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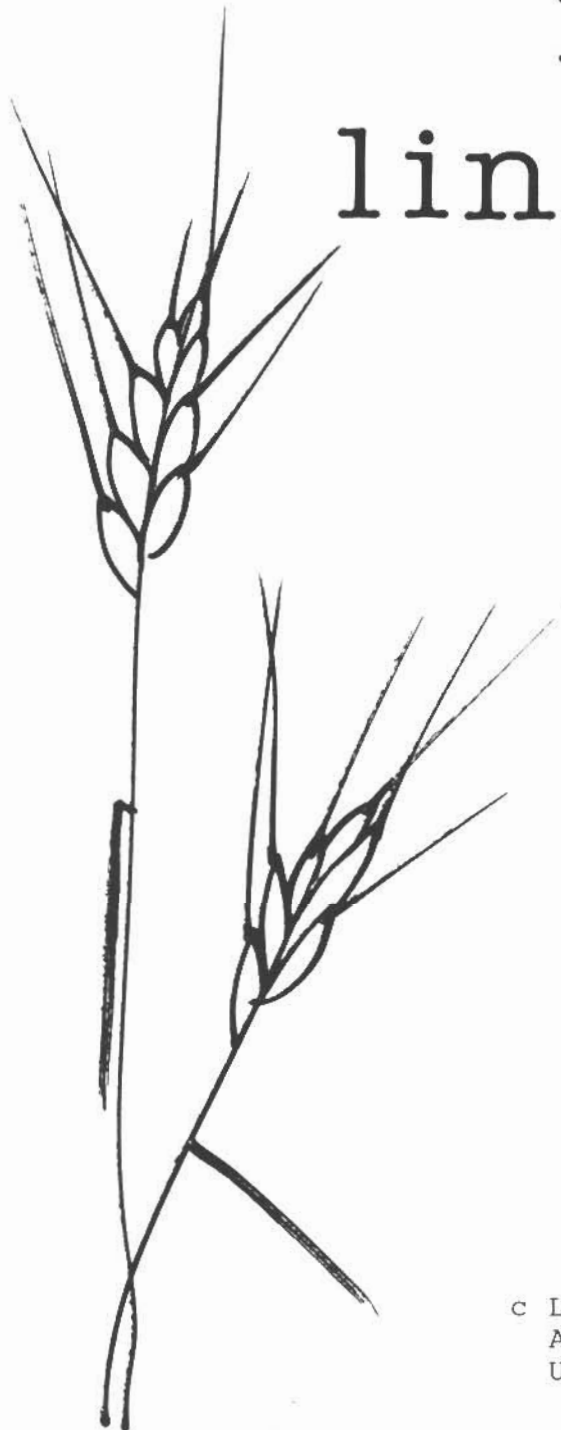
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A KINESIC APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING COMMUNICATION AND
CONTEXT IN JAPANESE

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ABSTRACT: The successful decoding of a linguis-
tic message requires knowledge of a particular
grammar, but it is becoming increasingly clear
that contextual and cultural cues also play an
important role in understanding utterances in
conversation.   In Japanese, conversation proceeds
smoothly and acquires some of its meaningfulness
due to the use of gestural signals, namely head
nodding.   This paper discusses how head nodding
operates in Japanese and interprets its use as it
relates to the Cooperative Principle of Grice and
as an indicator of cultural values.

Until recently, the phenomena of paralinguistics and
kinesics have been considered as somewhat peripheral to
linguistics but have now gained a significant place in the
literature.   As the field of linguistics has become
increasingly more open to other disciplines   such as
psychology or anthropology for more complete and accurate
descriptions of language, it has been made more and more
obvious that language simply cannot be explained without
recourse to contextual factors (on a local level) and
cultural factors (at a more global level). Gestures,
proximity, or the use of certain voice qualities at times
are necessary input for the correct decoding of an
utterance. They help to make up the totality of meaning
found in the purely linguistic realization of interaction.
As Birdwhistell (1970:127) explains:
        . . . linguistics and kinesics are infracom-
    municational systems. Only in their inter-
    relationship with each other and with comparable
    systems from other sensory modalities are the
    emergent communication systems achieved.

