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Storytelling in guided tours

Practices, engagement, and identity at a Japanese American museum

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This article examines storytelling (narratives) in interaction at a Japanese American museum. The analysis draws upon audiovisual recordings of tours led by older, male Japanese American docents. It examines ways docents tell stories — primarily of vicarious experience — in educating visitors on Japanese-American history, and ways they use a range of verbal and non-verbal communicative practices that invite visitors' engagement in the telling as a social and sense-making activity. We categorize two types of communicative practices: elicited and non-elicited. Elicited practices include (1) interrogative and polar questions, which are further divided into (a) known and (b) unknown information questions, and (2) other-repetition + list intonation. Non-elicited practices include affective talk and gestures in recounting past events. We show ways that visitor engagement varies in relation to elicited and non-elicited practices. Finally, we discuss storytelling as a vehicle for displaying and positioning the self and others in relation to stance and identity, and in working towards the goals of the museum.

Keywords: identity, institutional interaction, Japanese American, museum, storytelling

Storytelling (narrative) is ubiquitous in human interaction, and thus has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention (e.g., Norrick, 2000; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Szatrowski, 2010). In particular, a growing body of research focuses on storytelling in *institutional interaction* (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 2004). In many

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institutional settings (e.g., courtrooms, classrooms, emergency helplines), storytelling is a vehicle through which the work of the institution gets done (Heritage, 2004). According to Heritage (2004), research in this domain is concerned with the kinds of “interactional practices, actions, stances, ideologies, and identities are being enacted in the talk” (p. 109). Despite an increasing number of studies in recent years, research on storytelling in institutional interaction is still underrepresented in comparison to storytelling in ordinary interaction. As Mandelbaum (2012) asserts, more research is needed on “how storytelling practices are used in institutional interaction” (p. 507), and how “stories contribute to the constitution of the setting as an institutional one” (p. 508). In addition, here we examine how storytelling is an activity for displaying and *positioning* (e.g., Bamberg, 1997) the self and others in relation to a range of socio-culturally meanings, especially (1) *stance*, including (a) *affective stance* (i.e., mood, attitude, feeling, disposition, and emotional intensity, etc.) and (b) *epistemic stance* (i.e., degrees of certainty and sources of knowledge, etc.), and (2) *social identity* (i.e., dimensions of social personae including roles, relationships, and group [gender, ethnicity], etc.) (Ochs, 1996). In particular, in line with prior research on identity in narrative analysis (e.g., Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2007; Blomberg & Börjesson, 2013; Depperman, 2013), conversation analysis (e.g., Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998), and linguistic anthropology (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), we view identity as a situated, emergent, and negotiated phenomenon; that is, as a product of talk and social practice rather than as primarily a physical attribute or psychological state. As pointed out by Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 585), “identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems,” including social actions and forms of engagement and participation.

One setting of potential interest to examining storytelling in relation identity and stance in institutional interaction is museums. Similar to other settings in everyday life (e.g., Bruner, 1990), in museums, storytelling is a social and sense-making activity. In this regard, Bedford (2001) argues that the “real work” of museums is storytelling. In particular, storytelling is considered to be a crucial means of *engaging* visitors, by inviting them to take another perspective, reflect on their own experiences, and supply their own interpretations and feelings (Roberts, 1997). As Vom Lehn and Heath (2007) point out, prior research on visitor engagement — a topic of central concern to museum managers, curators, etc. — has typically taken an individual, cognitive approach by employing written questionnaires and oral interviews in asking visitors to recall their experiences in the museum (also see Roberts, 1997, p. 138). Thus, they argue that what is needed is a more refined understanding of engagement within socially situated interaction. In particular, guided tours, which have recently become a focus of research on interaction in various settings (e.g., Avni, 2013; De Stefani & Mondada, 2014; Mondada, 2013),

are a good candidate for examining visitor engagement in relation to stance and identity.

This paper examines storytelling in guided tours at a Japanese American museum. In particular, it analyzes ways older, male Japanese American docents tell stories — primarily of *vicarious experience* (i.e., rendered in the third person: *he, she, they*) (e.g., Norrick, 2013) and also on occasion of personal experience (rendered in the first person: *I, we*) — in educating visitors on Japanese American history, and ways they use a range of verbal and non-verbal communicative practices that invite visitor engagement in the telling. Here, we consider engagement in relation to *participation*, defined by Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) as “actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk” (p.222). Such actions include verbal and non-verbal responses to questions, assessments, laughter, and facial expressions. In this regard, we view storytelling as a *social activity* (e.g., Ochs & Capps, 2001) with its own *participation framework* (Goffman, 1981) involving tellers and various kinds of recipients who contribute to the telling in different ways. Thus, even when there is only one primary teller (as is the norm in museum guided tours), storytelling can be *co-constructed* (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) and an *interactional achievement* (Norrick, 2000, p.2) among the participants.

