

Polite or Impolite ? : The Functions of Rising Intonation in the Speech of Young Japanese

KITADE Keiko

University of Hawaii at Manoa

Abstract:

Ethnographic research has suggested that the affective meaning of interaction is a cultural characteristic of Japanese society. This research has focused primarily on affective markers in lexical items and grammatical structures as evidence of such a code in Japanese (Mc Gloin, 1980; Cook, 1990; Ohta, 1991; Suzuki, 1995). Little research, however, has considered the contextual significance in the study of affective markers. My research supports previous claims of affective meaning in Japanese, yet demonstrates that the intonational patterns equally as much as lexical items and grammatical structures provide us with evidence of the importance of affective meaning to achieve the interactional goal. Moreover, this study suggests that such affective markers used restictively in in-group interaction.

Studies of intonation in Australian English (Guy et al., 1986), New Zealand English (Britain, 1992), and Japanese (Inoue, 1994) have pointed to the high rising terminal (HRT) in declarative clauses as an innovated variable and not primarily a operator in polar questions. Inoue's study (1994) demonstrates that the hearers' impressions of HRT are that it is 'impolite', 'childish', and 'frivolous'. But the context and the actual functions of HRTs are not discussed in his study. Identifying the meaning of HRT in recent use requires careful attention to features of the specific situational context and discourse in which it was uttered.

In data of casual conversation between close friends than of the interview, HRT primarily functions as politeness markers as: 1) a positive politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987) marker to establish solidarity of a common ground between the interactors and 2) a negative politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987) marker to avoid negative impact in cooperative interaction. These pragmatic functions originated in the modal meaning of HRT; an epistemic marker to show the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed in the utterance. These results suggest that a linguistic variable reflected in the young people's interactional norm is misperceived as impolite by out- group members.

1. Introduction

The ethnography of communication (cf. Greetz 1973; Malinowski 1978; Ochs 1988) has emphasized the close relationship between culture and language as "language use in speech situations, events, and acts helps realize the cultural norms that underlie the way we act toward one another" (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 139). Ethnographic research in Japanese has suggested that the affective meaning of interaction is a cultural characteristic of Japanese society. This research has primarily focused on affective markers in lexical items and grammatical structures represented by sentence-/ clause-final particles as evidence of such a code in an interaction in Japanese (e.g., Cook, 1990; Ohta, 1991; Suzuki, 1995). These studies, however, pay little attention to the contextual significance of affective markers. Moreover, little research has been done about the intonational patterns of the Japanese

language. This study supports previous claims of affective meaning in Japanese, yet it demonstrates that it is the intonational patterns as much as lexical items and grammatical structures that provide us with evidence of the importance of affective meaning to achieve interactional goals. Furthermore, this study suggests that such affective markers are valid only in restricted contexts, namely, in-group interaction.

This study focuses on a particular salient intonation contour used in Japanese: a questioning intonation which is phonetically a high rising terminal contour (HRT) in a declarative clause. HRT is also found in Australia (Guy et al., 1986), Canada, United States (Ching, M), and New Zealand (Britain, 1992). The HRTs of this study are a current feature in Japanese (Inoue, 1994; Kitade, 1996) and do not function primarily as polar questions¹.

Studies of Australian English (Guy et al., 1986) and New Zealand English (Britain, 1992) have pointed to the high rising terminal (HRT) in declarative clauses as an innovative variable. Both studies point out that the rising intonation expresses the interactional meaning in addition to being an indicator of polar questions. The study of HRT in Japanese (Inoue, 1994) points out the frequent use of rising intonation in Japanese as a current phenomena. His study focuses on the listener's impression of HRT and he conclude that HRT is 'impolite', 'frivolous', and 'childish'². The functions of HRT both interactionally and pragmatically, however, are left unclear. Identifying the meaning of HRT in recent use requires careful attention to the specific situational context and discourse location in which it was uttered.

