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HIGH RISING INTONATION IN JAPANESE DISCOURSE

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This paper discusses high-rising terminals (HRTs) in Japanese discourse. A HRT is an upward intonation like that which occurs at the end of an interrogative phrase, yet an utterance with HRT is not an interrogative. The popular notion of HRT is that it is used by young women; I show that some people use HRT regardless of age. Instead of focusing on the speaker who produces HRTs, the study looks at the discourse environment in which it occurs. Using natural conversation data, I show that HRTs have multiple functions in Japanese discourse: to highlight repairs, to mark the boundary of a discourse topic, and to mark lists. HRT is shown to be one of many mechanisms that the speaker has at his/her disposal to contexualize the utterance.

1. INTRODUCTION. A high-rising terminal (HRT), also known as high-rising intonation or by the colloquialism "uptalk," is a question-like intonation used with declarative utterances. In a phrase with HRT, the pitch rises at the end as in an interrogative; however, the intent of the speaker is not to ask a question. There have been studies on this intonation in English (Guy et al. 1986, Britain 1992), yet there have been few studies of HRT in other languages. This paper will focus on HRT in Japanese discourse and will add to the body of work in HRT in different languages.

The following are examples of utterances with HRT in English (an upward arrow will be used to indicate HRT):

(1) Interviewer: What's your name?
Informant: Maria Marti*netti*↑
(Guy and Vonwiller 1984:12 (7), emphasis in original)

(2) '… it's sort of a game, right, you play with a tennis ball↑ (mmm) And you're supposed to – um, it's four squares↑ ...' (Guy and Vonwiller 1984:26 (3)).

The speakers in these examples are clearly not asking a question about the propositional content of their utterances. It would be highly improbable for the speaker in (1) not to know her own name. In (2), the speaker is describing a game she played as a child. She is imparting knowledge to the listener; that is, as she is the one who possesses the information, she is not requesting information from the listener.

A Japanese HRT may or may not be utterance-final. Below is an utterance medial HRT.

(3) so dakara murasaki ga ne haha no murasaki ga oitearu no
yes because purple NOM P mother PSS purple NOM place.exist P

mada ne sorekara . kinu no youfuku↑ mada ippai anno aru no ne
still P then silk PSS clothes still many COP.P COP P P
'yes so the purple one my mother's purple one is there still then the silk clothes↑ there's still a lot'

As in the English example, the speaker is not asking the listener about the content of her utterance, i.e., her mother's silk clothes. The listener has no way of knowing this bit of information, and it would be improbable that the speaker would ask the listener about it. The denotative meaning of the utterance does not change if the speaker does not use HRT. That is, HRT does not add to or change the denotative content of the utterance.

HRT has not escaped the notice of the general public. There have been articles in Japanese newspapers, some as early as 1992 (e.g., *Asahi Shimbun* 1992:12), on the declining state of young people's speech that include criticisms of HRT. Articles and letters to the editor characterize HRT as signs of uncertainty, hesitation, or an attempt to elicit empathy from the listener. Its users are seen to

be younger people in their teens and twenties. HRT is perceived negatively; many writers describe it as annoying.

The question I will address is: In what contexts do Japanese native speakers use HRT in naturally occurring discourse? I will show that HRTs do not appear in only one situation, but are utilized in multiple situations. The data also show that HRT is not limited to younger people, but older speakers use it as well.[1]

2. PREVIOUS WORK ON HRT. Banno (1997) studied these intonations in Japanese in the framework of intonational phonology. The main purpose of this study was to refute Pierrehumbert and Beckman's (1986) theory that boundary tones do not occur at the end of intermediate phrases, but only at the end of accentual phrases and utterances. Banno's results showed that rising pitch occurred at non-utterance-final position, counter to Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1986. In addition, the study included a perception test that showed that native speakers have no trouble distinguishing a HRT from phrase-final lengthening in declarative sentences, another intonation pattern commonly found in Japanese discourse. Participants listened to sentences which ended in either a HRT or final lengthening and were asked to rate the intonation as rising, falling, or level. Participants unanimously identified a rise as rising, but had mixed results on lengthening. Banno concluded from the experiment that rising pitch is perceptually salient for the listener. This result also shows that perceptual criteria are valid for selecting tokens for this study.

HRT has been studied in different varieties of English. These studies take either of two approaches. Many studies of Australian and New Zealand English take a variationist perspective. These studies are based on sociolinguistic interviews of a wide segment of society, differing in terms of gender, socioeconomic status, and in some cases, ethnicity. While every social group was found to use HRT (called AQI in Australia: Australian Questioning Intonation) to a certain extent, the studies concluded that certain types of people, working-class women for example, use HRT more often.

