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JAPANESE WOMEN'S LISTENING BEHAVIOR
IN FACE-TO-FACE CONVERSATION:
THE USE OF REACTIVE TOKENS AND NODS

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Sachie Miyazaki

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By

Sachie Miyazaki

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ABSTRACT

JAPANESE WOMEN'S LISTENING BEHAVIOR IN FACE-TO-FACE CONVERSATION: THE USE OF REACTIVE TOKENS AND NODS

By

Sachie Miyazaki

The present study examines Japanese women's use of reactive tokens (Clancy et al. 1996) in Japanese face-to-face conversation and perception of other's listening behavior in relation to the social variables of age and conversation styles (formal and informal). Reactive tokens (RTs) examined in the present study are 8 verbal RTs such as backchannels, reactive expressions, and laughter and 1 non-verbal RTs, nods.

The investigation is based on a quantitative analysis of formal and informal conversation data from 30 participants and qualitative data of participant interview. The perception is examined based on the ratings of 5 different listening behaviors in videos and interview. The findings show that the use of RTs was influenced by age and conversation styles but that perception does not vary according to age.

Age influences the proportion of nods and verbal RTs in the formal conversation. The younger participants use more nods and fewer verbal RTs than do older participants when there is difference in power between a speaker and a listener. In the informal conversation, there is not age-graded effect in the use of verbal RTs and nods but 3 common interaction styles by all age groups are identified.

The variation of listening behavior in the present study is explained by 'multidimensional model' (Tannen 1993a) in which 4 social contexts are defined by power and solidarity between participants.

The follow-up interview and the results of perception study revealed that the perception of other's listening behavior may not vary according to perceivers' age. Participants perceived the one which is closest to their own performance in informal conversation most natural in the present study. This confirms Hymes's notion of 'Speech community' (1974) that members of a speech community share norms.

Findings of the present study suggest that nods are used as RTs as a strategy to mitigate face threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987). In Japanese women's face-to-face conversation, social variables of age and conversation styles play important roles in the choice of an appropriate listening behavior in the contexts.

To my son, Kai

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General remarks and goals of the present study

Listening behavior in face-to-face conversation is characterized by verbal backchannels (e.g. yes and uh-hum), short utterances which do not claim the floor (e.g. partial repetitions), and non-verbal behavior (e.g. nods, gaze, gesture, and facial expressions) (Yngve 1970; Duncun & Fiske 1977; Clancy et al. 1996 and others). Listening behavior is considered 'multi-functional' (White 1987); that is, one form of backchannels can serve multiple functions in a given context. For example, uh-hum can function to express a listener's understanding, acknowledgement, and emotion toward the speaker's utterances, and it may influence the conversation. Among various functions, it is agreed that the primary function of backchannels is to serve as 'a continuer' (Shegloff 1982), a signal that the speaker can keep holding the floor.

The routine of listening behavior is highly conventionalized in a speech community, and differs from culture to culture, as each language has interactional styles that may not be common in others (Tannen 1882, 1984). For example, the Japanese language uses verbal backchannels and nods more frequently compared with American English (Lebra 1976, Locastro 1987, Maynard 1989). A lack of listener responses may result in misunderstandings and an overuse may also wrongly give an unintended negative impression (Lebra 1976, Hinds 1982). The knowledge of socially accepted listening behavior is important for both listeners and speakers to achieve successful communication and conversation management (Maynard 1989; Szatrouski 2000).

Listener responses are not used at random but rather are governed by conversational rules. Thus, the occurrence of listener responses is predictable by intonational, grammatical, semantic and pragmatic contexts (Goodwin 1979, 1986; Maynard 1989; Clancy et al. 1996; Furo 200; Szatrousky 2003). Speakers of a language acquire strategies as to how to use listener responses in different contexts of face-to-face conversation.

The norms of language use sometimes promote stereotypes about people who belong to the speech community. For example, Japanese culture is said to value harmony between participants of conversation (Watanabe 1993; Yamada 1992). Also, it is commonly accepted that Japanese women's language is characterized by its indirect, gentle, non-assertive, polite, and empathetic tone (Ide 1982; Shibatani 1990; Smith 1992 and others). These stereotyped cultural views however, have been challenged since they do not necessarily represent the actual practice or its variation (Okamoto and Sato 1992; Okamoto 1995; Cook 1999). Even within a language, social factors such as ethnic groups, sex, and age may influence language practice and give rise to variations from the norm (Tannen 1993b; Eckert 1993)

The present study investigates the verbal and non-verbal listening behavior of Japanese female speakers of different ages. Listener responses are defined as: the listener's short utterances such as non-lexical vocalic forms and lexical forms that do not claim the floor. These and vertical head movement that does not accompany verbal utterances are also called Reactive Tokens (Clancy et al. 1996, henceforth RTs).

The goals of this dissertation are: (1) to analyze how native female speakers of Japanese use verbal and non-verbal RTs, nods, in face-to-face conversation; (2) to investigate the relationship among verbal RTs; and (3) to analyze how age and styles of

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conversation affect the use of RTs and the perception of listening behavior in others.

1.2. Hypotheses and findings

The following four hypotheses were formulated based on my earlier studies (Miyazaki 2001b) and will be tested in the present study.

Hypothesis 1: The ratio of verbal to non-verbal RTs may vary among individuals, but the total number will be similar in similar social contexts.

Hypothesis 2: The frequency of verbal and non-verbal RTs is affected by age. Older female speakers use more verbal RTs than do younger speakers.

Hypothesis 3: The formality level of conversation influences not only the choice of RT types and frequency, but also the interactional styles.

Hypothesis 4: The perception of other's listening behavior varies according to the participant's age.

Hypothesis 1 concerns the rules of listener responses that individual speakers of Japanese follow in face-to-face conversation. Hypotheses 2 and 3 concern the social variables of age and style (speech genre). Hypothesis 4 concerns the relationship between the perception of listening behavior of others and the participant's age. These hypotheses are based on the conviction that the use of backchannels does not occur randomly but is governed by conversational rules. Their occurrences, therefore, are predictable (Maynard 1989; Clancy et al. 1996).

Also, my preliminary study (Miyazaki 2001b) found that the total number of listener verbal RTs and nods that do not accompany verbal RTs does not statistically differ when listeners hear similar stories from the same person. In other words, the findings showed that the total amount of listener response does not vary to a significant

degree, although the ratio of verbal RTs to nods does. Among all the studies on Japanese listener responses, there has yet to be one on the balance of verbal and non-verbal RTs (i.e. nods) which the present study investigates. The rationales for the four hypotheses will be discussed in fuller detail in Chapter 3.

In the present study, the dyadic conversation data of female speakers between 19 and 61 years old were collected in two types of conversations. In one type, a participant listened to the researcher's instructions, while in the other, she chatted with her close friend. The participants were all monolingual native speakers of Japanese who were born and raised in Tokyo or its surrounding prefectures, such as Kanagawa and Saitama.

Each pair of participants met the researcher on the scheduled day. First the researcher gave instructions individually for about 2 minutes in a separate room and then the participants talked with each other for 15 minutes. The topic of conversation was on what was given in the instruction to each participant. Both the instructions and the conversation were recorded on a video camera, and a tape recorder or a mini disk recorder. After the recording, participants were asked to watch 5 video clips (50 seconds each) of casual conversation together and responded to a questionnaire. Then they were asked to talk freely about what they thought about the video clips or anything about listening behavior. Their comments were audio recorded and analyzed as follow-up interview data.

A total of 80 minutes and 26 seconds of the conversations were transcribed and analyzed. The results supported Hypothesis 1: The ratio of verbal to non-verbal RTs varies among individuals, though the total number is similar in similar social contexts. The total number of verbal RTs and non-verbal RTs (nods) occurring during 2-minute

instructions did not vary much among participants while the combination of verbal and non-verbal RTs varied among individuals (from verbal, 99% vs. non-verbal, 1% to verbal, 6% vs non-verbal, 94%). The total number of verbal and non-verbal RTs showed a negative correlation.

Hypothesis 2: The frequency of verbal and non-verbal RTs varies among different age groups. Older female speakers' use of more verbal RTs than younger speakers was also supported statistically. That is, age and verbal RTs had a positive correlation, and age and non-verbal RTs had a negative correlation. Younger participants used more non-verbal responses while older participants tended to use more verbal ones in formal conversation.

Hypothesis 3 was also supported statistically. The results of the informal conversation data present different listening behavior from that in formal conversation. For example, nods were used less frequently in informal conversation than in formal conversation, and unlike formal conversation, the total number of verbal RTs and nods did not have a relation in informal conversation. The results showed that the non-verbal RTs were more important linguistic strategy in formal conversation than in informal conversation.

The style of conversation also affected the listeners' choice of RTs. In formal conversation participants used backchannels most frequently among all the verbal RTs; on the other hand, they used non-backchannel verbal RTs, such as short comments, repetitions, and collaborative finishes, more frequently than in formal conversations. The different choices of verbal RTs influenced the interaction style in informal conversation. That is, the interaction during informal conversation included more interruptions

(overlap) and frequent speaker changes than in formal conversation.

Age and interactional style did not show any particular relationship in informal conversation and similar interactional styles were observed in all age groups. The total number of backchannels and age, however, did show a positive correlation, and so did the total number of verbal RTs and age. The findings show that in informal conversation even though speakers of all ages tend to respond verbally, older speakers respond more verbally than younger speakers. In other words, there is a larger gap in younger people's styles of interaction between formal and informal conversation than in older people.

The variation according to genre, formal and informal conversation found in the present study can be explained by Tannen's (1993a) 'multidimensional model.' In this model, power and solidarity form one of the dimensions and each context of conversation is plotted according to the degree of solidarity and power between participants. Details will be presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Three interactional styles that can account for all the formal and informal conversation data in the present study are proposed in Chapter 6. Japanese female speakers' listening behavior can be identified as belonging to one of the three interactional styles depending on the use of listener strategies.

The results of the follow-up interviews with the participants provide further evidence for the variations in listening behavior in formal and informal conversation presented in the present study. For example, some comments explained how younger people perceived older people's listening behavior--why they did not use particular forms of RTs, and what kind of listener responses were expected by speakers. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Finally, hypothesis 4: The hypothesis that perception of other's listening behavior varies according to the participant's age was not supported by the results in the video clip study. All the participants rated 5 different types of listening behavior similarly. The one that consisted of the highest frequency of verbal RTs with mid frequency of nods was rated as the most annoying listening behavior and most distant from their own behavior by all age groups. And the one that consisted of the lowest frequency of verbal RTs with the lowest frequency of nods was judged to be most natural and preferable behavior by all age groups. The results showed that native speakers of Japanese perceive someone else's listening behavior similarly and their intuitions do not vary according to age.

1.3. Outline of the dissertation

The organization of this dissertation is as follows. Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature. Chapter 3 presents the methods of data collection and analyses of the present study. Chapter 4 offers analyses of RTs in formal conversation and Chapter 5, analyses of RTs in informal conversation. Chapter 6 contrasts the findings of formal and informal conversation, and discusses the types of interaction. Chapter 7 presents the perception data of listening behavior and discusses the implications of the participants' comments to the findings of the study. Chapter 8 offers the conclusions of the present study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON LISTENING BEHAVIOR

2.1. Introduction

Listening behavior consists of verbal and non-verbal behavior. In general, short messages such as uh-hum, yeah, and nods used by a listener during a speaker's speaking turn are considered listener responses. The types of utterances, frequency and contexts of listener responses are determined by the rules of conversation, which every speaker of a language has. Failure to exercise the rules of conversation causes misunderstanding of the message or results in stereotyping of people who have that particular cultural background (Lebra 1976; Tannen 1982).

The present study investigates the rules of listener responses in Japanese and the social factors that affect listening behavior. In order to examine these issues, this chapter will present major findings from related research on listening behavior.

The first section reviews the history and findings of studies of listener responses in English since listener responses are common conversational routine and those behaviors in English have been investigated for many years. The following sections present definitions, functions and research findings of Japanese listening behavior. Next, the research findings about social factors, which account for the variation in listening behavior in the present study will be reviewed. Findings from cross-cultural studies which illustrate how routines of Japanese listening behavior differ from those in other Languages will follow. At the end of this chapter, the results of my preliminary study are presented.

2.2. Listening behavior in English

The study of listening behavior did not initially attract scholars' attention because the study of face-to-face interaction had focused on the speaker's utterances but not the listener's role. Fries (1952: 49) analyzed yes, unh hunh, yeah, I see, good, oh, and other utterances by listeners as 'signal free utterances' that can signal listeners' attention while speakers are talking. Today these vocal forms are commonly known as 'back-channels' that are originated by Yngve (1970). Yngve (1970) expands the interpretation of back-channels to include longer expressions such as, 'you've started writing it then, your dissertation?' (p.574).

The term, 'back-channel' was also used by Duncan (1974) who analyzed verbal and non-verbal actions in video taped doctor-patient conversations and conversations between two doctors. He identified three signals which influenced speaker-auditor interaction during speaking turns; that is, a speaker within-turn signal, an auditor back-channel signal, and a speaker continuation signal. 'Auditor back-channel signals' (p.166) analyzed in the study were vocalic sounds such as m-hm, yeah, and right, sentence completions, requests for clarification, brief restatements, and head nods and shakes.

The major goal of earlier studies was to understand how speakers and listeners interact in face-to-face interaction, or how they manage speaking turns. As a result, their concern in defining back-channels was whether or not the listener's short utterances occur during the turn of the speaker's. In that discipline, scholars broadened the definition of back-channels by identifying requests for clarifications, brief restatements, completions of sentence by a listener (Duncan and Fiske 1977), as well as non-verbal behavior such as gaze, hand gesture, head movement and postures (Kendon 1967; Dittman and Llewellyn

1968).

The functions of backchannels are defined as expressing listeners' attention (Fries 1952), signaling listeners' attention and understanding (Kendon 1967), and keeping the conversation going smoothly (Dittman and Llewellyn 1968). Duncan (1974) also identifies back-channel functions as a signal to show that the auditor is following the speaker's message or the auditor's acknowledgement toward what the speaker has said.

Schegloff (1982) investigated naturally occurring conversations and claimed that uh-huh and yeah uttered by a listener and a listener's head nods primarily serve as a continuer. White (1987) identified two major functions of backchannels: signaling the listener's comprehension of the message the speaker has sent, and encouraging the speaker to keep the floor. According to her, backchannels are multifunctional so that one backchannel uttered by a listener can possibly have more than one function in the context.

Although the early research on listener responses was conducted by psychologists who were interested in listeners' not only verbal but also non-verbal behavior, later studies of listener responses caught attention of conversationalists, who were interested in the turn-taking system (Sacks et al. 1974; Goodwin 1979; Schegloff 1982; Clancy 1982). A characteristic of the conversationalists' notion to identify listers' response is that 'turn' and 'floor' are the most important concepts for explaining backchannels.

Ford and Thompson (1996: 136) state that a 'turn' is defined as 'an interactionally validated unit of talk.' According to them, turn-taking (speaker changes) in conversation consists of three kinds of turns; that is, full turns, backchannel turns, and laughter turns.

Backchannel turns are considered non-floor-taking turns since listeners do not claim the speakership by sending backchannels; they simply encourage speakers to keep talking. In this respect, Clancy et al. (1996) include backchannels in 'reactive tokens' (RTs thereafter), as well as other expressions that are uttered by listeners. They (1996: 136) define a RT as "a short utterance produced by an interlocutor who is playing a listener's role during the other interlocutor's speakership."

The goal of conversationalists is to uncover the projectability or predictability of the turn end in natural conversation and what consists of turn units. Sacks et al. (1974) defined turn construction units (TCUs) as sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions. Ford and Thompson (1996) question the validity of a syntactic completion to predict a turn completion. Ford and Thompson (1996: 137) claim that conversation analysts should consider not only syntactic completions, but also, intonational completions, and pragmatic completions, which involve speaker change caused by backchannels as local pragmatic completions.

Ford and Thompson call such units identified by syntactic, intonational, and pragmatic completions, 'complex transition relevance places' (CTRPs) and claim that if CTRPs are used, the projectability of the turn-taking mechanism will be improved (Ford and Thompson 1996). Clancy et al. (1996), following Ford and Thompson's notion of CTRPs, investigated the occurrence of RTs at CTRPs in Japanese, English, and Chinese and found that the rate that RTs occur at CTRP differs among three languages (Japanese 30.8%, English 45,1% and Chinese 79.5%). The notion of CTRT can account for the different practices of listening behavior among languages as well as improving the projectability of the turn-taking system.

2.3. Listening behavior in Japanese

For Japanese people, listening behavior has been a common topic regarding the use of the language even among ordinary people, as pointed out by Okamoto (2002). However early studies of Japanese listening behavior were limited to investigating verbal responses, and were not based on empirical data (Ikegami 1952; Miyaji 1959).

Studies of Japanese listening behavior have attracted researcher's attention from the language pedagogy perspectives, as well, for over two decades. Mizutani (1984) states that for non-native speakers of Japanese, backchanneling is a difficult strategy even though it is a necessary device for smooth communication. Matsuda (1988) and Nishihara (1995), among others, make similar comments about the acquisition of backchannels by learners of Japanese. The purpose of these studies was to describe the various functions and the use of backchannels, and to provide evidence for its frequent use in Japanese conversation. However, much of the data used in the previous studies were not natural conversation. Neither did they include non-verbal features, although the importance of non-verbal features, especially nods, has been discussed widely (Mizutani 1984; Oso 1988; Kita 1996; Horiguchi 1997; Uyeno 1999).

Maynard's study (1989) was the first to use 20 dyadic natural conversations of same sex participants to analyze both verbal and non-verbal backchannels. She found that listeners' backchannels provide important information for speakers to "self-contextualize" during the conversation.

Szatrowsky (1993) investigated the structure of Japanese invitation discourse using naturally-occurring telephone conversations as her data. She examined how listeners used backchannels when they were invited to do something on the phone in various contexts.

She presents qualitative analyses, which show that backchannels are a multifunctional linguistic device for the speech act of invitation in Japanese.

Studies of non-verbal backchannels are even scarcer. Maynard (1987) analyzed the frequency and functions of speaker and listener nods and found that speakers' and listeners' nods are used emphasize the message, to show clause boundaries, and to signal turn-end or turn-claim. Sugito (1989) investigated the relationship between nods and verbal backchannels. The findings shows that the frequency of use of nods that don't accompany verbal backchannels varies among individuals (from 3 to 49 times) but that the ratio of nods to verbal backchannels does not vary (76% to 86%).

Szatrouski (2000, 2003) examined the relationship among nods, gaze and verbal backchannels and found that those behaviors are interrelated. For example, the "addressed recipient was most likely to respond with an aizuti plus a head nod(s) when the speaker gazed directly at her and nodded" (p. 287). Studies on variations of listening behavior associated with social factors such as age, gender and styles are also very few, with the exception of Kogure (2003), Okamoto & Sato (1992), Okamoto (1995), and Nakamura (1998).

2.3.1. Definitions

Japanese backchannels are often referred to as *aizuchi* in the related literature (Locastro 1987; Szatrousky 2002, 2003; Okamoto to appear). *Aizuchi* literally consists of *ai* 'partner's' and *tsuchi* 'hammer.' *Aizuchi* originally referred to two blacksmiths hammering a sword one after the other, according to Kita (1996). It also refers to a listener's verbal messages sent during a speaker turn without intending to take a floor.

Aizuchi, therefore, is often characterized as non-floor-taking utterances and nods. In the present study, "backchannels" and "*aizuchi*" may be used interchangeably.

Below are the definitions of Japanese backchannels, which vary from scholar to scholar in terms of whether they include various short utterances in backchannels. Mizutani (1984) defines *aizuchi* as listeners' responses such as *hai* 'yes,' *ee* 'yeah,' *haa* 'yes,' *un* 'yeah,' *hun* 'uh-hum,' *naruhodo* 'I see,' *soudesuka* 'Is that so,' *soudeshoone* 'that is right,' laughter, *yapparine* 'that is what I thought,' *soryasoo* 'that is right,' *sorewaieru* 'you can say that,' *nee* 'you know,' sentence completions, and reinforcements. According to Mizutani, *aizuchi* are used to "keep the conversation going smoothly" (p.267) [*aite no hanashi no shinko o unagasu tame ni tsukawareru*].

Horiguchi (1988) classified backchannel expressions into different groups of *aizuchi-shi* (backchannel group) according to the degree to which they are conventionalized. In her classification, *aizuchi-shi* includes *hai* 'yes,' *ee* 'yeah,' *naruhodo* 'I see,' *sodesune* 'that is right,' *un* 'yeah,' *honto* 'really,' repetitions, and sentence completions, paraphrases and clarifications.

Sugito (1989) defines *aizuchi* syntactically depending on whether or not the utterances carry substantives such as verbs and nouns, and also semantically depending on whether or not they function as a question, request, etc. Sugito includes repetitions, clarifications, exclamations, and laughter in aizuchi if they satisfy the above definition.

To sum up, in a narrow sense, *aizuchi* consists of two types of expressions: one comprised of non-lexical vocalic expressions such as *un* 'yeah,' *ee* 'yeah,' *aa* 'yeah,' *hee* 'oh', *hoo* ' wow,' and *haa* 'yes,' which do not have propositional meanings; the other type are lexical items such as *hai* 'yes,' *soo* 'it is so,' *naruhodo* 'I see,' which are

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conventionalized as *aizuchi* when uttered during the interlocutor's turn. Other expressions such as repetitions, clarifications, paraphrases, sentence completions, laughter, and nods are also defined as *aizuchi* in a broader sense from their functions in the interaction.

The problem in defining listener responses in Japanese is that there is no single criterion--except for Sugito (1989)--that defines them. In order to provide a standard of listener responses, careful investigation of the natural conversation of people of different ages and genders in various situations is necessary.

2.3.2. Functions of backchannels and nods

Japanese backchannels are considered multifunctional; that is, they function in many ways in given contexts. These functions include discoursal, interactional, and social functions, to be explained below.

2.3.2.1. Discoursal and interactional functions

Horiguchi (1988: 14 -16) points out five functions of backchannels: to signal (1) listeners are listening, (2) understanding, (3) agreement, (4) negation, and (5) expressing emotion. Matsuda (1988: 62-3) subdivides Horiguchi's category (1988) further into twelve functions to signal: (1) that listeners are listening, (2) that listeners are following what the speaker says, (3) acknowledgement, (4) that listeners are understanding what the speaker is feeling, (5) that listeners are recalling the listener's own experience, (6) agreement, (7) empathy, (8) vague agreement, (9) negative feelings or doubt, (10) strong emotion, (11) interest, (12) that listeners are filling silence. She points out that the intonation when a backchannel is uttered--rising, falling, or flat--is important in

differentiating the function of backchannels. Matsuda claims that Japanese backchannels are multifunctional. That is, one form can index listeners' emotional states (e.g., empathetic or negative feeling etc.) toward speakers' utterances by changing the intonation at the same time that they send the message in response to the content speakers send (e.g. agree or understand, etc.).

Maynard (1989) classification is similar to Horiguchi's (1988) except for the last two categories: (1) continuer, (2) understanding, (3) agreement, (4) strong emotional response, (5) support toward the speakers' judgement, and (6) minor addition, correction, or request for clarification. Function (5) support toward the speakers' judgement, could be vocalic forms such as *hai* 'yes' or repetitions of part of the speaker's utterance. Function (6) is actually included in Horiguchi's (1988) definition of backchannels as a form of clarification and paraphrasing. Furthermore, Kita (1996)'s category includes a rhythm taking function.

Although the terms used for functions are not the same, the functions of Japanese backchannels listed above overlap one another. Compared with the main function of English backchannels as continuers (Schegloff 1982), Japanese backchannels are characterized as part of social functions, such as 'phatic communion' (Richards 1982) expressing emotion or attitudinal stance toward the speakers' utterance, as well as interactional functions.

Functions of nods were investigated by Maynards (1987). She observed head movements of listeners and speakers and classified their functions into 5 categories: (1) affirmation, (2) claim for turn-end and turn-transitions, (3) pre-turn and turn-claim, (4) turn-transition period fillers, (5) backchannel, and (6) rhythm taking. Listeners' nods

serve the functions (1), (3), (4), (5), and (6).

As we can see, the functions of listeners' nods are the same as backchannels. Maynard states (p. 590) that "nods serve only secondary and sometimes redundant functions, but their pervasiveness and the prominent place in actual interaction deserves our attention." Maynard's analysis (1987) doesn't distinguish nods that accompany verbal backchannels or utterances and nods that don't accompany verbal utterances. According to Maynard, nods are secondary to verbal backchannels and since their functions are the same as verbal backchannels, nods co-occurring with verbal backchannels are redundant. In other words, nods that don't accompany verbal backchannels function as backchannels by themselves.

2.3.2.2. Social functions

The way people interact always carries social meanings according to the context. Both speakers and listeners send messages providing information that help each other know how to interpret social meanings sent to one another. Listeners are expected to use backchannels as a linguistic strategy in order to behave appropriately in social contexts. This section examines two social functions that various listening behaviors can serve in face-to-face encounters: politeness and solidarity.

Politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987) explain politeness as a strategy that saves one's positive face (i.e. want to be understood) or negative face (i.e. want not to be disturbed). In Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, the same linguistic forms may be used as

either a positive or negative strategy depending on the context. According to LoCastro (1987: 112), " back-channeling is addressing the Japanese need to preserve positive face." Frequent use of *aizuchi* is a conversational routine and it fulfils the cultural expectations of politeness by avoiding confrontation and accomplishing smooth conversation. As LoCastro states, the use of backchannels serves as a positive politeness strategy that saves one's positive face by showing the listener's supportive attitude. However, when we consider listener responses including nods, nods can possibly work both as a positive or a negative politeness strategy depending on the situation.

For example, listeners can choose either verbal responses or nods to show that they are paying attention, for instance. If they choose verbal backchannels, the listener's behavior works as a positive strategy by saving positive face. If they choose nods, since nods are less intrusive and indirect, their behavior saves the speaker's negative face. Social factors, such as age, status, sex, and psychological distance between interlocutors influence the listener's choice of strategies.

In Japanese culture, politeness is characterized as being less intrusive and indirect (Ide 1982). The listener's nods can save a speaker's negative face in a context where 'discernment' (Hill et al. 1986) is required. Establishing rapport by using verbal backchannels, on the other hand, is a positive politeness strategy. We will return to this issue in Chapter 4.

Lakoff (1975) claims that politeness is determined by three factors: 'distance,' 'deference,' and 'camaraderie.' The three factors form the rules of politeness in a language. Politeness issues in Japanese woman's language are often explained in terms of 'deference' (e.g. Ide 1982, 1991). However, the rules of 'camaraderie' are as strong as

deference in the 'intimate style' (Tannen 1993a; Lauwerenyns 2000). As Ochs (1992) states, politeness issues should take into account a range of situational parameters, such as the speech activity, and the speaker-hearer relationship. Variations in Japanese listening behavior also need to be explained taking situational parameters into account.

Solidarity

Solidarity motivates certain linguistic variations in terms of the particular linguistic forms or interaction. Lauwerenyns (2000) examined the use of hedges by young Japanese speakers and found that some forms of hedges are used to promote solidarity among speakers. Okamoto (1995) observed that solidarity is the major motivation for young female speakers to speak like men using masculine forms, and that they choose not to use honorifics to show solidarity (Okamoto 1998, 2002).

Ide (1982) explains that people can form solidarity not only by sharing major factors such as a common cultural, social, or geographical background, but also the same interests or responsibilities. Ide's notion about how to express solidarity has the implication that linguistic forms (e.g. certain forms of backchannels) or styles of interaction (e.g. listening behavior) can be the means for sharing among people who wish to establish solidarity. People of different age groups possibly exercise different listening behavior in in-group and out-group conversation.

2.4. Cross-linguistic studies

Cross-linguistic studies of backchannels found that backchannels are used more frequently in Japanese than in other languages, such as Chinese, American English, and

Korean (Locastro 1987; Maynard 1989; Yim 1995; Clancy et al. 1996).

Maynard (1986, 1989) investigated the use of English and Japanese backchannels and found that backchannels in Japanese and English have similar functions but that Japanese use backchannels and nods three times more frequently than do Americans.

Yamada (1992) examined backchannels in intracultural and intercultural communication in English conversations. She found that Japanese use about 2 times as frequent backchannels as do Americans in intracultural interaction. Yamada's findings reveal how one's first language interactional style transfers into a second language.

As reviewed in an earlier section, Clancy et al. (1996) examined Japanese, Chinese (Mandarin), and American English data. They found that the three languages differ in the percentage of speaker changes that are RTs. Japanese showed the highest percentage of RTs (39%) compared with American English (37%) and Mandarin (10%).

The different results between Clancy et al. and Maynard can be explained by methodological differences between the two studies in defining RTs and backchannels. In Clancy et al. (1996), RTs included resumptive openers, etc., which Maynard did not include. If we only compare backchannels, the percentage of RTs that are backchannels used by all speakers is 68.3% in Japanese, while it is 37.9% in English. This is closer to Maynard's findings.

The most important finding of Clancy et al.'s study, however, is the difference in the location of RTs in Japanese and English; their analysis revealed that Americans place 45% of their RTs at CTRPs and 78% at grammatical completion points, while Japanese place only 30% of their RTs at CTRPs, and 36% at grammatical completion points. In other words, Japanese listeners use RTs while the primary speaker is talking rather than

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waiting for completion points. The results show that Japanese listeners overlap or talk along with the speaker more often than do American English or Chinese listeners. Hinds (1982) also points out that there is a different type of overlap between Japanese and English conversational interaction--in Japanese, overlaps occur far more frequently and involve longer stretches.

Although Clancy, et al. point out that this practice of RTs by Japanese may be interpreted to be destructive to the primary speaker, it reflects the cultural concern for harmony and co-operation. Clancy, et al. state that "the non-primary speakers are expected to show concern for the primary speaker's sense of security in holding the floor; an empathetic conversational partner provides this sense of security by giving RTs during the primary speaker's turn.

Although Clancy, et al. (1996) analyze only verbal RTs and not non-verbal features, they provide a comprehensive description of differences in interactional practice in casual conversations among Japanese, Mandarin, and English speakers. They state (p 380) that "the frequency, types, and placement of RTs are part of an interactional system which competent language users know and which gives rise to clear cultural expectations about what speakers and listeners are doing in ordinary talk."

2.4.1. Cross-linguistic differences in non-verbal listener responses

Hinds (1978, 1982) claims that in Japanese conversations interactants are required to be sensitive to non-verbal cues, such as eye-contact or head nodding, which may signal the turn completion or other messages without overt utterances. In Hind's view, nodding has the same function as verbal backchannels. Although he does not clearly distinguish

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nods that accompany verbal utterance from those that do not, nods are used along with verbal utterances. Examining the co-occurrence of verbal and non-verbal backchannels of Japanese listeners, White (1987) states that there is a strong correspondence of about 85% between vocal responses and head nods.

