GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE USE OF BACKCHANNELS: DO JAPANESE MEN AND WOMEN ACCOMMODATE TO EACH OTHER?

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Masato Kogure

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and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Timothy Vance — Date 6/30/03

Kimberly A. Jones — Date 6/30/03

Susan U. Philips — Date 7/8/03

Date

Date

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Dissertation Director Susan U. Philips — Date July 8, 2003

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ABSTRACT

This study explores gender differences and accommodation behaviors of Japanese conversation participants in the use of Japanese backchannels. The study utilized three types of dyadic conversations, 5 male single-sex, 5 female single-sex, and 5 mixed-sex conversations, in which the participants were asked to talk about a particular topic for about 30 minutes. Five types of backchannel including short responses such as *hai* 'uh-huh', reactive expressions such as *soo desu ka* 'I see", repetitions, collaborative finishes, and resumptive opener, along with nods, were quantitatively scrutinized in terms of their distribution, frequency, and placement. The duration of the listeners' gaze was also calculated in terms of the number of the intonation units on the side of the speaker in question.

Analysis of the present study revealed that gender differences in the use of backchannels were more pronounced in the single-sex dyadic conversation. Furthermore, it was found that females in the same-sex dyad group showed distinctive characteristics, compared to other participant groups. For example, the study revealed that females in the same gender-dyad group, overall, showed a relatively frequent use of nods.

Accommodation tendency was confirmed in the use of backchannels and the listener's gaze behavior. Overall, women tended to show a greater degree of accommodation in the mixed gender dyadic conversation. Besides, the study pointed out that how men and women accommodate depends on the types of backchannels and

listener's gaze. There were cases in which one of the sexes showed convergence and the other showed divergence in a mixed-gender dyadic conversation or vice versa. In the present study, a different accommodation pattern emerged particularly between verbal and nonverbal backchannels. As for verbal backchannels, it was indicated that there were more convergence patterns either from both genders or at least from one of the sexes. With regard to nonverbal backchannels, in this case, nods, however, women constantly showed a convergence pattern, whereas men showed a divergence pattern at all times in the mixed-sex conversation. These results indicated that gender differences in the use of backchannels could be context-sensitive, which is a new finding in terms of the analysis of gender and language.

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This dissertation explores gender differences in the use of Japanese backchannels. The study utilized three types of dyadic conversations, 5 male single-sex, 5 female single-sex, and 5 mixed-sex conversations, in which the participants were asked to talk about a particular topic for about 30 minutes. In this chapter, I will present the background of the study: gender and language overview, the Japanese language and gender, accommodation, and backchannels. I will, then, specify the goal of the study followed by an overview of the methodology used. Lastly I will touch upon the significance of and limitations of the study and mention the organization of the dissertation.

Gender and Language Overview

Gender difference in language use has been vigorously investigated for a number of decades since a Lakoff's publication on gender and the English language in 1974. Although her research was based on her introspection using her own speech, that of her acquaintances, her intuition, and the media, the research propelled scrutiny of her claims among researchers with various backgrounds, including sociolinguists and anthropologists. Some even attempted to offer reasons for gender differences in language use.

One of the approaches to explain gender differences in language use is the so-called difference approach. According to this approach, men and women learned a different way to communicate in their same-sex peer groups in younger days, and as a result, miscommunication inevitably occurs when they talk with each other in the mixed-sex conversation (e.g., Tannen, 1990; Maltz & Borker, 1982). Maltz and Borker stated:

> We argue that American men and women come from different sociolinguistic subcultures, having learned to do different things with words in a conversation, so that when they attempt to carry on conversations with one another, even if both parties are attempting to treat one another as equals, cultural miscommunication results. (Maltz & Borker, 1982, p.200)

Men learn ways for communicative interaction from same-sex peer groups (e.g., asserting one's opinion and maintaining an audience), and likewise, women learn ways to communicate with each other from female peer groups (e.g., giving support and letting others speak). Thus, miscommunication between men and women happens for this reason. Supporters of the difference approach consider that miscommunications between men and women are similar to those in cross-cultural communication since they proceed talk based on different rules.

Other researchers advocated the so-called dominance approach and suggested that a traditional view in our society; women's status is weaker than men's, creates gender difference in language use between men and women (e.g., Fishman, 1983; Lakoff, 1974, 1975; West and Zimmerman, 1983; Zimmerman and West, 1975). For example, Zimmerman and West (1975) argued that male's frequent interruption in conversations could be interpreted as denial of equal status to women as conversational partners in a men's dominant society.

The more research has done in a variety of disciplines such as anthropology and social psychology, however, the more we found counterexamples to the view of men's and women's language use. Thus, researchers have, recently, come to realize that gender differences in language use cannot be explained by either a simple difference approach or dominance approach. "Community of Practice" is developed from such a recent view on gender and language (e.g., Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, 1999; Holmes and Meyerhoff, 1999). According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), "a community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p.464). Advocates of a Community of Practice approach consider that gender difference in language use arises from various interconnected factors including power, status, age, and so on. In a similar vein, Meyerhoff (1996) proposed a framework of speaker identify, in which she argued that speaker identity is multiple and local contexts influence which speaker identity becomes most salient. So, in some contexts, gender might be the strongest identity influencing the use of language, but in other contexts, other identities, such as social class, might become the most influential factor on the language use. In addition, Bucholtz, (1996) argued that gender is not a sole factor which affects the frequency of backchanneling by women and that other factors such as characteristics of a particular group speech strategy also might influence.

Gender Difference and the Japanese Language

A number of aspects of the Japanese language have been claimed to be associated with femininity are as follows: (1) the use of certain final particles (Ide, 1990; Jorden, 1974; Shibamoto, 1985, 1987; McGloin, 1986, 1991); (2) the use of the honorific affix *o* (Shibamoto, 1987); (3) the use of *gaigen* (evidential), an assertiveness-softening speech style such as *ka mo shirenai* 'possibly', (Smith, 1992b); (4) the use of standardized sound features (Haig, 1990); (5) the ellipse of *wa* and *ga* when an NP is physically or psychologically close to both the speaker and the listener and when the NP in question is perceptible to both the speaker and the hearer at the moment of speech (Shibamoto, 1990); (6) the use of politeness strategies (Ide, 1982); (7) the use of the Motherese Strategy and the Passive Power Strategy in issuing directives (Smith, 1992a, Sunaoshi, 1995)[1]; and (8) the use of backchannels (Kurosaki, 1987, Yoshii, 1999).

Recent research, however, have yielded findings which imply that some of aspects of the Japanese language which were previously claimed to be related to femininity might not be so (e.g., the ellipse of *wa* and *ga* --- Takano, 1997, 1998; the use of the Motherese

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[1] According to Smith (1992a), the Motherese Strategy refers to the use of directives which mothers commonly issue to their children such as *no yo* and *nasai*, and the Passive Power Strategy refers to the use of directives without verb, or with verbal forms followed by one or another of the auxiliary verbs/of receiving (favors), in its positive assertive form (*-te moraimasu*, *-te itadakemasu*).

and the Passive Power Strategies --- Takano 1997), and have also shown that women, especially younger generations of women, came to use forms which were traditionally thought to be male language, (Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Okamoto, 1995a, b).

The results of these Japanese studies also suggest what I mentioned in the previous section: we should consider various factors which might influence differences in language use between men and women the language use before we decide that gender is the primary factor. Ide et al. (1986) argued that sex differences in language should not be looked at only as a direct consequence of speaker sex per se, but rather as a phenomenon determined by complex factors among which are speaker-addressee distance or speaker-addressee interaction and the frequency of the number of encounters between them (p.36). Takano (1997) pointed out that it is misleading to attribute incomplete, fragmental utterances to the female sex and complete utterances to the male sex and that these differences come instead from differences in communication networks which each of group usually made contact with. Inoue (1995) claims that Japanese women's language was historically created through Japan's modernization process in the late nineteenth century. The construction and dissemination of women's language is closely linked to the construction and dissemination of the doctrine of "good wife and wise mother" and to the "larger political project of the consolidation of the nation-state" (Inoue, 1995, p.325). Okamoto (1995b) suggests that women might strategically choose certain speech styles such as sentence-final forms to convey their self-images. Okamoto stated:

> It seems that the use of the speech style [a muscular speech style] by young women, particularly in conversation among peers, serves to convey an image of youthfulness, to differentiate younger from older women, and thus to establish solidarity. (Okamoto, 1995b, p.313)

Thus, her finding shows that young Japanese women endeavor to portray themselves as positive figures by selecting speech styles on their own.[2] That is, the choice of speech style is a means of expressing and constructing women's identities and relations. Similarly, Hubbard (1994, p.85) pointed out that using language strategically to convey a certain identity is not restricted to younger generations of women in Japan. For example, some women in Tokyo adopt extreme speech such as *hidoo gozaimashita* 'was awful'. Hubbard (1994) assumed that the adoption of such feminine speech was a class expression, one of "refined-class" women (p.84). Lastly, Sunaoshi (1995) describes Japanese women in authority as powerful agents who exploited the Japanese stereotyped image; women are caretakers and are polite and passive, when issuing directives to subordinates, by which they were "maximizing the power of their traditional roles" (p.688) to attain their conversational goals in interaction.

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[2] Okamoto pointed out that the choice of speech style seems to be affected by the age, occupation, position, intimacy, and formality level of the situation.

Accommodation

According to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), participants in talk adapt to each other's communicative behaviors or accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). The former is called convergence and the latter is called divergence. Furthermore, speech convergence – reducing linguistic differences - is one of the strategies that an individual can employ in order to be socially integrated with another (Giles et al., 1991). Mulac et al. (1988) found that differences in language use between men and women, for example, frequent interruptions for men's and intensive adverbs for women, were attenuated in mixed-sex dyads compared to same-sex dyads. Thus, they argued that "both genders adopted a linguistic style more like that of their out-group partner than they would have maintained with an in-group partner" (Mulac et al., 1988, p.331). Furthermore, the findings of previous studies have pointed out that in mixed-gender conversation, women showed a greater degree of accommodation in some linguistic variables (e.g., Bilous & Krauss, 1988; Fitzpatrick et al., 1995; Hannah & Murachver, 1999; Jones et al., 1999; Mulac et al, 1988).

Fitzpatrick et al. (1995) found that gender-preferential linguistic use manifested in same-sex dialogues more strongly than in mixed-sex ones. Furthermore, they found that in same-sex stranger groups, women and men displayed significantly more gender-preferential language than in mixed-sex or married dialogues (p.31). When speaking in mixed-sex stranger dyads, both women and men decreased their own gender-preferential style usage (p.31). Moreover, it was found that the men with traditional ideas about marriage and the family tended to persist in using male gender-preferred language in conversations with their wives and with other women. In addition, husbands attenuated their style significantly more in conversation with their wives than they did in conversation with other women, and the degree of husband's adjustment of their style to their wives was stronger than the degree of the adjustment of their spouses to them. Fitzpatrick et al. further found that overall women were more flexible in adjusting or converging their conversational style according to different kinds of conversational partners such as their husbands, men, and other women.

Backchannels

Yngve (1970) first introduced the term "backchannels" which he defined as short messages such as 'yes' and 'uh-huh' given by the listeners without relinquishing the turn. What type of utterances comprises backchannels is controversial. Some regard only short utterances (i.e., backchannels) such as 'yes' and 'uh-huh' as listener response (Yngve, 1970). Others include not only short utterances but also brief messages such as 'I see' (e.g., Maynard, 1990a) in the category. Some researchers further expand the criteria of listener response to include longer utterances such as repetitions (e.g., Clancy et al., 1996; Duncan, 1974; Hirokawa, 1995; Horiguchi, 1988)[3]. For example, Clancy et al. (1996)[4] includs five types of listener's utterance in their category: (a) backchannels; (b) reactive expressions, e.g., 'oh really'; (c) collaborative finishes[5]; (d) repetitions; and (e) resumptive openers[6].

The following examples illustrate collaborative finishes, repetitions, and resumptive openers which Clancy et al. (1996) included as backchannels in their study.[7] Note that utterances with bold letters are considered to be listener response.

Example (1)

A: .. when you say it happens for a reason.

.. it's like,

... it happened to get off –

B: .. **Off my ass**. (Clancy et al., 1996, p. 360)

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[3] Others consider nonverbal behaviors such as nod and shake as listener response (e.g., Duncan, 1974; Hirokawa, 1995; Maynard 1990a).

[4] They used the term 'reactive tokens' for listener responses.

[5] Collaborative finishes are defined as the non-primary speaker's utterances which finish a previous speaker's utterance (Clancy et al 1996, p. 360). Horiguchi (1988) called this type of non-primary speaker's utterance *sakidori*, literally translated as 'talking in advance'.

[6] Resumptive Openers refer to a type of non-lexical element which is used at turn initial points. The characteristics of resumptive openers are: They are realized in short, non-lexical, vocalic forms; and they tend to appear as a separate intonation unit (Clancy et al 1996, p. 362).

[7] Clancy et al. (1996) used listener response tokens for backchannels.

Example (2)

A: ... I got everything taken care of.

I got insurance on it too.

B: ... [how much <X it X>] –

A: ... [under my] name.

... eleven hundred a year.

B: .. **eleven hundred**.

A: ... three hundred [dollars down],

B: [that's cheap] man, (Clancy et al., 1996, p. 361)

Example (3)

A: ... Ho=w are you doing with the house.

B: ... **Oh**,

.. got it all uh... painted,

.. just about,

... except two sides [of it].

A: [**Oh** you should a] primer stuff (Clancy et al., 1996, p. 361).

In (1), B says 'off my ass' by anticipating what A is going to say: the utterance of B helps A's utterance be completed. This is called a collaborative finish. In (2), B repeats A's utterance, 'eleven hundred', illustrating another listener response: repetition. In (3), both A's and B's 'Oh', which appear at the beginning of their turns, show another type of listener response: the resumptive opener.

Nonverbal aspects of communication should not be disregarded when analyzing conversational interactions in any case. Some researchers included nonverbal aspects such as head movement (Duncan, 1974; Hirokawa, 1995; Maynard, 1989), and laugh (Hirokawa, 1995; Maynard, 1989) in the backchannel category. Furthermore, some of these studies explored how the occurrence of backchannels was related to nonverbal aspects of the speaker. For example, Duncan (1974, p. 172) found that the turning of a speaker's head toward the listener was highly associated with the occurrence of backchannels[8]. Hirokawa (1995, p 309) pointed out that speaker's nod might imply the intention to continue his/her turn in some cases, and backchannels are likely to be inserted after the nod. Dittmann & Llewellyn (1968, p. 83) speculateed that a change in the direction of gaze by the speaker might elicit backchannels.

The Problem

Previous studies in the English language and the Japanese language showed that women used backchannels more frequently than men. The findings of more recent English studies, however, indicated that differences in the frequency of backchannels

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[8] Duncan (1974) used 'phonemic clause' for the unit of analysis of speaker and listener interactions during turns. For detailed information about how Duncan defined the unit of the analysis, please see Duncan (1974).

between men and women varies from one to another context. For example, it has been reported that frequency difference is more manifested in a single-sex conversation than in a mixed-sex conversation (e.g., Bilous and Krauss, 1988; Reid, 1995). This study will follow these previous studies which investigated accommodation in the use of backchannels; I will examine how the use of backchannels of men and women changes between a single-sex conversation and a mixed-sex conversation in the Japanese language to explore accommodation phenomena between them.

Professional Significance of the Study

Studies of gender difference in backchannels in the Japanese language, unfortunately, have been very scarce. Besides, no studies have been conducted of how Japanese men and women accommodate to each other in the use of backchannels when they have a conversation in a mixed-sex conversation. The results of this study will contribute not only to accommodation studies but also to gender and language studies in general, as well as in the Japanese language specifically.

Overview of Methodology

This study will take a form of experimental study. I will utilize three types of conversation, five sets each of male-male conversation, female-female conversation, and male-female conversation, which were video-and tape-recorded in Japan. The particpants were given a topic of conversation and talked about the topic for about thirty minutes. Based on the transcribed data, I will examine how the distribution and the frequency of backchannels varies from a single-sex to a mixed-sex conversation. In addition, the grammatical contexts of backchannels will be compared between male-male and female-female conversation as well as between single-sex and mixed-sex conversation to find gender differences and accommodation in this area. Lastly, I will attempt to look at the duration of gaze of male and female listeners as well as how men and women gaze at their partner when producing backchannels in the three types of conversation. All the numbers I will calculate for the frequency will be tested in a statistical package called SAS. Considering the unbalanced number of the participants between single-sex and mixed-sex conversation, I will use a General Linear Method (GLM) to see if a significant difference can be observed among the data.

Limitations of the Study

Although this study is experimental, due to the time limitation of staying in Japan as well as of personal networks, the number of the conversations collected was relatively small. Besides, the small size of the sample may discredit the use of statistical measurement. Therefore, this study cannot offer a generalized conclusion. In spite of this limitation, I hope that the results of the study will give a hint to the interpretation of the relationship between gender and language studies.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of nine chapters. To provide theoretical and perspective foundations to the present study, in Chapter 2, I will review previous backchannel studies in general, in the Japanese language, and from the perspective of gender. In Chapter 3, I will discuss the data used in this study, the methodological procedures, and present the research questions, followed by Chapter 4, in which I will present units of analysis which this dissertation is basesd on. Gender differences in the use of backchannels will be investigated in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, verbal backchannels in Chapter 5, nonverbal backchannels in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7, I will integrate verbal and nonverbal backchannels into the one category, 'backchannel', to try to show a general picture regarding gender differences in the use of backchannels. In Chapter 8, I will investigate characteristics of gaze when they produce backchannels to find gender differences. This will be followed by Chapter 9, the conclusion.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews previous research on backchannels. It includes backchannels in general such as type, backchannels studies in English, backchannel studies in Japanese, variations of backchannels, and studies of gender differences in the use of backchannels in both English and Japanese.

Backchannel studies in English

For a long time, researchers tended to focus on the speaker's side when analyzing conversational interaction. From the late 1960s on, some researchers started to shift their attention to the listener's side and analyze listener's verbal and nonverbal behavior, especially brief vocal utterances, nods, and laughs which were delivered by the listener while listening. These listener's responses are called by different names, such as backchannels, minimal responses, and listener responses (from now on, I will use backchannels throughout this study).

Researchers in the English language have examined backchannels from various aspects such as categorization, function, and placement. Dittmann and Llewellyn (1968) categorized backchannels into three types – (a) single response made either verbally or by a head nod and (b) joint responses in which vocalization and a head nod occur together – and discussed their functions and placements based on dyadic video-recorded conversations. According to them, backchannels function as (a) "a wish of the listener to interject a comment or question, (b) a response by the listener to some need in the speaker for feedback, or (c) a signal of attention" (p. 82).[9] As for the placement, Dittmann and Llewellyn found that backchannels were likely to be inserted after phonemic clause junctures which sounded final (rising and falling pitch contours).[10]

Kendon (1967, 1990), who incorporated gaze behaviors of conversation participants into his analysis of backchannels (which he termed "accompaniment signals"), suggested that backchannels consist of two types. One is called an attention signal, which indicates that the listener is following, and the other is called a point granting or an assenting signal, which indicates the listener's agreement when the speaker is developing an argument by presenting a series of points. Kendon claimed that these two kinds of backchannels were distinctive in terms of gaze-direction; he found that when the listener produced an attention signal, he/she continued to look at the speaker. To the contrary, it was found that when the listener produced an agreement signal, he/she briefly looked away with a single or double small head nod.

Yngve (1970) first introduced the term "backchannels" for listener's responses and viewed in terms of the turn-taking in conversation. According to Yngve, backchannels are short messages such as 'yes' and 'uh-huh' given by the listeners

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[9] They called the first two functions, (a) and (b), interpersonal functions. In addition, they found some differences in the proportion of the interpersonal functions and a function of attention between single and joint backchannels with a lesser degree for interpersonal functions for single backchannels.

[10] According to Dittmann and Llewellyn (1967), phonemic clause, which was suggested by Trager and Smith (1951), is a unit of spoken language which could be identified by paying attention to suprasegmental factors such as pitch and stress.

without relinquishing the turn. Based on the observations of a video-recoded dyadic conversation, Yngve found that backchannels were usually accompanied by head nods but head nods often replaced the backchannels. These responses tend to either occur after pauses or occur simultaneously with the main message. Furthermore, he mentioned the functions of backchannels; backchannels were used for expressing agreement, attention, interest, or facilitating the speaker's further talk.

Duncan and his associates (Duncan, 1974; Duncan and Fiske, 1977; Duncan and Fiske, 1985) extensively analyzed a turn exchange system between the speaker and the listener in terms of their verbal and nonverbal behaviours. Unlike the researchers whom I mentioned previously, they defined backchannel broadly including sentence completions, requests for clarification, brief statements, and head nods and shakes along with short expressions such as "m-hm". In Duncan and Fiske (1985), they further added smiles in the category based on Brunner (1979). These backchannels were considered neither to be produced in speaking turns nor to be the claims of turn by themselves. The backchannel just functions as a token of showing understanding, agreement, or disagreement (Duncan and Fiske, 1985, p.46-47).

Based on the detailed analysis of video-recorded conversations in an experimental condition, Duncan and Fiske (1985) suggested probable patterned sequences of behaviors of the speaker and the listener in interaction. That is, according to them, when an early backchannel which overlapped the speaker's current speech occurred, the speaker was likely to display a speaker continuation signal, a shift of head direction away from the listener. When a backchannel occurred in the pause position preceded by the speaker's within-turn signal, either a shift in head direction toward partner or completion of grammatical clause, the speaker continuation signal also tended to be displayed. In addition, post-boundary backchannels overlapping the subsequent speaker's speech were also likely to be followed by the speaker's within-turn signal.

Researchers in conversational analysis have mainly focused on the function of backchannels looking at the surrounding turn-taking. For example, Schegloff (1982) carefully analyzed backchannels based on the local sequential context of conversational interactions in natural settings. He claimed that backchannels such as "uh-huh" occurring during an extended unit of talk which contained several turn transitional relevant places, have a specific function. These backchannels, according to Schegloff (1982, p.81), are continuers which exhibit not a mere claim of understanding, but a particular claim of understanding that an extended talk was still underway and that it was not yet complete. Schegloff, further, pointed out that those who utter continuers were, in fact, passing an opportunity to produce a full turn at talk. Besides, Schegloff mentioned that when backchannels such as "uh-huh" occurred in the position where the speaker's immediately preceding utterance was problematic and other-initiated repair could be done, these responses implied that the producer of the backchannels might be passing an opportunity to initiate repair on the immediately preceding talk.

Jefferson (1984, 1993) discussed the functions of two forms of backchannels, "yeah" and "mm mm", based on the detailed analysis of the local contexts of naturally occurring conversations. According to Jefferson, a recipient in conversation who delivers "yeah" shows that he/she is ready to take the speakership. On the other hand, a recipient who produces "mm mm" shows 'passive recipiency', "proposing that the co-participant is current speaker and shall go on talking"(Jefferson, 1984, p.206). Furthermore, Jefferson showed local contexts where a transition of speakership was expected but a recipient deliberately used "mm mm". Jefferson called this kind of use of "mm mm" 'Perverse Passive'. In these contexts, by utilizing "mm mm", a recipient of conversation can elicit further talk from the speaker and at the same time successfully preserve the recipient status. In addition, Jefferson (1993) compared the use of "uh huh" with "mm hm" in a therapy session, and found that the message of "uh huh" was similar to "I see" and "Oh okay" and was used in a way to show an acknowledgement of reaffirmation of challenged item in a particular context while "mm hm" was used for passive recipiency.

Goodwin (1986) showed that backchannels could be classified into two types – continuers and assessments – depending on how the speaker treats them within the sequence of immediate local contexts. According to Goodwin, continuers such as "uh-huh" are placed at the boundaries of turn constructional units where another unit is still underway, suggesting that a recipient of talk is prepared for movement to a new unit.

Furthermore, when continuers occur, the speaker can freely start the next unit before they have been completely uttered, which implies that the speaker "treats it precisely as a signal to continue" (Goodwin, 1986, p.208). As a result, the speaker can continue his/her talk in coordination with the actions of the listener. To the contrary, Goodwin claimed that assessments are produced in reaction to the particulars of what is being talked about, expressing the recipient's enthusiasm, appreciation, outrage, and so on. Thus, the speaker waits to proceed to his/her next unit of talk until the recipient's assessments are completed, rather than starting the next unit by overlapping the assessments, as in the case of continuers.

Drummond and Hopper (1993) utilized quantitative methods to investigate how differently three types of backchannels, "yeah", "mm hm", and "uh huh", function in the discourse. Unlike researchers in conversation analysis who claimed that the functions of backchannels should be examined in local sequential environments, they used distributional approaches to classify three types of acknowledgement tokens based on the calculation of probability with regard to whether or not another speaker held the floor after the tokens. The data that they used were drawn from transcripts and audiotapes of telephone calls. Drummond and Hopper (1993) found that about 50% of "yeah" was used to initiate further speakership; the producer of "yeah" took the floor, while "mm hm" and "uh huh" were rarely used to initiate further speakership; the producer of these tokens remained as the recipient. Thus, the results supported Jefferson's argument

(1983, 1993) that "yeah" was a marker of speakship incipiency and "mm hm" was a marker of passive recipiency.

Japanese Backchannel Studies

In daily Japanese conversations, frequent backchanneling is indispensable in order to smoothly communicate with one another. Japanese backchannels, known as *aizuchi* (a term that originally referred to two swordsmiths hammering alternately on the same blade [Mizutani, 1982, p.33]), started to be investigated vigorously, especially, during the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Horiguchi 1988, 1997; Iwasaki, 1990; Kita, 1996; Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 'The National Language Research Institute' 1987; Koiso et al. 1998; Komiya, 1986; Matsuda, 1988; Maynard, 1989; Mizutani, 1982, 1983, 1984; Sugito, 1989). These studies used various kinds of data such as debate programs on TV (Mizutani, 1982, 1983, 1984; Komiya, 1986), an interview show on TV (Mizutani, 1982, 1983, 1984), a telephone conversation from a law consultation program on the radio (Mizutani, 1982, 1983, 1984), a counseling program on the radio (Komiya, 1986), video-recorded dyadic conversations of Japanese college students who had experienced minimum foreign influence (Maynard, 1989), and so on. However, compared to previous studies of English backchannels, Japanese studies seem to frequently overlap the areas of investigation and as a result, seem to yield similar point of views. In this section, I will review Japanese backchannels in terms of classification, location, frequency, and function, based on previous Japanese backchannel studies.

Classification

The classification of backchannels in Japanese has been attempted from various aspects. Some scholars have attempted to classify backchannels in terms of the concept that backchannels facilitate the speaker's further talk. Since the listener's short utterances such as *ee*, *un*, and *hai* 'uh-huh' and idiomatic expressions *naruhodo* 'I see' are likely to be considered to have this function, the general consensus among researchers is that these kinds of utterances are backchannels. Some researchers have even included utterances such as finishing up the partner's speech (*kanketsu* or *sakidori*) and reinforcement (restating the partner's utterance in his/her own words: *hokyoo*) in the category of backchannels (Mizutani, 1982, 1983, 1984; Horiguchi 1988, 1997). Horiguchi (1988, 1997) further extended the backchannel category, including repetitions (*kurikaeshi*) as well as restatements (*iikae*) in the category. Matsuda (1988) suggested that not only verbal backchannels but nonverbal behaviors such as nods[11], laughter, smiles, and facial expressions which delineate surprise should be included in the category of backchannels. This is because all these utterances also seem to be markers of understanding the speaker and helping the speaker to smoothly proceed to the further talk as other backchannels do.

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[11] According to Matsuda, several kinds of nodding can be observed in Japanese conversations: (a) a nod with large and deep head movement; (b) a nod with small and shallow head movement; (c) a nod the degree of head movement in the middle of (a) and (b); and (d) a nod with their head drawing backwards.

Komiya (1986) proposed that the *jiyuu ishi* (volition) of the listener should be a main factor in deciding whether or not the listener's response is a backchannel. Komiya did not consider the listeners' responses to the speakers' questions as backchannels. In addition, for the same reason, utterances which were made after a pause following the speaker's utterance as well as the final particle *ne* was excluded from the category of backchannels. According to Komiya, these listeners' responses were reinforced by the context which the speech act or grammatical elements created.

Iwasaki (1990) claimed that backchannels should be considered in terms of how conversational participants treat backchannels in the sequence of conversation. He defined backchannel as follows: (1) it is given immediately after or concurrently with the turn to which it is directed and (2) it dose not add any information to the propositional content presented in the preceding or current turn (p. 5). Backchannels are categorized into three types, continuers and response expressions produced by the listener, and backchannels produced by the speaker followed by his/her own substantive utterances other than backchannels.

<u>Location</u>

The locations where backchannels are likely to be inserted have been investigated extensively as well. Some studies examined the placement of backchannels in terms of grammatical elements of the speaker's speech, and the following elements are reported to be related to the occurrence of backchannels: (a) either after a pause or after a pause preceded by final particles such as *ne* ' doesn't/isn't it? (Horiguchi, 1997; Matsuda, 1988), (b) after the gerundive form (i.e., *-te* form of a verb) of verbs (Maynard 1989; Mizutani, 1988), (c) after interjections (Horiguchi, 1997), and (e) when the speaker nods (Horiguchi, 1997). Mizutani (1988) argued that backchannels in Japanese were frequently observed after the conjunctive particles *ga* 'but' and *kedo* 'though'. Since Japanese speakers often seem to connect several clauses with these particles and conjunctions within one utterance, this supports the claim that backchannels of Japanese frequently occurs at a single clause boundary.

Maynard (1989) pointed out that Pause-bounded Phrasal Unit (PPU) surrounded by the pause seem to be the place where backchanneling occurs. PPU are "mostly accompanied by pause-predicting tone and/or pause-warning decreased speed, along with occasional stressed, rising intonation. Moreover, according to Maynard (1989), the PPU is frequently marked with (a) standard sentence-final ending forms such as verbs, (b) gerundive forms of the verbs, (c) conjunctive particles, (d) sentence-final particles such as *ne*, *sa*, and *yo*, and (e) head movement in the sentence-final syllable preceding backchannels. Consider the following example:

Example (2.1)

> Kinoo nee/watashi nee/kaze hiite nee/gakkoo/yasu n jatta no/.
> 'Yesterday, I caught cold and was absent from school.'

The example (2.1) consists of five PPUs. The slash represents each PPU boundary. As I pointed out previously, each PPU is identified based on characteristics such as uttering with decreased speed at each boundary and final particles, i.e., *nee*. Maynard (1989) found that more than 80 percent of all backchannels in Japanese in her study occurred near PPU boundaries.

Discourse factors are also related to the occurrence of backchannels. According to Sugito (1989), the speaker's utterance containing new information is likely to result in frequent head movements as well as verbal backchannels, compared to those which did not include a new information.[12] The topic transition and the speaker transition point are also likely to occur after backchannels (Szatrowski, 1986, 1987 cited in Horiguchi, 1997, p.75).

Komiya (1986) claimed that situational factors influence what kind of backchannels the listener used. She noticed in her data that the listener seldom used repeated backchannels such as *n n n* 'yeah yeah yeah' to the counselor. According to her, repeated backchannels such as *n n n* 'yeah yeah yeah' show the listeners emotion stronger than non-repeated backchannels, and depending on the context, revealing one's emotion strongly by the use of repeated backchannels might be considered rude. The counseling session might be one of those situations, and for this very reason, the participant in the radio program did not use repeated backchannels toward the counselor.

Some researchers considered the occurrence of backchannels from prosodic

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[12] Sugito (1989) utilized one of the data from research report of Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 'The National Language Research Institute' (1987) and examined nonverbal backchannels, and head movements.

features. For example, Horiguchi (1997) stated that backchannels were likely to be inserted either (a) in a weakened volume of the speaker's speech (*onseiteki na yowamari*), or (b) with the intonation counter downward, downward and upward, or of upward configuration (*kakoo* intonation, *shiriagari* intonation, and *jooshoo* intonation, respectively). Similary, Mizutani (1982,1983,1984) claimed that the speaker's utterance with decreasing a phonetic quality might be the place where the backchannels are likely to occur.[13]

Koiso et al. (1998) found that syntactic features were more likely to induce backchannels than prosodic features do. Based on the initial five minutes from eight dialogues in the Japanese Map Task Corpus,[14] they found that backchannels tended to occur after conjunctive and case particles, as well as verbs in adverbial forms. Furthermore, Koiso et al. suggested that certain syntactic features such as adverb, conjunctions, filled pauses, and interjections might suppress the occurrence of backchannels. As for prosodic features, they found that flat-fall and rise-fall f0

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[13] According to Mizutani (1983), this length corresponds to what a Japanese speaker can utter in one breath.

[14] In the task, two participants held two similar but significantly different pictures in one of which the route from the start to the goal along with a couple of landmarks was already drawn. Those with pictures with the route instructed the other to draw the route using these landmarks on the map.

patterns[15], late-decreasing energy pattern[16], and high peak energy[17], seemed to contribute to the occurrence of backchannels and flat f0 patterns seemed to be prosodic features which were not likely to induce the occurrence of backchannels. Overall, they found that syntax has a stronger contribution than any individual prosodic feature, although prosody as a whole has a slightly stronger contribution than syntax (Koiso et al, 1998, p.313).

Hirokawa (1995) synthesized the contexts for the occurrence of backchannels by including four factors, interactional structure such as turn boundaries, linguistic context such as intonation units,[18] discourse locations such as topic opening or shift, and social contexts such as a speaker's statement of personal assessments. These factors were called listener response relevance contexts (LRRCs). LRRCs are unique in that they include social contexts along with others. According to Hirokawa (1995), listener responses (backchannels) tend to occur in the following social contexts; (a) "when the speaker produced their personal assessments of the content and the attitudes and feelings associated with it" (p.366); (b) "when the interactants feel togetherness or experience a

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[15] They measure f0 contours which were connected two approximating points in the final mora region in an interpausal unit (IPU). IPU is a stretch of a single speaker's speech bounded by pauses longer than 100ms (Koiso et al, 1998, p.299).

[16] Energy pattern is measured in terms of two points in the final phoneme region in an IPU.

[17] Peak energy refers to the peak energy values of the final phonemes.

[18] Hirokawa (1995) found that Japanese listeners tended to produce backchannel tokens after a phrasal or lexical unit, whereas American listeners tended to produce backchannel tokens after a clausal unit.

psychological connection with other party" (p.366); (c) "when the interactants may be competing with each other, ignoring each other, or even trying to distance themselves from the other party" (p.369); and (d) "when the speaker directly solicited the listener's support, cooperation, agreement, comprehension, empathy, or attention by using affecting-appealing device such as *ne* 'you know.' (p.371-372).

Clancy et al. (1996) investigated the occurrence of backchannel tokens in terms of turn-taking. They utilized the notion of complex transition relevance places (CTRPs suggested in Ford & Thompson 1996) where they were marked by intonational and grammatical completion. According to Clancy et al. (1996), intonational completion was defined in terms of intonation units and the units were considered as intonational completion if they ended in a period (marking a falling intonational contour) or a question mark (marking a rising intonation contour).[19] Grammatical completion was judged in terms of clause; an utterance would be grammatically complete if an utterance was a complete clause in which an overt or directly recoverable predicate was found (Clancy et al., 1996, p.366). Clancy et al. (1996) found that Chinese speakers were most likely to produce backchannel tokens at CTRPs, and English speakers were the second most likely to produce backchannel tokens at CTRPs. It is also found that Japanese speakers were least likely to produce backchannel tokens at CTRPs, compared

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[19] Clancy et al. (1996) followed Du Bois et al. (1993) for the definition of intonation unit and they defined intonation unit as "a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour."

to English and Chinese speakers.

Frequency

It is well attested that Japanese people tend to produce frequent backchannels during conversation, and researchers have attempted to describe how frequently the listener inserts backchannels, as well as which type of backchannels the listener tend to use. It has been found that Japanese listeners produce backchannels once in fifteen to twenty syllables (Mizutani,1982, 1983, 1984). Maynard (1989) found brief responses such as *un* 'uh huh' were the most frequently used backchannel, followed by vertical and one instance of horizontal head movement.

When Japanese people produce backchannels, they tend to use accompanying nods, and some researchers have attempted to find out how frequently the listener nods when producing backchannels to the speaker (Matsuda, 1988; Maynard, 1989, Sugito, 1989). It was found that more than 60% of backchannels co-occurred with nods. For example, Maynard (1989) found that 62.9% of the brief responses accompanied head movement. Sugito (1989) also found that the ratio of verbal backchannels accompanied by head movements was similar among the participants; more than 70% of backchannels accompanied head movements in each participant. Interestingly, according to Sugito (1989), those who frequently produced verbal backchannels also frequently produced head movements during talk.

Maynard (1986, 1987, 1989, 1990a, 1990b) found that more than 70 percent of backchannels in the data of her study occurred at major grammatical junctures, some accompanied by sentence-final particles (more than 50 percent of the backchannels) and/or head movements (more than 25 percent of the backchannels).

Factors which might influence the frequency of backchannels were also examined in previous researches. Mizutani (1982, 1983, 1984) found that the degree of the listener's involvement as well as the speech rate of the speaker affected the frequency of backchannels; the more eager the listener gets, the more frequently he/she uses backchannels, and the faster the speaker spoke, the more frequently the listener produced backchannels. The frequency of backchannels also varied depending on the role of the conversationalists, the speaker-listener relationship and level of speech. For example, those who play a role in eliciting a partner's talk, not only produced backchannels more frequently but used more variety of backchannels than those who don't (Mizutani, 1984). Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 'The National Language Research Institute' (1987) reported that the content of topics influenced the ratio of backchannels of each conversationalist.[20] [21] Komiya (1986) found that as time went by, the participants came to use more frequently the backchannels which denoted less formality.

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[20] In Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 'The National Language Research Institute', 1987, two sets of conversational data were used in their study. In each conversation, the total of five people (four people and one chairperson) participated in talk. The gender composition of each group is as follows. In one group, three males and one female participated, and in the other group, two males and two females participated in talk.

[21] The also found that the more backchannel a conversationalist produced, the less he/she spoke.

Matsuda (1988) synthesized the following factors influencing the occurrence of backchannels: (a) how the speaker delivers his/her speech (*hanashite no hanashi kata*); (b) the existence of the listener who does not participate in the conversation (*shichoosha no sonzai*); (c) differences in the overall circumstances where the conversation happens (*danwa jookyoo no sa*); (d) what type of conversation they are engaging in (*hanashi no taipu*); (e) under what kind of mood the conversation is going on (*hanashi no moodo*); (f) under what kind of situation the conversation takes place (*bamen sa*); and (g) the regional differences (*chiiki sa*).

Although Japanese people frequently chime in using backchannels, some researchers found individual differences in the frequency of backchannels (Komiya, 1986; Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 'The National Language Research Institute', 1987).[22] Sugito (1989) pointed out individual difference in the occurrence of head movements as well.

Function

Various kinds of functions for Japanese backchanneling have been suggested. For example, backchannels, according to Mizutani (1983), were inserted as an assistance from the listener in order for the speaker to be able to proceed with his/her speech smoothly. She claimed that inserting backchannels was necessary for those such as

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[22] Komiya (1986) also found individual differences in the type of backchannels that they used.

Japanese people who consider keeping a good relationship between the speaker and the listener as the first priority over stating his/her opinion in conversation.[23]

The function of backchanneling suggested in previous studies can be summarized as follows. Maynard (1989) proposed six functions of backchannels: (a) continuer; (b) display of understanding of content; (c) support toward the speaker's judgment; (d) agreement; (e) strong emotional support; and (f) minor addition, correction, or request for information.[24] Matsuda (1988) suggested the following sections: (a) showing that the listener is listening or following, (b) showing understanding so far, what the speaker is trying to say or has been trying to say, (c) showing agreement, empathy, and consent, (d) showing disagreement, negative feelings and vague agreement, (e) showing strong emotions and interests, and (f) sustaining conversation by filling backchannels during silence until the next person starts to talk. Matsuda further stated that backchannels were sometimes used (a) to pretend that the listener is listening, (b) to show irritation, and

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[23] In addition, she mentioned *Kyoowa* in which the listener completes the speaker's utterance, which is one characteristic of Japanese conversational style along with the frequent occurrence of backchannels. Mizutani (1984) stated that for learners of Japanese frequently inserted backchannels might be indicating that he/she had enough of that talking or that he/she tried to cut off the speaker. But according to her, teaching backchanneling in Japanese is one of the key elements in the Japanese language education because without producing backchannels correctly, they will be not able to be fully integrated into the Japanese society. Similarly, Matsuda (1988) pointed out the importance in teaching the listener's behaviors in Japanese language education because in Japan, the listener's cooperative and harmonious attitude are highly valued in communicating in Japanese. Further, what the listener tried to convey through nodding depends on the speed and the number of repetitions.

[24] According to Maynard, these functional features overlap.

(c) to show disinterest (p.63). Furthermore, the listener sometimes does not produce backchannels intentionally when he/she can't understand or when the topic is not interesting. In Horiguchi (1988, 1997), five functions of Japanese backchannels were suggested. These functions are (a) *kiiteiru to yuu shingoo* 'a signal of listening', (b) *rikaishiteiru to yuu shingoo* 'a signal of understanding', (c) *dooi no shingoo* 'a signal of agreement, (d) *hitei no shingoo* 'a signal of disagreement, and (e) *kanjoo no hyooshutsu* 'a reveal of feelings'. Horiguchi mentioned that repeated backchannels such as *hai hai hai hai* 'yeah yeah yeah yeah' sometimes imply that the listener is not interested in the topic of the conversation (Horiguchi, 1988, p.17). According to Iwasaki (1990), backchannels have three functions. One of the functions of backchannels he proposed was to have the current speaker continue to speak. In this case, turn exchange does not occur between the current speaker and listener and does not alter the flow of conversation. Iwasaki called this kind of backchannel the continuer, a term first introduced by Schegloff (1982). Another function of backchannels is to express listener's emotions, assessments, and interactional functions such as closing a conversation. This kind of backchannel was called the response expression. It becomes the target of backchannels by the current speaker, and as a result, a sequence of backchannels is created.[25] Iwasaki assumed that the same token might function differently (either a continuer or a response

[25] Iwasaki pointed out that response expressions occur often recursively in the closing section of conversation (p.7-8).

expression) according to how the participants construct conversation around it (Iwasaki, 1990, p. 7).

Information that the listener tries to convey varies depending on what kind of context the listener uses and how the listener utters backchannels. Mizutani (1984) pointed out that the impressions that backchannels gave to the speaker varied according to: (a) whether or not final particles followed backchannels: (b) whether or not backchannels were repeated: and (c) how backchannels were uttered. Similarly, Matsuda (1988) pointed out that what the listener tried to convey through backchannels varied depending on how these backchannels were articulated in terms of intonation, pitch, duration, the place of articulation, repetition, and so on. In addition, the speaker sometimes backchannels with the listener and at other times produces backchannels following his/her own speech to emphasize certain feelings (p.60).

Finally, Kita (1999) discussed the use of backchannels as a manifestation of an aspect of the Japanese ideology of conversation: harmony (*wa* in Japanese). Kita showed two cases of the use of backchannels and one case of nodding that very well represent this kind of ideology. One is the use of backchannels at the end of a longer utterance by the speaker. According to Kita, this displays a symmetrical relationship between the speaker and the listener. The other is a sequence of backchannels between interactants, which creates an alternating rhythm between speakers. This rhythm establishes harmony among the interactants (p.265). Thus, Kita claimed that the main function of backchannels in Japanese is to create an alternating rhythm in conversation, which establishes harmony (p.265). As for nodding, Kita pointed out that a synchronized nod sequence, where two interactants can produce a sequence of synchronized nods also created harmony in Japanese conversations. This synchronized nod sequence blurred the role differentiation between the speaker and the listener. By doing so, the interactants became mutually co-dependant within the conversation and the positive affect of this is shared (p.267).

Gender Differences in the Use of Backchannels

English Backchanneling and Gender Difference

In the area of studies in gender and English backchanneling, it has found that women used backchannels more frequently than men (e.g., Fishman, 1983; Hirschman, 1994; Roger & Schumacher, 1983; Roger & Nesshoever, 1987; Roger, 1989; Zimmerman & West, 1975; Fellegy 1995). For example, Roger and his associates (Roger & Schumacher, 1983; Roger & Nesshoever, 1987; Roger, 1989) found that women used backchannels more frequently than men. In Roger and Schumacher (1983), a total of 36 dyads (18 male and 18 female dyads) were grouped into three groups, high-low (complementary) and high –high and low-low (non-complementary) dyad groups, based on their scores in the Dominance subscale of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (cited in Roger and Schumacher, 1983). Each dyad was told to discuss social and political issues which the members of the dyads were known to disagree on and they were instructed to try to convince their partners of their own point of view. Roger and Schumacher found that female listeners provided significantly more verbal backchannels than did male listeners in three conditions. Therefore, they concluded that women tended to use a more empathetic speech style.

In Roger and Nesshoever (1987), and Roger (1989), an experimental format in Roger and Schumacher (1983) was adapted and used to investigate how gender and dominance preposition were related to the frequencies of interruption and backchannels (short and long). A total of 28 male-female dyads were grouped into four groups, high male -low female, high male –high female, low male – high female, and low male – low female. They found that women used significantly more back channels than men across all dominance conditions. Again, the results implied that women used a more empathic interactional style than men do; women indicated to the speaker that they were attending to what was being said with the frequent use of backchannels.

Some researchers pointed out that contexts where backchannels occur might be different between men and women. For example, Zimmerman and West (1975) found that men used more delayed backchannels which were preceded by at least one second of silence and occurred infrequently in mixed-sex conversation, compared to single-sex conversation.[26] The delayed backchannels were those which were inserted beyond the end of the utterance in talk with women. Furthermore, these backchannels were preceded by pauses and most of them were followed by perceptible silences for the following speaker. Besides, these delayed backchannels were less likely to occur in the single-sex conversations, compared to the mixed-sex conversations. They argued that delayed backchannels by men might be indicators of a lack of understanding or disinterest in and inattention to the current talk (Zimmerman & West, 1975, p.123). They also argued that men used such backchannels to restrict women in developing the topic of conversation and so they then could control the topic of conversation on their own (Zimmerman & West, 1975, p.124).

Fishman (1983) also reported a similar finding as in Zimmerman & West (1975). She found that men tended to produce backchannels at the end of a long utterance by a female speaker, whereas women tended to frequently produce backchannels not only at the end but also in the middle of utterances. Fishman (1983, p.96) argued that the frequent use of backchannels by women were indications of their attention to the speaker,

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[26] Their analyses were based on 31 tape-recorded dyadic conversations over free topics (10 male single-sex, 10 female single-sex, and 11 mixed-sex dyadic conversations), three quarters of which occurred at public places in a university and the rest of which occurred in a private residence. According to Zimmerman and West (1975, p.112), the ages of the participants in the single-sex conversation ranged from 20 to 25 years old, and relationships varied from close friends to that between nurse and patient. All participants in the mixed-sex conversations were under 30 years old, and relationships varied from intimacy to first-time acquaintanceship.

participation in the conversation, and interest in the interaction and the speaker. These backchannels were inserted to support the speaker. On the other hand, according to Fishman (1983, p.95), use of backchannels at the end of a utterance by men displayed a lack of interest. Thus, contrasting to women's use of backchannels, these were inserted to discourage interaction.

