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Managing informal interaction: stancetaking and alignment in Dutch and Indonesian

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CHAPTER 6

Reproduction of meaning

The previous chapter revealed a preference for both more frequent and more explicit feedback in Dutch interaction, suggesting a greater need to negotiate stances openly. Apart from affirmation using interjections or full expressions of agreement, the use of repetition was briefly explored. A common denominator in these repetitions was their invited nature: another participant produced a turn that warranted a second pair part. Even though the choice to (partially) repeat that utterance lies with the responding party, there is the overt expectation some response will be produced. But what if participants repeat a prior utterance without being asked for a contribution? There is no immediate need for that information to be disclosed, it is already available. To some extent, the same holds for paraphrases: the propositional content was presented earlier and yet the second speaker shares the same knowledge, albeit formulated differently.

This chapter explores the general class of reproduction in more detail. Whereas repetition presents a mirror image of the original message in both form and content (to different degrees as we will see), paraphrases are more creative: the (relevant aspect of the) message is preserved, but the form is changed. In using a new form to express the same message, the speaker shows autonomous access to that information. Successfully paraphrasing a prior utterance requires a thorough understanding of what the previous speaker meant to convey and as such shows high involvement with the ongoing interaction and specifically the topic of talk.

Considering the striking difference in relative frequency of use (10.01% of Dutch compared to 28.44% of Indonesians phatic contributions), the first section is dedicated to the use of spontaneous repetition in interaction (see 6.1).

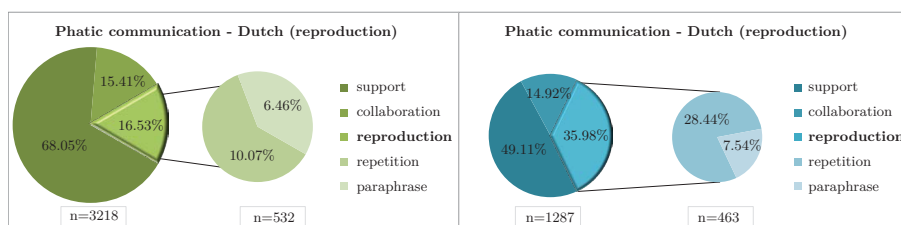


Figure 6.1: Phatic communication - focus on reproductions. The three classes of phatic communication were already presented in figure 4.5. The left-hand sphere in each of the graphs is a reproduction of that figure. On the right-hand side, the subclasses of meaning reproduction are given: repetition and paraphrase. The overall relative share of reproduction is much bigger in the Indonesian data, than in the Dutch. Whereas 35.98% (or 463/1287) of phatic communication involves reproduction in the Indonesian corpus, this type of phatic communication is found in only 16.53% (or 532/3218) of the Dutch corpus. This difference is mostly a result of the much higher relative frequency of use of repetitions in Indonesian (28.44% overall, n=366) compared to the Dutch data (10.1% overall, n=324).

First, the general function of reproduction of prior utterances is described (section 6.1), followed by a discussion of the two most frequent forms: bare repetitions involving a full or partial repeat of the previous utterance (sections 6.1.1 and repetitions that include some form of modification or adaptation to suit the needs of the second speaker 6.1.2. This first section closes with a paragraph addressing the sliding scale between adapted repetition and paraphrase, the latter being the focus of the second section (6.2).

6.1 Reproducing form, meaning, and stance

The repetitions discussed thus far were produced in response to a question (5.3), but the use of repetition of a prior utterance is of course not limited to question-answer pairs. In fact, most repetitions are not at all invited by another speaker, but are presented spontaneously. Given that the propositional content is already out in the open (the first speaker made sure of that), there is no need for a second, let alone third, speaker to share that same piece of information. Although these contributions may be redundant at an informational level; at a relational level, they provide valuable knowledge about the participants' interpersonal alignment. Consider the exchange in example (1). This brief excerpt shows quite some repetition among three participants involved in a discussion about what to buy for an upcoming party.

This fragment is taken from a conversation between four female contestants in the Indonesian Big Brother house (one of whom coincidentally is not featured in this stretch of talk). The production team asked Maya to throw Eko a surprise birthday party, and she has just told the others about the plan. In line 18, Lena starts listing things to buy for the party: cake, candles, matches. The full list is reiterated by Maya (line 19) and the first item is repeated by Dian (line 20), who subsequently suggests another item to add to the list: masks (*topeng*,

line 22). The same word is then repeated no less than eight times, before Dian specifies what type of masks she was thinking of: the ones that only cover your eyes. Both Lena (line 23)¹ and Maya (line 24) repeat the single element *topeng*, as does Dian (line 25). The word is then repeated three more times by Lena (line 26).

