3 Tracking references to unfamiliar food in Japanese Taster Lunches: Negotiating agreement while adapting language to food

Polly SZATROWSKI
University of Minnesota

Abstract

In this paper I investigate how Japanese participants track references to unfamiliar food in the interaction at Taster Lunches. The analysis investigates (1) What aspects of the food do participants use as resources to create references for unfamiliar food?, (2) What patterns in reference tracking can be observed through the conversation?, (3) How do participants' choices of similar or different referring expressions influence their assessment and categorization of the food and their relationships with one other?

Patterns in the use of nouns/noun phrases to refer to unfamiliar food showed that participants tended to use demonstrative pronouns initially, and subsequently used more specific references including features of color, shape, texture, flavor, and combinations. This reflects participants' multi-sensory experience of food. While the referring expressions for more familiar food were settled referring expressions, references for less familiar foods were monitored and modified throughout the discussion of the food item. Choice of referring expression also influenced participants' assessment and categorization of the food. Participants' repetition of expressions that other participants used to describe, assess and categorize the food in subsequent non-predicate (Minami 1974, 1993, 1997) referring expressions suggested their agreement on food descriptions and categorization, and contributed to the stability of the referring expression.

Results indicate ways in which participants adapt language to unfamiliar food in the process of negotiating food references based on their multi-sensory experience, knowledge, assessment and categorization of the food in the talk-in-interaction. This study also contributes to research on contextualized social and cognitive activity, language and food, and cross-cultural understanding.

Keywords: referring expressions, unfamiliar food, demonstrative, agreement, sensory experience

1   Introduction

In this paper I investigate how Japanese participants track references to unfamiliar food in the interaction at Taster Lunches (Szatrowski 2011, 2013, 2014a,b,c,d, 2015a,b,

2017). When encountering unfamiliar food participants are faced with the need to adapt language to refer to the food while describing, assessing and categorizing the food. The data for this study come from videotaped conversations of 13 Japanese triads and 10 American English triads, each eating and commenting on three courses containing three to four foods from Japan, America, and Senegal, respectively.

In my analysis I investigate the following questions: (1) What aspects of the food do the Taster Lunch participants use as resources to create references for unfamiliar food?, (2) What patterns in reference tracking can be observed through the conversation?, (3) How do participants' choices of similar or different referring expressions influence their assessment and categorization of the food and their relationships with one other?

In this study I use the terms "referring expression" to refer to a candidate name or category of a food or drink in the Taster Lunch, and include in my analysis *jutsubuteki na yōso* 'predicate elements' (verbal, adjectival, nominal + copula predicates) as well as *jutsubuteki na yōso igai no seibun* 'non-predicate components' (N+*wa* (TOPIC), N+*ga* (SUBJECT), and N+other case particles, e.g., N+*ni* (INDIRECT OBJECT), N+*o* (DIRECT OBJECT), etc.) (Minami 1974, 1993, 1997).[1] My inclusion of predicate elements and consideration of the referring expressions used by a multiple of participants differs from previous research on referring expressions that tended to focus on non-predicate components used by a single speaker, the narrator, in narratives about a film, animation, etc. (Clancy 1980, Watanabe 2009, 2010, and others).

2   Previous research

2.1   Research on knowledge and language in conversation

Research on knowledge and language in conversation has focused on the relative epistemic states of the participants. Labov & Fanshel (1977) distinguished between A-events (known to A, but not to B) and B events (known to B, but not to A). Kamio (1994) demonstrated how Japanese speakers use modal forms and final particles to distinguish between knowledge in the speaker's territory of information, knowledge in the hearer's territory of information, and knowledge in both the speaker's and hearer's territory of information to the same or varying degrees. Heritage (2012:4) proposed the notion of "epistemic status" to refer to "relative epistemic access to a domain or territory of information as stratified between interactants such that they occupy different positions

---

1   See Szatrowski (2007) for an English summary of Minami's hierachical model of Japanese sentence structure. Regarding predicate elements, I consider nouns used in nominal +copula predicates, and descriptions using verbs (e.g., *bunibuni-shite iru* 'is jellylike'), adjectives (*amai* 'sweet') that may be used later in non-predicate references. I also include N+Z (noun+zero particle) as a non-predicate component.

on an epistemic gradient (more knowledgeable [K+] or less knowledgeable [K-]), which itself may vary in slope from shallow to deep". Koike (2014:172) defined a "'knowing participant' as a participant who has more access to the information in question at a given moment in interaction, and an 'unknowing participant' as a participant who has no or less access to the information in question vis-à-vis the knowing participant." She demonstrated how Japanese knowing and unknowing participants achieved mutual understanding of a food X that the knowing participant had eaten in the past by using food categories, comparing similarities (simile) and contrasting differences between food X and known foods, and creating new food categories. My research contributes to this research by focusing on food and drink unknown to all three participants at the Taster Lunch. In particular, I investigate how they construct references to the food through negotiations of agreement on possible categories based on their sensory experiences during the Taster Lunch.

2.2   Research on the relation between language and food in Japanese conversation

Previous research on the relation between language and food in Japanese conversation focused on verbal and non-verbal assessments in television cooking shows (Szatrowski 2009), verbal and nonverbal behavior at Taster Lunches between three women under 30 (Szatrowski 2011), the use of modal and evidential forms in talk-in-interaction in Taster Lunches among Japanese native speakers, among American English speakers, and among native and non-native Japanese speakers (Szatrowski 2014a, 2014d, 2015b), the use of so-called "subjective" and "objective" expressions for food assessment (Szatrowski 2013), the relation between food and family at Taster Lunches (Szatrowski 2014c), the use of onomatopoeia in Japanese Taster Lunches (Szatrowski 2015a, 2018), and identification of unfamiliar food (Szatrowski 2016). There has also been research on the use of "pragmemic triggers" and formal expressions to delineate the stages in the process of commensality from the beginning (invitation) to the end of a meal (Beeman 2014), the structural organization of ordering and serving sushi (Kuroshima 2014), food description in Japanese at a pot luck party (Noda 2014), repetition of the punchline of stories about food and restaurants (Karatsu 2014), and the socialization of Japanese children to food-related practices (Burdelski 2014).

