

Stories in Casual Conversation
in English and Japanese : Genres, Evaluative
Expressions and Pedagogical Implications

Takashi SUZUKI

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Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University

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This thesis consists of three related studies arranged in the ‘thesis-by-publication’ format as stipulated by Macquarie University. Since the three parts of the thesis were originally intended to be prepared for publication on their own, references are provided after each part. Table of contents, Abstract, Introduction, and Conclusion, along with Declaration and Acknowledgments, concern the entire thesis. Throughout the thesis, the study on which Part I of the thesis is based is referred to as Study I, for example.

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Abstract

This project aims to explore the differences and similarities between stories produced in casual conversation in English and Japanese, and to consider how the findings from such investigation may be applied to English language teaching/learning. Conversational stories (CSs, hereafter) have been claimed to perform crucial social functions such as the construction and maintenance of identity and relationships. Yet cross-linguistic studies on CSs in English and Japanese have been scarce, and so are EFL teaching materials that deal with CSs. This project aims to contribute to bridging this gap by exploring mainly 1) what genres of stories occur, and 2) how the speaker's attitude is expressed in such stories, in casual conversation in the two languages.

The data for this project consists of the following: English dyads by English native speakers (ENSs), Japanese dyads by Japanese native speakers (JNSs), and English dyads between an ENS and a JNS learner of English. The analysis was conducted using genre theory and appraisal theory developed in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

It was found that the CSs told by ENSs in English were shorter but occurred more frequently than those told by JNSs. In the ENS-JNS English conversations, almost no stories occurred, suggesting the difficulties involved in the production of CSs in L2.

In both languages, stories with an element of conflict or crisis (termed 'narratives' and 'anecdotes' in genre theory) were rare. In the ENS-ENS data, the most common genre was 'exemplums' whose function is to prove a point, while in the JNS-JNS data it was 'recount'-type stories whose function is to retell events and share appraisal. These differences may lead speakers of both languages to misunderstand the function of each other's CSs.

Regarding the speaker's attitude, it was found that in both languages, emotional reactions (termed 'affect' in appraisal theory) and evaluation of things and entities

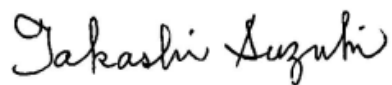
(‘appreciation’) were more often expressed directly (‘inscribed’) than indirectly (‘invoked’). However, the speaker’s judgments about others (‘judgment’) tended to be expressed indirectly when they were negative. EFL learners will benefit from knowing such tendencies in order to be able to produce and utilize CSs in English effectively for social and interpersonal purposes.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material which has been previously published or written by any other person except where due reference is made in the text.

I also declare that the work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

This study was granted approval by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Review Committee (reference number: 5200903534)

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Takashi Suzuki' in a cursive script.

Takashi SUZUKI

27 June, 2013

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Introduction

The late twentieth century, especially the 1990s, saw a turn in the direction of the field of second language acquisition (SLA) research (Block, 2007; Firth & Wagner, 1997; B. Rampton, 1997). Learners of a second language (L2) once viewed as passive agents who merely react to instruction in sterile environments have become increasingly recognized as individuals who act upon their own will. They are also viewed as social beings who use language to interact as members of various groups and networks. These new perspectives have led to the recognition that ‘it is through language that a person gains access to — or is denied access to — powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak’ (Peirce, 1995, p. 13).

Also since around the same time, more attention has been paid in discourse studies to casual, spontaneous speech, which tended to be neglected by some earlier researchers because of its supposed ‘trivial’ nature, despite the work by Sacks, Schegloff and others (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). There existed among some (and still exists to a certain extent) a conception that ‘nothing happens’ in spontaneous, casual conversation (Eggins & Slade, 1997), and that therefore it is not worth serious academic attention. However, it has increasingly been recognized that casual conversation is in fact a site where crucial social and interactional functions are fulfilled.

Casual conversation in English is known to comprise various genres of talk such as gossip and jokes, for example. One such genre that has drawn particular attention is oral narratives also known as conversational stories.¹ It is claimed that social and interpersonal functions that conversational stories (CS, hereafter) perform include

¹ I will use the term ‘narrative’ interchangeably with ‘story’ in its everyday sense for the moment, meaning ‘a story of events, experiences, or the like ...’ (The Macquarie Dictionary, 2005). More specific definitions will be given after the literature review.

‘assessing and confirming affiliations with others’ (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 229), achieving or reinforcing ‘intimacy’ (Coupland & Jaworski, 2003, p. 86) or ‘feelings of group identity’ (Norrick, 2000, p. 84), and ‘constructing identities’ (Georgakopoulou, 2002; 2007, p. 14), which could be summed up as ‘social construction of self and relationships’ (Mandelbaum, 2003, p. 620). These functions of CSs are realized through sharing experiences and displaying (dis)agreement and (un)shared perceptions (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p.229). CSs may also perform more specific and often manipulative functions such as ‘assigning responsibility’ (Mandelbaum, 1993), prescribing behavior (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 269), ‘advising, criticizing, or reprimanding’ (Tracy, 2002, p. 159). Otherwise, narrative may more generally be regarded as a ‘mode of thought’, which is complementary to more abstract, analytic, and logical ways of thinking (Bruner, 1986; Hymes, 1996, p. 113).

If language is key to gaining access to communities and groups, and CSs in English play a crucial role in the construction of thoughts, reality, identities and relationships, failure to effectively recognize, produce and manipulate this group of genres in the language will obviously have serious negative consequences for learners. Referring mainly to academic and professional genres, Bhatia (2004) pointed out that ‘established members of a particular professional community will have a greater knowledge and understanding of the use and exploitation of genres than those who are apprentices, new members or outsiders’ (p. 23). Most learners of English as a second or foreign language are also non-experts or ‘outsiders’ in this respect if they wish to be fully accepted into a particular English-speaking community. They are handicapped against more competent users of the language and are exposed to the risk of being disadvantaged or marginalized in the community because of that handicap. This situation may arise, for example, when a Japanese student participates in a study-abroad or home-stay program, or interact with exchange students from abroad. With the spread of IT tools and online communities such as SNSs, they now also have greater opportunities to communicate directly with native or fluent English speakers

even from their own rooms.

If the ability required for the recognition, production, and exploitation of CSs were relatively undemanding or easily accessible, acquiring such skills may not pose a great problem for English learners. However, as pointed out by McCarthy (1991), this is unlikely the case, particularly with stories told spontaneously in English casual conversation. The ability required for conversational storytelling likely includes textual knowledge (i.e., how CSs are structured in English), functional knowledge (what functions such stories can perform), contextual or sociolinguistic knowledge (in what contexts it is considered appropriate to produce a story of a certain kind and certain topic), in addition to syntactic, lexical, and phonological knowledge. All this knowledge needs to be accessed and employed in real time while the story develops. Further, conversational storytelling requires securing a longer turn at talk while often collaborating with the audience in construction of the narrative (Norrick, 2000, 2005; Polanyi, 1989; Tannen, 1984). This contradictory aspect of conversational storytelling demands highly developed floor management skills in the language as well.

Despite the social and interpersonal importance CSs bear, and the difficulties learners will face in coping with such stories in English, instruction on how to produce, respond to, and exploit CSs has been relatively scarce in English classrooms outside of English speaking countries. The pedagogical value of storytelling has been widely recognized in various areas and academic subjects, including English as L1 and ESL instruction (Aiex, 1988; Mallan, 1997; Phillips, 2000; Slade & Norris, 1986, *inter alia*). Accordingly, pedagogic approaches and actual teaching materials that incorporate storytelling have been developed (de Silva Joyce & Slade, 2000; Mott et al., 1999; Slade & Norris, 1986; Wajnryb, 2003, *inter alia*). However, in the context of EFL teaching, it appears much less common to find either instruction or teaching materials on conversational storytelling skills. This is particularly evident with English teaching in Japan. Instruction on such skills (and to a certain extent that on casual conversation in general) has been largely neglected in English language education at all levels

(primary to tertiary) but for a few exceptions (e.g. Jones, 2001, 2002; Wright, 1995). This can possibly be attributed to preference for teaching knowledge and skills that are more formal and institutional (e.g., debate, presentation, academic/business English) or more tangibly practical (e.g., tasks, speech acts, transactional situations, ESP), and speech genres that are considered more 'dialogic' and therefore encourage equally distributed participation by students in class (Suzuki, 2006, p. 44). It is likely that this is also related to tendencies found in educational and academic institutions to favor the 'paradigmatic' or logico-scientific mode (Bruner, 1986) of thought and expression over the 'narrative' mode, which is more specific and personalized (Bruner, 1996; Hymes, 1996). The absence of instruction, combined with the lack of exposure to authentic CSs in the out-of-class world, has hindered learners from developing the ability required for the production, comprehension, and exploitation of CSs in English.

Admittedly, it could be argued that conversational storytelling skills are largely universal, or at least shared by speakers of English and Japanese, and therefore may be transferrable without instruction. While this is certainly a possibility, little is known yet about the cross-linguistic differences between CSs in the two languages, in contrast to established research on differences in written genres (e.g., Connor, 1996; Hinds, 1990). Studies do exist that deal with oral narratives in Japanese, but they have focused on stories told by children (Minami, 2008; Minami & McCabe, 1995), stories told in interview situations (Kumagai & Kitani, 2010) or in television talk-shows (Honda, 2010; Kodama, 2000) except for a small number that focused on CSs told by adults (Karatsu, 2004, 2010; Kodama, 1998; Maynard, 1989). There clearly is a need for further research on this subject, particularly that conducted from pedagogical perspectives.

It is in this context that the current research project aims to compare conversational stories in English and Japanese, focusing on those occurring without elicitation in the semi-naturalistic setting of 'coffee talk' (casual conversation that takes place in a coffee shop). This project comprises three studies each of which deals

with the following aspect of conversational stories respectively: Study I focuses on genres of CSs, Study II examines evaluative expressions in CSs, and Study III discusses implications of findings from Study I and II for English learning and teaching.

Exploration of cross-linguistic differences between English and another language requires us to be sensitive about social, ideological and political issues latently involved in such an inquiry, especially if we aim to apply the result of such research to English teaching (Canagarajah, 1999, 2002; McKay, 2002; Widdowson, 1994). Specifically, in the case of the current study, CSs told by native-speakers of English should not automatically be considered the standard, normative models, and neither should learners be required or expected to approximate their stories to such models. Considering the status of English as an international *lingua franca* in today's globalized, multicultural world, each learner's own cultural background should be respected even when they interact in English. Pragmatic and discursive behavior in conversational storytelling, which is possibly culture specific, is no exception.

However, awareness of such cross-linguistic differences, if there are any, will certainly benefit the learners in communicating effectively with native or fluent English speakers. Thus it is for this pedagogical purpose of ELT that the cross-linguistic comparisons in this study are conducted, rather than to analyze each language to identify its own characteristics per se. For this reason, the current study employs theories, analytical tools and categories that have been developed largely for the analysis of English. This does not suggest in any way that languages other than English should always be analyzed using such English-based frameworks. Also from the point of view of the learners, the actual decision whether or not to adopt particular 'native-speaker norms' should be left up to each learner's purposes, preferences, and beliefs.

Part I

Genres of Stories in English and Japanese Conversation

1. Introduction to Part I

Stories, or ‘narratives’, as also referred to, are central to, and ubiquitous in our lives. Barthes (1977, p. 79) illustrates this point by noting, ‘narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, [...] news items, conversation’. Stories are exchanged everyday ‘in a store, along the road, at work, play, home, or other community settings’ (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 1). Stories are not limited to verbal expressions as they can be found in such diverse forms as ‘mime, painting, stained glass windows, cinema, comics’ (Barthes, 1977, p. 79). Reflecting this diversity of contexts, situations and media in which they can be expressed, stories have been approached in various disciplines such as folklore, literature, anthropology, education, and linguistics as well as art, cinema, and music. After the so-called ‘narrative-turn’ of the 1970s, stories have also taken on a more central role in even wider fields of inquiry including political science, psychology, sociology, and science, among others (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 3).

However, in the context of EFL teaching/learning in Japan, conversational stories (CSs, hereafter), i.e., stories spontaneously told in our everyday conversation, have generally received little attention but for a few exceptions (e.g. Jones, 2001, 2002; Wright, 1995). This may be partly because casual conversation itself tended to be neglected compared to more formal, pragmatic, and institutional talk (Eggins & Slade, 1997). It is also likely because the crucial social and interpersonal functions that stories perform in casual conversation, which include ‘social construction of self and relationships’ (Mandelbaum, 2003, p. 620) and more specific acts of prescribing behavior (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 269) or ‘advising, criticizing, or reprimanding’ (Tracy, 2002, p. 159) for example, were not adequately recognized in the country until recently.

CSs have not received sufficient attention not only in Japanese EFL materials and practice, but also in the country’s EFL-related applied research as well. Although there are studies that have compared CSs in English and Japanese (Kodama 1998;

Minami, 2008; Minami & McCabe, 1995), most of them analyzed elicited stories or those told in interviews which may not reflect how CSs are spontaneously told in casual conversation in both languages.

Most learners of English as a second or foreign language are handicapped against more competent users of the language in many areas of L2 use, and the construction and use of English conversational stories is one of such areas. Especially with the burgeoning globalization and the spread of IT tools and media, learners of English now have greater opportunities to interact directly with native or fluent speakers of English than they did in the past. In this respect as well, learners need to be assisted in gaining knowledge and control of this ubiquitous form in everyday talk. For this purpose, it would be beneficial for Japanese learners of English to be aware of the differences there may exist between CSs told by native or fluent speakers of English and those told by Japanese speakers both in Japanese and in their L2 English.

The current study aims to bridge this gap by exploring what genres of CSs are commonly told in English and Japanese, what functions they perform in both languages, and in what ways CSs told by Japanese learners of English may differ regarding the above points.

2. Literature Review

2-1 Definition of Genre

In order to investigate the story genres that occur in casual conversation, it is necessary to first look at how genre has been defined and studied. In the fields of literature and rhetoric, genres have been studied since ancient times, but genres in vernacular language did not receive much attention until relatively recently. One of the first scholars to focus on genres in everyday language was Bakhtin (1986,

originally published in Russian in 1979), who wrote (p. 60);

Language is realized in the form of individual concrete utterances [...]. These utterances reflect the specific conditions and goals of each such area not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style, [...] but above all through their compositional structure. [...] Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we may call *speech genres*.

As will be discussed below, some of the core features of more recent definitions of genre were already present in this definition by Bakhtin. Today, there are three disciplines which pay particular attention to verbal genres and are relevant to the current study. These are fields of rhetorical criticism, English for Specific Purposes, and Systemic Functional Linguistics (Hyland, 2002, 2003; Hyon, 1996; Johns, 2001). From the perspective of rhetorical criticism, Miller (1984, p. 151) proposes genre as representation of 'typified rhetorical action'. Her classification of genres is ethnomethodological in that 'it seeks to explicate the knowledge that practice creates' (ibid., p. 155). Thus, the 'de facto' genres in our everyday language (in English) such as 'the letter of recommendation, the user manual, the progress report, the ransom note, the lecture, [...] the public proceeding, and the sermon' are all 'potential' genres (ibid.). In this sense, her concept of genre is social as well as rhetorical since genre 'acquires meaning from situation and from the social context' (ibid., p. 163).

In linguistics and applied linguistics, the term 'genre analysis' has been associated primarily with a description of language use in educational, academic or professional settings (Bhatia, 2004, p. 22). Thus, genre analysis has been pursued extensively in the field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP, hereafter), in particular, the analysis of academic English. Swales (1990) provides a 'working definition' of genre as follows, focusing on its communicative purpose.

A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some sets of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. (Swales, 1990, p. 58)

While Swales seems to place more importance on genres' communicative purposes than Miller, he also notes that genre is constructed and recognized socially rather than individually or universally. Swales also treats traditional genre labels in a manner similar to Miller's. He notes that '[t]he genre names inherited and produced by discourse communities [...] constitute valuable ethnographic communication' but adds that they 'typically need further validation' (ibid.).

Genre analysis has developed to explore texts in educational settings also in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL, hereafter). Martin and Rose (2008) define genres as 'staged, goal oriented social processes'. Like Miller and Swales, their definition of genre also emphasizes its purposeful and social nature. Drawing on analyses of texts sampled in Australian schools, Martin and Rose argue that there are 'families of genres' in written English such as 'stories', 'histories', and 'reports and explanations', for example. The 'story' family, which overlaps with the object of the current study, includes the genres of 'recounts', 'anecdotes', 'exempla'², 'observations', 'narratives' and 'news stories'. These genres can be identified on the basis of their purpose (function) and textual features, especially the texts' 'staging' structure, distinctive from each other reflecting such purpose.

Irrespective of their origins and orientations, the genre theories surveyed above

² The plural form of the genre 'exemplum' is expressed as 'exempla' by Martin and Rose (2008) and as 'exemplums' by Eggins and Slade (1997). The latter form is used elsewhere in this thesis.

share the following features: They all recognize and emphasize the social, rather than cognitive, nature of genre, which suggests that genres present in one speech community or culture should not be automatically assumed to exist in another. These theories also agree that genre is a dynamic process rather than a static product, through which some action or function is performed.

2-2 Issues in the Identification of Genre

There are some issues and concepts regarding identification of genres in naturally occurring conversation that are relevant to the current study.

2-2-1 Genre as Prototype

Referring to ‘narrative’, Tannen (1984) notes that no matter how this genre is to be defined, it is impossible to identify such defining features that can categorically distinguish narratives from non-narratives (p. 97). The same has been observed regarding genres in general (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 133; Swales, 1990, p. 49). Some texts that satisfy all the defining criteria of a genre may not seem as full-fledged as others, while others that fail to meet some of the criteria may seem to fit well in that category. This issue has been addressed from two perspectives: prototype theory and topology.

Prototype theory was formulated in the 1970s to explain the cognition of natural categories such as color (Rosch, 1973; Rosch & Mervis, 1975, *inter alia*). Rosch and Mervis (1975) point out that categories are often assumed to be ‘logical bounded entities, membership in which is defined by an item’s possession of a simple set of criterial features’ (p. 573). However, they argue that some categories are ‘analog’ whose members can be either prototypical (best, clearest examples) or non-prototypical (better to poorer examples). Based on this argument, Tannen (1984) only selects for

her narrative analysis the prototypical narratives according to her definition, excluding the non-prototypical ones. Similarly, Eggins & Slade note that while some texts are ‘ideal types’ that tightly adhere to their generic structure, others deviate from it or represent a complex mix of genres (1997, p. 238). Swales (1990) also uses the concept of prototype but takes a different approach. Among the defining properties of genre he identifies, Swales designates communicative purpose as the ‘privileged property’. The other properties such as form, structure, and audience expectations are used to identify the extent to which a particular example is prototypical of that genre.

Martin and Rose address the issue of prototypicality using a ‘topological’ approach (2008, p. 131). In their discussion of genres, Martin and Rose use both typological and topological analysis. Typology refers to the traditional approach to categorization which creates exclusive distinctions, whereas topology (in Martin and Rose’s sense) enables placing different genres along multiple clines. For example, the genres that belong to the ‘recount’ family can be mapped along two axes. The horizontal axis points to ‘individual participants’ in one direction and ‘generic participants’ in the other. The vertical axis points to ‘serial time’ in one direction and ‘episodic time’ in the other. Among the genres that belong to the ‘recount’ family, ‘personal recounts’ and ‘autobiography’ are both mapped near the ‘individual’ end of the horizontal axis. But their vertical positions are different because ‘personal recounts’ are more ‘serial’ (i.e., they focus step by step on a sequence of events) than ‘autobiography’. Mapping genres in this manner also enables the modeling of the relations between various genres, besides dealing with the issue of prototypicality.

2-2-2 Embedding and Macrogenre

Genres do not always exist on their own; one genre of text³ can be embedded in

³ I use the term ‘text’ interchangeably with ‘discourse’, meaning ‘language used in context’ which has some unity and whose size is usually above the word level. This term is preferred

another exhibiting a form of ‘intertextuality’, i.e., relationships between texts (Bhatia, 2004, p. 126).⁴ In some cases, genres are not only embedded in another genre but together make up a larger text which is a distinct genre of its own. Martin and Rose (2007, p. 261; 2008, p. 218) call the latter a ‘macrogenre’. An example given by them is a geography textbook comprising various genres of texts such as reports, explanations, procedures, and expositions in a logical series. In this case the textbook itself is a macrogenre consisting of the above mentioned genres.

The concepts of genre-embedding and macrogenre will be useful for the current study of conversational stories, particularly for conceptualizing the relationship between stories and the surrounding conversation.

2-2-3 Multifunctionality of Stories

Contrary to the common conception that casual conversation is ‘aimless’ and

over ‘discourse’ when the discussion concerns mainly written language, but it does not exclude spoken language unless so specified.

⁴ Bakhtin tries to explain genre-embedding using the concept of primary and secondary speech genres (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 61). Primary speech genres are ‘simple’ genres which occur in unmediated situations. Secondary speech genres arise in more complex, highly developed and organized cultural communication such as novels, dramas, scientific research etc. Primary genres are often embedded in complex ones such as in the case of ‘rejoinders of everyday dialogue or letters found in a novel’, according to Bakhtin (ibid., p. 63). This classification, however, is problematic in two ways. First, Bakhtin appears to equate simplicity in form with plain/vernacular language and complexity with artistic/cultural. But not all artistic, culturally oriented language has to be structurally complex, as can be seen in the case of Haiku (short poems), proverbs or aphorisms. Also, embedding of one genre in another occurs in various ways, not necessarily limited to that of ‘primary’ in ‘secondary’. Casual conversation, likely categorized as a ‘primary’ genre, can discuss and textually include parts of a novel or drama. Poems, a ‘secondary’ genre, are often used in advertisements (Cook, 2001), presumably another ‘secondary’ genre. This fluid and flexible nature of text embedding cannot be appropriately dealt with using only the ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ genre distinction.

‘trivial’, and ‘nothing happens’ there (Eggins & Slade, 1997, pp. 6,16), it has been recognized that casual conversation, especially stories told in such talk, fulfill various social purposes. CSs are told to generally build and maintain interpersonal relationships (Coupland, 2003; Coupland & Jaworski, 2003; Johnstone, 1993), or to construct, negotiate and confirm identity (Coates, 1997, 2005; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Georgakopoulou, 2007). But CSs are often given more specific purposes by their teller, including ‘inviting, blaming, complaining, telling trouble, accounting, and gossiping’ (Mandelbaum, 2003, p. 614), or ‘advising, criticizing, or reprimanding’ (Tracy, 2002, p. 159). Ervin-Tripp and Kuntay (1997) refer to such stories as ‘tactical narratives’ (1997, p. 157).

This multifunctionality of stories gives rise to further complication in genre categorization. If we are to identify genres using their communicative purposes as one of the primary distinctive criteria, should we assign a genre label for each of such different purposes? I will briefly summarize two perspectives that are relevant to such a question.

In the first perspective, Virtanen (1992, p. 306) notes that ‘[n]arratives may be used to instruct [...], explain things [...], describe activities or circumstances [...], or persuade’. In order to explain this phenomenon, she theorizes two parallel levels of genres: ‘discourse type’ and ‘text type’. Discourse type is concerned with the discourse function, and it affects the whole strategy of the text. Text type also refers to a similar set of categories (e.g., narrative, description, instruction, exposition, and argumentation), but it is linked more with the actual texts. Text type therefore can be characterized as the ‘aggregate of prototypical surface structures’ (ibid., p. 298). In her framework, when a narrative serves an argumentative function, for example, it creates a mismatch between the text type (narrative) and the discourse type (argumentation). She describes such a text as being put to its ‘secondary’ or ‘indirect’ use. She also employs the concept of prototypicality and explains that texts that are put to their ‘indirect’ use are ‘outside of the core of that type of text’ (ibid., p. 300).

In the second perspective, Martin and Rose (2008, p. 247) treat multifunctionality of genre as ‘metaphor’. In SFL, when meaning is expressed through a lexico-grammatical form that originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning, it is called ‘grammatical metaphor’ (Thompson, 2004, p. 223). For instance, grammatical metaphor can be observed when a ‘command’ is realized ‘incongruently’ by an interrogative clause, as in: *can you pass the salt?* (Matthiessen, Teruya, & Lam, 2010). When stories are told to perform functions such as persuading or complaining, their form-function relationship is analogous to that of such ‘incongruent’ grammatical forms. Thus, this phenomenon is called ‘contextual metaphor’ by Martin and Rose.

Despite the differences in perspective and terminology, these two approaches to multifunctionality of genre share the view that a genre has its characteristic, or congruous, purpose but is not always used to fulfill that original purpose.

2-3 CSs in SFL-based Genre Theory

While numerous studies have investigated elicited stories such as those told in interviews, relatively few focused on stories told in more naturalistic, spontaneous conversation. I will now discuss some of the genre-related concepts in Eggins and Slade (1997), which empirically investigated story genres found in English casual conversation, and those in Plum (2004)⁵ upon which Eggins and Slade based their story-genre classification. For reasons discussed in Section 4-2, their SFL-based genre theory is the theoretical approach that is adopted for the analysis of story genres in Study I.

Plum (2004) conducted socio-linguistic interviews in which he asked questions designed to elicit two ‘basic’ genres of discourse, namely narrative and expository genres. Although he used elicitation techniques similar to those used by Labov and

⁵ Originally published in 1988.

Waletzky (1997)⁶ in their classic study of oral narratives, he was critical of them for ignoring generic variation within story-type texts and attributing such variation to individual style and ability (Plum, 2004, pp. 253-254). He turned to the studies on genre by Martin and Rothery (1981, cited in Plum, 2004, p.81), which was based on research into stories written by Australian children and which postulated three closely-related genres within story-type texts: ‘recount’, ‘narrative’ and ‘thematic narrative’ (i.e., narrative with an unstated theme or moral). Through his analysis of the data, however, Plum (2004) re-categorized such texts into the following four genres: ‘narrative’, ‘anecdote’, ‘recount’, and ‘exemplum’ (p. 255). It is these generic categories that Eggins and Slade (1997) adopted when they analyzed their casual conversation data recorded at Australian homes and workplaces. I will briefly explain each of these four story genres below, referring to both Eggins and Slade (1997) and Plum (2004).