The variationist studies also discuss the functionality of HRT. Guy and Vonwiller (1984) refuted common stereotypes about speakers who use AQI. Instead, the authors claimed that AQI is used to verify listener understanding. This argument was expanded upon in Guy et al. 1986, in which AQI was also said to function as a turn-taking device. Specifically, they claimed that AQI is a "continuer," a signal that the speaker wishes to continue holding the floor. Britain (1992), in a study of New Zealand English, stated that HRT was a politeness strategy.

These studies fall back on social categories like ethnicity or gender to explain what kinds of people are more likely to use HRT. This leads to overgeneralizations that seem to obscure the functional aspects of HRT. In their discussion of the origin of AQI, Guy et al. (1986) suggested that a large influx of immigrants may have necessitated frequent verification of understanding in conversation. This seems a vast overgeneralization, for people who share a native language often have problems in comprehension and understanding as well. Explanations which rely on gender or sociolinguistic categories lump people into a monolithic category, and lead to generalizations of the groups as a whole. For example, Britain (1992) suggested that the prevalence of HRT among Māori men and women is a reflection of "a more cooperative conversational style." (Britain 1992:95) To characterize one culture's conversational style just from the frequency of HRT is an overgeneralization. A closer analysis may reveal that the Māori and non-Māori use HRT in different manners. Frequent use of HRT does not necessarily indicate different things about the two cultures.

Other studies have created experimental situations to produce HRT. Mushin et al. (2001) and Shobbrook and House (2003) had pairs of participants perform a map task, in which one person directed the other over predetermined paths on a map. A limitation of the experimental studies is that of artificial elicitation. A map task mainly elicits a certain type of discourse: giving directions.

The three studies on English also discuss the discourse type in which HRT occurs. In Guy et al.

[1] Some participants expressed their opinion after the study that HRT use was not limited to younger people or women.

(1986) and Britain's (1992) studies, narratives produced HRT most often, particularly during extended turns. On the other hand, experimental studies such as Fletcher et al. 2002 used a certain experimental set-up to elicit HRT. In their case, the discourse type was giving directions. On the other hand, using sociolinguistic interviews as a data-collection method resulted in narratives and descriptive discourse.

A major shortcoming of these previous interpretations is that they rely on an interpretation of the speaker's intentions. When we as researchers analyze discourse, we cannot rely on such speaker-internal factors. Even if the researchers are present during the elicitation, they will never know what the intention of the speaker is. Often the speakers are unconscious of their speech as well, and will not be able to answer when questioned about intent. Psychological interpretations are circular, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) pointed out. There is no external evidence for their psychological state other than the linguistic form. But in turn, the interpretation of the linguistic form is dependent on the psychology of individuals.

This study will only look at the interaction itself and the organization of the utterances, thus avoiding guesses about speakers' intentions.

3. PARTICIPANTS AND METHOD. The participants in this study were 11 native Japanese speakers aged 23 to 65 at the time of the study. All participants of the study were women from the southern Kanto region, namely Tokyo, Kanagawa, and Saitama prefectures. Data from the larger group of subjects, both male and female, were first collected; then participants for the present study were selected according to region. People from northern Kanto and other parts of Japan were excluded because those varieties of Japanese have a different intonational pattern from that of southern Kanto, and dialectal variation may mistakenly be analyzed as a HRT by the researcher. Conversations between southern Kanto participants and those from other regions were included, but only the speech of the southern Kanto speakers was included.

Men were also excluded from this study for several reasons. First, the goal of this study was to examine the role of HRT in a natural conversational context, focusing on situations in which HRT is used. The purpose of the paper was not to explore gender differences in the use of HRT. Second, by eliminating many of the social categories present in previous studies, I was able to concentrate on the actual discourse content without recourse to social categories.

Data were collected by participant observation. All session were recorded by a tape recorder placed between the participants. Each session had between two and five participants and was between 30 and 90 minutes in length. The researcher was present as an active participant in all but two of the conversations. Participants were told that their conversations would be recorded for a linguistic study, but were not told specific details, such as the purpose. Conversations were framed in two main situations: among friends, or among co-workers, but in a non-business situation such as lunchtime. There were no prescribed sets of topics that the participants were asked to discuss. Conversational topics were not forced in a particular direction. When there was a long pause, participants were asked about recently viewed movies or plays, or recent vacation trips they took; however, there were not many pauses. Speakers discussed mundane topics: recent events in their lives such as vacations, popular TV programs and actors, and theater. There were no mixed-gender conversations in these data.

In this paper, I use perceptual and discourse criteria to distinguish HRT from other intonation types. To distinguish a declarative with HRT from an interrogative, I use discourse content as a cue. From the flow of the conversation, it was clear whether the speaker did not know a fact and was asking a question to the other participants. Another cue from discourse is the interaction between the speaker and the audience. The addressee of a HRT often gives backchannels, indicating that she acknowledges the utterance, yet makes no attempt to answer. In addition, the speaker who produced the HRT did not wait for the listener's response, but often continued speaking regardless of audience response. These actions of both speaker and listener indicate that participants are well aware that there is no question being asked of the propositional content.

