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Practices of inviting visitor involvement in storytelling within museum guided tours

博物館内ツアーにおいて観客にガイドの物語への参与を促す実践

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要旨

　本稿では、2007 年と 2008 年に収録した全米日系人博物館におけるガイドつきツアーのデータからガイドが観客に物語を語る活動に焦点を当て、その活動においていかにガイドが観客に物語への参与を促すのか、その実践を分析した。4つのツアーを分析した結果、主に2種類の実践（言語・非言語行動）がみられた。1つは、そこに展示してある展示物や日系人収容所に関する知識およびそれに関する事柄を聞いたことがあるかどうかなど経験を問う実践、もう1つは、過去の出来事（歴史的事実）を現在の状況に関連づける実践である。さらに、これら2つの実践は物語連鎖の特定部分に現れることが明らかになった。問いかけは、主に物語の開始部分および展開部分に現われ、過去の出来事を現在の状況へ関連づける実践は、物語の展開部分および終結部分に現われる。また、ガイドによる2つの実践に対する観客の反応にも着目し、ガイドから観客への問いかけは、観客の返答が期待されるため「直接的な参与を促す実践」であること、過去の出来事を現在の状況に関連づける実践については観客の反応（言語・非言語行動）がさほど期待されないため「間接的な参与を促す実践」であることを指摘した。本稿では、博物館内ツアーにおける物語において、ガイドによる観客への問いかけや過去の出来事を現在の状況に関連づける実践が、観客にガイドの物語への参与を促すための重要な手段であることを明らかにした。

1. Introduction

　　In social interaction, parties display their *involvement* in relation to the current talk and other interlocutors in various ways. Involvement has been discussed by Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) in their model of *participation*, defined as "actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk" (p. 222). As Norrick (1994) has observed, "[c]onversationalists maintain involvement—or the coherent give and take of talk in interaction—by signaling their understanding of and attitudes toward their jointed constructed discourse" (p. 409). Rather than being a pri-

vate phenomenon residing within the minds of individual actors, the Goodwins, Norrick, and others view involvement as a public social practice produced moment-by-moment through communicative means, which can include talk, laughter, gesture, and nodding. One genre where involvement becomes noteworthy is within conversational *storytelling* (e.g., Selting, 2010), considered as a sequence of interaction in which a primary teller (or more than one) takes an extended turn at talk (often to relay a past event), which listeners shape in various ways through their multimodal responses (Mandelbaum, 2012). Stivers (2008) has categorized two types of listener responses within storytelling: *alignment* (e.g., use of continuers, such as "Mm-hm," that support the primary tellers' telling) and *affiliation* (e.g., assessments, such as "That's terrible," that endorses the teller's conveyed stance). Thus, listener involvement in storytelling can be considered as the production of various *social actions* (e.g., requests, assessments) (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984) and "acts of stance" (Jaffe, 2009) that display their *understanding* of the current talk and *position* in relation to persons, events, objects, and acts within the story world and the here-and-now interaction. In many institutional settings, involvement is of particular interest to professionals: How do I encourage my addressees to be (more) involved in my talk or presentation?

This paper attempts to address this question by examining talk that invites various forms of listener involvement as displayed in the listeners' social actions and stances during storytelling. It focuses on episodes of storytelling within guided tours at a Japanese American museum conducted in Japanese or English. Prior to the analysis, I will outline previous research and the data and methods of the study.

2. Storytelling and museums

Stories, or narratives, have received a great deal of attention across academic disciplines, including sociology, linguistics, psychology, and anthropology, where it has been suggested that they serve a wide range of social purposes. In applied linguistics, conversation analysis, and linguistic anthropology, stories have been argued to *engage listeners* (e.g., Bauman, 1977; Kroskrity, 1993; Tannen, 1989), *construct social identities* (e.g., Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2007; Norrick, 2000; Ochs & Capps, 2001), and *produce collective memories* (e.g., Wertsch, 2002). In contrast to the traditional sociolinguistic

perspective that focuses largely on story *structure* (Labov, 1972), this body of research is primarily concerned with the *telling*, including the resources and practices used by tellers and listeners "to produce storytelling as recognizable activity and through which they implement a variety of social actions" (Mandelbaum, 2012: 492). Research on storytelling in conversation analysis (e.g., Jefferson, 1978; Mandelbaum, 2012; Sacks, 1972; Selting, 2010; Stivers, 2008) has shown the importance of listeners in shaping the telling through their production of *social actions* and display of *stances*. The latter includes *epistemic stance* (i.e., degrees of certainty and sources of knowledge, etc.) (Heritage, 2012, Mondada, 2013) and *affective stance* (i.e., mood, attitude, feeling, emotional intensity, etc.) (Ochs, 1996). To date, most of this research has focused on conversations between friends and family members; thus, there is a need to conduct more research on storytelling within *institutional interaction* (Heritage, 2004). In relation to this, Mandelbaum (2012) has pointed out that more research is needed on "how storytelling practices are used in institutional interaction" (p. 507), which is framed by specific goals and the pre-assignment of roles and the kinds of actions typically done in those roles (e.g., a museum guide provides "information," whereas museum visitors listen and ask questions).

Museums are important sites for exploring issues of storytelling and involvement in institutional interaction. Bedford (2001) has proposed that the "real work" of museums is to tell stories. Roberts (2007) has elaborated that storytelling engages visitors by inviting them to take another perspective, reflect on experiences, and supply their own interpretations. Although research on museum visitors has traditionally been conducted through interviews or questionnaires, which usually ask visitors to reflect on their experiences *after* their visit, recent research has paid an increasing amount of attention to examining visitors' participation in museums on their own (e.g., Noy, in press) and within guided tours (e.g., Best & Hindmarsh, 2019; De Stefani & Mondada, 2014; Mondada, 2013). The latter research has shown how guided tours are dynamic and negotiated activities, and how the work of docents is complex and shaped by the contingencies of the visitors' responses. As Best and Hindmarsh (2019: 252) have recently observed:

"tour guides—as frontline workers—attend to the strategic aims of their organization, which typically concern issues of audience engagement and education…Tour guides must show audiences around complex spaces that are rarely designed for

guiding; maintain their interaction and attentiveness despite copious distractions; and move audiences on to make space for other visitors."

