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# Response Cries or Response Statements? A Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Interjectional Expressions in Japanese and English

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## Abstract

Goffman (1978: 800) claims that “[a] response cry doesn’t seem to be a statement in the linguistic sense (even a heavily elided one),” which suggests that such cries do *not* have the linguistic structures of statements (or descriptions) of either a speaker’s emotion/sensation or evaluation of a situation. This study conducted a questionnaire survey targeting Japanese and American English speakers to investigate expressions they will produce under eight circumstances of Goffman’s response cries. The results were contrary to Goffman’s claim. About half of the Japanese response cries were “descriptive interjections” like *Ita(i)* ‘Painful’ and *Yaba(i)* ‘Awful,’ and so were about 17 percent of the American response cries. On the other hand, non-descriptive interjections (swear words, vocatives) were more favoured by American English speakers, but extremely rare in Japanese. This study also addresses the questions of sociality and/or dialogicity of response cries in the two languages.

## Keywords

response cry – (non-)descriptive interjection – dialogicity – solitude speech – Japanese – American English

### 1 Introduction

When we are in solitude, we will probably not remain silent all the time. We sometimes produce interjections (or more generally, interjectional expressions) such as *Oops!* and *Oh my God!*<sup>1</sup> These expressions are examples of what Erving Goffman (1978) calls “response cries.” Goffman (1978: 800) describes “response cries” as “exclamatory interjections which are not full-fledged words.” They are a verbal representation of the speaker’s emotional display in response to an unexpected or uncontrolled situation. Some linguists assume that such interjections are “universal” (Ameka, 1992). However, the *linguistic* realisations of response cries may be diverse across languages – the term “linguistic” *per se* is problematic because some response cries are considered to be “non-words” that “can’t quite be called part of a language” (Goffman, 1978: 810). How linguistic are these cries? And what kinds of cross-linguistic differences exist? These are the first questions to be addressed in this study.

For the linguistic forms of response cries, Goffman (1978) claims that “[a] response cry doesn’t seem to be *a statement in the linguistic sense (even a heavily elided one)*, purportedly doing its work through the concatenated semantic reference of words” (p. 800, italics ours). This claim is repeated elsewhere: “[t]hese cries are conventionalized utterances which are specialized for an informative role; but *in the linguistic and propositional sense, they are not statements*” (p. 805, italics ours). Goffman (1978: 809) considers that the utterances used in response cries come from two sources: “taboo but full-fledged words” (e.g. *Damn! Hell!*) and “the broad class of non-word vocalizations” (e.g. *Wow! Oops!*). He observes “a nice division of linguistic labor,” which highlights the distinctiveness of these two sources from the language used in ostensive communication: “[f]ull-fledged words that are socially acceptable are allocated to communication in the openly directed sense, while taboo words and

1 “Interjectional expression” is used in this study as a cover term for words and phrases that represent the speaker’s immediate reaction to a linguistic or physical context (see Ameka, 1992: n. 3 regarding a different use of the term). As argued in 4.2, this term is necessary to capture the continuous nature of forms used for this expressive purpose. Our discussion is specifically concerned with what Ameka (and Wilkins) refer to as “expressive interjections” (Ameka, 1992, 1994; Ameka and Wilkins, 2006).

non-words are specialized for the more ritualized kind of communication" (p. 809). These accounts seem to suggest that response cries are either non-lexical vocalisations or swearing/vocative expressions (e.g. *Damn! God!*); they do *not* have linguistic structures of statements (specifically descriptions) of either a speaker's emotion/sensation or evaluation of a perceived situation. The English examples provided by Goffman (1978) might support this observation. However, from examples of a typologically different language like Japanese, there emerges a different picture: apart from non-lexical vocalisations and swearing/vocative expressions, response cries can have the forms of statements or "even heavily elided ones."

Another issue to consider is the functions of response cries. Goffman (1978: 814) argues that response cries are "creatures of social situations." In other words, they are used for remedial work in social situations, serving "as means of striking a self-defensible posture in the face of extraordinary events" (p. 806). For example, when a man trips on a pavement, he can utter a response cry to correct "the threat to his reputation" (p. 793) or for "the advertisement of self-respect" (p. 798). According to Goffman (1978), response cries presuppose the presence of others (a "gathering" or "witnesses," to use his terminology). Such "blurtings make a claim of sorts upon the attention of everyone in the social situation, a claim that our inner concerns should be theirs, too" (p. 814). Sometimes, they are "styled to be overheard in a gathering" (p. 799). When there is no one around, response cries may not be issued. If women and children are nearby, a male speaker is likely to "censor his cries accordingly" (p. 799), avoiding an *f*-word that he may use when he stumbles alone. In other words, "[r]ecipient design' is involved" (p. 799) in the production of response cries.

In addition to social situatedness or the presence of a gathering or witnesses, the presence of addressees (or imagined addressees) is relevant to response cries (or solitude speech in general). In educational and developmental psychology, Vygotsky (1986 [1934]: 228) and his followers (e.g. Wertsch, 1980; Bivens and Hagstrom, 1992; Ramirez, 1992; Feigenbaum, 1992; Lechler and Hare, 2015) consider that private speech originates in social interaction (i.e. "speech for others") and is thus dialogic by nature. In philosophy and brain science, "hidden dialogicality" (Bakhtin, 1984 [1929]: 197) or "dialogic thinking" (Ferryhough, 2009) is also considered to underlie private speech. Following these predecessors, the linguist Du Bois (2009, 2011) assumes "the dialogic self speaking in solitude" (2011: 71), postulating an internal dialogue between "ME" and "ME2" (cf. Mead, 1934).

The dialogic properties reported in many psychological studies are primarily observed in the use of language for self-regulation, which occurs when children (and adults) are engaged in cognitively challenging activities (e.g.

Diaz, 1992: 62; John-Steiner, 1992; Duncan and Cheyne, 2002). Apart from such a self-regulatory function, however, some researchers (e.g. Fuson, 1979; Fossa, 2017) argue that private speech also fulfils several other functions including “an emotional/expressive function” (Fuson, 1979: 155) realised by response cries. In view of this, questions arise: Are we conscious of the presence of others (witnesses or addressees) when uttering response cries? Are there any differences in the conception of others among speakers of different languages (e.g. Japanese and English)?

In the present study, we explored forms and functions of response cries through a questionnaire survey designed to compare two typologically contrastive languages: Japanese and (American) English. The study investigated what kinds of expressions the two groups of speakers consider they would produce under eight circumstances of Goffman’s response cries and whether the speakers would presuppose the presence of others (addressees or witnesses) when producing response cries. As a corollary of the first point, we also propose a continuous view of response cries and interjectional expressions.