A perceptual criterion was used to distinguish the rising contour of HRT from other intonation

contours. To native speakers of Japanese, HRT is a relatively salient intonation contour. It has been shown that native speakers can easily pick out a HRT (Banno 1997, see §2). Other possible intonation contours at phrase-final position are lengthening of final vowels but without rising intonation. On some phrases that were questionable, I obtained the opinion of three other native speakers. If all could not agree on whether it was a HRT, the token was thrown out. I also excluded lexical items and phrases whose final segments were lengthened, or phrases which ended in a pause without any noticeable rise. That is, only tokens which showed a very clear perceptual rise were included for the study.

4. HRT IN DISCOURSE. I posit that HRT is a contexualization cue used by the speakers to complement and frame their utterances. Prosodic cues are one of the resources that speakers may utilize along with verbal cues (Gumperz 1982). For example, a speaker may employ both a question word and a question intonation when uttering an interrogative. HRT is not the sole cue in any situation; speakers may say the same thing and succeed in conveying their point without using HRT. It only augments and emphasizes verbal cues.

There were 95 tokens of HRT in my data. Four were discarded due to low intelligibility. Twelve tokens were set aside because they could not be classified. The discourse situations in which the remaining 79 HRT occurred fell into four groups: repair, new discourse, end of discourse, and listing. Of the four, repairs constitute the largest category, and were further subcategorized. The analysis of narratives was informed by that of Labov and Waletzky 1967.

There were no instances in which a listener mistook an utterance with HRT for a question. The fact that the HRT occurred in different situations did not confuse the listeners. In every case, listeners' responses showed that they were not confused about the meaning of the utterance or unsure how they should respond. Furthermore, no one commented on it as an issue. This suggests that HRT is fairly common in modern Japanese conversation, and that there is a shared understanding among speakers in the tacit norms of HRT use. The occurrence of HRT in different situations also suggests that HRT is not tied to any one context. HRT may appear in various situations, but is still part of the overall conversational norms.

Out of total tokens collected, 12 could not be classified into any discernable category. There is no syntactic construction that stands out among these unclassified tokens. One is a noun phrase. Four are adverbial expressions of time: *made ni* 'until', *kongo mo* 'also later', *kara* 'since'. None involved a turn change; that is, these occurred in the middle of a stretch of discourse. A common feature of these unclassifiable HRTs seems to be that each serves to highlight the phrase that precedes it.

Below, we will look at each environment in which HRTs occur. For transcription conventions, I have taken as a guide those of Dubois et al 1993.

4.1 REPAIRS. HRTs were found most often in repairs, at thirty tokens. The framework of turn-taking organization formulated in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974, and in particular, the analysis of repairs in Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977 helped guide the present analysis. A *repair* is the replacement of one part of discourse by the speaker "self," or another participant, "other." Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977, hereafter SJS, included not only self-initiated and other-initiated repairs but also other-initiated elaboration within the category of repair. SJS did not discuss instances of self-elaboration, which were found many times in my data; however, I have put these tokens under the *repairs* category. Categorizing elaboration with repairs opens up this category to a wider range of phenomena than the term *repair* suggests. Utterances which are not necessarily in error may be repaired as well; *repair* here is a broad term that encompasses elaboration and clarification. Correction is the subset of repair in which the error portion is modified.

I follow the SJS categorization of repairs, which are organized by where they occur in relation to the "error source," the item being repaired. A repair may be initiated within three turns, including the turn containing the error source (SJS:375). A repair can occur within the same turn, in the Transition Relevance Place (TRP), or in any following turn. A TRP is a point in the discourse where

another person may start a turn (see §4.1.2).

Repair phenomena will be discussed from three angles: who initiates the repair (self or other); where the repair occurs (same turn, at TRP, subsequent turns); what is the quality of the turn (correction, elaboration, new information).

4.1.1 SELF-INITIATED, SAME TURN, CORRECTION. A self-initiated repair occurring in the same turn as the error is the simplest type of repair, in that the least number of turns are needed to rectify the error. The HRT occurs after the repair, as in the excerpt below. (The participants are numbered from youngest to oldest in ascending order in the transcripts.)

