

Repetition as a Device for Teaming and Teasing in Triadic Conversation in Japanese

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1. Introduction

From the very early stages of language acquisition, we repeat other people's words, phrases, and sentences. Not only small children but also skilled adult speakers repeat their own or other people's utterances in conversation. Although the act of repeating appears to be meaningless, in some contexts it can be very meaningful. This simple linguistic device turns out to be one of the most profound, interesting phenomena in conversation. In order to elucidate how repetition operates and what it accomplishes in conversation, this study identifies the distinctive features of the repetition of other people's words, or cross-speaker repetition, in triadic conversation in Japanese.

In conversations between three participants, repetition often occurs between two participants only. The present study demonstrates that, in such situations, repetition operates as a device to bring together the two participants as a team and strengthen their bond, while temporarily leaving out the third participant (=teaming repetition). The study also shows that repetition is also employed by the two teamed-up participants to tease the third participant and create a playful and friendly atmosphere during conversation (=teasing repetition). After providing a detailed examination of the difference between teaming repetition and teasing repetition, the study discusses a case in which one participant employs those two repetition types in a single turn and allocates their thoughts and feelings to the other two participants effectively.

Based on the analysis of teaming and teasing functions of repetition in triadic conversation, the study offers further insight into how the repetition of

other people's words operates dynamically in multiple ways, expressing the participants' point of view and contributing to their relationship in conversation.

2. Previous Studies

What is interesting about repetition in conversation is the inconsistency between its evaluation and actual function. As can be seen in some derogative labels for repetition such as "cliché," "baby-talk," "yessing," and "redundancy" (cf. Tannen 1989, Johnstone 1987, 2002), the act of repeating oneself or another person's utterance often makes a negative impression, as if the speaker is being mindless, inattentive, or superficial. Although it varies depending on the culture, in theory, repetition is not so much favored and we are rather encouraged to express ourselves with our own words instead of using someone else's. However, in practice we constantly repeat words in conversation, and repetition in fact plays numerous roles in conversation: poetic (cf. Tannen 1987); intertextual (cf. Bakhtin 1986); cohesive (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976), and interactive.

The interactive functions of repetition, which are most relevant to this study, are observed by Tannen (1987, 1989), Johnstone (1987, 2002), Norrick (1987), Brown (2000), Ferrara (1994), and Machi (2012). They report that repetition in conversation operates to show listenership, to aid in the production of conversation, to create a humorous and playful frame, to savor a joke or expression, to link participants' ideas and themselves, to ask and answer questions, to confirm the previous utterance, to display agreement or sympathy, and so forth. Importantly, these studies all show that, by performing the above mentioned functions, the repetition of other conversation partners' utterances is highly conducive to the creation of a rapport between participants in conversation.

In addition, the culturally specific aspects of repetition are examined by Machi (2012). In her comparative study of repetition in Japanese and English conversation, Machi shows the different mechanisms of repetition in the two languages. According to Machi, repetition occurs more frequently in Japanese than in English. Furthermore, she reveals that Japanese speakers frequently repeat other participants' expressions of their subjective states such as "how

she feels or thinks” to display sympathy or agreement so that they can create like-mindedness and a sense of unity between them. This is quite different from English, where speakers repeat propositional information such as “who-does-what-to-whom where-and-when” so that they can elicit and confirm the details of the story and information in conversation.

Although Machi (2012)’s analysis offers an insight into repetition in the Japanese language, it is developed from somewhat limited data (dyadic conversations between female university students). What seems to be lacking in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of repetition is a broader examination of repetition in a wide variety of situations.

Building on the already-existing research on this topic, this study examines repetition in conversation among three participants in the Japanese language. By explicating some new and distinctive functions of repetition that have never been observed in dyadic conversation, the study aims to contribute towards our further understanding of how cross-speaker repetition operates in the moment-by-moment flow of conversation and how it affects participants’ relationships.