## 2 Methodology

### 2.1 *Types of Response Cries*

Goffman (1978) identifies nine types of response cries, as summarised in Table 1. This study examined expressions used for eight of them, excluding Sexual Moan.

TABLE 1 Types of response cries (Goffman, 1978: 801–805)

Type	Example
Transition Display	<i>Ahh!/Phew!</i> when leaving a hot place for a cool one
Spill Cry	<i>Oops!/Whoops!</i> when spilling coffee on a table
Threat Startle	<i>Eek!/Yipe!</i> when looking down from a high open stairwell
Revulsion Sounds	<i>Eeuw!</i> when in contact with something contaminating
Strain Grunt	<i>Oof!</i> when lifting something heavy
Pain Cry	<i>Oww!/Ouch!</i> when a dentist is drilling into one’s teeth
Sexual Moan	the subvocal tracking of sexually climactic experience
Floor Cues	<i>Oh, no!</i> when making a mistake (which leads to another person’s query)
Audible Glee	<i>Oooooo!</i> when an adolescent girl was served a large crepe

These types are self-explanatory except Floor Cues (e.g. *Oh, no!*). Floor Cues include utterances such as “*Oh, no!*,” which is expressed, for example, when a person deletes an important file on a computer by mistake. This kind of utterance “leads to, and apparently is designed to lead to, a colleague’s query as to what was wrong” (Goffman, 1978: 804), hence providing a cue to the colleague’s floor.

## 2.2 A Questionnaire Survey

A questionnaire survey was administered to Japanese and American English speakers, using Google Forms.<sup>2</sup> The questionnaire consists of two sections:

- A. Suppose that in the situations described below you are by yourself with no one around to hear you. In each case, what would you utter or say aloud when the following things happen? If you believe you would probably NEVER utter a thing, just write “nothing.”
- B. (i) When you make the utterances you gave as answers above, do you feel as if you were speaking to someone?
  - (ii) If yes, who are you speaking to? Write down all the possibilities you can think of.

Section A asked the participants what kind of utterance they would produce in each of the eight circumstances of Goffman’s response cries. The basic setting common to all the circumstances was: “you are by yourself with no one around to hear you,” which excludes the possibility of the presence of others (i.e. a gathering or witnesses). Section B was concerned with the issue of dialogicity, asking whether the participants felt as if they were speaking to someone when producing response cries.

The following eight questions were used in Section A of the English questionnaire. When a situation was considered difficult to imagine, we provided a supplementary photo alongside the question.

- (i) Alone, eating lunch, you accidentally spill your coffee. At that moment, what would you utter? [The Spill Cry]
- (ii) Shutting the door, you accidentally catch your finger. At that moment, what would you utter? [The Pain Cry]

<sup>2</sup> Data obtained in questionnaire surveys should be considered to reflect participants’ perceptions of likely utterances in given situations, not the actual speech produced by the participants. However, this method is useful in studies of solitude speech (response cries, in particular) because it serves to effectively collect sufficient speech samples, which would otherwise only occur sporadically in real situations.

- (iii) On trying to lift a large box, you realize it is really heavy. At that moment, what would you utter? [The Strain Grunt]
- (iv) While cooking, instead of adding salt, you add sugar by mistake. Upon realizing your mistake, what would you utter? [Floor Cues]
- (v) You reach the top story of a very high, open stairwell like the one in the photo. At the instant that you look down, what would you utter? (a photo provided) [The Threat Startle]
- (vi) You go to grab a couple of lemons from the refrigerator. And like the rotten ones in the photo, you find them covered in green mold. Right then, what would you utter? (a photo provided) [Revulsion Sounds]
- (vii) Upon opening the fridge, you discover a delicious-looking cake like the one in the photo below. Right then, what would you utter? (a photo provided) [Audible Glee]
- (viii) Just like the woman in the photo, from a seaside café you exit beachside into the bright sunlight. At that moment, what would you utter? (a photo provided) [The Transition Display]

The questionnaire survey was administered to 54 native speakers of Japanese (24 females, 30 males) and 49 speakers of American English (29 females, 20 males). The participants were all university students aged 18–35 years.

### 2.3 *A Taxonomy of Response Cries*

Since response cries are “exclamatory interjections” (Goffman, 1978: 800), our classification of response cries refers to Ameka’s (1992) distinction between primary and secondary interjections: primary interjections are “little words or non-words” (p. 105) like *Ouch! Wow! Oops!*, while secondary interjections are “words which have an independent semantic value” (p. 111) like *Damn! Hell! Help!* Ameka (1992: 103–104) regards “interjection” as a part of speech, hence only reserving the term for the word class. However, this poses a classification problem, because in this view, words such as *damn* and *God* are classified as interjections but semantically similar phrases such as *damn it* and *my God* are not.<sup>3</sup>

Our study extended the distinction between primary and secondary interjections to all other interjectional expressions used for response cries. This notional extension leads to viewing interjectional expressions as forming a functional category rather than a word class. Since the common understanding of interjectional expressions is that they can “stand alone as a complete ‘utterance’” (Jespersen, 1924: 90; see also Ameka, 1992, 1994; Ameka and Wilkins,

<sup>3</sup> Ameka (1992: 104) refers to expressions such as *damn it* and *my God* as “interjectional phrases.”

TABLE 2 A taxonomy of response cries

Primary interjection	Secondary interjection		
	Non-descriptive (swearing/vocative)	Descriptive	
<i>Ah, Ew, Ow, Ugh,</i>	<i>God, Man, Damn, Shit, Shoot, etc.</i>	<i>Nice, Cool, Disgusting, etc.</i>	<b>Simple-word expression</b>
<i>Wow, Oh wow, etc.<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Oh my god, Damn it (Dammit), etc.</i>	<i>(It's) so bright, That's nasty, etc.</i>	<b>Multiple-word expression</b>

a For primary interjections, no distinction was made between simple-word and multiple-word expressions, because it was difficult to identify word boundary for some expressions (e.g. Japanese *Uohho*, English *ooOoOoOooOOoo, mngngnngghhh*).

2006), they can be regarded as a type of pragmatic markers (Norrick, 2009) that can be independently used as utterances. The forms of such utterances vary from non-words, words, phrases, and clauses to other composite expressions. Table 2 presents the taxonomy of the interjectional expressions used in this study, illustrated by English examples.

