[online] ISSN 2385-3042 [print] ISSN 1125-3789

Survey on the Pragmatic Elements of Television Interviews

What Can be Learnt from Japanese Talk Shows

Francesco Vitucci (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Abstract This study analyses the pragmatic aspects of intracultural management of TV interview in Japanese. In particular, it investigates how speakers, in order to achieve their communication goals, often melt together their sociopragmatic values with an unconventional use of language. From a didactic point of view, this observation proves to be particularly significant since it helps to reduce the boundary between a pedagogical approach too often linked to models of syntactic-grammatical correctness and a more recent one which tries to come as close as possible to actual interactional models by promoting awareness of intralingual communication strategies, and reducing sociopragmatic, pragmalinguistic and intercultural mistakes by foreign/second language learners. From a methodological perspective, the presentation intends to clarify the inner dynamics of pragmatic management of the interview with the following goals: a) intercepting intracultural dynamics of content management and feedbacks through a bottom up approach by utilizing transcription techniques of CA; b) extracting and isolating those key concepts apt to describe TV interview features in Japanese without imposing them through a top-down model; c) stimulating a reflection that goes beyond the analysis of language itself in order to understand the iconic, paralinguistic and extralinguistic aspects of communication.

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Keywords Japanese teaching. Intercultural pragmatics. Audiovisual input.

1 Introduction

In foreign language teaching, the question arose of how to organize valid pedagogical interventions able to convey the necessary pragmatic skills of the languages being taught. Referring to the so-called SPEAKING model proposed by Dell Hymes (1927-2009) and on the basis of his studies on intercultural communication, Balboni (2012) includes an analysis of the languages within a more generic *communication learning* framework, thereby indicating not only the ability of the learners to «exchange effective messages» using a language (pp. 121-125) but also the importance of recogniz-

ing two basic structural levels in each of the various communication genres: a first universal element also called template, which identifies the typology, and a second local one, which bears different stylistic elements depending on the languacultures in which they have developed. Hofstede (1991) points out that the proficiency in the communication genres in the target languages must necessarily pass through three stages of awareness, knowledge and skill, where 'awareness' means the acknowledgment of the peculiarities of intracultural communication strategies, 'knowledge' refers to the study of the sociocultural aspects of the languaculture being studied (resulting from the sum of way of life and way of thinking) and 'skill' implies the actual pragmatic ability to effectively communicate through the genres selected.

Recalling this pedagogical vision and remaining within the teaching of intercultural pragmatics, it is necessary to stress how scholars have often highlighted the importance of submitting original audiovisual sources to foreign language/L2 students (Balboni, Caon 2015; Balboni 2008, 2012; Bazzanella 1994; Bettoni 2006; Diadori, Micheli 2010; Sherman 2003; Spinelli 2006) in order to stimulate a teaching renewal necessarily based on the emerging figure of a learner who increasingly «interprets» (Bonaiuti 2010, p. 87) the cultural inputs that he is selecting. To this effect, Pavone states:

The authenticity of the audiovisual sources involves a cultural investigation aimed at discovering any connotation, implicit element and meaning which is not clearly expressed but should be examined in its diversity on the basis of comparative analyses in various fields [...] Ultimately, the proper attention is paid to the specific traits of a society [...]. The acquisition of sociocultural know-how will help satisfy the needs of communicative competence. (Pavone 2003, p. 30)

Needless to repeat, this view is extremely current, especially if you look at the Internet as the main source of audiovisual materials for language learners. In this regard, the author already had the occasion to point out how these resources, thanks to their multi-informative dynamism, represent a valuable visual dictionary containing not only high-quality verbal and paraverbal (grammar, syntax, lexicon, prosody, pragmatics), but also extraverbal (gestures, facial expression, proxemics, clothing style, accessories) and sociocultural notions that are to be integrated in the communication performances of the learners:

¹ In addition to that, from a strictly cognitive point of view, the audiovisual sources are fundamental in the observation of the interaction between language and images. Thanks to the so-called *ancrage* phenomenon, in fact, images acquire a value thanks to the various meanings that the language assumes from time to time in order to contextualize them (Balboni 2008, p. 74).

For the new generations, videos constitute new ways of expression, as well as useful tools providing information and specific knowledge. [...] Undoubtedly, the ability to comprehend and decipher authentic materials in a foreign language represents a significant stimulus to learning. This is mainly due to the fact that learners often tend to emulate the linguistic behaviour of native speakers, preferring an explicit approach in terms of communication, also able to go beyond the limits of a classical printed manual. [...] The Internet, in fact, rather than as a 'virtual library' should be defined as a photo library, video library and storage space for elements not easily harmonisable. (Vitucci 2013, pp. XI-XII)

In particular, internet access offers learners the opportunity to focus on certain communication genres and the resulting pragmalinguistic behaviours, thus improving their output skills of the chosen foreign language through emulation. Leaving aside the identity issues of the learners during the learning process (to this effect, see of Siegal 1996), this study proposes an analysis of the television interview communication type from a pragmatic point of view, by comparing two videos recently aired in Japan, where the protagonists are two famous Japanese pop singers. As for language education, the choice of these materials is intended to define more precisely the concept of *linguistic appropriateness* as defined by Hyme:

Appropriateness entails the sociocultural and pragmatic effectiveness of a given utterance that is formally possible and feasible 'in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated'. (Van Compernolle 2014, p. 33)

Today the definition of what should be 'appropriately' taught and learnt in the context of pure language teaching becomes an increasingly complex task. However, thanks to the continuous exposure of learners to streaming materials in the Internet, it is clear that appropriateness has to be identified and considered in its interactional dimension (Bazzanella 1994; Adornetti 2013) placing at the centre of the future communication skills of the learners not only sociopragmatic creativity, but also a process of internalization of those meanings/concepts that speakers intend to convey through the instruments at their disposal (Balboni 2012, pp. 127-135). As shown by several sources available on the Internet, this creativity should be based on not always conventional use of the language, where 'not conventional' refers to both the deviations from the linguistic conventions and any respective social contexts (Van Compernolle 2014, p. 41). In the videos selected here, for example, it is interesting to observe from a purely intercultural perspective how speakers, in order to achieve their communication goals, often employ their sociopragmatic values, resulting in a use not always conventional of the language. From a strictly educational point of view, this observation is particularly meaningful since it contributes to: i) reduce the boundary

between a teaching too often tied to patterns of syntactic-grammatical correctness and a teaching approach closer to real interactional models; ii) promote awareness of specific intralinguistic communication strategies which can prove useful in reducing any sociopragmatic, pragmalinguistic and intercultural mistake made by L2/foreign language learners (Lo Castro 2012, pp. 83-90). As Bazzanella recalls, these mistakes are often due to the fact that the cultural norms of a community influence both language production and understanding, while at intercultural level, the pragmatic elements tend to be overlooked by foreign learners because of the lack of a link between the linguistic forms in the strict sense and their broader cultural and interactional value (Bazzanella 1994, p. 216).