3.   Analysis
3.1   Data and methodology

The data for this study come from videotaped Taster Lunch conversations of 13 Japanese triads and 10 American English triads, each eating and commenting on three

courses containing three to four foods from Japan, America, and Senegal, respectively.[2] The triads consisted of three friends in varying gender (FFF, FFM, FMM, MMM) and age (<30 years, >30 years) combinations. In this study, I will analyze a Japanese female triad under 30 (JPN3=FFF). In particular, I will focus on the conversational segments in which the participants are eating a dessert in a bowl called *LAAX* '(white corn) flour pudding with a sweet (yogurt and) milk sauce' in the Senegalese course (the corn flour pudding forms a lump in the middle with the sauce on top). The Senegalese course also included *MAFE* '(chicken in) peanut butter sauce' on Jasmine rice, and *BAFIRA* 'hibiscus juice'.

My methodology was as follows. First, I identified the explicit references used for the *LAAX* and associated them with four perspectives, specifically, visual appearance (shape, quality/substance, color), taste, texture, and smell. Next, I distinguished the predicate elements and non-predicate components (Minami 1974, 1993, 1997). Finally, I analyzed the effect of different referring expressions on the identification and assessment of the unknown food (*LAAX*), and the relation among the participants at the Taster Lunch.

3.1   Referring expressions used in JPN3

In this section I will investigate the patterns in the use of referring expressions for the *LAAX* by three women under 30, Gin (g), Haru (h), and Iku (i) as viewed from left to right on the video. While the references for more familiar food were settled quickly, references for less familiar foods continued to be monitored and modified throughout the discussion of the food item.

As seen in Excerpt 1, there was no negotiation of the reference for *hijiki* 'black seaweed' in the Japanese course.[3] Based on sight, Haru is the first to comment on the *hijiki*.   She refers to it as *hijiki* using a non-predicate N+*ni* on first mention in 105h, and Gin refers to *hijiki* in general using a non-predicate N+*tte* (quotative particle) in 107g. They also use non-predicate references for the *kozakana* 'small fish' in 106h (N+*ga*) and 107g (N+Z), respectively. About one minute later Haru and Iku taste the *hijiki*, and Iku says it is delicious in 136i, referring to it as *hijiki* with a non-predicate N+Z, and Haru ellipts the reference when she agrees it is delicious in 137h. In this way participants tended to refer to familiar foods by their name in non-predicate components.

---

2   See Szatrowski (2014b:27-28) for a description and pictures of the Taster Lunch meal.

3   See the Appendix for the transcription conventions used in this paper. In the data, I put a box around non-predicate referring expressions, underlined categories used in nominal predicates, and put a dotted underline under descriptive elements used in predicates that are later used in non-predicate components.

Excerpt 1:
JAPANESE COURSE-HIJIKI1 'BLACK SEAWEED' 4:42-4:50[4] (Familiar food)

105h   個人的にはひじきにさあ、
        Kojinteki ni wa hijiki ni sā,
        Personally, in *hijiki*, you know,
106h   この小魚が、//混じっているのが、|| ※h,i: bend forward to look at *HIJIKI*
        kono kozakana ga, //majitte iru no ga,||
        having these small fish mixed in,
107g   //ひじきって小魚入ったんだね。||
                    //Hijiki tte kozakana haitta n da ne.||
                    //It's that *hijiki* had small fish in it, huh. ||
        ※g: bends forward to look at *HIJIKI*
108h   //ちょっと不思議。||
        //chotto fushigi.||
        //is a little strange.||
109g   //初めて見た。||
        //Hajimete mita.||
        //(It's) the first time (I)'ve seen (it).||
110h   うん、
                Un,
                Yeah,
111h   私//も初めて見た。|| ※hangs her hair on the right side on her right ear
        with left hand
        Watashi //mo hajimete mita.||
        (For) me //too (it's) the first time (I)'ve seen (it).||
…((4:51-5:44 g,h,i talk about the *UDON* 'noodle' broth, and *UDON* 'noodles'))

JAPANESE COURSE-HIJIKI2 'BLACK SEAWEED' 5:45-5:59 (Familiar food)

(2.1)   g is eating the *UDON* and h,i are eating the *HIJIKI*
136i   ひじきおいしいよ。
        Hijiki oishii yo.
        (The) *hijiki* is delicious I tell you.
137h   あ、おいしい。
        Oh, (it)'s delicious.

---

4   HIJIKI1 means the first section where participants talk about the *hijiki*, and 4:42-4:50 indicates the beginning and end of the excerpt in the video (minutes:seconds).

In contrast, there was more negotiation of the referring expressions used for the *LAAX*. In initial references to unfamiliar food, demonstrative pronouns were the most common non-predicate components used and possible references were given in predicate elements used to negotiate the identity of and categorize the food. Excerpt 2 begins with Haru pointing at the *LAAX* and asking what it is with the demonstrative pronoun *kore* 'this'. In response, based on sight, Iku says she does not know in 454i, and Gin questions whether the *LAAX* is fish in 455g. Then Gin and Iku smell the *LAAX* and simultaneously conclude that it is yogurt. Next, Gin's suggestion that it is fish and yogurt in 458g is met by responses in 460h, 461i, and 462g that question whether it is fish. The excerpt ends with Gin and Iku agreeing that it is yogurt in 463g-465i, and Haru questioning again whether it is fish in 466h while doing a head tilt twist.[5] All the uses of *sakana* 'fish' and *yōguruto* 'yogurt' are predicate elements, and the only non-predicate component used is the demonstrative pronoun *kore* 'this' (N+Z), postposed in 461i and utterance initial in 466h. This was typical of initial references to unfamiliar food; demonstrative pronouns were the most common non-predicate components used initially.

Excerpt 2:
SENEGALESE COURSE-LAAX1 (15:02-15:17) (Unfamiliar food)

453h　°あと°これ何だと思う？　※points at *LAAX* with right index finger
　　　°*Ato*°*kore* *nan da to omou*?
　　　°Also° what do you think this is?
454i　わかんない。　※lifts *LAAX* bowl up to chest height
　　　Wakannai.
　　　(I) don't know
455g　魚？
　　　Sakana?
　　　(Is this) fish?
(2.0)　((g,i:smell the LAAX))
456g　//ヨーグルト。||
　　　//*Yōguruto.*||
　　　//(It's) yogurt.||
457i　//なんかヨーグ||ルトだ。
　　　//*Nanka yōgu*||*ruto da.*
　　　//Somehow (it's) yogu||rt.
　　　※h:picks up the bowl with both hands and smells the LAAX

5　Szatrowski (2014a:141) defines a "head tilt twist" as tilting one's head to one side while twisting the head in the opposite direction.

