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A multimodal study of response token *dui dui dui* in Mandarin conversation

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the response token *dui dui dui* (right right right) in Mandarin conversation from a multimodal perspective. Two types of *dui dui dui* are found in the data. The first type serves to display recipient's affiliation with the speaker's immediate previous assertion. The second type serves as a confirmation to the recipient's collaborative completion of the speaker's turn. The study aims to show how *dui dui dui*s are produced and interpreted by participants as two different actions in different sequential environments. In addition, it describes the prosodic form of each type of *dui dui dui*s and body movements accompanying the production of *dui dui dui*s. These findings suggest that each type of *dui dui dui*s is produced with specific prosodic and visual features and has different interactional functions. This study contributes to our understanding of the multimodal nature of the production of the response tokens in Mandarin conversation.

Key words: response token; *dui dui dui*; multimodal perspective; Mandarin conversation

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

In the discipline of linguistics, scholars have traditionally focused on the production of speech, i.e. the action of the speaker. However, according to Schegloff (1982), conversation is a speech-exchanging system, in which more than one participant is present and relevant to talk. Therefore, the role of listeners as a group should also be recognized and discussed.

In everyday conversation, recipients constantly produce short bits of talk during other interlocutors' talk. These bits of talk, known as 'response tokens', exhibit recipients' understanding of the talk and an active involvement in the progress of the talk (Kendon 1967; Yngve 1970; Fishman 1978; Schegloff 1982; Jefferson 1984; Goodwin 1986a; Fellegy 1995; Clancy et al. 1996; Gardner 2001;). Typical English examples of response tokens are *mh hm*, *yeah*, *uh huh*, *right*, *wow, oh, good*, etc. Typical Mandarin response tokens include *en* (mm), *e* (eh), *dui* 'right', *ou* (oh), *wa* (wow), *hao* (good) and so on. Below is an example of a typical response token in English.

Excerpt 1 (Schegloff 1982:82)

01   B: I wanna ask you something,

02　B: I wrote a letter.

03　　(pause)

04→A: Mh hm,

05　B: T' the governor.

Excerpt 2 is an example of a typical response token in Mandarin (Tsai 2001:32):

01　　A: ta qishi　ta jiaowang de pengyou ne,

　　　她 其實 她 交往 的 朋友 呢

02　　haoxiang ye bushi taiduo.

　　　好像 也 不是 太多

　　　'The amount of her friends wouldn't be too large.'

03→B:(0) dui.

　　　對.

　　　'Right!'

Response tokens have been neglected in the speaker-oriented linguistic research. But recently there is a large body of studies that explore response tokens and their interactional functions. However, these studies are mostly based on English and German data. In contrast, there are only a smaller number of studies of response tokens in Mandarin. These studies have focused

on the comparison of response tokens in different languages (Tao and Thomson 1991; Clancy et al. 1996), or a single response token (Miracle 1991; Tsai 2001; Wang et al. 2010) such as *mmhmm* (Mm), *hao/haode* (good), *ou* (oh) and *dui* (right). In the present data, there is a variety of response tokens including *a* (ah), *aiya* (well), *jiushi/jiushi a* (indeed), *shi a* (yes), *shi ma/zhende* (really), *zhen hao* (terrific) etc.

This study aims to contribute to a growing body of study of response tokens in Mandarin conversation by conducting a multimodal study of a multiple response token *dui dui dui* (right right right).

Before embarking on the detailed study of *dui dui dui*, some preliminaries for the study are provided. Since the subject of this study is the triple *dui*, I will first introduce the lexical meaning of the single token *dui*.

Dui is one of the most polysemous and multi-functional words in Mandarin. It has 9 lexical meanings according to *Xiandai hanyu cidian.* (Contemporary Chinese Dictionary, 2005: 1293)

对 duì

Adjective: 1) right; 2) opposite;

Verb: 3) to treat; 4) to answer; 5) to make two things fit each other;

6) to split into two parts; 7) to adjust

Measure word: 8) a couple

Proposition: 9) for

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When used as a response token, *dui*'s semantic meaning is 'right'. I will focus on *dui dui dui* 'right right right' in this study.

1.2 Research questions

Existing research on the interactional function of single token *dui* has provided the foundation and inspiration for this study. In the previous study, *dui* has been considered to serve several functions: a positive response to interrogative forms (Tsai 2001), a(n) (self-)agreement marker (Tsai 2001), a delay device (Liu 2009) and an epistemic confirmation token (Xu 2009). After comparing *hao* (good) and *dui*, Wang et al. (2010) argue that *dui* as a single turn signifies recipients' 'acquiescence' to the speaker's right to continue previous statement. However, they have not addressed multiple *dui*s. But the multiple response token may have discrete use from single token (Stivers 2008).

Based on previous studies, my general research question is: What is the usage and function of *dui dui dui* in Mandarin conversation? In order to explicate this question, some sub-questions are further raised as follows.

- What are the sequential features of *dui dui dui*?

- What are the interactional functions of *dui dui dui*?

- What are the prosodic forms of *dui dui dui*?

- What are the visual behaviors involved in the production of *dui dui dui*?

In this study, *dui dui dui* and its interactional function are examined in

different sequential environments. Moreover, as face-to-face interaction is multimodal in nature (Sidnell and Stivers 2005), I will also analyze prosodic and visual features of *dui dui dui* in different sequential environments. In doing so, this study hopes to contribute to our understanding of the multimodal the practices and resources involved in production of *dui dui dui*.

1.3 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 reviews relevant studies of response tokens. Chapter 3 introduces the methodology and the data of the study. Chapter 4 examines two types of *dui dui dui* in different sequential environments. It also discusses prosodic form and visual features involved in the production of *dui dui dui*. Chapter 5 summarizes the major findings in this study.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the research from different perspectives on the response token *dui dui dui* in Mandarin conversation. I will first discuss previous studies on the definition and classification of response token in Section 2.1. Section 2.2 presents studies of *dui* and *dui dui dui* in Mandarin conversation. Section 2.3 outlines research on similar response tokens in other languages. Finally, Section 2.4 summarizes the discussions in this chapter.

2.1 The definition of response token

In talk-in-interaction, it is readily observable that recipients constantly provide brief, non-topical responses during other interlocutors' talk. These short bits of talk produced by recipients are called response tokens. Response tokens have been more or less neglected in traditional linguistic research, but they have gained increasing attention in the field of interactional linguistics and conversation analysis. So far, many attempts have been made by interactional linguists and conversation analysts to define and classify these short bits of talk (response tokens). I will first provide an overview of these studies.

2.1.1 The definition of response token

Many researchers have proposed different terms for response token, for

example, 'accompaniment signals' (Kendon 1967), 'back channel' (Yngve 1970), 'minimal response' (Fishman, 1978), 'reactive token' (Clancy et al. 1996), 'minimal feedback' (Holmes 1997), 'receipt tokens' (Atkinson 1992) and 'response token' (Gardner 2001). In what follows, I will provide a review of three most widely-used terms in the literature: 'accompaniment signal', 'back channel' and 'response token'.

Kendon (1967) has defined 'accompaniment signal' as the short utterance that is produced by recipients as an accompaniment during other interlocutor's speakership. These signals are initially found in concurrence with speaker's gaze. Therefore they are viewed as accompaniments to body conduct. However, this definition is ambiguous in that it does not capture the nature of the actions that response tokens may perform (Schegloff, 1982). As these 'signals' are believed to have many functions other than just being an accompaniment, the term 'accompaniment signal' is seldom used in more recent studies.

Another important term is 'back channel' proposed by Yngve (1970). The study finds that speakers receive 'short messages' from co-participants when speaking at length. These 'short messages' signal that co-participants are actively engaged in the current talk. Yngve (1970) then defines these non-floor-taking items as 'back channels'. This study also describes both verbal and nonverbal back channels. This term has exerted such a strong

impact on later studies that many scholars have used this term in their study of response token. Now it is common to see 'back channel' is defined in two ways. In the narrow sense, 'back channels' are non-lexical vocalic forms that demonstrate interest or understanding (Clancy et al. 1996). In the broad sense, back channel includes both non-lexical and lexical items that show a certain level of engagement (Iwasaki 1997; Lambertz 2011). However, both definitions are mainly concerned with the form of back channel. This may obscure the distinctions among many functionally varied tokens (Gardner 2001). As Drummond and Hopper (1993) point out:

> … the term back channel included a broad range of utterances. This range of materials was lumped into a single coding category… The failure… to distinguish between different classes of back channels and the consequences they may have for speakership incipiency has made the back channels category a hodgepodge.

(Drummond and Hopper 1993:161-162)

The third widely-used term is 'response token'. According to Gardner (2001),

> Response tokens are … one class of conversational objects whose primary functions are not to make reference to the world, but to provide some information on the course the talk is taking.

(Gardner 2001:14)

Gardner's study is more concerned with the interactional function of response

token. The studies of the interactional function of response token later have mostly adopted this term (McCarthy 2003; Aoki 2008; Gorish 2010). The current research follows this definition and uses the term 'response token', because it best captures the nature of the subject of this study.

2.1.2 The classification of response token

There are mainly two ways of classifying response tokens. One is associated with their semantic meaning; the other one is related to their interactional functions.

Iwasaki (1997) proposes three types of back channel based on their form. They are: non-lexical back channels, which have 'little or no referential meaning'; phrasal back channels, which are stereotypical expressions with 'substantive meaning'; and substantive back channels, which have 'referential content'.

Studies have also proposed subcategories of response token based on their interactional functions, such as 'continuers' (Schegloff 1982), 'acknowledgement tokens' (Jefferson 1984a), 'newsmarkers' (Heritage 1984) and 'change-of-state token' (Heritage 1984).

Gardner's (2001) classification of response token includes all four subcategories mentioned above and 'newsmarker-like objects'. The study extensively discusses the major discourse function of each type of response token. Yet Gardner (2001) also admits that the distinction among the five

subcategories is not clear-cut because these "brief, mono- or bi-syllabic utterances" can have multiple discourse functions at the same time.

There is also classification partially based on form and partially based on function. Clancy et al. (1996) distinguish five types of reactive token: back channels (non-lexical vocalic form that display interest), reactive expressions (non-floor-taking lexical phrase or word), collaborative finishes (the action that non-primary speaker finishes a previous utterance), repetition and resumptive openers (back channels followed by full turns). As these sub-types are initially proposed for cross-linguistic studies, there are few studies that adopt this classification for the study of a single language.