Fellegy (1995) found gender differences in the use of backchannels manifested not at a grammatical location but at a discourse level.[27] She used tape-recorded conversational data of six white-middle class, single-sex groups in different contexts (three female and three male single-sex conversations including those between gays) and analyzed the patterns and functions of backchannels of American English. She found that women's backchannels were spread throughout, at the end of turn, at the end of sentence, within a turn, at phrasal boundaries other than the end of sentence, and after "ya know". In contrast to this, men's backchannels were mainly produced at the end of a turn. She predicted that these differences in backchanneling patterns might cause problems between women and men in communicating with each other in mixed-sex conversations.

Mulac et al. (1998) used the interpretations of the observers of conversations to try to find which is the more plausible theory for the explanation of gender differences in

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[27] Fellegy (1995) only investigated a one- or two-word backchannel such as "mmhmm" and "right".

the use of backchannels and questions. The two approaches were the cultural approach in which it is claimed that men and women grew up in different subcultures, which caused different communication styles between men and women (e.g., Maltz & Borker, 1982), and the dominance approach in which it is claimed that gender differences in language use occur because of imbalance of power in society between men and women; men is more powerful than women (e.g., Lakoff, 1974, 1975). Mulac et al. had 268 student observers assess backchannels and questions in terms of: (a) the meaning they associated with the utterance and (b) the traits exemplified by the speaker of the utterance, according to rating scales. Sixteen conversations were transcribed and given to the observers, and during the ratings, the observers listened to eight conversations read by a male person and eight conversations read by a female person. They found that men and women differed in the interpretation of backchannels; male observers interpreted backchannels as more controlling such as giving information, stating an opinion, and leading the conversation while females considered backchannels to have a different function such as showing interest or agreement, and seeking clarification). In addition, male observers judged backchannels as an indication of uncertainty more than female counterparts. Furthermore, Mulac et al. found that both male and female observers perceived backchannels as more controlling when the backchannels were produced to a female partner than when they were produced to a male partner. Besides, both male and female observers considered the speaker more dominant when the partner was female than when the partner was male. In both cases, no significant relationship was found between the speaker's gender and their perceptions.[28] According to Mulac et al., these results supported the claim of the culture approach as outlined above.

Other researchers claimed that gender might not be a factor which causes the frequency difference in backchannels between men and women. For example, Trimboli and Walker (1984) used experimental dyadic conversation data (unacquainted) for the analysis of switching pause between one speaker's turn and the start of the next speaker in cooperative (friendly chat) and competitive conversations (argument).[29] One of their findings indicated that fewer backchannels were produced in competitive conversations compared to cooperative conversations. Their study implies that the frequency of backchannels might be influenced by the type of conversations. Dixon and Foster (1998) also found that backchanneling was less frequent in competitive than in noncompetitive contexts.[30] Roger and Schumacher (1983) found that fewer backchannels occurred in the high-high (those who got highest score in the Dominance

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[28] Similar results were yielded with regard to questions.
[29] In their research, each of 18 pairs (6 male-male dyads, 6 male-female dyads, 6 female-female dyads) held two arguments (competitive conversations) and two friendly chats (cooperative conversations) in an experimental condition and their conversations were tape-recorded for the analysis.
[30] Participants in their study were 104 White, Englsih-speaking, South African undergraduates (50 men and 54 women) and had a dyadic conversation either in competitive or noncompetitive condition. In the competitive condition, they were asked to debate particular issues and in the noncompetitive condition, they were asked to get to know one another.

subscale) than in the low-low dyads. They concluded that dominance predispositions might also affect the frequency of backchannels along with gender.

Japanese Backchanneling and Gender Differences

It has been suggested that Japanese women also use backchannels more frequently than men do. For example, Jorden (1974) cited Sukle's unpublished study regarding four specific supportive responses: *he*, *hai*, *ee*, and *(h)n*. Sukle found that the occurrence of these responses were closely related to social status, age, sex, and social proximity. In addition, based on the analysis of a discussion data, Jorden found that the frequency of occurrence of supportive response was greater for women than for men. Jorden considered that the use of supportive responses might indicate close attention, receptivity, encouragement, and deference. According to Jorden, the more frequent use of supportive responses by women implies their lower position in the social hierarchy. Therefore, they have to show greater deference in their speech which makes women's speech more polite and formal compared to men.

Kurosaki (1987) investigated uses and functions of backchannels utilized by people who spoke the "Kobe Takino" dialect. The data he used was tape-recorded conversations from three age groups (Juveniles attending elementary, junior-high, and high school, adults between 35 to 45 years old, and old ages above 65 years old). He found that females produced verbal backchannels more frequently than males and that females tended to use a sequence of the same backchannel tokens (i.e., repetitive backchannels) such as *un-un-un* 'yeah yeah yeah' in order to be considered an attentive listener.[31] Furthermore, as in Komiya (1986), Kurosaki (1987) found that females use *kanseiteki* 'emotionally loaded' backchannels such as *ee* 'oh' more frequently than males do[32].

Maynard found (1989) that females produced backchannels more frequently than males. However, Maynard suggested that this difference might be resultant from the quality of conversational interaction rather than gender: males exchanged turns more frequently than females, which implies that, according to Maynard, males might have less chance to insert backchannels compared with females.

Yoshii (1991) analyzed how men and women precede daily conversations based

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[31] Kurosaki also found that (1) the frequency of backchannels increased according to age; (2) backchannels tended to occur after particular sentence ending particles such as *naa* and *nod*; and (3) the frequency of backchannels depends on what type of sentence ending particles they used.

[32] Some researchers pointed out that *naruhodo* 'indeed' is mainly used by males (e.g., Komiya, 1986; Mizutani 1982).

on two types of data, single-sex conversations and mixed-sex conversations.[33] Yoshii found that in the cross-sex conversation, a male person tend to use backchannels or nods to show indifference to the topic which a female person had been talking about. Yoshii also found that this kind of male backchanneling further invited silence in the conversation. As a result, men held a speakership and they started to talk about their preferred topic.

Listener's Gaze and Gender Differences in Gaze

Listener's gaze behaviors are said to be a display of hearership (Goodwin 1981). However, the listener's gaze has not been much addressed in previous studies, compared to speaker's gaze behaviors.[34] According to Argyle and Cook (1976), the gaze of the listener displays his/her continued attention and willingness to listen and reinforces by which they mean that the listener encourages the speaker to produce more of the same. Argyle and Cook (1976) further argued that aversion of gaze by the listener means lack of

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[33] He designed the study in reference to Zimmerman & West (1974), West & Zimmerman (1977), and Fishman, 1983). The following are what Yoshii investigated in his study: (1) the use of questions, (2) the use of backchannels including nods, (3) the use of silence, and (4) interruption. Yoshii found that men in the single-sex conversation tended to use questions to have their partners talk about the topic they would like to talk about instead of starting it on their own, whereas women tended to use questions to help a conversation go smoothly. Furthermore, Yoshii found that in the cross-sex conversation, a male person tended to use silence to show indifference to the current topic compared to his female partner. Finally, Yoshii found that a male person interrupted his female partner more frequently, which resulted in the loss of opportunity where a female person could state her opinion.

[34] There have been very few studies of gaze involving Japanese interactants. In this section, I will discuss what has been found for Englsih.

interest or disapproval and meanings of gaze vary depending on the facial expressions of the listener.

Gender differences in gaze behavior have been discussed without any distinction between the speaker and the listener. It has been suggested that women are likely to spend more time gazing at their partners (e.g., Argyle and Cook, 1976; Hall, 1984; Bente et al., 1998). For example, based on the review of previous studies, Hall reported that more than 70% of the findings indicated that women gazed at their partner more than men (cited in Bente et al., 1998). Bente et al. (1998) found that there was no significant difference in ratio in time to spend looking at their partner between men and women.[35] However, women showed prolonged gaze during the male partner's speech almost twice the duration as the men did during the female partner's speech. Furthermore, according to Bente et al., the men's gaze pattern was unsteady and they looked slightly longer at their female partner than they looked away from her. On the other hand, the women's gaze pattern was similar to men's in that they did not avoid eye contact, but once they looked at a male partner, they maintained it longer. Bente et al. (1998) argues that the

[35] Bente et al. (1998) used twenty mixed-sex conversations (ten conversations with familiar partner and ten with unfamiliar partner) in which the participants had a first informal communication contact.

women's prolonged gaze at the men might indicate respectful attentiveness.[36]

Speech Accommodation Theory and the Use of Backchannels

It has been reported that males tend to converge their use of backchannels such as 'yeah' to females; they increase their frequency of backchannels, and females tend to diverge their use of backchannels; they also increase their use of backchannels (Bilous and Krauss, 1988; Hannah and Murachver, 1999). For example, Bilous and Klaus (1988) found that females diverge on frequency of backchannels.[37] It has also been found that male and female conversational behavior is more similar in mixed-sex than single-sex dyads except for their frequency of laughter.[38] Similarly, Carli (1990) and Nordenstam (1992) found that gender difference in the use of backchannels was more pronounced in the single-sex conversation than in the mixed-sex conversation.

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[36] Argyle and Cook (1976) suggested reasons for women's frequent gaze behavior based on previous studies. One is that it may come from an innate sex difference in gaze behaviors between men and women; women tend to attend to faces, compared to men. Another reason is that women's frequent gaze may display their strong tendency to seek for affiliation with others.

[37] They specifically investigated: (1) the total number of words uttered; (2) frequency of attempted interruptions; (3) frequency of short and (4) long pauses; (5) frequency of back-channel responses; and (6) frequency of laughter. Thirty males and female students were divided into groups of four (two male and two female) and were asked to discuss certain problems to reach consensus in the single-sex dyadic conversation as well as in the mixed gender dyadic conversation.

[38] As for laughter, they found that males and females are less similar in mixed gender than in single-sex dyads.

Conclusion

I have reviewed backchannel studies in terms of various aspects. This review indicates that there are many backchannel studies in both English and Japanese. Furthermore, it has shown that there have been many studies regarding gender differences in the use of backchannels of English. However, it has also suggested that there are relatively few studies in which researchers have focused on gender difference in the use of Japanese backchannels, except for Korosaki (1987) and Yoshii (1998). Besides, Kurosaki's study was based on a Hyoogo dialect and although Yoshii's study seemed to be based on a Tokyo dialect, the amount of data was very limited. Furthermore, there seems to be almost no research which has examined gender differences in Japanese backchannels and which has included a quantitative approach. My present research will use a larger set of data, compared to the previous Japanese studies. Furthermore, my data was gathered in an experimental condition and consists of young adult Japanese who have lived in Tokyo for more than three years. The study also includes quantification of the data along with statistical measures and analysis, which I hope will provide a new perspective on gender differences in the use of Japanese backchannel studies.

3. PROCEDURES AND METHODOLGY IN THE PRESENT STUDY

This chapter describes the data which I used for the analysis of gender and group differences in the use of backchannels. I will, first, present research questions. I will, then, discuss the participants, followed by the description of data. I will also present the data collecting procedures, and finally, the notations in the transcriptions that were used in the examples of the present study will be discussed.

Research Questions

This study addresses the following questions.

1. Are there any gender and group differences in the distributions of verbal and nonverbal backchannels among the participants in the four types of dyadic conversation, males and females in single-sex dyadic conversation and those in the mixed-sex dyadic conversation?

2. Are there any gender and group differences in the frequency of verbal and nonverbal backchannels among the participants in the four types of dyadic conversation?

3. Are there any gender and group differences in the placement of verbal and nonverbal backchannels among the participants in the four types of dyadic conversation?

4. Are there any gender and group differences in the use of backchannels (the combined category with verbal and nonverbal backchannels) in terms of the distribution, frequency, and placement?

5. Are there any gender and group differences in the occurrence of listener's gaze when the listener produces verbal and nonverbal backchannels among the participants in the four types of dyadic conversation?

6. Are there any accommodation behaviors in the use of verbal, nonverbal backchannels, and backchannels on both sides of sex between the single-sex dyadic conversation and the mixed-sex dyadic conversation?

As seen in the above questions, in the present study, the use of backchannels consisting of verbal and nonverbal backchannels was investigated in detail in terms of the distribution, frequency, and placement to find gender and group differences among the four types of participants, males and females who participated in the single-sex dyad conversation, and those who participated in the mixed-sex dyad conversation. In addition, the occurrence of the listener's gaze in relation to backchannels was examined and compared among the participants. Lastly, accommodation behaviors will be explored based on the previous four questions. For the analysis of comparison in each area of concern, the number of occurrences of backchannels will be converted in the form of percentile numbers. Thus, the present study mainly employs a quantitative approach for the analysis of the use of backchannels.

Description of Participants

The participants consisted of 30 native speakers of Japanese: 15 males and 15 females. Most participants, except for one who was an office worker, were undergraduate or graduate students of Japanese universities in Tokyo, Japan.

The participants were recruited through my personal networks. They were asked to participate in the present study by me, by my friends, or by graduate students to whom I was introduced by my acquaintances in Japan and in the United States. In recruiting, they were simply told that they would have a dyadic conversation over a certain topic with their acquaintances for about twenty minutes, and the conversation would be tape-recorded and videotaped. Furthermore, the purpose of the study was not disclosed, and they were simply told that the study would be for linguistics.

The participants in the three kinds of dyadic conversations, male single-sex dyad (MSSD), female single-sex dyad (FSSD), and mixed-sex dyad (MSD), are presented with their ages and years of acquaintances between their partners in dyads in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1

Ages and Years of Acquaintance of Dyads

Dyad Group	Participant (Name)	Age	Participant (Name)	Age	Years of Acquaintance
MSSD1	M1 (Minoru)	18	M2 (Takashi)	21	0.25 years
MSSD2	M3 (Toshiya)	21	M4 (Masao)	21	3.5 years
MSSD3	M5 (Akira)	21	M6 (Yoshio)	22	3.25 years
MSSD4	M7 (Tetsuo)	19	M8 (Kenji)	21	0.5 years
MSSD5	M9 (Atushi)	21	M10 (Jiroo)	21	2.5 years
FSSD1	F1 (Kazue)	21	F2 (Hiroko)	22	2.5 years
FSSD2	F3 (Saori)	23	F4 (Sachiko)	23	5.5 years
FSSD3	F5 (Akemi)	20	F6 (Ikue)	21	2.5 years
FSSD4	F7 (Kimie)	21	F8 (Tomoko)	22	3.5 years
FSSD5	F9 (Kuniko)	20	F10 (Iori)	20	3.25 years
MSD1	M11 (Yoshiki)	22	F11 (Tomomi)	22	1.0 years
MSD2	M12 (Yuuta)	25	F12 (Naoko)	23	1.5 years
MSD3	M13 (Yasuo)	22	F13 (Toshiko)	23	4.0 years
MSD4	M14 (Norio)	24	F14 (Kaoru)	24	5.0 years
MSD5	M15 (Shinji)	24	F15 (Shooko)	24	6.0 years

Note. MSSD = male single-sex dyad; FSSD = female single-sex dyad; MSD = mixed-sex dyad; M = male; F = female.

As shown in Table 3.1, 10 males (from M1 to M10) and 10 females (from F1 to F10) participated in MSSD and FSSD respectively, and five males (from M11 to M15) and females (from F11 to F15) participated in MSD. The ages of the participants in MSSD ranged from 18 to 22 years old, and the average age was 20.6 years old. The ages of the participants in FSSD ranged from 20 to 23 years old, and the average age was 21.3 years old. The ages of the participants in MSD ranged from 22 to 25 years old, and the average age was 23.3 years old. For males in MSD, the ages ranged from 22 to 25 years old, and for females in MSD, the ages ranged from 22 to 24 years old. The average age for males and females in MSD was 23.4 years old and 23.3 years old respectively.
As Table 3.1 shows, years of acquaintance among the dyads varied from 3 months in MSSD 1 to 6 years in MSD 5. Years of acquaintance among MSSD ranged from 0.25 to 3.5 years (2 years on average), and those among FSSD ranged from 2.5 to 5.5 years (3.5 years on average). As for MSD, years of acquaintance ranged from 1 to 6 years (3.5 years on average).

Description of Data

The data for the present study consisted of 15 dyadic conversations. As shown in Table 1, a total of five of each in three kinds of dyadic conversation were utilized in the present study. 10 were single-sex dyadic conversations, and five were mixed-sex dyadic conversations.

For the conversations, the participants were given a topic and talked about it for about 20 minutes. The reason that the topic was given is that I wanted to control variables which might influence the use of backchannels as much as possible. The topic chosen for the present study was *Kyuushoku no omoide* 'memory of school lunches'. This topic was chosen because it was a familiar topic for the participants; most of them had experienced this kind of lunch which was served during their compulsory education, especially in elementary and junior high school. Thus, I considered that it was likely to be talked about in daily conversations, and I assumed that this topic would lead to relatively spontaneous talk. In fact, the recordings of the conversations demonstrated that the participants seemed to have some pleasant or displeasing memories about school lunch and talked spontaneously over this topic with their partners.[39]

For the analysis, I ignored the first three-minute segment of the data and used the next five-minute segment for the analysis. This is because there is a possibility that the participants would be distracted by the presence of the camcorder and tape-recorder during the early stages of the conversation.[40]

Methods of Data Collection

One Hi8 video camcorder with a tripod and one tape-recorder with two lavalier

[39] There was one female participant who had never experienced school lunches. However, during the conversation, she told her partner that she longed for school lunches in her school days. Therefore, she participated in the conversation with great interest.
[40] The participants seemed to try to engage in the conversation as soon as I left them. They even did not seem to mind the existence of the camcorder and tape-recorder, once one of them initiated the conversation, which usually occurred within the first 3 minutes of recording. Thus, I decided that ignoring the first 3 minute of the data was enough.

microphones were used to record the data. The basic layout for the placement of the video- and tape- recorder was as follows:

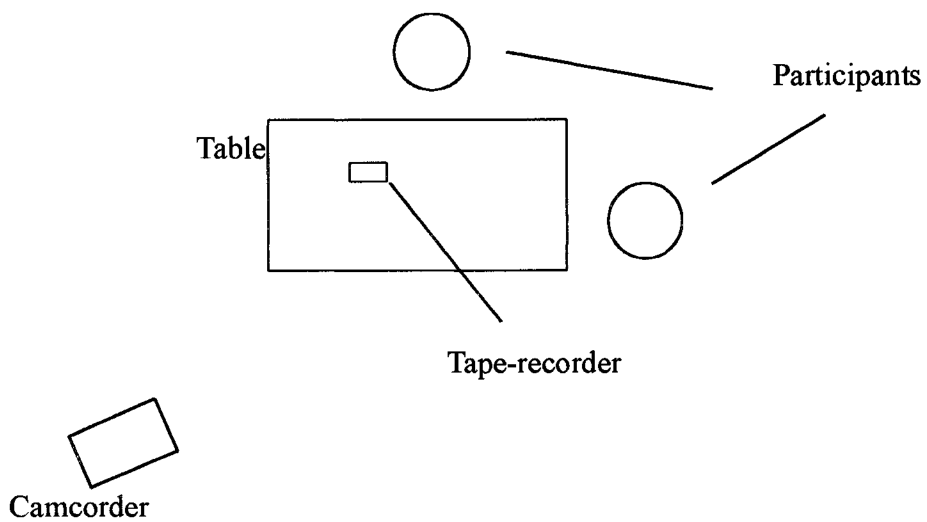

Figure 3.1. Camcorder Setting.

As seen in the above illustration, the participants sat at an angle of 90 degrees. The camcorder was placed so that the camera could capture their faces during the conversations.[41] This same camera angle was used for all of the data collection. The tape-recorder was placed as far from the interlocutors as possible, generally on the

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[41] Another possible method for capturing participants' nonverbal behaviors is the use of a mirror. Kendon (1967, 1990) used a mirror, which was placed on the one side of the table (the participants sat facing each other across the table), to capture gaze.

furthest corner of the table from them as shown in the illustration. [42] The microphones were either on the table or on the participants' clothes.

The locations of the data collection depended on the availability of a room I could use. For some data, I was able to use a vacant small classroom at a university, so that I could record conversations without extraneous noise. For other data, I had to tape in a school cafeteria or a small lounge where there was a lot of background noise. The data I collected in more noisy places was sometimes hard to transcribe. At the time of a recording session, I made sure to switch on all recorders, and I then was excused myself from the recording location in order not to interfere with the conversations. After coming back to the location, I gave the participants questionnaires asking about ages, years of acquaintance, and other supplementary information.[43]

Transcribing Procedures

The transcriptions of the data are based on intonation units. An intonation unit is defined as a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour (Du Bois et al. 1993, p. 47). In transcribing the data, I first focused on the verbal elements in the conversations, and then I noted nonverbal elements which occurred in the conversations,

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[42] The tape-recorder could have been placed under the table, which might have been less intrusive to the conversants than putting it on the table.

[43] I asked them the following; (a) birth place, (b) the place they mainly grew up, (c) years of residence in the Tokyo area, and (d) influences on their conversation caused by the presence of the camcorder and tape recorder. I also asked them the degree of the acquaintance by scaling it from friends to very good friends, which I later ignored due to problems of the asking process.

such as nods, gaze, laughs as well as pauses. For the most part, I utilized the conventions proposed by Du Bois et al. (1993), but for head movement, I adapted the notations used in Maynard (1989). Furthermore, since the data in the present study is in Japanese, an English translation is also supplied in the transcripts either immediately after each intonational unit or speparately depeding on the contents of discussion.

The transcription conventions which I used in the study are presented with examples below.

Speakers' names, which are pseudonyms, are inserted at the beginning of the turn, followed immediately by a colon (:) as in (3-1).

(3-1)

Masao: taben no osoi to sore ni kuwawarenai ja nai.
'If we eat slowly, we cannot join it.'

A question mark (?), as in (3-2), indicates appeal intonation contours marked by a high rising pitch at the end of the intonation unit.

(3-2)

Minoru: e kyuushoku ni dete ku n desu ka?
'Oh is (it) served in school lunches?'

As shown in (3-3), a comma (.) indicates a class of intonation contours whose transitional continuity is regularly understood as continuing, and a period indicates a class of intonation contours whose transitional continuity is regularly understood as final in a given language.

(3-3)

Tomoko: antoki ni,
'at that time'

obentoo ga deteta jan.
'a lunch box was served.'

Speech overlaps are giving in square brackets ([ ]). As shown in (3-4), a square bracket open to the right indicates overlap onset, and a square bracket open to the left indicates the point where the overlap stops.

(3-4)

Hiroko: jamu [de kaite],
'a jam writing by,'

Kazue: [a= a= a= a=].
'yeah yeah yeah yeah'

The following (3-5) shows the use of a single and double hyphen as well as <@ @>. A single hyphen (-) indicates a truncated word, and a double hyphen (- -) indicates the termination of the intonation unit before the completion. The speech in the angle bracket pair <@ @> indicates that the speech has a laughing quality. Furthermore, as in (3-6), three @ symbols in a row indicates laughter.

(3-5)

Yoshio: <@shu- --@>
dakarasa,
'so'

(3-6)

Kaoru: chigau chigau chigau chigau.
'no no no no'

Norio: @@@

An equal sign (=), as in (3-7), indicates the lengthening of the preceding segment.

(3-7)

Tetsuo: dakara=,
'so='

The speech in angle brackets marked with the capital letter <Q Q>, as in (3-8), indicates that it is a quoted speech.

(3-8)

Hiroko: nittchoku kiku no,
  'A student on duty that day asks'

<Q sensee kyoo nani motte kaerimasu [ka] Q>
  'teacher, what (you) are going to take home'

The speech in a pair of angle brackets <X X> marked with the capital letter X, as in (3-9), indicates that it is not fully identifiable and is based on the transcriber's guess. One capital X refers to the mora of unidentifiable speech. In (3-10), there are two Xs, which means that there are two moras that the transcriber cannot hear during Yasuo's talk.

(3-9)

Akemi: chitchai koregurai no toka ga <X dattari shite X>,
  'a little one with about this size <X was there X>,'

(3-10)

Yasuo: XX jimoto no kooritsu shoogakkoo dakedo.
  'XX (I) was from a public elementary school of my hometown'

In (3-11), a zero within single parentheses (0) indicates that there is no pause between the speech that begins with (0) and the preceding speech of the other speaker.

(3-11)

Shooko: e.
'what'

Shinji: (0) ima no joo dan.
' (what I have just said) is a joke'

As shown in (3-12), an ampersand (&) to the left and right of a line of speech indicates that it is a continuation of intonation unit begun in that speaker's previous line. The researcher's comment is written in a pair of double parentheses (( )). Thus, in (3-12), it is indicated that Yoshiki noded in saying un 'uh-huh'. This initial response came in the middle of Tomomi's utterance, *tesuto de hyaku ten totta kara* 'In a exam full marks, I got', which was a single intonation unit.

(3-12)

Tomomi: tesuto de hyaku ten
'In an exam full marks'

Yoshiki: un. ((NOD))
'uh-huh'

Tomomi: & totta kara,
'(I) got'

The two dots (..) in (3-13) indicate a short pause of about 0.5 seconds or less.

(3-13)

Toshiko: .. nande,
'why'

The three dots (...) in (3-14) indicate a medium pose of between 0.6 and 1.0 seconds.

(3-14)

Tetsuo: ... kyuushoku to ieba nan da roo na=.
'speaking of school lunch (I) wonder what'

As shown in (3-15), for the description of a pause over 1.0 seconds, three dots immediately followed by a number in single parentheses is used.

(3-15)

Tomoe: ...(1.5) oochi toka de,
'in your family'

When vertical head movement is the topic of discussion, a capital letter H in double parentheses is used to represent one vertical head-movement. Thus, in (3-16), Masao made one vertical head-movement while saying *un* 'uh-huh', and Toshiya made one vertical head-movement. When speakers used horizontal hear movement, a capital letter H in double parentheses is used, and the comment ((SHAKES HEAD)) is added. In (3-17), Akemi nodded (head shakes) three times.

(3-16)

	((H))
Masao:	un. 'uh-huh'
Toshiya:	((H))

(3-17)

Akemi: ((H H H)) ((SHAKES HEAD))

When a speaker delivers a backchannel, that person's gaze is shown in the form of the researcher's comment with pointing arrows showing the onset of the gaze, and dotted lines showing the duration of the gaze. For example, in (3-18), Toshiya looked at Masao as he produced a verbal backchannel.

(3-18)

↑------- ((Toshiya looks at Masao)).
((H))

Toshiya: un.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the research questions in the present study. I also discussed the data that I used for the analyses of the present study and showed the notations in the transcriptions which would appear in the examples in the following chapters. In the next chapter, I will discuss the unit of analysis on which I base the calculations for the frequency of verbal backchannels. Furthermore, I will present the analytical basis for the investigation of the placement of verbal backchannels.

4. UNITS FOR ANALYSIS

This chapter scrutinizes the data that I am going to analyze. More specifically, I first will show the amount of speech that each participant produced during the five-minute segments. Then, I will discuss units for calculating the frequency of and the distribution of placement of backchannels for the present study. Note that in the present study, backchannels consist of verbal and nonverbal backchannels. Following Clancy et al. (1996), the frequency will be calculated in terms of the ratio of backchannels to speaker new initiation. For the investigation of placement of backchannels, in the present study, following Clancy et al. (1996), I will adapt speaker new initiation and intonational and grammatical completion, which consists of complex transition relevance places (CTRPs) for turn-taking, for the calculation of the frequency and for the observation of the placement of backchannels respectively. By using speaker new initiation as a calculation basis, it is possible to closely examine the reaction of the listener when speaker new initiation happens; it is possible to understand whether or not the listener responds to the speaker with backchannels each time speaker new initiation occurs. As for grammatical and intonational completion, the results of previous studies as well as the primary observation of the data in the present study suggests that intonational units and grammatical units such as clause seem to be significantly related to the occurrence of backchannels. Furthermore, the use of backchannels also seems to be closely tied with turn-taking (e.g., Schegloff, 1982). Thus, I assume that using intonation and grammatical completion which implies a possible turn-taking point by another speaker would be appropriate for the analysis of the placement of backchannels in the present study. I will first discuss the amount of talk followed by speaker new initiation, and then I will discuss intonation and grammatical completion, with the addition of some additional units.

Amount of Talk During Conversation

Identifying the Number of Mora in Utterances

In the present study, mora is used to see numerically how much talk the participants produced during the five-minute segments of conversations. In Shibatani (1990, p. 158), a mora is defined as a unit that can be represented by one letter of *kana* (Japanese syllabary writing system),[44] which I utilized as a definition of mora in this study.[45] Following example is shown how I counted mora:

(4.1) [Conversation 7: Female (Saori) – Female (Sachiko) Pair]

1 Saori: uchi sutoroo de, (7)

2 ... [nomu n datta no ne]. (8)

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[44] *Kana* is divided into two types: *hiragana* and *katakana*. In Japanese, *hiragana* is used for grammatical function words such as particles and *katakana* is used for foreign loan words, telegrams, and certain on certain onomatopoeic expressions (Shibatani 1990, p. 128).

[45] This definition applies in most cases, but there are exceptions (T. Vance, personal communication).

3 Sachiko: [a sutoroo na n da]. (8)

Translation

1 Saori: I, by straws,

2 ... [drank].

3 Sachiko: [Oh (you used) straws].

Example 4.1 consists of three lines of conversations. Each line, which also corresponds to one intonation unit, is given numerals (from line 1 to 3). The numerals shown in parenthesis to the right represent the number of mora in utterance of each line. For example, the number of mora in line 1 is seven. *Uchi* 'I' consists of two moras and *sutoroo* 'straw' consists of four moras. *De*, which is a particle, consists of one mora. Likewise, in line 2, *nomu* 'drink' is two moras, and n, which is a particle, is one mora. *Datta*, which is a past tense of copula *desu*, is three moras, and a final particle *ne* is one mora. Lastly, in line three, *a* 'oh' is one mora and *stutroo* is three moras followed by three moras in '*na n da*'. I followed Shibatani (1990) for the counting geminate consonants, moraic nasal, and long vowels. Thus, for example, *t* in *datta* in line 2, counts one mora. The moraic nasal *n* in *na n da* in line 3 counts one mora. Long vowels, written with two of the same *kana* or with one *kana* followed by a bar indicating length as in *sutoroo* of line 1 and 3, count as two moras.

Amount of talk during the five-minute segments

As shown in the following table, no difference was found between males and females in the two types of dyad groups in terms of the amount of speech they produced.[46]

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[46] No statistical significant difference in the number of moras produced among four groups of participants in the study was found. The F test performed on mora was nonsignificant, $F(3, 26) = 0.05$. In the present study, an one-way ANOVA procedure is used to determine whether there were overall significant differences among male in the single-sex conversation, female in the same conversation, male in the mixed-sex conversation, and female in the mixed-sex conversation. In the event that the ANOVA is significant, posterioir T-tests are conducted to determine whether the four groups differed significantly from each other on a given variable. Since the number of participants in this study is unbalanced, I use General Linear Modeling (GLM) which tolerate an unbalanced design on ANOVA.

Table 4.1

The Amount of Five-Minute Segments of Talk for Four Participant Groups during the Five-Minute Segments

	Amount of Speech	
Participant Group	Total (mora)	Mean (mora)
MS	10178	1017.8
FS	10092	1009.2
MM	4973	995
FM	5251	1050

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

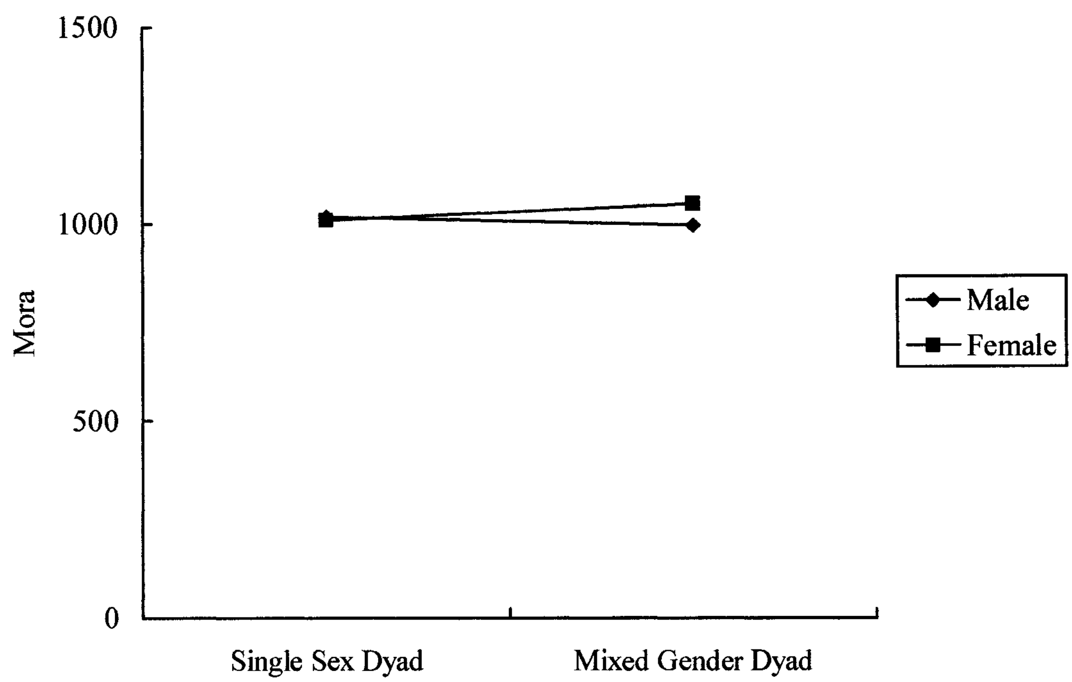

Figure 4.1. The amount of five-minute segments of talk for four participant groups during the five-minute segments.

Table 4.1 shows the numbers of mora which represent the amount of five-minute talk of each participant of the same and mixed-sex dyadic talk (see also Figure 4.1 and Appendix A). Males in the single-sex dyads (MS) produced a total of 10178 moras, and they produced 1018 moras on the average during five-minute segments of talk. Femlaes in the single-sex dyads produced a total of 10092 moras during five-minute segments of talk. The average number of moras in five-minute talk for FS was 1009 moras. The male participants in the mixed-sex dyad (MM) yielded a total of 4973 moras, while female counterparts (FM) yielded 5251 moras during five-minute segments of talk. The average number of moras in the talk was 995 moras for MM and was 1050 for FM. Therefore, the amount of five-minute segments of talk could be considered similar among MS, FS, MM and FM.[47] It should be noted that as Appendix A shows, a similar pattern in the number of mora among all of the dyads in the present study was found. As shown in the number of moras of each dyad, one of the dyads tended to talk more than the other.

Unit for Analysis for Frequency of Backchannels

Following Clancy et al. (1996), in the present study, the frequency will be calculated in terms of the ratio of backchannels to speaker new initiation. I will also untilize intonational and grammatical completion for the calculation of the frequency and for the observation of the placement of backchannels respectively. By using speaker new initiation as a calculation basis, it is possible to closely examine the reaction of the listener when speaker new initiation happens; it is possible to understand whether or not the listener responds to the speaker with backchannels each time speaker new initiation occurs. I will first present how I counted the frequency of speaker new initiation in the present study. I will then discuss the numbers of speaker new initiation in terms of group types (i.e., the male and female single-sex dyad and the mixed-sex dyad group), as well as subject types (i.e., males in the single-sex dyad type and those in the mixed-sex

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[47] Gender difference in verbosity was often pointed out in previous studies. However, this study seems no indication of gender difference regarding this matter.

dyad type, and females in the single-sex dyad type and those in the mixed-sex dyad type).

Coding Speaker New Initiation

Clancy et al. (1996) utilized speaker new initiation to calculate the ratio of backchannels to all speaker new initiations. In the present study, I adapted the calculation method utilized in Clancy et al. (1996). In this study, I adapted the definition of speaker new initiation suggested in Ford et al. (1996, p.152) and I used speaker new initiation for the term.

(4.2) Speaker new initiations

> A speaker new initiation is judged to have occurred at any point where another speaker starts a new intonational unit or a nonverbal backchannel.

An intonational unit consists of substantial utterances as well as verbal and nonverbal backchannels, and as for a nonverbal verbal backchannel, I considered nod as the only nonverbal backchannels in this study. An intonational unit is defined as follows.

(4.3) Intonational unit

> A stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour
>
> (Ford and Thompson, 1996, p.145).

The numbers of speaker new initiation for each participant will, later, be used to calculate the percentages of backchannels of all speaker new initiation during five-minute segments of talk. Following example is shown how I counted the numbers of speaker new initiation:

(4.3) [Conversation 6: Female (Hiroko) – Female (Kazue) Pair]

1 Hiroko: demo ichiyoo hazukashii rashikute,

2 de nanka,

H
3 Kazue: un.

4 Hiroko: ...(1.1) nittchoku ni,

5 Kazue: H

6 Hiroko: .. nittchoku kiku no,

7 <Q sensei kyoo nani motte kaeri[masu]

H H
8 Kazue: [un un].

9 Hiroko: & ka Q> tte,

Translation

1 Hiroko: but (she) somehow feels shy,

2 and well,

H
3 Kazue: Uh-huh..

4 Hiroko: ...(1.1) (she asks) the student on day duty,

5 Kazue: H

6 Hiroko: .. the student on day duty asks,

7 <Q teacher, what are you going to take [home]? Q>

H H
8 Kazue: [Uh-huh, uh-huh].

9 Hiroko: you know,

In (4.2), Hiroko talks about a homeroom teacher in her elementary school. The total of six speaker new initiations occurred in this excerpt: three speaker new initiations for both Hiroko and Kazue. Note that Kazue produced nod (line 5) after Hiroko's utterance, which I consider that there was a speaker transition from Hiroko to Kazue. Here, I counted one speaker new initiation for Kazue. Note also that an overlapped speech such as Kazue's backchannel in line 8 is also counted as one occurrence of speaker new initiation. However, Hiroko's utterance in line 9 did not count as one occurrence of speaker new initiation. This is it is considered a part of the intonation unit which started at line 7. Thus, speaker new initiation has not occurred in line 9.

Number of Speaker New Initiation of the Participants in the Same and Cross gender Conversation

Table 4.2 presents the total as well as the mean numbers of speaker new initiation for the four participant groups (see also Figure 4.2 and Appendix A, chart 2).

Table 4.2

Total and Means of Speaker New Initiation for Four Participant Groups during the Five-Minute Segments

	Speaker New Initiation	
Participant Group	Total (n)	Mean
MS	951	95.1
FS	1182	118.2
MM	521	104.2
FM	514	102.8

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

Figure 4.2. Means of speaker new initiations for males and females in dyads during the five-minute segment.

Table 4.2 shows that for participants in the single-sex dyad groups (MS and FS), the total number of speaker new initiations was 951 and 1182 (95.1 and 118.2 speaker new initiations on average) respectively. Furthermore, Table 4.2 shows that males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM) generated a total of 521 speaker new initiations (104.2 speaker new initiations on average) and females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) generated a total of 514 speaker new initiations (102.8 speaker new initiations on average).

Table 4.2 shows that females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) produced speaker new initiations most of all the participants.[48] Males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM) produced the second most speaker new initiations, and females in the mixed-sex dyad (FM) produced the third most speaker new initiations. Males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) were those who produced the least number of speaker new initiations of all the participants. Since backchannels are included in counting the occurrence of speaker new initiation, the difference between males and females in the single-sex dyad group might be partly due to the more frequent of insertion of backchannels by females than by males, which will be further investigated in the following chapters.[49]

One final remark on the results in Table 4.2 is that accommodation was observed in terms of speaker new initiation between two sexes. As shown in the table, there was an increase and decrease in the overall frequency of speaker new initiation for males and females in the mixed-sex-group, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group. The overall frequency of speaker new initiation increased for males in the mixed-sex dyad group, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group, and decreased for females in the

[48] In the present study, for the effects of the participant group types, since the number of participants per type was unequal, a GLM ANOVA procedure in SAS was conducted. One-Way ANOVA was conducted on the numbers of speakers new initiations for the four types of participants, and there was significant difference between females and males in the single-sex dyad group, $F(3, 26) = 3.10$, $p < .05$.

[49] Another possible reason for the more frequent speaker new initiation by FS is that females might exchanged utterances other than backchannels with each other more frequently than males in the single-sex-group type.

mixed-sex dyad group, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group. Interestingly, the overall frequencies of speaker new initiation for males and females in the mixed-sex dyad were similar to each other and lay between those of females in the single-sex dyad group and males in the single-sex dyad group. The overall frequency of speaker new initiation for the mixed-sex group also lay between the overall frequencies of the female and male single-sex dyad group. Since backchannels are included in considering the occurrence of speaker new initiation, accommodation observed here might be related to the relative frequency of backchannels by the participants in each dyad group, which I will examine in the following chapters.

In sum, in this section, I have discussed the frequency of speaker new initiation in terms of the group type and participant type. It is found that females in the single-sex dyad group produced speaker new initiation significantly more than males in the single-sex dyad group. In the next section, I will discuss units for the analysis of placement of Backchannels.

Units for Analysis of Placement of Backchannels

The results of previous studies as well as the primary observation of the data in the present study suggests that intonational units and grammatical units such as clause seem to be significantly related to the occurrence of backchannels. Furthermore, the use of backchannels also seems to be closely tied with turn-taking (e.g., Schegloff, 1982). Thus, I assume that using intonation and grammatical completion which implies a possible turn-taking point by another speaker would be appropriate for the analysis of the placement of backchannels in the present study.

Clancy et al. (1996) utilized the concept of Complex Transition Relevance Place (Ford & Thompson, 1996) as one criteria to understand whether or not backchannels tend to occur at a possible turn transitional point from one speaker in a similar way among three languages (English, Chinese, and Japanese). They found that backchannels of the Japanese listeners were least likely to occur at a Complex Transition Relevance Place (CTRP). Rather, Japanese backchannels tended to be "midstream"; they were likely to occur in non-final locations such as in the middle of intonation units, at the ends of intonation units which lack grammatical completion, and at the end of intonation units which have non-final intonation contours. In the present study, I follow their criteria with an addition of new criteria for the analysis of gender differences in placement of Japanese backchannels. I will discuss the criteria which are used in the present study in detail.

Placement Criteria

The criteria that I utilize for the analysis of the placement of backchannels are the combinations of the notion of intonation completion, intonation incompletion, intonation middle with either grammatical completion or grammatical incompletion. More specifically, I categorize points to place backchannels into six types: (a) intonation and grammatical completion points (i.e., CTRP); (b) intonation completion and grammatical incompletion points; (c) intonation incompletion and grammatical completion points; (d) intonation and grammatical incompletion points; (e) intonation middle and grammatical completion points; and (f) intonation middle and grammatical incompletion points. I will first discuss each notion, and then give examples to show I categorize backchannels in terms of these criteria.

Intonation Completion and Incompletion

Following Clancy et al. (1996), the occurrence of an intonation completion point is judged by the intonation patters represented by either a period or a question mark at the end of one intonation unit. Note that an intonation unit marked with a period ends in a falling intonation contour, and an intonation unit marked with a question mark is the unit which ends in a rising intonation contour. The units which end other than in a period or a question mark (i.e., a comma or a double hyphen for a truncated intonation unit) are considered as those with intonation incompletion. Consider the following example.

(4.3) [Conversation 13: Male (Yasuo) – Female (Toshiko)]

1	Yasuo:	dakara nanka haisoo sentaa tte,
2		kekkoo arumitai da kedo.
3	Toshiko:	he=.

4 ii ne.

Translation

1	Yasuo:	so, you know, a delivery center,
2		there are a lot of them.
3	Toshiko:	Oh, I see.
4		That's good.

In (4.3), Yasuo says that there are a fair number of delivery centers for the school lunch food. The intonation unit in line 1 is marked with a comma, so the unit is judged to end with intonational incompletion. The subsequent units (i.e., lines 2 – 4) end in periods, so these units are judged to end with intonational completion.

Grammatical Completion and Incompletion

The occurrence of grammatical completion is determined based on clause. If the utterance is a complete clause, it is judged to be grammatically complete.[50] A complete clause is judged based on whether or not it has an overt or directly recoverable predicate in its sequential context (Clancy et al., 1996, p.366). As Clancy et al. (1996) stated, the judgment is done considering the utterance's sequential context and without considering intonation. Consider the following example.

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[50] In this study, a short verbal backchannel as well as nod are considered to be grammatical complete as exceptions.

(4.4) [Conversation 9: Female (Tomoko) – Female (Kimie)]

1 Kimie: ano=,

2 ga- itsumo kurasu de taberu/ ja nai,/

3 Tomoko: un.

Translation

1 Kimie: Well,

2 always, in the classroom, we eat, you know,

3 Tomoko: Uh-huh.

In (4.4), Tomoko says that they usually eat lunch in the classroom. The intonation unit in line 1 is grammatically incomplete because it dose not constitute a complete clause by itself. The intonation unit in line 2 is grammatically complete because it constitutes a complete clause by itself. Note that the unit in line 2 has two grammatical completions (marked by slashes); the first completion is after *taberu* 'eat' (a clause without a verb suffix), and the second completion is after *ja nai* 'you know' (a clause with a verb plain form).[51] The short response in line 3 is also considered as grammatically complete in

[51] Note also that both a clause with and without a particle are considered as grammatically complete in the present study.

the present study. Note also that *ga- itsumo kurasu de* 'always in the classroom' does not constitute a complete clause by itself, as at this point, no predicate has appeared.

<u>Intonation Middle</u>

As Clancy et al. (1996) found, I also found that some backchannels tend to appear in the middle of intonation units. In order to code the location of these kinds of backchannels in detail, I created a category called intonation middle. Consider the following example.

(4.5) [Conversation 5: Male (Atsuhi) – Male (Jiroo)]

1 Atsushi: (0)nihyakuen made toka [kimete saa],

2 Jiroo: [un un un].

Translation

1 Atsushi: (0) a limit of something like ¥200, [we set],

2 Jiroo: [Yeah, yeah, yeah].

In (4.5), Atsushi says that (we) set a limit of ¥200. The backchannels in line 2 occurs in the middle of intonation unit in line 1; it occurs after *toka* 'something like' in line 1. I consider the point immediately after *toka* in which Jiroo started to utter *un un un* 'yeah, yeah, yeah' as intonation middle.

Coding the Placement of Backchannels

I coded the occurrence of backchannels in terms of six place categories. That is, a backchannel occurs: (a) at intonation and grammatical completion points (i.e., CTRP); (b) at intonation completion and grammatical incompletion points; (c) at intonation incompletion and grammatical completion points; (d) at intonation and grammatical incompletion points; (e) at intonation middle and grammatical completion points; and (f) at intonation middle and grammatical incompletion points. Following example shows how I coded the data.

(4.6) [Conversation 10: Female (Iori) – Female (Kuniko)]

1 Kuniko: watashi kekko ure[shikatta].
2 Iori: [H H H].
3 Kuniko: sensee ga kitekureru [toki toka].
4 Iori: [u=n].
5 Kuniko: un.
6 Iori: u=n.
7 Kuniko: ... (1.2) nanka ne ichi ninen no toki no sensee ga,

8 Iori: H H

9 Kuniko: nanka sono .. han ni kitatoki dake ni,

10 Iori: u=n.

11 Kuniko: nanka,

12 Iori: H

13 Kuniko: sono han no hitotachi dake ni,

14 Iori: H H

15 Kuniko: nanka,

16 jikasee no umboshi o mottekitekureru koto ni natte,

17 Iori: a soo nan da.

Translation

1 Kuniko: I was really g[lad].

2 Iori: [H H H].

3 Kuniko: like when a teacher came [around].

4 Iori: [Uh-huh].

5 Kuniko: Yeah.

6 Iori: Uh-huh.

7 Kuniko: ... (1.2) Well, a teacher when I was in first and second grade,

8 Iori: H H

9 Kuniko: uhm, when she came to sit at one of the group's tables,

10	Iori:	Uh-huh.
11	Kuniko:	uhm,
12	Iori:	H
13	Kuniko:	for those who were in the same table with the teacher,
14	Iori:	H H
15	Kuniko:	uhm,
16		she decided to bring homemade dried plum pickles,
17	Iori:	Oh, I see.