From a methodological perspective, this essay proposes to highlight more precisely the pragmatic dynamics in the interview management by setting the following goals:

- a. detecting the intracultural dynamics in the content and feedback management in the interviews examined through a bottom up approach by means of the typical transcriptive techniques of the conversation analysis (Fele 2007, Heritage 1998, Liddicoat 2007, Schegloff 1981). Consequently, rather than the analysis of the sole syntax, this brief paper shall focus on the pragmatic analysis of the 'speech' (Adornetti 2013, p. 44);
- b. inferring and isolating the key concepts which describe the interactional type of the Japanese interview without imposing them *a priori* through a top-down mode, as 'other' or 'unique' characteristics of the language in question. As already suggested by Balboni through the metaphor of the carafe of Baxtin (Balboni, Caon 2015) and later by Fele (2007, p. 89), although the basic structures of conversation relate to the fundamental mechanisms of interaction among people, the cultural and linguistic variables contribute to identify otherwise the same type in the different languacultures. To investigate the latter, it will be necessary to mention the Japanese scholars who, from an internal perspective, can and should necessarily enrich the discussion. In particular, this paper shall analyse the proposals for the classification and analysis of the feedback (*aizuchi*, in Japanese) resulting from the studies of Horiguchi (1988), Machida and Katō (2004), Okamoto (2008) and Sawano (2008);
- c. stimulating an holistic reflection which goes beyond the sole analysis of the language in order to understand the iconic, paralinguistic and extralinguistic aspects of communication. This aims at raising awareness in learners that communicative competence is always enriched by the mimicry, gestures and prosodic features of the language (Pavone 2003, p. 19). In particular gesture, respect to words, has its strong objectivity, especially when the conventional gesture lies within the context of specific social and cultural models (Tassan 2005, p. 29).

2 The Television Interview

According to the *conversation analysis* literature, the dialogue in television interviews falls into a conversation typology which is called 'institutional', where 'institutional' means a dialogue in which the mechanism of alternation of speakers is substantially modified (Fele 2007 p. 100). In fact, the turn-taking model in interviews is made of multiple units, which do not necessarily culminate with the rotation of the turns: this happens both for the interviewer, who can introduce his questions through statements/preliminary narrations, and for the interviewee, who can wait for the completion of the question, or answer according to extended turns during which the interviewer does not intervene. According to the studies of Heritage (1998) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1991), in this particular type of interaction, both the contents and the turn-taking are often organized a priori in an explicit and predictable way which leads to an intimate cooperation between the speakers for the construction of the dialogue, 2 as well as to an easy identification of any possible deviation from the interactive model. Not surprisingly, as Bazzanella states (1994, p. 212), in the dialogue typology, negotiations involve not only the meaning, but rather the relationship itself between speakers (also 'co-authors') in a process of constant co-construction which mingles conversational and social roles.

Despite the above appearance of intimacy, the main addressee/beneficiary of this interactive type is the television audience instead of the interviewer, who rather plays a dual role as a catalyst as he has to: i) provide a framework in which the interviewee can convey useful information and opinions; ii) challenge and/or put pressure on the interviewee based on his own statements (Heritage 1998, p.15). As a result, therefore, given the need to assign these roles to the participants, the asymmetry between speakers represents the main element of the interview. In fact, as shown by Fele (2007), just like in physician-patient interactions, in the interview the relevance of the sequences based on adjacent pairs (question/answer) determines and asymmetrically binds the participation format. Therefore, the demonstration of attention to the interview also leads to a 'deference' reminding of the social organization of the interaction and, in particular, of the structural characteristics of the conversation itself (Fele 2007, p. 105). Locally, such deference, as already suggested in earlier studies for the analysis of two different interview types in Japanese (Vitucci 2015), can be detected both at a sociopragmatic level in the analysis of the diaphasic

² These statements are in contrast with the earlier studies of Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson (1974) in which the principle of the *unpredictability* of the conversation is stated. Conversely, in his following essays, Schegloff (1991), focusing on institutional interactions, highlights how relevance, procedural consequentiality of the institutional context, as well as the roles, goals and identity of the speakers are directly reflected in the development of the interaction itself.

variation of the language,³ and at a paraverbal and extraverbal level, in the examination of the semantics of the body and of the prosodic features of the language. In addition to asymmetry, however, it is possible to identify other local factors able to describe more accurately the characteristics of the Japanese television interview. Far from stereotyping the following concepts or regarding them as the sole constituents of that type of dialogue. at a purely educational and cultural level they can be summarized in the following points, evaluating each time their validity through the analysis of the audiovisual materials considered: i) circularity: that is, the ability to gradually construct the meaning through the successive preparatory formulations of the concepts progressively involved (Balboni, Caon 2015; Okamoto 2008); ii) cooperativeness: anamely, the ability to build the dialogue (Bazzanella 1994; Markus, Kitayama 1991) with a mutual use of 'emotional' feedbacks (Sawano 2008; Machida, Katō 2004) and by means of superimpositions not perceived as an 'invasion' or 'corruption' of the turns of speech (Heritage 1998); iii) evocativeness, that is the ability to recall concepts and images belonging to one's languaculture through an interaction at times syntactically limited, but with an important involvement of paraverbal and extraverbal aspects (Tassan 2005; Okamoto 2008; Vitucci 2014a).