Thus, guided tours are a rich setting for examining the communicative, material, and embodied practices that docents and visitors use to carry out the tour as a situated activity. Few studies have focused on practices of storytelling in guided tours (Burdelski, 2016; Burdelski & Fukuda, 2019), and especially those practices that invite visitors' displays of involvement (Burdelski, Kawashima & Yamazaki, 2014; Yamazaki et al., 2009).

3. Data and methods

This paper draws upon a corpus (15 hours) of audiovisual recordings of four guided tours (from 1 to 8 visitors each) conducted in English or Japanese (in either language, some words of the other language were used) at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, during the years 2007 and 2008. The main exhibit in the museum, titled 'Common Ground: The Heart of Community' (see Kikumura-Yano, Hirabayashi & Hirabayashi, 2005) showcases the history of Japanese Americans and people of Japanese heritage in the United States over more than 100 years, from the mid to late 19th century, to World War II, and up to the late 20th century. During this project, our research team became interested in *stories* during *guided tours* (Burdelski, 2016; Burdelski & Fukuda, 2019; Burdelski, Kawashima & Yamazaki, 2014; 川嶋・バーデルスキー, 2016). We observed how stories were a means of educating visitors about Japanese American history and a vehicle for involving them in the tours as a social activity.

Stories told by four docents (D-1 to D-4), who were in their 70s and 80s and had experienced World War II as children or adolescents, were a central genre through which these tours were conducted. Borrowing from Labov's (1972) definition, stories were considered to be stretches of talk that included a sequence of *at least* two clauses located in a past time frame. These stories were either *vicarious* (i.e., based on third parties including stories passed down from parents or relatives), or *personal* (i.e., based on first-hand experience) (see Burdelski, 2016). Both types were poignant themes for inviting and sustaining visitor involvement in various ways. I draw upon the methodological

tools of conversational analysis (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007), a qualitative paradigm that entails recording naturally occurring interaction, playing and re-playing the recordings in order to identify recurring practices, and making transcribed *collections* of similar phenomena (see Hoey & Kendrick, 2017). It specifically employs multimodal conversation analytic methods (e.g. Mondada, 2018): During the process of review, transcription and analysis, I paid a great deal of attention to both verbal (e.g., lexicon, grammar, prosody, laughter) and non-verbal (e.g., gaze, gesture, facial expression) communicative resources as they relate to visitor involvement.

4. Analysis

In examining cases of storytelling during the guided tours, this section focuses on two central practices that occasioned various forms of visitor involvement as performing social actions and displaying stances: *questions* (Section 4.1) and *relating past to present* (Section 4.2).

4.1. *Questions*

One of the practices docents deployed that invited visitor involvement was *questions* (Burdelski, Kawashima & Yamazaki, 2014; Mondada, 2013; Yamazaki et al., 2009). Questions are a central practice in many kinds of institutional interaction (Freed & Ehrlich, 2010), from classrooms to interviews to clinical consultations. A question—unless it is a rhetorical one—creates a sequential slot for a recipient to produce a response (e.g., Ford, 2010), and thus a response is typically expected. In their analysis of guided tours conducted at art museums, Yamazaki et al. (2009) observed docents' use of questions that "attempt to actively involve the listeners" (p. 1438). In the present data, questions took various grammatical shapes, such as *polar* (i.e., answerable with a yes or no) and *wh-format* (i.e., utilizing wh-question words: what, why, when, where, or how). Moreover, they were either *known-answer questions* (i.e., questioner ostensibly knows the answer) or *unknown-answer questions* (i.e., questioner ostensibly does not know the answer). In relation to storytelling, it is also important to consider the sequential placement of questions in relation to the unfolding story structure (e.g., story preface, closing). In these data, guides used questions primarily to *open up a story* (Section 4.1.1) and to *develop*

a story (Section 4.1.2) in ways that invited visitors' displays of involvement. In both of these sequential contexts, the teller (docent) invited one or more recipients (visitors) to take a turn before proceeding with the story. These question-answer sequences contributed to the *co-construction* (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) of the story as a social activity.

4.1.1. *Opening up a story*

One way that docents used questions was in *opening up a story*, or more precisely to initiate talk about an object (e.g., photograph of people) or installation (e.g., compilation of objects) that developed into a story. In Excerpt 1 from an English-speaking tour, a male docent (D-1) has shepherded a group of six adults to an installation with desks, a blackboard, books, and a U.S. flag, which all sit atop a raised platform (see Figure 1-1). (Note: In Excerpts 1 to 3, **bold** indicates a docent question, and highlighting indicates visitor responses; Transcription conventions appear in the appendix).

```
Excerpt 1 Japanese school (D-1/docent-1, V-1/visitor-1,
V-2/visitor-2)
01 D-1:      so what does this look |#like here?
                                    |((gestures to installation))
   fig                               #1-1
02           (0.5)
03 V-1:      a |#school?
04 V-2:        |#school.
   fig           #1-2
05 D-2:      |school.|
06 V-2:      |°h      |h #h°
   fig                   #1-3
07           (1.3)
08 D-1:      it's a Japanese school.
09           (0.5)
10           japanese school.
11           (0.6)
12 D-1:      now before world war two almost all japanese
13           americans <were> (0.4) more or less forced by
14           our parents to go Japanese school.
15           ((story continues))
```

Figure 1-1. D-1 poses a question while gesturing to installation.

Figure 1-2. V-1 and V-2 verbally respond to D-1's question.

Figure 1-3. V-2 smiles and laughs.

In opening his talk about this installation, D-1 poses a question (wh-format, known-answer type) to the group (line 1: "so what does this look like here"). This question refers to the entirety of the installation, which is invoked through non-verbal communication: While standing to the side, D-1 produces a *deictic* gesture (McNeill, 1992) towards the installation, by moving his right hand up and down while moving it in a circular way. This gesture is produced in overlap to the lexical item "this," a deictic term, indicating that D-1 is referring to the entire installation rather than a particular object in it (Figure 1-1). As such, it is an *environmentally coupled gesture* (Goodwin, 2007: 195), defined as "gestures that cannot be understood by participants without taking into account structure in the environment to which they are tied." As it is multimodally constructed through talk and gesture, the docent's question invites visitor involvement by making an answer (from any visitor) the next expected action.