In (4.6), Kuniko talks about her first and second grade teacher, who brought homemade dried plum pickles for the students at the table she sat at. Eight backchannels occur in this excerpt: nods in line 2, a verbal backchannel in line 4, a verbal backchannel in line 6, nods in line 8, a verbal backchannel in line 10, a nod in line 12, nods in line 14, and a verbal backchannel in line 17. The series of nods in line 2 was coded as a nonverbal backchannel at intonation middle and grammatical incomplete. This is because it occurred in the middle of both an intonation unit and a complete clause. The verbal backchannel in line 4 was coded as the one with intonation middle and grammatical complete. It occurred in the middle of an intonation unit and after a complete clause, *sensei ga kitekureru toki toka* 'like when a teacher came around'. Since the verbal backchannel in line 6 occurred after a backchannel of the speaker (i.e., Kuniko) which was marked with a period, it was coded as intonation complete and grammatical complete. The next four backchannels (i.e., nods in line 8, a verbal backchannel in line 10, a nod in line 12, and nods in line 14) are coded as intonation incomplete and grammatical incomplete. This is because they are produced after an intonation unit which ends with a comma, and is not a complete clause. The verbal backchannel in line 17 is coded as intonation incompletion and grammatical completion. This is because it occurs after a complete clause whose intonation unit is marked with a comma.[52]

In summary, I have discussed six criteria for the placement of backchannels. As I have shown, backchannels including both verbal and nonverbal listener's responses will be categorized in terms of these categories to find gender differences in their placement in the subsequent chapters.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in the first half of this chapter, I have discussed an amount f speech, a unit for the analysis of frequency of backchannels, and speaker new initiation. For the amount of speech, mora is used to see numerically how much talk the participants produced during the five-minute segments of conversations. The frequency of speaker

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[52] An intonation completion and grammatical incompletion was rarely observed. One example is that when the speaker's utterance contained only a noun phrase with a final intonational contour, I considered backchannels which occurred after such a noun as those at an intonational complete and grammatical incomplete. Note that grammatical complete was determined in terms of clause.

new initiation of each participant during five-minute segments of talk was counted and compared in terms of the group types and participant types. There were significantly greater numbers of speaker new initiation exhibited in females in the single-sex-group type compared with males in the single-sex-group type; females exchanged talk with each other more frequently than males in the single-sex dyad group. The frequencies of backchannels will be calculated in terms of the percentages of backchannels of all speaker new initiation during five-minute segments of talk in the following chapters.

In the latter half of this chapter, I have discussed units for the analysis of placement of backchannels. The notions of grammatical completion and intonational completion were combined with each other in terms of the structure of intonation unit to form six criteria for the placement analysis. Six criteria are; (a) both intonation and grammatical completion; (b) intonation incompletion and grammatical completion; (c) intonation incompletion and grammatical completion; (d) both intonation and grammatical incompletion; (e) intonation middle and grammatical completion; and (f) intonation middle and grammatical incompletion. These criteria will be utilized for the investigation of group and participant differences in the placement of backchannels in the subsequent chapters.

5. VERBAL BACKCHANNELS

In chapter 5, I will discuss gender and group differences in the distribution, frequency, and placement of verbal backchannels (VB) in the Japanese language. The results will be compared in terms of four participant group types, males and females in the single-sex dyad group, and those in the mixed-sex dyad group. First, five types of VBs will be introduced and discussed in detail. Then, frequencies of VB will be discussed in terms speaker new initiation to find whether or not there are any gender and group differences. Lastly, I will discuss gender and group differences in the placement of VBs. Since there have been very few empirically based studies in which gender as well as group differences in Japanese VBs were investigated, I hope that this chapter will provide us with the empirical results of the matter.

Verbal Backchannels

In the present study, verbal backchannels (VBs) are defined as follows: VBs are short verbal utterances which are given by the listener as responses to what the speaker has just said or is saying during conversation. The roles of the speaker and the listener are decided based on the extent to which the conversationalists control a topic which is being talked about during on going conversation. That is, I consider the one who seems to take the initiative in the talk about a topic as the speaker and the one who mainly listens to and supports the speaker as the listener. Furthermore, VBs have various functions including continuer (Schegloff, 1982), expressing understanding (Maynard, 1989), and showing support (Maynard, 1989). Responses that add new information to the propositional content of speaker's preceding utterance will not be considered as VBs (Iwasaki, 1990). In the following sections, five types of VBs will be introduced and discussed in detail.

Types of Verbal Backchannels

Following Clancy et al. (1996), verbal backchannels were classified into five types in the present study. That is, verbal backchannels consist of: (a) Continuers; (b) Reactive Expressions; (c) Repetitions; (d) Collaborative Finishes; (e) and Resumptive Openers. I will discuss each type in detail in the following sections.

Continuers

A continuer is a short verbal form, repeated one of the same form, or combination of different forms, which is produced by the listener immediately after or during the speaker's utterance.[53] They are further divided into seven sub-types, Type Ha, Type E, Type A, Type Un, Type He, Type S, and Type Others, depending on the connotations. The first four types are typical continuer type expressions in Japanese whose forms are equivalent to "yes" or "uh-huh" in English, and mainly serve as continuers (Schegloff, 1982). According to Komiya (1986), these four types of continuers can be differentiated in the following way; among Type Ha, Type E, Type A, and Type Un, the connotation of deference to others decreases from Type Ha to Type Un in that order. In a similar way, the connotation of familiarity to others increases from Type Ha to Type Un in the order. Type He is a response which connotes the listener's surprise or appreciation. Type S is a response which connotes the listener's agreement or disagreement depending how the listener pronounces it. For example, *soo* with a rising intonation implies that the listener may cast a doubt on the remarks of the speaker. Lastly, Type Others is a response which

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[53] In Clancy et al. (1996), non-lexical vocalic forms were crucial elements in judging continuers. Therefore, they did not include *hai* 'yes' in this category. In the present study, however, I considered that *hai* 'yes' belongs to the continuer category. This is because *Un* and *hai* can be considered as variants of one continuer type; the only difference is due to the connotation of familiarity or deference toward the interlocutor (Komiya, 1986). Similarly, *soo* 'so' which was a reactive expression in Clancy et al. (1996), was in the continuer category in the present study. This is because *soo* seems to be used by the listener mainly as a continuer to further prompt the speaker's talk. Hirokawa (1995) coined Short Verbal Responses (SVRs) for this type. However, there were also some differences in the membership. Hirokawa included *honto* 'really' in the SVR category, but I included it in Reactive Expressions because I considered that it is used as an idiomatic expression. I also included *a soo ka* in Reactive Expressions, while Hirokawa categorized it as SVR. This is because I consider it as a variation of *a soo desu ka*, which was also categorized in Reactive Expressions in the present study.

does not belong to any of the previous mentioned types. Note that in the present study, Type S is the only one which is a lexical word, and the other continuer types are non-lexical words. Table 5.1 presents typical continuers which were used by participants in the present study:

Table 5.1

Types of Continuers

Type	Continuers (not exhaustive)
Type Ha	ha= 'uh-huh', ha= 'yeah' (repeated), hai 'yes', hai 'yes' (repeated), han 'yeah' (repeated), a= han 'oh yeah'(repeated)
Type E	e 'oh', e= 'yes'
Type A	a 'yeah', a= 'uh-huh', a= 'yeah' (repeated), a=n 'uh-huh',
Type Un	un 'uh-huh', un 'yeah' (repeated), u=n 'uh-huh', u=n 'yeah' (repeated), hun 'uh-huh'
Type He	he= 'I see' ha= 'I see' hu=n 'I see'
Type S	soo 'yeah', soo 'yeah' (repeated), un soo 'oh I see',
Type Others	o= 'yeah', ne 'yeah'

As shown in Table 5.1, some continuers occurred as a single form such as *a=* 'yeah' and others occurred as a repetitive form such as *un un un* 'yeah yeah yeah'. Note that I placed the remark '(repeated)', on the right of some of the forms, which represents repetitive forms of them. A repetitive form refers to those which are repeated without any pause as a single response. It varies from single repeated such as *a= a=* 'yeah, yeah' to as long as seven repeated forms such *a= a= a= a= a= a= a=* 'yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah'. Furthermore, some continuers were a combination of two types, such as *un soo* 'yeah, really'. I consider these as single forms as long as they were uttered without noticeable pause. In addition, I judge the membership of combined responses based on the placement of accent. For example, in case of *un soo* 'yeah, really' in Type S, the accent was placed on *soo* 'really', so I regard it as Type S.

The following examples present the use of some continuers found in the data of the present study.

(5.1) [Conversation 2: Toshiya (Male) – Masao (Male) conversation]

1	Toshiya:	moo honto nanka pa- pan ni,
2	Masao:	un. ((NOD))
3	Toshiya:	(0) nanka koo nerikonde aru mitaina kanji de,
4	Masao:	a=. ((NOD))

5 Toshiya: oishikunai n da yo.

6 Masao: @@@

7 Toshiya: @@@

8 kekko yadatta ne.

9 Masao: he=.

Translation

1 Toshiya: It was really like in bread,

2 Masao: Uh-huh. ((NOD))

3 Toshiya: (0) It was something like it was kneaded into bread,

4 Masao: I see. ((NOD))

5 Toshiya: It did not taste good.

6 Masao: @@@

7 Toshiya: @@@

8 I hated it very much.

9 Masao: I see.

(5.2) [Conversation 10: Iori (Female) – Kuniko (Female) conversation]

1 Iori: nanka,

2 ...(1.0) fukuro ni haitta sa=,

3 Kuniko: un. ((NOD))

4 Iori: setsubun no mame toka sa=,

5 Kuniko: un. ((NOD))

6 Iori: detari nanka shite sa=,

7 Kuniko: un. ((NOD))

8 Iori: (0) nanka soo yuu –

Translation

1 Iori : Something like,

2 …(1.0) in a bag,

3 Kuniko: Uh-huh. ((NOD))

4 Iori : Those Setsbun Beans,

5 Kuniko: Uh-huh. ((NOD))

6 Iori : Were served,

7 Kuniko: Uh-huh. ((NOD))

8 Iori : (0) And something like –

(5.3) [Conversation 13: Yasuo (Male) – Toshiko (Female) conversation]

1 Toshiko: a asa kooyuu nanka dekkai dai ni nosete,

2 [goro goro goro goro].

3 Yasuo: [soo soo soo soo soo soo soo soo]. ((NOD))
4 [ano],
5 Toshiko: [un] un un un un. ((NOD))
6 Yasuo: kyuushoku no ne,
7 kyuushokutooban ni natte,
8 Toshiko: un un un un. ((NOD))
9 Yasuo: katazukeru toki ni,

Translation

1 Toshiko: Well in the morning (it) was put on a big stand,
2 [goro goro goro goro].
3 Yasuo: [Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah]. ((NOD))
4 [You know],
5 Toshiko: [Yeah], yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. ((NOD))
6 Yasuo: during school lunch,
7 (When we) became our turn to be in charge of serving the school lunch,
8 Toshiko: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. ((NOD))
9 Yasuo: When (we) put (them) away,

In 5.1, Toshiya talks about a bread which he had during the school lunch hour. According to him, the bread was not good. Masao uses three types of continuers: *un* 'uh-huh', *a=* 'uh-huh', and *he=* 'I see', while listening to Toshiya (lines 2, 4 and 9). Note that the first two continuers are uttered with nods, as shown in the parentheses ((NOD)). In 5.2, the female participant Iori talks about beans in a bag which came in the school lunch on the holiday called *Setsubun*. Kuniko produces *un* 'uh-huh' with nodding immediately after Iori's utterances (lines 3, 5 and 7). In 5.3, Toshiko and Yasuo talks about bringing a big stew pot on a stand to the classroom. Yasuo uses a repetitive *soo* 'yeah' with nodding at the same time Toshiko mimics the sound of a moving stand, *goro goro goro goro* (line 3). Then, Toshiko starts uttering a repetitive *un* 'yeah' accompanied by a nod concurrently with Yasuo's *ano* 'you know' (line 5). After Yasuo says, "*kyuushokutooban ni natte*" '(When we) became in charge of school lunch serving', Toshiko utters a repetitive *un* 'yeah' as he nods again (line 8).

Table 5.2 displays the average percentages of Continuers in the five-minute segments of talk for the four participant types (see also Figure5.1-5.7).[54]

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[54] Please see Appendix B (chart 1-3) for the distribution of Backchannel types for each individual.

Table 5.2

Distribution of Seven Continuer Types

BK	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
Types	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ha	27/164	16.5	1/299	0.3	3/111	12.5	10/100	10
E	1/164	0.6	0/299	0	0/111	0	0/100	0
A	19/164	11.6	22/299	7.4	9/111	8.1	4/100	4
Un	98/164	59.8	244/299	81.6	68/111	61.2	59/100	59
He	7/164	4.3	24/299	8	13/111	11.7	19/100	19
S	10/164	6.1	8/299	2.7	17/111	15.3	7/100	7
Others	3/164	1.8	0/299	0	1/111	0.1	1/100	1

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; $n = 10$ for MS and FS; $n = 5$ for MM and FM.

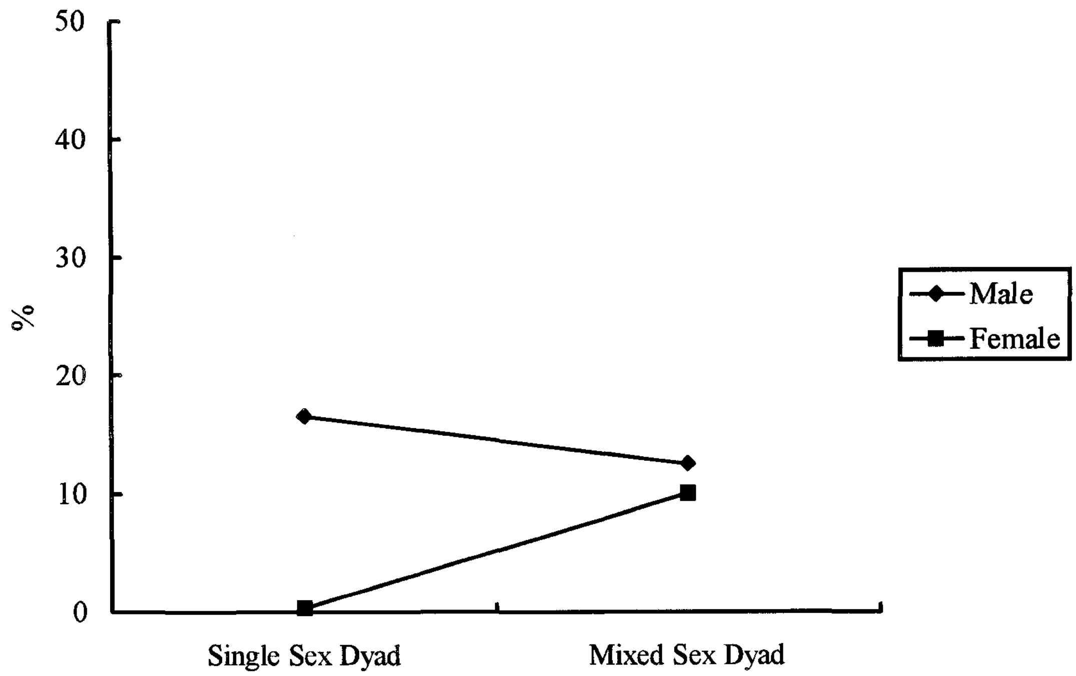

Figure 5.1. Distribution of Type Ha.

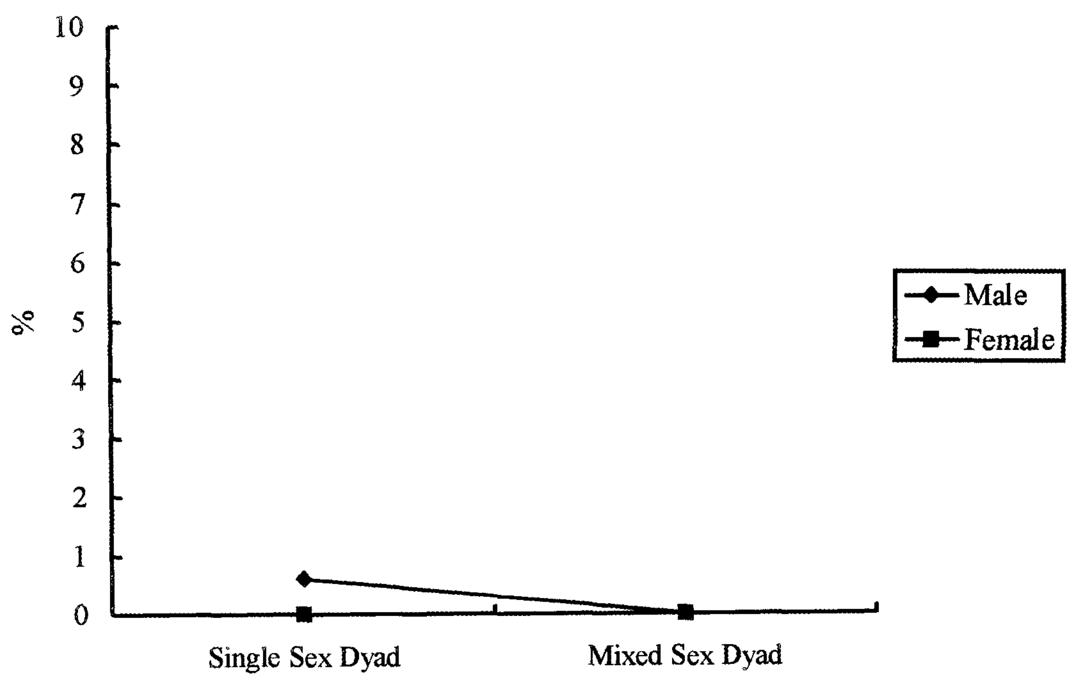

Figure 5.2. Distribution of Type E.

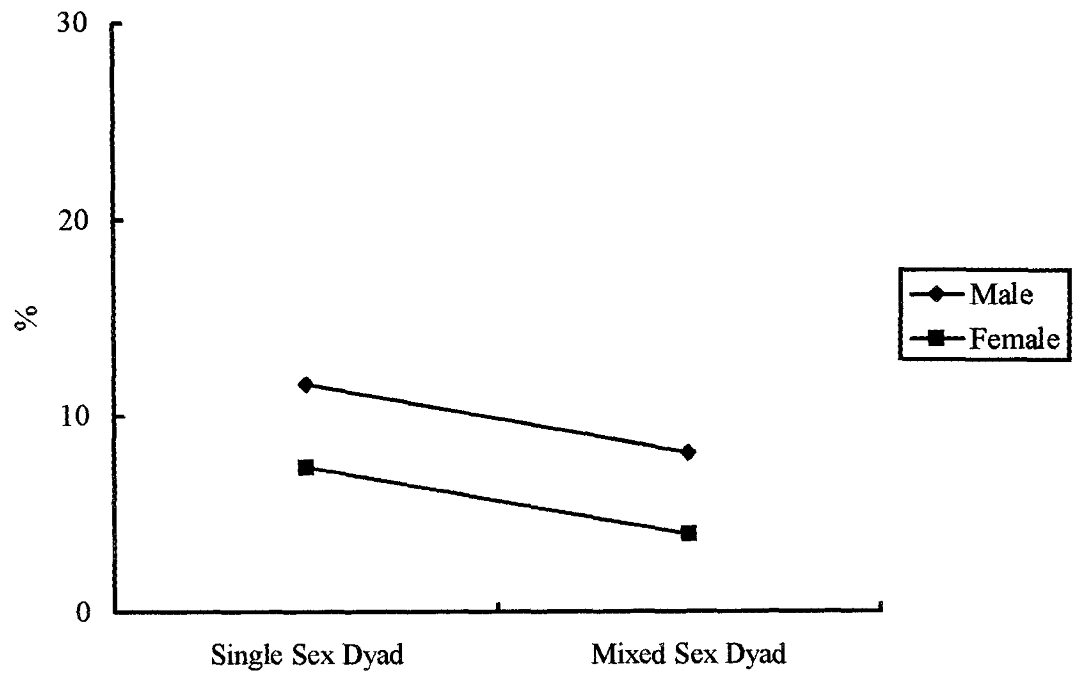

Figure 5.3. Distribution of Type A.

Figure 5.4. Distribution of Type Un.

Figure 5.5. Distribution of Type He.

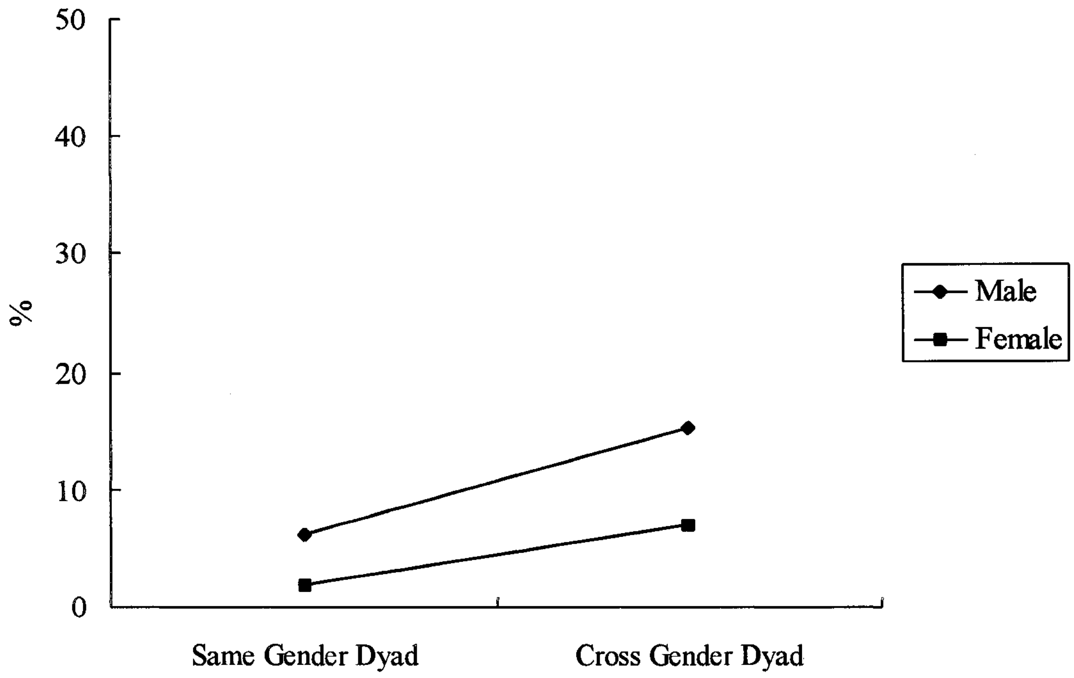

Figure 5.6. Distribution of Type S.

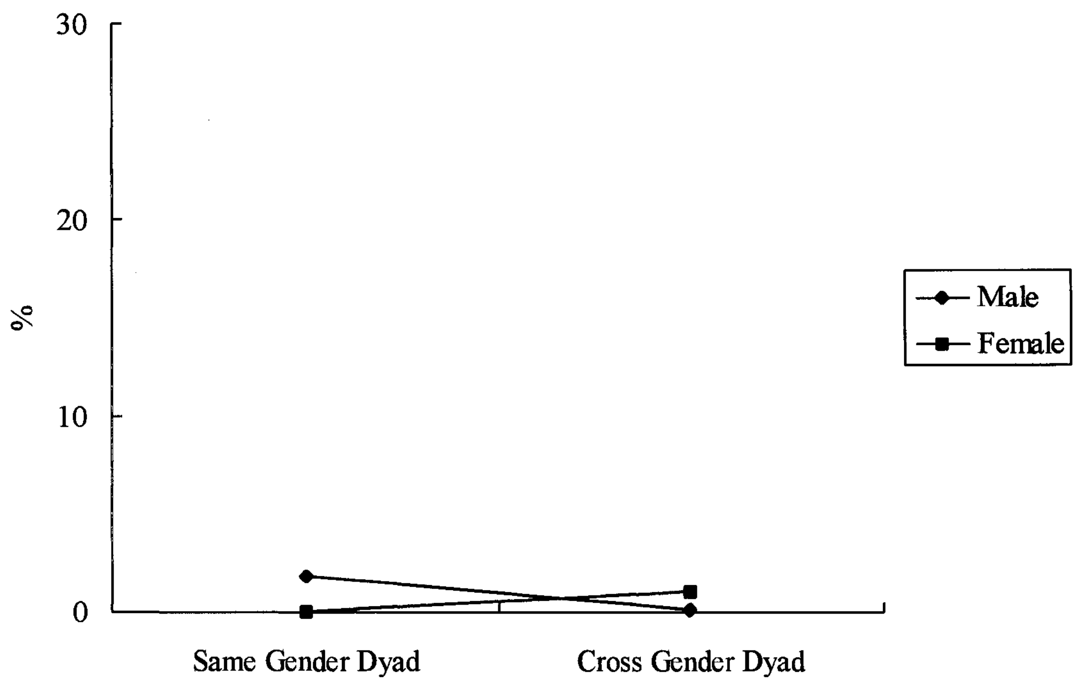

Figure 5.7. Distribution of Type Others.

As shown in Table 5.2, the distribution of Continuer types for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) is as follows; (a) 16.5% were Type Ha; (b) 0.6% were Type E; (c) 11.6% were Type A; (d) 59.8% were Type Un; (e) 4.3% were Type He; (f) 6.1% were Type S; and (g) 1.8% were Type Others. The distribution of Continuer types for females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) is as follows; (a) 0.3% were Type Ha; (b) 0% were Type E; (c); 7.4% were Type A (d) 81.6% were Type Un; (e) 8% were Type He; (f) 2.7% were Type S; and (g) 0% were Type Others. The distribution of Continuer types for male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM) is as follows; (a) 12.5% were Type

Ha; (b) 0% were Type E; (c) 8.1% were Type A; (d) 61.2% were Type Un; (e) 11.7% were Type He; (f) 15.3% were Type S; and (g) 0.1% were Type Others. Lastly, the distribution of Continuer types for female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) is as follows; (a) 10% were Type Ha; (b) 0% were Type E; (c) 4% were Type A; (d) 59% were Type Un; (e) 17% were Type He; (f) 7% were Type S; and (g) 1% were Type Others.[55]

As shown in Table 5.2, the most preferred Continuer type was Type Un among the four participant types. As I stated earlier, Type Un is one of the most typical Continuers and is frequently used when the conversational situation is casual, as was the case between friends in the present study. Thus, this result is well anticipated considering characteristics of Type Un as well as the situation in which conversation took place in the present study. Note that for the rest of Continuers, the frequency order varied among the four participant types.

Table 5.2, further, shows that especially females in the same single-sex group (FS) showed a stronger preference for Type Un than any other participant groups. For FS, more than three-fourths of Continuers were Type Un, whereas for other participant groups, the overall distribution of Type Un ranged from 61.2% for males in the

[55] No significant differences were found in the effects of participant type on the distribution of each Backchannel type.

mixed-sex dyad group (MM) to 59% for females in the mixed-sex dyad group.[56]

Table 5.2 also indicated increases in the distributions of Type He and Type S for participants in the mixed-sex dyad groups, compared to those in the single-sex dyad groups. For example, the distributions of Type He and Type S increased from 8% and 19% to 2.7% and 7% between females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) respectively. This makes the use of Continuer types seem more diverse for those in the mixed-sex dyad groups, compared to those in the single-sex dyad groups whose distribution patterns of Continuer types were more or less concentrated on similar Continuer types (i.e., Type Ha, Type A, Type E, and Type Un). Since participants in the mixed-sex dyad groups not only were different with each other in terms of gender but also might be different in others factors such as common interests, they might need to make more effort to maintain conversation, compared to those in the

[56] For males in the single-sex dyad group, the use of Type Ha marked 19.9%. This is due to one of male participants, M8 in MSSD 4, who produced Type Ha 48.7% of the time (see Appendix B, chart 1). Interestingly, in questionnaires which I asked after video-recording, participants in MSSD 4 stated that it is more appropriate for them to define their relationship in terms of being senpai and koohai (senior and junior) than to define in terms of being friends with each other. Since, as I discussed, Type Ha connotes most distance as well as most deference among four continuers, Type Ha, Type A, Type E, and Type Un, the many uses of Ha by M8 may suggest that he is frequently distancing himself from the speaker because of the relationship. Furthermore, the data show that even within each participant, he/she used more or less some of four Continuer types, which means that they might sometimes distance themselves and at other times place themselves closer to the speaker. Examining the contexts of each continuer might be necessary to find the cause of style shift, which would be an interesting future research topic.

single-sex dyad groups. Using variety of Continuer types might reflect such efforts in the mixed-sex dyadic conversation.

Accommodation has been observed between males and females regarding the distribution of Continuers. Some of the Continuer types exhibited less gender difference as a result of accommodation from both sides of sex. For example, female's convergence and male's divergence in the use of Type Un resulted in similarity in its distribution in the mixed-sex dyadic conversation. On the other hand, gender difference was persisted in other Continuer types in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation. For instance, in the use of Type S continuer, although females showed convergence whereas males showed divergence. Since the increase rate of divergence was surpassed the increase rate of convergence, gender difference in the distribution of Type S maintained in the mixed-sex dyadic conversation.

In sum, in this section, I have discussed Continuers. In the present study, Continuers were defined as a short vocalic form, repeated one of the same form, or combination of different forms, which was produced by the listener immediately after or during the speaker's utterance. Continuers further divided into seven types, Type Ha, Type A, Type E, Type Un, Type He, Type S, and Type Others, based on their connotations, and the distributions of these seven type was compared in terms of group as well as participant type. Although no significant differences were found in the effects of group as well as participant types, some interesting tendencies were found in the distribution patterns. First, the most preferred Continuer type was Type Un among the four participant types. Second, females in the single-sex dyad groups showed stronger preference for Type Un than any other participant types. Third, there were interesting increases in the distributions of Type He and Type S from the single-sex to the mixed-sex group or participant types. Lastly, accommodation has been found with regard to the distribution of each Continuer type when males and females have a conversation in the mixed-sex dyadic group. In the next section, I will discuss Reactive Expressions in detail.

Reactive Expressions

Reactive Expression is a brief idiomatic phrase or a word which is uttered by the listener to what the speaker have just said or is saying. Based on the types of lexical words which make up responses, they are further divided into two types: Type Soo and Type Evaluative (Eva) in the present study,. Table 5.3 presents typical Reactive Expressions which were used by the participants in the present study:

Table 5.3

Types of Reactive Expressions

Type	Reactive Expressions (not exhaustive)
Type Soo	soo nan da 'I see', soo na no 'I see', a soo ka 'oh I see', soo ka 'I see' (repeated), soo da yo ne 'I think soo, too', soo da ne 'that's right', soo nan desu ka 'I see'
Type Eva	naruhodo 'I see', honto 'really', uso 'it can't be true', maji 'are you serious', maa 'yeah right' , sugee 'cool', hidoi 'bad'

Note: Eva = evaluative

As shown in Table 5.3, some reactive expressions occurred as a single form such as *soo nan da* 'I see' and others occurred as a repetitive form such *as soo ka soo ka* 'I see I see', which are repeated without any pause as a single reactive expression. Note that this was also observed in Continuers. Note also that I placed the remark: (repeated), on the right of forms, which shows that the forms are repetitive forms. Furthermore, some reactive expressions occurred the combination of two types such as *a soo ka* 'oh I see': the combination of *a* and *soo ka*. I consider it as a single form as long as it is uttered without any pause. The following examples present the use of some reactive expressions used by the participants in the present study:

(5.4) [Conversation 3: Akira (Male) – Yoshio (Male) conversation]

1 Akira: takoyaki no ano kata ga,
2 katte konakucha ikenai n da yo na.
3 [XXX].
4 Yoshio: [a uchi] tabun aru yo.
5 Akira: a honto ni. ((NOD))

Translation

1 Akira: A mold for takoyaki,
2 (I) have to get.
3 [XXX].
4 Yoshio: [Oh I] probably have (are).
5 Akira: Oh, really. ((NOD))

(5.5) [Conversation 6: Kazue (Female) – Hiroko (Female) conversation]

1 Kazue: (0) kappu raamen no Raoo.

2 Hiroko: (0) [un un un un un un un]. ((NOD))

3 Kazue: [ar- are ga ippai kuru kanji de],

4 Hiroko: ...(1.2) aa aa aa naruhodo ne. ((NOD))

5 Kazue: udon mo aa yuu jootai.

Translation

1 Kazue: (0) The instant ramen in a cup called Raoo.

2 Hiroko: (0) [Yeah Yeah Yeah Yeah Yeah Yeah Yeah]. ((NOD))

3 Kazue: [Like th- that came a lot],

4 Hiroko: ...(1.2) Oh, Oh I see. ((NOD))

5 Kazue: Udon (was served) like that.

(5.6) [Conversation 8: Akemi (Female) – Ikue (Female) conversation]

1 Akemi: nanka hoonki ga atta no ne.

2 Ikue: .. sugo=i.

3 Akemi: kyooshitsu ni,

4 Ikue: sugo=i.

5 Akemi: ikko tsuita no ne.

Translation

1	Akemi:	Well, there was a warming cabinet.
2	Ikue:	.. Wow.
3	Akemi:	In the classroom,
4	Ikue:	Cool.
5	Akemi:	There was one.

In 5.4, Akira and Yoshio talks about a cooking pan for baking *takoyaki* 'golf ball sized round shaped baked snack made from flour with a piece of octopus inside'. Akira thinks that he should buy a *takoyaki* pan made for baking *takoyaki* to hold a *takoyaki* party. As soon as Yoshio says that he had it at home, Akira utters a reactive expression, *a honto ni* 'Oh really', with nodding (line 5). In 5.5, Kazue talks about a udon dish served at the school lunch. Immediately after Kazue mentions the name of *Raoo* (line 1), Hiroko replies with a repetitive *un* with nodding, which overlaps Kazue's subsequent speech (line 2). Then, after a pause, Hiroko utters a reactive expression, *aa aa aa naruhod ne* 'Oh Oh I see', with nodding (line 4). In 5.6, Akemi talks about a thermal device which keep students' lunch boxes warm. Here, Ikue utters a reactive expression, *sugo=i* 'Wow' twice (lines 2 and 4). Ikue says the first *sugo=i* 'Wow' after Akemi says that she and her classmates had a thermal device. The second *sugo=i* came when

Akemi says that she had it in the classroom.

Table 5.4 (see also Figure5.8-5.9) displays the average percentages of two types of Reactive Expression in the five-minute segments of talk for the four participant types, i.e., male (MS) and female participants (FS) in the single-sex dyad group, and male (MM) and female participants (FM) in the mixed-sex dyad group, in the mixed-sex dyad group.

Table 5.4

Two Types of Reactive Expressions Used by Four Participant Groups

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
Types	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Soo	28/49	57.1	23/52	44.2	15/25	60.0	19/25	76.0
Eva	21/49	42.9	29/52	55.8	10/25	40.0	6/25	24.0

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

Figure 5.8. Distribution of Type Soo.

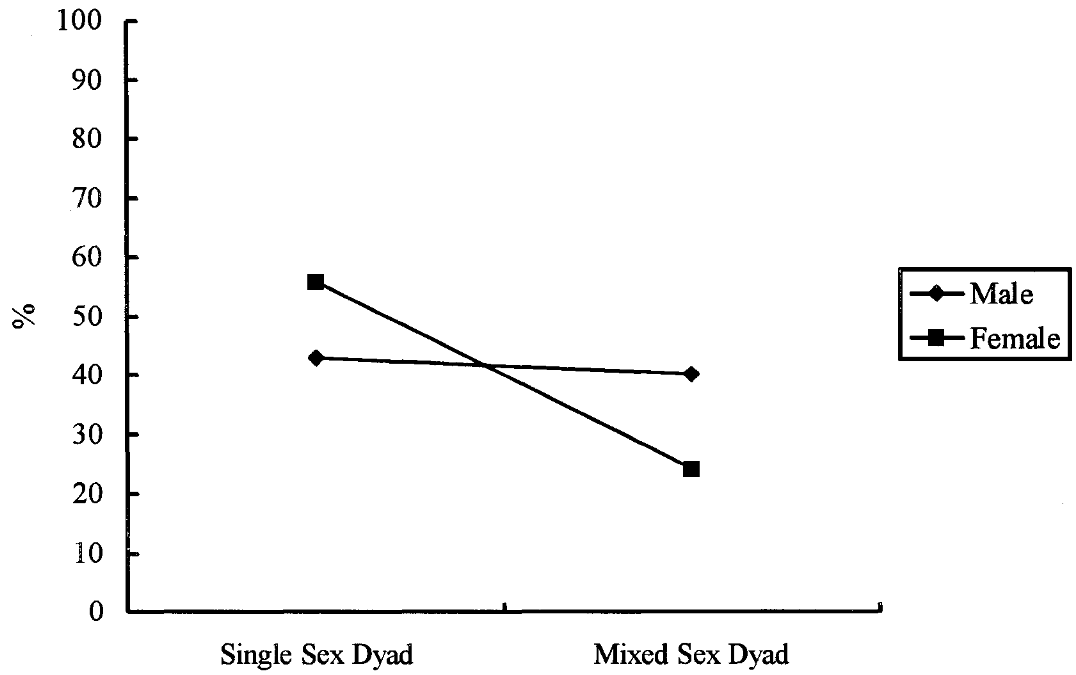

Figure 5.9. Distribution of Type Eva.

As shown in Table 5.4, the distribution of Reactive Expression types for MS (males in the single-sex dyad group) is as follows; of the 49 continuers, (a) 57.1% were Type Soo; and (b) 42.9% were Type Eva. The distribution of Reactive Expression types for FS (females in the single-sex dyad group) is as follows; of the 52 continuers, (a) 44.2% were Type Soo; and (b) 55.8% were Type Eva. The distribution of Reactive Expression types for MM (males in the mixed-sex dyad group) is as follows; of the 25 Reactive Expressions, (a) 60.0% were Type Soo; and (b) 40.0% were Type Eva. The distribution of Reactive Expression types for FM (females in the mixed-sex dyad group) is as follows;

of the 25 Reactive Expressions, (a) 76.0% were Type Soo; (b) 24.0% were Type Eva.[57]

Interestingly, as shown in Table 5.4, there were significant increases in the use of Type Soo for FM compared to those in the single-sex dyad group (FS).[58] This result suggests that FM might distance herself from the speaker by not getting into the talk more frequently than FS. This is because Type Soo seems to indicate less directly the listener's emotion due to ambiguity in the meaning which is implied in *Soo* 'so' in Type Soo, compared to Type Eva (e.g., *honto* 'really') which consists of lexical words directly expressing the listener's emotion. Since in the mixed-sex conversation, the conversationalists do not share common interest or information as frequently as those in the single-sex conversation do, they tend to distance himself/herself from the speaker more frequently than those in the single-sex conversation. This kind of the nature of acquaintanceship between their partners in the mixed-sex conversation may cause the more frequent use of Type Soo by the listener in the mixed-sex conversation. The same reasoning might apply to others in the present study as well. For example, it can be considered that MS did not get into the talk as frequently as FS did because compared to

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[57] Please see Appendix B (chart 4) for the distribution of each participant.
[58] In fact, significant differences were found in the distribution of Type Soo between females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) and those in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM), $F(3,26) = 3.79$, $p < .05$.

FS, they might not have had enough common interest, regarding school lunches.[59]

As for accommodation regarding the distribution of two types of Reactive Expressions, a slight divergence was observed in males whereas a convergence was observed in females in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation. Furthermore, the table shows that females seemed to show accommodation in a much higher degree, compared to male's accommodation.[60]

In sum, in this section, I have discussed Reactive Expressions, which were defined as a brief idiomatic phrase or a word which is uttered by the listener in response to what the speaker have just said or is saying. Reactive Expressions are further divided into two types, Type Soo and Type Eva, based on the lexicon, and the distributions of two types were compared in terms of group as well as participant type. It was found that there were significant increases in the use of Type Soo for females in the mixed-sex dyad group, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group at $p< .05$. Lastly, it was found that accommodation occurred in terms of the distribution of Reactive Expressions. Here, female's accommodation was more pronounced, compared to male's accommodation.

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[59] Table 5.5 also shows that females in the single-sex dyad-group (FS) produced more Type Eva than Type Soo. However, individual differences seemed to play a role, so the comparison between the percentages of Type Soo and Type Eva within the participant group was withheld (please see Appendix B, chart 4).
[60] Note that as shown in Figure 5.8 and 5.9, the degree of female's convergence surpassed the degree of male's divergence, which created a reversal of the pattern in the same-sex dyad conversation. This phenomenon is called hyperconvergence (e.g., Bilous and Krauss, 1988).

In the next section, I will discuss Repetitions in detail.

Repetitions

Repetitions refer to an immediate response of the listener in which a whole or a portion of the speaker 's utterance is repeated with or without the addition of a few words.[61] The following examples represent the use of repetitions:

(5.7) [Conversation 4: Tetsuo (Male) – Kenji (Male) conversation]

1 Tetsuo: nandakke na=,
2 ano= niigata ttsuttara dokodesu ka ne.
3 Kenji: (0) meikun.
4 Tetsuo: meikun. ((NOD))
5 niigata meikun ka.
6 Kenji: (0) niigata meikun.
7 … desho yappari.

Translation

1 Tetsuo: Well
2 Speaking of Niigata prefecture, which school is the one?
3 Kenji: (0) Meikun.

[61] Hirokawa (1995) defined this type of repetition as the other-restatement/elaboration.

4 Tetsuo: Meikun. ((NOD))

Meikun of Niigata, yeah.

6 Kenji: (0) Meikun of Niigata.

7 ... I think that is the one.

(5.8) [Conversation 14: Norio (Male) – Kaoru (Female) conversation]

1 Norio: ato piinatsu bataa toka atta [kamo shinnai].

2 Kaoru: [atta atta atta atta].

3 Norio: un.

4 Kaoru: are oishikatta yo ne.

5 Norio: oishikatta oishikatta.

6 (H) kyuushoku kiraina no hotondo nakatta kamo shinnai.

Translation

1 Norio: And peanut butter [(I) might have had].

2 Kaoru: [(I) had (it), had (it), had (it), had (it)].

3 Norio: Yeah.

4 Kaoru: It was good, wasn't it?

5 Norio: Good, good.

6 (H) (I) might hate very few school lunch foods.

(5.9) [Conversation 7: Sachiko (Female) – Saori (Female) conversation]

1	Sachiko:	…(2.1) gyuunyuu .. gyuunyuu tte bin datta desho,
2	Saori:	atashi bin datta. ((NOD))
3	Sachiko:	(0) de saa,
4	Saori:	un. ((NOD))
5	Sachiko:	kyappu tsuiteru desho,
6	Saori:	un un. ((NOD))

Translation

1	Sachiko:	…(2.1) Milk, (Milk was) in a Milk glass bottle, wasn't it?
2	Saori:	For me, it was a bottle. ((NOD))
3	Sachiko:	(0) And,
4	Saori:	Uh-huh. ((NOD))
5	Sachiko:	There was a bottle cap on it, wasn't it?
6	Saori:	Yeah, yeah. ((NOD))

In 5.7, Tetsuo and Kenji talk about the name of a high school in Niigata Prefecture which frequently appears on the famous summer baseball tournament in Japan. Tetsuo first asked Kenji which high school of Niigata is well known for baseball , and Kenji answered *Meikun* (line 3). Then, Tetsuo repeats Kenji's answer *Meikun* (line 4).

Tetsuo rephrases *Niigata Meikun* 'Meikun of Niigata' (line 5), and this time, Kenji repeats Tetsuo's utterance *Niigata Meikun* (line 6). In 5.8, Norio says that he might have been served peanut butter for school lunches. Kaoru repeats a part of Norio's speech *atta* 'had' of *atta kamo shinnai* 'I might have' (line 2). After Norio acknowledges Kaoru with saying *un* 'Yeah' (line 3), Kaoru says, "*are oishikatta yo ne*" 'that was delicious, wasn't it' (line 4). Then, Norio agrees with Kaoru, copying a part of Kaoru's speech *oishikatta* 'delicious', repeating it twice (line 5). In 5.9, Sachiko talks about a lid of glass milk container. Here, Saori repeats a part of Sachiko's utterance *bin datta* '(it) was a glass container' with an addition of one word *atashi* 'I', saying that *atashi bin datta* 'as for me, it was a glass container' (line 2). Then, Sachiko introduces the topic of her story, *kyappu* 'lid', and continues her talking with Saori's continuers (line 6).

In sum, I have discussed Repetitions in this section. Repetitions were defined as an immediate response of the listener in which a whole or a portion of the speaker 's utterance is repeated with or without the addition of a few words. I will discuss Collaborative Finishes in the next section.

Collaborative Finishes

Collaborative Finishes refer to an utterance of the listener in which he/she finishes a previous speaker's utterance by supplying words or phrases to help to construct the utterance of the speaker (Clancy et al., 1996).[62] The following examples represent the use of completions:

(5.10) [Conversation 9: Tomoko (Female) – Kimie (Female) conversation]

1	Tomoko:	sarada toka de,
2	Kimie:	((NOD))
3	Tomoko:	aomushi toka naka ni <X haitte X>,
4	Kimie:	(0) e= haitte ta no?
5	Tomoko:	(0) un soo soo soo. ((NOD))

Translation

1	Tomoko:	Speaking of salad,
2	Kimie:	((NOD))
3	Tomoko:	There were worms <X in it X>,
4	Kimie:	(0) Oh, there were?
5	Tomoko:	(0) Yeah, it was. ((NOD))

[62] Hirokawa (1995) termed this type of response as other-completions.

(5.11) [Conversation 4: Tetsuo (Male) – Kenji (Male) conversation]

1 Tetsuo: ga tte kuttara,

2 Kenji: jinmashin.

3 Tetsuo: po= tte dete,

Translation

1 Tetsuo: When (I) gulped it down,

2 Kenji: A rash.

3 Tetsuo: Broke out,

In 5.10, Tomoko talks about worms which were found hidden in the lettuce. Tomoko tries to say that a worm was there, but she cannot complete the utterance clear enough for Kimie to hear, with leaving the last part of it unclear to hear (shown in <X *haitte* X> in line 3). So Kimie finishes the utterance to supply the last part of it for Tomoko, saying, *e= haitte ta no* 'Oh it was in' (line 4). In 5.11, Tetsuo and Kenji talks about a rash caused by eating fish. After Tetsuo says that *ga tte kuttara* 'when (I) gulped it down', Kenji supplies *jinmashin* 'rash' in his next turn. Here, Kenji utteres the subject of Tetsuo's next utterance *po= tte dete* 'broke out' for Tetsuo to be able to continue his story about rash (line 3).[63]

In sum, I have discussed Collaborative Finishes in this section. Collaborative Finishes were defined as utterances of the listener in which he/she finishes a previous speaker's utterance by supplying words or phrases to help to construct the utterance of the speaker.

Resumptive Openers

According to Clancy et al. (1996, p.362), Resumptive Openers are a type of continuers which are used at turn-initial points. They are different from the continuers in that the listener continues making substantial utterances (taking a full turn) after the utterance of Resumptive Openers, instead of having the speaker continue to speak. In the present study, the criteria were extended to include not only continuers but also other types such as reactive expressions. Following examples present the use of Resumptive Openers found in the participants' utterances in the present study.

