English and Japanese Exact Repetitions: Talk among Friends with Specific Reference to Young People

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英語会話と日本語会話における繰り返し現象の考察
——若者の友人との会話に焦点を当てて——

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Abstract

This article illustrates the various uses of exact repetitions between English and Japanese conversation while focusing on a particular age group of speakers. The frequency and functions of exact repetitions in English conversation differ from those in Japanese conversation, and English and Japanese speakers tend to choose different types of repetitions in their conversation. Therefore, English and Japanese people sometimes understand the use of exact repetitions differently, suggesting that people among different cultures would disparately interact with each other in conversation and this might cause discomfort and misunderstanding.

The analysis of speakers' particular age group identifies that the use of exact repetitions could vary according to age, and that there are social and cultural differences with its use. Young adult speakers use exact repetitions more often than mature adult speakers in both English and Japanese conversation, and particularly young adult English speakers use exact repetitions for enforcing their point while young adult Japanese speakers use them more to show emotional involvement among speakers. The results of this study support that speakers' social background needs to be considered in cross-cultural analysis of speech interaction.

Key words: discourse analysis, repetition, age, Japanese conversation

1.　Introduction

Repetitions are a universal phenomenon in conversation (Merritt, 1994), and are used for coherence and involvement (Coates, 1996; Johnstone, 1994; Tannen, 1989). When speakers use repetitions in speech interaction, they give emphasis to utterances and show their collaboration and interaction towards interlocutors. As stated by Tannen (1989: 9), "conversational involvement is the basis of all linguistic understanding".

The way in which speakers talk imparts the speaker's relationship with interlocutors, and their

culture and society may also reflect a choice of appropriate linguistic forms.   With this, the use of repetitions might also differ among cultures and societies.   In this paper, I will discuss how differently they are used between English and Japanese conversation.   In particular, I would like to investigate the use of exact repetitions by young adult speakers in English and Japanese conversation.   In informal conversation among friends, young adult speakers tend to use more exact repetitions than mature adult speakers, suggesting that the age of speakers might affect the use of exact repetitions in conversation.

Firstly, I will highlight and discuss previous studies of repetitions in both English and Japanese conversation.   After defining the use of exact repetitions, I will then argue that there are cultural differences in using exact repetitions between English and Japanese conversation.   Finally, I will examine the use of exact repetitions by young adult speakers in both English and Japanese conversation in order to discern its different use among different age groups.

2.   Repetitions in conversation

Various types of repetitions are used in conversation.   Repetitions that appear when a speaker repeats him/herself are called 'self-repetition' and repetitions in which listeners repeat what another speaker has said are called 'other-repetition' (Johnstone, 1994).   Speakers may repeat exactly the same utterance as a previous speaker, or they may paraphrase a prior text and utterance, which has been defined as 'exact' and 'non-exact' repetitions (Johnstone, 1994).   Tannen (1989) also calls these 'exact repetition' and 'paraphrase'.

Exact repetition (the same words uttered in the same rhythmic pattern)
Paraphrase (similar ideas in different words)
(Tannen 1989: 54)

Repetition often occurs immediately and appears as "shadowing", which Tannen (1989) explains as being heard with a split-second delay.   This is illustrated in Example 1, in which three speakers use an exact repetition to echo the phrase "go out", and this helps to establish a sense of rapport among the three speakers (Tannen, 1989).

Example 1
CHAD: I go out a lot.
DEBORAH: I go out and eat.
PETER: You go out?
(Tannen, 1989: 73)

Moreover, repetition might be used as turn expansions and a part of an adjacency pair in speech interaction (Fox, 1987; Tannen, 1989).   Grimes (1972) also states that repetitions are a linkage that exchange speech turns.   Example 2 below shows a common phrase people use at

the end of a meeting and a telephone conversation, which is called an adjacency pair.   In natural conversation, B's repetition automatically follows A's utterance and helps expand a speech turn.

Example 2
A: Good bye.
B: Good bye.

Repetitions can consist of positive and negative functions.   Positive functions indicate participating listenership, ratifying listenership, showing humour and expanding interaction (Tannen, 1989). Furthermore, repetitions help acknowledge the speakers, make points, replace and summarize speech utterances, and show both agreement and disagreement (Fox, 1987; Johnstone, 1994; Strauss and Kawanishi, 1996).