The goal of this study is to examine the pragmatic functions of rising intonation in discourse. Previous quantitative studies of HRT (Edelsky, 1979) and (Kitade, 1996) suggest that HRTs which do not have the polar question meaning are most frequently observed in young female interaction. Therefore, this study examines casual young women's conversation and interview with young women. The results of this study will show the politeness function of HRT in an intimate relationship; HRT is used rather as a politeness marker to establish solidarity or common ground between the interactors and to avoid negative impact in interaction. HRT, a particular pattern of intonation in the non-final location, also contributes to achieving the interactional goal of conversation among females and young people's in-group interaction. Furthermore, the contradicting result of this study with Inoue's claim suggests that a politeness marker identified in intimate relationship may be perceived as impolite by the people in out-group.

2. Previous studies

To examine the meaning conveyed with HRT in contexts, that is, rising intonation in declarative sentences, the meaning conveyed with the rising intonation should be considered. The studies of rising intonation

suggest that the meanings conveyed with rising intonation are uncertainty (Lakoff, 1975), *incompleteness* (Geluykens, 1988), and *a demand for response* (Brown et al, 1986; Stenstom, 1984).

Uncertainty, which is considered to be a question, is divided into three categories in terms of the epistemic state of the speaker ; 1) epistemic uncertainty: the speaker's uncertainty about the truth of his/her own information in the utterance; 2) interpersonal uncertainty: the speaker's uncertainty about the listener's comprehension (Guy et al., 1986). Lakoff (1975) stated that women use rising intonation as a hedge to show the speaker's uncertainty about the adequacy of a contribution to a conversation due to the insecure social status of women. This study's data concerning females, however, shows rising intonations are also used in the context in which the speaker can be assumed to be certain of the information and presents this information the hearer. In such cases, rising intonations in Japanese female-female conversations indicates not simple epistemic uncertainty but rather interpersonal uncertainty. Other epistemic markers in Japanese, such as final particles, mark the polite attitudes towards the addressee (Cook, 1990; Ohta, 1991). In the 'Result' section below, the pragmatic function of HRT is analyzed.

Referring to the place of occurrence of rising intonation within a system of turn taking, Bolinger and Cruttenden (1986) claimed that the rising intonation serves as a 'non-finality marker'. In another study of the location of HRTs in the turn-taking system of conversation, Geluykens (1988) suggests that rising intonation is used as a cue to the hearer that the turn is not complete, and that the speaker does not wish to be interrupted.-- with his data showing that the most common discourse locations for rising tones are either non-finality in a clause, or non-finally in a turn (Geluykens, 1988, p. 484) -- suggests that the signaling of 'non-finality' in the turn-taking system in conversation is much more likely a universal feature of rising intonation. His study, however, did not consider another function of HRT, 'demand a response' and whether or not utterances were followed by the listener's back-channeling was not clear. Whether the non-final clause/turn locations themselves indicate the non-finality meaning or the rising intonations have incompleteness is unclear. Regardless of intonation, the grammatically uncompleted locations could indicate that the speaker continues his/her turn right after a minimal response. Thus, the other function of rising intonation, 'demand a response' should be considered.

According to the function of HRT in the structural pattern in interactions, Brown et al. and Stenstom (29) suggest that the final rises demand a response. Bryant's study, using videotaped interviews, shows that the rising intonation is almost always responded to by interlocutors; whether verbally or nonverbally. In the case of Australian English (Guy et al., 1986) and New Zealand English (Britain, 1992), it is claimed that the rising intonation allows only a minimal response and potentially can be followed only by additional new information from the same speaker. A HRT followed by back-channeling simultaneously conveys a request for response and the

syntactically incomplete location of HRT may let the speaker keep his/her turn.