Maynard (1987) found Japanese listeners use nods two times as often as do Americans. There are few studies that have focused on cross-linguistic differences in non-verbal listening behavior.

2.4.2. Culture and interactional style

Goffman (1986) states that people within a society share 'frames', that is, principles of organization which govern events. However, it is known that even within a language society, people from different ethnic groups use different kinds of linguistic strategies which may be misunderstood by those who don't share the subculture (e.g. Tannen 1984).

Tannen (1984) examined New York Jewish people's conversational style, and reports that they tend to ask short, quick, and latched questions. She calls this style "machine gun talk," and claims that it exemplifies how a culture - specific style may cause a negative impression and misunderstanding. She also found that Greek listeners overlap speakers' utterances more frequently than do American English speakers. She states that even though both styles result from showing the listener's interest or enthusiastic attitude, their behavior tends to be interpreted as obstructive or aggressive, and lacking in patience or interest. As White (1987:17) states, "when conventions for use and interpretation of linguistic phenomenon are not shared, stereotyping may well occur."

Hinds (1978, 1982) made similar comments about Japanese simultaneous talk, i.e., that overlapping is not rude in Japanese interactional style and that it is used for maintaining harmony between participants. According to Locastro (1987), English native speakers living in Japan for several years adopt the Japanese interactional style and use backchannels and nods frequently when speaking English.

Lebra (1976: 39) states that "since a Japanese listener in an English conversation is likely to make more interjections, the American speaker would take such interjections as a sign of the listener's impatience and demand for a quick completion of the statement." White (1987) investigated the validity of this claim by Lebra (1976), i.e., the negative reactions to Japanese interactional style used by native speakers of Japanese when speaking in English. She found that there was no negative attribution, such as impatience or intrusiveness on the speakers' character caused by the interactional style.

The acquisition of appropriate backchanneling behavior by learners of Japanese is considered important for smooth communication and to avoid being misunderstood (Mizutani 1984; Locastro 1987; Matsuda 1988; Szatrowski 1993; Nishihara 1995; Horiguchi 1997; Uyeno 1999). The negative evaluations resulting from learners' insufficient use of backchannels pointed out in the previous studies, however, are based on the researchers' speculations or impressions. It is necessary to investigate people's perception of native and non-native speakers' different listening behavior, using actual data.

Most of the past studies agree that Japanese interactional style is harmonious, empathetic, and cooperative in nature reflecting cultural values (Lebra 1976; Hinds 1982; Yamada 1992, 1997; Watanabe 1993; and others). Some scholars, however, argue that

these are stereotyped ideological language views (Okamoto 2002).

Sato and Okamoto (1998) state that the simple stereotyped cultural view that Japanese listeners show cooperative attitudes toward the interlocutors, may not reflect actual language practice. Okamoto and Sato (to appear) analyzed 4 mother-daughter and 4 daughter-friend casual conversations and found that participants in family discourse do not use backchannels very frequently, while the same participants in conversations with friends use them frequently. They show that the stereotypical cultural view cannot account for these results since actual language use is more complex and dynamic. Among the implications of their study are that careful observations of listening behavior in various contexts taking social variables of the participants into consideration are needed to account for real language practice.

2.5. Social variables

This section reviews the effects of social variables such as sex, age, and styles in Japanese listening behavior. There are few empirical studies of this type.

2.5.1. Sex

In general, researchers agree that women's speech is characterized by a tendency to be more polite, gentle and indirect than men's (Trudgill 1972; Lakoff 1975; Ide 1982, 1991; Okamoto 1995). Women's speech is thus expected to be more cooperative and empathetic than is men's speech. Tannen (1990) claims that men's language is information-centered, while women's language is emotion- or rapport-centered. Such beliefs regarding gender and linguistic norms in society are common, according to

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Okamoto (2002). If such beliefs are true, men and women are expected to perform different listener roles using different kinds of backchannels and with a different frequency.

Although studies of gender differences in listening behavior are limited in number, there are two studies that report that women use more backchannels than do men (Ide 1979; Kurosaki 1987; Maynard 1989). Maynard (1989: 168) examined 40 Japanese native speakers who were born and raised in Tokyo (19-23 years old) and found that female participants use backchannels more frequently (401 times) than do male participants (302 times), and male participants have more frequent turn-exchanges (439 times) than female participants (281 times). These findings show that there is a difference between men and women in the frequency of backchannels and turn exchanges.

Kogure (2003) investigated gender difference in the use of backchannels and nods by 5 single-sex male, 5 single-sex female and 5 mixed-sex dyadic groups whose ages range between 18 and 25. He found that overall frequency of verbal backchannels was similar among all groups. The most frequently used was backchannels, and *un*, 'yeah,' was the most commonly used backchannels among all groups. However, there was a difference in the use of nods that both accompany verbal backchannels and do not. Female single-sex dyadic groups use non-verbal behavior most frequently compared with other groups.

The use of backchannels and nods by male participants does not vary in single-sex and mixed-sex groups, whereas female participants use backchannels and nods differently in the two contexts. According to Kogure, female listeners accommodate their listening behavior in the mixed-sex conversation. That is, they use more reactive

expressions, such as *soo*, 'right,' fewer evaluative expressions such as *honto*, 'really,' and fewer nods that both accompany verbal backchannels and don't to convert their listening behavior into a pattern of male interlocutors in the mixed-sex conversation more than do male participants.

Kogure's findings suggest that there is little difference in terms of the overall frequency and types of verbal backchannels in the conversation between young male and female acquaintances. If this is the case, his findings support Okamoto's claim (1995).

Okamoto (1995) claims that the difference between women's speech and men's speech is narrowing. Okamoto and Sato (1992), and Okamoto (1995) report that young Japanese female speakers use "less feminine" language than in the past. These studies show that young female speakers use more masculine forms at the end of sentences as well as other masculine expressions in their speech. There may actually be, therefore, little difference between young women's and men's interactional styles.

2.5.2. Age

Age is one of the major social factors that influence the way people speak in Japanese, as in other languages. The relationships between linguistic forms and age or generation have been studied in terms of the use of keigo 'Japanese honorifics' (Yoshioka 1996), discourse markers (Phillips 1998), and hedges (Lauwereyns 2000).

Japanese has a highly elaborate honorific system, or *keigo*. Since the acquisition of proper *keigo* use is developmental, young native speakers often have not mastered it. Yoshioka (1996) found that high school students had difficulty using *keigo* so that they consciously avoided it when they were interviewed by the researcher. For example,

instead of answering the researcher directly, they talked to their peer on purpose. Follow up interview showed that these students recognized the importance of *keigo* in Japanese society and the necessity of mastering it in the future. Yoshioka's finding that Japanese native speakers' *keigo* use varies according to age suggests that younger people's listening behavior may differ from that of older people's *keigo* use.

Lauwereyns (2000) found that high school students use more hedges than people who are over sixty years old, and female high school students use hedges most frequently among other groups. She claims that the uses of a wide variety of hedges by young female speakers show not only their vagueness, and non-committal or self-protective attitude, but also their attempt to establish solidarity among the users, or show their identity in society.

Young Japanese female speakers use more assertive, direct expressions, speak fast, and use masculine forms, compared to traditional Japanese women (Asahi Shinbun 1993 cited Okamoto 1995). These characteristics of young female speakers seem to contradict their use of hedges. The purpose of the using hedges is to talk like others in the "group," but to sound 'feminine.' The language spoken by contemporary young women does not represent what is often called 'Japanese women's language.'

Few studies have focused on the age factor on the listening behavior aside from Sato and Okamoto (1999) and Okamoto and Sato (to appear). Gender and age are important connecting factors to be considered on the present study.

2.5.3. Styles of conversation

Styles in conversation are defined as speech genres representing different levels

of formality. According to Joos (1967), there are five kinds of 'style': intimate, casual, consultative, formal, and frozen. These five styles compose a continuum. The 'intimate style' is the most informal type, such as conversation between equals who know each other very well, while the 'frozen style' is at the opposite end of formality continuum.

Japanese listening behavior in intimate, consultative, and formal styles have been studied in conversations between friends (Maynard 1989; Ide 1979), TV shows (Mizutani 1984; Horiguchi 1988; Furo 2002), and telephone conversations (Szatorowski 1993). However, there are a limited number of studies that focus on the difference in listening behavior among different styles.

Okamoto and Sato (to appear) examined the verbal reactive tokens appearing in three 15-minute conversations each between mother and daughter, and between friends. They found that young participants (daughters) used RTs much less frequently in family discourse (total of 128 in 60 minutes) than in friends' discourse (total of 638 in 60 minutes).

Okamoto and Sato's study shows that such a stereotyped view that Japanese listening behavior is harmonious, supportive and co-operative cannot account for variations in real language use. The results suggest 'speech genre' may determine interactional styles, including listener behavior, which may be different from the stereotype.

Nakamura (1998) also shows that conversational style influences the interactional style. She found that Japanese listeners use more frequent backchannels when they are interviewed than when they chat with friends using sentence completion or other types of utterances.

2.6. Preliminary study

This section presents my quantitative analysis of verbal backchannels and nods used by three female native speakers of Japanese (Miyazaki 2001b). It was found that there is an interrelationship between listeners' verbal backchannels and nods. The results also suggest that age is a factor in listening behavior.

2.6.1. Hypotheses and method

The preliminary study tested the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The ratio of verbal to non-verbal backchannels varies among individuals, but the total number may be similar.

Hypothesis 2: The frequency of verbal and non-verbal backchannels is affected by age.

The data consist of three dyadic videotaped face-to-face conversations (90-minute total). There were four participants, including the researcher. I participated in the conversations as primary speaker S. The participants were all female native speakers of Japanese who grew up in Japan. Table 1 shows the demographic data for each participant. The relationship between primary speaker S and A, B, and C is also shown.

Table 2.1. List of participants in the preliminary study

	sex	age	occupation	Relationship between S and others	Place where they grew up
S (speaker)	F	35	student		Yamaguchi
A (listener)	F	25	student	Go to the same university	Hiroshima
B (listener)	F	30	housewife	Husbands work at the same company	Saitama
C (listener)	F	37	housewife	Husbands work at the same company	Kagoshima

A fifteen-minute each conversation for analysis where S was the primary speaker and the other participants, the listener. The topic of the segments was the researcher's own childbirth experience. Although the story was not pre-scripted, each participant listened to a similar story. The number of verbal backchannels and nods was counted and categorized based on the types and the contexts in which they occurred.

In this preliminary study, verbal backchannels are defined as follows: short utterances and nods produced by the listener with no intention of taking the turn. The verbal and non-verbal backchannels analyzed are of three types. The first type are backchannels, or non-lexical vocalic forms such as *un* 'yeah,' *aa* 'mmhm,' and brief messages such as *soo* 'I see,' and *honto* 'really' which occurred during the speaker's turn and had no referential meaning. The second type are non-lexical elements, such as *waa* 'wow'. The third type are head nods. Only vertical head movements occurred during the speaker's turn, and they were interpreted as non-verbal 'continuers.' Verbal backchannels and nods were often repeated in succession, which were regarded as one occurrence.

I consider verbal backchannels to be primary backchannels and nods, secondary. Nods which accompany verbal backchannels, therefore, were not counted as nods. The number of verbal backchannels accompanied by nods will be explained in the next section.

2.6.2. Results

Figure 2.1 shows the total number of verbal tokens used by each of the three participants. The total numbers of verbal backchannels uttered by participants A, B and C were 126, 120, and 63, respectively. While participants A and B used almost the same

number of verbal backchannels during the 15 minutes (126 and 120 tokens). Participant C

used verbal backchannels significantly less (63 tokens) than the other two.

Figure 2.1. Frequency of verbal backchannels
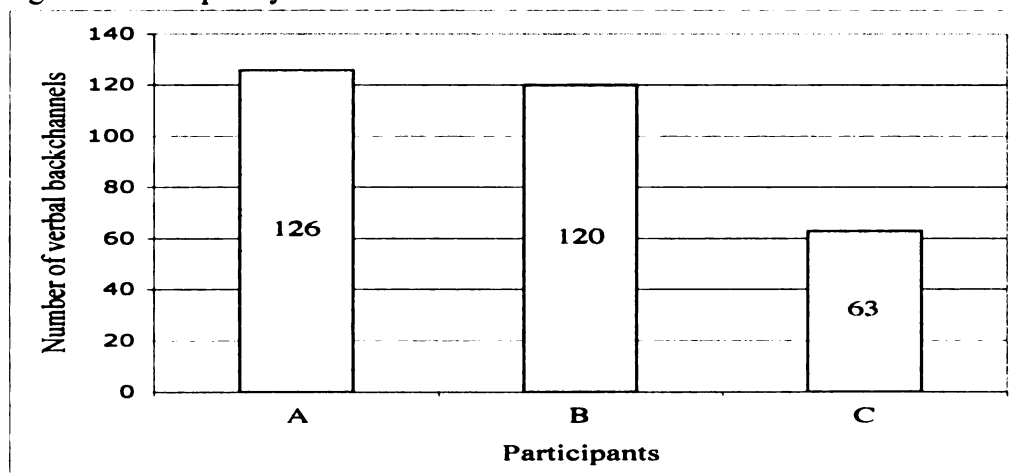
Figure 2.2. Frequency of nods
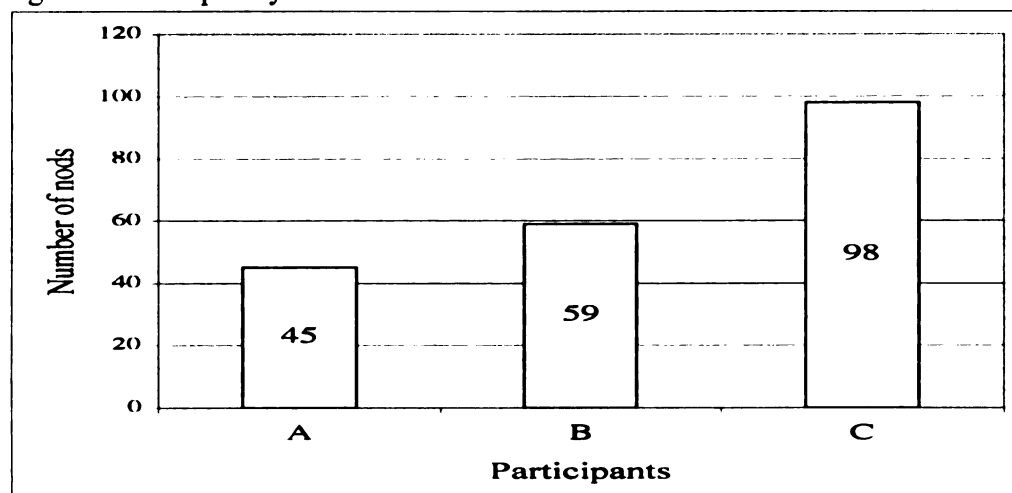
Figure 2.2 shows the frequency of nods used by each participant. There is a

negative correlation between the frequency of verbal backchannels and nods [n=3, r=-.98,

p=n.s.]. Participant A nodded 45 times, participant B, 59 times, and C, 98 times.

Figure 2.2. Frequency of nods

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Table 2.2 display the total number of verbal backchannels accompanied by nods, verbal backchannels without nods, and nods without verbal backchannels.

Table 2.2. Frequency of verbal backchannels and nods

	A	B	C
1. Verbal backchannels that are not accompanied by nods	66	23	10
2. Verbal backchannels accompanied by nods	60	97	53
3. Nods that do not accompany verbal backchannels	45	59	98
Total	171	179	161

Figure 2.3. Frequency of verbal backchannels and nods
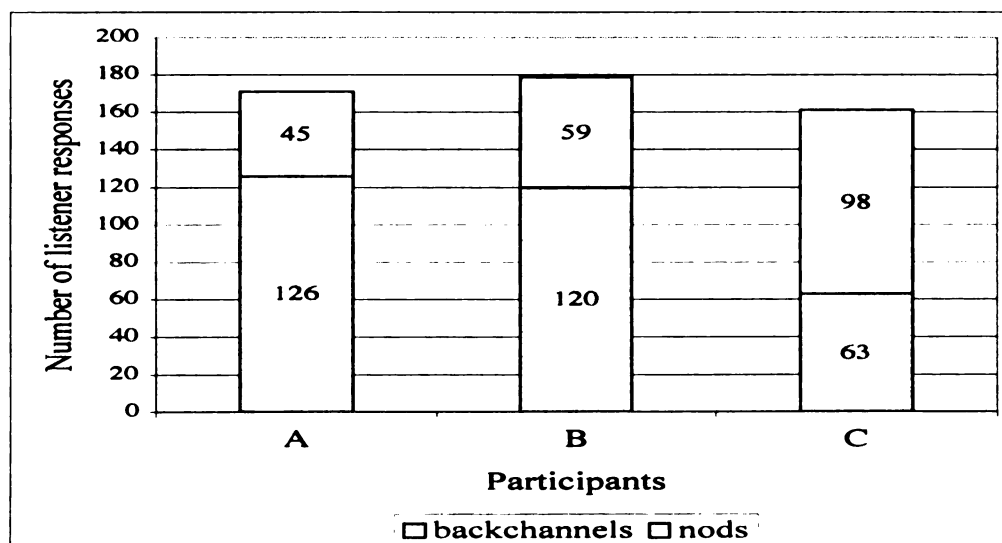
To examine how verbal backchannels and nods interrelate in each participant's listening behavior, I combined Figures 2.1 and 2.2 into Figure 2.3. Figure 2.3 shows that although each participant use verbal and non-verbal backchannels differently, the total numbers of backchannels is not statistically different. In other words, the primary speaker received almost the same number of reactions from each participant.

2.6.3. Conclusions

The preliminary study found that nods may substitute for verbal backchannels and that verbal backchannels and nods interrelate. In each of the 15-minute segments, the primary speaker received the total of 171, 179, and 161 listener responses, respectively. These results indicate that when a listener participates in a conversation with fewer verbal backchannels, she nods more frequently, and vice versa. This finding is significant in that it shows how verbal backchannels and nods are interrelated.

The preliminary study demonstrates that listener responses are not random, in terms of the total frequency. It does not show, however, whether social factors influence listening patterns. Factors such as age, the relationship between the speaker and the listener, and conversation types, (formal or casual), and regional variations should also be considered.

2.7. Summary

This chapter presented an overview of previous studies on listening behavior in Japanese. It is reasonable to assume that the on-going changes in Japanese women's language influence their interactional styles.

In the following chapter, I will posit four hypotheses based on my preliminary studies and present the methods of data collection, analyses and the definitions of listener responses used in the present study.

CHAPTER 3

HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 reviewed previous studies of listening behavior in Japanese and related areas. The first section of Chapter 3 presents four hypotheses based on the findings of the previous studies and explains each of the hypotheses. The remainder of the chapter describes the methodology of the present study.

3.2. Hypotheses

The present study investigates the following four hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1:   The ratio of verbal to non-verbal RTs may vary among individuals, but the total number will be similar in similar contexts.

Hypothesis 2:   The frequency of verbal and non-verbal RTs is affected by age. Older female speakers use more verbal RTs than do younger speakers.

Hypothesis 3:   The formality level of conversation influences not only the choice of RT types and frequency, but also the interactional styles.

Hypothesis 4:   The perception of other's listening behavior varies according to the perceiver's age.

Hypothesis 1:   The ratio of verbal to non-verbal RTs varies among individuals, but the total number will be similar in similar contexts.

Speakers of a language know what to do and how to do it in the face-to-face interaction in various contexts and share the same expectation among speakers that tells them how to react by using linguistic strategies as listeners (White 1989).

Maynard (1989) states that the occurrence of the listeners' backchannels and

nods in Japanese are not random and that they are predictable and governed by 'conversational rule' (Goffman 1986). She also claims that it is important for harmonious, cooperative and empathetic communication.

If native speakers of Japanese in the same generation are given similar social contexts in which they have the same interlocutor, the same topic, the same goal of communication, and similar degree of acquaintance, they may show similar listening behavior appropriate in the contexts.

Although studies of conversation often limit their scope to verbal features, listening behavior should also be investigated, including non-verbal features such as nods. In Japanese face-to-face conversation, nods are very pervasive and function as substitutes for verbal backchannels, according to Maynard (1986, 1989) and Sugito (1989). Head nods are important features in analyzing the listener's role in Japanese interaction.

The findings of my preliminary study (Miyazaki 2001b) that analyzes three female participants' (25 to 35 years old) listening behavior show that the total of their backchannels and nods does not significantly differ, but that the ratio of verbal backchannels and nods varies. Frequent users of verbal backchannels use fewer nods and vise versa.

Hypothesis 2:   **The frequency of verbal and non-verbal RTs is affected by age. Older female speakers use more verbal RTs than do younger speakers.**

Hypothesis 2 is based on the following research. 'Japanese women's language' is characterized by being less assertive, more indirect, and polite, and by such attributes as

use of sentence final particles, feminine forms, high pitch, slow speed and so on (Ide 1982; Raynold 1985; McGloin 1990; Shibamoto 1987; Cook 1990, 1992). It is reasonable to assume that Japanese women's interactional style reflects these characteristics. In other words, Japanese women are expected to listen to others supportively and cooperatively by frequently sending backchannels and nods and to use backchannels of feminine forms, if available.

However, it has been observed that young female speakers speak 'less feminine' language than do older speakers and that the differences between young male and female speech are narrowing (Sibamoto 1985; Okamoto 1995). If this is the case, there may be a large gap between the listening behavior of the younger generation and that of the older generation especially in the choice of the types of expressions and frequency.

Hypothesis 3:   **The formality level of conversation influences not only the choice of RT types and frequency, but also the interactional styles.**

The styles of conversation, formal or casual, in hypothesis 3 are differentiated by the types of speech events that listeners are engaged in. The degree of formality is determined by the relationship between the participants, or other situational factors. In the present study the style difference will be determined by the purpose of conversation, i.e., receiving instructions or chatting, by the psychological distance between the participants, but not any particular linguistic forms used in the conversations. As pointed out elsewhere (Cook 1999; Okamoto 1998), linguistic forms such as the formal (*desu/masu*) forms and informal (*da/ru*) forms are not necessarily restricted to formal or informal contexts. Rather, it is common to mix both forms within the same speech event to reflect the speaker's emotional or psychological state.

Therefore, in the present study, listening to instructions from a stranger or someone whom the participant doesn't know well is considered to be "formal" conversation, and chatting with close friends of the same generation, "informal" conversation. Both types of conversation are between two same-sex participants.

Previous studies on only verbal backchannels show that the styles of conversation influence listening behavior. Sato and Okamoto (1998), for example, report that young participants use more frequent verbal backchannels when chatting with their close friends than with their mothers, and Nakamura (1998) found that backchannels were more frequent in interviews than in casual conversation.

I hypothesize that style (formal or informal) influences listening behavior in the following way. An informal conversation by same generation presents features that express solidarity rather than politeness. It possibly contains more verbal responses and less nods than does a formal conversation. In formal situations, participants try to politely achieve the goal (i.e. obtaining information) by avoiding face threatening acts (FTA). In this context, participants do not necessarily have to express empathy or establish rapport with a stranger, unlike in conversations with a close friend. Therfore, it may contain less verbal RTs and less friendly interaction.

Furthermore, the types of backchannels used during the conversations will be different. That is, less formal forms of RTs in informal conversation, whereas, more formal forms or more polite forms in formal conversation.

Hypothesis 4:   The perception of others' listening behavior varies according to the perceiver's age.

Finally, hypothesis four is based on my perception study on male and female

native and non-native speakers of Japanese (Miyazaki 2001a). Although the data were limited in terms of participants' age (the oldest was in the early 30's, with most participants in their 20's), there was a relatively clear difference in rating of a particular behavior between the sexes. Based on this, I hypothesize that the perceptions of listening behavior are influenced by other social factors such as age. The present study investigates how the perception differs according to age and whether or not perception reflects an individual's interaction style.

3.3. Method

This section first describes how the data were collected and analyzed and then explains what are regarded as listener responses by illustrating with examples from the actual data.

3.3.1. Data

The data for the present study consist of the following.

1 Thirty video-taped face-to-face conversations in which participants listen to instructions given to them by the researcher (2 minutes each)

2. Fifteen video-taped face-to-face conversations in which 30 participants chat with their close friends (15 minutes each)

3. The ratings of 5 types of listening behavior in the video clips by 30 participants

4. Fifteen audio-taped interviews about Japanese listening behavior by each participant.

3.3.2. Participants

Participants in the present study are 30 female native speakers of Japanese, age 19 to 61. They were recruited to satisfy the following conditions. First condition is that

participatns were born and raised in Tokyo or in the neighboring prefectures (Saitama, Chiba, or Kanagawa) and have not lived in other areas of Japan. Second, they are monolingual native speakers of Japanese. If they have lived overseas, their stay must be less than one year in total. Finally, each of the 15 women brings a close friend who has the same characteristics listed above to carry out friendly conversation.

The first condition eliminates the influence of dialect variations in their verbal and non-verbal behavior as a listener. The second condition minimizes other cultural or language influences on their listening behavior.

The participants are divided into three age groups as shown in table3.1. Group I participants are 8 undergraduate and 2 graduate students, while Group II and III participants consist of housewives, teachers and office workers. The age of participants in each group ranges from 19 to 23 in Group I, 28 to 40 in Group II, and 45 to 61 in Group III.

Table 3.1. List of participants in formal conversation

	Group	ID	Age	Hometown	Occupation	Conversation partner
1	I	YG	19	Kanagawa	student	OS
2	I	OS	20	Kanagawa	student	YG
3	I	TM	21	Chiba	student	SK
4	I	SK	20	Kanagawa	student	TM
5	I	HW	19	Saitama	student	SH
6	I	SH	19	Tokyo	student	HW
7	I	SB	20	Kanagawa	student	SZ
8	I	SZ	20	Saitama	student	SB
9	I	TY	23	Tokyo	student	TJ
10	I	TJ	22	Tokyo	student	TY
11	II	YM	28	Kanagawa	teacher	EK
12	II	EK	28	Kanagawa	clerk	YM

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

13	II	MT	31	Saitama	teacher	IN
14	II	IN	31	Tokyo	teacher	MT
15	II	MD	39	Tokyo	teacher	IZ
16	II	IZ	34	Kanagawa	university staff	MD
17	II	HY	37	Kanagawa	housewife	SZ
18	II	SZ	39	Saitama	housewife	HY
19	II	WB	30	Tokyo	housewife	FT*
20	II	AZ	40	Tokyo	university staff	SN in Group III
21	III	MG	45	Tokyo	university staff	SF
22	III	BS	47	Tokyo	housewife	TZ
23	III	TZ	53	Tokyo	teacher	BS
24	III	MM	54	Tokyo	university staff	KM
25	III	KM	54	Tokyo	housewife	MM
26	III	SN	56	Tokyo	university staff	AZ in Group II
27	III	WK	54	Tokyo	teacher	ST
28	III	ST	58	Tokyo	teacher	WK
29	III	MR**	58	Kawasaki	housewife	AR
30	III	AR	60	Tokyo	housewife	MR
31	III	SF	61	Tokyo	university staff	RG

* WB's conversation partner, FT, participated only as a speaker in chatting since FT had lived in a foreign country for more than one year.
** MR 's data in formal conversation is not used because there are ten formal data besides MR's.

3.3.3. Procedure

Each pair of participants met with me in the conference room of university library or at someone's house by appointment. The participants had been told what they would be asked to do when they were recruited. When they met the researcher on the scheduled day, the instructions on the procedures were given to one person at a time in a separate room. The whole exchange was video- and audio-taped and used as formal conversation

data. The script of the instructions is shown in appendix 2. The researcher gave instructions in the same manner to each participant.

After each pair of participants was given instructions in a separate room, they sat at a table showing their profiles to the video camera. They were asked to talk for 15 minutes about a school trip or other trips that they had taken. The researcher left the room immediately after she turned on the video camera and audio -tape recorder.

After the chat, participants were given a sheet to rate different listening behaviors of the woman in the video. After seeing video clips and rating them, participants are asked to talk freely about what they thought about the listening behavior in video and/or in general.

3.3.4. Formal conversation

A 2-minute segment of a participant listening to each set of the instructions was taken as formal conversation data. When participants (primary listeners) claimed the speakership and took the floor, the researcher let them speak until they gave up the floor and excluded the segments from the 2-minute data. In each of the 2-minute segments, the primary speaker (the researcher gives instructions and the listener simply responds.

3.3.5. Informal conversation

Conversations between close friends were recorded right after the instruction session. Each 15-minute conversation was transcribed and divided into segments, or *wadan* (Minami 1987; Szatrowski 1991), which is similar to 'floor' or 'speakership.' Thirteen segments (20 minutes 26 seconds in total) in which one participant talked about past trip and another participant plays a listening role were selected for analysis. The

criteria to select the 13 segments out of 225 minutes informal conversation will be explained in Chapter 5 as well as quantitative and qualitative analyses.

3.4. Listening behavior to be analyzed in the present study

This section presents the definitions and examples of listener responses, including non-verbal types. The term 'Reactive Token (RT)' was introduced by Clancy et al. (1996) to explain 'communicative strategies' that listeners engage in. RTs are not restricted to backchannels; they represent 'a more inclusive range of 'non-primary turns' (Clancy et al.: 357). The reason I have chosen RTs as a cover term is that Japanese listener responses should be interpreted in the broader sense including not only backchannels, or aizuchi, but other expressions such as sentence completions, laughter, etc., and non-verbal expressions, such as nodding. RTs can be used to express different kinds of tokens that listeners use. The definition of RTs in the present study is given below, taken from Clancy et al. (1996: 356);

> A 'Reactive Token' (='RT') is 'a short utterance produced by an interlocutor who is playing a listener's role during the other interlocutor's speakership'. That is, Reactive Tokens will normally not disrupt the primary speaker's speakership, and do not in themselves claim the floor. If a short utterance served as the second pair part of an adjacency pair (Sacks et al., 1874), for example, as an answer to a question or a response to an offer, it was not considered a Reactive Token.

In the subsequent sections, I will describe the types of RTs analyzed in the present study. The major categories are verbal and non-verbal RTs, each of which are further subcategorized.

3.4.1. Verbal reactive tokens

I subcategorize Verbal RTs into seven types, that is backchannels, reactive expressions, repetitions, collaborative finishes, laughter, short comments, paraphrases, and resumptive openers. Examples of each category are given in the following sections. English examples are taken from Clancy et al (1996) and Japanese examples are from my own data and from Horiguchi (1987).