While question-answer pairs are common in interaction, each pair performs one or more social actions and displays stance. Here, the social actions include an invitation to make a guess (question) followed by a guess (answer). In inviting the visitors to make a guess, D-1 encourages them to display their *epistemic status* (Heritage, 2012; Mondada, 2013) of either "knowing" (K+) or "not knowing" (K-) what the installation represents.

Here, two visitors (V-1 and V-2) *self-select* (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) respond to D-1's question in ways that display that they know what it represents (K+). In doing so, however, they display somewhat different *epistemic stances* (e.g., degrees of certainty with respect to a focus of concern) through prosody. More specifically, V-1 says "a school," followed by rising intonation ("a school?"), which displays an epistemic stance of weak certainty. The rising intonation (indicated in the transcript with a question mark) also performs the social action of making a request to D-1 for confirmation (line 3). In overlap to V-1's response, V-2 also responds with "school," but this is followed by falling intonation, which displays her epistemic stance of strong certainty (Figure 1-2). These two visitors' responses represent a kind of *choral co-production* (Lerner, 2002) in the sense that V-1 and V-2 have both produced a second pair part (as an answer to D-1's question) by using the same lexical item "school." In these ways, intonation (e.g., falling, rising) accompanying talk is an important para-linguistic resource for displaying degrees of epistemic stance (e.g., Bongelli et al., 2018). Here, V-2 follows her answer by laughing and smiling (Figure 1-3), which also displays an *affective stance*. As laugher is multifunctional (Jefferson, 1979), V-2's laughter could be conveying appreciation for having just produced the same answer as V-1 in overlap, or it could be evoking a meta-comment on the docent's question (e.g., "since the answer was obvious, why ask?").

In these ways, D-1's question in opening his talk about the installation invited visitor involvement in the form of social actions and stance displays. That is, question-answer pairs and the actions implemented through them are a discursive and sequential practice of inviting and displaying involvement. As we have seen, the visitors' *answers* to the docent's question performed a variety of social actions, such as providing a guess and requesting confirmation. Finally, these question-answer pairs, and responses to questions in general in many guided tours, are situated not within a dyadic participant framework involving a docent and visitor, but within a multiparty participant framework involving *multiple visitors* (more on this observation will be provided in Section 4.1.2).

Although the opening question-answer sequence in Excerpt 1 was not yet hearable as a "story" (i.e., there were not yet two sequential clauses located in a past time frame), it will soon be developed into one (about a Japanese American who studied Japanese at school and then went to Japan to work due to discrimination directed at people of

Japanese heritage in the United States). Thus, a question posed at the opening of talk is a key practice for establishing a *story preface* (Sacks, 1972) in ways that invite visitors to display their knowledge about a setting, such as location (as in Excerpt 1) or a person/character as in Excerpt 2 below.

In Excerpt 2 from a Japanese-speaking tour, a female docent (D-1) and a male visitor (V-3, who has come to the museum with his wife and two children who are currently taking a break from the tour) are in the area of the exhibit showing Japanese American experiences during World War II, and they have just arrived at various photographs of people accompanied by descriptions (Figure 2-1).

```
Excerpt 2 Tokyo Rose (D-2/docent-2, V-3/visitor-3)
01 D-2:     sooshitara anoo tookyoo ((clears throat))
            'So, um, Tokyo'
02          tookyoo roozu to okikininatta koto |arimasu #ka.
            'Have you ever heard of Tokyo Rose?'
   d-2                                         |((gesture to
            photo))
   fig                                                  #2-1
03          (0.5)
04 V-3:     |tookyo#o?
            'Tokyo?'
   v-3      |((leans forward, steps towards photo))
   fig           #2-2
05          (0.2)
06 D-2:     |tookyoo roozu.
            'Tokyo Rose.'
   v-1      |((stepping towards photo))
07          (0.4)
08 D-2:     tookyoo roozu.
            'Tokyo Rose.'
09          (0.7)
10 V-3:      <°tooky|oo-°>|tookyoo roozu.
             'Tokyo- Tokyo Rose.'
11 D-2:            |ano- |
                   'um'
12          kono hito- roozu.
            'This person- Rose.'
13          (0.2)
14 D-2:     ha- bara no hana >tte yuu °|imi desu ka.<|
            'As in the flower rose.'
15 V-3:                                | hai hai    |
                                         yes yes
16 D-2:     ((story continues))
```
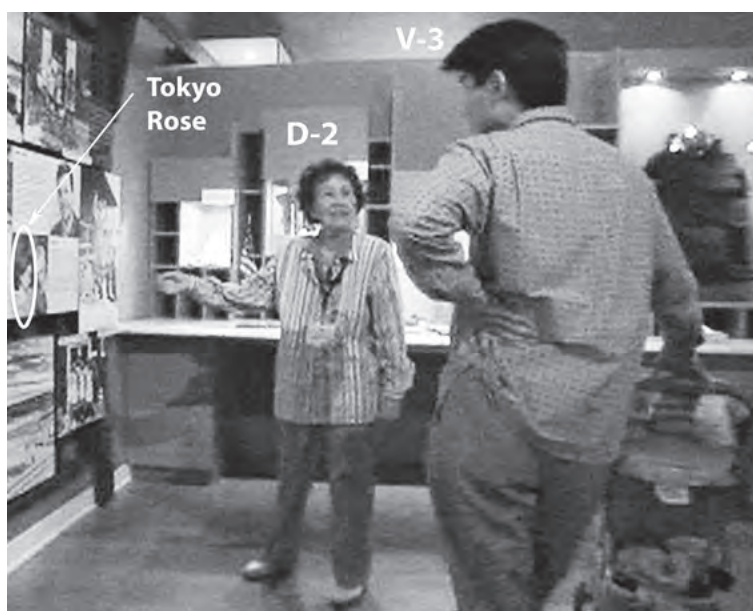
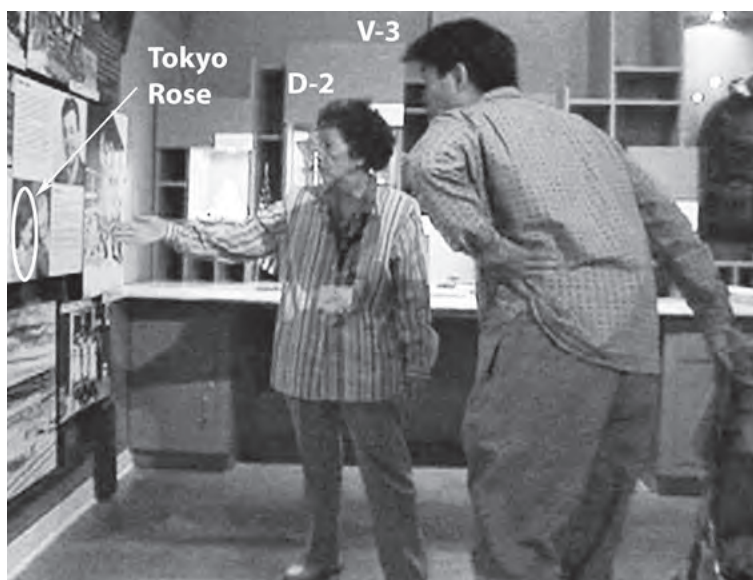Figure 2-1. D-2 asks a question while gesturing to a photo.

