statements can be differentiated among second assessment RPQs by taking into account how RPQ turns are shaped. It has been shown that even RPQs introduced through the same practice display different strengths. These strengths can be captured by reference to structural feature of preference. A stronger statement can be delivered with a preferred turn shape, while a weaker statement can be delivered with a dispreferred turn shape.

Second assessment RPQs observed in this chapter are quite different from the first assessment RPQs observed in the previous chapter. In the next chapter, we will incorporate findings obtained from our observations on first and second assessment RPQs into a whole picture, allowing a fuller understanding of RPQs deployed in these positions.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

1 Findings

In this thesis, I have investigated a type of negatively formatted, reversed polarity question (RPQ) in everyday Japanese talk-in-interaction from the perspective of positionally sensitive grammar. The focus of the present investigation is specifically on RPQs deployed in first and second assessment positions. The study has revealed that while RPQs deployed in these positions have some commonalities, their actions and the practices through which the actions are implemented are quite different.

From the data observed, actions performed RPQs deployed in first and second assessment positions can be characterized as follows:

> **FIRST ASSESSMENT RPQs** make a statement that can be equally accessed and shared by the speaker and the hearer by appealing to their common sense, knowledge or reasoning between them, and invite agreement from the hearer.
>
> **SECOND ASSESSMENT RPQs** undermine the first-ness of the prior assessments and offer, as new first assessments, their alternative views or judgments to the prior speaker's, that can be equally accessed and shared by the speaker and the hearer by appealing to their common sense, knowledge or reasoning between them, and invite agreement from the hearer.

RPQs deployed in these positions commonly express evaluative statements, which are

assumed to be equally accessed and shared by the speaker and the hearer. These statements generally appeal to participants' common sense, knowledge, or reasoning, which is invoked by the relationship between the statement in the RPQ and the preceding (or subsequent component of) talk. Also by the use of the question formulation, they invite agreement as a preferred response. However, RPQs deployed in second position convey extra meanings, which fundamentally emerge from the particularity of the second-ness. The use of the question formulation in second position invokes the conditional relevance of the question-answer adjacency pair, and thus makes an "answer" relevant next. Consequently, an RPQ deployed in second position undermines the first-ness of the prior assessment and establishes itself as a new first pair part (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006), which then invites agreement.

Another important dimension of action implemented by the RPQ is about its claim of epistemic access to knowledge and information about a particular assessable. In Section 2.5 of Chapter 4, I initially demonstrated that the RPQ, irrespective of the positional variations, claims the speaker's symmetrical epistemic access to a particular assessable relative to his or her co-participant. Such claim is partly supported by several grammatical and prosodic features of the question design of the RPQ. The claim of symmetrical access to the assessable made by the RPQ is, however, more clearly demonstrated in conjunction with the preceding interactional environment in which participants symmetrical access to the assessable has been established. Prior to the production of the RPQ, participants mutually orient to a particular assessable and the RPQ speaker, sometimes in concert with his or her co-participant, establish his or her equivalent access to it relative to his or her co-participant. In this way, the environment for the production of the RPQ is created. Importantly, however, practices in which such an environment is created are quite different for the different positions in which the RPQ is introduced. I have shown that these practices shape the types of actions

accomplished in the different positions in which the RPQ is deployed. Diagrams 7.1 and 7.2 summarize the practices in which the RPQ is introduced.