(5.12) [Conversation 14: Norio (Male) – Kaoru (Female) conversation]

1 Norio: kekko chi- chiiki ni yotte chigatta n daroo ne,
2 kyuushoku mo ne.

[63] In other studies, this type of completion is called information supply (Hirokawa,1995) or sakidori hatsuwa 'utterance taken in advance' (Horiguchi ,1997).

3 Kaoru: .. un.

4 datte,

5 yukimidaihuku ga derutte tomodachi ga itteta yo.

Translation

1 Norio: I guess that it varied dependeding on geographical area,

2 including school lunch.

3 Kaoru: .. Yeah.

4 You know what,

5 I had a friend who said that Yukimidaihuku was served in their school lunches.

(5.13) [Conversation 10: Iori (Female) – Kuniko (Female) conversation]

1 Iori: soo yuu no toka mottekaeru no ga [sugoi suki datta].

2 Kuniko: [a= a= a= soo ka]. ((NOD))

3 gohan

4 Iori: ((NOD))

5 Kuniko: & .. ne,

6 Iori: ((NOD))

7 Kuniko: tabekirenai kara.

Translation

1 Iori : Bringing things like that home, I [liked very much].

2 Kuniko: [Oh, oh, oh, I see]. ((NOD))

3 The lunches,

4 Iori : ((NOD))

5 Kuniko: yeah,

6 Iori : ((NOD))

7 Kuniko: Because I couldn't eat all of them.

Excerpt 5.12 is a part of conversation in which Norio has been talking about the menus of the lunches at his school. He concluded that the menus varied depending on the geographical area in which the school was located (lines 1 and 2). Kaoru seemed to agree with him by producing a continuer-type Resumptive Opener, *un* 'yeah', after a short pause (line 3), and supported Norio by mentioning her friend's remark on *Yokimidaihuku* 'a Japanese-style ice cream cake' in the school lunch menu. In 5.13, Iori has been talking about her enjoyment of taking home school lunch leftovers. While Iori is saying that she liked to bring leftovers home, Kuniko responded with a reactive expression-type Resumptive Opener, *a= a= a= soo ka* 'oh, oh, oh, I see' (line 2). Then, Kuniko showed her understanding of Iori's experience of bring leftovers home by saying that it was tough to eat all of the lunch.

In this section, I have discussed Resumptive Openers. Resumptive Openers was defined in terms of turn-initial points. A substantial utterance by the listener follows Resumptive Openers. They consist of not only Continuers but also other types of continuers such as Reactive Expressions.

In summary, in this section, I discussed five types of verbal backchannels (VBs) in detail. The following section presents the frequencies of five types of VBs which were produced by the participants of the present study.

Frequency

In this section, I will examine how frequently the participants in the present study used VBs when speaker new initiation occurred during the five-minute segments of talk.

Frequency of Verbal Backchannels

In Table 5.5, the ratio of verbal backchannels (VBs) to speaker new initiations for participants in the four participant groups is shown (see also Figure 5.10).

Table 5.5

Percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are Verbal Backchannels (VBs)

		VBs			VBs	
		Frequency			Frequency	
Dyad	Participant	%	(n)	Participant	%	(n)
MSSD1	M1	14.8	(9/61)	M2	21.0	(13/62)
MSSD2	M3	26.4	(28/106)	M4	33.3	(35/105)
MSSD3	M5	33.0	(35/106)	M6	16.7	(18/108)
MSSD4	M7	21.9	(21/96)	M8	54.2	(52/96)
MSSD5	M9	43.9	(47/107)	M10	15.4	(16/104)
FSSD1	F1	48.5	(50/103)	F2	26.7	(27/101)
FSSD2	F3	41.9	(54/129)	F 4	26.7	(35/131)
FSSD3	F5	5.7	(6/106)	F 6	47.7	(53/111)
FSSD4	F7	32.7	(35/107)	F 8	20.4	(22/108)
FSSD5	F9	19.4	(25/129)	F 10	50.3	(79/157)
MSD1	M11	32.1	(35/109)	F11	34.0	(34/100)
MSD2	M12	13.6	(11/81)	F12	41.3	(35/80)
MSD3	M13	28.2	(29/103)	F13	39.4	(43/109)
MSD4	M14	37.5	(39/104)	F14	26.7	(28/105)
MSD5	M15	35.5	(44/124)	F15	22.5	(27/120)

Note. MSSD = male single-sex dyad; FSSD = female single-sex dyad; MSD = mixed-sex dyad.

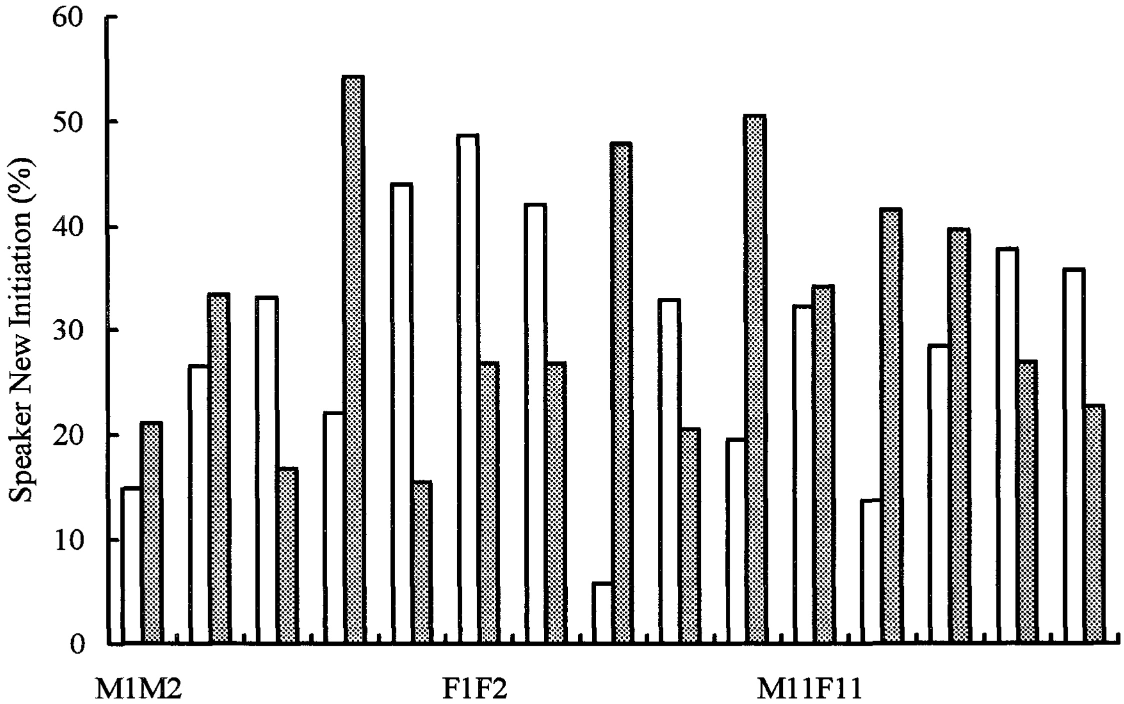

Figure 5.10. Percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are Verbal Backchannels.[64]

As shown in Table 5.5, the percentile range of the frequencies of VBs for the three types of dyad group varies. The range for the male single-sex dyad group (MS) is from 14.8% (M1) to 54.2% (M8), and the range for the female single-sex dyad group (FS) is from 5.7% (F5) to 50.3% (F10), which is the greatest of the three types of dyad group. The

[64] Due to the space limitation, participant numbers are only shown for the first dyad in each dyad group in Figure 5.1. The numbering is the same for the rest of the dyads; a smaller number is allocated to the left bar and a larger number is allocated to the right bar (e.g., M3 for the left and M4 for the right).

range for the mixed-sex dyad group is from 13.6% (M12) to 41.3% (F12).

Table 5.5 shows an interesting similarity among dyads regarding the frequencies of VBs; one conversational partner tended to produce verbal backchannels than the other. This tendency was pervasive among all the dyads in the three-dyad groups. Note that, in some dyads, one partner produced verbal backchannel tokens more than twice as frequently as the other did. For example, in the male single-sex dyad 4 (MSSD 4), 21.9% of the total number of Speaker New Initiations for M7 was verbal backchannels, while 54.2% was verbal backchannel tokens for M8. In the female single-sex dyad 3 (FSSD 3), the difference in the frequency further extends to nearly eight times; F6 produced verbal backchannel tokens 47.7% of the time, while F5 produced them only 5.7% of the time at Speaker New Initiation.

The asymmetrical tendency of the frequency of VBs in terms of Speaker New Initiations indicates that a different role might be played by each participant in the dyad. Assuming that the more frequently one of the dyad used VBs, the more likely he/she might play a listener's part, at least one of the dyad might spend more time in assuming the listener' role than in assuming the speaker's role during the five-minute segments of talk in the present study.[65] Furthermore, since no gender preference in the frequencies of VBs were indicated in the mixed-sex dyad group, the listener's role might be played by

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[65] It is an interesting issue for future research to see how the role of conversationalists changes during the course of conversations in the entire data set.

either the male or the female partners in those dyads. For example, male partners might mainly play a listener's role in MSD 4 and 5, and female partners might mainly play a listener's role in MSD1, 2, and 3. I will look at whether a similar tendency will be observed in the frequencies of nonverbal backchannels in the following chapters.

Table 5.6 shows the mean percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are VBs for the four participant groups respectively (see also Figure 5.11).

Table 5.6

Mean Percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are Verbal Backchannels (VBs) for Four Participant Groups

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VBs	274/951	28.8	386/1182	32.7	158/521	30.3	165/514	32.1

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

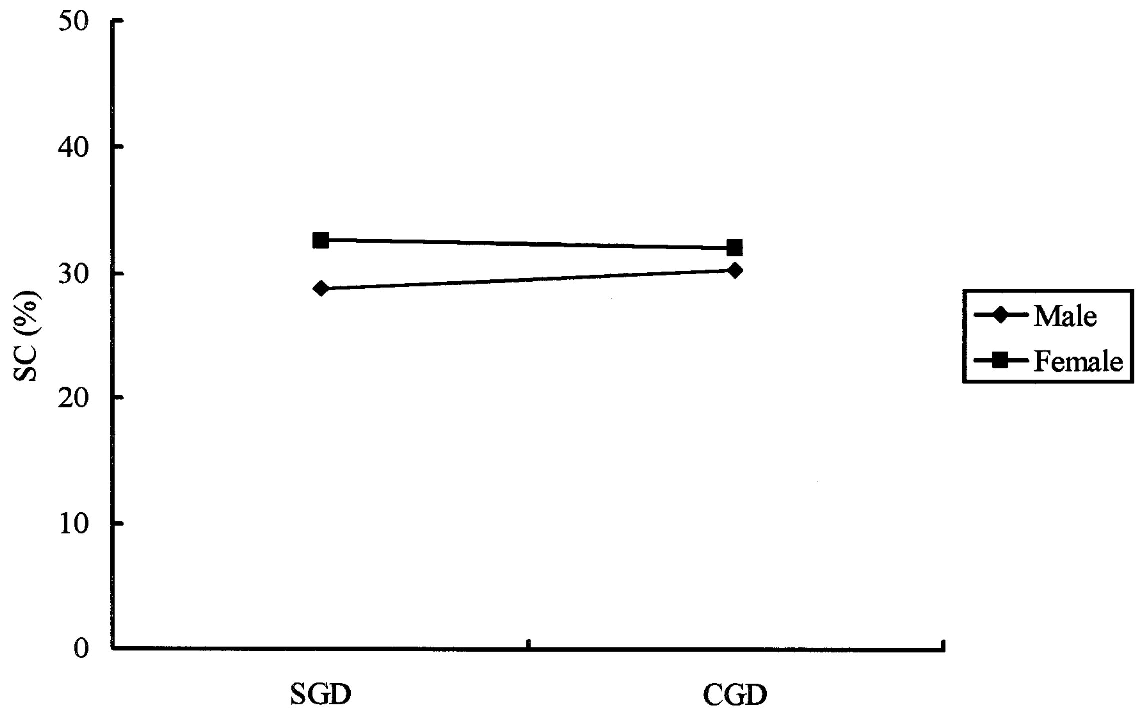

Figure 5.11. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that are Verbal Backchannels for four partcipant groups.

As shown in Table 5.6, the means of the percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are VBs are similar among the four participant types.[66] In other words, participants in the present study produced VBs at a similar frequencies and no gender difference was found in the frequency of VBs. The results of the present study differed in that since a general

[66] The effects of the participant types were not indicated in ANOVA as well.

point of view in previous studies regarding gender differences in the frequencies of VBs was that females tended to use VBs more frequently than males (e.g., Kurosaki, 1987 for Japanese; Fishman, 1983 and Reid, 1995 for English).[67]

In sum, in this section, verbal backchannels (VBs) were investigated as a whole, by combining five sub-types of VBs, in terms of the ratio to Speaker New Initiation. In each dyad, one conversational partner tended to produce verbal backchannels more than the other. Regarding Speaker New Initiation-based analyses of the frequencies of VBs, no significant differences were found among the four participant groups. No gender differences were found in the frequencies of VBs. In the following section, the frequencies of VBs will be further investigated in detail in terms of each type of VBs to find differences among participant types.

Frequencies of Five Types of Verbal Backchannels

Table 5.7 presents the mean frequencies of Speaker New Initiations that are five types of verbal backchannels (VBs) in terms of the four participant groups (see also

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[67] It is, of course, impossible to directly compare the results of the present study to those of the previous studies. The different results between them might be partly due to characteristics of the data used in the present study. In previous studies, the results tended to be drawn based on one conversation or conversations over different topics. To the contrary, in the present study, the result was drawn based on the conversations which occurred in a controlled or experimental situation. Nonetheless, the results of the present study are significant in that no gender differences were found in the frequencies of VBs. Furthermore, the results of the present study suggest that a number of variables other than gender might affect the frequency of VBs.

Figure 5.12-5.16).[68]

[68] Please see Appendix B (chart 5) for frequencies of five types of VBs for individuals.

Table 5.7

Mean Percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are One of Five Verbal Backchannels (VBs) for Four Participant Groups

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
VB	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C	164/951	17.2	299/1182	25.3	111/521	21.3	110/514	21.4
RE	49/951	5.2	52/1182	4.4	25/521	4.8	25/514	4.9
R	32/951	3.4	10/1182	0.8	5/521	1.0	10/514	2.0
CF	5/951	0.5	3/1182	0.3	1/521	0.2	2/514	0.4
RO	24/951	2.5	22/1182	1.9	16/521	3.1	28/514	5.4

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM; VB = verbal backchannel; C = Continuers; RE; Reactive Expressions; R = Repetitions; CF = Collaborative Finishes; RO = Resumptive Openers.

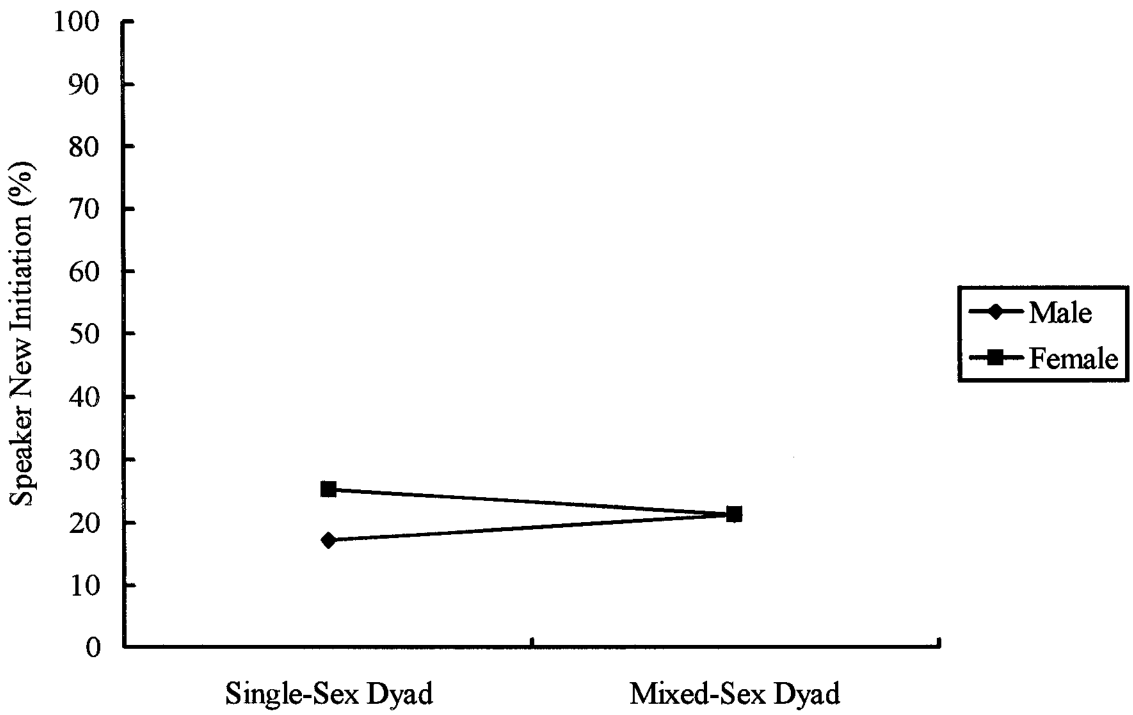

Figure 5.12. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that are Continuers for four participant groups.

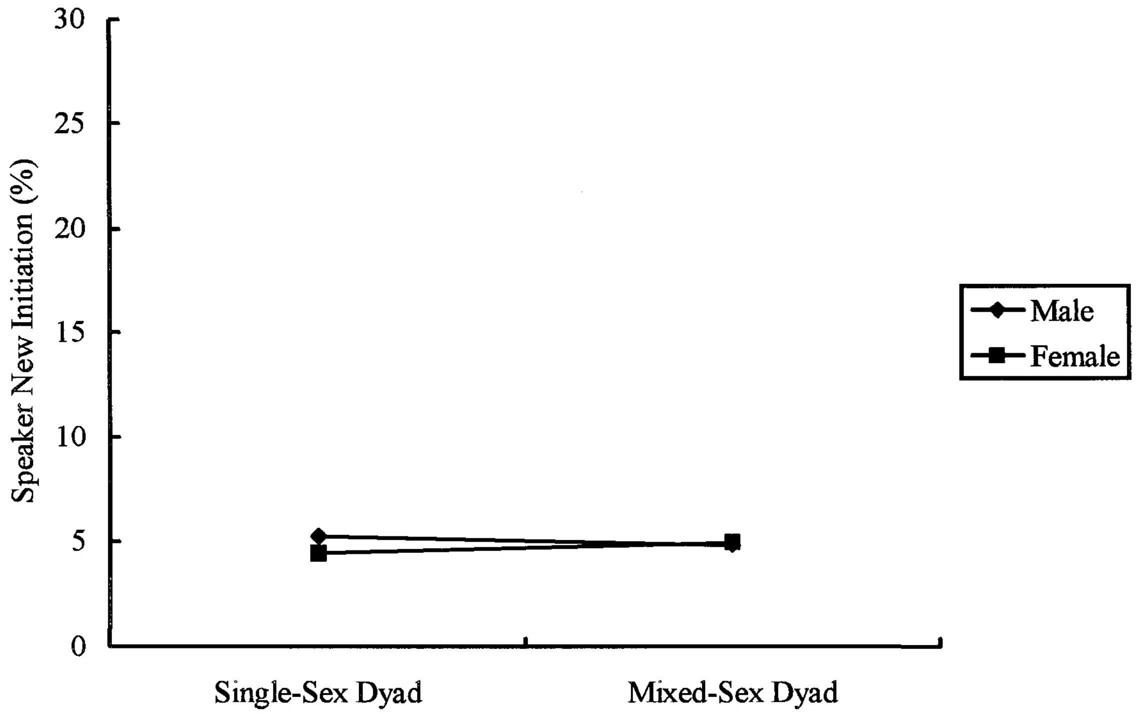

Figure 5.13. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that are Reactive Expressions for four participant groups.

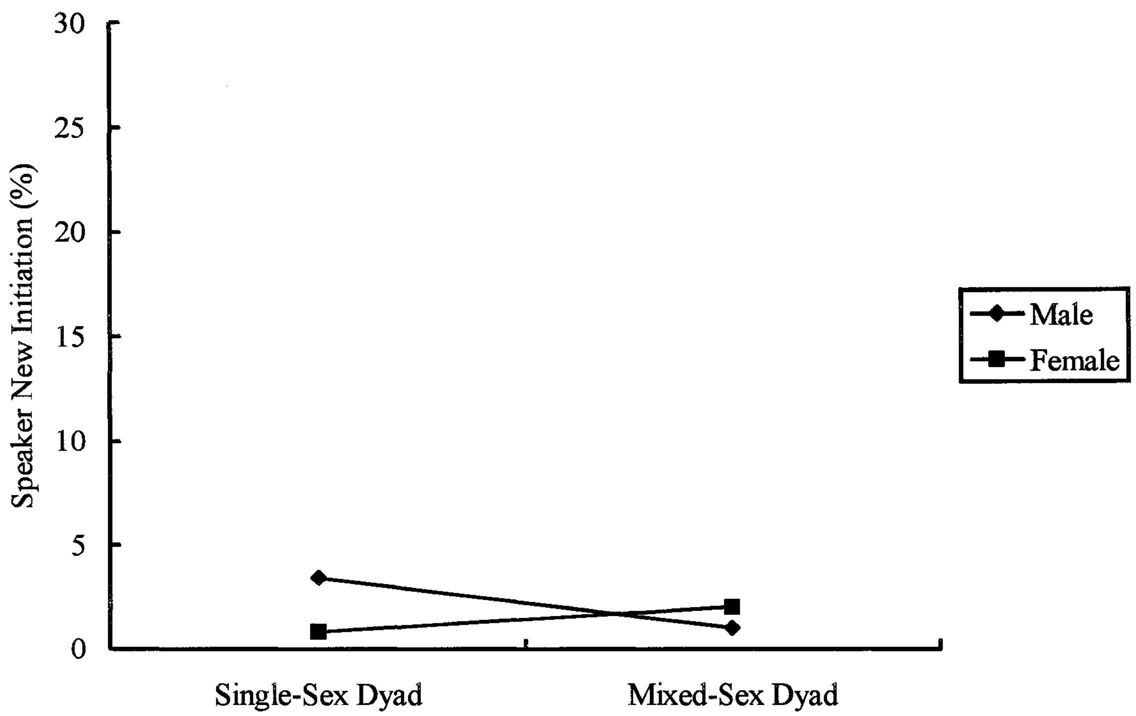

Figure 5.14. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that are Repetitions for four particpant groups.

Figure 5.15. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that are Collaborative Finishes for four participant groups.

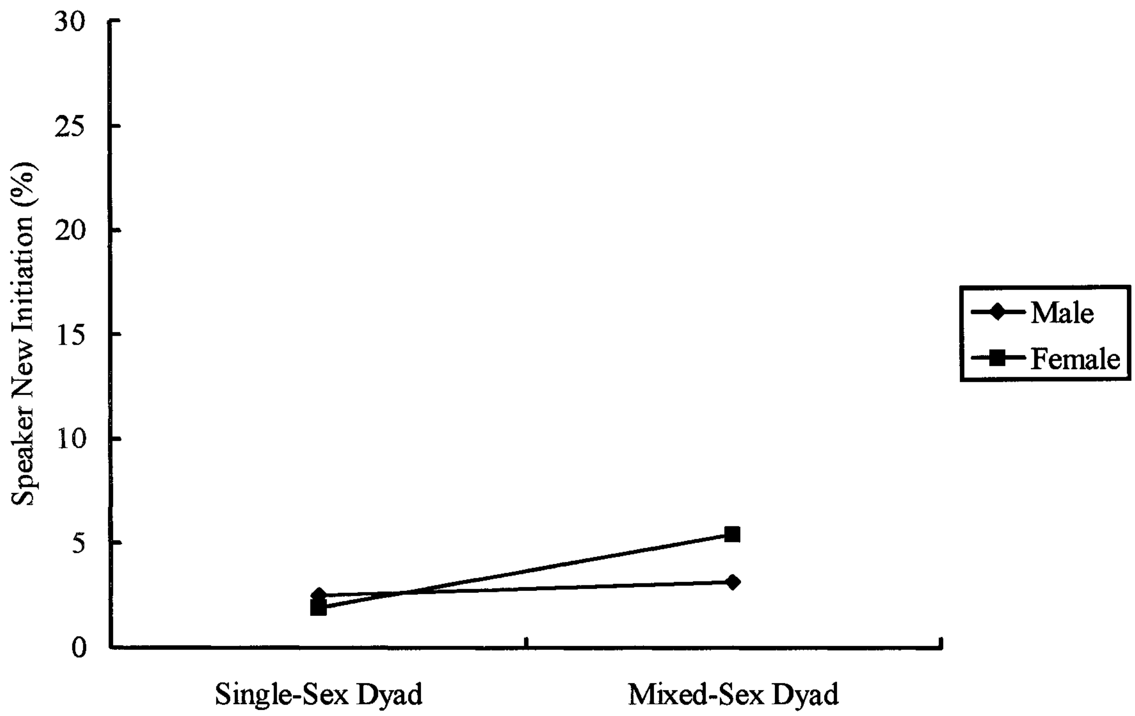

Figure 5.16. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that are Resumptive Openers for four participant groups.

As shown in Table 5.7, the ratio of five VB types to speaker new initiations for the four participant groups is as follows. For males in the single-sex dyad group (MS), Continuers were the most frequently of all VB types (17.2%) followed by Reactive Expressions (5.2%), Repetitions (3.4%), Resumptive Openers (2.5%), and Collaborative Finishes (0.5%). For females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), Continuers were also most frequently appeared at Speaker New Initiations (25.3%) followed by Reactive Expressions (4.4%), Resumptive Openers (1.9%), Repetitions (0.8%), and Collaborative

Finishes (0.3%). For males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM), Continuers were most frequently appeared at Speaker New Initiations of all VB types (21.3%) followed by Reactive Expressions (4.8%), Resumptive Openers (3.1%), Repetitions (1.0%), and Collaborative Finishes (0.2%). For females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) also, Continuers were again most frequently produced VB types at Speaker New Initiations (21.4%) followed by Reactive Expressions (4.9%), Resumptive Openers (5.4%), Repetitions (2.0%), and Collaborative Finishes (0.4%).

Table 5.7 shows an interesting similarity in the order of the frequency rate of five VB types across the four participant groups. In all participant groups, Continuers were the most frequently used VB type and Collaborative Finishes were the least frequently used VB type at speaker new initiations across the four participant types. More than 16% of the total number of speaker new initiations were Continuers in the four participant-types, compared to other VB types whose percentages were less than 5.5%. Only 0.5% or less than 0.5% of the total number of speaker new initiations were Collaborative Finishes for the four participant types. The difference in the percentages between the frequencies of Continuers and those of other types across the three dyad groups were large enough to suggest that Continuers were the most typical VBs among them.

As for the remaining frequency orders among four participant groups, Table 5.7 indicated variations across the four participant types. Reactive Expressions were the second most frequently used VB type at speaker new initiations for MS, FS, and MM, but were the third most frequently used VB types at speaker new initiations for FM. Repetitions were the third most frequent type for MS, but were the four most frequent type for FS, MM, and FM. Resumptive Openers were the second most frequently used VB type at speaker new initiations for FM, but were either the third or fourth most frequent type for the rest of the participant groups.

Interestingly, Table 5.7 shows relatively large differences in the frequencies of Repetitions and Resumptive Openers among the participant groups. Regarding Repetitions, as indicated in the tables, Males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) produced Repetitions more frequently than females in the single-sex dyad group (FM). Significant effects of participant gender were found between MS and FS for the frequencies of Repetitions, $F(3,26) = 4.05$, $p<.05$. MS also produced Repetitions more frequently than males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM). As a personal impression, it seemed as if the flow of conversation was temporarily halted when Repetitions occurred. Thus, the result indicating that male participants in the single-sex conversation produced Repetitions more frequently than female counterparts implies that conversation might proceed less smoothly in the male single-sex conversation than in the female single-sex conversation. Examining functions of Repetitions in terms of each occurrence in the discourse will be a next step in understanding gender differences in the frequencies of Repetitions in detail, which will be one of topics in future research.

As for Resumptive Openers, females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) produced Resumptive Openers more frequently than FS. Significant differences were also indicated regarding the frequency of Resumptive Openers produced by FS and FM, $F(3,26) = 3.53$, $p<.05$. Since full turns (i.e., utterances other than backchannels) follow Resumptive Openers, the result further implies that females might try to take full turns more frequently in the mixed-sex conversation than in the single-sex conversation. In other words, it suggests that females might compete for full turns more frequently when talking with males than with other females.

As is indicated in the table and figures, some verbal backchannel types, Continuers, Repetitions, and Resumpitve Openers, showed an accommodation pattern in which men and women adopted the opposite sex partner's way to use verbal backchannels. Because of this tendency, gender differences in the frequency of these verbal backchannels were lessened in the mixed-sex dyadic conversation. For example, men and women seemed to become similar in the frequency of Continuers in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation, compared to the single-sex dyadic conversation where gender differences were more prominent. Note that the frequency of Resumptive Openers showed an opposite pattern in which gender difference was more distinctive in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation.

In summary, I discussed frequencies of verbal backchannels (VBs). The frequencies were examined in term of the ratio of VBs to speaker new initiation. An interesting similarity was found in the frequencies of VB as well as five sub-types of VB. Continuers were the first most frequently used VBs by all the participants in the present study. Regarding the rest of four sub-types of VBs, the frequency orders varied. Interesting differences were also found in the frequency of Repetitions and Resumptive Openers between some participant types. Males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) used Repetitions more frequently than either females in the single-sex dyad (FS) or males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM). Note that the difference between MS and FS reached a statistically significant level at $p<.05$. Females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) produced Resumptive Openers more frequently than those in the single-sex dyad group (FS), also at a statistically significant level at $p< .05$. In addition, there was a tendency in the accommodation pattern in the frequency of some verbal backchannels. As a result of accommodation from both sides of sex, overall, gender differences in the frequency of verbal backchannel types tended to be either attenuated or intensified in the mixed-gender conversation. So far, I discussed types, distributions, and frequencies of VBs, and found some interesting tendencies in the group and participant type comparisons. In the following section, I will discuss the placement of VBs to find any differences among the three group and the four participant types.

Placement of Verbal Backchannels

In this section, I will discuss the placement of verbal backchannels (VBs). As I discussed in the previous chapter, the criteria that I utilize for the analysis of the placement of backchannel tokens are the combinations of the notion of intonation completion, intonation incompletion, and intonation middle, with either grammatical completion or grammatical incompletion. More specifically, the occurrence of VBs is categorized in terms of the following six places: (a) VBs at both intonation and grammatical completion; (b) VBs at intonation incompletion and grammatical completion; (c) VBs at intonation incompletion and grammatical completion; (d) VBs at those at both intonation and grammatical incompletion; (e) VBs at intonation middle and grammatical completion; and (f) VBs at intonation middle and grammatical incompletion points.

Table 5.8 shows the mean percentages of the occurrence of verbal backchannels (VBs) at six placement categories for the four participant groups during the five minute-segments of talk (see also Figure 5.17-5.22).[69]

[69] Please see Appendix B (chart 6-8) for the mean percentage of Verbal Backchannels at six placement categories for individuals.

Table 5.8

Mean Percentage of Verbal Backchannels at Six Placement Categories for the Four Participant Groups

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
G&F	117/274	42.7	97/386	25.1	58/158	36.7	65/165	39.4
NG&F	4/274	1.5	1/386	0.3	4/158	2.5	7/165	4.2
G&NF	79/274	28.8	131/386	33.9	30/158	19.0	41/165	24.8
NG&NF	44/274	16.1	68/386	17.6	38/158	24.1	34/165	20.6
G&M	13/274	4.7	33/386	8.5	12/158	7.6	7/165	4.2
NG&M	17/274	6.2	56/386	14.5	16/158	10.1	11/165	6.7

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; G&F = grammatical and intonational completion points; NG&F = grammatical incompletion and intonational completion points; G&NF = grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points; NG&NF = grammatical and intonational incompletion points; G&M = grammatical completion and intonational middle points; NG&M = grammatical incompletion and intonational middle points; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

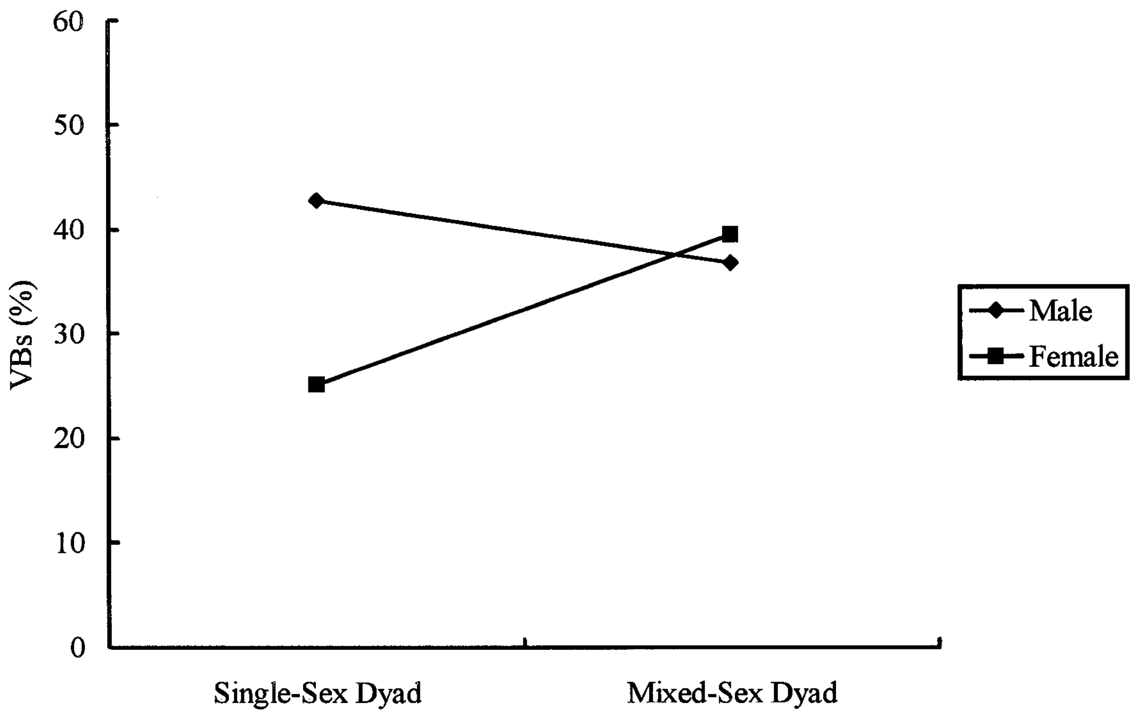

Figure 5.17. Mean percentages of Verbal Backchannels at G&F for four participant groups.

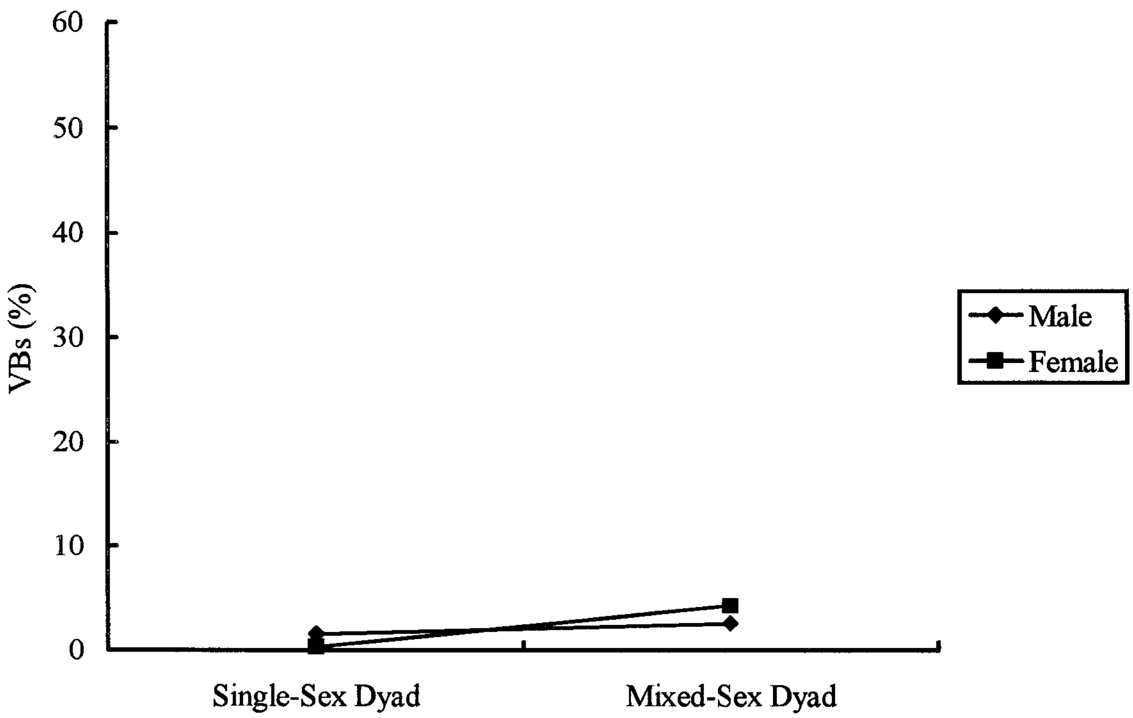

Figure 5.18. Mean percentages of Verbal Backchannels at NG&F for four participant groups.

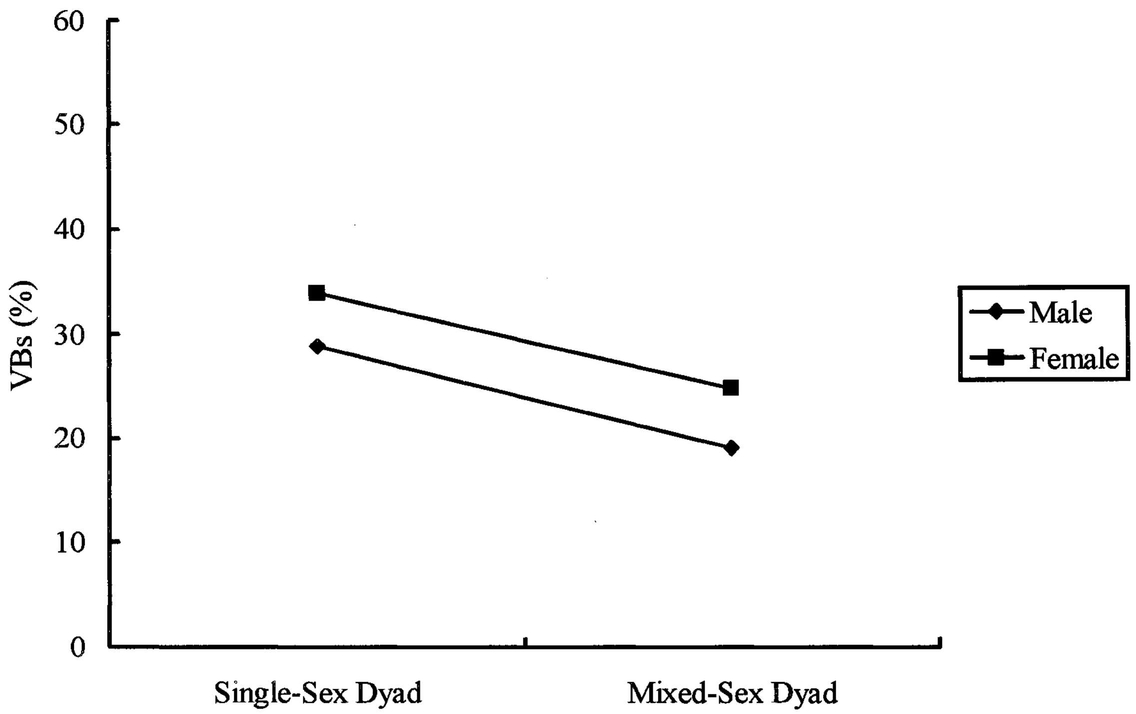

Figure 5.19. Mean percentages of Verbal Backchannels at G&NF for four participant groups.

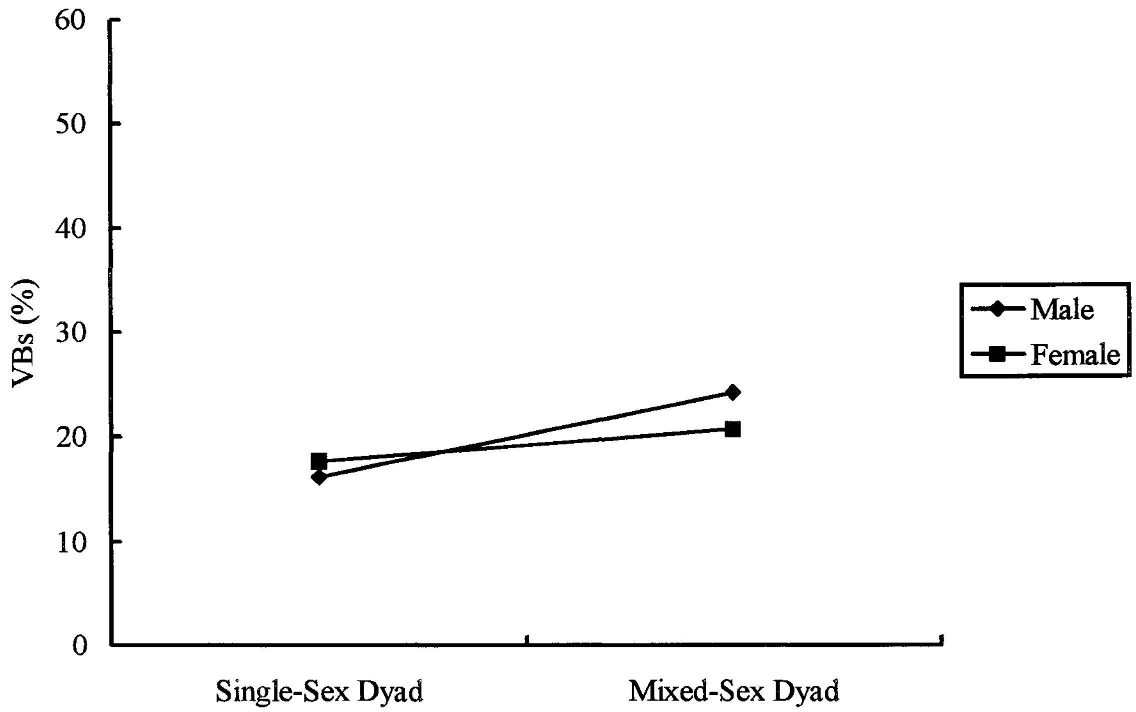

Figure 5.20. Mean percentages of Verbal Backchannels at NG&NF for four participant groups.

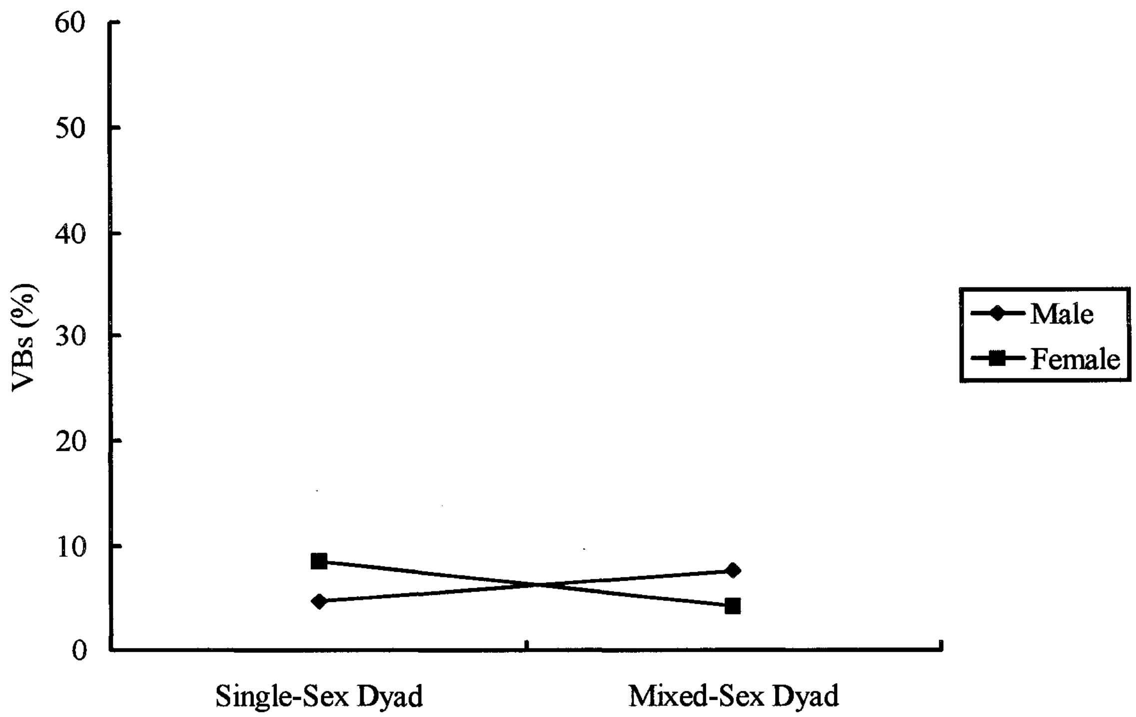

Figure 5.21. Mean percentages of Verbal Backchannels at G&M for four participant groups.

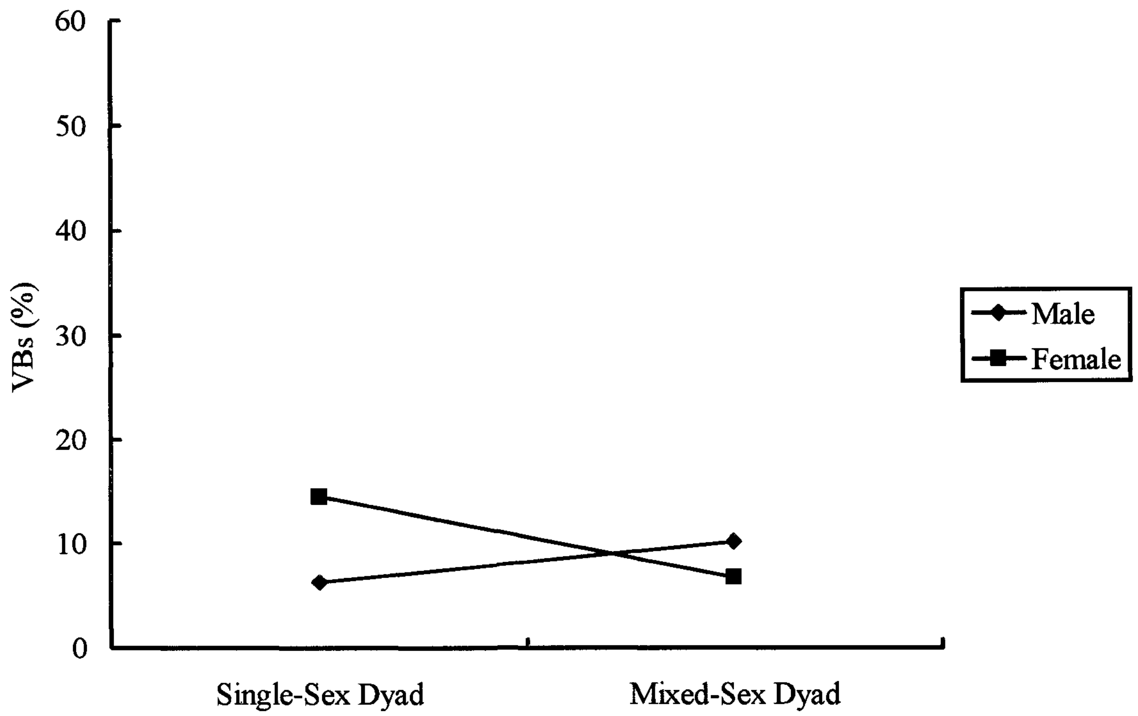

Figure 5.22. Mean percentages of Verbal Backchannels at NG&M for four participant groups.