Narrative in this framework corresponds to texts with the following structure as originally defined by Labov and Waletzky (1997):

$$\boxed{(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Complication} \wedge \text{Evaluation} \wedge \text{Resolution} \wedge (\text{Coda})}^7$$

What distinguishes narratives from the other story-type texts is the presence of Complication stage followed by Resolution. In Eggins and Slade’s words, ‘[t]hese texts increase in tension or excitement, culminating in a crisis followed by a resolution of that crisis’ and ‘[t]hey give listeners a sense that they are moving towards some end point, towards a resolution of some conflict [...]’ (1997, p. 236).

Quoting Labov and Waletzky (1997), Eggins and Slade also maintained that evaluation, which expresses the speaker’s attitude and establishes the point of telling the story, forms an independent stage that occurs between the Complication and the

⁶ Originally published in 1967.

⁷ When describing generic structure, I will use two notation symbols commonly used in SFL informed genre studies: brackets ‘()’ indicate that the element between them is optional, and an inverted v ‘^’ indicates that the element before is followed by the one after it.

Resolution. However, they also acknowledged the fact that evaluation '[does] not only occur as a discrete stage but are usually spread throughout the text' (1997, p. 241), rendering the status of evaluation as a discrete stage somewhat questionable. This issue involved in the treatment of evaluation will be further discussed in Section 4-2.

An anecdote is closely related to a narrative in that it also involves the element of conflict or crisis. What differentiates these two genres is that in an anecdote the crisis is not explicitly resolved but is instead reacted to in some way 'by an expression of amazement, frustration, embarrassment, humiliation, etc.' (1997, p. 237). The generic structure of an anecdote is illustrated as below:

(Abstract) ^ Orientation ^ Remarkable Event ^ Reaction ^ (Coda)

In terms of function of the text, Eggins and Slade claim that both narrative and anecdote are told 'to entertain or amuse' (1997, p. 237). They also add that a more important function of an anecdote is to enable participants 'to share experiences and to display agreement and shared perceptions' (1997, p. 229) but do not seem to specify how the entertaining and perception sharing functions are related.

An exemplum is a story told as an example for making a point. It is designed to 'prescribe behaviour' (Plum, 2004, p. 256) by communicating 'how the world should or should not be' (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 237). Both Plum and Eggins and Slade specify that it is a 'moral' point that is made in an exemplum. An exemplum may include an element of crisis, but it is not the goal of an exemplum to represent events as problematic. Rather, what matters is 'the cultural significance of the 'macro-event', i.e., the significance of the events in the context of the culture in which the text is told (Plum, 2004, p. 258). Such significance is typically made explicit in the stage named Interpretation.

(Abstract) ^ Orientation ^ Incident ^ Interpretation ^ (Coda)

A recount is concerned with simply retelling the events sequenced in time and the focus is on temporal sequence itself. Recounts do not necessarily deal with a

problem, nor do they need to cover every event between the first-mentioned and the final event exhaustively, as manuals or recipes do (Plum, 2004, p. 237). The generic structure of a recount can be illustrated as below:

$$[(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Record of events} \wedge \text{Reorientation} \wedge (\text{Coda})]$$

The Reorientation stage in a recount is comparable to Resolution in a narrative. It retrospectively attaches meaning to the series of events told, which does not necessarily include an element of crisis or conflict and is thus potentially tedious, by functioning as the ‘effect’ in a ‘cause-effect’ relationship (2004, p. 238). The examples of Reorientation provided by Plum include the following: ‘So we sort of got hooked after that’, ‘And we just went from there’, and ‘... and that’s when we started’ (ibid.). Eggins and Slade (1997), however, do not include Reorientation as one of the generic stages of a recount, suggesting the following structure instead:

$$[(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Record of events} \wedge (\text{Coda})]$$

With regard to function, Plum claims that the goal of a recount is ‘to give an account of how one event led to another’. Eggins and Slade somewhat differ in focus and argue the purpose of a recount is ‘to retell the events and to share the speaker’s appraisal of those events’ (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 237), which seems to overlap with the function of an anecdote that they suggest.

Regarding the structure models discussed above, a few additional points are to be noted. First, generic structures are shared and oriented to by the members of a specific culture or speech community, and should not be assumed to be universal. This is illustrated by the fact that in defining some of the genres discussed above, namely anecdote and exemplum, Plum draws on the respective definitions in English dictionaries for general readers (2004, p.255). Clearly, the categorization of genres reviewed above is to a certain extent conducted in an ‘emic’ fashion reflecting everyday, folk concepts and terminology. As we saw earlier, this culture-specific nature of genres and their structures have particular implications for making cross-linguistic

comparisons.

Second, as discussed in Section 2.2.1, generic structure models represent no more than prototypical or illustrative structures. Like Tannen, Plum focuses on sharply contrasting texts and the aspects of such texts that differentiate them. His illustrative approach is necessitated by the ‘probabilistic nature of realization’ (2004, p.225) at the discourse level which makes it impossible to devise explicit and unambiguous coding guidelines.

Finally, these models were developed to represent story genres that are typical in English conversation, and were not originally intended to be applied to other languages. However, as stated in the Introduction, cross-linguistic comparisons in this study are conducted for pedagogical purposes of ELT, specifically for improving the learning and teaching of storytelling skills in English. In order to investigate in what ways Japanese CSs may differ from English CSs from the English speakers’ perspective, the models described above are used for the analysis of both languages.

3. Research Questions

As discussed in Section 1, Study I comprises the first part of a tripartite research project which aims to compare CSs told in English and Japanese and explore implications for English learning and teaching. For this aim and based on the previous theories and findings considered above, Study I focuses on the genres of CSs and addresses the following research questions:

1. How do CSs told in English and Japanese differ in terms of their length and frequency (in terms of time)?
2. What genres of CSs occur and what genres are more common than others in English casual conversation?
3. How do CSs told in Japanese casual conversation map onto the genres

identified in English?

4. What functions do CSs perform in both languages?
5. How do CSs told by Japanese learners of English differ in terms of the above three aspects?

Oral stories in Japanese have been studied in the past but many of them used elicited, pre-planned or retold stories as data, and/or used the Labovian framework for analysis (Kodama, 1998, 2000; Kubota, 1999; Minami, 2008; Minami & McCabe, 1995; Yamada, 1997). The current study is one of the few to a) examine spontaneously produced CSs in Japanese, and b) aim to make cross-linguistic comparisons regarding CSs in English and Japanese (including those told by Japanese learners of English). It is also the first to my knowledge to analyze unelicited CSs in Japanese from a perspective of genre. This study can thus be expected to have significant implications for the learning and teaching of conversational storytelling skills in English especially (but not limited to) in the context of EFL in Japan.

4. Data and Method

4-1 Database and Data Collection

The database for the current study consists of six, 30-minute dyadic conversations (totaling 180 minutes) between female friends in their twenties, recorded in self-service style coffee shops. Each two of those conversations represent one of the following three combinations of languages used and the speakers' linguistic backgrounds:

- Two native speakers of English conversing in English⁸

⁸ The native speakers of both languages were recruited on the basis of their (self-declared)

- Two native speakers of Japanese conversing in Japanese
- One native speaker of English and one native speaker of Japanese conversing in English

The two conversations between English native speakers (ENS, hereafter), and another two between Japanese native speakers (JNS) were obtained to explore possible cross-linguistic differences in terms of the research questions stated above. The ENS-JNS talks were obtained mainly to analyze CSs that JNSs produced in English.⁹

A gross total of 12 speakers participated in the six coffee talk sessions. Among those 12, two of the ENS participants and one of the JNS participants participated in both their L1 conversation (ENS-ENS or JNS-JNS) and ENS-JNS English conversation. Thus, the actual number of the individuals who participated was nine, four of whom were ENSs and five JNSs.

The participants were recruited on a voluntary basis and written informed consent was obtained for the use of data on the basis of anonymity. Their age and sex were controlled to minimize the possible effects of differences in age, generation and gender.¹⁰ When recruiting Japanese participants, advanced learners of English and

native language irrespective of their country of origin or nationality. They were asked to bring a friend who they talked with on a regular basis (at least once a month).

⁹ In recent years, some of the notions in the field of ELT formerly taken for granted have been called into question. Who is meant by a ‘native speaker’ or what variety of the language ‘English’ refers to will certainly be among those issues possibly controversial (Kachru, 1997; M. B. H. Rampton, 1990; Widdowson, 1994). The focus of the present project, however, is cross-linguistic comparison and it is accordingly conducted on the premise that there likely exists a larger difference between English and Japanese in terms of how CSs are constructed and narrated than between varieties of English or between individual speakers with different backgrounds. In other words, the possibility that such varietal or individual differences exist regarding CSs is by no means denied or neglected but only assumed to be less relevant for the purpose of the current study.

¹⁰ It has been recognized that gender differences in English exist not only at the level of

those who had lived in an English-speaking country for over a year were avoided so as not to obscure possible cross-linguistic variation.¹¹

The decision to limit the participants to female, rather than male, speakers was made from a practical reason, reflecting the context in which this research project has been conducted. As the author's place of employment is a women's university, it was expected that the findings obtained from studies with female participants could likely be more readily applicable to actual teaching practice at the university. Although there is no reason to immediately reject the applicability of such findings to co-ed (or male-only) classrooms, it is acknowledged that further research with different gender configurations is required.

Each of the participants was asked to go to an outlet of a global coffee chain (e.g., Starbucks) with a close friend and talk freely about any topics for 30 minutes. They were free to pause, take a drink, or not talk as they normally would (not) but were asked not to eat or use their mobile phone. The researcher accompanied each pair to the coffee shop but left when the recording started. The recordings were conducted in July and August in 2010.

The choice of Starbucks-style coffee shops as venues for data collection was made based on several reasons. It has been known that the very presence of an outside observer may significantly affect the behavior of the subjects being observed (Labov, 1972a, p. xvii; 1972b, p. 42). One way of circumventing this 'Observer's Paradox' is to put participants in situations where it is 'natural' for them to be observed by others. Since customers are aware that their talk can be overheard by other customers or service personnel, talk in coffee shops is likely less affected by the presence of an 'additional' observer (in the form of an IC recorder) than talk normally occurring in more private settings. Coffee shops are also arguably one of the most common venues

linguistic forms such as prosody, lexis, and syntax but also at the discourse level (Coates, 2004; Kendall & Tannen, 2001; Lakoff, 1973).

¹¹ Japanese learners whose English proficiency level exceeds TOEIC 860pts, TOEFL iBT 100pts (PBT 600pts), or the equivalent level were asked not to participate.

for engaging in casual conversation in both Japan and English-speaking countries (Ellis, 2008). Thus, they provide a familiar environment for participants to engage in such talk, enabling us to sample more authentic speech than in less familiar settings such as a recording studio.¹² Finally, global coffee chains offer physically and socially comparable contexts at many locations. Their outlets' standardized décor and layout provide similar physical environments while their image as a clean, fashionable, but familiar and comfortable place (Gaudio, 2003, p. 674) offers socially and psychologically comparable environments, throughout multiple recording sessions.

On the other hand, a drawback of collecting data in this manner at coffee shops is the difficulty in obtaining participants. Likely due to the time and effort required to travel to the coffee shop in addition to the actual time needed for the recording, participants could not be easily found despite the payment of an honorarium. Participants may have been recruited with more ease if the recording had been conducted at places more accessible for them, such as their schools, workplaces or homes.

The relatively small size of the database also results from the fact that the current project has been planned and conducted in Japan where securing cooperation simultaneously from pairs of native speakers of English can be a demanding task. This is especially so when the participants' relationship and some of their attributes are controlled as they were in this project. Furthermore, the CSs analyzed in this project were not elicited in any way as they have been in many previous studies. This sampling method has the advantage of being able to observe CSs in the co-text of surrounding talk as they are told to serve various interpersonal purposes. On the other hand, the number of stories that can be collected in this method is much smaller compared with sampling methods with direct elicitation techniques such as

¹² In fact, two participants in separate conversations used vulgar expressions and/or discussed risqué topics before they were reminded about the recording by their partners. This seems to suggest that some participants do forget that their talk is being recorded.

interviews.

It should be noted, however, that studies requiring detailed, manual qualitative analyses tend to use smaller datasets, as is usually the case in disciplines such as Conversation Analysis (Pomerantz, 1990), or in appraisal analysis in SFL (for example Page, 2003; Thomson et al., 2008)¹³ which is one of the methodologies used in the current project.

From the database described above, CSs were extracted, transcribed and analyzed in the following manner.

4-2 Method of Analysis

For the current research project, conversational stories are defined as ‘texts that describe the speaker’s or another person’s (supposedly) actual experience in the past’ which include two or more verbs or ‘predicates’ in the case of Japanese, at least one of which is finite. The term predicate refers to what it does in the traditional Japanese grammar and it includes a verb, an adjective or a noun at the clause final (rather than modifying) position often with a copula and/or a clause-final particle. The formal criteria are included here to exclude nouns or nominalized clauses (Teruya, 2007, p. 20) standing for experiences in the past (e.g., ‘backpacking in Australia’ or ‘March 11 Earthquake’) and single clauses that appear to be too short to be treated as a ‘story’ in the common, everyday sense of the word.

After the CSs were extracted, they were then transcribed and classified using Eggins and Slade’s (1997) framework: narrative, anecdote, exemplum and recount. CSs told in Japanese were also classified using this framework although they were termed ‘narrative-type stories’, ‘anecdote-type stories’, etc. to indicate that they are Japanese ‘counterparts’ of the English genres rather than (possibly) culture-specific

¹³ In recent years, there have been attempts to apply appraisal analysis to larger-scale corpus data (for example, Bednarek, 2008; Sano, 2010).

genres that are recognized and produced as such by Japanese speakers.

The choice of the SFL-based genre theory for the investigation of story genres in the current study was motivated by several considerations. First, the SFL genre framework has already been applied to analyze casual conversation, the type of language analyzed in this study, as well as to language produced in other settings such as socio-linguistic interviews. This will enable comparison with, or reference to, the results of previous studies when analyzing data of the current study. Second, while the classic Labovian narrative framework was developed from the analysis of one particular kind of stories, i.e. narratives (with elements of complication and resolution), the SFL genre theory expanded to explore variation in types of stories, their functions and their linguistic realization (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 50). In this respect too, the SFL-based genre theory seems to be particularly suited to the main objectives of Study I, namely the analysis of story genres and their functions in casual conversation. Finally, along with genre theory, there is also a relatively new but burgeoning field in SFL that deals with evaluative language, or ‘appraisal’ in SFL terms. Appraisal theory has often been used in conjunction with genre theory in compatible and complementary manners (Bednarek & Martin, 2010; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Martin & Rose, 2008; Thomson & White, 2008, *inter alia*). Since genre and evaluation are the main foci of Part I and II of the current project respectively, it seems reasonable to adopt the two SFL-based theories, i.e., genre theory and appraisal theory, as the main analytical tools for their investigation.

When classifying CSs into different story genres, the purpose of the story was prioritized over its form and identified first, following both Eggins and Slade (1997) and Swales (1990). Both textual and co-textual cues were used for this classification. Occasionally, the speaker explicitly announces to the listener how the story should be perceived. When she says ‘I have a funny story’ for example, the CS is clearly intended to amuse the listener. Frequent laughter from both the speaker and listener can also indicate that the CS is supposed to be amusing (Jefferson, 1984; Kotthoff, 2006, p. 7).

These cues signal that the CS is likely a narrative or an anecdote. On the other hand, if a CS is told immediately after the other participant's expression of an opinion, the story can be interpreted as an example to support or refute such an argument, suggesting it may be an exemplum. A CS told in response to a question such as 'what did you do after ... ?' is likely told mainly 'to give an account of how one event led to another' and can possibly be classified as a recount.

Following Eggins and Slade, only stories with an element of conflict or crisis were categorized as either a narrative or anecdote. They were then divided into those with an explicit Resolution (narrative), and those without one (anecdotes), considering also the latter's focus on sharing appraisal. For the identification of recounts, I used Eggins and Slade's staging structure, rather than Plum's, which does not include the stage of Reorientation, as the distinction between Reorientation and Coda was often not sufficiently clear.

In the current study, one modification was made to Eggins and Slade's genre framework. As discussed in Section 2-3, Eggins and Slade followed Labov (1997) and Plum (2004) and described the generic structure of narratives as follows:

$$[(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Complication} \wedge \text{Evaluation} \wedge \text{Resolution} \wedge (\text{Coda})]$$

However, in the current study, 'evaluation' was not treated as constituting a distinct and obligatory stage by itself. This is because evaluation, which shows the speaker's attitude and the point of the story, usually occurs throughout the story rather than clustering at one point. In Eggins and Slade's words, '[e]valuative comments [...] are usually spread throughout the text' (1997, p. 241). In his 1972 paper, Labov himself also acknowledged that '[evaluation] may be found in various forms throughout the narrative' (p. 369). He went on to suggest '[w]e must therefore modify the scheme of Labov and Waletzky 1967 by indicating E[valuation] as the focus of waves of evaluation that penetrate the narrative [...]'.¹⁴ It has also been pointed out that in

¹⁴ Labov and Waletzky (1967) is the original publication of Labov and Waletzky (1997) which is repeatedly quoted in the current dissertation.

spontaneous talk, unlike in sociolinguistic interviews from which the Labovian notion of evaluation was developed, evaluation by the storyteller is optional since stories are also evaluated by the audience (Cortazzi & Jin, 2000; Norrick, 2000; Schegloff, 1997). This omnipresent and interactive nature of evaluation distinguishes itself from other more structurally stable elements in a narrative such as Complication or Resolution. Thus, the structure model used for the identification of narratives in the current study has been modified from Eggins and Slade (1997) to the following:

$$\boxed{(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Complication} \wedge \text{Resolution} \wedge (\text{Coda})}$$

In other words, stories with the elements of complication and resolution were classified as narratives even if evaluative expressions do not cluster between Complication and Resolution to form a distinct section. Evaluation was primarily analyzed using appraisal theory in Study II, focusing more on its semantic and interpersonal, rather than structural, aspects.

After the classification into the four story genres was attempted on all of the CSs in the data, correspondence to the canonical staging structures was examined to judge the story's generic prototypicality and if it resembles the structure of another genre. The latter case suggests the text is put to its 'secondary use' (Virtanen, 1992) exhibiting 'contextual metaphor' (Martin & Rose, 2008). Finally, those found difficult to classify were analyzed again to look for possible new genres or the reasons for such difficulties including cross-linguistic variation.

In terms of the interrelationship among various discourse types observed in the data, CSs are conceptualized in this research project as a 'genre-family' which includes the genres of narrative, anecdote, exemplum and recount, and possibly more (or fewer) genres. The 30-minute-long 'coffee talk' that contains such CSs is not treated as a genre with identifiable purposes and staging structures. Neither is it considered to be a 'macro-genre' since the genres in the surrounding talk (e.g., gossip, joke,

opinion/argument, etc.) have not been exhaustively identified.¹⁵

In the following sections, quantification in the form of numbers and percentages is used, as well as qualitative analyses, to illustrate discursive patterns characteristic of each language and its users. It is not unusual for largely qualitative discourse studies based on relatively small datasets (e.g. Conversation Analysis or manually conducted appraisal analysis in SFL) to use quantification in this manner. However, the discursive patterns and other tendencies presented below are not intended to be automatically generalizable beyond the context of the particular conversations and participants of the current project. Rather, they are meant to be tested in future projects using larger datasets and in those involving participants with different attributes such as gender and age.

5. Results

5-1 Frequency and Length of CSs

Table 5-1 shows the frequency (i.e., number) of CSs, the length of the shortest and longest CS, the average length, and the combined length of all the CSs, in each language combination (i.e., combination of the language used and the participants' native languages).

(SPACE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK)

¹⁵ The genre of gossip is discussed in Section 6-2-4-4.

Table 5-1 Frequency and length of CSs

Conv.	Language Used	Frequenc y (no.)	Shortest (sec)	Longest (sec)	Average (sec)	Total Time of CSs (sec, min:sec, [per 30min])
EE1*	English	20	8	66	27.9	559 (9:19) [31.1%]
EE2		16	5	70	26.2	419 (6:59) [23.3%]
JJ1	Japanese	8	6	212	57.4	459 (7:39) [25.5%]
JJ2		7	13	206	88.6	620 (10:20) [34.4%]
EJ1	English	2	41**	135**	88.0	176 (2:56) [9.8%]
EJ2		0	N/A	N/A	N/A	0 [0%]

* EE- stands for two ENSs, JJ- for two JNSs, and EJ- for one ENS and one JNS. Only the JNSs in the third category used their L2, English.

** Of the two CSs produced in conversation EJ1, one was told by the ENS (41 sec) and the other by the JNS (135 sec).

It can be seen from Table 5-1 that ENSs told more than twice as many stories among each other in English (20 and 16) as JNSs did in Japanese (8 and 7). On the other hand, the stories told by JNSs were much longer on average (57.4 and 88.6 seconds) than those by ENSs (27.9 and 26.2 sec). There is also a clear difference in length between the longest stories produced by ENSs (66 and 70 sec) and those by JNSs (212 and 206 sec) although no such contrast can be found with the shortest ones. There is no clear difference between the two languages regarding the total time of all CSs combined, and the portions they account for in the 30 minute coffee talk (ranging from approximately 1/4 to 1/3 of the talk). In the mixed dyads in English by an ENS and a JNS (EJ1 and EJ2), CSs were rare. Only two CSs occurred, both in one conversation (EJ1), of which the one told by the JNS is longer (135 seconds) than the one by the ENS (41 seconds). As a result, the portion CSs account for in the coffee talk

is much lower (9.8% and 0%) than in the NS-NS language combinations.

5-2 Genres of Conversational Stories

Table 5-2 below shows the number of CSs that belong to each genre. Japanese stories that resemble particular English genres are also presented by the English genre name for convenience (e.g., simply as ‘Narrative’ rather than ‘Narrative-type story’).

Table 5-2 Frequency of CSs according to genre

Conv.	Language Used	Narrative	Anecdote	Exemplum	Recount	Other	Total No. of CSs
EE1	English	1	1	10	4	4	20
EE2		0	2	5	2	7	16
JJ1	Japanese	0	0	0	8	0	8
JJ2		0	0	0	7	0	7
EJ1	English	1*	0	0	1**	0	2
EJ2		0	0	0	0	0	0

* Told by ENS ** Told by JNS

Exemplum was the most common genre in both of the ENS-ENS conversations accounting for roughly 40% of all CSs (15/36 or 40.5%). Recount was the second most common genre (6/36, 16.7%), while anecdote (3/36, 8.3 %) and narrative (1/36, 2.8%) were comparatively uncommon in this language combination. CSs in the ‘other’ category will be discussed later. In the Japanese dyads, a total of 15 CSs occurred; 8 in conversation JJ1 and 7 in JJ2, all of which were recount-type stories. In the ENS-JNS mixed dyads in English, one narrative was told by an ENS and one recount by a JNS in the same conversation.

6. Analysis

Following the organization of the previous section, I will first discuss the frequency and length of CSs found in the data, and then investigate each of the four genres in more detail. Finally, those CSs that did not fit in any of the genres (the ‘other’ category in Table 5-2) will be analyzed.

6-1 Frequency and Length of CSs

6-1-1 Cross-linguistic Differences

As noted in Section 5-1, the ENSs produced CSs much more frequently in English than the JNSs did in Japanese, but on average their CSs were shorter than the Japanese ones.

The relatively shorter length of English CSs told by ENSs is likely linked to the fact that the most common genre in the ENS-ENS conversations in the data was exemplum whose function is to ‘prove a point’ by providing an example. For this purpose, it does not seem necessary for a story to be long or elaborate as is illustrated in the example below.

CS1 Exemplum - ‘Japanese Universities’ from EE1 (13 sec) ¹⁶

Preceding Talk

*R Yeah, so it's interest - it's [=students' attitude at Japanese universities is] totally opposite
 from...the States I <think in a sense>*

L <Yeah yeah>

¹⁶ Key to transcription symbols is provided in Appendix. Texts preceding and following the story are provided to present co-text.

R *Because... like... isn't it you take, you, get in, you can actually get into school more easily?*
 But then it's <<really>> hard to graduate [in the U.S.]

L <<Yeah>>

R *So you <have to worry about grades>*

L <XX the grades> yeah yeah

Incident

R 1 Cos my frien- my [Japanese] roommate was like 'oh why do you worry so much about your
 grades' and I'm like 'because...' [theatrically] [Laughter]

L 2 I need to get the grades [laughing]

R 3 Yeah I need to get good grades [laughing]

L 4 Yeah

Intepretation

R 5 And I'm in like graduate school which is different anyway <it's> different

L 6 <Yeah>

Following Talk

L <<(I'm) so>> nervous about graduate school

R *Oh, wh-, OK so what are you interested in*

It is clear from the preceding talk that the purpose of this CS is to provide an example to support the observation that, unlike their American counterparts, Japanese college students are not concerned about their grades. Through telling this story, the participants seem to be sharing negative views of the attitude of R's Japanese roommate who does not understand why students work hard to receive good

grades, and also attitudes of Japanese students in general which are construed as similar in this exchange.^{17 18}

Ervin-Tripp and Kuntay (1997, p. 162) note that stories told ‘to make particular conversational points’ tend to be less elaborated and may lack some of the generic stages. The fact that CS1 consists of just the obligatory elements of an exemplum, namely Incident and Interpretation, without Orientation, Abstract or Coda is compatible with their claim. Since about 40% of all the CSs told in ENS-ENS conversations were exemplums, their relatively simpler structures likely contributed to the shorter average length of CSs that occurred in this language combination.

On the other hand, Japanese CSs found in the data were all recount-type stories and much longer on average. In addition, the longest CSs produced in the Japanese conversations were roughly three times as long as the longest CSs in the ENS-ENS conversations. This difference in length is likely related to the purpose of recounts. Since a recount is told mainly ‘to give an account of how one event led to another’, it often refers to a series of events that took place at different points in time and/or locations, as can be seen in the next example from the JNS-JNS data. (The example has been abridged where indicated due to its length.)

¹⁷ The Interpretation stage of this particular story deviates from the ‘prototypical’ one described by Eggins and Slade (1997) in that it adds to the ‘point’ of the incident, which is already stated in the preceding talk as ‘students’ attitude in Japan is the opposite of that in the U.S. where it is more difficult to graduate’, rather than presenting the point there for the first time.

¹⁸ The following comment made by R approximately half a minute prior to the presented segment is also indicative of the participants’ negative views of Japanese students and the country’s educational system: ‘here I think in Japan this is what my understanding is, is that, people... take a really hard test to get into school and they don’t do anything in school [...] when you get into a company, all they worry about is the name of the school’.