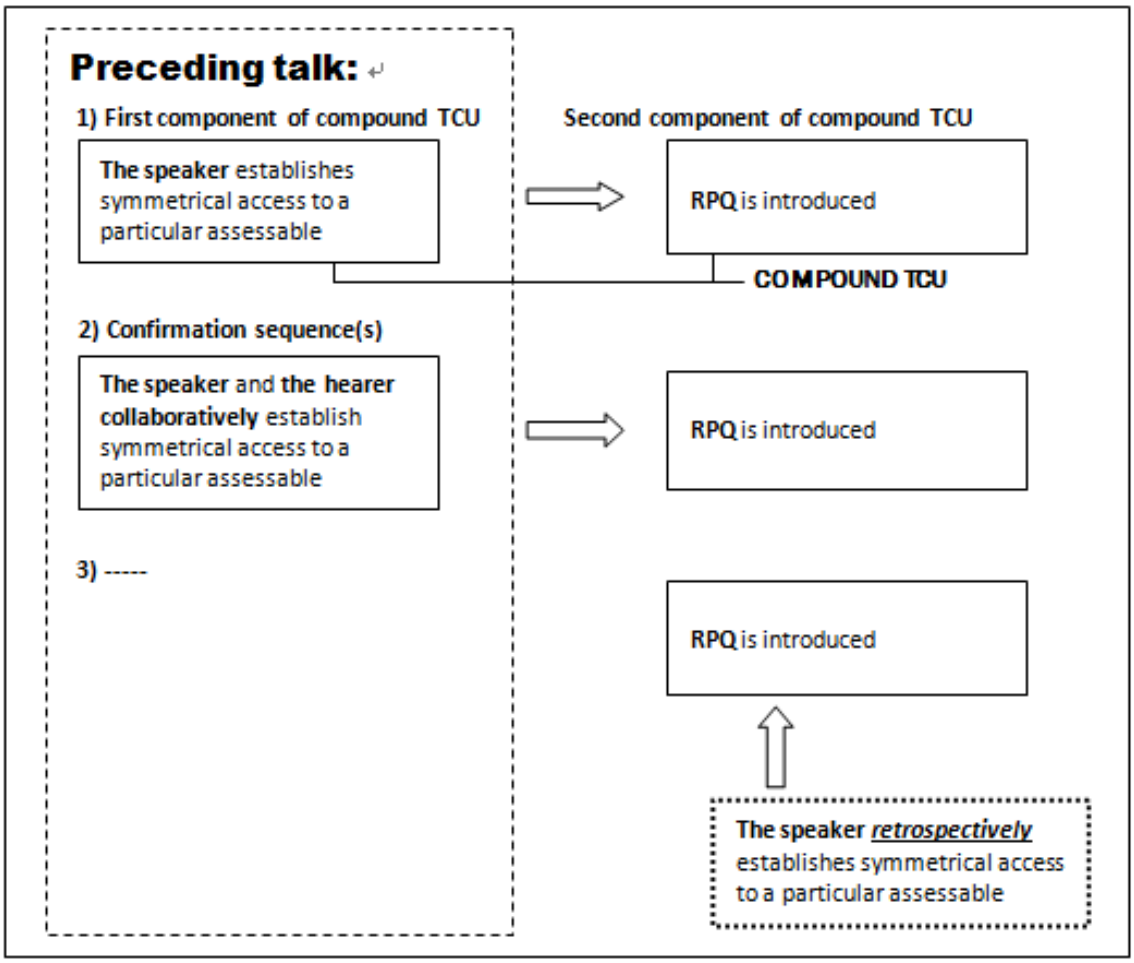


Diagram 7.1 Practices for introducing first assessment RPQs

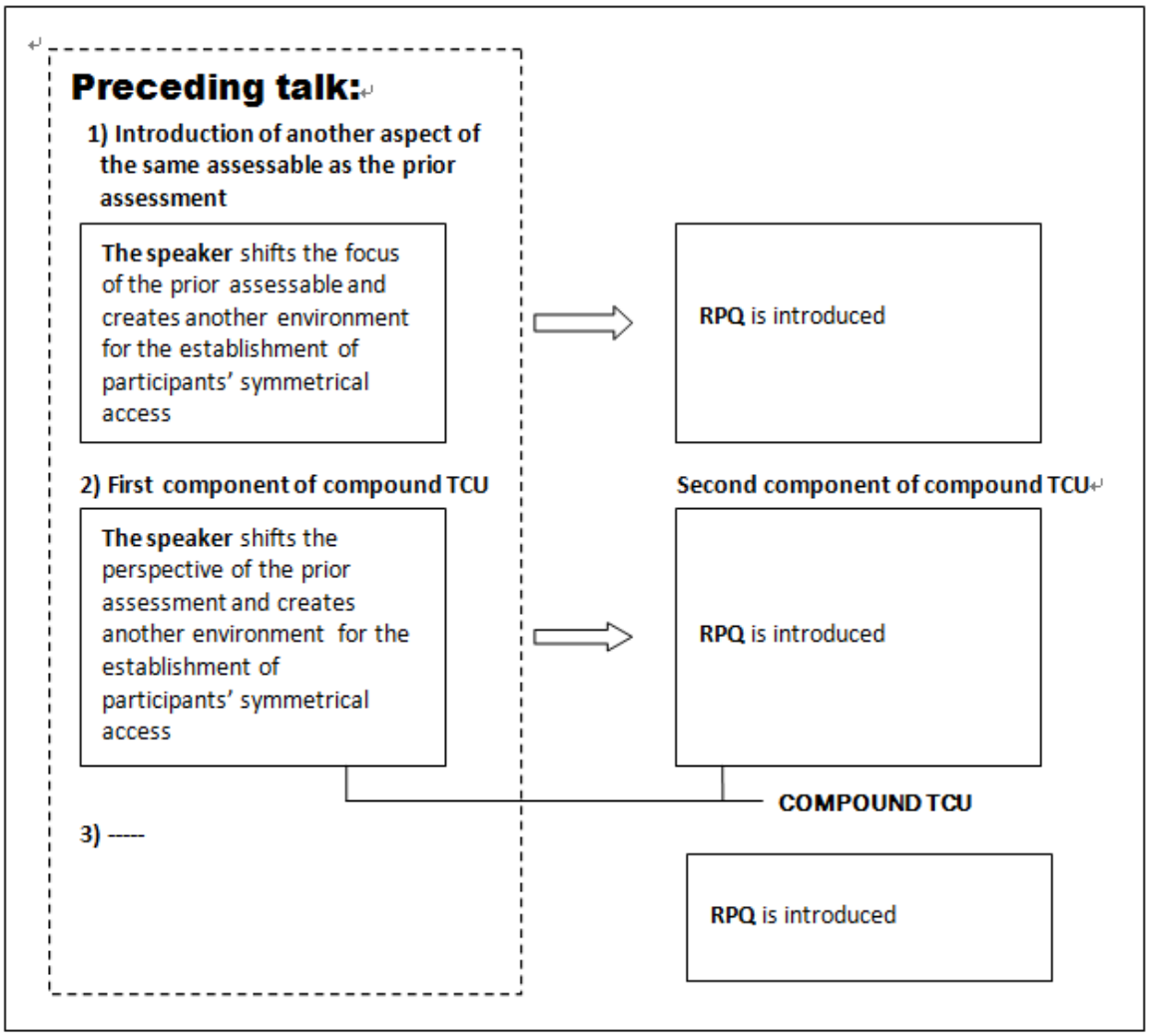


Diagram 7.2 Practices for introducing second assessment RPQs

As illustrated in Diagram 7.1, three practices have been identified, by which the first assessment RPQ is generated. In Practice 1, the RPQ speaker utilizes the compound TCU format in which he or she establishes participants' symmetrical access to a particular assessable in the first component and produces an RPQ in the second component. In Practice 2, the preceding activity engaged by the speaker and the hearer, most commonly a confirmation activity, contingently establishes an environment for participants' symmetrical access to a particular assessable and on the basis of that environment, the speaker produces an RPQ. In the third practice, the RPQ speaker initially builds an RPQ and then produces a post-predicate component in which he or she retrospectively establishes the participants' symmetrical access to what has just been assessed. Interestingly, when this practice is deployed, the recipient of the RPQ tends to withhold either agreement or disagreement until the retrospective establishment of participants' symmetrical access.

As shown in Diagram 7.2, on the other hand, three practices have been found regarding the production of the second assessment RPQ. Of these three practices, two practices are utilized to shift some aspect of the prior assessment. One of the two practices is that the RPQ speaker introduces another aspect of the prior assessable as a way of establishing another context for participants' symmetrical access and produces an RPQ. The other is that the RPQ speaker utilizes a compound TCU, in which he or she more substantively shifts the focus of the prior assessment as a way of establishing another context for participants' symmetrical access, and produces an RPQ. Importantly, by shifting the focus of the prior assessment through the use of these practices, the RPQ speaker avoids explicit disagreement with the prior speaker, while he or she can open up another possibility for mutual agreement with the prior speaker. The third practice does not rely on the preceding talk for shifting the focus of the prior assessment. Rather, in this practice, the RPQ speaker directly responds to the prior assessment by assessing the very same assessable that the prior speaker has just assessed.