Figure 2-2. V-3 leans towards the photo while saying 'Tokyo?'

In opening her talk about the photographs, D-2 poses a question (polar format, un-known-answer type) to V-3, while making a deictic gesture towards a photograph of a man and woman (lines 1-2 and Figure 2-1: "Have you ever heard of Tokyo Rose?"). As

a social action, this question is a request for V-3's display of recognition and knowledge. Instead of answering "yes" or "no," or the kind of answer format projected by the polar question "Have you⋯," V-3 repeats part of D-2's question followed by rising intonation (line 2: "Tokyo?") while leaning towards the photo (Figure 2-2). This utterance is an *other-initiated repair* (Schegloff, 1992; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), or one that indicates trouble in hearing or understanding the speaker's immediately prior talk. It initiates repair in a way that locates the precise source of the trouble (i.e., by responding with "Tokyo?", V-3 indicates that the immediately next lexical item in the proper noun, "Rose," is the trouble source). Although at first glance this verbal and embodied response could have been indicating a problem in hearing, as there is some background noise, the unfolding interaction suggests that it is rooted in V-3's lack of familiarity with the referent "Tokyo Rose" (see Lerner & Kitzinger, 2012). More particularly, when D-2 twice repeats the term "Tokyo Rose" (lines 6 and 8), V-3 repeats it after D-2's second repetition (line 10). Then, when D-2 conveys that "rose" (an English word pronounced by the docent in Japanese as *roozu*) is related to the "flower rose" (*bara no hana*), V-3 responds, "yes yes" (*hai hai*) (line 15). V-3's response here can be heard not as an answer to D-2's original question ("Have you ever heard of Tokyo Rose?"), but rather as displaying his understanding that the English loanword *roozu* refers to the Japanese word *bara*. Thus, in Stivers (2008) terms, V-3's "yes yes" is also an action that displays "alignment" to D-2 to go on with her talk/story by moving to closing down this inserted repair sequence.

Similar to Excerpt 1, here the interaction up to this point is not yet hearable as a story. However, once the person reference (Tokyo Rose) is established, D-2 continues (not shown) by conveying that Tokyo Rose was a Japanese American who was in Japan during the war, and was recruited as an English-speaking radio broadcaster to spread propaganda to the U.S. troops in the Pacific, and was then was later arrested by the U.S. government for treason. In these ways, D-2's question at the opening of talk led to V-3's involvement in attempting to clarify the meaning of an ostensibly unknown person reference term. This question did not lead to a standard question-answer pair, but rather produced a sequence of repair—this sequence put the forward progression of the impending story "on hold" to deal with trouble.

This section has shown how docents used questions to open up talk about a display

that invited visitor involvement with the docent's talk and the exhibit that has become a focus of attention. The analysis suggests that such questions are a practice for inviting participants to display their epistemic stance, such as "knowing" or "not knowing" something referred to in the talk (Excerpt 1 and 2), or their affective stance (Excerpt 1: laughter). Such questions are used to establish a setting of the upcoming story, and thus are a key practice for initiating visitors' displays of involvement as stance and social action in the guided tour.