We distinguished secondary interjections into two subtypes: descriptive and non-descriptive types. The non-descriptive type includes swear words (e.g. *Damn, Shoot*) and vocative expressions (e.g. *God, Man*), while the descriptive type (e.g. *Nice, Disgusting*) is used to describe the emotion or sensation a speaker has just felt or a speaker's evaluation of a perceived situation. This distinction is crosscut by another distinction: simple-word and multiple-word expressions exemplified by *Damn* and *God damn it*, respectively.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the recognition of words is problematic in Japanese, involving an argument whether functional morphemes such as case markers and tense and aspect markers should be counted as one word or not. Our study followed the definition of Suzuki (1972, 1996) and Okuda (1974), who consider "word" to represent a unified entity of lexicon and grammar. For example, these scholars regard Japanese past-tensed

4 We regarded *Dammit* as a multiple-word expression, because it is still analysable as consisting of two free morphemes (*damn* and *it*). When a multiple-word interjection consisted of two different types of interjection, the classification was based on a type of interjection that plays a more pivotal role in the meaning of the combination. For example, consider *Wow this is heavy*, which consists of the primary interjection (*wow*) and the (multiple-word) descriptive interjection (*this is heavy*). The utterance was classified as a (multiple-word) descriptive interjection rather than a primary interjection.

verbs (e.g. *arui-ta* ‘walked’ or *it-ta* ‘went’) as one word like their English counterparts; these words are viewed as a single linguistic unit composed of a lexical dimension (an act of ‘walking’ or ‘going’) and a grammatical dimension including the temporal meaning indicated by the past tense marker *-ta*.

### 3 Results

#### 3.1 *Forms of Response Cries*

Table 3 summarises the response cries provided by Japanese speakers, which are classified according to the taxonomy of response cries given in Table 2. “Mouth sound” represents answers that describe a sound produced using the mouth, such as a gasp, a sigh, and clicking one’s tongue.

The most frequent response cries were simple-word descriptive interjections (40.3%). When simple and multiple types were combined, descriptive interjections amounted to 50.7 percent; that is, about half of the Japanese response cries were descriptive interjections. On the other hand, non-descriptive interjections (swear words and vocatives) made up only one percent, which interestingly included an example of Japanised English: *Oomaigaa* ‘Oh my God.’ This clearly shows that non-descriptive interjections are extremely rare in Japanese.<sup>5</sup> Two other types (primary interjections and “nothing to utter”)

TABLE 3 Response cries provided by Japanese speakers

		(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)	TOTAL	%
		spill cry	pain cry	strain grunt	floor cues	threat startle	revul- sion sounds	audible glee	transi- tion display		
primary		31	3	9	24	20	27	18	7	139	32.2%
non- descriptive	simple	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.5%
	multiple	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0.5%
descriptive	simple	6	44	30	13	21	13	14	33	174	40.3%
	multiple	7	1	2	12	5	6	11	1	45	10.4%
mouth sound		0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0.7%
unclear		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.2%
nothing		8	3	13	4	8	6	11	13	66	15.3%
TOTAL		54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	432	100.0%

<sup>5</sup> Expressions such as *kuso(t)* ‘crap’ are some of the few examples of Japanese non-descriptive interjections, although there were no such answers in our survey.



also represented significant proportions: utterances comprised solely of primary interjections (e.g. *Att*, *Aa*, *Ott*, *Oo*, *Uwa*) accounted for 32.2 percent, and “nothing to utter” showed 15.3 percent.

The prevalence of Japanese descriptive interjections is illustrated in (1), which shows that such interjections were provided by the participants for all the eight circumstances of Goffman’s response cries in both simple and multiple types.

- (1) Examples of Japanese descriptive interjections<sup>6</sup>
- (i) [The Spill Cry]
- Simple-word expression: *Yabai/Yaba/Yabe* ‘Awful’  
*Saiaku* ‘The worst’
- Multiple-word expression: *A, kobosita/Att, kobosityatta* ‘Oh, (I) spilt (coffee)’  
*Att koboreta* ‘Oh (coffee) spilt’  
*Uwa, yarakasitaa* ‘Oops, (I) goofed’
- (ii) [The Pain Cry]
- Simple-word expression: *Itai/Ita/Itatt/Itta/Ittu/Itt/ttttta* ‘Painful’
- Multiple-word expression: *Uwaa i* ‘Aargh painful’<sup>7</sup>
- (iii) [The Strain Grunt]
- Simple-word expression: *Omoi/Omo/Omott/Omotatt/Ommo/*  
*Omoina* ‘Heavy’  
*Omosugi* ‘Too heavy’  
*Yaba* ‘Awful’  
*Muri* ‘Impossible’
- Multiple-word expression: *Ha? Omott* ‘Huh? Heavy’
- (iv) [Floor Cues]
- Simple-word expression: *Yabatt/Yabett* ‘Awful’  
*Saiaku* ‘The worst’  
*Matigaeta* ‘(I) made a mistake’
- Multiple-word expression: *Satoo iretyatta* ‘(I)’ve added sugar’  
*Att/Uwaa, matigaeta* ‘Oh, (I) made a mistake’  
*A, misutta* ‘Oh, (I) messed up’  
*Aaa yattyatta* ‘Ah (I)’ve done (it)’  
*Att satoozyan kore* ‘Oh (it)’s sugar, this’

6 Since there was no consistency in the punctuation of examples provided by the two groups of participants (some employed a period or an exclamation point while others did not, even for the same utterance), these punctuations were not included in our presentation of data.

7 Here, *i* can be seen as a shortened form of *itt* or *itita* ‘painful’.

- (v) [The Threat Startle]  
 Simple-word expression: *Kowai/Kowa/Kowatt* 'Scary'  
*Sugoi/Sugo/Sugee* 'Awesome'  
*Taka/Takka* 'High'  
*Otiso* '(I feel like I)'m going to fall'  
 Multiple-word expression: *Mettya kowa* 'Very scary'  
*Waa sugoi* 'Wow awesome'
- (vi) [Revulsion Sounds]  
 Simple-word expression: *Kitana/Kitanatt* 'Dirty'  
*Kimo/Kimott* 'Gross'  
*Uso/Uson* '(That) can't be true'  
 Multiple-word expression: *Wa, kabi haeteru* 'Oh, mold has grown'  
*Yattawa kore* '(I)'ve done this'
- (vii) [Audible Glee]  
 Simple-word expression: *Oisoo/Oisiko* '(That) looks delicious'  
*Umasoo/Umaso* '(That) looks delicious'  
*Kawaii* '(That)'s cute'  
 Multiple-word expression: *Uwaa/Oo/E(tt), oisoo* 'Wow/Oh, (that) looks delicious'  
*(Ett), nani kore?* '(Oh,) what's this?'
- (viii) [The Transition Display]  
 Simple-word expression: *Mabusii/Mabusi/Mabusitt/Mabu/ Mabbu* '(It)'s dazzling'  
*Attu/Atutt* '(It)'s hot'  
 Multiple-word expression: *Uwa, mabusi* 'Wow, (it)'s dazzling'