For instance, creating rapport and ratifying interlocutor's contribution are illustrated by Tannen (1989), in Example 3, who explains that this also creates another speech turn.   In this conversation, Peter disagrees with Deborah's comment that spending time to prepare food is a good idea, and clarifies the reason why he disagrees with her.

Example 3
DEBORAH: Hmmm... Well then it works, then it's a good idea.
PETER: It's a good idea in terms of eating, it's not a good idea in terms of time.
(Tannen, 1989: 78)

Collaborative floors typically involve many repetitions, and shorter turns and overlapping speech might also be used more compared to single floors.   Coates (1996: 220) explains that "collaborative floors typically involve more repetition than single floors, and the collaborative floor is a shared space, and therefore what is said is construed as being the voice of the group rather than the individual."

In Example 4 below, three speakers jointly use an exact repetition when they are talking about their friend.   Coates (1996) explains that this repetition "probably" uttered by all speakers ties the three speakers' utterances together, stating that the repetition in the collaborative floor can be interpreted as being the voice of the group rather than of the individual.   Coates (1996) also states that such repetitions are interpreted as a coherent contribution by co-participants in talk.

Example 4
LIZ: [yeah
SUE: [did he know she was going to funeral?
LIZ: probably told [him =
SUE: [probably yeah
ANNA: = well she probably told them
(Coates, 1996: 221)

However, there are also circumstances in which imitating an utterance can be ironic and connote negative meanings (Simpson, 1994; Tannen, 1989; Wilson and Sperber, 1992), as many repetitions can present a trouble spot in conversation.   Uttering sarcastic comments using repetitions might threaten interlocutors and this might also be used in the form of a joke in order to cover up the speaker's embarrassment (Norrick, 1994; Tannen, 1989).   In addition, speakers use repetitions to show their strong denial (Norrick, 1994), which is illustrated in the following data analysis. Moreover, listeners might find many repetitive utterances dull as no new information appears.

Example 5 below shows that repetition is used as a function for humour specifically for ironical meaning.   This conversation was made when Deborah asked Peter to record their conversation. Peter uses the same syntactic frame as Deborah's previous utterance, but he uses a double negative sentence in order to highlight his desire to be humourous (Tannen, 1989).

Example 5
PETER: Just to see if we say anything interesting?
DEBORAH: No.   Just to see how you say nothing interesting?
PETER: Oh.   Well I- I hardly ever say nothing interesting.
Note on transcription - hyphen indicates glottal stop: sound abruptly cut off
 (Tannen, 1989: 63, 203)

3.   Data Collection

In this study, two types of data have been collected, which are recorded conversation and interviews.   A total of 45 conversations consisted of 33 Japanese conversations and 12 English conversations, which were face-to-face informal conversations among friends and family.   The participants in the conversational data were made up of 61 Japanese people in Japan, 52 Japanese people in England, and 40 English people in England.

Each conversation comprised of either three or four participants, and speakers were categorized in terms of their social variables, such as gender and age group.   Participants were divided into two age groups which ranged from under thirty and above thirty years old, and in this study speakers in each group are called young adults and mature adults.   There were 75 young adults who were mostly students, and 78 mature adults who were professionals working full-time.

In addition, 42 Japanese people and 17 English people participated in the interview.   The Japanese interviewees consisted of 20 Japanese people in Japan and 22 Japanese people in England.   As the interviewees themselves knew their own cultural rules and the rules of their mother tongue, any spontaneous reasons and comments on using repetitions were expected.

In the procedure, interviewees firstly listened to the pair of conversations; one conversation was the original which contained many repetitions, however the other conversation did not have any repetitions at all as they had been completely removed.   Interviewees were then asked their preference and reasons for their choice, which enabled me to find out how the use of repetitions had an influence on understanding the nature of conversation.   Finally, interviewees were allowed to

speak freely about the use of repetitions in conversation and revealed several cultural and sociolinguistic differences.

4.   Types of repetitions

This article focuses on exact repetitions which immediately appear after the original statement is made.   This repetitive conversational feature often appears in Japanese speech interaction, such as Japanese backchannel signals and onomatopoeias which are constructed with sound repetitions.   For example, the onomatopoeia, *zaa-zaa* describes the sound of raining, and the imitative word, *fuka-fuka* describes the softness of objects and materials such as bedding, sofa, feathers and so on.   Japanese people also often use repetitive backchannels such as *unun* (yes, yes) and *soosoosoo* (yeah, yeah, yeah).