        Although the Japanese do not use their hands or
facial expressions to the extent found in some other
cultures, movement of the head is a notable feature of
communication,   and   particularly   of   conversational
interaction in Japanese.   This gestural feature, in fact,

follows some general rules and can be characterized as to
certain of its interpretive qualities. As in English, nods
of the head in Japanese can be used to signify agreement or
disagreement and acknowledgment of reception by the hearer
of a message. It also seems to be important in a number of
other ways. First, it might be helpful to discuss the
quality of Japanese interaction and some cultural values
which influence the form of conversations.

Some general politeness strategies which function in
conversation (as mentioned by McGloin 1983:127) are that
the participants in a conversation attempt to use
formality, deference, and camaraderie. These three
strategies, as a matter of fact, fit rather well with the
stereotypical view of the Japanese. Japanese people do
indeed value formality and reservedness to a high degree.
The use of these types of politeness strategies in
conversation tends to prevent conflict or discord among the
participants. As a study by Barnlund (1975:450) pointed
out, "Preserving harmony appears to be a cardinal virtue
within Japanese society." This is echoed by Hinds (1983)
who claims that conversational harmony is of greater
importance to the Japanese than to Americans. They have
many techniques to achieve this harmony. Voice quality is
a highly formalized technique, especially among females
(the high pitched voice used on the telephone and by store
clerks to show respectful formality being points in
question). There is also a large amount of the use of
alternate verb endings which show in-group membership (as
in sentence 1) and of the confirmatory tag particles which
soften assertions (sentences 1 and 2).

(1) Sono hon wa omoshiroi deshoo ne.
    that book TM interesting (conjecture) I presume,
        (confirmatory particle)
    "That's an interesting book, isn't it."

(2) Soo desu ne.
    thus it is I presume (confirmatory particle)
    "Yes, I agree."

There is also the well-known honorific system which
includes terms of address, respect prefixes, polite
prefixes and verb forms. This system is used most
effectively as formality and deference strategies. Other
conversation strategies exist which are more situation
oriented in nature. They have to do with speaker intent
and the general goals of conversation. Barnlund (1975:431)
characterizes Japanese interaction as being more selective,
more ritualized, more superficial, less intimate, and more
defensive (a common defense being passive withdrawal) than
it is in English. He sums up Japanese conversational style
thus (p. 450):

Conversation proceeds not by negation or contradiction as in the West, but by affirmation where the speaker seeks continual confirmation and approval from the listener. Talk becomes a means of seeking areas of concensus rather than a process of identifying differences.

One major difference between the attitude of participants in Japanese conversation and the attitude of interactants in English toward the interaction is clear then; Japanese take more caution to insure that talk does not become impolite or uncomfortable in any way.

Additional harmony guarding devices are mentioned by Hinds (1983): general tendencies to avoid refusing or negating directly, repetition by a hearer of the speaker's words (to increase camaraderie), and the speaker accommodating himself to the hearer's needs. Hinds goes on to explain that when there is a conversational politeness violation, another harmony maintaining device is used to repair the situation. The device consists of a shift to a higher politeness level in the conversation that includes more polite speech and more nonverbal behavior. Thus, politeness or harmony in speech is maintained. We will show how head movement fits this schema and what other additional features it might reveal about Japanese interactions.

We can observe several types of head movement in Japanese, each of which carries different functional loads. Head movements differ in their direction, force, speed, distance, interval, and number of repetitions, and these variations play a role in conveying the meaning of the kinesic signals which contribute to the flow of conversation. Whether or not there is accompanying eye gaze or smile can also influence the message that is conveyed. In some cases speaker and hearer nod simultaneously at regular intervals showing what we can presume to be a type of "illocutionary uptake" (Levinson 1983:260) on the part of the hearer, signifying that the speaker has been heard, understood, and possibly agreed with. The notion of uptake is important in influencing the form and flow of the succeeding conversation, especially in light of the special need for confirmation and approval mentioned earlier.