According to Table 5.8, for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS), the most favorite environment for VB was grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F); 42.7% of VBs occurred in this environment.[70] Grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF) was the second favorite point; 28.8% of VBs occurred at

[70] No significant differences were found in the effects of group type on the placement of Verbal Backchannels.

G&NF. The third most favorite point was grammatical and intonational incompletion points (NG&NF); 16.1% of VBs occurred at NG&NF. Grammatical incompletion and intonational middle (NG&M) was the fourth favorite point followed by grammatical and intonational middle points (G&M) and grammatical incompletion and intonational completion points (NG&F). Note that for other participant groups, the order for the fourth, fifth, and least favorite points were same as in MS. For females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), the favorite VB occurrence point was grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF); 33.9% of VBs occurred at G&NF. Grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F) was the second favorite point; 25.1% of VBs occurred at G&F. The third most favorite point was grammatical and intonational incompletion points (NG&NF); 17.6% of VBs occurred at NG&NF. For males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM), the most favorite VB occurrence point was grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F); 36.7% of VBs occurred at G&F. The second most favorite point was grammatical and intonational incompletion points (NG&NF); 24.1% of VBs occurred at NG&NF. Grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF) was the third favorite point; 19.0% of VBs occurred at G&NF. For females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM), the most favorite VB occurrence point was grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F); 39.4% of VBs occurred at G&F. Grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF) was the second favorite point; 24.8% of VBs occurred at G&NF. The third most favorite point was grammatical and intonational incompletion points (NG&NF); 20.6% of VBs occurred at NG&NF.

As shown in Table 5.8, among the four participant groups, the occurrence rate for VBs at grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F) for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) was relatively higher than any other participant groups. They produced VBs at G&F nearly 50% of the time. This implies that MS tended to wait for inserting VBs until the speaker completed his speech, compared to others.

For females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), the occurrence rate for VBs at grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF) was relatively higher than any other participant groups. They produced VBs 34.4% of the time, whereas others produced VBs less than 25% of the time. This suggests that FS were more apt to produce VBs after a clause where the speaker still indicates the continuation of talk.

Table 5.8 shows that for females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) and males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM), nearly 20% of VBs were placed in the middle of intonation units represented as M in the table; the percentages of VBs at intonational middle points for FS and MM were slightly higher than the other two groups. With the decrease of the frequency of VBs at G&F, compared to MS, Table 5.8 indicates that the patterns of the occurrence of VBs at six points for MM seems to be closer to those of FS. The occurrence of VBs for FS and MM seemed to be more spread all over the points inserting VBs not only after the points which indicate the completion of speech but also the points which indicate the continuation of speech. To the contrary, for FM (females in the mixed-sex group), the occurrence of VBs at the intonational middle point became less frequent and the occurrence of VBs at G&F became more frequent compared to FS. As a result, FM seemed to be similar to MS in terms of the placement of VBs.[71] Therefore, this indicates that although different patterns in accommodation appeared in the placement of VBs, overall men and women might accommodate the placement of VBs with each other in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation.

Differences in the variations regarding the placement of VBs among the participant types groups might be difficult to pinpoint. One of factors might lie in differences in the speech style between males and females. For example, the female speaker might deliver speech by dividing it into a short intonational unit such as word or phrase more often compared to the male speaker who might divide speech into a longer unit such as clause. Since males and females usually have more time to interact those with the same sex, they might become accustomed to the speech style of the same sex

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[71] In previous studies (e.g., Zimmerman & West, 1975; Fishman, 1983), in the mixed-sex conversation, compared to females, males tended to place minimal responses such as mhm at the end of speech (i.e., G&F in the present study). In the present study, however, males and females placed VBs at the end of speech in a similar rate. Although the result of the presents study is not directly comparable with the previous studies for various reasons; for example, the present study includes not only minimal responses such as mhm but also others such as repetitions, it is still worth noting in that the present study indicated different views in the use of VBs in the mixed-sex conversation.

partner. Thus, males and females might have different judgments regarding where they should insert VBs, which causes differences in the location where backchannel tokens should insert between males and females. When conversing with the opposite sex partner, these judgment cannot be applied. Thus, they might adjust themselves regarding the location to place VBs according to the speech style of the opposite sex partner, which causes VBs sometimes occur at positions in which they are accustomed to and at other times occur at positions in which they are not.[72]

In sum, in this section, I have discussed verbal backchannels (VBs) in terms of placement. It is found that males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) placed VBs at grammatical and intonational completion points nearly 50% of the time, which was a higher percentage than any other groups. It is also found that females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) placed VBs at grammatical completion and intonational incompletion (G&NF) more frequently than any other groups. As for males and females in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM and FM), it is found that the former seemed to produce VBs in a similar way as FS did, and the latter seemed to produce VBs in a similar way as MS did. The occurrence of VBs for MM was more spread all over including the intonational middle points, whereas the occurrence of VBs for FM (females in the

[72] Therefore, as a next step, it is necessary to investigate differences in shapes of intonational units between males and females (e.g., Matsumoto 1996), as well as those between the single-sex dyad group and the mixed-sex dyad group. However, of course, other factors such as power definitely should be considered as causes of differentiation of the placement of Verbal Backchannels between males and females.

mixed-sex dyad group) was not with the less frequency of VBs at the intonational middle points. Therefore, it seems that men and women accommodate ways to place VBs of the opposite sex in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, verbal backchannels (VBs) were divided into five types, namely, Backchannels, Reactive Expressions, Repetitions, Collaborative Finishes, and Resumptive Openers, and I discussed each type in detail to find differences in the use among the four participant groups, males and females in the single-sex dyad group, and those in the mixed-sex dyad group. Gender and group differences that I found in the use of VBs are as follows; (a) females in the single-sex dyad group used more Type Un (e.g., *un* 'uh-hum') than any other groups; (b) females in the mixed-sex dyad group significantly increased the use of Reactive Expression, Type Soo (e.g., *soo desu ka* 'I see'); (c) the mixed-sex groups showed more diversity in the use of VB types compared to the single-sex groups; (d) males in the single-sex dyad group used Repetitions significantly more frequently than females in the single-sex dyad group; (e) females in the mixed-sex dyad group used Resumptive Openers significantly more frequently than those in the single-sex dyad group; (f) males in the single-sex dyad group placed VBs at grammatical and intonational completion points more frequently than any other groups; (g) females in the single-sex dyad-group placed VBs at grammatical completion and intonational completion points more frequently than any other groups; and (h) mixed-sex dyad groups placed VBs at points in a similar way as the opposite sex in the single-sex dyad group did.

I also found gender and group similarities in the use of VBs. These are as follows; (a) Type Un was the most common Backchannels among the four participant groups; (b) the overall frequency of VBs was similar among the four participant groups; (c) one of the pairs used VBs more frequently than the other among the four participant groups; and (e) Backchannels was the most frequently used VB category among the four participant groups.

Lastly, I found that accommodation occurred in terms of the distribution, frequency, and placement of VBs. The distribution of some Backchannel types exhibited less gender difference in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation as a result of accommodation from both sides of sex. On the other hand, gender difference was persisted in the distribution of other Backchannel types in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation. As for the frequency of verbal backchannels, a slight divergence pattern was observed in males whereas a convergence was observed in females in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation. With regard to the placement, although different patterns in accommodation appeared in the placement of VBs, overall men and women might accommodate the placement of VBs with each other in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation. I will examine nonverbal backchannels, nods, in detail in the next chapter.

6. NONVERBAL BACKCHANNELS

In this chapter, I will discuss group and gender differences in the use of nonverbal backchannels (NVBs) made by Japanese conversationalists. First, the distribution of NVBs will be discussed in a broad perspective. That is, I will include not only head movement (Independent Head-Movement), but also head-movement accompanied by verbal backchannels (Accompanied Head-Movement) in the NVB category. In addition, the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movement and Verbal Backchannel without Head-Movement will be compared among the participants. Then, based on the broad categorization of NVBs, the frequencies of Independent Head-Movement and Accompanied Head-Movement will examined to see whether there are any gender and group differences among them. Lastly, the placement of NVBs will discussed in terms of a narrow categorization of NVBs. That is, the placement of Independent Head-Movement will be discussed. This chapter will shed light on gender differences in characteristics between verbal and nonverbal backchannels.

Nonverbal Backchannel

Table 6.1 presents nonverbal backchannels (NVBs) which I will examine in the present study.

Table 6.1

Types of Nonverbal Backchannels

Nonverbal Backchannels
Independent head-movement
Independent Nod
Independent Shake
Accompanied head-movement
Accompanied Nod
Accompanied Shake

As shown in Table 6.1, NVBs are divided into two types of nods: Independent Head-Movement: (IH) and Accompanied Head-Movement (AH).[73] Furthermore, each type will further divided into two subtypes. The former refers to Nod and the latter refers to Shake (see Table 6.1). Nod and Shake are defined based on Hirokawa (1995):

> A nod refers only to a clearly visible and identifiable vertical movement of a head. It includes at least one incident of lowering of the head followed by

[73] In the data, Independent Nods seemed to be similar to Backchannels in terms of locations and functions. In addition, in the data, some Independent Head-Movements were used as Resumptive Openers. These were counted as Independent Head-Movements.

raising of the head to approximately the starting position.

A shake refers to a clearly visible and identifiable horizontal movement of a head, including at least one incident of turning the head from either right to left or left to right and returning to approximately the starting position. (p.308)

Thus, as shown in the above definitions, the subtypes were divided into based on whether the head-movement was vertical or horizontal. Furthermore, as shown in Table 6.1, I will name these subtypes Independent Nod, Independent Shake, Accompanied Nod and Accompanied Shake. Based on this categorization, I will examine the use of NVBs in detail in the following sections.

Identifying Nonverbal Backchannels

In this section, I will show how I identify and count the numbers of nonverbal backchannels (NVBs) in the present study (see Example 6.1).

(6.1) [Conversation 10: Female (Kuniko) --- Female (Iori) conversation]

1 Kuniko: a nanka,

2 .. chotto sa,

3 Iori: ((H))

4 Kuniko: daitai sa,

5 Iori: ((H))

6 Kuniko: meindisshu mitai no ga atte,

((H))
7 Iori: un.

8 Kuniko: nanka sono aida ni tsukeawase mitai na no ga atte,

((H))
9 Iori: un.

10 Kuniko: de furuutsu toka sa=,

((H H))
11 Iori: un un.

Translation

1 Kuniko: well,

2 .. you know,

3 Iori: ((H))

4 Kuniko: usually,

5 Iori: ((H))

6 Kuniko: (we had) something like a main dish,

((H))
7 Iori: uh-huh.

8 Kuniko: and in-between (we had) something like a side dish,

((H))
9 Iori: uh-huh.

10 Kuniko: and fruit,

((H H))

11 Iori: uh-huh.

In 6.1, Kuniko talks about what the school lunch was made up of. Notice that there are five occurrences of head-movements (shown in ((H))) from Iori. Two of them were Independent Nods (lines 3 and 5), and the others were Accompanied Nods that occurred with VLRs (lines 7, 9, and 11). Although two nods occurred with two successive VLRs in line 11, this is counted as one occurrence because Iori produced the two nod without any pause between them.[74]

(6.2) [Conversation 8: Female (Akemi) – Female (Ikuko) conversation]

1 Akemi: ta- tabun nanka shinbun toka de iro[iro iwareru yoo ni]

((H H))
2 Ikuko: [a= a=].

3 Akemi: & [natte kara wa],

((H H H))
4 Ikuko: [un un un].

5 Akemi: ((H H H)) ((SHAKE))

6 Ikuko: ((H H H))

---

[74] One of the participants, M8, continued nodding after he produced AH in some parts of the conversations. I did not count these prolonged nods, as it was unclear how to categorized them. He was the only speaker who did this.

7 Akemi: [yatte nai to omoo].

8 Ikuko: [((H H H H H))]

Translation

1 Akemi: Perhaps, such as [it was often written] in newspapers

((H H))
2 Ikuko: [uh-huh, uh-huh].

3 Akemi: & [after that happened],

((H H H))
4 Ikuko: [uh-huh, uh-huh, uh-huh].

5 Akemi: ((H H H)) ((SHAKE))

6 Ikuko: ((H H H))

7 Akemi: [(I) think that (we) did not do (this) anymore].

8 Ikuko: [((H H H H H))]

In 6.2, Akemi talks about a food that she struggled with during the school lunch. When she was a first-year elementary student, there was a rule that the students must not leave food uneaten. Akemi remembered that she could not finish eating the food even after the after-lunch cleaning began. Ikuko made head-movements four times (Accompanied Nods in lines 2 and 4, and Independent Nod in lines 6 and 8). Akemi's Independent Shakes in line 5 were not counted as nonverbal backchannels, it is because here, she seemed to be the main speaker.

Distributions of Nonverbal Backchannels

In this section, the distribution of nonverbal backchannels (NVBs) will be examined in order to see if there is any preference in the use among the four participant groups. I will first discuss the distributions of Independent Head-Movements and Accompanied Head-Movements, and then discuss the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movements and verbal backchannels without Head-Movements.

Distribution of Independent Head-Movement and Accompanied Head-Movement

Table 6.2 displays the average percentages of the two types of nonverbal backchannels (NVBs) in the five-minute segments of talk for the four participant types (see also Figure 6.1-6.2).[75]

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[75] Please see Appendix C (chart 1) for the distribution of Independent Head-Movements and Accompanied Head-Movements for each individual.

Table 6.2

Distribution of Two Types of Nonverbal Backchannels

Types	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
IH	74/267	27.7	185/510	36.3	37/143	25.9	46/160	28.8
AH	193/267	72.3	325/510	63.7	106/143	74.1	114/160	71.2

Note. IH = Independent Head-Movement; AH = Accompanied Head-Movement; MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

Figure 6.1. Distribution of Independent Head-Movement.

Figure 6.2. Distribution of Accompanied Head-Movement.

As shown in Table 6.2, the distribution of Nonverbal Backchannel (NVB) types for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) is as follows; (a) 27.7% were Independent Head-Movements; and (b) 72.3% were Accompanied Head-Movements. The distribution of NVB types for females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) is as follows; (a) 36.3% were Independent Head-Movements and (b) 63.7% were Accompanied Head-Movements. For male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM), 25.9% were Independent Head-Movements and 74.1% were Accompanied Head-Movements. On the other hand, for female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM), 28.8%

were Independent Head-Movements and 71.2% were Accompanied Head-Movements.[76]

Table 6.2 indicates an interesting similarity in the distributions of NVBs among the four participant groups. They preferred Accompanied Head-Movements to Independent Head-Movements. As shown in the table, nearly or more than two-thirds of NVBs were Accompanied Head-Movements.

Table 6.2, further, shows that females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) used slightly more Independent Head-Movements, compared to other groups. 36.3% of NVBs were Independent Head-Movements for FS, whereas the average percentages for Independent Head-Movements for other groups were less than 30%. This difference in the distribution of Independent Head-Movements between FS and other groups will be further investigated in terms of the frequency in the subsequent sections.

Table 6.2.also indicates that compared to males who did not much show an accommodation tendency, females might accommodate their pattern of use of Independent Head-Movements and Accompanied Head-Movements to the opposite sex more strongly when talking in the mixed-sex conversations. As shown in the table, the distribution of Independent Head-Movements for females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) slightly decreased (a decrease from 36.3% to 28.8%) and the distribution of Accompanied Head-Movement slightly increased (an increase from 63.7% to 71.2%),

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[76] No significant differences were found in the effects of participant type on the distribution of each Nonverbal Backchannel type.

compared to those in the single-sex dyad group (FS). In terms of the distribution of NVBs, females in mixed-sex conversation (FM) seem to behave more similar to males in the same and mixed-sex dyad groups rather than to females in the single-sex dyad group. FM might notice that male partners used less Independent Head-Movements and more Accompanied Head-Movements, compared to theirs, and they might follow this male pattern of the distribution in the mixed-sex conversation. In the subsequent sections, I will investigate whether or not the accommodation pattern for FM will be reflected in the frequency of Independent Head-Movements and Accompanied Head-Movements.

In sum, I have discussed the distributions of two types of NVBs among the four participant groups. It is found that of the two types of NVBs, Accompanied Head-Movements were used more than Independent Head-Movements by all four participant groups. It is also found that the use of Independent Head-Movements was highest for females in the single-sex dyad group. In addition, there were slight decreases in the distribution of Independent Head-Movements for females in the mixed-sex dyad group, which implies their accommodation of the pattern of use of NVBs to the opposite sex. In the next section, I will examine how frequently head movements were accompanied by verbal backchannels.

Distribution of Accompanied Head-Movements and Verbal Backchannels Without Head-Movement

Table 6.3 presents the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movement and verbal backchannels without head-movement (VB) among the four participant groups (see also Figure 6.3-6.4).[77]

Table 6.3

Distribution of Verbal Backchannels with and without Head-Movement

Types	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VBH	193/274	70.4	325/386	81.2	106/158	67.1	114/165	69.1
VB	81/274	29.6	61/386	18.8	52/158	32.9	51/165	30.9

Note. VBH = Verbal Backchannels with Head-Movement; VB = Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movement; MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

[77] Please see Appendix C (chart 2) for the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movements and Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movements for individuals.

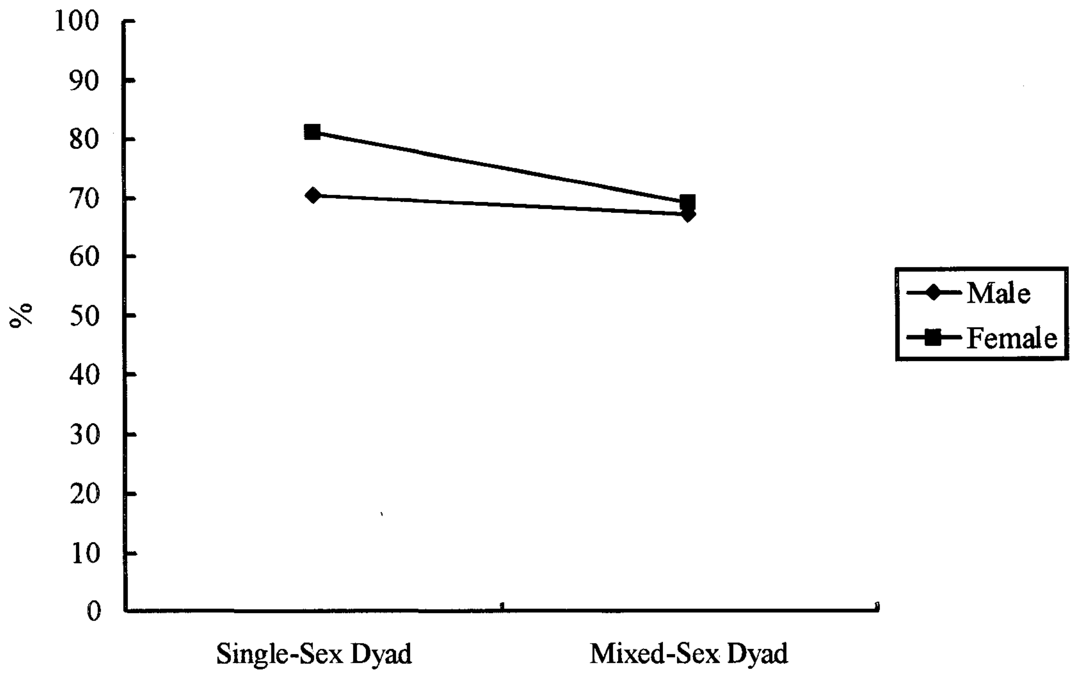

Figure 6.3. Distribution of verbal backchannels with Head-Movement.

Figure 6.4. Distribution of verbal backchannels without head-movement.

As shown in Table 6.3, for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS), verbal backchannels were produced with Head-Movement 70.4% of the time and produced without Head-Movement 29.6% of the time. For females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), verbal backchannels were produced with Accompanied Head-Movement 81.2% of the time and produced without Head-Movement 18.8% of the time. Males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM) produced verbal backchannels with Accompanied Head-Movement 67.1% of the time and produced them without Head-Movement 32.9% of the time. Females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) produced verbal backchannels with

Accompanied Head-Movement 69.1% of the time and produced them without Head-Movement 30.9% of the time.[78]

Earlier I pointed out that the four participant groups preferred Accompanied Head-Movement to Independent Head-Movement, and Table 6.3, again, indicates this preference. They preferred producing verbal backchannels with Head-Movements to producing them without Head-Movement. As shown in the table, more than two-thirds of verbal backchannels were accompanied by Head-Movements. Along with the results in the previous section, this strongly suggests that participants in the present study tended to produce verbal backchannels with Head-Movements.

Table 6.3 also indicates that females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) showed the strongest preference for accompanying Head-Movement and when producing verbal backchannels. For FS, more than 80% of verbal backchannels were accompanied by Head-Movement, whereas for others, about 70% of verbal backchannels were accompanied by Head-Movement. FS produced verbal backchannels without Head-Movement only 18% of the time, while others produced them about 30% of the time.

Females' accommodation of the speech style of the male counterpart was indicated in the distribution of Accompanied Head-Movement and Verbal Backchannels

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[78] No significant differences were found in the effects of participant type on the distribution of Accompanied Head-Movement and Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movement.

without Head-Movement as well. The distribution of Accompanied Head-Movements for females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM) decreased and the distribution of Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movement increased, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group (FS). There was more than 10% decrease in the distribution of Accompanied Head-Movement for FM, compared to FS. As a result, the distributions for FM seem to be similar to males in the same and mixed-sex dyad groups regarding the distribution of two types of verbal backchannels, compared to the distributions for FS.

In sum, in this section, the distribution of Nonverbal Backchannels (NVBs) was compared in terms of the distribution of Independent Head-Movement and Accompanied Head-Movement among the four participant groups. It is found that participants in the present study preferred Accompanied Head-Movement to Independent Head-Movement. It is also found that among the four participant groups, females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) showed more preference for Independent Head-Movement and less preference for Accompanied Head-Movement than any other groups. Furthermore, the data showed that females in the mixed-sex dyad group were similar to males in the same and the mixed-sex dyad groups regarding the distribution of Independent Head-Movement and Accompanied Head-Movement rather than to females in the single-sex dyad group. In addition, in this section, NVBs were investigated in terms of the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movement and Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movement. It is found that participants in the present study preferred Accompanied Head-Movement to

Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movement. It is also found among the four participant groups, females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), especially, showed a stronger preference for Accompanied Head-Movement and a weaker preference for Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movement, compared to other participant groups. Lastly, females in the mixed-sex dyad group produced Accompanied Head-Movement and Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movement in a similar proportion as in the same and the mixed-sex dyad groups, which makes females in the single-sex dyad group look different from other participant groups regarding the distributions. I will discuss the frequencies of Independent Head-Movement and Accompanied Head-Movement in the next section.

Frequencies of Nonverbal Backchannels

The average ratios of Head-Movement to Speaker New Initiations for the four participant groups in the present study are shown in Table 6.4 (see also Figures 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7).[79]

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[79] Please see Appendix C (chart 3) for the mean percentage of speaker new initiations that involve Head-Movements for individuals.

Table 6.4

Mean Percentages of Speaker New Initiations that involve Nonverbal Backchannels for Four Participant Groups

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
Types	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
NB	267/951	28.1	510/1182	43.1	143/521	27.4	160/514	31.1
IH	74/951	7.8	185/1182	15.7	37/521	7.1	46/514	8.9
AH	193/951	20.3	325/1182	27.5	106/521	20.3	114/514	22.2

Note. NB = Nonverbal Backchannel; IH = Independent Head-Movement; AH = Accompanied Head-Movement; MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

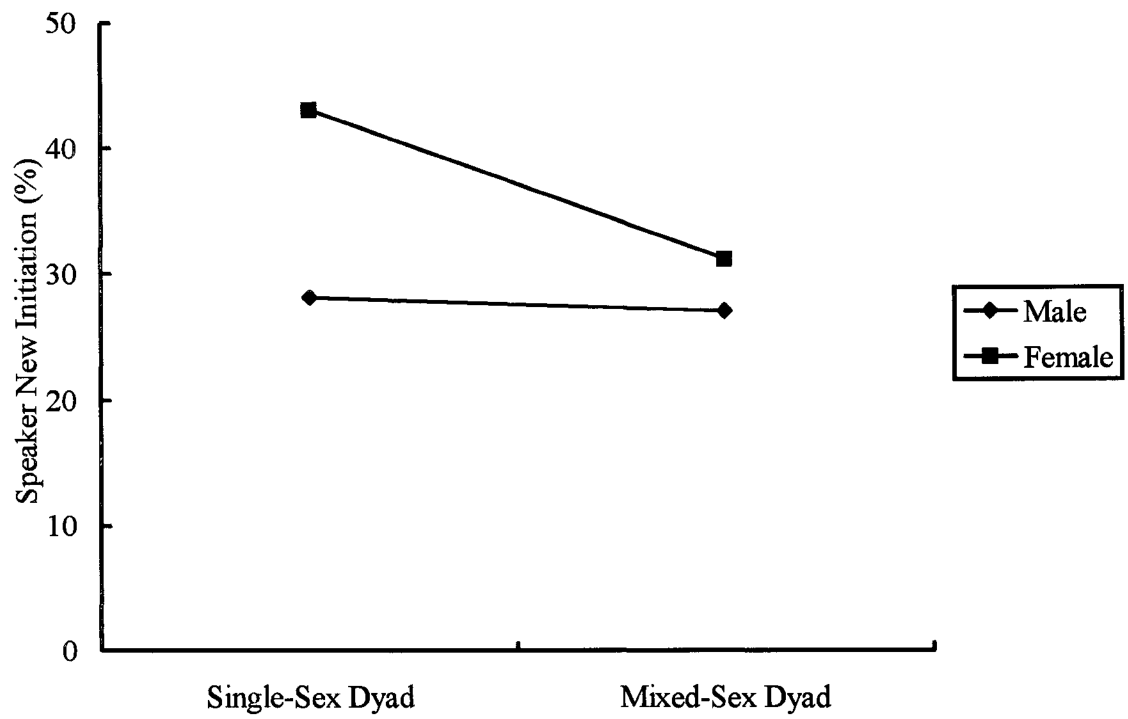

Figure 6.5. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that involve Nonverbal Backchannels for four participant groups.

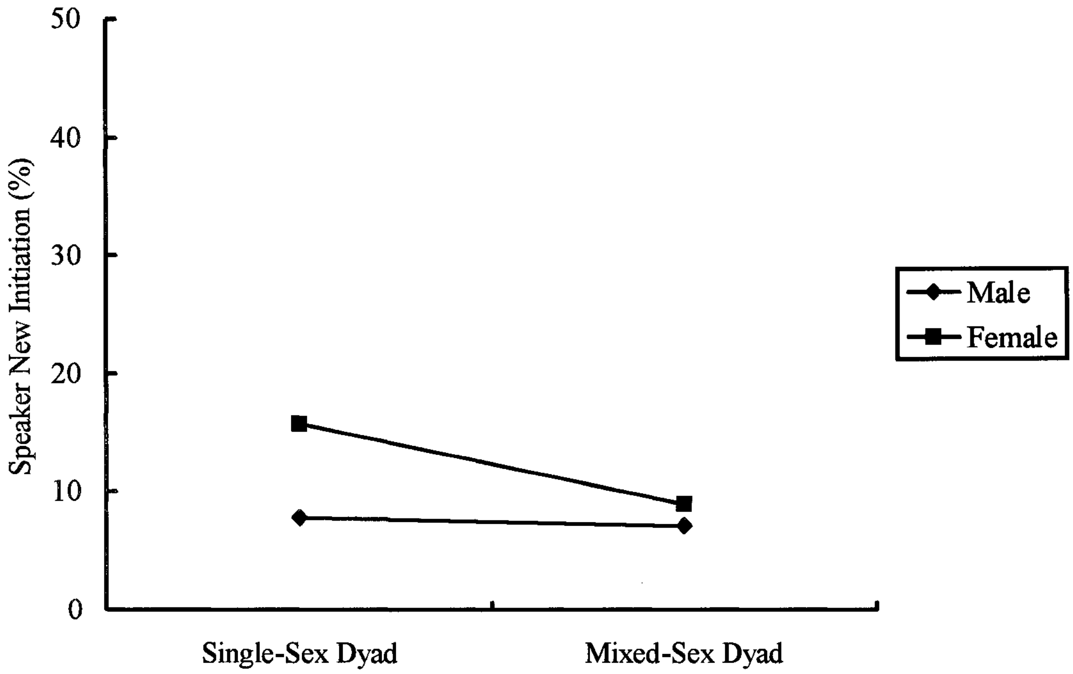

Figure 6.6. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that involve Independent Head-Movements for four participant groups.

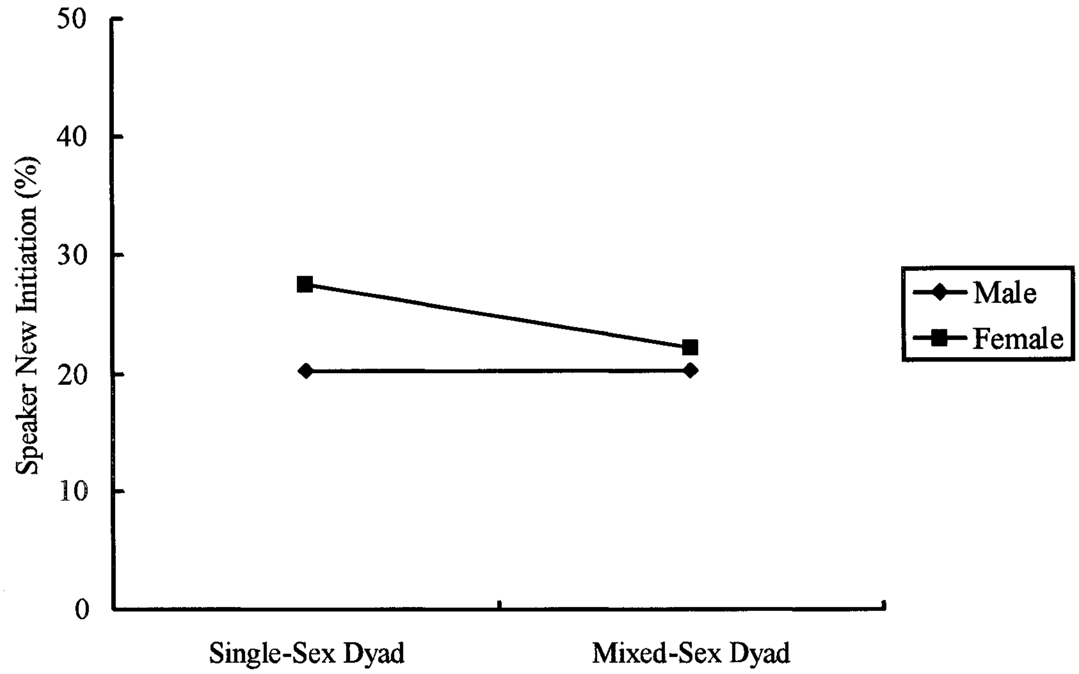

Figure 6.7. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that involve Accompanied Head-Movements for four participant groups.

As shown in Table 6.4, the average percentage of speaker new initiations that involve Nonverbal Backchannels for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) was 28.1%, and the average percentage for females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) was 43.1%. The average percentages of speaker new initiations that are Head-Movements for males and females in the mixed-sex dyad groups (MM and FM) were 27.4% and 31.1% respectively. As for Independent Head-Movement, for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS), an average of 7.8% of the total number of speaker new initiations were Independent

Head-Movements, and for females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), an average of 15.7% were Independent Head-Movements. For males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM), the average ratio of Independent Head-Movement to speaker new initiations were 7.1% and the average ratio were 8.9%. Lastly, with regard to Accompanied Head-Movement, males in the two groups produced it 20.3% of the time, whereas the average ratio of Independent Head-Movement to speaker new initiations for females was 27.5% for FS and 22.2% for FM.

Table 6.4 indicates that females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) produced three categories of Head-Movements most frequently of all participant groups. Especially, they produced Independent Head-Movements more than twice as often as males in single-sex conversations.[80] [81] In addition, Table 6.4 shows a marked decrease in the frequency between the two groups of females. For example, for females in the single-sex dyad groups (FS), the frequency of Head-Movements was 43.1%, whereas females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM), the frequency was 31.1%.[82] This suggests that females produced Independent Head-Movements and/or Accompanied Head-Movements less frequently when talking with the opposite sex partner, compared to

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[80] Significant differences in the frequency of Independent Head-Movement were found between males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) and females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), $F(3,26) = 3.47$, $p < .05$.

[81] No significant differences in the frequency of Accompanied Head-Movements were found among the four participant groups

[82] No significant differences were, however, found between FS and FM.

when talking with the same sex partner.

Table 6.4, to the contrary, shows no change in the frequency of Head-Movements between the two groups of males. For example, males in the same and the mixed-sex dyad groups (MS and MM) were similar in the frequency of Independent Head-Movements with each other; the frequencies were about 7% for the two groups. Thus, no shift in the frequency of Independent Head-Movements was observed among males. This suggests that for male participants in the present study, the frequency of Head-Movements was not influenced by the sex of the conversational partner, compared to female counterparts. Furthermore, these findings suggest that only females might accommodate the use of Head-Movements to male's style while males might not when talking with the opposite sex partners.[83]

In sum, I have discussed the frequency of Nonverbal Backchannels, Independent Head-Movements, and Accompanied Head-Movements. I have found that for females in the single-sex dyad group, the frequency of Nonverbal Backchannels was highest among the four participant groups. I have also found that there were decreases in the frequency of Nonverbal Backchannels for females in the mixed-sex dyad group, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group. As a result, females in the mixed-sex

[83] Interestingly, as for the frequency of Independent Head-Movements, FM produced Independent Head-Movements still slightly more frequently than male counterparts, which made FM situated somewhere between FS, and MS and MM. Thus, this suggests that in terms of Independent Head-Movements, FM might not accommodate their speech style to male counterparts as fully as they did in Accompanied Head-Movements.

dyad group were similar to males in the same and the mixed-sex dyad group in terms of the frequency. With regard to the frequency of Independent Head-Movements, it is found that females in the single-sex dyad group produced Independent Head-Movements more frequently than any other participant groups. This difference in frequency reached a significant level for them and males in the single-sex dyad group. There were also decreases in the frequency of Independent Head-Movements from females in the single-sex dyad group to those in the mixed-sex dyad group, but the frequency for those in the mixed-sex dyad group was slightly higher than males in the same and the mixed-sex dyad groups. As for Accompanied Head-Movements, again, the frequency of Accompanied Head-Movements was highest for females in the single-sex dyad group. Decreases in the frequency of Accompanied Head-Movements were found for females in the mixed-sex dyad group, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group, which consequently females in the mixed-sex dyad group became similar to males in the same and the mixed-sex dyad groups. Lastly, in terms of the use of Nonverbal Backchannels, females showed accommodation in a much higher degree, compared to male counterparts. I will next examine the placement of Independent Head-Movements in detail.

Placement of Independent Head-Movements

In this section, I will discuss the placement of Independent Head-Movement (IH). Table 6.5 shows the mean percentages of the occurrence of IH at six placement categories for the four participant groups during the five minute-segments of talk (see also Figure

6.8-6.13).[84]

[84] Please see Appendix C (chart 4-6) for the mean percentage of Verbal Backchannels at six placement categories for individuals.

Table 6.5

Mean Percentage of Independent Head-Movements at Six Placement Categories for the Four Participant Types

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
G&F	26/74	35.1	34/185	18.4	14/37	37.8	11/46	23.9
NG&F	1/74	1.4	0/185	0	1/37	2.7	2/46	4.3
G&NF	29/74	39.2	57/185	30.8	10/37	27.0	8/46	17.4
NG&NF	16/74	21.6	65/185	35.1	8/37	21.6	16/46	34.8
G&M	0/74	0	11/185	5.9	1/37	2.7	0/46	0
NG&M	2/74	2.7	18/185	9.7	3/37	8.1	9/46	19.6

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; G&F = grammatical and intonational completion points; NG&F = grammatical incompletion and intonational completion points; G&NF = grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points; NG&NF = grammatical and intonational incompletion points; G&M = grammatical completion and intonational middle points; NG&M = grammatical incompletion and intonational middle points; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

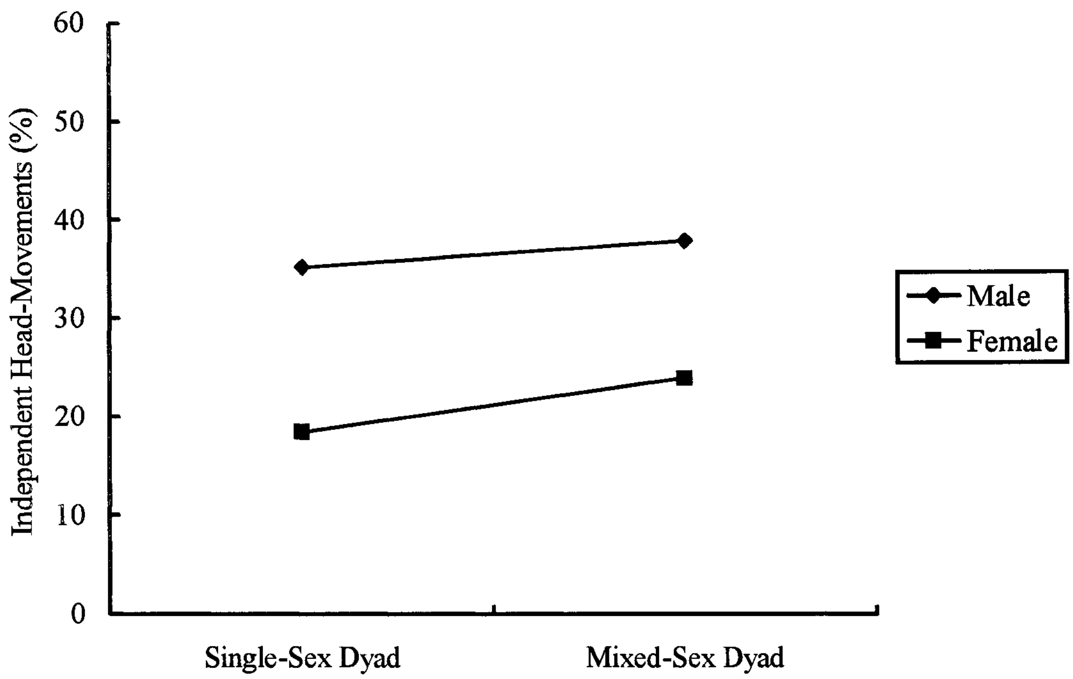

Figure 6.8. Mean percentages of Independent Head-Movements at G&F for four participant groups.

Figure 6.9. Mean percentages of Independent Head-Movements at NG&F for four participant groups.

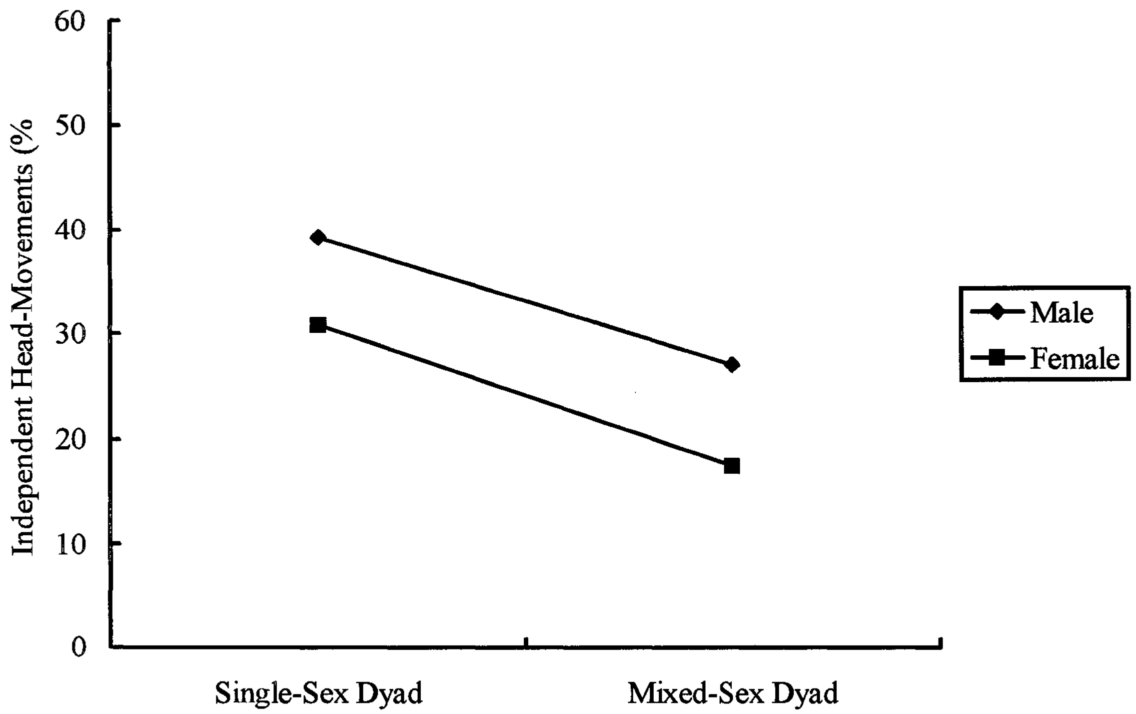

Figure 6.10. Mean percentages of Independent Head-Movements at G&NF for four participant groups.

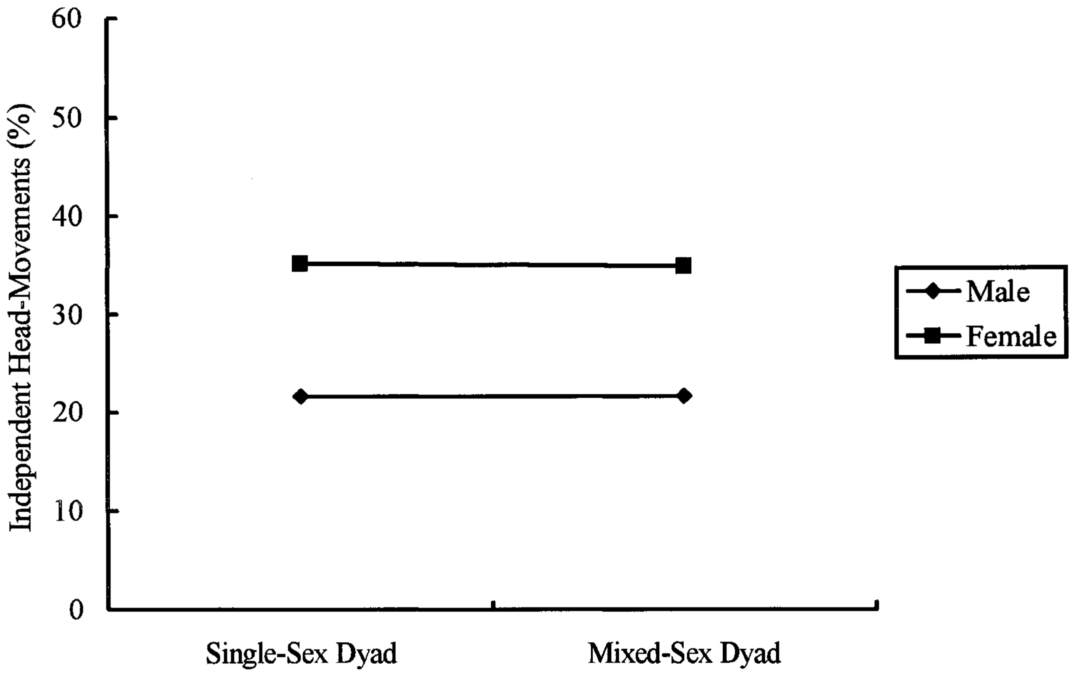

Figure 6.11. Mean percentages of Independent Head-Movements at NG&NF for four participant groups.

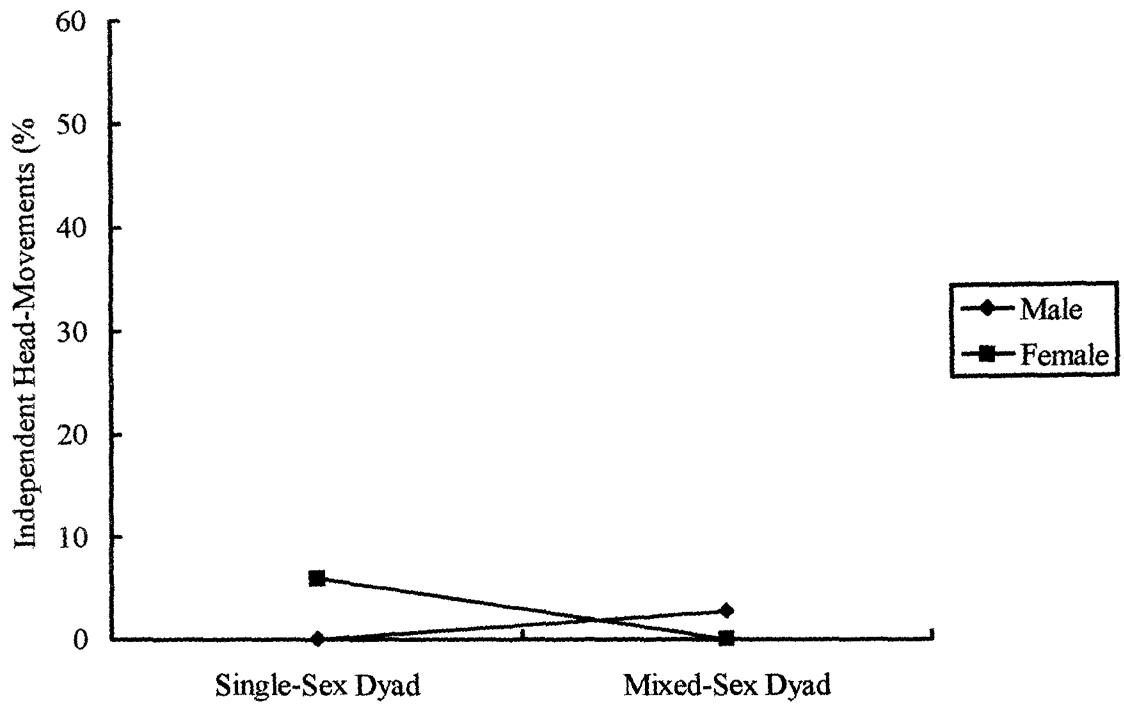

Figure 6.12. Mean percentages of Independent Head-Movements at G&M for four participant groups.