458g   魚とヨーグルト？
   Sakana to yōguruto?
   (Is this) fish and yogurt?

459i   //うん。||
         //*Un.*||
         //Uh.||

460h   //さ、||えーーー？
         //*Sa,*|| *e:::?*
         //Fi, || wha:: :t?

461i∼ 魚なの？°これ。°
   Sakana na no? °*Kore*.°
   Is it that (this) is fish? °This.°

462g   魚じゃないかな、
   Sakana ja nai ka na,
   I wonder if (it) isn't fish (afterall),

463g   なんかヨーグルトだよね。
   nanka yōguruto da yo ne.
   somehow (it's) yogurt, I tell you, isn't it.

464i   うん、
         Un–,
         Yeah–,

465i   ヨーグルト。
   Yōguruto.
   (it's) yogurt.

466h   これ魚、<えー？> ※head tilt R twist L
   Kore *sakana, <e:?>*
   Is this fish, <wha:t?>

About three minutes later after the participants discuss the *MAFE* with Gin concluding that it contains chicken, Gin initiates another discussion of the *LAAX* in Excerpt 3. Gin begins by referring to the *LAAX* with a non-predicate noun phrase ending in *wa* (the topic particle) in 575g[6] and (drawing from her conclusion that the *MAFE* contains chicken) wonders whether the fact is that the *LAAX* is not meat. Haru denies totally that the *LAAX* has meat in 576h using a postposed demonstrative pronoun *Kore:* 'thi:s' with a final sound stretch.[7] Gin's use of *yōguruto* 'yogurt' in her non-predicate reference in

---

6 It was common to use a non-predicate nominal reference to refer to the *LAAX* after a shift (Clancy 1980) from talking about another food.

7 Haru's pronunciation of the predicate and postposed *kore:* 'thi:s' in 576h in one intonation unit, with a sound stretch on *kore:* and loud voice over the entire utterance contribute to her strong denial, and exemplify what Ono & Suzuki (1992) refer to as the emotive type of postposing.

575g *kono yōgurutoppoi no wa* 'as for this yogurt-ish one' reflects Gin and Iku's agreement that the *LAAX* contains yogurt in Excerpt 2, although her use of -*ppoi* 'ish' on the end of *yōguruto* 'yogurt' makes it less determinate. Subsequently Gin tries to rationalize why the *LAAX* is not meat by suggesting in 578g that the combination of meat (in the *MAFE*) and fish (in the *LAAX*) would be heavy,[8] pointing at the *MAFE* when she says meat and *LAAX* when she says fish. Then, in 579g Gin questions whether the *LAAX* is a vegetable. Next after Iku and Haru try the *LAAX*, they indicate that they cannot identify it using inexplicit reference, and in 591i–592i Iku accounts this to the fact that the flavor is disguised by the yogurt using a non-predicate N+*ni* component in 592i *yooguruto ni* 'by the yogurt'. Like Gin did in 575g, Iku uses a non-predicate component to refer to the *LAAX* after she and Gin agreed that the *LAAX* had yogurt in it in Excerpt 2. Haru's utterance in 594h suggests that she also agrees that the *LAAX* contains yogurt.

Excerpt 3:
SENEGALESE COURSE-LAAX2 (18:30-19:07) (Unfamiliar food)

575g   (1.9)てことは このヨーグルトっぽいのは 肉 じゃないってことかな。
        (1.9) *Te koto wa kono yōgurutoppoi no wa niku ja nai tte koto ka na.*
        (1.9) (From that) I wonder if the fact is that this yogurt-ish one is not meat.
576h～・@肉 ではないでしょ これー 。 @・
        ・@*Niku de wa nai desho kore:.@*・
        ・@(It)'s probably not meat thi:s one.@・
        ※Haru bends forward and looks into her bowl with her left hand on side of bowl.
577i   //いけいけー。||
        //*Ike ike:.*||
        //Go go:.|| ((Iku encourages everyone to eat the *LAAX*.))
        ※picks up the bowl of *LAAX* with her right hand and spoon with her left hand
578g   //さか-魚と||か肉系ー、//じゃない [g てことじゃない？そしたら|| さー、
        //*Saka- sakana to*|| *ka nikukee:*, //*ja nai* [g *te koto ja nai? soshitara*|| *sa:*,
        //Fis- fish or|| meat grou:p, //(it) is not, [g isn't that the case? then|| you kno:w,
        [g: raises her left hand from the *LAAX* bowl on the table to upper chest height and in 580g points down twice with her left index finger, first at the *MAFE* in front of her when she says *Niku* 'meat' and second at the *LAAX* a little forward

---

8   It is interesting to note that Gin uses a non-predicate component in 580g *Niku sakana tte* 'lit. speaking of meat (and) fish' although the participants have not agreed previously that the *LAAX* contains fish. However, this is not a counterexample to the tendency I observed for participants to use non-predicate components after some agreement is reached, because here Gin is speaking about meat and fish in general and giving a reason for the *LAAX* not being fish, rather than referring to the *LAAX* in particular as fish.

from that when she says *sakana* 'fish', associating the *MAFE* with meat and the *LAAX* with fish.]

579i〜 　　　　　//んーじゃいこうよ。これ。||
　　　　　//N: *ja ikō yo.* kore.||
　　　　　//Yea:h then let's go I tell you. this ((=*LAAX*)).||

580g 　肉魚って濃い]ₘ じゃん↑。
　*Niku sakana tte koi*ₘ] *jan↑.*
　Meat (and) fish (would be) heavy,ₘ] (would)n't they↑.

581g 　（なんか）、//野菜？||
　(*Nanka*), //*yasai?*||
　(Somehow), //a vegetable?||

582i 　　　　　　//何だろ。||
　　　　　//*Nan daro.*||
　　　　　//What might (it) be.||

(2.2) ((g: eats *MAFE*; h: drinks *BAFIRA*; i: holding the bowl of *LAAX* in her left hand, puts a spoonful of *LAAX* in her mouth with her right))

583h (2.2)じゃあたしもちょっとこれ一口いってみよう。
(2.2) *Ja atashi mo chotto* kore *hito-kuchi itte miyō.*
(2.2) Then I too will just try going (with) one bite (of) this ((=*LAAX*)).