(4) ((Play: F6 and K))

1 K a soo ka nanka futatsu arundakke
oh so Q what.Q two exist.COP.Q
'oh so there's two aren't there'

2 F6 maasu to biinasu de
Mars and Venus then
'(there's a) "Mars" and "Venus" (versions)'

3 K n
uh-huh
'uh-huh

4 F6 okada okada janakute eeto xx
okada okada COP.NEG.GER um
'Okada not Okada um xx'

5 K okadatte nanka okada
okada.GER what.Q okada
'Okada you mean Okada'

6 F6 okada satsuki san ga yattenno to ogawa rie- . eriko-san↑ ga
okada satsuki POL NOM do.GER.NMN and ogawa rie- eriko-POL NOM

yatteruno
do.GER.exist.NMN
'the one with Okada Satsuki-san and Ogawa Rie Eriko-san↑'

7 K de
then
'and then'

8 F6 watashi wa ogawa san no hou ni ittandesu yo
1s TOP ogawa POL PSS direction DAT go.PAST.POL P
'I went to the one with Ogawa-san'

This example illustrates a *correction*. In her discussion of a play, F6 made an error in the actress's name, "Eriko" (line 6). She started to utter a metathesized version of the name, "Rie" but quickly re-stated the name as "Eriko." Here, the error and the correction both occurred in the same turn. Notice also that the HRT occurred at the end of the successful repair, which was the case in a vast majority of tokens involved in repair. This makes sense when we are reminded that HRT has perceptual salience. A HRT at the end of the repair would have the effect of highlighting the correction.

4.1.2 SELF-INITIATED, AT TRP, ELABORATION. A transition relevance place (TRP) is a point in a turn where the turn may be completed, at which point a transition to the next speaker becomes relevant (Sacks et al. 1974:703). A TRP is the next possible location for repair after the speaker's turn.

(5) ((Co-worker: F10 and K)) (The TRP is marked by a #)

1 F10 hitori ne ...
1person P

2 suggoi hanashizuki no ne hito ga iru #
very story.like POSS P person NOM exist #
'there's one person who really likes to talk #

3 de hanashi kekkou ano neta teki ni↑
then story rather that topic-wise-ADV

4 houfuna hito ga ne kimmusaki ni irunda kedo ne
rich.ADJ person NOM P workplace LOC there.is but P
'there's a person at work who has lots of topics to talk about

5 nnn
uh-huh
'uh-huh'

6 hitori-de hanashiteru @@
alone-LOC talk.do
'she talks by herself'

F10's first utterance was completed at *iru* (line 1) 'there's one person who really likes to talk'. She continued and restated her utterance in more detail, namely that her colleague always has many topics at hand. It was possible for F10's turn to end at this point and for K to start a new turn; however, F10 continued with the second utterance.

This excerpt is an example of an elaboration. Many of the repair tokens fell into the elaboration category. Here, elaboration refers to a phrase or utterance that refers back to a previous mention, but gives more detail. The second utterance *de ... kedo ne* 'here's ...' does not correct, nor completely replace the first; it adds some information about F10's colleague. The newest bit of information about this person, that she has many topics, is highlighted by placing *neta teki ni* 'topic-wise' at the beginning, and by a HRT at the end of *ni*.

4.1.3 SELF-INITIATED, NEXT TURN REPAIR, ELABORATION. There are a few examples of self-initiated repairs, completed in a following turn.

(6) ((Coconut powder: F1 and F3))

1 F3 taberenai monotte aru
eat.able.NEG thing.QT exist
'is there anything you can't eat'

2 F1 xx amari
not.much
'not very many'

3 F3 honto
really
'really'

4 F1 un demo ano (1)
yes but that
'yes but um (1)

5 kokonattsu paudaa damede
coconut powder cannot.GER
I can't eat coconut powder'

6 F3 oo
oh
'oh'

7 F1 dakara tai ni itta toki toka wa
therefore Thailand ACC go.PAST time or.something TOP
'so when I went to Thailand'

8 F3 un
yeah
'yeah'

9 F1 shiroi karee ↥
white curry
'white curry↥'

10 F3 guriin karee un un
green curry yeah yeah
'green curry yeah yeah'

11 F1 wa chotto
TOP little
'was a little'

12 F3 nn
uhhm
'uh-huh'

13 F1 kokonattsu ga kitsuino wa anmari taberenai
coconut NOM strong.NMN TOP not.much eat.able.NEG
'I can't really eat things with a lot of coconut (lit. with a strong coconut taste)'

There are two repairs in this excerpt. The first is at F1's 'not very …' to 'white curry'. (line 2 to 9) F1 amended her first utterance 'not very many' due to F3's comment 'really' with 'yes but … coconut powder'. Then, in the following turn (line 7) 'so when I went to Thailand …' she provided further details about a specific food containing coconut powder that she had trouble with, namely curry. Also, F1's utterances in line 9 and line 11 form a complete thought *shiroi karee wa chotto* 'white curry was a little'; *shiroi karee* in line 9 is the topic without the noun marker. The noun marker *wa* and the adjective *chotto* come later, in line 11.