(1) *Spontaneous repetition - "masks"* (BB-IND, 4-2-4)

- 18 Lena <kue, lilin, korek>=
<cake, candles, matches>=
19 Maya =>k[ue, lilin, korek<,
=>c[ake, candles, matches<,
20 Dian [°kue°
[°cake°
21 Lena ter[us
the[n
22 Dian [tope[:ng
[ma:sk[s
23 Lena [topeng
[masks
24 Maya to[peng
mas[ks
25 Dian [tope[:ng
[ma:s[ks
26 Lena [topeng, topeng, topeng=
[masks, masks, masks=
27 =>pokoknya topeng aja [ya,< top↑eng
>in any case masks rig[ht, mas↑ks
28 Dian [topeng mata gitu=
[those eye masks= [=Columbina]

The contributions presented in lines 23-26 could have easily been left out of the conversation, at least from an efficiency point of view. No new information is shared whatsoever; none of the turns presents a question, answer, or attempt at repair, they truly are reproductions of the original "masks" first produced by Dian. So what do these turns do? Since the contestants are making a shopping list, it might be that they are each repeating the item to themselves to add it to their mental note of that list; to help them remember it. On the other hand, it might be that they agree with Dian that they should add masks to the list. Still another possibility is that the reiterations are a way to take some

¹This type of repetition is called shadowing, since the second speaker closely follows the first speaker, reproducing the original utterance while it is still being formulated. This particular type of repetition is discussed in the section about collaboration (section 7.1), because even though it is definitely a case of (full) repetition. The second speaker had to have anticipated what was about to be said in order to be able to follow so closely. Furthermore, the second speaker is less easily identified as being the stance follow (as compared to consecutive repetition). Both speakers present the same message at the same time, after all. This is thus a different form of repetition than first listening and only after the utterance is completed repeating what was just said.

time to think.; repetition as a stalling technique. Even knowing the context, interpreting the role of these repetitions remains challenging. One exception to this ambiguity is Lena's turn in line 26. She clearly does communicate support for the proposal. First she reiterates 'masks' three times, but then concludes that no matter what, they have to get masks (line 27), thus approving of the suggestion first proposed by Dian in line 22. Still, this interpretation is mostly reached because of the second half of her turn, not because of the repetition.

Repetition is of course not only used for phatic purposes. Chapter 5 already discussed the use of repetition in response to questions. Another common context to find repetitions is when used to redirect the conversation. Repetition can be used in rejections to negate the propositional content and possibly present additional information to support the second speaker digressing from the chosen path. Even if the divergence is established by the negative mirror image of the original utterance, with no new piece of information other than the negation, it introduces a new direction of thought - and possibly of the ongoing talk as well.

Similarly, repair initiations are not advancing the ongoing interaction, but rather keep the conversation from going forward. They usually involve a request for more information on the topic of talk in order for the participant to formulate an appropriate response. With these repair-initiating turns the speaker signals there is a problem and asks for clarification. The requested repair is necessary for the interaction to (successfully) proceed. The opportunity or possibility to establish alignment is thus postponed a well. The practical function these turns fulfill disqualifies them as phatic communication: there is a need for them in the ongoing interaction; they are not "merely" socially relevant, but structurally as well. Considering (positive) alignment and phatic communication are the central topic of the current study, repair work and rejection are disregarded from further analysis. This chapter deals with only those repetitions that aim at establishing positive alignment with the other speaker. To qualify as such a form of repetition, the contribution should:

- (i) be a reaction to some other speaker;
- (ii) not be invited or elicited;
- (iii) reproduce an earlier message in both form and meaning.

Using repetition to emphasize similarity between participants can take a number of different forms, ranging from full duplication to partial repetition with added paraphrasing. This chapter focuses on those instances of repetition that truly follow an original message without changing its contents. For these "simple" repetitions to occur, the original utterance has to be completed, before the second speaker decides to reproduce it (otherwise it is not a reaction, thus not meeting the first criterion). Ratification of a candidate completion and (almost) simultaneous production of the same utterance are not included here. Both forms are more of a collaborative effort to produce a single meaning, rather than an existing message being reduplicated. As such, they will be dis-

cussed in the chapter on collaboration (cf. section 7.1.4).² Similarly, repetition combined with new elements in the form of paraphrase or substitution of terms involves a (slight) shift in meaning and thus a deeper level of understanding on the second speaker's part. Even though there is repetition involved, these cases are therefore discussed in the section that deals with paraphrase (section 6.2).

The single biggest subtype of repetition in both Dutch and Indonesian is what might be called "full repeats": a complete reproduction of a prior utterance without any changes as in (2):

(2) *Full repetition - "psychologist" (BB-NL 14-4)*

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 6 | Hanna | <i>maar (.) je moet even naar de psycholoog gaan,</i>
<i>but (.) you must just go: to the psychologist,</i> |
| 7 | Ruben | <i>je moet even naar de psycholoog gaan,</i>
<i>you must just go to the psychologist,</i> |

The relative frequency of this form of repetition, however, markedly differs across the two data sets: 33.33% (or 78/234) of Dutch cases compared to 43.64% (or 120/275) of Indonesian cases involves full reproduction of a prior turn.