CS2 Recount – ‘Boy’ from JJ1 (212 sec long)

Preceding Talk

- R <じゃあ> 今んところその人だけ?
So is he the only one [that you're going out with] now?
- L [laughter]
- R ほうらまた、[laughing] い<<が<<い>>>
There you go, you don't look like

Abstract

- L 1 <<え、>>でも、なんか[laughing]
Well, but like
- R 2 意外とくなんだから>[laughing]
You don't look like it but you are quite [active socially]
- L 3 <それもなんか、>[laughing] スタバのタメの女の子に紹介してもらった人が<<いて>
This one like there's a guy I was introduced to by a girl the same age as me [who I work with] at Starbucks ¹⁹
- R 4 <<うんうん>>
Right
- L 5 なんかほんとちょっとメールしてた (XXX)
We were just texting a bit
- R 6 うん
Yeah
- L 7 その、友達と、紹介、された男の子と、うちと三人で会った<の>
A friend of his, the guy, and me, three of us met
- R 8 <おー>おーおー
Hmm hmm hmm.

¹⁹ Turn 3 has an element of Orientation. The fact that this participant was working part-time at a Starbucks outlet was coincidental and not planned in the research design.

L 9 でそれがびっくりでー

And it was a surprise

Orientation

L 9 その男の子っていうのが、うちがー、予備校いっしょだった人で

This guy was someone who'd gone to the same prep school as me²⁰

R 10 あーそうなんだー

Oh is that right

L 11 そう、なんか名前聞いたことはあったけど>

Yeah like I'd heard his name before but

----- omission -----

Record of events

L 17 「えどこの予備校？」って聞かれて、PRE-の、CITY NAME の<PREP SCHOOL>って言ったら

He asked me [while texting] 'which prep school?' and I said of PRE-, PREP SCHOOL

NAME in CITY NAME and then

R 18 <うん> [low voice]

Yeah

L 19 「え俺もそこ行ってたんだけど」とか言われて、「えー」とか言って

He said like 'really I went there too' and I said like 'no way'

----- omission -----

L 31 <<「わーもうめっちゃ>>絶対お互い顔見たことあるよ」みたいな、「会ったら絶対びっくりすんじゃない？」って言って、会ったら... あんま覚えてなくてお互いに [laughing]

We were like 'oh wow totally definitely we must have seen each other' and saying 'we'll

freak out definitely when we meet', and we met... but we didn't really remember each other

²⁰ Some high school graduates in Japan who have failed to get into a university of their choice go to a preparatory school for a year to take the entrance exam again next year.

----- omission -----

L 45 で一、すごいいいなって思ったんだけど、なんか元から連絡、あんま取らない人で

So I thought he's really cool but he's like not the type to stay in touch a lot

R 46 まあ男の人ってそうだよーねー>

Well guys are like that aren't they

L 47 <そう> もう今一週間ぐらい連絡取ってないのね

Yeah I haven't heard from him for like a week

R 48 おーおーおー

Hmm hmm hmm

(Coda)

L 49 だからたぶんもうこのまま、来ないと思うんだよね>

So I think probably I'm not gonna hear [from him] any more

----- omission -----

R 68 まあ誰でもさ、なんかさ、一回会ってさ、こっちはいいなって思ってさ、連絡来なくなる

と、「ウッ」って思う（よね）。もともと連絡、そう取、あんまり取らないとか、そのあんまりないから連絡がと、途切れ途切れになってて...、なんか会ったからていうくわけじゃないのはわかっている>んだけど、

Well anybody, like, you meet once, and you think he's nice, but if you don't hear from him any more, you feel like 'ugh'... even if you know he's the type of person who doesn't contact, yeah contact people often, or just there hasn't been much communication so it's fading away, and it's not because you two have met [and he didn't like you] but still

L 69 <ふん、ふん、ふん>

Yeah yeah yeah

----- omission -----

Record of events (continued)

L 73 もうーすげえ落ち込んだもん

I felt so down

R 74 わ、わかるよく超わかる>

I, I know I totally understand

L 75 <だからなんか我慢>できなくてうちから、メール<<したんだ。>>

So like I couldn't take it any more and I texted him you know

----- omission -----

L 79 そしたら二日後ぐらいに連絡来たんだ

Then he answered me after like two days

----- omission -----

Coda

L 79²¹ 「あーよかった」って思って、返事返したら、そっから今一週間

I was like 'yes', and texted him again, but it's been a week since then

R 80 わかるわ、超わかる

I know I totally understand [how it feels]

Following Talk

L で、なんか今、向こうが高校の、サッカー部？

And now he's, like the soccer club at his high school?

R ほう

Hmm

As can be seen above, this CS is equipped with all the generic stages of a recount including the optional Orientation, Abstract and Coda. Further, the core part of CS2, Record of events, refers to three chronological phases; the first phase from the time the

²¹ Continued from before the omitted part.

speaker was introduced to the boy and started texting each other until they finally met in person, the second phase from the time they met until they said good bye on that day, and the last phase from the time they parted that day to the present. Since recounts, like CS2, often cover different phases that include multiple events with accompanying orientations and the speaker's reactions to each of them, it seems natural that they tend to require longer texts.

Another feature to be noted of this CS is that participant L appears to have tried to end the story in turn 49 by making a comment about the present situation which could have been a Coda. However, the participants continued discussing the events, and after participant R made a generalization about not hearing from the date afterwards (turn 68), L returned to the beginning of the last phase and started describing the events in this phase in more detail. Thus she seems to be producing the story incrementally, deciding whether to continue it or not as she goes based on the listener's reaction. This incremental style of story production can be observed with other genres as well but seems particularly compatible with recount-type stories due to the lack of a rigid conflict-resolution schema (as in a narrative) and that of necessity to 'prove a point' (in an exemplum).

This incremental and reactive storytelling style is likely also related to the general interactional style of Japanese conversation, which is often characterized as 'cooperative' or 'collaborative'. It has been reported that interactive phenomena in conversation such as backchannels (Maynard, 1989, p. 168), turn-taking (Furo, 2001) or co-construction of sentences (Suzuki & Usami, 2006) occur more frequently in Japanese than in English across many contexts. Japanese storytellers who are used to this interactive conversational style may be more responsive to the audience's reaction than English-speakers are and adjust their stories accordingly, which will result in the production of long and elaborate stories if they are being received favorably.

The fact that Japanese CSs in the data tend to be longer than their English counterparts can thus be possibly attributed to the much higher ratio of exemplums

among all CSs in the ENS-ENS data and that of recount-type stories in the Japanese data (100%), and to the highly interactive style of Japanese conversation in general.

In a light-hearted column that appeared in an English-language newspaper in Japan, an American writer married to a Japanese wife humorously criticizes her storytelling skills. According to him his wife ‘cannot tell a story’. She ‘rambles on’ and never gets to the point revealing a ‘domino pattern of thought’ which is possibly an influence of the traditional Japanese rhetorical style, while he can deliver his point succinctly (Dillon, 2010). The results found in this study so far are consistent with his observation that stories told by a Japanese speaker tend to be much longer. Why they may appear to be ‘off the point’ will be discussed in section 6-2.

6-1-2 Conversational Stories in ENS-JNS Mixed Conversations

As reported in Section 5-1, a total of only two CSs occurred in the two ENS-JNS mixed dyads in English. While it is difficult to pinpoint the cause for the rarity of stories in this language combination, some explanations could be offered which likely have implications for language learning and teaching.

A likely reason concerns the proficiency levels of the learner participants in conversational English. As discussed in Section 1, Introduction, spontaneous storytelling in naturally occurring conversation is a task that requires a set of various, highly coordinated skills. Since the English learner participants in this study were neither advanced learners nor returnees from abroad, it is likely that they did not possess the skills and/or knowledge required for frequent and successful storytelling in their L2, which can be a difficult task even for many L1 speakers. The following is an example that shows that the JNS participants did have the desire to tell stories in English but had difficulty doing so.

Attempted CS – ‘Choir’ from EJ1 (L=ENS, R=JNS)

Preceding Talk

- L *FRIEND’S NAME gave me (a) ticket*
R *Oh yeah yeah yeah... oh good... <mmm>*
L *<Mmm>*

Abstract

- R 1 Ah, a nandakke [= what was it], I... eetoo... [= a filler in Japanese] I tri(ed)
 singing? in GROUP NAME choir
L 2 Uh
R 3 Ummmm [Enthusiastically]
L 4 Difficult?
R 5 No
L 6 No?
R 7 Uh, um, a, aantoo [=filler], uunnnn...
L 8 English songs difficult?
R 9 No no
L 10 No?
R 11 Um, um
L 12 Mm
R 13 Uunntoo I know... ah, nante iundakke? [oh how can I say it?] some...[4 sec]
R&L [more similar exchanges while R searches for the right expressions]

Following Talk

- L *You want your dictionary! [laughing]*

Participant R’s level of English is high enough to sustain conversation with her ENS partner for at least half an hour. Yet, as can be seen from this extract, she had great difficulty telling a story in the language. After L, her ENS friend, mentioned the

topic of going to a concert, she attempted to describe her own experience of singing in a choir. However, she failed to come up with appropriate expressions and kept producing fillers in Japanese. L tried to help by asking questions, but they both gave up after several exchanges, with L jokingly commenting that R needed her dictionary. In the mixed dyad data, there were two more such failed attempts by the same JNS before she finally managed to produce a recount-type story.²² The low number of stories produced by the ENSs may also be a related phenomenon; the ENSs may have refrained from telling CSs to JNSs assuming the JNSs would face similar levels of difficulties comprehending stories as they would producing them.

Another possible reason for the low number of stories in the mixed dyads concerns how the context of coffee talk was perceived by the participants. It appears that the JNSs and to a certain degree also the ENSs in the mixed dyads considered native and non-native speaker conversation more as a site for learning about each other's language and culture than chatting for pleasure, exchanging stories, gossip, jokes and the like. This is apparent from the fact that numerous instances of meaning negotiation can be found in the mixed dyads data, including those seemingly unnecessary for the sole purpose of comprehension. There were also instances where a JNS jokingly addressed her ENS partner as 'teacher' though they consider themselves as close friends.²³ Thus it is possible that in the mixed conversations, the participants' identities as NS and non-NS were foregrounded, tempting the participants to discuss each other's languages and cultures more extensively than their personal experiences. As a result, topics more often centered around 'here and now' and generalized entities,

²² Interestingly, this recount-type story was much longer than the only CS told by her ENS partner. Though the JNS's recount contained some hesitations, there were no pauses longer than 2 seconds, and it consisted of 53 turns, compared with her partner's CS which consisted of 24 turns. The length of this CS thus possibly reflects Japanese speakers' preference for long recount-type stories.

²³ Participants had been asked to bring a 'friend who they saw on a regular basis' to the coffee shop.

which may have also contributed to the low number of CSs in this language combination.

6-2 Genres of Conversational Stories

6-2-1 Narratives and Anecdotes

In the 180-minutes of data obtained in the current project involving a total of 12 participants, only two CSs occurred which were identified as narratives. This is consistent with the report by Eggins and Slade (1997) that narratives did not occur at all in the all-women group they studied. According to them, there is a gender difference in the kind of stories preferred; '[t]he men told more stories where there was an explicit resolution, of the kind of a hero overcoming adversity' (1997, p. 266).

What is markedly different from Eggins and Slade's results is the infrequency of anecdotes in the data of the current study. While Eggins and Slade report that anecdotes were by far the most frequent genre across various gender groups, only three anecdotes occurred accounting for about 8% of all the CSs in the ENS-ENS combination. No anecdotes were found in the JNS-JNS and mixed combinations.

As mentioned above, narratives were also rare. One narrative occurred in the ENS data, and another in the ENS-JNS combination (told by an ENS). No narratives were produced by any of the JNSs in either language. In other words, stories with an element of crisis or conflict were not common in the English data and did not occur at all in the Japanese data in the current study.

The following two factors may have contributed to the relative rarity of narratives and anecdotes, which will likely have pedagogical implications. The first of these is the fact that all the data used in the current study was obtained from dyadic, rather than group, conversations. Narratives and anecdotes are defined as stories about an unusual or remarkable event with an element of crisis or conflict, told to

entertain or amuse the audience. However, such remarkable, tellable events are unlikely to occur on a daily basis in most people's lives. While in a larger group, speakers can retell stories about events which some of the members already know about, it is usually not desirable to retell the same story more than once to a particular person. Thus in dyadic conversations between close friends, it can be expected that the frequency of narratives and anecdotes will be lower than in larger groups, especially those including unfamiliar members.

The second factor concerns a cultural difference regarding the concept of a 'story', which may have contributed to the non-occurrence of narratives and anecdotes in the Japanese data (but not to the rarity of such stories in the English data). In many Western cultures, a conflict or crisis has been a familiar, or sometimes even required, feature of a successful narrative. In contrast, the Japanese concept closest to 'narrative' or 'story' does not require or expect such an element. The term *monogatari* (*mono* [things] + *k(or g)atari* [telling/talking]) has been in use since around the 10th century and refers to stories written or told by a person 'who has felt so strongly about a sequence of events that he / she cannot keep it shut inside, unspoken' (Hogan & Pandit, 2005). The focus of a *monogatari* is not on a crisis or conflict but rather on 'the concern for time and loss through time' which can be 'the most distinctive feature of Japanese aesthetic theory' (ibid.). The English concept of narrative as 'a story with an element of conflict' has its origin in traditional European folktales (Herman, 2005) and it is still in common use in today's English speaking world. Similarly, the traditional concept of *monogatari* may very well influence the kind of stories told by Japanese speakers in everyday conversation, which may explain the nonexistence of narratives and anecdotes in the Japanese data.

6-2-2 Exemplums

In the ENS-ENS combination, exemplums were by far the most common genre

accounting for roughly 40% of all CSs, while no exemplums occurred in the JNS-JNS or mixed combinations. In other words, the ENS participants often told stories mainly to prove a point while it wasn't the main purpose of the CSs told by the JNSs. If English speakers generally feel that stories told by Japanese speakers 'never get to the point' as did the American columnist for the Japan Times, it may be because ENSs are accustomed to telling and listening to stories told to prove a point.

The reasons behind this cross-linguistic difference may be cultural. It is often claimed that while individual and critical thinking is strongly encouraged in many Western cultures, conformity and inter-dependency are valued more in Japan (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Yamada, 1997). Though somewhat stereotypical, this characterization certainly has some validity when we compare expected behavior of students for example; Japanese students in class tend to be expected or conditioned to listen quietly to the teacher while their counterparts in the West are often encouraged to think critically and express their own opinions (Jin & Cortazzi, 1997). Growing up and living in environments with such differing values will likely affect people's attitudes towards everyday events in general, which may be manifested in the preference for certain kinds of stories.

There is also a possibility, however, that the difference in the frequency of recounts between the two languages may have been inflated by the situations in which the ENS participants were at the time of the data collection. Upon closer examination of the data, it was found that 6 of the 15 exemplums told by the ENSs concerned Japanese schools, students or people, as exemplified by CS1 presented earlier. Generally, many sojourners have been found to become critical of the country and culture they are in at one point or other during their stay (Black & Mendenhall, 1991). It is possible that the ENS participants, all of whom were exchange students at Japanese universities at the time, would not have been as judgmental had they been living in their home country. However, the cross-linguistic difference found in the data would still remain even if those 6 stories were discounted.

6-2-3 Recounts

6-2-3-1 Recounts by ENSs

In the ENS-ENS combination, recounts were the second most common story genre (6/36, 16.7%) among all CSs. An interesting point to note that is likely relevant to the pedagogic purpose of this study is the occasioning of those recounts in co-text. In the ENS-ENS data, recounts almost exclusively (5 out of 6) occurred as a response to a question as in the example below.

CS3 Recount - 'Family' from EE1 (50 sec)

Preceding Talk

L No in the backyard (and stuff)

R Ohh

L Ohh, the story

Abstract

R 1 So they, wait... so your... mom's family came when?

L 2 Umm

R 3 Ah caXX

Record of Events

L 4 my ... great, grandma

R 5 (who) came

L 6 came, yeah

R 7 Oh <and she married>

L 8 <Yep my great grandma>

R 9 O(r) she was already married then

- L 10 Yeah [low voice], umm... yeah they were already married I think, yeah yeah
- R 11 Hmm
- L 12 Or they mi- she might have been married when she came here? and then they... she met somebody else ... cos like, they came... like two families, (like grandma and) another family who (was) really close
- R 13 Ohh
- L 14 So we were all like one big family (XX) two separate families
- R 15 Oh (awesome)
- L 16 Yeah, so... they came
- R 17 (They) came at the <same time> and then
- L 18 <Hmm>
- R 19 But your mom XX, she married <<a non>> ETHNICITY.
- L 20 <<Yeah, my mom>>, yeah
- R 21 Right.

Coda

- L 22 A- I my whole family is like doesn't marry another (XXX) <they, my> whole family is like, marries all white people
- R 23 <So they don't...>
- R&L NV [laughter]
- L 24 <<Whatever that is>>

Following Talk

- R <<That's what>>... *our transnational class is all about ... of what... interracial-* ²⁴

²⁴ This story is an example of 'autobiographical recounts' (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 260), which is a sub-genre of recounts. Autobiographies often include detailed descriptions of the experiences of family members and ancestors as well as the speaker/author's own (Rosenblatt, 2009). Two of such autobiographical recounts occurred in the ENS-ENS data that concerned

Before the story began, R and L were discussing their respective childhoods and hometowns in North America. In turn 1, R asked L when her mother's family had migrated to the U.S. L responded to this question first by saying her grandmother was the one who migrated, and then elaborated on the details in the form of a recount. Five of the six recounts in the data also began in a similar manner as a response to a question. The recounts as originally identified by Plum were all sampled by him in interviews, i.e., produced in response to questions. Likewise, the example of a recount provided by Eggins and Slade (1997, p. 261) was also triggered by a question.²⁵ It seems safe to say therefore that in casual conversation in English, recounts tend to occur in response to a question rather than on their own.

There was also a CS in the ENS-ENS data which resembled a recount in form and which was told immediately after an apology made by the same speaker. The ENS participant had arrived late for the appointment to meet her friend and the researcher on the day of the recording. During their coffee talk, she mentioned this incident, said sorry and proceeded to explain what had happened to her in the form of a story. In this case, the 'recount' functioned as an explanation of the reason for having been late.²⁶

When a recount occurs immediately after the other speaker's question or the speaker's own apology, its function is unmistakably clear to the listener(s). This is because a question is preferably responded to by an answer (Schegloff, 2007, p. 14), and an apology is often followed by an explanation (Chang & Haugh, 2011), constituting a 'minimal pair' or a conventionalized sequence. It appears that since recount-type stories often lack an explicit 'point', they tend to be avoided in casual

immigration. These may be a type of recounts that are only common in some cultures/communities due to the historical backgrounds concerning immigration.

²⁵ The question was '[r]ight and so when did you = actually meet him?' (ibid.)

²⁶ Due to its particular function, this CS was categorized as an instance of 'contextual metaphor' and classified in the 'other' category rather than with the other recounts.

conversation in English, unless their function in the conversation is clear from the co-text.

6-2-3-2 Recount-type stories in Japanese

As we saw in Section 5-2, recount-type was the only type of stories that were told by the Japanese participants, in both their L1 Japanese (15) and L2 English (1). In terms of their occasioning in co-text, 3 of those recount-type stories were told immediately after the other participant's question, functioning as an answer, in the same manner as how English recounts were told. For example, CS2 'Boy', presented in its entirety in Section 6-1-1, was triggered by the other participant's following question:

R <じゃあ>今んところその人だけ？

So is he the only one [that you're going out with] now?

L [laughter]

This exchange occurred while the two participants were discussing their respective romantic relationships. In response to R's question, L first offered a negative answer indirectly in the form of laughter, and then went on to describe how she had met another man she was currently interested in.

In addition to those told in the above co-text, some other recount-type stories found in the Japanese data occurred in another particular co-text. They were told after the other participant's talk about a similar event or experience. There were three such recount-type stories including the following example.

CS4 Recount - 'Fireworks-2' ²⁷ from JJ1 (39 sec)

Preceding Talk

R えーでも行くんでしょ？、FESTIVAL NAME

Oh but you're going to FESTIVAL NAME aren't you?

L そうそうそう、女二人で *[laughing]*

Yeah yeah yeah, two of us girls

R え、そうなの？*[surprisedly]* なんだあたし

Is that right? Oh I

L なんかほんとはもっとくすごい人数多かった>んだけどー、

Well first there were so many more people [who were going to go] but

R <違うと思った>

Thought it was different [=not just two girls]

----- omission -----

R ち、「真<剣な話するからダメ>、みたいな *[laughs]*

Like 'n- no because we are going to have a serious talk' [referring to herself and her boyfriend]

L <逃げるか、確実に…> *[laughing]* そうかなー

You're getting out of this for sure... I wonder

Abstract

R 1 でも FESTIVAL NAME 私も一回しか行ったことないけど

But I've only been to FESTIVAL NAME once but

L 2 すごい<いいじゃん>

It's really good, right

R 3 <すごいきれいだよ>

It's really beautiful, isn't it

L 4 めっちゃきれいだよ

²⁷ 'Fireworks-1' which occurred before this extract will be presented later.

It's super beautiful

Orientation

R 5 でもね、一回目...そう最初の一回が、FRIEND'S NICKNAME といっしょに、行ったの、NICKNAME

But the first time, yeah the first time, I went with FRIEND'S NICKNAME, NICKNAME

L 6 あ、そうなんだ

Oh is that right

R 7 そう

Yeah

L 8 え高校のときとか？ 大学？

When you were in high school? college?

R 9 大学かもしれない

Maybe college

L 10 うーん

Hmmm

Record of Events

R 11 で、初めて行って一、しかも混んでて一

So I went for the first time, and it was crowded too

L 12 うん [low voice]

Mm

R 13 場所もよくわかんなくて＜歩き＞ながら

We didn't know the place well, so while we were still walking

L 14 ＜うん＞

Mm

R 15 見たの...だ＜＜から、止まってちゃんと＞＞見たかったと

We watched [the fireworks]... so I wanted to stop and watch properly

L 16 ＜＜へー＞＞

Right

- R 17 思っ
I thought
- L 18 なんか河原の方くまで行、>行けば
Like if you g, go as far as by the river
- R 19 <そうそう>
Yeah yeah
- L 20 シートとか敷いて、も、<<上こうやって見るような感じ>>
Put a picnic mat, and you like look up like this
- R 21 <<(もう)さー、始まっちゃうとさー>>もう止まらないよね<あれね>
Once it starts, you can't stop [walking] any more, right
- L 22 <確かに>ね、規制されるしね
Right, and they regulate [the flow of people walking]
- R 23 そうなの<<だから>>
Exactly so
- L 24 <<だから早>>めに行って場所取りしておけばいいんだよ
So what you have to do is go early and secure a spot
- R 25 そうそれなんだよー、それを忘れちゃってさー [sadly]
Yeah that's it, we forgot to do that

Coda

- L 26 だからうち五時ぐらいに、もう現地着いとして、でとれるところはとつとく?、でもくたぶん五時でも遅いんだよね>
So we make sure to get to the site, at around five, and take whatever spot we can take?, but probably even five is already late
- R 27 <いいなー>いいなー [slowly and emotionally]
Oh [that's] great, great

In the talk preceding the recount, R asked L about an annual festival whose main attraction is fireworks. L responded to this by talking about her plan to go to this

festival with a friend. In and after the omitted section of the transcript, they discussed why L was not going to the festival with her boyfriend. It is then that R started her recount (in turn 1) about her own experience of going to the festival in the past. There were two more recount-type stories in the JNS-JNS data which were about the event or experience that the other participant had just discussed in length.

As discussed in Section 2-3, there are two differing views on the function of recounts. A recount is a story that simply retells the events sequenced in time, with its focus being on the temporal sequence itself. Plum suggests its function is ‘to give an account of how one event led to another’ (2004, p. 237). Eggins and Slade supplement this with another element and describe recounts’ function as ‘to retell the events and to share the speaker’s appraisal of those events’ (1997, p. 237). Their difference in focus regarding recounts’ function can be understood in relation to the occasioning of recounts in co-text. Recounts told in response to a question are most likely told to supply information about ‘how one event led to another’ as Plum suggests. For example, the ENS participant who told a recount about her family history (CS3 ‘Family’ presented in 5.2.3) was describing how a series of related events happened in response to her friend’s question. The JNS who told a recount about how she had met a prospective boyfriend was also answering her friend’s question in the form of a story.

On the other hand, recounts told after the other participant’s story or talk about a similar event seem to be told more for ‘sharing the speaker’s appraisal’ as claimed by Eggins and Slade. In CS4 ‘Fireworks-1, the experience described by R, i.e., going to this particular festival to see the fireworks, was already familiar to L as well. Her familiarity with the event is reflected in the frequency of L’s participation in the construction of the recount (turn 2, 4, 18, 20, 22, 24 and 26). In this context, there was little need for R to tell L ‘how one event led to another’, especially because her experience did not involve any unusual or remarkable elements. Rather, what R and L were doing through co-constructing this recount-type story seems to be sharing their appraisal of the event and confirming their shared values and experiences.

6-2-3-3 ‘Boasting Story’ in Japanese

In addition to recount-type stories told after the other participant’s similar story or talk, there was a group of recount-type stories in the JNS-JNS data whose primary function also seems to be that of sharing appraisal. These are stories that I call ‘boasting stories’ here and they concern the speaker’s experiences that are characterized as fortunate or enjoyable. The purpose of a boasting story can be glossed as sharing the speaker’s happy or excited feeling caused by the positive nature of their experience. The staging structure does not differ from that of English recounts, but the listener’s responses are somewhat particular. They are characterized by the use of expressions of approval, admiration or envy, such as *Ii na* (*ii* [good] + *na* [Oh!])²⁸ As a set phrase it is close in meaning to [Lucky you/How nice!] in English) and *Sugoi* [great/cool]. Following is one of the four recount-type stories of this kind found in the Japanese data.

CS5 Recount - ‘Fireworks-1’ from JJ1 (26 sec)

Preceding Talk

L バイトして、遊んで

Working part-time, and playing

R そう、なんか全然なんか、学生らしい夏休みを送ってない<というか>

Yeah, like not spending the summer vacation at all like how students are supposed to

L <[laughter]>

Abstract

R 1 このあいだ PLACE NAME の花火に、友達と行って

The other day I went to the fireworks event at PLACE NAME with a friend

²⁸ *Na* in *Ii na* is a clause-ending particle that performs an ‘exclamative’ function (Teruya, 2007, p. 144).

Orientation

L 2 え、PLACE NAME?

Oh PLACE NAME?