This practice may involve two consequences. First, by assessing the same assessable as the prior speaker, the statement conveyed by the RPQ may be heard as the RPQ speaker's display of disaffiliation with, or resistance against, the prior assessment. Second, since the RPQ speaker positions the main component of his or her alternative statement (i.e., the predicate component) right after the prior statement, the statement via the RPQ can be understood as the speaker's incongruence with the prior speaker's statement. Thus, the RPQ deployed through the third practice may express a stronger statement and perform a more disaffiliative action than the one deployed through the other two practices. This suggests that the RPQ implemented in the same position may be differentiated by practices in which it is introduced.

2 Contributions

This thesis has made several important contributions, which are listed below:

- The present study is the first attempt to systematically investigate a particular type of reversed-polarity question, a relatively new grammatical item, which was simply labelled as a request for agreement. It has not only given a detailed analysis of grammatical and prosodic features of the RPQ, but also shown particular epistemic stance taken up by the speaker. Thus, it has offered a more comprehensive and integrated analysis of this particular grammatical item.
- This study first offered an analytic framework through which analysts can give a warrant for their analysis on how epistemic strengths are managed by participants in the larger course of interaction. Under this framework, it has demonstrated how participants manage their relative epistemic strengths and thereby create a proper context in which a

particular grammatical item can be deployed. The present study underscored the importance of the preceding interactional context, in which participants establish their symmetrical epistemic access to a particular referent, and thereby create a basis for the production of the particular grammatical item. Utilizing this framework, it has revealed recurrent practices through which a particular grammatical item is introduced and its action is performed.

- Our analysis has revealed that the type of reversed polarity question under investigation is adapted to, or affected by, positional variations in terms of action type, as well as practice through which it is introduced. As previously noted, there are few studies which investigate a particular grammatical resource deployed in different positions within the same sequence from the perspective of positionally sensitive grammar. Our findings about the reversed polarity question have clearly shown that types of actions deployed by at least some grammatical items can be differentiated by the positions in which they are located. The view of positionally sensitive grammar makes it clear to us how the relationship between grammatical usage and sequential position involves participants' sense-making processes in interactional actuality. The study thus supports the line of investigation conducted by Heritage and Raymond (2005), which analysed an English tag, which can be utilized to index different epistemic claims over the matter depending upon the sequential positions where it is deployed.

3 Limitations

Limitations of the present study are addressed in this section. First, the scope of the data source has been narrowed in terms of participants' attribution: dialect (Tokyo dialect), age

(under the mid-thirties), and formality of conversation (casual conversation). Although the conclusion drawn from such data may be partial, the present study still described what these participants actually do as intelligible actions to others by the use of the RPQ in a particular sequential context. Expanding the scope of the data source will be the next step to generalize the present study's findings.

Second, the present study also narrowed the scope of investigation of the RPQ in terms of the sequential position in which the RPQ is used. It focused exclusively on the RPQ found in first and second assessment positions, in which the RPQ is most frequently used. As indicated in Section 2.2. of Chapter 3, there are cases in which the RPQ is used in other sequential positions. Further investigation of the RPQ in sequential positions other than first and second assessment positions is a topic for future research.[53]

Third, there is also a methodological limitation. The CA's sequential analysis makes it possible to identify different types of actions performed by the RPQ in different sequential positions. This shows the power of CA in terms of how a particular action performed by the same grammatical resource is sequentially sensitive. This is possible only by making a line-by-line or turn-by-turn detailed analysis of talk-in-interaction. However, this may prove to be a limitation. The CA methodology may not work well for generalizing even a single grammatical resource. In a CA's typical research procedure, we collect and transcribe a large amount of data to generalize a particular grammatical resource. This can be quite a daunting task. The next step is to make a collection of fragments including the target grammatical resource and then analyse each instance to identify a type of action deployed in a particular sequential position. However, it is impossible to recognize whether the available data is sufficient to generalize the target grammatical resource used in every possible sequential position where it occurs, given that every instance of the target grammatical resource is

[53] One such effort can be made in Sugiura (2012), who investigated the RPQ as a response to a request of confirmation.

contingently deployed by conversational participants at a particular point of time. Therefore, we must accumulate relevant findings case by case before drawing a hasty and immature generalization.

4 Future Directions

To conclude, I would like to give some future directions to the line of investigation conducted by the present study.