The outline of this paper is as follows. The next section discusses the data, setting, and methodology of the study. The following section examines ways that docents use talk, gesture, and other resources in telling stories to educate student visitors on Japanese American history and to engage them in the telling. It also examines ways visitors respond, and ways docents follow up to these responses. The final section summarizes the findings, and discusses storytelling in relation to stance and identity, educational goals of the institution, and practical concerns.

Setting, data, and methodology

The setting of the study is a Japanese American museum in the United States. The main exhibit recounts 130 years of Japanese American history in displays that include objects, documents, photos, maps, videos, etc. These displays are organized chronologically, beginning with the first immigrants to Hawaii (in the late 1800s), and ending with the redress and formal apology by the U.S. government (in 1988 and 1989) for the incarceration of over 110,000 U.S. citizens and permanent residents of Japanese descent during World War II (e.g., see Niiya, 1993, for an overview of this history). A central goal of the museum is to educate visitors on Japanese American history as part of the diverse ethnic history of the United States. According to a docent we observed addressing a group of visitors prior to

entering the exhibit, the central “mission” of the museum is “to promote understanding and appreciation of America’s ethnic and cultural diversity, by sharing the Japanese American experience.” We suggest that docent storytelling in guided tours and use of communicative practices that invite visitor engagement in the telling are central means for working towards this mission.

Our analysis draws upon 12 hours of audiovisual recordings of guided tours collected over four days. We received permission from the museum director to make recordings of English and Japanese-speaking visitors as they walked around the exhibit and/or participated in guided tours. On each day, we recruited visitors as participants, who agreed through written consent to have their recordings used for educational and academic purposes. For the purposes of the present study, we discuss a specific type of data: English-speaking tours with adult students. In particular, we focus on two of four of these tours (8 and 6 visitors each, led by Docent-3 and Docent-4), because in these tours we observed visitors frequently engaging in verbal and non-verbal ways and became interested in the kinds of practices the docents use that seemed to create a context for (or *invite*) this engagement.

The docents we followed were older (ages 75–85 years), male Japanese Americans, born prior to World War II, who had lived and/or had family members who lived through many of the events depicted in the exhibit (e.g., bombing of Pearl Harbor, internment of Japanese Americans). These docents thus bring a range of life experiences to the tours relevant to storytelling in the museum, particularly surrounding World War II when they were children or young adults.

Docent communicative practices and visitor responses in storytelling

As mentioned earlier, in guiding visitors on tours of the exhibit, docents often construct their talk as stories based on various and/or personal experience, and these stories are a vehicle for displaying and positioning the self and others in relation to stance and identity. In comparison to conversational stories that may be low in tellability, follow a non-linear temporal and casual order, display an uncertain moral stance, etc. (e.g., *little n narratives*, Ochs & Capps, 2001), and from an outsider’s perspective may be “about nothing” (*small stories*, Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), in our data docent stories typically center on significant and historical life-changing events (for the third-party protagonist), follow a relatively linear temporal and causal order, contain a point, and display a moral stance (e.g., *big N narratives*, Ochs & Capps, 2001). In what follows, we examine ways docents tell stories in educating visitors on Japanese American history, and ways they use a range of communicative practices that invite visitors’ engagement in storytelling as a

sense-making activity. We frame the analysis in terms of *elicited* and *non-elicited* communicative practices, and examine these practices in relation to story structure, turn shape, and sequence organization. We also discuss these data in relation to docent interactional styles in the guided tours.