The second repair (line 10) is other-initiated and other-repaired. F3 corrected F1's utterance "white curry" (line 9), with 'green curry' (line 10); however, F1 continued the conversation without reference to the error or the repair.

4.1.4 SELF-REPAIR, NEXT TURN, TOPICALIZATION. Some repairs are in the form of a topicalized construction. In these constructions, the speaker separates a complete utterance in the form of a topicalized sentence. The HRT occurs at the end of the first mention of the topic.

(7) ((Pill case: F11 and K))

1 F11 ichiban iino wa yappari piru keesu kanatte
no.1 good.NMN TOP after.all pill case maybe.QT
[omotta no . <u>kusuri↑</u>
[think.PAST P medicine
[‘the best thing I thought would be a pill case . medicine’

K [aa
[ah
[‘ah’

2 K un
yeah
‘yeah’

3 F11 ireru ni wa kou mochiaruku ni wa choudo iijanai
put.in DAT TOP here bring.around DAT TOP just good.NEG
‘isn’t it just right for putting (medicine) in and bringing around’

In the above example, F11 and the researcher were discussing possible uses for a small tin container. F11 mentioned *piru keesu* ‘pill case’ in her first turn. Immediately after completing the first utterance ‘the best thing I thought would be a pill case’, F11 said *kusuri* ‘medicine’ after a very short pause. The word *kusuri* is also part of F11’s following utterance in line 3, *ireru ni wa ... iijanai* ‘isn’t is just right...’. Line 3 is topicalized, with *kusuri* as the topic, i.e., *kusuri ireru ni wa*. The manner in which F11 separated the topic of an utterance from the predicate is similar to F1’s utterance in example 6. While F3 started the latter utterance with *wa* (topic marker) (line 11), F11 here omitted the noun marker that should be attached to *kusuri*, *o* (accusative).

4.1.5 OTHER-INITIATED REPAIR. There were very few examples of other-initiated repair in my data. SJS stated that self-initiated repairs are more common than other-initiated ones, and the data substantiated this.

The following is an example of an other-initiated elaboration.

(8) ((Trip to Korea: F18, F13, K))

1 K doko ni ittandesuka
where ACC go.PAST.POL.Q
‘where did you go’

2 F18 etto kankoku .
um Korea .
‘um Korea .

3 souru-ni haitte
Seoul-DAT enter.GER
we went to Seoul’

4 K n
uh-huh
‘uh-huh’

5 F18 sokkara minami ni kudatte↑ keishuu ..
there.from south DAT descend.GER kyongju ..
‘from there we went south↑ Kyongju ...

6 F18 de ichinichi↑ [ichinichitte iuka hannichitte iuka
LOC one.day [one.day.QT say.or half.day.QT say.or
'(we were there) one day↑' ['one day or half a day'

K [aa
[oh

F13 [keishuutte nani ano hen no bunka isan
kyongjuGER what that area PSS culture heritage
['Kyongju you mean those cultural monuments or

F13 ka nanka
or what.Q
something'

7 F18 sou sou ano butsuzou iseki↑
yes yes that Buddhist.statue monument
'yes yes the Buddhist monument(s)↑

7 F13 aa ii nee
oh good P
'oh that's nice'

F13's clarificational remark in line 6 ('those cultural monuments or something') prompts F18 to elaborate on what she saw in Kyongju, namely the Buddhist monument(s). F18 specifies F13's remark *bunka isan*, a general term for cultural monuments, as *butsuzou iseki*, 'Buddhist monuments'.

SJS gave some explanations for why self-repairs are more common than other-initiated repairs. First, the opportunities for self-repair occur earlier than for other-repair. Self-repair may occur during the same turn as the error source or at a TRP, whereas other-initiation occurs in the following turn. It is possible that the speaker will catch his/her own error before the listener does. Second, other-initiated repair takes more effort on the part of both interlocutors. To complete an other-initiated repair successfully, there are a number of steps to be executed. First, the listener must initiate a prompt in the second turn. Then, the speaker must respond to the prompt in the third turn. In the second repair of example 6 (Coconut powder), F1 does not respond to F3's correction, thereby blocking an other-initiated repair. SJS also stated that other-initiation yields self-correction (§5.2).

4.1.6 LEXICAL MARKERS OF REPAIR. Some HRTs co-occur with phrases and words that signal that these examples are instances of repair. Repair tokens were often seen with fillers such as *ano* 'that' or *nanka* 'like (used similarly to the American colloquial use of the word)'. These lexical items do not add to the denotative meaning of the utterance but function as fillers. *Ano* in this usage does not mean 'that'. The phrase *nante iuka* or (Verb Stem)-*tte iuka*, seen in example 8, are roughly the equivalent of 'A ... or I mean B.' These phrases are often used when replacing or restating a previous utterance. The co-occurrence of these phrases and HRTs indicates that the speakers use a variety of resources to signal repair.