R 3 そう

Yeah

L 4 いいなー… えー DATE のやつでしょう?

Oh that's great… the one on DATE right?

R 5 そうそうそう

Yeah yeah yeah

L 6 うちそれゼミ合宿で行けなかったんだよ

I couldn't go to that one because of my [university] seminar camp

Record of Events

R 7 あでもなんか、うちらも、お互いバイトで

Oh but like, we both also had to work [part-time]

L 8 うーん

Hmmm

R 9 急いで行ったからー

And went in a rush so

L 10 うん [low voice]

Mm

R 11 間近ではなかったんだけど

We weren't really close [to the fireworks], but

L 12 うん<うん> [low voice]

Mm mm

R 13 <けっ>こう今年は道路が開放されててー

Some roads were open [to pedestrians] this year so

L 14 うん

Mm

R 15 路上で見れたの、だから、「まあいっかここで」>ってことで

We could watch from the road, so, like ‘well this spot will do’

L 16 <へー—>

Oh

L 17 うん

Mm

Coda

R 18 きれいだったよ

[They were] beautiful

L 19 いいなー

I envy you

R 20 きれいだった

[They were] beautiful

L 21 花火見たい

I want to see fireworks

Following Talk

R えーでも行くんでしょ？、FESTIVAL NAME

Oh but you’re going to FESTIVAL NAME aren’t you?

L そうそうそう、女二人で [laughing]

Yeah yeah yeah, two of us girls

---- Continues to ‘Fireworks-2’ presented earlier ----

In CS5 ‘Fireworks-1’, participant R described her experience of going to a fireworks event. The process of getting to the site of the event was described rather mundanely as R used no evaluative devices to emphasize an amusing, problematic or dramatic aspect of her experience, until the end (turn 18). However, L understood the

intended purpose of the story without a problem, which can be seen from the absence of any indication of miscommunication and also from the consistently approving and envious tone of L's responses created by *Ii na* [Lucky you/How nice!] (turn 4 and 19), [I couldn't go to that one ...]' (turn 6), and [I want to see fireworks] (turn 21). What can be inferred from the above is that the participants mutually understood the purpose of the story, which was sharing the fortunate and enjoyable nature of R's experience and the positive feelings it caused in her. R did not tell this story to entertain or prove a moral point, but she did so to boast about her experience and share her positive appraisal of it with L. L also understood why R was telling the story and responded accordingly.

It is not clear at this point whether stories of this kind are rare in English in general. It may be coincidental that similar stories did not occur in the English data of the current study. However, the ritualistic use of certain responses, namely *ii na* and *sugoi*, for example, seems to be particular to recount-type stories of this kind in Japanese, which provides grounds for giving 'boasting stories' a status as a sub-genre of recount-type stories in Japanese.

There is also a folk genre label in the Japanese language which partially overlaps with 'boasting stories'. It is *jiman-banashi* (*jiman* [boasting/bragging] + *banashi* (originally *hanashi*) [a talk/conversation]). However, *jiman-banashi* texts are not limited to stories, i.e., boasting about one's experience in the past. Such texts include boasting about one's possessions (e.g. description of a newly purchased car) or future plans (e.g. explaining a trip itinerary), for example. Since they are not limited to stories, *jiman-banashi* only partially overlaps with 'boasting stories' which are considered as a sub-genre of recount-type stories here. When seen from the perspective of Japanese speakers, 'boasting stories' could be considered a sub-category of *jiman-banashi*: 'boasting stories' can be distinguished from other *jiman-banashi* texts by the chronological development of the text. This relationship between *jiman-banashi*

and CSs in Japanese is comparable to that between gossip and CSs in English, which will be discussed in Section 6-2-4-4.

6-2-4 Issues in Definition and Categorization of Genres

As we saw in Section 2-2-1 and 2-3, generic structure models represent no more than prototypical or illustrative structures because of the ‘probabilistic nature of realization’ (Plum, 2004, p. 225) at the discourse level. In addition, genres are conceptualized as socially conventionalized language use, typically varying from language to language. It is not surprising then that there are some CSs in the data that do not map onto any of the four genres of English CSs identified by Eggins and Slade (1997). In the ENS-ENS data, about a third of the stories (11 out of 36) do not belong to any of these four genres. The CSs in the Japanese data were all categorized as recount-type stories, but as expected some issues were found in the identification, specifically homogeneity, of recount-like stories in the Japanese data. In this section, I will analyze the different types of Japanese CSs which do not map onto any of the four English genres identified by Eggins and Slade.

6-2-4-1 Genre Negotiation

Unlike genres in most written texts,²⁹ stories in casual conversation have the capacity to alter their function and form flexibly depending on the reception and feedback from the audience (Mandelbaum, 2003; Norrick, 2000). This happens especially when such feedback suggests that the intended purpose of the story is misunderstood or not accepted by the listener(s). The following example from the ENS-ENS data shows a CS that was likely intended to be a narrative to a certain point

²⁹ Perhaps with the exception of highly interactive ‘written’ texts such as real-time online communication.

but ended resembling an exemplum.

CS6 Other - 'Grade' from EE1 (48 sec)

Preceding Talk

R So [laughing]

L So (XXXX) to say

R [laughter]

L How did you do on the (close)

R Ohhh.... I did OK

Abstract/Orientation

R 1 You know what I did today? (with) the teacher, I was like, I said *ikimasu* [Japanese word for 'to go'] instead of *kaerimasu* ['to return'] ?, which like mean I guess, it means <to go back home>?

L 2 <to ... go home>

R 3 <<Yeah>>

L 4 <<Yeah>>

Complication

R 5 and so I said 'uh-oh.. no this (XXX) bad', and then like I had a lower grade than it needs to I guess? and I went up to her and I said ('but...'),

Resolution

R 5 and then she gave me like... two points back [laughs] ... so [laughing]

L 6 Oh really

R 7 Yeah yeah if you talk to them they will give you (back)... <yeah, you you>

L 8 <I, so you knew the> difference, I never <<even look at it>>

R 9 <<I got my>> points back yeah <I mean points>, not deducted? I guess

L 10 <I XXX>

R 11 Yeah

L 12 Oh yeah?, well I just never look... I look at my grade and put it in my bag

Interpretation?

R 13 Well she graded and she didn't (take the grade) so I'm a little worried I might say (XXXX)
something

L 14 <Yeah?>

R 15 <Ummm>

L 16 Yeah?

R 17 So... I don't know

Following Talk

L Did you ask for your overall grade?

R Did you?

L No, CLASSMATE'S NAME did

This CS was started by R with a formulaic phrase 'you know what... ?' which is often used to signal the beginning of a narrative (Norrick, 2000, pp. 147, 151). After explaining a mistake she made in her Japanese class (turn 1), R described her possibly confrontational exchange with the teacher about her grade (turn 5 in Complication). When the problem was solved by her teacher giving her a few extra points, R found the incident amusing as well as relieving, which can be seen from her noticeable laughter (twice in turn 5 in Resolution). L, however, does not seem to have understood that this story was told as an amusing story about a remarkable event. She did not offer any laughter or responses to acknowledge the story's purpose (e.g., 'That's funny/great' etc.). Instead, she turned her attention to the fact that R had checked the grading of her test (turn 8 and 12), missing the point R was trying to convey. In response, R then

offered an explanation of the reason she had been careful about the teacher's grading (turn 13), which also serves as a criticism of the way the teacher handled grading.

Thus, what happened in CS6 appears to be a change of genre while the story was being produced. This CS was unfolding as a narrative, but it transformed into an exemplum-like story by the addition of a moral judgment (i.e., 'Teachers should be more careful about grading' although it is not exactly decipherable due to unintelligible segments). By doing so, R changed the function of the preceding Complication and Resolution stages in a narrative to that of the Incident stage in an exemplum, i.e., an example for proving a point. Thanks to this genre negotiation, it seems a potential communication failure which may have caused disappointment or embarrassment was avoided.

6-2-4-2 'Appreciation Story'

Another type of story that does not belong to the four genres appears to comprise a genre of its own. These are stories that involve seeing, listening to, eating, or otherwise experiencing an inanimate object or entity as part of the event sequence. The emphasis is on the speaker's or another person's evaluation of the object and the event sequence is described more for the purpose of explaining how the speaker gained access to the thing being evaluated.

CS7 Other - 'Tour Bus' from EE2 (8 sec)

Preceding Talk

R Cos it's hot there on the top [of the double decker bus] [laugh]

L Yeah

R I really hate buses [laugh]

Access

R 1 I went on one when I was in New York? because my sister went to New York <for the first time?>

L 2 <Right right right> yeah yeah yeah

Appreciation

R 3 And it was just like... just so useless [laugh]

L 4 It's really boring

Following Talk

L *XX you know I think I went on one with my brother XX? I think*

There are six stories of this kind in the ENS-ENS data, from which the following canonical staging structure can be extracted:

(Abstract) ^ (Orientation) ^ Access ^ Appreciation

The core stages in an appreciation story are termed Access and Appreciation here. The Access stage explains how the speaker gained access to the object or entity being evaluated, for example by going to a particular place or receiving it from someone, etc., and includes one or more past tense verbs. Since it is not the main purpose of an appreciation story to depict this process as dramatic or problematic, such a dramatic element is not required as a generic stage. The appreciation stage includes the speaker or another person's evaluation of the object or entity. In the appreciation stories found in the data, this stage included adjectives such as 'useless', 'interesting' or 'cool', or expressions with an evaluative function such as 'I cried' (referring to a movie) or 'he just fell asleep' (referring to a sightseeing tour) for example.

The function of an appreciation story can be identified as sharing appraisal of the quality of an object or entity. Thus, they are functionally similar to recounts whose function is 'to retell the events and to share the speaker's appraisal of those events' (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 237). Appreciation stories differ from recount-type stories in

that their main function is sharing appraisal of things rather than of events.

6-2-4-3 Contextual Metaphor

In Section 6-2-3-1 (also fn.26), I mentioned an instance of contextual metaphor. It was a story which resembled a recount in structure but was told immediately after an apology made by the same speaker, functioning as an explanation of the reason for having arrived late for the recording. In addition to this sample, there were two more CSs in the ENS-ENS data that represented instances of contextual metaphor, one of which is presented below.

CS8 Other - 'Chicken' from EE1 (44 sec)

Preceding Talk

L *And if I see it [=meat] raw, I don't eat it... if it looks weird, I don't eat it*

Orientation

R 1 Well they <did one>... um...

L 2 <like>

R 3 OK, like we say JARGON REFERRING TO FARMERS right?, they came from you know
 like my, my dad's family is from the co- (really) country of <COUNTRY NAME> [laughing]

L 4 <Yeah yeah>

Abstract

R 5 And so.. um oh this is really funny

Remarkable Event

R 5 but... um... one time, ah mmm how old was I like? five or six? they killed, a chicken

L 6 (They had) chickens

R 7 in the back of

L 8 ohh

R 9 of our house

L 10 <Yeah yeah>

R 11 <of our> house... OK it wasn't even like a farm [laughing]... it was a house [laughing]

L NV [laughter]

R 11 And, I couldn- I, I refused to eat it... my cousin and I were like 'we're not eating it'... we ate
(together XX)

L 12 <Yeah yeah>

Reaction

R 13 <But we were> just like 'no'

L 14 After you see it yeah, <<it's>>

R 15 <<And>> n' you know they were plucking and we were like 'ohh, I don't want to' like

L 16 <It's>

Coda

R 17 <If I> think about it, really think about it, I feel really really bad [laughing]

Following Talk

L Yeah, it's funny cos like in CITY NAME in the middle of the city like my, my grandma would tell me stories of how like, her mom would like kill the chickens too (XX) right?

This story represents the canonical staging structure of an anecdote very closely. It centers around a remarkable event which includes the element of complication (witnessing the slaughter of a chicken in the backyard of the speaker's house) followed by the speaker's reaction to it. The story then ends with the Coda which brings the audience back to the present time. In terms of function, it also appears to resemble

that of an anecdote, i.e., to entertain or amuse. In turn 5, participant R explicitly announced that the story would be a ‘really funny’ one. From L’s surprised reaction (turn 8), repetitive and overlapping responses (turn 10 and 12), and laughter from both participants, it appears that the story was mutually understood as an amusing one.

However, when placed in a larger co-text, it becomes evident that CS8 was not told simply to entertain or amuse. The following table shows the genres and topics of the stories which occurred prior to this CS.

Table 6-1 Genres and Topics of Stories Preceding CS8

	Genre	Topic
1	Recount	how people reacted to a documentary film about mistreatment of animals
2	Exemplum	judgment about people’s reaction after watching movies
3	Exemplum	ethical appropriateness of ‘marine-world’ type animal shows
4	Exemplum	judgment about how animals are treated in zoos

As can be seen, the stories told before CS8 all centered around the topic of treatment of animals. Not only did they simply discuss this topic, but they were told to prove a moral point, i.e., animals should be treated humanely. After the stories in Table 6-1 were told, R and L discussed vegetarianism, and L mentioned she was not a vegetarian but did not usually eat meat.

Considering that CS8 occurred in this co-text, it is clear that this CS was not told to simply amuse or entertain. Rather, it was told to add to the moral point that was being made mutually in the ongoing talk, which could be glossed as ‘animals should not be mistreated, and killing them for meat should not be an exception’. This moralizing aspect of the story is also manifested in Coda when R said ‘If I think about it, really think about it, I feel really really bad’. Thus, this example shows an instance of contextual metaphor in which an anecdote is used as an exemplum, i.e., a story

functioning as an example to prove a point.

Among the 11 stories judged to not belong to any of the four genres; narratives, anecdotes, exemplums, and recounts, three CSs are instances of contextual metaphor, including CS8. As we saw earlier, six among the other CSs constitute a genre of ‘appreciation stories’, and one is an example of genre negotiation. The remaining one story seems to be one located in between genres, in which it is not clear if the speaker is mainly criticizing a specific individual (i.e. the genre of gossip, discussed below) or making a general moral point (i.e. exemplum).

6-2-4-4 CSs and Gossip

It is worthwhile at this point to briefly consider the genre of gossip, which is often associated closely with women’s speech (Coates, 2004, p. 103). The term ‘gossip’ can be defined in various ways but its folk meaning at least partially overlaps with that of ‘stories’, as in the following dictionary definition: ‘(disapproving) informal talk or stories about other people’s private lives, that may be unkind or not true’ (Oxford Advanced American Dictionary). Gossip, however, does not need to be a story (as defined in genre theory and this dissertation), which concerns one’s actual experience in the past. Gossip may not include chronological development of events as it can be about another person’s habitual behavior, their relationships, possessions, or future plans, for example. Thus, only some gossip texts could be considered to be ‘stories’ depending on the technical definitions of the terms. In this respect, the relationship between gossip and CSs in English is comparable to that between *Jimanbanashi* and CSs in Japanese (Section 6-2-3-3).

For the purposes of the current project on conversational stories, such gossip texts that do not involve chronological development of events are beyond its scope, and therefore they were not sampled or transcribed from the recordings. However, those texts which do concern one’s past experience that also include negative judgment of

another individual were examined to identify their primary function. Among such gossip/story-like texts in the data, no clear sample of gossip, i.e., a text whose primary function is 'pejorative judgment of an absent other' (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 278) was found, though there were a few borderline cases. The primary functions of those texts were ultimately judged to be that of entertaining (i.e., narrative or anecdote) or proving a point (i.e., exemplum), and they were classified accordingly. As noted in Section 6-2-4-3, there was yet another text whose primary function could not be determined between those of negative judgment of a specific individual (i.e. gossip,) and making a general moral point (i.e. exemplum).

The rarity of gossip in the data could be understood in connection with the context of data collection. Gossip is usually 'meant to be confidential' (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 278) among the speakers. However, the context of 'coffee talk' in a coffee-shop and furthermore the context of data recording session do not guarantee such confidentiality. In addition, the act of gossiping itself is generally seen pejoratively (Coates, 2004, p. 103), which makes it a risky act that may threaten the gossipers' social face or reputation as well as that of those who are gossiped about. These factors may have discouraged the participants from engaging in gossiping during the recording sessions for this project.

7. Conclusion to Part I

The current study, which constitutes Part I of the dissertation, has investigated genres of stories that occur in English and Japanese casual conversation. The purposes of the study were to 1) examine the differences between English and Japanese CSs in terms of frequency and lengths, 2) identify common genres of CSs in English casual conversation, 3) examine how closely CSs told in Japanese conversation map onto the English CS genres, 4) identify the functions of various genres of CSs, and 5) examine

how such stories were told by JNS learners of English.

It was found that on average, the English participants in the study told a larger number of, but shorter, stories than their Japanese counterparts did. A noteworthy result was that conversational stories were rarely told by the JNS learners of English, suggesting the difficulty they experience in narrating a story in their L2 and the need for learning and/or teaching storytelling skills in English.

Regarding the genres that occurred in L1, it was shown that exemplums were the most common genre among the ENS participants, while JNSs only told recount-type stories (i.e., stories that, in terms of English CSs, resembled most closely the discursive pattern of a recount). In other words, the ENSs more often told stories to make a certain point while the JNSs told stories to share appraisal or information.

In both languages, stories with an element of conflict or crisis, namely narratives and anecdotes in terms of English CSs, were rare, which possibly suggests a cultural influence and/or that such stories are more often told in conversations in larger groups.

The study has also found two previously unidentified discursive patterns in the data. One is 'boasting stories' in Japanese, possibly a sub-genre of recount-type stories. The other is tentatively considered a genre with its own generic structure. It was found in both languages and termed 'appreciation stories'. Further research is needed to determine whether these patterns are idiosyncratic to these exchanges, or they are typical in conversations in each language and culture, constituting genres.

If the cross-linguistic differences found in this study are generalizable to a certain extent, they may possibly lead to misunderstandings between speakers of English and Japanese, resulting from differences in expectations about the length, frequency, genres, and functions of stories that occur in casual conversation. Knowledge about such differences would be a useful asset for learners of English (and of Japanese) as a point of departure for developing their awareness of structures and functions of CSs in both languages.

A limitation of this study is that the numbers of participants and conversations were limited due to the difficulty in securing participants and to the time required for the transcription and qualitative analysis of conversational data. Related to this is the fact that the participants' attributes such as gender and age group were controlled to avoid interference of such variables to focus on cross-linguistic differences. Future research with a larger dataset is needed to determine to what extent the results obtained in this study are generalizable.

Appendix

Transcription Symbols

The transcription symbols used in this paper are explained below with modified sample texts.

Sample Text 1

Incident

R 1 Cos my **frien-** **ROOMMATE'S NAME** was like **'oh why do you worry so much about your**
grades' and I'm like
L 2 I need to get the grades **[laughing]**

- Stages in a CS ('Incident' in the above example) are indicated in bold where they are judged to begin.
- R and L indicate speakers.
- Numbers indicate turns and are provided only within stories (see Sample Text 2).
- A dash is used for a truncated part of a word.
- Words spelled in capital letters indicate proper nouns substituted for the sake of privacy.
- Quotation marks indicate (seeming) reported speech.
- Square brackets indicate information provided by the researcher such as para-linguistic features, reconstructed ellipsis, or contextual information.

Sample Text 2

Preceding Talk

A I *<think in a sense>*

B *<Yeah yeah>*

A *(Because)* like ... you take, you can ... [3 sec] actually XXX school more
<<easily>> ?

B *<<more>>* yeah

- Italics are used for presenting co-text surrounding a story.
- Angle brackets indicate an overlap. Double angle brackets are used when overlaps occurred in proximity and need to be distinguished from each other.
- A question mark indicates apparent rising intonation whether or not the utterance is syntactically or pragmatically judged to be a question.
- A comma indicates a short pause and three dots indicate a longer pause. The distinction is made subjectively based on the perceived speech rate and does not correspond to actual length of the pause. However, for pauses longer than two seconds, the approximate length is provided in square brackets.
- Round brackets indicate uncertain transcription.
- Xs indicate unintelligible segments of an utterance.

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- mita hyoka kijun-to hyogen-no chokusetsusei/kansetsusei-no kankei [Characteristic linguistic patterns of evaluative expressions in blog articles: An exploration of the relationship between evaluative criteria and the explicitness/implicitness of the expressions from a perspective of appraisal theory]. *Keiryō Kokugogaku [Mathematical Linguistics]*, 27(7), 249-269.
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This concludes the first of the three studies that comprise the dissertation. Study II investigates the use of evaluative expressions in stories, which is another important aspect of conversational storytelling in English. It is followed by Study III which explores pedagogical implications of the findings from Study I and II.

Part II

Evaluative Expressions in English and Japanese

Conversational Stories

1. Introduction to Part II

The importance of casual conversation as a site for building and maintaining relationships has been widely recognized in recent years (Eggins, 2000; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Thornbury & Slade, 2006; Tracy, 2002 *inter alia*). Among the various genres of talk that occur in casual conversation in English, one which has received particular attention is conversational stories, also known as conversational or oral narratives. It is claimed that conversational stories ('CS', hereafter) perform social and interpersonal functions such as building and maintaining group identity and relationships (Coupland & Jaworski, 2003, p. 86; Georgakopoulou, 2002; 2007, p. 14; Mandelbaum, 2003, p. 620; Norrick, 2000, p. 84). More specific, pragmatic goals may be achieved such as 'inviting, blaming, complaining, telling troubles' (Mandelbaum, 2003, p. 614) and 'advising, criticizing, or reprimanding' (Tracy, 2002, p. 159).

Because of the social and interpersonal functions that CSs perform, learners of English as a second language also should have access to this extremely common and useful form of communication. However, as pointed out by McCarthy (1991), telling a story spontaneously in casual conversation in one's second language is a highly demanding task.

Further, and more importantly, communicating the referential meaning (i.e., 'who did what, when and where etc.') of the story to the audience is only part of the task that tellers of CSs need to accomplish. This is because it is largely through sharing attitudes and displaying agreement (or disagreement) that the above-mentioned social and interpersonal functions of CSs are fulfilled (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p.229). Thus it is not sufficient for learners to be able to just retell chronologically-ordered events in a comprehensible manner in order to tell an 'effective' story to achieve social or interpersonal goals. Even if 'what happened' in the story is communicated clearly, such a story may be met with a humiliating response of 'so what?' (Labov, 1972) if the attitude of the storyteller, i.e., the 'point' of the story, is not conveyed appropriately. Learners of English need to know how attitudes are expressed

in CSs in English, and in what ways it may differ from how they are expressed in their L1. Not only do they need to be able to express and share their attitudes towards people, things or events in a CS, they also need to be able to recognize and understand the attitudes of others expressed in their stories, and to show alignment (or unalignment) accordingly.

Despite the social importance that CSs bear, and the difficulties involved in producing and exploiting them, studies dealing with unelicited stories in casual conversation in Japanese have been scarce but for a few exceptions (e.g., Karatsu, 2004; Kodama, 1998; Szatrowski, 2010). Consequently, little has been known about the cross-linguistic differences and similarities between CSs in English and Japanese, especially regarding the attitudes expressed therein. The current study aims to bridge this gap by exploring what kinds of attitudes are expressed and how they are expressed (directly or indirectly) in CSs in English and Japanese.

2. Literature Review

How the storyteller expresses their attitude towards the events or people described in the story has been one of the main foci in the analysis of CSs. In this review, I will first briefly discuss the concept of ‘evaluation’ introduced mainly by William Labov in the 1960s and 70s. I will then discuss in more detail a more recent theory of ‘appraisal’ developed in Systemic Functional Linguistics on which the analyses in the current study are directly based.

2-1 The Labovian Notion of Evaluation

According to Labov and Waletzky (1997) and Labov (1972), ‘narrative’³⁰ is a verbal method of recapitulating past experience by matching the temporal sequence of that experience (1997, p. 4). However, according to them, narratives that only serve this referential function are ‘abnormal’ in that they lack significance, or the ‘point’ of telling the story. Thus, narratives need ‘evaluation’ which ‘reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others’ (1997, p. 32). More specifically,

[e]valuative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual --- that is, worth reporting (1972, p. 371).

Besides being expressed directly with adjectives describing emotion or feelings, evaluation can be realized in various forms. Symbolic actions as in ‘I just closed my eyes’, or quotes like ‘I said, “O my God, here it is!”’ reveal the narrator’s attitude (Labov, 1972). Otherwise, evaluation can be expressed through certain grammatical forms. Labov asserts that, since clauses in narratives tend to be syntactically simple, deviations from the basic narrative syntax have a marked evaluative force (ibid., p. 378). Labov categorizes such syntactically-defined evaluation into four groups. First, ‘intensifiers’ are elements that emphasize an event in the story and includes gestures, phonology, quantifies, and repetition. ‘Comparators’ are elements which compare what actually happened with what could have happened. These include ‘negatives, futures, modals, quasimodals (e.g., ‘be supposed to’), questions, imperatives, or-clauses, superlatives, and comparatives’. ‘Correlatives’ are forms that simultaneously tell about two events that occurred, such as progressives, appended participles (e.g., ‘I was sittin’ on the corner an’shit, smokin’ my cigarette, you know.’), double appositives (e.g.,

³⁰ ‘Narrative’ as defined by Labov refers only to stories with an element of crisis or conflict, but the concept of evaluation can be, and has generally been, applied to stories without such an element as well.

‘a knife, a long one, a dagger’) and double attributives (e.g., ‘a great big guy’). Finally, ‘explicatives’ are clauses appended to other clauses introduced with ‘while’, ‘though’, ‘since’ or ‘because’ for example. While these syntactic features may be found in clauses with a purely referential function, they are usually linked to the evaluation of the narrative, according to Labov (1972, p. 392).

Using this framework, Labov and Waletzky demonstrated that speakers of AAVE (African American Vernacular English)³¹, considered by many a stigmatized linguistic variety at the time, made skillful use of evaluative devices to get their point across through storytelling. Since then, the Labovian notion of evaluation has been adopted in numerous studies, many of which found socio-cultural variation. Shaul et al. (1987) for example found that Hopi Coyote stories, a traditional oral story genre in native Western America, rarely have a discrete evaluation stage and evaluation is embedded in other stages instead. Holmes (1998) noted that evaluative components in Maori stories seem particularly implicit from a Pakeha (European New Zealander) perspective. What is of great interest and relevance to the current study is the claim by Minami (2008) that evaluative elements in stories are valued more by English speakers than by Japanese speakers. Based on an analysis of children’s stories elicited by pictures and on the ratings of how good they were judged to be by adult speakers of the two languages, Minami argued that while evaluative comments are considered an indispensable element in ‘good’ stories in English, they receive less emphasis by Japanese speakers who focus more on relating a series of events in chronological order. Also noteworthy is a study by Suzuki (2009) who compared how evaluation (in the Labovian sense) in CSs in English were expressed by two groups of ‘advanced’ learners of English; one consisting of ‘returnee’ students who had lived in an English-speaking country and one of ‘non-returnee’ students. Suzuki found that there were clear differences between the two groups in terms of the use of evaluation; while the returnee students expressed their evaluation verbally in English, the non-returnees

³¹ The term used at the time was BVE (Black Vernacular English).

tended to rely on code-switching to Japanese and/or non/para-linguistic elements to show the point of their CSs.