584h→i どう？
Dō?
How is (it)?

585i〜 うん、何だろこれ。
Un, nan daro kore.
Yeah, what might (it) be this ((=*LAAX*)).

586h ん？
N?
Hm?

587h (1.2)何かわからない。
(1.2) *Nani ka wakaranai.*
(1.2) (I) can't tell what (it) is.

588i 　　　　　　　　うん。
　　　　　　Un.
　　　　　　Yeah.

589i これといった特徴的な味でもない。
Kore to itta tokuchōteki na aji de mo nai.
(It) doesn't have a distinctive flavor (of the sort) that (one could) say (it) is this.

590g   (1.4)ああ、そろそろお腹いっぱいに//なってきた。||
        (1.4) *Aa, sorosoro onaka ip-pai ni //natte kita.*||
        (1.4) O:h, gradually (my) stomach //has come to get|| full.

591i   //なんか、ヨー||グルトに=
                                        //*Nanka,* *yō*||*guruto ni*=
                                        //Somehow, || with yoghurt=

592i   すべてかき消され//てる＠気が||する。＠
        subete kakikesare //te ru @ki ga || suru.@
        everything has been eras//ed @ (I)|| feel.@

593g   //{アハハハ}||
                        //{*a ha ha ha*}||
                        //{LAUGHTER}||

594h   あそれは言えてる//かも。||
        A sore wa iete ru //ka mo.||
        Oh (you) can say that //maybe.||

595i   //{フフッ}||
                        //{*hu hut*}||
                        //{LAUGHTER}||

Excerpt 4 is a continuation of Excerpt 3. It begins with Gin eating the *LAAX* for the first time, and Haru referring to the *LAAX* with the non-predicate component (N+*ga*) in 596h and 598h *Kono sā, shi, kono shiroi:, katamari ga:,* 'This, you know, whi-, this whi:te lu:mp' and adding that she cannot tell what it is. Unlike the other uses so far of non-predicate references that had at least two people's agreement before using it as a non-predicate component, Haru uses a non-predicate component that refers to the color and shape of the *LAAX* without previous agreement. This suggests that color and shape may be characteristics which do not require agreement, that is, even though the participants do not know what the *LAAX* is, they may assume that knowledge of its shape and color is shared because it comes from visual evidence, and therefore these characteristics do not require agreement. Subsequently, Gin uses a non-predicate demonstrative pronoun (N+Z) *kore* 'this' in 600g to question whether the *LAAX* is *uri* 'gourd'. Haru disagrees in 602h-603h and adds that the non-predicate demonstrative pronoun in 605h *kore jitai wa* 'this itself' (N+*wa*) does not have much flavor. After Gin indicates there are raisins in the *LAAX* in 606g using a non-predicate N+Z for this familiar referent (without previous agreement), Haru clarifies the referent of the demonstrative pronoun (that she used in 60th) in 607h *kono, shi, shiroi katamari no hō* 'the alternative of this, whi, the white lump (as opposed to the sauce)'.

Excerpt 4:
SENEGALESE COURSE-LAAX2 (cont.) (19:08-19:40) (Unfamiliar food)

596h　このさあ、
　　　Kono sā,
　　　This, you know,
　　　※g:picks up the bowl with her left hand and eats *LAAX* with spoon in her right hand

597i　　　　　　うん。
　　　　　　　Un.
　　　　　　　Uh huh.

598h　し、この白いー、塊がー、　※h lifts up some *LAAX* with a spoon in her right hand
　　　shi, kono shiroi:, katamari ga:,
　　　whi, this whi:te lu:mp,

599h　(1.5)よくわからん。
　　　(1.5) *yoku wakaran.*
　　　(1.5) (I) can't tell well.

600g　何これ。 瓜？何だろ。
　　　Nani kore. Uri? Nan daro.
　　　What is (it) this. Gourd? What might (it) be.

601i　　　　　　　　　　　　　{フフ}
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　{*hu hu*}
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　{LAUGHTER}

602h　°瓜ではない。°.hh ※h shakes her head from left to right twice.
　　　Uri de wa nai.
　　　(It's) not a gourd.

603h　(1.2)と思うんだけど。
　　　(1.2) *to omou n da kedo.*
　　　(1.2) it's that (I) think (that) but.

604h　(2.9)これ自体は味あんまりないのかなあ。
　　　(2.9) *Kore jitai wa aji anmari nai no ka nā.*
　　　(2.9) (I) wonder if it's that this itself doesn't have much flavor.

605i　　　　　　　　　　　　　うん。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Un.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Yeah.

606g　レーズン入ってるよ。
　　　Rēzun haitte ru yo.
　　　Raisons are in (it), you know.

607h   (1.0)あ、うんあのこの、し、白い塊の方さ。
       (1.0) *A, un ano kono, shi, shiroi katamari no hō sa.*
       (1.0) Oh, yeah uhm the alternative of this, whi, white lump, you know.
… ((19:27-19:40 Discuss whether the *LAAX* is bread soaked in yogurt.))

In Excerpt 5, a continuation of Excerpt 4, the participants begin to evaluate the *LAAX* and talk about its taste and texture. In 612i Iku evaluates the *LAAX* positively saying she likes it using the non-predicate demonstrative pronoun *kore* 'this' (N+Z). However, Haru and Gin indicate otherwise, commenting that it is (too) sweet, both using non-predicate components (N+*ga*) to refer to the part of the *LAAX* that they find sweet. Specifically Haru repeats her previous reference to color and shape (598h) in 615h *kono shiroi katamari ga* 'this white lump' and Gin uses the mutually agreed upon *yooguruto ga* 'the yogurt' in 616g and 618g.