2.2 Response tokens *dui* and *dui dui dui* in Mandarin

2.2.1 *Dui*

Recent studies have focused on the semantic meaning and interactional function of *dui* (Tsai 2001; Liu 2009; Wang et al. 2010). Other findings also suggest that *dui* has undergone a process of grammaticalization (Chui 2002) and has developed into a discourse marker. In this section, I present these findings to provide a context for the current research.

Tsai (2001) examines three types of *dui* and their functions. The first type of *dui* is produced by recipients, and it functions as a positive response to interrogatives. As a second pair part of the question-answer adjacency pair, *dui*

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straightforwardly impedes more negotiation of information and allows a speaker to continue to speak. The second type of *dui* is an agreement token and it has two variants. One is produced by recipient registering understanding of the current talk. It usually occurs in the middle of talk without being asked for and marks understanding of the current talk. The other variant is delivered by a speaker at the beginning of a turn. At this position, it serves to show agreement to the recipient's collaborative completion of the prior talk. The third type of *dui* is an agreement token that usually occurs in conversations involving more than two parties. The *dui* registers speaker's agreement with one party while avoiding offending the other party.

Liu (2009) regards *dui* as a discourse marker and documents another important use of *dui*. The study argues that *dui* serves as a 'pause filler' or a 'delay device' because it can be omitted without affecting the semantic intactness of the utterance. However, she has not mentioned why and how the utterance is 'intact'.

Chui (2002) conducted a study on *dui* in spoken Mandarin in relation to its position in a turn. When *dui* appears at turn initial position, it functions as a reactive expression and exhibits commitment to the literal truth of prior utterance produced by a speaker. When *dui* is used at turn-final position, it bears the assertive meaning and self-confirms the truth of the information in

the preceding TCU[1]s. Moreover, the study shows that recipients provide *dui* spontaneously without being asked for. Chui (2002) argues that this is because *dui* has developed into a conversational routine for ritualization. The high frequency of usage contributes to the process of ritualization, in which *dui* developed from a verb into a discourse marker.

2.2.2 *Dui dui dui*

In Chinese linguistics, *dui dui dui* has not been systematically explored. Many studies acknowledge its existence, but they have not addressed the difference between *dui* and *dui dui dui*. Some studies consider them as the same token (Tsai 2001, Wang et al. 2010), while others maintain that they are different (Clancy et al. 1996). Tsai (2001) admits that *dui dui dui* shows strong agreement and it is used to mark the importance of the answer, but *dui dui dui* is considered the same as *dui* in the study. Although Clancy et al. (1996) treats *dui* and *dui dui dui* as two different 'reactive expressions', they have not provided detailed account of the difference between the single and the multiple *dui*s.

2.3 Similar response tokens in other languages

In languages other than Chinese, similar response tokens like *right* still remain

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[1] TCU: Turn Construction Units. A turn construction unit is the basic segment of speech in a conversation.

largely unexamined (Gardner 2001). So far, most research has touched on the interactional function (Gardner 2001), the prosodic form (Golato and Fagyal 2006; Barth-Weingarten 2011), the visual features (Maynard 1989; Aoki 2008) and the difference between single and multiple tokens (Müller 1996; Stivers 2004). In the following, I will provide a detail review of these studies.

Gardner (2001) argues that the basic discourse function of *right* in English is an 'idea connector', which connects units from earlier talk to the immediately prior turn. The appearance of *right* indicates that a connection has been recognized, and that the participant shall go on talking.

Based on Golato and Fagyal (2006), Barth-Weingarten (2011) has shown that one multiple saying can have various prosodic forms. She examines four types of *JAJA* (yes yes) in German conversation with distinct sequential implications and interactional functions. The important contribution of this study is that each type of *JAJA* is equipped with a distinct prosodic form. This finding suggests that participants use different prosodic cues to accomplish different interactional tasks.

Studies also converge to visual behaviors that accompany the production of response token. Maynard (1989) indicates that the number of head nods accompanying response token may cause a difference in interactional function. Aoki (2008) explores 'plain form' and 'complex form' of *nn* and confirms Maynard's argument. She finds that the plain form consists of a single *nn* and

a head nod. When it occurs at TRP[2], it works as a back channel. Thus, participants often consider it as problematic because it displays a lack of affiliation. So this plain form is more often found at non-TRP, where it works as a continuer and displays the recipiency of information. Meanwhile, the complex form comprises a succession of *nn*s and head nods. In contrast to the plain form, it displays affiliation and highlights a mutual epistemic stance between the speaker and the recipient. Therefore it is often found as a response to speaker's evaluative stance.

Studies have also explored the difference between single and multiple response tokens. Müller (1996) refers to the single token (*yes*) as 'weak' token and the multiple token (*oui oui oui*, 'right right right') as the 'strong' one. He further argues that the 'strong' token indicates a specific stance towards the object just introduced. This study also claims that multiple tokens strongly affirm what is currently being said. Therefore speakers are suggested to continue to talk.

Stivers (2004) first explicates the discrete interactional function of 'multiple sayings' in English conversation. She argues that multiple sayings like *no no no*, *yes yes yes* and *alright alright alright* suggest that previously persisted utterances are unnecessary and therefore should be stopped. This study

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[2] TRP: Transition Relevance Place. It refers to the place at the possible completion of a current turn constructional unit (Sacks and Jefferson 1974). At this place, turn transition may, but need not, occur.

underscores that multiple sayings are not simply upgrades of the single token; instead, they play a distinct and integrated role in social interaction. It should be noted that Stivers (2004) is mainly based on doctor-patient interaction, which is a different type of interaction from everyday conversation. Therefore, it is an open question if *dui dui dui* has similar interactional functions in everyday Mandarin conversations.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the definition and classification of response token in the literature. Furthermore, I have reviewed the interactional function of *dui* and the grammatical development of *dui* as a discourse marker in Mandarin. Since previous studies tend to view *dui dui dui* as the linguistic variation of *dui*, research directly on *dui dui dui* is scarce. Finally, I have discussed similar response tokens in other languages. In the next chapter, I will introduce the methodology adopted in this study.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Data

This research is a multimodal study of *dui dui dui* based on 66 instances. The data for this study are drawn from 5.5 hours of unscripted Mandarin face-to-face conversations. One conversation is audiotaped and ten are both audio-and videotaped.

Written consents from the 22 participants have been obtained before the recordings. All of the participants are native Mandarin speakers, and they are PhD, graduate and undergraduate students attending a university in Canada. Their age ranges from early twenties to thirties. The data are informal settings, including social gatherings, after-school chatting and work arrangement meetings.

3.2 Transcription system

The transcription system is mainly based on Du Bois (1993) transcription system with slight modification. An example of the transcription system used in this study is given below. Transcribing symbols are provided in the Appendix.

01 Li：我　跟　别人　　讨论　　的时候

```
     Wo gen bieren taolun  deshihou

     I with others discuss    when

     "When I discuss (something) with others"
```

The data is presented in a four-line format. The two-digital number at the beginning of 01 suggests the sequence of intonation units. The first line is the Chinese characters of the turn, and the second line provides pinyin for each corresponding word. The third line presents the English equivalents for each Chinese word and the last line is the free translation. The speaker's role is marked in the column adjacent to the transcription. 'Li' refers to the utterances' initiator.

Occasionally, due to the margin limitation, an intonation unit is divided into two parts, as indicated by following lines.

09 Su: 而且　>音乐剧　　给我　感觉　　好像　　经常　　就

```
     erqie >yinyueju gei wo ganjue haoxiang jingchang jiu

     Also musical  give I  feel   seemly    often   then

     'And I feel (they) speak and speak and suddenly,
```

　　　　讲　　着　讲　　着　就　变　唱　了　那　种

```
jiang    zhe jiang  zhe jiu bian chang le na  zhong

speaking DUR speaking DUR then start sing  CRS that CL

(they) start to sing.'
```

In this case, the intonation unit is too long to be presented in one line. Therefore, it is divided into two lines, with no line number provided prior to the second part.

3.3 Methodology

In this study, Conversational Analysis is used as the primary methodology. CA focuses on social interaction that involves analyzing recordings of naturally occurring conversation and other forms of talk (Sidnell 2010). It was first proposed by Harvey Sacks and Emanuel Schegloff, who point out that the study of small conversational objects may help us better understand how a sentence is organized, how an activity is assembled and eventually how human interact with each other (Schegloff 1984). CA views the interaction as a dynamic process and believes that the conversation is constructed moment by moment. To study what response token do, we need to uncover how participants understand and respond to this group of brief tokens, as Gardner (2001) has suggested:

If one studies what is that response tokens are responding to, and what

speakers do after a response token has been produced, and how

participants themselves deal with them, then one can begin to make sense

of how they are used.

<div align="right">(Gardner, 2001: 4)</div>

In addition, Praat and Elan are deployed in the analysis of the prosodic and

visual features.

In this chapter, I have provided a brief introduction of the data and the

transcription system used in this study. I have also presented the primary

methodology used in this research. In the next chapter, I will conduct a

detailed analysis of the response token *dui dui dui* in Mandarin conversation.

Chapter 4 The Multimodal Features and Interactional Functions of *Dui Dui Dui*

This chapter explores the features and interactional functions of *dui dui dui* in Mandarin conversation. In the data, there are two types of *dui dui dui*. I will first provide an overview of *dui* and multiple *dui*s in the data. Then I will examine the sequential environment of each type of *dui dui dui*. Finally, I will present the prosodic and visual features of *dui dui dui* and how they are interactively produced by conversational participants.

4.1 An overview of *dui* and multiple *dui*s in the data

In the data, the frequencies of *dui* and other multiple tokens of *dui* are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 The frequencies of *dui* and multiple *dui*s

No.	Token	Occurrences
1	*Dui*	307
2	*Dui dui dui*	66
3	*Dui dui dui dui dui*	19
4	*Dui dui*	14

---

[3] Both *dui dui dui dui* consist of a single lengthening *dui* plus three consecutive *dui*.