When Japanese people accidentally spill coffee (Spill Cry), some express a literal description of the situation with the verbs *kobosu* (transitive) and *koboreru* (intransitive) 'spill': *A, kobosita* 'Oh, (I) spilt (coffee)' and *Att koboreta* 'Oh (coffee) spilt.' Other Spill Cry examples include the representation of the speaker's mental states: *Yabe* 'Awful' and *Saiaku* 'The worst.' When Japanese people accidentally catch their finger in a door (Pain Cry), they are very likely to use the adjective *Itai* 'Painful' and its variant forms, which together accounted for 83.3 percent of all the Japanese examples of Pain Cry.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, when trying to

8 The variants are clipped (or shortened) forms of adjectives (Iwasaki, 2014). See Section 4.1 (also n. 10 below) for the details of these forms. The gemination of the consonant *t* (e.g. *itatt* 'painful') represents *sokuon* 'moraic obstruent.'

lift a large heavy box (Strain Grunt), Japanese people like to use the adjective *omoi* 'heavy' and its variant forms, which constituted about 55.6 percent of all the Strain Grunt examples. Floor Cues (adding sugar instead of salt by mistake) can be produced with a verb like (*Att/Uwaa*,) *matigaeta* '(Oh,) (I) made a mistake' or *Aaa yattyatta* 'Ah (I've done (it)' or even with a form consisting of the object *satoo* 'sugar' and the verb *iretyatta* 'have added': *Satoo iretyatta* '(I've added sugar.' Again, response cries can represent the speaker's evaluation of such a minor mishap: *Yabatt/Yabett* 'Awful' or *Saiaku* 'The worst.' When reaching the top story of a very high, open stairwell (Threat Startle), Japanese speakers are likely to use the adjectives *kowai* 'scary,' *sugoi* 'awesome,' *takai* 'high' and/or their variant forms in their response cries. Revulsion Sounds are not necessarily represented by primary interjections (e.g. *Uee* 'Eww') in Japanese; they can be expressed in the form of a predicate or even a grammatically complete utterance that describes the situation at hand. Japanese may produce utterances like *Wa, kabi haeteru* 'Oh, mold has grown,' which consists of the subject *kabi* 'mold' and the verb *haeteru* 'has grown' or they may also use adjectives representing the miserable states of rotten lemons: *Kitana(tt)* 'Dirty' and *Kimo(tt)* 'Gross.' When Japanese people express audible glee (discovering a delicious-looking cake), they are likely to say (*Uwaa*,) *oisiso(o)* or *Umaso(o)* '(Wow,) (that) looks delicious' or even to employ an interrogative sentence like (*Ett*,) *nani kore?* '(Oh,) what's this?' Transition Display (stepping out into the bright sunshine) tends to be expressed with the adjective *mabusii* 'dazzling' and its variant forms, which accounted for 53.7 percent of all the Transition Display examples.

About half of the Japanese response cries contained "descriptive" predicates: some comprise predicates alone and others even include their grammatical subjects or objects. In other words, Japanese response cries can be "a statement in the linguistic sense" (Goffman, 1978: 800). When including "a heavily elided one" (p. 800) (i.e. a one-word predicate), more than half of the response cries were statements or, more precisely, descriptions of a speaker's emotion/sensation or his/her evaluation of a perceived situation. The simple-multiple distinction shows that simple-word descriptive interjections (40.3%) were more frequently used by Japanese speakers than multiple-word ones (10.4%).

Now let us look at how American English speakers reacted in the eight circumstances of response cries. Table 4 shows that primary interjections (e.g. *ew(w)*, *oh*, *ouch*, *ugh*, *wow*) were the most frequent across all the situation types (37.5%). The second most frequent were multiple-word non-descriptive interjections (e.g. *ahh sh\*t*, *God damn it*, *Oh man*, *oh my God*). When simple and multiple types were combined, non-descriptive interjections amounted to 30.3 percent. "Nothing to utter" accounted for 13.5 percent, which is similar in proportion to its Japanese counterpart (15.3%).

TABLE 4 Response cries provided by American English speakers

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)	TOTAL	%
	spill cry	pain cry	strain grunt	floor cues	threat startle	revulsion sounds	audible glee	transition display		
primary	8	23	23	9	23	28	20	13	147	37.5%
non-descriptive	simple 26	13	1	8	1	2	2	2	55	14.0%
descriptive	multiple 14	10	2	22	5	3	7	1	64	16.3%
	simple 0	0	0	0	1	5	3	0	9	2.3%
	multiple 1	2	12	6	8	9	5	15	58	14.8%
mouth sound	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	5	1.3%
unclear	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
nothing	0	0	11	3	9	2	10	18	53	13.5%
TOTAL	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	392	100.0%

Interestingly, contrary to the expectation that English response cries would not be statements, American English speakers also provided answers classified as descriptive interjections, which accounted for 17.1 percent, including simple and multiple types. Examples of English descriptive interjections are shown in (2).

(2) Examples of English descriptive interjections

(i) [The Spill Cry]

Simple-word expression: N/A

Multiple-word expression: *AHH, hot*

(ii) [The Pain Cry]

Simple-word expression: N/A

Multiple-word expression: *Ouch, that hurt*

(iii) [The Strain Grunt]

Simple-word expression: N/A

Multiple-word expression: *Wow this is heavy/Woo, that's hefty/ahhhhhh so heavy  
Maybe I'll try moving it later*

(iv) [Floor Cues]

Simple-word expression: N/A

Multiple-word expression: *Oh my god, I'm so stupid  
Wow! That is sweet  
Whoops I added salt instead of sugar [sic]*

- (v) [The Threat Startle]  
 Simple-word expression: *nice*  
 Multiple-word expression: *That's crazy*  
*Woah, I feel dizzy*  
*That's a long way down*  
*holy f\*\*\* thats high [sic]*
- (vi) [Revulsion Sounds]  
 Simple-word expression: *Gross*  
*disgusting*  
*Wasted*  
 Multiple-word expression: *Aw/Ew that's nasty*  
*Eww, that's disgusting*  
*Thats a waste [sic]*
- (vii) [Audible Glee]  
 Simple-word expression: *Yummy*  
*neat*  
 Multiple-word expression: *Oh nice*  
*Too cute*  
*hmm that's pretty*
- (viii) [The Transition Display]  
 Simple-word expression: N/A  
 Multiple-word expression: *So bright/(Wow) that's (so) bright/*  
*(Ah/Damn/oo) it's (so) bright*  
*Wow it sure is sunny/*  
*Wow, it's really sunny today*  
*(Oof) my eyes*  
*Oh man I can't see*

Although the proportion was smaller than their Japanese counterparts, these examples evidence that American English speakers can also use the description of their own emotions or their evaluation of a perceived situation as response cries. For such descriptions, they preferred to employ multiple-word expressions rather than uttering only one word; simple-word descriptive interjections constituted only 2.3 percent of all their response cries.