Elicited practices for engaging visitors in storytelling

Involvement questions: Known and unknown information questions

As in other kinds of institutional interaction (e.g., Freed & Ehrlich, 2010), questions play an important role in guided museum tours, both those posed by docents to visitors (e.g., Yamazaki et al., 2009) and by visitors to docents (e.g., De Stefani & Mondada, 2014). The kinds of questions posed, and who poses them, may index the identities of speaker and addressee in institutional interaction. In particular, similar to the findings of Yamazaki et al. (2009) on guided tours at an art museum, docents in our data often pose *involvement questions* to the group (and on occasion to individuals) that “attempt to actively involve listeners” (p. 1438) in the storytelling. Docent questions invite visitor involvement (engagement) in that they “create a slot for the recipient to produce a responsive turn” (Ford, 2010, p. 214). Docents typically pose questions in establishing the setting, either as a *story preface* (Sacks, 1974) (e.g., “What happened on December 7, 1941?”), or once the story has been launched (as in Excerpts 1 and 2). In contrast to visitors, docent questions include both *known information questions* (K+) (Mehan, 1979), which have been observed in pedagogical settings such as teacher-fronted classroom lessons; and *unknown answer questions* (K–), which are more typical of ordinary conversation (e.g., Stivers, 2010) and non-pedagogical institutional settings, such as news interviews (e.g., Heritage & Roth, 1995) and medical consultations (e.g., Boyd & Heritage, 2006). As shown in Table 1, based on a quantitative analysis of one guided tour (92 min.), the docent (D4) posed 57 questions in storytelling. Among these, 38 were K+ questions (67%) and 19 were K– questions (33%). Not included here are 20 additional questions (1) used to prompt a question from visitors (e.g., “Do you have any questions about Japanese immigration?”), (2) posed by the docent outside of storytelling (e.g., “Can I find out what you’re trying to learn today?”), and (3) in which the docent displayed little or no expectation of a response from visitors (e.g., “Why is that?” ((*no pause*)) “Because the European countries were colonizing Asia”).

In posing questions to visitors, docents use both *polar* (i.e., questions in which a yes/no response is typically expected) and *interrogative* forms (i.e., questions typically utilizing a wh-question word) (e.g., Stivers, 2010). As shown in Table 1, all of

Table 1. Question types and epistemic status of the docent in relation to the answer.

Questions Types:	Example:
Known information (N= 38)	
1. <i>What</i> : 14 (25%)	“Now when you see this, pile of suitcases, <i>what</i> do you think it brings to mind?” (Visitor: “Travelling.”)
2. <i>Where</i> : 11 (19%)	“ <i>Where</i> were they getting sugar from?” (Visitor: “Cuba.”)
3. <i>Why</i> : 10 (18%)	“ <i>Why</i> did the sugar industry develop in Hawaii?” (Visitor: “They have a lot of sugarcane.”)
4. <i>When</i> : 2 (3%)	“Anybody have any idea <i>when</i> Japanese first started immigrating to America?” (Visitor: “1870?”)
5. <i>How</i> : 1 (2%)	“So, <i>how</i> much you think he got paid?” (Visitor: “50 cents a week?”)
Unknown information (N= 19)	
Polar: 19 (33%)	“Anyone heard of the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Company?” (Visitor: ((<i>nodding head</i>))) “Anybody been to Ellis Island?” (Visitor: “I have”)
TOTAL 57 (100%)	

Docent-4’s K+ questions employed a wh-question word, such as *what* (14 tokens), *where* (11 tokens), and *why* (10 tokens), whereas all of his K– questions employed a polar form. Thus, overall the two most frequent types of questions were K– polar (19 tokens, 33%), followed by K+ *what* (14 tokens, 25%). This finding suggests that docents’ *epistemic status* (Heritage, 2012) in relation to the question’s answer is closely linked to question format in student tours: K+/interrogative and K–/polar question. The generalizability of this finding should be taken with caution, however, as it is based on one docent and one tour. Yet, given the range of question types in this small sample, this finding can be informative for considering questions posed by other docents, as will we do in relation to Docent-3 in Excerpt 1.

An illustration of typical K+ and K– questions in these data (and one exceptional case in line 16) is shown in Excerpt 1. Here, a docent (D3) is leading a group of visitors to one of the first displays in the exhibit: Japanese immigrants to Hawaii in the late 19th century working on sugarcane plantations. The docent’s story involves the hard working conditions (mentioned here) and dehumanization of the workers (mentioned later). (Transcription conventions are shown in the appendix.)

Excerpt 1. Hawaii sugarcane. (D3=male docent, V1=male visitor, V2=female visitor, Vs=several visitors)

- 1 D3: The first Japanese immigrants came to thee Hawaiian islands.
- 2 (2.1)
- 3 And if you could gather closely so that I won’t have to be