Table 1 shows that the single token *dui* far outnumbers all the other tokens, while d*ui dui dui* ranks as the second frequent token. The frequencies of *dui dui dui dui dui* and *dui dui* are comparable but far less than that of *dui* and *dui dui dui*. *Dui dui dui dui* seldom appears in the data. Based on a cursory examination, there may be overlap of function between the most frequent token, i.e. the basic form *dui*, and the second most frequent token *dui dui dui*. For example, they both suggest agreement with the prior speaker. But they may also differ in terms of the sequential implication. That is, speakers may resume the prior turn after *dui dui dui*, but not after *dui*. Since *dui* has been fully studied in many previous works (Tsai 2001, Chui 2002, Wang et al. 2012), this study will focus on *dui dui dui* and its interactional functions.

In my data, *dui dui dui*s fall into two types. One type of *dui dui dui*s is produced by a recipient in the middle of a talk displaying strong affiliation with a speaker. The other one is initiated by a speaker confirming the proffered co-completion of his/her turn by a recipient. In the following section, I will examine the features and functions of each type of *dui dui dui*s.

4.2 *Dui dui dui* produced by recipients

Making an assertion or a claim is a common action that people do in

interaction. The first type of *dui dui dui* is mostly found in response to an assertion or a claim made by a speaker in an immediately preceding turn. When a speaker performs the action of asserting, recipients often employ *dui dui dui* to display their affiliation with the speaker's assertion. Also, recipients show no indication of taking over the floor, and the speaker will go on talking. In the next section, I present the typical sequential environment where this type of *dui dui dui* occurs.

4.2.1 Sequential features of *dui dui dui* produced by recipients

Dui dui dui produced by a recipient is typically a response to an assertion or a claim. It is often produced as a stand-alone token at TRP, sometimes in overlap with the last syllable of the prior turn. After *dui dui dui,* recipients do not preserve the speakership, and the speaker continues to produce an extended turn. Extract 1 demonstrates the typical sequential environment of this type of *dui dui dui*. In this extract, Yi and Zu are students studying electronic engineering. Prior to the sequence, Yi and Zu are discussing how the size of an antenna is determined by the effect of the emission wavelength.

Extract 1 (The Size of an Antenna)

01 Yi：呃：

　　　e：

uh

'uh'

02   其中   现在

qizhong xianzai

among   now

'Now among'

03   比较   常:见   的 一   种   说法 > 就是   说

bijiao chang:jian de yi zhong   shuofa >jiushi shuo

relatively common ASSC one kind opinion just BE say

'all the common opinions, there is one（opinion）'

04   你: 你   发射   的   波长

ni：ni   fashe de   bochang

you you emission ASSC wavelength

'the emission wavelength'

05   和   你   天线   的 尺寸   是:(0.2) 在:

he   ni tianxian de chicun shi:(0.2)zai:

and you antenna ASSC size   BE   on

'and the size of your antenna'

06   要   在   一   个   >数量级   上

       yao zai yi ge >shuliangji shang

       need on one CL   magnitude   on

       'need to be on the same level'

07 Zu: 啊： 对

     A: dui

     Ah right

     'Ah right.'

08   这 [个 我   听说   过][4]

     zhe [ge wo tingshuo   guo]

     this CL I hear about PFV

     'I have heard about this.'

09 Yi：   [比如   说：]   分米   波   就   要

         [biru   shuo:] fenmi bo   jiu   yao

---

[4] This thesis uses vertical alignment to indicate overlaps in conversation. The left bracket is the place where an overlap begins, and the right bracket is the place where the overlap ends.

for example say decimeter wave exactly want

'For example, decimeter wave (needs).'

10 天线 就是 分米 数量级 [的]

tianxian jiushi fenmi shuliangji [de]

antenna just BE decimeter magnitude PRT

'It is the antenna that (emits) the decimeter wave.'

11→Zu: [对] 对 对

                                             [dui] dui dui

                                             right right right

                                             'Right right right.'

12 Yi：=我们 之所以 用 900 兆

   =women zhisuoyi yong 900 zhao

    we the reason why use 900 Mhz

    'the reason why we choose 900 Mhz,'

13 我们 之所以 用 比较 高频 的 [这 个：]

   women zhisuoyi yong bijiao gaopin de [zhe ge:]

   we why use rather frequent ASSC this CL

'the reason why we use this (wave) with high frequency,'

14   (sniff)

15→Zu：   [嗯 嗯 嗯]

                                      [en en en]

                                      mm mm mm

                                      'Mm hm hm.'

16 Yi：>这 个 >这 个 这 个 波:

     >zhe ge >zhe ge zhe ge   bo:

     this CL this CL this CL wave

     'this   this   this wave'

17   是 因为 它 的   波长   比较   短

      shi yinwei ta de   bochang   bijiao   duan

      BE because it ASSC wavelength relatively short

      'is because that its wavelength is relatively short.'

18   这样   我们 天线   尺寸 也 做 得 比较 短

      zheyang women tianxian chicun ye zuo de bijiao duan

```
this way  we   antenna  size also make CSC rather short
```

'In this way we can make a shorter antenna.'

19 Zu：嗯

en

mmi

'Mm.'

From line 1 to line 6, Yi is explaining the relationship between the size and wavelength of an antenna. Zu then agrees with the Yi's opinion and states that she has the same knowledge (line 8). In line 10, Yi claims that the antenna emits decimeter wave, with the use of an explanation marker *jiushi* (just be) (Zhang and Gao 2011). Overlapping with the end of line 10, Zu produces *dui dui dui* immediately after Yi's claim. Although it occurs in overlap with the last one syllable of Yi's prior turn, Zu has heard enough to project what Yi intends to say. This type of overlap is called 'recognitional overlap' (Jefferson 1986). In what follows, by using *dui dui dui*, Zu makes no attempt to take over the turn, and Yi continues to speak in line 12.

This example shows that *dui dui dui* is produced after an immediately prior claim that has been made by the speaker. It occurs at a TRP, sometimes overlapping with the last syllable of the prior turn. As a free-standing token, it

is often followed by the speaker's extended talk. In the next section, I explore the prosodic forms and visual behaviors involved in the production of *dui dui dui*.

4.2.2 Prosodic form, visual features and interactional function of *dui dui dui* produced by recipients

This section presents the analysis of the prosodic features, visual cues and interactional function of *dui dui dui* produced by recipients. In Extract 2, Su and Xi are both graduate students. Su teaches undergraduate students Chinese and Xi studies Chemistry Engineering. Prior to the sequence, Su tells Xi that her students are fascinated by a classical Chinese music video.

Extract 2 (Tradition)

```
01  Su：>我  觉得    就是    那种

      >wo juede jiushi nazhong

       I  think  namely that kind

      'I think those'


02      （抿嘴）

        (lip spread)


03      很    传统        的    中国    的    东西
```

hen chuantong   de zhongguo de dongxi

very tradition ASSC China ASSC stuff

'very traditional Chinese things'

04   其实   对于   外国人   来   讲

qishi duiyu waiguoren lai jiang

actually for foreigner come speak

'Actually for foreigners'

Head: X   X X

05   他们   还 是 (0.4)   挺   愿意   去 看 [的]

tamen hai shi（0.4）ting yuanyi   qu kan [de]

they still be   very willing go see PRT

'They would still love to see (the traditional things).'

Head: X   X   X

06→Xi：   [对]   对   [对]

[dui] dui [dui]

right right right

'Right right right.'

07 Su：   [像]

                                                           [xiang]

                                                           like

                                                           'Like'

08   昨天   我们   讲课   的时候

          zuotian women jiangke   deshihou

          yesterday we have class   when

          'Yesterday when we were having class'

09   我   学生   就 (0.2) 跟 我   讲

          wo xuesheng jiu (0.2)gen wo jiang

          my student then   with me speak

          'My student talked to me'

10   说：   那   个

          shuo：na   ge

          say   that CL

          'S/he said'

11   能   不   能

          neng bu neng

can   NEG   can

'Is it possible'

12   就是   没事儿   给   他们   放：   一些   那种

jiushi meishier gei tamen fang: yixie nazhong

namely free to they play some that kind

'That I show them some… '

13   电影   的   片段

dianying de pianduan

movie   ASSC   clip

'movie clips during break'

14   Xi：嗯

en

mm

'Mm'

15   Su：(0) 他们   还 蛮 喜欢   看   的   然后：

(0)tamen hai man xihuan kan   de ranhou:

They also very like watch PRT then

```
            'They love watching (these movies); and then…'
```

In line 1, the use of *wojuede*('I think') marks that Su will state her opinion about the event under discussion, i.e. the interest of foreign students. In line 5, the lexico-syntactic structure *shi…de* ('it is… that') indicates that Su is performing the action of asserting (Zhu, 1982). After the assertion, it is the place where agreeing and affiliative response from Xi is preferred (Sidnell and Stivers 2012). By using *dui dui dui* in line 6, Xi acknowledges Su's assertion as unproblematic and affiliates with Su. Xi does not preserve speakership after *dui dui dui*, which shows that he orients to Su's talk as still in progress. In overlap with the last syllable *dui*, Su delivers the possible preface to an upcoming example i.e. *xiang* (like) and continues to elaborate on this topic under discussion.

It should be noted that *dui dui dui* and the continuer *en* (Mm) have different interaction functions. It is shown that *dui dui dui* is used to display affiliation with an immediately preceding assertion (line 5). In contrast, in lines 7 - 13, when Su is reporting on her students' wish, the use of *en* only displays Xi's alignment with Su and acknowledges Su's report is still in-progress. Stivers (2008) makes the distinction between affiliation and alignment of different response tokens. Affiliation refers to the recipient's support and endorsement of the speaker's 'conveyed stance', while alignment refers to the recipient's

orientation to the telling as still in-progress. The contrast between *dui dui dui* and *en* suggests that *dui dui dui* is more associated with important details (Müller 1996) and speaker's stance; whereas the continuer *en* simply registers the continuation of the current talk.

Figure 1 illustrates the prosodic features of *dui dui dui* in this example. First of all, the sound wave in Figure 1 shows that the first *dui* has the largest amplitude among the three *dui*s. Second, the three *dui*s have more or less the same duration, with the first *dui* produced slightly longer (0.15 seconds) than the other two (0.12 seconds). Finally, *dui dui dui* is produced with a relatively level pitch movement. Specifically, the first *dui* is produced with a slightly falling pitch movement (from 148 HZ to 125 HZ), and it is followed by a relatively level pitch movement of the second and the third *dui* (Figure 1). Given that the lexical tone of *dui* is high falling tone, only the first *dui* displays a slight falling pitch movement.