3. Data

The data for this study was obtained from a Japanese TV show called “*Bokura no Jidai*”¹ [“Our Generation”]. This is a weekly talk show, shown on Sunday mornings that invites three guests to talk freely about what is on their minds without any instruction. There is no host or interviewer to control the talk. The three guests talk freely in a relaxed setting, sipping a cup of coffee. For this study, two episodes were selected for analysis. The conversation in the first episode was between three young male actors, aged from 28 to 30 years old. The second was between three middle-aged actresses/singers, ranging in age from 43 to 47. In both episodes, the three participants acknowledge each other as close friends, having worked together in movies and TV dramas and keeping in touch privately. Both conversations are carried out in a friendly atmosphere. Each episode is approximately 24 minutes long.

The object of this study is limited to cross-speaker repetition, in other words, repetition of other people’s word(s). For the sake of convenience, in what follows, I use the term “the initiator” to refer to the participant who gives

the original utterance, and “the repeater” for another participant who repeats these utterances.

4. Analysis

Among the various functions cross-speaker repetition performs in dyadic conversation, it has been reported that, in Japanese, speakers most frequently display sympathy and agreement by repeating the other participant’s expressions of feeling and assessment (Machi 2012). This can be seen in the following example.

(1) A seminar class

- 01 A: *F-sensei moushiwake nai*
 Professor F feel sorry
 ‘(I) **feel sorry** for Professor F.’
- ⇒02 B: *Moushiwake nai* [{laugh}]
 feel sorry
 ‘(No SUB) **feel sorry**.’
- ⇒03 A: *[Uchira ga moushiwake nai tte*
 we SUB feel sorry QT
omocchau
 think AUX
 ‘It’s we who **feel sorry**.’

In (1), speakers A and B — both university students — talk about their seminar class, in which one of the students was absent without notice for two weeks. Feeling that it was rude to their instructor, Professor F, A says *moushiwake nai* ‘feel sorry’ for the professor. In 02, A’s feeling is repeated by B, who might have felt the same as A, and sympathy is shown as well. In 03, A repeats the feeling once again to confirm their shared feeling.

(2) Proactive girls

- 01 A: *Shikamo kanari sekkyokuteki da yo*
 besides quite proactive COP FP
 ‘Besides (those girls) are quite **proactive**.’

⇒02 B: *Un, sekkyokuteki da ne.*

Yeah proactive COP FP

‘Yeah, **proactive.**’

In (2), speakers A and B talk about their friends. When A evaluates them as *sekkyokuteki* ‘proactive’ in 01, their assessment is repeated in the subsequent turn by B in a tone of agreement. Both types of repetition in dyadic conversation are highly conducive to the creation of like-mindedness between the participants, resulting in a strong sense of unity (Machi 2012).

Although cross-speaker repetition displays sympathy and agreement in conversation among three participants in a similar manner, repetition in triadic conversation in fact performs distinctive, additional functions that are not observed in dyadic conversation. In triadic conversation, repetition often occurs between two participants only (namely between one initiator and one repeater). The third participant does not join them in repeating, as if the three participants had split into two sides. In such a situation, cross-speaker repetition between the two-people side works as a device (a) for teaming, that is to bring together the two participants as a team and strengthen the bond between them, with the third participant temporarily left out, and (b) for teasing, in which the two teamed-up participants jokingly and playfully make fun of the third participant. Let us examine this in detail in the following sections.

4.1. Repetition as a device for teaming

Before going through a detailed examination, I must note that, although I use the terms “teaming” and “teasing,” this does not mean that the conversations presented in this study are in a confrontational mode. As I mentioned earlier, these conversations are carried out in a friendly atmosphere accompanied by lots of jokes and laughter. All the teases are made in a playful and humorous tone, signaling that the participants are indeed in a close relationship and enjoying the talk.

As in dyadic conversation, repetition displays sympathy and agreement towards other people’s utterances. What’s more, it works to bring together only two participants, usually the initiator and the repeater, as a team, and consequently leaves out the third participant as we see in (3).