Repetitions can be labeled according to whether they are uttered by the same or by different speakers, and Johnstone (1994) refers to them as self-repetition and other-repetition.   Speakers sometimes use a combination of both self- and other-repetitions in conversation.   In Example 6 below, both self- and other-repetitions are used in order to acknowledge the name of a place by interlocutors.   When Kate asks where their friend is going on business, Paul answers the name of the city "Stockholm", then Kate repeats his response immediately after his reply, which ratifies and highlights the name of the place.   Paul continues to repeat it again and uses a self-repetition in order to confirm his previous response.

Example 6
Kate: Where is it?
Paul: It's Stockholm.
Kate: Stockholm.
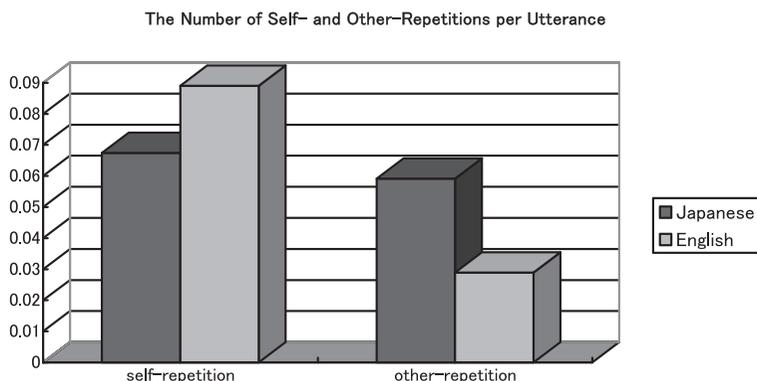Paul: It's a capital, isn't it?
Kate: Yeah.
Paul: Pretty sure, Stockholm.

5.   Exact repetitions in English and Japanese conversation

In the collected sample conversations, English and Japanese people were inclined to use different types of exact repetitions (See Graph 1).   Japanese people used collaborative exact repetitions more frequently than English people, while English people used more self-repetitions than Japanese people.   Japanese speakers tended to use both self- and other-repetitions[1], on the other hand, English speakers tended to use self-repetitions more often than other-repetitions.

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1   "Other-repetition" is uttered by more than one speaker.

The Number of Self- and Other-Repetitions per Utterance

Graph 1

5.1 English exact repetitions

In English conversation, self-repetitions often appear when overlapping speech takes place. One-quarter of English exact repetitions are used for repairing overlaps and hesitating in conversation, whereas only two percent of Japanese exact repetitions are used for these purposes (See Table 1). Levinson (1983) explains that repetitions appear when speakers want to correct their utterances as a part of a repair management system, and Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) also discuss the co-occurrences of repetitions and overlaps in English conversation. Repair initiation occurs in the immediately preceding talk and its outcome is either solution or abandonment of the problem (Schegloff, 1997).

Reason for self-repetitions: overlap, hesitation, and thinking time
(% and total number of exact repetitions)

Reason	Japanese	English
Overlap	1.92 (55)	18.84 (123)
Thinking and hesitation	0.10 (3)	6.89 (45)
Total	2.02 (58)	25.73 (168)

Table 1

Example 7
Lisa: Oh great.   So what was what's their plan of action in xxxxx tonight.
Rebecca: Well.   I think I think.
Lisa: What are they [doing.   Are they just all doing their own thing and then
Rebecca: [hahaha.
Lisa: all're coming ours or [are they just going [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
Rebecca: [Yeah well.   [I think I think, she's going down to erm...

For example, in the Example 7 above, two adult females, Lisa and Rebecca, are talking about a

plan of their friend for the evening.   Four repetitions appear in this conversation.   The first, second and fourth repetitions, "what was, what's" and "I think I think" create time for the speakers themselves to think before completing a question and making a comment.   The third repetition appears as a self-repair by Lisa for the interruption of Rebecca's laugh.   Lisa rephrases her question rather than uses an exact repetition in order to make her utterance clearer.

Example 8
Jeff: [Sergeant Major.
Mike: [If he doesn't get an extension, if he doesn't get an extension,
Mike: [Yes, it gonna be bad.
Paul: [That would be brilliant.   That would be brilliant mate.