The prosodic features of *dui dui dui* demonstrate that the first *dui* is the loudest and longest syllable of all three *dui*s. Its falling tone contour is also more or less maintained. Thus, the stress is on the first *dui*. Hence, the prosodic features of the *dui dui dui* are: stress on the first *dui* and relatively level pitch movement.
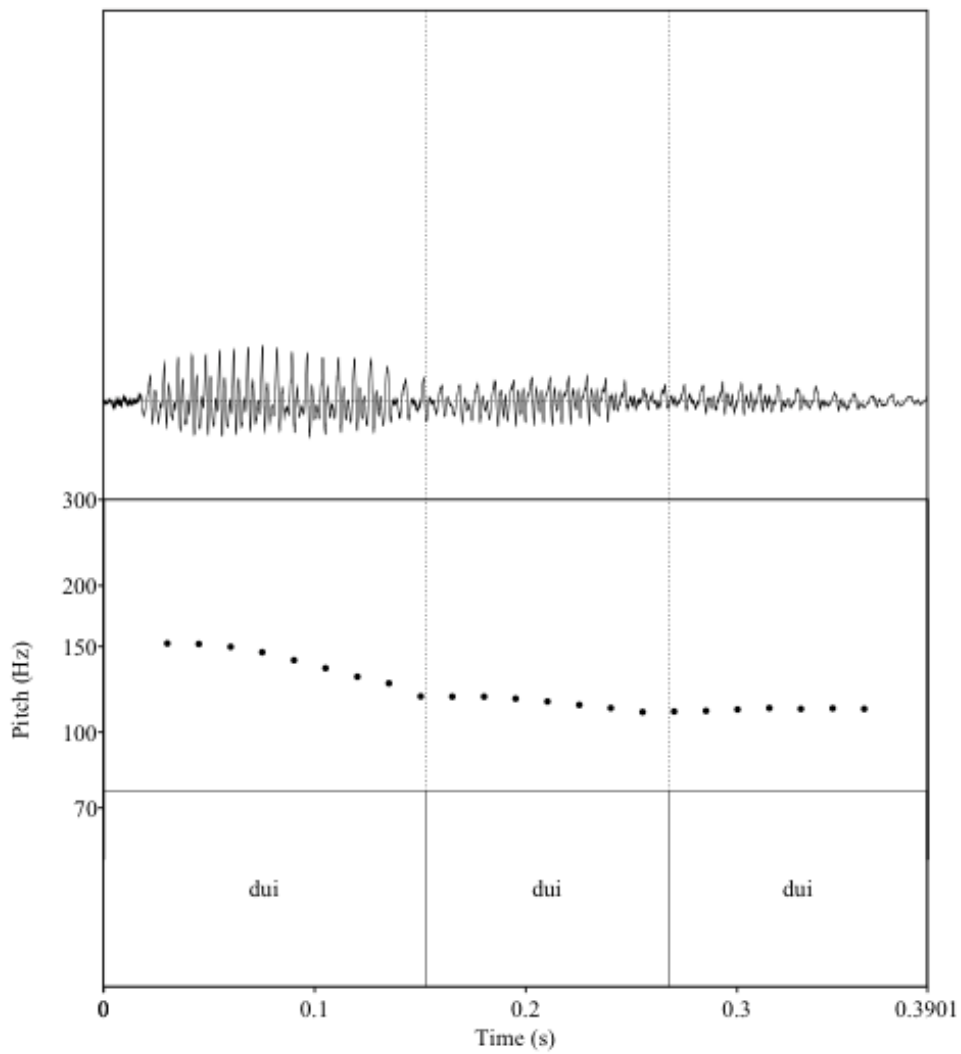
Figure 1 Waveform and pitch trace of *dui dui dui* in Extract 2

In addition to prosody, the speaker uses a wide range of visual signals to offer

the recipient with opportunities to provide affiliative response. In lines 5 and 6,

both Su and Xi initiate a succession of head movements.

Su   Xi

Figure 2 Su's head nod (A)   Figure 3 Su's head nod (B)

```
Head:                         X   X X
```

```
05      他们   还 是 (0.4)  挺   愿意 去 看 [的]

        tamen hai  shi(0.4)ting yuanyi qu kan [de]

        they  still be     very willing go see PRT

        'They would still love to see (the traditional things).'
```


Figure 4 Xi's head nod (A)   Figure 5 Xi's head nod (B)

```
Head:                          X       X       X
```

```
06→Xi：                        [对]   对   [对]

                               [dui]  dui  [dui]

                               right right right

                               'Right right right.'
```

In this example, we can observe two different types of head nods[5]. The first type is initiated by Su. Her three head nods co-occur with utterances that denote Su's opinion (*ting yuanyi*, 'very willing to'). As the head nod itself expresses positive valence in Chinese culture, its occurrence before the lexical items expressing the speaker's attitude may provide the recipient with 'early opportunity' to produce affiliation (Streeck 1992). In addition, these three head nods are placed at pre-possible turn completion position. Head nods at this position may offer the recipient with a resource to project the possible completion of the turn and the speaker's attitude towards the event under discussion (Schegloff 1984). As we can observe, Xi's *dui dui dui* (line 6) occurs shortly after Su's head nods, in overlap with the last syllable of her claim (line 5).

The second type of head nods is initiated by Xi and it differs from Su's head nods with respect to their interactional function. *Dui dui dui* in line 6 serves as a strong affiliative token, so the three nods that co-occur with *dui dui dui* also indicate Xi's affiliation with Su. Similar use can be found in Aoki (2008), in which recipients affiliate with speakers' assertion by initiating a succession of elongated *nn* along with head nods.

A similar use of *dui dui dui* can be observed in Extract 3, which is taken from

---

[5] Since head nods are instant and slight, the head movement may be hard to tell from figures provided. But video recordings of the head nods are available upon request.

the same conversation as Extract 2. Here, Su and Xi are discussing important

properties of musicals.

Extract 3 (Musicals)

01 Su: 它　可能..　　更多　地　是　　一种：

　　　 ta keneng.. gengduo de shi yizhong:

　　　 it may　　 more PRT BE a kind

　　　 'It is more likely to '

02　　（抿嘴）

　　　 (lip spread)

03　　用：

　　　 yong:

　　　 use

　　　 'to use'

04　　(1.0)

05　　有　　歌词　　其实　它

　　　 you geci　 qishi　 ta

have lyric actually it

'Actually it has lyrics.'

06   (0.8)

07   就是   说   我 >觉得 歌词 也   挺   重要   [的]

      jiushi shuo wo juede geci ye   ting zhongyao [de]

      just BE say I think lyric also very important PRT

      'That is to say, the lyrics is rather important.'

08 Xi: [对: 对]

                                          [dui: dui]

                                           right right

                                          'Right right.'

09 Su: 而且 >音乐剧   给 我   感觉   好像   经常   就

       erqie >yinyueju gei wo ganjue haoxiang jingchang jiu

       Also musical give I feel   seemly   often   then

       'And I feel (they) speak and speak and suddenly,

Hand: ************* ¦ ******** -. -. RP|

讲着　　　讲着　就　变　<u>唱</u>　了　那　种

jiangzhe jiangzhe jiu bian <u>chang</u>　le　na　zhong

speaking speaking then start sing CRS that　CL

(they) start to sing.'

Head:　X　　　X　　　X

10→Xi: 对　　对　［对］

　　　dui　　dui　［dui］

　　　right right right

　　　'Right, right, right.'

11　Su:　　　　　［就-］

　　　　　　　　　［jiu-］

　　　　　　　　　just

　　　　　　　　　'Just'

12　　　比如　　　说　按　　电影　来　讲　的话

　　　biru　　　shuo　an　　dianying lai jiang dehua

　　　for example say according to　movie　come talk　if

　　　'For example, (Let's) say a movie.'

13　　就是　　像　那　个　音乐　之　声　[的　感觉]

jiushi xiang na　ge yinyue zhi sheng [de ganjue]

just be like that CL music　of　sound ASSC feeling

'Just like that (movie) Sound of Music.'

14　Xi:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[嗯　　嗯]

[en　en]

mm　mm

'Mm　Mm.'

15　Su: 经常　　　　讲着　　　讲着　<嗯/vox>　突然　就(0.4)

jingchang jiangzhe jiangzhe <en/vox> turan　jiu(0.4)

often　speaking speaking Mm　suddenly just

[唱　　了]　一下

[chang le] yixia

sing　CRS a bit

'(They) often speak and speak and suddenly start to sing.'

16 Xi: @@[@@@]

From line 1 to line 7, Su is explaining to Xi that the lyrics is important to a musical, which is responded to by Xi with *dui dui* in line 8. Then Su continues to provide her opinion on musicals using *erqie* (also) (line 9). Su's offer of her opinion makes relevant Xi's agreeing/disagreeing response. With *dui dui dui*, Xi agrees with Su's claim and thereby affiliates with Su. By only producing *dui dui dui*, instead of continuing with his turn, Xi displays his orientation to Su's turn as still in-progress and passes the opportunity to Su to continue with her talk. In what follows, Su continues her speech by offering an example in support of her prior claim.

We can see the contrast between *dui dui dui* and continuer *en* again in this extract. From line 10 to line 13, Su is explaining the importance of lyrics to Xi by referring to a well-known movie. This attempt is responded to by *en*(line 14), which Xi merely displays his understanding of Su's prior turn. Su then continues to elaborate the details of the movie (line 15).

