

Pragmatic Rules to Enhance Students' Intercultural Competence: A Study Based on a Functional Analysis of Overlaps in Task-Based Dialogues

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要旨 本研究では、アメリカ人の英語話者（以下、英語話者）と日本語話者それぞれの「課題達成談話」に見られる重複発話に着目し、出現頻度及び機能面から2言語間における重複発話の相違について分析を試みた。データは親しい女子大学生ペア各11組の録音資料と書き起こし資料を用いた。その結果、英語話者では、「話し手」と「聞き手」の立場を維持しつつ合意に至る傾向が見られた一方で、日本語話者では、同一表現の反復によって協調性を生み出しつつ合意を図る傾向が見られた。また、対話者と異なる意見を述べる場合は、英語話者は多少躊躇しつつも明確に意見を提示する傾向が見られた一方で、日本語話者は語の反復や付加疑問文などを用いて否定的なニュアンスを回避する傾向が見られた。これらの分析結果について、日本語と英語の間における文化的な違いに触れながら考察を試み、異文化コミュニケーション能力を高める上での重複発話の指導の可能性を探る。

1. Introduction

Overlap, which refers to talk by “more than one speaker at a time” (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 700), is one of the common features of talk-in-interactions. Although this phenomenon seems to be universal, the manner in which overlap occurs varies across languages and situations. Overlap may be welcomed and encouraged in some cultures, while it is considered rude and disrespectful in others (Tannen, 1990). For example, Japanese speakers tend to show far more simultaneous speech, including backchannels, than Americans, and their simultaneous talk does not necessarily cause communicative conflict among the speakers; however, American simultaneous talk often occurs in competition to gain the floor (Hayashi, 1988). This difference in communication style may prevent American and Japanese speakers from engaging in smooth conversation with each other, unless they are aware of these differences. Moreover, a questionnaire conducted by Koike, Terauchi, Takada, Matsui, and The Institute for International Business Communication (2010) reveals Japanese business people's difficulty in objecting during discussions as well as finding a time to express their own opinion. This is partly due to the different discourse styles between English and Japanese (Shigemitsu, 2015). The above previous research motivates us to

investigate how we should manage turn-taking and control overlapped talk while interacting with native speakers.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to conduct a cross-linguistic investigation of overlaps in American English and Japanese interactions, and to clarify the differences in overlaps between the two languages. The study deals with overlaps of interactions between female university students and focuses in particular on task-based dialogues because little attention has been paid to this particular genre. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted from the viewpoint of a metacommunicative approach (Bateson, 1972). Our final goal is to help students learn to communicate effectively in their second language and provide teachers with a new perspective on offering the most effective instruction to students in communication.

2. Background

2.1 Overlaps in conversation analysis

Researchers in conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2006; Sidnell, 2010; Tanaka, 1999) have analyzed overlap of utterances in terms of transition-relevance place and projectability, to clarify the positions where overlaps occur and how they should be dealt with to achieve a smooth conversation based on systematic turn construction. In particular, Sidnell (2010) regards overlap as “a potential source of impairment” (p. 52) that needs to be resolved and repaired. Beattie (1982) and Vatanen (2014) consider overlap equivalent to a turn-taking device and excluded “continuers” (Schegloff, 1982, p. 81), such as backchannels, from their analysis targets. However, Sugawara (1996) and Tannen (1990) comprehensively define overlaps as simultaneous utterances of words or sentences regardless of turn-taking, and this study takes the latter view.

2.2 Cross-cultural difference in overlaps

Hayashi (1988) has revealed that a typical aspect of Japanese speakers’ conversational interaction is the extraordinary frequency of simultaneous talk, while American English speakers tend to avoid simultaneous talk and are more conscious of the interactional rule of “one speaker at a time” than Japanese speakers. Researchers such as Yuan, Liberman, and Cieri (2007) have suggested that the Japanese language has more speaker changes and more short turn-taking types of overlaps than any other language, including English. Sociolinguistic studies (Fujii, 2012; Uchida, 2008) have found that Japanese interactions have more overlaps than do English interactions, and that the functions of the overlaps differ between the two languages. Fujii (2012) also mentions that Japanese speakers are more

hearer-oriented, while American English speakers are more direct and speaker-oriented.