Since my obversations did not involve the use of equipment which would show exact timing, force, or direction of nods in limited segments of conversation, but rather are the result of viewing and transcribing large portions of interaction in an attempt to observe approximately where head movement was placed, the characterization of head nodding in Japanese given here will be tentative in nature. Nevertheless, it may point out some of the general tendencies in a broad way and

provide some possible explanations of gesture occurrence in Japanese verbal communication. Observationally, it is often difficult to distinguish random or purely physically motivated head movement from that used intentionally as part of discourse meaning. However, I will attempt to roughly describe some main types of head movement and how and when they occur.

The types of conversation viewed were varied. Situation, gender, and age were each considered as potentially affecting the gestural realm of language as they do the linguistic realm. All conversations were seen on videotaped television programs because of the necessity of being able to record and examine information by repeated observation. Types of communicative events observed were: interviews, news broadcasts, comedy acts, women explaining how to cook, a speech by the prime minister, game shows, and dramas about families.

First, **social factors** are related to head nodding (referred to hereforth as HN). In general, the greater the formality of a particular setting, the more HN occurs. Discussion between close friends, or among family members involves relatively little, whereas a conversation between two newly introduced strangers has much more. Formality and a consequent increase in HN may be even more notable if, for example in family conversation the audience includes a non-intimate acquaintance, e.g., a mother-in-law, or someone such as the husband's boss.

A person of lower social status or younger age speaking with someone of higher status or older age will use more HN both in the role of speaker and hearer within the intercourse. This ties in closely with situational formality since the formality level is partially determined by the relative statuses of the participants. Because women are often in roles of lower status, HN is predominant among them, but sex of itself does not seem to have much bearing. A male worker was seen to use HN more than his female boss.

Age may also have a part in the frequency and type of HN employed. Two older people of the same status in a formal situation use more polite forms and HN than two young people of the same status in the same setting. This may be a reflection of the gradual tendency towards the more and more infrequent use of grammatical forms of polite speech among young people.

Stylized speech such as news broadcasts or public speeches have very little or very controlled HN, as might be predicted from the fact that these are more prepared forms of speaking with little or no hearer uptake or interaction. In short, then, situational context determines the amount and type of HN, stylized speech

requiring very little regardless of the other factors, age and status requiring varying amounts, and formality of a setting being the most important aspect of when and how HN occurs.

Second, various types of **speech acts** are related to the use of HN. Explaining, persuading, listing, comforting, arguing, reporting something that is written, emphasizing, requesting, and apologizing were all seen to contain more accompanying HN than, for example, congratulating or commanding. And on the part of the listener, agreeing, understanding, confirming, or encouraging may be the illocutionary intent of response tokens such as: "aa soo desu ka" (oh, is that so?), "hai" (yes), "mmm" (oh, really?) which are employed simultaneously with HN. These back channel expressions are quite acceptable even in overlapped speech (Hinds, 1982:322). Of course all this is in conjunction with the social factors mentioned above, but those types of speech acts which require humility such as requesting or apologizing, those which require soft speech such as comforting or persuading, those which require extra emphasis as in an argument, and finally those which make use of extra clarification techniques such as explaining and reading aloud employ various types of movement. As mentioned earlier, hearer agreement or understanding are also signalled by HN, sometimes as voluntary participation in the conversation, as occurs in overlap, and sometimes as the perlocutionary effect of a subtle speaker request for back channel information. Herlofsky (1985) states that a speaker can "request" listener gaze (and presumably other responses) by hesitations, repetitions, or phrasal breaks. At times, the type of speech act being participated in overrides the demands on HN triggered by the social factors. One example was a dyadic conversation in which a middle-aged male teacher was explaining a lesson to his young female student. According to the context, the student should have used more HN since she was in the lower social position as well as younger than the teacher. But it was observed that the teacher himself engaged in HN quite often. This could have been due to the fact that he was trying to explain the subject as clearly as possible to the girl and using HN to reinforce and make obvious certain phrase groups and words within his discourse.