### 3.2 *Comparison of Response Cries by Japanese and American English Speakers*

A comparison of Figures 1 and 2 clarifies the similarities and differences between the two groups of speakers. The simple-word and multiple-word distinctions are not reflected in the figures.

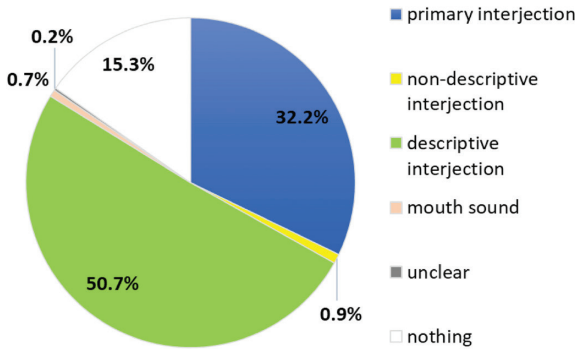


FIGURE 1 Response cries by Japanese speakers

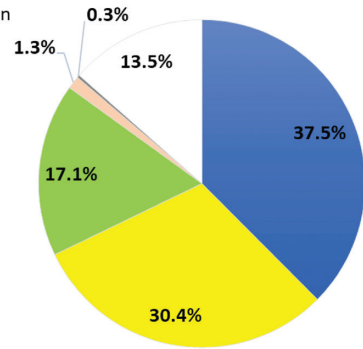


FIGURE 2 Response cries by American English speakers

The two figures reveal that Japanese and American English speakers produced primary interjections with similar frequencies. The difference was not statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 2.34$ ,  $p = .126$ ). However, the uses of descriptive and non-descriptive interjections made a striking difference. Japanese showed a marked preference for descriptive interjections (e.g. *Itai* 'Painful', *Yabai* 'Awful'), while their use of non-descriptive interjections was very limited (less than one percent). On the other hand, American English speakers favoured the use of non-descriptive interjections such as swear words and vocative expressions as expected, but as shown in (2) above, they also used descriptive interjections like *AHH*, *hot* and *Wow this is heavy*, though to a lesser degree than did Japanese speakers. Hasegawa (2010: 209) remarks that solitude speech has often been studied by Japanese linguists but rarely by researchers of the English language, which suggests that Japanese speakers may produce response cries more often than English speakers. In other words, American English speakers were expected to be more likely to choose "nothing" than Japanese speakers. However, the comparison reveals that there is little difference in the proportion of "nothing." "Nothing" accounted for 15.3 percent of the Japanese answers and 13.5 percent of the American ones; the difference was not statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 0.38$ ,  $p = .537$ ). This indicates that most Japanese and American English speakers expect themselves to utter something in response to unexpected situations. The main difference between the two groups of speakers is that Japanese speakers heavily relied on descriptive interjections, while American English speakers preferred non-descriptive ones. The high proportion of Japanese descriptive interjections (50.7%) was mainly attributed to simple-word interjections, which accounted for about four-fifths of all the descriptive interjections (see Table 3).

Figure 3 illustrates how Japanese and English response cries vary by situation. The most striking contrast is in (ii) Pain Cry, where the majority of the Japanese

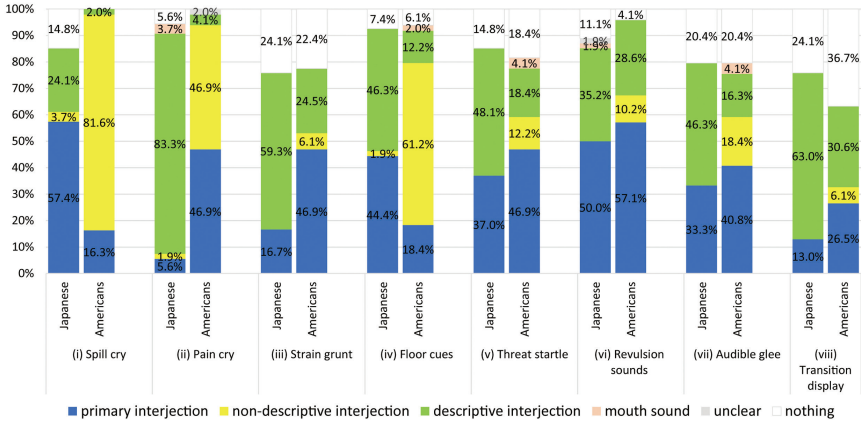


FIGURE 3 Response cries by Japanese and American English speakers (by situation)

participants employed descriptive interjections (83.3%) like *Itai* ‘painful’ and their variant forms while Americans preferred to produce primary interjections and non-descriptive interjections in the same proportions (46.9% for each type). Descriptive interjections were also favoured among Japanese participants in (viii) Transition Display (63.0%) and (iii) Strain Grunt (59.3%), which constituted more than half of the response cries provided for each situation. It may be that instant sensory stimuli (pain, brightness, and heaviness) are related to the production of descriptive interjections by Japanese speakers, although further in-depth investigation is needed to fully understand this relationship. American speakers’ heavy reliance on non-descriptive interjections was prominent in (i) Spill Cry (81.6%) and (iv) Floor Cues (61.2%), where Japanese tended to use primary interjections or descriptive interjections. The two types of response cries are both concerned with the speaker’s inadvertent error. It might be reasonable to consider that the speaker wants to curse the event occasioned by his/her careless behaviour (e.g. *Dammit*, *Sh\*t*) and/or to utter an exclamation calling the name of God (e.g. *Oh god*, *oh my gosh*) or addressing a human being (e.g. *Oh man*). On the other hand, American English speakers used a relatively smaller proportion of non-descriptive interjections in the other situations. For example, non-descriptive interjections accounted for only a little over 10 percent in (v) Threat Startle and (vii) Revulsion Sounds, and for about 6 percent in (iii) Strain Grunt and (viii) Transition Display. These situations do not involve sudden inadvertent errors caused by the speaker. The marked preference for non-descriptive interjections in (i) Spill Cry and (iv) Floor Cues (but not in others) again suggests a meaningful relationship between the use of non-descriptive interjections (swear words and vocative

expressions) and the feeling of the speaker's disgust or irritation over his/her own accidental mistake.

### 3.3 *Addressee Conception*

The second part of the questionnaire asked the participants: "When you make the utterances you gave as answers above, do you feel as if you were speaking to someone?" This question was intended to investigate the issue of dialogicity, on which there appear to be divergent views between Japanese and Western scholars. As mentioned in Section 1, the presence of addressees or dialogic conception has long been presupposed in research on private or solitude speech. However, Hasegawa (2010) casts doubt on the dialogic nature of solitude speech or "soliloquy" in her terminology. She argues that "equating dyadic conversations with soliloquy, let alone with thought, emerges as an unwarranted oversimplification" (Hasegawa, 2010: 186). Admitting that some type of soliloquy "can be identified metaphorically as communication with self" (p. 192), Hasegawa contends that "such communication is by nature drastically different from ordinary dialogue" (p. 193).