2.3 Overlaps from a sociopragmatic perspective

Tannen (1990) points out the collaborative nature of overlap as a sign of rapport and explains that such overlapping occurs when the listener is showing enthusiastic support and agreement with the speaker. Vatanen (2014), who studied Finnish and Estonian conversations, and Endo and Yokomori (2015), who studied Japanese conversations, found that listeners' positive responses to the speakers' opinions and evaluation start before the transition-relevance place with non-competitive overlaps.

3. Research questions

As per the overview, previous studies from conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, sociopragmatics, and other fields have mainly characterized overlaps in free conversation, but, to date, insufficient research has been conducted to elucidate cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences in overlaps in a different genre of interaction: a task-based dialogue. This genre of conversation seems to require more collaboration between speakers, and tends to be more "content-based" (Takeda, 2016, p. 87) than free conversation. This may affect interaction and language use, including the use of overlap. In addition, the way speakers show collaboration may differ between the two languages. It will also be worth investigating whether the previous findings concerning free conversation can also apply to task-based dialogues.

Therefore, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How do the acquainted dyads of English and Japanese female students overlap their interlocutors differently during task-based dialogues?

RQ2: How does the different use of overlaps affect their interaction?

4. Data and Method

4.1 Data

The data consisted of 11 pairs of recordings from task-based dialogues between female university student dyads. Eleven of each in English (among students aged between 19 and 23 years) and Japanese (among students aged between 20 and 22 years) were extracted from the "Mister O Corpus," which consists of dyad conversations of 22 female students (11 pairs) in American English and 24 female students (12 pairs) in Japanese, recorded under experimental conditions.¹⁾ All the participants were studying at the same Japanese

university and were acquainted with each other. One of the Japanese pairs was excluded from the study because their intimacy level was comparatively low (they were the same age but were meeting for the first time). The recordings and their transcripts extracted from the corpus were then analyzed.

4.2 The content of the task

Each dyad was required to work together without a time limit to construct a coherent story with a set of 15 picture cards from the “Mister O” picture book. The picture cards (shown in Figure 1) depict the following story: Mr. O tries to get across a cliff with the help of a bigger person, but the bigger person picks Mr. O up and throws him to the other side of the cliff. Mr. O tries to do the same with a smaller person but crushes him instead. The participants were told that there is no “correct” story.

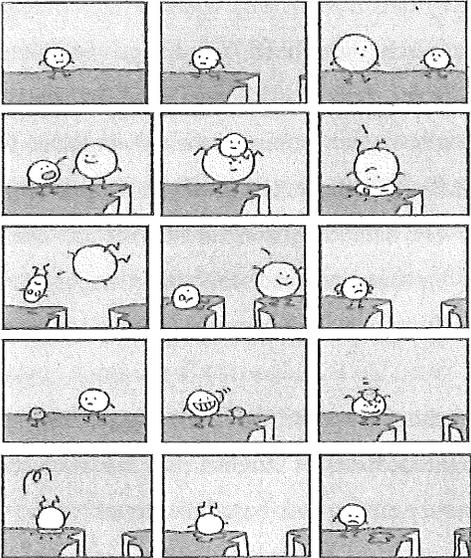


Figure 1.
Picture Cards for the Task (Ide, 2014, p. 27).

4.3 Method

Overlaps were extracted from the transcripts and classified by the presence or absence of backchannels, first, because this particular type of overlapping has been discussed in the previous studies between English and Japanese. In this study, backchannels are defined as simple words or phrases, such as “uh-huh” and “hmm,” that are used to show acknowledgment or encouragement. They are also counted as independent turns regardless of the occurrence of turn-taking, based on the definition of overlapping suggested by

Sugawara (1996) and Tannen (1990).

Moreover, overlaps with the same or similar expressions as at the previous turn were extracted. These overlaps may contribute to smooth interaction acting like backchannels, but at a different level. According to the criterion proposed by Horiguchi (1997) and Otsuka (2015), overlapping between two participants that includes the same utterance content, that is, the same or similar expressions, conveys not only information sharing but also the listener's active contribution to the content of the speaker's utterance. Therefore, this type of overlap was distinguished from backchannels because it showed a more active participation in the task.

To sum up, all the overlaps were classified into the following three categories: (a) overlaps with backchannels, (b) overlaps with the same or similar expressions as at the previous turn,²⁾ and (c) other types of overlaps. The first two types of overlaps were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively because these two types were relatively easy to distinguish, due to the fact that it has few variations. The third type of overlap was analyzed mainly qualitatively because this type of overlap could take various linguistic forms according to the context. Nevertheless, we tried to briefly mention its quantitative data to show the differences between American English and Japanese in the section on qualitative analysis.