(3) “We’ve entered our thirties”

- 01 K: *Mou sanjuu dai totsunyu shimashita kara ne,*
 already in (our) thirties enter did REASON FP
bokura mo ne
 we also FP
 ‘We’ve already entered our thirties, you know.’
- ⇒02 R: *Sou, bokura totsunyu shimashita*
 yeah we enter did
 ‘Yeah, we’ve entered (our thirties).’
- 03 O: *Sou [desu ne*
 yeah COP FP
 ‘Right.’
- 04 R: [*Yappa sanju dai ni natte kuruto besuto ni*
 after all thirties OBJ come to be best OBJ
natte kuru kanji wa [aru n da kedo
 come to be feeling TOP have NR COP CON
 ‘It feels that I’m becoming the **best** of myself after entering my thirties.’
- 05 K [*Sou sou*
 right right
 ‘Right, right.’
- 06 O: *Zenzen gyakkou shiteru janai desu ka, [kami ga {laugh}*
 quite go backward be NG COP Q hair SUB
 ‘(But your) hair is going in the wrong direction. {laugh}’
- 07 R: [*{laugh}*
- ⇒08 K: *Kami wa gyakkou shiteru kedo, kyou wa yappari*
 Hair TOP backward be CON today SUB after all
futari de besuto de ikou
 two people P best as go
 ‘(His) hair is going in the wrong direction, but let two of us be our **best** today.’

In this excerpt, the three men talk about their age. When K says he and R have

entered their thirties, R repeats the utterance in 02. Then R continues by saying that, being in his thirties, he feels he is at his best. Upon hearing that, O, who is still 28 years old, refers to R's hair saying "(But your) hair is going in the wrong direction." O makes this statement because R's hair, which was originally black, has been dyed blonde — as if he were a teenager or even a rebel student (since these men are actors, it is likely that they dye their hair for their roles). K's turn in 08 consists of two repetitions; first K repeats O's previous utterance, by saying "(R's) hair is going in the wrong direction," and then he turns to R and says "let two of us be our best" including the repetition of the word "best."

What I want to focus on is the two repetitions: "we've entered (our thirties)" in 02, and "best" in 08. In case of 02, to display agreement, R repeats K's utterance on top of the agreement token "Yeah." Such agreement tokens indicate agreement in a simple and less time-consuming manner. However, in 02, R continues his turn by repeating K's statement. This repetition plays a significant role, having a great influence on the participants' relationship. The form of repetition, that is, using the same or almost the same expressions as the initiator, enables the repeater to display sympathy and complete agreement (Machi 2012), and it also emphasizes familiarity and even the sameness in mind between the participants (Machi 2012, Tannen 1989, and Ishikawa 1991). Moreover, the occurrence of repetition rather than other simpler alternatives (e.g. *sou dane* 'right' and *un* 'yeah') indicates that a choice has been made and some social meaning is being conveyed (Ferrara 1994). What this suggests is that, by repeating K's utterance, R not only agrees to the content of the utterance directly but also emphasizes their similar age. In other words, R sends a meta-message that indicates K and R are in a team together, as a result of being in their thirties, which consequently strengthens the bond between them.

Another repetition in 08² is also interesting. Here, K repeats R's expression "best." While K's "entering our thirties" in 01 is a factual statement, with which R naturally agrees, R's "feeling my best" is a subjective statement: something that R feels or thinks personally. Nevertheless, K adopts the word "best" and approves of R's assessment of his condition. Repetition of this kind in fact happens a lot in Japanese, where speakers frequently characterize other speakers' inner states (Strauss & Kawanishi 1996). By repeating those subjective

feelings and assessments, Japanese speakers create like-mindedness and a sense of unity between themselves during discussion (Machi 2012) as in (3). Note that in 08, K adds a phrase *futari de* ‘two of us’ before the repetition of the word “best.” This added phrase evidently indicates that K feels a sense of unity with R, bringing R and himself together as a team. In this manner, repetition in 08 again acts to strengthen the team bond between R and K.

Now the question arises: What makes repetition a device for teaming two participants and leaving out a third participant in triadic conversation? In our data, we can see two elements for teaming repetition to occur. The first element is a common feature that is shared only by two participants out of three. We might think that referring to some common feature, especially by using the same forms and terms, namely through repetition, is an effective way of achieving a sense of unity and like-mindedness, (cf. Machi 2012, Tannen 1989). At the same time, it also works to draw a boundary with other participants who do not share the feature, or who do not join in with the repetition. In (3), K and R team up and feel like-minded through repetition because they both have entered their thirties and feel good about it. Meanwhile, O is temporarily left out, since he is still in his twenties. By stressing their commonality and their difference from O through repetition, K and R temporarily draw a boundary between O and themselves, and strengthen the team bond of “being in their thirties.”