3.4.1.1. Backchannels, *aizuchi*

I define backchannels as non-lexical forms that primarily function as 'continuers' (Schegloff 1982). Although Clancy et al. (1996) did not include *hai*, 'yes,' in this category, the present study includes it, unless it appears as the second part of an adjacency pair (Sacks et al.1974). According to Kitagawa (1980: 110), *hai* indicates "that the speaker has heard (and understood) what the addressee said to him." It is interchangeable with un, a casual form of *hai*, depending on the context. Backchannels I analyzed in my data are listed in (1) below. The reduplicated forms of these (e.g. *hai hai*) are also included but these are counted as one occurrence which was intensified or as an individual listener's preferences.

(1)

a. *hai* 'yes' (formal)
b. *ee* 'uhuh' (less formal than hai)
c. *un* 'yeah' (informal)
d. *aa* 'oh' (showing surprise, etc.)
e. *haa* 'mhn' (formal form of hai)
f. *hoo* 'oh' (the user is impressed)
g. *huun* 'uh-hum' (showing interest)
h. *hee* 'really' (showing surprise, etc.)

3.4.1.2. Reactive expressions

The present study adopts the description of reactive expressions by Clancy et al.;

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'short non-floor-taking lexical phrases or words' (1996: 359). These include *sugoi*, ' great,'

honto, 'really,' *soo*, 'it is so,' *a soo/ soo ka*, 'is that so,' and *ii na*, 'nice.'

Excerpt 3.1: SK listens to the story of TM's trip to Canada and uses a reactive expression, sugoi ne, 'fascinating, isn't it?' SK's utterance overlaps TM's.

[Japanese]
1   SK: *ryokoo tte kanji janai n da.*
          Travel QT like NEG NM BE
2   TM: *soo da ne. demo nanka* [*dakara nanka*
          right BE IP but like   so   like
3 → SK: [*ee sugoi ne*
                          wow fascinating IP
4   TM: *ne*
                            IP

[English]
1   SK: It isn't like a trip, right?
2   TM: Yeah, right. But like [because like
3 → SK: [Wow, (it is) fascinating, isn't it?
4   TM: right?

3.4.1.3. Repetitions

Clancy defines a repetition as a situation in which the 'non-primary speaker repeats a portion of the speech of the primary speaker'. Repetitions have the function of reinforcing mutual understanding between speakers and listeners and disbelief on the part of the listener.

Excerpt 3.2: SZ (39 years old) says that she brought a loaf of bread to eat in case she starved during her school trip; HY (37 years old) listens to SZ.

[Japanese]
1   SZ: *Demo chichame no, ano te de   chigireru   kurai no*
          But   small   NM well hand with pinch part   NM
2 → HY: *chicchame no*
                    small   NM
[English]
SZ: But it was kind of small, ah, it is about the size that it is easy to pinch with your

HY: small one
SZ: =fingers

3.4.1.4. Collaborative finishes

In Japanese conversations, the speaker's utterance may be continued and completed by an interlocutor providing syntactic units such as a verb and an object (Lerner and Takagi 1991; Ono and Yoshida 1996; Hayashi and Mori 1998; Hayashi 1999). The second part of the co-construction when uttered by a primary listener, is considered to be a kind of listener backchannel (Mizutani 1984; Horiguchi 1997; Clancy 1996). The present study will also include collaborative finishes as RTs.

Excerpt 3.3 taken from Lerner (1991) (Clancy et al. 1996) is an example in which Josh finishes Mary's utterance.

1   Mary : Now most machines don't record that slow. So I'd wanna - when I
                    make a tape,
2   Josh: be able to speed it up. (Lerner 1991: 441)

The Japanese example is in excerpt 5, taken from the present study.

Excerpt 3.4: MR tells that she leaned the Marimo song when she went on her school trip.

[Japanese]
1   MR: *Watashi wa shuugakuryokoo no toki wa ano marimo no uta toka,*
                   I   TP school trip   when TP ah MARIMO of song etc
2 ➜   AR: *A narai mashita ne . utatte ne.*
                   Oh, learned   IP sang IP
[English]
1   MR: As for me, when I went to school trip, marimo song and so on
2   AR: learned, didn't we? Sang, right?

In excerpt 3.4, MR starts her utterance, ' As for me, when I went on my school trip, *marimo* (a type of floating, spherical moss that grows at Akan National Park in

Hokkaido) song and so on.' As soon as MR states the subject of the sentence, AR provides

a verb with a tag question that has the effect of establishing common ground.

3.4.1.5. Laughter

Laughter is considered to be an RT in the present study because laughter often

appears in the same contexts as verbal RTs; in Japanese culture laughter is one of the

vocal signs expressing the listener's attitude toward what the speaker says (Maynarad

1989; Furo 2001). In formal conversation, it plays an important role especially when

people converse with unfamiliar people by mitigating FTAs. On the other hand, in

informal situation, laughter can contribute to a display of solidarity. Laughter that occurs

with verbal RTs is counted as a form of RT but not as laughter. However, laughter that is

associated with nods is counted as laughter because nods are considered as intensifier of

any verbal responses.

Excerpt 3.5: TJ (22 years old) talks about her high school trip to TY (23 years old) but
she found that she has somehow lost some memories.

```
[Japanese]
1         TJ : Kioku ga {nai n dakedo nande daro=.}
                memory SB NEG NM but why wonder
2    ➔    TY:                {        }

3         TY: Kookoo no toki no kioku wa aruhazu nanoni.
                High school time of memory SB exist though
4         YJ: Are zannen.
                Oh, disappointing
[English]
1         TJ: {I don't remember anything. But why}
2    ➔    TY:                {        }
3         TY: (You) should have memories of high school.
4    ➔    TJ: {Oh, I'm disappointed}.
```

TJ laughs that she does not recall (her school trip) and she wonders why. TY laughs showing empathy with TJ who feels it is strange and funny. If TY had not responded with laughter to TJ, this conversation would have turned out very differently and TY's RT may have had the effect of criticism or surprise.

3.4.1.6. Short comments

This category consists of lexical elements longer than a word and expresses comments by the listener without claiming speakership. The short utterance can be seen as talk-in-progress at non-grammatical completion points. Speakers do not relinquish their turn upon the listeners' utterance but continue their turn.

Excerpt 3.6: TJ (22 years old) listens to TY's (23 years old) memory of her best friend who cried during her school trip.

[Japanese]
```
1          TJ: Nadameta no.
                soothed    IP
2          TY: Un. Sonna zenzen kirai ja nai yo tte. {   }
                Yeah  that not at all dislike said
3          TJ:                                      {   }
4  →       TJ: Waa, Sugoi seishun mono da.
                Wow  very teenage NM   BE
5          TY: Sonna sonna koto atta      naa. Soo ieba.
                That  that kind of thing NM happened  IP  so  say if
```
[English]
```
1          TJ: Did you comfort her?
2          TY: Yeah, I said it was not true at all (that I didn't like you). {  }
3          TJ:                                {   }
4  →       TJ: Wow, a great teenage story.
5          TY: That , things like that happened, come to think of it.
```

TJ asks TY if she comforted a crying friend and TY answers laughingly that she did. TJ responds with laughter to TY and comments, 'wow, a great teenage story.' TY

continues her recalling in 5, 'that, that kind of thing happened, come to think of it.' TJ's utterance can be interpreted as a type of RT that expresses the listener's involvement through surprise.

3.4.1.7. Resumptive openers

"Non-lexical elements used at the turn initial points" are defined as resumptive openers (Clancy et al. 1996). These occur at the beginning of new turn claiming 'speakership.' Since they can be followed by RTs such as backchannels or other types of RTs, they are "hybrid in nature: they themselves do not constitute a new turn, but they are Reactive Tokens that occur at the beginning of a turn." (Clancy et al. 1996: 363) Excerpt 3.7 is an example of an English resumptive opener while excerpt 3.6 illustrates how TJ's utterance in 4 also contains the resumptive opener 'Wow' at the beginning of her utterance.

Excerpt 3.7
1   A: ...Ho=w are you doing with the house.
2 ➔   B: ...Oh, got it all uh...primed,...just about, ...except two sides [of it].
3   A: [Oh you 4A: shoot
             a] primer stuff
                                         (Clancy et al 1996: 363)

3.4.1.8. Paraphrases

Listeners respond by paraphrasing what speakers just said to show their understanding, interest, or clarification (Mizutani 1984; Horiguchi 1988). The following examples are about a TV show, cited in Horiguchi (1988: 20).

Excerpt 3.8:

[Japanese]

1   A: *Jukeisha nan desu.*
               Prisoner   BE

2 ➜   B: *Keimusho ni haitte iru hito.*
               Jail   in incarcerated being person

[English]

1   A: He is a prisoner.

2   B: A person who is in jail

Excerpt 3.9:

[Japanese]

1   A: *Kohi iro   to shiro o   nutta no.*
               coffee color and white OP colored IP

2 ➜   B: *Sutoraipu ni nutta no ne.*
               stripes in colored IP

[English]

1   A: I painted coffee color and white.

2   B: You drew stripes, didn't you?

In both excerpts 3.8 and 3.9, listeners paraphrase A's utterance in different wordings but they function similarly to repetitions in that they confirm what speakers have just said, but do not intend to claim speakership.

3.4.2. Non-verbal reactive tokens

In the present study, vertical head movement, nod(s) are considered to be RTs when they are not accompanied by other verbal RTs (see line 6 in exerpt 3.10 below). When they are associated with other RTs, they are categorized as part of the verbal RTs (in 3 and 9 below) and they have the function of emphasizing them. Therefore, in the present study nods that accompany verbal RTs will not be transcribed to simplify transcription.

It is very common for some listeners to nod more than once during a

conversation (in 6 and 9 below); however, such nods are counted as a single occurrence when they appear continuously in the context. A single occurrence of nodding ends when a recognizable gap appears.

Excerpt 3.10: RM (41 years old) gives instructions to YG (19 years old) about what to do about OS (20 year old).

[Japanese]
1   RM: *OS san to,*
            OS Ms. with
2   YG: *hai*
3   H
             yes
3.   RM: *nani o shite itadaku ka ni tsuite,*
          What OP do   QP about
4.   YG:
5.   ➔   HH

6.   RM: *kantan ni setsumei sasete itadakimasu.*
          Briefly in explain let
7.   YG: *hai*
8.   HH
                              yes

[English][1]
1.   RM: With OS,
2.   YG: yes
3.   H
4.   RM: About what to do,
5.   YG:
6.   HH
7.   RM: Let me explain briefly.
8.   YG: yes
9.   HH

---

[1] When Japanese transcripts are translated into English, the word order in the English translation is different from the original. The location of RTs and/or nods shown in English translations demonstrate the relative locations in a segment. For example, in excerpt 11 'yes' and continuous nods follow line 7, but not 'briefly.'

3.5. Social variables

This section explains the social variables that will be investigated in relation to listening behavior in the present study.

3.5.1. Age

Participants in the present study ranged in age from 19 to 61. The data will be analyzed the use of RTs in relation to age, that is whether there is any age grade patterns of the use of RTs in frequency and types of tokens. Furthermore, listening behavior of female speakers will be investigated as three groups that represent three generations, such as, college students, young adults (late 20's to 30's), and adults (over 45). The definitions of three groups are shown in table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Age groups of participants

	number	age	sex	
Group I	10	19-23 year old	female	8 undergraduate and 2 graduate students.
Group II	10	28-40 year old	female	3 home makers and 7 working women. Half are married and half are single
Group III	10	45-61 year old	female	3 home makers and 6 working women. All are married.

It might be questioned how we can divide people into age groups without any biologically or socially determined factors. The present study focuses on the people's use of language, particularly listening behavior. The first border between age 23 and 28 is determined by the following analogy. In Japan it is common for people to change their behavior, including language use, after they finish school and go into the real world. Therefore, college students and 28 year old working people could have different

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behavior, in other words, 28 year olds may have acquired different variations of listening behavior from college students.

The border between age 40 and 45 may be controversial since it is very difficult to draw a line between the mid-thirties and fifties. There is a wider range of individual difference as participants' age becomes greater, since their social roles are much more complicated compared with the youngest group. The reason why group 2 and 3 are divided between age 40 and 45 is that group II is that it is the closest group to the age (41 year olds) of the researcher who participates as a speaker who gives instruction to all of the participants. The generational issue of whether a participant recognizes the researcher to be the same generation or not will be analyzed group by group.

3.5.2. Styles of conversation

Two styles of conversation that will be examined in the present study are formal and informal conversation. The level of formality is estimated by not only linguistic forms but the type of speech events and the relationship between participants in each conversation. The relationship between participants considered for analysis is the degree of acquaintance, age difference, and social status.

The Japanese language has two distinct systems of linguistic forms beside the honorific system, called keigo, i.e., *desu/masu* form, which is polite and used mainly in formal situation and the plain form used in mainly informal situations. However, one of the styles is not exclusively used in one conversation type in actual conversation. For example, in actual conversation use, some only use plain forms when they speak with friends but some people do not use plain forms even when they chat with very close

friends in real conversation use. In addition, those two systems are often mixed in the speech to a different degree even in formal conversation (Okamoto 1998; 1999; Cook 1999).

The type of speech events selected as formal in the present study is when the researcher gives instructions to participants. In contrast, informal conversation is chat between two close female friends. Each one of participants is asked to participate to the study by her partner.

The reason formal and informal conversation is defined by linguistic, pragmatic, and social features is that the way people achieve social goals can not be explained by just one feature.

3.6. Summary

This chapter explained how the data were collected and defined each RT to be investigated. The following chapter will present quantitative analyses of the RTs used in the formal conversations, and discusses how the results can be interpreted.

CHAPTER 4

REACTIVE TOKENS IN FORMAL CONVERSATION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the RTs used in a total of 60 minutes of formal conversations taken from 30 respondents who participated as primary listeners in different age groups and discusses the results with respect to the interrelation of verbal RTs and nods to the social variable of age. First, the quantitative results for the total number of occurrences of RTs and the types of RTs used by each respondent will be presented. Secondly, the relationship between age and use of RTs will be discussed. Then overall data relative to each hypothesis will be presented with the results of statistical analysis. Finally, the interactional characteristics of Japanese formal conversation will be proposed.

4.2. Quantitative results of total reactive tokens

This section presents the quantitative result of RTs used in formal conversation. First, the overall results of verbal and non-verbal RTs used by all participants, then each type of verbal RT and types of backchannels used by each age group will be examined in order.

4.2.1. Total reactive tokens used in 2 minutes

Figure 4.1 shows the participants' ages and total number of RTs used by each participant during 2 minutes of instruction. The mean score of the total number of RTs is

53.4.

Table 4.1 displays the total number of verbal and non-verbal RTs used by all participants. In the present study nods are considered to be non-verbal RTs. The total number of verbal RTs used by all participants is 853 (53%) and that of non-verbal ones, nods, comprise 751 (47%). The results indicate that approximately half of the RTs are non-verbal RTs. In other words, the high percentage of nods indicates the relative importance of non-verbal RTs in a formal context such as listening to instructions from an unfamiliar person.

Figure 4.1. Age and total number of reactive tokens
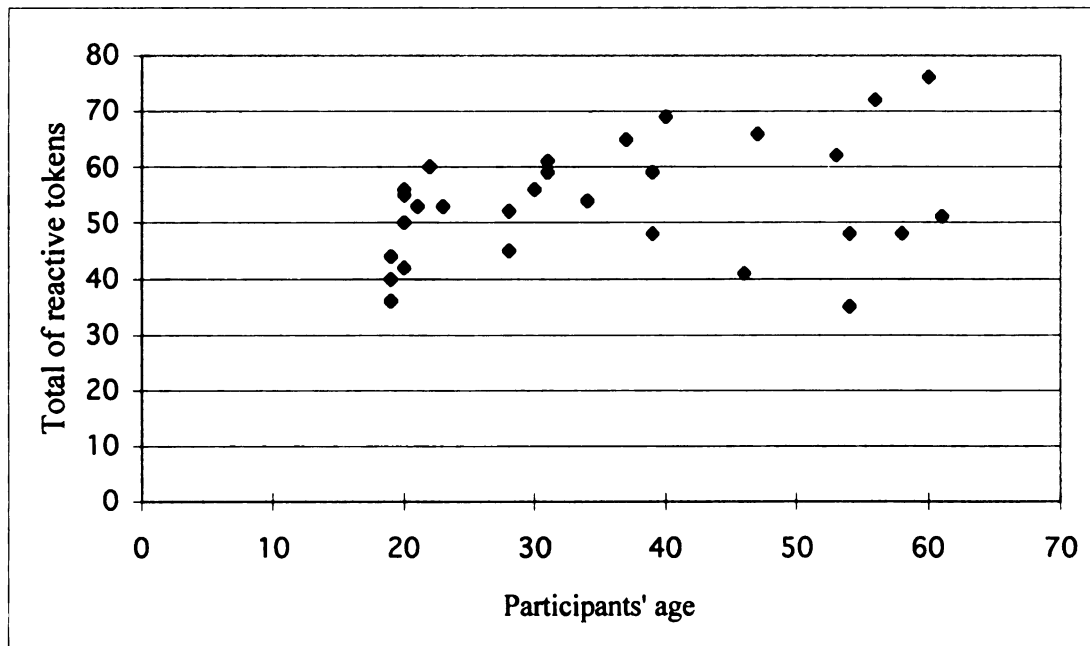
Pearson Correlation Analysis shows that verbal RTs and non-verbal RTs have a strong negative correlation [r=-.828, p=.000]. That is, listeners who use more nods use fewer verbal RTs and vice versa. The next section examines how RTs varies among

different age groups.

Table 4.1. Total of reactive tokens by all participants (n = 30)

	Group	ID	Age	Tokens of Verbal RTs	Tokens of Non-verbal RTs, nods	Total to RTs
1	I	YG	19	21	23	44
2	I	OS	20	10	45	55
3	I	TM	21	20	30	50
4	I	SK	20	19	34	53
5	I	HW	19	4	36	40
6	I	SH	19	22	14	36
7	I	SB	20	16	40	56
8	I	SZ	20	14	28	42
9	I	TY	23	7	46	53
10	I	TJ	22	18	42	60
11	II	YM	28	15	37	52
12	II	EK	28	38	7	45
13	II	MT	31	10	51	61
14	II	IN	31	50	9	59
15	II	MD	38	52	7	59
16	II	IZ	33	18	36	54
17	II	HY	37	60	5	65
18	II	SZ	39	3	45	48
19	II	WB	30	39	17	56
20	II	AZ	40	18	51	69
21	III	RG	45	29	12	41
22	III	BS	47	49	17	66
23	III	TZ	53	55	7	62
24	III	MM	54	36	12	48
25	III	KM	54	21	14	35
26	III	SN	54	65	7	72
27	III	WK	54	15	33	48
28	III	ST	58	39	9	48
29	III	AR	60	59	17	76
30	III	SF	61	31	20	51
	total			853	751	1604 AVE. 26.7/min

4.2.2. Reactive tokens by age groups

In order to determine whether the respondents use RTs similarly in terms of the overall ratio of verbal and non-verbal RTs, I divided the 30 participants into three age groups as shown in Table 4.2. Group I consists of 10 participants whose age ranges between 19 and 23. They are college undergraduate or graduate students in Tokyo. Group II and group III consist of 10 participants between 28 and 40 and 10 participants between 45 and 61, respectively.

Table 4.2. Verbal and non-verbal reactive tokens used in 2-minute instruction by age groups (n=30)

	Group I Age 19-23 (n = 10)	Group II Age 28-40 (n = 10)	Group III Age 45-61 (n = 10)	TOTAL	ANOVA
Verbal reactive tokens	151	303	399	853	p = .004
Non-verbal reactive tokens (nods)	338	265	148	751	p = .013
TOTAL	489	568	547	1604	n.s.

Table 4.2 shows that group I uses verbal RTs the least frequently among the three groups and uses nods most frequently. Group III, the oldest group, uses RTs in an opposite way to the youngest group, that is, they use verbal RTs most and nods least. Group II is in between group I and III in both verbal RTs and nods.

Figure 4.2. Verbal and non-verbal reactive tokens used in 2-minute instruction
by age groups
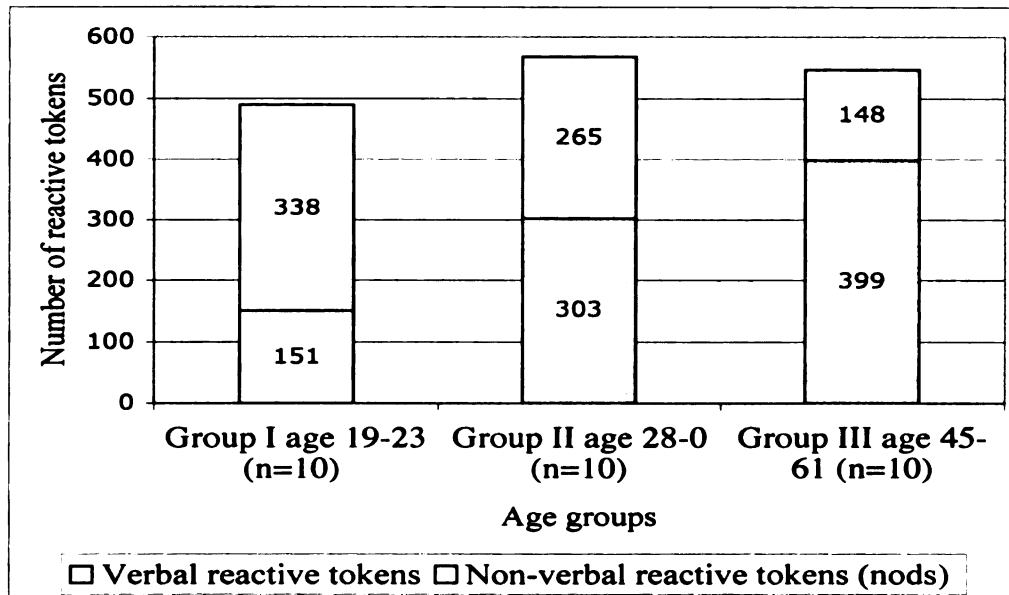
The analysis of variation (ANOVA) is used to analyze the difference in the number of total RTs, verbal RTs and nods among three age groups. ANOVA does not show a significant difference in total RTs among age groups [$F_{(2, 27)}$ = 1.66, p = .207]. Table 4.3 presents the results of Tukey post hoc test.

Table 4.3. Results of Tukey post hoc test of total reactive tokens among age groups

	Group I Age 19 - 23	Group II Age 28 - 40	Group III Age 45 - 61
Group I	1.000		
Group II	0.2014	1.000	
Group III	0.4108	0.8866	1.000

The results of ANOVA show that the total number of verbal RTs used by each group is significantly different [$F_{(2, 27)}$=6.58, p=.004]. The total number of nods of each group is also significantly different [$F_{(2, 27)}$=5.12, p=.013]. The Tukey post hoc test in

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Table 4.4 and 4.5 explain in more detail about the difference among the three age groups.

Table 4.4 indicates that in terms of frequency of verbal RTs, group I and III are significantly different (p=.003), while neither group I and II (p=.088) nor group II and III (p=.358) are significantly different. The difference between group I and II is almost significant. The difference in the results for nods by age group is parallel to the results for verbal RTs shown in Table 4.5. But it should be noticed that the difference between group I and II is larger (p =.088) in nods than in verbal RTs (p =.452).

Table 4.4. Results of Tukey post hoc test of verbal reactive tokens among age groups

	Group I Age 19 - 23	Group II Age 28 - 40	Group III Age 45 - 61
Group I	1.000		
Group II	0.0885	1.000	
Group III	0.0036**	0.3588	1.000

Table 4.5. Results of Tukey post hoc test of nods among age groups

	Group I Age 19 - 23	Group II Age 28 - 40	Group III Age 45 - 61
Group I	1.000		
Group II	0.4528	1.000	
Group III	0.0103*	0.1436	1.000

The following excerpts demonstrate that how verbal RTs and nods are used differently by participants. These segments are the same part of planned utterances in which a speaker introduces herself to each listener before giving instruction. The symbol 'H' indicates a single nod and 'HH' means the listener nods twice.

Excerpt 4.1: OS (20 years old) nods at almost every recognizable pause and in the middle

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of utterance also.

[Japanese]

1   Researcher: *Eeto o hanashi shimashita keredomo, watashi wa,*
    ah,   tell   did   though   I-TP

2   OS: HH   H

3   Researcher: *ano amerika no mishigan shuu ni aru   daigaku de,*
    Ah, America-of Michigan state-in exist university-at

4   OS: H

5   Researcher: *genngogaku o senkoo shiteite,*
    Linguistics - OP major doing

6   OS: H

7   Resercher: *anoo, nihongo no kaiwa   no kouzou?*
    Ah,   Japanese-of conversation-of structure

8   OS: H   HH

9   Researcher: *Disukoosu to iu n desu keredomo, kenkyuu shite imasu.*
    Discourse QT say NM BE but   studying

10   OS: H   H

[English]

1   Researcher: Ah, I have told you but I
2   OS: H   H
3   Researcher: Ah, at a university in Michigan state in America
4   OS: H
5   Researcher: I'm (studying) linguistics as major
6   OS: H
7   Researcher: Ah, the structure of Japanese conversation
8   OS: H   H
9   Researcher: Called discourse, though, I'm studying (that)
10   OS: H   H

Excerpt 4.2: HY (37 years old) uses *hai*, 'yes', formal form 6 times and 2 head nods during a similar utterance to excerpt 1. HY also utters *hai*. 'yes', at almost every recognizable pause, while she nods in the middle of sentence.

[Japanese]

1   Researcher: *ano sakihodo chotto ohanashi shimashita ga,*
                     Ah   before   little   tell did   but

2   HY: hai
                                 yes

3   Researcher: *watashi wa amerika no mishigan shuu ni aru daigaku de,*
                     I-TP America-of Michigan state-in exist university-at

4   HY: H   hai
                               yes

5   Researcher: *genngogaku o senkoo shiteite,*
                     Linguistics-OP major doing

6   HY: H   *hai*
                                 yes

7   Resercher: *nihongo no   kaiwa no kouzou?*
                     Japanese-of conversation-of structure

8   HY: *hai*
                               yes

9   Researcher: *Disukoosu tte iundesu keredomo,*
                     Discourse- QT say   but

10   HY: *hai*
                             yes

11   Researcher: sore o kenkyuu shiteimasu.
                     That-OBJ studying

12   HY: hai
                                yes

[English]

Researcher: Ah, 'I told you before I am in major in Linguistics at a university in
                        yes   yes   H   yes

Michigan in US and well, I'm studying the structure of Japanese? called discouse.'
        H   yes   yes   yes

Excerpt 4.3: SN (54 years old) responds to the researcher with 3 *hai*, 'yes', 3 *ee*, 'yeah, and 2 *un*, 'yeah'.

[Japanese]

1   Researcher: *ano konoaida mo ohanashi shimashita kedomo,*
                     Ah   last time too tell   did   but

2	SN:	*ee* x2
		yeah

3   Researcher: *ano watashi wa,*
Ah   I-TP

4   Researcher: *amerika no mishigan shuu ni aru daigaku de,*
America-of Michigan state-in exist university-at

5 →   SN: *hai ee*
yes yeah

6   Researcher: *genngogaku o senkoo shiteimashite,*
Linguistics-OP major   doing

7   SN: *hai*
yes

8   Resercher: *de, nihongo no kaiwa no kouzou,*
Then, Japanese-of conversation-of structure

9   SN: *un*
yeah

10   Researcher: *danwa tte   iundesu keredomo,*
Discourse-QT say   but

11   SN: *un*
yeah

12   Researcher: *sore o ano shirabete imasu.*
That-OP ah   examining

13   SN: *hai*   *ee*
yes   yeah

[English]
Researcher: 'Ah, I told you before I am in major in Linguistics at a university in
yeah yeah   yeah
Michigan in US and I'm studying the structure of Japanese? called discouse.'
yes yeah   yeah   yeah   yeah

SN mixes three 'yes's that vary in degree of formality, but the contexts of RTs are

similar to others. The use of different types of RTs should be attributed to social factors

such as age and relationship. Since these three participants don't know the researcher

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before the session, *hai,* 'yes', is considered to be socially appropriate for all participants in this kind of formal setting. However, the data show that the youngest participant uses non-verbal RTs, exclusively, the second youngest uses formal 'yes' and the oldest one uses three kinds of RTs. We will discuss the possible reasons for this variation later in this chapter.

4.2.3. Interrelation between age and verbal and non-verbal reactive tokens

The results of a Pearson Correlation analysis show that age and total number of verbal RTs have a positive correlation [r =.543, p=.002], which means older participants tend to use more verbal RTs, while the total occurrence of non-verbal RTs and age have a negative correlation [r=-.465, p=.010], which means that older participants use fewer nods and younger participants use more nods. The total number of RT and age don't have any significant difference [F(2, 27)=1.66, p=n.s.]. That is, the total number and age does not have any correlation or significant difference among the three age groups.

What we can conclude from this result is that the total number of RTs used in 2 minutes conversations by each participant does not vary statistically. In other words, Japanese speakers of different age group reacted to the same speakers' utterances as with a similar frequency of RTs to the extent of statistically not significant level. However, the ratio of verbal RT and nods vary among individuals and it shows age-graded variations. That is, the results indicate that younger people tend to use fewer verbal RTs and more nods and older people show the opposite tendency in the given context.

4.2.4. Hypotheses 1 and 2

This section explains how hypothesis one and two are tested by the quantitative results of formal conversation in the present study.

Hypothesis 1:   **The ratio of verbal to non-verbal RTs may vary among individuals, but the total number will be similar in similar contexts.**

Overall, this hypothesis was supported by a significant effect. The number of verbal RTs and the number of nods have a negative correlation but the total number of RTs and nods is similar among participants.

Hypothesis 2:   **The frequency of verbal and non-verbal RTs is affected by age. Older female speakers use more verbal RTs than do younger speakers.**

The hypothesis two is also supported by the results. The number of verbal RTs and age have a positive correlation and the number of nods and age have a negative correlation. The next section will explain how age relates to the choice of RTs or interactional characteristics by describing the use of RTs by age groups.

4.2.5. Types of reactive tokens by age

Table 4.6 displays the types of RTs used by each age group. Backchannels are the most commonly used verbal RTs. 42.9 % of RTs consist of backchannels and 11.4% of total RTs consist of other verbal RTs, such as reactive expressions or repetitions. Backchannels have a positive correlation to age [r=.541, p=.002] with a Pearson Correlation analysis. Older participants use more frequent backchannels. However, the occurrence of other types of RTs seems less important. Only resumptive openers, which are non-lexical forms followed by speaker change have a positive correlation to age [r=.575, p=.001]. In fact, it is observed that older participants take turns by uttering

resumptive openers at the initial point of their speaking turns. I will discuss whether or not those features are characteristics of interaction in formal conversation later in this chapter.