Excerpt 5:
SENEGALESE COURSE-LAAX2 (cont.) (19:41-20:09) (Unfamiliar food)

612i   //でもあたしこれ||全然好きだわ。
           //*Demo atashi* kore || *zenzen suki da wa.*
           //But I this || totally like (it), you know.
613h   (2.1)甘い。
       (2.1) *Amai.*
       (2.1) (It's) sweet.
614g   あたしこれちょっと微@妙。@{h}
       Atashi kore *chotto bi@myō.@* {h}
       (For) me this is a bit ques@tionable@.{h}
615h   (1.6)゜あそっか゜、この白い塊が甘いのか゜な。゜
       (1.6) ゜*A sokka*゜, *kono shiroi katamari ga amai no ka* ゜*na.*゜
       (1.6) ゜Oh right゜, (I) wonder if it's that this white lump is sweet.
616g   いや、ヨーグルトが甘いんだと思うよ。
       Iya, yooguruto ga *amai n da to omou yo.*
       Nah, (I) think it's that (the) yoghurt is sweet, I tell you.
617i   うん。
                                           Un.
                                           Yeah.
618g   (1.9)ヨーグルトがめちゃくちゃ甘い↑。
       (1.9) *Yōguruto ga mechamecha amai* ↑.
       (1.9) (The) yoghurt is excessively sweet ↑.
619i   うん。
                                           Un.
                                           Yeah.

620h　全部甘い<な>。
　　　　Zenbu amai <na>.
　　　　(It's) all sweet, <isn't it>.
621g　　　　　　　　　{ンフフフフ}
　　　　　　　　　　{*N hu hu hu hu*}
　　　　　　　　　　{LAUGHTER}
… ((20:01-20:09 Discussion about the *LAAX* not being soggy bread))

In Excerpt 6, a continuation of Excerpt 5, the participants continue to try to identify the *LAAX* and evaluate its texture. Haru asks what it might be, referring to it with non-predicate N+Z components in 626h *kono, buttai* 'this, object' and 628h *Buttai X* 'Object X' again using a reference to shape. Then Gin indicates that she finds the texture disgusting describing it with the predicate elements in 630g *bunibuni* 'jellylike' and 631g *zarazara* 'grainy', but Haru and Iku disagree by saying that they like the texture in 634h, 637i and 638h.

Excerpt 6:
SENEGALESE COURSE-LAAX2 (cont.) (20:09-20:27) (Unfamiliar food)

626h〜 何だろ この、物体 。
　　　　Nan daro kono, buttai.
　　　　What might (it) be this, object .
627g　　　　　　　　　うん。
　　　　　　　　　　Un.
　　　　　　　　　　Yeah.
628h　 物体エックス 。
　　　 Buttai ekkusu.
　　　 Object X .
629i　　　　　　　　　{フフ}
　　　　　　　　　　{*hu hu*}
　　　　　　　　　　{LAUGHTER}
630g　(2.0)なんかちょっとぶにぶにしてるのに＝
　　　(2.0) *Nanka chotto bunibuni-shite ru no ni=*
　　　(2.0) Like although (it's) a bit jellylike=
631g　ざらざらしててちょっと気@持ち悪い。@
　　　zarazara-shite te chotto ki@mochi warui. @
　　　(it's) grainy and (so) a bit dis@gusting. @
632h　でも、//@ごめんー、@||
　　　Demo, //@gomen:,@||
　　　But, //@so:rry:,@||

633g   //舌触り気持ち||悪くない？
           //*Shitazawari kimochi*||*waruku nai*?
           //The feeling on your tongue is gro||ss, isn't it?

634h   え？//この||食感＠面白くて好きなん//だけど。＠||
        E? //*kono*|| *shokkan @omoshirokute suki na n* //*da kedo.*@||
        What? //this|| texture @it's that (it) is interesting and (I) like (it) //but.@||
        ※points at *LAAX* with left index finger

635i   //ええ？||
           //*Ee*?||
           //What?||

636g   //んーー？||
                                        //*N*::?||
                                        //Hm::?||

637i〜 あたしも好きだよなんかこの不思//議な食感。||
        Atashi mo suki da yo nanka kono hushi//*gi na shokkan.*||
        I also like it, I tell you somehow this amaz//ing texture. ||

638h   //うんそう得体||の知れない感が。
        //*Un sō tokutai*|| *no shirenai kan ga.*
        //Yeah (that's) right (this) strange mysterious sense.
        ((lit., sense that you can't know what (it) is)).

639g   マジで？
                                        Maji de?
                                        (You) serious?

640g   なんかすごくアウェイな気分。{フフ}
        Nanka sugoku awei na kibun. {*hu hu*}
        Somehow (I have a) extremely "away" feeling (lit., feeling at an away game).
        {LAUGHTER}

641i   うん。
                                        Un.
                                        Yeah.

Excerpt 7 occurs about four minutes later in the conversation after the participants discuss their preferences in the Senegalese course, size and softness of the meat in the *MAFE*, eating utensils, and the course's country of origin. Gin reopens the discussion of the *LAAX* in 764g with the non-predicate *kono … yōguruto no amai no ga* 'this sweet yogurt one' (N+*ga*), using *yōguruto* 'yogurt' and *amai* 'sweet', both aspects that were previously agreed upon in Excerpts 2 and 5, respectively. Subsequently, Haru's use in 768h of the non-predicate (N+Z) *kono shiroi bunibuni-shita no* 'this white jellylike one' combines a pre-nominal demonstrative with color and repeats Gin's description of the texture as

bunibuni 'jellylike' (630g). This suggests that Haru agrees with Gin's previous description. Next, in response to Haru's question in 767h-768h about what things in Japan have texture similar to the *LAAX*, Haru and Gin enumerate similar Japanese tea cakes (*gyūhi* in 769h, *kanten* '(sweet) agar', *suama* 'sweet mochi cake') with predicate nouns (not all shown in Excerpt 7).

Excerpt 7:
SENEGALESE COURSE-LAAX3 (25:02-25:21) (Unfamiliar food)

764g (5.4) が、 この なんかヨーロ-、なんか ヨーグルトの甘いのが 解せぬっ。
   (5.4) *ga, kono nanka yōro-, nanka yōguruto no amai no ga gesenut.*
   (5.4) this somehow *yōro-*, somehow sweet yogurt one (I) can't comprehend.

765h   {フフ}
                  {*hu hu*}
                  {LAUGHTER}

766i   {フフフ}
                  {*hu hu hu*}
                  {LAUGHTER}

767h (2.4) ん、日本にも こうゆう さ、
   (2.4) *N, Nihon ni mo koo yuu sa,*
   (2.4) Yeah, in Japan too, this kind of you know,

768h この白いぶにぶにしたの なかったっけ？
   kono shiroi bunibuni-shita no nakatta kke?
   isn't there this white jellylike one?

769h (1.0) 求肥 でもないし。
   (1.0) *Gyūhi de mo nai shi.*
   (1.0) (It)'s not *gyūhi* 'soft skin made of (steamed) refined rice flour and sugar', and.