4.1.7 REPAIRS IN SUM. As we can see, the phrases with HRT link themselves to a prior discourse referent, thereby introducing new information about the referent. This may be the predicate for the topic introduced by HRT, as in the coconut powder example (6, §4.1.3). It may be a restatement of the first utterance, as in examples 5 (Co-worker) and 7 (Pill case). Next, I will describe and give examples of the other three situations.

4.2 INITIATION OF NEW TOPIC. HRT may signal a new discourse topic or narrative. There were 11 instances of such HRTs. Here, the speaker starts an entirely new topic after it is introduced with a HRT, whereas in repairs (§4.1.4), speakers contribute new information about a previous mention.

An illustrative example of HRT that initiates a new topic is the following excerpt. Before this portion of the conversation, F1 had discussed a trip to San Francisco she had taken in high school.

Later, after discussing different places where F1 had traveled, F3 in turn 1 asks which place F1 found the most interesting.

(9) ((First trip abroad: F3 and F1))

1 F3 koko suggoku omoshirokattatte iu tokoro aru
here very interesting.PAST.QT say place exist
'was there a place that was really interesting'

2 F1 omoshirokatta uun (2)
interesting.PAST um
'interesting um'

3 F1 a demo ichiban yappari impakuto-ga tsuyokattano wa sono
P but no.1 after.all impact-NOM strong.NMN TOP that

hajimete itta toki↑
first.time went time
'um the place that made the strongest impression was that first time I went↑'

4 F3 uun
uh-huh
'uh-huh'

5 F1 amerika-no sanfuranshisuko de nanka . xxx
America-PSS SanFrancisco LOC what.Q xxx

6 nikki tsuketetandesu kedo
diary write.GER.PAST.POL but
'San Francisco, USA, and (.) xxx I kept a diary'

Here, F1's first turn contains a HRT. The first turn is, in Labov and Waletzky (1967)'s terminology, the abstract, where the speaker introduces the new topic of discourse. The immediate scope of the HRT is the phrase *sono hajimete itta toki* 'that first time I went', but it covers the entire utterance from *a demo* ... as well. After the second turn, in which F3 gave feedback, F1 started her narrative in line 4 about her first trip abroad.

Another example, from F11's conversation, took place when she was showing and explaining photographs of a group trip.

(10) ((Showing photos: F11, K))

1 F11 de oomiya kara notta kara sa
then Oomiya from get.on since P
'so since we got on from Oomiya'

2 F11 [haitte kuru densha (shows pict1) masa-chan↑ (pict 2)
[enter.GER come train masa-DIM
['an incoming train (this is) Masa-chan↑'

K [haa
[oh
['oh

3 F11 soshite . densha no naka no masashi-san↑ @@ (pict 3)
then . train PSS inside- PSS masa-POL
'and then . Masashi-san inside the train

4 F11 de hora chiisana akachan-ni (pict 4)
then look small baby-DAT
and look a small baby'

5 K (0)nn aa honto da
hm yeah true COP
'm yeah you're right'

This excerpt was not a narrative, but a series of comments as F11 showed photographs. F11 utilized HRT in line 2, where a new series of photos focusing on a friend's child begins, and again in line 3.

HRTs in these examples serve to introduce the new topic of conversation. In contrast to repairs, the phrase containing HRT is not linked to a previous utterance.

4.3 END OF A DISCOURSE TOPIC. HRTs also signal the end of a discourse topic in ten tokens uttered by four speakers. This use of HRT falls into two patterns. In the first, the speaker has nothing else to add to the utterance after the HRT. In the other pattern, the speaker adds a commentary on the topic after the HRT.

4.3.1 UTTERANCE-FINAL. The following excerpt illustrates a topic-final and utterance-final HRT. The speaker terminates both her utterance and topic with a HRT.

(11) ((Yodobashi Camera: F18, F13, F2, K))

1 F13 yodobashi kamera mae
yodobashi camera front
'in front of Yodobashi Camera'

2 F18 are motomoto yodobashi-ku dattandesho
that originally yodobashi-district COP.PAST.POL.Q
'wasn't that originally in Yodobashi District'

3 F13 a soo nano
oh P Q
'oh really'

4 F18 yodobashi-ku dakara yodobashi kamera↑
yodobashi-district because yodobashi camera
'it's in Yodobashi District so (it's called) Yodobashi Camera↑'

5 F2 [hee soo nanda
[P that COP
['is that so'

K [fuun
[I.see
['I see'

Prior to this excerpt, the participants discuss train and bus stop names taken from proper names, e.g., schools and stores. F13 offers an example, *Yodobashi Kamera,* which F18 explains further. The whole of F18's utterances regarding the subject ends in line 4. F2 and K then comment on F18's utterance. Here again, the other participants make comments but no one elaborates on the topic. The conversation then continues to a different topic altogether, initiated by F13.