The types of HN employed for different speech acts have different physical realizations which will be discussed later, but since they are somewhat distinguishable at the physical level and carry distinct meaningful characteristics, Birdwhistell (1970:99-101) has termed these types of kinesic behaviors as "kinemes, allokines, and kinemorphs." The appropriateness of this terminology will not be discussed here, but it is interesting to note the analogy with phonemes, morphemes,

and allophones or allomorphs and to find the recognition that certain movements can be qualified as carriers of discrete meaningful units.

Third, **syntactically** a pattern of HN can be found. HN may occur, but is not obligatory at the end of any kind of phrase, and this necessarily entails at the end of clauses and utterances. This HN may serve either as a grammatical phrase boundary marker, helping to elucidate the syntactic relations between groups of words, or it may be a form of listener response elicitation, which would coincide with Herlofsky's statement that speech is interrupted at phrasal boundaries to "request" listener gaze. Phrases seem to be salient constituent units in Japanese, as is shown in the phrase final lengthening and pauses that signal important boundaries. This is particularly noticeable in the oral reading of some types of written language or the phrase length rhythm of speech when there is any kind of interference, e.g., speaking over a faulty telephone connection, giving directions that may be difficult to understand, etc. In addition to phrasal marking, HN occurs with listing. Serial verbs or verb forms which indicate more information to come quite often incur HN. In the following example, taken from a video taped interview, points at which HN occurred are underlined.

"Jibun o migaite_{1} koo kodomo to otto to katei to de sore
self OM polish thus children & husb & family & by then

kara shigoto to de ano soo yuu_{2}mono de motte_{3} umarete_{4}
work & by uh like that things by have born

kurooshite_{5}sukoshi zutsu nanka ningen ga_{6}dekite_{7}ite_{8}
suffer little each some kind human SM emerge

ne"_{9}
you know?

Roughly translated, the passage says, "You polish yourself up, then, there are, like, children, a husband, a household, and then your job, uh, you have these kinds of things, you are born with them, you suffer, and little by little you can become a real person, you know?" The first, fourth and fifth instances of HN in this example show the speaker's train of thought and list the main verbs which are used to develop her idea (polish, be born with, suffer). Numbers three, seven and eight are serial verbs, so HN could have occurred on those words as well, but it was suspended until the following verbs (4 and 5) or the final confirmatory particle (9). The sixth instance of HN shows a phrasal boundary, the end of a noun phrase which precedes the final verb. This NP is probably the part of the utterance in which the sentence culminates in its focal

point, so the HN is to be expected there. The ninth HN is either a response elicitation, a sentence boundary marker or perhaps both.

Other forms observed to generate HN are: "sore zya nakute" (it's not that . . .), "dete ittari asondari" (you go out and have fun and . . .), "to yuu koto de" (by (doing) things like that . .), "nakattara" (if it isn t, . . .) --HN is more sideways than vertical for this word, "wakaru to" (once you understand . . . .). They are all verb phrases which intimate that something additional will follow. The movement of the head occurs either on the phrase final particle or on the final morpheme of the verbs.

Semantically, there is a connection between HN and word meaning but it has less mandatory application than when the previously discussed factors of social context and speech act operate to engender gesture. Nevertheless, it is prevalent when the conditions are right. The connection consists in the fact that much in the same way as certain words are said to have negative polarity, we may claim that certain words are natural attractors of concomitant HN or have a polarity for HN. Many of the intensifiers, words of agreeing, adjectives of judgment, (quantity or quality), negatives, or words that are used to list are included in this class. These kinds of words might naturally incur HN for reasons of emphasis. This is further evidenced by the fact that they may be said to be stress-prone. They are frequently lengthened (intervocalic nasals held longer or inherently geminate consonants are further lengthened), and voice quality often changes on the vowel portions. For example, "zenzen" often becomes "zennnzen" and "kibishii" may be pronounced as "kibishiiii" with creaky voice on the vowel. It is possible for HN to occur with these words even in positions where syntactically we would not expect to find it (in other words, in mid-phrase rather than phrase boundary positions) because of the meaning prominence involved. Examples of words which may often be accompanied by HN because of their meaning qualities are given below.