The sound wave and pitch trace of *dui dui dui* in Figure 6 resembles that in Figure 1. The sound wave shows that the first *dui* also has the greatest amplitude. From the pitch trace, we can see that the first *dui* is slightly longer (0.13) than the second two syllables (0.1 seconds). The pitch of *dui dui dui* hits the peak of 133.5 HZ on the first *dui* and slightly falls to 125 HZ on the beginning of second *dui*. Then the pitch of the second and the third *dui* remains level and ends at about 113 HZ. The entire pitch movement shows

that only the first *dui* more or less maintains the falling pitch contour. Again, the first *dui* is stressed as it has the largest amplitude, longest duration and relatively recognizable falling pitch movement.
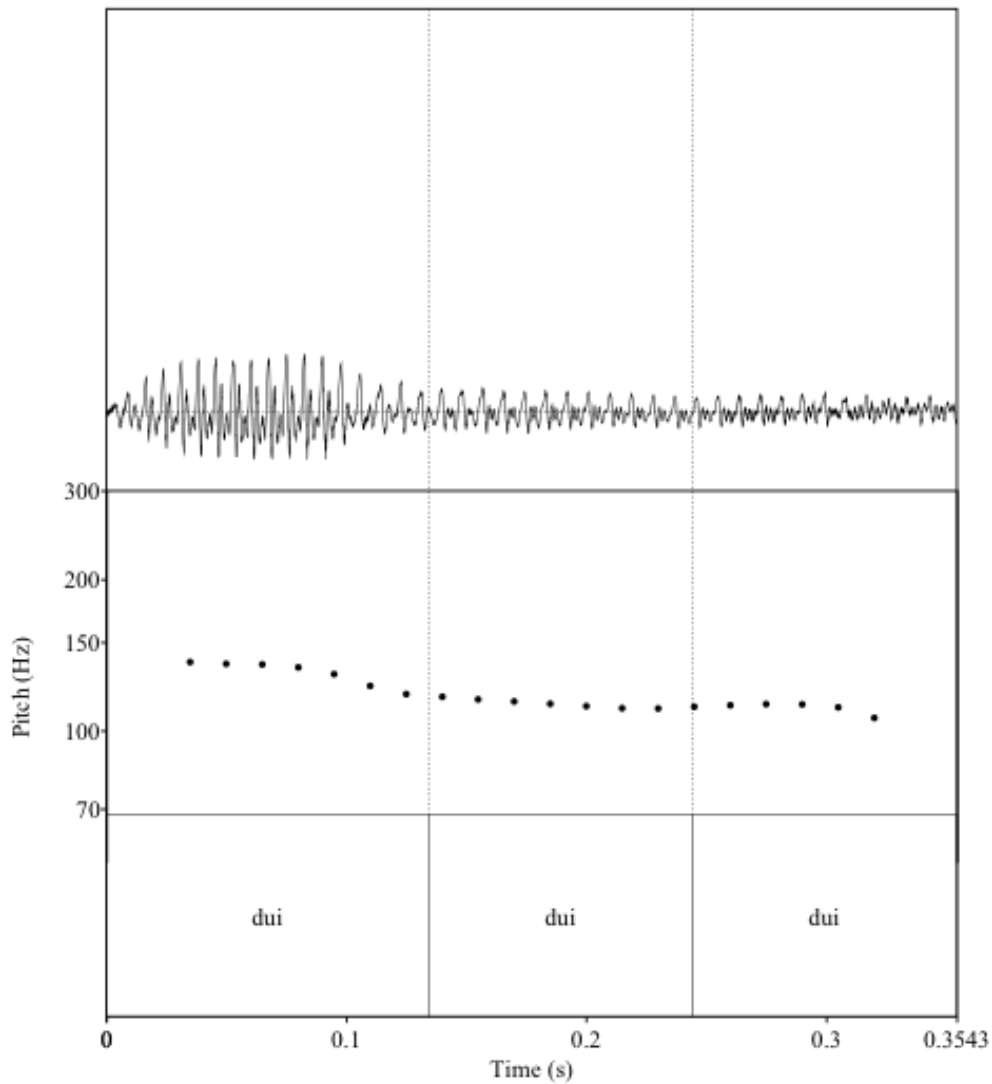
Figure 6 Waveform and pitch trace of *dui dui dui* in Extract 3

In my Mandarin data, there are 19 instances of *dui dui dui* in this category. The auditory and acoustic analysis of these 19 instances have been confirmed by

other native Mandarin speakers that they are all produced with stress on the first *dui*, and they all share a relatively level pitch movement.

The body movements in this extract also provide clues for the recipient to anticipate when to provide a response. In lines 9 - 10, Su initiates a series of gestures.

Figure 7 *yinyueju* (musical)

```
09 Su:  而且  >音乐剧   给 我  感觉   好像    经常    就

        erqie >yinyueju gei wo ganjue haoxiang jingchang jiu

        Also musical  give I feel   seemly    often    then

        'And I feel (they) speak and speak and suddenly,
```


Figure 8 *jiangzhe* (to speak)   Figure 9 *chang* (to sing)   Figure 10 *nazhong* (that kind)

```
Hand:  ************ ¦ ********* -. -. RP|

        讲      着    讲    着    就   变   唱   了   那   种
```

```
jiang   zhe jiang  zhe jiu bian chang le na  zhong

speaking DUR speaking DUR then start sing  CRS that CL

(they) start to sing.'
```

In Figure 7, Su is sitting in the chair with hands resting on her lap. First, Su moves her right hand upwards, concurrent with the production of *haoxiang* (line 9, Figure 7). Then she holds the gesture during *jiangzhe jiangzhe* (Figure 8). In the third phase, she moves her right hand outward (Figure 9); after the thrust, she retracts her hand to the home position (Figure 10).

A number of studies have shown that the body conducts and their verbal formulations mutually contextualize each other (Gumperz 1992, Streeck 1992, Kendon 2005). The holding of the gesture serves to indicate that the turn is still in progress, so that other co-participants will refrain from entering to the talk and let the current speaker continue. Meanwhile, the retraction of hands provides a visual resource for the recipient to anticipate the possible completion of the turn. It can be seen that Xi provides his agreeing response *dui dui dui* immediately after the retraction of Su' gesture (line 10).

Figure 11 Xi's head nod (A)   Figure 12 Xi's head nods (B)

```
Head:      X      X      X

10→Xi:     对      对     [对]

           dui    dui  [dui]

           right right right

           'Right, right, right.'
```
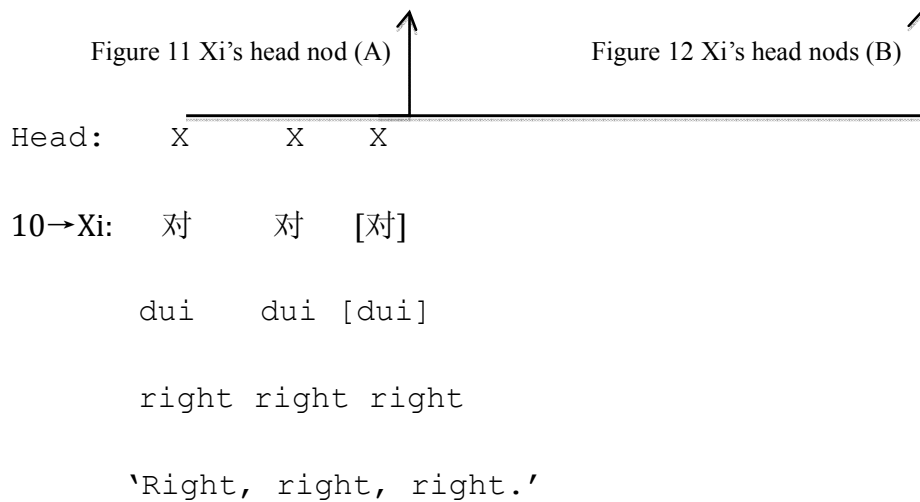
In line 10, *dui dui dui* is also accompanied by three head nods and all of them

are delivered in conjunction with each lexical item. In line 10, Xi places three

head nods (Figure 11 and 12) at the precise moment where Su's assertion ends.

In doing so, Xi visually agrees with Su's statement and affiliates with her.

In sum, in this section I have examined the sequential features, prosodic form,

visual features and interactional function of *dui dui dui* produced by recipients.

My major findings in this section are summarized as follows.

The sequential features of *dui dui dui* are:

● Stand-alone item at TRP

● Produced after an assertion or a claim

The prosodic features of *dui dui dui* are:

● Stress on the first *dui*

● Relatively level pitch movement

The body movements involved in the production of *dui dui dui* are:

- Head nods that co-occur with utterances denoting the speaker's opinion

- Speaker's holding and retraction of gesture prior to the production of *dui dui dui*

- Triple head nods delivered concurrent with each of the syllable *dui* by the recipient

The interactional function of *dui dui dui* is

- To display affiliation with the assertion in the prior turn

In the next section, I will examine another type of *dui dui dui* in the data; that is, *dui dui dui* produced by speakers.

4.3 *Dui dui dui* produced by speakers

The second type of *dui dui dui* is produced by a speaker as a confirmation to the recipient's collaborative completion of the current turn-in-progress. It usually appears immediately after the recipient's collaborative completion and precedes the resumption of the topic that has been halted by the collaborative completion. In this section, I will first explore the sequential features of this type of *dui dui dui*.

4.3.1 Sequential features of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers

The second type of *dui dui dui* commonly appears after the recipient's collaborative completion. The recipient's collaborative completion or the

'co-participant completion' of a turn is defined by Lerner (1989) as

> ... single sentences that are produced across the talk of two (or more)
>
> speakers. ... the recipient of an ongoing turn produces a completion
>
> for the no-yet-completed turn.' (Lerner, 1989: 441).

Here is an example taken from Lerner and Takagi (1999) showing how participants achieve collaborative completion in English conversation.

Extract 4 Sewing (Lerner and Takagi 1999: 56)

1 →Daughter: Oh here dad (0.2) a good way to get tho:se corners out

2   (0.2)

3 Dad: is to stick your finger insi:de.

4 Daughter: Well, that's one way.

This instance demonstrates the phenomenon of recipient's collaborative completion of a speaker's turn. Typically, the current speaker produces an as-yet-incomplete utterance. After a pause, the recipient initiates an utterance that completes the utterance in-progress. The speaker takes the co-produced utterance as the actual completion of the utterance.

In my Mandarin data, the speaker regularly employs *dui dui dui* immediately after the recipient's collaborative completion. After *dui dui dui*, the speaker resumes the utterance prior to the collaboratively constructed turn. The

resumption is usually achieved through recycling the first part of utterance, or by deploying a conjunction to introduce the repetition.

The following extract illuminates the typical sequential environment of the speaker's *dui dui dui*. It is taken from a conversation between two friends Ji and Ya. They are talking about Ji's trip to Tibet.

Extract 5 (Altitude sickness)

```
01 Ji:  我们    家     开车    嘛

        women jia  kaiche ma

        we family  drive PRT

        'We were driving…'


02      然后    从..   那  边   出来   之后 不 是  到  唐古拉

        ranhou cong.. na bian chulai zhihou NEG shi dao tanggula

        then  from that side  out   after  not  to Tang-ku-la

        'Then after we left that city, we got to T'ang-ku-la


        山         吗

        shan       ma

        Mountains  Q

        Mountains.'
```

03   她 就.. 那 个 反应   就 <u>特别</u>   严重

ta jiu   na   ge fanying jiu <u>tebie</u> yanzhong

she then that CL sickness then very serious

'She then suffered serious (altitude) sickness.'