4.3.2 END OF DISCOURSE WITH COMMENT. In the second type of topic-final HRT, the speaker made a closing comment on the current subject after the HRT. Of the ten tokens, four were uttered by F10.

(12) ((Mahjongg: F10, F9, K))

1 F10 maajan no are ano kou oyayubide pappatto nikai gurai
mahjongg PSS that that this thumb LOC quickly.COP twice about

sawatta dakede nani ga aru ka wakaru kara mou
touch.PAST only wha NOM COP if know since already

hikkurikaesanakute ii hito tachi↥
turn.over.NEG.ADV.GER good person PL

2 are sugoi yo ne ...
that amazing P P
'in mahjong they touch the tiles with their thumb quickly about two times and they can already guess what the pieces are so they don't have to turn them over↥ that's amazing'

3 K soodattanda
so.PAST
'was that so'

F10 was describing a group of friends who are skillful mahjongg players. She gave details as to how skilled they are – so much so that they do not even need to look at the tiles to know which ones they are. The utterance that follows the HRT, *are sugoi yo ne*, is a commentary on her discussion. In reference to Labov and Waletzky's narrative structure, *are sugoi yo ne* constitutes an evaluation; she is expressing how she feels about the people she has just described. The phrase is extraneous to her description, which ends at *hito tachi*, 'people' – she is merely commenting on their mahjongg prowess.

F10 also happened to be a speaker who made use of HRT very often. It may be that the upwards intonation by itself does not provide enough sense of closure for F10, so she adds *un* to end her statements.

The use of HRT to signal the end of a topic may seem to contradict its use for initiation of a new topic. However, being a contextualization cue, its use is relative to its immediate context and can be used in different environments without breakdown in communication. We saw that HRTs occur in repairs, where they link previous and upcoming phrases. Repair HRTs occur in the middle of a discourse topic, while on the other hand, HRTs may occur at the beginning or end of a topic.

4.4 HRT IN LISTING. Eight instances of HRT also occurred in listing. These were cases in which the speaker listed three or more like items; the HRT often occurred at the items listed in the middle. The primary cues for listing were two syntactic constructions. One is the conjunction *toka*, with a meaning equivalent 'or', described below. The other is gerundive verbs, an example of which will be shown in (14).

The particle *toka* is made up of two particles, *to*, a quotative particle used when reporting speech, and *ka*, a question particle (as in *desu ka*). It means 'or something, and the like' and is used when enumerating items (Watanabe 2003).

(13) ((Useful phrases: F3, F1))

1 F1 suggoi kantanna kaiwa de
very simple.ADJ conversation GER

2 a ato ichiba ni kaimono ni itta kara kore
P later market LOC shopping DAT go.PAST because this

ikuradesuka toka #
how.much.POL.Q or.something#

3 ikutsu kudasai toka ↑
how.many give.POL or.something
'very simple conversation oh and I shopped at the market so "how much is this" or "please give me this many" or'

4 F3 nn
uh-huh
'uh-huh'

5 F1 un de kyou wa samui toka
yes then today TOP cold or.something
'yeah and (things like) "it's cold today" or'

6 F3 [nn
[uh-huh
[uhuh

F1 [atsui toka
hot or.something
['or hot'

7 F3 nn
uh-huh
'uh-huh'

8 F1 un
yeah
'yeah'

9 F3 [hoo sugoi
[oh very
['oh (that's) great'

F1 [@@ soregurai
[@@ that.about
['@@ that's about it'

Up to line 1, F1 had been telling F3 about her stay in Bosnia. In line 1, F3 asked if F1 had picked up any Bosnian during her stay. F1, in her reply (line 1–3, 5, 6), gave examples of simple phrases she learned. Her four examples stretch out over F3's backchanneling, forming one long utterance strung together by *toka* 'or'. In addition to the literal meaning, *toka* here seems to be used in a sense similar to the extenders 'et cetera', 'and so on', or 'things like that'. The actual words that F1 mentioned (*atsui*, *samui*) are just examples of the type of things F1 wanted to mention.

The other syntactic construction used in listing is the gerundive form of the verb. Gerunds have the form (Stem)-*te* (-*de* after stems ending in sonorants). In the following example, gerunds are underlined.