4.1.2. Developing a story

Docents also used questions in developing a story. An illustration is in Excerpt 3 from an English-speaking tour in which a male docent (D-3) is leading a group of university students. They are currently standing in front of one of the first installations in the exhibit: one detailing Japanese female immigrant workers on Hawaii sugarcane plantations around the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. Prior to the excerpt, which we have previously analyzed (Burdelski, Kawashima & Yamazaki, 2014: 333-335), the guide had pointed out that the workers were wearing heavy clothes despite the warm climate in Hawaii. When the reason for this is made clear (i.e., sharp leaves of the sugarcane plants required the workers to cover themselves from head to toe), D-3 continues the story in Excerpt 3.

```
Excerpt 3 Hawaii sugarcane (D-3/docent-3, TAM/visitor named
Tammy, V-4/visitor-4)
01 D-3:      working on the plantation was very difficult.
02           (0.8) in fact (.) plantation owners often (0.7)
03           tried to dehumanize the workers (1.0)
04           by:: (0.8) giving them numbers. (0.3)
05           bangoo (.) number tags. (0.6)
06           u::h │>what is your name?<
   d-3          │((gesturing towards V-3))
07 TAM:      tammy
08 D-3:      tammy
09           (0.7)
10           │you're no longer tammy
   d-3       │((crosses hands back and forth))
11           kay? (0.4)
12           you're number:::::: (2.9)
13           °what kinda number should I give ya° (0.8)
14           >three nine three nine<. (1.1)
15           okay?
16 tam       ((nods head))
17 D-3:      alright (2.0)
18           So the foremen- the lunas of the plantation
19           will come and locate >three nine three nine<
```

```
20                ((hand gesture to his right)) go to the west
21                forty today and work there.
22                okay >three nine three nine<
23                |today you can go to the east forty and
    d-3           |((hand gesture to his left))
24                dig a ditch.
25                and then there were- you were) dehumanized to
26                the point of (1.2)|just a number.
    d-3                             |((gesturing towards V-3))
27 tam            ((nodding head))
28 D-3:           |°do you know japanese?°
    d-3           |((gazing towards Tammy))
29 TAM:           a little bit
30 D-3:           a little bit.=
31                =what's three in Japanese?
    d-3           |((gazing towards Tammy))
32 TAM:           °san°
33                (0.5)
34 D-3:           >very good<
35                san.
36                |did you know that?
    d-3           |((gestures towards V-4))
37 V-4:           (          )
38 D-3:           h h h
39                ah::: |what's #nine in japanese?
    d-3                 |((pointing towards Tammy))
    fig                         #3-1
40 TAM:           °kyuu°
41 D-3:           (    ) m'kay, so what is your number?
42 TAM:           °san kyuu san kyuu°
43 D-3:           <san kyuu san k(h)yu(h)u>=
44 TAM:           =hhhhhh|hhhhh                     ]
45 D-3:                  |slight accident but |you're welcome,
46                you're welcome.
46 TAM:                                       |HHHHHHHHHHHHHHHH
47                #HHH|HH
48                #3-2
49                    |ah:: (.) okay but anyway ((story continues))
```
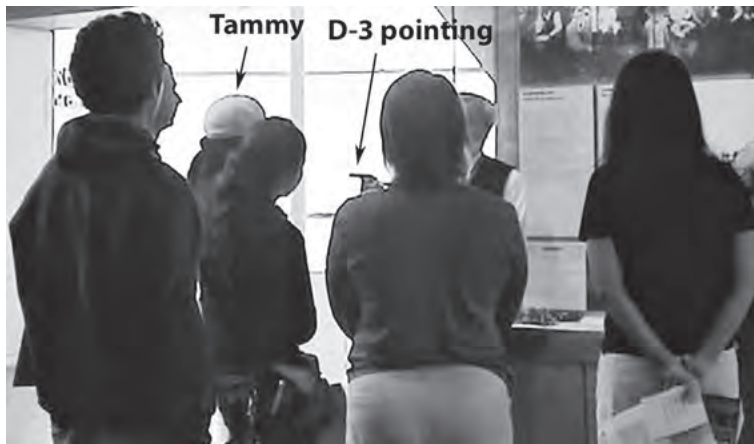
Figure 3-1. D-3 asks question while pointing at a visitor (Tammy).

Figure 3-2. Tammy (a visitor) laughs.

After D-3 conveys that the "dehumanization" of the plantation workers involved the assignment of numbers (lines 4 and 5), he points at a visitor while asking her name (line 6) (wh-format, unknown-answer type question), which *other-selects* (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) her to answer. After she answers "Tammy," he continues with the story by using a *participant example* (Wortham, 1992), in which he incorporates the visitor (Tammy) as a character in it. More specifically, after assigning her the number "3-9-3-9," he enacts another character in the story (i.e., foreman of the plantation) who calls out Tammy's number in commanding her what to do (lines 20-24). Following this part of the story, D-3 shifts out of the past-tense story world by asking Tammy another question (wh-format, unknown-answer type): "Do you know Japanese?" (line 28). When

she answers "a little bit" (line 29), he builds upon this response by asking her more questions (wh-format, known-answer type) that request a display of knowledge: the first question is about how to say "three" (line 31) in Japanese and the next is about how to say the number "nine" (line 39). When Tammy answers correctly, D-3 asks her another question (line 41: 'so what is your number?) to which she responds, *san kyuu san kyuu* "3-9-3-9." In response to D-3's repetition of this sequence of numbers, Tammy produces laughter (Jefferson, 1979), which displays a heightened affective stance towards this bilingual pun (i.e., the sound of *san kyuu san kyuu* can be heard as similar to the English politeness expression, "Thank you, thank you.")

Through these multiple question-answer sequences, D-3's pun has in effect been co-constructed. Tammy's laughter thus can be heard as expressing appreciation for this joint production of the pun. D-3 develops the pun further by producing an "answer" to the politeness expression by saying "You're welcome, you're welcome" as a reduplication that matches the reduplicated "Thank you." In these ways, a docent's use of questions along with other communicative practices throughout the development of a story produced various forms of visitor involvement as displays of epistemic and affective stances. This involvement was primarily invited to one visitor (but see line 36 for a question directed at another visitor, V-4). It can be noted that other visitors seemed to show hints of smiling and nodding during the interaction, suggesting that these questions—even when they were not directly addressed to them—invited their forms of involvement within a larger participation framework.

This section has shown ways in which questions were a key communicative practice in the guided tours for inviting visitor involvement in storytelling. These questions were observed either as the initiating move in talking about an object or installation, or at points throughout the development of a telling. Visitor responses to questions in verbal and non-verbal ways displayed involvement in the guide's talk and the tour as a situated activity.

4.2. *Relating a story to the present*

A second practice for inviting visitor involvement was to bring a story up to the present, often through the use of lexical items and sometimes through the use of tense shifts. Ochs and Capps (2001) have noted that story tellers often "articulate events in

the past that are relevant to both the present and the future" (p. 197). Docents used various linguistic resources to invoke a *contrast* between past and present. This occurred during different sequential contexts within the story: *during the telling* (Section 4.2.1) and *upon the completion* (4.2.2).