Table 4.6. Types of reactive tokens used by age group

	Types of reactive tokens	Group I Age 19-23 (n=10)	Group II Age 28-40 (n=10)	Group III Age 45-61 (n=10)	total	(%)	Pearson Correlation Analysis between age and types
1	Backchannels	122	246	321	689	42.9	r =.541, p =.002
2	Reactive expressions	11	26	31	68		
3	Repetition	0	2	4	6		
4	Collaborative finishes	0	1	0	1		
5	Resumtive opener	2	11	31	44		r=.575 p=.001
6	Laughter	14	14	6	34		
7	Short comment	1	3	4	8		
8	Paraphrasing	1	0	2	3		
9	Nods	338	265	148	751	45.7	
	Total	489	568	547	1604		

Table 4.7. Result of Tukey post hoc test of backchannels among age groups

	Group I Age 19 - 23	Group II Age 28 - 40	Group III Age 45 - 61
Group I	1.000		
Group II	0.0762	1.000	
Group III	0.0031*	0.3660	1.000

4.2.6. Types of backchannels used by each age group

Table 4.8 shows the types of backchannels used by each age group. The most frequently used token is *hai* 'yes', (397 times) for all age groups. 80.3% of backchannels

are *hai* for group I, 54.4% for group II, and 51.4% for group III. The second most frequent backchannel is *un* 'yeah', (137 times), which comprises 10.6% of backchannels for group I, 24.7% for group II, and 22.5% for group III.

As explained in chapter 3, hai is a formal form of un and normally used in formal contexts, such as toward the speaker with whom the listener is not acquainted or who has a higher status, or in classrooms, rather than chatting in everyday life. It is obvious that group I participants who are younger than the primary speaker, (researcher, age 41) choose the appropriate linguistic forms in the given context. Participants in group II and III appear to make their own judgement in the choice of the formal form, *hai* 'yes', or informal form, *un*, 'yeah'. It is reasonable to assume that many of the group II participants thought that the speaker and themselves were in the same generation so that they can use the less formal form, *un*, instead of *hai*. Group III participants make similar judgements about the speaker's age as shown in the results.

Table 4.8. Types of backchannels used by age groups

	Types of backchannels		Group I Age 19-23 (n=10)	Group II Age 28-40 (n=10)	Group III Age 45-61 (n=10)	total	Tukey post hoc test
1	*hai*	'yes'	98	134	165	397	n.s.
2	*un*	'uh	13	61	63	137	n.s
3	*ee*	'hum'	2	31	69	102	in table4.9
4	*aa*	'oh'	3	8	13	24	n.s
5	*haa*	'yeah'	2	3	10	15	n.s
6	*hee*		4	5	1	10	n.s
7	*huun*		0	4	0	4	n.s
8	*hoo*		0	0	0	0	n.s
			122	246	321	689	

The following excerpts show how *hai* 'yes', and *un*, 'yeah', are selected by group

I, II, and III. The first excerpt is taken from SH of group I. SH chooses *hai* 'yes', which is

the formal form and uses it only twice in line 4 and 6 of excerpt 4.4, accompanied with

nods. The researcher is talking about where she went for her own school trip, saying "For

example, since I was born and raised in Yamaguchi, I went to Kyushu when I was in

elementary school and went to Kyoto when I was in middle school". SH does not nod

except when accompanied with hai.

Excerpt 4.4: SH (group I: 19 years old)   *hai* 2 times

[Japanese]
1   Researcher: *tatoeba,*
                             for example,

2   Researcher: *watashi wa yamaguchi ken de umare sodatta node,*
                             I-TP Yamaguchi prefecture-in born   raised because

3   Researcher: *Shoogakkoo no toki wa kyuushuu e,*
                             Elementary school GEN time-TOPC Kyushu to

4   SH: *hai*(H)
                                                                      yes

5   Researcher: *chuugakko de wa kyooto e ikimashita.*
                             middle school-for-TP Kyoto-to went

6   SH: *hai*(H)
                                                        yes
7   Researcher:→   *de, eeto Tokyo de wa chigaun desu yo ne.*
                             and ah Tokyo-in-TP different BE   IP IP

8   SH: *Soo desu ne. Shoogakko wa Nikko e itte,*
                             So BE- IP elementary school-TP Nikko-to went

[English]
1.   RC: 'For example, I ah, was born in Yamaguchi and raised (there)so
2.   SH:
3.   RC: When (I was) in elementary school, (I went) to Kyushu
4.   SH: yes
5.   RM: When (I was) in middle school, (I)went to Kyoto but

6. SH: yes
7. RM: And, ah, (It is) different in Tokyo, right?
8. SH: Right. (I) went to Nikko,....

The second excerpt is from MD in group II. MD used only *un*, 'yeah', the informal form of yes 5 times in lines 2, 4, 6, and 9 of exerpt 4.5. MD did not use nods as RTs, either, except for those that accompany verbal RTs.

Excerpt 4.5: MD (group II: 39 years old)　　　　*un* 5 times

[Japanese]
1　　Researcher:　*tatoeba,*
　　　　　　　　for example,

2　　MD:　　　　　　　　*un*
　　　　　　　　　　　　yeah

3　　Researcher:　*watashi wa yamaguchi ken de umare sodatta node,*
　　　　　　　　　I-TP Yamaguchi prefecture-in born raised because

4　　MD:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*un*(H)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yeah

5　　Researcher:　*Shogakko no toki wa shugaku ryokyo de kyuushuu e itte,*
　　　　　　　　　Elementary school-of time-TP school trip-for Kyushu-to go

6　　MD:　　　　　　　　　　*un*　　　　　　　　　*un*(H)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yeah　　　　　　　　　yeah

7　　Researcher:　*chuugaku no toki wa, shinkansen de,*
　　　　　　　　　middle school-of time-TP Bullet train-by

8　　　　　　　　*kyooto e itta n desu kedo,*
　　　　　　　　　Kyoto-to went　but

9　　MD:　　　　　　　　　　*un* (H)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yeah

10　Researcher:　*kanto de wa chigau rashii desu ne.*
　　　　　　　　　Kanto-in-TP different seem BE IP

11　MD:　　　　　full turn

[English]

1. RC: For example
2. MD: yeah
3. RC: I ah, was born in Yamaguchi and raised (there)so
4. MD: yeah
5. RC: When (I was) in elementary school, (I) went to Kyushu for school trip
6. MD: yeah   yeah
7. 'RC: When (I was) in middle school by bullet train went to Kyoto but
8.
9. MD: yeah
10. RC: (It) seems different in Kanto area, right?
11. MD: FULL TURN

In excerpt 4.6, BS from group III used different kinds of RTs five times total and BS

reacts with a resumptive opener and reactive expression in line 4. *Un* 'yeah', in line 6

occurs repeatedly although they are considered as one occurrence. Repeated tokens,

reactive expression rather than backchannels, frequent RTs, and co-occurrence with nods

may be features from which the speaker can make an assumption regarding how

interested the listener is.

Excerpt 4.6: BS (group III: 47 years old)   5 RTs

1	Researcher:	*tatoeba,* For example,
2	Researcher:	*watashi wa ano yamaguchi ken de=* I-TOPIC Ah Yamaguchi prefecture in
3		*sodatta node,* raised because
4 →	BS:	*haa so desu ka* (H) 'yes. Is that so? (H)'
5	Researcher:	*Shoogakkoo no toki wa shugaku ryoko kyuushuu e itte,* Elementary school GEN time-TOPC school trip Kyushu to go-
6	BS:	un x2(H2) u=n (H)
7	Researcher:	*chuugaku de wa,* Then middle school for-TOPIC

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7	Researcher:	*shinkansen ni notte de kyooto e ittan desu kedo,*
		Bullet train ride Kyoto to go-PAST explain BE but
8	BS:	u=n (H)

9	Researcher:	*kanto de wa chigau rashii desu ne.*
		Kanto in-TOPIC different seem BE IP FP
10	BS:	Full turn

[English]
RC: For example
BS:
RC: I was born ah,in Yamaguchi and grew up (there)so
BS: yes, is that so
RC: When (I was) in elementary school, (I) went to Kyushu (for) school trip
BS: yeahx2   yeah
RC: When (I was) in middle school,
BS:
RC: (We) took a bullet train (and) went to Kyoto but
BS: yeah
RC: (It) seems different in Kanto area, right?'
BS: FULL TURN

If we contrast these three participants' behavior, SH in excerpt 4.5 uses the least RTs and the others use RTs with the same frequency but in different ways. The data provide evidence that the three listeners' behaviors influence the speaker's utterance in progress. The script that the researcher spoke was prepared in advance; however, the actual transcripts of the three excerpts differ in wording, pausing, intonation and so on, since it is not controllable--as a result, the transcription of SH is shorter than others.

For instance, line 10 of excerpt 4.5 and line 9 of excerpt 4.6 are connected to the previous utterances that end with kedo, 'but', or 'though.' However, in excerpt 4.4 utterance in line 5, which is the same phrase as in lines 10 and 9, is completed. In excerpt 4.4 the speaker uses the connectives, *(sore)de*, 'and', and a filler, which may show the speaker's difficulty in continuing to talk. Although it is preplanned instruction, it is also true that on-going instruction is affected by the listener's RT use. Lack of expected

continuers made the speaker complete the sentence at unplanned location. Whereas, the listening behavior of MD and BS appear to be more supportive and cooperative, so that the speaker can continue utterances without relinquishing the turn.

Other non-verbal features, such as gaze or facial expressions should be further examined to investigate the influence of listening behavior; however, the data in the present study present evidence that types and frequency of RTs affect the speaker's utterance and listeners also participate in the conversation indirectly by using the linguistic strategy of RTs.

The total number of *ee* 'yeah' used by all participants is less than hai and *un*. *Ee* is only used 2 times by group I speakers, whereas, it is used 31 times and 49 times by groups II and III, respectively. Pearson Correlation analysis shows that there is a positive correlation [r=.555, p=.001] between the number of *ee* and age. *Ee* is less formal than *hai* but more formal than *un* and the use of *ee* varies from person to person. ANOVA shows that use of *ee* is significantly different among age groups [F(2, 27)=4.42, p=.02]. Tukey post hoc test explains that the use of *ee* is significantly different between groups I and III (p=.016) but not between groups I and II (p=n.s.) or groups II and III (p=n.s.).

Table 4.9. Results of Tukey post hoc test of *ee* 'yeah' among age groups

	Group I Age 19-23	Group II Age 28-40	Group III Age 45-61
Group I	1.000		
Group II	0.4166	1.000	
Group III	0.0168*	0.2306	1.000

Also, although the number is very small, the token haa, which is a more formal

form of *hai* 'yes' (McGloin 1997) is used more frequently by older participants. In contrast, *hee* is not used by older participants. The difference in use of particular tokens might be caused by style preference according to age. The data in the present study does not allow one to generalize the age-related pattern since the data do not contain sufficient examples that account for this phenomenon.

The following excerpts illustrate how *ee* 'yeah', and *haa* 'yes', are used in the present study.

Example of *ee*

Excerpt 4.7: TZ (Group III: 53 years old) uses *ee* and *hai* 4 times each. [Japanese]

| 1 | Researcher: | *nani o shirabeteiruka wa,* |
| | | What OP examining-TP |

| 2 | Researcher: | *ima wa moshi agerare nai n desu kedo,* |
| | | Now-TP tell-NEG BE but |

| 3 | TZ: → | *ee ee* |
| | | yeah yeah |

| 4 | Researcher: | *naiyo toka,* |
| | | Content etc. |

| 5 | TZ: → | *ee* |
| | | yeah |

| 6 | Researcher: | *hyogen toka,* |
| | | Expression |

| 7 | TZ: | *hai* |
| | | yes |

| 8 | Researcher: | *kotoba zukai to iu youna koto o shirabete iru wake =* |
| | | Language use-QT say like NM-OP examining |

| 9 | TZ: → | *ee* |
| | | yeah |

| 10 | Researcher: | =*de wa nai node,* |
| | | TP NEG so |

| 11 | Researcher: | *ano ki ni nasara [nai de itsumo doori ni,* |
| | | Ah mind   NEG and ordinary way-in |

| 12 | TZ: | [*hai wakarimashita* |
| | | Yes I understood |

| 13 | Researcher: | *ohanashi shite itadakere ba kekko desu.* |
| | | Speak   if fine BE |

| 14 | TZ: | *hai*   *hai* |
| | | yes   yes |

[English]
1. RC: What (I am) studying,
2. RC: (I) can't tell you now but,
3. TZ: yeah yeah
4. RC: content or something,
5. TZ: yeah
6. RC: expressions or something,
7. TZ: yes
8. RC: I'm not examining things like the use of language =
9. TZ: yeah
10. RC: =(don't)so,
11. RC: please don't [mind too much and then as usual,
12. TZ: [yes I understand
13. RC: It is fine if you can talk (as usual).
14. TZ: yes   yes

TZ mixes *ee*, 'yeah' and *hai*, 'yes' and all instances of *ee* and *hai* are interchangeable, including ones in line 14 that function to show agreement. They are equivalent linguistically but If *hai* is used exclusively in the segment, it may give an impression of being more formal and rigid than those in which only ee is used. This softened, somehow feminine image that is attributed to *ee* might be the reason why *ee* is preferred by older female speakers of Tokyo standard Japanese over younger speakers.

Example of *haa*

Excerpt 4.8: SF (group III: 61 years old)
[Japanese]

1   Researcher: *tatoeba,*
    For example,

2   Researcher: *watashi wa,ano yamaguchi ken de umare sodatta node,*
    I-TP   Ah   Yamaguchi -in born raised because

3   SF: →   *haa*
    yes

4   Researcher: *Shoogakkoo no toki wa,*
    Elementary school-of time-TP

5   SF: H

6   Researcher: *ee kyuushuu e itte,*
    Ah Kyushu-to went-

7   SF: H

8   Researcher: *chuugaku no toki ni shinkansen de*
    middle school time-in Bullet train-by

9   SF: *ee*
    yeah

10   Researcher: *kyooto e ittan desu kedo,*
    Kyoto -to go-went BE but

11   SF: H

12   Researcher: *kanto de wa chigau n desu ne.*
    Kanto in-TP different   BE IP

13   SF: *aa so desu ka*
    oh so BE Q

[English]
1   RC: For example,
2   RC: I ah, was born in Yamaguchi and raised (there)so,
3   SF: yes
4   RC: When (I was) in elementary school,
5   SF: H