The second element that promotes the teaming function of repetition is the third participant’s limited access to the story. It is often observed that two participants relate a story that is not shared by the third participant, and they create a sense of unity, as they repeat each other’s words to relate the story supportively and collaboratively.

(4) Like a shellfish

- 01 K: [*Nanka kou, issho ni gohan toka nondetari [shitemo, dareka*
 Like together meal and drink do someone
 to goryu mitaini [naru toki aru jan,
 with join like become time there CON
 ‘You know when we have a meal, or some drinks together, it’s
 likely that someone else joins afterwards,’

- 02 N: [*Nn*]
yeah
[*Ee, ee*
yes, yes
[*Ee*
yes
- 03 K: *Suto, soremade suggoi shabetteta no ni, totanni,*
then until then a lot talk NR CON suddenly
[*karitekita neko mitaini*
borrowed cat like
'She keeps babbling until then, but all of a sudden she turns into
a sweet lamb.'
- 04 N: [*{laugh}*]
- 05 Y: *Kai, [kai da yo ne*
shellfish shellfish COP FP FP
'**A shellfish, a shellfish**, right?'
- 06 N: [*Ah*
'Aha.'
- ⇒07 K: *Kai mitaini*
shellfish like
'(She becomes) like **a shellfish**.'
- 08 Y: *Patan tte, [me toka awase nai, mou shirimasen mitaini*
ONO QT eye like contact NG like don't know like
'(I) **Slam (my mouth) shut**, turn my eyes away like "I don't
know (you) . . . "'
- ⇒09 K: [*Patan tte tojite, nannka mou . . .*
ONO QT close like like
'(She) **slams (her mouth) shut**, like she's . . . '

In (4), three actresses — Y, K, and N — talk about how shy and timid with strangers Y can be. In 01, K recalls the time K and Y were having drinks together and afterwards they were joined by some other people. When K says Y often gets shy and silent at the sight of strangers, Y describes herself as “a shellfish” because she “slams (her mouth) shut” and becomes silent. N, who was not present in the event and does not know much about Y’s shyness, has limited access to the ongoing story, thereby she remains a listener during the

whole excerpt. Y and K, on the other hand, talk about the event with two repetitions in 07 and 09. As we have seen in (3), K's repetitions in 07 and 09 display agreement to what is mentioned by Y a split second before. At the same time, they indicate that Y and K share the same experience exclusively. Now they are in the same team, characterized by their knowledge of Y's shyness with strangers, and recall the episode collaboratively. Due to the two teaming repetitions, the bond between Y and K is strengthened.

So far, we have seen how repetition of other people's words, especially types that display sympathy and agreement, operates as a device for teaming two participants — the initiator and the repeater — with the third participant temporarily left out in triadic conversation. Furthermore, two elements that promote such repetition (i.e., the common feature that is shared only by the two participants out of the three, and the third participant's limited access to the ongoing story) have been presented. In the next section, we will see another prominent function of repetition during discussion between three participants.

4.2. Repetition as a device for teasing

In addition to teaming, repetition also operates as a device for teasing in triadic conversation. Researchers have noted that repetition can be used to mock another speaker (Norrick 1987, Schegloff 1996, and Johnstone 2002). In this study, we find some cases in which two participants team up and playfully tease the third participant by using a form of repetition, as in (5).

(5) “That's just like him”

- 01 K: *Kono, reibou* *ga monosugoi, gachi atari*
 this air conditioning SUB greatly ONO expose
 [, *suru n de*
 do CON
 ‘I've been exposed to air conditioning, so,’
- 02 R: [*A, naruhodo, naruhodo ne*
 oh I see I see FP
 ‘Oh, I see, I see.’