The examples below are instances of each of these categories in English and Japanese, some of which have already been shown in previous research by Takeda (2015).

(a) Overlaps with backchannels

(1) English: (E-18)

205 L: Then he comes to the cliff [and he needs to figure out a way to get over to the other side

→206 R: [Uh-huh

(1') Japanese: (J-10)

170 R: *nde hitori ni na[ccha te*

and alone O became FP

“And he left alone.”

→171 L: [*un un*

Yeah yeah

“Yeah, yeah.”

(b) Overlaps with the same or similar expressions as at the previous turn

(2) English: (E-12)

074 L: So he takes him to show him the cliff, and says ["I can't get over this cliff."

→075 R: ["I can't get across!"], and he's like, "I'll help you"(.). no wait he's like, "See, I can do it."

(2') Japanese: (J-08)

146 R: [*saisho ni*
first at
"First."

→147 L: [*saisho ni ue ni no- (.) nocchau ka*
first at top at get.on Q
"First, it gets on the black character, right?"

(c) Other types of overlap

(3) English: (E-06)

233 R: And then when he bounced on him, he went(.) he kind of fell, [you know

→234 L: [He was planning on
bouncing on him?

(3') Japanese: (J-20)

144 R: *ue ni non[na tsute*
top at get on FP.and
"Why don't you get on me?"

145 L [*tetsudatte yotte yutte*
help me FP.and say.and
"He said, 'help me,' and"

5. Results and discussion

5.1 Quantitative analysis

Table 1 provides an outline of the data: the total duration of the recordings and the total number of turns and overlaps in the English and Japanese dialogues. The ratio of the total number of overlaps to the total number of turns was also calculated to examine the possibility of a statistical significance between these two groups. For the comparison of the two different language groups, the Mann-Whitney U test³⁾ was used because this is the common non-parametric test used for two sets of unpaired data.

Table 1.

Ratio of Total Number of Overlaps to Total Number of Turns

	English	Japanese
Duration (min.)	82:02	77:58
(1) Turn total (freq.)	1333	1872
(2) Overlap total (freq.)	414	696
Ratio of (2) divided by (1) (%)	31.1	37.2

Statistically, no significant difference was found between the two groups in terms of the ratio of the total number of overlaps to the total number of turns ($p=0.13$). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the Japanese participants showed a higher number of turns and overlaps than the English participants despite their shorter duration of interaction.

Table 2 shows the ratio of the total number of overlaps with backchannels and overlaps with the same or similar expressions to the total number of turns. Overall, Japanese speakers tend to use more collaborative overlaps than English speakers. It is also noticeable that the English participants used more overlaps with backchannels than overlaps with the same or similar expressions, while Japanese participants preferred overlaps with the same or similar expressions.

Table 2.

Ratio of Overlaps with Backchannels and Overlaps with the Same or Similar Expressions to Overlap Total

	English	Japanese
(1) Overlap total (freq.)	414	696
(2) Overlaps with backchannels (freq.)	74	78
(3) Overlaps with the same/similar expressions (freq.)	55	171
Ratio of (2) divided by (1) (%)	17.9	11.2
Ratio of (3) divided by (1) (%)	13.3	24.6

Statistically, there were no significant differences between the English and Japanese groups ($p=0.32$ in terms of overlaps with backchannels, and $p=0.06$ in terms of overlaps with the same or similar expression). Nevertheless, the difference in the total number of overlaps with the same or similar expressions is worth noting because it approached the borderline of significance.

5.2 Qualitative analysis

5.2.1 Similarity between American and Japanese interactions

A qualitative analysis was conducted to further examine the function of overlaps in American English and Japanese. First, there were some similarities in English and Japanese interactions. The following two examples show that speakers in both languages use overlaps to confirm their common understanding of the current task. This type of confirmation can serve to quickly build consensus between the participants and to facilitate completion of the task. The following English example shows that one of the speakers intends to confirm the characters in the story.

(4) English: (E-10)

- 012 R: It looks [like they're probably trying cross(..)you think?
013 L: [Ahh
014 L: Ahh (.) something (.)
015 L: Okay,[so this guy,
→016 R: [Wait, there's a total of (..) there's like three characters I think, [right?
→017 L: [Yeah, well=
018 R: =the yellow,
the white, and the grey dude.
019 L: Yeah.