Regarding the pragmatic function of HRT, Britain (1992) claims that the function of the rising intonation among the New Zealand Maori is positive politeness toward the addressee (Brown & Levinson 1987), inviting him/her to participate vicariously and empathetically in the production of the talk. The studies of other positive politeness markers in New Zealand English such as 'eh' (Meyerhoff, 1994) and 'you know' (Holmes, 1995) point out that primal functions of these positive politeness markers are different depending on gender and ethnicity. Therefore, the reasons and functions of HRT in Japanese should vary depending on the interactors' relationships as well as the context types which also determine the interactional goals.

3. Method

The data in this study consists of interview and conversation between female native speakers of Japanese. The first source of data is a 30-minute audio-taped interview between two graduate students, ages 25 and 31, from Tokyo. It was recorded in a interview on September 13th, 1996. The second source of data is a transcription of a 40-minute audio-taped conversation. The two native speakers selected for this research are females from Tokyo and were both students studying English in Hawaii. Both are age 24 and had been Hawai'i for a half year at the time (November 9th, 1996). Subjects identified each other as close friends, and the recording was a casual conversation held around a table in one of the participant's apartment. All the informants were unaware of the purpose of the study. Each sentence/clause is determined to have a rising intonation by phonetically professional examiners.

4. Results

The pragmatic functions of HRT in non - clause final location

This section examines the pragmatic functions of HRTs in non-clause final location, which are frequently followed with feed back. These feed back are not only the short response or back channeling but have the hearer's affective stance toward the speaker. The following functions of rising intonation are identified in the data. 1) Modal meaning: speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed. 2) Affective meaning: an addressee-oriented signal, expressing the speaker's solidarity, positive attitude, or concern for the addressee's feeling.

1) Modal meaning (Epistemic marker).

The first function is based on uncertainty meaning conveyed by rising intonation. By using the rising intonation to show an epistemic stance, the speaker indicates uncertainty about the speaker's own information or the hearer's understanding. The following example from the conversation data illustrates this usage.

(1) T is talking about her little host brothers who wearing Ghost Busters costumes and were asking for some candy on Halloween.

- > 1T: ano Kyandi morai ni hashiri mawatte kusogaki ga, kusogaki wa nan dakke Goosuto basutaa **HRT**
 'Well, the kids were running around to get some candy. The kids were, what was it? Ghost buster **HRT**'
 2A: natsukashii ne. Goosuto basutaa tte.
 'It sounds nostalgic, isn't it, 'Ghost Busters'.'
 3T: natsukashii ne.
 'It sounds nostalgic.'

In (1), a rising intonation is used when the speaker is uncertain about his/her information.

For example, in (1), it is obvious that '*nandakke*' in 1T, 'what is it?', shows the speaker is uncertain and, in trying to remember the name 'Goosutobasutaa' is uncertain about her memory. Then, A is confirming 1T's utterance in 2A.

(2) K is explaining the direction to a Japanese store in San Francisco where J also had visited.

- 1K: son de koko o totte n no gaa,=
 'And then (the one) goes here is,=
 2J: un.
 'Aha.'
 3K: nan tsutte ka na nantoka tte yuu okkii toori de=
 'What was it called (it called) something which is the big street and=
 4J: un.
 'Aha.'
 --> 5K: sore o tate ni koo tootten no ga Paueru **HRT**
 '(the street) across it vertically is Pawell **HRT**'
 --> 6J: tate ni toote n no ga Paueru **HRT** Huun.
 '(the street) across it vertically is Pawell **HRT** Huh.'
 []
 7K: un. Tate tte yuu ka hon de kocchi
 gawa no hoo ni baa tto
 'Aha. Vertically shall I call then if
 (you) go to this
 iku too,
 direction straight,'
 8J: un.
 'Aha.'
 9K: Fisshaamanzuwaafu ni (),
 'to Fisherman's wharf (),'
 []
 10J: hai hai hai hai.