Since response cries constitute a part of solitude speech, it is worthwhile looking at how the two groups of speakers conceptualise their own act of producing response cries. As explained in 2.2, the questionnaire presents a basic setting that excludes the presence of others ("you are by yourself with no one around to hear you"). We regarded the answers that only mentioned potential nearby people (e.g. anyone nearby, a random passerby, etc.) as "inappropriate answers." Figures 4 and 5 show the results of Section B(i) in the questionnaire survey.

Figure 4 shows that almost all of the Japanese speakers did not think that they were speaking to someone when uttering response cries. One Japanese speaker answered that she felt as if speaking to a guardian spirit (*shugorei*), but we are not sure whether this answer counts as valid. For American English speakers (Figure 5), there were slightly more people who felt as if speaking to someone, but contrary to the prevailing view of dialogicity, the majority of the American English speakers (78%) did not presuppose the presence of addressees when giving response cries.

Nine American participants provided answers that could be categorized as "yes." For the question of "who you are speaking to" (Section B(ii)), all participants answered "myself" (see Table 5). Although the proportion was smaller than expected, such a view of conversation with oneself is worth investigating further, especially in terms of whether it is related to the fact that an act of producing solitude speech is phrased with a reflexive expression (English *talk to oneself*) that contains a speaking self or in terms of how familiar a



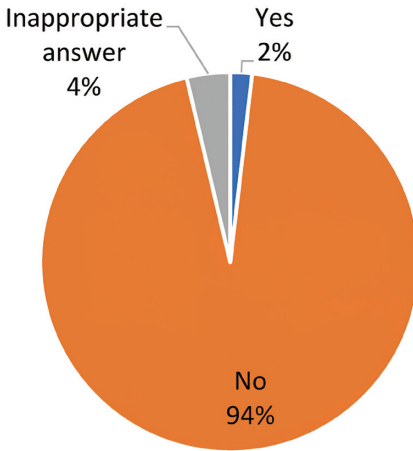


FIGURE 4 Addressee conception  
(Japanese speakers)

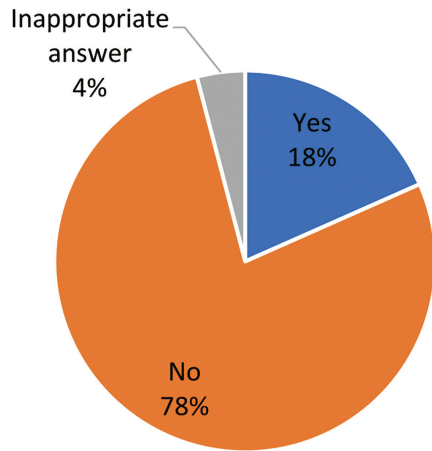


FIGURE 5 Addressee conception  
(American English speakers)

TABLE 5 Addressees of response cries assumed by American English speakers  
(multiple answers allowed)

myself	9
my mind/brain, my consciousness	1
ghosts	1

speaker is with “dialogic engagement” with a ritual text (e.g. the Bible) (Du Bois, 2009, 2011; see Kádár, 2017 for cross-cultural differences in interpersonal ritual practices).<sup>9</sup> Another point to note is that since American response cries include examples of religious swearing known as profanity or blasphemy, one could expect that their response cries were addressed to God or other religious entities. However, no answers in the present results show that their response cries were so addressed.

9 The Japanese counterpart of *talking to oneself* is *hitorigoto-o iu* ‘make a lone (or solitude) speech,’ which does not contain a reflexive pronoun.

## 4 Further Implications of Descriptive Interjections

### 4.1 *Descriptive Interjections and Abbreviation*

Our study revealed that Japanese and American English speakers both employed forms other than non-lexical vocalisations and swearing/vocative expressions for response cries. About half of the Japanese response cries (50.7%) were descriptive interjections, and so were 17.1 percent of the English response cries. These results were contrary to Goffman's claim that response cries are not statements (even heavily elided ones). Japanese speakers preferred to use statements or descriptions of either a speaker's emotion/sensation or his/her evaluation of a perceived situation, for example, *Itai* 'Painful,' *Mabusii* 'Bright,' *Oisisoo* '(That) looks delicious,' or even *Wa, kabi haeteru* 'Oh, mold has grown.' Although the proportion was lower, some English response cries had similar descriptive forms like *AHH*, *hot* and *Wow that's bright*. The main difference between the two groups is that Japanese speakers highly frequently expected themselves to produce descriptive interjections (e.g. *Itai* 'Painful,' *Yabai* 'Awful') with only a small proportion of non-descriptive interjections, whereas American English speakers were more likely to use non-descriptive interjections such as swearing or vocative expressions. Descriptive interjections were also used by American English speakers but not as frequently as their Japanese counterparts.

The widespread use of descriptive interjections in Japanese is partly related to the fact that the language frequently allows the omission of subjects (and other contextually inferable elements) and predicate-only forms are easily available to Japanese speakers. Table 6 shows the breakdown of descriptive interjections used by the two groups of speakers. Most Japanese descriptive interjections (79.5%) were simple-word expressions, namely predicates only (e.g. *Itai* 'Painful' and *Mabushii* 'Bright') in contrast to only 13.4 percent of their English counterparts. In the exigency of response-cry situations, such shortened forms may be best suited to the description of the speaker's sudden impulsive feeling.

TABLE 6 Descriptive interjections used by Japanese and American English speakers

	Simple-word expression	Multiple-word expression	TOTAL
Japanese	174 (79.5%)	45 (20.5%)	219
English	9 (13.4 %)	58 (86.6%)	67

This observation reminds us that many kinds of variant forms were available for Japanese descriptive interjections. As shown in (1), Japanese participants preferred to use clipped (or shortened) forms of adjectives (Iwasaki, 2014). *Itai* is the basic form of an adjective meaning ‘painful,’ but Japanese people also like using its clipped (or shortened) forms such as *ita*, *itatt*, *itta*, *ittu*, and even *itt* or *i*.<sup>10</sup> Such shortened forms are sometimes considered to be mainly used by the younger generation including university students (Agency of Cultural Affairs, 2011: 32–37, 137–141; Harada, 2013), but the older generation also uses some of these forms; for example, *ita*, *itta*, and *itatt* are often uttered by older adults as an instant reaction to an incident that causes pain.<sup>11</sup> Konno (2012: 21) argues that forms such as *itatt* ‘painful’ or *yabatt* ‘awful’ are exclusively used in private speech, produced as an immediate expression of the speaker’s instinctive sensation or perception of an incident that s/he encounters at the very instant of speaking (see also Togashi, 2006: 167). Hence, they belong to *jitai sokuoogata* ‘immediate response type’ (Nitta, 1997) or *sokujibun* ‘sentence of immediacy’ (Iwasaki and Ono, 2007; see also Konno 2012: 16). It is possible to consider that this immediacy or instantaneity of sensation/perception has an iconic relationship (Haiman, 1983) with such shortened forms of adjectives, as Iwasaki (2014: 63) succinctly summarises: “the simpler the form, the simpler the neurological process” referred to by the form.

