AN ANALYSIS OF THE USES OF ALLO-REPETITION IN JAPANESE CONVERSATION IN TERMS OF PROSODY AND NONVERBAL BEHAVIOR

Chisato Koike

University of Minnesota

I Introduction

Although there have been several studies of the functions of repetition in conversations, none of these studies focused in depth on the prosodic and nonverbal behaviors accompanying repetition. I have found that prosodic features and nonverbal behaviors accompanying repetition are important for interpreting its function in conversation. In my analysis, I examine syntactic, prosodic, and nonverbal aspects of immediate exact partial and complete allo-repetition, that is, repetition of words of another speaker, which were used for a variety of functions in my data. I will demonstrate that prosodic features such as pitch and intonation, and nonverbal behaviors such as facial expressions and gaze, play important roles in achieving the effects of repetition in conversation.

II Previous studies

Research on the functions of repetition in English conversation by Tannen (1989) and in Japanese conversation by Nakada (1992) provides the basis of my analysis of functions of repetition in this study. Tannen (1989:97) suggests that repetition in conversation is "relatively automatic" and "its automaticity contributes to its functions in production, comprehension, connection and interaction." She also proposes the nine functions of repetition: "participatory listenership, ratifying listenership, humor, savoring, stalling, expanding, participation, evaluating through patterned rhythm and bounding episodes" (Tannen 1989:59).

Based on Tannen's analysis of repetition, Nakada examines functions of repetition in Japanese conversation and proposes twenty-three functions. She divides these functions into seven types: "referential, emotive, conative, phatic, poetic, metalinguistic and discourse structuring" (Nakada 1992:273).

I used three functions from their studies: repetition for ratification from Tannen's analysis and repetition for confirmation of a received message and repetition for disagreement from Nakada's analysis. Although these previous studies of repetition in conversation have proved useful for my analysis, they do not consider in depth both prosodic features and nonverbal behaviors involved in repetition.

247

III Data and methods

I have analyzed the uses of allo-repetition in three sixty-minute videotaped face-to-face conversations between two native speakers of Japanese, and incorporated the comments that each participant made in follow-up viewing sessions. I use a fictitious first name for each participant in my data to protect privacy. I transcribed the conversation which I videotaped for this study basically following utterance units which Sugito (1987: 83) defines as "one participant's unified sequence of linguistic sound including laughter and short *aizuti* 'minimal response') separated by another participant's sequence of linguistic sound or a pause" (translation from Szatrowski 1990). However, I did not separate utterances by pause in my data.

I observed three basic final intonation patterns, falling intonation (.), rising intonation (?) and flat intonation (+), which I marked with the symbols given in parentheses. I also used CSPEECH to analyze other prosodic features, specifically the pitch curves and intonation of repeated utterances in the data.

Based on an examination of the videotaped data, I described the participants' nonverbal behavior that accompanied the uses of repetition: specifically, I paid attention to facial expressions, gaze, head movement, hand movements and posture changes. In my analysis I focused on four facial expressions, 1) smile, 2) vacant look, 3) knitting brows, 4) wide open eyes. Six types of gaze were included in my analysis, 1) looks at interlocutor, 2) looks at interlocutor obliquely out of the corner of eyes, 3) looks up, 4) looks down, 5) looks forward, 6) looks to the side. Head movements included 1) large nod, 2) small quick nod, 3) tilting head to one side. In my analysis of hand gesture, I only looked at deictic hand gesture accompanying allo-repetition. Finally, I considered three types of posture change, 1) lean toward an interlocutor, 2) lean away from an interlocutor, 3) lean back.

IV Analysis

In my data I have found thirteen functions of allo-repetition. In Table 1 on the next page, I have summarized syntactic, prosodic and nonverbal features for each function. From Table 1, it could be said that functions one through five seem to share the same syntactic and nonverbal features. The speakers in my data tended to repeat prior utterances while looking at their interlocutors and nodding, when they used allo-repetition for 1) ratification, 2) agreement and shared feelings, 3) understanding, 4) confirmation of a received message and 5) *aizuti* 'back channel utterances.' For these five functions, they also used overlapping or shadowing as syntactic devices. I suggest that functions one through five should be considered more other-directed or interactional. Nonverbal behaviors like looking at interlocutors and nodding, as well as syntactic devices like shadowing and overlap, not only keep a conversation going in a cooperative way but also indicate that speakers are building rapport in a conversation.