Japanese epistemic markers play a role in politeness (Ohta, 1991) like those in English (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1986; Thomas, 1995). By keeping the speaker's stance toward the content of his/her utterance uncertain, Brown & Levinson suggests the epistemic markers serves as a device for softening the impact on the speaker's negative face want. The uncertainty, meaning of HRT is helping HRT to be applied as a negative politeness device to soften the force of an opposite opinion to have a harmonious interaction.

The *addressee-inviting signal* of HRT are used to show the speaker's positive attitude to the hearer and that hearer is welcome to participate in the speaker's narrative. Therefore, most HRT located in non clause finals in the interview data are followed by back-channeling or nodding. The following example shows this system.

(4)K is talking about the schedule of her school year in California.

1J: mijikai tte dore kurai de kaeru no ?

'(you say it's) short how long do you stay ?'

--> 2K: warito sono atashi ga itta no ga nigatsu **HRT**

'Relatively when I went (there) it was February HRT'

3J: un.=

'Aha.='

4K: =kara sangatsu no hajimerehen datta karaa,

'=and around March it was,'

[]

5J:

Un.

'Aha.'

--> 6K: minna moo ichigatsu gurai toka **HRT**

'Others were around from January HRT'

7J: un.

'Aha.'

--> 8K: de daigaku yasumi ni naru toki tte, nigatsu no owari gurai toka de kaecchattari **HRT**

'Then when the school holiday comes, they went back at the end of February HRT'

9J: (sore)

'(That's)'

[

10K: gyaku ni hora sangatsu kara kitarii toka =

'or it come from March or so ='

11J: = un.un.

'=Aha. aha.'

It is clear that HRT used by the speaker K is frequently followed by the hearer's back-channeling, 'un', 'yes, or 'aha'. The speaker is not uncertain about her own information because the speaker is talking about her experience. The HRT in this discourse functions as reinforcement to facilitate the hearer's participation. The rising intonation invites the hearer,

while the speaker still continues her turn, finishing the main clause and following with co-ordinate clauses. Ohta suggests that in Japanese conversation the simple act of keeping the floor to talk about one's own experience may appear as an imposition on listening. If this is true, encouraging the addressee's participation by a back-channeling initiated signal is a strategy to express the speaker's politeness to the hearer.

The HRT as a addressee-oriented signal reinforces the speaker's solidarity with the hearer. In such cases, the hearer showed her agreement or even co-constructed the addressee's utterance, indicating that rising intonation greatly encourages the hearer to participate in the conversation. Observe the following example from the casual conversation data:

(5) T and A are talking about the cockroach. T starts talking about her experience of killing a cockroach.

1T: kore gurai chicchai no ga watashi no heya ni ita no ne.
'There was a this much small one in my room.'

2A: un.
'Yeah.'

3T: kowai. !Shuu! Koroshita mon ne. Nani mo kinisezu ni !Kyaa!
Mo iwanai de sono mamma sesse-sassa to=
'Scary. !Fzzt! I killed (it) without getting alarmed without saying
!kyaa! And just like that hurried off ='

[]

4A: ((laugh))

--> 5T: = sono mama Gokizetto tori ni itte **HRT** =
'= I hurried off and to get the Roach Killer Z and **HRT** ='

6A: = !Shuu! Tte.
'= !Spray! it.'

7T: !Shuu! Tte yatte !Att shinda na! Mitai na, tte de toru , mitai na.
Kowai yoo.
'!Spray! I sprayed it and !Oh, it's dead! It seemed, and (I) pick it
up, it seemed.
Scary.'

[]

8A: ((laugh))

9A: tsuyoku natta ne.
'You are getting tough, aren't you.'

10T: tsuyoku natta wa, okage de.
'(I) am getting tough, thanks (to it).'