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6   RC: (I ) went to Kyushu,
7   SF:         H
8   RC: When (I was) in middle school by bullet train,
9   SF:                                yeah
10  RC:(I )went to Kyoto but',
11  SF:         H
12  RC: (It is ) different in Kanto area, isn't it?
13  SF: Oh, is that so
```

SF is among the oldest participants in the present study. Excerpt 4.8 shows that SF uses various forms of 'yes,' including *haa*. Since SF is older than the researcher and the conditions are identical to the other participants, there is no reason that she has to behave more politely than other participants by choosing a more formal 'yes'. The use of *haa* by this participant can be explained by individual preference.

4.3. Effects of interactional styles

In this section, I discuss how we can interpret the quantitative results which demonstrate variation in listening behavior among 30 participants. As the results from the previous sections suggest, listeners' behavior represented by the use of RTs varies in terms of the ratio of verbal and non-verbal RTs and types of tokens, but not in the total occurance of RTs that are perceived as listener feedback for the speakers, nor the contexts reacted by RTs. In other words, native female speakers of Japanese react to the speaker similarly if they are given the same context with one of the variations described in this chapter. The behavior must be governed by conversational rules that are shared in a speech community, i.e., the Japanese community in Japan.

In the following section I propose common interactional patterns and argue that variations in Japanese listening behavior can be explained through the "multidimensional

model" (Tannen 1993a) by showing how the results for formal conversation fit into the model.

4.3.1. Interactional styles

The results show that interactional styles of all participants can be divided into two types: (1) higher ratio of nods and lower ratio of verbal RTs; (2) lower ratio of nods and higher ratio of verbal RTs. The results also indicate that the two patterns are age graded. Figure 4.2 shows the frequency of nods, backchannels and verbal RTs that exclude backchannels.

Figure 4.3. Interactional styles
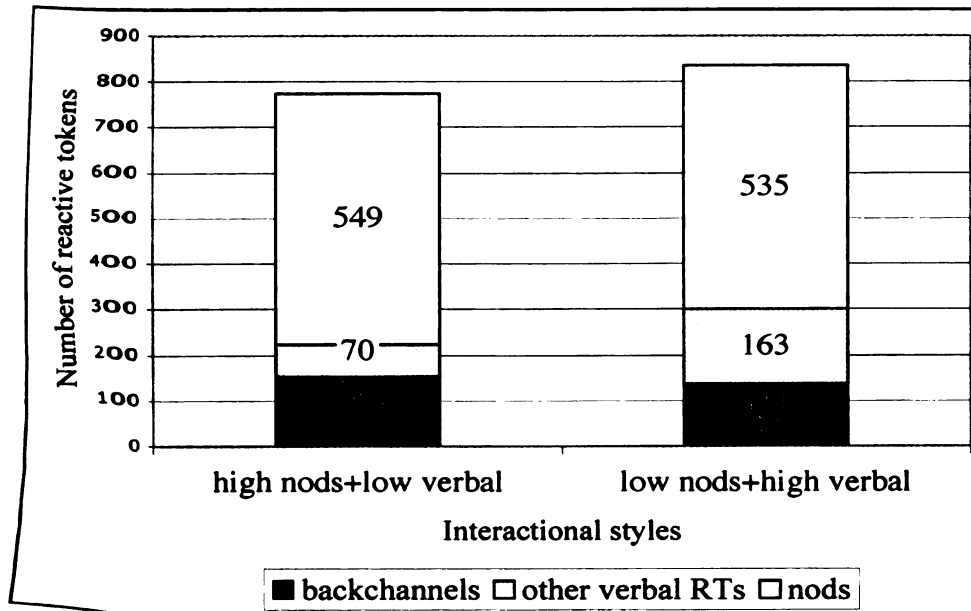
In the following section the interactional styles obtained in the present study will

be discussed in terms of social factors, such as age and closeness.

4.3.2. Variation of interactional styles

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that power and solidarity are fundmental to explain linguistic variations. Power governs asymmetrical relationship where one is higher than the other, while solidarity governs symmetrical relationship represented by social equality (Tannen 1993a) as we can see the use or non-use of *Keigo,* honorific forms to the addressee in Japanese.

According to Tannen (1993a), Americans conceptualize power and solidarity as opposite ends of a single continuum. In general, to Americans solidarity implies closeness, whereas power implies distance as manifested in the use of words such as "brother" or "sister" to express closeness (solidarity) and equality (power).

Tannen claims that solidarity is a form of control and could be performed by the interlocutor who has higher status. For instance, "Where's your coat?" can be interpreted as hierarchical relationship when it is addressed by female boss to male subordinate even though she intends to show her friendliness. Linguistic strategies involve ambiguity and polysemy because they can signal both power and solidarity.

Tannen proposes that to understand cross-cultural perspectives, a multidimentional grid of at least two intersecting continua is desirable with closeness-distance dimension on one axis and hierarchy-equality on another.

Figure 4.3 Intersecting dimensions of closeness/distance and hierarchy/equality.
(modified Tannen 1993a)

hierarchy

different generation +stranger

Japanese: employer - employee
Parent - child   [A]   [B]   American: employer - employee

closeness   ——————————————————————————— distance

[D]   [C]

same generation + stranger

Close friends
American: siblings
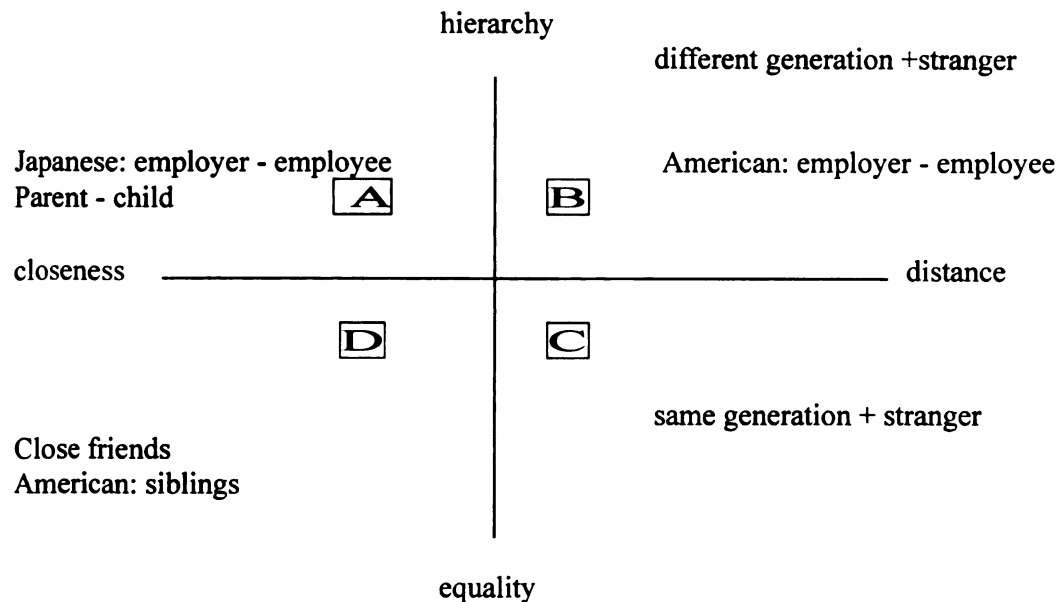
equality

In figure 4.3, power and solidarity are expressed in the intersecting dimensions. I name each dimension A, B, C, and D, clock wise for convenience. Tannen explains that American sibling relationship (close and equal) is placed in dimension D, while the Japanese relationship of *amae*, 'dependency' (close and hierarchical), typified by the parent-child or employer-employee (Yamada 1992) is placed in dimension A. Dimensions B and C on the right and dimensions A and D on the left are of an opposite nature with regard to solidarity.

Since the relationship between the researcher (speaker) and each participant (listeners) was not familiar at the time of data collection, each case should be placed on the right half of the solidarity continuum (distant). In addition, there is a power difference between the researcher and each participant attributed by age difference, situational role (giving instructions and receiving them), or institutional affiliation, so that they should be

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placed on the power continuum.

More specifically, the conversations between the researcher (41 years old) and participants in Group I (age 19-23) are plotted in dimension B, which is the most distant and involves a power relationship. Among group I participants, the psychological distance may vary by how they were recruited, for example, participants YG, OS, and SK were recruited through a professor of their university and others were students where the researcher was teaching. The first group of participants may be plotted in the right upper area, whereas the other might be located a little closer to the center on the solidarity axis.

The conversations with group II and group III are assumed to be distant but equal. Group II participants were younger than the researcher but since participants were not informed of the researcher's age, they must have assumed that the researcher was approximately the same generation. Therefore, group II participants should be placed toward the right of dimension C. Again, their psychological distance may vary according to their occupation, education or other factors.

Group III participants must be placed in the same dimension as group II because although in Japanese culture age is a significant factor influencing the choice of honorific expressions, it is reasonable to assume that the researcher may have had relative power over the participants who were mostly homemakers, considering her role in the context and social status.

The results show that there is age-graded variation in the balance of verbal RTs and nods. Namely, younger listeners tend to use fewer verbal RTs and more nods than older listeners although the total number of RTs is similar. In other words, the dimension B interaction is characterized by a greater ratio of nods and fewer verbal RTs influenced

by a hierarchical relationship. The difference in the ratio of verbal to nods among group I participants can be explained by the different degree of psychological distance from the researcher or other psychological factors. Nodding is likely to be used as a negative politeness strategy in a power relationship because nods are less direct and not intrusive.

On the other hand, participants who are of equal status use positive politeness strategy, verbal RTs, in order to be cooperative and supportive listeners and establish rapport. The dimension C interaction is more dynamic since listeners can adjust the distance by choosing more informal tokens, or by using substantial utterances such as paraphrasing, short comments, repetitions, etc. The fact that older participants used those tokens more often compared with younger is an evidence of "polysemy of power and solidarity" argued by Tannen (1993a).

In both dimensions, participants are actively engaged in the listener roles by sending message continuously to the speaker through different linguistic strategies.

4.4. Summary

This chapter presented the quantitative results for formal conversation which support hypotheses 1 and 2. Next, variations in the use of RTs in relation to the social variable of age were presented. In face-to-face interaction, age difference between participants is an important factor when other social contexts are similar. That is, younger listeners tend to use a more indirect strategy—nods—to be polite, whereas older listeners appear to use more direct strategies, such as verbal backchannels or other types of RTs.

The following chapter presents the analyses of informal conversation in which the same participants in formal conversation chat with their close friends.

CHAPTER 5

REACTIVE TOKENS OF INFORMAL CONVERSATION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the use of RTs in informal conversation between close friends. The focus will be not only on the frequency of RTs but also the interactional style of the informal conversations in which participants engage. The purpose of this chapter is to find characteristics in casual interaction such as chatting through quantitative and qualitative analyses. I explore how female speakers of Japanese interact with their close friends and comparision of the findings in informal with formal conversation will be presented in Chapter 6.

5.2. Quantitative results of informal conversation

This section first explains the data used as informal conversation data, and then presents quantitative analyses.

5.2.1. Data

The data consist of 13 dyadic conversations (20 minutes 26 seconds total). The length of one conversation segment varies from 52 seconds to 130 seconds. The participants, length of each segment and topics of segments are shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Lists of participants in informal conversation

	Group	Listener (speaker)	Age	Length of segment (sec)	Topic	Relationship between participants
1	I	OS (YG)	20	1'23" (83)	YG's school trip 'Vietnam'	Same university
2	I	SK (TM)	20	1'44" (104)	TM's school trip 'Canada'	Same university
3	I	SH (HW)	19	1'08" (68)	HW's school trip 'Food in Okinawa'	Same university
4	I	TY (TJ)	23	1'18" (78)	TJ's school trip 'Hokkaido'	Same university
5	I	TJ (TY)	22	1'30" (90)	TY's school trip 'argument during trip'	Same university
	Total			7'03" (423)		
6	II	MT (IN)	31	1'45" (105)	IN's school trip 'At the hotel in Kurashiki'	Graduate of the same HS
7	II	IN (MT)	31	2'10" (130)	MT's school trip 'Kurashiki'	Graduate of the same HS
8	II	HY (SZ)	37	2'05" (125)	SZ's school trip Food during the trip	Neighbor
9	II	SZ (HY)	39	52" (52)	HY's school trip	Neighbor
	Total			6'52" (412)		
10	III	KM (MM)	54	1'37" (97)	MT's school trip 'Climbing'	Same elementary school
11	III	ST (WB)	58	1'58" (118)	WB's private trip Former Yugoslavia	Same school
12	III	MR (AR)	58	1'33" (93)	AR's school trip 'Hokkaido'	Same church
13	III	AR (MR)	60	1'23" (83)	MR's school trip 'Hokkaido'	Same church
	Total			6'31" (451)		
	Grand total			20'26" (1226)		

A total of 20 minutes 26 seconds of speech was selected from 3 hours 45 minutes of data for analysis of informal conversations. In order to extract the segments for analysis, two units of conversation, *danwa*, 'discourse,' (Minami 1987) and *wadan* (Sakuma 1987; Szatrouski 1991), a smaller unit than danwa and close to 'Paratones' (Brown and Yule 1983) according to Sakuma (1987), were considered. Minami (1981) claims that *danwa* is identified by the following criteria: (a) pause; (b) continuity of content; (c) the same participants; (d) the same functions in communication; (e) the same level of formality; (f) similar nature of topics, such as everyday conversation, chat and gossip. Informal conversations in the present study were divided into parts by (b) and (c) according to Minami's definition.

The main topic of informal conversations in the present study was controlled in advance. That is, participants were told to talk about their memory of any of their school trips; however, if they didn't have any memory at all, they could talk about any trips they had taken. Therefore, (b) continuity of the topic signifies a specific episode or memory of a school trip that is told by speakers. Typically, it is distinguished by an opening by a speaker and ends with closing remarks. The middle part of *danwa* consists of several *wadan*.

After dividing conversations into smaller segments, 13 segments were selected under the following conditions: one topic covers the whole segment and the speaker engages in the conversation as the primary speaker, or as the primary information giver; the length of total segments is similar; the relationship between participants is similar among other participants in terms of age, closeness, and so on.

Table 5.1 provides information about the segments selected for analysis. Most of

the segments are about episodes from the speakers' school trip when they were in high school, except for segment 11 in which a speaker talked about a trip to Yugoslavia. Although the relationship between speakers and listeners was planned to be similar such that all participants were asked to bring their close friends with them, the conversations, especially in older groups, exhibited differences in the nature of closeness. Therefore, among 15 pairs, those whose age was not close--that is, the same age or an age difference of less than five years--and whose workplace is the same, were excluded because we could expect that the hierarchical relationship at work may influence their interaction invisible ways.

Five segments of conversation between 19 and 23 year olds were chosen and four segments each were selected from group II and group III for the following reason: the researcher's intent was to make the total length of segments similar among the three groups for comparison. However, the younger participants tended to have shorter speech segments than older participants. Thus, five segments were chosen for analysis.

5.2.2. Quantitative results

Table 5.2 presents the total number of verbal RTs and nods used by all participants. Participants used RTs 414 times in total, which consists of 368 verbal RTs and 46 nods. The percentages of verbal RTs and nods are 88.9% and 11.1%, respectively. There is a striking difference between formal conversation and informal conversation in the ratio of verbal RTs and nods. In formal conversation (see chapter 4), 52% of the total RTs are verbal and 48% are nods. These results indicate that a great number of RTs are verbal in informal conversations.

Table 5.2. Results of reactive tokens by all participants (n=13)

	Group	listener ID	Age	Tokens of Verbal RTs	Tokens of Non-verbal RTs, nods	Total of RTs	Occurrence Per minute
1	I	YG	19	31	6	37	26.7
2	I	SH	19	19	2	21	12.1
3	I	SK	21	24	4	28	24.7
4	I	TJ	22	25	5	30	23.0
5	I	TY	23	15	2	17	11.3
6	II	IN	31	34	2	36	20.6
7	II	MT	31	16	3	19	8.8
8	II	HY	37	35	2	37	17.8
9	II	SZ	39	14	11	25	29
10	III	KM	54	34	2	36	22.3
11	III	ST	58	55	0	55	27.9
12	III	MR	58	27	5	32	20.6
13	III	AR	60	39	2	41	29.6
	total			368 (88.9%)	46 (11.1%)	414	Ave. 21.1/min

The occurrence of total RTs per minute is calculated in table 5.2 to make a comparison with the formal conversation. The average of total occurrence of RTs is 21.1 times per minute in informal conversation, while it is 26.4 times per minute in formal conversation. The lower occurrence of nods may partly explain why the average of RTs per minute is lower in casual conversation than formal one.

5.2.3. Reactive tokens by age group

The following table shows verbal RTs and nods used by each age group. A Pearson correlation indicates that age and verbal RTs have a positive correlation [r=.629], but unlike formal conversation, age and nods do not have a correlation. The occurrence of

total RTs per minute shows that participants in group III use RTs most frequently (25.1 per minutes), whereas participants of group I and II use RTs in similar frequency (19.6 per minutes and 19.0 per minutes).

Table 5.3. Verbal and non-verbal reactive tokens used by age groups (n=13)

	Group I Age 19-23 (n=5)	Group II Age 31-39 (n=4)	Group III Age 54-60 (n=4)	total	
Length of total segments (sec)	424	412	391	1227	
Verbal reactive tokens	114 16.1 / min	99 14.4 / min	155 23.7 / min	368 17.9 / min	r=.629
Non-verbal reactive tokens (nods)	19 2.6 / min	18 2.6 / min	9 1.3 / min	46 2.2 / min	
Total	133 18.8 / min	117 17.0 / min	164 25.1 / min	414 20.2 / min	

5.2.4. Types of reactive tokens by age

The results show an overall effect of age on the choice of RTs by respondents. Age and total number of backchannels have a strong strong positive correlation and reactive expressions and resumptive openers have a relatively positive correlation, also. However, laughter and age have a negative correlation, which may be important in understanding the nature of interaction among younger people.

Table 5.4. Age groups and types of reactive tokens in informal conversation

	Types of reactive tokens	Group I Age 19-23 (n=5)	Group II Age 31-39 (n=4)	Group III Age 54-60 (n=4)	Total	Correlation
1	Backchannels	50	44	92	186	r=+.6766
2	Reactive expressions	18	15	23	56	r=+.497
3	Repetition	9	5	5	19	
4	Collaborative finishes	6	6	5	17	
5	Resumptive openers	14	10	25	49	r=+.499
6	Laughter	10	15	2	27	r=-.424
7	Short comments	4	4	2	10	
8	Paraphrasing	3	0	1	4	
9	Nods	19	18	9	46	n.s.
	Total	133	117	164	414	

5.2.5. Types of backchannels used by age group

The types and frequency of the backchannels used by each group are displayed in table 5.5. Participants in groups I and II used *un*, 'yeah' which is the most informal form of 'yes,' exclusively, while group III participants used *hai*, 'yes' 4 times, *un*, 'yeah' 2 times, and *ee*, 'yeah'--which is less formal than *hai* but more formal than *un*--40 times in informal conversation. Since we have already observed that *ee* is used more frequently by group III participants in the formal conversation, we can say that ee is preferred as a less formal form of yes by the older female speakers who speak Tokyo standard.

Table 5.5. Types of backchannels used by age groups

	Types of backchannels		Group I Age 19-23 (n=5)	Group II Age 31-39 (n=4)	Group III Age 54-60 (n=4)	Total
1	*hai*	'yes'	0	0	4	4
2	*un*	'uh hum'	43	32	2	97
3	*ee*	'oh'	0	0	40	40
4	*aa*	'yeah'	1	5	18	24
5	*haa*		0	0	2	2
6	*hee*		2	6	6	14
7	*huun*		3	0	0	3
8	*hoo*		1	1	0	2
			50	44	92	186

Figure 5.1 shows how the ratio of backchannels and the total of other verbal RTs and nods used by all participants differ in formal and informal conversations.

Figure 5.1. The ratio of RTs used in formal and informal conversation
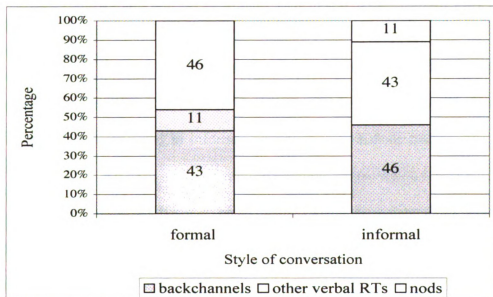
The most prominent difference between the two styles is the ratio of other verbal RTs, which is approximately half of the total verbal RTs in informal conversation, and

nods, which are fairly lower than the formal setting. Since we have already discussed non-verbal features, the following section will focus on verbal RTs in informal conversation, and discuss what other verbal RTs consist of and how they are used in the actual data, in order to uncover the characteristics of chatting between friends.

5.3. Characteristics of female friend talk

The earlier section of this chapter discusses listeners' participation through RTs, including verbal and non-verbal types, but does not analyze the segments in which listeners take full turns, nor consider speakers' utterances that facilitate listeners' cooperative behavior. In order to understand the structure of casual informal conversation, it is necessary to take a closer look at the actual interaction at the discourse level, not the sentence level.

This section discusses how verbal RTs are used by listeners and are related to one another in the contexts by introducing the notion of 'assessment strategy' (Strauss and Kawanishi 1996). The remainder of this section gives an overview of other interactional characteristics observed in informal conversations, such as interruption, overlapping, listeners' questions, and use of masculine/feminine forms, which function to show interest and establish solidarity between participants. Lastly, three commonly observed listening behaviors in informal conversation will be proposed.

5.3.1. Assessment strategies

Straus and Kawanishi (1996) argue that Japanese listeners frequently use assessment expressions in various forms, which allows listeners to show affect toward

speakers and participate in the speaker's on-going talk to co-construct the conversation with the primary speaker. They define assessments (1996: 150) as 'an interactive activity which involves the expressed evaluation of some entity, event, situation, or state,' and classify them into three types of expressions: (1) expressions of agreement such as *soo soo* soo 'right,' *hai* 'yes' ; (2) expressions of emotion/affect such as *demo sore wa hidoi jan?* 'but, that's awful, isn't it,' *sugoi desu* ne 'how terrible,' (3) extreme case expressions such as expressions of non-literal totality such as *minna* 'everybody,' *zenzen* 'not at al,' or onomatopoeic expressions.

Straus and Kawanishi's findings show instances that empathy between participants is achieved directly by using different assessment strategies, and their notion accounts for the characteristics of informal conversation of the present study. The rest of this section will investigate assessment strategies used in the present study.

5.3.1.1. Types of assessment strategies in the present study

In the present study assessment expressions are categorized in one of the following subcategories of RTs: that is reactive expressions such as *soo*, 'it is so,' *sugoi*, 'great, or awful,' backchannels, *hai*, 'yes,' repetitions, short comments if it is a longer phrase such as *sore wa sugoi ne*, 'that is great, isn't it,' and paraphrases. The following is a list of assessment expressions used during a total of 20 minutes 26 seconds of conversation by 13 participants.

There are a total of 182 verbal RT tokens besides backchannels (186) in the informal conversation data: 56 tokens of reactive expressions, 19 repetitions, 17 collaborative finishes, 49 resumptive openers, 10 short comments, and 4 paraphrases. Not

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all are assessment expressions, however; as pointed out in Straus and Kawanishi, Japanese is rich in assessments compared with English and Korean, thus, we can expect relatively great amounts of these in the present data.

Resumptive openers are turn initial backchannels that are followed by full turns or other RTs such as reactive expressions. Resumptive openers are used 49 times out of 414 RTs (12%) in 20 minutes 26 seconds of informal conversation, compared to 61 out of 1528 RTs (3.9 %) in 60 minutes of formal conversation data. The frequent occurrence of resumptive openers (approximately 2.3 times more) in informal conversation can be explained by the fundamental difference in interactional style between the two types. The following is a list of assessment expressions used in the present study.

There are ten tokens of reactive expressions, which signal listeners' acknowledgement of the speaker's utterance through variations of so types and other substantial utterances such as *sugoi* 'great,' *yokatta* '(it was) good,' and *honto* 'really.' Reactive tokens often follow resumptive openers, which are vocalic sounds as in (2) below. The utterances with resumptive openers can express stronger emotion than those that are not associated with resumptive openers. Also, utterances associated with resumptive openers tend to appear as interruptions or overlapping the primary speakers' utterances.

(1) reactive expressions

so 'right'
so da yo ne '(it is) right, isn't it'
sugoi yo ne '(it's) good, isn't it'
sugooi 'fantastic'
sugoi n desho 'great, isn't it'

so desu ne '(it is) right'
sugo i ii ne 'very good, isn't it'
so da ne 'right'
yokatta '(that) was good'
honto 'really'

(2) resumptive opener + reactive expression

iyaa kowai 'no (it's) scary'   *a sugoine* 'oh great,isn't it?'
a soo 'oh it is so'   *a soo desu ka* 'oh it is so'
a soo na no 'oh is that so?'   *aa soo de shoo ne* 'oh it would be so, right?'
a soo nan da 'it is so'   *ara sore wa ii wa* ne ' that is nice,isn't it?'
aa ii desu yo ne 'oh it is good, isn't it?'   *maa shikata nai* 'well, it can't be helped'
iyaa natsukashi   'oh I miss it'   *haa naruhodo ne* ' well, I see'

(3) collaborative finishes

ikenain dayo ne, " (it) isn't right, is it"

(4) repetition

naiteru no "Is (she) crying"
nai chau n da "(she) cries"

(5) backchannels

waa 'wow'   hoo 'oh well'

(6) short comment

omoshiroi 'intersting'
de cha ikenai n da yo 'You are not allowed to go out'
sore mo bikkuri dana 'that's also surprising, isn't it'

5.3.1.2. Complex assessment sequences

Straus and Kawanishi also introduce the concept of 'complex assessment sequences,' which are intricate turn constructions resulting from participants' repetitions or echoing and collaborative finishes. They claim that intricate sequences that do not have a distinction between the primary speaker and listener are not seen in English or Korean discourse. The following is an example from Straus and Kawanishi (1996).

Excerpt 5.1: Repetition/echoing taken from Straus and Kawanishi (1996: 160)

[English version of (14)]

1	Hide:	That {fire storm} wasn't small, right?
		Since there was a lot of damage, wasn't there?
2	Ai:	Yes
3	Hide:	And then, what's worse is if it doesn't rain, then
		We'll have a water shortage, right?
4	Ai:	We'll have a water shortage, and hh? since here, it is
		originally, right?
5	Hide:	Originally, it is a desert, right?
6	Ai:	It is a desert and it is like people force the desert into a livable
		place.
7	Hide:	Right, right, right, yeah, yeah

Excerpt 5.2: collaborative finishes taken from Straus and Kawanishi (1996:162)

[English version of (15)]

1	Hide:	...( ) But, in Japan, the panic is terrible, right?
2	Ai:	pa[nic]?
3	Hide:	[the kind] after the earthquakes.
		N, well, trains and things stop, right?
4	Ai:	(H) Right [right].
5	Hide:	[and then] a<[[commuting, or
6	Ai:	[[(compared to) here, a little
7	Hide:	=well, (compared to) here also, right.
8	Ai:	we[:ll, the freeway is..a little
9	Hide	[well, now, commuting is, the freeway {is}
10	Ai:	fell [down, so]
11	Hide:	[cut down] so,
12	Ai:	Yes. It is terrible, right? (H) but, well<
13	Hide:	but, see, (that) was good, right?, because (it happened) in the
		morning, at four [thirty, right?
14	Ai:	[(H) I think [[(so)
15	Hide:	[[IF
		[that (happened) around now {in the afternoon},
16	Ai:	[=that (happened) in the evening<
17	Hide:	now [[or something<
18	Ai:	[at rush hour [like five o'clock ha ha
19	Hide:	[right, right, right
		Rush hour - five o'clock in the evening
20	Ai:	ha haha haha ha

In the present study 'complex assessment sequences' are also a common

phenomenon among all age group participants. Excerpt 5.3 is an example from HY (37

year old)--listener, and SZ (39 year old)--the primary speaker in this segment.

Exerpt 5.3: SZ talks about an episode during her school trip for which she brought a loaf of bread and margarine in her suitcase for a snack. After SZ 's story, HY asks questions how SZ packed it in her bag.

[Japanese]
1	HY:	*Soo iu no ni shoku pan iretetta no.*	
		That NM-P bread put Q	
2	SZ:	*Soo*	
		right	
3	HY:	*ikkin janaku te.*	
		One loaf NEG	
4	SZ:	*Demo chichame no.*	
		But small NM	
5→	HY:	*Chicchame no*	repetition
		small NM	
6→	SZ:	*Ano te de chigireru [kuraino*	overlapping
		ah finger with tear NM	
7	HY:	[*Wakaru kedo domo hutsuu* =	
		understand but normally	
8	HY:	*nimotsu de gyuu gyuu zume ni suru kara nanka* =	
		stuff with packed because	
9	HY:	*maagarin toka mo tokedashi soo nandakedo,*	
		Margarine something also melt seem though	
10	SZ:	*Heeki datta.*	collaborative
		all right BE	
11	HY:	*Heeki dattanda.*	repetition
		all right BE	
12→	SZ:	*Jiki ga [yokatta.*	overlapping
		season SB good	
13	HY:	[*demo komo konara oyamo oya dane.*	
		But child also child if parent also parent BE IP	
14	SZ:	*Ee demo zettai ne,*	
		No but absolutely IP	
15→	HY:	*Seikaidatta*	collaborative
		right BE	
16	SZ:	*un*	
		yeah	

[English]
| 1 | HY: | Did you put bread in that kind (of bag)? |
| 2 | SZ: | (It is) so. |

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3		HY:	Not a loaf (of bread)?	
4		SZ:	But it was kind of small one.	
5	→	HY:	kind of small one	repetition
6	→	SZ:	Well, kind of small that it can be pulled apart with fingers	
7		HY:	[I understand but normally	overlapping
8		HY:	A bag is packed with stuff so	
9		HY:	Margarine and something would start melting but	
10		SZ:	It was all right	collaborative
11		HY:	It was all right	repetition
12	→	SZ:	The season was [good	overlapping
13		HY:	[But	
14		SZ:	but (it was) definitely, you know	
15	→	HY:	was right	collaborative
16		SZ:	yeah	

HY asks the question, 'Did you put bread in that kind of one (suitcase)?, in line 1 and ' Also, it is not a loaf (of bread)?' in line 3 to confirm what she has heard. SZ in line 4 explains that the bread was kind of small so she could pull it apart with her fingers. In 5 HY responds by repeating the information, 'kind of small,' and in 7 HY interrupts SZ's utterance by saying 'I know but normally (it is) packed with stuff....,' in 7-9. In 10 SZ concludes HY 's utterance by saying *heikidatta* 'it was all right.' HY repeats the phrase in 11. When SZ continues her turn, adding the reason why it was OK, *jikiga yokatta* ' the season was good.' HY again talks along with SZ by commenting about what SZ did in 13. SZ takes her turn back from HY in 14 and says, ' Well, but definitely' and in 15 HY finishes SZ's utterance with '(it was) right' and SZ agrees.

5.3.2. Other characteristics

5.3.2.1. Non-primary speakers' questions

According to Tannen (1984), New York Jewish residents tend to ask short questions to show their enthusiasm and interest but such an interactional style is not

expected by participants who don't share the cultural background and may be misunderstood. Questions uttered by non-primary speakers do not always ask for speakership, but are stylistic devices to encourage the speakers to keep talking. The linguistic forms of such listener questions are characterized as (1) high pitch, (2) rapid rate, (3) fast pacing, (4) reduced syntactic forms, and (5) directness of content. They latch onto the preceding utterances so there may be silence between the questions and prolonged answers, which there may not exist between adjacency pairs (Sacks, Jefferson, and Schegloff 1974).

Similar kind of interactions are observed in the present data in which non-primary speakers ask questions to the primary speakers and sometimes their questions interrupt the speaker's utterance or sometimes overlap the speakers. These phenomena are seen in all age groups of participants, suggesting that they are not age related but related to individual preference and formality of conversation. The following is an example taken from a conversation by Group I participants

Exerpt 5.4: When HW (19 years old, primary speaker) talks about her school trip to Okinawa, SH (19 years old, listener) asks questions abruptly and the topic is shifted to the food in Okinawa.

[Japanese]

1→   SH: *E nani tabetano.*   question 1
              what ate-IP

2→   SH: *Nani tabetano. Okinawa.*   question 2
              what ate-IP   Okinawa

3   HW: *Ano nee,*
              Well-IP

4→   SH: *Goya tabe ta*   question 3 (interruption)
              goya ate

5   HW: *Tabeta.*
              I ate (it).

6   HW: *Demo goya tte ttara kono hen nimo hutsuu ni aru desho.*

But goya QT said if this area-in normally BE TAG

7   HW: *ano nigauri desho,*
          Ah   nigauri TAG

8   SH: *un*
                    yeah

9→   SH: *oishii?*   question4
          tasty

10   HW: *a mazui.* {   }
          Um awful {   }

11   SH: *a soo* {   }
              It is so {   }

12   SH: *Anmari kyoomi nakatta n da.*
          Much   interested NEG

13   HW: *Arewa ne tabekata ni yoru ne.*
          That-IP how to eat depend on-IP

14   HW: *Dakara tamani shokutaku ni noruno. Uchi.*
          So   occasionally dinner table-on appear my home

15→   SH: *Goya ga*   question5
          goya-SB

16   HW: *Goya. [ano kisetsu dato.*
          Goya [um, season BE when

17→   SH: [(?)   overlapping

18   HW: *Un chikakkuni ne, budoya, budo en ga aruno.*
          Yeah near-IP   grape farm grape farm-SB BE-IP

19   HW: *Chotto kuruma de ikuto.*
          Short car-by go if

20   HW: *Soko de goya tsukutte te*
          There   goya grow

21→   SH: *Nande budoo en de goya tsukutte n no.* {   }   question 6
          why grape farm-in goya grow-IP

22   HW: {   }

23   HW: *Yasai tsukuru janai.*
          Vegetable grow TAG

24   SH: *un*
                   yeah

25   HW: *Budo en dakedo yasai mo tsukutte mitaina tokoro de,*
          grape farm BE but vegetable also grow kind of place BE

26   SH: *un*
                   yeah

27   HW: *de goya, goya katte kun no.*
          Then goya goya buy-IP

28   SH: *un*
                 yeah

[English]

1   →   SH: What did you eat?   question 1

2   →   What did you eat in Okinawa?   question 2

3		HW:	Well, you know	
4	→	SH:	Did you eat goya?	question 3 (interruption)
5		HW:	I ate (it).	
6			But speaking of goya, we can get it around here easily.	
7			Ah it is nigauri, isn't it?	
8		SH:	yeah	
9	→	SH:	Does it taste good?	question 4
10		HW:	Um , (it tasts) awful { }	
11		SH:	It is so { }	
12		SH:	Because you weren't interested in that much.	
13		HW:	It depends on how to eat	
14		HW:	Because occasionally we have it on the dinner table, my home (I mean).	
15	→	SH:	(You mean) goya?	question 5
16		HW:	Goya, when it is in season.	
17	→	SH:	[(?)	overlapping
18		HW:	Yeah near my house you know, there is a grape farm,	
19		HW:	If we drive a few minutes.	
20		HW:	(They are) growing goyas there.	
21	→	SH:	Why is a grape farm growing goya?	question 6
22		HW:	{ }	
23		HW:	They grow vegetables, don't they?	
24		SH:	yeah	
25		HW:	They have grape farm but also grow vegetables, too	
26		SH:	yeah	
27		HW:	So goya, (we) go and buy goya.	
28		SH:	yeah	

In excerpt 5.4, SH repeats the same question in lines 1 and 2 at a fast rate without giving a space to HW to answer between them. Her questions are reduced forms that do not contain the particle *o* that marks direct objects. HW starts speaking by using a filler, *ano nee* 'well, you know' in 3 but it is interrupted by SH's question, 'did you eat *goya*?' HW answers SH's question and continues her utterance about the new topic posted by SH, *goya*, a vegetable that is famous as regional food of Okinawa, so we don't know what HW tried to say in 3. HW responds that *goya* is not very special because we can buy it in Tokyo, using tag questions. SH utters a backchannel, *un*, 'yeah' whose function is not clear since it can be interpreted as an agreement or a continuer and asks another latched

short question, *oishii* '(does it taste) good?' about the vegetable in 9. HW answers her quickly saying, *mazui* 'awful' and both chuckle. SH comments in a full turn in 12, showing satisfaction that her questions about *goya* were answered.

Then HW starts explaining why it tastes bad by saying that the dish occasionally appears for dinner at her home in 13 and 14. SH asks another latched question to confirm what HW has just said in 15. HW answers in 16 and continues her utterance that is supposed to follow 14 but SH talks along with HW this time in 17 in which what she says is not clear. HW continues her utterance in 18-20 to explain how her family get *goya* from a farm which also owns a grape farm and SH again interrupt HW's utterance by asking a question, 'why does a grape farm grow *goya*? in 21. HW explains why and concludes her story of how her family purchases *goya* in Tokyo.

Although in excerpt 5.4 SH, the listener, keeps asking questions 6 times, SH does not intend to hold the floor by asking questions. SH asks questions related to the previous utterance and lets the speaker answer but she does not talk about the topic that she introduced by herself except for the comment in 12. SH actually has only non-floor-taking turns 4 times that consist of reactive expressions, *a soo* 'oh is that so,' and backchannels, *un* 'yeah.' This interaction does not present 'complex assessment sequences' (Straus and Kawanishi 1996) since it does not contain any repetition nor collaborative finishes; thus, it is clear that HW is the primary speaker talking about the vegetable goya and SH plays an enthusiastic listener role.

What makes the interaction between SH and HW remarkable is the use of questions by SH, the listener. It should be noted that in the present study that such questions by the listener are not considered RTs so that the analyses of RTs do not explain

the interactional styles associated with listeners' questions.

5.3.2.2. Interruptions and overlapping

According to Goodwin (1986), assessments in English often appear while the primary speakers are talking, while backchannels tend to appear at grammatical and intonational completion. It suggests that English allows simultenious talk for assessments. Unlike English, in Japanese, interruption and overlapping are considered to have positive meanings (Hinds 1982). In the data of the present study, overlappings are seen more often in informal conversations than formal conversations, as we have seen in the two college students conversation in excerpt 5.4 where the listener interrupts the speaker by asking questions. Excerpt 5.5 is an example in which the listener interrupts the speaker's utterance but the speaker continues her utterance after interruption.

Exerpt 5.5: TY (speaker, 23 years old) tells a story about a friend who became emotional and cried at night. TJ (listener, 23 years old) interrupts while listening to the story by telling TY about her trip and commenting.

[Japanese]
1   TY: *Nanka tomodachi toka sugoi kamatte hoshii tomodachi toka=*
         You know friends or something very much attention want friend or something
2   TJ: *un*
                                       Yeah
3   TY: = *zenzen kamatte kurenakute nan nano yo mitai na kanji de=*
         At all don't care about me what BE-IP like
4   TY: = *sugoi naiteru ko toka ite*
         a lot cried girl or something BE
5   TJ: *naite n no* {   }   repetition
                               Crying-IP
6   TY: *doshiyo doshiyo toka itte, minna de* [
         what should I do or something said everyone [
7→   TJ: [*gomen sonna atsuku nakatta Uchi wa nanka itatte* interruption
         [Sorry that emotional BE NEG We TP kind of just
8   TY: {   }   *Hutsu datta*

```
                                                          Normal BE
                                                          Collaborative finishes
9        TJ:                                                   un
                                                              yeah

10       TY: Sono toki wa chotto tomadotta [kedo
             at the time-TP a little  confused  but
11       TJ:                              aa
                                          Uh-hum
12 →     TJ: [A, hobo zentai kodo datta karakana. Kobetsude guruupu de=
             [Well, almost always a big group BE because  smaller group-in=
                                                              interruption
13       TJ: =toka anma nakatta.
             = or something  had NEG
14       TY: Yoru toka
             night  like
15       TJ:        A, yoru toka                    repetition
                    Oh, night like
16       TY: Yado ni modotte kite, 5nin guruupu toka son nan de
             Hotel-to return     5 person group      like  that BE
17       TJ:                                         Naichaunda
                                                     Cries
                                                     Collaborative finishes
18       TY: Naichatte tayo. Sono ko ga atsui kara kamoshirenai kedo.
             Cried        .that   girl-SB emotional  because  maybe      but
19       TJ:                                             un
                                                        yeah
```

[English]

```
1        TY: You know, I have kind of friend who wants (my) attention very much,
2        TJ:                                      yeah
3        TY: saying you know like ' what on earth, why you don't care about me at
             all'
4        TY: She kind of cried a lot
5        TJ:                  crying                    repetition
6        TY: I say like, 'what should I do, what should I do,' [
7 →      TJ: [Sorry but we were not that emotional. We were like just   interruption
8        TY:       {    }                                  Normal
                                                          Collaborative finishes
9.       TJ:                                                yeah
10.      TY: I was confused a little at the time, [though
11.      TJ:                              uh-hum
12 →     TJ: [Well, maybe it is because we went almost always as a big group. We
13           didn't have you know a chance to be in smaller group. interruption
14       TY: Like at night
15       TJ:      Oh, like at night                      repetition
16       TY: (When we ) return to the hotel, we have like 5 members
```

```
17    TJ:                                                          (she) cries
                                                     Collaborative finishes
18    TY: She did cry. Maybe it is because that girl is emotional but
19    TJ:                                                              yeah
```

TY tells a story about an episode to TJ and TJ interrupts TY's utterance in 7 by saying 'I'm sorry but we were not that emotional (but we were just),' and in 8 TY collaboratively finishes TJ's utterance, saying *futsu data* 'was normal.' TJ's interrupts because she is so enthusiastic that she can not wait until TY finishes. TY doesn't mind actually but TY co-participates in TJ's utterance by taking her turn back in 8 and she completes TJ's utterance and keeps telling her story in 10.

TJ interrupts in 12 again when TJ starts giving reasons for why she did not have an incident like TY. TY does not talk along with TJ but continues her previous story about her friend who cried, after TJ's interruption. TY does not answer TJ but just continues her previous utterance in 10, 'I was confused a little at the time... (interruption)...like at night (when we) return to the hotel, we have like five members in our group......' Then TJ collaboratively finishes in 17.

What is going on in this conversation is that TJ's interruptions do not disturb TY's floor much since TY sometimes ignores, or acknowledges them, but takes her turn back from TJ. TJ's interruptions are not intended to claim the floor or control the topic because when her comments are mostly ignored, she does not insist on keeping her turn, rather she gives up easily. Therefore, her interruptions are a strategy demonstrating her involvement in TY's story as a listener.

5.3.2.3. Use of particle *ne*

Speakers' use of ne functions as a facilitator of listener response (Uyeno 1971; Maynard 1989; Tanaka 2000). The particle *ne* is more often observed in informal conversations than in formal in the present study. This can be explained by the nature of conversation in informal settings-informal conversations are chats between close friends and their main purpose is thought to be to establish rapport.

Excerpt 5.6: TM (21 years old, primary speaker) talks about her school trip to Canada to SK (20 years old, listener).

[Japanese]

```
1        TM: Sorega nanka nagai=
             That-SB like long
2        SK:                      un un un un
                                  Yeah yeah yeah yeah
3        TK: nanka kenshu mitaina
             kind of training (trip) like
4        SK:                      un un
                                  Yeah yeah
5        TK: kanjide= kanada itta.
             Like    Canada went
6        SK: Ryoko tte kanji janain da.
             Trip  QT like . NEG  BE
7→       TK: Soda ne. Demo nanka [dakara nanka
             right-IP But  like  so    like
8→       SK:                      [ee sugoi ii ne.          assessment + ne
                                  Wow, very nice-IP
9→       TK:                                   ne        ne
                                                IP
10→      SK:                                         sugoi ne.     assessment + ne
                                                     great- IP
11       TK: Shiritsu dakara ne.                                   ne
             private school so - IP
12       SK:                      un un un un
                                  Yeah yeah yeah yeah
13       TK: Joshi ko dashi ne.                                    ne
             girl's school BE- IP
14→      SK:         Sugoi yo ne.                      assessment + ne
                     good – IP  IP
```

[English]