zenzen (not at all)	hontoo (really)
anmari (not very)	hakkiri (precisely)
zannen (too bad)	komatta (got worried)
kibishii (strict)	taihen (very)
tottemo (very)	shizuka ni (quietly)
chanto (as is right)	dame (that's bad)
daijoobu (alright)	yappari (as expected)
mochiron (of course)	

The above observation leads us to another factor which is that HN seems to co-occur naturally with certain **prosodic** aspects of the language. When laryngeal voice,

lengthening, or pitch are used for stressing a word, HN is often present to reinforce the prosodic emphasis. Hadar et al., in a 1983 study, found that there are "kinesic suprasegmentals" which relate to rhythm, juncture, and stress. They claim that the somatic movements that accompany speech are a type of coordinative structure, helping to "establish the target prosodic feature" (p. 128). But they also found the physical movements to be "dissipative structures" which are used when the articulatory system cannot efficiently handle high energy levels, thus stating that "body movement dominates over speech sounds in applying high intensities" (p. 127). Their study looked specifically at speech related head movement, and although it was done for English, they suggest that this may be a tendency of a universal nature. At least for Japanese, it seems to hold. HN can occur not only with stress but also follows intonational contours over the length of a clause, as in "ue no ko ni kiitara" (when I asked my oldest child) where the head began upward movement after the word "ko" and finished downward movement after the final word. In addition, non-final as well as final juncture in Japanese is often expressed by timing, pitch, and HN. Of course, more precise measurements would be necessary to prove this claim, but observationally it seems to be the case.

In sum, there are several situational as well as linguistic factors which influence the type, placement, and extent of HN in conversation. Some of them may work together to form the total meaning force exerted by the movement. They are broad categories which are presented without any suggestions as to specific rules, but they show at least in a general way some of the motivations for HN in Japanese. They are summarized below.

Participant Context	Context of Setting	Speaker Intention	Semantic	Discourse Junctures	Prosodic
status, age, level of intimacy	level of formality	humility, empathy (softness), emphasis, redundancy	negating, intensi- fying, qualify- ing	phrase boundaries	stress, junc- ture, intona- tional contour

Factors Influencing Head Nodding in Japanese Speech

USES

It seems clear that there are at least five principal uses of HN that interweave with the situational and linguistic influences discussed above to form part of the meaning of Japanese utterances. These uses are: emphasizing, forming a part of polite speech, clarifying grammatical boundaries, showing listener uptake, and signaling turn-taking. To show **emphasis**, the application of HN to an already vocally stressed pattern may bring a more precise communicative effect, as in "shizukaa ni" (quietly) where the normal form "shizuka ni" is given extra length, and stress prominence (intensity, pitch, creaky voice). The intensity dissipation view held by Hadar et al. would support this observation as would intuitive feeling.

Politeness, in light of the cultural values held by the Japanese, is a highly salient feature of interactions in general, and HN is one way to express politeness. In some cases, it may consist of a type of conversational bowing. In the openings of what are to be brief but formal conversations, it is not rare to see bowing which gradually decreases in degree in the course of the short exchange but continues in the form of nearly synchronic HN and then becomes full-fledged bowing once again when closure is near. In fact, in the event that other factors such as emphasis or grammatical clarification are not present, the level of politeness being used between two speakers can be calculated quite accurately simply from the kinesic clues without reference to the form and content of the message. In other situations, it is a form of politeness connected to displaying listener attentiveness or concord between the participants and an attempt on the part of the speaker to discover approval in the listener and continuing interactional harmony.