The utterance 5T with rising intonation at the end prompts for the hearer's participation. In 6A, A completes T's utterance by continuing 5T's utterance with "*!Shuu! tte*" without no overlapping, guessing without overlapping what T did after T got the cockroach spray. This HRT in 5T with incompleteness suffix of verb '--te', or '--and' highly motivates the

addressee A to participate in the interaction so that the addressee A co-construct the statement with T. T also repeats the same statement of 6A in 7A. This repetition shows T's confirmation that what A added for T in 6A was exactly what T wanted to say. In conversation between women, this co-constructive pattern frequently occurs and Thorne and Henly claim that especially when the women have a close relationship to show a supportive attitude and intimacy. It is an effective strategy for maintaining an in-group relationship between the interactors through the conversation, and this HRT encourages such interaction.

Location s and contexts of rising intonations

The results of the locations of the rising intonations in the discourse can be found in Tables 1 and 2. First of all, clauses here are the utterances which contains tense indicators (predicates or verb phrases)⁴ while non clause final or phrases do not have them⁵. The utterance ending with the conjunctions (cf. Tari', 'or', toki', or 'when' and kara or 'because')⁶ the conjugation verb form (te-form), particles (Nominative, Accusative, and Dative) and postpositions contribute to this large number in non-clause finals category.

	Wh-Q	Polar-Q	Modal meaning	Affective meaning
Feed back	25 (7)	79(8)	5 (37)	1 (47)
No Feed back	3 (0)	5 (1)	0 (14)	1 (19)
Total	28 (7)	84 (9)	5 (51)	2 (66)
Total %	50.79%		22.22%	26.98%

Table 1. The distribution of rising intonation in **Clause final and No clause final** (in parentheses) Location <Interview>

	Wh-Q	Polar-Q	Modal meaning	Affective meaning
Feed back	4 (2)	35 (10)	0 (12)	0 (38)
No Feed back	0 (0)	0 (1)	0 (1)	0 (38)
Total	4 (2)	35 (11)	0 (13)	0 (76)
Total %	36.87%		9.21%	53.90%

Table 2. The distribution of rising intonation in **Clause final and No clause final** (in parentheses)Location <Conversation>

It is clear that rising intonations in clause final locations function as questions (polar⁷ and wh-questions). On the other hand, the rising intonations located in non clause final location convey primary non-question meanings⁸, either modal meaning or affective meaning⁹. Interestingly, the postpositional character of Japanese in syntactic structure allows indication of incompleteness at the very end of the sentence just where most rising intonation is occurs. The verb suffix of conjugation form 'V-te' and the conjunctions come at the end of subordinate clauses in Japanese while these

come at the beginning of clauses in English. Therefore, this study shows that non final clause locations marked by HRTs indicate non-transition relevance places (-TRP) (Sacks et al., 1974) and they allows only minimum responses (Reid, 1995).

In the case of HRT demanding a response, out of 206 tokens with HRT located in non -clause final position, 134 cases (or 65.0 %) of the utterances with the HRT obtain a back-channel or continuer immediately in response from the hearer. The number of responses would be higher if the count included non-verbal responses, such as nodding. These results of HRT in Japanese suggests that HRT occurs in non clause final functions as an addressee oriented signal which encourages the addressee's participation with minimum responses rather than simply meaning 'non-finality'. By marking the non-clause final location, HRT demands minimal response and keeps the speaker's in control of the floor simultaneously.

The function of HRT in non-final clause locations are distinguished in two broad categories; namely, modal meaning and affective meaning using contextual information as Holmes (1986) has called it in her study of tag questions. In conversation data the most frequent function of HRTs are not epistemic markers (14.6 %), but politeness markers (85.3 %). In contrast this goal is not clearly significant in an interview context where the epistemic meaning of HRTs are 43.5 % while the affective meaning of HRTs is 56.4 %. This result is based on the fact that the affective goal of interaction between intimate relationship is establishing a common ground. The casual conversation data was between two Japanese students studying in same English program in Hawaii. Therefore, these two have an intimate relationship as foreign students. By means of sharing their experience abroad through conversation, they reinforce a solidarity relationship. HRTs in such context functions primarily as a politeness marker.