```
1        TM:     It was like long
2        SK:              Yeah yeah yeah yeah
3        TK:     Like kind of training (trip)
4        SK:                         Yeah yeah
5        TK:     Like (I) went to Canada.
6        SK:     (It) isn't like a trip.
7   →    TK:     (It isn't) so, right. But like [that is why like
8   →    SK:                                     [Wow, very nice, isn't it?
                                                        assessment + ne
9   →    TK:                             It is.              ne
10  →    SK:                     (It is) great, isn't it?    assessment+ ne
11  →    TK:     Because (it is) a private school, you know.  ne
12       SK:                         Yeah yeah yeah yeahTJ
13  →    TK:     (And it is ) a girl's school, you know.      ne
14  →    SK:                     (It is ) good, isn't it?    assessment+ne
```

In excerpt 5.6, TK says that she went to Canada when she was in high school and that impresses SK very much. SK gives assessment expressions such as, 'it is nice,' 'it is great,' and agreement, 'yeah yeah,' repeatedly. In particular, the interaction in lines 7-14 between TK and SK is marked by the interactional particle *ne* that in this context has the function of showing that the listener is strongly involved in the conversation and is impressed by the story. TK's use of interactional particle *ne* has the function of facilitating listener's response and rapport. This echo-like effect is a strategy to show 'camaraderie' in Lakoff's sense (1975).

The interaction in the next excerpt is different from excerpt 5.6 because the particle *ne* is used only by WB, the speaker, but not by ST, the listener.

Excerpt 5.7: WB (speaker: 54 years old) explains why she traveled to Yugoslavia to ST (listener: 58 years old).

[Japanese]
1   ST: *Nande Yugo ni irashita no.*
                 why   Yugo to went-IP
2   →   WB: *A sorewa ne. ano tamatama watashi no ie no imano ne*

		um that-TP-IP um coincidently my house of now	
3	ST:		*un*
			yeah
4	WB:	*sunderu uchino*
		living house
5	ST:	*un*
		yeah
6 →	WB:	*chikaku ga Yugosurabia taishikan ga ne. atte ne.* *ne*
		near-SB Yugoslav embassy-SB - IP BE- IP
7	ST:	*aa*
		ah
8	WB:	*Sokono taishikanin to warito nakayoku natte,*
		that embassy person with relatively close become
9	ST:	*aa aa*
		Uh-hum uh-hum
10	WB:	*de sono kata ga iru uchi ni ,*
		Then the person-SB BE while
11	ST:	*aa aa*
		Uh-hum
12 →	WB:	*maa Yugo ni ne [kaette ne,* *ne*
		I mean Yugoslavia-in-IP return-IP
13	ST:	[*aa aa*
		Uh-hum uh-hum
14	WB:	*ichido irashitara tte [iwarete itta n desu.*
		Once visit if QT being said went
15	ST:	[*aa*
		[Uh-hum

[English]

1	ST:	Why did you go to Yugoslavia?
2 →	WB:	Well it is because, you know, ah, coincidentally, my house, where now
3	ST:	yeah
4	WB:	I live, near my house
5	ST:	yeah
6 →	WB:	Yugoslav embassy, you know, is there, you know.
7	ST:	ah
8	WB:	I got to know someone who works in the embassy
9	ST:	Uh-hum uh-hum
10	WB:	Then while the person is there
11	ST:	Uh-hum
12 →	WB:	I mean in Yugoslavia [After he went back, you knnow
13	ST:	Uh-hum uh-hum
14	WB:	I was invited by him to visit him in Yugoslavia so I went.
15	ST:	[Uh-hum

In excerpt 5.7, WB starts her utterance by answering ST's question of why WB traveled to Yugoslavia. While WB explains the reason in lines 2 to 14, ST only uses backchannels and no other kinds of RTs. In other words, although ST participates, WB intends to make sure if ST follows or understands and claim the continuation of WB's speakership by using sentence final *ne*.

5.3.2.4. Use of masculine and feminine forms

It is reported that young female Japanese use not only less feminine language but also use masculine forms (Okamoto 1995). In particular, young female speakers' use of masculine forms demonstrates their identities and is exclusively used in in-group conversations, but not in the formal settings such as in classroom situations.

This section will examine how gender specific expressions or language are used by participants in the present study and will explain the functions that gender specific forms may have in conversations between female friends.

In the present data most of the informal conversations are carried out using plain forms which are informal most of the time; there are a limited number of polite forms which are formal, and some honorific forms which can be used with plain and polite forms. Gender can be marked lexically or by using particles such as, *no, yo, wa*, and *ne*. These particles can follow RTs in listener responses (e.g. *ii wa ne* 'it is nice,' *so ne* 'right,' and *so yo* 'right,' etc.) The most commonly observed forms are neutral forms which can be used by both genders.

Masculine forms

The results do not contain any masculine forms of RTs by listeners; however, some of the speakers use masculine forms as in excerpt 5.8.

Excerpt 5.8: MT told IN that she heard students were not allowed to shampoo their hair since they caused some problem at the hotel.

[Japanese]
1 IN: *demo natsu ni itte arae nai no iya da na.*
    But summer-in went wash-NEG-NM horrible-BE-IP
2→ MT: *tte iu ka yama nobori sasennayo.*
    QT say mountain climb make NEG-IP
3 MT: *dattara tte kanji da yo ne.*
    then QT like BE- IP- IP
4 IN: { }
5 MT: *yama itte ase kaite doro darake ni natte =*
    Mountain go swet get muddy covered become
6 MT: = *ohuro wa haire naino mitaina [kanji janai.*
    Bath-TP take NEG like sound TAG
7 IN: *[so so so]*
            right right right

[English]

1 IN: But it is annoying if I can't wash my hair in the summer
2→ MT: Don't let climb mountain then
3 MT: It is like that, isn't it?
4 IN: { }
5 MT: Going to the mountain, and getting sweaty and muddy
6 MT: But you can't take a bath kind of thing, isn't it?
7 IN: right right right

MT and IN went to the same middle and high school in Tokyo known to be a very conservative school and now IN is teaching at the school. When they talk about their memories of school days, they speak very casually. The masculine forms used by MT might demonstrate their solidarity from spending their teenage time together by showing strong objection to the fact that students are not allowed to wash their hair after outside

activity. This is a good example of Okamoto's notion that young female speakers, especially high school age girls, use masculine forms to express their identity in the group they wish to belong to. Also, this does not show socio economical strata since participatns who use masculine forms in the present study obviously are the members of upper-middle or higher class based on the private school they attended.

Feminine forms

The data in the present study do not contain many feminine forms and all of the feminine forms are used by participants of the oldest group whose age is over 50. In excerpt 5.9 ST asks the question, "What were you doing in England?" using an honorific form and the particle no, which sounds feminine and polite. In 3 *maa*, 'oh my,' is considered to be a resumptive opener which appears turn initially. This is followed by *gakko itta no ne* "you went to school, didn't you," containing particle *no*, which can be used by both genders; when it is used with sentence final particle *ne*, however, it is considered a feminine form.

Excerpt 5.9: WB (54 years old) talks about how she stayed in England longer than other countries when she went to Europe and then ST (58 years old) asked what WB did there.

[Japanese]
```
1→      ST: E  igirisu de nani shiterashita no.
             Well England-in what do      IP
2       WB: Igirisu wa chanto ne, eego no benkyo.
             England-TP           IP English of study
3→      ST: maa gakko itta no ne.
             Oh my school went - IP-IP
4       WB:                 so so {  }
                            right right {  }
5       WB: samaa koosu no sa,
             summer course - IP-IP
```

```
6      ST:           ha= ha=
                     yes  yes
7      WB: 2 kagetsu no. dakara 6 gatsu kara=
              2 months NM  So  June-from
8      WB: =8 gastu gurai made.
              August about- to
9      ST:           haa haa  so
                     yes yes it is so.
```

[English]