2.1 First Video: the Interview with the Singer Hirai Ken



Figure 1. Setting of the interview with the singer Hirai Ken

The first video examined in this study refers to a two-minute interview released during a morning talk show by the Japanese pop singer Hi-

- 3 This refers to the so-called *sociopragmatic attention*, i.e. the ability to carefully select the language registers (mainly *futsūgo*, *sonkeigo*, *teineigo*) with respect to the setting of the conversations, their participants and the type of interaction according to the typical Japanese politeness (Kádár, Mills 2011.)
- 4 Not to be confused with the *cooperation* principle developed by Paul Grice (1989).

rai Ken in 2010, available on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=trRJmXSdFYQ. Below, the contextual elements are briefly outlined (Bazzanella 1994), and then the specific content is analysed:

- a. the people participating in the interview are three: the singer (H), an anchorman (I1) and an anchorwoman (I2); the dialogue revolves around H's typical day;
- b. the setting of the interview is a television studio, where the participants are sitting on three stools next to the anchorwoman surrounded by the two men. All the speakers are facing the cameras even if they try to form a semicircle to establish a proper eye contact during the interview. Although the two interviewers are wearing formal clothes according to the Japanese etiquette (the anchorman is rather elegant, while the anchorwoman is wearing a classic-sport suit), the casual style of the guest suggests a relaxed and informal atmosphere typical of the morning TV talk shows end (Fig. 1);
- c. the sociolinguistic interaction among the participants during the interview reveals the use of a very informal linguistic register without any diaphasic incursions in morphosyntactic structures typical of the honorific language (sonkeigo), but rather a repeated use of the polite form (teineigo) by all the participants, as well as some traits of the common register (futsūgo). At a diastratic level, the use of loanwords, called gairaigo, (Jinnouchi 2007; Vitucci 2014a) is rather peculiar and absolutely 'non-conventional' (Van Compernolle 2014); loanwords were first used by the interviewee to evoke a luxurious and exclusive lifestyle, but later extended to all the participants who gave life to an interesting dialogue in cheerful and easy-going tones.

As already reported in the previous section, in this interview the asymmetry of the dialogue (Fele 2007) is first seen in the organization of the questions, which follows a 'general → particular' structure starting from

- 5 This is evidenced by the recurring use of the *-ndesuka* copula following verbs in plain form in the questions asked by the interviewers, and the use of the *-masu* verbal ending and the *-desu* copula in the answers of the interviewee.
- **6** The use of *futsūgo* is evident in the abbreviated verbal suffix *-chatta* instead of *-te shimai-mashita* chosen in the monologues by the interviewee (*iucchatta*), or adverbial abbreviations such as, for example, *yappa* instead of *yappari* used by the interviewer.
- 7 The gairaigo used are all based on English: sansetto taimu (sunset time), shanpan (champagne), dorinkingu shanpan (drinking champagne), sansetto shanpan (sunset champagne), afutā sansetto taimu (after sunset time), ribā saido (river side), opun cafe (open cafe), samā taimu (summer time), Tama ribā (Tama river). It is also worth mentioning the use of the wordplay: kaki gentei opun (open only in summer) (term resulting from the hybridization of the Japanese word kaki gentei with the English loan word open).

the main question by I1 (yasumi no hi tte Hirai san, nani o suru ndesuka?8), completed with several questions by both I1 and I2 aimed at soliciting further information from the speaker during the narration (Asa kara inshu?; Hirai san wa nani o nomu ndesuka?; Hirai Ken san wa ippai shaberu ndesuka?; Mou ippai ippai janai desuka?) Therefore, the role of 'catalysts' performed by the two interviewers (Heritage 1998) and that of 'information source' played by the interviewee are here well defined from a social point of view during the interview. The above elicitation process of the information can be easily observed through the presence of numerous sentences spoken by the interviewers with the purpose of suggesting any content and/or element for the completion of the guest's narration: these cues, in fact, are not aimed at hindering the narration, and do not represent any turn shift (Fele 2007, p. 39). Not surprisingly, the interviewee willingly accepts these suggestions through consent feedbacks (sō desu ne, uhm), repetitions or synonyms and continues his narration. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the following passage:

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I2(1): asa kara [inshu? H (1): [yaya! H (2): >asa kara janai desu ne <
I2(2): asa wa yukkuri nete
H (3): sō desu ne, mah (0.1) hiru gurai mae nete (0.2) de, mah (0.1) jimu ittari [shite I1 (1): [ha:::=
I1 (2): =ah, yappa, ase ga kaite=
H (4): =uhm, sō desu ne (0.1)
H (5): [karada o ugokashite (0.2) I1 (3): [uhm I2 (3): [kitaetari toka shite=
H (6): kitaetari toka shite (0.1)
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- 8 Translation: «Mr Hirai, what do you usually do in your days off?»
- **9** Translation: «Do you start drinking in the morning?»; «Mr Hirai, what do you (usually) drink?»; «Mr Hirai, do you usually speak (when you drink)?»; «Aren't you too excited?».

In the above passage, after the H (2) sentence as a kara janai desu ne¹⁰ intended to reject the previous statement, the I2 anchorwoman gives the interviewee a cue, thus asking him to describe his typical day: the I2 (2) sentence asa wa yukkuri nete, where the interviewee is supposed to have a very slow awakening in the morning. The interviewee at first accepts this proposal with a confirmation feedback (sō desu ne). Subsequently, in the H (3) sentence, he continues his narration by adding further information (mah, hiru gurai mae nete de, mah, jimu ittari shite¹¹) and, once he has finished his narration, I1 immediately adds another suggestion (ah, yappa, ase qa kaite¹²). This suggestion is accepted like the first one. In fact, H introduces a verb which is almost a synonym of the previous one to confirm the validity of H (5) (karada o uqokashite¹³), simultaneously followed by the umpteenth suggestion of I2 in the I2 (3) sentence, where another verb relating to the previous one is introduced (kitaetari toka shite). At this point, in H (6), the interviewee, almost amused, accepts once again the last suggestion by repeating I2 (3) sentence and continues his narration. From an emic perspective, the above passage of the interview sheds light on how the inference/intuition process plays a crucial pragmatic role in content management because, as Fele also suggests (2007, p. 27), it shows how the temporal and qualitative development of the conversation is based on the expectation of a social interaction relying on the specific circumstances and identity of the speakers in a given time.

As evidenced by the above extract, the feedbacks also play a key role in the co-construction of the dialogue, thus confirming both the *circularity* (Balboni, Caon 2015) and the *cooperativeness* principle (Bazzanella 1994) through emotional responses (Okamoto 2008) as well as not corruptive superimposition of the turns of speech. The careful management of back channels, in fact, confirms the so-called *interdependent self-conception*, which clearly shows how the social attention typical of the dialogue aims at maintaining the face both of the speaker and of the interlocutor, identifying the speakers as 'cooperative speakers' (Markus, Kitayama 1991). This cooperativeness is also evidenced by the frequent use by the interviewee of reformulations, waffles or hesitation (mah, ano::, chotto, $hont\bar{o}ni$, $k\bar{o}$, $demo\ nanka\ m\bar{o}$) or verbs in the suspensive form pronounced with a falling prosodic pitch immediately followed by a pause (shite, ugokashite, nonde), designed to highlight the temporal awareness of H in the management of his narration towards his interlocutors.