In Example 8 above, three males are talking about an employment contract of their colleague at work.   Mike starts speaking when Jeff is still talking, and because of overlapping speech, he needs to repeat his utterance.   Paul also starts talking when Mike was still making his comment, and he also repeats himself as a result of overlapping speech.   Speakers sometimes interrupt while another interlocutor is talking and do not wait for a pause when they start talking.   Consequently, they might need to repeat their own utterance and using repetitions helps to highlight and make their comments clear.

5.2   Japanese exact repetitions

However, Japanese exact repetitions are more frequently used for showing speakers' collaboration.   Approximately ninety percent of Japanese exact repetitions are used for this purpose including demonstrating agreement, confirmation, and emphasis, whereas approximately only seventy percent of English exact repetitions are used for the same reasons.   Murata (1995) calls these repetitions "solidarity repetitions", and Makino (1980) claims that Japanese interlocutors prefer using exact repetition to rephrasing utterances when they want to show solidarity with the speaker.

Example 9
Akiko: *tsuu tsuu-floor yone. dekara ni-kai date nan dakedo* [*ue ga*
        (There're two, two floors.   So, that's two story house, but the second floor is)
Saeko: [*eee are ni-kai date?*
                                                            (Really?   Is that two story house?)
Keiko: *ni-kai nan yo.*
        (Two stories.)
Eriko: *ni-kai date nan yo.*
        (Two story building.)

For instance, in the above Japanese conversation, Example 9, four Japanese speakers are talk-

ing about Akiko's house.   When she describes the number of floors in her house, Saeko appears to be surprised and tries to confirm this fact.   As such, the two other interlocutors repeat the phrase in order to confirm the number of floors in her house.

In this conversation Akiko uses a self-repetition to reiterate the number of floors twice while she switches from English to Japanese.   This self-repetition appears in order to emphasize and clarify a speaker's point, and the following other-repetition appears not only for agreeing with Akiko's description but also for showing mutual awareness by collaboratively joining this conversation.   Strauss and Kawanishi (1996) state that Japanese repetitions show the degree of mutual awareness among speakers.   Also as a topic to expand the conversation, Japanese inter-locutors in this conversation choose the exact same phrase rather than rephrase the previous utterances.

Example 10
Akihiko: *tsutomenin to issho* *de*
       (He was like a salary man.)
Taeko: *un* *tsutomenin to issho* *soremo asa hayoo kara nee*
       (Yeah, he was like a salary man.   Moreover, he went out early in the morning.)

Example 10 also shows interlocutor's solidarity in their involvement in conversation, in which two Japanese speakers are talking about their elderly friend.   After Akihiko describes his friend, Taeko repeats the same description of him before she gives additional information.   Her exact repetition helps expand her speech turn while showing her collaboration and mutual awareness in this conversation.
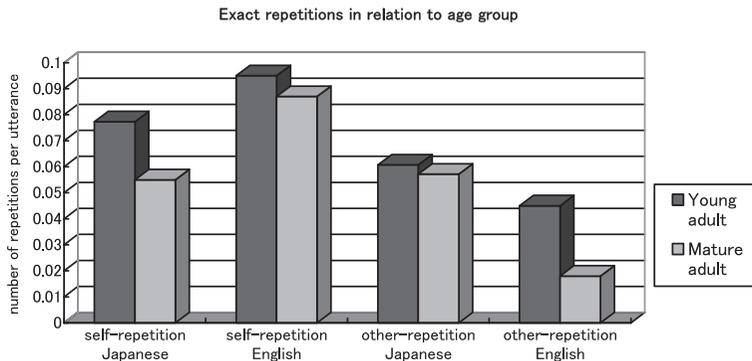
In addition, as Japanese people are accustomed to providing other-exact repetitions, they also rely on repetitions in order to comprehend their conversation.   The interviewees stated that they sometimes found it difficult to understand conversations if there were no exact-repetitions.   Exact repetitions help create time for Japanese interlocutors to understand their conversation and this indicates that Japanese exact repetitions are used not only to support interlocutors, but also to clar-ify meaning and information.