In this connection, one may associate the frequent use of simple-predicate forms with Vygotsky’s (1986 [1934]) account of inner speech as developing through the processes of “abbreviation” and “predication.” However, we consider it too hasty to make such a simplistic association.

Vygotsky (1986 [1934]) writes on the development of inner speech as follows:

We applied the genetic method and found that as egocentric speech develops, it shows a tendency toward an altogether specific form of *abbreviation*, namely: *omitting the subject of a sentence and all words connected*

- 
- 10 Some variants of these forms are referred to as “*-i* drop construction” (Konno, 2012), “clipped adjective” (Iwasaki, 2014) or “adjective stem-type sentence” (Shimizu, 2015). These variants are formed “by deleting the final *-i* from an *-i* ending adjective, such as in *ita-i* > *ita* (painful)” (Iwasaki, 2014: 65), by replacing the final *-i* with *sokuon* ‘moraic obstruent’: *ita-i* > *itatt* (represented in this paper by geminating the consonant *t*), or by the coalescence of the two final vowels: *ita-i* > *ite*. The deletion of the final *-i* can also be accompanied by the insertion of a moraic obstruent within the stem: *ita-i* > *itta* or *ittu*, which leads to the formation of a further shortened form: *itt* or *i*.
- 11 The preference of these shortened forms depends on the kinds of adjectives; for example, *samutt* ‘(it)’s cold’ is more frequently used and felt less unnatural than *urusatt* ‘(it)’s noisy’ by the older generation (Agency of Cultural Affairs, 2011: 33, 37, 137, 141; Harada, 2013: 339).

*with it, while preserving predicates. This tendency toward predication appears in all experiments with such regularity that we must assume it to be the basic form of syntax of inner speech.*

Vygotsky, 1986 [1934]: 236, italics ours

Vygotsky assumes that predication and abbreviation represent linguistic features that appear in a transitional stage from social speech to inner speech, namely, “speech almost without words” (1986 [1934]: 244). However, the notions of predication and abbreviation require cautious interpretation when looking at languages with “a high degree of ellipsis” (Shibatani, 1990: 363). In Japanese, grammatical subjects are “not used in many cases” (Kindaichi, 2010 [1957]: 172); the language “utilizes a way of ‘expression in which the subject is not present’” (p. 214). In other words, the omission or abbreviation of grammatical subjects (and other contextual recoverable elements) is quite common not only in private (egocentric) speech but also in social speech. For example, a Japanese speaker could produce the utterance without the grammatical subject and object *Kobosityatta(a)* ‘(I’ve spilt (coffee))!’ when s/he wants to ask someone to help wipe up spilt coffee, or a Japanese kid might use the simple-predicate form *Itai(i)!* ‘Painful!’ when trying to stop his/her brother/sister’s infliction of injury upon him/herself in a sibling rivalry.<sup>12</sup> It is important to emphasise that in languages that heavily rely on unexpressed elements in spoken discourse, careful consideration is necessary for discussing the role played by the features of predication and abbreviation in the transformation of “speech for others” into “speech for oneself” (Vygotsky, 1986 [1934]: 225). The condensation or reduction in the development of inner speech may differ in kind and/or degree across languages depending on how much ellipsis is allowed in a given language. Alternatively, the differentiation between social and private speech may be less clear in some languages than those discussed by Vygotsky and his colleagues. These are open questions for linguists to ponder in future research.

#### 4.2 *Interjectional Expressions as a Continuous Category*

The high frequency of Japanese descriptive interjections and some, though less frequent, uses of their English counterparts lead us to reconsider the view

12 The social and private uses of these utterances can be prosodically differentiated. For example, the utterances *Kobosityatta(a)* and *Itai(i)* are more likely to be interpreted as social speech when uttered with an emphatic high-pitch accent on the second mora and the significant lengthening of the final vowel.

of response cries as “being IN PROTOTYPE merely a matter of *nonsymbolic* emotional expression” (Goffman, 1978: 806, our italics). As demonstrated by the present results (and also supported by the everyday observation of native speakers of Japanese), it is natural for Japanese speakers who experience sudden physical pain to utter response cries like *Itai* ‘Painful’ (or its variant forms), which are descriptive and symbolic forms representing their painful sensation. These are more common than primary interjections like *Aa* ‘Aw’ or *Att* ‘Ouch’ in Japanese (see Table 3). This may challenge the conventional view of interjections as something being outside of grammar – interjections “are not very well integrated into the clause grammars of languages” (Ameka and Wilkins, 2006: 6) or “have no structural relationship to ambient sentential syntax” (O’Connell and Kowal, 2008: 134). It may also undermine the view regarding morphology that “interjections do not normally take inflections or derivations in those languages that make such forms” (Ameka, 1992: 106, 1994: 1713).

Let us consider the following Japanese examples of (i) Spill Cry:<sup>13</sup>

- (3) a. *A, kobosi-ta* [(i) Spill Cry]  
       oh spill.TR-PAST  
       ‘Oh, (I) spilt (coffee).’
- b. *Att, kobosi-tyat-ta*  
       oh spill.TR-MIR-PAST  
       ‘Oh, (I)’ve spilt (coffee).’
- c. *Att kobore-ta*  
       oh spill.INTR-PAST  
       ‘Oh (coffee) spilt.’

These examples, provided by Japanese participants of our survey, are all prefaced by primary interjections (e.g. *a* or *att*), but utterances without primary interjections (e.g. *Kobosi-tyat-ta* ‘(I)’ve spilt (coffee)’) are also perfectly natural as interjectional expressions. The response cries simply represent a coffee spilling accident, which can be designated in morphosyntactically different forms. The event can be expressed by the transitive verb *kobosu* ‘spill’ as in (3a) and (3b) or by the intransitive verb *koboreru* ‘spill.’ It can further be represented in the simple past as in (3a) and (3c) or in the past mirative as in

13 The following abbreviations are used in the present study: INTR (intransitive), MIR (mirative), PAST (past tense), TR (transitive).