As a **clarification** technique, HN was used in contexts such as the following: the reading aloud of a letter, explaining when the relation of subject and object is not clear, dictating information for someone else to write, or when there is interference in the communication channel, e.g., background noise or speaking to foreigners or small children who do not understand well. Because of some of the linguistic characteristics of the Japanese language such as the lack of overt subjects in many sentences, as in "shiawase desu" (unspecified subject is happy), the degree of reliance on adverbs or context rather than tense markers to specify exact time frames, as in "ie ne tsuku made akachan wa moo gojikan neta koto ni naru deshoo" (By the time unspecified subject gets to the house the baby will probably have been sleeping for five hours), and possibly the large number of homonyms such as "kaeru" (frog, change, go back, hatch) put heavy requirements on the speaker as far as making the intended meaning explicit, particularly

when there are added contextual factors (such as being in a
noisy room) which obscure the communication process. Thus,
paralinguistic and extralinguistic activities are employed
and function in the important role of clarifying the
linguistic act. In addition, they convey other
information, such as emotional state or physical features
of the participants. In this sense, intonation and
gestures, especially HN, are requisite for ease in
understanding.

The fourth way in which HN is used is to show listener
uptake in a conversation. This is similar to the way the
listener assures the speaker of continued participation in
the communicative event in English, but the placement of HN
in Japanese conversation differs considerably from that of
English. In Japanese, listener HN occurs more frequently,
many times at or close to phrase boundaries and often
accompanied by verbal responses (such as "hai, hee, mmm, a
soo desu ka, hoo, nee"). These response tokens are often
pronounced in overlapped speech (one of the most noticeable
differences from English listener uptake). Eye gaze does
not have to come from the speaker in order to elicit
listener HN. It is present regardless. In its employment
as an uptake signal, HN is still closely interrelated with
the degree of formality and its occurrence is interspersed
according to syntactic units. Other signals may carry
similar force in various contexts. Eye gaze or other
gestures or facial expressions may be a similar correlate.

Within the domain of discourse analysis, or more
appropriately, conversational analysis, turn-taking has HN
as one of its signals. Since HN occurs at or near phrase
boundaries (clause and sentence boundaries), it acts as an
important clue to grammatical as well as discourse units.
Hinds (1982) analyzes Japanese conversation as occurring in
possible adjacency triplets (rather than the adjacency
pairs typically observed in English). He describes the
triplet as consisting of a question (or remark), an answer
(or reply), and acknowledgment in the form of a
confirmation, restatement, or clarification. The great
number of back channel expressions which crop up give
credence to this idea. Within this frame, turn-taking
becomes a complicated business which is regulated by a
combination of factors. At the beginning of a turn, there
is a tendency toward gaze avoidance by the speaker
(Herlofsky, 1985). The end of a turn is signalled by
"grammatical closure, and to accompany this closure . . .
one of two types of nonverbal cue: eye contact or head
nodding" (Hinds, 1982:322). Of the two, eye contact has
less formality and may simply be used with a drop in pitch
which signifies final intonation. HN typically accompanies
the signal of politeness forms such as the utterance final
verb ending "-masu" or the polite copula "desu" which show
closure for a turn. This use of gestural signals of turn-

taking is in agreement with findings from observations of English turn-taking. Certain kinesic signals increase near the ends of utterances and together with verbal and intonational signals are important cues for smooth turn-taking in English (Ellis and Beattie, 1986:191). These types of gestural "regulators" (Ellis and Beattie, 1986:39) can convey the desire of the listener for the speaker to continue, repeat, or elaborate an idea, and the hope of the speaker that he has been listened to and understood, and his desire to turn over the floor. Visual turn-taking cues are qualified as being "obligatory in their operation and possessing universal significance" (p. 182).