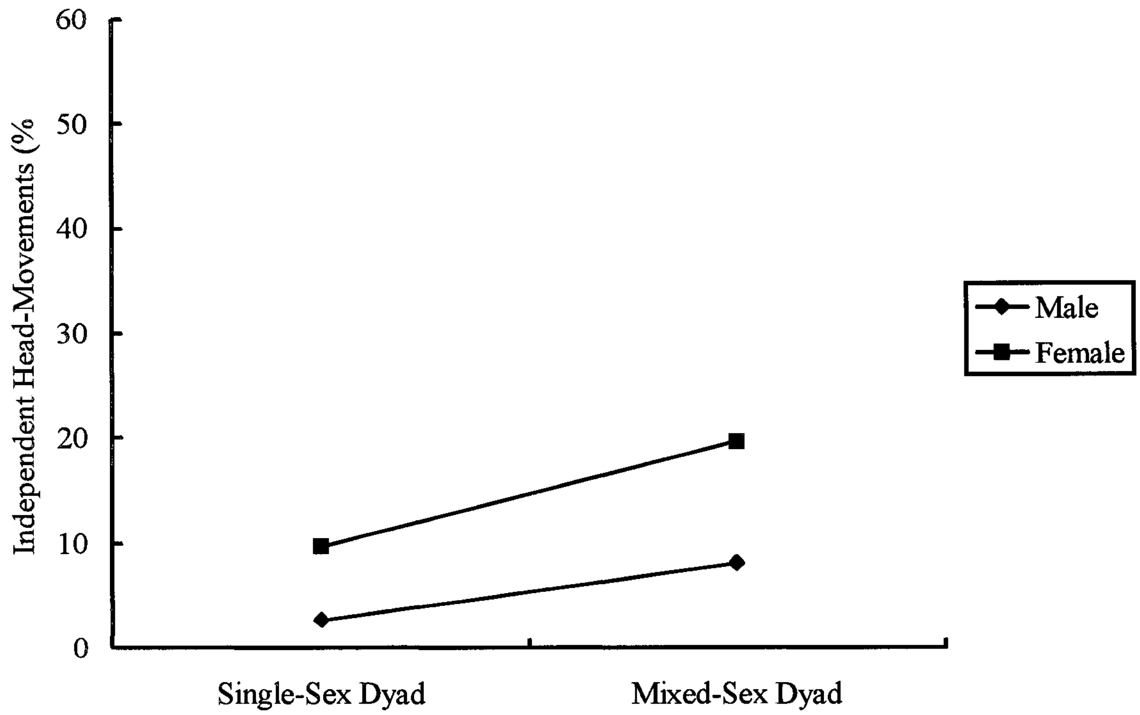

Figure 6.13. Mean percentages of Independent Head-Movements at NG&M for four participant groups.

As shown in Table 6.5, the three most preferred points for the placement of Independent Head-Movements were the same among the four participant groups. That is, grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F), grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF), and grammatical and intonational incompletion points (NG&NF).

Among the three most preferred points, however, the preference order varied among the groups. For males in the single-sex dyad group (MS), the most preferred point for the placement of Independent Head-Movements was G&NF (39.2%). The second most preferred point for MS was G&F (35.1%). The third preferred point was NG&NF (21.6%). For females in the single-sex dyad group (FS), the most preferred Independent Head-Movement occurrence point was NG&NF (35.1%). G&NF were the second most preferred point (30.8%) and the third most preferred point was G&F (18.4%). For males in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM), the most preferred point was G&F (37.8%). The second most preferred point was G&NF (27%), and NG&NF was the third most preferred point (21.6%). For females in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM), NG&NF was the most preferred occurrence point (34.8%) and G&F was the second (23.9%) followed by G&NF (17.4%).

As shown in Table 6.5, among the four participant groups, the occurrence rate for Independent Head-Movements at grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F) for males was relatively higher than female counterparts. Males in both dyad group produced Independent Head-Movements more than 35% of the time at G&F whereas females in the single-sex dyad (FS) and females in the mixed-sex dyad (FM) produced Independent Head-Movements at G&F about 18% and 24% of the time, respectively. In addition, the table generally shows that the percentage of the occurrence of Independent Head-Movements at points indicating grammatical completion points, G&F and G&NF, was also higher for males, compared to females (about 75% for MS and 65% for MM vs.

about 54% for FS and 40% for FM). This implies that men are more likely to wait to insert Independent Head-Movement (i.e., nod) until the speaker's utterance reach the end of clause or sentence. This further suggests that the occurrence of Independent Head-Movements for males was relatively delayed, compared to their female counterparts, who tended to produce Independent Head-Movements at grammatical incompletion points such as phrase or word boundaries.

For males in the single-sex dyad group (MS), the occurrence of Independent Head-Movements seemed to be concentrated on three environments, grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F), grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF), and grammatical and intonational incompletion points (NG&NF). As shown in Table 6.5, about 88% of Independent Head-Movements occurred at these points. Furthermore, the table shows that MS rarely insert Independent Head-Movement during the speaker's speech; only 2.7% of Independent Head-Movements occurred at intonational middle points (shown in M). While, for other participant groups, the occurrence of Independent Head-Movements more or less spread to intonational middle points such as grammatical incompletion and intonational middle points (NG&M) and grammatical completion and intonational middle points (G&M).[85] This implies that MS might be more apt to rely on a distinctive intonational break for the

[85] Significant differences in the occurrence of Independent Head-Movements at G&M were found between MS and FS, $F(3,26) = 3.07$, $p < .05$.

placement of Independent Head-Movement.[86]

Independent Head-Movement of females seems to be more likely to occur at NG&NF, compared to males. Females in both groups placed Independent Head-Movement at NG&NF about 35% of the time, whereas male counterparts placed nod about 21% of the time. Furthermore, this point was the most favorite point for females to insert Independent Head-Movement, which indicates that female's Independent Head-Movement tend to occur early; they produce Independent Head-Movement before the speaker's utterance reach the clause end.

Table 6.5 also shows that participants in the mixed-sex dyad groups (MM and FM) were more likely than those in the single-sex dyad groups (MS and FS) to place Independent Head-Movements at points indicating grammatical and intonational completion. These suggest that they might be more likely to wait for the placement of Independent Head-Movements until the speaker finished talking.

Gender differences did not disappear in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation regarding the three most favorite points to place Independent Head-Movement (G&F, G&NF, and NG&NF); one of the sexes seemed to converge, while the other seemed to

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[86] Hirokawa (1995, p.363) stated that in addition to the structural factors, backchannels occurs in terms of social factors such as the massage conveyed by the current speaker and the interactants' relationship. The occurrence of Independent Head-Movements at intonational middle points might involve these factors. If so different, other participant groups might be more conscious of these social factors for the placement of Independent Head-Movements. This should be investigated in future research.

diverge in case of G&F, G&NF, and no accommodation seemed to occur in case of NG&NF. Note that with regard to the placement of Independent Head-Movement at NG&M, females diverged and men converged in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation. Furthermore, females seemed to exhibit an accommodation pattern (whether it is a convergence or divergence) in a stronger degree, compared to male counterparts. Note also that in verbal backchannels, only G&F indicated accommodation from both sides of sex whereas other points (G&NF and NG&NF) showed a similar pattern as in Independent Head-Movement where one of the sexes showed a convergence and the other showed a divergence pattern.[87]

In sum, in this section, I have discussed Independent Head-Movements in terms of placement. It is found that females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) placed Independent Head-Movements at grammatical and intonational completion points least frequently of all participant groups. It is also found that males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) showed a strong tendency to place Independent Head-Movements at points at which a recognizable grammatical and intonational break existed. Furthermore it is found that males in the present study relatively waited for the placement of Independent Head-Movements until the speaker finished talking. Lastly, males and females did not accommodate where they insert Independent Head-Movement with each other, which

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[87] In Verbal Backchannels, females indicated an accommodation pattern at G&NF, whereas males did for Independent Head-Movement.

resulted in persistent gender difference in the placement in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, Nonverbal Backchannels (NVBs) were scrutinized in terms of distribution, frequency, and placement to find differences in use among the four participant groups. Gender and group differences that I found in the use of NVBs are as follows; (a) regarding the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movements and Independent Head-Movements, the distribution of Accompanied Head-Movements for females in the single-sex dyad group was relatively lower and the distribution of Independent Head-Movements was relatively higher than for any other participant groups; (b) regarding the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movements and Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movements, the distribution of Accompanied Head-Movements for females in the single-sex dyad group was relatively higher and the distribution of Verbal Backchannels was relatively lower than any other participant groups; (c) females in the single-sex dyad-group produced Head-Movements, Independent Head-Movements, and Accompanied Head-Movements more frequently than any other participant groups; especially they produced Independent Head-Movements significantly more frequently than males in the single-sex dyad group; (d) for females, the most preferred point for the placement of Independent Head-Movements was grammatical and intonational incompletion points, whereas for males, it was either grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points or grammatical and intonational completion points; (e) males were more likely than females to produce Independent Head-Movements until the speaker finished talking, compared to female counterparts; (f) males in the single-sex dyad group rarely produced Independent Head-Movements in the middle of intonation units; (g) males were more likely than females to produce Independent Head-Movements until the speech reached a clausal boundary; and (h) the mixed-sex groups produced Independent Head-Movements at grammatical and intonational completion points more frequently than the single-sex groups.

I also found gender and group similarities in the use of NVBs. These are as follows; (a) Accompanied Head-Movements were the preferred Nonverbal Backchannels compared to Independent Head-Movements or Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movements for all four participant groups; (b) females in the mixed-sex dyad-groups were similar to males in the same and the mixed-sex dyad groups in terms of the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movements and Independent Head-Movements, the distributions of Accompanied Head-Movements and Verbal Backchannels without Head-Movements, and the frequencies of Independent Head-Movements and Accompanied Head-Movements; and (c) grammatical and intonational completion points, grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points, and grammatical and intonational incompletion points were the three most preferred points for the placement of Independent Head-Movements among the four participant groups. I will next examine backchannels by combining Verbal Backchannels and Independent Head-Movements to find group and gender differences in their distribution, frequency, and placement.

7. BACKCHANNEL

In this section, I will investigate the overall picture of the use of BACKCHANNELS by combining five types of verbal backchannels and one type of nonverbal backchannels which I discussed in the previous chapters. That is, I will consider the following as BACKCHANNEL: Continuers, Reactive Expressions, Repetitions, Collaborative Finishes, Resumptive Openers, and Independent Head-Movements. Followed by the analysis of the preceding chapters, these responses will be examined with regard to distribution, frequency, and placement. These results will be compared in terms of the four participant group types to find group and gender differences among them. First, the distribution of six types of BACKCHANNEL, Verbal backchannels, and Nonverbal backchannels will be discussed. Then, the frequencies of BACKCHANNEL will be discussed in terms of speaker new initiation. Lastly, I will discuss gender and group differences in the placement of BACKCHANNEL. I hope that this chapter will provide us with comprehensive views with regard to the use of BACKCHANNELS in the Japanese language. In this chapter, I will show which types of BACKCHANNEL are more favored than others among the participants. Since BACKCHANNEL consists of basic types of backchannels in previous studies, I hope that this chapter will provide us with comprehensive views with regard to the use of BACKCHANNELS in the Japanese language.

BACKCHANNEL

In the present study, BACKCHANNELS are defined as follows: BACKCHANNELS are either verbal utterances or head movements which are given by the listener as responses to what the speaker has just said or is saying during conversation. As I discussed in the previous chapters, the roles of the speaker and the listener are decided based on the extent to which the conversationalists take the initiative in an on-going conversation.

Types of BACKCHANNEL

As shown in Table 7.1, BACKCHANNEL consist of: (a) Continuers; (b) Reactive Expressions; (c) Repetition; (d) Collaborative Finishes; (e) Resumptive Openers; and (f) Independent Head-Movements (i.e., nods).

Table 7.1

Types of BACKCHANNEL

BACKCHANNEL
Continuers
Reactive Expressions
Repetitions
Collaborative Finishes
Resumptive Openers
Independent Head-Movements

Distributions of BACKCHANNEL

Table 7.2 displays the overall distributions of BACKCHANNEL in the five-minute segments of talk for the four participant types (see also Figure 7.1-7.6).[88]

[88] Please see Appendix D (chart 1-3) for the distribution of Listener Response types for each individuals.

Table 7.2

Distribution of Six Types of BACKCHANNEL

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C	164/348	47.1	299/571	52.4	111/195	56.9	100/211	47.4
RE	49/348	14.1	52/571	9.1	25/195	12.8	25/211	11.8
R	32/348	9.2	10/571	1.8	5/195	2.6	10/211	4.7
CF	5/348	1.4	3/571	0.5	1/195	0.5	2/211	0.9
RO	24/348	6.9	22/571	3.9	16/195	8.2	28/211	13.3
IH	74/348	21.3	185/571	32.4	37/195	19.0	46/211	21.8

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; C = Continuers; RE = Reactive Expressions; R = Repetitions; CF = Collaborative Finishes; RO = Resumptive Openers; IH = Independent Head-Movements; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

Figure 7.1. Distribution of Continuers.

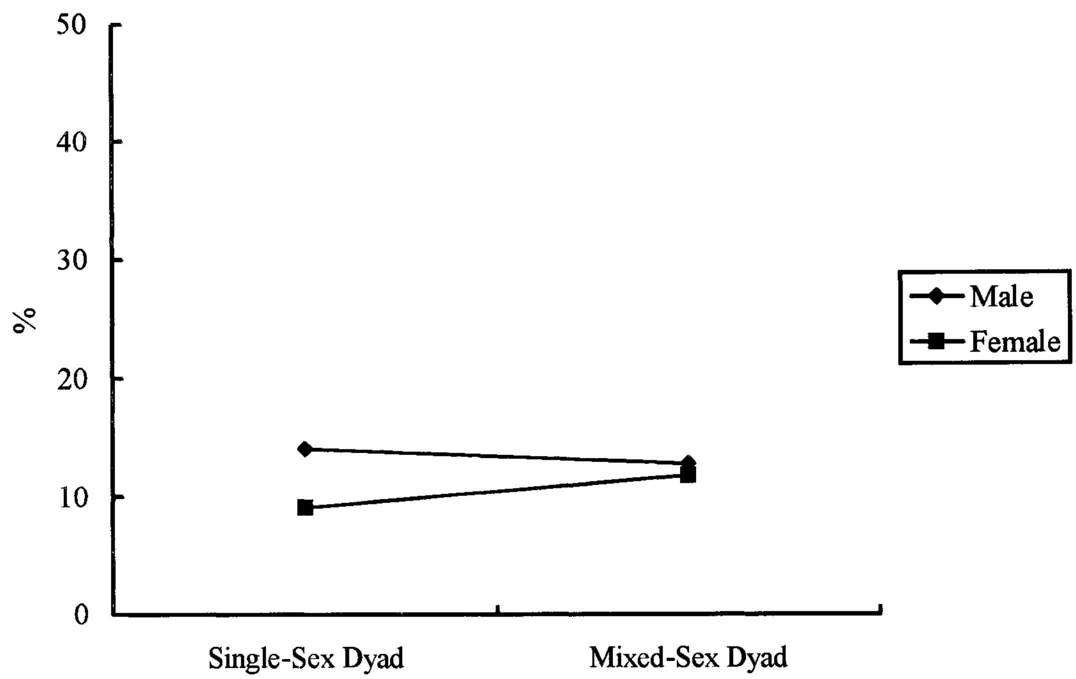

Figure 7.2. Distribution of Reactive Expressions.

Figure 7.3. Distribution of Repetitions.

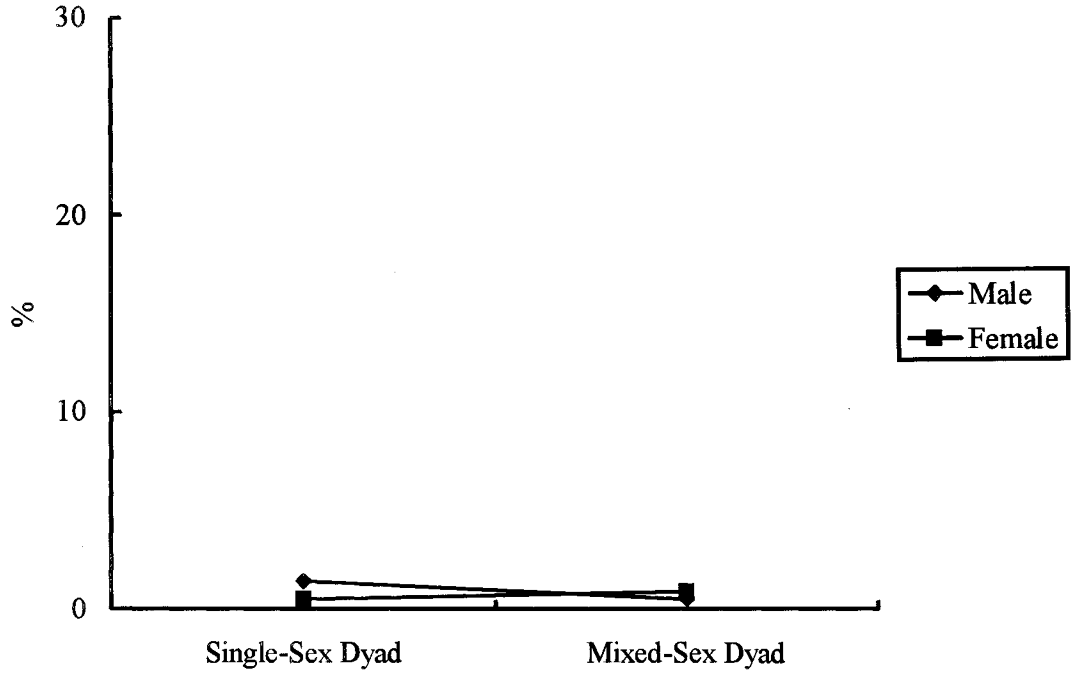

Figure 7.4. Distribution of Collaborative Finishes.

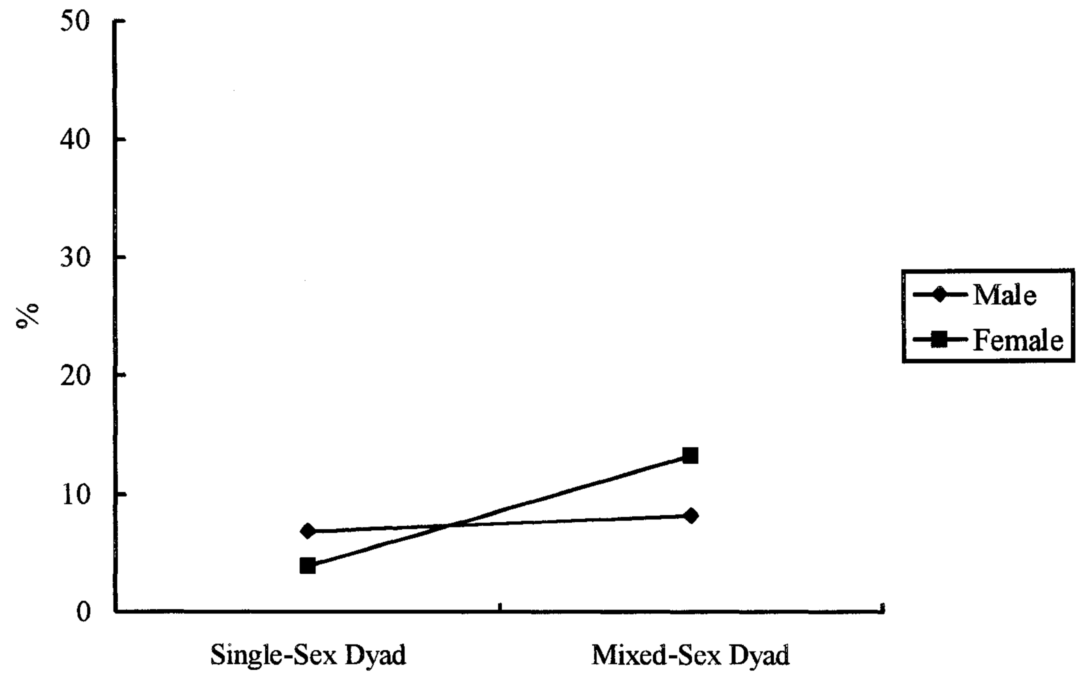

Figure 7.5. Distribution of Resumptive Openers.

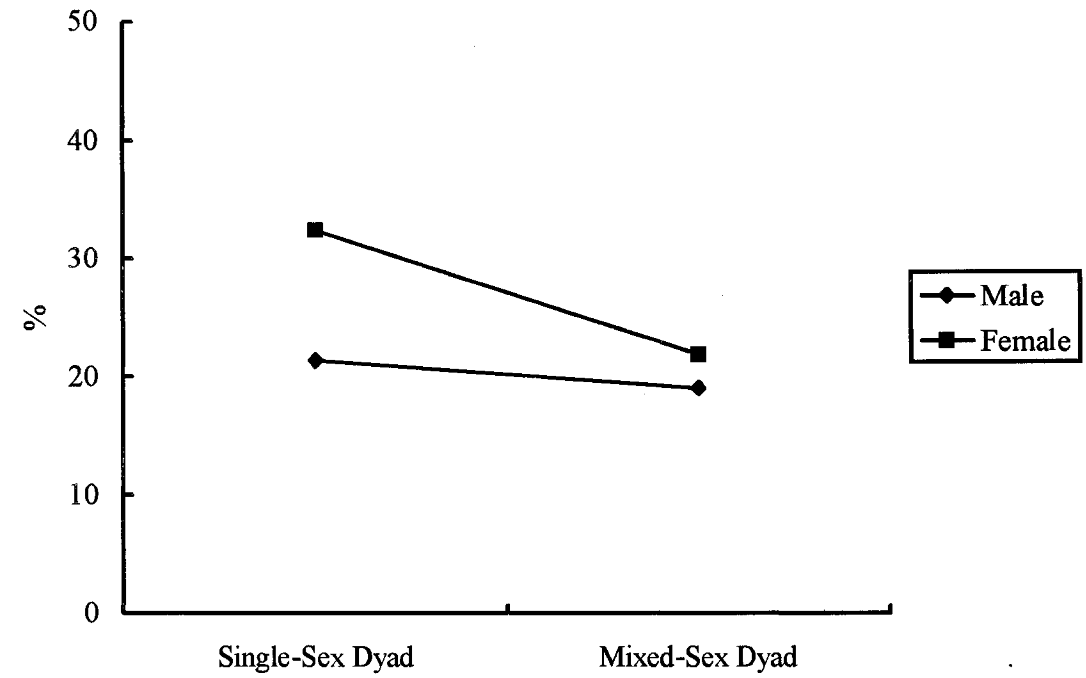

Figure 7.6. Distribution of Independent Head-Movements.

As shown in Table 7.2, the preference order of BACKCHANNEL types for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) is as follows: (a) Continuers (47.1%); (b) Independent Head-Movements (21.3%); (c) Reactive Expressions (14.1%); (d) Repetitions (9.2%); (e) Resumptive Openers (6.9%); and (f) Collaborative Finishes (1.4%). The preference order of BACKCHANNEL for females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) is: (a) Continuers (52.4%); (b) Independent Head-Movements (32.4%); (c) Reactive Expressions (9.1%); (d) Resumptive Openers (3.9%); (e) Repetitions (1.8%); and (f) Collaborative Finishes (0.5%). For male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group

(MM), the distribution of BACKCHANNEL is: (a) Continuers (56.9%); (b) Independent Head-Movements (19.0%); (c) Reactive Expressions (12.8%); (d) Resumptive Openers (8.2%); (e) Repetitions (2.6%); and (f) Collaborative Finishes (0.5%). Lastly, for female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM), the distributions of BACKCHANNEL is arranged in the following preference order; (a) Continuers (47.4%); (b) Independent Head-Movements (21.8%); (c) Resumptive Openers (13.3%); (d) Reactive Expressions (11.8%); (e) Repetitions (4.7%); and (f) Collaborative Finishes (0.9%).[89]

Table 7.2 shows that the Continuers were the most favorite BACKCHANNEL type among the four participant groups. As the table indicated, Continuers accounted for more than 40% of BACKCHANNEL. The second most favorite Listener Response type was Independent Head-Movements among the four participant groups.[90] However, compared to the distribution of Continuers, the distribution of Independent

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[89] No significant differences were found in the effects of participant type on the distribution of each Listener Response type.

[90] Maynard (1989) reported that head movement (equivalent to Independent Head-Movements in the present study) was also the second most frequent category of backchannels (18.83%), which seemed similar to the average percentage of the occurrence of Independent Head-Movements among the four participant groups in the present study (23.4%). In addition, in her study, brief utterables such as *un* 'uh-huh' were the most frequent types of all back-channels expressions (70.49%). Note that her category for brief utterables was a combination of Backchannels and Reactive Expressions in the present study. As a result, as Table 7.2 shows, the percentage of the occurrence of brief utterables in Maynard (1989) became higher than the percentage of the occurrence of Backchannels in the present study.

Head-Movements slightly varied from 19.0% for MM to 32.4% for FS. The least favorite Listener Response type was also same among the four participant groups; Collaborative Finishes were really used by participants in the present study. Note that the rest of the preference order varied among the groups.

Interestingly, among the four participant groups, more than 65% of BACKCHANNEL were accounted for by combining Continuers and Independent Head-Movements. Especially, for females in the single-sex dyad groups (FS), more than 84% of BACKCHANNEL were these two types. Since these two types mainly serve as continuers, these results suggest that the continuer type of BACKCHANNEL might be the most preferred listener's response during conversation. By producing Continuers and Independent Head-Movements, the listener can create an opportunity for the speaker to be able to further continue talk and as a result, he/she can facilitate conversation. As the table indicated, especially, for FS, this kind of facilitative atmosphere might be the strongest among the four participant groups.

Table 7.3 presents the mean distribution of Verbal Backchannles and Independent Head-Movement among the four participant groups (see also Figure 7.7 and 7.8).[91][92]

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[91] Please see Appendix D (chart 4) for the distribution of BACKCHANNELS and Independent Head-Movement for each individual.

[92] No significant differences were found in the effects of participant type on the distribution of Verbal Backchannels and Independent Head-Movement.

Table 7.3

Distribution of Verbal Backchannels and Independent Head-Movement

Types	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
VB	279/348	80.2	399/571	69.9	162/195	83.1	172/211	81.5
IH	69/348	19.8	172/571	30.1	33/195	16.9	39/211	18.5

Note. VB = Verbal Backchannel; IH = Independent Head-Movment; MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

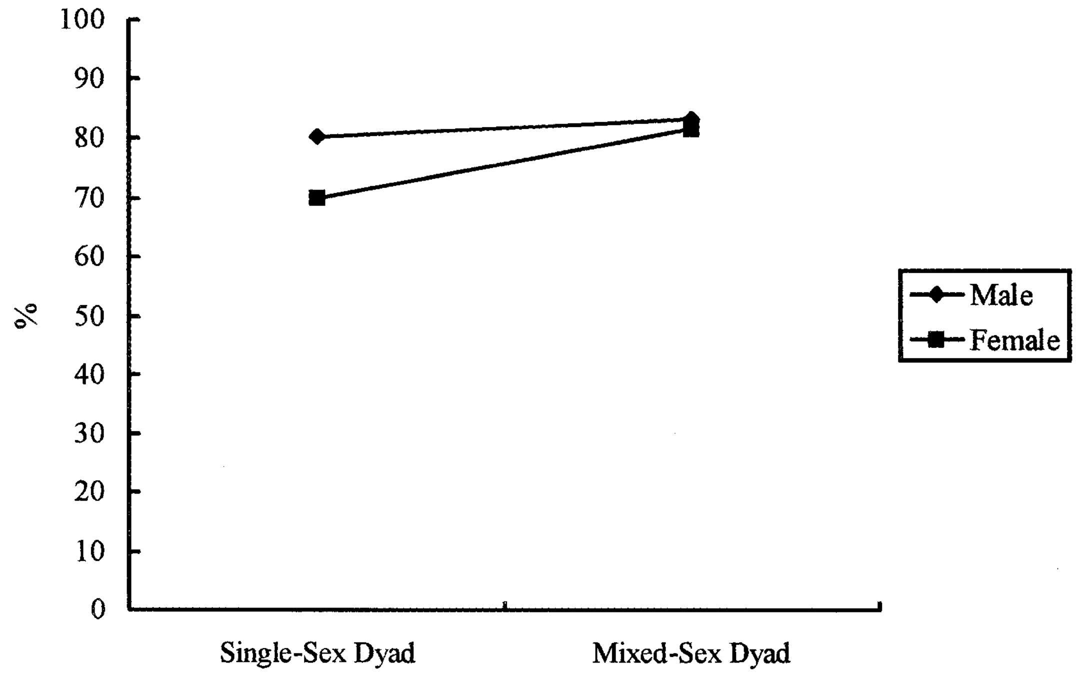

Figure 7.7. Distribution of Verbal Backchannels.

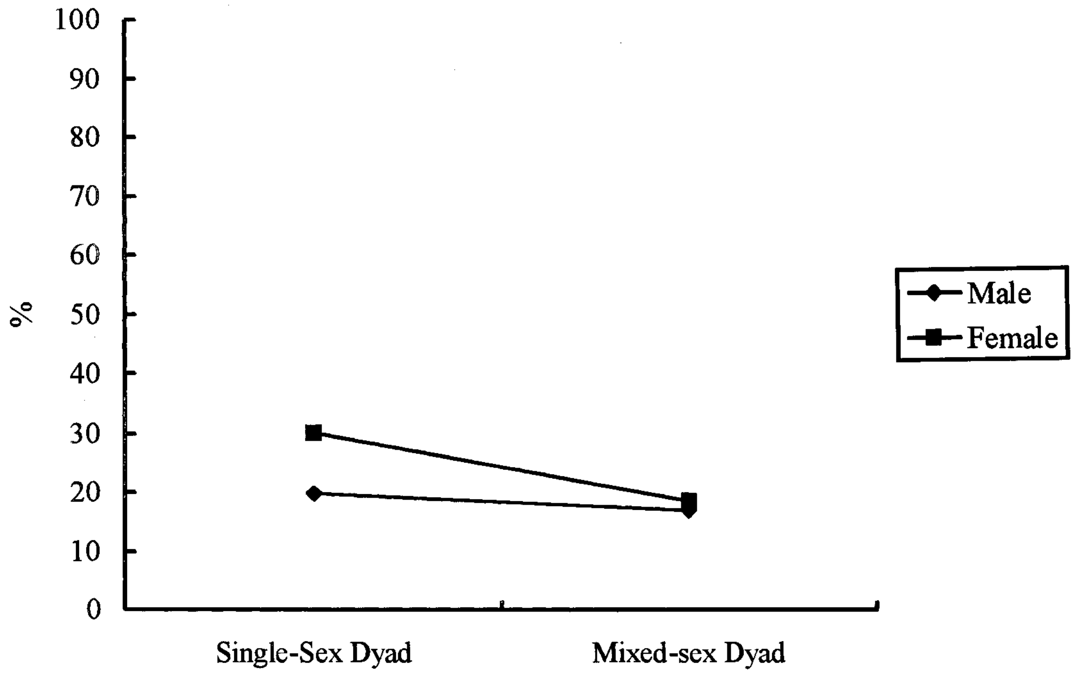

Figure 7.8. Distribution of Independent Head-Movement.

As is indicated in Table 7.3, although all participant groups preferred Verbal Backchannels to Independent Head-Movment, an interesting difference in the pattern emerged between females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) and the rest of the groups (MS, MM, and FM). The portion of Independent Head-Movment was larger than the rest of groups (30.1% for FS vs. 19.8%, 16.9%, and 18.5% for MS, MM, and FM respectively. These results imply that FS might have a wider channel of communication by using Verbal Backchannels along with a greater use of Independend Head-Movement, compared to the rest of the groups. Thus, for FS, the use of Independent

Head-Movement might play a more significant role during conversation.

Table 7.3 also shows that females in the mixed-sex dyad group might accommodate the speech style of male counterparts regarding the use of Verbal Backchannels as well as Independent Head-Movement whereas males in the mixed-sex dyad group seemed to slightly diverge their use, compared to those in the single-sex dyad. Note that as shown in the tables and figures, gender differences in the distribution of Verbal Backchannels and Independent Head-Movement which were observed in the single-sex dyad seemed decreased in the mixed-sex dyad.

In sum, in this section, I have discussed the distribution of BACKCHANNEL. I have found that all participant groups showed the strongest preference for the use of Continuers. I have also found that for all participant groups, Independent Head-Movement was the second most preferred BACKCHANNEL type. More than 60% of BACKCHANNEL were found to account for the distribution. In addition, females in the single-sex dyad group showed a stronger preference in the use of Independent Head-Movment, compared to other groups. Lastly, females seem to show a stronger tendency for accommodation regarding the portion of usage of Verbal Backchannels and Independent Head-Movement when they were in the mixed-sex dyad. In the next section, I will discuss the frequency of BACKCHANNEL.

Frequency of BACKCHANNEL

In Table 7.4, the average ratio of BACKCHANNEL to speaker new initiations for the four participant groups is shown (see also Figure 7.9).[93]

Table 7.4

Mean Percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are BACKCHANNEL for Four Participant Group

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
Type	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
BK	348/951	39.6	571/1182	48.3	195/521	37.4	211/514	41.1

Note. BK = BACKCHANNEL; MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

[93] Please see Appendix D (chart 5) for the frequency of BACKCHANNEL types for each individual.

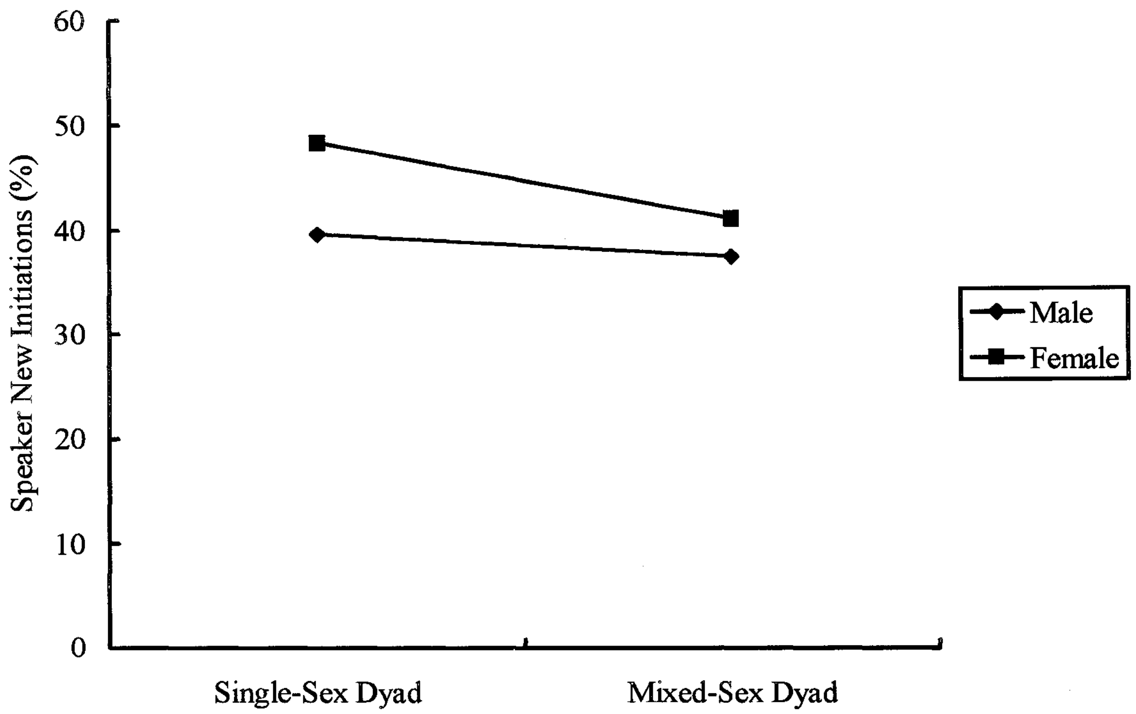

Figure 7.9. Mean percentages of speaker new initiations that are BACKCHANNEL for four participant groups.

As shown in Table 7.4, the means of percentages of speaker new initiations that are BACKCHANNELS did not show any remarkable differences among the four participant types (39.6% for MS, 48.3% for FS, 37.4% for MM, and 41.1% for FM).[94] In other words, overall, participants in the present study produced BACKCHANNELS in a

[94] The effects of the participant types were not indicated in ANOVA as well.

similar frequency and no gender or group difference was found in their frequency.[95]

Females seem to show an accommodation tendency regarding the frequency of BACKCHANNEL. As shown in Table 7.4, women seem to show a convergence; the frequency of BACKCHANNEL for females decreased from 48.3 to 41.1%, which is closer to the percentage of frequency of male counterparts. As for males, they seem to show a slight divergence; the frequency of BACKCHANNEL decreased in the mixed-sex dyad. However, the amount of decrease in the percentage for males was less than the amount of decrease for females, which resulted in a similar interaction style between males and females in the mixed-sex dyad, compared to those in the single-sex dyad.

In sum, in this section, BACKCHANNEL was investigated in terms of the ratio to Speaker New Initiations. It is found that no remarkable differences were not found among the four participant groups. No gender or group differences were found in frequencies of BACKCHANNEL. It is also found that females showed a convergence tendency in the frequency of BACKCHANNEL (decrease in the frequency of BACKCHANNEL), whereas males showed a slight divergence pattern when they were in the mixed-sex dyad (further decrease in the frequency of BACKCHANNEL). Overall, in the mixed-sex dyad, it seems that men and women were similar in terms of the frequency of BACKCHANNEL, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group. In the

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[95] As shown in Appendix D (chart 5), the asymmetrical pattern also emerged in the frequency of BACKCHANNEL; in each pair, one conversationalist produced BACKCHANNEL more frequently than the other did.

following section, BACKCHANNEL will be further investigated in terms of the locations where they occur.

Placement of BACKCHANNEL

Table 7.5 shows the mean percentages of the occurrence of BACKCHANNEL at six placement categories (see also Figure 7.10-7.15).[96]

[96] Please see Appendix D (chart 6-8) for the mean percentage of BACKCHANNEL at six placement categories for individuals.

Table 7.5

Mean Percentage of BACKCHANNEL at Six Placement Categories for the Four Participant Types

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
G&F	143/348	41.1	131/571	22.9	62/195	31.8	86/211	40.6
NG&F	5/348	1.4	1/571	0.2	9/195	4.6	5/211	2.4
G&NF	108/348	31.0	188/571	32.9	43/195	22.1	46/211	21.8
NG&NF	60/348	17.2	133/571	23.3	43/195	22.1	53/211	25.1
G&M	13/348	3.7	46/571	8.1	12/195	6.2	8/211	3.8
NG&M	19/348	5.5	74/571	13.0	22/195	11.3	17/211	8.1

Note. MS = male participants in the single-sex dyad group; FS = female participants in the single-sex dyad group; MM = male participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = female participants in the mixed-sex dyad group; G&F = grammatical and intonational completion points; NG&F = grammatical incompletion and intonational completion points; G&NF = grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points; NG&NF = grammatical and intonational incompletion points; G&M = grammatical completion and intonational middle points; NG&M = grammatical incompletion and intonational middle points; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

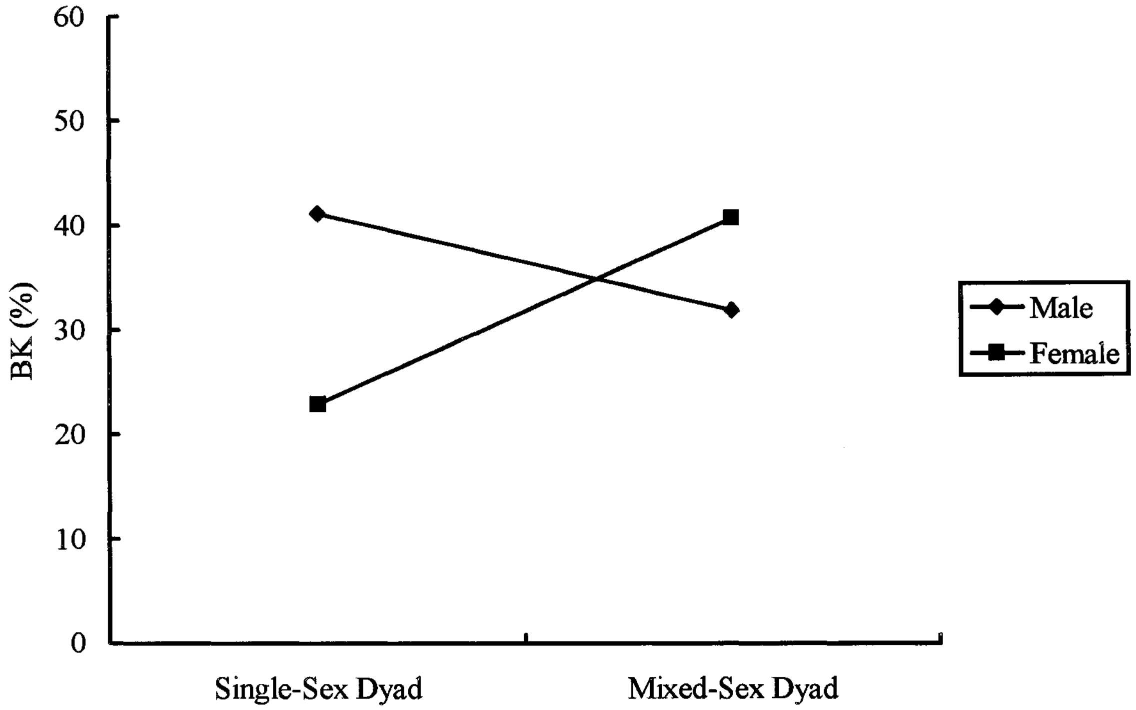

Figure 7.10. Mean percentages of BACKCHANNEL at G&F for four participant groups.

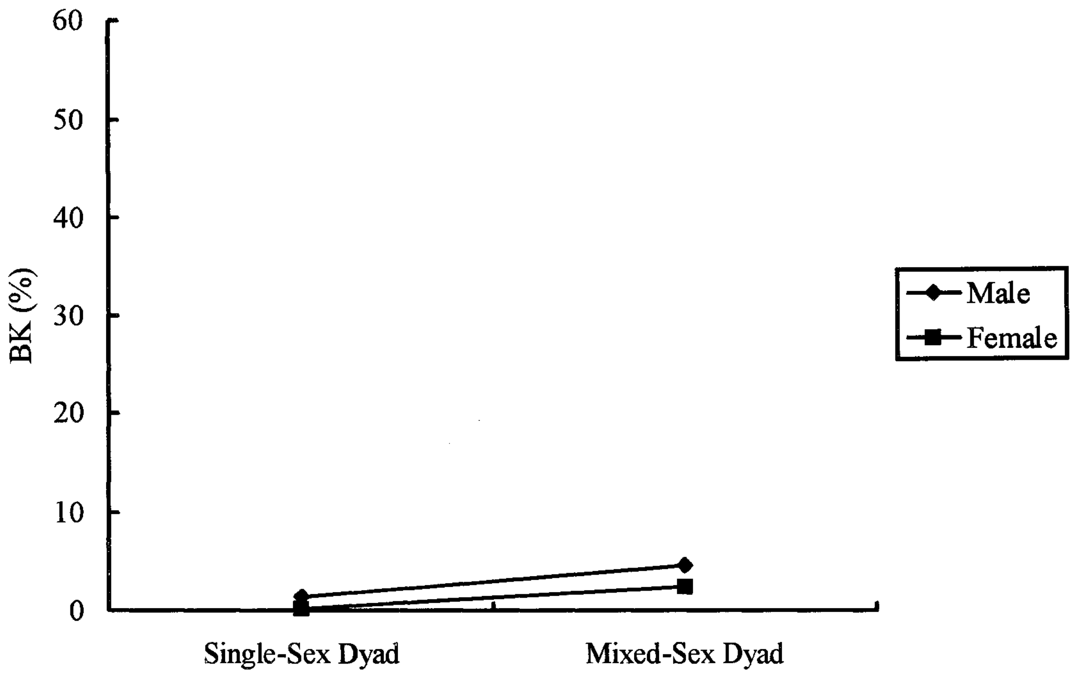

Figure 7.11. Mean percentages of BACKCHANNEL at NG&F for four participant groups.

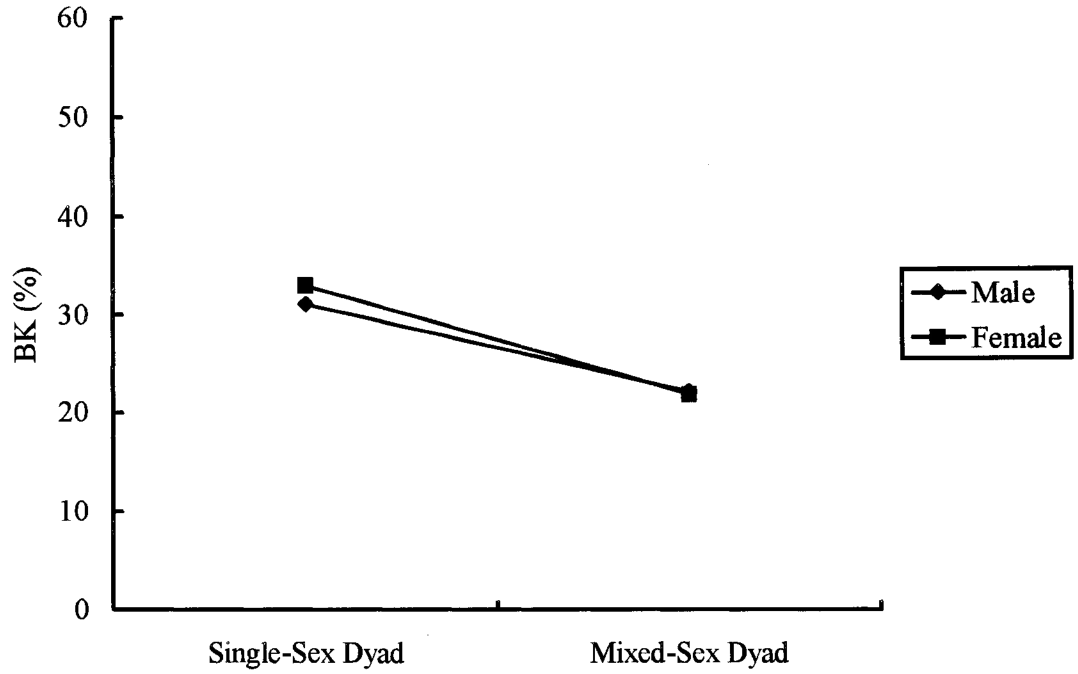

Figure 7.12. Mean percentages of BACKCHANNEL at G&NF for four participant groups.