248

Table 1: Summary of syntactic, prosodic and nonverbal features for thirteen functions of allo-repetition
(RI, FL and FA in prosodic features mean a raising intonation, flat intonation and falling intonation, respectively.)

Functions		Syntactic features	Prosodic features				Nonverbal features
			RI	FL	FA	Others	
1	Repetition for ratification	Shadowing Overlap			X	Similar pitch contours	Looks at interlocutor Looks down Nodding Mirroring movements
2	Repetition for agreement and shared feelings	Shadowing Overlap Self-repetition of another's utterances			X		Looks at interlocutor Looks down Nodding
3	Repetition to indicate understanding	Overlap Co-construction Partial repetition	X	X			Looks at interlocutor Nodding Deictic gesture
4	Repetition to confirm a received message	Shadowing The use of extended predicate *n da* 'it is that' The use of particle *ne* 'right'			X	Emphasis in pitch	Looks at interlocutor Nodding
5	Repetition for aizuti 'back channel utterances'	Overlap The use of particle *ne* 'right'		X	X	Similar monotone of voice	Looks at interlocutor Nodding
6	Repetition of an uncertain phrase			X	X		Looks at interlocutor Looks up at the ceiling Looking at table, with a slightly puzzled face Diverts gaze away from interlocutor and then looks up to left

7	Repetition for reflection	Pause before repetition		X	X	Lengthening the last mora Low whispered voice High rise followed by a falling intonation	Looks down at table away from interlocutor
8	Repetition to request confirmation		X				Looks at interlocutor
9	Repetition to request clarification	Partial repetition	X	X			Looks at interlocutor Looks at interlocutor tilting head to left Looks at interlocutor with a vacant look on face
10	Repetition for disagreement	The use of *te iu ka* 'or how (should I say)' The use of *Ma* 'Well' Monologue (*ka naa* 'I wonder')		X	X	Lengthening the last mora of the particle	Tilts head slightly to left Tilts head to right Mirroring gesture Looks forward Looks up at ceiling Diverts gaze
11	Repetition for the focus of surprise	The use of extended predicate *n desu ka* 'it's that'	X			High rise and falling intonation	Looks at interlocutor with eyes wide open
12	Repetition for the focus of laugher	Overlap Followed by laughter		X	X	Lengthening the last mora of the word Emphasizes the same part *dame* 'no good'	Laughs while placing face down on table
13	Repetition for linking and contribution	Repeat at the beginning of the answer					

On the other hand, the speakers tended to divert their gaze and use other syntactic features like pause and prosodic features like lengthening a word, when they used repetition for functions six through thirteen. It can be said that these eight functions are more self-directed or self-expressive and are used to focus on specific information in a prior utterance rather than a conversation as a whole. Now I would like to discuss how the speakers used syntactic devices, prosody and nonverbal behaviors accompanying allo-repetition in a conversation. Because space is limited, I will focus on four functions: 1) surprise, 2) reflection, 3) request for clarification and 4) ratification.

Speakers in my data repeated a part or all of other speakers' prior utterance to indicate their surprise. This was a very effective way to indicate involvement in a story. The conversational segment in (1) is about how Korean residents in Takatsuki, Japan did not have running water even until the seventies. In 8M, Miki repeats parts of Kumi's utterance in 3K by repetition to indicate her surprise.

(1) Living condition of Korean residents in Takatsuki, Japan

Japanese		English	
1K:	Soryaa hidoi atukai datta desyoo ne.	1K:	That must have been terrible treatment, wasn't it.
2M:	Un.	2M:	Yeah.
3K:	Atasi sono toki no hanasi to ka sono <u>nanazyuu-nen nai dai</u> ni itaru <u>made</u>? soko no watasi ga itta Takatuki-si no syuurakuti?	3K:	I, the story at that time, that, <u>until</u> (it) reached <u>the</u> <u>seventies</u>? that village in Takatsuki City where I went,
		4M:	Uh huh.
4M:	U::n.	5K:	In (it) least?
5K:	Ni wa?	6M:	Uh huh.
6M:	Un.	7K:	Uh, (they) say (they) <u>didn't</u> <u>have even running water,</u> <u>didn't have even running</u> <u>water</u> and.
7K:	Ano:: <u>mizu sae mo nakatta</u> <u>mizu sae mo hikarete nakatta</u> tte iu si.		
--->8M:	Nanazyuu-nen made? {looks at K with wide open eyes, surprised high pitched voice}	--->8M:	<u>Until the seventies?</u> {looks at K with wide open eyes, surprised high pitched voice}