3.2 Results of the analysis

In response to my first question "What aspects of the food do participants use as resources to create references for unfamiliar food?", initial references tended to be demonstrative pronouns (*kore* 'this') and gradually became more specific including features of color (*shiroi no* 'white one'), shape (*kono buttai* 'this object'), texture (*kono bunibuni-shita no* 'this jellylike one'), flavor (*yōguruto no amai no* 'yoghurty sweet one'), and combinations (*kono shiroi katamari* 'this white lump', *kono shiroi bunibuni-shita no* 'this white jellylike one'). This reflects the participants' multi-sensory experience of the food. Demonstrative pronouns and references involving color and shape were used without previous agreement. In contrast, food categories and features related to flavor and texture tended

to be used in non-predicate components only after agreement between participants had been established in predicate reference. In some cases a participant's use of another participant's previous predicate reference as a non-predicate component indicated their agreement (e.g. 769h).

In regard to the second question "What patterns in reference tracking can be observed through the conversation?", participants referred to the unknown food (*LAAX*) with and without using explicit verbal expressions. For example, they pointed at the unknown foods or drinks with their hands, fingers, and chopsticks and other eating utensils, and ellipted the reference once it was established. Focusing on explicit verbal referring expressions, I found that while the references for more familiar food were settled quickly and often used in non-predicate components from the start, references for less familiar foods started as predicate elements, and were monitored and modified during the discussion of the food item. Participants chose references with varying specificity, repeated, paraphrased or changed their references, chose references that were similar or different from their interlocutors, and used information other participants used to describe, assess and categorize the food in subsequent references to the food. Participants' repetition of their interlocutors' referring expressions and use of the referring expression as a non-predicate component suggested their agreement on descriptions and categorization of the food, and contributed to the stability of the referring expression for that food.

In Figure 1 I show how predicate and non-predicate references were tracked through the first three sections about the *LAAX*. In most cases I give the English translation for the Japanese references, or both the Japanese Romanization and English translation. I use lower case letters to indicate predicate elements, and capital letters for non-predicate components, and put large circles around categories and descriptions negotiated in the predicate. The large arrows indicate categories and descriptions agreed upon in the predicate (lower case letters) that were subsequently used in non-predicate references (capitalized). With the exception of references to color and shape, the large arrows show that all the non-predicate references occurred after they were used and agreed upon in predicates. These include the use of *yooguruto* 'yogurt' that was agreed upon in LAAX1 and subsequently used in a non-predicate component in LAAX2 (four times) and LAAX3 (three times). After agreeing on the *LAAX* being *amai* 'sweet' in LAAX2, this description was subsequently used to refer to the *LAAX* in non-predicate components in LAAX2 (one time) and in LAAX3 (two times). In addition, after the discussion of the texture of the *LAAX* in LAAX2 where Gin referred to it as *bunibuni* 'jellylike' in the predicate, Haru's use of this description in a non-predicate component in *LAAX*3 suggests that she agrees with this characterization of the *LAAX*'s texture.

Finally, in regard to my third question "How do participants' choices of similar or different referring expressions influence their assessment and categorization of the

food and their relationships with one other?", participants accepted (with agreements and back channel utterances, repetition and paraphrase, etc.) or rejected (with direct negation, repetition with rising intonation, non-use, etc.) one another's predicate references. Choice of "referring expression" also influenced participants' positive/ negative assessment of the food, and acceptance and use of another's referring expression or description, in particular as a non-predicate component, contributed to the closeness among participants.

4   Conclusion

Results suggest ways in which participants adapt language to unfamiliar food in the process of negotiating food references based on their multi-sensory experience, knowledge, assessment and categorization of the food in the talk-in-interaction. Unlike previous studies that focused on the use of non-predicate references in narratives that tended to be monologic, this study demonstrates that references in talk-in-interaction over food are negotiated (primarily) in the predicate and then used in non-predicate components after establishing agreement. By elucidating the negotiation of assessments, categories, and knowledge in Japanese talk about food, this study aims to contribute to research on contextualized social and cognitive activity, language and food, and cross-cultural understanding.

Figure 1. Referring expressions used in JPN3 (lower case letters=predicate elements, capital letters=non-predicate components; large circle= categories and descriptions negotiated in the predicate, large arrows= categories and descriptions agreed upon in the predicate (lower case letters) that were subsequently used in non-predicate references (capitalized); g=Gin, h=Haru, i=Iku; ?=question,×=disagreement, ○=agreement; *WA*= topic, *GA*=subject, *O*=direct object, *NI*=indirect object, *Z*=no particle; (#)=number of occurrences)

LAAX1

KORE+*Z* 'this one' (3) (431h,461i,466h)   **SIGHT,SMELL**

> fish(5)g?,g?,i×, g× h×
> yogurt(5) g,i○,g?,g, i○
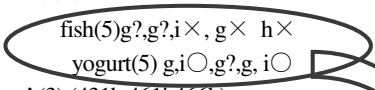
KORE+*Z* 'this one' (3) (431h,461i,466h)

LAAX 2

KORE+*Z* 'this one' (8) (576h,579i,583h,585i,600g,612i,614g, 624g)

meat(2) g×, h×

KORE ZITAI+*WA* 'this one itself' (604h)

575g: 'THIS YOGURTISH ONE' +*GA*

591i: 'YOGURT'+*NI* 'by yogurt'

596,598h: 'THIS, YOU KNOW, WHI, THIS WHI:TE LU:MP'+*GA*

606g: 'RAISINS'+*Z*

607h: 'The ALTERNATIVE OF THIS, WHI-, WHITE LUMP' +*Z*

TEXTURE,TASTE

615h: 'THIS WHITE LUMP'+*GA*

616g: 'YOGURT'+*GA*

618g: 'YOGURT'+*GA*

622g: 'BREAD, RAISIN, AND BREADLIKE THING'+*GA*

626h: 'THIS, OBJECT' +*Z*

628h: 'OBJECT X' +*Z*

644h: 'SWEET THING' *TO SITE* 'as'

LAAX3

KORE+*Z* 'this one' (5) (778h,781h,788g,797i,803h)