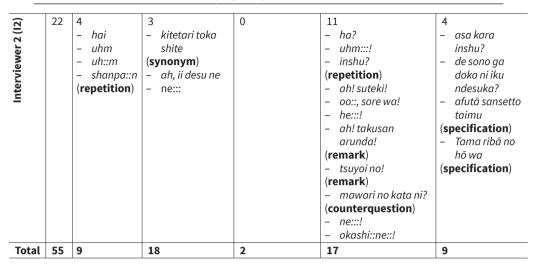
- 10 Translation: «No, not in the morning!»
- 11 Translation: «Yes, exactly. But, I usually sleep until noon and then, well, I go to the gym».
- 12 Translation: «Then you sweat (at the gym)».
- 13 Translation: «Do some exercise».

As indicated by Sawano (2008), in Japanese conversation about fifteen to twenty feedbacks (aizuchi) per minute are expressed, not only in a two-speaker conversation. The reason for these recurring phenomena, according to Machida and Katō (2004), is to be found mainly in the lack of eye contact and the resulting necessity to prove one's attention to the other party. ¹⁴ Horiquchi (1988) summarizes the types of *aizuchi* as follows: 1. aizuchi aimed at pointing out the attention to the other party (hai, ee, uhm); 2. aizuchi reporting understanding and agreement with the contents of the conversation (sono toori desu, sō desu ne, sore wa iemasu ne, naruhodo); 3. aizuchi indicating disagreement (iie, ie, iya); 4. aizuchi denoting amazement/confusion regarding the contents exposed (ex. eh?, ha?, hontō?, hontō desuka?, ara!) and 5. aizuchi aimed at asking for additional information (to iu to?, to osshaimasu to?, dō iu imi?). The analysis of this interview, however, shows that even the repetitions and reformulations can be considered valid feedback strategies falling into both the first and the second type suggested by Horiquchi, as useful tools at the disposal of the speakers to prove their attention or consent. Similarly, further questions or clarifications, expressed in some specific moments of the interview, can solicit new informations, thus falling into the fifth group of aizuchi described above. In this regard, as also stressed by Adornetti quoting the theories of Grice, in order to carry out an effective pragmatic analysis, it is necessary to distinguish the literal meaning of the expressions being studied from the one expressed by the speakers, namely the meaning with which they use them: the first one corresponds to the linguistically encoded meaning; the second one, conversely, refers to what the speaker wants to say, that is the message that he wants to convey to the other party (Adornetti 2013, pp. 47-48). On the basis of these assumptions and using Horiguchi's original framework (1988) the following integrated subdivision of the back channels is proposed, according to the analysis of the interview reported in this section (Table 1, Fig. 2):

¹⁴ Not surprisingly, the *aizuchi* are frequent even in telephone conversations where there is no visual contact between speakers. In the above-mentioned case, the lack of these signals may lead the other person to suspect a decline of attention, or even the physical absence of the other person (Machida, Katō 2004, p. 128).

Table 1. List and subdivision of feedbacks according to Horiguchi's integrated classification (according to the Jefferson system of transcription)

Speakers	Feedback	1	2	3	4	5
HIRAI (H)	15	2 - uhm - ee:::	11 - sō desu ne (x2) - ii desu yo ne - hiru gurai mae nete (repetition) - karada o ugokashite (synonym) - kitaeri toka shite (repetition) - afutā sansetto taimu (repetition) - samā taimu (repetition) - Tama river (repetition in English) - nankusettare (repetition)	2 - yaya! - asa kara janai - desu ne (clarification)	0	0
Interviewer 1 (11)	18	3 - ha:: - uhm - ee:::	4 - yappa, ase ga kaite (synonym) - ah, opun cafè (repetition) - ne::: - shanpan ne (repetition)	0	6 - uh::m! - he:::! - he::: - shanpan ne, sokka! - aa::: - nankusettare (repetition)	 5 ippai ippai janai desuka? Hirai san, nani nomu ndesuka? Osake wa bīru, wain? You to dō naru ndesuka? Ippai shaberu ndesuka?



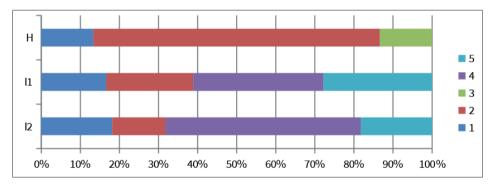


Figure 2. Feedback frequency per speaker during the interview with Hirai Ken

As shown by Table 1 and Fig. 2, the asymmetry of the interview and the resulting roles lead H to provide feedbacks essentially belonging to the first and second type of *aizuchi*, with a percentage of 86% indicative of the level of attentiveness of the interviewee to the suggestions gradually proposed by two interviewers, the *circularity* of the narration management (progressive co-construction of the story through signs of agreement) and the high degree of *evocativeness* due to the numerous exophoric references (*hiru gurai mae nete, karada o ugokashite, kitaeri toka shite*) used by the interviewee through this type of back channels (Adornetti 2013, p. 64). Conversely, although in H's sentences there are feedbacks belonging to the third type and indicating disagreement, in the specific context of the interview they represent only an accidental event, completely absent in the sentences of I1 and I2. These attitudes are certainly indicative of

a high degree of mutual cooperativeness between speakers, which – at a sociopragmatic level – often reveals itself through the Japanese respectful habit of not openly contradicting the other party according to his/her social position (*tachiba*, in Japanese¹⁵). Such mutual social attentiveness is also confirmed by the percentage of the same agreement/understanding feedback expressed by the interviewers, respectively accounting for 38% for I1 and 32% for I2, with a total of 70% for the sole interviewers.