Although the Labovian framework has been widely accepted, it has not been without criticisms. Some have pointed out that stories that occur in casual conversation, rather than in interviews as in Labov's and Labov and Waletzky's studies, are evaluated by both the narrator and the audience (Cortazzi & Jin, 2000; Norrick, 2000), suggesting that evaluation should be viewed as a dynamic, interactive process rather than rhetorical devices used solely by the narrator. Others have claimed that Labov's definition of evaluation and evaluative devices seems rather arbitrary and not sufficiently systematic to enable identification of evaluative elements in discourse (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 39; Thompson & Hunston, 2000, p. 21). Yet others argued that the Labovian notion of evaluation is overly syntax-oriented and mechanical, failing to consider the subtle meanings conveyed by lexical choice (Edwards, 1997; Toolan, 2001). Further, as was discussed in Section 4-2 of Part I, Labov (1972), who argued that evaluative expressions form a distinct stage in a narrative, and Eggins and Slade (1997) who adopted the Labovian narrative structure model, both also acknowledged that evaluation tends to spread throughout texts rather than clustering at one point.

One of the more recent theories that deal with the speaker's or writer's attitude is appraisal theory developed by Martin and his colleagues in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL, hereafter). Though its development was originally motivated by the Labovian notion of evaluation, appraisal theory seems less constrained by the above limitations in comparison and has been used successfully for the analysis of casual conversation in English. Appraisal theory also does not model evaluation as a structural component in a narrative as in the Labovian framework, and this perspective seems to be more compatible with the fact that evaluative expressions occur throughout and across texts. Thus, appraisal theory has been adopted as the main analytical framework in the current study to investigate evaluation in CSs.

Below I will discuss some of the key concepts in appraisal theory that are relevant to the current study.

2-2 Appraisal Theory

The fact that language performs evaluative, or emotive/affective, functions has been widely recognized. Jacobson (1960, p. 354) lists ‘emotive’ function as one of the six language functions he proposes: emotive, conative, referential, phatic, poetic, and metalinguistic. Lyons (1995, p. 44) makes a distinction between two broadly defined meanings: descriptive (or propositional/referential) and non-descriptive, the latter of which includes ‘expressive’ (or affective/attitudinal/emotive) component with which speakers express ‘their beliefs, attitudes and feelings’ (1995, p. 44). Thompson and Hunston (2000, p. 5) use the term ‘evaluation’ as a cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude, stance, viewpoint or feelings while Conrad and Biber (2000, p. 57) prefer ‘stance’ to refer to similar concepts. In contrast, the Labovian notion of evaluation is restricted to the context of telling narratives of personal experience, and it refers to clauses or sections in a narrative that reveal the attitude of the narrator or the point of telling the story.

One theory that aims to provide a comprehensive description of the evaluative/emotive aspect of language, and which has been shown to be applicable to the analysis of casual conversation, is appraisal theory developed by Martin and his colleagues (Martin, 2000; Martin & Rose, 2007; Martin & White, 2005). Martin et al. conceptualize appraisal as a system of interpersonal meanings which tell the audience ‘how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are)’ (2007, p. 26). More specifically, appraisal deals with three aspects of feeling: ‘the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned’ (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 25). The first of these, namely what kinds of feelings or attitudes are expressed, is the main focus of

the current study. It is studied under the term ‘attitude’ in appraisal theory.

Attitude is divided into three major types: emotional reactions (termed ‘affect’), evaluation of human behavior or character (‘judgment’), and evaluation of things, processes, texts, or natural phenomena (‘appreciation’).

Affect refers to the type of attitude that expresses the speakers’ or writers’ emotional reactions. Like the other two types of attitude, affect can be expressed as a contrast between positive and negative (or in a system of ‘polarity’ in SFL terms). Positive emotions can be realized with adjectives such as ‘happy’ or ‘cheerful’, for example, and negative emotions with ‘down’, or ‘miserable’. They can also be realized by mental verbs such as ‘like’, ‘enjoy’ or ‘fear’, verbs referring to actions that reflect emotions such as ‘cry’ and ‘laugh’, and by nouns such as ‘happiness’ or ‘rubbish’ as well.

Martin et al. argue that emotions can be further grouped into three major sets: (in)security, (dis)satisfaction, and (un)happiness. Expressions such as ‘sad’, and ‘loving’ are often concerned with ‘(un)happiness’. ‘Restless’, ‘surprised’ and ‘crying’ are concerned with ‘(in)security’, and ‘scold’, ‘angry’, and ‘fidget’ with ‘(dis)satisfaction’ (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 66). However, the extent to which this sub-classification of emotions is applicable to languages other than English is arguable. This, and its relevance for the pedagogical purpose of this paper, are discussed below in Section 4

Judgment is the type of attitude that expresses the speakers’ or writers’ assessment of people’s behavior according to ethical or social norms. It can be further divided into two major categories: those dealing with ‘social esteem’ and ‘social sanction’ (Martin & Rose, 2007; Martin & White, 2005).

Judgments of social esteem concern whether and in what way people or their behavior live(s) up to socially desirable standards. Judgments of esteem are further categorized into those concerned with normality (how special/unusual someone is), capacity (how capable they are) and tenacity (how dependable/resolute they are). Expressions such as ‘lucky’ and ‘normal’ are usually positive items, and ‘unpredictable’

and ‘peculiar’ negative ones, all concerned with normality. Similarly, ‘mature’, ‘humorous’, ‘childish’, and ‘dull’ are usually concerned with capacity, and ‘cautious’, ‘loyal’, ‘reckless’ and ‘unfaithful’ with tenacity (Martin & White, 2005, p. 53). As with the sub-categorization of emotions within affect (security, satisfaction, and happiness), the extent to which sub-categorizations at this detailed level are feasible for the purpose of cross-linguistic comparison will be considered in the discussion of analytical methods below.

The other category of judgment has to do with social sanction. Judgments of social sanction concern whether and in what way people or their behavior is seen as truthful or ethical. They can be categorized into those concerned with veracity (how truthful someone is) and propriety (how ethical they are). Some lexical items that realize social sanction are ‘frank’, ‘direct’, ‘deceptive’ and ‘blunt’ for veracity, and ‘good’, ‘respectful’, ‘evil’ and ‘rude’ for propriety.

The third type of attitude, along with affect and judgment, is appreciation. It is the type of attitude that expresses the speakers’ or writers’ evaluation of things or processes, such as texts, products, performances and natural phenomena. Like affect and judgment, appreciation can also be positive or negative, and can be divided into three categories: reaction, composition and valuation.

Reaction concerns whether we like a particular object (or ‘a person treated as an object’ (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 127)) or process, and whether it catches our attention. It is typically realized through such lexical items as ‘lovely’, ‘interesting’ or ‘ugly’, ‘boring’, for example (Martin & White, 2005, p. 56). Composition is concerned with balance and detail and is typically realized through words such as ‘elegant’, ‘logical’ or ‘irregular’, ‘contradictory’. Finally, valuation is concerned with the significance of the content of the text or process. It is typically realized with words such as ‘deep’, ‘shallow’ or ‘fake’, for example (ibid.). Like affect, appreciation can also be realized through lexical categories other than adjectives such as nouns (‘loveliness’, ‘horror’), adverbs (‘elegantly’, ‘simplistically’), and verbs (‘harmonize’, ‘attract’) (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p.

127).

Grammatically, appreciation is related to the types of mental process verbs in SFL (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 208). Reaction is related to ‘emotive’ verbs such as ‘like’ and ‘hate’, and also to ‘desiderative’ verbs such as ‘want’ and ‘refuse’. Composition is related to ‘perceptive’ verbs such as ‘see’ and ‘hear’. Valuation is related to ‘cognitive’ verbs such as ‘think’ and ‘believe’ (Martin & White, 2005, p. 57).

As discussed so far, attitude can be expressed explicitly through lexical items such as adjectives, verbs, adverbs or nouns that carry evaluative meaning in themselves. Such a direct expression of attitude is termed ‘inscribed’ attitude in appraisal theory. However, appraisal can also be expressed indirectly, or as ‘invoked’ attitude, as can be seen in the following extract from the data of the current study:³²

Example 1

L I feel like a lot of people just watch the movie like 'oh I feel bad' and then they...

R **They don't really care about it later on** right?

In this extract, L and R are discussing a documentary movie about the mistreatment of animals. While R's utterance (in bold) does not contain any words or expressions that are inherently evaluative (positive or negative), it clearly invokes a negative evaluation (judgment) of the ‘people’ who watch a film about animal cruelty but forget about it later. Thus in this example R's attitude is expressed indirectly, or ‘invoked’, rather than directly ‘inscribed’.

Another method often used for invoking attitude is the use of metaphors. An example given by Martin and White (2005) is an Aboriginal Australian singer who compares the treatment of indigenous Australians to that of animals by singing ‘they fenced us in like sheep’.³³ This metaphor clearly invokes a judgment even though he

³² This example has been taken from the database for this study but slightly modified for the sake of simplicity.

³³ The words are taken from the lyrics of ‘Took the Children Away’ by Archie Roach (1990),

does not explicitly judge the authorities who took this action as inhumane (Martin & White, 2005, p. 65).

Invoked attitude can also be realized through describing some action or event as contrary to expectation. For example:

Example 2

He only visits his mother once a year, even though she is more than 90 years old.
(White & Thomson, 2008, p. 11)

This example also does not include any evaluative lexis in itself. However, expressions such as ‘only’, ‘even though’ (and possibly ‘more than’) clearly contribute to evaluate the man’s behavior as contrary to what can be normally expected. The effect of these expressions becomes apparent when the above example is rewritten as below with such expressions removed.

Example 2’

He visits his mother once a year. She is 93 years old.
(Modification by the current author based on the above example)

This modified example may still invoke negative judgment of the man simply based on its ideational meaning, but it could also be read from a neutral or even a positive viewpoint depending on the context/co-text. In contrast, the attitude of the writer is much more clearly expressed in the original example with the use of devices that indicate counter-expectancy.

As Martin and White admit (Martin & White, 2005, p. 62), including invoked attitude in the analysis of discourse entails the involvement of subjectivity in the process. However, as has been demonstrated in English (e.g., Martin & White, 2005), and also by others who have used the appraisal framework for analysis in other languages (Knox, Patpong, & Piriyaasilpa, 2010; Martin & White, 2005; Sano, 2010;

cited in Martin and White (2005, p. 65)

Thomson, Fukui, & White, 2008), invoked attitude is a very common method for expressing attitude, to the extent that it is much more frequently found than inscribed (i.e., directly expressed) attitude in some genres of text. This is particularly relevant for the current study of CSs because in a CS, as Mandelbaum (2003) points out, not expressing the teller's attitude in an overt way 'can be seen to be skillful, because it puts recipients in the position of showing their understanding of the teller' (Mandelbaum, 2003, p. 599). It seems reasonable therefore to include invoked attitude in the analysis of the current study even though it is necessary to be aware of the risk and limitations involved in such an analytical approach.

One feature of appraisal that requires particular consideration when seeking to make cross-cultural comparisons is its dependency on co-text and socio-cultural context. First, as pointed out by Martin and White (2005, p. 52), attitudinal meaning is sensitive to its co-text. The adjective 'slow' is often used to encode a value of negative capacity (social esteem) as in 'a slow typist', but it carries a positive meaning in the phrase 'slow food', for example. Secondly, attitudinal meaning is also dependent on the socio-cultural background. For example, while the act of killing and violence is seen negatively in most societies, there may be communities where such an act is seen positively, such as a community of assassins or mercenaries (Knox et al., 2010, p. 88). Considering this dependency of appraisal on co-text and context, Martin and White (2005, p. 52) caution discourse analysts against automatically assigning attitudinal meanings to particular lexical items.

Using appraisal theory, Eggins and Slade (1997, p. 124) analyzed workplace discourse among Australian workers and demonstrated how they make use of appraisal to share attitudes and perceptions about the world and people. They report for example that judgments of social esteem are common in casual conversation in English. In particular, negative judgments of social esteem are common in the genre of gossip, as the interactants seek to construct solidarity through sharing such normative judgments (ibid., p. 310).

In recent years, appraisal theory has been applied to analysis of languages other than English, including Japanese. Thomson et al. (2008) investigated how attitude is expressed in two news stories from two of the major Japanese newspapers and found that some types of attitude (inscribed judgment and affect which express the author's own attitude) are almost non-existent while others (inscribed appreciation in general, and affect reporting the emotions of third parties) are relatively more common, exhibiting a similar attitudinal arrangement to that found in English-language news stories. Sano (2010) analyzed evaluative expressions in Japanese blog entries to examine the relationship between the types of attitude (affect, judgment, and appreciation) and their explicitness (inscribed or invoked). Based on statistical analyses, Sano found that attitude was realized in the following order of directness from the most direct to indirect: affect > appreciation > judgment. He then explained this result using Martin's argument (Martin, 2003 cited in Sano, 2010) that while affect is essentially personal evaluation, judgment and appreciation can be considered more institutionalized.

3. Research Questions

This paper comprises Part II of a tripartite research project which aims to compare CSs told in English and Japanese and explore implications for English learning and teaching. Following Part I, which focused on genres of CSs, this paper examines evaluative expressions in CSs using mainly appraisal theory and addresses the following research questions:

1. How frequently do evaluative expressions occur in CSs in both languages? ³⁴
2. What kinds of attitude (affect, judgment, appreciation) are expressed?

³⁴ As the current study focuses on one aspect of appraisal, 'attitude', I will use the term 'evaluation' and 'evaluative' to refer to 'attitude' (affect, judgment, appreciation) from this point unless otherwise specified.

3. Is attitude expressed directly (as inscribed attitude) or indirectly (as invoked attitude)?
4. How do CSs told by Japanese learners of English differ from those told by speakers of English as a first language with regard to the above three points?

Evaluation (in the general sense) in Japanese oral stories has received some attention in the past, but the previous studies mostly used elicited, planned or retold stories as data, and/or used the Labovian framework for analysis (Kodama, 2000; Minami, 2008; Minami & McCabe, 1995; Suzuki, 2009). Appraisal theory has been applied to Japanese in recent years, as discussed in the literature review, but mostly (if not exclusively) to written discourse. This study is the first to analyze evaluative expressions in spontaneously produced CSs in Japanese using appraisal theory. Thus the current study can be expected to have significant implications for the learning and teaching of conversational storytelling skills in English especially in the context of EFL in Japan.

4. Data and Method

4-1 Database and Data Collection

The database used for this study is the same as the one used in Study I presented earlier in this dissertation. I will only provide a brief description of the data and its collection method to avoid repetition. Details are provided in Section 4 of Part I of this dissertation.

The database consists of a total of six, 30-minute dyadic conversations between six pairs of female friends recorded in coffee shops. Each two of those conversations

represent one of the following three combinations of languages used and the speakers' linguistic backgrounds:

- 2 native speakers of English conversing in English
- 2 native speakers of Japanese conversing in Japanese
- 1 native speaker of English and 1 native speaker of Japanese conversing in English

All the data were collected in Tokyo, Japan in July and August of 2010.

From this database, CSs were extracted and transcribed, and the evaluative expressions in them were analyzed in the following manner.

4-2 Method of Analysis

The current study (Part II) shares with Part I and Part III the following definition of conversational stories: they are defined as 'texts that describe the speaker's or another person's (supposedly) actual experience in the past' which include two or more verbs or 'predicates' in the case of Japanese, at least one of which is finite. The term predicate refers to what it usually does in the traditional Japanese grammar. A predicate includes a verb, an adjective or a noun at the clause final position often with a copula and/or a clause-final particle. The syntactic criteria are necessary to exclude nouns or nominalized clauses standing for experiences in the past (e.g., 'my trip to Italy' or 'going shopping with my aunt') and single clauses that appear to be too short to be treated as a 'story' in the everyday sense of the word.

After the CSs were identified this way, they were transcribed using the 'clause' as defined in SFL as the unit of transcription.³⁵ Evaluative expressions were then

³⁵ Although the number of clauses is not used as a basis for quantification in this study, it may be in the future when more data has been collected under comparable conditions. Starting a

marked and classified as one (or two in rare cases as discussed later) of the three types of attitude; affect (emotional reaction), judgment (assessment of behavior or character), or appreciation (assessment of things or processes). Simultaneously they were also classified as either positive or negative attitude, and either inscribed (lexis that carry attitudinal meaning in themselves) or invoked attitude (expressions that indirectly convey attitudinal meaning). A sample coding sheet is provided in Appendix.

Sano (2011) proposes a modified system for classifying attitude realized in Japanese to replace the affect-judgment-appreciation model, on the basis that some lexical items in Japanese are difficult to classify into the three major types. While this is certainly true with words taken out of context such as dictionary entries (which Sano 2011 dealt with), evaluative expressions used in actual discourse are relatively less problematic to classify in that what is evaluated or what has triggered a particular emotional reaction is usually identifiable or recoverable by referring to co-text and context. For this reason and the pedagogical reason of application to EFL as discussed earlier, and also due to the fact that it has been applied to Japanese discourse successfully in several previous studies, the affect-judgment-appreciation model originally developed for English has been adopted for this study.

Because the English system of appraisal was used for the analysis of both languages in the study, in order to minimize complications resulting from cross-linguistic differences between English and Japanese, the sub-categorizations of each of the three types of attitude (e.g., ‘security’, ‘satisfaction’, and ‘happiness’ within affect) were not used in the analyses in this study. However, they were noted and used as reference when the classification of attitude into the three basic types was found to be challenging. Likewise, the tokens of invoked attitude were only coded as such and were not grouped into sub-categories according to different strategies (e.g., ‘provoke’, ‘invite’ etc.) as suggested by Martin et al. (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 61-67). However,

new line for each clause rather than each turn also facilitates coding since there are often multiple realizations of attitude in a single turn.

how invoked attitude was realized in the data will be examined in the analysis section.

Following Martin et al. (Martin & White, 2005, p. 68), a limited number of evaluative expressions were coded simultaneously as two types of attitude (one as inscribed and the other as invoked) as in the following example.

Example 3 (taken from the data of the current study)

R	1	So did you actually watch MOVIE TITLE?
L	2	Oh <<yes>>
R	3-1	<<Did you get>> to wa...
R	3-2	Ohhh
L	4	I <u>cried</u>
R	5	I need to watch it

In example 3, participant L says she cried watching a movie about the mistreatment of animals (turn 4). In this context, the verb ‘cry’ explicitly indicates a negative emotion that the speaker felt (unhappiness), therefore it is coded as inscribed negative affect. But at the same time, it also expresses her assessment of the movie which should be seen as positive; ‘The movie was so good that it made me cry.’ The fact that participant R says ‘I need to watch it’ in the next turn also supports this interpretation. Since the ideational meaning of the verb ‘cry’ does not include such an evaluation, it is coded as invoked (i.e., indirect) positive appreciation in addition to inscribed (i.e., direct) negative affect.

5. Results

5-1 Frequency of Evaluative Expressions

The left half of Table 5-1 below shows the frequency (i.e., number) of evaluative expressions found in CSs in each language combination (i.e., combination of the language used and the participants' native languages) according to types of attitude and their total. The right half of the table shows the total number of CSs that occurred in each conversation, the combined length of all the CSs in it, the number of evaluative expressions divided by that of CSs (i.e., average number of evaluative expressions found in one CS), and the combined length of CSs divided by the number of evaluative expressions (i.e., average interval between evaluative expressions).

Table 5-1 Types of Attitude and Frequency of Evaluative Expressions

Conv *	Affect (no.)	Judgment (no.)	Appreciation (no.)	Evaluative Exp. (Total no.)	Number of CSs (no.)	Total Time of CSs (sec)	Evaluative Exp. per CS	Time(sec) per Evaluative Exp.
EE1	45	38	12	95	20	559	4.8	5.9
EE2	16	30	24	70	16	419	4.4	6.0
EE Total	61	68	35	165	36	978	4.6	5.9
JJ1	44	21	31	96	8	459	12.0	4.8
JJ2	33	18	27	78	7	620	11.1	7.9
JJ Total	77	39	58	174	15	1079	11.6	6.2
EJ1-E **	5	1	1	7	1 ***	41	7.0	25.1
EJ1-J	2	0	0	2	1	135	2.0	88.0

* For the column 'Conv', EE- stands for conversations held by two ENSs in English, JJ- by two JNSs in Japanese, and EJ- by one ENS and one JNS in English. Of the two 'mixed' conversations, CSs were only found in one of them, EJ1. EJ2 is not included in the tables throughout this paper for this reason.

** EJ1-E refers to the ENS participant in this conversation, and EJ1-J the JNS learner of English.

*** The two CSs that occurred in conversation EJ1 were both narrated predominantly by one participant rather than co-constructed, one of which was narrated by the ENS and the other by the JNS. Thus, one CS is attributed to each participant in the table. However, the number of evaluative expressions attributed to

each participant includes those used in the other participant's CS.

The number of evaluative expressions realizing each type of attitude does not seem to show any clear pattern (e.g., what types of attitude were expressed more often in which language) apart from the fact that all three types were present in both languages. It could be said that in the JNS-JNS conversations, judgment was the least frequent type of attitude, whereas in the ENS-ENS conversations it wasn't, although the preference for the three types varied even between the two ENS-ENS conversations, which will be discussed in Section 6.1.

Regarding the total number of evaluative expressions, it can be seen that the totals are not markedly different across the four native-speaker conversations (EE1&2 and JJ1&2) ranging from 70 to 96. As a result, the totals of evaluative expressions used in each language are also quite similar (165 in English and 174 in Japanese).

When the number of evaluative expressions is divided by that of CSs (i.e., calculating the average number of evaluative expressions used in one CS), it can be seen that the JNS participants used more than twice as many evaluative expressions in a Japanese CS than their ENSs counterparts did in an English CS. However, this is somewhat misleading because when the combined length of CSs is divided by the number of evaluative expressions (i.e., calculating the average interval between evaluative expressions), the figures range from 4.8 to 7.9 (seconds) in the following order: JJ1 < EE1 < EE2 < JJ2 diminishing the seeming cross-linguistic difference noted above. Also, the average intervals between evaluative expressions in the two languages are quite similar (5.9 and 6.2 seconds). This could be linked to the fact that more than twice as many CSs occurred in the ENS-ENS conversations (20 and 16) than in the Japanese conversations (8 and 7) while the combined time of all the CSs that occurred in each language did not show such a difference (978 seconds in English and 1079 seconds in Japanese), which means the average length of CSs produced by

the ENSs was much shorter than that of the Japanese CSs.³⁶

Finally, it can be noted that evaluative expressions were used much less frequently in the mixed conversation between an ENS and a JNS. While the JNS learner (EJ1-J) who spoke in her L2 English only used an evaluative expression every 88 seconds, the ENS participant (EJ1-E) who spoke in her L1 also only used one every 25.1 seconds, at much longer intervals than any of the native speaker participants who spoke with another NS of the same language.

5-2 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Attitude

In this section I will show the number and percentage of direct and indirect realizations of attitude according to the three major types (affect, judgment, and appreciation) and whether they are positive or negative. For the remainder of Section 4, figures and percentages for the mixed conversation (EJ1) will still be presented in tables but not included in the discussion due to the much smaller number of items that occurred in the conversation.

5-2-1 Affect

The left half of Table 5-2 below shows the number and percentage of direct and indirect realizations of affect (inscribed and invoked affect respectively), each of which is further divided into positive or negative affect. The right half of the table shows the total of inscribed and invoked realizations of affect again divided into positive or negative, and the grand total.

³⁶ More details are provided in Section 5-1 in Part I of this thesis.

Table 5-2 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Affect (number and percentage)

Conv	Inscribed		Invoked		Inscribed & Invoked		Total
	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos & Neg
EE1	11 24%	19 42%	5 11%	10 22%	16 36%	29 64%	45
	66% ³⁷		33%		100%		100%
EE2	4 25%	9 56%	0 0%	3 19%	4 25%	12 75%	16
	81%		19%		100%		
JJ1	18 41%	19 43%	5 11%	2 5%	23 52%	21 48%	44
	84%		16%		100%		
JJ2	16 48%	12 36%	5 15%	0 0%	21 64%	12 36%	33
	84%		15%		100%		
EJ1	3 43%	0 0%	1 14%	3 43%	4 57%	3 43%	7

Table 5-2 shows that, overall, affect was expressed directly as inscribed affect (e.g., 66% in EE1) more frequently than indirectly as invoked attitude (e.g., 33% in EE1) in both languages across all the conversations. Regarding the distinction between positive and negative affect, no clear pattern or cross-linguistic differences can seem to be found. However, arranged in a different configuration, these figures reveal some consistency. Table 5-3 below shows the ratio of inscribed and invoked realizations for both positive and negative affect. In other words, it shows what percentage of positive and negative affect was expressed directly and indirectly respectively.

³⁷ Since percentages are rounded, the total does not always amount to 100 %.

Table 5-3 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Positive and Negative Affect

Conv	Positive Affect		Negative Affect	
	Inscribed	Invoked	Inscribed	Invoked
EE1	69%	31%	66%	34%
EE2	100%	0%	75%	25%
JJ1	78%	22%	90%	10%
JJ2	76%	24%	100%	0%
EJ1	75%	25%	0%	100%

It can be seen from Table 5-3 that both positive and negative affect were more often expressed directly than indirectly across all the conversations in both languages.

5-2-2 Judgment

The left half of Table 5-4 shows the number and percentage of inscribed and invoked realizations of judgment, each of which is further divided into positive or negative. The right half of the table shows the total of inscribed and invoked judgment and the grand total.

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Table 5-4 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Judgment (number and percentage)

Conv	Inscribed		Invoked		Inscribed & Invoked		Total
	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos & Neg
EE1	4 11%	10 26%	1 3%	23 61%	5 13%	33 87%	38
	37%		64%		100%		100%
EE2	5 17%	1 3%	3 10%	21 70%	8 27%	22 73%	30
	20%		80%		100%		
JJ1	9 43%	7 33%	1 5%	4 19%	10 48%	11 52%	21
	77%		24%		100%		
JJ2	7 39%	2 11%	2 11%	7 39%	9 50%	9 50%	18
	50%		50%		100%		
EJ1	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 100%	1

Regarding the distribution of direct and indirect realizations, figures vary from one conversation to another, and there does not seem to be a clearly identifiable pattern.