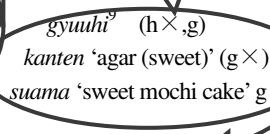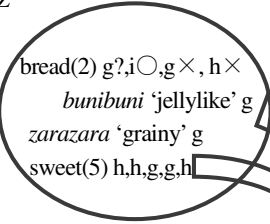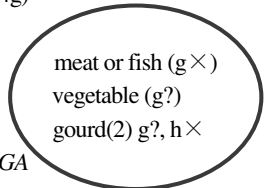764g: 'THIS … SWEET YOGURT ONE' +*GA*

          SIGHT,TEXTURE,TASTE

767h,768h: 'THIS KIND OF … THIS WHITE JELLYLIKE ONE' +Z

778h: 'YOGURT'+(*SAE*)+*Z*

793g: 'THIS YOGURT' +*Z*

803h: 'THIS SWEET ONE' +*O*

…LAAX5, LAAX6, LAAX7

> meat or fish (g×)
> vegetable (g?)
> gourd(2) g?, h×

> bread(2) g?,i○,g×, h×
> *bunibuni* 'jellylike' g
> *zarazara* 'grainy' g
> sweet(5) h,h,g,g,h

> *gyuuhi*[9] (h×,g)
> *kanten* 'agar (sweet)' (g×)
> *suama* 'sweet mochi cake' g×

---

9 'soft skin made of (steamed) refined rice flour and sugar'

Acknowledgments

Transcription conventions for Japanese/ romanized Japanese and English[10]

(Chafe 1980; Levinson 1983; Atkinson & Heritage 1984; Szatrowski 1993, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2013, 2014 a,b,c,d, 2015 a,b)

./。   falling sentence-final intonation.
?/？   rising intonation, not necessarily a question.
,/、   continuing intonation followed by a slight pause.
↑   slight rise in intonation.
.h h   in-breath (.h), out-breath (h); number of 'h's' indicates the length in relation to the length of preceding syllables/mora.
@ @   utterance between the @ @ is said in a laughing voice.
{}   enclose non-linguistic sounds such as laughter, coughing, clicks, etc. Whenever possible the beats and sounds of the laughter are transcribed, e.g., {ハヽハヽへ}, {ha ha he }.
{.h}{h} laughter consisting of an in-breath or out-breath, respectively.
° °   utterance between the ° ° is said in a quieter voice.
· ·   utterance between the · · is said in a louder voice.
< >   indecipherable or slightly audible speech is indicated in < >.
(1.7)   length of pause/silence in seconds, (0.7) indicates a pause of 7-tenths of a second, relative to the speed of the preceding utterance.
// || // || indicates where the overlap begins and ends in the present and following utterance.

---

10   The symbol on the left of the '/' is used in the romanized version of the Japanese and English translation, and the one on the right in the Japanese transcription.

:/ー   indicates lengthening of the preceding vowel or syllabic nasal in the English and Romanized/ Japanese version of the transcript.

-        cut-off of preceding sound.

=   a single = sign at the end of an utterance indicates that the next utterance (by the same speaker) continues on to the next line without a pause.

〜   postposing

→i   addressee of the utterance; →i indicates that the utterance is addressed to i.

※   explanation of nonlinguistic behavior accompanying an utterance.

(( ))   additional explanation of eating and other non-linguistics behavior in pauses between utterances, content of untranscribed talk, etc.

English translation: ( )= words necessary in English, but not reflected in the Japanese.

Back channel utterances and laughter are moved to the right to line up with the end of the previous utterance to which they respond.

Literature

Atkinson, J.M. & Heritage, J. (1984) *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysi*s. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beeman, W. O. (2014) Negotiating a passage to the meal in four cultures. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*: 31-52. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Burdelski, M. (2014) Early experiences with food: Socializing affect and relationships in Japanese. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*: 233-255. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chafe, W. L. (ed.) (1980) *The Pear Stories: Cognitive and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Clancy, P. (1980) Referential choice in English and Japanese narrative discourse. *The Pear Stories: Cognitive and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*: 127-202. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Heritage, J. (2012) Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45 (1): 1-29.

Kamio, A. (1994) The theory of territory of information: The case of Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 21 (1): 67-100.

Karatsu, M. (2014) Repetition of words and phrases from the punch lines of Japanese stories about food and restaurants: A group bonding exercise. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*: 185-207. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Koike, C. (2014) Food experiences and categorization in Japanese talk-in-interaction. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*: 159-183. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kuroshima, S. (2014) The structural organization of ordering and serving sushi. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*: 53-75. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Labov, W. and Fanshel, D. (1977) *Therapeutic Discourse: Psychotherapy as Conversatio*n. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Levinson, S. C. (1983) *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Minami, F. (1974) *Gendai Nihongo no Kōzō* [Structure of Modern Japanese]. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.

Minami, F. (1993) *Gendai Nihongo Bunpō no Rinkaku* [Outline of Modern Japanese Grammar]. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.

Minami, F. (1997) *Gendai Nihongo Kenkyū* [Research on Modern Japanese]. Tokyo: Sanseido.

Noda, M. (2014) It's delicious!: How Japanese speakers describe food at a social event. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*: 79-102. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ono, T. & Suzuki, R. 1992. Word order variability in Japanese conversations. *Text* 12 (3):429-455.

Szatrowski, P. (1993) *Nihongo no Danwa no Kōzō Bunseki- Kanyū no Danwa no Sutoratejī no Kōsatsu* [Structure of Japanese Conversation--Invitation Strategies]. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

Szatrowski, P. (2000) Kyōdō hatsuwa ni okeru sankasha no tachiba to gengo/ higengo kōdō no kanren ni tsuite [Relation between participant status and verbal/ nonverbal behavior in co-construction]. *Nihongo Kagaku* [Japanese Linguistics] 7: 44-69.

Szatrowski, P., ed. (2004) *Hidden and Open Conflict in Japanese Conversational Interaction*. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

Szatrowski, P. (2005) Danwa to buntai--Kanjō hyōka no dōteki na katei ni tsuite-- (Japanese conversation and style--The dynamic process of emotion/ evaluation--). In: Nakamura, A., Nomura, M., Sakuma, M. and Komiya, C. (eds.) *Hyoogen to Buntai* [Expression and Style]: 468-480. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.