Focusing instead on the behaviour of the two interviewers (I1, I2), it is interesting to observe how the feedbacks of the fourth and fifth type (stupor and elicitation) represent the largest part of their respective interventions, accounting for 62% for I1 and reaching 68% for the anchorwoman (I2), while they are completely absent in speech of H. Assuming the role of 'catalysts' (Heritage 1998) played by I1 and I2 during the interview, it is certainly interesting to mention their different approach. The feedbacks indicating astonishment are mainly used by I2 (50%), while I1 shows a much lower percentage (35%). The most striking element, however, is the guality of this type of intervention: besides the typical Japanese exclamations of amazement (ha?, uhm:::!, ne:::!, okashi::ne::!, ah! suteki!, hee:::!) I2 communicates her involvement even through the repetition of parts of the interviewee's narration (inshu?), counterquestions (mawari no kata ni?), or remark feedbacks (ah! takusan arunda!, tsuyoi no!). I1, conversely, mainly intervenes with a single type of aizuchi indicating amazement (uh:::m!, he:::!, he:::) giving priority to his role of anchorman. Not surprisingly, he has the highest percentage of eliciting interventions (27%) including questions (Ippai ippai janai desuka?, Hirai san, nani nomu ndesuka?, Osake wa bīru, wain?, You to dō naru ndesuka?, Ippai shaberu ndesuka?), while I2 solicits fewer information (18%) asking some questions, but also making some observations pertaining to the content of the guest's speech (afutā sansetto taimu, Tama ribā no hō wa...).

At the diastratic and sociopragmatic level, the most peculiar aspect of this video is certainly represented by the repeated use of loanwords (gairaigo) by the interviewee with a hilarious effect. Interestingly, in fact, the reaction to the 'exotic' story of H helps create a more informal and less 'structured' context in terms of turn-taking system (Heritage 1998; Fele 2007), due to its greater evocativeness. From an extraverbal point of view, this is further evidenced by the use of kinetographic gestures (Tassan 2005, pp. 46-47) in conjunction with the use of loanwords mimicking the act of drinking champagne (an open hand which rotates forward and backward as if it is holding a big glass); iconographic gestures, such as two hands moving away from each other with the palm upwards to indicate the river side ($rib\bar{a}$ saido); or intensifying gestures, such as two hands

15 For a study on politeness, see Kádár and Mills (2011).

rotating forward with their back facing the other person to strengthen the meaning of the Japanese adjective *horoyoi* (drunk) and the two hands with the palms facing each other moving upward to intensify the meaning of the onomatopoeic *ga* indicating dynamism/resolution or to draw the attention to certain terms (*opun cafè*, *samā taimu*, *Tamagawa*, *Tama river*). Finally, it is also worth mentioning the two hands moving backward to the left with the palms forward to help convey the meaning of the verb *modoru* (come back). Interestingly, in addition to gestures, when the interviewee deepens these terms, he alternates eye contact with his interlocutors and visual isolation, directing his gaze upwards in front of him in order to call to mind the concepts that he wants to express.

As already mentioned, the implicit aim of the whole narration of H seems to be his intention to involve the interlocutors in the most private aspects of his life as a pop star, trying to surprise them with his refined habits. Not surprisingly, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the use of loanwords like sansetto taimu, shanpan, ribā saido, opun cafè, samā taimu, Tama ribā, sansetto shanpan; gairaigo syntactic constructs (dorinkingu shanpan); and English terms (Tama river) denotes not only a clear translation strategy aimed at improving mutual complicity between the speakers, but also a kind of import (hakuraisei) which can be detected in the so-called hōsekibako kōka or casetto kōka phenomenon, that is an attractive expectation encouraging the use of some terms regardless of the actual understanding by the users (Vitucci 2014a, p. 100). From an interactional point of view, this is clearly evidenced by the reactions of the two interviewers to the use of loanwords, which mainly consist of laughter, repetitions of the terms, suggestions of additional loanwords or, as already mentioned, astonishment.

2.2 Second Video: the interview-narration with the singer Tokunaga Hideaki



Figure 3. Setting of the interview with the singer Tokunaga Hideaki

The second video examined is taken from a passage of a three-minute interview during a night talk show (ARTiST) in 2013 with the Japanese pop singer Hideaki Tokunaga available on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IliElz2pp6U). Below, the contextual elements are reported (Bazzanella 1994):

- a. the participants in the interview are two: the singer (T) and the anchorwoman (I); the main theme of the dialogue revolves around the decision of H to take up a career in music and then the narration of an episode when he was bullied in the junior high school;
- b. the setting of the interview is a television studio where the participants are sitting side by side at a table sipping some drinks. Unlike the previous interview, in order to establish a large eye contact, the two speakers are directly facing each other. As for clothing style, the anchorwoman is wearing an elegant light dress, while, this time, the interviewee is wearing a dark suit (Fig. 1);
- c. the type of sociolinguistic interaction between the participants during the interview reveals the use of a linguistic register rather hybrid and 'non-conventional' (Van Compernolle 2014), characterised by constant shifts from the polite (teineigo) to the plain form (futsūgo) by the interviewee, as well as by constant incursions in the plain register by the interviewer: from a sociopragmatic perspective, it is clear that the dialogue appears reversed, as the two interlocutors belong to the entertainment world (Kádár, Mills 2011, p. 155). Le At a diastratic level, however, the presence of gairaigo is less marked:

¹⁶ As suggested by Kádár, Mills (2011, p. 157) in their theory of Japanese social status (*tachiba*): «tachiba essentially refers to one's roles in social interactions, or 'social selves'. People change their behaviour according to where they are situated, who they are interact-

in fact, the use of loanwords such as adjectives (*pojitibusugiru*, *negatibu*, *burakku*) and nouns (*hōru*, *tonneru*, *heddorokku*, *chin*, *heddorokkugoshi*) is noted, but they always merge with the narration without any hilarious connotation, unlike the previous example.

The most striking feature of this video is definitely a marked asymmetry in the dialogue between the two speakers: in fact, starting from a general question (nande kashu ni naru to omotta ndesuka?¹⁷), in the first phase of the interview, I solicits information only on two occasions (donna koe datta ndesuka?; ojisanppoi koe toka?18) gradually moving towards a true listening of the story of T and progressively leading to personal mutual confess: due to this shift, I gradually loses her role of catalyst during the interview (Heritage 1998), conferring on T the task of managing the contents and emotionally placing herself at the same level of his interlocutor, thus causing the diaphasic shift mentioned above. In this regard, owing to the lack of elicitation dynamics, the aforesaid video is different from the previous one in terms of cooperativeness, as in the first video the 'suggestion-acceptance' dialectic model between the speakers was present to a greater extent (Fele 2007). In fact, as shown later below, the cooperativeness principle reveals itself in this interview through the repeated use of attentiveness and understanding feedbacks by I towards the other party (Horiguchi 1998), as well as the mutual construction of the story by both speakers (Bazzanella 1994).