All identical repetitions, be it partial or full, can be combined into a collective class of what might be called "bare repetitions": presenting sometimes less, but never more information than the original. These repetitions are used for approval, processing and encouragement. However, in the majority of cases the specific meaning or function of the reproduction is difficult to determine. They are always an indication of active engagement, even though they do not necessarily give away any information about the second speaker's stance. What they do is acknowledge the first speaker took a stance and seemingly approve of that act - and perhaps the associated position. Nevertheless, without an explicit acknowledgment it is not certain the approval indeed extends to the content or is limited to the act of speaking.

The most recognizable way of approving of a taken stance is to include an affirmative particle. Contrary to bare repetitions, repetitions with agreement markers, or other forms of modification, do provide insight in the interpersonal alignment between the participants. The fact that this is the biggest form of repetition use in the Dutch data does not come as a surprise, considering the observed preference for overt agreement (and alignment) in chapter 5. Evidently, that same preference for clarity and individuality is found in their use

²Shadowing - presenting the same utterance simultaneous to the first speaker, but with a slight delay - is excluded here because of the lack of sequentiality between the first and second iteration. Ratification does follow someone else's turn and does establish positive alignment. However, there is an important difference between repetition for ratification and "simple" repetitions: whereas the latter involves an original stancetaker (the first speaker) and a stance follow (the second speaker), in the context of ratification the original stancetaker *is* the person producing the repetition. The remainder of this section focuses on those repetitions that are strongly similar to the original contribution - both in form and content - but do reflect two individual positions. Removing repetition for ratification purposes as well as shadowing from the collection brings the number of relevant repetitions in the data down to 234 instances in Dutch and 275 in Indonesian.

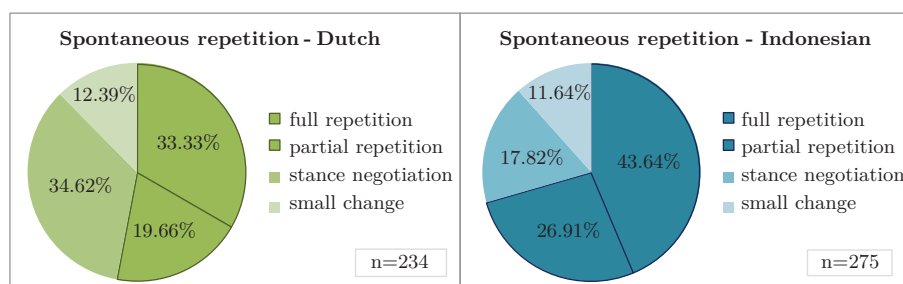


Figure 6.2: Spontaneous repetition. These figures present the different ways in which repetition is used in responsive acts. Recall that this set only pertains to what were called simple repetitions; that is, reproductions of a prior utterance for purposes of convergence. Thus excluding repair initiatives and simultaneous talk. In both data sets “full repetition” is one of the more frequent types, but the relative size is somewhat bigger in Indonesian (43.64% or 120/275) than in Dutch (33.33% or 78/234). Moreover, in Dutch this is not actually the single most frequent type of reactions that involve repetition of a prior turn: a slightly higher frequency is found for repetition combined with affirmative markers. This class of “stance negotiation” equals 34.62% (or 81/234) of all spontaneous (and simple!) repetitions in Dutch, compared to 17.82% (or 49/275) in Indonesian. This reflects the earlier observed preference for a more explicitly communicated and constructed interpersonal alignment in the Dutch data. The use of partial repetition is also relatively more common in the Indonesian data compared to Dutch (respectively 2.91% or 74/275, and 19.66% or 46/234). Partial repetition involves full reproduction of part of a prior utterance, again with no addition of new elements. The remaining 11% of repetitions are classified as including a small change (e.g. “not one” to “none”).

of repetition (see fig. 6.2). The preference for close similarity in repetition in Indonesian versus individuality in Dutch become clearly visible when combining similar categories. The different types of spontaneous repetition may be combined into three classes: i) bare repetition, referring to full and partial repetition; ii) repetition with stance negotiation, involving repetition with agreement or modification; and iii) repetition with small changes, involving minor differences in form (e.g. “not one” / “none”).

In Indonesian, 70.55% (or 194/275) of repetitions is a form of bare repetition (i.e. full or partial, without any change or addition), compared to 52.99% (or 124/234) in Dutch. In both languages, the majority of repetitions concerned with social relationships thus does not include an individualistic touch but rather follows the first speaker seamlessly. However, there is a considerable difference in the size of this majority share in the two data sets. Considering the share of repetitions with small changes is similar across the languages, both fall within 11%, the difference is found in the share of repetitions used to actively negotiate interpersonal stance and alignment: 34.62% (or 82/234) of repetitions in Dutch involves an affirmative marker or modifier to explicitly position the second speaker relative to the first speaker. Compared to the Indonesian data, this is twice as frequent (17.82% in Indonesian or 49/275 cases). Incidentally, this coincides with the observation that the Dutch prefer their contributions to

be specific and explicit in their message (chapter 5).