Szatrowski, P. (2007) Subjectivity, perspective and footing in Japanese co-construction. In: Hedberg, N. and Zacharski, R. (eds.) *Topics on the Grammar-Pragmatics Interface: Essays in Honor of Dr. Jeanette K. Gundel*: 313-339. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Szatrowski, P. (ed.). (2010) *Storytelling across Japanese Conversational Genr*e. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Szatrowski, P. (2011) Shishokukai no gengo/ higengo kōdō ni tsuite--30-sai miman no josei gurūpu o chūshin ni [Verbal and nonverbal behavior in a Taster Lunch- Focusing on a group of women under 30]. *Kyōiku Kenkyū Sentā Kenkyū Nenpō* [Center for Comparative Japanese Studies Annual Bulletin] 7: 281-292. (Och-anomizu University). http://teapot.lib.ocha.ac.jp

Szatrowski, P. (2013) Tabemono o hyōka-suru sai ni mochiirareru "kyakukanteki hyōgen" to "shukanteki hyōgen" ni tsuite [On the use of "subjective" and "objective" ex-pressions for food assessment in Japanese]. *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo Ronbun-shū* [NINJAL Research Papers] 5: 95-120. http://doi.org/10.15084/00000506

Szatrowski, Polly. (2014a) Modality and evidentiality in Japanese and American English Taster Lunches: Identifying and assessing an unfamiliar drink. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*: 131-156. Amster-dam: John Benjamins.

Szatrowski, P. (ed.). (2014b) *Language and Food: Verbal and Nonverbal Experiences*. Am-sterdam: John Benjamins.

Szatrowski, P. (2014c) Shishokukai ni okeru tabemono to kazoku to no kankei [On the relation between food and family in Taster Lunches]. Hikaku Nihongaku Kyōi-ku Kenkyū Sentā Kenkyū Nenpō [Center for Comparative Japanese Studies Annual Bulletin] 10:231-238. http://teapot.lib.ocha.ac.jp

Szatrowski, P. (2014d) Sōgo sayō ni mirareru gengo to bunka no setten--Sutorateji, danwa no kōsei tan'i, modariti to ebidenshariti ni tsuite--[The intersection of language and culture in interaction: Strategies, discourse units, and modality/ evidentiality]. *Nihon Gengo Bunka Kenkyūkai Ronshū* [Japan Language Culture Research Society Papers] 10:1-17. [The Japan Foundation Japanese-Language Institute, Urawa.] http://www3.grips.ac.jp/~jlc/jlc/ronshu/2014/1szatrowski. pdf

Szatrowski, P. (2015a) Shishokukai ni okeru onomatope [On the use of onomatopoe-ia in Japanese Taster Lunches]. *Japanese Language Education in Europe 19: The Proceedings of the 18th Japanese Language Symposium in Europe 28-30 August, 2014*: 95-100. Association of Japanese Language Teachers in Europe e.V. [ATE] http://www.eaje.eu/media/0/myfiles/12%20Panel3%283%29_Szatrowski.pdf

Szatrowski, P. (2015b) Nihongo no shishokukai ni okeru modariti to ebidenshariti no mochikata--Nihongo bogowasha to hibogowasha no Amerikajin to no chigai [Use of modality and evidentiality in Japanese Taster Lunches: Differences be-tween Japanese native speakers and nonnative speaking Americans]. In: Abe, J., Iori, I., and Sato, T. (eds.) *Bunpō/ Danwa Kenkyū to Nihongo Kyōiku no Setten* [Intersection of Grammar/ Discourse Research and Japanese Language Educa-tion]: 159-177. Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers.

Szatrowski, P. (2016) Michi no tabemono e no genkyū no sikata--Shishokukai ni okeru dōtei to kyōkan--[Referring to unfamiliar food: Identification and agreement in Japanese taster lunches]. *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo Ronbunshū* [NINJAL Research Papers] 11:93-115. http://doi.org/10.15084/00000843

Szatrowski, P. (2017) Kichi to michi no tabemono o meguru mandara: Shishokukai no kaiwa o rei ni [Mandala (visual schema) revolving around familiar and unfamiliar foods: Examples from Taster Lunches]. In: *Jikan no Nagare to Bunshō no Kumitate: Hayashi Gengogaku no Saikaishaku* [The Dynamic Construction of Discourse over Time: Interpretations of Hayashi Linguistics]: (eds.) I. Iori, K. Ishiguro, and T. Maruyama, pp. 239-268. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.

Szatrowski, P. (2018) Sōgo sayō ni yoru onomatope no shiyō--Nyūseihin no shishokukai o rei ni shite--[On the use of onomatopoeia in interaction: Examples from Japanese Dairy Taster Brunches]. *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo Ronbunshū* [NINJAL Research Papers] 16:77-106. http://doi.org/10.15084/00001609

Watanabe, F. (2009) Eigo oyobi nihongo no katari no danwa bunshō ni okeru shijishi [Demonstratives in English and Japanese oral and written narrative discourse]. *Yamagata Daigaku Jinbun Gakubu Kenkyū Nenpō* [Yamagata University, Faculty of Literature & Social Sciences Annual Research Report] 6: 1-13.

Watanabe, F. (2010) Clausal self-repetition and pre-nominal demonstratives in Japanese and English animation narratives. In: Szatrowski, P. (ed.) *Storytelling across Japanese conversational genre*: 147-180. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

要旨（Abstract in Japanese）

「日本語の試食会における未知の食べ物への言及表現の追跡
－食べ物に言語を適応しながら同意を得ようと交渉すること－」

ポリー・ザトラウスキー（ミネソタ大学）

　本研究では、日本語による試食会でどのように未知の食べ物に言及するか、言及表現を用いていく際にどのようなパターンが見られるのか、言及表現は食べ物の評価、範疇化、参加者の人間関係にどのように影響するかを考察する。未知の食べ物の言及表現は、初めに指示代名詞が用いられ、その後、色、形、食感、味、またそれらの組み合わせにより特定化される。これは参加者の複数の身体感覚の体験（multi-sensory experience）を反映している。既知の食べ物は言及表現が早く決まるのに対し、未知の食べ物は、話の間中、言及表現が変化する。また、言及表現の選択はほかの参加者の評価と範疇化に影響を与える。他の参加者が食べ物を描写、評価、範疇化する際に用いた表現を南 (1974,1993) の述部的な要素以外の成分で繰り返すことは、その描写と範疇化に対する同意を示し、言及表現が安定する。本研究は、文脈に応じた社会的・認知的な活動、食べ物と言語、異文化理解の研究に貢献できる。