For the purpose of intercultural pragmatic learning, it is interesting to observe how the local stylistic elements contained in the above video (Balboni 2012) seem to question the global scheme (template) of the interview so as to produce a 'social structure' which represents the practical achievement of the speakers' goals (Fele 2007, p. 116). In fact, it is possible to notice the shift from the interactional model of the interview to that of typical narration, where the asymmetric structure of the dialogue is reduced, but the elements of circularity, cooperativeness and evocativeness are confirmed together with the frequent use of back channels (aizuchi) in a way that redefines the role of the speakers. Indeed, as Liddicoat states:

Stories in conversation [...] occur during interaction and their telling is accomplished collaboratively by the participants in the conversation. This means that the telling of a story is not simply the act of a speaker narrator, but also the act of a story recipient. (Liddicoat 2007, p. 279)

ing with, and how they perceive themselves in a given situation. It is as if one has multiple social selves or identities, and one presents different selves in different situations».

- 17 Translation: «Why did you decide to become a singer?».
- 18 Translation: «What kind of voice was that?»; «Was it the typical voice of a middle-aged man?».

The narration of a story, then, looks like a unique example of expanded sequences with an internal discursive consistency developing through several adjacent turns. This is evidenced by the very first sentences:

- I (1): ...nande kashu ni naru to omotta ndesuka?
- T (1): chūgakkō n ninen no toki ne↑
- I (2): hai=
- T (2):= omae wa (0.5) <shōrai, kashu ni naru ndayo tte iu> (0.2)koe o (0.5) kiite
- I (3): hai=
- T (3): =sore de (0.2) ha:::: sō nanda::tte iutte kashu mezashita nda.19

To the I (1) sentence, which contains the main question, T responds without proposing any answer, but rather introducing his story as a knee-jerk reaction to the question without any introduction strategy. I, recovering her role of 'recipient' of the story, emotionally puts herself in a position of verifiable listening in the I (2) and I (3) sentences through the use of two consent feedbacks (hai). This behaviour allows T to create his own story by dividing it into several adjacent turns²⁰ and I to intervene without interrupting the narrative flow of her interlocutor. In fact, the following questions only aim at soliciting further details of the story (donna koe datta ndesuka?; ojisanppoi koe toka?), thus confirming the mutual cooperation in the creation of the dialogue as well as the willingness to listen. The peculiar feature of this video is, however, the emotional superimposition of the roles starting from the T (10) sentence, where T talks about school bullying.

- 19 Translation of T(1), T(2), T(3): «During the second year of the junior high school, I heard a voice telling me that I would become a singer. At the time I pondered what I had heard and that is why I decided to take up this career».
- 20 Liddicoat (2007), in this regard, stresses how the two main moments of a story are often identifiable in the so-called background (useful for the construction of the story which simply suspend the turn shift) and in the climax (a passage which completes both the story and the speaker's turn.)

- T (10): (0.2) sore wa chūgakkō no toki ni (0.2) jibun ga Fukuoka kara (.) ano:: (0.1)Itami ni kite (0.2)kansaiben shaberenaide, chotto ↑ ijime ni atta koto ga atta [ndesuyo.↓²¹
- I (9): [ha::=
- I (10): =watashi mo atta, atta.²²

Here I emotionally responds to the new story sharing it in two different ways: first, by expressing her astonishment (ha::) in I (9) and, later, by saying to the other party that she had the same experience, even unconsciously repeating the verb twice (watashi mo atta, atta). From this moment, it is interesting to note how T divides his narration in several turns, in direct eye contact with the other person, conferring to his narration a certain circularity (Balboni, Caon 2015) which allows him to gradually achieve the climax of the story. This, however, helps create an intimacy²³ and an expectation on the part of T which lead to a reversal of roles in the I (11) sentence, where I takes part in the narration temporarily acting as a narrator instead of a recipient:

- I (11): suteki da na::::(0.1) watashi wa zenzen ijimerareta toki [ni T (11): [uh::m
- I (12):(0.5) >zutto kono mama ijimerareru nda to omotteta [ndesu < T (12): [uh::m
- I (13):ima (0.5) jibun ga kō iu sono toki ni >modoreru nara<iutte agetai ne(0.2) tonneru de atte kō (0.1) zutto burakku hōru janakute (0.2) sono ijime mo zutto (.) tsuzuku wake (0.1) janai ndayo yutte ageta...i kedo [ne.
- T (13): [he::
- I (14):son toki wa kikoenakatta koe wa²⁴=
- **21** Translation of T(10): "During the junior high school, I moved from Fukuoka to Itami. I was not able to speak the Kansai dialect, therefore I was victim of mild bullying".
- 22 Translation: «I had the same experience!».
- 23 In a $vis-\dot{a}-vis$ relation, the success of the communication also depends on eye contact. According to the study on body semantics, it would be appropriate to maintain eye contact with the other party for at least 70% of the whole communication (Tassan 2005, p. 74).
- 24 Translation of I (11), (12), (13), (14): «What a beautiful story. When I was bullied, I thought that I had to endure it forever. Today, if I could go back to those days, I wish I could say to myself that this is not a tunnel, a black hole, a bullying from which there is no escape. Not at all! But I, unlike you, did not hear any voice».

- T (14):=demo (0.2) hontō ore mo >dakara< chūgakkō ichinen no toki ni (0.2) kurasu no nanninka kara kō (0.5) ijimerareta (0.5) dakedo (0.5) kō nanka se mo >chicchakatta nde< (0.5) heddorokku sarete (0.2) demo mō nare, narekko ni nacchattete [sa²⁵
- I (15): [uhm

The behaviour of I seems to contravene the typical interactional development of the story, which normally leads to the 'suspension' of the recipient's turns until the climax (Fele 2007, p. 74). Moreover, in the above passage, there are some interesting pragmatic phenomena: in fact, in addition to the already mentioned exchange of roles starting from the I (11) sentence, at a sociopragmatic level, it is worth mentioning the diaphasic shift through the intimate story, resulting in a register shift from the polite (teineigo) to the plain form (futsugo) for both speakers. This emotional change is traceable from the I (13) sentence, where the interviewer uses for the first time the suffix kedo ne^{26} and, subsequently, in the final T (14) sentence, where the quest clearly chooses the plain version of the verb in the suspension form in his colloquial register (nacchattete) followed by the suffix $-sa^{27}$ as well as an intimate and confidential tone. In the same sentence, however, in terms of interactions and turn management, it is possible to notice another role change introduced by T through the use of the conjunction dakara (informal) that draws, in this context, the attention of his interlocutor to his previous contents. Not surprisingly, the story resumes from the aforementioned experience of bullying thus intending to rearrange the turn-taking system and the following adjacent pairs (Bazzanella 1994) within a dialogue dynamics typical of the story where T is the narrator and I automatically acts once again as the recipient of the story (Liddicoat 2007). This change of roles is also evidenced by both the verbal feedbacks provided by I (uhm, uh::m hai, hai hai, hai ↑, he:::, ne:::, arimasu ne), and, at a non-verbal level, by her head movements indicating her consent.