- 4 shouting. (1.7)
5 Uh::, in Hawai'i (0.5) thee sugarcane industry w'z expanding
6 leaps and bounds.=
7 =They needed workers. (1.4)
8 SO:: (0.3) in 1885 (2.0) they went to Japan an recruited workers
9 (1.2) to work on the plantation. (0.6)
10 The work on the plantation was very very hard, (0.6)
11 But those ladies- (0.2) ((*gestures towards photo*))
12→ U::h (0.5) Have you been to Hawaii? ((*spreads out arms*))
13 Vs: ((*nod their head*))
14→ D3: °Have you?° ((*gazes towards visitors*))
15 V?: ()
16→ D3: Is it co::ld an' frigid up there? ((*ironic tone of voice*))
17 V1: ((*gazing towards D3*))
18 D3: You're shaking your head. ((*gestures towards V1*))
19 V1: It's a little warm.
20 D3: It's a little w(h)arm.
21 (0.4) ((*gestures at photo*)) But yet they're covered from head to (.)
 toe,
22→ why is th:at? ((*addressing visitors*))
23 (0.4)
24 V2: Sugarcane's sharp and could cut it.
25 D3: Very goo::d.
26 The sugarcane plant (0.6) has very sharp pointed leaves,
27 so if you went in there with bare arms
28 you c'd come outta there with (straggles) and leaves (.)
29 bleeding at the end of the day.
30 ((*story continues*))

After he establishes the setting of the story (line 1, lines 5–11), the docent poses four questions to the group (lines 12, 14, 16, and 22). First, while gesturing towards a photograph of a group of female immigrant workers on a Hawaiian sugarcane plantation, he cuts off a referential utterance (line 11: “But those ladies-”) and poses a question (K– polar) in relation to the visitors’ personal experience (line 12: “Have you been to Hawaii?”). This cut-off and question function to pivot, or shift *footing* (i.e., change in alignment or stance the speaker takes up to the recipients) (Goffman, 1981), from a more *walk-and-talk lecture* (Grinder & McCoy, 1985) style to a more interactive style that invites visitor engagement. In posing this question (line 12), the docent spreads his arms out (palms up) while using the second-person singular pronoun “you”, which can be heard as addressing *all* the visitors rather than an individual. Second and third, following a clarification

question (K– polar) (line 14: “°Have you?°”), the docent poses another question to the group (line 16: “Is it co::ld an’ frigid up there?”). In comparison to previous questions in this sequence (and those shown in Table 1), this question is K+ polar, and an exceptional case. Moreover, the question is K+ not only for the docent but also for the visitors (as the stereotypical climate in Hawaii is common knowledge). This question does a range of interactional work related to stance and identity in inviting visitor engagement. In relation to stance, similar to Stokoe and Edwards’ (2008) observations of British police interrogating suspects, this question is kind of *silly question* (i.e., question whose answer is known by both parties and asked for a specific purpose). In particular, the docent displays an affective stance of irony (e.g., Clift, 1999) through lexical choice and prosody, using the descriptive adjectives, “co::ld and frigid,” in which “frigid” is an *extreme case formulation* (Pomerantz, 1986) of “co::ld”; and also using the prepositional phrase “up there” (when Hawaii could be literally described in relation to the present location as *down* or *over there*). In relation to identity, by posing this question in *this* sequential context (following a question and clarification question regarding the visitors’ personal experience), the docent positions *all* the visitors as addressees (in Goffman’s sense) within the participation framework, rather than just those who responded affirmatively to the prior questions on personal experience.

Fourth, as he points again towards the photo of the immigrant workers, the docent articulates a detail concerning the way the workers are dressed (line 21: “But yet they’re covered from head to (.) toē”). With this utterance the docent seems to have picked up from where he had left off earlier (in line 11) with the cut-off (“But those ladies-”), and follows this with another question to the group (K+ interrogative) (line 22: why is that?). When a visitor (V2) offers a response (line 24: “Sugarcane’s sharp and could cut it”), which displays her epistemic stance, the docent provides an *assessment* (e.g., Pomerantz, 1984) that functions as a positive *evaluation* of this response (line 25: “Very goo::d”). This assessment completes a three-part *IRE (initiation-response-evaluation) sequence* (Mehan, 1979), which has also been widely observed in teacher-fronted classroom lessons. Following this, the docent partially repeats the visitor’s response — an *other-repetition* (Johnstone, 1994) — and then provides an elaboration of this answer that further establishes the story setting (line 26–29). In these ways, docents often use both known and unknown information questions in engaging student visitors in storytelling. We will summarize findings related to both questions and the next communicative practice at the end of the following section.

Third position following a question-response pair

In addition to questions, docents use a range of other elicited communicative practices that invite visitor engagement in storytelling. One sequential environment for such practices is *third position* following a question-response pair. Schegloff (2007) refers to third position (by the first speaker, or Speaker A) following an *adjacency pair* (e.g., greeting-greeting, question-response, invitation-refusal) as a *post-expansion*. Furthermore, he categorizes such expansion as either (1) *minimal* (e.g., *change-of-state token Oh*, Heritage, 1984; or an assessment “Very goo::d” as in Excerpt 1, line 25) or (2) *non-minimal* (e.g., other-initiated repair such as *Huh?*, or disagreement with the speaker’s prior turn). In comparison to minimal post-expansion, non-minimal post-expansion makes relevant a response by the addressee (Speaker B).