4.2.1. *During a story telling*

One context that docents brought a story up to the present was *during* a story telling. In Excerpt 4, a docent (D-1) and six visitors are standing in front of a display labeled "Picture brides" (around the turn of the 20th century). After D-1 opened his talk with a question (polar format, unknown-answer type) ("Okay, so have you heard of picture brides?"), he related that many of the first-generation Japanese who came to the United States were single men, many who later asked their families in Japan to arrange for a bride to come to the United States. He then offered a story about his grandfather who also came to the United States from Japan at that time (but married a Japanese American). Here, D-1 returns to the main story (picture brides) by referring to "arranged marriages" (In Excerpts 4 to 6, **bold** indicates the practice of relating past to present, and highlighting indicates the visitors' responses).

```
Excerpt 4 Picture brides (D-1/docent-1, V-2/visitor-2,
V-5/visitor-5, V-6/visitor-6)
01 D-1:      now arranged marriages were common.
02           >I mean< it's it's it's the rule rather
03           than the exception, right?
04           (1.6)
05 D-1:      so when they (0.3) and they do scrutinize
06           the family,
07           they don't just pick anybody like ah on-
08           |#on the internet |(0.2) y'know=.
   fig       #4-1
09 v-2       |(nods))          |((smiles))
10 V-5:      =Ah h |h h   | h
11 V-2:            |AH #H|
   v-2             |((turns head to the side))
   fig               #4-2
12 v-6            |((smiles))
13 D-1:      ((story continues))
```

Figure 4-1. D-1 says "on the internet" while lifting his arm/hand.

Figure 4-2. V-2 laughs and turns her head to the side.
V-5 (hidden) laughs, and V-6 smiles.

After saying "arranged marriages were common" (line 1) and making it more absolute with, "it's the rule rather than the exception" (lines 2-3), D-1 provides a contrast between past and present. In referring to the past, he says, "they do scrutinize the family"

(lines 5-6) and then relates this to the present by saying, "they don't just pick anybody like ah on- on the internet (0.2), y'know" (lines 7-8). These two utterances have a parallel grammatical structure: The first is a positive predicate ("they do X"), whereas the second is a negative one ("they don't Y"). Taken together, they can be heard as a comparative *assessment* (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992) between past and present situations of choosing a partner or date. Although grammar was often deployed for contrasting past and present, here both utterances deploy the present tense (despite that the first utterance *refers* to the past): The use of present tense to relate past events in stories has been referred to as the *historical present tense* (Schiffrin, 1981; Wolfson, 1978). In addition, here a key lexical item that contrasts past and present is "internet," a symbol of post-modern life in the early 21st century. This utterance is accompanied by a hand gesture—an illustrative or *iconic gesture* (McNeill, 1992), or one that symbolizes actions or objects—in which D-1 raises his left hand as if "picking" something from head level (Figure 4-1). At the end of this utterance, he employs the *discourse marker* "y'know" (Schiffrin, 1988). In these ways, the docent uses talk and gesture to indirectly make a contrast and display a stance between practices of arranged marriages in which families (of prospective brides or grooms) were closely examined, and practices of partner selection and dating mediated by the internet. This talk and gesture invite the visitors' involvement as displays of epistemic and affective stance.

More particularly, just after the docent says, "on the internet," V-2 nods and smiles. Stivers (2008) has shown how nodding by recipients during storytelling can display *affiliation*, or "endorsement of the teller's conveyed stance (e.g. as funny, sad, horrible, exciting)" (pp. 35-36). Similarly, as D-1's utterance had displayed a stance that the process of finding and selecting a partner was very different in the past, by both nodding and smiling V-2 displays her affiliation with this stance. This stance is not only affective, but also epistemic, as it requires knowledge of the way that partner selection (or dating) currently works on the internet. These displays of stance are not located within a dyadic framework, but come to involve multiple visitors. For instance, V-2 laughs loudly while turning her head to the side as if to acknowledge the laughter of V-5 (line 11 and Figure 4-2) who is standing in back of her. In these ways, V-2 orients her laughter to V-5 in sharing a moment of affective appreciation and common understanding towards D-1's bringing up the story to the present. In these ways, the recipients to the story

(visitors) display their involvement as stances, which are displayed not only to the teller (docent) but also to each other, suggesting that multiple visitors have appreciated and understood the meaning of the docent's bringing up the story to the present.

4.2.2. *Following a story ending*

In addition to the story telling proper, docents also brought up stories to the present upon their completion, as in Excerpt 5. Just prior to this excerpt, the docent (D-4) had been describing how the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 (a U.S. immigration and nationality act) allowed people of Japanese descent (and other Asians) born abroad to become U.S. citizens for the first time. As we join the excerpt, D-4 begins telling a personal story, and then relates the past to the present.

```
Excerpt 5 Across the border (D-4/docent-4, V-7/visitor-7,
V-8/visitor-8)
01 D-4:      so:: (0.7) I asked my da:d (1.4)
02           dad are you gonna become a citizen?
03           and jus- >he didn't say yes or no<
04           he just (0.4) smiled and said y'know hitoshi
05           i:'ve been in this country |fifty four years,
   d-4                                   |((smiling))
06 D-4:      an' now they tell m(h)e h I can become °a citizen°.
07           (0.5)
08           so: (.) you know (.)
09           |when ya think about it (.)
   d-4       |((looks up to ceiling, smiling))
10 D-4:      the (0.3) people who come across the border
11           |#no:w
   d-4       |#((hand gesture, smiling))
   fig             #5-1
12           (.) an' >before ya know |it<       |
13 V-7:                              |(sure)    |
14           become citi|#zens.
15 v-8                  |#((raises arm, palm up))
   fig             #5.2
16 D-4:      y'k(h)n|ow.      |.tch h h.
17 V-7:             |#right.  |
   v-7             |#((turns head away))
18 V-8:            |#((nodding))
   fig             #5-3
```

Figure 5-1. D-4 makes gesture from back to front.
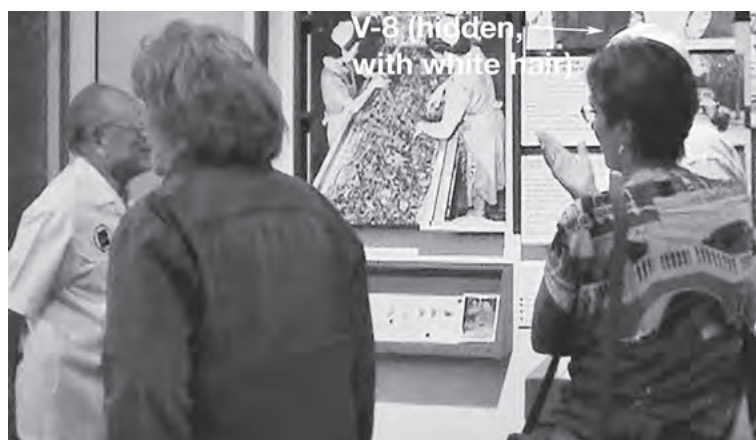

Figure 5-2. V-8 raises his hand with palm facing up.