(14) ((Friend's marriage: F6, K))

1 K a wakannai no
oh know.not Q
'oh you don't know'

2 F6 wakannai desu
know.NEG POL

3 nanka meeru da to yayakoshiishi
what.Q email COP QT complicated.and

4 nanka denwa de nagabanashi suruno mo nandato omotte .
what.Q phone INSTR long.talk do also what.COP think.GER

5 atta toki ni kikou to omotte↑
meet time ADV ask QT think.GER

6 nanimo kikazu ni jaaatte
nothing ask.NEG ADV bye.QT

7 ma itsuka aou toka iu hanashi shika shitenakutte
P sometime meet QT say talk only do.NEG.GER

'I don't know I thought it might be too complicated over email and I didn't want to talk for a long time on the phone .
I was thinking I'd ask when I saw her↑ I just said bye without asking
we just talked about meeting or something sometime'

F6 recently heard that a friend became engaged, but did not know what sort of person her fiancé was. As in (13), the speaker F6 added a little information in each subsequent phrase to form a long utterance that completes the entire train of thought.

I should note that this type of HRT was not uniformly utilized by all speakers in my data. F1 was the most frequent user of listing, followed by F6. Listing seems to be a particular style of speaking where, instead of a straightforward narration of events, speakers introduce new information in bits and pieces to create an overall picture of the event.[2] HRT is secondary as a cue to this style.

4.5 SUMMARY. While all participants used HRT as repair, other uses such as listing and end of discourse were only employed by some. For example, four out of F1's nine tokens were used in listing. Her conversation had long stretches in which F1 talks, while the sole listener F3 gave backchannels and follow-up questions. HRT signaling the end of topic was used mostly by F6 and F10, who together take up more than half its 10 tokens.

Although the number of participants is too small to reach a more definite conclusion, the available data suggest that a speaker's age does not necessarily lead to a higher or lower use of HRT. Both older and younger speakers use HRT within this limited set of participants, contrary to the popular notion held about HRT that its users are young.

The majority of conversations recorded were either a narrative or description. This is true for the data overall, not only in parts with HRT. Having people talk for extended periods of time without giving specific tasks probably was the reason for this result.

5. DISCUSSION. HRT has been claimed to be a device for managing turn-taking ("continuer" in Guy et al. 1986), to confirm or verify listeners' understanding, or to invite the listener to join the conversation. The results of this study, however, show that speakers use HRT in several different situations. It may occur at the end, start, or middle of a discourse topic, or at the end or in the middle of a speaker's turn. The interaction of listeners and speakers is varied as well. In some instances, there is a pause after the HRT in which the listener gives a backchannel (variations of *un* in many cases). However, there are just as many where the listener does not, and many cases where the backchannel overlaps with the speaker's next utterance. In other words, speakers do not always wait for the listener(s) to give signs of agreement, and the listener's feedback, or lack of feedback, does not seem to affect the speaker's next utterance.

[2]The use of list intonation can be seen in English also. (e.g., I bought apples, oranges, and bananas. A speaker may put an upwards lilt at *apples* and *oranges*.

There do not seem to be commonalities in the situations in which HRT is used. What one could possibly say is that it adds prominence to certain parts of discourse. The perceptual prominence of HRT may highlight the phrase on which HRT occurs; however, each speaker may use HRT in different environments. These could be the beginning and end of discourse topics, for instance. Speakers may also use listing to add information to the topic that speakers may use. As for repair, HRT can serve to highlight new information in contrast with old information. In all of these cases, the HRT is a device that speakers employ in addition to verbal cues, e.g., use of gerunditive verbs in listing. An analogy may be found in the use of gestures. Gestures are not always utilized by all speakers; however, when speakers do use gestures, they help to effectively convey the intended message. Moreover, speakers are idiosyncratic in use of both gestures and HRT: some speakers use them more often than others.

This study may be further developed by expanding the discourse types in which participants are recorded. These are some possible directions for future research:

1. The conversations in this study consisted of narratives and descriptions; other discourse types, such as giving directions, may yield other contexts of HRT use.
2. The level of formality is another factor that may affect participants' production of HRT. Most of the conversations in this study took place in a casual setting. Participants may possibly adjust their speech patterns, including HRT use, in a more formal setting.
3. All the participants have known each other for at least one year and are very comfortable with each other. Again, it is possible that people who have just met will use more or fewer HRTs.

APPENDIX

Parts of the transcript are underlined for emphasis and are not intended to show aspects of conversational delivery. Words enclosed in parenthesis in the English gloss are unexpressed in the original Japanese.

Other transcriptions conventions are:

@@	laughter
[	overlap in conversation
. , .. , ...	indicate pauses of increasing length
(0)	no pause from previous utterance
-	cut-off in the middle of an utterance
xxx	parts of the conversation that were not decipherable

The following are abbreviations used in the gloss:

ADJ	adjective	P	sentence-final particle
ADV	adverb	PL	plural
COP	copula	POL	polite form
GEN	genitive	PSS	possessive
GER	gerund	Q	question particle
LOC	locative	QT	quotative
NMN	nominalizer	TOP	topic
NOM	nominative		

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