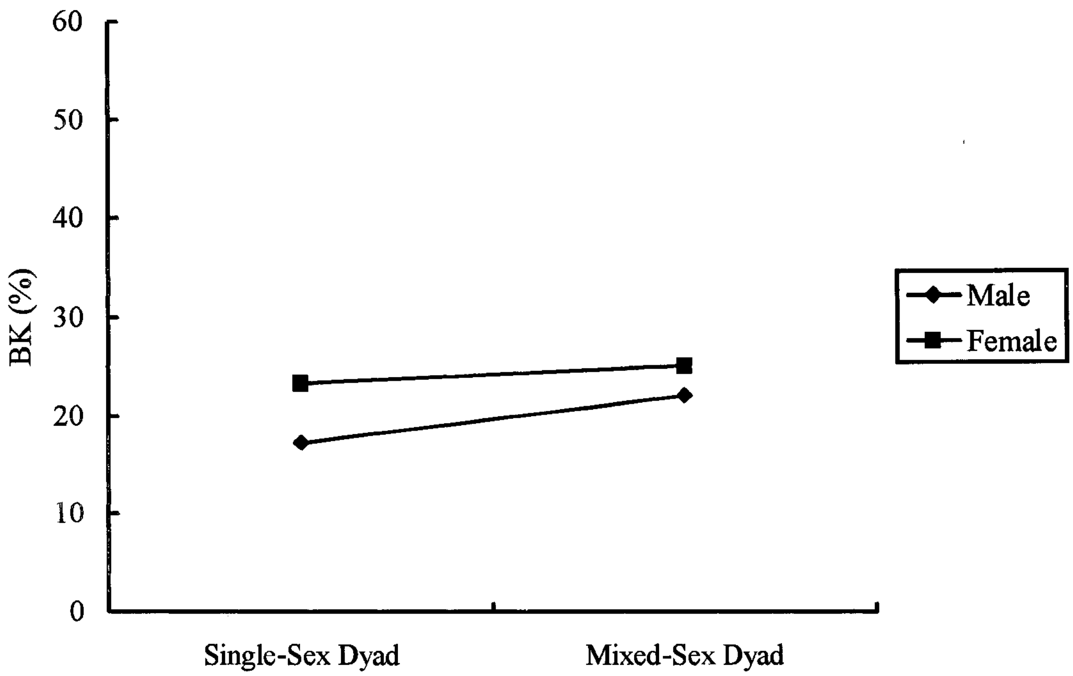

Figure 7.13. Mean percentages of BACKCHANNEL at NG&NF for four participant groups.

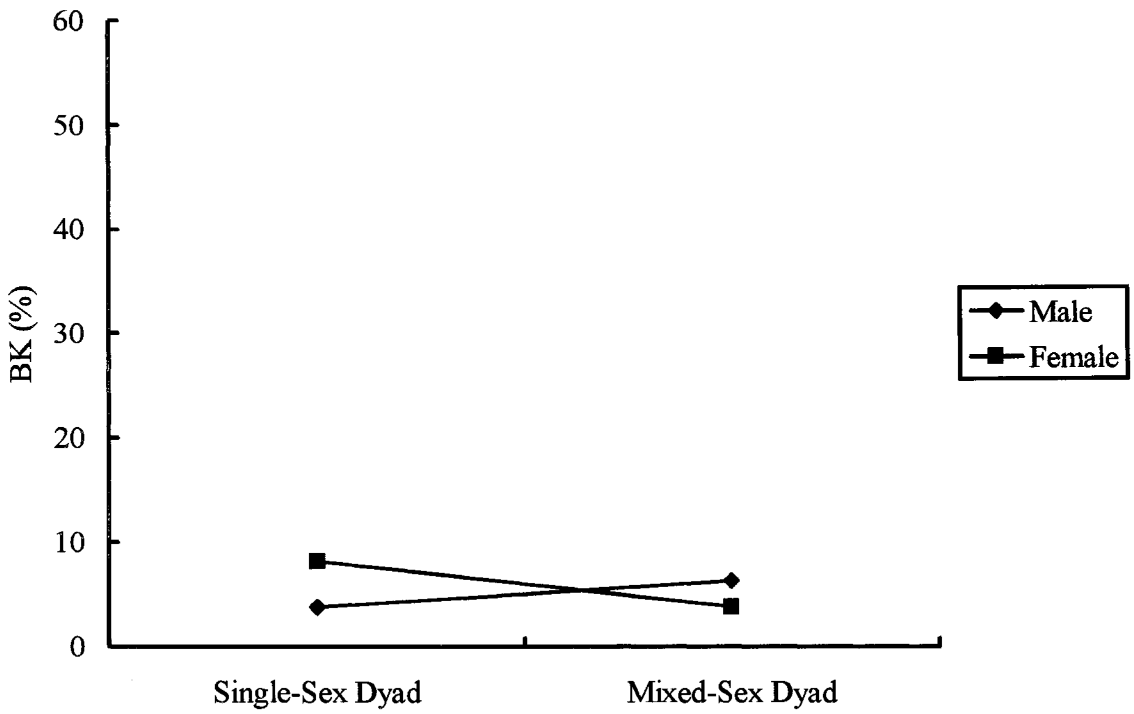

Figure 7.14. Mean percentages of BACKCHANNEL at G&M for four participant groups.

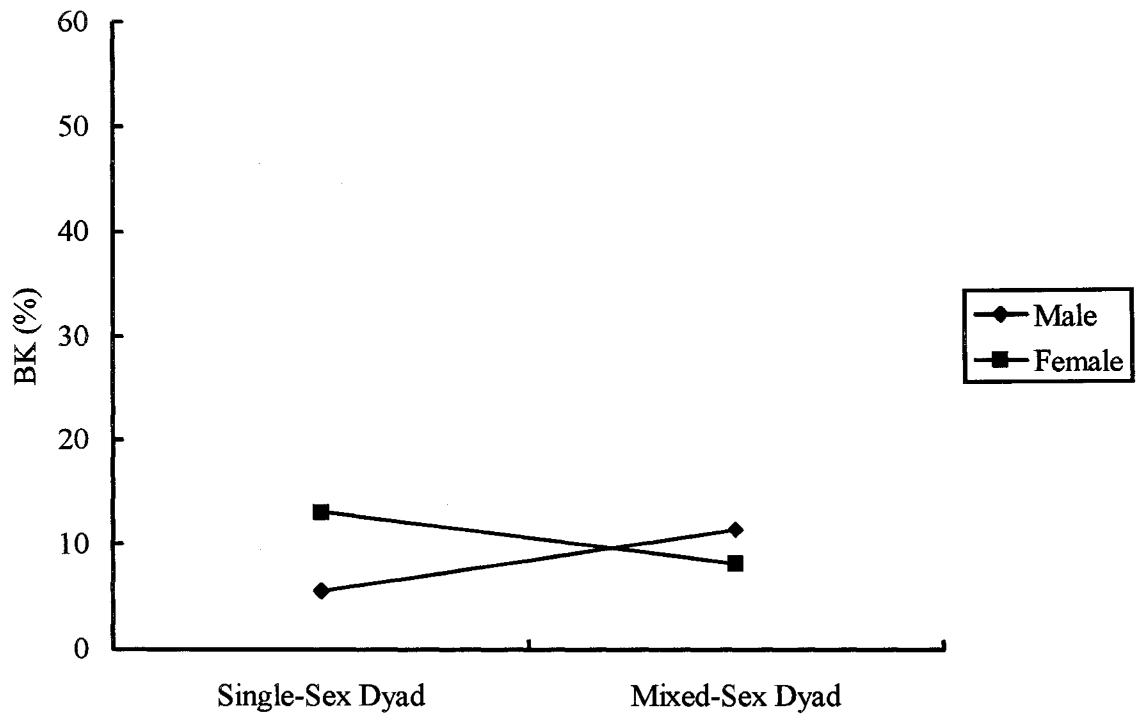

Figure 7.15. Mean percentages of BACKCHANNEL at NG&M for four participant groups.

As shown in Table 7.5, grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F) were the most frequent points for the occurrence of BACKCHANNEL for males in the single-sex dyad group, males in the mixed-sex dyad group, and females in the mixed-sex dyad group (41.1%, 31.8%, and 40.6% respectively). For females in the single-sex dyad group, grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points (G&NF) were the most frequent points for the occurrence of BACKCHANNEL (32.9%). G&F, G&NF or grammatical and intonational incompletion points (NG&NF) were the second or the third most frequent points, depending on the participant group. The fourth and the fifth frequent point were same among the four participant groups; grammatical incompletion and intonational middle (NG&M) was the fourth favorite point, followed by grammatical and intonational middle points (G&M).

As shown in Table 7.5, the occurrence rate for BACKCHANNEL at grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F) for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) were remarkably larger than for FS (41.1% vs. 22.9%).[97] In addition, the occurrence rate for BACKCHANNEL at intonational completion points (the combined rate for G&F and NG&F) for MS was almost twice as much as for females in the single-sex dyad group (42.5% vs. 23.1%). This implies that MS tended to produce BACKCHANNEL later; compared to FS, they were more likely to wait until the speaker completed his speech to insert BACKCHANNEL.

Lastly, the results indicate that females are more likely to accommodate their placement of Listener Response, compared to male counterparts. As shown in the table as well as in the figures, in the five insertion points except for NG&NF, female seemed to attempt to place their BACKCHANNEL in a similar way as males did. Males also showed a convergence pattern at G&F, G&M, and NG&M, all of which resulted in hyper-convergence from both sides of sex. However, in the rest of the point, males

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[97] Significant differences in the mean percentage of the occurrence of BACKCHANNELS at G&F were found between MS and FS, $F(3,26) = 4.43$, $p<.05$.

seemed to diverge themselves from a female pattern of insertion of BACKCHANNEL.

In sum, in this section, I have discussed BACKCHANNEL in terms of placement. It is found that males in the single-sex dyad group placed BACKCHANNEL at grammatical and intonational completion points more frequently than females in the single-sex dyad group. It is also found that males in the single-sex dyad group and males and females in the mixed-sex dyad group placed BACKCHANNEL at grammatical completion points more than 40% of the time, while females in the single-sex dyad group placed BACKCHANNEL at grammatical completion points only about 24% of the time. Lastly, the results indicate that females are more likely to show a stronger accommodation pattern regarding the insertion of Listener Response, compared to males.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed BACKCHANNEL in terms of distribution, frequency, and placement, to find differences among the four participant groups, males and females in the single-sex dyad group, and those in the mixed-sex dyad group. Gender and group differences that I found in the use of BACKCHANNEL are as follows; (a) females in the single-sex dyad group showed a stronger preference for the use of Independent Head-Movements than other participant groups; (b) males in the single-sex dyad group as well as males and females in the mixed-sex-group showed a stronger preference for placing BACKCHANNEL at grammatical completion points, compared to females in the single-sex dyad .

I also found gender and group similarities in the use of BACKCHANNEL. These are as follows; (a) Continuers were the most preferred BACKCHANNEL among the four participant groups; (b) Independent Head-Movements were the second most preferred BACKCHANNEL among the four participant groups; (c) the overall frequency of BACKCHANNEL was similar among the four participant groups. I will examine the duration of the listener's gaze as well as the relationship between the gaze of the listener and BACKCHANNEL in detail in the next chapter.

8. LISTENER'S GAZE

Both listener responses and the gaze of the listener seem to have a common function. That is, both tend to be used as a marker of attention and interest (Yngve ,1970; Argyle and Cook 1976). In addition, gender differences in the amount of gaze during conversation were also pointed out; females looked at their conversational partner more frequently than males do during conversation (Argyle and Cook, 1976). These findings in previous studies lead me to the following questions: how frequently does the listener looks at his/her conversational partner while producing listener responses and are there any gender and group differences in the frequencies of gaze?

In this chapter, I will investigate gaze of the listener. I will examine the length of gaze which the listener continues when producing backchannels to find gender differences. Since none of the previous studies in the Japanese language investigate the gaze and backchannels together, the present study will be an exploratory one, but give a significant step toward a fuller understanding of backchannels.

Three Patterns of Listener's Gaze

In the previous section, I found that female listeners seemed to gaze at the speaker more than males in both dyad types, though a significant difference level was not detected. Furthermore, I found that both males and females accommodate their gaze behaviors with each other. After closely observing their gaze behavior, I found that they frequently initiated their gaze while producing backchannels. Furthermore, when they produced backchannels, I noticed that there might be two patters of the listener's gaze: (a) a short temporary gaze which ceased soon after he/she produced backchannels; and (b) a continuing gaze which lasts while after he/she produced backchannels. In addition, the listener sometimes did not gaze at the speaker during and after the production of backchannels, which I will categorize as the third type of gaze. For convenience, I arbitrarily utilized an intonational unit after the occurrence of backchannels for quantifying the duration of three kinds of gaze pattern.[98] I will call these gaze types as (a) Long Gaze, (b) Short Gaze, and (c) No Gaze, respectively.

The occurrence of Long Gaze is identified if the gaze at the speaker extends to two or more intonational units after the production of backchannels. Sometimes, Long Gaze lasts a quite stretch of talk involving several backchannel to follow, but in such a case, I will examine a Gaze pattern in terms of the occurrence of each backchannel. Long Gaze seems to show the speaker the listener's attitude that he/she can effectively show the speaker his/her interest in the topic and a willingness to listen to the speaker. At the same time, it can convey to the speaker that the listener is very much involved in

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[98] In previous studies (e.g., Argyle and Cook, 1976; Kendon, 1990), the duration of gaze was timed in seconds. One reason that I used intonational unit for coding gaze in the present study is that tracking all gaze by using stopwatches while observing the video data was found to be cumbersome. Another reason is that while observing the data, I came to believe that gaze might be closely related to the utterance unit of the speaker; I noticed that gaze of the listener often started while the speaker reaches a certain point of an intonational unit. Therefore, I utilized intonational unit as a base unit for coding gaze of the listener.

the topic. As a result, the listener can provide the speaker with the sense that he/she can continue to speak, which allows the conversation to proceed in a sustained manner.[99]]

The occurrence of Short Gaze is identified if the listener's gaze extends to no more than one intonational unit after the occurrence of backchannels.[100] Short Gaze seems to happen in the following circumstances; (1) when the listener's attention to the speaker reaches the limit: (2) when the listener starts to plan his/her speech at the forthcoming turn (Kendon, 1990): (3) when the listener wants to take the floor to speak (Kendon, 1990): (4) when the listener gets distracted by things unrelated to the conversation such as an itch on arms: and (5) when the listener starts to lose interest in or disapprove the topic (Argyle and Cook, 1976).

No Gaze is identified if the listener's gaze does not occur during and after the production of backchannels. The non-existence of gaze is said to be likely to occur when the listener lacks interest in the topic or disapproves of the listener (Argyle and

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[99] Kendon (1990) found that when the listener produces an accompaniment signal (backchannel) such as mhm which do no more than signal to the speaker that he/she is attending, the listener tend to continues to look steadily at the speaker. He called this type of signal an attention signal. Following this finding, it might be possible to think that listener responses with Continuous Gaze in the present study are also attention signals, which only expresses attention.

[100] The gaze of the listener toward the speaker was judged based on the eye contact with the speaker, the eye direction toward body actions of the speaker, especially hand gestures which were accompanied with the speech, or the eye direction toward the area of the speaker's face.

Cook, 1976).[101] Furthermore, No Gaze which was observed in the present study created an impression to me that the listener seemed indifferent to or tired of the topic. In addition, No Gaze seemed to occur when the listener overreacts to the speaker's speech such that the listener laughs with his/her face on the table.

The following excerpt is the example of Long Gaze.

(8-1) [Conversation 10: Kuniko (Female) – Iori (Female) conversation]

1 Kuniko: ((H))

2 Iori: ...(1.6) u=n.
'well'

3 ato ne,
'and'

↑ ((Kuniko started to look at Iori)).
4 Kuniko: ((H))

------------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
5 Iori: watashi ga ne
'for me',

-------------------------------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
6 suggoi sukidatta yatsu de ne
'what (I) liked very much',

-------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
7 Kuniko: ((H))

---

[101] According to Philips (personal communication), some American listeners look away when they disagree with the speaker.

--- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
8 Iori: nanka ichi ninen no toki no gak[koo]
'when (I) was in the first grade in an elementary school'

((Kuniko looks at Iori)).

((H))
9 Kuniko: [un].
'uh-huh'

------------------------ ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
10 Iori: & deshika denakat[ta n]
'(it) was served only'

-------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
((H))
11 Kuniko: [un].
'uh-huh'

-------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
12 Iori: &da kedo,
'though'

------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
13 nanka,
'there was something'

((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
----
14 edamame korokke tte yuu no ga at[te],
'called soybean croquet'

((Kuniko looks at Iori)).

((H H))
15 Kuniko: [un] un.
'uh-huh'

--------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
16 Iori: nanka ne,
'and'

--------------------------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
17 sono toki no kyuushoku,
'school lunch back then'

------------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
18 .. de su[goi]
'very much'

--------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
((H))
19 Kuniko: [un].
'uh-huh'

---------------------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
20 Iori: & wasurerarenai [aji]
'the taste that I cannot forget'

--------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
((H))
21 Kuniko: [un].
'uh-huh'

------------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
22 Iori: & nanda kedo,
(it) was'

-------- ((Kuniko looks at Iori)).
((H))
23 Kuniko: un.
'uh-huh'

In 8-1, Iori talks about the taste of Soybean Croquet which was served in school lunch. In lines 1, 7, 9, 15, 19, 21, and 23, a long gaze pattern was observed. For example, Kuniko who was the listener, continued to look at Iori after her nonverbal backchannel, head nod, in line 4 (shown by an arrow); she continued to look at Iori for more than two subsequent intonational units. A Long Gaze was also observed after the verbal backchannel in line 23 because it occurs with the listener's gaze and the gaze lasts two subsequent intonational units.[102]

In the following example, Short Gaze can be observed.

(8-2) [Conversation 15: Shinji (Male) – Shooko (Female) conversation]

1 Shooko: ... [pan toka XXXX] --
'such as bread'

----------- ((Shooko starts to look at Shinji))).

2 Shinji: [boku demo yappari ne],
'I, though'

------- ((Shooko looks at Shin)).

3 are ne,
'well'

---

[102] As seen in 8-1, if backchannels with Continuous Gaze occurs one after another in succession, they ultimately create a long sequence of Continuous Gaze. In such a situation, the listener can effectively show a strong involvement in an on-going talk of the speaker.

((Shooko looks at Shinji)).

----

4 kyuushoku no omoide ttsuttara soo da na,
'speaking of memories of school lunch

------------------------ ((Shooko looks at Shinji)).

5 .. a sankaku gyuunyuu.
'milk in a triangular shaped container

------------------------- ((Shooko looks at Shinji)).

6 .. nihyaku miri rittoru no.
'200ml'

--- ((Shooko looks at Shinji)).

7 Shooko: a=.
'yeah'

-------------- ((Shooko looks at Shinji)).

8 Shinji: are ni tsukiru.
'that was the one'

((Shooko temporally withdraws her gaze from Shinji)).

9 datte anna no zettai .. kyuushoku igai tabenai jan.
'because (we) drink milk in such a container only in school lunch'

--- ((Shooko starts to looks at Shinji, again)).

10 Shooko: .. un.
'uh-huh'

((Shooko withdraws her gaze from Shinji)).

11 Shinji: ((H H))

-------- ((Shooko starts to look at Shinji, again)).
↑

12 Shooko: … are anma –
'that not much'

----
13 nan- --
'Wel- --'

----
14 uchi zutto bin datta.
'(at our school, it) was always bottles'

In (8-3), Shinji talks about 200ml of milk packed in triangle shaped paper container. A Short Gaze occurs in line 10. Here, Shooko withdraws her gaze after Shinji's nod, which is one intonational unit away from Shooko's backchannel in line 10.

In the following excerpt, backchannels with No Gaze are presented.

(8-4) [Conversation 14: Norio (Male) – Kaoru (Female) conversation]

↑ ((Norio withdraws his gaze from Kaoru)).
1 Kaoru: maagarin.
'margarine'

2 Norio: maagarin.
'margarine'

3 Kaoru: ((H))

((H H))
4 Norio: un un.
'hu-huh'

5 Kaoru: kuwazugirai ja nai no.
'It is not that I don't like it because I have never eaten it'

6 Norio: a= a=.
'I see'

7 Kaoru: hontoo ni kirai na no.
'I really don't like it'

↑ ((Norio starts to look at Kaoru, again)).
((H))
8 Norio: [a soo na no].
'I see'

↑ ((Norio withdraw his gaze from Kaoru)).
9 Kaoru: [((H))]

10 .. dame.
'no thank you'

11 a oishikunaku nai,
'it is not tasty, is it?'

12 bataa no ga oishii ja nai yappa.
'butter is more tasty, I think'

In 8-4, Kaoru talks about margarine which she did not like at all. In lines 2, 4 and 6, a No Gaze pattern was observed. Norio did not gaze at Kaoru at all during and after his production of backchannels. In this segment, Norio overall looks uninterested in the conversation because he rarely looks at Kaoru. In fact, Norio withdrew his gaze from Kaoru in line 1 and looked away until line 8. He seemed indifferent to the current talk with Kaoru.

In summary, I attempted to consider the listener's gaze in relation to backchannels. Three patterns of the listener's gaze, Long, Short, and No Gaze, were classified based on the existence or duration of gaze during and after the production of backchannels. In the next section, I will investigate gender and group differences in the distributions of these three gaze patterns.

Distribution of Three Types of Listener's Gaze

In this section, I will discuss the distribution of three listener's gaze patterns, Long, Short, and No Gaze. I will consider this in terms of two types of conversations as well as gender.

Distribution of Three Types of Gaze in terms of the Occurrence of Verbal Backchannel

Table 8.1 presents the average percentage for three types of listener's gaze in terms of verbal backchannels (see also Figure 8.1-8.3).[103]

[103] Please see Appendix E (chart 1) for the distribution of Verbal Backchannel with three gaze types for each individual.

Table 8.1

Mean Distribution of Three Gaze Types in relation to Verbal Backchannel

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
Types	MS		FS		MC		FC	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
LG	133/274	48.5	281/386	72.8	91/158	57.6	87/165	52.7
SG	62/274	22.6	58/386	15.0	33/158	20.9	46/165	27.9
NG	79/274	28.8	47/386	12.2	34/158	21.5	32/165	19.4

Note: LG = long gaze; SG = short gaze; NG = no gaze; MS = males in the single-sex dyad group; FS = females in the single-sex dyad group; MM = males in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = females in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

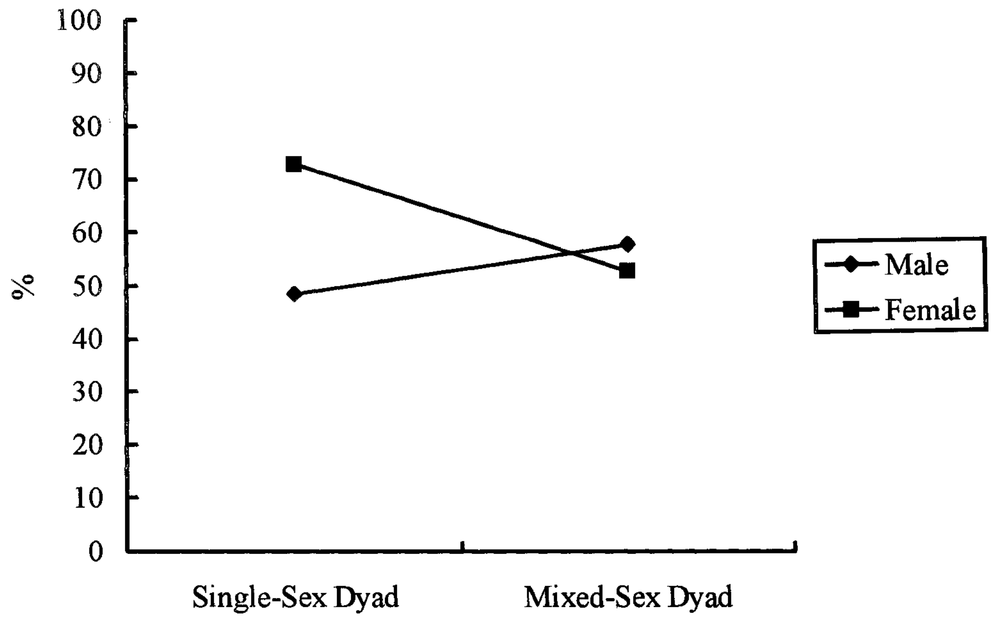

Figure 8.1. Mean Distribution of Long Gaze in relation to Verbal Backchannel.

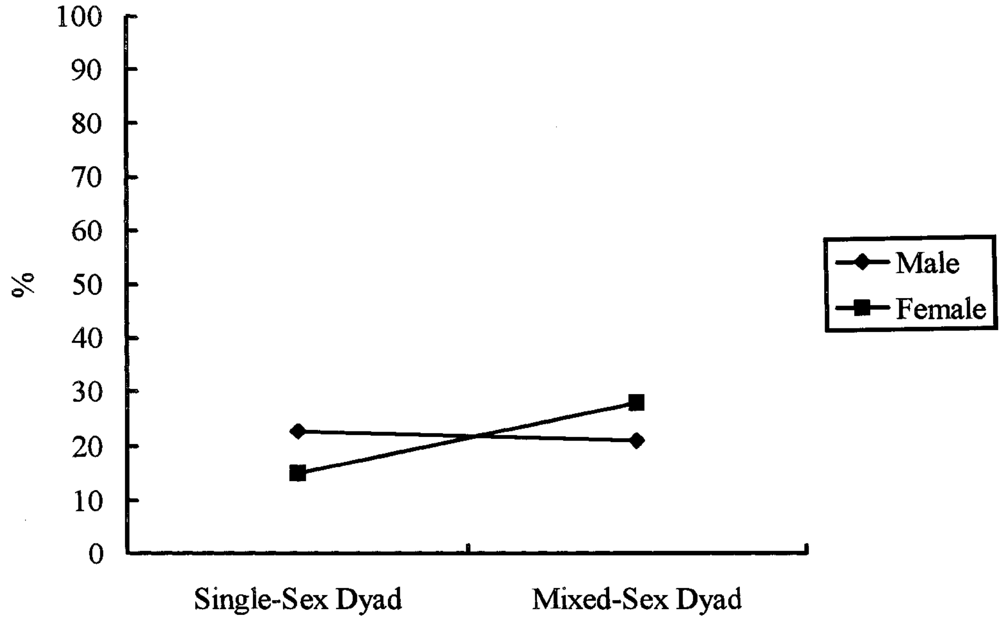

Figure 8.2. Mean Distribution of Short Gaze in relation toVerbal Backchannel.

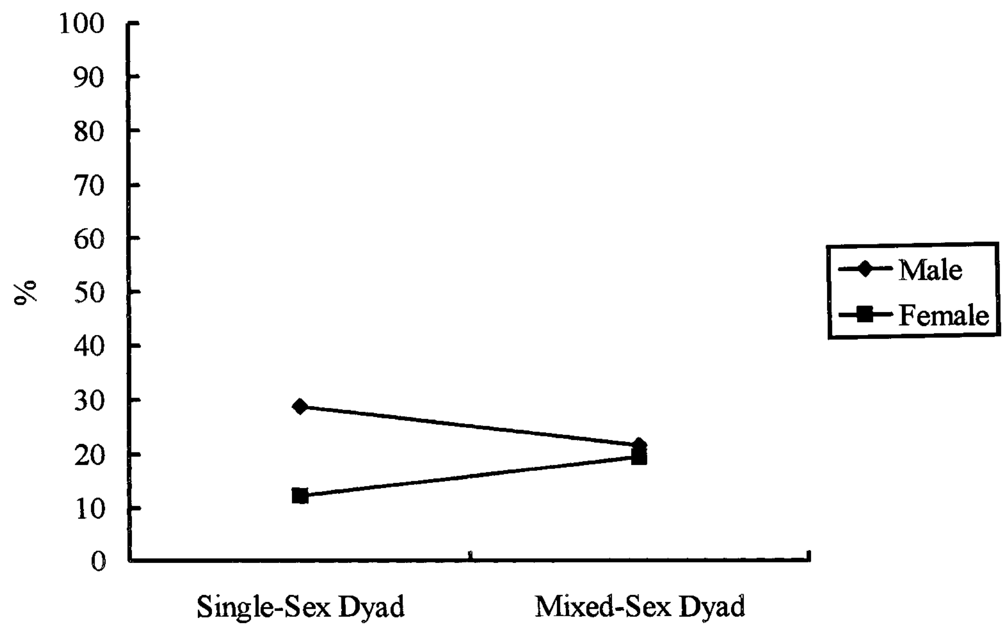

Figure 8.3. Mean Distribution of No Gaze in relation to Verbal Backchannel.

As shown in Table 8.1, while Long Gaze was the most frequent gaze pattern in relation to Verbal Backchannel for all participant groups, females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) showed the highest frequency of Long Gaze among the groups (72.8% for FS vs. 48.5% for MS, 57.6% for MM and 52.7% for FM).[104] This implies that the gaze of the female listener in the single-sex dyad group tended to be maintained longer when producing Verbal Backchannel, compared to other groups. As for Short Gaze, not much difference

[104] No significant differences were found in the effects of participant type on the distribution of each gaze type in verbal backchannels.

was found between two group types or in terms of gender except for the higher increase ratio for females compared to men who showed little change in the rate. For No Gaze pattern, males in the single-sex dyad group tended not to gaze at their partner than female counterparts, and the difference seemed to decrease in the mixed-sex conversation. Furthermore, the table shows that overall females tended to look at their partner more frequently than male counterparts, when producing Verbal Backchannel, which further implies that females seemed to show a stronger attentiveness than male counterparts expressed, by frequently looking at their conversational partner when producing Verbal Backchannel.

Table 8.1 also shows an overall accommodation pattern in terms of three gaze types. The percentage for Long Gaze decreased from 72.8% for females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) to 52.7% for those in the mixed-sex dyad group (FM). In contrast, as shown in the table, the percentage increased from 48.5% for males in the single-sex dyad group (MS) to 57.6% for those in the mixed-sex dyad group (MM), which seemed to result in the overall increase in the frequency of gaze at the speaker. Besides this, the percentage for Short Gaze increased from 15% for FS to 27.9% for FM, and the percentage for No Gaze for males decreased from 22.6% to 19.4% between two types of dyadic groups. These results suggest that females looked for shorter periods while males looked at the speaker longer, after delivering Verbal Backchannel to the opposite sex partner. Note that there seems to be a very small hyper-convergence in which the pattern of Long and Short Gaze is reversed between males and females in the mixed-sex dyads. Note also that gender differences in three gaze patters were less noticeable in the mixed-sex dyad, especially for Long and Short Gaze pattern.

Distribution of Three Patterns of Gaze in terms of the Occurrence of Independent Head-Movement

Table 8.2 displays the average percentage of three patterns of listener's gaze in terms of Independent Head-Movement (see also Figure 8.5-8.7).[105]

[105] Please see Appendix E (chart 2) for the distribution of Independent Head-Movement with three gaze types for each individual.

Table 8.2

Mean Distribution of Three Gaze Types in relation to Independent Head-Movement

	Single-sex dyad				Mixed-sex dyad			
Types	MS		FS		MM		FM	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
LG	44/74	59.5	135/185	73.0	22/37	59.5	30/46	65.2
SG	19/74	25.7	27/185	14.6	12/37	32.4	12/46	26.1
NG	11/74	14.9	23/185	12.4	3/37	8.1	4/46	8.7

Note: MS = males in the single-sex dyad group; FS = females in the single-sex dyad group; MM = males in the mixed-sex dyad group; FM = females in the mixed-sex dyad group; n = 10 for MS and FS; n = 5 for MM and FM.

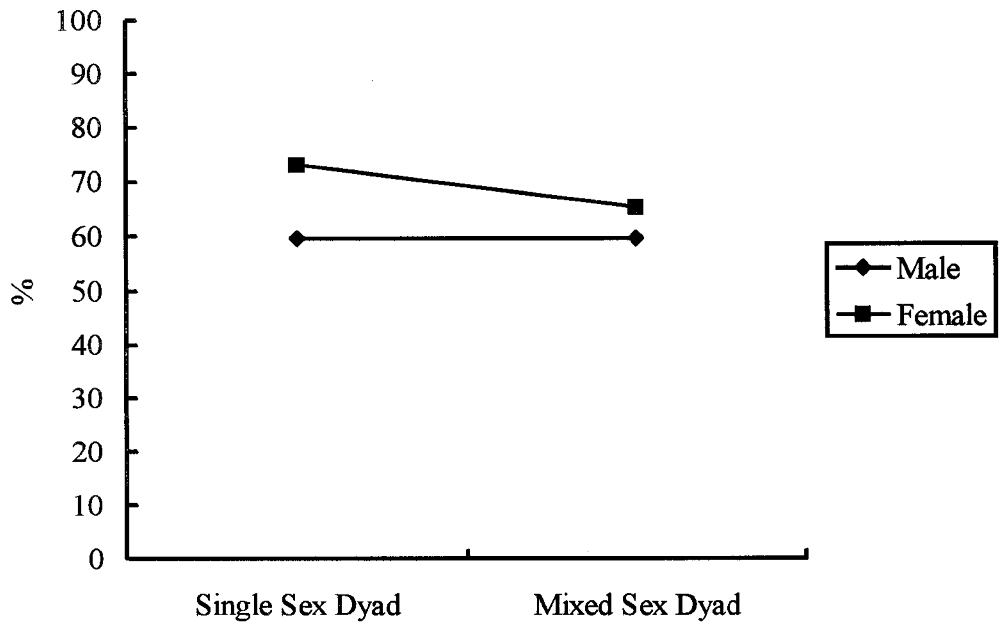

Figure 8.4. Mean Distribution of Long Gaze in relation to Independent Head-Movement.

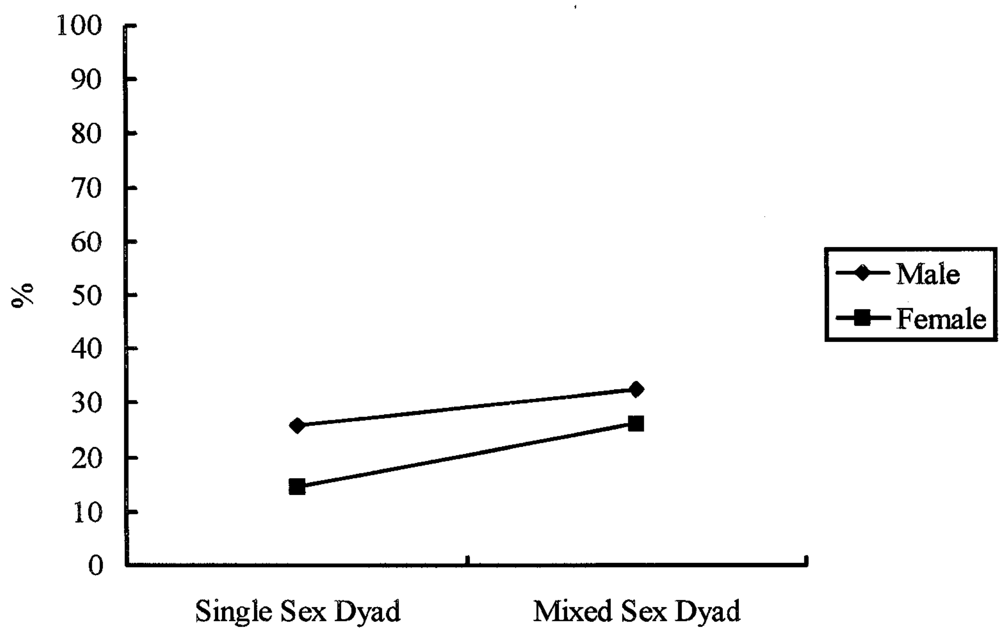

Figure 8.5. Mean Distribution of Short Gaze in relation to Independent Head-Movement..

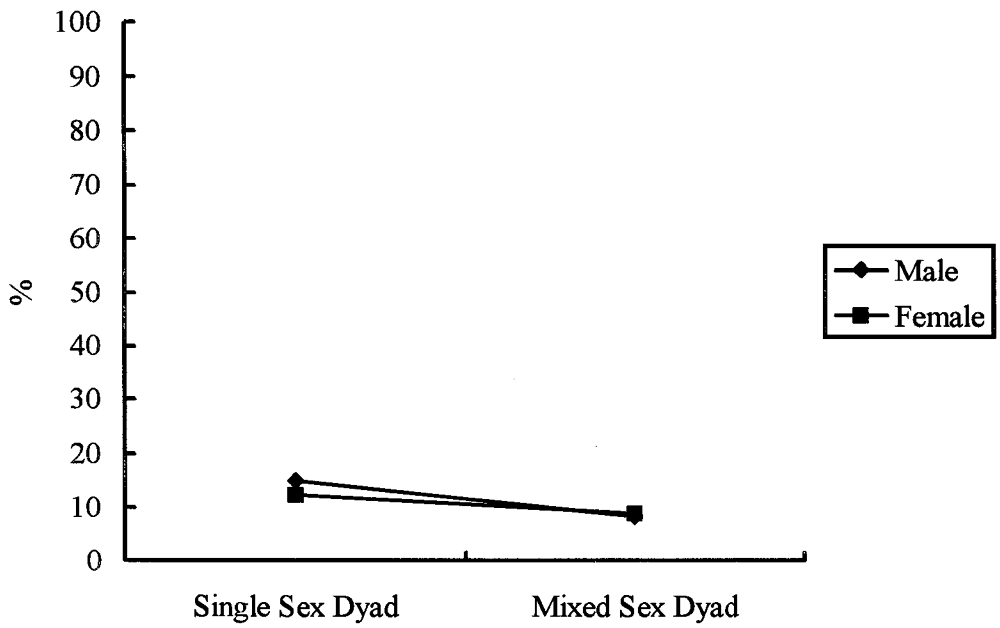

Figure 8.6. Mean Distribution of No Gaze in relation to Independent Head-Movement..

As shown in Table 8.2, Long Gaze was the most frequent gaze type in relation to Independent Head-Movement among four participant groups, as in verbal backchannels. However, it was females in the single-sex dyad group (FS) that used the Long Gaze pattern most frequently among the four types of groups; they showed a Long Gaze pattern 72.8% of the time when producing Independent Head-Movement. On the other hand, males showed no change in a Long Gaze pattern between the two types of groups

(59.5%).[106]

As Table 8.2 shows, in relation to Independent Head-Movement, females showed a convergence pattern with regard to Long and Short Gaze, whereas males showed either no change or a divergence pattern with Long and Short Gaze, respectively. For example, the ratio of Long Gaze pattern for females, as shown in the table and figure in the above, became closer to the ratio of males; females in the mixed-sex dyad group exhibited less Long Gaze pattern, compare to those in the single-sex dyad group (see Table 8.2 and Figure 8.4). On the contrary, the ratio of Long Gaze pattern for males did not change between the two types of group. As for Short Gaze pattern, females exhibited a small convergence pattern when they were in the mixed-sex dyad, but males showed a slight divergence pattern. The results of Long Gaze and Short Gaze imply that females in the mixed-sex dyad group were more likely to look at their partner less longer when inserting Independent Head-Movement, compared to those in the single-sex dyad group (see Table 8.2 and Figure 8.5). Note that since the increase in ratio for female's convergence was larger than the male's divergence ratio, in the mixed-sex dyad group, it seems that the ratio of Short Gaze pattern became similar between the two gender groups. Lastly, as for the No Gaze pattern, females showed a slight divergence pattern and males showed a slight convergence pattern (see Table 8.3 and Figure 8.7).

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[106] No significant differences were found in the effects of participant type on the distribution of each distribution of each gaze type in Nonverbal Listener Response.

Similarities and Differences in the Listener's Gaze Pattern in relation to Verbal Backcahnnel and Independent Head-Movement.

The results of the previous sections reveal intriguing listener's gaze pattern shifts in terms of Verbal Backchannel and Independent Head-Movement between the single- and mixed-sex dyad group. First of all, the degree of accommodation seems to be larger for females than for males. Notice that in the figures as well as the table in the above, the degree of increase or decrease seems to more steep for women when compared to men. Second, both genders exhibited a convergence pattern for Long, Short, and No Gaze in terms of Verbal Backchannel in the mixed-sex dyad group; males and females seem to adopt a gaze pattern of the opposite sex when interacting with each other. On the other hand, in terms of Independent Head-Movement, only females seem to adopt a gaze pattern of the opposite sex; they exhibited a convergence pattern for Long and Short Gaze, whereas males did not show a convergence pattern. They ended up with no change or divergence in the ration of two gaze patterns. With regard to the No Gaze pattern, both sides showed a convergence pattern. These results indicate that the listener's gaze accommodation patterns might be related to whether a backchannel is a verbal or nonverbal one.

Conclusion

In summary, in this section, I have discussed three gaze patterns in terms of the occurrence of backchannels. It was found that females in the single-sex dyad group exhibited a striking pattern, compared with others; they used a Long Gaze pattern far more frequently when producing Verbal Backchannel and Indepednet Head-Movement. In addition, it was suggested that a listener's gaze accommodation pattern might vary depending on backchannel types, i.e., verbal or nonverbal backchannels. In terms of Verbal Backchannel, both genders displayed an overall convergence pattern, whereas as for Independent Head-Movement, only females showed a convergence pattern in the mixed-sex dyad group.

9. CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, the research question will be reviewed. Finally, I will summarize the results and discuss their implications.

Statement of the Problem

In previous studies in the English language and the Japanese language, it has been found that women used backchannels more frequently than men. The findings of more recent English studies, however, indicated that differences in the frequency of backchannels between men and women vary depending on the context. For example, some of the recent studies reported that frequency difference is found more in a single-sex conversation than in a mixed-sex conversation (e.g., Bilous and Krauss, 1988; Reid, 1995). This is because in a mixed-sex conversation women and men accommodated their backchannel usages to those of the opposite sex; women used backchannels less frequently, whereas men used them more frequently, compared to when in a single-sex conversation. This study followed these previous studies which investigated accommodation in the use of backchannels and the duration of the listener's gaze. I examined how the frequency of backchannels, as well as the duration of the listener's gaze of men and women, changes between a single-sex conversation and a mixed-sex conversation in the Japanese language, to explore accommodation phenomena between them.

Summary of the Results

In the results of the present study indicated that although accommodation tendencies were found in most cases, accommodation patterns were very complex. In some cases both men and women tend to converge their backchannel usages as well as the duration of the listener's gaze to those of the opposite sex when they were in the mixed-sex conversation. For example, the frequency of the occurrence of verbal backchannels for both men and women showed convergence in a mixed-sex conversation. The three gaze types, Long, Short, and No Gaze, in terms of the occurrence of verbal backchannels, also revealed convergence from both sexes.

There were also cases in which the one of sexes showed convergence and the other showed divergence in a mixed-gender dyadic conversation. In the use of two types of nonverbal backchannels, Independent Head-Movement and Accompanied Head-Movement, men showed a divergence, but women showed a convergence. Men also showed a divergence and women showed a convergence with regard to the placement of BACKCHANNEL (a category combined Verbal Backchannel and Independent Head-Movement) at intonational points indicating Grammatical completion and Non-final intonation contour (G & NF). On the other hand, women showed a divergence and men showed a convergence at intonational points indicating Non-grammatical completion and Non-final intonation contour (NG & NF).

The results of the present study also found that women tended to show a greater degree of accommodation in the mixed gender dyadic conversation. Of 55 results in this study, 35 results showed a women's greater degree of accommodation (63.6%). For example, women showed a greater degree of accommodation in terms of the use of two Reactive Expression types in the mixed-sex conversation. Women's degree of accommodation was greater in terms of all the results in nonverbal backchannels.

In the present study, a different accommodation pattern emerged between verbal and nonverbal backchannels. As for verbal backchannels, it was indicated that there were more convergence patterns either from both genders or at least from one of the sexes. With regard to nonverbal backchannels, however, women constantly showed a convergence pattern, whereas men showed a divergence pattern all the time in mixed-sex conversation.

Interestingly, in this study, females in the same-sex dyad group showed distinctive characteristics, compared to other participant groups. For example, it was found that females in the single-sex dyad group showed a stronger preference for one Continuer type, Type Un (e.g., *un* 'uh-huh') than any other groups. Regarding the frequency of nonverbal backchannels, females in the single-sex dyad group produced Independent Head-Movements and Accompanied Head-Movements more frequently than any other participant groups; especially they produced Independent Head-Movements significantly more than males in the single-sex dyad group. In addition, females in the single-sex dyad group, overall, showed a relatively frequent use of Head-Movements. Furthermore, females in the single-sex dyad group also showed distinctive characteristics in the use of Long Gaze when producing verbal and nonverbal backchannels. They showed a strong preference for the Long Gaze pattern when producing verbal and nonverbal backchannels among four participant groups, which indicates that females in the single-sex dyad group tended to look at the female speaker longer, lasting for more than two intonational units when producing verbal and nonverbal backchannels.

Lastly, statistically significant differences were found in some results in the study. Females in the single-sex dyad group produced more speaker new initations than males in the single-sex dyad group ($p < .05$). There were significant increseses in the distribution of Type Soo for females in the mixed-sex dyad group, compared to females in the single-sex dyad group ($p < .05$). Males in the single-sex dyad group produced Repeititions more frequently than females in the single-sex dyad group ($p < .05$). Femlaes in the mixed-sex dyad group produced Resumptive Openers more frequently than those in the single-sex dyad group ($p < .05$). Females in the single-sex dyad group produced Independent Head-Movement more frequently than males in the single-sex dyad group ($p < .05$). Significant differences were also found in the occurrence of Independent Head-Movement at grammatical completion and intonational moddile points (G&M) between males and females in the single-sex dyad group; females were more likely to insert Independent Head-Movement at G&M, compared to males ($p < .05$). Lastly, males in the single-sex dyad group were more likely to insert BACKCHANNEL at grammatical and intonational completion points (G&F), compared to females ($p < .05$).

Discussion of the Results

Recent studies in gender and language frequently point out that we should look at local context in order to understand the relationship between gender and language. Many findings in these studies found that differences in the language use manifested in our daily lives cannot be ascribed to gender on its own. Instead, various factors such as context, power, and so on, intertwined with one another. The results of the present study also suggested that gender differences in the use of backchannels could be context-sensitive; the present study showed that gender differences in the use of backchannels were more likely to be exhibited in the single-sex dyadic conversation. In the mixed-sex dyadic conversation, most of the results indicated that gender differences were either far less prominent or not present. Therefore, it could be said that the results of the present study are in line with the recent point of view in the analysis of gender and language.

In the present study, accommodation behaviors were observed among the participants of the mixed-gender dyadic conversation in terms of the distribution, frequency, and placement of some backchannels, as well as the pattern of Listener's Gaze. For example, in terms of the frequencies of verbal backchannels, both men and women converge with each other. With regard to the frequencies of Independent Head-Movement, women converged to men, but men diverged from women in the mixed gender conversation.

It has been also reported that males tend to converge their use of backchannels such as 'yeah' (equivalent to Continuers in the verbal backchannel category in the present study) to females; they increased their frequency backchannels, while females tended to diverge their use of backchannels; they also increased their use of backchannels (Bilous and Krauss, 1988; Hannah and Murachver, 1999). Unlike those studies, in the present study, both men and women showed a convergence pattern; men increased their frequency of backchannels (convergence), whereas women decreased their frequency of backchannels (convergence). This suggests that the direction of accommodation might be influenced by the context difference in that the data was not gathered in a similar way. This result further implies that there might be also a cultural difference in terms of the way to accommodate.

According to the findings of previous studies, in the mixed gender conversation, women showed a greater degree of accommodation in some linguistic variables (e.g., Bilous & Krauss, 1988; Fitzpatrick et al., 1995; Hannah & Murachver, 1999; Jones et al., 1999; Mulac et al, 1988). The present study confirms this pattern in most of the results. Besides, previous studies reported that gender difference in the use of backchannels was more pronounced in the single-sex dyadic conversation than in the mixed-gender dyadic conversation (e.g., Carli, 1990; Nordenstam, 1992). Results in the present study mostly supported these previous studies, but the result of the frequency of Resumptive Openers clearly worked in an opposite way: in spite of convergence toward males, it was found that gender difference was larger in the mixed gender conversation than in the single-sex conversation as a result of hyper-convergence. In Resumptive Openers, women's convergence far overrode men's convergence, which resulted in a larger difference between men and women in the mixed-sex conversation. Note that a full turn by the listener follows Resumptive Opener. Reasons for a large gender difference in the mixed-sex conversation were difficult to pinpoint. One possible explanation is that the topic – *Kyuushoku no Omoide* 'Memories of School Lunch' – was more advantageous for women than for men to talk about; for example, women might be an expert on the topic more than men. Thus, they were more eager to talk about it, and this kind of situational factor might cause the frequent occurrence of Resumptive Openers. In any case, it will be necessary to examine what kind of full turn (e.g., supportive, unsupportive comments, or new topic) follows each occurrence of Resumptive Openers.