Just like in the first video, it is interesting to analyse the composition of the feedbacks of this sample through the scheme integrated with Horiguchi's model (1988). As shown in Fig. 4, although with a lower frequency within the conversation, the feedbacks of T are mostly (72%) represented by *aizuchi* transmitting attentiveness (*uh::m*, *he::*), or responses indicating

²⁵ Translation of T (14): «But, to be honest, as I mentioned before, during the first year of junior high school, I was bullied too. I was also small and my school mates used to press my neck with their arms. I was somehow accustomed to that treatment».

²⁶ The suffix *-kedo* is used here in a contrastive sense (but, in truth, however.) The expression *-ne* is used instead to solicit empathy with the interlocutor in a more informal manner.

²⁷ Translation: «You know?»; «Do you understand?».

comprehension (uhm), while there are no reactions of astonishment. This is because the speaker feels involved in his role first of interviewee and, later, of narrator when he reports his bullying experience, thus altering, as already mentioned, the rhythm and template of the interview (Balboni 2012). On the other side, the subdivision of the feedbacks of I looks richer and more balanced, with 89% of the *aizuchi* indicating attentiveness. understanding and wonder (hai, uhm, ha:::, desu ne, he::?, ha::::, he::: 1, he::: sō nan desuka?, hontō desuka?, hie:::, ne::: 1). In this regard, it is interesting to notice that these responses almost always hold the second position in pairs of sentences containing some elements of the stories of T. These feedbacks, as already mentioned, emotionally help the speaker without interrupting the verbal flow (Okamoto 2008) together with responses indicating remarks (ja, $kekk\bar{o}...^{28}$) or evaluation ($suteki\ da$ na, ii hanashi da na:: .29) Subsequently, the remaining 11% of the feedbacks of I is intended for elicitation in the form of questions which, from the perspective of the dialogue, should be connected with both her role as interviewer and with the deference resulting from the social organization of the interaction (Fele 2007). Nevertheless, unlike in the first video, there is a sharp decline of the eliciting interventions with respect to the previous interview (-16% compared to I1, -7% compared to I2) probably caused by the hybridization of the interview with the narration, thus leading I to lose her 'catalyst' role (Heritage 1998).

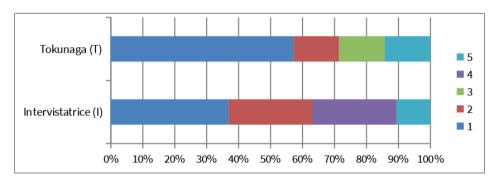


Figure 4. Frequency of the feedback per speaker in the interview with Tokunaga Hideaki

Despite the slight asymmetry, the degree of intimacy and sharing between the speakers through the narration is also evidenced by extraverbal elements which help the presentation of the content. This aspect is particularly evident in T and to a lesser extent in I, when she tries to take part

- 28 Translation: «So. then...».
- 29 Translation: «Wonderful!»; «What a beautiful story!».

in the narration playing the role of narrator. In particular, the gesture analysis (Pavone 2003) reveals an increase in signals which is temporarily accompanied by the diaphasic shift in the language register. Therefore it could be assumed for the first video the following equivalence: + intimacy = + gestures = + sociopragmatic informality = + evocativeness. In fact, through an in-depth analysis of the gestures in the aforementioned video, it is possible to notice how - from an initial closed posture with arms tight around the bust for T and hands folded on the table for I - the interaction gradually evolves towards a more marked use of the hands (the lower parts of the body are irrelevant because the speakers are seated). Not surprisingly, in conjunction with the I (13) sentence and more specifically with the verbal construct iutte agetai (I wish I could say), the interviewer mimics the gesture of throwing an object in front of her with her right hand by using an iconographic signal (Tassan 2005). Similarly, continuing the narration and in conjunction with the expressions burakku hōru and tonneru in the same sentence, the woman turns the palms towards each other moving her hands forward describing the shape of a tunnel, thus using again an iconographic intensifying signal. Once the story gets more intimate, T seems to respond to the behaviour of the interlocutor increasing his gestures as well: in the T (14) sentence - using the noun narekko (boy accustomed to) - he turns his hands forward mimicking the movement of an object that rolls or, perhaps, of a spinning wheel; later, in the following sentences, he mimics the gesture of being grabbed by the neck with the term heddorokkuqoshi (grab by the neck), as well as a punch in conjunction with the verb nagutta (I beated him). From a psychological-spatial perspective, the description of the proposition kare ga nakihajimeta (He began to cry) - described at a non-verbal level with an iconographic gesture of his hand which moves away from the body of the speaker towards the space immediately in front of him - is particularly interesting. This movement clearly shows the outer space (soto in Japanese) as opposed to the inner space (uchi), as well as the psychological distance associated with the use of personal pronouns in the third person, such as kare ('he' in Japanese, Suzuki 2006.) Finally, it is interesting to observe how the same T also uses indicative deictic signals (Tassan 2005, p. 44) indicating the other party with his left hand in conjunction with the verbal construct *iwareta* yoni (As you mentioned before).