In the present data, non-minimal post expansion following a question-response pair includes (question) prompts (e.g., “Any other guesses?”; “What else”) and other-repetition + *list intonation* (Selting, 2007), which will be examined here. Furthermore, docents may repeat these practices one or more times in a sequence to invite responses from multiple visitors as in Excerpt 2. Here, a docent (D4) is leading a group of visitors (5 female, 1 male) on the tour as part of an adult education class. The group is at a display of a (part of a) Japanese language classroom in the United States prior to World War II. Up to this point, the docent had been establishing the story setting (about a Japanese American who studied Japanese as a child prior to World War II). While the docent’s story will relate how the protagonist went to Japan to look for work after World War II (due to discrimination against Japanese Americans), here, in continuing with the setting, the docent poses a question to the group (line 1) in which he inserts himself in the telling as part of the group of Japanese Americans who attended Japanese school prior to World War II.

Excerpt 2. Japanese school. (D4=male docent, V?=uncertain visitor, V6=female visitor, V9=female visitor, V10=male visitor)

- 1 D4: .tch Now why did our parents or grandparents (0.5) force us to go
to
2 Japanese school?
3 (0.8)
4 V?: To learn (about the) culture.
5 (.)
6→ D4: culture,
7 (0.4)
8 V9: Language.=
9→ D4: =language,

- 10 (.)
- 11 V6: [Did you learn Japanese?] ((to D4))
- 12 V10: [They weren't satisfied] with the curriculum.
- 13 (0.5)
- 14→D4: They weren't satisfied with the curriculum,
- 15 (0.2)
- 16 D4: .tch (1.0) They're all correct (0.2)
- 17 Ah::: (0.9) but there's one additional reason why. (1.2)
- 18 An' that is::: (0.8) because of the d- discrimination.
- 19 They felt that (1.0) if we start looking for jobs after school, (0.8)
- 20 y'know after we graduate (0.6)
- 21 we will- we wil- If we cannot find jobs (0.4)
- 22 .tch we're gonna have to go to Japan to get jobs. (0.5)
- 23 So you're gonna have to learn the language, the cultu:::re, an'
- 24 y'know so forth.
- 25 ((continues with story about Japanese American who went to Japan))

Here the docent poses a question (K+ wh-question) to the group as to why Japanese American children — including the docent as a child (indicated by the first-person plural pronouns *our* and *us* that index a *collective self-reference*, Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007) — attended Japanese school (lines 1–2). In doing so, the docent aligns with the protagonist of the story and indexes his own ethnicity and generation as a Japanese American born prior to World War II who was “force(d)” by family members to go to Japanese language school. After this question is responded to by a visitor (line 4: “To learn [about the] culture”), the docent initiates a non-minimal post expansion, using other-repetition + list intonation (line 6: “culture,”). Similar to prior research on list intonation in classroom discourse (Lerner, 1995), here by partially repeating the visitor’s answer followed by list intonation the docent invites the visitors to provide alternative responses to the initial question in lines 1–2. There are three uses of other-repetition + list intonation in this sequence (lines 6, 9, and 14). The first two are followed by alternative responses by visitors (line 8: “Language”; line 12: “They weren’t satisfied with the curriculum”), whereas the third is followed by a short silence (line 15) that is broken by the docent who provides an evaluation of the previous responses (line 16: “They’re all correct”), which completes an IRE sequence with multiple initiations and responses. In this way, the docent and visitors seem to orient to the tendency for lists in interaction to have three items (Selting, 2007). The docent then elaborates by providing an alternative response that builds upon the setting of the story (lines 17–24).

In summary, in organizing their talk as stories based on vicarious experience (Excerpt 1) and personal experience (Excerpt 2), docents in our data use (1) known

(K+) and unknown (K-) information questions, and (2) other communicative practices in third position (following a question-response pair), such as other-repetition + list intonation, that invite visitor engagement in the telling as a social and sense-making activity. Docents may initially pose a question to pivot or shift footing from a more lecture-style to an interactive style. Although these communicative practices are elicited, which controls to an extent the forms of engagement by visitors, taken together they constitute a hybrid style that is similar to communicative practices in both traditional pedagogical settings such as classrooms (e.g., K+ questions, other-repetition + list intonation, IRE sequences) and ordinary conversation and non-pedagogical institutional settings (e.g., K- questions).