The present thesis has argued that first and second assessment RPQs claim participants' symmetrical access to states of affairs. Some researchers, however, maintained that *ne*-assessments and/or *yone*-assessments also claim participants' symmetrical access to states of affairs (Hayano, 2011; Morita, 2002, 2005). Given that there are these three different grammatical resources, which index the same epistemic claims, and conversational participants choose one of the three resources in a particular interactional context, there may be some differences in function between these resources. One direction to explore this issue is to see how participants' symmetrical access indexed by each of these resources can be established in a larger course of talk, particularly in the preceding talk. As observed in the present thesis, in the case of RPQs, participants' symmetrical access is generally established before the productions of the RPQ. The production of the RPQ thus significantly hinges upon the preceding sequential context. It will be useful to look at *ne*-assessments and *yone*-assessment in the same way as we have looked at RPQs. We may then identify how participants distinguish the use of one grammatical resource from the use of the others.

As discussed in Chapter 6, RPQs deployed in second position display different types of actions. RPQs introduced through Practice 3 perform more disaffiliative actions than those

introduced through Practice 1 & 2. Also RPQs deployed in second position actually convey different strengths of statements, depending upon the practices through which RPQs are introduced and the shapes of the turns in which RPQs are embodied. These findings suggest that even in a same sequential position, actions implemented by the use of a single grammatical item can be differentiated by the ways in which that grammatical item is deployed. Actions may be quite finely tuned in a local interactional context. It will thus be worthwhile to look closely at how actions implemented by a particular grammatical resource will be affected by local practices, through which that grammatical resource is introduced.

Further, the present study cannot incorporate multimodal aspects of action deployed by the use of the RPQ. Although not fully discussed in the present study, there are cases where the RPQ speaker incorporates multimodal resources, such as a co-present object, eye gaze, hand gesture particularly pointing gesture, and a particular spatial arrangement of participants' bodies, into the RPQ turn, to establish equal epistemic access to a particular object in question. Example (59) is one such case. As shown in Figure 5.4-5.6, the RPQ speaker O builds the RPQ turn by incorporating multiple resources. O utilizes a co-present object, that is, a picture of the focused object−a dressing table in the corridor. She utilizes a particular spatial arrangement of the participants to establish their mutual orientation to the focused object and directs her gaze towards the recipient shown in Figure 5.6 to confirm whether the recipient attends to the focused objects. O incorporates these resources in the first part of the RPQ turn to establish equal access to the focused evaluative object, and then further incorporates a particular grammatical form and a particular pitch contour as integral parts of the RPQ. Ways in which the RPQ speaker can mobilize multiple resources to deploy a particular action is worthy of future investigation.

It is hoped that the line of investigation made in this study will expand the horizon of research on grammar-in-interaction, and thereby give a fuller understanding of the interplay

between grammar and social interaction as its natural home.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Transcription Symbols

[	the point where overlapping talk starts
]	the point where overlapping talk ends
=	latching
(0.5)	silence in tenths of a second
(.)	micro-pause
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
!	an animated tone, but not necessarily an exclamation
:	prolongation
↑	the pitch of the syllable following the arrow is rising
↓	the pitch of the syllable preceding the arrow is falling
-	cut-off
( )	unintelligible stretch
(word)	transcriber's uncertain hearings
<u>word</u>	produced in an emphatic manner (not in terms of loudness but in terms of a notable voice quality quite different from the surrounding talk)
WORD	louder than the surrounding talk
°word°	quieter than the surrounding talk
> <	quicker than the surrounding talk
< >	slower than the surrounding talk
h	exhalation
.h	inhalation
(h)	laughter within a word
(( ))	transcriber's descriptions of events

Appendix 2: Abbreviations used in the interlinear glossing

BE: various types of the ‘be’ verb

CONJ: conjunctive

DF: disfluency

FP: final particle

GEN: genitive

LINK: linker

N: nominalizer

NEG: negation

OBJ: object marker

P: particle other than those listed here

PAST: past tense

POL: polite/formal speech level

QP: question particle

QT: quotative

SUB: subject particle

TAG: Tag question

TOP: topic marker

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet (PIS)

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

Department of Applied Language Studies & Linguistics
Faculty of Arts

Fisher Building
Level 8 & 9, 18 Waterloo Quadrant
Telephone: 64 9 373 7599 ext. 82001
Facsimile: 64 9 308 2360

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title : Adjectives as Resources for Social Actions in Japanese Conversation: A Lexical Category and Sequence Organization
Researcher: Hideyuki Sugiura
To : Participants

My name is Hideyuki Sugiura. I am a doctoral student at the Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics, University of Auckland. I am studying the use of adjectives in Japanese conversational interaction.