These two main forms of repetition are discussed in more detail in the remainder of this section. The first subsection is dedicated to repetitions without any addition or change, the bare repetitions. The second subsection discusses repetitions that involve modification, in the form of agreement, reinforcement, or hedging, without changing the core message. Finally, the third subsection analyzes a sequence of repetitions of different types produced in a single stretch of talk.

6.1.1 Bare repetition - never more, sometimes less

The class of bare repetitions includes both full and partial reproductions of an earlier utterance. These two subclasses share the lack of newly added material: they are either a perfect copy of the original utterance (full repetition) or a reproduction of part of that utterance (partial repetition). The reproduced utterance can hold the same propositional content as the original, sometimes less, but never more. (Notwithstanding non-verbal cues of communication such as laughter, changed intonation patterns, etc.). These two forms of bare repetition are separately addressed in this section.

Full repetition

One of the more recognizable forms of repetition is the full reproduction of an earlier utterance. Such full repeats were found to make up 43.64% of Indonesian spontaneous repetitions and 33.33% of Dutch cases. Several functional uses can be distinguished, the first of which is to linger on the meaning (or form) of someone else's utterance (cf. section 3.3.3; Tannen, 2007). Often, these cases are accompanied by laughter, as in examples (3) and (4). Even without knowing what it is the participants are referring to, or in what context these things were said, it is clear the second speaker finds the original statement (resp. line 3 and line 18) in some way amusing and wants to express their appreciation.

These two repetitions are preceded by laughter, already indicating enjoyment. The repetition itself is a carbon copy of the original: no elements are added, no elements are left out. This use of repetition is found in only a handful of cases in the Indonesian data (11 of 120 full repetitions), and although it is more commonly found in the Dutch data, still, the absolute number of occurrences is rather low (15 of 78 full repetitions). Nevertheless it is a clear way of using repetition to show appreciation of an in some way unexpected utterance as presented by a fellow interactant.

- (3) *Full repetition - savoring* (BB-IND 5-2-14)
- 3 Tessa °*dikasih sejam lagi*° ((*joking*))
 °given another hour°
- 4 Nur #*HAHaaha*
dikasih sejam lagi
 given another hour

- (4) *Full repetition - savoring* (BB-NL 22-24)
- 18 Bram *volle vaten klinken het hardst, of niet?*
 full barrels sound the loudest, or not?
- 19 Hugo #*haha volle vaten klinken het hardst*#
 #haha full barrels sound the loudest#
- 20 Bram #*hahahaha*#

A similar function of repetition is showing listenership. By repeating the words just uttered, the hearer can signal they are processing the newly acquired information. These forms of repetition - listenership and savoring - are not so much about taking stance regarding the presented information, but rather about appreciating that information. Even though the repeating party does not take position in relation to the object of talk, the repetition does establish positive alignment between the two participants. The second speaker shows approval or digestion of the original utterance, thus valuing the contribution made by the first speaker.

Yet another use of full repetitions that appears less concerned with stancetaking is repetition for encouragement. Even though the speaker does not take position, the fact that there is an apparent need to reproduce the prior message does show active engagement: the second speaker wants to attract someone else's attention to some specific object or activity. This is in fact a function that is found quite often in the Indonesian data (in 24 of 120 cases), but hardly in the Dutch data (4/78). This is largely explained by the number of repetitions involved in attempting to get someone's attention. In these cases, the initial speaker presents a request for attention, as in example (5), or information, as in example (6), which is subsequently reproduced by another speaker.

- (5) *Full repetition - encouragement* (BB-IND 18-1-2)
- 5 Maya *mas br0::?*
 [calling for Rendra]
- 6 Lena *mas bro?*
 [calling for Rendra]
- (6) *Full repetition - encouragement* (BB-IND 1-4-3)
- 8 Yuni *e:h ada yang mau nanya?*
 e:h is there anyone who wants to ask a question?
- 9 Indra *ada yang mau nanya?*
 is there anyone who wants to ask a question?
- 10 Adam *ada yang mau nanya::*
 is there anyone who wants to ask a questio:n?

In (5) Maya tries to attract Rendra's attention, who stumbled into the living room and lies himself down on the couch without saying anything. Her concern is shared by Lena, who reiterates her request for him to respond. Similarly, in example (6), Adam has finished introducing himself on the first day, and is ready to sit back down when Yuni proposes someone might have a question (line 8). Her suggestion is subsequently repeated by both Indra and Adam, who both use the same utterance. In this case, the repetition seems to coincide with the rather fixed roles each of them plays in this interaction. The contestants are getting to know each other by playing the game "Who am I". At this particular moment, it is Adam's turn. While Yuni is certainly allowed to say something, she has no active part in the game at this point - she is part of the audience along with the other contestants. Indra, on the other hand, does have an official task: he is the appointed game master.

There are thus two people with a stronger right to ask this question in their respective game-related roles: Adam as the current player, and Indra as the manager of the activity. Whether they indeed attempt to exercise this right is not unambiguously clear. However, considering there is no need for the question to be asked again - it was audible to all those present - it is the most likely explanation. Still, an element of uncertainty about what a speaker intended to communicate with a repetition remains. This lack of clarity or transparency of meaning is nicely illustrated by the final turn in example (7), which is both redundant and ambiguous in its intentions.