Consideration of contextual factors is crucial in distinguishing between epistemic meanings and affective meanings. In this data, HRTs were counted as modal meaning when the speaker's uncertainty was clear in contexts. The data suggests, however, a multi-functional nature for HRT. Unless the speaker shows her uncertainty with other epistemic markers close to HRT, or HRT followed by confirming responses, the function of HRT, whether modal meaning or affective, is not always clear. This ambiguity restricts the epistemic markers like HRT to function as politeness markers only among those with an intimate relationships.

5. Conclusion

This paper argues that HRT has two pragmatic functions which are related to the original meaning of rising intonation argued for previous studies (i.e. 'uncertainty', 'incompleteness', and 'demand for response'). First, HRT functions as an epistemic marker which represents the speaker's modal stance. This function is related to the 'uncertainty' meaning conveyed by rising intonation. With the HRT, the speaker express her/his uncertainty regarding her/his proposition.

Second, HRT functions to convey affective meanings, which is the softening of force of an opposite opinion and the addressee-oriented signal to express the speaker's positive attitude or solidarity with the addressee. The softening function also has its basis in the 'uncertainty' meaning of the rising intonation. By representing the speaker's stance toward the content of his/her utterance as being uncertain, such HRTs soften the negative impact in interaction.

'Incompleteness', is similar to the function dubbed 'non-finality marker', (Bolinger, 1989; Cruttenden, 1986; Geluykens, 1988), in the sense that the speaker uses HRT to convey his/her intention to continue the turn. However, this study shows that the non final locations of HRT as well as rising intonations signal the incompleteness. These HRTs have the uncertainty meaning and occur in -TRP (Sacks et al., 1974) to obtain minimal responses. In other words, this HRT is used to involve the hearer or to encourage the hearer's participation when the speaker intends to show that she is avoiding the simple act of narrating or keeping the floor. In the conversation of intimate participants, such a speaker's polite attitude to the hearer reinforces the feeling of solidarity as observed in agreement responses and co-constructions.

Whether a HRT indicates positive politeness attitudes or other meanings, however, is not clear without the responses to the utterance of the HRT. As Inoue's study of the impression of HRT shows, rising intonations are possibly perceived as impolite (Inoue, 1994, p.22) when the relationship between the interactors is not intimate enough. Such levels of intimacy are measured by the amount of sharing features between interactors such as gender, age and other social factors. This study suggests that positive politeness markers are functions only in interaction among in-group members, but not among out-group members. This paper has not only shown that a particular intonation pattern, HRT, plays a key role in establishing common ground in female Japanese interaction, but has also suggested that contextual factors are crucial to examine the pragmatic function of the epistemic markers. By examining a variation of intonation -- one of the linguistic variable preferred among young females (Inoue, 1994; Kitade, 1996) -- this study asserts that the social norm of young Japanese females emphasize in-group solidarity, as reflects their language use.

Notes

I would like to thank to Prof. Miriam Meyerhoff and Prof. Cook M Haruko for their comments on this study. Thanks also to Prof. Hiroyuki Nagahara, who examined the data and gave me some suggestions and the audiences who gave me helpful comments at CAJLE 10th annual conference, 1999.

1. The HRT in Japanese occurs on the last syllables of words regardless of a location of accent. The final syllable with HRT tend to be longer due to the immediate rising of tone.