6.   Exact repetitions by young adult speakers

In general, young people express emotions and enthusiasm more easily than mature adults, and young speakers tend to use exact repetitions in order to show their strong feelings.   Young peo-ple freely show their emotion and enthusiasm (Ochs, 1989) and also enthusiastically show their involvement (Tannen, 1987).

In both English and Japanese conversation, young speakers use self- and other-exact repetitions more frequently than mature adult speakers (see Graph 2).   This result supports that speaker's age affects the frequent use of exact repetitions in conversation.

Several particular characteristics can be highlighted when young adult speakers use exact

Exact repetitions in relation to age group

Graph 2

repetitions.   Firstly, some of the collected conversations show that young adult speakers use exact repetitions when they play with words (wit) and enjoy making fun of their own conversation. For example, in Example 11, when Megan asks Ben to iron her shirt, Ben insists that she has to say a nice word to him.   Therefore, Megan repeats his utterance "sweetheart", which actually means a person that one is very fond of or in love with.   Although Megan and Ben are just close friends and do not have an intimate relationship with each other, they collaboratively use this word for irony and humour, and this shows their involvement in conversation.

Example 11
Ben: Ask me nicely.
Megan: Please, iron shirt for me.
Ben: You, sweetheart.
Angela: hahahaha.
Megan: Please sweetheart.

Secondly, some repetitions show dealing with trouble or problems in conversation, and exact repetitions are used for showing speakers' irritation, particularly in young adult conversation. Young adult speakers tend to use exact repetitions to strongly assert their opinions.

In Example 12 below, Megan has realized that Ben did not iron her shirt, therefore, she repeats "listen" four times in order to get everybody's attention.   She has not waited for Ben to finish his utterance and Ben's utterance is overlapped by her, so she needs to repeat the utterance "every" twice.   This self-repetition might not only be used for clarifying her overlapping speech but also for emphasizing the point she is making.   She continues to repeat her argument that Ben has not finished ironing her shirt and expresses how irritated she is.

Example 12
Angela: So, basically you go out club and check the girls.
Ben: Yeah [having xxxxx, aren't we?

Megan: [Basically yeah.
Angela: [But you can check the Hallow club.
Megan: [Listen, listen, listen, listen.   [Every every time,
Ben: xxx[xxxxx
Megan: No, you haven't finished ironing.   Hold on, you haven't finished ironing.
Megan: No.

   Also, Example 13 below illustrates that repetitions are used to convey speakers' strong feelings. In this conversation three young people are talking about who is going to buy some cheese, and both Megan and Ben volunteer to go to the shop.   Angela expresses her concern by saying "Not bother having cheese" and "Are you sure?".   However, Megan expresses her irritation by repeating "I'll go" three times and "It's OK" twice, then she ends up saying "F'goodness sake", which is an exclamation used to express anger and surprise.

   Example 13
   Megan: Oh, I'll go.
   Angela: No bother having cheese.
   Megan: No, it's OK.
   Angela: Are you sure?
   Megan: I'll go.   It's all right.
   Ben: I'll go.
   Megan: It's OK.   I'll go.   What I said was "I'll go", you know.
   Angela: What will you do [this weekend?
   Megan: [F'goodness sake.

   Moreover, young adult speakers tend to freely express their feelings when they disagree with each other.   In Example 14 below, Luke repeatedly suggests that the girls need a night out together.   However, Kate does not accept his idea and she seems to want to go out with both male and female friends.   Both Luke and Kate's self-repetitions help assert each other's own opinions and emphasize their conflicting ideas.

   Example 14
   Luke: Why don't you have a girls' night out.   I've [got a
   Kate: [I don't want to make it
   Kate: [a girls' night out.
   Luke: [I have my boys nights, don't I.
   Kate: So.
   Luke: Why not have a girls' night for on[ce.
   Kate: [We don't [want a girls' night.
   Jo: [It'll be nice having you around.

Japanese young adult speakers also use exact repetitions to show each other's disagreement. In Example 15 below, speakers are talking about Akie's work experience.   Akie strongly denies she has much work experience, however, Rika claims that she does have the experience.   When both speakers disagree with each other, repetitions appear, which are used for claiming each other's strong opinions.

    Example 15
Akie: *demo demo* *sooyuun janai* *kara.*
          (But but it wasn't like that.)
Tatsuya: *e* [*doo*?
          (Oh, what do you mean?)
Rika: [*iyaa* *anata mo shakaijin deshita yo* [*soo yuwaretara*
          (No, you can also say you worked.)
Akie: [*iyaa* *sooyuun janain* *dakedo.*
                              (No, It wasn't like that.)