(7) *Full repetition - redundant* (BB-IND 13-3-13)

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| 9 | Eko | <i>ini siapa nih?</i>
Who's plate is this? |
| 10 | Maya | <i>si [apa aja</i>
<i>wh [omever</i> |
| 11 | Yuni | <i>[siapa aja</i>
<i>[whomever</i> |
| 12 | Lena | <i><siapa aja::></i>
<i><whomeve::r></i> |

Eko asks a question about which plate of food is for which person (line 9). Both Maya and Yuni answer, more or less simultaneously (line 10-11). After they finished their turns, Lena slowly and emphatically repeats the same information: anyone can take the plate (line 12). Considering his question being answered, Lena not being in a power position (as in the previous example), and not presenting any additional information, it is difficult to formulate a definitive interpretation of this contribution. Although its semantic meaning is clear, the reason for repeating the already available information is not. It could be that she is annoyed by Eko asking the question, because she feels it is evident all plates are the same and everyone can just pick one. On the other hand, it might be that she wants to be on par with Maya and Yuni and show that she too knew the answer. On the other hand, maybe there is no real purpose to the repetition and she just mimics what was said before, irrespective of who said

it and what the message entails, simply to entertain (herself or others).

Still other possibilities exist, and for each of them an argument can likely be made. Speculating about what in fact is Lena's intent, is not very helpful though, since it will not lead to a definitive decision on one or the other explanation. There are simply too many options, and too little evidence for one to be more probable than another. This is in fact not uncommon: in most cases of full repetition the reason for reproducing the utterance is not immediately clear. Without a relevant interpretation presented in a subsequent turn it is impossible to determine what the intended meaning is - or at least what the co-present participants believe it to be. A similar challenge is posed by repeats that are only partially connected to the original utterance - in form that is.

Partial repetition

Not all repetitions are a full copy of the original. In fact, most repetitions are not. Instead, they divert somewhat from the original, either by reflecting only part of the message and form, or by adding some lexical item that was not available in the original utterance. Usually, repetitions that divert from the original expression do not only see some change in form, but in meaning as well. This will be further discussed below in section 6.1.2. An exception to this rule is partial repetition: the perfect reproduction of part of the prior utterance. The part that is repeated retains both its original form and meaning.

In the Indonesian subset of spontaneous repetitions, partial repetition forms the second biggest subtype at 26.91% (or 74/275). (Note that the difference between the first type (full repetitions) and this second subtype is as high as 16 percent point.) In the Dutch selection of repetitions, this particular subcategory takes third place at 19.66% (or 46/234), cf. figure 6.2. The overall relative occurrence of partial repeats found in these two data sets is thus comparable (roughly 1/5 in Dutch; 1/4 in Indonesian). The functional use of such repeats is similar to that of full repetition: mostly to communicate listenership or appreciation.

The following example, (8), includes a participant repeating part of the earlier expression, showing active listenership. In this case, it involves learning a new phrase to describe the act of eating (or more precisely feeding). Hugo made pancakes for lunch and seeks out Hanna and David in the bedroom to offer them the leftover pancakes. David happily accepts the food, but since he is lying down on the bed, not having utensils nor a table, eating is a little difficult. Hugo offers a solution: rolling the pancake.³ In line 49, Hugo proposes to roll the pancake and put the roll in David's mouth - which he refers to as his "drawer" (*la*). Hanna starts laughing and repeats the part of the utterance she finds funny (line 53, "right in your drawer"). She then goes on to explain she had never heard that expression before, thus presenting evidence she indeed

³He made Dutch pancakes, which are much thinner than American pancakes; they are more resembling of crepes and as such easily rolled.

used the repetition as a way of savoring or absorbing the phrase she was up until that point unfamiliar with.⁴

(8) *Partial repetition - “pancakes”* (BB-NL 15-1)

- 49 Hugo *ik zal 'm wel oprollen*
I'll roll it [=pancake]
- 50 *schuif ik 'm zo in je la:*
slide it right in your dra:wer
- 51 Hanna *#hahaha#*
- 52 David *a:::h ((opens mouth))*
- 53 Hanna *#zo in je la#*
#right in your dra:wer#
- 54 *#god# die heb ik ook nog nooit gehoord*
#god# I've never heard that one before either

These partial repetitions are heavily parasitic on the prior turn: their interpretation is dependent on it after all, as an essential aspect of the message is only available in the original utterance (Stivers, 2005:144). With full repeats, however, this is not the case, since they present the core claim themselves. Presenting that same claim regardless of it already being out there, may suggest the second speaker competes with the first speaker of primary rights of epistemic access (as in example (6) above, cf. Stivers, 2005)⁵. Although this certainly seems a relevant and plausible explanation for presenting a bare repetition, most of the examples observed in this data collection did not unequivocally follow this pattern.