As for the physical realizations of movement, the more polite the situation is, the greater the frequency of HN, and also the greater the distance of movement becomes. HN oriented toward clarifying syntactic units generally is made up of small downward nods at phrase boundaries and larger nods at clause termination. End of turn HN is commonly a large movement or multiple movements and often accompanied with a smile. Sometimes with the act of explaining something in a very clear way, a forward pushing HN is exhibited. If the speaker is not too convinced of the accuracy of what is being said, or if listener agreement is dubious, the HN will be in a more diagonal direction. Often, the movement is only downward and the head remains lowered until just prior to the next nod, when it is brought up and then down. The upward motion may begin prior to the nod and continue until the occurrence of an expression which triggers the downward motion: "sono hoo ga ii" (that way is better), or "to omo n desu" (I believe so). With the response elicitation particles ("ne, na, ka"), HN is often in an upward direction as is the intonation. With the utterance final polite verb "deshita," two small nods were seen to be present.

Finally, how does a description of gestural workings such as those described above apply to the better understanding of linguistic behavior? Nonverbal behavior such as head nodding in Japanese has been classed as primarily useful in negotiating attitudinal interaction, leaving the task of imparting information to the verbal channel (Beattie mentions and refutes this idea, 1981:1165). It is more accurate to state that both forms of communication rely on each other and complement each other in the conveyance of complete and accurate messages.

As it relates to the discussion of the Japanese conversational values of harmony and avoidance of any awkwardness or contention, the cooperative principle of speech interaction is interesting. Grice's four maxims of cooperative conversation (as discussed in Levinson, 1983:101), which consist of the rules presumed by participants to be operating at some level of the

conversation, are well known as being a kind of pragmatic basis upon which interaction is founded and able to proceed. We know that in Japanese relative social status is encoded grammatically and semantically in the language, and it has been found here that it is also encoded gesturally to a very strong degree. So such aspects as politeness and its relation to HN or other aspects might be reviewed in light of the maxims to see if they function in Japanese similar to the way they are described as operating for English.

As for the maxim of quality, speaker HN seems to fit appropriately into the expected use as a contribution to the conversation. Listener HN, however, must be interpreted differently for Japanese than it is in English, since it occurs more often and with the intent not of conveying agreement, but rather, of showing that the listener is perceiving. The quantity maxim also seems to function slightly differently. Japanese HN shows the use of a very high degree of redundancy to reinforce grammatical or social meanings of utterances. The relevancy requirement also needs cultural reinterpretation. In English, if the listener HN occurs at irrelevant moments, it can signal boredom or other negative attitudes. Japanese listener HN seems to be relevant at many more parts of a conversation. Perhaps the maxim that may be deemed as having greatest importance in Japanese conversation in general is that of manner. How something is said is as important as and in some situations more important than what is said. In bowing, who bows the lowest or the longest is closely related to social status and if the expected bowing procedure is violated, the interaction will possibly become uncomfortable. Similarly, with HN, if it is absent when socially necessary or if it is misused, a conversation might be prematurely terminated or inadvertently be wrongly interpreted. It is difficult to imagine Japanese conversation without HN in all of its functions. It is an essential factor in satisfying the manner requirements. As given by Grice, the maxim of manner requires that we "be perspicuous" and suggests that this is achieved by being brief and orderly and by avoiding obscurity and ambiguity. A study of Japanese conversational tendencies would likely reveal that some of these suggestions need to be replaced with others. Indeed, "obscurity and ambiguity" as means of attaining the desired superficiality and non-intimacy (appropriate in formal situations) discussed earlier seem to be key components of polite Japanese interaction. For Japanese HN, in addition to a revision of the requirements of the manner maxim, it might be accurate to attach a politeness requirement or even add a separate politeness principle. The principle would advise that the speaker show deference linguistically and gesturally where appropriate and that the speaker should give ample opportunities for the listener to

participate in the conversation (either turn-taking or expressing agreement, disagreement, understanding, or lack of understanding). For listener HN, the contribution to the conversation probably follows a manner maxim which suggests being receptive and acknowledging reception. That HN can be examined in light of the maxims is not surprising because it can be flouted just as any of the verbal strategies can and carries so much social and discourse level information that it has many similarities with verbal communication.