Non-elicited practices for engaging visitors in storytelling

Similar to storytelling in ordinary conversation (e.g., Goodwin, 1984; Koike, 2010), docents in our data use affective talk, gesture, and other resources in telling stories that engage visitors in non-elicited ways (e.g., through laughter, overlapping talk, *response cries* [Goffman, 1981], assessments, and facial expressions). Such practices often invite visitors' use of language to index different types of stances and identities than those observed in elicited practices. In this regard, storytelling can be considered in relation to Goffman's (1974) notion of *replaying*: "A replaying will [...] be something that listeners can empathetically insert themselves into, vicariously re-experiencing what took place." (p.504). That is, at times docents tell stories in ways that invite visitors to engage in more spontaneous, affectively charged ways. Here we focus primarily on the telling of an *unexpected event*, or a "key event that disrupts the equilibrium of ordinary, expected circumstances" (Ochs, 1997, p. 197; similar to *complicating action*, Labov, 1972, and *deviation from the ordinary*, Bruner, 1990).

In Excerpt 3, the group (same as in Excerpt 2) is at a display of *picture brides*, a practice of arranged marriages in the early 20th century involving Japanese women in Japan (over 10,000) and Japanese Americans in Hawaii and the West Coast of the United States. Prior to the extract, the docent conveyed that arranged marriages were common at the time and that the process took a long time. In particular, he related this traditional practice to the present ("And they do scrutinize the family. They don't just pick anyone like ah on- on the Internet (0.2), y'know"), which several visitors responded to with laughter. After conveying that once the man and woman agree to get married they get married by proxy, here the docent (D4) relates a series of actions involving a typical picture bride's (using the third-person singular pronoun *she*) journey to and arrival in the United States to meet the man who is now her husband.

Excerpt 3. Picture brides. (D4=male docent, V6=female visitor, V7=female visitor, V8=female visitor, V9=female visitor)

- 1 D4: So:: (0.5) she gets on a boat (0.2)
 2 y'know it takes three weeks to come on a boat
 3 from Japan to un- to America. (0.6)
 4 ah: with his picture? (1.2)
 5 so when she gets off at maybe:: (0.3) Angel Island,
 6 which is in San Francisco Ba:y,
 7 which is the immigration center, (0.2) or Seattle
 8 those were the two main ports of ah (0.4) ah entry,
 9 (0.6) Ah:: (0.3) she'll get off an'
 10 [she has to find this man that she has a picture of] (0.4)
 11 [((picture-holding gesture))]
 12 'kay? (0.6)
 13→ tch (0.4) [but a lotta time these pictures are not exactly::::]
 14→ [((picture-holding gesture, moving hand))]
 15→ [what this man looks like.]
 16 V6: [((smiling))]
 17 ((opens eyes wide, rolls eyes))
 18 V8: [((squints face; bends head and torso forward))]
 19 D4: ['kay?]
 20 V7: [h h[hh]
 21 V6: [ho::]::[::]::
 22→ D4: [y'know (0.2)] a lotta time he sent (0.2) pictures
 23→ that were taken many years before.
 24 V7: [((smiling))]
 25 V6: [uh::::[::]((V6 and V7 looking towards each other))
 26 D ['kay?]
 27 (0.3)
 28 V6: [()]
 29→ D4: [And he's] [dressed up nicely in er- in ah a borrowed suit]
 30 [((gestures towards self))]
 31 V6: a::::[::]::::[:::]:
 32 D4: ['kay?]
 33 V9: [They'd (have to tell) the Internet.
 34 D4: hhh
 35 V6: hhh[hh [hh]
 36 V7: [HH[HH]
 37→ D4: [Yeah so (0.2)] so (.) when she [finally finds this gu:y]
 38 V6: [(old an' grey), right?]
 39→ D4: he's much older.

- 40 (0.3)
 41 V6: u[h] ((opens eyes wide))
 42→ D4: [ah:] he's probably not dressed nicely= ((gestures towards self))
 43→ =an' when he comes to (0.4) pick- pick her up
 44→ he probably just came off the fa:rm an' .h[an' y'know (0.3)an' (.)]
 45 V6: [smelly and nasty]
 46→ D4: Well anyway he's dark and wrinkled up from working out there
 47→ in the farm, y'know. (0.7) ((hand gesture up and down face))
 48 V6: ((nods head in overlap to lines 46–47))
 49 D4: So:::(0.4) there must've been a lot of (.) disappointments, [right.
 50 V6: [((nods))
 51 Mm-hm.
 52 D4: But that's how (0.4) a lot of our community got started
 53 (.) is by these picture brides.