```
1→     ST:    Well, in England what were you doing?
2      WB:    In England I properly, you know, studying English
3→     ST:    Oh my, you went to school, didn't you?
4      WB:                  right right {  }
5      WB:    I took a summer course
6      ST:                       yes  yes
7      WB:    2 months (course). So from June
8      WB:    until about August
9      ST:                          yes yes it is so.
```

Both masculine and feminine forms are rarely used in formal conversations in the present study, in which neutral polite expressions are used by most of the participants, except for some of the participants of the older groups. The use of masculine forms by young female Japanese is considered to be in-group language that can express solidarity among participants (Okamoto 1995). Thus, participants in excerpt 5.8 intend to create solidarity by using masculine forms. For similar reasons, older participants may use feminine forms to express their friendliness or solidarity and the informality of conversation allows them to do so.

5.3.3. Interactional styles in informal conversation

We have discussed the interactional characteristics exhibited in the informal data of the present study. Interactional styles are diverse, in contrast to formal conversations, resulting in a high proportion of various verbal RTs that make structures complicated. In

this sense, all individual styles reflect the cultural norms of Japanese interactional style; that is, listeners have supportive, empathetic, and cooperative attitudes toward the speakers and participate in the conversation actively as listeners.

The findings suggest that although the norm is right basically, the actual interactions demonstrate variations according to the degree of empathy and in terms of the strategies participants use to achieve their communicational goal of solidarity. The listening styles can be classified into three types based on the linguistic strategies used. The following summarize the three most commonly observed interactional styles and their characteristics.

1 Rapport style: listeners show supportive attitude and acknowledgement
   constantly. They tend to use backchannels and repetitions frequently but
   remain as passive listeners

2 High involvement style (complex assessment sequences): interruption,
   repetition, reactive expressions, collaborative finishes and laughter are
   preferred rather than backchannels.

3. Machine-gun questions: frequent turn shifts resulting from short questions
   but listeners do not intend to take the floor.

The first type, rapport style in informal conversation, is characterized by a relatively higher proportion of backchannels and lower proportion of other RTs and nods. This kind of interaction is seen in formal conversations between older participants who used more verbal backchannels and fewer nods. In informal conversations, 3 out of 13 participants are defined as this type, namely, YG in group I, TY in group II, and AR in group III.

The second style is characterized by frequent use of verbal RTs other than

backchannels which differentiate it from the rapport style. Since the interactions of high involvement type contains frequent use of verbal RTs, such as repetitions, reactive expressions, and collaborative finishes, there may not be a clear distinction between the speaker and the listener. There are 4 or 5 participants who are grouped in this style in the present data.

The last type shows frequent questions uttered by listeners that are not counted as RTs in the present study since they are considered as full turn shifts. This type of interaction may have a lower rate of verbal RTs compared with the first two types and gives an impression of being obtrusive or interruptive. There are 5 participants who use these kinds of questions as listener responses.

It should be noted that the distribution of these styles is not related to age--in fact, the data reveal that participants in all age groups present all three styles. Therefore, there must be individual differences in preference for certain style resulting from sub-cultural factors (Tannen 1984) or psychological factors, such as the degree of involvement in the conversation but not power relations nor solidarity.

5.4. Summary

This chapter examines the use of RTs in informal conversation, i.e., chat between close female friends in different age groups. The results reveal the common interactional styles among participants in all age groups. First, nods are not used frequently; second, verbal RTs other than backchannels are used much more frequently than in formal conversations. Finally, the frequent use of verbal RTs creates a variety of interactional styles such as the rapport style, high-involvement style, and the machine-

gun question style.

The next chapter will demonstrate the structural differences between formal and informal conversations based on the results reported in Chapters 4 and 5 and discuss social factors that influence such differences.

CHAPTER 6

DIFFERENCES IN STRUCTURE
BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL CONVERSATION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings on the use of RTs in formal and informal interaction in order to compare the interactional type of the two styles. Variations in interactions in formal and informal conversation are discussed and explained by considering social factors such as age, relationship between interlocutors, formality level, and psychological distance. Hypothesis 3 will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

6.2. Quantitative results of formal and informal conversation

This section summarizes the results of quantitative analyses of the use of RTs in formal and informal conversation presented in Chapters 4 and 5 in order to compare the characteristics of each style of conversation.

6.2.1. Frequency of reactive tokens

Table 6.1 shows the total number of nods and verbal RTs used during 60 minutes of formal and informal conversation. The data on informal conversation was modified to 60 minutes for comparison.

Table 6.1. Number of nods and verbal reactive tokens used in 60 minutes of conversation

	Formal conversation	Informal conversation
Verbal RTs	853	1099
Nods	751	167
Total	1604	1267

In a total of 60 minutes of formal conversation, overall listener responses are more abundant in formal conversation (1604 tokens) than informal (1267 tokens). However, in formal conversation there are 853 tokens of verbal RTs compared to are 1099 tokens in informal conversation. Speakers in informal conversation receive approximately 1.3 times the number of verbal listener responses. On the other hand, non-verbal RTs, such as nods, are much more frequently used--4.5 times more--in formal conversations (751 tokens) as opposed to informal conversations (167 tokens). These results indicate that the way in which listeners participate in conversations is different in formal and informal conversations. This chapter will discuss how the listeners' choice of verbal or non-verbal strategies could be determined and the social factors that may influence their decision.

6.2.2. Verbal reactive tokens and nods

The findings indicate that the total number of RTs used by listeners during 2 minutes of instructions does not vary among participants but that the balance between verbal RTs and nods varies among participants.

Table 6.2 displays the results of regression analysis of verbal and non-verbal RTs in formal conversation of the present study. There is a negative correlation between verbal RTs and nods. This relationship is statistically significant. The result confirms the Pearson Correlation result and provides more reliable statistical evidence regarding the relationship between verbal RTs and nods. Participants who use more verbal RTs use fewer non-verbal RTs (nods) and vice versa. In other words, verbal RTs and nods can be used interchangeably as listener responses in Japanese formal conversation. The

frequency of verbal RTs used by someone listening to instructions from the researcher for two minutes can be predicted from the number of nods he or she uses.

Table 6.2. Results of regression analysis between verbal reactive tokens and nods ($r^2 = 70.7$)

Predictor	Coef.	St Dev	Probability
Constant	51.615	3.494	0.000
nods	-0.9575	0.1186	0.000

In informal conversations, verbal RTs and nods do not correlate as seen in formal conversation. One of the reasons that the data from informal conversations are not comparable with the data from formal conversation is that the speakers in informal conversations and the content of each informal conversation vary from pair to pair, while they do not in formal conversations. Therefore, it may not be relevant to generalize the results obtained by formal conversation as rules for verbal RTs and nods in face-to-face conversation. However, the finding of the present study suggests the possibility that verbal RTs and nods may have a negative correlation if listeners hear the same story from the same speakers in informal settings.

Furthermore, there is an implication that there exist fundamental differences in interaction between formal and informal conversations with respect to the balance of verbal and non-verbal RTs; Listeners in the informal conversations use nods less frequently than in formal conversations (751 times vs. 167 times) and use more verbal strategies in informal conversations.

6.2.3. The nature of verbal reactive tokens in formal and informal conversation

Figure 6.1 (modified figure 4.1) presents the average individual participants' ratio of backchannels, other verbal RTs and nods in formal and informal conversation.

Figure 6.1. Interactional styles in formal and informal conversations
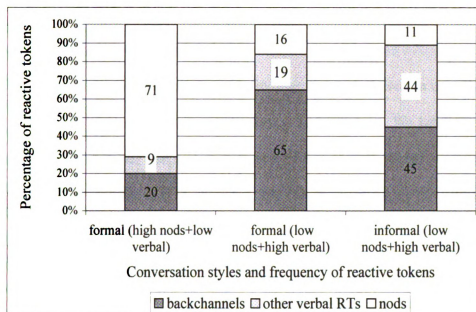
In formal conversation participants can be grouped into one of these types: high frequency of nods and low verbal RTs, or low frequency of nods and high verbal RTs, whereas in informal conversation the proportion of 3 types of RTs is similar among participants. Although the proportion of overall verbal and non-verbal varies in the two types of formal conversation, the percentage of verbal RTs excluding backchannels is relatively small. This indicates that in formal conversations listener responses have less variation compared with informal conversation so that listeners are expected to respond by using mainly either backchannels or nods.

In informal conversations, approximately half of the verbal RTs are

backchannels and half are verbal RTs other than backchannels. This implies that listener responses in informal conversations are not only verbal, but are also more dynamic, lively and interactive through the frequent use of reactive expressions, collaborative finishes, repetitions, laughter and so on.

6.3. Age factor and reactive tokens

This section summarizes the findings about variations in use of RTs with respect to age and conversation styles, both formal and informal. We have seen that there is a variation in listener responses in terms of how many verbal or non-verbal devices listeners use and the extent of verbal RTs (beside backchannels) used to communicate. The present study examines age and style as two social factors that influence variation in listening behavior. The following is a summary of what was found in the present study.

First, age and total RTs do not have any correlation in either formal or informal conversations. Therefore, age only influences the use of verbal RTs, nods, and some types of verbal RTs but not the total amount of RTs.

In formal conversations there is a negative correlation between age and nods. Table 6.3 shows the regression results. Age and nods have a statistically significant relationship. Younger participants tend to use a greater proportion of nods than older participants.

Table 6.3. Results of regression analysis between age and nods in formal conversation (r^2=21.1)

Predictor	Coef.	St Dev	Probability
Constant	46.014	4.674	0.000
nods total	-0.4256	0.1586	0.012

On the other hand, age and verbal RTs have a positive correlation [r=.545, p=.002] as shown in table 6.4. The number of verbal RTs used by participants is indicative of the participants' age. This relationship is statistically significant.

Table 6.4. Results of regression analysis between age and verbal reactive tokens
(r^2=24.9)

Predictor	Coef.	St Dev	Probability
Constant	24.122	4.393	0.000
Verbal RT total	0.4061	0.1359	0.006

A similar relationship between age and verbal RTs is also seen in the relationship between age and backchannels, which seems consistent considering that backchannels are the most frequently used verbal RTs. There is a positive correlation betweenl age and backchannels. This relationship is statistically significant.

Table 6.5. Results of regression analysis between age and backchannels
(r^2=25.4)

Predictor	Coef.	St Dev	Probability
Constant	23.949	4.392	0.000
ackchannels total	0.5062	0.1669	0.006

Among various types of backchannels, some backchannels seem to be influenced by age, too. For instance, *ee*, 'yeah,' which is a less formal 'yes' but not as informal as *un*, has a tendency to appear more frequently in conversations between older participants but rarely between younger participants. This could be the result of the formality of *ee* or stylistic differences between generations.

0It was also found that age can explain some of the variations characterized by the use of some types of verbal RTs. There is one type of RTs that is more frequently used by older participants, that is, resumptive openers, which are non-lexical items uttered in turn-initial positions or which precede reactive expressions, as in 'Oh, it is nice.' The tendency observed in older participants suggests that they are more verbally active than younger participants, or that some older participants attempt to take turns even in formal situations such as listening to instructions.

Table 6.6. Percentage of *ee* 'yeah' and resumptive openers by backchannels in formal and informal conversation

	Formal conversation	Informal conversation (%)
ee 'yeah'	14.8 % of backchannels	21.5 % of backchannels
resumptive opener	26.8 % of RTs excludes backchannels	25.2 % of RTs excludes backchannels

Unlike in formal conversations, the use of RTs does not have a correlation to age in informal conversations. Figure 6.1 demonstrates that listener responses in informal conversations consist of a low occurrence of nods (11%), backchannels (45%), and other types of RTs (44%). Each type of RT and its subcategories have been tested to determine whether any of them have a correlation with age, but none showed a statistically significant effect. This suggests that when people chat with close friends of the same age group, there is little variation in listening behavior with respect to the frequency and types of RTs among participants. The remainder of this chapter examines listening behavior in terms of interaction in order to explain variations in listening behavior in different contexts.

6.4. Interactional styles

This section summarizes the differences in interaction between formal and informal conversations in the present study. The previous section revealed the quantitative results of overall frequency and how subcategories of RTs are interrelated. However, quantitative analyses alone may fail to explain how listeners participate in conversation when listeners use strategies other than RTs. Chapter 5 presented qualitative analyses of interactional styles observed in informal conversation. This section reviews them by comparing interactional styles between formal and informal conversation.

6.4.1. Listeners' strategies

Listeners' behavior both in formal and informal conversation in the present study can be accounted for by the rules of politeness by Lakoff (1975). Lakoff's notion of 'Rules of Politeness (Rules of Rapport)' consists of three rules.

1. Don't impose (Distance)
2. Give options (Deference)
3. Be friendly (Camaraderie)

According to Lakoff, a speaker's choice of linguistic forms observes one of these rules to fulfill the social function of language. For example, the first rule applies in formal situations better than in informal situations. The third rule would apply in informal situations more than in formal. I propose that these rules can apply to the listeners' choice of linguistics form or interactional styles in the present study data.

The first rule of 'Distance' is employed in formal conversations in which a researcher that listeners don't know well gives instructions on what to do. Listeners should listen carefully; at the same time they should be polite since they don't know each

other. In that situation participants in the present study employ a strategy of using non-verbal RTs which are less imposing to a different degree and using formal types of backchannels such as *hai* 'yes,' rather than more casual tokens such as *un*, 'yeah.' Another strategy observed is that listeners use backchannels mostly in their choice of verbal RTs, which means that they try to refrain from being imposing when they listen. As a result, RTs such as repetition, collaborative finishes, resumptive openers, and short comments are rarely used since those RTs make interaction dynamic and it is difficult for listeners to maintain 'Distance' from the speaker.

However, listeners can also use the rule of 'Camaraderie' even in formal situations. For example, laughter is one of the strategies that all the participants can employ to achieve 'Camaraderie' since it is less imposing and yet can contribute to creating a friendly atmosphere by not saying anything. Laughter RTs are used by younger participants more than older participants, as discussed in Chapter 4.

If listeners use informal RTs such as *un* 'yeah, in formal situations where socially appropriate forms are polite forms, *hai* 'yes,' in backchannels, or *desu* 'be' in copula, the responses have the effect of displaying 'Camaraderie' with speakers. However, this strategy is normally available only for listeners whose status is equal to speakers or who have a relatively higher status (power), but not for lower status. The choice of verbal RTs other than backchannels is also a 'Camaraderie' strategy and works in the same way.

In informal situations such as chatting with close friends, the rule of 'Camaraderie' is the most important rule in the system. Strategies for how to achieve 'Camaraderie' may differ among languages and cultures. The present study focused on Japanese women's interactions and the next section discusses different strategies

employed to follow the 'Rules of Politeness.'

6.4.2. Three commonly observed styles in Japanese listening behavior

The following are three types of listening behavior observed in the present study that is discussed in chapter 5.

1. Rapport style: listeners show supportive attitude and acknowledgement constantly. They tend to use backchannels most frequently among other verbal RTs or nods.

2. High involvement style: interruption, repetition, reactive expression, collaborative finishes and laughter are preferred rather than backchannels. Complex assessment sequences may be observed.

3. Machine-gun questions style: frequent turn shifts resulting from short questions but listeners do not intend to take the floor.

The two types of interaction of formal conversation in the present study, that is, high nods+low verbal and low nods+high verbal, are considered to be rapport style. There is no participant whose listening style was identified as high-involvement style or machine-gun question style in formal data.

In informal conversation, all the interactions are identified as one of the styles according to the rate and types of RTs used by participants and number of questions asked by listeners. Table 6.7 shows the interactional styles, conversation types, and participants' age.

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Table 6.7. Interactional styles and participants in foramal and informal conversation

	Formal conversation n =30	Informal conversation Participants' ID (age) n =13
Rapport style	All the participants (Age 19-61)	OS (19), SK (21), SZ (39), MR (58), AR (60)
High-involvement style	N/A	TJ (22), MT (31), IN (31), HY (37)
Machine - gun style	N/A	SH (19), TY (23), KM (54), ST (58)

6.5. The 'multidimensional model' in relation to social factors

This section reviews the notion of the 'multidimensional model' (Tannen 1993) and explains how it can account for the different interactional styles in formal and informal conversation in the present study.

6.5.1. Formal conversation model

Chapter 4 demonstrated how variation in listener responses in formal conversation is explained in the multidimensional model. Dimension A represents a hierarchical yet close relationship observed in parent-child, or *amae*, (Lebra 1976), typical of Japanese employer-employee relationships. Dimension B shows that there is hierarchy and distance in the relationship between participants: American employer-employee relationships. The formal conversation situation in the present study should be placed in B in most cases. However, if participants are the same generation as the researcher or older, the hierarchy level may drop into dimension C as we discussed in Chapter 4.

Figure 6.2. Contexts of formal and informal conversation

hierarchy

Different in power + close $\boxed{\text{A}}$	$\boxed{\text{B}}$ different generation + distant
e.g.) Japanese: employer - employee	e.g.)American:employer - employee
Parent - child	Teacher - student

$\boxed{\text{Listening to instruction}}$

closeness _____ distance

$\boxed{\text{Chatting with friends}}$

$\boxed{\text{Listening to instructions}}$

Equal + close $\boxed{\text{D}}$	$\boxed{\text{C}}$ same generation + distant
e.g.) American: siblings	

equality
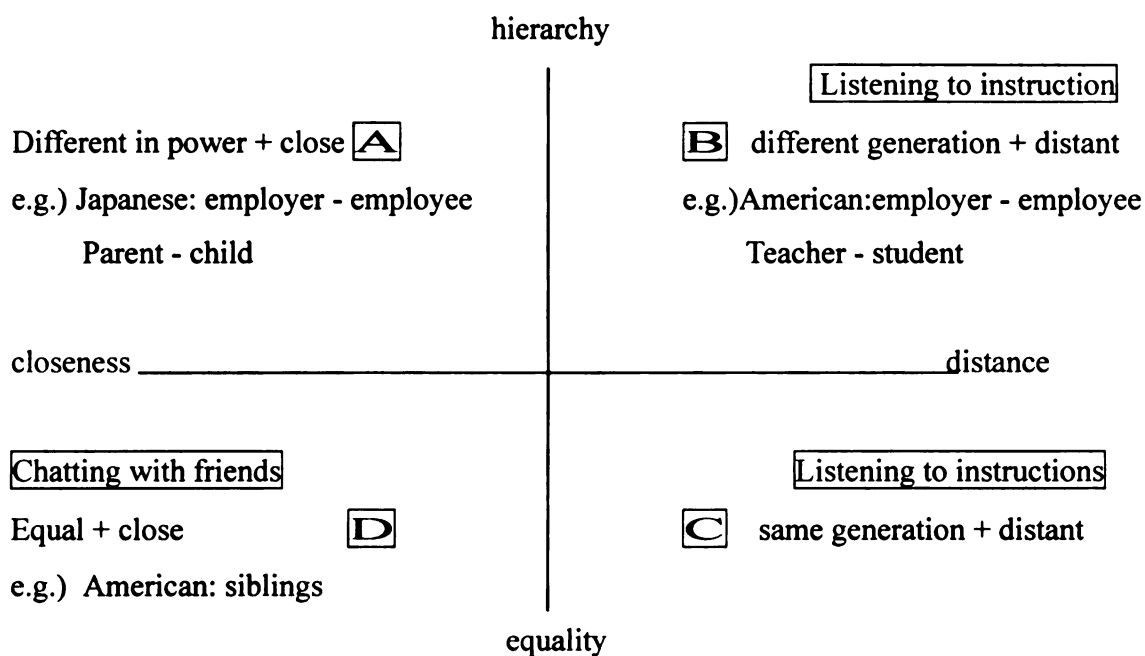
The findings of the present study demonstrate that there is an age-graded variation in the balance of verbal RTs and nods. Namely, younger listeners tend to use fewer verbal RTs than older listeners, and more nods than older listeners, This phenomenon is parallel to the hierarchy axis. That is, the number of nods and verbal RTs change on a hierarchy continuum. In dimension B and C contexts, participants can also employ strategies to change the distance on a solidarity continuum according to their emotional state or affect toward interlocutors in talk-in-interaction. For example, laughter, used relatively frequently by young listeners in formal conversation, contributes to showing their involvement and creates a less tense atmosphere even while they listen to instructions.

6.5.2. Informal conversation model

The informal conversation of the present study consists of chats between close

friends in an informal setting, so that the relationship between participants is equal but not hierarchical, which satisfies the requirement of dimension D.

The results show that the 13 participants who play primary listener roles behaved similarly in terms of overall interactional types in figure 6.2. That is, listeners use verbal RTs to a greater extent (88%) and use fewer numbers of nods (11%). The greater proportion of verbal RTs to backchannels than in formal conversations provides evidence that listeners co-participate in informal conversations more actively than in formal conversations.

The analysis of formal and informal conversation suggests that the same listeners participate in conversation using different strategies as a listener depending on the context to convey social meanings. Yet those individual behaviors are governed by rules, such as 'Rules of Politeness.'

6.5.3. Japanese listening behavior

This section provides an explanation of how power and solidarity influence the manipulation of different contexts through the use of listener strategies discussed in the previous sections.

The following figure 6.3 is a model of Japanese female listening behavior based on the findings of the present study. Since the present study lacks data which account for the contexts in dimension A, the analyses of Okamoto and Sato (forthcoming) will be adopted as data in dimension A.

Okamoto and Sato (forthcoming) challenge the stereotyped cultural view about Japanese language, especially Japanese women's speech, that says that Japanese listeners

are supportive, cooperative and empathetic. Their findings show that Japanese mother-daughter interaction (dimension A) does not exhibit the cultural norm at all in terms of use of listener responses. On the other hand, daughter-friend (same sex) conversations (dimension D) present similar types of interaction as the present study.

Their analyses are limited to the verbal RTs so that it does not provide evidence about how nods are used in both situations. However, it is reasonable to assume that there may not be many nods in dimensions A and D from the results of the present study. The reason why I speculate that there are few nods in dimension A is that there is no need to show 'Distance' nor show 'Deference' in such a close relationship.

Figure 6.3. A model of Japanese listening behavior

hierarchy

Low verbal + low nods	**Low verbal + high nods** (High backchannels & low assessment)
A	B

closeness _____|_____ distance

D	C
High verbal + low nods (Low backchannels & high assessments)	**High verbal + low nods** (High backchannels & high assessment)

equality
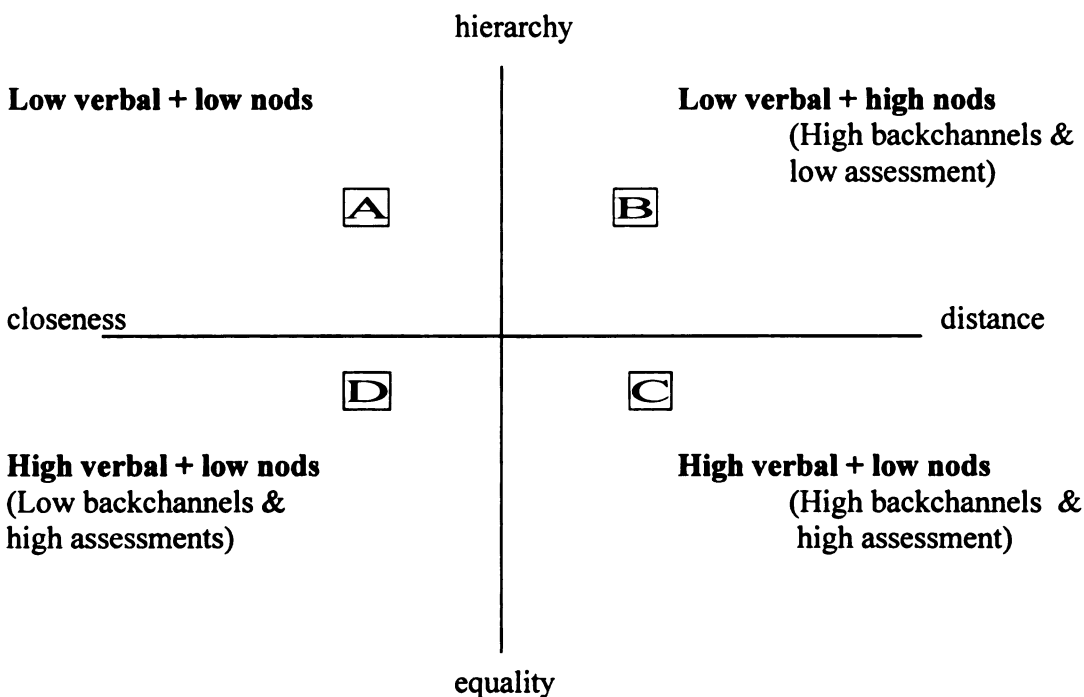
Figure 6.3 is a model of listening behavior in Japanese face-to-face female conversation. Each dimension is characterized by specific listening behavior: (A) low

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verbal RTs and possibly low nods, (B) low verbal RTs and high nods, (C) high verbal RTs and low nods, and (D) high verbal RTs and low nods. Listening behavior of each dimension is determined by the relationship between two continua, which moves to either side depending on the contexts. Power and solidarity relations in a context is not static but rather dynamic in talk-in-interaction. For example, listeners may show 'Camaraderie' by using the features of dimension D or listeners also can be 'Distant' by just nodding, which is typical in dimension B.

6.6. Hypothesis 3

This section explains how findings of the present study can test hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 3: **The formality level of conversation influences not only the choice of RT types and frequency, but also the interactional styles.**

This chapter demonstrates differences in listening behavior in formal and informal conversations to test hypothesis 3. The findings show that there are significant differences between formal and informal conversations in terms of types of RTs, the ratio of RTs, and interactional styles. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is supported.

6.7. Summary

This chapter summarized findings in terms of the influence of style of conversation on the use of RTs and interaction styles. The present study provides only a tentative proposal; thus there is a need for further investigation in the field such as the analysis of interactions characterized by the features of dimension A. However, the results have a number of implications for the study of listening behavior.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEW AND PERCEPTION STUDY

7.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the perception study and follow up interview, and investigates how they can account for the findings of actual listening behavior in this study. I first demonstrate what participants know about Japanese listening behavior from what they said in the follow up interview. Next, I will analyze how perception of video clips of different listening behaviors reflects the actual listening behavior of participants in informal conversation.

7.2. Follow up interview about listening behavior

This section provides evidence collected by interview of what participants know or how they perceive Japanese listening behavior in general. Only English translations of what participants said in Japanese will be presented.

7.2.1. Difference between formal and informal conversation

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of listening behavior in formal and informal conversations by comparing the frequency of RTs, types of RTs, and the interactional styles in two types of settings. In formal conversation in which the researcher gave instructions to each participant face-to-face, participants' listening behavior varies in the ratio of verbal RTs and nods, and displays age-related variations. I have argued that this

phenomenon should be explained by the difference in power between the researcher and participants, since the relationship between the researcher and each participant is the same among all participants. The following comments may be helpful in understanding the participants' inner feelings when they were given instructions. SZ (19 years old) said:

(1)　　SZ:　　I was kind of anxious about what we are going to do and it is
　　　　　　　because I didn't know anything, so that probably appeared in my
　　　　　　　responding with RTs and behavior and so on. It was by listening that I
　　　　　　　obtained information, wasn't it?

In (1) SZ retrospects that she was nervous so her anxiety could have been reflected in the way she listened. SZ states that she had to listen carefully since that was the only way to obtain information. TY (23 years old) analyzes her listening behavior in formal and informal conversations in (2).

(2)　　TY:　　When listening to instructions, I don't use many backchannels, I
　　　　　　　feel like I don't nod that frequently either.

She thinks that she does not use many backchannels, either verbal or non-verbal. In formal conversation she used verbal RTs (4 backchannels and 3 laughter) and nods 46 times in 2 minutes. Whereas, she used no backchannels but other type of verbal RTs 20 times, and nods 3 times in 2 minutes informal conversation. Her comments about her behavior reflect what she actually did in the real converation.

In (3) participant ST in group III (58 years old) mentioned what could have influenced her listening behavior in the instruction session with the researcher. ST said:

(3)　　ST:　　If a listener is interested in what a speaker says, she asks
　　　　　　　questions while she listens. For example, when I talk with you like this
　　　　　　　or listen to the story of your university as I did awhile ago, I wonder if I

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wouldn't respond to you with just yeah, yeah (if I am interested).

According to ST, whether a listener is interested in the story or not determines the interactional style. Even in the formal conversation of the present study, ST was not influenced by the power of the researcher who was younger (ST: 58 years old, researcher: 41 years old) but possibly can exercise relative power as an interviewer in the formal setting. ST's comments are consistent with her actual performance (i.e. low nods and high verbal RTs with frequent speaker changes that are excluded from the data).

7.2.2. Types of verbal reactive tokens

In both formal and informal conversations, *ee*, 'yeah', which is less formal than *hai*, but more formal than *un*, 'yeah,' is used almost exclusively by participants of groups II and III as discussed in chapter 6. The following dialogue explains how the age-related preference occurs.

SB and SZ (both 20 years old) were asked if they use *ee* 'yeah' by the researcher.

(4) M: Do you say ee 'yeah?'

   SB: [I don't.

   SZ: [I don't.

   M: How does it sound?

   SB: It sounds like good breeding. No but we don't see someone who says ee so on much on campus, do we?

   M: What about in job interviews?

   SB: I don't say that, no.

M: What about your mother?

SB: When she calls, she says that, you know?

SZ: Yes, she does.

The conversation in (4) shows their perception toward people of same generation who use *ee* 'yeah' in their speech. According to them, this linguistic form expresses not only a different degree of formality for 'yes' but also expresses an image associated with higher social status. Although these well-educated young participants don't prefer the image attributed by the use of the form, they both agree that their mothers use the token, which is consistent with the results of the present study.

Their comment tells us that participants of group I may not wish to be seen as well bred by using *ee* in both formal and informal contexts. However, some participants of group II use *ee* in formal contexts but not in informal contexts. Participants of group III who belong to the youngest group's mothers' generation use *ee* in both formal and informal contexts. This phenomenon may be explained as an example of 'hypercorrect use' (Ide 1982; Reynolds 1985) and the younger generation in the present study is not influenced by the covert prestige of *ee*. The results also suggest that the use of *ee* in formal contexts may be developmental in Japanese women's language so that there is a great chance that participants such as SB and SZ adopt the convention when they become a certain age.

7.2.3. Perception of nods

One of the remarkable differences in listening behavior between formal and informal conversations is in the use of nods as RTs.

The researcher asked a general question, 'When do you use nods?' SB (20 years old) and SZ (20 years old) say in (5) and (6) respectively:

(5)   SB: Like in interviews, an interview for a part time job or something I nod a lot, right? Then all of a sudden, I realize I should speak up and then I say something. So what is it? It is an occasion in which I stand on ceremony.

(6)   SZ: Toward superiors. When we have to show respect to a superior or someone.

SB and SZ analyze when they use nods. SB points out that formality level may influence her use of nods, that is, when she needs to "stand on ceremony," SB uses more nods. SZ analyzes the fact that she uses nods when there is status difference between her and her interlocutor and she is the one who has the lower status. Their comments account for the younger group of participants' frequent use of nods in the formal situation.

In addition, the following comment by SB implies that listeners are consciously changing their listening behavior according to the purpose of communication.

(7)   SB: In order to make a good impression, I speak up properly and nod like when I have an eye contact; otherwise, when the speaker looks down and says something he/she doesn't know I nod, so I may consciously try to say 'yes' or something.

What SB (20 years old) relates is the strategy of making a good impression as an interviewee. Such a strategy of being a successful interviewee represents the cultural norm expected of her as a young female speaker of Japanese.

In informal conversation, OS mentions that she nods both accompanying verbal RTs and not accompanying them when she gets excited while conversing with someone.

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(8)   OS: I am told that I nod a lot, though.

        M: Who says so?

        OS: Friends or someone. When I listen, she/he says that I nod so
                often { }. Well, maybe when I am excited, I say yeah, yeah (nods) like
                this. It seems that becomes continuous.

OS's partner in informal conversation also agrees with OS although it is not shown in (8).
In the present study nods that accompany verbal RTs are not counted since such nods
function to emphasize verbal RTs and have no other function. OS's comment provides
evidence that nods accompanying verbal RTs occur to express listeners' stronger
involvement in the conversation.

Another piece of evidence that nods are an indirect way of expressing listeners'
understanding or interest is seen in MD's (37 years old) and YG's (19 years old)
comments. In (9) MD, who teaches at a junior college, comments on nodding based on
her informal observation in the classroom.

(9)   MD: I look in the direction of students who nod often. There are Miss
                Noddings, you know. I guess I look at those who are nodding naturally
                when I notice.

(10)   YG: In class there are some people who nod to show that they
                understand when a professor says something, aren't there? I
                occasionally do that but not always. I think they understand what the
                professor says.
...
(11)   OS: I don't use (nods) in the classroom. I think maybe nobody notices
                that I nod. (Because) I don't nod often in class.

MD's and YG's comments show that both instructors and students understand the
messages conveyed by nods in the classroom situation and use them as a communication

strategy, although the actual use of nods varies from person to person. For instance, in (11) OS claims that she doesn't use nods in the classroom. If the listener does not react properly as expected by the speaker, how does the speaker perceive or understand the message of the listener's lack of response? Following comments may answer the question.

MD's further observation in (12) suggests that there is a generational difference in the use of this strategy in the classroom situation.

(12) MD: Nodding? Yeah, there are students who nod. They nod frequently. So if I present a lecture to adults, they nod more, you know. It is very clear. Ah, I can tell that they are concentrating on listening very much.... Well, the rate of nodding of adults, compared with students, well, they are adults you know, not only is it more frequent... But anyway, adults nod a lot, that's what I thought at the time.

TM (21 years old) talks about how she feels when she doesn't get the expected reaction from the professor when she speaks up in the class:

(13) TM: When I speak up, the professor does not nod, but stares at me in my eyes so that I feel like he does not understand or maybe I am saying something wrong, so, well, I want her/him to express their acknowledgement, like 'right.' ...When I finish, she/he says I am wrong, then I think, 'Why didn't you show it by your facial expression at the point?' ...Like the frown that teachers or someone gives, frowning when students' answer is wrong.

TM's comments in (13) shows that she believes that the lack of listener's response functions as disagreement and speakers are always observing listeners' responses, including non-verbal features such as smiling, to figure out listeners' understanding or attitudes toward what they say.

This section presents an overview of how listeners use nods as a communication

strategy in different contexts, and examines what listeners actually do by the use or non-use of nodding and other non-verbal RTs and how speakers interpret the listeners' response.

7.2.4. Interactional style of informal conversation

Listening behavior in informal conversation is characterized by greater proportion of verbal RTs than nods, frequent use of RTs other than backchannels, and co-participation of listeners. The interaction of informal conversation tends to consist of shorter turns and be abundant in lively expressions. Some of the participants used the word 'overreaction' to express their interaction between close friends.

(14)   SZ: She (in the video) should react to the speaker in a more
                 exaggerated manner, overreaction, like 'are you serious?'

SZ explains the way she talks with friends using the listening behavior in the video as an example. According to her, overreaction means that someone should be surprised more and express surprise, for example, by banging (on the table) saying *majide*, 'are you serious?' and move her upper body more like saying *ee*, 'gee' with rising intonation. She says that she also uses phrases such as majide bakaja nai no, 'are you crazy, you are a moron, '*nakune*, 'I would cry,' and *sorede sorede*, 'and then, and then.' TJ (22 years old) also makes similar comments about how she expects the listener to behave when she talks.

(15)   TJ: (I like) one who responds more when I speak. Even too much
                 reaction

         M: As for reaction, what do you mean?

         TJ: Ah, well with the one who becomes (?) or something, and one

who has lively expressions or something, I feel like I'm comfortable, or I think that she is listening and it is fun because I also enjoy speaking.

According to TJ in (15), a good listener for her is one who shows her/his enthusiasm and encourages her to keep talking even with an overreacted manner. SZ and TJ have a common expectation toward listeners' behavior in terms of the types of responses. The researcher asks TJ's opinion about overlapping.

(16)   M: Is overlapping someone's utterance rude?

         TJ: Not at all, right? {   }

         TY: yeah{ }

         M: You don't do that when listening to instructions, do you?

         TY: Also when I talk to professors, I listen until the proper boundary and then say what I want to say.

         M: What about someone of the same generation that you don't know?

         TY: If I don't know her, I listen. I listen to all or let's say I listen a little more till the boundary of the talk and then say 'Oh, it is so.'

         TJ: If we agree very much, I may overlap her, though. If she sounds like a person who can share the same topic, I may overlap her but if she talks about something that I don't know at all, I listen to her as usual until the boundary and then say 'ah, it is so.'

In (16) TJ and TY agree that they do not mind at all if someone talks simultaneously or overlaps their utterance although basically they don't do that to someone who has higher status or whom they don't know well even in the same generation. The rule for overlapping might also be explained by the relationship of power and solidarity, similarly to the rule for nods.

The participants' comments are consistent with the findings that listeners participate by responding with reactive expressions, collaborative finishes, repetitions, and paraphrasing when chatting with close friends; however, fewer active backchannels, overlapping and interruption are common in formal conversation.

Differences in interaction between formal and informal contexts can be partially explained by the goal of conversations. That is, formal conversation, such as receiving instructions, is aimed at being an information-centered interaction. The primary goal for the speaker for this type of conversation is to convey the meaning accurately for some purpose. As a result, concern about creating solidarity between a speaker and a listener is a minimum in this case. Participants also acknowledge their different behaviors regarding the purposes of conversation. The following coment in (17) is a part of a speech in which SZ explains why one nods when listening to instructions.

(17)   SZ: Because people listen to instructions to obtain information, if they
                      can't get information, it will be awful. That is why.

7.2.5. Goals of communication

People communicate in order to pursue their goals of conversation and the goals might differ according to the contexts that are determined by types of speech events, age, gender, the relationship between participants, and so on.

The major goal of informal conversation in the present study, chats between close female friends, is considered the establishment of 'Camaraderie,' whereas that of formal conversation is information and 'Deference.' The different goals could cause fundamental differences in the structure of formal and informal conversations as we

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discussed in the previous chapter. The purpose of chat appears in the dialogue (18) spoken by a participant, HY (37 years old), who also explains how she behaves differently in different contexts:

(18)   HY: ....Conversation between homemakers you know it doesn't
               matter if it is yes or no (?). Well ah when we are the same sex and
               close. ....If I meet someone officially as part of work, I listen first, then
               say 'it is right,' but in case of this kind of friend I feel like I want to
               understand what she is saying for her sake so say 'yeah yeah.' Also just
               now I realized that when we talked about our school trips, I sometimes
               nod like this to help my partner to speak. In a sense it was love { } and
               that is what I understood after I did.

HY's own behavior reflects her performance overall. She plays a supportive listener in both settings in different ways (i.e. in formal conversation: low nods and high verbal response (rapport style), informal conversation: high involvement style. Her comments explain the listener's internal state while she plays a listener role.

7.2.6. Social contexts and interactional style

The present study investigates the cause of variation in interactional style in terms of power and solidarity. There is some evidence for how power could influence interaction and how a speaker who has more power deals with the situation. SN (56 years old) participated in the study with AZ (40 years old) who is a subordinate in the same work place. They both acknowledged that they were close friends but SN said that she was worried that AZ might not feel free because of the relationship at work.

(19)   SN: A while ago I guess that she was very nervous because I am her
               boss and I am also concerned about her. ..... So I spoke more than her
               without listening to her story as much as I should have--it is my

personality and I have an impression that my listening behavior is influenced by the speaker's personality more than other factors.

SN's analysis in (19) indicates that she had held the floor longer than AZ because of her consideration for AZ's feelings, i.e., that she might hesitate to speak because SN is AZ's boss' thus, SN tried to help AZ relax by talking a lot. This is an example of how someone who has more power can exercise solidarity by showing friendliness as Tannen pointed out (1993). AZ did not say anything about how she felt when she talked to SN. However, the present study excludes their conversation from our analysis of chatting to avoid the possible influence of a hierarchical relationship at work on the way they talk.

7.2.7. Perception of family discourse

Okamoto and Sato (to appear) point out that chatting between friends and chatting between mothers and daughters performed by the same participants (daughters) demonstrate quite different interactional styles and claim that the traditional view of Japanese interaction may account for chatting between friends, but not for family conversation.

Participants in the present study who had children related their thoughts about young people's listening behavior based on their observation. BS (47 years old) and TZ (53 years old) said:

(20)   BS: My child does not remain silent but he is like he starts talking
              about something else. Yeah, he doesn't listen to me on the whole. My