At the beginning of the example, R starts constructing a story and expresses the idea that the characters in the story are trying to go across a cliff. L tries to accept R's idea in line 014 and starts her turn in line 015, but R soon overlaps L in line 016 with the intention of sharing the common understanding about the characters in the story. In line 017, L offers the backchannel "Yeah" by overlapping R to show clear acceptance.

The following Japanese example suggests that one of the speakers shows positive listenership to achieve quicker consensus on the content of the story.

(5) Japanese: (J-08)

- 046 L: *shiroino ga aru[ite imashita=*
The white one SP walking was
"The white guy was walking."
→047 R: [un(.) un
yeah yeah

“Yeah, yeah.”

048 L: =*de(.) gake ga atte are (.) [tore nai ya (.) to omotte*
and a cliff SP is.and oh pass cannot FP QT think.and
“And there is a cliff, and he thinks ‘oh, I can’t get across.’”

→049 R: [*modotta n da(.) un*
return N CP yeah
“He returns, yeah.”

050 L: *de (.) kiroi no ni ae mashi[ta*
then yellow N O could.meet
“Then he met the yellow person.”

→051 R: [*hai*
Yes
“Yes.”

In this example, L starts by describing what the white character is doing at some point of the story. When L’s talk is nearly finished, R overlaps L by repeating the common Japanese backchannel *un* to show positive listenership. R overlaps L again in line 049, supplementing L’s idea. Furthermore, R is in complete agreement with L’s idea in line 051, which is suggested by the word *hai*. This flow of interaction indicates that R’s overlaps in 047, 049, and 051 can serve to build a quicker consensus on the content of the story and eventually promote task completion.

5.2.2 Differences between American and Japanese interactions

There were also differences between the English and Japanese interactions. The American participants used overlaps to express clear agreement and accepted the suggested ideas to show coexistence with each other as individuals during the interactions. The following example exhibits this tendency.

(6) English: (E-22)

101 R: So he meets this guy, he talks to [him, asking (.) see ‘cause he’s pointing, “Can I get on [your head?”

→102 L: [HmMMM.

→103 L: [Yeah

104 R: Gets on his head

105 L: He (.) he jump[s, but he

106 R: [(Jumps) boun- (.) he's more like a cushion [here, or a spring, he bounces,
and the other guy gets over and he's,
→107 L: [Yeah
108 L: Yeah

At the beginning of this example, R is describing the behavior of the two characters after they meet each other. L makes backchannels in lines 102, 103, and 107 to show attention and acceptance of the idea suggested by R. In this example, R is taking the initiative to construct the story while L mostly concentrates on listening and accepting R's ideas with backchannels. It can be interpreted that they are aware of their roles in the interaction: one as "an idea presenter," and the other as "an idea supporter" (Takeda, 2016). Their awareness of their individual roles in interaction can represent what we shall call the "now-you-talk-so-I-listen" kind of attitude.

On the other hand, the Japanese participants showed more overlaps using the same or similar expressions as at the previous turn to show unification and solidarity among themselves as collaborators. The following example shows overlaps with the same or similar expressions as those used at the previous turn.

(7) Japanese: (J-10)

096 R: *de* (.) *fumarete*::
and be.stepped.and
"Then, it is stepped on by the other character."
→097 L: [*fumarete*::
be.stepped.and
"It is stepped on."
098 L: [*tonde* (.) *chakuchi*
jump.and land
"The other character jumps and lands."
→099 R: [*tonde* (.) *chakuchishite*
jump.and land.and
"The other character jumps and lands and"
100 R: *sorede*:: (.) *jibun mo*
then self also
"Then it also,"
101 L: *jibun mo* (.) *yaritai* [*na*

self also want.to.do FP

“It also wants to do (the same thing).”

- 102 R: [*yaritai* [*to* *omotte*
 want.to.do QT think.and
 “It also wants to do (the same thing), and”
- 103 L: [*tte* *omotte*
 QT think.and
 “It also wants, and”

Prior to this excerpt, the participants are discussing the order of the two specific cards. Believing that one of the characters wants to crush the other character before jumping to the other side of the cliff, R presents her idea first. When R has almost finished talking, L overlaps R by repeating the same expression *fumarete* in line 097. Sharing the idea together, L and R express the same words *tonde chakuchi* simultaneously in the following two lines. In line 102, R repeats, with a slight overlap, the word *yaritai*, which has appeared in the previous L’s turn, and this invites the following simultaneous utterance of similar expressions.