After relating a typical picture bride's journey to the United States to unite with her new husband (lines 1–11), the docent uses a *discourse marker* (Schiffrin, 1988) “kay?” (line 12; also, lines 19, 26, 32), which functions in this sequential context to shift footing to convey an unexpected event (beginning in lines 13–14). In conveying the event, the docent uses words, prosody, and gesture to imply a contrast between the bride's photo of the groom and the actual man the bride meets upon getting off the boat (lines 13–14: “but a lotta time these pictures are not exactly::::: what this man looks like”). The implied contrast is that the man looks much *better* in the photo than in person. As shown in Figure 1, while producing this utterance, the docent extends his right arm and hand forward, and moves his hand back and forth several times across the negative adverbial and vowel elongation “not exactly:::::”. This hand and arm movement is an *iconic gesture* (e.g., Goodwin, 2003; McNeill, 1992) that (1) visually represents a picture bride holding out the photo of the man who is now her husband, and (2) displays an affective stance of *contrast* between the photo and actual person. The docent's use of iconic gestures is observable throughout this excerpt, such as when he gestures towards himself while describing the man's appearance (lines 30 and 42).

Several visitors respond to the unexpected event in verbal and non-verbal ways that display heightened affective stance and *affiliation*, referred to as when a “hearer displays support of or endorses the teller's conveyed stance” (Stivers, 2008, p. 35). Here, the conveyed stance is somewhat humorous, while at the same time taking the “side” of the picture bride, as someone who has been deceived. The visitors' responses include *smiling* (line 16), *eye roll* (line 17), *facial squint* (line 18), *laughter* (line 20), and *response cry* (line 21) that display humor and surprise. The docent responds by elaborating upon (and making explicit) the unexpected event (lines 22–47), which invites further forms of engagement from visitors, such as a

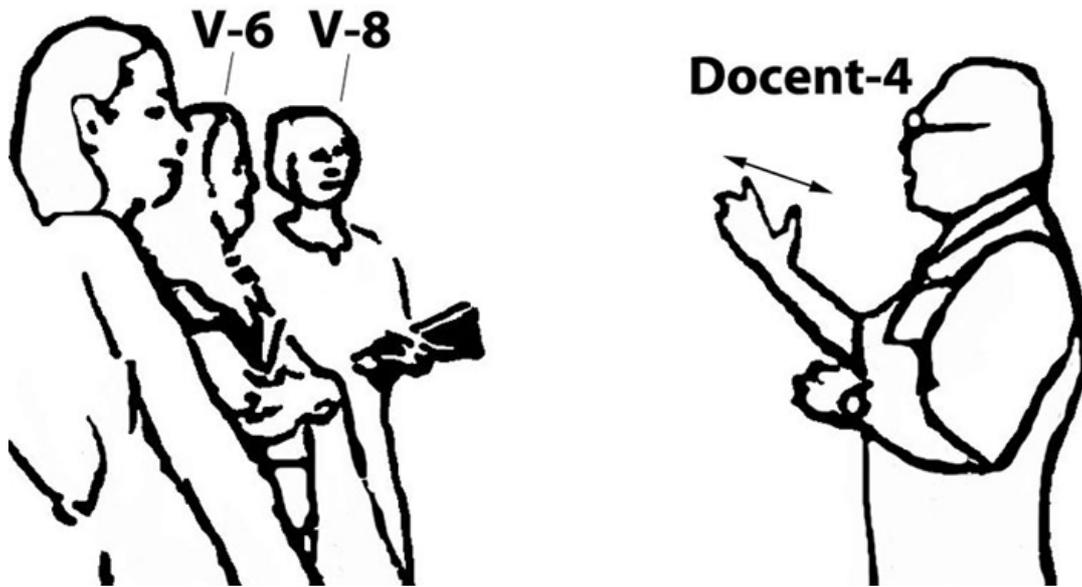


Figure 1. Docent-4 produces an iconic gesture as he articulates an unexpected event in storytelling.

humorous comment (line 33) and assessments (lines 38 and 45). For instance, in response to the docent's description of the man as having just come from working in the farm to meet his bride for the first time, one of the visitors (V6) produces a negative assessment of the man (line 45: "smelly an' nasty"). Similar to the observation by Pomerantz (1984, p. 57) that "with an assessment, a speaker claims knowledge of that which he or she is assessing," here the visitor displays affective and epistemic stances related to the visual and olfactory sensations that she imagines the bride experienced upon meeting her husband for the first time. Although this assessment is addressed to the docent, who responds by downgrading it a bit (lines 46–47: "Well anyway he's dark and wrinkled up from working out there in the farm, y'know"), at other times visitors display stance and affiliation towards each other (as in lines 24 and 25). In these ways, in using affective talk and gesture in recounting an unexpected event, docents may invite visitors' engagement in ways that vary from those using elicited communicative practices discussed in relation to Excerpts 1 and 2.