- 03 K: *Chotto kazamuki o kaete itadakeru to*
 slightly wind direction OBJ change do CON
[, chotto
 slightly
 ‘It would be nice if (anyone) can slightly adjust the wind direction.’
- 04 O: *[A, ikinari kureemu kara hairu wake*
 oh suddenly complaint from enter like
 ‘Oh, you start out by complaining.’
- 05 K: *{laugh}*
- 06 R: *Sou desu*
 right COP
 ‘That’s right.’
- 07 K: *{laugh} me ga sugoi . . .*
 eye SUB quite
 ‘My eyes are really . . .’
- 08 R: *Souiu tokoro ari masu yo ne*
 such thing have COP FP FP
 ‘That’s just like him, isn’t it?’
- ⇒09 O: *Souiu toko aru, souiu toko aru {laugh}*
 such thing have such thing have
 ‘(That’s) Just like him, just like him {laugh}.’
- 10 K: *{laugh} Cho, matte, omotta koto iute iko*
 a little, wait think thing say let’s
 ‘Wait, let’s be honest with what we think!’

This excerpt takes place at the beginning of the conversation. The three actors enter a café and take their seats. Here, K, who has been sitting under an air-conditioning unit, mentions that he has been exposed to air conditioning and he wants the wind direction to change. His statements in 01 and 03 are uttered not to his friends R or O, but to the television crew or probably to the staff at the café. Latching onto K’s request in 03, O teasingly mentions “Oh, you start out by complaining” in 04, which leads to R’s comment that “That’s just like him, isn’t it?” in 08. Hearing this, O repeats R’s utterance twice, ac-

companying it with laughter. By repeating R's teasing comment, O displays agreement with it, as well as affiliating with R and joining R in teasing K.

It is well known that teasing is an interactionally delicate act that could be interpreted both as face threatening (antagonism, aggression, or provocation) and face saving (bonding, friendliness, rapport, or solidarity) (Haugh 2010, Geyer 2010). However, judging from the laughter³ in 05, 09, and 10 in excerpt (5), it is obvious that R, O, and even K are in a playful mood and enjoy the jocular atmosphere during the talk. Thereby, R's and O's comment "That's just like him" is apparently interpreted as a friendly remark rather than as a criticism of K's behavior. Thus, while O's repetition in 09 works to tease K along with R, and consequently bring them (R and O) closer, it also signals that the three men are indeed in a close relationship to the degree that teasing each other easily takes place.

Similarly, there are some cases where the initiator and the repeater not only use repetition to tease a third participant but also to praise or encourage him or her. (6) provides an example of this.

(6) A tough girl

- 01 Y: ... *suekko ryoku toka nano kana*
 youngest child power like COP Q
 '... maybe (you have) the strength of the youngest child'
- 02 K: *Nee, [ue ni ane ga futari ite, itsumo utareteta*
 yeah above P older sister SUB two have always beaten
kara[, sakimawari shite[, jouzu ni yaru mitai no wa
 because act fast do well P do like NR TOP
[aruno kana
 have Q
 'Yeah, since I have two older sisters and they were always stronger than me, I've learned to act fast and outsmart them.'
- 03 N: [*Nn*
 yeah
- 04 Y: [*Un*
 yeah
 [*Nn* [*Nee*

05 N: *Nanka, douji nai janai desu ka*
like get shaken NG NG COP Q
'Like, (you/she) **never get shaken**, right?'

⇒06 Y: *Douji nai [nee*
get shaken NG FP
'(She) **never get(s) shaken**, yeah.'

07 N: *[Nannimo douji nai ki ga shite*
at all get shaken NG feeling SUB do
'It seems (you/she) **never get shaken** at all.'

⇒08 Y: *Douji nai nee*
get shaken NG FP
'(She) **never get(s) shaken**, yeah.'

In (6), the three actresses talk about how tough K often is. In 02, K attributes her toughness to her having two older sisters, who were always stronger than her. On hearing this, N claims that K “never gets shaken,” and this statement is agreed upon by Y in the form of repetition. This repetition process takes place again in 07 and 08 with almost the same content. Through the two repetitions in 06 and 08, N and Y are temporarily teamed up and tease K together. Although N and Y are teasing K for her toughness, it is clear that they also admire her for it. This is partly because that, prior to this excerpt, the three of them have talked about how shy both Y and N can be (part of the talk is extracted in (4)), and Y and N have mentioned that they admire K for being sociable and reliable. Besides, having a tough nature is usually an advantage, rather than a fault.