04   她 就   开始..   zh-   就是-

Ta jiu kaishi.. zh- jiushi-

She then started zh- namely

'She then started to, that is…'

05 Ya: (0) 就是   感觉 气.. 不   够   用

(0)jiushi ganjue qi..   bu gou   yong

namely feel air   NEG enough use

'that is to feel out of breath.'

06→ Ji: 对   对   对

dui   dui   dui

right right right

'Right right right.'

07   然后   她   就   开始   就   抓   自己

ranhou ta jiu kaishi   jiu   zhua   ziji

then she then start namely scratch herself

'Then she started to scratch herself.'

08   她   穿   的   毛衣

ta chuan de   maoyi

she wear ASSC sweater

'She was wearing a sweater.'

09   [那   种   高领   的]

[na zhong gaoling   de]

that kind high collar NOM

'The one with high collar.'

10 Ya：[就   觉得   勒   得 很]

[jiu juede lei   de hen]

so feel strangle CSC very

'She felt so much strangled.'

11   嗯

en

mm

'Mm.'

12 Ji：然后 她 就..使劲 扯 [那 个] 那 个 领子

ranhou ta jiu..shijin che [na ge] na ge lingzi

then she then try hard pull that CL that CL collar

'Then she tried hard to pull her collar.'

13 Ya: [嗯 嗯]

[en en]

mm mm

'Mm mm.'

14   就   吓 我 一 跳 啊：[真 是]

jiu   xia wo yi tiao a：[zhen shi]

then scare I one jump PRT really be

'And really scared out of me.'

15 Ya：   [噢::]

[o::]

```
                              oh

                            'Oh.'
```

From line 1 to line 4, Ji is describing a trip to a mountainous area in Tibet with her family. In line 4, although Ji intends to continue, she hesitates and displays some disfluency (see the pause in line 4). Then she initiates a repair with *jiushi* (namely) and attempts to reorganize the turn (Zhang and Gao 2012). Ya identifies the problem and offers a rendition (line 5) of what would have been said by Ji. Here, Ji's turn is co-constructed and collaboratively completed by Ji and Ya. In the next turn, *dui du dui* appears at utterance-initial position to confirm the collaborative completion (line 6). In line 7, Ji resumes the turn prior to the co-produced TCU by initiating a conjunction (*ranhou*, 'then') and a repetition of her turn (ta jiu kaishi, 'she then start to'). Then Ji continues to explain the symptoms of altitude sickness (Lines 8-15).

In this section, I have examined the typical sequential environment of the second type of *dui dui dui*, i.e. *dui dui dui* produced by speakers. It appears at utterance-initial position, and it is followed by a resumption of the turn that has been suspended by the co-completion. In the next section, I will investigate the interactional function, prosodic form and visual features of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers.

4.3.2 Prosodic form, visual features and interactional function of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers

Let us examine Extract 6, which is taken from a conversation between two friends Li and Qu. Prior to this extract, Li mentions that she is a very easygoing person and she often respects others' choice rather than sticking with her own decision.

Extract 6 (Easygoing personality).

01 Li：我　跟　　别人　　讨论　　　的时候

```
Wo gen bieren taolun  deshihou

I with others discuss  when

'When I discuss (something) with others,'
```

02　　我 也　　是　　更多地　　　可以-

```
wo ye   shi gengduode   keyi-

I also BE   more       can

'I am more likely to…'
```

03　　就是　　　愿意　听　别人　　　的　东西

```
jiushi yuanyi ting bieren    de dongxi

just be willing listen other ASSC things
```

'that is (I am) willing to listen to others.'

04　　或者　　你 比如　说　我们　俩　一起　去　吃饭

　　　huozhe ni biru shuo women lia yiqi　　qu chifan

　　　or　　you e.g. say　we　two together go eating

　　　'Or, for example, (when) we have dinner together,'

Mouth: . . . . ~＿＿＿

05　　我　更多地　　是 (0.5)

　　　wo gengduode　shi（0.5）

　　　I　more　　　BE

　　　'I am more likely to…'

06　Qu:　　　　　　　尝试　　他们　(0.3)　推荐　　　的

　　　　　　　　　changshi tamen（0.3）tuijian　de

　　　　　　　　　try　　　they　　　recommend　NOM

　　　　　　　　　'Try what they are recommending.'

Head:　　　　X

07→Li：对　　对　　对

　　　dui　dui　dui

54

right right right

'Right Right Right.'

08   我　更多地　　是　(0.3)　　愿意　跟　他们-

wo gengduode shi（0.3）yuanyi gen tamen-

I more   BE (0.3) willing with them

'I am more likely to (go) with them.'

09   比如　说　啊　我们　今儿 去　哪　个　馆子　　　吃饭

biru shuo a women jinr qu na ge guanzi   chifan

e.g. say PRT we today go which CL restaurant eating

'For example, say, "where should we go for a meal?'

10   就是..　　　随便

jiushi.. suibian

namely   whatever

'(My response would be) "Any one will do."'

11   想　吃　什么..　　随便

xiang chi shenme.. suibian

want eat what   whatever

'What do you want to eat? "Anything."'

12   我   说   你   推荐 可以

Wo shuo ni tuijian keyi

I say   you recommend OK

'I would say "I am OK with your recommendation".'

13   什么   都 愿意 去 尝试   什么   都   愿意   去-

shenme dou yuanyi qu changshi shenme dou yuanyi qu-

what all willing go try   what all willing go

'(I) would love to try anying.'

14   第一   印象   就是   先 去..   相信   别人   的

diyi yinxiang jiushi xian qu.. xiangxin bieren de

first impression BE firstly go believe others   NOM

'My first reaction would be to trust others.'

In lines 1-4, Li attempts to prove to Qu that she is an easygoing person, but she produces a pause (line 5) in the middle of the TCU after *wo gengduo de shi*(I am more likely to…), making the utterance neither syntactically nor semantically complete (line 5). In line 6, Qu offers the VP (*changshi tamen*

suo tuijian de 'try what they recommend') that completes Li's utterance in-progress and makes relevant a response to confirm or disconfirm her candidate understanding. In line 7, Li explicitly confirms the co-constructed turn using *dui dui dui*. At the end of *dui dui dui* is a TRP, but Li holds the floor and reinitiates *wo gengduo de shi* (I am more likely to…), which is exactly the same formulation as line 5. In doing so, Li ties the talk back to her prior utterance and resumes what has been suspended by the co-completion. From line 8 to line 12, Li offers further details (*biru*, 'for example') to support Qu's collaborative completion. In particular, Li uses the exact wording in Qu's co-production (*tuijian* 'recommend' and *changshi*, 'try') in line 3. This repetition of evaluative core provides compelling evidence that Qu's collaboratively constructed turn elements are what Li intended to say.

Dui dui dui produced by speakers exhibits rather different prosodic features from that of *dui dui dui* recipient's action in stress, duration and pitch movement. Above all, the sound wave shows that it is the third *dui* that has the largest amplitude (Figure 13). In addition, the first two *dui*s are produced in a faster speed with shorter duration (altogether 0.23 seconds), whereas the third *dui* is delivered with longer duration (0.2 seconds). In another word, the third *dui* is produced twice as much time as that of the two unstressed *dui*s. Moreover, the entire pitch movement of *dui dui dui* is characterized by an overall falling pitch movement. It begins at 331.4 HZ and remains level until

the end of second *dui* (300 HZ). The pitch movement of the third *dui* begins at

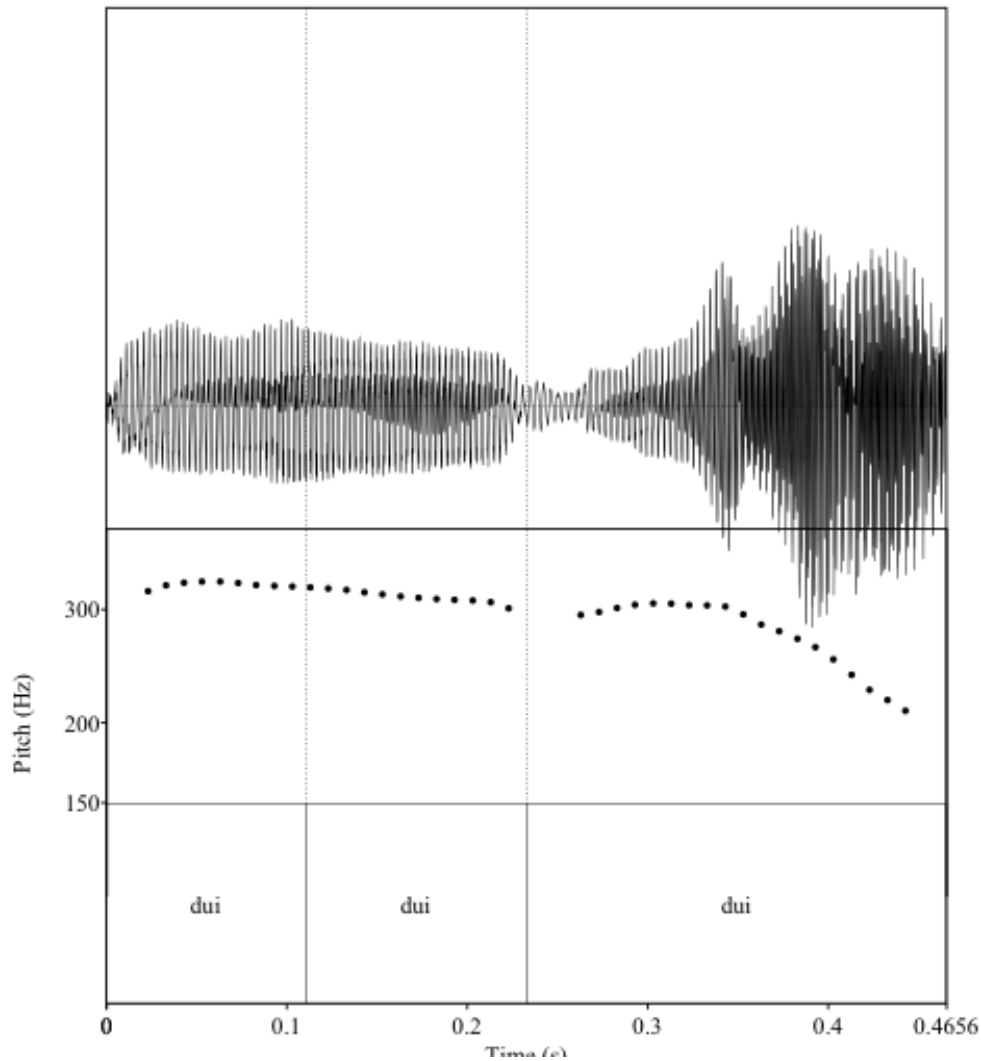295 HZ. Then it falls sharply and terminates at 197.5 HZ.