(3b).<sup>14</sup> Ameka (1992: 106, 1994: 1713) observes that there are some interjections derived from verbs, but argues that they “have become frozen and form a completely new word,” not obeying the morphosyntactic rules of the language in question. As he observes, the development of shortened (or clipped) forms of some Japanese adjectives (e.g. *ita(tt)* rather than *itai* ‘painful’) as seen in 4.1 may lend themselves to such fossilisation or frozen forms. However, utterances like *kobosi-ta*, *kobosi-tyat-ta*, *kobore-ta* unambiguously follow morphosyntactic rules of Japanese grammar; they are neither frozen nor fossilised forms specifically developed for the impulsive expression of an emotion or a feeling.

Furthermore, there are cases in which a specific syntactic construction is exploited to express a speaker’s emotion or sensation. (4a) is an example of (vii) Audible Glee, where a speaker utters a response cry when discovering a delicious-looking cake in a refrigerator. Note that the sentence is arranged in an “emotively motivated non-canonical word order” (Ono and Suzuki, 1992: 439), where the grammatical subject *kore* ‘this’ is placed after the nominal predicate *nani* ‘what.’ The canonical word order is given in (4b), which sounds like a simple *wh*-question asked to identify the referent of *kore* ‘this.’

- (4) a. *Ett, nani kore* [(vii) Audible Glee]  
       oh what this  
       ‘Oh, what’s this!’
- b. *Ett, kore nani?*  
       oh this what  
       ‘Oh, what’s this?’

This kind of non-canonical word order was found in some other examples of Japanese response cries: *Att satoozyan kore* ‘Oh (it)’s sugar, this’ (Floor Cues), *Yattawa kore* ‘(I)’ve done this’ (Revulsion Sounds).

One might claim that examples like (3) and (4) should not be categorised as interjections but as interjectional phrases or exclamatory utterances (Ameka, 1992, 1994), and that “the term interjection should be reserved for the word class” (Ameka, 1992: 103). However, as noted in 2.3, the notion of ‘word’ itself is

14 *-yau* (the adverbial form *-tyat* in (3b)) is a reduced form of *-tesimau*, which consists of the connective particle *-te* ‘and’ and the perfective or terminative auxiliary *-simau*. The form develops a new meaning that denotes “abruptness or unexpectedness” (Izutsu and Izutsu, 2008: 132) (cf. “inadvertence” or “non-volitionality” in Ono, 1992), hence glossed as mirative (MIR) in (3b).

problematic and the identification of words varies across languages (Crystal, 1991: 379–381). Our investigation of response cries and interjectional expressions of the two genetically and typologically unrelated languages suggests that such expressions would not support a clear-cut distinction between lexicon and grammar and between a non-propositional “mere expression” and a “proposition-like statement” (Goffman, 1978: 807).<sup>15</sup> These emotional utterances should be viewed as forming a continuum with one extreme composed of non-word vocalisation and the other of descriptive interjections expressed in the form of a full-fledged clause.

## 5 Conclusion

Based on the questionnaire survey targeting Japanese and American English speakers, this study demonstrated cross-linguistic diversity in their perceptions of response cries, namely what they considered they would produce as response cries in given situations. Contrary to Goffman’s claim that “[a] response cry doesn’t seem to be a statement in the linguistic sense (even a heavily elided one)” (1978: 800), our investigation of the eight types of response cries revealed that Japanese speakers heavily relied on descriptive interjections (e.g. *Ita(i)*, *Itta* ‘Painful,’ *Yaba(i)*, *Yabe* ‘Awful’) that contain predicates representing the speaker’s emotion or sensation or his/her evaluation of a perceived situation. On the other hand, American English speakers preferred non-descriptive interjections (vocatives and swear words), which were rarely used by Japanese speakers.

Regarding the possibility of dialogic conception, almost all the Japanese speakers had no addressees in mind when uttering response cries, whereas about one-fifth of the American English speakers said that they were speaking to themselves. This result points to the possibility of cross-linguistic (or cross-cultural) variability of addressee conception in making utterances without actual addressees. Such variability might be ascribed to lexical or syntactic features of languages or to cultural-specific religious beliefs or ritual practices. There is also another possibility that addressee conception may vary with the

15 In his deictic account of interjections, Wilkins (1992: 119) argues that interjections “convey complete propositions and have an illocutionary purpose” with all their referential arguments provided by context. However, he still seems to support the view, with some hedges provided within brackets, that an interjection “(typically) does not enter into construction with other word classes, is (usually) monomorphemic, and (generally) does not host inflectional or derivational morphemes” (1992: 124).

types of solitude speech. Our investigation of response cries showed an overall high proportion of non-dialogic conception for both groups of speakers. However, dialogicity has been a longstanding issue in educational and developmental psychology, where the primary concern is the use of private speech for self-regulation, that is, controlling one's own behaviour or thought while engaged in cognitively difficult tasks. This suggests that dialogic conceptions might not be uniform; they might be diverse even for a single speaker according to the type of solitude speech in which s/he is involved. Investigations like the present research or those based on more advanced methodologies need to be repeated to explore such possibilities.

Related to this is the issue of the social situatedness of response cries. Goffman's (1978) account rests upon the presupposition of others (a gathering or witnesses) in producing response cries. According to Goffman, whether or not response cries are issued, and if they are, what kinds of cries are produced, depends on the presence of others and/or the kinds of persons who overhear them. The basic setting of our questionnaire survey excluded the possibility of the presence of others, saying "you are by yourself with no one around to hear you." Goffman's explanation would lead us to expect more answers of "nothing to utter," that is, the answer that one would probably NEVER utter a thing in a given situation. However, such answers only accounted for about 15 percent for both groups. Of course, there might be some participants who did not heed this basic instruction, but it is unlikely that they formed the majority. Thus, the results of our study imply that speakers are not necessarily conscious of the presence of others when uttering response cries, especially when they encounter a sudden, unexpected situation. In fact, (ii) Pain Cry indicated the lowest proportion of "nothing to utter" of the eight response cries (5.6% for Japanese speakers; 0% for American English speakers), which suggests that the more urgent an incident is, the more likely it is for a speaker to utter something despite the absence of others.

Finally, we conclude this paper by proposing a continuous view of response cries. Much effort has been made to demarcate a "sharp, underlying difference between conventionally directed statements and imprecatory interjections" (Goffman, 1978: 808). There is "a nice division of linguistic labor" (1978: 809): speech for oneself is different in form and function from speech for communication, and even "more so" are response cries (Goffman, 1978: 808). However, the present discussion of Japanese (and, in part, English) response cries suggests that it would be difficult to draw a distinct boundary between non-propositional utterances for non-addressed cries and propositional utterances for communication with others. Response cries (and interjectional expressions



as well) would be better seen as forming a continuum with non-word vocalisation at one end and descriptive interjections expressed as full-fledged clauses at the other. Goffman's response cries would be more likely to fall closer to the former end, but where or how other response cries are located on the continuum would vary by language, being at least to some extent determined by language-specific morphosyntactic features.

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