Both excerpts (5) and (6) show that the use of repetition to indicate agreement not only brings two participants together as a team, but also operates to tease the third participant. The act of teasing by means of repetition creates a friendly and lively atmosphere in a conversation. This is in part because such repetition is often accompanied by laughter as in (5). Equally noteworthy is the content of such teasing. When we look at the teasing phrases in (5) and (6) — “That’s just like him” and “(you/she) never get(s) shaken,” — they both concern the nature of the tease targets. Since one can never refer to another

person's nature, let alone tease them about it unless one knows the person very well, these teasing repetitions signal a close personal relationship between the participants. While the two teasers establish a rapport by means of repetition, teasing repetitions in (5) and (6) also convey a meta-message that says "We know you (the target of the tease) very well and we're close enough to tease each other." This is what makes these teases friendly and enjoyable, rather than critical and aggressive.

4.3. Teaming repetition and teasing repetition: Their difference and co-occurrence in conversation

As we have seen, teaming repetition and teasing repetition operate very similarly in triadic conversation in the sense that they both bring only two out of three participants together. On the other hand, there is a fundamental difference between them. What distinguishes teaming repetition and teasing repetition from each other is (i) whom the repetition in question is oriented towards, and (ii) where it places the third participant in relation to the other two participants.

In the case of teaming repetition, we can see that the repeated utterances are self-oriented, or to put in other way, they are concerned with the initiator and/or the repeater. Recall all the teaming repetitions presented in (3) and (4). "We've entered (our thirties)," and "best" in (3) are both oriented towards K and R, the two participants in the team. "A shellfish" and "slam (my/her) mouth shut" in (4) are also concerned with Y, who is the initiator of the repetitions and a member of the team. By orienting towards the initiator and/or the repeater, teaming repetition creates strong unity between the two of them only, and places the third participant outside this unity. In other words, teaming repetition excludes the third participant, and it mainly operates to strengthen the bond between the initiator and the repeater.

In contrast, teasing repetition is oriented towards the target. In (5), O repeats R's teasing comment "That's just like him," which is oriented to K, the target of the tease. Likewise in (6), the repeated utterance "(she/you) never get(s) shaken" refers to K, whom the initiator N and the repeater Y tease together. Such repetition indeed promotes unity between the initiator and the repeater, by indicating their common assessment of the target. At the same

time, though, since it refers to the third participant as a tease target and signals their close relationship by the act of teasing, teasing repetition often places the third participant inside the unity. While teaming repetition excludes the third participant, teasing repetition can include him or her and create a humorous and playful atmosphere among the three participants. Thus, these two features make a clear distinction between teaming and teasing repetition, regardless of shared function.

Lastly, it is of interest to see how these two kinds of repetition co-occur in a short period of time and what they accomplish in a fast-paced conversation. Look at (3) again. Due to the limitation of space, this time the excerpt contains no gloss.

(3) “We’ve entered our thirties”

- 01 K: *Mou sanjuu dai totsunyu shimashita kara ne, bokura mo ne*
 ‘We’ve already entered our thirties, you know.’
- ⇒02 R: *Sou, bokura totsunyu shimashita*
 ‘Yeah, we’ve entered our thirties.’
- 03 O: *Sou [desu ne*
 ‘Right.’
- 04 R: *[Yappa sanju dai ni natte kuruto besuto ni natte kuru kanji*
wa [arunda kedo
 ‘It feels that I’m becoming the **best** of myself after entering my thirties.’
- 05 K *[Sou sou*
 Right, right.’
- 06 O: *Zenzen gyakkou shiteru janai desu ka, [kami ga {laugh}*
 ‘(But your) **hair is going in the wrong direction.**’
- 07 R: *[{laugh}*
- ⇒08 K: *Kami wa gyakkou shiteru kedo, kyou wa yappari futari de besuto de ikou*
 ‘(His) **hair is going in the wrong direction**, but let two of us be our **best** today.