It is interesting to see the cultural values reflected in an area of behavior so closely linked to language. We are beginning more and more to see how useful extralinguistic input can be in determining the linguistic import of conversation. This is true for each language in its own right, and the operations of various modalities in different languages can be compared to find what tendencies are indeed universal and which are language and culture bound.

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APPENDIX
TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SOME JAPANESE CONVERSATIONS

Key: HN is signified by an underline. Timing is not accurate; the following is an approximation. The five uses are labelled as: E (emphasis), P (politeness), C (clarification), L (listener uptake), and T (transition relevance place for turn-taking).

I.   A middle-aged woman politely expressing an opinion.

yappari shigoto o shiyoo$_E$to omoeba kanarazu$_E$nani$_E$ka dekiru$_E$ no de ne$_{P(T)}$$_C$ ano $_C$watashi wa ano tada tsuma ni nattari ne haha oya $_E$ni naru koto . . . $C (P)$

("Likewise, if you decide to get a job, there has got to be something you can do, you know? Uh, as for me, uh, I only became a wife, and then a mother . . .")

II. A younger woman expressing an opinion less formally.

oya ga shigoto shite iru$_C$to sabishii deshoo$_E$ni ne$_{E(T)(P)}$sugoku kurushii koto da to omo n desu ne$_{E(T)(P)}$tatoeba no hanashi, ano haha oya nari$_C$ maa chichi oya mo$_C$ dotchi demo$_E$ ga uchi ni kaeranakattari shitchau$_E$to dame$_E$da na to omotchau kara . .

("If the parents are working, (the children) are lonely, you know? I think it's extremely hard on them, you know? As an example, uh, if the mother, well, or father, either one, can't be at home with them, I think it's bad . . .")

III. A middle-aged woman very politely expressing an opinion.

jibun o migaite$_E$ koo kodomo to otto to katei to de sore kara shigoto to de $_C$ ano soo yuu$_E$ mono de motte   umarete kurooshite$_C$ sukoshi zutsu nanka ningen ga$_C$ dekite ite ne$_{P(T)}$ ^{C}

("You polish yourself up, then, there are, like, children, a husband, a household, and then your job, uh, you have these kinds of things; you are born with them, you suffer, and little by little, you can become a real person, you know?")

IV. A mother reading a letter aloud to her family.

okuni no tame$_C$ ni sasageru koto $_C$wa danshi no honkai de$_C$ arimasu ga$_C$imada$_C$haha ue ni kooyoo no tsukushi zaran koto omou to$_C$ harawata no$_C$ chigireru omoi ga itashimasu $_{T(P)}$

("To devote oneself to one's country is the highest calling
of a man.   When I think that I still haven't repaid my
mother for all her kindnesses, it tears me up inside.")

V.   A wife giving directions to her husband.

tabakoyasan sitte iru no_T   (husband--eee?)
koko kara da to ne_T shinjuku yuki no   densha notte_C
shimokitazawa de   orite eki kara go roppun no hinode sootte
apaato yo_T   E

("Do you know the tobacconists? If I say it from here, you
get on   the   train   bound for Shinjuku, get off at
Shimokitazawa. From the station, it's five or   six minutes
to Hinode Sootte Apartments.")

VI. A formal interview. Interviewer is a woman dressed in
kimono.   Interviewee is an older man also dressed in
kimono.   The man is speaking with back-channeling from the
woman.

kono e no naka no kyoodai^C . . moo hitori dashitchattan^L desu
                  (listener) hai
kedo sono   kata ga sensoo_P de nakunattan_P dakedo . . . mitna
   P(C)   L(PKT)   (listener) aaa_L   P   L
ano ne kokoro no naka wa   naka naka_E shikkari tsuyokatta to
_P omoo kedomo   E   L
 (listener) neee_L

("Of the family members in this picture, there was one more
who they let go to the war, but that person was killed
there . . . everyone, uh, you know? I think it made a very
very strong impression on them.")

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