Nevertheless, expressing solidarity in English is contrary to Japanese, as the way in which speakers use other-repetitions sometimes differs between English and Japanese young adults. English speakers particularly use exact repetitions in order to contribute to and emphasize their point of the story, while Japanese speakers collaboratively use exact repetitions for showing their togetherness and excitement.   Thus, describing speakers' involvement in utterances indicates a cultural significance.

For instance, in Example 16, three English young adult speakers are discussing a comment that Ben should make to his girlfriend.   When Angela is asking what Ben would say to his girlfriend, both Megan and Ben repeat a phrase having the same syntactic frame as Angela's previous utterance, saying "You know what you say" and "What would I say?".   These repetitions add no new information to the conversation, but they show ratifying listenership in conversation.   While showing each other's involvement, these repetitions help emphasize the point of the utterance.

    Example 16
Megan: He's been so rude.   He's been so mean.
Angela: What would you say [to her.
Ben: [Yeah.   I mean.
Megan: Now you know he said.
Ben: Yeah, I said I care a bit.
Megan: You know exactly what you say.
Ben: What would I say?
Megan: You know what you say.

However, in Japanese conversation young speakers often enthusiastically repeat the same

words, which can be a short phrase, in turns and express their group solidarity with excitement. In Example 17 below, both self- and other-repetitions appear, in which young women are talking about a place where their friend is working.   The first self-repetition is used when Miki is questioning where her friend's work is.   Repetitions are sometimes used when questions are raised in conversation (Jefferson, 1972; Norrick, 1994; Tannen, 1989).   The second repetition consists of both self- and other-repetition, which all speakers collaboratively repeat the name of the shop (XEBIO) in turns.   They repeat it at a quick tempo and these repetitions demonstrate that all speakers are engaged in the conversation, and they also share the same information while showing enthusiastic agreement with each other.   Finally, the third repetition describes the location of the shop which was highlighted by Miki's repetition.

Example 17
Miki: *doko doko dakke ano supootsuten e zebio.*
          (Where where was it?   The sports shop ah- called XEBIO)
Keiko: *a zebio.   zebio.   zebio.*
          (ah XEBIO XEBIO XEBIO)
Miki: *zebio.*
          (XEBIO)
Keiko: *yagi[ni aru nee nanka baitosaki ga supootsuten de soko ga suggoi tanoshiitte*
          (She said she had a lot of fun working at a sports shop in Yagi.)
Miki: [*yagini aru.*
              ([That shop] is in Yagi)

Example 18
Rika: *watashi no tomodachi no eee gomen myooji wasureta wa*
          (You are my friend, oh sorry!   I forgot your surname!)
Akie: *kita.   kita.*
          (Kita Kita)
Tatsuya: *kita.*
          (Kita)
Rika: *kita akie-san desutte [de akie-chan*
          (I would say "This is Miss Akie Kita", then Akie [you'd say])
Akie: [*a san tsukechatte ii no sontoki.*
                                  (Oh, can I use "Miss" when I introduce you to my boss?)

    Participants of a conversation can also use a sequence of exact repetitions in order to claim a speech turn and to help develop the conversation (Tannen, 1989).   In Example 18 above, the three speakers, who are a young male and two young females, are talking about what is appropriate behavior towards their boss at work.   When Rika is giving a piece of advice about etiquette to Akie, she forgets her surname.   Therefore, Akie spontaneously tells her surname while using an

exact repetition.   In this conversation, though Tetsuya does not need to repeat Akie's surname, he confirms her surname in order to join this conversation, as a result, all the participants collaboratively repeat Akie's surname a total of four times and show each other's involvement in conversation.

In collected Japanese sample conversations, young adult speakers used self-repetitions when asking questions more often than mature adult speakers, and used them every twenty six utterances, while mature adult speakers used them every thirty eight utterances.