Figure 13 Waveform and pitch trace of *dui dui dui* in Extract 6

To sum up, the prosodic features of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers are：

stress on the third *dui* and overall falling pitch movement.

There are some noticeable visual behaviors before the co-completion occurs.

For instance, a mouth shrug after *shi* (be) is observed in line 5. During the

long pause, Li does a mouth shrug by pulling the corner of her mouth straight

back (Figure 14). Usually, a mouth shrug implies 'currently stop talking'.

Almost immediately after the mouth shrug, Qu enters in and offers a VP that is

syntactically and semantically coherent with Li's utterance.

Figure 14 Mouth shrug after *shi* (be)

```
Mouth: .  .  .  .  .  .  ~____
```

```
05      我    更多地    是 (0.5)

        wo gengduode shi(0.5)

        I    more     BE

        'I am more likely to…'
```


Figure 15 Li's head nods (A)   Figure 16 Li's head nods (B)

```
Head:        X
```

```
07→Li：对     对    对
```

```
dui     dui     dui

right right right
```

'Right Right Right.'

During the delivery of *dui dui dui*, a slight head nod (line 7) is also observed. According to Maynard (1989), current speaker's head nods that co-occur with affirmative expressions signal affirmation. Note that this head nod appears sequentially related with preceding turn where the recipient orients to a confirmation.

Extract 7 demonstrates similar prosodic/visual features of *dui dui dui* with similar interactional function. This extract is about the discussion concerning women's job preference in China. In the preceding context, Qu complains that women cannot find a job as easily as man, when Li points out that this is partially because women tend to choose easy and simple jobs. In line 2 and line 3, when Li's continuing speech occurs in overlap with Qu's candidate understanding, Li cuts off her speech in order to confirm Qu's co-produced utterance in line 2.

Extract 7 (Job Preference)

01　Li：哎呀

　　　aiya

well

'Well'

Gaze: . . . . . .at Qu _____

02   女生   我 觉得(0.3) [谁   都] 是   想   要-

    nvsheng wo juede(0.3)[shui dou] shi xiang yao-

    girl   I think   who all BE want have

    'I think girls, all want-'

03 Qu：   [娇]

                    [jiao]

                    delicate

                    'Delicate'

Gaze: _____ . . .

Head: X   X

04→Li：(H) 对   对   对

    (H) dui   dui   dui

      right right right

    'Right right right.'

Gaze: . . . . at Qu

05   可 能∷(1.7) 也 是: 有 一 种   什么:

        keneng::(1.7)ye shi you yi zhong shenme:

         maybe   also BE have a kind what

        'It's possible that… (Girls) also have a kind of …'

Gaze: _____

06   反正   谁 都 想 要 做 那 种   更(0.3)   更

       fanzheng shui dou xiang yao zuo na zhong geng(0.3)geng

       anyway   who all want have do that kind more   more

       'Anyway everyone wants to do jobs that are a little

Gaze: _____

       轻松   一点儿 的 啊:

       qingsong yidianr de a:

       easy   a litte NOM PRT

       easier and simpler.'

Gaze: _____

07   更   怎么样   的   啊

       geng zenmeyang de   a

```
   more   how    NOM PRT

'(Jobs) more like that.'
```

In line 2, the use of *juede* (think) foreshadows the speaker's incipient opinion on the ongoing topic. It is normally the place where it is less likely for the recipient to take the turn. But a noticeable pause occurs (line 2), which may be interpreted as an initiation of a word search. The pause provides Qu with an opportunity to co-construct and complete Li's turn. Qu's collaboratively produced turn element (*jiao*, 'delicate') completes Li's prior utterance and at the same time overlaps with Li's continuing speech. However, the overlap does not seem to be problematic to Li. Upon hearing Qu's co-production, Li manages this contingency by cutting off her speech (*shui doushi xiang yao*, any one wants to have…) and produces an agreement token *dui dui dui* to confirm Qu's collaborative completion (line 4). In line 6, the use of the connective lexical device *fanzheng* (anyway) indicates that Li intends to close the previous part of the conversation and opens a new slot in the discourse (Liu 2009). In what follows, Li returns to her prior turn before the collaborative completion, i.e. her opinion on women's job preference in line 2. In this way, Li finally reveals the kind of job that most girls prefer to do (lines 6 – 7).
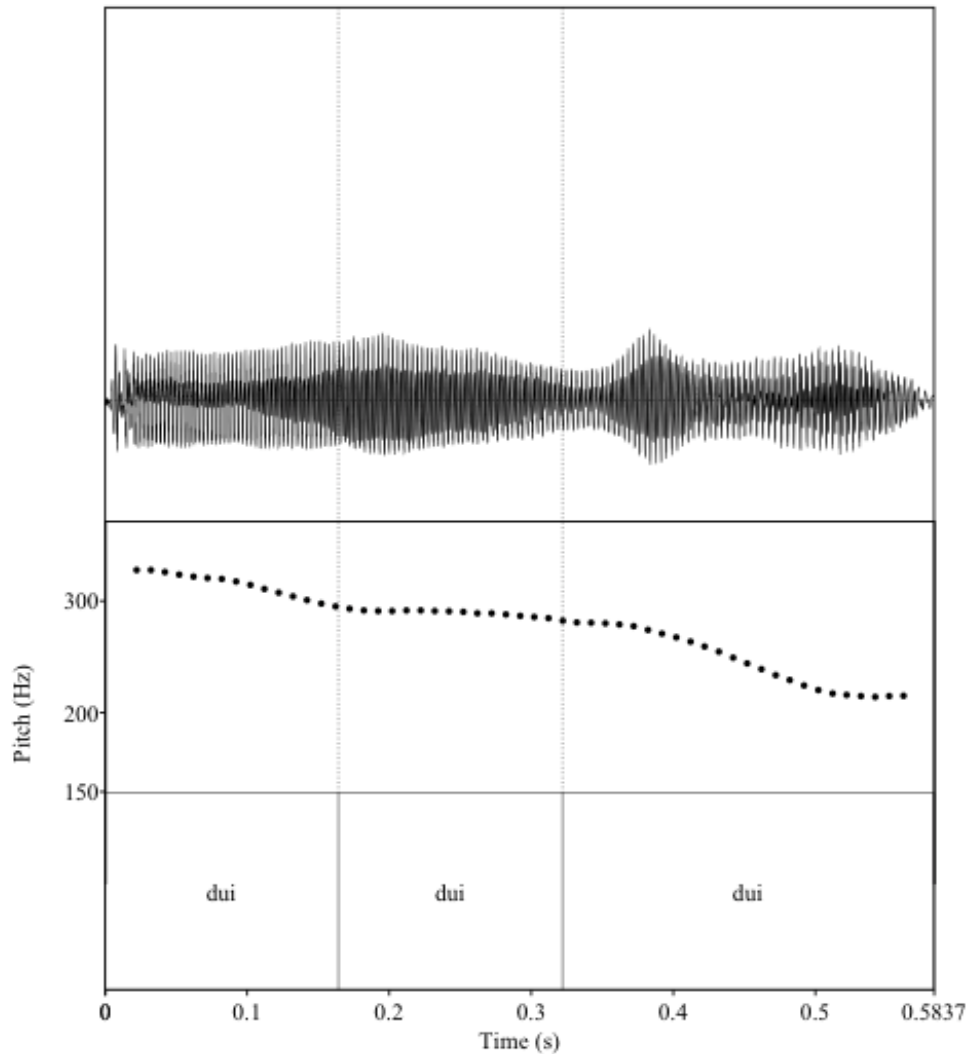
Figure 17 Waveform and pitch trace of *dui dui dui* in Extract 7

As Figure 17 shows, although the amplitude difference between the second and the third *dui* is subtle, the amplitude of the third *dui*, if zooming in, is still the largest among all three *dui*. In terms of duration, the third *dui* is almost as long as the former two. In this case, the former two *dui* last for approximately 0.31 seconds, while the duration of the third one is 0.27 seconds. Furthermore, this *dui dui dui* is produced with a gradual falling pitch movement. The start of the fall occurs at around 350 HZ during the production of the first *dui* and

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continues through the last two (208 HZ). The wide pitch range, along with the largest amplitude and longest duration of the last dui make it the stressed syllable among the three *dui*s.

Apart from *dui dui dui* in Extract 6 and Extract 7, the auditory and acoustic analysis of another 11 instances of *dui dui dui* show that *dui dui dui* produced by speakers mainly has two prosodic features, i.e. stress on the third *dui* and overall falling pitch movement.

The speaker in this extract also performs multiple visual behaviors to provide the recipient with opportunities to co-complete her turn. In the present case, after producing *aiya* ('well', which typically projects upcoming utterances), we can see a gaze aversion at the beginning of line 2 on *nüsheng* (girls) (Figure 18), in which the speaker shifts her gaze away and look up. Note that the gaze aversion is also accompanied by a long pause after *juede* (think).