2. In Inoue's study, the subjects listen to HRT recorded, but he does not mention the contents of the tape is interaction or a monologue.
3. My previous study of HRT and gender shows that HRTs are most frequently occurred when the interviewer is female and the addressee is female in the interview of stranger at a shopping mall.
4. Clause final in this study correspond to what Kuno (12) has termed as "-- all clauses in Japanese must end with verbs--". Also the units ending with 'no', 'koto', 'to', 'no/n desu' are considered as Nominal or Adjectival clauses (213-233). The copulas after nouns and nominal adjectives can indicate the tense of the clause.
5. According to Kuno (17), sentences can have their subjects deleted, and transitive verbs can have their objects deleted in Japanese.
6. Subordinate conjunctions are counted as non-clause final location because they indicate their main clauses come right after them.
7. Polar questions are identified with the question particles and addressee's response (yes/no) as well as the contextual information.
8. Fillers (items such as 'honto?' or 'really?' and 'ee?' or 'huh?') are included in non-clause final polar questions.
9. HRTs counted as uncertainty in modal meaning conveys the level of speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed in the utterance. The other epistemic markers and the confirmation responses identify HRTs as epistemic marker in this study.

Appendix

Abbreviation and Transcription Conversations

! XXX !	Increased volume of utterance between exclamation points.
(())	Information for which a symbol is not available.
()	Utterance in parentheses not clearly heard by transcriber
....	Ellipsis
=	Next turn begins without any pause
[Overlap with the previous speaker
?	Rising pitch as a question.
.	Falling pitch.
HRT	High Rising Terminal.

References

- Bolinger, D. (1989). *Intonation and Its Uses*. CA: Stanford University Press.
- Britain, D. (1992). Linguistic Change in Intonation: The use of high rising Terminals in New Zealand English. *Language Variation and change*, 4, 77-105.
- Brown, G., Currie, K. & Kenworthy, J. (1980). *Questions of Intonation*. London: Croom Helm.
- Brown, P & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: some universals in language usage*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ching, M. (1982). "The question intonation in assertions." *American Speech*, 57, 97-107.
- Cook, H.M. (1990). The Sentence-Final Particle *ne* As a Tool for Cooperation in Japanese Conversation. In H, Hoji (Ed.), *Japanese/Korean linguistics* (pp. 29-44). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cruttenden, A. (1986). *Intonation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edelsky, C. (1979). *Question Intonation and Sex Roles*. *The Language and Society*, 15-32.

- Geluykens, R. (1988). On the Myth of Rising Intonation in Polar Questions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12, 467-75.
- Glenn, M. G. (1976). *Pragmatics Function of Intonation*. Michigan: Xerox University Microfilms.
- Goffman, E. (1967). On Face Work. In *International Ritual*. New York: Anchor books.
- Guy, G., Horvath, B., Vonwiller, J., Daisley, E. & Roggers, I. (1986). An Intonational Change in Australian English. *Language in Society*, 15, 23-52.
- Holmes, J. (1986). Function of you'know in Women's and Men's speech. *Language in Society*, 15, 1-22.
- (1995). *Women, Men and Politeness*. NY: Longman publishing.
- Inoue, T. (1994). "Shiriyagari Intonation in Sociolinguistics." *Kokugo Ronkyuu*, 4, 1-25. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Kuno, S. (1994). *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. MA: MIT Press.
- Kitade, K. (1996). *The Use of High Rising Terminal and Gender in Japanese*. Unpublished.
- Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and Women's Place*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Meyerhoff, M. (1994). Sounds Pretty Ethnic, eh?: A Pragmatic Particle in New Zealand English. *Language in Society*, 23, 367-388.
- Ohta, A. (1991). Evidentiality and Politeness in Japanese Issues. *Applied linguistics*, 2, 221-38.
- Reid, J.A. (1995). Study of Gender Differences in Minimal responses. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 24, 489-512.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-taking for Conversation." *Language*, 50(4), 696-735.
- Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approach to Discourse*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Stenstrom, A. (1984). *Question and Responses in English conversation*. Lurd: CWK Gleerup.
- Suzuki, S. (1995). A Study of Sentence-final MITAI NA. *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, 29, 55-78.
- Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in Interaction*. New York: Longman.
- Thorne, B & Henley, N. (1975). *Language Sex: Difference and Dominance*. MA: Newbury House.