It is also clear that, regardless of overlapping, both R and L are repeating each other’s words alternately while constructing the story. This could mean that L and R are working together as idea presenters. In other words, there is no clear boundary of roles and they are showing unification and solidarity to appreciate the commonality of their ideas during the task. We shall name this type of collaboration the “we-work-as-one” kind of attitude.

Another noticeable difference was observed between American and Japanese interactions, in the way they mitigated the negative and assertive nuances of the content of the specific overlaps. American participants tended to clarify the difference at the beginning of the overlap by using negation words, such as “no” or “but,” (11 instances in English versus 4 instances in Japanese). This evidence may suggest that American speakers tend to state their opinions more clearly than Japanese speakers. Nonetheless, they also used a slight pause or added some extra words to diminish the negative and assertive nuances. The following example explains this tendency.

(8) English: (E-14)

068 R: There’s the cliff

069 L: I think(.) okay

070 R: Then he walks away from the[cliff

→071 L: [No, no (..) wait, hold on (..)

072 L: No wait, you're totally messing this up

073 R: Hah, [I'm sorry

074 L: [@

At the beginning of this example, R is presenting an idea, while L is listening and showing some agreement with R's idea, until in line 071 she interrupts R by repeating the word "no" twice and showing clear disagreement. However, L also uses a slight pause and mentions "wait, hold on" after the negation. This resolution could downgrade the previous assertive tone.

In contrast, the Japanese participants tried to avoid confronting their interlocutors and used repetition, pauses, or even tag questions to reduce the assertive nuances. The following example shows this tendency.

(9) Japanese: (J-24)

040 L: *a* (.) *dakara* (.) *sousousou* (.) *e::to*,

ah therefore yeah yeah yeah well

"Oh, so I mean, yeah yeah yeah well..."

041 R: [*ochitsui te*

calm down FP

"Calm down."

→042 L: [*koukoukou janai?* (.) *a* (.) *kou* (.) *kou de sho* (.) *ton de*,

this this this way TAG ah this this way CPF (.) jump.and

"This, this, this is the right way, isn't it? This way, this way, I guess. He jumps and"

Before this excerpt, L hits on a different idea and tries to explain it hesitantly at first. Then, in line 042, L starts expressing it little by little with overlapped repetition of the word *kou*. Through the use of this repetition, L seems to reduce the assertive nuance of her statement. Furthermore, L adds a tag question to present her idea as a suggestion, which also helps to reduce the negative connotation. In particular, their use of overlaps followed by tag questions was distinctive (15 instances in Japanese versus no instance in English).

To sum up, the results of this study show that Japanese speakers tend to use more overlaps than American speakers in task-based dialogues among acquainted female dyads, which confirms the previous findings (Hayashi, 1988; Yuan, Liberman, & Cieri, 2007). It can be clarified that overlap plays an important role of creating smooth interaction in collaborative work, just as in free conversation, among Japanese speakers.

The results also show that overlap could function as a sign of rapport in either language although a different use of overlaps was observed between the two languages. On the one hand, the Japanese pairs preferred to use overlaps with the same or similar expressions instead of backchannels. This result may suggest that Japanese speakers tend to resonate with each other by using overlap to show a more active participation in the collaborative work. Furthermore, they create solidarity and harmony by making the same or similar utterances to reach a joint conclusion. In this respect, Japanese speakers can be regarded as “hearer-oriented,” as Fujii (2012) pointed out. Their use of this particular type of overlap could also be interpreted as manifesting interdependence. In other words, Japanese speakers seem to rely on each other to a certain extent while working together. This might further be attributed to their psychological tendency toward *Amae* (dependence or interdependence), as previously described by Doi (1986).