Example 19 below demonstrates that young Japanese people use self-repetitions when asking questions.   While two young girls, Miki and Keiko, are talking about making cups of tea for themselves, Miki finds out there is only one tea bag.   Keiko swiftly repeats her question "*aru?*" (Do you have?) twice in a high pitch voice in order to inquire whether there are other tea bags somewhere.   In this conversation young female interlocutors show their excitement among each other even when they are talking about making a cup of tea.   Japanese females use a more high pitch range in conversation particularly when they have a close relationship with each other (Yuasa, 2002).

> Example 19
> Keiko: *watashi mo koocha*
> 　　　　(I will also have a cup of tea.)
> Miki:　*Ja haai hitotsu shika nai.*
> 　　　　(Okay.　There is only one tea bag.)
> Keiko: *aa hitotsu janai.*　 *aru?　aru?*
> 　　　　(Oh, there is only one tea bag.   Do you have [another one somewhere]?
> 　　　　Do you have [another one somewhere]?)

In addition, the exact repetitions sometimes show enthusiasm and excitement among Japanese young adult speakers.   In Example 20 below, a young Japanese female, Risa, enthusiastically expresses that she has enjoyed a particular month, and the other interlocutors show how jealous they are of her.   To emphasize how much Risa has enjoyed it, she repeats the same utterance three times.   At the end of this conversation, Megu jointly participates by repeating Risa's utterance.   The female interlocutors, Nao and Megu, are like an audience in this conversation as they only express their empathy with Risa and only repeat the short utterance "*ii ne gyaku de*" (I wish I could also enjoy it, but didn't).   None of the speakers in this conversation rephrase their opinions and there is no additional new information.   Moreover, this conversation consists of only simple expressions of speakers' feelings.

> Example 20
> Risa:　*ano ikkagetsu wa nee moo sugoi tanoshikatta moo nanka.*
> 　　　　(I really enjoyed that month.   I really...)
> Nao:　*ii ne.*

                (I wish I could also enjoy it.)
Megu: *ii ne.* [*gyaku de*
                (I wish I could also enjoy it, but I didn't.)
Nao: [*gyaku danee*
                   (I didn't.)
Risa: *suggoi tanoshikatta* mon.
                (I really enjoyed it.)
Megu: *waa* *ii* [*naa*
                (Wow, I wish I could also enjoy it.)
Risa: [*moo* *mechamecha* [*tanoshikatta* *hahahaha*
                   (Really, I extremely enjoyed it.)   ((laugh))
Megu: [*tanoshikatta* *hahahahaha*
                                   (enjoyed it.)   ((laugh))
Risa: *mechakucha tanoshikatta* *hahahahaha*
                (I extremely enjoyed it.)   ((laugh))

   With this, Japanese interviewees supported that young adults used exact repetitions as a discourse strategy.   Moreover, young Japanese interviewees often emphasized the importance of using exact repetitions when expressing strong agreement and sympathy with interlocutors, whereas mature adult interviewees sometimes gave negative comments on the use of exact repetitions.

   A Japanese young female interviewee stated that it was more appropriate to use the exact same phrase when showing sympathy towards an interlocutor.   For instance, if a person said "It was tough (*tsurakatta*)", she would repeat "Yeah, it was tough, wasn't it? (*soo tsurakattan dayonee*)" in order to convey her sincerity and sympathize with the person while expressing that she feels the same.   This comment may corroborate that repetitions help show speakers' emotion (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1989).

   On the other hand, several negative comments regarding the use of exact repetitions were asserted by mature adult interviewees, reinforcing the proposition that they use exact repetitions differently compared to young people.   They found that some repetitions showed speakers' strong feelings and displayed too much emotion for them.   For example, an adult Japanese male in England expressed that he found listening to exact repetitions uncomfortable and conversations using many of them sounded overly enthusiastic.   He also expressed that speakers strongly showed their feelings and were too emotional for him.   Another Japanese adult interviewee in England added that he would use other speech interaction such as backchannels instead of exact repetitions.   Moreover, a Japanese adult female interviewee in England expressed that she disliked exact repetitions.   These negative comments were often made by Japanese people living in England, which suggests that they have been influenced by the different language environment and culture while living in England.   Moreover, they tended to explicitly express their own opinions more.

In addition, English interviewees also stated that they disliked using exact repetitions as they could be irritating and destructive. In the interviews, English adults made more negative comments on exact repetitions than Japanese adults, and with this, English adult speakers used other-exact repetitions the least out of all groups (see Graph 2). In fact, in the collected conversations there were only a few English conversations in which exact repetitions appeared and showed speakers' high involvement.