Considering the high similarity between partial and full repetition, the same functions and challenges can be identified. While the above example includes a clue as to what role the repetition has in interaction, by means of added laughter, this is generally not the case. Presenting a copy of part of a prior utterance might communicate agreement, excitement, surprise, contemplation, or something else entirely. And these are only the positive emotions; including options that establish negative alignment would make the list even longer. The interpretation thus largely comes to down to intonation and/or facial expression. Facial expressions are unfortunately not always available in these data, and even having access to the original intonation it is still difficult to decide the speaker's communicative intention. This does not mean all repetitions are

⁴Had she wanted to repeat the entire utterance, she would have had to adapt the deictic elements to reflect Hugo being the agent. This would have resulted in a repetition with adaptation.

⁵Stivers (2005) discusses modified repeats in response to (mostly) downgraded first statements. For example, in the sequence of utterances “the children are lovely” and “they ARE lovely” the second utterance is what she refers to as a full repeat. Following the distinction made in this chapter, this same utterance would qualify as a partial repetition: only part of the original utterance is reproduced. Her point really pertains to the emphatic confirmation of the prior statement or claim in order to assert independent and primary access. The examples of full and partial repetition I found mostly do not seem to emphasize a particular aspect of the utterance to claim independent epistemic rights or access, but instead reproduce the entire utterance to (seemingly) communicate listenership or understanding.

as difficult to interpret. There are several ways of explicitly establishing a relationship between a stancetaker and stance follow using repetition. In these data, such stance negotiation by means of repetition took the form of adding an element of agreement, mitigation, or adaptation of the original.

6.1.2 Repetition with modification - negotiating position

Most repetitions were found to include only elements that were present in the original utterance (52% in Dutch, 70% in Indonesian, cf. section 6.1.1). The other cases of repetition involved some form of modification, mostly by means of an added agreement marker. This class of repetitions is referred to as “stance negotiations” in figure 6.3. Adding an agreement marker, usually at the beginning or end of the utterance, allows the second speaker to connect the two utterances explicitly. This combination of reproduction and agreement thus negotiates position: the agreement suggests a stance follow; the repeat suggests autonomous access and thus a stance lead. Similarly, including an intensifier or hedge communicates a clear individual stance on the matter presented by the utterance, again negotiating knowledge and stance. An example of a repetition including an affirmative marker is given in (9).

This exchange takes place when Dian is sick and Lena acts as caretaker. About half of the Indonesian contestants have not been feeling well, Dian being one of them. She is in bed, while Lena takes care of her. She states her hand is swollen (line 7), which is confirmed by Lena with a combined agreement and repetition turn. She begins her turn with an affirmative marker, accepting the statement by Dian as a relevant contribution. This does not necessarily mean she agrees with its content, although it could, it does mean she acknowledges the statement being made. The repetition following her *iya* (“yes”), resolves the ambiguity: this is meant as an agreement. Lena’s utterance presents the same fact (it is swollen) and does so in a way that Lena is equally accountable for its content as Dian, who originally presented the information.

(9) *Repetition + stance negotiation - “swollen hands”* (BB-IND 25-1-11)

- 7 Dian <ah ini bengkak>
<ah this is swollen>
8 Lena *iya, nih bengkak.*
yes, this is swollen.

By adding the repetition, Lena communicates her independent access to the information. This is clearly the case, since both she and Dian can actually see Dian’s hand at the time of interaction. In this short exchange, Dian and Lena establish that the both of them know the same thing about the topic of talk. Given that there is no further change brought to the original expression, there is not really much of negotiation of stance: Lena simply takes Dian’s stance, she does assert independent access to it, but does not claim greater access or rights to the position.

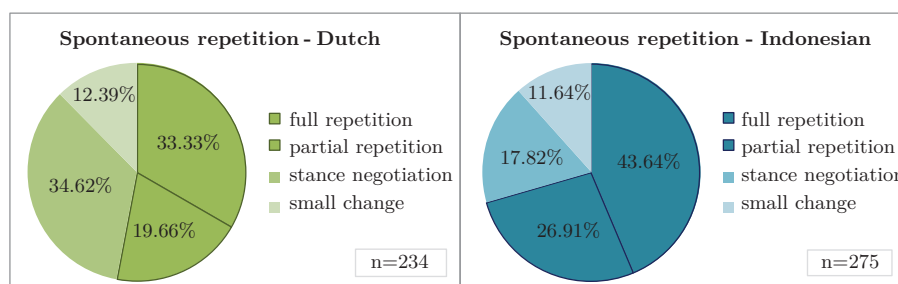


Figure 6.3: Spontaneous repetition. [This is a reproduction of figure 6.2 above.] In both data sets the combined class of bare repetitions (which includes full and partial repetitions), represents the majority share of all repetitions. The remaining cases involve some form of addition compared to the original utterance. The first type of addition that was observed is the inclusion of an affirmative marker or modifier for purposes of hedging or reinforcement. This type of repeats is referred to as involving “stance negotiation”. This class of “stance negotiation” equals 34.62% (or 81/234) of all spontaneous repetitions in Dutch, compared to 17.82% (or 49/275) in Indonesian. The second form of adaptation is what is called “small change”, which refers to cases in which the overall meaning and form are preserved, but some minor change is observed in the specific phrasing, e.g. “none/not one”. This class is only marginally found in both the Dutch and Indonesian collection (resp. 12.39% and 11.64%).