Figure 5-3. V-7 says 'right' while turning her head away, and V-8 nods.

After relating a personal story involving his father's situation in which it was implied that gaining U.S. citizen was an extremely long process, D-4 brings the story up to the present (from lines 8-16 above):

"So: (.) you know (.) when ya think about it (.) the people who come across the border no:w (.) an' >before ya know it< become citizens."

With this utterance, D-4 evokes a contrast between past and present through linguistic resources. He implies that currently becoming a citizen is a comparatively quick process. This comparison is grammatically marked by a shift to the present tense ("come across the border now"; "become citizens"): Up until this moment in the talk, the story had been in the past tense. As in Excerpt 4 earlier, it is also done through discourse markers. Here, these markers include "you know/y'know" at the beginning ("so: you know") and end of the utterance ("y'know"), lexicon ("come across the border now"), and second person pronoun pronounced "ya" ("when ya think about it"; "before ya know it"). The contrast is also done in embodied ways, using an iconic gesture that can be "seen" as depicting people crossing the border (Figure 5-1). This gesture, in Goodwin's (2018) terms, is a *parasitic* phenomenon to the co-occurring talk, in the sense that it "gets its meaning and organization from the way it is fluidly linked to the other meaning making practices and sign systems that are constituting the events of the moment" (p. 230).

As shown in previous research on storytelling (see Mandelbaum, 2012), an assessment is a relevant response to the completion of a story. Thus, upon completion of the story, bringing up a story to the present can invite visitors' assessments that display a stance of alignment. Assessments often employ but are not limited to either assessment adjectives (e.g., "great," "terrible") or speech. Here, as the docent says, "become citizens," a male visitor (V-8) lifts the palm of his hand up, conveying through a hand gesture what could be glossed as "go figure," before he begins to walk away from the area. This gesture is not accompanied by speech. In this way, V-8 responds to D-4's bringing up the story to the present by producing a non-verbal assessment as a display of alignment. Another visitor, V-7, also responds with alignment: Upon the completion of D-4's utterance, "become citizens. y'know," V-7 says "right" while turning her gaze in the opposite direction of D-4. By turning away from D-4 at the completion of their

stance displays, the visitors' responses can also be viewed as a co-construction that talk about the storytelling regarding this set of objects has come to completion. This also has the effect of *not* engaging further with the politically sensitive issue of immigration that was brought up (in a light-hearted way) by the docent.

The final analytical point in relation to bringing up a story to the present is the following. It has often been observed that speakers *design* their talk for particular kinds of recipients (e.g., adults talk to young children different from how they talk to other adults) (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). In general, docents designed their talk for specific audiences. Although I will not have the space to detail the full range of how this is so in relation to various tour groups (e.g., students vs. non-students, Japanese vs. Americans), an example was illustrated in Excerpt 5 above, in which the docent brought up current U.S. immigration to a group of Caucasian American adults, who are likely to grasp, and perhaps hold opinions on, this politically-charged matter.

Another example of such recipient design is illustrated in Excerpt 6 from a Japanese-speaking tour. Here, a docent (D-2) and visitor (V-3), from the same tour as in Excerpt 2, are standing in front of a collection of photos of famous Japanese Americans from the late 20th century, including a photo of a U.S. Senator from Hawaii (Daniel Inouye), who is posed with other government officials. Just prior to the excerpt, D-2 established the setting of the story (just after the end of World War II). As told by D-2, Inouye had lost his arm fighting for the United States. When Inouye was in San Francisco on his way back to Hawaii he stopped into a barbershop and, despite that he was wearing an army uniform, was refused service:

```
Excerpt 6 Senator Inouye (D-2/Docent-2, V-3/Visitor-3)
01 D-2:      <i don't cut japs hair> tte yutta te.
             'The barber said to him, ''I don't cut Japs' hair.''
02           (0.3)
03 D-2:      |da kara ne |(0.3)| moo hontoo ni
             'So y'know, really'
   d-2       |((turns head towards photo))
04 V-3:                  |un   |
                         'yeah.'
   v-3                   |((turns head to photo))
05 D-2:      |anoo: i:|ma |#anatatachi ga amerika ni |korarete,
             'um, now you all have come to America,'
   d-2                  |((turns head to V-3))
                        |#((gesture))
   fig                   #6-1
```

```
     v-3          |((turns head towards D-2))                    |((nod))
06 D-2:        warui to kanjirarenai desho |#kedo,
               'and may not feel that it's bad but,'
     v-3                                    |#((nod))
                                             #6-2
07             (0.3) |jinshu henken |to yuu no wa moo (0.3)
                      'racial discrimination'
     v-3            |((nods))        |((nods))
08             |sengo ni demo zutto |nagai koto (0.4)
               'even after the war,'
     v-3       |((nods))                  |((turns to photo))
09             |tsuzuiteta |wake desu |nee. ee::.
               'continued for a long time. Right.'
     v-3       |((nods multiple times))
                           |((turns head to guide))
                                  |((head to photo))
```


Figure 6-1. D-2 says 'you all' while making a hand gesture.

Figure 6-2. V-3 gazes at D-2 while nodding.

Following the end of the story in which the docent uses *reported speech* (Holt & Clift, 2007) to convey how the barber refused service to Inouye with a racial slur (line 1: "The barber apparently said to him, I don't cut Japs' hair"), D-2 brings the story up to the present by referring to V-3's presumed situation (from lines 3 to 6 above):

"So y'know really, um, now you have all come to America, and may not feel that it's bad, but racial discrimination, even after the war, continued for a long time. Right."