Focusing on the total of inscribed and invoked realizations of judgment instead, it can be seen that the English NSs expressed more negative judgment (87% and 73%) than positive judgment (13% and 27%) while the Japanese NSs expressed positive and negative judgment almost evenly. Also, when compared in terms of the total number, the Japanese NSs expressed judgment somewhat less frequently (21 and 18) than the English NSs (38 and 30).

Table 5-5 below shows the ratio of inscribed and invoked realizations for both positive and negative judgment, indicating what percentage of positive and negative judgment was expressed directly and indirectly respectively.

Table 5-5 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Positive and Negative Judgment

Conv	Positive Judgment		Negative Judgment	
	Inscribed	Invoked	Inscribed	Invoked
EE1	80%	20%	30%	70%
EE2	63%	38%	5%	95%
JJ1	90%	10%	64%	36%
JJ2	78%	22%	22%	78%
EJ1	NA	NA	100%	0%

It can be seen from Table 5-5 that while positive judgment was more often described directly in both languages across all the conversations, negative judgment was expressed indirectly more often in three of the four conversations except for JJ1.

5-2-3 Appreciation

The left half of Table 5-6 shows the number and percentage of inscribed and invoked realizations of appreciation, each of which is further divided into positive or negative. The right half of the table shows the total of inscribed and invoked appreciation and the grand total.

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Table 5-6 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Appreciation (number and percentage)

Conv	Inscribed		Invoked		Inscribed & Invoked		Total
	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos & Neg
EE1	4 33%	4 33%	2 17%	2 17%	6 50%	6 50%	12
	66%		34%		100%		100%
EE2	10 42%	10 42%	2 8%	2 8%	12 50%	12 50%	24
	84%		16%		100%		
JJ1	21 68%	4 13%	2 6%	4 13%	23 74%	8 26%	31
	81%		19%		100%		
JJ2	19 70%	4 15%	2 7%	2 7%	21 78%	6 22%	27
	85%		14%		100%		
EJ1	3 43%	0 0%	1 14%	3 43%	4 57%	3 43%	7

The distributions of direct and indirect realizations of appreciation in each of the four conversations closely resemble those in affect (see Table 5-2). Like affect, appreciation was expressed directly as inscribed appreciation (e.g., 66% in EE1) more frequently than indirectly as invoked (e.g., 34% in EE1) in both languages across all the conversations.

Focusing on the total of inscribed and invoked realizations of appreciation, it can be seen that the Japanese NSs expressed more positive (74% and 78%) than negative (26% and 22%) appreciation while the English NSs expressed positive and negative appreciation evenly. Also, when compared in terms of the total number, the English NSs expressed appreciation somewhat less frequently (12 and 24) than the Japanese NSs (27 and 31).

Table 5-7 below shows the ratio of inscribed and invoked realizations for both positive and negative appreciation, indicating what percentage of positive and negative appreciation was expressed directly and indirectly respectively.

Table 5-7 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Positive and Negative Appreciation

Conv	Positive		Negative	
	Appreciation		Appreciation	
	Inscribed	Invoked	Inscribed	Invoked
EE1	67%	33%	67%	33%
EE2	83%	17%	83%	17%
JJ1	91%	9%	50%	50%
JJ2	90%	10%	67%	33%
EJ1	100%	0%	NA	NA

It can be seen from Table 5-7 that both positive and negative appreciation were more often expressed directly in both languages across all the conversations except for JJ1 in which negative appreciation was expressed equally often as inscribed or invoked (50% and 50%).

5-3 Attitude Types Across Genres of CSs

Attitude can also be investigated in relation to the genres of stories. In this section I will first show the distribution of the three major types of attitude (affect, judgment, and appreciation) in each of the conversational story genres found in the English data. They are the genres of narrative, anecdote, exemplum, and recount, adopted from the genre framework developed in the SFL-based genre theory. Additionally, the number of attitudinal expressions in the possible new genre of ‘appreciation stories’ will also be shown. This will be followed by the distribution of attitudinal expressions across story genres in the Japanese data likewise. Following is a brief explanation of the genres identified in the data. Part I of this dissertation focuses on genres of CSs and discusses them in detail.

A narrative is defined as a story with an element of crisis or conflict which is then resolved before the story ends. An anecdote is also a story with an element of crisis or conflict, but it is not explicitly resolved unlike in a narrative. Instead, it is reacted to in some way, for example with an expression of amazement or embarrassment. Both narratives and anecdotes are told primarily to entertain or amuse the audience.

An exemplum is a story told as an example to make a point. The event that occurs in the story has certain significance in the culture shared by the interactants, which is typically explained later in the story.

A recount is a story that simply retells the events that are chronologically sequenced. The function of a recount is to give an account of how one event led to another and share the speaker's appraisal of those events.

In Study I of this dissertation, an additional group of stories were found in the English data that possibly form a genre of their own. They were termed 'appreciation stories'. In an appreciation story, the focus is not on the chronologically ordered events themselves, but it is on the speaker's evaluation of the thing, entity or process they observed or experienced in some way. The event sequence is merely mentioned to explain how the speaker gained access to such a thing or process.

Also in Study I, a group of stories which share several distinctive features were found within the recount-type stories in the Japanese data. They were termed 'boasting stories' and it was suggested that they possibly form a sub-group within the recount-type stories in Japanese. Those stories concern the speaker's experiences characterized as fortunate or enjoyable, and the stories' function can be glossed as sharing the happiness or excitement caused by the positive nature of the experience. Such stories are characterized by the use of certain responses of approval, admiration or envy from the listener.

5-3-1 Attitude Types Across Genres in English Data

Table 5-8 below shows the number and percentage of each of the three types of attitude found in the story genres found in the English data.³⁸ Each type of attitude is then divided into either inscribed (direct) or invoked (indirect) attitude, which is further divided into positive or negative. Additionally, the total number of evaluative expressions found in each genre of stories, and the average number of such expressions used per story are also shown in the far right column.

Table 5-8 Attitude Types and Their Realizations Across Genres (English)

Genre (no. of stories)	Affect				Judgment				Appreciation				Total
	Inscribed		Invoked		Inscribed		Invoked		Inscribed		Invoked		Ins & Inv
	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po & Ne
Narra- tive (2) **	1	3	0	6	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	12*
	83%				8%				8%				6.0
Anec- dote (3)	1	2	0	3	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	16
	38%				63%				0%				5.3
Exem- plum (15)	3	8	1	3	7	6	2	21	4	8	0	0	63
	24%				57%				19%				4.2
Re- count (6)	10	9	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	1	31
	71%				23%				6%				5.2
Appre- ciation Story (5)	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	8	3	4	2	21
	5%				14%				81%				4.2

³⁸ There were a total of 37 stories told by the ENSs in the data; 36 in the ENS-ENS conversations and one in the ENS-JNS (English) conversations. There was also one story told by a JNS in the ENS-JNS conversation, but it is not included here.

* 12 is the total number of evaluative expressions found in the 'narratives' in the data, while 6.0 is the average number of such expressions found in one narrative.

** (2) indicates that there were two stories identified as narratives in the English data.

It can be seen from Table 5-8 that in the narratives that occurred in the data, affect was the most common type of attitude. In particular, negative affect was frequently expressed in this genre of stories (three inscribed and six negative instances).

In the anecdotes, negative judgment was the most common kind of attitude. A closer examination of the data, however, seems to suggest that this result for anecdotes is rather skewed because of one particular story in the data (not identifiable from Table 5-8), which included all the 10 instances of negative judgment.

In the exemplums, judgment was the most common type of attitude, with negative invoked judgment being the most frequently found category. In other words, in the exemplums that occurred in the data, the speaker's attitude was frequently expressed indirectly as a negative evaluation of a person or their behavior described in the story.

In the recounts, affect was the most common type of attitude. In particular, inscribed affect, both positive and negative, was most frequently found. Theoretically, recounts could be produced without any evaluation especially if their function is simply to give an account of how one event led to another. However, the average number of evaluative expressions (5.2 per story) did not greatly differ from that for the other genres (i.e., 6.0, 5.3, 4.2, 4.2, per story).

Finally, in the appreciation stories, most of the evaluative expressions used were those of appreciation. This seems somewhat obvious and logically circular, which will be discussed in Section 6-3. In particular, inscribed appreciation was the most common category whether it was positive or negative. In other words, the speaker often chose to express her evaluation of a thing, entity or process directly in appreciation stories.

5-3-2 Attitude Types Across Genres in Japanese Data

Table 5-9 below shows the number and percentage of each of the three types of attitude found in the genres of stories in the Japanese data (i.e. Japanese conversations between JNS-JNS). The numbers and percentages are only shown for recount-type stories and ‘boasting stories’ (sub-category within the recount-type) since no other types of stories were found in the Japanese data.

Table 5-9 Attitude Types and Their Realizations Across Genres (Japanese)

Genre (no. of stories)	Affect				Judgment				Appreciation				Total	
	Inscribed		Invoked		Inscribed		Invoked		Inscribed		Invoked		Ins & Inv	
	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po	Ne	Po & Ne	
Re- Count (15)	34	31	10	2	16	9	3	11	40	8	4	6	174	100%
	44%				22%				33%				11.6	
Boast -ing story (4)	17	1	6	0	1	1	0	2	17	2	3	1	51	100%
	47%				8%				45%				12.8	

It can be seen from Table 5-9 that in the CSs told in the Japanese data all of which were categorized as recount-type stories, affect was the most common type of attitude, although the other types were not infrequent either. Across the three types (but especially for affect and appreciation), inscribed (direct) rather than invoked (indirect) attitude was more frequently expressed (34 & 31 compared with ten & two for affect, and 40 & eight compared with four & six for appreciation).

In the ‘boasting stories’, both affect and appreciation were common while judgment was relatively rare. In particular, positive affect (17 inscribed & six invoked) and positive appreciation (17 inscribed & three invoked) were found frequently.

6. Analysis

Following the organization of the previous section, I will first discuss the frequency of evaluative expressions used in the CSs found in the data, which will be followed by an analysis of the different types of attitude and their direct and indirect realizations. Finally, I will discuss the types of attitude in relation to the genres of stories.

6-1 Frequency of Evaluative Expressions

As reported in Section 5-1 and Table 5-1, the only possible cross-linguistic difference found in the data concerns the frequency of realizations of judgment. Judgment was the least frequent type of attitude in the JNS-JNS conversations while it wasn't in the ENS-ENS conversations. However, considering the fact that the order of frequency of the three types of attitude varied even within the ENS-ENS data ('Affect > Judgment > Appreciation' in EE1 but 'Judgment > Appreciation > Affect' in EE2), it is not clear if the infrequent use of judgment in the JNS-JNS conversations could be related to the language used (as L1) or it is more a reflection of other factors such as the individual speakers' preference or the topics discussed, for example. A larger database will be needed to make any generalizations regarding cross-linguistic differences about the types of attitude.

An interesting fact noted in Section 5-1 was the frequency of evaluative expressions (realizations of the three types of attitude combined) was quite similar for all the NS-NS conversations when it was represented as the average interval between such expressions (ranging from 4.8 to 7.9 seconds). This result does not seem compatible with Minami's (2008) claim discussed in Section 2-1 that while English speakers feel that evaluative comments (as defined by Labov) are 'an indispensable part of telling good stories', Japanese speakers place 'less emphasis on nonsequential

information, especially evaluative descriptions' (2008, p. 103). A possible explanation for this discrepancy will be that what Minami compared between English and Japanese speakers was their 'perception' of 'good stories', which may not closely reflect how they spontaneously tell stories in actual interaction. In her discussion of data-collection methods used in the field of intercultural pragmatics, Blitvich (2006) points out that 'the data obtained with an intuitive method, such as the responses to a questionnaire, should be contrasted with data obtained empirically' because such data may not reflect how people behave in 'real interactions between native speakers of the language, native-non-native interaction, or lingua franca interaction' (2006, p. 217). In this respect, the result obtained in this study could be representative of how native speakers of English and Japanese actually tell stories as opposed to how they feel they should tell stories, although there clearly is need for re-examinations based on a larger database. It will be interesting to see if the frequencies of evaluative expressions observed above will remain more or less in a similar range when more data is collected under comparable conditions, and if they will drastically change in data collected under different conditions and/or with participants of different gender, age group etc.

When compared with the NS-NS conversations, the frequency of evaluative expressions was much lower in the 'mixed' English conversation between an ENS and a JNS; the average interval was 88 seconds for the JNS learner of English while it was 25.1 seconds for the ENS participant, both of which are much longer compared to the intervals in the NS-NS conversations discussed above (4.8 to 7.9 seconds). As the JNS participant was not an advanced learner of English who had never lived abroad, this result can be said to be broadly in line with Suzuki's (2006) observation discussed in Section 2-1 that the 'non-returnee' Japanese students in his study had difficulty using 'evaluation' (as defined by Labov) to show the point of the story while the 'returnee' students had few problems doing so.

In order to illustrate how the participants' attitudes were (not) expressed, the CS

told by the JNS learner of English will be presented below in its entirety.³⁹

CS1 Recount - 'Visit' from EJ1 (135 sec)

Preceding Talk

L&R [Discussing mutual friends]

Abstract/Orientation

R 1 Uh, FRIEND1, uh, FRIEND2, ah, untoo [=filler in Japanese used in a way similar to 'let's see' in English]... eetoo [=another filler] ... FRIEND2 in Sunday

L 2 Sunday?

R 3 Um, uh

L 4 Last Sunday?

R 5 Last Sunday, uh, uh, he came, to my home

L 6 Oh <really>? oh

R 7 <Yeah>

R 8 An, and FRIEND3

L 9 Oh no [laughter]

R 10 FRIEND3 and FRIEND4

L 11 Oh woow

R 12 oh and <FRIEND5>

Record of Events

L 13 <Why?> ... [inhaling sound as if surprised] why?

R 14 Yeah, I don't

L 15 They're <**bad**> [laughing]

³⁹ To save space, new lines are started after each turn rather than each clause here. The original coding was conducted based on clauses as discussed in Section 5-2.

R 16 <Because> [laughter] uh, because...

L 17 To me [laughing]

R 18 Because, um, aanto [=variant of 'untoo' (Turn1)], FRIEND2 say

L 19 Uh-huh

R 20 'I want to go to R's house'

L 21 [laughter]

R 22 uh... 'for... a dinner'

R&L NV [laughter]

L 23 He told you

R 24 Yeah

L 25 Uhhh

R 26 Oh, I, I, I, uh... I, uh, unbelievable

L 27 Unbelievable?

R 28 Umm

L 29 Oh

R 30 Because uh, she, he is, he's always uh... he's tol-, told me, uh... 'I want to go'

L 31 Yeah [low voice]

R 32 But, uh, ca-, cancelled

L 33 Ahhh

R 34 A, <always time>

L 35 <Always can->, why?

R 36 Um maybe, he's he's speaking uh... many, many sche-, schedules [laughing]

L 37 OK, he's thinking many things [laughing]

R 38 Hm, <mm, mm, mm>, mm

L 39 <Uh>

R 40 I, I said, 'oh really?, you really, <<you come>>?'

- L 41 << 'You want... '>> [likely speaking from R's perspective]
- R 42 Yeah he said uh 'yeah'... 'yeah' and XXX uh? fifty-minutes, you, uh I, XXX walked
- L 43 [laughter]
- R 44 Yeah, yeah
- L 45 Ahh, with FRIENDS' NAMES
- R 46 FRIENDS' NAMES... and GIRL'S NAME
- L 47 GIRL'S NAME
- R 48 FRIEND2's sister
- L 49 Oh, yeah yeah yeah
- R 50 And FRIENDS' NAMES
- L 51 [laughter] Fun
- R 52 Yeah, yeah, yeah, I, I... and uh... GIRL'S NAME
- L 53 Mm
- R 54 A CLASS NAME teacher
- L 55 Oh
- R 56 Oh yeah

In this CS, participant R, who is a Japanese learner of English, described a series of events she recently experienced, which could be summarized as 'on the previous Sunday, a group of her friends invited themselves to her house and they actually came'. As can be seen from the frequent occurrence of fillers (turn 1 and 18), hesitations (5, 16, 18, 22 and more), repairs (14, 30, 52) and requests for clarification from the ENS participant (2, 4, 27), conveying this referential meaning (who did what, when, where etc.) alone was a challenging task for participant R.⁴⁰ However, despite such

⁴⁰ As reported in Part I of this thesis (Section 6-1-2), this is likely one of the reasons why CSs were so rare in the ENS-JNS conversations. In the two ENS-JNS conversations totaling 60 minutes of talk in English, merely one CS was told by a JNS learner of English. Other possible

difficulties, and with some help from her ENS interactant in the form of clarifications and repairs (e.g., turn 4, 13, 27, and 37), R managed to continue telling her story till the end, fulfilling the ‘referential function’ of the story as defined by Labov and Waletzky (1997).

As can be seen above, however, this CS is barely, if at all, evaluated, especially by R, which leaves the point of the story opaque. At first glance, ‘unbelievable’ in turn 26 seems like an evaluative expression describing R’s surprise. However, her following utterances in turn 30 and 32 reveal what she meant by ‘unbelievable’ was in fact ‘(I) did not believe (him)’. Accordingly, it was not coded as a realization of attitude although it might include a negative judgment (in the sub-category of ‘tenacity’) of her male friend, which could not be confirmed in the rest of her story. The only inscribed attitude expressed by R is affect realized with ‘want to’ (go to R’s house) in turn 20 and 30, but it concerns her friend’s attitude about going to R’s house rather than her own. As a result, it is also difficult to identify invoked attitude from the events she described, such as what she thought of her friends’ self-invitation to her house or whether or not she enjoyed having her friends over, for example. On the other hand, the ENS participant L expressed her attitude towards the people and events involved in the story. L expressed her judgment towards some of their mutual friends (‘bad’ in turn 15) and notably, towards the whole event by saying ‘fun’ in turn 51 from R’s perspective, providing a summary-like comment often found in the Coda stage in CSs, possibly to compensate for the lack of such evaluation from R’s part.

A few possible reasons can be suggested for the near-absence of evaluative expressions in CS1, especially on the part of the JNS participant. A likely factor is the cognitive overload or negligence resulting from the difficulties she was experiencing in conveying the referential meaning of the story. As we saw in CS1 above, describing the chronologically-ordered events in a coherent manner was already a challenging task

reasons for the rarity of CSs in mixed conversations are also discussed in Section 6-1-2 in Part I.

for participant R, which demanded significant cognitive resources. As a result, it is likely that evaluative aspect in the story did not (or could not) receive as much attention, resulting in the lack of evaluative expressions on her part. Another theoretically possible explanation is one concerning a cross-linguistic difference regarding expectations about the frequency of evaluative expressions in CSs. If fewer evaluative expressions were normally used in CSs in Japanese compared to those in English, it might be the case that participant R was simply following her L1 norm even if she could have expressed her attitude more explicitly and/or frequently. However, as reported in Section 5-1 and Table 5-1, the JNS participants used as many evaluative expressions in their Japanese CSs as their ENS counterparts did in their English CSs. Therefore, this second possibility does not seem feasible. Yet another possibility is that participant R's attitude was sufficiently conveyed through non-verbal and/or para-linguistic elements including facial expressions, gestures, intonation etc. and therefore needed not be expressed verbally. Suzuki (2009) reported that the Japanese learners of English he observed tended to rely on non- or para-linguistic elements to convey the point of the story rather than expressing it verbally in their L2 English. It is possible that the JNS participant in the current study also used the same strategy although this will need to be explored further in multi-modal studies as the current study only used audio recordings as data.

No matter what the reasons are, the lack or paucity of evaluative expressions in CSs will likely have negative consequences for learners of English if CSs perform relation-building and maintenance functions, and particularly if these functions are realized through sharing or countering the participants' attitude towards events, people and their behavior. Supposing that participant R's infrequent use of evaluative expressions, which is consistent with the report by Suzuki (2009), is representative of JNS learners of English in general, how to express one's evaluation in a story is an important area which should be focused on in the teaching and learning of conversational storytelling skills.

6-2 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Attitude

As reported in Section 5-2, of the three types of attitude, affect and appreciation showed similar distributions in terms of the ratio of direct and indirect realizations, while judgment showed a distinct pattern of distribution. To summarize, affect and appreciation were more often expressed directly as inscribed attitude than indirectly as invoked attitude. This tendency was consistent in all of the conversations in both languages. The result did not significantly change when the evaluative expressions were classified into positive and negative; whether it was positive or negative attitude, both affect and appreciation were more often expressed directly than indirectly, except for one conversation in which negative appreciation was expressed equally often as inscribed or invoked. In contrast, judgment exhibited a distinct pattern: while positive judgment was more often expressed directly than indirectly just like the other two types of attitude, negative attitude showed a reversed pattern: more invoked than inscribed realizations were found in three of the four conversations.

A somewhat similar result has been reported by Sano (2010). Using the appraisal framework, Sano analyzed evaluative expressions in Japanese blog articles and found that the three types of attitude were realized in the following order of directness from the most direct to indirect: affect > appreciation > judgment. He then explained this result using Martin's argument (Martin, 2003 cited in Sano, 2010) that while affect is essentially personal evaluation, judgment and appreciation can be considered more institutionalized. Since affect concerns personal evaluation, one does not need to be as sensitive to alignment with others in expressing it, compared with the other two types of attitude, according to Sano. Then he went on to explain that evaluation expressed as affect is difficult for others to negate compared with the other types.

Example 4

It was a participatory event just like last year, but I was moved in a way that the difference in content made such a big difference. (Sano, 2010, p. 263) ⁴¹

Example 4'

It was a participatory event just like last year, but the contents were refreshingly original. (ibid.)

The blogger's evaluation in Example 4 is expressed as his/her personal assessment, and the fact that the blogger 'was moved' cannot be denied by others. On the other hand, the evaluation in Example 4' explicitly assesses the quality of 'the contents' of the event and it could be questioned or criticized by others. Since judgment and appreciation involve the possibility of being questioned or criticized, indirect expressions are preferred which give readers more freedom in aligning (or not aligning) with the evaluation, according to Sano (2010).

While this argument is convincing and it can explain why affect tends to be expressed directly, it does not account for the fact that in the current study, not only affect but appreciation and positive judgment were also more often expressed directly. Negative judgment was the only area in which indirect expressions were preferred (in three out of the four conversations). There is likely another factor operating behind this difference in preference for (in)directness.

Supposing that indirect expressions are generally preferred for negative judgment by NSs of both English and Japanese, ignoring for the moment the one conversation which did not show this tendency, a possible reason can be hypothesized for this preference. As much as being criticized by others may threaten our 'face' ⁴² or

⁴¹ Both examples are originally in Japanese and have been translated by the current author.

⁴² The term 'face' is used here in its everyday sense of the word as in the expression 'saving/losing face', and not strictly referring to Brown and Levinson's concept of 'face' ('public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself' (1987, p. 61)) although any difference in meaning between them will not affect the discussion here.

public image as a member of a community, expressing one's negative judgment about others or their behavior also involves a certain degree of risk in terms of maintaining one's face. Especially in cultures or communities where the act of making negative judgments about others may be viewed negatively in itself, it is likely that direct expressions tend to be avoided for this purpose and other strategies will be often used instead. The existence of expressions such as 'back-biting', 'carping', or 'fault-finding' in English and 'Ageashitori/Arasagashi [fault-finding]' or 'Dokuzetsu [spiteful tongue]' in Japanese and the fact that those terms have mostly negative connotations suggests that there are many such communities or groups in English and Japanese-speaking cultures.

Below is an extract from the data for the current study which illustrates how two ENS participants managed to express negative judgment of another person without using any explicitly evaluative expressions.

CS2 Exemplum - 'Teacher' from EE1 (23 sec)

Preceding Talk

L&R [Discussing the fact that college students in Japan generally don't study hard and still manage to pass their courses]

Orientation / Incident⁴³

- L 1 Yeah yeah what happened yesterday? (XXXX) told me like... cos she asked her where CLASSMATE'S NAME was, or something?
- R 2 O<K so> CLASSMATE ... um... has decided
- L 3 <and then>

⁴³ Terms in bold such as 'Orientation / Incident' refer to different stages that constitute a story of a particular genre (An 'exemplum' in this case). See Part I for discussion of genres of stories. These terms are provided here for reference only and not particularly relevant to the purpose of Part II.

R 4 not to come any more? ⁴⁴

L 5 Yeah yeah that's (XXX)

R 6 I don't know if she just gave up **but** <then ...> the teacher was like,

L 7 <I thought like...>

R 8 (fifties)? 'she just needs to come if she does really well she'll be fine'

L 9 Oh yeah?

Interpretation

R 10 I mean 'fine' by... I <don't know>

L 11 <What> does 'fine' mean?

Following Talk

R *I mean, OK, here I think in Japan this is what my understanding is, is that, people... take a really hard test to get into school?*

L *Mhm <yeah>*

R *<and they> don't do anything in school*

Prior to this extract, participant R and L were discussing college students in Japan who apparently do not seem to work as hard as their American counterparts do and still manage to pass their courses. In the CS shown above, they first mentioned a classmate of theirs who had been absent (turn 1-5). Then R quoted what their teacher said about this classmate which was 'she just needs to come if she does really well she'll be fine'. R's attitude towards the teacher's remark was first signaled with 'but' in turn 6. It was not something she was expecting to hear from their teacher: presumably she thought that a student who had been absent as frequently as this classmate had

⁴⁴ A question mark indicates rising intonation and does not necessarily mean that the segment preceding it syntactically or pragmatically constitutes a question. A transcription key is provided in Appendix in Part I of this thesis.

should have been failed. Rather than overtly criticizing the teacher's over-lenieny, however, R expressed her negative judgment of the teacher indirectly by saying 'fine' by... I don't know'. L echoed R's attitude towards the teacher by asking a rhetorical question 'what does 'fine' mean?', presumably suggesting that 'this classmate should not be 'fine' in any way after having been absent so much'.

By avoiding using explicitly evaluative expressions, the participants in CS2 were able to escape the risk of being labeled as someone who is overly critical of others, and still managed to share their negative judgment of the teacher with each other. In this way, the frequent use of indirect expressions for negative judgment in the data is likely linked to one's desire for (social) face maintenance which was apparently shared by the participants in this study.