These repetitions with agreement can, however, carry a stronger claim of autonomy. Example (10) takes place immediately following Bram’s plea to not nominate people (him in particular) based on supposed, but unconfirmed, popularity with the audience. Being dependent on the viewers’ votes while not having access to them, a tactical move like this - voting for the popular person, betting on them not being evicted - might backfire. He concludes that it is not fair to put him in that position (line 48).

(10) *Repetition + stance negotiation - “unfair”* (BB-NL 29-13)

48 Bram *is niet eerlijk*
is not fair
49 Roos *>nee het is ook niet eerlijk<*
no it is indeed not fair<

Roos was one of the contestants contemplating using this strategy, but now agrees with him that it is unfair. She uses both a confirmation marker (in this case *nee*, “no”) and a repetition of his utterance “it’s unfair”, further reinforced with a particle *ook*, literally meaning “too”. This is essentially a special type of full expression of agreement (see section 5.2.2): Roos explicitly states what she believes to be the case, using his expression to take position, thus emphasizing both their similarity and autonomy. Note that she formulates her agreement as a fact, not an opinion. Recall that in the Dutch data, the majority of full expressions of agreement were formulated as presenting an objective truth, elevating a singular opinion to a known fact. One of the challenges with repetitions that do not add elements (the full and partial repetitions discussed

above), is that the intended message can be somewhat unclear. The one thing it undoubtedly shows is active participation, but the meaning of the contribution to the interaction may be difficult to determine. With this type of reactions, combining confirmation and repetition, a layer of ambiguity is shed.

The objective approach with added reinforcement in (10) is found more often in the Dutch data set. In example (11), David uses his turn to not only confirm Hanna's assessment, but to claim prior and independent access of information as well. In doing so, he shows a much stronger commitment to the statement, than an isolated repetition would have burdened him with. Parallel to (10), he combines a confirmation particle (*ja*, "yes") with a full repetition and an intensifier (*echt*, "real").

(11) *Repetition + stance negotiation - "a lot of work"* (BB-NL 46-18)

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 73 | Hanna | <i>dit is heel veel werk he</i>
this is a <u>lot</u> of work huh |
| 74 | David | <i>ja dit is echt heel veel werk</i>
yes this really is a <u>lot</u> of work |

In presenting his second assessment as a stronger version of Hanna's first assessment, he claims independent access to that information (Pomerantz, 1984). Irrespective of her stating the assignment is a lot of work, he came to the same conclusion. At least that is what he communicates. He can thus rightfully assess the situation at hand, perhaps even more so than Hanna can (hence the intensified version). As the second speaker, he thus takes agency and commits himself to that amended proposition establishing positive alignment between them. However, he does not "take over" Hanna's position, but rather makes known they are close together, albeit both at their own merit.

Out of the 275 Indonesian repetitions discussed in this section, only 11 involve some form of modification related to the communicative content. Along with eight other occurrences, the example below involves mitigation; that is, the force of the original utterance is reduced. In this case, the advice given to Tessa to try the middle door, is softened by including *aja* ("just"), making the effort or imposition seem smaller.

(12) *Repetition + stance negotiation - "doors"* (BB-IND 1-1-1)

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 27 | Indra | <i>>pintu teng [ah< Tes↑sa</i>
the middle [door Tes↑sa |
| 28 | Lena | [°bisa:°
[°possible:° |
| 29 | Maya | <i>TESsa, pintu tengah aja</i>
TESsa, just the middle door |
| 30 | Eko | <i>pintu ten↑gah</i>
the middle do↑or |

Tessa is trying to get through the door with her suitcase. She is struggling to fit the suitcase through the door, when Indra, who is still inside with the

other contestants, suggests she might want to try the middle door - which is slightly wider than the side doors. This advice is endorsed by Maya (line 29) and Eko (line 30). Maya is the first to reproduce Indra's expression. She reuses all his words and adds *aja* ("just") to mitigate the message. Eko on the other hand, does not adapt the message about the doorway, at least not verbally. The utterance is produced with a rather unusual intonation, though, ending on a high note. This rising intonation emphasizes his message, communicating both his own certainty in the matter and his individual claim to that knowledge. In a way, he thus is indeed reinforcing Indra's original contribution (just as David did in (11)).

An interesting (tentative) difference between Dutch and Indonesian modification seems to be the direction the adjustment takes. In Dutch, the majority of cases (15/23) are modified to intensify the message; in the Indonesian data intensification is found in only 2 cases. Most of the Indonesian instances of modification that were found included a form of mitigation (9/11) instead. Admittedly, the number of examples is too low to argue anything definitive about the behavior of Dutch and Indonesian speakers, but it is nevertheless interesting to see that there seems to be a pattern here. Especially considering the occurrences found in Indonesian are nowhere near as clear or explicitly recognizable as intensification as the Dutch examples.