What I want to focus on this time is K’s utterance in 08. Aside from the rep-

etition of R's assessment "best" in the latter half of his turn, K also repeats O's teasing comment on R, that "(His) hair is going in the wrong direction," in the first half of his turn. This means that, in a single turn, K first employs repetition to tease R with O, and immediately afterwards, he switches to affiliate with R and produces teaming repetition that strengthens his bond with R. Meanwhile, the orientation of K's repetition and his point of view also switch. K's first repetition of O's tease shows that, at this moment, K's mind is the same as O's, in terms of making fun of R's blonde hair. At the same time, since teasing repetition is oriented towards the target R, we can see that he shows some level of intimacy with R as well. The subsequent teaming repetition, on the other hand, is oriented towards K himself and his teammate R. At this point K identifies himself and R by emphasizing their similarity in age and condition.

What this excerpt demonstrates is that, in conversation, repetition works dynamically to express the participants' point of view and relationship with each other that shift from moment to moment. By employing two similar yet different types of repetitions, K manages to allocate his thoughts and feelings to O and R quite efficiently. One minute he approves of O's teasing comment about R, showing that he has the same thought with O. Yet next minute he sympathizes and bonds with R, indicating he feels the same about R. The whole process takes place in a very short period of time.

In this chapter, I have shown that cross-speaker repetition, which is a simple linguistic device, is not only multi-functional (e.g. sympathizing, agreeing, and teaming and/or teasing certain participant(s), etc.), but also expressive of the repeater's ever-shifting point of view. Moreover, it contributes greatly to the creation of the constantly-shifting relationship between participants. Conversation between close friends can often get fast-paced and dynamic. In such circumstances, repetition performs various significant roles in an efficient manner.

5. Conclusion

Building upon the repetition functions that have been previously reported in dyadic conversation, this study has demonstrated two new types of repetition in Japanese triadic conversation: teaming repetition and teasing repeti-

tion. It was observed that in a conversation between three participants, cross-speaker repetition often operates to bring together two participants as a team and strengthen the bond between them, temporarily leaving out the third participant (= teaming repetition). We cited two elements — the common feature shared by only two participants, and the third participant's limited access to the story — as the reasons for teaming repetition to happen. Moreover, it was also observed that repetition is employed by two teamed-up participants to tease a third participant and create a playful and friendly atmosphere (= teasing repetition).

A close observation of how teaming repetition and teasing repetition operate in triadic conversation revealed the following: First, repetition is multi-functional. It allows participants to team up and/or teases certain participant(s) as well as helping them to display sympathy and agreement. Secondly, it represents the participants' feelings and point of view with regard to the person(s), object(s), or event(s) that is taken up in the talk as well as each other. And thirdly, it contributes to the creation of participants' ever-shifting relationship.

Although the data of this study is limited to conversation between three participants in the Japanese language, we can see that cross-speaker repetition involves much more than just saying other people's words again. Despite being simple in form, repetition is a key device that works dynamically to accomplish all of the above in conversation in an efficient way.

Notes

1 The first episode was aired on September 5th, 2010, featuring three actors: Osamu Mukai, Ryuta Sato, and Kenta Kiritani. The second was aired on January 22nd, 2012, featuring Naoko Iijima, Kyoko Koizumi, and YOU. The show is produced by Fuji TV.

2 Tannen (1989) classifies repetition into two categories based on a temporal scale: immediate repetition and delayed repetition. This repetition in 08, which occurs 6 seconds after the original utterance, is the latter type. Regardless of the 6-second interval, it is clear that the word "best" in 08 is a repetition of (being influenced by) R's utterance in 04.

3 It has been claimed that there are numerous ways for teasing to be interpreted in a non-serious, jocular frame such as laughter, prosodic cues (speak markedly louder or softer, elongated vowels or syllables, emphatic stress, etc.), facial or gestural cues, formulaic or idiomatic expression, lexical exaggeration, unrealistic content of the tease,

and the use of informal register (cf. Drew 1987, Haugh 2010, Geyer 2010).

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Abbreviations:

AUX	auxiliary verb	NG	negative morpheme
CON	conjunction	NR	nominalizer
COP	various forms of copula verb be	OBJ	direct object
FP	sentence-final particle	ONO	onomatopoeia

P	particle	SUB	subject marker
Q	question marker	TOP	topic marker
QT	quotative marker		