In order to test the validity of the above hypothesis, an additional analysis was conducted in which the realizations of negative judgment in the data were classified according to the appraised party i.e., who or whose behavior was evaluated. If the preference for indirect expressions is indeed motivated by the desire to not appear to be overtly criticizing others, the one conversation in which there were more direct expressions of negative judgment may show a different distributional pattern from the other conversations: there may be more instances in which the participants made negative judgments about themselves or about each other (first or second person) rather than about others (third person) who were not present. The result is as follows.

(SPACE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK)

Table 6-1 Direct and Indirect Realizations of Negative Judgment according to the appraised

Conv	Inscribed Negative			Invoked Negative		
	Judgment			Judgment		
	1/2nd	3rd	Total	1/2nd	3rd	Total
EE1	1	9	10	1	22	23
EE2	0	1	1	1	20	21
JJ1	6	1	7	0	4	4
JJ2	1	1	2	2	5	7

As Table 6-1 shows, conversation JJ1, the only conversation in which there were more direct (7) than indirect (4) expressions of negative judgment, indeed exhibits a distinct distributional pattern. Six out of the seven direct expressions of negative judgment were evaluation of either the speaker herself or the other participant (first or second person). When negative judgment about another person or their behavior (third person) was expressed, it was more frequently invoked (4) than inscribed (1). Thus, it can be said that when negative judgment was expressed about a person who was not present or about their behavior, indirect expressions were preferred over direct expressions in all of the conversations in both languages. This is compatible with the hypothesis presented earlier that the frequent use of indirect expressions for negative judgment is linked to one's desire for the maintenance of their 'face' or public image as a member of the community.

6-3 Attitude Types Across Genres of CSs

For the most part, the distributional patterns of the three major attitude types (affect, judgment, appreciation) across the genres of CSs (narrative, anecdote, etc.)

seem to be deducible from or at least compatible with the functions of those story genres. For example, narratives are defined as stories told to entertain the audience, and it seems reasonable that such stories include many expressions of affect that convey the storyteller's (or the protagonists') emotional reaction to the events being described. Exemplums, in contrast, are told as an example to make a point, and consequently they include many expressions of judgment to support that point. 'Boasting stories' in Japanese are frequently evaluated with expressions of positive affect and positive appreciation that indicate how happy the speaker was with the valuable thing or process they experienced in some way. Since semantic information (lexical, clausal, and pragmatic meaning) was involved in the process of genre classification of CSs found in the data, as well as structural and co-textual cues, it is somewhat circular to say that the distributional pattern of attitude types in each genre reflects the genre's function. However, there are a few points worth noting in this analysis, especially from a pedagogical perspective.

First, regarding narratives, it was found that negative affect was the most common type of attitude, and it was often expressed indirectly as invoked negative affect. In the narratives in the data, expressions of negative affect were often used to describe the anxiety or fear the speaker was feeling during a complicating situation. In one particular narrative, expressions such as 'I was freaking out' (inscribed) and 'I'm gonna die' (invoked) were used to emphasize the degree of the crisis, even though the situation she was experiencing was in fact that of getting stung by a mosquito in her room. From the perspective of an English learner, how to use such expressions of amplification and exaggeration effectively may be a challenging task, especially if they have had little exposure to how such expressions can be used in storytelling.

The next point concerns how recounts can be evaluated, or more precisely not evaluated. In Part I of this dissertation, it was claimed that the function of a recount is twofold: Recounts can be told to share appraisal, but they can also be told to simply describe the series of events that occurred. It was argued in Part I that recounts with

the latter function typically occur after another participant's question, such as 'what did you do after ...?'. Following is an excerpt from one of such recounts.

CS3 Recount (Extract)- 'Family' from EE1 (abridged from Section 6-2-3-1 of Part I)

Preceding Talk

L No in the backyard (and stuff)

R Ohh

L Ohh, the story

Abstract

R 1 So they, wait... so your... mom's family came when?

L 2 Umm

R 3 Ah caXX

Record of Events

L 4 my ... great, grandma

R 5 (who) came

L 6 came, yeah

R 7 Oh <and she married>

L 8 <Yep my great grandma>

R 9 O(r) she was already married then

L 10 Yeah [low voice], umm... yeah they were already married I think, yeah yeah

----- omission -----

As this excerpt (and the rest of the story shown in Section 6-2-3-1 of Part I) shows, this recount is hardly evaluated in terms of the three types of attitude (affect, judgment, appreciation). Although unevaluated stories like this one could theoretically

lead to miscommunication and be responded to by the listener with the infamous ‘so what?’ (Labov & Waletzky, 1997), this recount does not appear to have suffered such a misfortune. The story continues with both speakers actively participating, overlapping with each other and asking and answering questions to show interest.

Even though the average number of attitudinal expressions did not vary greatly for recounts compared with the other genres (Table 5-8 in Section 5-3-1), several recounts in the data were also evaluated with two or fewer attitudinal expressions, and all of them were found to have been told in response to a question. This seems to suggest that the co-text in which a CS occurs does not only affect its structure (Ervin-Tripp and Kuntay, 1997) but may also affect how it is evaluated. Specifically, it is possible that in casual conversation in English, a recount told in response to a question can be exempted from the need to be evaluated with attitudinal expressions. If that is the case, learners of English should be aware in what kind of co-text CSs should be amply evaluated with attitudinal expressions, and when they don’t need to be, in order to be able to evaluate their CSs appropriately to achieve the desired effect.

7. Conclusion to Part II

Using appraisal theory, the current study has analyzed evaluative expressions found in conversational stories in English and Japanese. The purposes of the study were to examine the frequency, types and directness of such evaluative expressions used by native speakers of both languages, and to examine how such expressions were used by JNS learners of English. It was found that all three types of attitude were realized by the ENS participants and the JNS counterparts in the CSs they told in their L1. Hardly any evaluative expressions were used by JNS learners of English, which suggests the need for learning and/or teaching this area of storytelling skills.

This study has shown that among the three types of attitude, affect and

appreciation were more frequently expressed directly as inscribed attitude than indirectly as invoked attitude in all the conversations in both languages, whether the attitude expressed was positive or negative. Judgment was also more often expressed directly when it was positive, but it tended to be expressed indirectly when it was negative. This result is likely linked to the participants' desire to not look overly critical of others and their behavior to maintain their positive public image.

It was also observed that the distributional patterns of attitude types largely reflect the genres of CSs. Judgment was the most common attitude type in Exemplums, appreciation in Appreciation Stories, and positive affect and positive appreciation in Boasting Stories, for example. For the purpose of the learning and teaching of storytelling skills, it was suggested that English learners should be exposed to and become aware of how such attitude can be expressed by fluent users of the language in each genre of stories.

A limitation of this study is that the numbers of participants and conversations were small due to the availability of data and time needed for transcription. There is a clear need for future research involving a larger number of conversations, recorded in comparable conditions, to determine to what extent the results obtained in the current study are generalizable. Such studies based on a larger database would also enable statistical analysis of data.

As was stated in Introduction, this study constitutes the second part of the tripartite project which investigates conversational stories in English and Japanese from a pedagogical perspective. Pedagogical implications of the findings from the current study will be explored in Part III of this thesis.

Appendix

(A sample coding sheet)

S	Trn	Clause	Inscribed						Invoked					
			Aff		Judg		Appr		Aff		Judg		Appr	
			P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N
L		And if I see it [=meat] raw,												
L		I don't eat it												
L		If it looks weird,												
L		I don't eat it												
R	1	Well they <did one>... um...												
L	2	<like...>												
R	3	OK, like we say '(FOREIGN WORD)' right? ⁴⁵				1								
R	3	They came from you know,												
R	3	like my, my dad's family is from the co - (really) country of <COUNTRY NAME> [laughing] ⁴⁶											1	
L	4	<Yeah yeah>												
R	5	And so.. um oh this is really <i>funny</i> ⁴⁷					1							
R	5	but... um... one time, ah mmm how old was I like? five or six?												

⁴⁵ 'FOREIGN WORD' is a word borrowed from another language meaning 'a peasant farmer'.

⁴⁶ 'Country' is interpreted here to mean 'rural areas'.

⁴⁷ 'Funny' is coded as appreciation rather than affect because it is primarily an evaluation of the story that the speaker is going to start telling. Italics indicate positive attitude.

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This concludes the second of the three studies that comprise the dissertation.
Study III explores pedagogical implications of the findings from Study I and Study II.

Part III

Genres of Conversational Stories and Evaluative Expressions: Pedagogical Implications for ELT

1. Introduction to Part III

English education in Japanese secondary schools has tended to focus on preparing the students for college entrance exams that focus mostly on grammar and reading (Ichikawa, 2005). This tendency has not changed drastically even after the introduction of the recent guidelines and mandates from the Ministry of Education that emphasize the need for improving students' 'oral communication' skills (ibid.). As a result, students who enter a college or university after having studied English for six years or more are at far lower levels in their English speaking skills compared to reading skills or their (declarative) knowledge in grammar (Soresi & Suzuki, 2008).

One reason this situation has remained as it has been for many years is that it generally did not pose great problems for Japanese students, secondary or tertiary, most of whom had little contact with native or fluent speakers of English. Apart from those who go abroad to study at a university or take part in home-stay programs in an English-speaking country, for example, most students had little exposure to English spoken outside of the classroom. In short, they had little need to study spoken English because they did not have opportunities to use it.

The spread of globalization however, has changed the status of English from the language of the 'English-speaking countries' to that used for international communication in many parts of the world including Japan. It has become an official language of communication even within Japan in organizations and communities including some well-known large corporations. Also with the spread of IT tools and networks, such as SNSs (Social Networking Services), it is now possible for Japanese learners of English residing in Japan to interact with English speakers online on a face-to-face basis.

In this context, English education in Japan clearly needs to place more emphasis on the improvement of students' speaking ability, which has been ranked among the lowest in the world (ETS, 2013). Among the various genres and styles of spoken English, this study focuses on stories that occur in casual conversation, or

‘conversational stories’ (CS, hereafter). This is because CSs are known to perform crucially important social and interpersonal functions for English speakers. A CS is a text which tells of an event or a sequence of events that actually took place (or is claimed to have taken place) in the past. Through sharing this experience, the participants also exchange their evaluation of the event(s) which in turn reflects their values and world views. In this way, CSs contribute to the construction and maintenance of identities, social roles and relationships (Coupland & Jaworski, 2003, p. 86; Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 229; Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 14; Johnstone, 1993; Norrick, 2000, p. 84). CSs can also perform more specific functions such as advising, complaining, criticizing, or reprimanding, for example (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 269; Mandelbaum, 2003; Tracy, 2002, p. 159).

The ability to compose and narrate CSs effectively is thus essential for learners of English if they wish to be fully integrated into an English speaking community, online or offline, in or outside of Japan, and become a competent member in it. It is in this context that this study aims to explore ways in which teaching and learning of conversational storytelling skills could be improved or incorporated in ELT curricula in actual classrooms, especially in the Japanese EFL (English as a Foreign Language) context. Resources for this investigation will mainly be two previous studies conducted by the current author which have investigated spontaneously produced CSs in English and Japanese casual conversation (i.e., Study I and II)

The importance of analyzing naturally occurring discourse for the purpose of English teaching and learning has been recognized by many (Cook, 1989; Crystal & Davy, 1975; McCarthy, 1991; McCarthy & Carter, 1994; Nunan, 2004). Although the use of authentic discourse itself in the classroom as teaching material has both advantages and disadvantages (Richards, 2001, p. 253), it is generally agreed that there are discrepancies between authentic discourse and discourse contrived for other purposes such as teaching materials, and therefore the analysis of authentic discourse has much to offer for students, teachers, material developers and the like (Crystal &

Davy, 1975; Gilmore, 2004; Pearson, 1986; Scotton & Bernstein, 1988).

By summarizing and analyzing some of the findings from the two discourse-based studies on spontaneously produced conversational stories in English and Japanese (Study I and II), the current study aims to explore ways in which the teaching and learning of storytelling skills in ELT could be improved, especially in the Japanese EFL context.

2. Research Questions

As discussed in Section 1, this paper comprises the third part of a tripartite research project which aims to compare CSs told in English and Japanese and explore implications for English learning and teaching. For this aim, this particular paper focuses on pedagogic implications of the findings from Study I and Study II and aims to address the following research questions:

1. What aspects or characteristics of CSs have not received sufficient attention in the teaching and learning of conversational storytelling skills?
2. What findings from Study I and Study II could be applied to the instruction and practice of conversational storytelling skills in the Japanese EFL context?
3. What suggestions could be made in terms of syllabus or curriculum design based on findings from Study I and Study II?
4. What suggestions could be made regarding classroom activities?

There is a limited number of ELT (especially EFL) textbooks, teaching materials and ELT-oriented studies that prominently deal with L2 storytelling skills. Additionally, application of genre theory to ELT has predominantly focused on writing rather than speaking skills (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 154). The current study aims to

contribute to filling this gap by examining some of the major findings from two recently completed studies on CSs and explore how they can be applied to teaching and learning of conversational storytelling skills in English, with particular reference to the Japanese EFL context.

3. Background

Conversational storytelling can be incorporated into ELT curricula for two purposes: one is to improve the learners' storytelling skills in English per se, and the other is to improve their general skills in English not limited to those required for storytelling. In other words, telling a CS is a goal of learning for the former, while it is a tool for learning for the latter. Regarding the second purpose, storytelling has been claimed to be a particularly effective way to teach language because it helps raise students' motivation to communicate (Wajnryb, 2003, p. 8) and offers ample opportunities for negotiation of meaning due to stories' goal-orientation (Suzuki, 2006, p. 50). While such advantages of storytelling for language learning are certainly recognized, it is the improvement of storytelling skills itself that the current study focuses on.

Textbooks, teaching materials and suggestions for classroom activities that prominently feature L2 storytelling skills have been relatively scarce but for some exceptions (de Silva Joyce & Slade, 2000; R. E. Jones, 2001; Kay, 2001; Slade & Norris, 1986; Thornbury & Slade, 2006; Wajnryb, 2003). This can be linked to the fact that application of genre theory to ELT has predominantly focused on writing (and also reading in recent years) skills (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 154).

Among those small number of publications that prominently deal with CSs, the stories presented and storytelling activities suggested in them often had the following traits especially in the early years:

- CSs presented as models exhibit elaborate and rigid generic structures composed of a number of stages. Slade and Norris (1986), for example, introduces the standard structure of a 'narrative' (a sub-genre of CSs in their terminology) based on a classic study of oral narratives by Labov and Waletzky (1997); 'Abstract' (a summary-like introduction), 'Orientation' (time, place, protagonists etc.), 'Complication' (a problem or conflict), 'Evaluation' (the point of the story; why it is worth telling), 'Resolution' (how the problem was solved) and 'Coda' (what happened afterwards). Some classroom tasks such as sequencing and actual storytelling are suggested based on this staging structure (Slade & Norris, 1986, pp. 49-50).
- CSs tend to be decontextualized rather than situated in the ongoing conversation. They are presented with little or no co-text (e.g., what was being discussed by the participants before them), and learners are expected to produce CSs often by elicitation or stimulus without any prefacing.
- The purpose of telling a CS is broadly explained as to 'entertain' or 'amuse' the audience, or it is not clearly specified.
- CSs are largely considered as a monologue rather than an interactively constructed text.

In summary, CSs were often introduced in teaching materials as decontextualized, monologic texts with a rigid and complex structure whose function was not identified or vaguely defined as entertaining the audience. This tendency likely arose from the fact that the CSs and the generic structure models presented in such textbooks and papers were adopted from studies such as Labov and Waletzky (1997) and Plum (2004), in which stories were collected in sociolinguistic interviews rather than from casual conversation. During interviews, the interviewer will likely refrain from actively participating in the construction of the interviewee's story, and as a result the talk will be largely monologic (in the sense that the interviewee mostly holds the floor while the story is being told, even if the interviewee provides feedback

in various forms). The complex structures those elicited stories exhibit have also been claimed to be artifacts of the data collection method used, especially the type of questions asked by the interviewers (McCabe & Bamberg, 1997).

In more recent years, however, the interactive and contextual aspects of CSs have received more attention and actually been incorporated in some materials. Jones (2001) for example, suggests that when presenting a sample story to students in class, the teacher should ask questions including what topics the participants (i.e., the teller and listener(s) of the story) were discussing before the story began. Questions of this kind will help raise the learners' awareness of the fact that stories are situated in the ongoing talk rather than occurring randomly (*ibid.*, pp. 159-160). It is this interactive and discourse-based view of CSs that the current study advocates and aims to extend further.

In Study III, I will first summarize the relevant findings and insights from Study I, the study on genres of CSs, and discuss their implications for the teaching and learning of L2 storytelling skills. The pedagogical implications will mainly involve suggestions regarding syllabus and curriculum design (concerning mainly 'what to teach') and classroom tasks and methodologies (concerning mainly 'how to teach/help learners learn'). This will be followed by the discussion of findings and implications of Study II: the study on evaluative expressions in CSs likewise.

4. Genres of CSs

This section focuses on Study I, which has dealt with genres of stories found in casual conversation. After briefly introducing the data and method used, I will summarize and discuss the relevant results from this study in order to provide a platform from which I can draw out and explore their specific pedagogic implications.

4-1 Overview of Study I

The CSs analyzed in Study I and II were extracted from six, 30-minute dyadic conversations between female friends in their twenties, recorded in coffee shops. Each two of those conversations represent one of the following three language combinations:

- 2 native speakers of English (ENSs) conversing in English⁵¹
- 2 native speakers of Japanese (JNSs) conversing in Japanese⁵²
- 1 ENS and 1 JNS (learner of English) conversing in English

The participants' age and sex were controlled in order to isolate cross-linguistic differences as much as possible. Each of the participants was asked to go to a self-service style coffee shop (e.g., Starbucks) with a friend and talk freely about any topics for 30 minutes over a drink. This database was used for both Study I and Study II.

Using genre theory developed in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Eggins & Slade, 1997; Martin & Rose, 2008; Plum, 2004), Study I examined genres and functions, as well as frequency and lengths, of the conversational stories told by the ENS and JNS participants in their respective L1 and explored possible cross-linguistic differences. It also investigated CSs told by the JNS participants in their L2 English regarding the points mentioned above.

The CSs found in the data were classified using the genre framework developed for English discourse by Plum (2004) and Eggins and Slade (1997). In this framework, the following four genres of stories have been identified in English casual conversation, based on their function and structure: narratives, anecdotes, exemplums and recounts.

⁵¹ The native speakers of both languages were recruited on the basis of their (self-declared) native language irrespective of their country of origin or nationality. They were asked to bring a friend who they talked with on a regular basis (at least once a month).

⁵² Japanese learners of English whose English proficiency level exceeds TOEIC 860pts, TOEFL iBT 100pts (PBT 600pts), or the equivalent level were asked not to participate.

Narratives and anecdotes are both stories with an element of crisis or conflict. A narrative is characterized by the presence of an explicit resolution and has the following canonical staging structure:

$$[(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Complication} \wedge \text{Resolution} \wedge (\text{Coda})]^{53}$$

In an anecdote, the crisis is not explicitly resolved but is instead reacted to in some way by an expression of amazement, embarrassment, humiliation, etc. Thus the staging structure of an anecdote differs from that of a narrative.

$$[(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Remarkable Event} \wedge \text{Reaction} \wedge (\text{Coda})]$$

In terms of the story's function, both narratives and anecdotes are told 'to entertain or amuse' the audience (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 237).

An exemplum is a story told as an example for making a point. What's important in an exemplum is the significance of the events in the context of the culture in which it is told (Plum, 2004, p. 258). Such significance is typically made explicit in the stage named Interpretation.

$$[(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Incident} \wedge \text{Interpretation} \wedge (\text{Coda})]$$

Finally, a recount simply retells the events sequenced in time and the focus is on temporal sequence itself. The generic structure of a recount can be illustrated as below according to Eggins and Slade (1997).⁵⁴

$$[(\text{Abstract}) \wedge \text{Orientation} \wedge \text{Record of events} \wedge (\text{Coda})]$$

The function of a recount is 'to give an account of how one event led to another'

⁵³ Brackets indicate 'stages' that are optional. An inverted v '^' indicates that the two stages before and after it occur in that order. Section 2-3 in Part I of this dissertation discusses genres and their structures in more detail.

⁵⁴ Plum proposes a slightly different canonical structure as discussed in Section 2-3 in Part I of this dissertation.

according to Plum, but Eggins and Slade argue it is ‘to retell the events and to share the speaker’s appraisal of those events’ (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 237).

After this classification was attempted on all the CSs in the data, those found difficult to classify were analyzed again to look for possible new genres, cross-linguistic differences, or other reasons for such difficulties.

4-2 Relevant Findings from Study I and Implications for ELT

4-2-1 Rarity of L2 CSs

In the two, 30-minute ENS-JNS conversations held in English, only two CSs were told: one by an ENS and the other by a JNS. The frequency of CSs in these conversations is strikingly low compared to a total of 36 CSs that occurred in the two ENS-ENS conversations and 15 in as many JNS-JNS conversations respectively.⁵⁵ However, this rarity of CSs does not necessarily indicate the JNS participants’ unwillingness to tell stories. There were at least two more failed attempts by one of the JNS participants to start a story, which likely suggests that the JNS participants would have liked to tell more stories in English. Following is an extract from an ENS-JNS conversation that illustrates one of the JNS participant’s failed attempts at starting a CS in English:⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Though the total number of CSs told by JNSs in Japanese was much lower than that of CSs told by the ENSs, the average length of Japanese CSs as measured in terms of time was much longer. As a result, there was no clear difference between the two languages regarding the total time of all CSs combined, and the portions they account for in the 30 minute conversation (ranging from approximately 1/4 to 1/3 of the talk). See Section 5-1 in Part I of this dissertation for more details.

⁵⁶ A transcription key is provided in Appendix in Part I of this dissertation.

Attempted CS – ‘Choir’ from EJ1 ⁵⁷ (L=ENS, R=JNS)

Preceding Talk

- L *FRIEND’S NAME gave me (a) ticket*
- R *Oh yeah yeah yeah... oh good... <mmm>*
- L *<Mmm>*

Abstract

- R 1 Ah, a nandakke [= what was it], I... eetoo... [= a filler in Japanese] I tri(ed) singing? in
 GROUP NAME choir
- L 2 Uh
- R 3 Ummmm [Enthusiastically]
- L 4 Difficult?
- R 5 No
- L 6 No?
- R 7 Uh, um, a, aantoo [=filler], uunnnn...
- L 8 English songs difficult?
- R 9 No no
- L 10 No?
- R 11 Um, um
- L 12 Mm
- R 13 Uunntoo I know... ah, nante iundakke? [oh how can I say it?] some...[4 sec]
- R&L [more similar exchanges while R searches for the right expressions]

Following Talk

- L *You want your dictionary! [laughing]*

Participant R was able to sustain a spontaneous conversation in English for thirty minutes, which indicates that her general proficiency in spoken English was by

⁵⁷ ‘EJ1’ refers to the first of the two conversations held between an ENS and a JNS.

no means at the beginner's level. However, telling a story in English in the flow of the conversation was a highly challenging task for her, as can be seen from this extract. This difficulty can be broken down to at least two related but different factors, both of which should be addressed by teachers, curriculum and material developers and other stakeholders involved in ELT, especially in Japan.

The first of these factors concerns Japanese English learners' general and overall proficiency levels in spoken English (compared with reading or listening skills, for example). According to the data published by ETS, which develops and administers the TOEFL test, the examinees whose native language is Japanese recently scored the poorest in Asia in the speaking component of the TOEFL test and ranked among the worst in the world (ETS, 2013).⁵⁸

The low proficiency levels of Japanese learners of English in general spoken English (not limited to CSs) cannot be attributed solely to the large linguistic differences that exist between Japanese and Indo-European languages such as English, since speakers of most other non-Indo-European languages (e.g., Lao, Korean, or Tibetan) scored better than Japanese speakers. The general ineptitude of Japanese learners in speaking skills must be understood in relation to how English has generally been taught in the country. The need for improving students' speaking skills has been widely recognized, and the Japanese Ministry of Education has also emphasized instruction of 'oral-communication' skills in recent 'Course of Study' guidelines for high school English classes (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2003, 2010). However, those mandates and guidelines have not been observed closely in many schools (Ichikawa, 2005). Ichikawa further reports that in actual classrooms, much emphasis is still placed on grammar and reading-oriented entrance exam preparation. There clearly is a need to ensure that this overdue shift of emphasis to

⁵⁸ The speaking section of the TOEFL test is a relatively new section introduced in 2005, which requires the examinees to express their own opinions and synthesize and respond to what they hear or read. Thus, this section is expected to measure the examinee's speaking skills as they are applied to actual tasks.

speaking skills occurs in the form of changes to actual classroom instruction practices and learning activities. Only then many Japanese learners of English will be equipped with such basic speaking skills in English that can be utilized when they attempt to tell a story.

The second factor that renders conversational storytelling particularly difficult for learners is the fact that a teller of a CS needs to produce utterances successively and largely spontaneously without much planning. Besides being generally inept at speaking English, it has been claimed that Japanese learners of English struggle particularly with spontaneous, successive production of utterances (Soresi & Suzuki, 2008). Following is a sample text Soresi and Suzuki present to illustrate their argument. The speaker of this speech sample is a Japanese college student whose English proficiency level was judged to be an equivalent of Level 2 (third from the top among seven levels) on the STEP EIKEN test ⁵⁹ which is supposedly on a par with CEFR B1 level.⁶⁰ She was given 30 seconds to respond to the prompt ‘tell me about your hometown.’

00:00

My hometown is near by sea.

And ..., n... n...,

The our town has very few shop.

N.... but many restaurant.

00:30

(Soresi & Suzuki, 2008, p. 16)

⁵⁹ STEP test, or the EIKEN Test in Practical English Proficiency is one of the most widely used domestically-designed English proficiency tests in Japan.

⁶⁰ CEFR stands for Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Level B1 is considered to constitute the lower half of the intermediate level sandwiched by the basic and proficient levels. Therefore, this English learner cannot be considered to be at the beginner’s proficiency level in terms of her test score, though she may appear to be one in this extract.

As illustrated by this example, in addition to the lack of instruction and practice in developing overall English speaking skills, those in producing longer chunks of talk spontaneously have been particularly insufficient. Admittedly, this may be a tendency found in teaching materials and classroom activities in many cultures and contexts. Burns (1998) for example notes that in ‘script dialogues’ in teaching materials, utterances tend to be short and turn-taking is of approximately equal duration (Burns, 1998, p. 106). On the other hand, this tendency may be particularly evident in the Japanese EFL context because of ‘the egalitarian and cooperative orientation in Japanese education, which [...] favor[s] “dialogic” conversation in which participants take frequent and equally distributed turns at talk’ (Suzuki, 2006, p. 44). In any case, Japanese learners of English would definitely benefit from having more practice in producing a number of utterances successively and spontaneously, which will likely lead to improvement in the type of speaking ability required for conversational storytelling in English.