The results with regard to the frequency of and the placement of backchannels seem to partially support the point of view in previous studies that males tend to produce backchannels late. As shown in Chapters 5, in the context of single-sex dyadic conversation, males placed verbal backchannels at grammatical and intonational completion points more frequently than any other groups, which indicates that men are likely to insert verbal backchannels at the end of a sentence. Females, on the other hand, placed them at grammatical completion and intonational incompletion points more frequently than any other groups, which means that women tended to produce verbal backchannels at the end of clause. This placement difference between men and women seems to affect the frequency of verbal backchannels in the same-sex dyadic conversation. Furthermore, these results imply a possibility that men might speak or construct utterances differently than women; men might produce longer utterances and women might produce a shorter utterance at a given time. This leads to my speculation that the construction of men's and women's intonation units might be different, or at least the frequency of certain intonation units would be different between men and women. If it is so, it would be very intriguing to investigate how they adjust the placement of listener responses with each other during conversations.

In Chapter 6, comparison of the results of Verbal Backchannel and Independent Head-Movement revealed some interesting differences between them. First, gender difference was displayed more conspicuously for Independent Head-Movements than for verbal backchannels; women used Independent Head-Movement significantly more than men did in single-sex conversation. As for Verbal Backchannel, a similar tendency was found, but the results were not so convincing as in Independent Head-Movement. This implies that gender difference might be manifested more strongly in nonverbal than in verbal backchannels. In addition, the ways that accommodation occurred were different from each other as well. For the frequency of Independent Head-Movements, women decreased the use of Independent Head-Movements when talking with men, while men also slightly decrease the use when talking with women, which suggests women's convergence and men's possible divergence. Note that compared to women's convergence, the degree of men's divergence was very small. As for the frequency of verbal backchannels, women decreased and men increased the use of Verbal Backchannel, which suggests that both men and women converge with each other. These results imply that the use of backchannels may vary depending on the sex of the interlocutor (e.g., Brouwer, Gerritsen, & Haan, 1979; Terao & Zimmerman, 2000), and women might be more influenced by the sex of the interlocutor regarding the use of Independent Head-Movement. According to Speech Accommodation Theory, speech convergence – reducing linguistic differences - is one of the strategies that an individual employs in order to be socially integrated with another (Giles et al., 1991). Thus, with regard to the use of Independent Head-Movements, women showed a strong desire to integrate with the opposite sex partners.

Integration and Implication of the Findings

The present study presents detailed analyses regarding gender and group difference in the use of backchannels in Japanese. As previous studies point out, gender difference in language use is context-dependent. The findings of the present study confirm this idea. It was found that gender differences in the use of backchannels tend to be more pronounced in single-sex conversation.

The findings of the present study imply that the use of a video-recorder is an indispensable tool in the analysis of conversation. The present study showed that even in one aspect of linguistic variables, backchannels in the present study, the way to manifest gender differences and accommodations in conversation were complicated. Furthermore, it was suggested that frequency changes in Verbal and Nonverbal Backchannels might be closely related to a change in the amount and types of the Listener's Gaze. These results imply that conversation involves a dynamic process with many aspects (verbal and nonverbal) influencing one another. In this sense, conversation is multi-dimensional, and the use of visual data that was captured in the video-recorder would be very useful to further promote the understanding of conversation.

Implications for Second Language Acquisition and Teaching

Whether or not gender difference in the use of backchannels in the native language will be manifested in second language use is an intriguing question. If frequent use of backchannels are one of the characteristics of women's communication style, will this trend be found in the use of backchannels of second language learners? If so, at what proficiency level will gender differences in the use of backchannels by second language learners be manifested? Will such gender differences not be found in the language use of second language learners? These questions are certainly to be pursued in future studies for further understanding of second language acquisition and gender differences in language use.

Researchers of second language acquisition in Japanese suggested the necessity of incorporating the use of backchannels in the Japanese language curriculum (e.g., Horiguchi, 1991; Watanabe, 1994). Learners of Japanese would face great difficulty in successfully communicating with Japanese people if they cannot use backchannels in Japanese (Mizutani, 1988). I fully support this idea of teaching the use of backchannels in the Japanese classroom. Although researchers recommend in teaching the use of backchannels in the Japanese language, how about English teaching? Anecdotes such as English speakers are sometimes frustrated with the frequent use of backchannels by Japanese speakers of Englsih and that Japanese speakers sometimes feel insecure with the less frequent use of backchannels by American English speakers in English conversations were often cited in the literature. In order to avoid such discomfort, it would be an idea to at least make Japanese learners of American English aware that American English speakers are listening to them even if they use backchannels less frequently.

How about teaching gender differences in the use of backchannels in a language classroom? Is it necessary to teach this? Or should we leave it untaught because it would naturally develop? I think that knowing how women and men use backchannels in the target language would surely make language learners more fluent and efficient speakers. However, I am not sure whether or not instructors should teach and exercise the gender related use of backchannels. I personally think that it would be enough to tell the students the fact that women use backchannels more frequently than men.

Suggestions for Future Studies

The present study was mainly based on quantitative analysis of the use of backchannels in Japanese. Although statistical analysis was employed in the present study, the number of participants was small. In addition, the number of participants in each group was unequal; there were ten male and ten female participants in the single-sex conversations, and there were five participants of each sex in the mixed-sex conversations. In order to enhance the validity of statistical results, a larger and equal number of participants would be desirable. In addition, more strict guidelines for finding qualified participants would need to be created in order to keep uniformity in the participant's background. In the present study, I looked for dyads who were known to each other. However, during interviews after the recording sessions, I found that the level of friendship and the period of acquaintanceship varied among the dyads. Most dyads were friends, but some dyads told me that their relationship was characterized as rather a junior-senior relationship. It was difficult for me to control these variables because of time limitation as well as personal network limitation. These issues should be considered before further research for a better research design. In addition, as researchers in Social Psychology have done, research including gender-related variables such as interruption with a larger population would be an interesting future study in Japanese gender related studies.

Research of qualitative aspects of backchannels based on discourse and conversation analysis needs to be examined as well. For example, it would be intriguing to investigate how each backchannel functions during conversations. What kind of verbal or nonverbal behavior does the speaker take by receiving each backchannel? Is there any difference in reactions of the speaker between backchannels accompanied by gaze and those not accompanied by gaze? Finding gender differences in the way to use backchannels would surely contribute to gender study. For example, in the present study, it was found that men used Repetitions more frequently than women in the single-sex conversation, and women in the mixed-sex conversation used Resumptive Openers more frequently than men. Examining how Repetitions and Resumptive Openers affect the subsequent turn construction and comparing the functions of Repetitions and Resumptive Openers in terms of gender would be interesting. Moreover, in the data, the participants used various forms of Backchannels during conversation, and it would be interesting to examine discourse to find reasons for the occurrence of variations.

I found that the speaker also produced responses similar to backchannels during conversations. For example, the speaker's response often occurred immediately after the listener's response in the data. Future studies should also includ the investigation of the functions of the speaker's short responses. In addition, the present study showed that men tend to insert backchannels more frequently at grammatical and intonational completion points than women in the single-sex conversation. Further, investigations of gender difference in intonation units will be interesting (cf., Matsumoto, 1996). Do men's intonation units differ from women's intonation units? Do grammatical completion points appear in men's utterances more frequently than in women's utterances?

With regard to data collection procedures, more caution would be needed in choosing a room for audio- and video-recordings. Due to the limitation of time, I had some difficulty in finding a place during video-recording sessions at universities in Japan. They let me use an experimental room or a seminar room if it was available, which I think was the best option. It is because these rooms were very quiet, and I could get a nice audio recording of conversation. Moreover, the participants in such a room were able to concentrate on talking. However, in other times, I had to use other places such as cafeterias in the universities (the vacant classrooms were usually locked), and these places were noisy and the participants were easily distracted because of the presence of other people. In those places, the audio-recordings were poor. At one of the universities, I visited a cafeteria and checked the tables at corners where I could get a good recording and would not bother other people in advance. Even though I did so, these tables were sometimes taken by other students who came to eat, and I had to go to another cafeteria whose airconditioner was noisy. Besides, participants' talk might be affected depending on what kind of room they were in. It would be better to think about a few back-up recording plans just in case.

In the present study, I used one camcorder to capture the gaze of the participants. However, I found that the camera got easily out of focus depending on the movement of participants and subtle changes in the light of a room. In fact, when one of the participants leaned his body far back, the camcorder could not capture his face for a short time. If financially permitted, the use of two camcorders for capturing each participants and one camcorder for capturing the whole would be helpful to capture nonverbal behaviors such as gaze. In addition, the use of a split screen in the monitor by which we can see both faces of the dyads at the same time would surely help the detailed analysis of gaze movements.

To conclude, I have discussed gender and group differences in the use of backchannels in Japanese. I hope that the findings of the present study will give researchers some ideas for further advancements of gender-related study and the study of backchannels in Japanese and other languages.

Appendix A.

Chart 1 Amount of Speech for Participants

		Mora		Mora
Dyad Group	Participant	n	Participant	n
MSGD1	M1	904	M2	711
MSGD2	M3	1049	M4	850
MSGD3	M5	1103	M6	1167
MSGD4	M7	1240	M8	902
MSGD5	M9	852	M10	1400
FSGD1	F1	828	F2	1162
FSGD2	F3	1042	F 4	1271
FSGD3	F5	1149	F 6	639
FSGD4	F7	689	F 8	1097
FSGD5	F9	1525	F 10	690
CGD1	M11	979	F11	1021
CGD2	M12	1016	F12	583
CGD3	M13	1033	F13	1320
CGD4	M14	1028	F14	1036
CGD5	M15	917	F15	1291

Appendix A.

Chart 2 Number of Speaker New Initiations for Participants

		SNI		SNI
Dyad Group	Participant	n	Participant	n
MSGD1	M1	61	M2	62
MSGD2	M3	106	M4	105
MSGD3	M5	106	M6	108
MSGD4	M7	96	M8	96
MSGD5	M9	107	M10	104
FSGD1	F1	103	F2	101
FSGD2	F3	129	F 4	131
FSGD3	F5	106	F 6	111
FSGD4	F7	107	F 8	108
FSGD5	F9	129	F 10	157
CGD1	M11	109	F11	100
CGD2	M12	81	F12	80
CGD3	M13	103	F13	109
CGD4	M14	104	F14	105
CGD5	M15	124	F15	120

Appendix B.

Chart 1 Distribution of Continuer Type for Individuals.

			Continuer Type						
		Total	Ha	E	A	Un	He	Soo	Others
Group	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSSD1	M1	1	100 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	M2	7	0 (0)	14.3 (1)	0 (0)	71.4 (5)	14.3 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD2	M3	18	16.7 (3)	0 (0)	11 (2)	55.6 (10)	0 (0)	16.7 (3)	0 (0)
	M4	20	0 (0)	0 (0)	15 (3)	55 (11)	25 (5)	5 (1)	0 (0)
MSSD3	M5	23	8.7 (2)	0 (0)	8.7 (2)	73.9 (17)	0 (0)	8.7 (2)	0 (0)
	M6	7	0 (0)	0 (0)	14.3 (1)	71.4 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	14.3 (1)
MSSD4	M7	8	25 (2)	0 (0)	25 (2)	25 (2)	12.5 (1)	0 (0)	12.5 (2)
	M8	39	48.7 (19)	0 (0)	17.9 (7)	33.4 (13)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD5	M9	29	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	96.6 (28)	0 (0)	3.4 (1)	0 (0)
	M10	12	0 (0)	0 (0)	16.7 (2)	58.3 (7)	0 (0)	25 (3)	0 (0)

Appendix B.

Chart 2

Distribution of Continuer Type for Individuals.

			Continuer Type						
		Total	Ha	E	A	Un	He	Soo	Others
Group	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
FSSD1	F1	31	0 (0)	0 (0)	12.9 (4)	80.6 (25)	6.5 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	F2	15	0 (0)	0 (0)	13.3 (2)	66.7 (10)	20 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
FSSD2	F3	48	0 (0)	0 (0)	2.1 (1)	89.6 (43)	8.3 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	F4	29	0 (0)	0 (0)	6.9 (2)	75.9 (22)	6.9 (2)	10.3 (3)	0 (0)
FSSD3	F5	3	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	66.7 (2)	0 (0)	33.3 (1)	0 (0)
	F6	38	2.6 (1)	0 (0)	13.3 (5)	78.9 (30)	2.6 (1)	2.6 (1)	0 (0)
FSSD4	F7	32	0 (0)	0 (0)	6.2 (2)	81.3 (26)	12.5 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	F8	20	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)	90 (18)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
FSSD5	F9	10	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	60 (6)	30 (3)	10 (1)	0 (0)
	F10	73	0 (0)	0 (0)	5.5 (4)	84.9 (62)	6.8 (5)	2.8 (2)	0 (0)

Appendix B.

Chart 3 Distribution of Continuer Type for Individuals

			Continuer Type						
		Total	Ha	E	A	Un	He	Soo	Others
Group	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSD1	M11	31	6.5 (2)	0 (0)	19.4 (6)	67.7 (21)	3.2 (1)	3.2 (1)	0 (0)
	F11	24	25 (6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	62.5 (15)	12.5 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD2	M12	7	0 (0)	0 (0)	14.2 (1)	0 (0)	42.9 (3)	42.9 (3)	0 (0)
	F12	28	0 (0)	0 (0)	3.5 (1)	67.9 (19)	28.6 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD3	M13	26	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	53.8 (14)	23.1 (6)	19.2 (5)	3.9 (1)
	F13	27	11.1 (3)	0 (0)	7.4 (2)	51.9 (14)	29.6 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD4	M14	25	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (2)	88 (22)	0 (0)	4 (1)	0 (0)
	F14	9	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	55.6 (5)	0 (0)	33.3 (3)	11.1 (1)
MSD5	M15	22	4.6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	50 (11)	13.6 (3)	31.8 (7)	0 (0)
	F15	12	8.3 (1)	0 (0)	8.3 (1)	50 (6)	0 (0)	33.4 (4)	0 (0)

Appendix B.
Chart 4 Distribution of Reactive Expressions for individuals

		Reactive Expressions		
		Total	Soo	EV
Group	Participant	n	%(n)	%(n)
MSSD1	M1	3	33.3(1)	66.7(2)
	M2	4	75(3)	25(1)
MSSD2	M3	6	83.3(5)	16.7(1)
	M4	12	83.3(10)	16.7(2)
MSSD3	M5	5	80(4)	20(1)
	M6	1	0(0)	100(1)
MSSD4	M7	6	50(3)	50(3)
	M8	2	50(1)	50(1)
MSSD5	M9	9	11.1(1)	88.9(8)
	M10	1	0(0)	100(1)
FSSD1	F1	12	41.7(5)	58.3(7)
	F2	9	0(0)	100(9)
FSSD2	F3	4	0(0)	100(4)
	F4	3	33.3(1)	66.7(2)
FSSD3	F5	0	0(0)	0(0)
	F6	12	75(9)	25(3)
FSSD4	F7	0	0(0)	0(0)
	F8	0	0(0)	0(0)
FSSD5	F9	9	88.9(8)	11.1(1)
	F10	3	0(0)	100(3)
MSD1	M11	2	50(1)	50(1)
	F11	8	100(8)	0(0)
MSD2	M12	3	100(3)	0(0)
	F12	2	50(2)	0(0)
MSD3	M13	1	100(1)	0(0)
	F13	6	66.7(4)	33.3(2)
MSD4	M14	6	33.3(2)	66.7(4)
	F14	4	50(2)	50(2)
MSD5	M15	13	61.5(8)	38.5(5)
	F15	5	60(3)	40(2)

Appendix B.

Chart 5 Frequency of Five Types of Verbal Backchannels for Individuals

		VB Type				
		Continuers	Reactive Expressions	Repetitions	Collaborative Finishes	Resumptive Openers
Group	Participant	%	%	%	%	%
MSSD1	M1	1.6	4.9	8.2	0	0
	M2	11.3	6.5	1.6	0	1.6
MSSD2	M3	17	5.7	0.9	0	2.8
	M4	19	11.4	1	1	1
MSSD3	M5	21.7	4.7	2.8	0	3.8
	M6	6.5	0.9	4.6	0	4.6
MSSD4	M7	8.3	6.3	5.2	0	2.1
	M8	40.6	2.1	4.2	3.1	4.2
MSSD5	M9	27.1	8.4	4.7	0.9	2.8
	M10	11.5	1	1.9	0	1
FSSD1	F1	30.1	11.7	2.9	0	3.9
	F2	14.9	8.9	1	1	1
FSSD2	F3	37.2	3.1	0	0	1.6
	F4	22.1	2.3	0.8	0	1.5
FSSD3	F5	2.8	0	0	0	2.8
	F6	34.2	10.8	1.8	0	0.9
FSSD4	F7	29.9	0	0	1.9	0.9
	F8	18.5	0	0.9	0	0.9
FSSD5	F9	7.8	7	1.6	0	3.1
	F10	46.5	1.9	0	0	1.9
MSD1	M11	28.4	1.8	0.9	0	0.9
	F11	24	8	0	0	2
MSD2	M12	8.6	3.7	0	0	1.2
	F12	35	2.5	1.3	1.3	1.3
MSD3	M13	25.2	1	0	0	1.9
	F13	24.8	5.5	0.9	0	8.3
MSD4	M14	24	5.8	3.8	0	3.8
	F14	8.6	3.8	5.7	1	7.6
MSD5	M15	17.7	10.5	0	0.8	6.5
	F15	10	4.2	1.7	0	6.7

Appendix B.

Chart 6 Mean Percentage of Verbal Backchannels at Six Placement Categories for the Four Participant Types.

		Verbal Backchannels						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Group	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSSD1	M1	9	66.7 (6)	11.1 (1)	0 (0)	22.2 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	M2	13	46.2 (6)	0 (0)	30.8 (4)	23.1 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD2	M3	28	57.1 (16)	0 (0)	17.9 (5)	17.9 (5)	3.6 (1)	3.6 (1)
	M4	35	51.4 (18)	0 (0)	14.3 (5)	20 (7)	8.6 (3)	5.7 (2)
MSSD3	M5	35	54.3 (19)	0 (0)	28.6 (10)	5.7 (2)	0 (0)	11.4 (4)
	M6	18	50 (9)	0 (0)	16.7 (3)	16.7 (3)	11.1 (2)	5.6 (1)
MSSD4	M7	21	71.4 (15)	9.5 (2)	9.5 (2)	4.8 (1)	4.8 (1)	0 (0)
	M8	52	17.3 (9)	1.9 (1)	40.4 (21)	21.2 (11)	7.7 (4)	11.5 (6)
MSSD5	M9	47	23.4 (11)	0 (0)	48.9 (23)	17 (8)	4.3 (2)	6.4 (3)
	M10	16	50 (8)	0 (0)	37.5 (6)	12.5 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Appendix B.

Chart 7 Mean Percentage of Verbal Backchannels at Six Placement Categories for the Four Participant Types.

		Verbal Backchannels						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Group	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
FSSD1	F1	50	28 (14)	0 (0)	40 (20)	16 (8)	8 (4)	8 (4)
	F2	27	18.5 (5)	3.7 (1)	48.1 (13)	29.6 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)
FSSD2	F3	54	11.1 (6)	0 (0)	51.9 (28)	22.2 (12)	11.1 (6)	3.7 (2)
	F4	35	17.1 (6)	0 (0)	42.9 (15)	28.6 (10)	5.7 (2)	5.7 (2)
FSSD3	F5	6	66.7 (4)	0 (0)	16.7 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	16.7 (1)
	F6	53	41.5 (22)	0 (0)	15.1 (8)	13.2 (7)	9.4 (5)	20.8 (11)
FSSD4	F7	35	34.3 (12)	0 (0)	37.1 (13)	5.7 (2)	11.4 (4)	11.4 (4)
	F8	22	13.6 (3)	0 (0)	54.5 (12)	9.1 (2)	9.1 (2)	13.6 (3)
FSSD5	F9	25	68 (17)	0 (0)	16 (4)	8 (2)	0 (0)	8 (2)
	F10	79	10.1 (8)	0 (0)	21.5 (17)	21.5 (17)	12.7 (10)	34.2 (27)

Appendix B.

Chart 8 Mean Percentage of Verbal Backchannels at Six Placement Categories for the Four Participant Types.

		Verbal Backchannels						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Group	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSD1	M11	35	22.9 (8)	0 (0)	22.9 (8)	20 (7)	14.3 (5)	20 (7)
	F11	43	41.9 (18)	0 (0)	23.3 (10)	23.3 (10)	4.7 (2)	7 (3)
MSD2	M12	34	35.3 (12)	5.9 (2)	29.4 (10)	29.4 (10)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	F12	39	41 (16)	0 (0)	23.1 (9)	33.3 (13)	0 (0)	2.6 (1)
MSD3	M13	11	54.5 (6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	18.2 (2)	18.2 (2)	9.1 (1)
	F13	28	57.1 (16)	7.1 (2)	17.9 (5)	7.1 (2)	3.6 (1)	7.1 (2)
MSD4	M14	33	21.2 (7)	9.1 (3)	24.2 (8)	24.2 (8)	9.1 (3)	12.1 (4)
	F14	44	40.9 (18)	9.1 (4)	9.1 (4)	22.7 (10)	9.1 (4)	9.1 (4)
MSD5	M15	29	34.5 (10)	0 (0)	31 (9)	20.7 (6)	3.4 (1)	10.3 (3)
	F15	27	44.4 (12)	0 (0)	29.6 (8)	14.8 (4)	3.7 (1)	7.4 (2)

Appendix C.

Chart 1 Distribution of Independent Head-Movements and Accompanied Head-Movements for Individuals

		Total	Independent Head-Movements	Accompanied Head-Movements
Dyad	Participant	(n)	%(n)	%(n)
MSSD1	M1	6	16.7(1)	83.3(5)
	M2	10	10(1)	90(9)
MSSD2	M3	33	33.3(11)	66.7(22)
	M4	40	25(10)	75(30)
MSSD3	M5	27	29.6(8)	70.4(19)
	M6	26	46.2(12)	53.8(14)
MSSD4	M7	16	43.8(7)	56.3(9)
	M8	41	4.9(2)	95.1(39)
MSSD5	M9	55	34.5(19)	65.5(36)
	M10	13	23.1(3)	76.9(10)
FSSD1	F1	59	37.3(22)	62.7(37)
	F2	11	0(0)	100(11)
FSSD2	F3	63	20.6(13)	79.4(50)
	F4	38	23.7(9)	76.3(29)
FSSD3	F5	18	72.2(13)	27.8(5)
	F6	75	41.3(31)	58.7(44)
FSSD4	F7	65	47.7(31)	52.3(34)
	F8	38	47.4(18)	52.6(20)
FSSD5	F9	35	42.9(15)	57.1(20)
	F10	108	30.6(33)	69.4(75)
MSD1	M11	43	25.6(11)	74.4(32)
	F11	32	12.5(4)	87.5(28)
MSD2	M12	11	27.3(3)	72.7(8)
	F12	28	35.7(10)	64.3(18)
MSD3	M13	21	35(7)	65(14)
	F13	50	32(16)	68(34)
MSD4	M14	35	11.4(4)	88.6(31)
	F14	28	21.4(6)	78.6(22)
MSD5	M15	33	36.4(12)	63.6(21)
	F15	22	45.5(10)	54.5(12)

Appendix C.

Chart 2 Distribution of Verbal Backchannels with and without Head-Movements for Individuals

Dyad	Participant	Total (n)	With Head-Movements %(n)	Without Head-Movements %(n)
MSSD1	M1	9	55.6 (5)	44.4 (4)
	M2	13	69.2 (9)	30.8 (4)
MSSD2	M3	28	78.6 (22)	21.4 (6)
	M4	35	85.7 (30)	14.3 (5)
MSSD3	M5	35	54.3 (19)	45.7 (16)
	M6	18	77.8 (14)	22.2 (4)
MSSD4	M7	21	42.9 (9)	57.1 (12)
	M8	52	75 (39)	25 (13)
MSSD5	M9	47	76.6 (36)	23.4 (11)
	M10	16	62.5 (10)	37.5 (6)
FSSD1	F1	50	74 (37)	26 (13)
	F2	27	40.7 (11)	59.3 (16)
FSSD2	F3	54	92.6 (50)	7.4 (4)
	F4	35	82.9 (29)	17.1 (6)
FSSD3	F5	6	83.3 (5)	16.7 (1)
	F6	53	83 (44)	17 (9)
FSSD4	F7	35	97.1 (34)	2.9 (1)
	F8	22	90.9 (20)	9.1 (2)
FSSD5	F9	25	80 (20)	20 (5)
	F10	79	94.9 (75)	5.1 (4)
MSD1	M11	35	91.4 (32)	8.6 (3)
	F11	34	82.4 (28)	17.6 (6)
MSD2	M12	11	72.7 (8)	27.3 (3)
	F12	33	54.5 (18)	45.5 (15)
MSD3	M13	29	48.3 (14)	51.7 (15)
	F13	43	79.1 (34)	20.9 (9)
MSD4	M14	39	79.5 (31)	20.5 (8)
	F14	28	78.6 (22)	21.4 (6)
MSD5	M15	44	47.7 (21)	52.3 (23)
	F15	27	44.4 (12)	55.6 (15)

Appendix C.

Chart 3 Frequency of Head-Movements, Accompanied Head-Movements, and Independent Head-Movements for Individuals

		Head-Movements	Accompanied Head-Movements	Independent Head-Movements
Dyad	Participant	%	%	%
MSSD1	M1	9.8	8.2	1.6
	M2	16.1	14.5	1.6
MSSD2	M3	31.1	20.8	10.4
	M4	38.1	28.6	9.5
MSSD3	M5	25.5	17.9	7.5
	M6	24.1	13	11.1
MSSD4	M7	16.7	9.4	7.3
	M8	42.7	40.6	2.1
MSSD5	M9	52.3	34.6	17.8
	M10	12.5	9.6	2.9
FSSD1	F1	56.3	35	21.4
	F2	11.9	11.9	0
FSSD2	F3	49.6	39.5	10.1
	F4	29	22.1	6.9
FSSD3	F5	17	4.7	12.3
	F6	68.5	40.5	27.9
FSSD4	F7	60.7	31.8	29
	F8	36.1	19.4	16.7
FSSD5	F9	27.1	15.5	11.6
	F10	68.8	47.8	21
MSD1	M11	39.4	29.4	10.1
	F11	32	28	4
MSD2	M12	13.6	9.9	3.7
	F12	35	22.5	12.5
MSD3	M13	20.4	13.6	6.8
	F13	45.9	31.2	14.7
MSD4	M14	33.7	29.8	3.8
	F14	26.7	21	5.7
MSD5	M15	26.6	16.9	9.7
	F15	18.3	1	8.3

Appendix C.

Chart 4 Mean Percentage of Independent Head-Movements at Six Placement Categories for Individuals.

			Independent Head-Movements					
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Dyad	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSSD1	M1	1	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	100 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	M2	1	0 (0)	0 (0)	100 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD2	M3	11	72.7 (8)	9.1 (1)	18.2 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	M4	10	20 (2)	0 (0)	50 (5)	30 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD3	M5	8	50 (4)	0 (0)	25 (2)	25 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	M6	12	50 (6)	0 (0)	25 (3)	25 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD4	M7	7	42.9 (3)	0 (0)	28.6 (2)	14.3 (1)	0 (0)	14.3 (1)
	M8	2	50 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	50 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD5	M9	19	10.5 (2)	0 (0)	63.2 (12)	21.1 (4)	0 (0)	5.3 (1)
	M10	3	0 (0)	0 (0)	66.7 (2)	33.3 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Appendix C.

Chart 5 Mean Percentage of Independent Head-Movements at Six Placement Categories for Individuals.

		Independent Head-Movements						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Dyad	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
FSSD1	F1	22	4.5 (1)	0 (0)	27.3 (6)	54.5 (12)	4.5 (1)	9.1 (2)
	F2	0	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
FSSD2	F3	13	38.5 (5)	0 (0)	30.8 (4)	15.4 (2)	0 (0)	15.4 (2)
	F4	9	22.2 (2)	0 (0)	33.3 (3)	11.1 (1)	22.2 (2)	11.1 (1)
FSSD3	F5	13	30.8 (4)	0 (0)	15.4 (2)	53.8 (7)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	F6	31	38.7 (12)	0 (0)	22.6 (7)	22.6 (7)	6.5 (2)	9.7 (3)
FSSD4	F7	31	12.9 (4)	0 (0)	54.8 (17)	22.6 (7)	3.2 (1)	6.5 (2)
	F8	18	5.6 (1)	0 (0)	33.3 (6)	33.3 (6)	16.7 (3)	11.1 (2)
FSSD5	F9	15	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (3)	60 (9)	0 (0)	20 (3)
	F10	33	15.2 (5)	0 (0)	27.3 (9)	42.4 (14)	6.1 (2)	9.1 (3)

Appendix C.

Chart 6 Mean Percentage of Independent Head-Movements at Six Placement Categories for Individuals.

		Independent Head-Movements						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Dyad	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSD1	M11	11	36.4 (4)	0 (0)	27.3 (3)	27.3 (3)	9.1 (1)	0 (0)
	F11	4	50 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	50 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD2	M12	3	0 (0)	33.3 (1)	0 (0)	66.7 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	F12	10	20 (2)	10 (1)	50 (5)	20 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD3	M13	7	42.9 (3)	0 (0)	28.6 (2)	14.3 (1)	0 (0)	14.3 (1)
	F13	16	6.3 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	43.8 (7)	0 (0)	50 (8)
MSD4	M14	4	75 (3)	0 (0)	25 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	F14	6	16.7 (1)	0 (0)	33.3 (2)	33.3 (2)	0 (0)	16.7 (1)
MSD5	M15	12	33.3 (4)	0 (0)	33.3 (4)	16.7 (2)	0 (0)	16.7 (2)
	F15	10	50 (5)	10 (1)	10 (1)	30 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Appendix D.

Chart 1 Distribution of Six Types of BACKCHANNEL for Individuals

		BACKCHANNEL						
		Total	B	RE	R	CF	RO	IH
Group	Participant	n	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)
MSSD1	M1	10	10(1)	30(3)	50(5)	0(0)	0(0)	10(1)
	M2	14	50(7)	28.6 (4)	7.1(1)	0(0)	7.1(1)	7.1(1)
MSSD2	M3	39	46.2(18)	15.4 (6)	2.6(1)	0(0)	7.7(3)	28.2(11)
	M4	45	44.4(20)	26.7(12)	2.2(1)	2.2(1)	2.2(1)	22.2(10)
MSSD3	M5	43	53.5(23)	11.6 (5)	7(3)	0(0)	9.3(4)	18.6(8)
	M6	30	23.3(7)	3.3 (1)	16.7(5)	0(0)	16.7(5)	40(12)
MSSD4	M7	28	28.6(8)	21.4 (6)	17.9(5)	0(0)	7.1(2)	25(7)
	M8	54	72.2(39)	3.7 (2)	7.4(4)	5.6(3)	7.4(4)	3.7(2)
MSSD5	M9	66	43.9(29)	13.6 (9)	7.6(5)	1.5(1)	4.5(3)	28.8(19)
	M10	19	63.2(12)	5.3 (1)	10.5(2)	0(0)	5.3(1)	15.8(3)

Appendix D.

Chart 2 Distribution of Six Types of BACKCHANNEL for Individuals

			BACKCHANNEL					
		Total	B	RE	R	CF	RO	IH
Group	Participant	n	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)
FSSD1	F1	72	43.1(31)	16.7(12)	4.2(3)	0(0)	5.6(4)	30.6(22)
	F2	27	55.6(15)	33.3 (9)	3.7(1)	3.7(1)	3.7(1)	0(0)
FSSD2	F3	67	71.6(48)	6 (4)	0(0)	0(0)	3(2)	19.4(13)
	F4	44	(29)	6.8 (3)	2.3(1)	0(0)	4.5(2)	20.5(9)
FSSD3	F5	19	15.8(3)	0 (0)	0(0)	0(0)	15.8(3)	68.4(13)
	F6	84	45.2(38)	14.3(12)	2.4(2)	0(0)	1.2(1)	36.9(31)
FSSD4	F7	66	48.5(32)	0 (0)	0(0)	3(2)	1.5(1)	47(31)
	F8	40	50(20)	0 (0)	2.5(1)	0(0)	2.5(1)	45(18)
FSSD5	F9	40	25(10)	22.5 (9)	5(2)	0(0)	10(4)	37.5(15)
	F10	112	65.2(73)	2.7 (3)	0(0)	0(0)	2.7(3)	29.5(33)

Appendix D.

Chart 3 Distribution of Six Types of BACKCHANNEL for Individuals

			BACKCHANNEL					
		Total	B	RE	R	CF	RO	IH
Group	Participant	n	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)
MSD1	M11	46	67.4 (31)	4.3(2)	2.2(1)	0(0)	2.2(1)	23.9(11)
	F11	38	63.2(24)	21.1(8)	0(0)	0(0)	5.3(2)	10.5(4)
MSD2	M12	14	50 (7)	21.4 (3)	0(0)	0(0)	7.1(1)	21.4(3)
	F12	43	65.1 (28)	4.7 (2)	2.3(1)	2.3(1)	2.3(1)	23.3(10)
MSD3	M13	36	72.2 (26)	2.8 (1)	0 (0)	0(0)	5.6(2)	19.4(7)
	F13	59	45.8 (27)	10.2 (6)	1.7 (1)	0(0)	15.3(9)	27.1(16)
MSD4	M14	43	58.1 (25)	14 (6)	9.3 (4)	0(0)	9.3(4)	9.3(4)
	F14	34	26.5 (9)	11.8 (4)	17.6 (6)	2.9(1)	23.5(8)	17.6(6)
MSD5	M15	56	39.3(22)	23.2(13)	0(0)	1.8(1)	14.3(8)	21.4(12)
	F15	37	32.4(12)	13.5(5)	5.4(2)	0(0)	21.6(8)	27(10)

Appendix D.

Chart 4 Distribution of Verbal and Nonverbal Backchannels

			BACKCHANNEL	
		Total	Verbal Backchannels	Nonverbal Backchannels
Group	Participant	n	%(n)	%(n)
MSSD1	M1	10	90(9)	10(1)
	M2	14	92.9(13)	7.1(1)
MSSD2	M3	39	71.8(28)	28.2(11)
	M4	45	77.8(35)	22.2(10)
MSSD3	M5	43	83.7(36)	16.3(7)
	M6	30	66.7(20)	33.3(10)
MSSD4	M7	28	78.6(22)	21.4(6)
	M8	54	98.1(53)	1.9(1)
MSSD5	M9	66	71.2(47)	28.8(19)
	M10	19	84.2(16)	15.8(3)
FSSD1	F1	72	70.8(51)	29.2(21)
	F2	27	100(27)	0(0)
FSSD2	F3	67	85.1(57)	14.9(10)
	F4	44	81.8(36)	18.2(8)
FSSD3	F5	19	31.6(6)	68.4(13)
	F6	84	67.9(57)	32.1(27)
FSSD4	F7	66	56.1(37)	43.9(29)
	F8	40	55(22)	45(18)
FSSD5	F9	40	62.5(25)	37.5(15)
	F10	112	72.3(81)	27.7(31)
MSD1	M11	46	76.1(35)	23.9(11)
	F11	38	89.5(34)	10.5(4)
MSD2	M12	14	78.6(11)	21.4(3)
	F12	43	81.4(35)	18.6(8)
MSD3	M13	36	83.3(30)	16.7(6)
	F13	59	74.6(44)	25.4(15)
MSD4	M14	43	95.3(41)	4.7(2)
	F14	34	82.4(28)	17.6(6)
MSD5	M15	56	80.4(45)	19.6(11)
	F15	37	83.8(31)	16.2(6)

Appendix D.

Chart 5 Mean Percentages of Speaker New Initiations that are BACKCHANNEL for individual participants

BACKCHANNEL				
		Frequency		Frequency
Dyad	Participant	%	Participant	%
MSSD1	M1	16.4	M2	22.6
MSSD2	M3	36.8	M4	42.9
MSSD3	M5	40.6	M6	27.8
MSSD4	M7	29.2	M8	56.3
MSSD5	M9	61.7	M10	18.3
FSSD1	F1	69.9	F2	26.7
FSSD2	F3	51.9	F 4	33.6
FSSD3	F5	17.9	F 6	75.7
FSSD4	F7	61.7	F 8	37.0
FSSD5	F9	31.0	F 10	71.3
MSD1	M11	42.2	F11	38.0
MSD2	M12	17.3	F12	53.8
MSD3	M13	35.0	F13	54.1
MSD4	M14	41.3	F14	32.4
MSD5	M15	45.2	F15	30.8

Appendix D.

Chart 6 Mean Percentage of BACKCHANNEL at Six Placement Categories for individual participants.

		BACKCHANNEL						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Dyad	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSSD1	M1	10	60 (6)	10 (1)	0 (0)	30 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	M2	14	42.9 (6)	0 (0)	35.7 (5)	21.4 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSSD2	M3	39	61.5 (24)	2.6 (1)	17.9 (7)	12.8 (5)	2.6 (1)	2.6 (1)
	M4	45	44.4 (20)	0 (0)	22.2 (10)	22.2 (10)	6.7 (3)	4.5 (2)
MSSD3	M5	43	53.5 (23)	0 (0)	27.9 (12)	9.3 (4)	0 (0)	9.3 (4)
	M6	30	50 (15)	0 (0)	20 (6)	20 (6)	6.7 (2)	3.3 (1)
MSSD4	M7	28	64.3 (18)	7.1 (2)	14.3 (4)	7.1 (2)	3.6 (1)	3.6 (1)
	M8	54	18.5 (10)	1.9 (1)	38.9 (21)	22.2 (12)	7.4 (4)	11.1 (6)
MSSD5	M9	66	19.7 (13)	0 (0)	53 (35)	18.2 (12)	3 (2)	6.1 (4)
	M10	19	42.1 (8)	00 (0)	42.1 (8)	15.8 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Appendix D.

Chart 7 Mean Percentage of BACKCHANNEL at Six Placement Categories for individual participants.

		BACKCHANNEL						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Dyad	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
FSSD1	F1	72	20.8 (15)	(0)	36.1 (26)	27.8 (20)	7 (5)	8.3 (6)
	F2	27	18.5 (5)	3.8 (1)	48.1 (13)	29.6 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)
FSSD2	F3	67	16.3 (11)	0 (0)	47.8 (32)	20.9 (14)	9 (6)	6 (4)
	F4	44	18.2 (8)	0 (0)	40.9 (18)	25 (11)	9.1 (4)	6.8 (3)
FSSD3	F5	19	42.1 (8)	0 (0)	15.8 (3)	36.8 (7)	0 (0)	5.3 (1)
	F6	84	40.5 (34)	0 (0)	17.9 (15)	16.7 (14)	8.2 (7)	16.7 (14)
FSSD4	F7	66	24.2 (16)	0 (0)	45.5 (30)	13.6 (9)	7.6 (5)	9.1 (6)
	F8	40	10 (4)	0 (0)	45 (18)	20 (8)	12.5 (5)	12.5 (5)
FSSD5	F9	40	42.5 (17)	0 (0)	17.5 (7)	27.5 (11)	0 (0)	12.5 (5)
	F10	112	11.6 (13)	0 (0)	23.2 (26)	27.7 (31)	10.7 (12)	26.8 (30)

Appendix D.

Chart 8 Mean Percentage of BACKCHANNEL at Six Placement Categories for individual participants.

		BACKCHANNEL						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Dyad	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSD1	M11	46	26.1 (12)	0 (0)	23.9 (11)	21.7 (10)	13.1 (6)	15.2 (7)
	F11	38	36.8 (14)	5.3 (2)	26.3 (10)	31.6 (12)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD2	M12	14	42.9 (6)	7.1 (1)	0 (0)	28.6 (4)	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)
	F12	43	44.2 (19)	0 (0)	23.3 (10)	30.2 (13)	0 (0)	2.3 (1)
MSD3	M13	36	36.1 (13)	0 (0)	30.6 (11)	19.4 (7)	2.8 (1)	11.1 (4)
	F13	59	32.2 (19)	0 (0)	16.9 (10)	28.8 (17)	3.5 (2)	18.6 (11)
MSD4	M14	43	20.9 (9)	9.3 (4)	30.2 (13)	23.3 (10)	7 (3)	9.3 (4)
	F14	34	50 (17)	5.9 (2)	20.6 (7)	11.8 (4)	2.9 (1)	8.8 (3)
MSD5	M15	56	39.3 (22)	7.1 (4)	14.3 (8)	21.4 (12)	7.1 (4)	10.8 (6)
	F15	37	45.9 (17)	2.7 (1)	24.3 (9)	18.9 (7)	2.7 (1)	5.5 (2)

Appendix E.

Chart 1 Distribution of Three Gaze Types in terms of Verbal Backchannel

			Gaze Type		
		Total	Long Gaze	Short Gaze	No Gaze
Dyad	Participant	n	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)
MSSD1	M1	9	55.6 (5)	11.1 (1)	33.3 (3)
	M2	13	30.8 (4)	7.7 (1)	61.5 (8)
MSSD2	M3	28	32.1 (9)	32.1 (9)	35.7 (10)
	M4	35	71.4 (25)	14.3 (5)	14.3 (5)
MSSD3	M5	35	31.4 (11)	34.3 (12)	34.3 (12)
	M6	18	38.9 (7)	38.9 (7)	22.2 (4)
MSSD4	M7	21	14.3 (3)	14.3 (3)	71.4 (15)
	M8	52	42.3 (22)	32.7 (17)	25 (13)
MSSD5	M9	47	80.9 (38)	8.5 (4)	10.6 (5)
	M10	16	56.3 (9)	18.8 (3)	25 (4)
FSSD1	F1	50	48 (24)	14 (7)	38 (19)
	F2	27	63 (17)	11.1 (3)	25.9 (7)
FSSD2	F3	54	85.2 (46)	9.3 (5)	5.6 (3)
	F4	35	77.1 (27)	8.6 (3)	14.3 (5)
FSSD3	F5	6	16.7 (1)	50 (3)	33.3 (2)
	F6	53	83 (44)	9.4 (5)	7.5 (4)
FSSD4	F7	35	82.9 (29)	17.1 (6)	0 (0)
	F8	22	63.6 (14)	31.8 (7)	4.5 (1)
FSSD5	F9	25	48 (12)	36 (9)	16 (4)
	F10	79	84.8 (67)	12.7 (10)	2.5 (2)
MSD1	M11	35	68.6 (24)	17.1 (6)	14.3 (5)
	F11	34	61.8 (21)	23.5 (8)	14.7 (5)
MSD2	M12	11	27.3 (3)	18.2 (2)	54.5 (6)
	F12	33	69.7 (23)	12.1 (4)	18.2 (6)
MSD3	M13	29	65.5 (19)	31 (9)	3.4 (1)
	F13	43	27.9 (12)	30.2 (13)	41.9 (18)
MSD4	M14	39	30.8 (12)	15.4 (6)	53.8 (21)
	F14	28	42.9 (12)	46.4 (13)	10.7 (3)
MSD5	M15	44	75 (33)	22.7 (10)	2.3 (1)
	F15	27	70.4 (19)	29.6 (8)	0 (0)

Appendix D.

Chart 9 Mean Percentage of BACKCHANNEL at Six Placement Categories for individual participants.

		BACKCHANNEL						
		Total	G&F	NG&F	G&NF	NG&NF	G&M	NG&M
Dyad	Participant	n	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
MSD1	M11	46	26.1 (12)	0 (0)	23.9 (11)	21.7 (10)	13.1 (6)	15.2 (7)
	F11	38	36.8 (14)	5.3 (2)	26.3 (10)	31.6 (12)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD2	M12	14	42.9 (6)	7.1 (1)	0 (0)	28.6 (4)	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)
	F12	43	44.2 (19)	0 (0)	23.3 (10)	30.2 (13)	0 (0)	2.3 (1)
MSD3	M13	36	36.1 (13)	0 (0)	30.6 (11)	19.4 (7)	2.8 (1)	11.1 (4)
	F13	59	32.2 (19)	0 (0)	16.9 (10)	28.8 (17)	3.5 (2)	18.6 (11)
MSD4	M14	43	20.9 (9)	9.3 (4)	30.2 (13)	23.3 (10)	7 (3)	9.3 (4)
	F14	34	50 (17)	5.9 (2)	20.6 (7)	11.8 (4)	2.9 (1)	8.8 (3)
MSD5	M15	56	39.3 (22)	7.1 (4)	14.3 (8)	21.4 (12)	7.1 (4)	10.8 (6)
	F15	37	45.9 (17)	2.7 (1)	24.3 (9)	18.9 (7)	2.7 (1)	5.5 (2)

Appendix E.
Chart 2 Distribution of Three Gaze Types in terms of Independent Head-Movement

			Gaze Type		
		Total	Long Gaze	Short Gaze	No Gaze
Dyad	Participant	n	%(n)	%(n)	%(n)
MSSD1	M1	1	100 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	M2	1	0 (0)	0 (0)	100 (1)
MSSD2	M3	11	0 (0)	54.5 (6)	45.5 (5)
	M4	10	80 (8)	10 (1)	10 (1)
MSSD3	M5	8	62.5 (5)	12.5 (1)	25 (2)
	M6	12	50 (6)	41.7 (5)	8.3 (1)
MSSD4	M7	7	57.1 (4)	42.9 (3)	0 (0)
	M8	2	0 (0)	50 (1)	50 (1)
MSSD5	M9	19	94.7 (18)	5.3 (1)	0 (0)
	M10	3	66.7 (2)	33.3 (1)	0 (0)
FSSD1	F1	22	68.2 (15)	9.1 (2)	22.7 (5)
	F2	0	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
FSSD2	F3	13	61.5 (8)	15.4 (2)	23.1 (3)
	F4	9	11.1 (1)	33.3 (3)	55.6 (5)
FSSD3	F5	13	30.8 (4)	46.2 (6)	23 (3)
	F6	31	74.2 (23)	16.1 (5)	9.7 (3)
FSSD4	F7	31	93.5 (29)	6.5 (2)	0 (0)
	F8	18	66.7 (12)	22.2 (4)	11.1 (2)
FSSD5	F9	15	93.3 (14)	6.7 (1)	0 (0)
	F10	33	87.9 (29)	6.1 (2)	6.1 (2)
MSD1	M11	11	63.6 (7)	27.3 (3)	9.1 (1)
	F11	4	100 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)
MSD2	M12	3	33.3 (1)	66.7 (2)	0 (0)
	F12	10	80 (8)	20 (2)	0 (0)
MSD3	M13	7	71.4 (5)	28.6 (2)	0 (0)
	F13	16	43.8 (7)	31.3 (5)	25 (4)
MSD4	M14	4	0 (0)	50 (2)	50 (2)
	F14	6	50 (3)	50 (3)	0 (0)
MSD5	M15	12	75 (9)	25 (3)	0 (0)
	F15	10	80 (8)	20 (2)	0 (0)

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