In the follow-up viewing session Kumi told me that she was shocked and angry when she first heard the story she is telling in this excerpt. As shown by the dotted line in 7K, she repeats the words *mizu sae mo hikarete nakatta* 'even water was not supplied' for emphasis and to indicate her anger and excitement. While the focus of Kumi's surprise is on the fact that Korean residents in Takatsuki did not have any water service, the focus of Miki's surprise is more on the fact that this happened until the seventies. In 8M, Miki repeats part of Kumi's prior utterance in 3K *Nanazyuu-nen made?* 'Until the seventies?' looking at Kumi with wide open eyes. As shown by the pitch curve in Figure

251

1 in Appendix I, Miki pronounces this utterance with rising intonation in a surprised high pitched voice. Miki uses repetition to indicate her surprise and request confirmation of Kumi's prior utterance.

In (2), Kumi is telling a story about how terrible the living conditions for Korean residents are in Japan and illustrates her story with an example of the lack of running water in Takatsuki, Japan. Both Kumi and Miki are very emotionally involved in this conversational segment. After full two-second pause, in 4M Miki repeats the word *ituityau* '(they) end up settling down (lit. sticking) there' from Kumi's prior utterance in 1K in a normal voice with falling intonation while looking up at the ceiling in order to reflect on this word. This in turn suggests Miki's serious consideration and emotional involvement in Kumi's story.

(2) Discrimination against Korean residents in Takatsuki, Japan

Japanese		English	
1K:	Mizu o hiite morau yoo ni sita n da kedomo:, soko de okotta koto tte iu no ga: soko ni sunde ru nihonzin soko no tyotto ue no hoo ni sunde ru nihonzin no hito-tati ga: sonna koto wa yurusanai, sonna koto sitara, aitura ituityau to {M nods six times}	1K:	It's that (they) made it have water service but the thing happened there was that Japanese living there Japanese living little above there (said) they would not allow such a thing, if (you) do such a thing, they will end up settling down. {M nods six times}
2M:	U::n.	2M:	Yeah.
3K:	iu sabetu ga mada atte, u::n.	3K:	there is discrimination like that, and yeah.
--->4M:	(2.0 long in breath) Ituityau. {looking up at the ceiling} //u::n.	--->4M:	(2.0 long in breath) End up settling down. {looking up at the ceiling} //yeah
5K:	U::n. {nods slightly}	5K:	Yeah. {nods slightly}

In 1K, Kumi mentions that Japanese people living near Takatsuki were not willing to supply water to the area where Korean residents were living because they did not want the Korean residents to settle down there. Miki, astounded by the story, nods six times as she listens to Kumi's utterance in 1K and repeats Kumi's word *ituityau* 'end up settling down' in a normal voice while looking up at the ceiling in 4M. In the follow-up viewing session Miki said that she had been very shocked by the story and thought that the Japanese people living near that area who said that they did not want Korean residents to "settle down" were very cruel.

Miki uses repetition in 4M not only to reflect on the word and Kumi's whole story but also to convey her emotional involvement and serious consideration of Kumi's story. Because the nonverbal behavior (looking up at the ceiling) accompanying Miki's repetition suggests that is reflecting on the word herself rather than expecting any further information or explanation about the word from Kumi, Kumi responds minimally to Miki's repetition saying in 5K *U::n* . 'Yeah.' while nodding slightly and continues on with the rest of her story.

Speakers in my data used repetition to request clarification of a prior utterance as in (3). In (3), Yoko is talking about where she lived when she was in Minneapolis. In 2T, Taka repeats part of Yoko's utterance in 1Y to get more information about it and clarify her prior utterance while looking at Yoko and tilting his head to his left side.

(3) Yoko's apartment

Japanese		English	
1Y:	De sokkara hikkosite:: mukoo no hoo ni anoo <u>dauntaun no sono tikaku</u> no {Y pointing behind with her right hand} **{T looks up at the ceiling}** mansyon mansyon zya nai apaato mitai na tokoro ni //kawatta n desu.	1Y:	And I moved from that to over there uhm of in that <u>near downtown</u>, {Y pointing behind with her right hand} **{T looks up at the ceiling}** It's that I moved to a mansion, not a mansion to the place like an apartment.
---->2T:	<u>Dauntaun no tikaku?</u> **{T looks at Y tilting his head to his left}**	---->2T:	<u>Near downtown?</u> **{T looks at Y tilting his head to his left}**
3Y:	Henepin Burizzi no sugu soba no a//no takai biru.	3Y:	That tall building just near the Hennepin Bridge.
4T:	Aa Ribaabyuu.	4T:	Oh, River View.