For learners at levels where practicing storytelling is still too demanding a task, activities such as ‘show and tell’ or ‘picture stories’ may be more appropriate. Those activities will free the learner from the increased cognitive load resulting from accessing their memory to retrieve information about particular past events and let them concentrate on the task of continuous production of utterances in the L2.

4-2-2 Genres of CSs in English and Japanese

4-2-2-1 Exemplums

Regarding the genres of CSs told, there were differences between the two languages (used as L1) in terms of frequency of particular genres. It was found that exemplums were the most common genre in ENS-ENS conversations accounting for

roughly 40 % of all the CSs produced. In JNS-JNS conversations, however, all the stories resembled 'recounts' in Eggins and Slade's framework. In other words, ENSs often told stories to make a point while JNSs told CSs to simply describe particular events and/or to share appraisal. Following is an extract which includes a representative sample of the English exemplums found in the data:

CS1 Exemplum - 'Immigrants' from EE1 (12 sec) ⁶¹

Preceding Talk

R *We actually know a lot of (XXX) immigrants? and so, <I mean>*

L *<You do?>*

R *We'll... yeah we always give them like... job <(XXX) so> they can find something for them*

L *<Yeah (help them)>*

R *Yeah, <<because>> it's just...*

L *<<Yeah, yeah>>*

Orientation/Incident

R 1 *And I have a friend... she's just... ugh... we almost got into a fight because, over the
 immigration <issue>*

L 2 *<Mhm>*

Interpretation

R 3 *And it's just like...*

L 4 *Yeah yeah*

R 5 *Yeah*

Following Talk

⁶¹ 'EE1' refers to the first of the two conversations held between ENS participants. The length of the CS (12 seconds) does not include the preceding and following segments.

L *I know a lot of people like that, and like I was watching this one documentary about... big corporations like... go*

In the talk that preceded this CS, the ENS participants were discussing their attitude towards immigrants in their home country, which can be characterized as welcoming or benevolent, and was apparently shared by both of the participants. In turn 1, participant R described an incident she experienced with a friend of hers in which they ‘almost got into a fight’ discussing ‘the immigration issue’. Though this CS somewhat resembles the genre of ‘gossip’ (Eggins & Slade, 1997), the main purpose of this CS is not to criticize the character or behavior of a particular individual. This is clear from the fact that this ‘friend’ was not identified at all by name or specific relation to R etc., and that he/she was mentioned in just one turn. Rather, the incident with her friend was mentioned as an example to show that there are many people who have different (supposedly negative) views towards immigrants from those of the participants. In fact, L’s comprehension of the point of the story can be seen in the comment ‘I know a lot of people like that’, which situates the story in a larger context.⁶²

Supposing these cross-linguistic differences in the preference of story genres is generalizable to a certain degree, Japanese learners of English need to be aware of such differences in order to be able to properly understand the purpose of the CSs told by ENSs. Especially in view of the fact that no exemplum-type stories were told by the JNSs in the study, it might be difficult for JNSs to notice that many CSs in English are told mainly to make a point rather than simply to entertain, amuse or share emotional reactions. Failure to notice this difference may lead to cross-cultural miscommunication and possibly misperceptions of each other since such failure will

⁶² An interesting aspect of this CS is that the ‘point’ of the story, i.e., that it is lamentable that many people have negative views of immigrants, was not stated explicitly and yet seems to have been understood by both of the participants. This indirect expression of participants’ attitude will be discussed in Section 5-2-2.

also likely affect how JNSs will respond to stories told by ENSs. If for example, a JNS responds with laughter to an English exemplum told to make a point in a serious tone, the JNS may be viewed negatively in terms of his/her character if the ENS does not realize it is a case of cross-cultural misunderstanding (possibly aggravated by the JNS's level of English).

A possible recognition task that could be used in the classroom or included in a textbook is one in which exemplums told by ENSs are presented with co-text, and the learners are asked to speculate the point of the story. Questions such as 'what does the speaker really want to say?' could be used as a prompt. Such activities will likely help learners raise awareness of the function of CSs in English, particularly that of exemplums, and of the (possible) cross-linguistic differences in the preference of story genres. It is particularly important for Japanese learners of English to be exposed to a sufficiently large number of CSs since, unlike ESL learners residing in English-speaking countries or regions, most learners in Japan have had little exposure to English CSs occurring in casual conversation up till now.

The high frequency of exemplums found in the ENS-ENS conversations also has implications for designing and implementing production tasks. Since exemplums are mainly told to prove a point, telling an exemplum can be considered to be an effective way to express one's opinion in English casual conversation. In other words, exemplums' function could be described as 'expressing an opinion' or 'supporting an opinion' in terms of speech acts. In many English-based academic settings, especially at the tertiary level, using one's personal experience as evidence to support or counter a particular opinion tends to be discouraged, and more 'objective' evidence such as statistics, scientific data, verifiable facts, are preferred (Hymes, 1996). However, even academics often resort to the more specific and personalized 'narrative mode' of thought and expression in preference to the 'logico-scientific mode' (Bruner, 1986) outside of the classroom in their everyday lives (Hymes, 1996). If some ELT practitioners hold the view that 'objective' evidence should always be preferred to

personalized evidence such as a story of personal experience, such a view should be reconsidered at least regarding discourse in certain contexts including casual conversation.

Such acceptance of the ‘narrative mode’ of thought and expression should lead to awareness of both teachers and learners of English that stories could be used in various production tasks that involve expression of opinions. When a teacher asks the students for their views on a particular social issue and subsequently the reason or evidence to support them, the students could be encouraged to tell stories of personal experience as well as presenting more objective and impersonalized evidence. If activities are designed so that such stories are told in succession, reflecting similar or differing views of the learners, they will resemble a ‘story round’ (Tannen, 1984) which often occurs in English casual conversation. While sufficient attention needs to be paid to situational and contextual restrictions (i.e., when, where or with whom such ‘narrative’ mode of expression is appropriate), it seems necessary for teachers to place more emphasis on the role of stories as a means of expressing opinions rather than simply entertaining the listeners or providing referential information. Such a shift in emphasis will help learners to understand and be accustomed to how English speakers exchange their views in their everyday lives and eventually to better prepare themselves for communication outside of the classroom.

4-2-2-2 Recounts and Their Counterparts

Recounts were the second most common genre in the ENS-ENS conversations, and all the CSs told in the JNS-JNS conversations resembled recounts in English both structurally and functionally. In both languages (as L1), two types of recounts/recount-type stories were identified: those told mainly to describe the event sequence, i.e., ‘to give an account of how one event led to another’ (Plum, 2004, p. 237), and those told ‘to retell the events and to share the speaker’s appraisal of those events’

(Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 237).

In the data, the first type of recounts/ recount-type stories were found to occur often in response to a question as in the following example taken from Study I:

CS2 Recount - 'Family' from EE1 (50 sec)

Preceding Talk

L No in the backyard (and stuff)

R Ohh

L Ohh, the story

Abstract

R 1 So they, wait... so your... mom's family came when?

L 2 Umm

R 3 Ah caXX

Record of Events

L 4 my ... great, grandma

R 5 (who) came

L 6 came, yeah

R 7 Oh <and she married>

L 8 <Yep my great grandma>

R 9 O(r) she was already married then

L 10 Yeah [low voice], umm... yeah they were already married I think, yeah yeah

R 11 Hmm

L 12 Or they mi- she might have been married when she came here? and then they... she met
 somebody else ... cos like, they came... like two families, (like grandma and) another
 family who (was) really close

- R 13 Ohh
- L 14 So we were all like one big family (XX) two separate families
- R 15 Oh (awesome)
- L 16 Yeah, so... they came
- R 17 (They) came at the <same time> and then
- L 18 <Hmm>
- R 19 But your mom XX, she married <<a non>> ETHNICITY.
- L 20 <<Yeah, my mom>>, yeah
- R 21 Right.

Coda

- L 22 A- I my whole family is like doesn't marry another (XXX) <they, my> whole family is like, marries all white people
- R 23 <So they don't...>
- R&L NV [laughter]
- L 24 <<Whatever that is>>

Following Talk

R <<That's what>>... our transnational class is all about ... of what... interracial-⁶³

Triggered by R's question in turn 1, this story began as L's response to it, which makes it evident that the original purpose of telling this story was to retell the events to provide referential information rather than to amuse the listener, prove a point, or share appraisal. In the ENS-ENS conversations, most of the recount-type stories occurred in this manner as a response to a question.

⁶³ This story is an example of 'autobiographical recounts' (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 260), which is a sub-genre of recounts. See Section 6-2-3-1 of Study I for more discussion.

On the other hand, in the JNS-JNS conversations, a number of relatively long recount-type stories were told without any prompting from the listener. The function of those recount-type stories was identified in Study I as sharing appraisal, as claimed by Eggins and Slade regarding English recounts. While this function of recount-type stories seems to have been understood clearly between the JNS participants without a problem, English speakers may have difficulty grasping the point of such recount-type stories since few recounts occurred without a prompt in the ENS-ENS conversations in the study. Further, as will be discussed in Section 5, expressing one's attitude is another aspect of storytelling that Japanese learners may find particularly challenging. As a combined effect of these factors, if a JNS learner of English narrates a recount (or a recount-type story) without any prompting (e.g., a question), the story may be perceived to be 'pointless' by their ENS interactants. Japanese learners of English (and ideally also their English-speaking interactants) should be aware of such a possibility of miscommunication, although the decision should ultimately be left up to them whether to adjust their communication style to accommodate such (possible) cross-cultural differences.

A final point to note about genres of stories is that stories with an element of crisis or conflict, namely narratives and anecdotes, rarely occurred in the data in either language. While such 'dramatic' stories may be frequently told in larger groups or among relatively new acquaintances,⁶⁴ they may not be as common in dyadic talk among close friends between whom a great deal of information about each other's past life has been already shared. If this infrequency of narratives and anecdotes in certain contexts is a generalizable tendency, more attention and effort in the instruction and practice of storytelling should perhaps be paid to stories about 'ordinary' events such as exemplums or recounts rather than concentrating on dramatic stories.

⁶⁴ Including first-time encounters as in the case of sociolinguistic interviews conducted by Labov or Plum.

5. Evaluative Expressions in CSs

Study II examined the frequency, types and directness of ‘evaluative expressions’ used by native speakers of both languages and also examined how such expressions were used by JNS learners of English. ‘Evaluative expressions’ here refers to language that expresses the speaker’s attitude towards people, things or events. Evaluative expressions have particular importance in CSs because it is largely through sharing attitudes and displaying agreement (or disagreement) that the social and interpersonal functions of CSs, such as construction and maintenance of identity and relations, are fulfilled (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 229). Thus it is not sufficient for learners to be able to just retell chronologically-ordered events in a comprehensible manner. In order to tell an ‘effective’ story to achieve social or interpersonal goals and avoid the humiliating response of ‘so what?’ (Labov, 1972), they also need to learn how attitudes are expressed in CSs in English.

5-1 Overview of Study II

Evaluative expressions found in the CSs, which were extracted from the same database as Study I, were analyzed using appraisal theory developed by Martin and his colleagues (Martin, 2000; Martin & Rose, 2007; Martin & White, 2005). In appraisal theory, attitude is divided into the three major areas of ‘affect’ (emotional reactions), ‘judgment’ (evaluation of human behavior or character) and ‘appreciation’ (evaluation of things, processes, texts, or natural phenomena). Simultaneously, it is also classified as either positive or negative attitude. Finally, an analytic distinction is made between direct and indirect expressions of attitude.

In a direct expression, attitude is realized through a lexical item which inherently contains evaluative meaning. Affect (emotional reactions) for example, can be realized with adjectives such as ‘happy’ or ‘miserable’, with verbs such as ‘like’, ‘fear’,

‘cry’ or ‘laugh’, or with nouns such as ‘happiness’ or ‘rubbish’. Judgment (evaluation of human behavior or character) and appreciation (evaluation of things, processes, artifacts etc.) can also be realized with lexical items of various categories in the same manner. Such a direct expression of attitude is termed ‘inscribed’ attitude in appraisal theory.

Attitude can also be expressed indirectly, or as ‘invoked’ attitude, as shown in the following example taken from Study II:

Example

L I feel like a lot of people just watch the movie like 'oh I feel bad' and then they...

R **They don't really care about it later on** right?

In this extract, L and R are discussing a documentary film about the mistreatment of animals. While R’s utterance (in bold) does not contain any lexical items that are inherently evaluative, it clearly invokes a negative evaluation (judgment) of the ‘people’ who watch the movie but forget about it later. Thus in this example, R’s attitude is expressed indirectly, or ‘invoked’, rather than directly ‘inscribed’.

In Study II, evaluative expressions found in the CSs were classified using the appraisal framework described above and were analyzed mainly qualitatively.

5-2 Relevant Findings from Study II and Implications for ELT

5-2-1 Lack of Evaluative Expressions in L2 CSs

It was found in Study II that in an English CS told by a JNS participant, which is a recount, almost no evaluative expressions were used by her. As a result, the function of her recount, i.e., why the story was being told in that co-text and context, does not appear to have been expressed clearly by the story teller. Possibly to compensate for this lack of evaluation by the JNS storyteller, the ENS participant instead provided a

summative evaluation towards the end of the story. It is difficult to make any definitive statements about the use of English evaluative expressions by JNSs in general since this was the only CS produced by the JNSs in the data. However, this result is consistent with another report by the current author that expressing evaluation in a CS was found to be a challenging task even for Japanese learners of English who are at relatively advanced proficiency levels (Suzuki, 2009).

If the use of evaluative expressions in CSs is indeed a common problematic area for Japanese learners of English, it certainly needs pedagogical intervention due to the importance that such expressions bear for CSs' social and interpersonal functions as discussed earlier. As suggested earlier with recognition tasks involving exemplums (Section 4-2-2-1), exposure to authentic CSs coupled with awareness-raising activities will likely be an effective way to address this possible weakness. There are various familiar classroom activities that could be used to develop such awareness. 'Gap-filling' exercises through '[h]aving learners [...] listen for the missing 'bits' in the transcript of a spoken text' (R. H. Jones & Lock, 2011, p. 43) could be a good way to raise awareness. According to Jones and Lock, such exercises can be 'good ways of drawing their attention to the use of particular forms' and can 'provide a starting point for exploration of their function' (ibid.). Another possible activity would be one that involves comparison of authentic CSs told by native or fluent speakers of English with those which are scarcely evaluated. The latter group of CSs can be either ones that have been artificially designed or told by less fluent speakers. Depending on the proficiency levels, needs and/or readiness of the learners, tasks should be also designed in which learners can practice using evaluative expressions. This could be done in the form of a multiple-choice activity, for example, in which learners choose appropriate expressions to evaluate a transcribed CS with its evaluative expressions removed, if they are at a level where some scaffolding is required.

5-2-2 Indirect Expressions of Judgment

A noteworthy finding from Study II is that while two out of the three types of attitude, namely affect and appreciation, were found to be more frequently expressed directly (as inscribed attitude) than indirectly (as invoked attitude) whether the attitude expressed was positive or negative, judgment of other people or their behavior was more often expressed indirectly when it was negative judgment. It was suggested that this result could be linked to the participants' desire to not appear overly critical of others and their behavior to maintain their own 'face' or positive public image.

In order to consider its pedagogical implications, it is necessary to examine some of the methods used by the ENS participants to express negative judgment indirectly.

5-2-2-1 Rhetorical Questions and Sarcasm

One method used by the ENS participants for indirect expression of negative judgment is rhetorical questions. Following is an extract taken from the middle part of a CS told in an ENS-ENS conversation. Prior to this extract, participant R started telling a story about her friend who has a poor sense of direction.

CS3 Anecdote (Extract) - 'Getting lost' from EE2 (50 sec including omitted segments)

Remarkable Event (continued from omitted segment)

R 9 But the thing is you also, he also has a GPS on his phone

L 10 Oh no

R 11 So I was like **'how did you get lost?'** [giggling] and then, somehow, he was, where was he ... he was in PLACE NAME1 or something, and then he somehow **ended up walking to PLACE NAME2?** [PLACE1 and 2 are in opposite parts of Tokyo], it was just

L 12 [2 sec] That's **not bad** [laughter] XXX <wandering XXX> [laughing]

In this story, R talked about the time when she received a phone call from her friend who was lost in the city of Tokyo. Although she did not make any moral judgment of this friend's character or personality, R made judgments about an ability he possesses, sense of direction. This kind of assessment is categorized as 'judgment' in the appraisal framework. It is clear from its co-text (such as turn 9 in which she mentioned that this friend had a phone with a GPS function) that the judgment made about her friend is a negative one. Yet, instead of expressing such a judgment directly, she made use of a rhetorical question in turn 11.

Another method used for expressing negative judgment indirectly can also be observed in this extract. It is the use of sarcasm by the other participant that occurred in turn 12. Upon hearing that R's friend ended up in a distant place from his destination, L expressed her own evaluation of his behavior by saying 'that's not bad'. From the long pause before this utterance and the laughter after it, it is likely that L was being sarcastic, intending her utterance to mean the opposite of what it literally did. In this instance, the sarcasm was of a light-hearted, jocular variety.

Strategies such as rhetorical questions and sarcasm when used for indirect expression of judgment (or of another type of attitude) may be a particularly problematic area even for relatively advanced level learners of English. It has been noted that when the meaning intended by the speaker is different from the literal meaning of the utterance, it poses great difficulties for L2 learners of that language. Boxer, for example, argues that 'joking and sarcasm are the most difficult pragmatic items to acquire in second language' (Boxer, 2003, p. 48). Thus it is probably recommended not to introduce such strategies to elementary level learners and reserve them for those at more advanced levels. In terms of classroom tasks, as suggested for recognition tasks involving exemplums in Section 4-2-2-1, having the learners speculate the real intention of the speaker will likely be an effective way to raise

awareness of the possible discrepancies between the literal meaning and the meaning intended by the speaker.

5-2-2-2 Unspoken Judgment

In some extreme cases, negative judgment was found to be not expressed even indirectly yet mutually understood by the ENS participants. An example of such ‘unspoken judgment’ can be observed in CS1 presented in Section 2-2-2-1. Following is the segment in the story that illustrates this strategy used in English clearly:

R 3 And it's just like...

L 4 Yeah yeah

R 5 Yeah

Unspoken judgment such as this may still be a difficult area for L2 learners, but unlike rhetorical questions or sarcasm which have an explicit literal meaning, unspoken judgment which has no ‘literal meaning’ will more likely be not understood at all by learners rather than misunderstood. Unspoken judgment is thus less likely to cause misunderstandings between ENS and JNS interactants which may lead to misperceptions such as negative images of each other.

Also, Japanese speakers are known to be frequent users of ellipses. Donahue reports that ‘compared with English, Japanese speech shows greater use of ellipsis’ and characterizes Japanese communication ‘more context-dependent, or high-context’ (1998, pp. 165-166). In a case study of conversations between Japanese married couples, Yohena introduces a comment about ellipses made by a Japanese husband as follows:

[I]f he has to say everything in order to be understood, he feels like he is

talking to a dumb person. [...] An intelligent conversationalist, he says, should be able to infer what the partner is saying without hearing every word (Yohena, 2003, p. 101)

In view of these reports and claims, unspoken judgment may be a strategy that JNSs are quite accustomed to using in their L1, and may possibly pose fewer difficulties than some of the other means of indirect expressions of judgment, such as rhetorical questions or sarcasm. It may be beneficial, however, to present to learners samples of CSs that include instances of unspoken judgment coupled with the same type of recognition tasks as those for rhetorical questions or sarcasm, having the learners speculate the unspoken judgment shared by the participants of the conversation.

6. Conclusion to Part III

Based on the findings from Study I and Study II, the current study has explored their pedagogical implications for the teaching and learning of conversational storytelling skills especially in the EFL context of Japan. The specific purposes of the study were to examine 1) what aspects or characteristics of CSs have not received sufficient attention in the teaching and learning of conversational storytelling skills, 2) what findings from Study I and Study II could be applied to the instruction and practice of conversational storytelling skills, 3) what suggestions could be made in terms of syllabus or curriculum design based on findings from Study I and Study II, and 4) what suggestions could be made regarding classroom activities.

Through a brief survey of teaching materials and other publications that deal with CSs, it was argued that CSs were often viewed as decontextualized, monologic texts with a rigid and complex structure, and their functions were not always clearly

identified. These rather static views of CS were considered in connection with the fact that they were largely developed based on stories told in sociolinguistic interviews rather than unelicited CSs which occurred in casual conversation. However, in recent years, more functional and interactive views of CSs have gradually been accepted, which also consider CSs as situated in a larger co-text of conversation. It was argued that these functional, interactive and co-text sensitive aspects of CSs need to be emphasized further in the teaching and learning of conversational storytelling skills.

The findings from Study I and Study II that could be applied to the instruction and practice of conversational storytelling skills include the following skill areas that should be emphasized in English curricula at various levels. Classroom activities that could be used to implement such applications were also suggested.

First, the rarity of CSs told by the JNSs in English indicates that Japanese learners of English, especially those at relatively elementary levels, need to improve general speaking skills and the ability to successively produce utterances, as well as conversational storytelling skills. Without such basic speaking skills, conversational storytelling will be too challenging a task for many Japanese learners of English.

Second, based on the high frequency of exemplums found in the ENS-ENS conversations, and the absence of a comparable genre (i.e., exemplum-type stories) in the JNS-JNS conversations, it was suggested that learners need to be aware of such (possible) cross-linguistic differences regarding the preference of genres of stories in casual conversation and that exposure to English exemplums and awareness-raising activities about their function will be beneficial. Also related is the fact that all the CSs told in the JNS-JNS conversations were recount-type stories, many of which were told without any prompting by the listener. English speakers may have difficulty grasping the point of such recount-type stories, since the English recounts in the data were mostly told when their function was clear from the co-text. It was suggested that Japanese learners of English should be aware of such a risk of miscommunication accompanying recount-type stories.

Regarding evaluative expressions in CSs, it was found in Study II that negative judgment about other people or their behavior was more often expressed indirectly than directly, possibly reflecting the participants' desire to not look overly critical of others. It was suggested that through exposure and awareness-raising activities, learners should become accustomed to some of the strategies often used by ENSs to express their judgment indirectly.

Limitations of the current study stem from those of the two studies that it is based on. Due to the small size of the database used, it is not clear to what extent the results in the two studies can be generalized. While controlling the participants' characteristics such as their age and gender has its own advantages, it also has the negative consequences in terms of generalizability of the results. Further basic research based on larger data sets is needed in order to provide a broader base from which to design and develop pedagogical interventions.

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Conclusion

The overall purpose of this research project was to compare unelicited conversational stories told by native speakers of English and Japanese, and also those told by Japanese learners of English, in order to identify similarities and differences between them and explore pedagogical implications. Specifically, each of the studies that comprise the project has dealt with the following aspect of conversational stories respectively: Study I has focused on genres of CSs, Study II on evaluative expressions in CSs, and Study III on the implications of findings from Study I and II for English learning and teaching in Japan.

In this conclusion, rather than repeating the findings from each study again, I will summarize and integrate the major findings with the relevant pedagogical implications.

A noteworthy finding of Study I is the fact that conversational stories were rarely told by the JNS learners of English in the data. It was argued in Study III that this is a reflection of inadequate levels of Japanese learners' overall speaking skills on one hand, and that of their inability to produce utterances in English successively on the other. It was suggested that curricula at various levels of schools (e.g., secondary or tertiary) in Japan emphasize teaching and practice of speaking skills further, and teachers and educators alike ensure that this shift of emphasis to speaking skills actually takes place in classrooms.

Study I has also found that there may be a difference between ENSs and JNSs in terms of the preference of particular genres of stories they tell in their L1. While many of the CSs told by the ENSs were exemplums, i.e., stories to make a point, the JNSs only told recount-type stories in their L1. It was suggested in Study III that if this cross-linguistic difference in preference is generalizable to a certain extent, Japanese learners of English should be made aware of such a difference, with exposure to authentic English CSs, especially exemplums, and awareness raising activities for

example.

Study II has found that the JNS learners of English hardly expressed their attitude when they told a CS. Though this result needs to be interpreted with caution due to the small number of samples, it is consistent with the current author's observation from another study that evaluating a CS is a problematic area for many Japanese learners of English. It was suggested in Study III that since expression of the speaker's attitude is an integral element of a story, learners should be aware of and used to the ways in which attitude is expressed in English CSs.

An interesting finding from Study II is that, of the three types of attitude, namely affect, judgment, and appreciation, judgment showed a distinct pattern of realizations in terms of polarity (positive/negative) and directness (inscribed/invoked). While affect and appreciation were more often expressed directly than indirectly, whether it was positive or negative attitude, judgment was more often expressed indirectly when it was negative. This result was considered in relation to the participants' desire to not look overly critical of others and to maintain their own positive public image. Some strategies used by the ENS participants for indirectly expressing negative judgment were analyzed in Study III, including the use of sarcasm, rhetorical questions, and 'unspoken judgment'. As misunderstanding these strategies may result in miscommunication and could lead to negative impressions of each other, a possible task was suggested in which audio data or scripts including instances of such strategies are presented to learners mainly for the purpose of awareness raising.

A limitation of this study concerns the generalizability of the results due to the small size of the data set used. In addition, while controlling the participants' age and gender likely contributes to highlight cross-linguistic differences, it also has the negative consequences in terms of generalizability. Further research based on larger data sets is clearly needed in order to conduct cross-linguistic comparisons that can produce results with higher generalizability and can also provide a broader base on which appropriate pedagogic interventions can be designed.

Finally, as stated in Introduction, the cross-linguistic comparisons in this study have been conducted for pedagogical purposes of ELT, rather than to analyze each language to identify its own characteristics per se. Therefore, the analytical frameworks, tools and categories used in this study are those which have been developed originally for the analysis of English discourse. It will be both interesting and desirable to conduct further studies focusing closely on Japanese CSs, based on a more 'emic' view. For this purpose, the analytical frameworks and concepts need to be developed through, or adjusted to, the analysis of Japanese discourse so they can identify the Japanese discursive patterns that are possibly culture specific. Such further work can likely produce results that reflect the perspectives of Japanese speakers more closely rather than those of English speakers.