3 Conclusions

As suggested at the beginning of this study, teaching the pragmatics of a foreign language is not an easy task. This inherent difficulty is justified by the inevitable divergence between the concept of 'culture' as a category *a priori* (Bettoni 2006, p. 234) and the actual sociocultural skills of foreign learners. However, although many scholars agree upon the impossibility

of systematically teaching intercultural pragmatics, this study shows how the analysis of intracultural audiovisual materials can lead to a change of pace in terms of both learning methods and teaching strategies. This happens primarily because the network introduces a new concept of 'culture', which far from being a mere 'archive' sedimented over time, today acts as a reality increasingly permeable at global level thanks to the circulation of audiovisual materials on the Internet. As Balboni stresses (2015):

the speed of the international exchanges which bring people and television images around the world makes the interchange of cultural models and the models of intercultural communication extremely fluid, constant, unstoppable and indescribable in real time. (Balboni, Caon 2015, p. 146)

It is evident how the above-mentioned fluidity with which the audiovisual materials circulate all over the world offers students the opportunity not only to objectively observe the performance of communication genres at a local level, but also to start an awareness-knowledge-skills three-phase process (Balboni 2012) based on a formative observation through the concept of 'learning by simulation' (Vitucci 2013, p. 69). In particular, this study focuses on the television interview in order to shed light not only on its basic structural level (template), but also on the pragmatic peculiarities resulting from the Japanese languaculture. First, it is interesting to notice how the two videos proposed here show two different interactive management procedures so that they cannot be easily categorized, or regarded as unique reference models for pragmatic interactions in Japanese.30 Not surprisingly, although the first interview is characterised by a more asymmetrical and cooperative communication, the second video features fewer asymmetry due to an evident hybridization of the interview with the narration (Liddicoat 2007; Fele 2007) resulting in the rearrangement of the speakers' roles. This divergence is also confirmed by the qualitative analysis of the feedbacks which, for example, shows a cumulative percentage of eliciting interventions (Horiguchi 1988) equal to 45% for the interviewers of the first video, against only 11% for the second interviewer.

As already suggested above, for the purposes of intercultural teaching, if some constitutive elements of the interview must be proposed, these are to be found within the social dimension of the communication type and, in particular, in the co-construction of the conversational structure (Bazzanella 1994) which focuses on the conception of 'interdependent' subject (Markus, Kitayama 1991) as well as on the relation inevitably existing between a message and its context (Fele 2007, p. 29). In fact, the analysis of these two videos reveals how the cooperativeness and circularity concepts

(Balboni 2007; Okamoto 2008; Machida, Katō 2004), often identified as the cornerstones of the Japanese interaction procedures, should actually be recontextualised from a sociopragmatic point of view in the light of a communication unpredictable and potentially 'non-conventional' in itself (Van Compernolle 2014). In this regard, the cooperative intention of the speakers in the first interview is conveyed through repeated superimpositions, sudden interventions, suggestions aimed at the so-called 'emotional' sharing of the content (Suzuki 2006; Sawano 2008). Similarly, at a non-verbal level, the assumed absence of gestures typical of the Japanese is here debunked by a frequent use of numerous deictic, iconographic and kinetographic signals (Tassan 2005) complementary to the evocative purposes of language and to the use of particular diastratic strategies of interaction. In the first video, for example, the frequent use of loanwords (*gairaigo*) is accompanied by very strong hand gestures, while the second video is characterised by an interesting involvement of iconographic signals during the narration.

How could the learners be taught how to manage such a complex interaction procedure? From a theoretical point of view, in the light of the foregoing, it is clear how an effective teaching can start a process of awareness that urges the learners to look at new ways of interaction, simultaneously stimulating a process of identity able to put them in contact with the mind-set and the 'feeling' of the languacultures being studied. In this regard, as I already suggested elsewhere (Vitucci 2013), the interactional dimension of communication should be at the centre of the learning process by regarding the learner as a social entity who linguistically operates through his own identity in another languaculture. To confirm this, please note that the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) also introduces language and communication competence intended as the sum of the linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic aspects (Vitucci 2013, p. 3).

From a practical point of view, however, as evidenced by the videos presented here, Japanese language learners should be aware that – at intercultural level – it is right to respond to the stimuli of the interlocutor even only to show one's attentiveness (hai, ee, uhm, uh::m), agreement (sono toori desu, sō desu ne, sore wa iemasu ne, naruhodo) or to support the communication flow through feedbacks expressing astonishment (eh?, ha?, hontō?, hontō desuka?, ara!, uhm:::!, ne:::!, okashi::ne::!, ah!, suteki!, hee:::!) given the different ways in which these functions are expressed in their mother tongue culture. Similarly, the strategies of denial (iie, iya:::), elicitation of information (to iu to?, to osshaimasu to?, dō iu imi?) together with a careful analysis of extraverbal (eye contact, proxemics, gestures) and paraverbal components (prosody, rhythm), as well as reformulation/

³¹ The complete absence of the honorific language in both contributions, for example, is particularly indicative.

filling strategies (self-corrections, hesitations, fillers) can provide learners with useful tools to hold a conversation in Japanese even outside the typologies explained above. Obviously, it is important that these elements are regarded by learners as complementary instead of a mere 'decoration' of the conversation. That is why teachers shall have to convey the intrinsic value of the *effectiveness* of interaction rather than that of linguistic correctness or complexity. In this regard, as Fele states:

When we say something, we can ask questions, greet, answer, rejoice, accuse, invite, blame, respond [...] These are real actions carried out through the words addressed to our interlocutor. Too often the language is considered only a means of reflection, through the thoughts, and communication of information, neglecting the value of *action* of the words spoken. (Fele 2007, pp. 30-31)

As for Japanese, these interviews show that, in order to communicate the 'right' messages with the right timing, it is necessary to select the most appropriate speech acts, carefully calculating the appropriate moment of their expression. From a chronemic point of view, the support of conversation analysis is essential, as it allows us to focus on specific temporal phenomena such as, for example, superimpositions, thus questioning not only the turn-taking system, but rather the whole genre of dialogue in this languaculture. In the videos analysed, for example, a very high percentage of superimpositions (aimed at conveying various types of feedbacks) made the management of the interview rather 'irregular' in terms of succession of adjacent pairs (Liddicoat 2007). Once again, however, it goes without saying that, instead of focusing on those phenomena shared by conversation methods of all languages belonging to the 'hardware system', local realisation procedures should be analysed first (Balboni 2012). At a purely educational level, this proves essential since it reveals how learners can be supported by multimedia files both in the development of conversational contents and, above all, in the right interactive procedures at intercultural level. Quoting Fabio Caon, the author would like to conclude this brief study stressing once again the centrality of the relationship between linguistic and sociopragmatic learning:

If there is no effective communication or cultural and linguistic (inter) comprehension, there can be no intercultural education: sociopragmatic and cultural competence [...] should further enrich the specific skills promoted by intercultural education and combine with them. (Caon 2008, p. XVII)

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