In 1Y, Yoko says that she moved to an apartment near downtown. When Yoko says in 1Y *dauntaun no sono tikaku no* 'Of downtown near that', Taka looks up at the ceiling. Then, because he does not understand the location of the apartment that Yoko is referring to, he repeats part of Yoko's utterance in 2T *Dauntaun no tikaku?* 'Near downtown?' with rising intonation to get more information and clarify her prior utterance while looking at Yoko tilting his head. Yoko responds to Taka's clarification request by giving a more detailed description of her former apartment in 3Y *Henepin Burizzi no sugu soba no a//no takai biru* 'That tall building just near the Hennepin Bridge.'

Repetition is used to indicate ratification as in (4). In (4), Miki is talking about attitudes people in Okinawa have about social change and social movements. In 3M and 5M, Miki repeats Kumi's prior utterance in 2K to ratify Kumi's suggested words. Before this extract, Miki mentioned that ordinary people in Okinawa are not sensitive to social

change and social movements and do not care much about what happens to them. In 1M, Miki tries to explain these attitudes using an example of how ordinary people in Okinawa do not think social change will affect their lives but she ends her utterance with *nan te iu n daro* 'what do you suppose is it that I (should) say' because she is having trouble finding the right words or appropriate expression to describe their attitudes. In 2K, Kumi suggests the words *Rakkanteki //na kanzi?* 'Like being optimistic?' to describe the attitudes of the people in Okinawa that Miki is referring to and Miki immediately repeated this utterance in 3M *Rakkanteki da nee* '(They) are optimistic.'

(4) Attitudes of people in Okinawa towards social change and movements

Japanese		English	
1M:	Koo natta kondo koo naru yo tte ittara aa okkee to ka itte zyaa kondo u::n maa zibun-tati wa sonna ni seekatu: sukosi wa kawaru ka mo sirenai kedo:, zibun-tati no kono nani seekatu tte iu ka kongo no zinsee no naka de sonna ni ooki na eekyoo wa nai daroo to ka nan to ka tte iu yoo na nan te iu n daro.	1M:	(It) got so it was like this, if (they) say this time (it) will turn out like this, (they)'d say "oh, okay" or whatever, then this time, uh, they", as for themselves, not a lot, their life may change a little, but, as for their this, what, life, or what do (you) say, (it) probably won't have that big of an influence in their future lives, or whatever something like that what do you suppose it is that (I should) say?
2K:	Rakkanteki //na kanzi?	2K:	Like being optimistic?
--->3M:	Rakkanteki da nee. U::n. {nodding once}	--->3M:	(They) are optimistic, aren't they. Yeah. {nodding once}
4K:	Hu::n.	4K:	Uh huh.
--->5M:	Wa-, aru yoo na ki ga suru naa yoku teegee tte iu n da kedo nan de mo ne, teegee tte iu no wa tyotto imi ga tigau naa nan de mo nee nanka koo soo rakkanteki ni kangaeru keekoo ga aru kara, Okinawa no hito tte iu no wa.	--->5M:	(I) feel (they) have (such a feeling). It's that we often say it's *teegee* 'easygoing' but, for everything, *teegee* 'easygoing' is slightly different in meaning, everything, somehow, like this, right, there's a tendency for them think optimistically, so "people in Okinawa", at least.
6K:	Hu::n.	6K:	Uh huh.

Tannen (1989:88) refers to this phenomenon where a speaker repeats "what is being said with a split second delay" as shadowing. In the follow-up viewing session Miki said that she thought that Kumi's word *rakkanteki* 'optimistic' was the word she was searching for when she heard it. In 3M, Miki repeats the word *rakkanteki* 'optimistic' and says *U::n* 'yeah' while turning to look at Kumi and nodding once. Then in 5M, Miki continues to describe the attitudes of the people in Okinawa and again uses the word *rakkanteki* 'optimistic.' Miki's repetition shows her ratification with Kumi's prior utterance in 2K.

In Figure 2 in Appendix I, I give the pitch curve for Kumi's utterance in 2K and Miki's utterance in 3M. Miki pronounces her version of *rakkanteki* 'optimistic' with a pitch curve similar to Kumi's except it starts and rises much higher (from 190 Hertz to 270 Hertz) than Kumi's version which rises (from 260 Hertz to 380 Hertz). This repetition on a higher level serves to express not only Miki's ratification but also her excitement that Kumi suggested just the word she was searching for.