As suggested earlier, storytelling and communicative practices that invite visitor engagement are vehicles for activating social identities of self (e.g., ethnicity: docent as a Japanese American through use of "we" and "us" in Excerpt 2) and others (e.g. social roles: visitors as students through use of K+ questions in Excerpt 1 and other-repetition + list intonation in Excerpt 2). Excerpt 3 is notable for indexing another kind of group identity: gender (e.g., Ochs, 1992) and relationships. In particular, in response to the docent's recounting of the unexpected event, several of the female visitors display affective stances as pointed out above towards

the docent and each other (e.g., laughter, response cries, assessments). Some of these responses, such as the assessment, take the side of the picture bride by casting the groom in a negative way. Furthermore, the one male visitor in this group (V10) who had previously displayed engagement in Excerpt 2, here is an *observer* (in Goffman's sense) throughout the telling who does not respond in audible or visible ways. In these ways, similar to Kitzinger and Wilkinson's (2003) notion that *unnamed identity categories* (e.g., gender) can be invoked through forms of participation (or non-participation) in certain kinds of talk, storytelling in museum guided tours may become a vehicle through which visitors display (or do not display) affective stances in ways that activate gender identities and relationships with others.

Conclusions

This paper has examined storytelling in guided tours at a Japanese American museum. The analysis focused on ways that older (ages 75–85 years), male Japanese American docents tell stories based primarily on vicarious experience, and use various communicative practices that invite visitors' engagement in the telling. We have characterized these practices as elicited (e.g., questions, other-repetition + list intonation) and non-elicited (e.g., affective talk, gestures). The findings show that docents use a variety of communicative practices in engaging visitors in storytelling. They suggest that the types of practices used and their frequencies will vary among docents, types of tours, and parts of the story. As our analysis is based on a particular type of docent (older, male Japanese Americans), visitor (adult students), and exhibit (Japanese American history), more work is needed on storytelling in guided tours involving various types of docents, visitors, and museums.

The analysis builds on prior work on storytelling as a vehicle for displaying and positioning the self and others in relation to stance and identity. In terms of social identity, (1) docents' use of K+ questions, IRE sequences, and other-repetition + list intonation in student groups positions the docent as instructor and visitors as students, (2) their use of first-person plural pronouns (*we, us*) in relating stories of vicarious experience indexes their ethnic identity and generation (as a Japanese American born prior to World War II), and (3) visitors' displays of affiliation and heightened affective stance during storytelling may activate their own gender identities and relationships. In these ways, storytelling is a vehicle for displaying and positioning the self and others in relation to identity in ways that are tied to the institution and transcend it.

Finally, in organizing much of their talk as stories, storytelling is a primary vehicle for working towards the goals of the museum. In these ways, the analysis

presented here contributes to understanding how storytelling constructs the museum as an institution. These findings have practical implications as well. In particular, as the generation of the docents we observed gives way to new generations of docents (e.g., those born after World War II) whose life experiences are farther removed from the events depicted in the museum, formal training of docents could include ways that older, more experienced docents use storytelling and communicative practices to educate visitors and invite their engagement in the telling as a social and sense-making activity.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

Characteristics of speech and non-verbal behavior:

[Wo]rd	Brackets indicate overlapping talk.
Wo::rd	Colon marks phonological lengthening (each colon is approx. 0.1 sec.).
Wo-	Hyphen indicates sound cutoff.
((bows))	Non-verbal actions and comments are shown in double parenthesis.
.h	Period followed by the letter h indicates an in-breath sound.
(h)	An h inside a parenthesis indicates breath within a word.
(1.2)	Number in parenthesis indicates silence in seconds and tenths of a second.
(.)	Period inside parenthesis indicates a micro-pause (less than 0.2 second).
.	Period marks falling intonation.
,	Comma marks a continuing intonation.
?	Question mark indicates a rising intonation.
(Word)	Word in parenthesis indicates transcriber uncertainty of hearing.
()	Empty parenthesis indicates transcriber unable to hear sounds clearly.
°Word°	Circles around an utterance mark reduced volume.
→	An arrow indicates a primary focus of analysis.