7. Conclusion

Repetitions are a part of speech interaction and naturally occur in everyday conversation. There are several types of repetitions used in speech interaction, which are called "self-repetition" by the same speaker and "other-repetition" collaboratively repeated by other participants. Repetitions are also categorized into exact repetitions and non-exact repetitions, such as rephrasing previous utterances.

Speakers use repetitions for various purposes in everyday conversation and they have both positive and negative meanings, such as speakers' mutual involvement, enthusiasm, agreement and disagreement, humour, and irritation.

In the collected conversations, the way in which English and Japanese speakers used exact repetitions was sometimes different. Although both English and Japanese people used exact repetitions for similar purposes, they differently interpreted them when they were frequently used.

Firstly, the English and the Japanese tended to choose different types of exact repetitions, as English people used more self-repetitions than Japanese people in order to create thinking time and show their hesitation. English speakers frequently used self-repetitions for repairing overlapping speech. Rather, Japanese people used more other-exact repetitions than English people in order to show their group collaboration with other speakers. In fact, collaborative other-exact repetitions appeared in Japanese conversation more often than English conversation. Japanese speakers also used self-repetitions to often emphasize their utterances in conversation.

Moreover, speakers' age influenced the frequency of exact repetitions in both Japanese and English conversation. Young people generally used both self- and other-exact repetitions more frequently than adults, as they were able to easily show their involvement, feeling and enthusiasm. One particular function while using exact repetitions was the use of wit and to play with words for making fun of their conversation. Young people also freely expressed their feelings including their irritation while asserting their opinions and explicitly described their disagreement.

Also English and Japanese young adult speakers sometimes used exact repetitions differently. While young English speakers used exact repetitions for enforcing their point, young Japanese speakers used them more to show excitement and emotional involvement among speakers. These results showed that English people treated assertiveness as being important, while Japanese people tended to express their solidarity and excitement, which helped show their group involvement. Sato (2005) states that the Japanese try to emotionally connect with each other and tend to avoid explicitly telling their own opinions in a group, rather, the English tend to think logi-

cally and get used to confidently expressing their own opinions.   Murata (1995: 200) also explains that "Japanese speakers use more territorial and solidarity repetitions among speakers to demonstrate their cooperation and involvement in conversation."

The interview results showed that the frequent use of exact repetitions was more widely accepted by Japanese people than English people since Japanese interviewees provided more positive and supportive comments than English interviewees.

English interviewees expressed that they disliked using exact repetitions which they found irritating and destructive to the conversation.   Moreover, these negative comments were also made by some Japanese people living in London, who had been influenced by the fact that they were living in a different language environment.

These cross-cultural and age differences in using exact repetitions could be the cause of misunderstanding and create discomforting circumstances between English and Japanese speakers in conversation.   Awareness of different meanings in speech interactions would help initiate effective communication and also help understand speakers who have a different social background.

There are several limitations to this study, since this study only focused on a few particular age groups and did not cover either the older generation or young children.   Among elderly people, exact repetitions might have different meanings as they often use repetitions for cognitive purposes such as for connecting people and revisiting their memories (Brewer, 1994).   With this, Hamilton (2001) suggests that age and numbers of subjects are needed to be integrated in the study.   Also, more detailed analyses might be necessary in different contexts such as in formal situations in public or at work.

In addition, scholars analyzing English conversation often claim that repetitions are a female speech characteristic, and Coates (1996: 231) states that "repetitions are a powerful symbol of the connection women feel with each other", and the examples of exact repetitions in this study were also often uttered by female speakers.   In the sample conversations, English males rarely used exact repetitions, however, Japanese males sometimes used them similarly to Japanese females. Consequently, more male conversations need to be examined in order to find out if there are specific gender differences in using exact repetitions.

Nonetheless, this study shows that not only cultural differences but also speakers' different social background and their variables need to be carefully investigated, and also shows that a sociolinguistic approach is relevant in discourse analysis.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Explanation
.	Falling vocal pitch
?	Rising vocal pitch
xxxxx	Where it is impossible to make out the utterance
[[	Speech overlap
(( ))	Additional vocalizations, e.g. ((laugh))
[ ]	Additional translation in English to clarity Japanese speaker's utterance
☐	Repetitive utterance