              two children don't listen but say something next without responding to
              me about (what they are asked first) so (I think) they don't listen to me.

(21)   TZ: You know, kids want to finish the conversation (with us). So if they
               once respond to us saying, 'well mother,' the conversation stops at the
               point and doesn't move to next topic, right. So they want to avoid that
               so they want to finish conversation { } they want to hear what comes
               next.... So kids never have manners towards parents, I guess.

MT describes her son's change of listening behavior in terms of non-verbal features (i.e. gaze directed to her while they talk).

(22)   MT: I have a son but when he was younger, I wondered why he didn't
               talk looking into my eyes. He at one time while ah, when he first lived
               in Kyoto, though, had a hard time and came home and then he listened
               to me and looked at my eyes or toward a speaker straight. That is what I
               feel.

BS in (20) and TZ in (21) agree that their children do not listen to their mothers as they expect but rather they act as if they don't listen to their mothers. BS and TZ seem to accept the way that their children act to them and TZ says, 'Kids never have manners towards parents, I guess.'

It is clear that their children's listening behavior is far from being co-operative or supportive. In (22) MT mentions that eye contact is a measure to know how much her son is involved in listening according to her. MT's comments suggest that listening behavior is somewhat developmental so that it may change as children grow. Although it is not clear whether or not MT's son uses RTs properly, no doubt her son's listening behavior is also similar to others introduced by BS or TZ.

The previous chapters present the finding that young people participate in both formal and informal conversations as supportive listeners using different interactional styles. These findings have implications in that the children of BS, TZ, and MT also

switch among different interactional styles according to the context.

The following dialogue presents a perspective from the daughter's point of view, that is, HW's (19 years old) observations about the conversations with her mother.

HW (19 year old) describes a conversation with her mother as follows:

(23)   HW: ...(We) talk at cross purposes. First I say something like this but she responds to something different although she listens to me you know.

       ST: She does not listen carefully.

       HW: So she is listening to the content but the content of her response is totally different so I think, 'Are you really listening to me?' ...My dad listens to me. Then he responds to me about what I say. But my mom says like the supermarket was something...like 'What? It is not what I'm talking about.'...She is annoying, really annoying. I say, 'Are you listening?' So my brother says that he is tired when he listens to the conversation between me and my mom because we talk about different topic {   }. We talk at cross purposes.

       M: Do you think men talk like that?

       HW: I think they don't, right?

       M: Women say only what they want to say

       ST: If they are close right?

       HW: If they are close right?

It is interesting to know that HW's mother's problem in (23) is similar to what BS mentions about her children. That is, their conversation does not consist of 'adjacency pairs' (Sacks et al. 1974) but rather two speakers talking simultaneously about different topics. KM (54 years old) thinks about her own behavior and how she talks to her daughter and says:

(24)   KM: I felt like I only responded to (my daughter) like ordering something. We sometimes use backchannels without listening, don't we? Just reasonably.

KM's way of communicating with her daughter may cause the frustration that HW mentions. Her backchannels used during the conversation with her daughter function to make an impression that she is listening although it is not clear whether she really listens or not. At the same time, actual feedback from KM could not be the answer that her daughter expects but rather something else such as questions or orders from her mother.

The participants' informal observations provide evidence that some people do not listen to others in an empathetic manner, particularly in mother-child conversations and the style is seen in all generations. It is beyond the scope of the present study to investigate whether it is individual preference or stylistic characteristics that are only relevant to family discourse. However, comments by the participants about the conversation between parents and children provide an outline of how mother-child discourse is constructed, consistent with the notion of Okamoto and Sato (to appear).

Comments from the point of view of a parent or a child not only involve insight into each other's expectations but also reveal how they perceive the other's listening behavior. SN (56 years old) in (25) reflects upon how her daughter reacted to SN's listening behavior to someone else when her daughter was a teenager.

(25)   SN: I guess she (my daughter) wanted me to be calm.

           M: 'Calm' means fewer noddings and backchannels or something?

SN: Yeah yeah I felt that maybe that was the thing you know. From
        my child's point of view she felt I was overreacting (and listened to the
        doctor).

After discussing people's different listening behaviors in the interview, SN says

that now she understands how her daughter expected her to behave when she listened to a

surgeon who was supposed to operate on her a long time ago although she didn't

understand it at the time.

SZ (20 years old) presents her opinion about why older people use more

backchannels than younger:

(26)   SZ: I guess maybe it is because they are shameless { }. That is why
                older people can ask questions or respond more verbally than us if their
                interlocutors do not respond or something.

In (26) SZ implies that older people should keep their distance from the speaker

by using fewer backchannels. Also, it implies that younger people's behavior is more

polite and appropriate so that they don't dare to confirm when they don't understand what

the speaker says. The findings of the present study show that participants of group I use

nods as negative a politeness strategy. SZ's comments can explain why they choose an

indirect, less intrusive and, most importantly, less face threatening type of RT, nods, over

verbal RTs.

7.3. Perception study

This section presents the results of rating different listening behavior in video

clips. The following sections explain the methods, results of the rating and follow up

interviews about video scenes that participants see. Discussion will follow at the end of

the chapter including testing hypothesis 4.

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RT

7.3.1. Method and data

After video taping participants' conversations with their friends, they were asked to view 5 50 seconds video scenes. The researcher explained as follows, "Now you are going to see 5 video scenes. Each scene is 50 seconds. You see a profile of the same woman who listens to the same story from a woman who doesn't appear on the screen. Please pay attention to how the woman in the scene listens. I will stop the video after each scene and give you some time to rate it in the form." And the researcher read the questions aloud in the form (in Appendix 4): Did the person in the scene behave naturally? Is the person's behavior attentive? Does the person's behavior annoy you? And if you were the person in the scene, would you behave like her? The scale of the rating is one to five.

The video clips were artificially made based on the natural conversation between friends in the following way. The researcher audio-taped the chat with a close female friend and transcribed it. Then a 50-second segment consisting of a narrative in which the researcher told an episode that happened when going into the parking lot the other day was selected and transcribed. The researcher told the same story to 2 people. The conversations were video taped and transcribed. The transcribed interaction was analyzed in terms of the frequency of RTs, types of RTs, and contexts that RTs occur in to make 5 variations of listening to the story.

First, the frequency of verbal RTs and nods were divided into 3 levels: high, mid, and low frequency of each. They were combined into five styles which vary in only frequency and ratio of verbal RTs and nods. Table 7.1 shows the combination of verbal RTs and nods in each video clip.

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Table 7.1. Number of verbal reactive tokens and nods in 50-second video clips

	Video 1	Video 2	Video 3	Video 4	Video 5
Number of Verbal RTs (high, mid, low)	7 (low)	13 (mid)	13 (mid)	23 (high)	13 (mid)
Number of Nods (high, mid, low)	5 (mid)	5 (mid)	10 (high)	5 (mid)	0 (low)
Total	12	18	23	28	13

The frequency of the total verbal RTs is either high (23 times per 50 sec), mid (13 times per 50 sec), or low (7 times per 50 sec). The frequency of total nods is either high (10 times), mid (5 times) or low (0 times). The 5 video clips consist of one of the combinations: 1: low verbal+mid nods, 2: mid verbal+mid nods, 3: mid verbal+high nods, 4: high verbal+mid nods, and 5: mid verbal+low nods. Transcripts of each video clip are shown in Appendix 3.

The types of verbal RTs used in the video clips are one of four types, that is *un* 'yeah,' *soo* 'It is so,' *hee* 'uh-hum,' and *usoo* 'unbelievable.' The following 3 RTs , *soo* 'It is so,' *hee* 'really,' and *uso* 'unbelievable,' were used once. The rest of RTs used were *un*, 'yeah' because it is considered most appropriate in the conversation style of the present study for all age groups (Miyazaki 2001b). The types of RTs are limited to backchannels (*un*,'It is so,' *hee*, 'uh-hum,'), nods, and reactive expressions (*soo* 'It is so,' *uso* 'unbelievable') although more variety of RTs and more frequent turn shifts were observed in the actual conversation.

The reason why the video scenes show a profile of a person is to avoid unnecessary influence by the person's other expressions. And artificially made scenes are used instead of using the actual listening behaviors which respond to the researcher's telling a story because participants may be influenced by other individual factors such as

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voice quality, face, and types of RTs used by each listener. Lastly, in the video clips, the locations of all RTs are at clause boundaries which can be reccognized by pauses and intonation changes. There is no overlap or interruption in the conversation of video clips. The interaction style is similar to rapport style in the present study. RTs consists of informal types of backchannels and nods.

The data consist of 30 sets of ratings done by the same participants in formal and informal conversation data.

7.3.2. Results

7.3.2.1. Rating

This section will present the results of ratings for four questions about naturalness, attentiveness, annoyance and similarity to their own behavior. The first question that asks how natural the person's behavior is was rated in the following way.

Figure 7.1 shows that video 5 is rated highest (3.8) in naturalness and the difference in ratings among videos 1, 2, 3, and 4 is small (2.8 or 2.9). Participants perceive that video 5, which contains mid-verbal RTs (13) and low-nods (0), is the most natural behavior for listening to the conversation in the context. The results of ANOVA show significant effect [$F(4,145)=4.61$, $p=.001$]. The results of Tukey post hoc test in table 7.2 show that only video 5 is significantly different from videos 1 to 4.

Figure 7.1. The average of rating in terms of naturalness of listening behavior in each video scene (n=30)
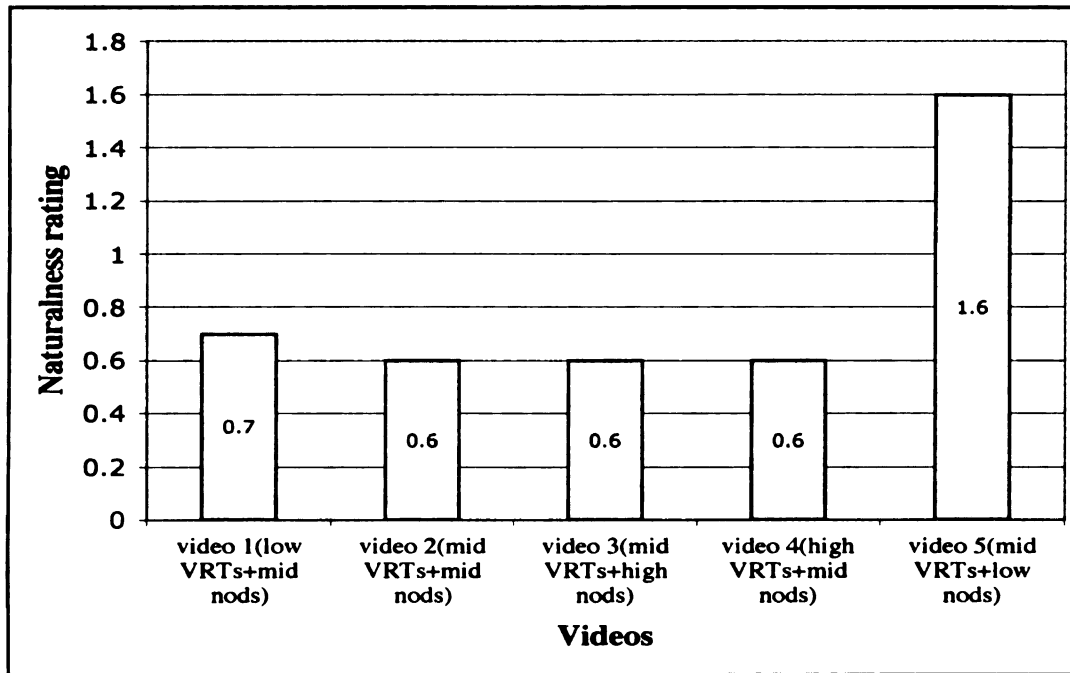
Table 7.2. Results of Tukey post hoc test of naturalness among videos

	Video 1	Video2	Video 3	Video 4	Video 5
Video 1	1.0000				
Video 2	0.9777	1.0000			
Video 3	0.9777	1.0000	1.0000		
Video 4	0.9777	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	
Video 5	0.0296*	0.0044**	0.0044**	0.0044**	1.0000

(*=p<.005, **=p<.0005)

Next, figure 7.2 shows the ratings for how each behavior appears to represent paying attention. Video 2 (mid verbal+mid-nods) is rated the highest followed by video 5

(mid verbal+low nods), videos 1 and 3 (low verbal+mid nods and mid verbal+high nods respectively), and video 4 (high verbal+mid nods). Participants rate the combination of mid+mid the highest. This result implies that too many RTs do not give an impression of a good listener who listens carefully and a low rate of RTs means that the speaker may not understand that their interlocutor is listening attentively.

Figure 7.2. The average of rating in terms of attentiveness of listening behavior in each video scene (n=30)
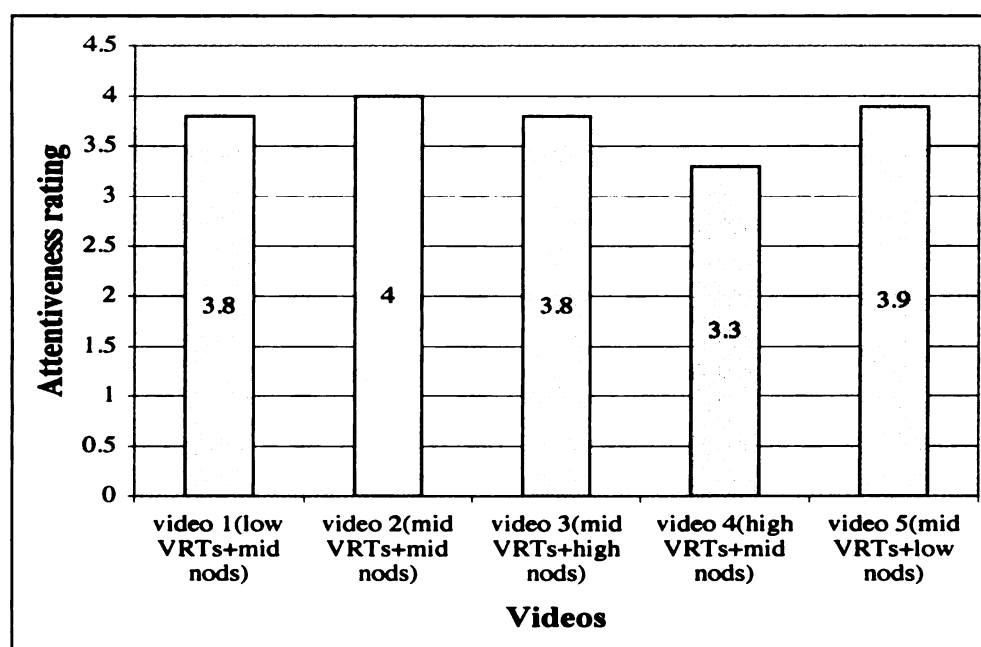
The results of ANOVA show significant effect [F(4,145)=2.52, p=.043]. The results of Tukey post hoc test in table 7.3 show that difference between video 2 and 4, is significantly different. Also video 4 and 5 are almost significantly different (p=.059).

Table 7.3. Results of Tukey post hoc tests of attentiveness among videos

	Video 1	Video2	Video 3	Video 4	Video 5
Video 1	1.0000				
Video 2	0.9637	1.0000			
Video 3	0.999	0.9309	1.0000		
Video 4	0.2078	0.0412*	0.2670	1.0000	
Video 5	0.9840	0.9999	0.9637	0.0595	1.0000

($*=p<.005$, $**=p<.0005$)

The third question examines which listening behavior bothers speakers if participants were to have a conversation with the person in the video scene. Participants were asked to rate videos on the scale of 1 to 5 (most annoying to least annoying) so that negative effect is consistent with ratings of other questions. The most dispreferred behavior is judged to be in video 3 (mid verbal+high nods, total 23) and video 4 (high verbal+mid nods, total 28). These two video scenes are ones containing the most frequent responses in total. Too many listener responses may be interpreted as annoying behavior and there may exist a total number beyond which speakers judge the listeners' behavior to be supportive or annoying. The result implies that 23 verbal RTs in 50 seconds seems to be too abundant and 10 nods in 50 seconds also bother speakers.

Figure 7.3. The average of rating in terms of preference of listening behavior in each video scene (n=30)
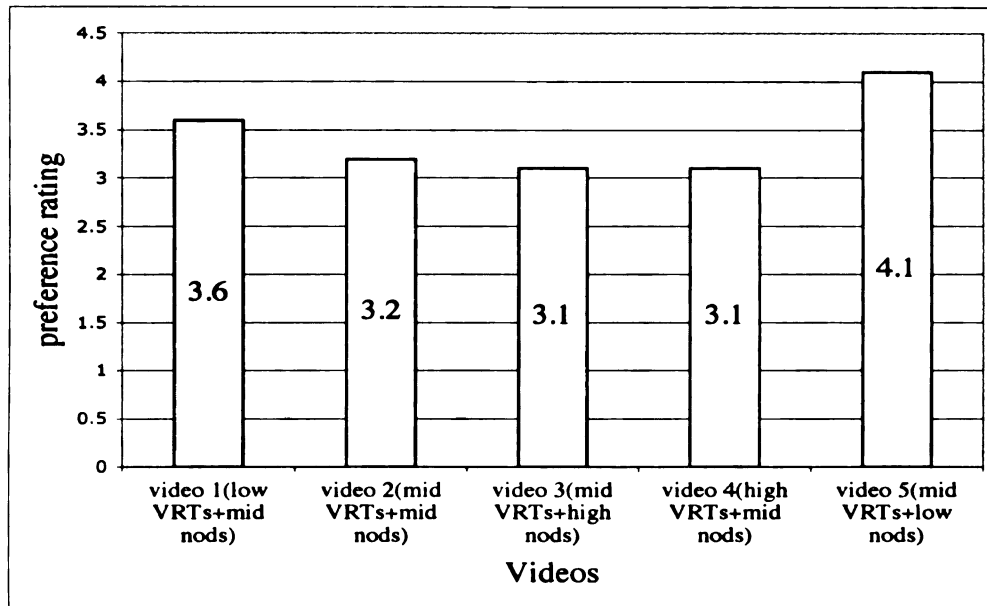
The results of ANOVA show significant effect [$F(4,145)=4.28$, $p=.0026$]. The results of Tukey post hoc test in table 7.4 show that video 5 is significantly different from video 2, 3, and 4. Although the rating of video 5 is higher than video 1, they are not significantly different. All participants perceive the ones which contain of low nods as most preferable and the difference in the number of nods (5 vs. 0) is not perceived with only significant effect.

Table 7.4. Results of Tukey post hoc tests of preference among videos

	Video 1	Video2	Video 3	Video 4	Video 5
Video 1	1.0000				
Video 2	0.6632	1.0000			
Video 3	0.5909	1.000	1.0000		
Video 4	0.5909	1.000	1.000	1.0000	
Video 5	0.3147	0.0102*	0.0070**	0.0070**	1.0000

(*=p<.005, **=p<.0005)

Figure 7.4. The average of rating in terms of similarity to their own listening behavior in each video scene (n=30)
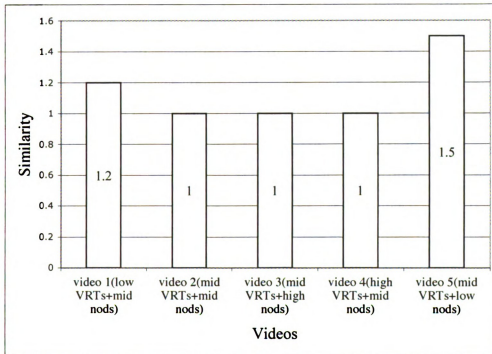
The last question is, 'How are these listening behaviors similar to your own

behavior?' Video 5 is rated highest, followed by videos 1, 2, and 3 and 4. All the figures

present a similar order in the actual rating. That is, the rating is in the order of video

4→ 3→ 2→ 1→ 5 ((low→ high) which corresponds with the frequency of

28→23→18→12→13 times per 50 seconds.

The results of ANOVA do not show significant effect among videos in terms of

similarity [F(4,145)=1.76, p=n.s.].

7.3.2.2. Age and perception

Each rating is tested to determine whether any are related to age. Results of

Pearson Correlation analysis show that video 3 (mid verbal+highnods) and age have a

positive correlation [r=.40, p=.018]. That is, older participants rate video 3 higher, which

was rated as second lowest by all participants. However, none of the other ratings shows

a correlation between the ratings and age.

Overall, ratings of video sceans vary little among age groups. Table 7.5 shows

the results of ANOVA in terms of age groups and ratings of video scenes.

The rating of naturalness of video 2 and 3 are significantly different among age groups.

However other rating and age group do not have significant effect. Table 7.6 and 7.7

present the results of Tukey post hoc test of video 2 and 3 respectively.

Table 7.5. Results of ANOVA in terms of naturalness, attentiveness, preference,
and similarity in each video scene

	The results of ANOVA
Naturalness	
Video 1	F (2, 27)=2.71, p=n.s.

Table 7.5 (cont'd)

Video 2	F (2, 27)=6.26, p=0.005**
Video 3	F (2, 27)=3.84, p=0.034*
Video 4	F (2, 27)=0.27, p=n.s.
Video 5	F (2, 27)=0.45, p=n.s.
Attentiveness	
Video 1	F (2, 27)=0.81, p=n.s.
Video 2	F (2, 27)=0.46, p=n.s.
Video 3	F (2, 27)=0.09, p=n.s.
Video 4	F (2, 27)=2.26, p=n.s.
Video 5	F (2, 27)=2.74, p=n.s.
Preference	
Video 1	F (2, 27)=1.13, p=n.s.
Video 2	F (2, 27)=1.63, p=n.s.
Video 3	F (2, 27)=2.26, p=n.s.
Video 4	F (2, 27)=0.58, p=n.s.
Video 5	F (2, 27)=1.56, p=n.s.
Similarity	
Video 1	F (2, 27)=1.35, p=n.s.
Video 2	F (2, 27)=2.19, p=n.s.
Video 3	F (2, 27)=3.06, p=n.s.
Video 4	F (2, 27)=1.56, p=n.s.
Video 5	F (2, 27)=0.20, p=n.s.

Table 7.6. Results of Tukey post hoc test of video 2 in terms of naturalness rating among groups

	Group I	Group II	Group III
Group I	1.0000		
Group II	0.0054**	1.0000	
Group III	0.0528	0.5944	1.0000

(*=p<.005, **=p<.0005)

Group I participants rated video 2 (mid verbal RTs+ mid nods, total 18) lower than Group II participants. The average of rating of Group I for video 2 is 2, while that of Group II is 3.4 They are significantly different.

Table 7.7 shows the results of Tukey post hoc of video 3. Again, the rating of Group I and II is significantly different but none of the relations are. Group II participants also rated video 3 (high verbal RT+low nods, total 23) higher than Group I participants. The average of rating of Group I is 2.1, while 3.4 for Group II. Although Group II participants rated video 5 as most natural among 5 videos, they rated video 2 and 3 higher than the other 2 groups.

Table 7.7. Results of Tukey post hoc test of video 3 in terms of naturalness rating among groups

	Group I	Group II	Group III
Group I	1.0000		
Group II	0.0277*	1.0000	
Group III	0.2269	0.5483	1.0000

(*=p<.005, **=p<.0005)

The results of ANOVA show that there is little difference among native Japanese female speakers whose age ranges from 19 to 61 in terms of perceiving others' listening behavior to be natural, attentive, preferable or similar to their own behavior in this kind of informal conversation.

The following section will demonstrate the participants' comments in the follow-up interview and discuss the results of ratings of perception.

7.3.2.3. Follow up interview about video clips

This section introduces what participants thought about the listening behavior of the woman in the video clips. The comments of participants show which video scene is the most unnatural and the reason why they judged it to be so. Then comments about the gap between listening behavior that participants expect and the behavior in the video will be presented. Finally, findings regarding the perception of someone's listening behavior will follow at the end of this section.

Among 5 video scenes, video 4 is rated as the most dispreferable listening behavior. For example, SZ (20 years old) states that too many verbal responses (video 4) may give a negative impression in (27).

(27)   SZ: The one in which she uses verbal responses too much is offensive, isn't it?

            M: Too many?

            SZ: Right.

            M: It is kind of annoying?

            SZ: Well, you know it may sound like she doesn't listen to carefully. Like if she says 'yeah yeah' properly, it sounds like she is listening or

something like that [even though she is not listening.]

SF (61 years old) and MD (39 years old) also point out that the listening behavior in video 4 bothers her because of the frequent use of backchannels in (28) and (29) respectively.

(28)   SF: There was one video that bugged me because she punctuated the interlocutor's words with backchannels one by one. The rest didn't differ much.

(29)   MD: Only video 4 is a little noisy because it has too many 'yeahs.'

Some participants comment on the types of tokens and interactional style. SB (20 years old) and SZ (20 years old) agree that they thought the reaction of the woman in the video clip differs from their expected reaction because she does not laugh when the speaker told of an incident at the parking lot entrance.

(30)   SB: Although that is the high point, she doesn't laugh.

(31)   SZ: Well, when I say what I want to say, I expect my friend to laugh, don't you?

SZ's comment in (31) implies that laughter is a way to express a listener's involvement and/or strong support toward a speaker. For these young people, a good listener is one who can create a fun atmosphere through laughter and participate in the on going conversation in a more direct way through 'exaggerated' expressions. WB (54 years old) states what she thought about video scenes in general.

(32)   WB: ....Though I also hardly recognize the difference (among video clips), I wonder if it's nodding or something--there are some clips in

which the person nods vigorously. I didn't notice the differences clearly. But the person only says yeah yeah so I thought maybe I wouldn't listen to someone like she does after watching the video clips, you know. As ST points out, I feel like if I were her, I would use a little more variety of expressions, such as 'oh my,' or 'and then,' or something....There could be a variety of 'yeahs' used if I were her.

ST: 'It is annoying, isn't it?' or 'oh, that was tough, wasn't it?' and so on. What do you think?

WB: But I feel very much that she listens very carefully. I felt this way about all of them.

In (32) WB says that the difference among video clips is subtle and hardly noticeable except for one (video 4). WB and ST comment that they wouldn't listen like the woman in the video does because her reaction lacks variety and emotion, although it is true that all the scenes could happen in a real conversation and the woman seems to listen carefully in all the scenes.

In the analysis of interactional style in chapter 6, WB is judged as rapport style and ST is machine-gun style in their performance in informal conversation. In formal conversation, both participants respond with high verbal and low nods. Obviously their performance in informal conversation is distinct from the ones in the video scene.

The comments of the participants reveal the features of listening behavior which are most important in order for speakers to know the listeners' attitude toward what the speakers say. Results show that nods are not important compared with verbal RTs. In fact, there was little difference between video 2 and 3 which have the same number of verbal RTs, but the latter has twice the number of nods and the average of naturalness rating is 2.8 for both video 2 and 3. On the other hand, the high rate of verbal RT in video 4 is judged to be lowest in naturalness among participants.

7.3.3. Hypothesis 4 and discussion

This section explains how the findings account for hypothesis 4 and discusses the results of the perception data.

Hypothesis 4: The perception of other's listening behavior varies according to perceiver's age.

The results of the perception data in the present study did not support hypothesis 4. That is, the perception of other's listening behavior does not show age-related variation consistent with all ages. Their perception reflects what they do in their own performance. As I discussed earlier, the results show that they rated the one which was the closest to their style of informal conversation in the present study most natural, preferable (least annoying), and similar to their own performance. The result suggests that female native speakers of Japanese have similar perceptions of other's listening behavior in chats no matter what age they are.

However, it should be pointed out that the video clips have problems that possibly influenced the results.

1. The video clips are not authentic, but artificially made, so that participants' judgements might be influenced especially in rating naturalness.

2. The ratio and number of verbal RTs and nods determined based on the preliminary study may not be applicable to the context of the conversation in the video scene.

3. The types of verbal RTs and interactional styles do not reflect the expectation of participants, since in the video clips backchannels are used primarily, while actual conversation between close friends involves various RTs, such as collaborative finishes, repetitions and so on.

4. The interactions of video clips are informal conversation. There might be age-related difference in perception of formal conversation.

These methodological problems should be considered further in future studies to improve the authenticity of video scenes.

7.4. Summary

This chapter presented an overview of how the findings of the present study are supported by participants' comments collected through follow-up interviews. The participants' dialogues or comments reflect how they actually performed in formal and informal conversation. This chapter presents the data which supports Hymes's notion that speakers of a speech communnity share norms although they don't necessarily speak in accordance with such norms (1972, 1974). It also supports the assumption that native speakers have rules of listening behavior proposed in the previous chapters. Although hypothesis 4 is not supported by the results of the perception study, there are some implications regarding the perceptions of people of different age groups.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The present study explored the listening behavior of Japanese female listeners, who were generally thought to be cooperative, supportive, and enthusiastic, in same sex face-to-face conversations. There were three goals for this study. The first goal was to describe how listeners participate in conversation while they listen by using RTs. The second goal was to examine the types of linguistic strategies used. The last goal was to investigate how social factors of age and conversation styles affect listening behavior and the perception of the listening behavior of others.

The listening behavior investigated in the present study was the use of RTs comprising 2 types of RTs: verbal RTs--backchannels, reactive expressions, repetitions, collaborative finishes, resumptive openers, laughter, short comments, and paraphrases; and non-verbal RTs, i.e., nods. The following is a review of the main findings of the present study.

8.1. Findings of the present study

Data were collected from 30 Japanese female native speakers between the ages of 19 and 61. Data consist of 2 kinds of video taped conversations, the ratings of others' behavior in the video, and recorded interviews. Conversational data were transcribed for analyses and a total of 60 minutes of formal conversations and 20 minutes and 26 seconds of informal conversations were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively.

First, the frequency of the use of RTs and the ratio of verbal RTs to nods were

quantitatively examined. Second, variation in listener responses was examined among participants. Next, two social factors of style of conversation (formal and informal) and age were investigated as social variables that influence listeners. Finally, the speakers' metalinguistic knowledge about listening behavior was examined to explain the findings in their own performance and perception of other people's listening behavior.

I posited four hypotheses regarding the interrelation between verbal RTs and nods, the influence of age and style on the use of RTs and the perception of other people's listening behavior. The following are the hypotheses and the results.

Hypothesis 1: The ratio of verbal to non-verbal RTs may vary among
        individuals, but the total number will be similar in similar contexts.
                                           → Supported

Hypothesis 2: The frequency of verbal and non-verbal RTs is affected by
        age. Older female speakers use more verbal RTs than do younger
        speakers.   → Supported

Hypothesis 3: The formality level of conversation influences not only the choice of RT
        types and frequency, but also the interactional styles.
                                         → Supported

Hypothesis 4: The perception of other's listening behavior varies according
        to perceiver's age.   →Not supported

In order to test hypothesis 1, the present study examined formal conversation data in which every participant listens to the same instructions that were planned and given by the same speaker, the researcher. The findings reveal that the total number of RTs used by each participant does not vary statistically, but the ratio of verbal to non-verbal RTs varies among participants. The total number of verbal and non-verbal RTs had a negative correlation.

Hypothesis 2 was also supported. The results of formal conversation

demonstrated that age and nods had a negative correlation, while age and verbal RTs had a positive correlation. The hypothesis that older participants respond more verbally than younger participants was statistically supported.

Analysis of informal conversations showed diverse and complex interaction compared with that in formal conversations. Overall, listeners used verbal strategies more frequently in informal settings than they did in formal settings. The ratio of backchannels to other verbal RTs was smaller in informal than in formal contexts. That is, listeners used verbal RTs other than backchannels more frequently in informal conversations. Various listener responses, such as collaborative finishes or repetitions facilitated listeners' active involvement in conversations and eventually resulted in very distinct interaction from formal conversations.

The present study proposed that there are three interaction styles relevant to the context in the present study--rapport style, high-involvement style, and machine-gun question style--depending on the choice of RT types and the ratio of each RT. The findings showed that interaction during formal conversations tended to be rapport type in which listeners used a greater proportion of backchannels than other verbal RTs. In informal conversations, participants' listening types were identified as each of the 3 types and age did not relate to the specific type of interaction.

Hypothesis 4 was not supported because all the participants' ratings were similar despite their ages. The results showed that female native speakers of Japanese perceived others' listening behaviors similarly and their intuition did not vary according to age. What was found in the present study is consistent with the notion of 'Speech community' (Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Hymes 1974).

8.2. Suggestions for future study

The present study points to a need for further consideration of nods that do not accompany with verbal RTs as listener responses. The findings provide evidence that nods play a significant role, especially in formal conversation, since nods can serve as a negative politeness strategy. It suggests that future research on Japanese listening behavior needs to study not only verbal features but non-verbal features.

The results of the present study reveal that there is a significant difference in listening behavior between formal and informal conversations. It might be pointed out that the amount of informal conversational data that were actually analyzed was limited (a total of 20 minutes 26 seconds of data consisting of 13 dyadic conversations) compared with formal conversational data (a total of 60 minutes data consisting of 30 dyadic conversations). A comparable size of data from different conversation styles could provide statistically supported results.

The variations caused by the conversation styles were explained by the 'multidimensional model,' (Tannen 1993a) using four dimensions made by the power and solidarity continuum. The present study provided empirical data for only 3 dimensions, and not for the context which involves power difference and close relationship. Informal natural conversation data that are relevant to such contexts in which participants are close yet involve power relation between participants are needed to account for the proposed stylistic variations.

The present study focused on listening behavior of female Japanese speakers. Further research on Japanese male speakers in similar contexts should be conducted in

order to investigate common beliefs or norms about Japanese listeners.

The present study is intended to be the first step in gaining researchers' attention toward the occurrence of nods and their function as RTs in individual listening behavior in face-to-face conversation. It is hoped that this study will make a contribution to the field of discourse analysis as a study of variation in different age groups. It is also hoped that the findings will make a contribution to cross-cultural communication by providing information about Japanese listening behavior.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Transcription methods and conventions

1. Hepburn style romanization is used for Japanese translation.

2. Data, tables, and figures are numbered for each chapter.

3. Participants are referred to by the initial of their first name in Chapter 3.

4. Paralinguistic and other interactional symbols are as follows:

.	falling intonation with noticeable pause
,	continuing ('little') intonation, with a slight rise or fall, followed by a short pause
...	omission
=	linked or continuing utterances without overlap
[ ]	speech overlap
{ }	laughter
H	head nod(s)
?	Rising intonation
(?)	unclear utterance

5. When transcribing, not all morphemes are separated. Only those which are given glosses are separated.

Abbreviations used

BE	copulative verb, be
NEG	negative
ID	ideophones (including onomatopoeic [giseigo] and mimetic [gitaigo] words)
NM	nominalizer
TAG	tag-question-like auxiliary verb forms (including jan, ja-nai, desho, daroo, etc
IP	interaction particle
Q	question marker (assigned to final particle ka only)
QT	quotative marker
SUB	subject marker
TOP	topic marker
OP	object marker

APPENDIX B: Script of instruction

1:      *Kyoo wa o isogashii tokoro arigato gozaimasu.*
        Today TOP busy   NM   thank you

2:      *Ano, korekara o hutari de nani o shite itadaku ka kantan ni setsumee =*
        Ah, now   two   what OP do   QT briefly   explain

3:      *=saseteitadakimasu.*
        Let me do

(1-3 English translation) Thank you (for coming) while (you are) busy today. Well, now I am going to briefly explain what you two are going to do (for me).

4:      *Mae ni chotto o hanashi shimashita ga,*
        before a little tell   did   but

5:      *watashi wa amerika no mishigan shu ni aru daigaku de,*
        I   TOP USA   of Michigan state   exist university at

6:      *gengogaku o senko shite ite nihongo no kaiwa no kozo?*
        Linguistics OP major   Japanese of conversation of structure

7:      *Danwa to iimasu ga sore o kenkyu shite imasu.*
        Discourse QT say but it OP study

(4-7 English translation) I mentioned a bit before but I am studying linguistics as major at university in Michigan in America and then studying the structure of Japanese language? We call (it) 'discourse,' I am studying that.

8:      *Sorede jissaini,*
        so   actually

9:      *nihonjin no kataga shitashii shiriai no kata to douiu huu ni o hanashi o=*
        Japanese of people close   acquaintance of people with how talk OP

10:     *= sareru ka no deeta o atshumete imasu.*
        Do   QT of data OP collect

(8-10 English translation)   **So (I) am collecting data of how Japanese people actually speak with close acquaintance.**

11:     *Atode __san to*
        later   Ms.___ with

12:     *ano 15 hun kurai shugaku ryoko no omoide ni tsuite hanashite =*
        ah, 15 minuites about school trip of memory about talk

13:     *= itadakitai to omotte imasu.*
        Want   QT think

(11-13 English translation) Later, I think I would like you talk with Ms.____ about memory of school trip for about 15 minutes.

14:     *Nani o shirabete iruka ni tsuite wa ienain desu ga,*
        what OP study   about   TOP say can't but

15:     *hanashi no naiyo toka, hyogen toka, kotoba zukai,*
        talk   of content etc. expressions etc. language use

16:     *to iu yona koto o shirabete iru wake deha naino de,*
        QT like NM OP investigate   not   so

17:     *ki ni nasarazu ni,*
        mind don't and

18:     *itsumo dori ni o hanashi shite itadakereba kekko desu.*
        Usual as   talk   if   fine BE

(14-18 English translation) I can't tell you what I am studying but I am not studying content of your talk, expressions, your language use, or something like that, so it will be ok if you feel free and talk as you do always.

19:     *Shugaku ryoko toka,*
        school trip and so on

20:     *ensoku e itta toki no episodo nanka de hanashi hajimereba=*
        field trip took time of anecdote with   talk start if

21:     *= ii ka to omoimasu.*
        Good QT think

(19-21 English translation) It will be good if you start talking about like an episode when you went to the school trip or field trip from your school.

22:     *Tatoeba,*
        For example

23:     *watashi wa yamaguchi ken de sodatta node,*
        I   TOP yamaguchi prefecture in raised so

24:     *shogakko no shugaku ryoko wa kyushu de,*
        elementary school of school trip TOP Kyushu and

25:     *chugaku wa shinkansen ni notte kyoto e ittan desu kedo,*
        middle school TOP bullet train OP took Kyoto to went though

26:     *Tokyo de wa chigau rashii desu ne.*
        Tokyo in TOP different seem BE IP

(22-26 English translation) For example, I was raised in Yamaguchi prefecture so I went to Kyushu for elementary school trip, and I went to Kyoto by bullet train for middle school, but it seems different in Tokyo, doesn't it?

27:     *Maa,*
        Well

28:     *sonna koto demo ii shi,*
        that thing   fine and

29:     *hutari tomo shuugaku ryoko no omoi de ga tokuni naiyoo nara*
        two of you school trip   of memory SUB especially not exist if

30:     *saikin itta ryoko no hanashi demo korekara ikitai tokoro no=*
        recently went trip of story   future   want to go place of

31:     *= kotodemo kekko desu.*
        NM   fine BE

(27-31 English translation) Well, that kind of thing is ok and if two of you don't have memory of your school trip particularly, story about a trip you took recently or a place you would like to go in the future would be fine.

32:     *Kyoto no hanashi ni modori masu ga,*
        Kyoto of story   to return   but

33:     *shuugaku ryoko no ato, Kyoto e kojin tekina ryoko de itta no wa,*
        school trip   of after Kyoto to private   trip   as went NM TOP

34:     *10 nen kurai mae ga hajimetede,*
        10 years about ago SUB the first time

35:     *sonokoro,*
        at that time

36:     *amerika jin no yuujin ga Kyoto no urasenke de ocha no benkyo o=*
        American of friend   SUB Kyoto of Urasenke at tea ceremony OP study

37:        *=shiteita node ai ni ikimashita.*
                  So   meet to went

(32-37 English translation) Going back to the story of Kyoto, 10 years ago was the first time when I went to Kyoto privately after school trip and because my American friend was studying tea ceremony at Urasenke, I went to see her.

38:        *Tokyo kara,*
                however

39:        *kuruma de dekaketara,*
                car by went

40:        *yukini natte shimatte,*
                snow become

41:        *koosoku doro ga tochu de heisa ni natte shimatta n desu.*
                High way   SUB on the way had closed

(38-41 English translation)   When I drove my car from Tokyo, it became snowing and then high way was closed between Tokyo and Kyoto.

42:        *Kaeru hoo mo heisa sareta node,*
                Going back direction also cholsed been so

43:        *shizuoka no saki kurai kara kokudo de Kyoto made ikimashita.*
                Shizuoka of a little further about from main road by Kyoto till went

(42-43 English translation)   The high way to going back was also closed, so I drove on the main road to all the way to Kyoto from somewhere around Shizuoka.

44:        *Taihen na omoi o shimashita ga,*
                tough   feeling OP did   but

45:        *ano yuki no Kyoto wa subarashi katta desu.*
                Ah snow of Kyoto TOP wonderful   BE

(44-45 English translation)   It was tough but well, Kyoto in snow was wonderful.

46:        *Kinkakuji nanka mo yukigesho no naka de mita keshiki wa =*
                Kinkakuji temple and so on also snow of in saw view TOP

47:        *=sorewa sorewa utsukushikute,*

very   very   beautiful and

48:     *ii omoide ni narimashita.*
        Good memory became

49:     *To iu yoo ni ohanashi shite itadakemasu ka.*
        QT say way in talk   Q

(46-49 English translation)   Like Kinkakuji temple, the view seen in snow was very very beautiful and it has become a good memory. Would you speak like this?

Video 3 (mid verbal backchannels, 13+mid nods, 5)

1A: *Senshuu sa,*
       last week-IP

2B: *un*
                 yeah

3A: *Suiyoobi no asa ,*
       Wednesday-of morning

4B: H

5A: *Ohiru madeni burokkubasutaa no bideo o kaesa nakuchanannakatta no yo.*
       Noon by Blockbuster's of video P return must   IP + IP

6B: *un*
                 yeah

(1-6 English translation) Last week, Wednesday morning I had to return a video to Blockbuster Video by noon.

7A: *Sorede,*
       so

8A: 11 *ji goro uchi dete,*
       11o'clock home leave

9B: *un*
                 yeah

10A: *Bideo kaeshite kara,*
       video return after

11B: H

12A: *Wells hooru no mae made kite,*
       Wells Hall of front to came

13B: H

14A: *Sutajiamu no mae no paakingu ni hairoo t shita no ne.*
       Stadium of front of parking in enter P intended IP+IP

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15B: *un*
                                          yeah

(7-15 English translation) So I left around 11 o'clock and after returning the video, I drove to Wells Hall and was about going into the parking lot in front of the Stadium.

16A: *Soshitara ,*
        then

17A: *watashi no mae no mae no hito ga kaado,*
        I   of before before of person SUB card

18A: *iretan dakedo geeto ga agannai no yo.*
        Put   but   gate SUB didn't lift IP+IP

19B: *un*
                                          yeah

(16-19 English translation) I found someone in the 2 cars ahead inserted the gate card but the gate did not open

20A: *Watashi mo 11ji han no kurasu ni okuresoodattashi,*
        I too 11 o'clock half of class for being late

21A: *hayaku shitette kanji datta no.*
        hurry up felt like IP

22B: *un*
                                          yeah

(20-22 English translation) I was almost late for the 11:30 class so I was kind of irritated by the trouble.

23A: *De,*
        Then

24B: *un*
        yeah

25A: *sono hito wa nanto geeto o oshiagete haitte icchatta no.*
        that person TOP   gate P push up enter   IP

26B: *hee:*

(23-26 English translation) Then I saw that person got into the parking lot by pushing up the gate by his car.

27A: *Watashi no mae no kuruma mo sore ni tsuzuita no ne.*
            I of before of car also it followed IP+ IP

28B: *uso:*
                                                 really

(27-28 English translation) *And then another car followed him.*

29A: *De ne,*
            So IP

30B: *un*
           yeah

31A: *watashi mo moo jikann ga nakatta shi,*
            I   also no more time left

32B: *un*
                                    yeah

33A: *mae no kuruma ni tsuzuite issh ni haicchatta no yo.*
            Before of car to follow together entered Ip+IP

34B: *un*
                                    yeah

(29-34 English translation) So, I followed them because I didn't have time.

35A: *Dakara,*
            So

36A: *watashitachi no see de geeto ga kowarete tara dooshiyootte ne,*
            Us   gate SUB broken if what should do IP

37B: H

38A: *chotto doki doki shitan da kedo,*
            a little worried though

39B: *un*
                                  yeah

(35-39 English translation) I was a little worried if we actually broke the gate by

pushing up.

40A: *yokujitsu kowarete nakatta kara annshinn shitanda.*
      Next day wasn't broken so relieved

41B: *soo:*

**(40-41 English translation) But when I found it was ok on the next day, I was
relieved.**

1. 名前name:

2. 年齢 age:　満＿＿＿歳

3. 性別 sex:　男(M)＿女(F)

4. 出身地 place of birth :　　＿＿＿＿＿＿都／県　＿＿＿＿＿＿　区／市

5. 東京／関東地区在住年数 length of residence in Tokyo or kanto area:

   約approximately　＿＿年years　（＿＿歳から＿＿＿歳まで age : from - to）

6. 現在の職業 (current occupation): Circle one.

   学生student,　主婦 housewife　　事務 clerk

   店員sales clerk　接客業 service industry　教員teacher　その他 others

7. 会話相手との関係 relationship to the conversation partner:
   1. 非常に親しい very close
   2. かなり親しい relatively close
   3. どちらかといえば親しい close
   4. ただの知り合い just an acquaintance

8. 会話相手とは自然に話せましたか Did you talk to your partner naturally?
   1. 非常に自然に話せた Very naturally
   2. 大体自然に話せた Overall naturally
   3. あまり自然に話せなかった not very much
   4. 全然自然に話せなかった not at all

名前name _____.

(Questionnaire in Japanesewriting)

ビデオに写っている人の態度を注意してみて下さい。それぞれのビデオシーンについて
1から6の質問に答えて下さい (Please pay attention to the person's listening behavior in the scene and rate each scene according to the questions listed below)

ビデオvideo 1.
1この人の態度は自然だと思いますか。Did the person in the scene behave naturally?

とても自然　5 ｜　4 ｜普通　3 ｜　2 ｜　不自然　1
very naturally　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　unnaturally

2この人は相手の話を注意深く聞いていると思いますか。Is the person's behavior attentive?

とても注意深く聞いている5｜　4 ｜普通3 ｜　2 ｜　全く注意を払っていない
1
very attentive　　　　　　　　　　　　　　not at all

3
あなたが話している時にこの人のような態度をとられたら煩わしいと思いますか
。Does the person's behavior annoy you?

とてもうっとうしい　5｜　　4 ｜普通　3 ｜　2 ｜全然気にならない1
very much　　　　　　　　　　　　　　not at all

4もしあなたがこのビデオの人だったら、この人のような態度で話を聞くと思い
ますか。If you were the person in the scene, would you behave like her?

よく似た態度　　5｜　4 ｜どちらでもない3 ｜　2 ｜　全く違う1
very similar　　　　　　　　　　　　very different

The same questions follows for video 2-6.

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