V Conclusion

In this analysis I examined syntactic, prosodic and nonverbal features accompanying allo-repetition of immediately prior utterances in Japanese conversations. I have demonstrated that prosodic features and nonverbal expressions played important roles in considering the functions of repetition and achieving effects of repetition. My analysis sheds light on the functions of repetition in Japanese conversations by contributing prosodic and nonverbal expressions towards achieving the functions of allo-repetition. I also suggest that findings in my analysis can be applied in teaching repetition to students of Japanese as a second language. When non-native speakers of Japanese use repetition in their conversations with native speakers it is primarily for clarification requests. Teaching students how to use a variety of intonations and nonverbal expressions accompanying allo-repetition, and encouraging them to use repetition for additional functions such as agreement, will help them to be more effective in their Japanese interactions. Finally, my analysis suggests the importance of analyzing conversational data from a multiple of perspectives including syntactic, prosodic and nonverbal features as well as participants' personal reports of their intentions and emotions during the conversations.
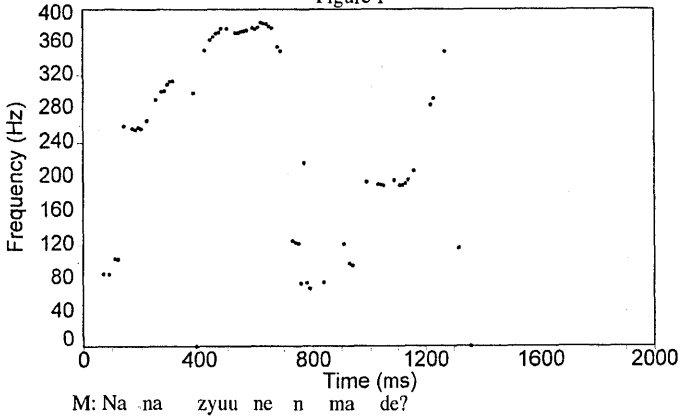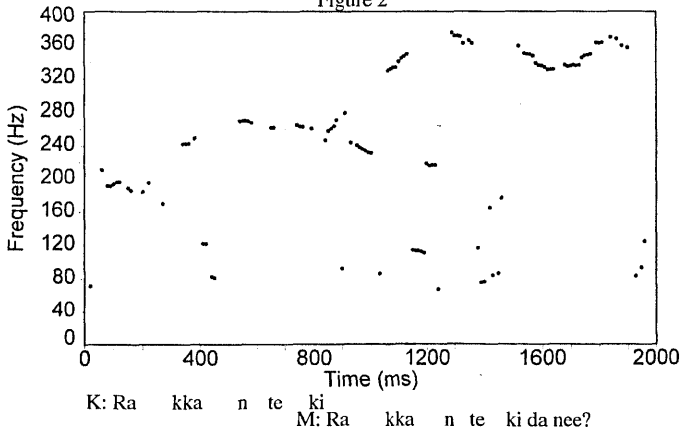
Figure 1

M: Na na   zyuu ne n   ma   de?

Figure 2

K: Ra   kka   n te ki
                    M: Ra   kka   n te   ki da nee?

APPENDIX II

Transcription conventions
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation
+	Flat intonation
:	Vowel lengthening
//	Overlap
(0.5)	Pause
{ }	Nonverbal behavior
( )	Unintelligible

REFERENCES

Nakada, Tomoko. 1992. Kaiwa no hoosaku tosite no kurikaesi (Repetition as a strategy of conversation). Kokuritu kokugo kenkyuusyo hookoku 13:104.

Sugito, Seiju. 1987. Hatsuwa no uketugi (Succession of utterances). Danwa koodoo no syosoo:Danwa siryo no bunseki (Aspects of text and context: An analysis of conversational texts). Kokugo kenkyuu hookoku (Japanese language reseach report) 92. 68-106. Tokyo: Sanseedoo.

Szatrowski, Polly. 1990.Kaiwa bunseki ni okeru tani ni tuite: Wadan no teean (On units in conversation analysis: Proposal for the *wadan*). Nihongogaku 10:10.79-96.

Tannen, Deborah. 1989. Repetition in conversation: toward a poetics of talk. Talking voices: repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse, 36-97. Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press.