On the other hand, the American pairs tended to make more backchannels and avoided too much interference. It could be speculated that American speakers appreciate each other’s opinions and focus on the content of a conversation rather than showing positive listenership and harmony. Regarding this point, Shigemitsu (2015) presents the interview results of native English speakers, including Americans, about their ideal conversation: they tend to be satisfied with a conversation with someone who states their opinions confidently, and they do not mind arguing as long as their conversation is stimulating (p. 31). This can explain not only their independent style of expressing their own opinions but also the reason for clarifying the difference between each other’s ideas at the beginning of overlaps. For American speakers, clarification is important because it can facilitate their discussion. In contrast, the Japanese pairs tried to avoid using expressions with negative and assertive nuances and used other expressions instead. This result shows that avoiding unnecessary conflict is highly valued by Japanese speakers. Concerning this point, Meyer (2015), by showing the Disagreeing scale across different cultures, points out that Japan is on the side of “avoids confrontation,” whereas America falls somewhere between the two extremes: “confrontational” and “avoids confrontation” (p. 201). It can be interpreted that Americans are more confrontational than Japanese people, but are not extremely confrontational, which could explain why the American pairs tried to mitigate the negative and assertive nuances of overlaps after disagreeing with their conversation partners.

6. Conclusion

This cross-linguistic study proved that overlaps in task-based dialogues help reveal emotional involvement in the on-going interaction and encourage the building of rapport

between participants in both American English and Japanese. It also showed the different functions of overlaps in American and Japanese speakers, highlighting how collaboration would be achieved differently in these languages. The findings may suggest that brief supportive overlaps, such as backchannels, are common in American English to encourage collaboration in the task, whereas overlaps containing the same or similar expressions can be effective in Japanese to share the commonality of the speakers' ideas. These differences of overlap may reflect their different cultural perspectives: Americans tend to value each other's ideas, whereas Japanese people tend to develop their ideas as a team. Moreover, their attitudes toward confrontation will affect their different ways of mitigating the negative or assertive nuances of overlaps. Japanese speakers will try to avoid confrontation, while American speakers may show their disagreement clearly, but with slight mitigation.

However, since this study mainly focused on the collaborative nature of overlapping, further analysis and categorization of overlaps is necessary to explore other possible differences between the two languages. Moreover, it is necessary to conduct a detailed analysis from a linguistic perspective. It would also be possible to collect data in L2 and examine the participants' L1 transfer in their L2; this would offer implications for the instruction of intercultural competence. Furthermore, it will be necessary to develop teaching materials based on the research results and try these materials out in actual language classes. Regarding this point, previous studies concerning teaching pragmatic rules (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; McConachy & Hata, 2013) can provide us with inspiration for instruction on overlaps both implicitly and explicitly. Both implicit and explicit instructions will help language learners, possibly at intermediate or advanced level, to develop awareness of how to manage turn-taking, including overlap. We hope the merits of instruction on overlaps will be more fully appreciated through further research.

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Notes

1. This is a cross-linguistic video corpus collected for the "Empirical and theoretical studies on culture, interaction, and language in Asia," "Towards emancipatory pragmatics:

Discourse analyses from native speaker's perspectives," and "Co-creation of 'ba' in language use: The construction of a pragmatic theory from the indigenous perspectives of native speakers" projects under a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (No. 15320054, 18320069, directed by Sachiko Ide, and 20320064, 23320090, directed by Yoko Fujii). All the processes and interactions were DVD-recorded.

2. This includes "speaking in unison" (Sugawara, 2012, p. 577), which means "echoing the words of the other" (2012) and "completing the sentences of the other" (2012) through overlaps. "Choral co-production" (Lerner, 2002, p. 226) is a similar phenomenon, but it refers to "voicing the same words in the same way at the same time as another speaker -- or at least demonstrating that one is aiming at that result" (p. 227), and word echoing is not the indispensable prerequisite.
3. This is a nonparametric test that allows two groups or conditions or treatments to be compared without assuming that the values are normally distributed. The *U*-value is usually shown, and the critical value of *U* at $p < .05$ is 30. However, the *p*-value is further calculated in its association with the *Z*-value and shown in this study.

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Appendix A—Transcription conventions (Du Bois et al., 1993; Kushida et al., 2005)

[XX: beginning of overlaps	=: latching
“XX”: English translation of Japanese conversation	
→: places where overlaps occur	(.): pause, more than a half second
(.): micro-pause	@: laughter
:: lengthened syllable	.: falling intonation
?: rising intonation	,: continuing intonation
wor-: word truncation	

Appendix B—Abbreviations used in the interlinear gloss (Hayashi, 2003, pp. 241–242)

CP	various forms of copula verb be	FP	final particle
N	nominalizer	O	object particle
Q	question particle	QT	quotative particle
SP	subject particle	TAG	tag question