I would like to invite you to participate in my research project. You have been chosen because you are a native speaker of Japanese, which is the target language in my research.

You will be asked to talk with others about topics of your choosing, as you do in everyday talk. Audio- and video-recordings will be made of your conversation, which will enable the researcher to grasp how verbal and non-verbal communicative means are organized in everyday conversation. You will be asked to talk with your co-participants for approximately 40 minutes. The data collection will be held at your home or another location of your choosing. You will receive 10 New Zealand dollars (or approximately the same amount of Japanese yen when the recording is conducted in Japan) for your participation.

Your participation is voluntary and you may decline the invitation without giving a reason. You may also withdraw your participation at any time during the recordings. If you do take part, you may also withdraw any time up to one month after the recording, without giving reasons, at any time. If you withdraw, you may withdraw the information you have provided.

Access to all Participant Consent Forms and all movie- and sound-files will be restricted to myself and my supervisor. However, access to transcripts will be permitted to other researchers. In order to access the transcripts, any other researchers must sign an agreement stating that only transcripts will be utilized and stored on their computers for a designated period, after which all information must be deleted. After the completion of this research project, the consent forms, data and transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet on university premises for six years. If the information you provide, including images extracted from movie-files, is reported or published by the researcher in such a form as a doctoral dissertation and an academic journal, this will be done in a way that does not identify you as its source. If other researchers, who are permitted to use transcripts with signed agreement, report or publish their findings, this will also be done in a way that does not identify you as its

source. When other researchers utilize transcripts in a designated period, information about your identity will not be provided to them.

Thank you very much for your time and help in participating in my research project. If you have any queries, please feel free to contact me.

Address : Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
University of Auckland
Level 8 & 9, 18 Waterloo Quadrant
Email : hidealberta@hotmail.com
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You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Fay Wouk
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You may also contact the Head of Department, Dr. Frank Lichtenberk
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Telephone : 64 9 373 7599 ext. 88585

For Ethical concerns, contact: The Chair,
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Room 005 Alfred Nathan House, 24 Princes Street, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel: 3737599 extn. 87830.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 13/02/2008 for 3 years
from 13/02/2008 to 13/02/2011
Reference Number: 2007/451

Appendix 3: Consent Form (CF)

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

Department of Applied Language Studies & Linguistics
Faculty of Arts

Fisher Building
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Telephone: 64 9 373 7599 ext. 82001
Facsimile: 64 9 308 2360

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Title : Adjectives as Resources for Social Actions in Japanese Conversation:
A Lexical Category and Sequence Organization
Researcher: Hideyuki Sugiura
To : Participants

I have been provided with and have understood an explanation of this research project. I understand the nature of the research, and why I have been selected for participation. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have received appropriate answers. I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary.

- I understand that my conversation will be audio- and video-recorded.
- I understand that the recordings will last approximately 40 minutes.
- I understand that I will be paid 10 New Zealand dollars for my 40 minute participation.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the project for up to one month after taping without giving a reason.
- I understand that if I withdraw, I may withdraw the information I have provided.
- I understand that some images extracted from the recordings can be reported or published in such a form as a doctoral dissertation and a academic journal by the researcher.
- I understand that my confidentiality will be preserved, and that in any research that utilizes this data and transcripts, I cannot be identified as the source of the information.
- I understand that the data will be stored in a secure place for six years, and that the researcher may make further use of the data.
- I understand that other researchers may also be permitted to use transcripts with a signed agreement in which transcripts are only utilized and stored in the computer during a designated period.
- I understand that when other researchers utilize transcripts, they will not receive any information about my identity.
- I understand that other researchers who use transcripts with the permission of the primary researcher may not share them with anyone else.
- I understand that other researchers must delete transcripts from their computers after completing a project.
- I agree to take part in this research.

Signed:

Name:
(Please print clearly.)

Date:
APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 13/02/2008 for 3 years
from 13/02/2008 to 13/02/2011
Reference Number: 2007/451

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