As in many other examples in this data (see Excerpts 4 and 5), D-2 brings the story up to the present by first using a discourse marker (here, in Japanese, composed of a conjunction *dakara* + pragmatic particle *ne*, translated as "so, y'know"). This marker shifts the talk from the story world (past) to the here-and-now (present) in which the focus will immediately become V-3's recent situation. More specifically, D-2 continues her talk by using an emphatic marker *moo* followed by an adverb "really" (*hontoo ni*), and then explicitly marks the present with the lexical item "now" (*ima*), followed by a reference to V-3 and his family, using a plural pronoun "you all" (lines 5-6: "now you all have come to America and may not feel that it's bad, but"). She then shifts back to the past time frame, this time to make a comparison with the just invoked present by saying, "racial discrimination, even after the war, continued for a long time. Right" (lines 7-9). This example, similar to Excerpt 5, is one of the most explicit cases of contrast between past and present in these data.

V-3's responses display attention and a stance of *alignment* through head nodding (Stivers, 2008), which supports D-2's telling: Except for a minimal verbalization in line 4 (*un* 'yeah'), V-3 does not provide other verbal responses here. These non-verbal responses also include several head turns towards the photograph and back to the docent, which are timed to the direction of the guide's gaze and head turns (i.e., When D-2 turns her head towards the photo, V-3 turns his head there too). These minimal responses may be due to the ways in which D-2 conveyed her stance: In comparison to other excerpts in which docents seem to treat the end of the story as lighthearted through smiling or some laughter, here D-2's stance is "heavier" (i.e., serious) due to the evoked topic of overt racism. In these ways, V-3 seems to *affiliate* with the stance displayed by the docent by remaining a relatively quiet but attentive recipient.

In these ways, in bringing up a story to the present, this example suggests that docents design their talk for specific kinds of audiences, especially in relation to the chosen topic of comparison as well as in how this talk is carried out that requires making assumptions and drawing upon shared background knowledge that takes the visitor's perspective into account.

In sum, this section has shown ways that docents bring up a story to the present by way of contrasting past and present, either in the midst of the telling or upon its completion. This juxtaposition was done sequentially, by first relating a story in the past and then relating events or situations to the present through grammar and lexicon. Visitors responded in various ways that displayed their epistemic and affective stances to the docents' bringing up the story to the present, as well as their alignment and affiliation through both verbal and non-verbal means.

5. Conclusion

This paper has examined stories in guided tours at a Japanese American history museum. It has interrogated the communicative practices and discursive/embodied resources that English and Japanese-speaking docents deployed that invited visitor "involvement" in the tours as a social activity. That is, while involvement could also be considered as something that is a "private" phenomenon that occurs in the minds of individuals, here involvement was considered as a "public" social practice that occurs in

situated interaction in ways that is made available for others to respond to. It has analyzed two practices that docents deployed that invited visitor involvement: posing questions and bringing up a story to the present. It has shown ways these practices were constructed through verbal and non-verbal resources, and performed social actions and displayed stances within sequences of interaction. Questions (and their answers) performed a range of social actions, such as to invite the recipients to make a guess and display their knowledge. In relation to storytelling sequences, questions were used in opening the talk and in developing a story, whereas bringing up a story to the present was used in developing the story and bringing the story to completion. In these ways, these practices were distributed somewhat differently across talk about specific objects (e.g., photographs of people) and installations (e.g., compilation of objects representing a classroom). Such practices do not determine or guarantee visitor involvement, but rather invite it in different ways. In this regard, questions are a more *explicit* practice for inviting visitor involvement because they make an "answer" a next relevant action by one or more visitors (either a specific visitor to whom the question was addressed, or no one specifically in cases when the question was addressed to the whole group). In comparison to questions, bringing up a story to the present was a more *implicit* practice for inviting visitor involvement because it does not necessarily require a next response.

The analysis has also shown ways in which visitors display their involvement through the use of communicative practices and resources, both verbally and non-verbally, including "answers" to questions, continuers, confirmation questions, head nods, and laughter, which are aimed not only at the docent but also at times to other visitors. In these ways, it has conceptualized involvement as performing social action and displaying stance within interaction.

The findings here are in line with the observation that stories are a tool of engaging listeners. By engaging visitors in stories, docents involved them in the museum as an institution with goals (e.g., learning, enjoyment). In these ways, the analysis has, I hope, contributed to a deeper understanding of guided tours, not just as a one-way "lecture" but as a co-constructed event that involves multiple participants who shape it and give it meaning.

Appendix

Transcription conventions (based on Jefferson, 1984 and Mondada, 2018 with some modification)

V-1:	Capital letter and number followed by colon indicates speaker ID to be followed by an utterance.
v-1	Small letter and number indicates speaker ID to be followed by a non-verbal action.
fig	Abbreviation "fig" indicates a figure in the transcript.
#fig1	Sharp sign indicates the location of the figure in the transcript.
| text |	Bar indicates start and end points of overlapping speech or non-verbal action.
=	Equal sign indicates break and subsequent continuation of a single interrupted utterance.
(0.2)	Number in parenthesis indicates time in seconds/tenths of second of pause.
(.)	Period in parenthesis indicates brief pause, less than 0.2 second.
.	Period indicates falling pitch.
?	Question mark indicates rising pitch.
,	Comma indicates temporary rise or fall in intonation.
-	Hyphen indicates abrupt halt of interruption in utterance.
>text<	Greater than / less than symbols indicate enclosed speech was delivered more rapidly than usual for the speaker.
<text>	Less than / greater than symbols indicate enclosed speech was delivered more slowly for the speaker.
°	Degree symbol indicates whisper or reduced volume speech.
CAPS	Capitalized text indicates shouted or increased volume speech.
word	Underlined text indicates speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.
wo:::rd	Colon indicates prolongation of an utterance.
h	Letter h indicates audible exhalation or laughter.
wo(h)rd	Letter h enclosed in parenthesis indicates audible exhalation or laughter within an utterance.
((text)) / ((*text*))	Double parenthesis indicates annotation of non-verbal activity, or transcriber comment.

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