Figure 18 *nüsheng* (girl)

```
Gaze:  . . . . . .at Qu
```

```
02      女生      我  觉得(0.3) [谁    都] 是   想      要-

        nvsheng wo juede(0.3)[shui dou] shi xiang yao-
```

```
girl    I  think    who  all  BE   want   have

'I think girls, all want-'
```

Goodwin (1986b) has found that the speaker often withdraws gaze from the
participant when the word search begins. This visual cue and the noticeable
pause may work together and prompt Qu to offer the candidate understanding
that completes Li's utterance in-progress

Figure 19 *keneng* (maybe)

```
Gaze:  . . . . . . . . . . . . . . at Qu

05      可 能:: (1.7)  也  是:  有    一种     什么:

        keneng::(1.7)ye shi   you yizhong shenme:

         maybe      also  BE  have a kind what

        'It's possible that… (Girls) also have a kind of …'
```

However, Li gazes back at the addressee during the delivery of *juede* (think) in
line 2. Generally speaking, the return of gaze often coincides with the
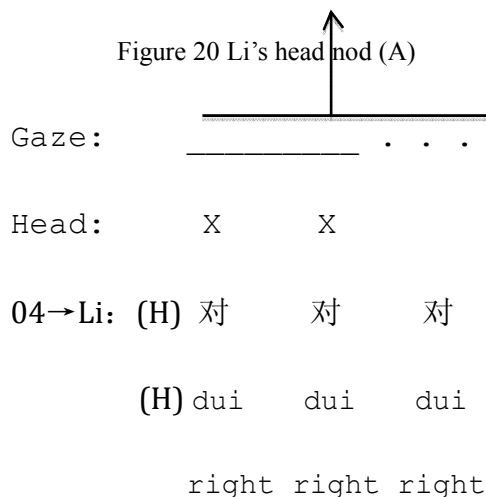involvement of speech production (Goodwin 1986b). This is consistent with

the continuation of the talk *shui dou shi xiang yao* (any one wants…). When the collaborative completion conflicts with the continuation of talk, Li cuts off the delivery of the speech and confirms Qu's co-production. In what follows, the speaker explicitly confirms the recipient's candidate understanding upon hearing it; and she starts to direct her gaze away on the third *dui*. When producing *keneng* (maybe) in line 5, Li is looking at downwards (Figure 19), and she does not direct her gaze to Qu until the end of line 5 *shenme* (what). Note that line 5 is somewhat pragmatically ambiguous. This appears to show that Li is attempting to tie the subsequent talk back to the prior turn. Upon producing *shenme*, Li starts to shift her gaze back to the recipient. At the same time, the prior turn is successfully resumed and the mutual gaze is maintained.

Figure 20 Li's head nod (A)   Figure 21 Li's head nod (B)

```
Gaze:        _____  .  .  .

Head:      X       X

04→Li：(H) 对      对      对

      (H) dui     dui     dui

          right right right
```

'Right right right.'

In addition, Li produces two head nods during the production of the first and the second *dui* (line 4, Figures 20 and 21). These head nods serve as one of the recourses that exhibit affirmation to Qu's collaborative completion of Li's turn-in-progress.

To sum up, in this subsection, I have examined the sequential features, prosodic features and body movement involved in the production of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers. I have also discussed their interactional function. My major findings are summarized as follows.

The sequential features of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers are:

- Utterance-initial position

- Followed by a resumption of the turn prior to the co-produced turn

The prosodic features of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers are:

- Stress on the third *dui* compressed

- Overall falling pitch movement

The body movements involved during the production of *dui dui dui* are:

- One or two slight nods

- Gaze aversion

- Mouth shrug

The interactional function of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers is:

● To confirm the collaborative completion

So far I have reviewed two different types of *dui dui dui*. These two types of *dui dui dui*, however, only account for the majority of 66 instances. There are other types of *dui dui dui* performing another function (for example, 'idea connector' *dui dui dui* following 'change of state' token *o*). But this thesis did not elaborate more on these types of *dui dui dui* due to limited number of samples.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have focused on the sequential environment, prosodic form, visual features and interactional function of two types of *dui dui dui*.

The first type of *dui dui dui*, i.e. *dui dui dui* produced by recipients, is adopted to display recipient's affiliation with speaker's previous assertion. It usually occurs as a stand-alone item at a TRP and precedes the continuation of the speaker's talk. The second type of *dui dui dui* is employed to confirm the collaborative completion in utterance-initial position. After the collaborative completion has been confirmed by *dui dui dui*, the speaker preserves the speakership and resumes the turn prior to the co-produced turn. The resumption usually takes place shortly after *dui dui dui*. It may or may not follow a conjunction and can be in the form of exact or modified repetition.

In terms of prosodic features, *dui dui dui* produced by recipients mainly

exhibits two phonetic properties, i.e. stress on the first *dui* and relatively level pitch movement. However, *dui dui dui* produced by speakers is produced with overall falling pitch movement with stress on the third *dui*.

As for the body movements involved in the production of *dui dui dui*, we have observed the operation of three body movements that shape the emergence of *dui dui dui* produced by recipients. First, The pre-positioning of nods foreshadows the assertion and projects turn completion. Second, the retraction of hand movement is used as a resource for the recipient to anticipate when to provide a response. Finally, *dui dui dui* produced by recipients is often accompanied by three head nods that are delivered in conjunction with each *dui*. When it comes to *dui dui dui* produced by speakers, before the co-completion occurs, speaker may display trouble of getting words by movements such as gaze aversion and mouth shrug. These body conducts are resources for the recipient to predict when to come in to produce the collaborative completion. Moreover, *dui dui dui* is often accompanied by one or two slight nods, which visually signify affirmation.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the findings of this study. Section 5.1 outlines the primary findings of this study. Section 5.2 discusses the significance of the study. Section 5.3 presents the implications of the study.

5.1 Findings

Using the analytical perspective of CA as the primary methodology, the current research has examined the sequential, prosodic and visual features of *dui dui dui* and the interactional functions of two types of *dui dui du i*n Mandarin conversation.

The first type of *dui dui dui*, i.e. *dui dui dui* produced by recipients, is produced by the current recipient at TRP. It usually occurs in response to an immediately preceding assertion made by the speaker. When using *dui dui dui*, the recipient displays his/her affiliation with the speaker. As a free-standing token, *dui dui dui* also demonstrates recipient's orientation to the continuation of the talk. Thus after *dui dui dui*, the speaker continues to talk. The study also compares the interactional function of *dui dui dui* and that of the vocal continuer *en*. It is shown that *dui dui dui* is a display of affiliation of recipients' affiliation with speakers' assertion or a claim, whereas *en* simply displays alignment and acknowledgement on the part of the recipient that the

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speaker's talk is still in-progress.

Dui dui dui produced by recipients has the following phonetic properties: stress on the first *dui*, as indicated by largest amplitude, longest duration and relatively recognizable falling contour, and relatively level pitch movement.

In addition to prosodic features, we have also observed three visual cues that co-occur with the production of *dui dui dui* produced by recipients. Speakers are observed to indicate positive valence through three head nods, which also provide visual cues for the recipient to anticipate the type and entry time of a response. Recipients visually display affiliation by producing three head nods during the production of *dui dui dui*.

The second type of *dui dui dui* works as a confirmation to the co-completion that is collaboratively constructed by the speaker and the recipient. By co-completing speaker's utterance in-progress, the recipient often indicates no intention to take over the turn, but orients to a response to confirm or disconfirm the co-completion. *Dui dui dui* is adopted by the speaker as a confirmation to the collaborative completion. We have also observed that the turn prior to the co-completion is resumed after *dui dui dui*. The resumption usually involves the use of repetition and conjunction words.

The prosodic features of *dui dui dui* produced by speakers are different from those of *dui dui dui* produced by recipients in terms of stress and pitch movement. The stress is on the third *dui* because it obtains the largest

amplitude, longest duration and recognizable falling contour. Moreover, this *dui dui dui* is produced with an overall falling pitch movement.

Participants are observed to use visual resources before and during the delivery of *dui dui dui*. Body conducts such as gaze aversion or mouth shrug are adopted by the speaker as recourses that invite the entry of the recipient. In addition, one or two head nods often co-occur with this type of *dui dui dui*. The head nods also constitute a visual confirmation to the collaborative completion in the immediately preceding turn.

5.2 Significance of the study

This study is significant in three aspects. First, it is the first attempt to explore response token *dui dui dui* in Mandarin conversation from a multimodal perspective, in terms of combining the prosodic and visual analyses of *dui dui dui* with the study of its interactional functions studies. As most of the current studies of Mandarin response token have only focused on their sequential features and conversational actions implemented, the incorporation of prosodic and visual features will shed new light on the study of Mandarin response token studies.

Second, it fills the research gap between single response token and multiple response tokens. In the study of English conversation, there is a growing interest in multiple response tokens (Golato and Fagyal 2006; Stivers 2008).

Nevertheless, in Mandarin conversation, there is a lack of study that explores multiple response tokens. Therefore, a multimodal analysis on multiple token *dui dui dui* is needed in the field of Mandarin studies.

Finally, this research is also an attempt to show how CA can be adopted to study multiple tokens and bring attention to their interactional functions. Through turn-by-turn examination, the study shows a dynamic picture of how participants deploy *dui dui dui* to accomplish different interactional tasks through the coordination of lexical, prosodic and visual cues.

5.3 Implications

This study examined two types of *dui dui dui* appeared in the data and their corresponding sequential environments, prosodic features, visual features and interactional functions in Mandarin conversation. However, this research does not claim to exhaust all the possible forms and uses of *dui dui dui*. Other types of *dui dui dui* may be found in further research.

Although the function of *dui* has been extensively discussed in many previous studies (Tsai 2001; Liu 2009; Xu 2009; Wang et al. 2010), and this study has examined *dui dui dui*, the distinction between the two tokens still remains to be explored. Also, as indicated by the data, there are other multiple *dui*s in Mandarin conversation, which appear in similar sequential environments. If and how are they interactionally different are also the questions for future

studies.

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Appendix: Transcript symbols

The transcription system in this study is mainly based on Dubois (2006). The transcription system used for body movements can be found in Goodwin (1981).

Symbol	Meaning
SPACE	Space before and after marks word
LINE	One new line for each intonation unit
(1.2)	Pause duration in seconds and tenth seconds
..	<150 milliseconds; brief silence
:	Segment lengthening
[ ]	Overlap
wor-	Truncated/ cut off word
<u>word</u>	Stressed word
(H)	Breath (in)
(Hx)	Exhale
@	Laugh
</vox>	Voice of another
1	Line number

Symbol	Meaning
(0)/=	No discernible pause between two speakers' tur
~	Preparation of gesticulation
*	Stroke of gesticulation
<u>*</u>	Holding of stroke
-.	Recovery of gesticulation
¦	Boundary of gesture phrase
|	Boundary of gesture unit
X	Head nodding
RP	Rest position
<u>Away</u>	Gaze away
<u>At</u>	Gaze at

Glossing Conventions

ASSC	Associative (de)
PRT	Particle
NOM	Nominalizer
CL	Classifier
CRS	Currently relevant state (le)
CSC	Complex stative construction (de)
DUR	Durative aspect (-zhe)

NEG   Negative (bu)

Q   Question marker (ma)

PFV   Perfective aspect