A particularly interesting environment in which modified repetition occurs is in reaction to a statement made by another speaker who clearly and objectively has more knowledge about a specific topic. Yet confirmation is offered by (and sometimes sought from) another participant by means of repeating the same utterance. Especially, when the original contribution pertains to the first speaker's personal position on a certain matter, the presented repetition can hardly be interpreted as a claim of autonomous or prior knowledge. It seems that in such cases, repetition is used as a tactic of reinforcement rather than (re)claiming autonomous access of information.

This is what happens in example (13) when Nur endorses Yuni in trying to get a message across to Tessa by repeating that same message.⁶ Nur and Yuni formed a team in a game of "match-the-sock". Yuni had to describe socks pinned to a board for Nur to find in a basket full of socks. Per the rules of the game, the description was limited to three words. Tessa, as the team captain, is the referee in this game and insists Yuni used four words and did not mention a color: reasons to disqualify her. Yuni and Nur have given an extensive summary of what happened from their point of view in the turns leading up to this excerpt. One of the things they and Tessa disagree on is the

⁶An element further complicating the game is the fact that the contestants had been divided in two groups at the time of this assignment: a "rich" group that was allowed to reside in the house, and a "poor" group that had to live at a campsite behind the house. Each group had their own supplies and food, and thus needed their own money. Something the "poor" group desperately needed. The results of the two-person teams were combined to decide which of the two groups would be the winner. Tessa is the team captain at this time and as such not part of either group.

colors Yuni supposedly mentioned during the game. According to Yuni, she described the sock as being pink and green.

(13) *Repetition + stance negotiation - “colorful socks”* (BB-IND, 14-4-5)

- 41 Yuni *aku bilang <colorful> kare[na aku-*
I said <colorful> because [I-
- 42 Nur *[kek*
- 43 *colorful, y[a Yuni bilang °colorful°*
colorful, ye[ls Yuni said °colorful°
- 44 Tessa *[itu yang aku dengar,*
[that’s what I heard,
- 45 *sumpah aku nggak dengar pink, ijo.*
I swear I didn’t hear pink, green.

In line 41, Yuni states she said “colorful”, a statement subsequently repeated by Nur. Nur claiming autonomous access or a greater right to knowledge about what Yuni said is a bit of stretch. Rather, what she does is independently taking the same position Yuni did: she too remembers (i.e. knows) that Yuni used the word colorful. She thus reinforces the stance taken by Yuni as opposed to Tessa’s: it is no longer one against one, but now two against one. Even though she does not explicitly use a confirmation particle or explicit reference to stress that they agree, it is what she communicates.

A similar use of repetition is found in line 2, example (14). Susan has been annoyed by Hanna’s behavior for a while and finally has had enough (as she proclaims in line 1) as she makes her way to leave the room. Susan obviously knows best how she feels, and yet Lotte echoes her message: she believes Susan feels how she says she feels. Again, this repetition is primarily oriented towards supporting the claim made earlier.

(14) *Repetition + stance negotiation - “enough”* (BB-NL 23-24-22)

- 1 Susan *nou ik eh >vind het echt niet leuk meer nou hoor<*
well I eh >really don’t like it anymore<
- 2 Lotte *ik geloof dat Susan ECHT niet leuk vindt hoor*
I believe Susan REALLY doesn’t like it
- 3 Susan *nee*
no

In using the same words, a second voice is given to the same message. Susan and Lotte - and Yuni and Nur in the previous example - share a single perspective or experience. Susan may have been the first to take that stance, Lotte is both in complete support of her doing so and positions herself right alongside Susan. In examples (13) and (14), the similarity between the participants regarding the topic of talk is emphasized by means of repeating the original message, without explicitly expressing support. This use of repetition puts additional weight behind the original message, thus reinforcing that original message and its associated stance, and establishing a strong positive alignment between

the two speakers. Although there is no explicit connection between the two; compare the discussion on construction of alignment through explicit “me too”-like phrases and reference to having said something earlier (cf. section 5.4.3)). Most examples that were discussed involved a single repeat of some original message. However, negotiating stance by means of repetition is just as much found to be a group activity.

6.1.3 Repeated positions - to each their own

In response to questions, repetition was said to indicate a claim of greater epistemic access or rights (section 5.3). While those contributions were produced upon request, reproducing the same utterance in an effort to present it as your own original idea is found in spontaneous reactions as well. The next example shows several participants reproducing the same utterance, with varying degrees of similarity, without an immediate need to do so. Example (1) above, saw multiple rounds of repetition as well when the Indonesian housemates discussed Eko’s upcoming birthday party. Whereas the women planning the party had a grocery list to keep track of and were brainstorming about what items to add, the Dutch housemates in (15) are simply chatting about whether or not Eva’s boyfriend was faithful during her stay in the Big Brother house. There is thus even less of a practical need to keep stating the same thing. But, there does not have to be: each of the expressions benefits the coordination of their interpersonal alignment.

(15) *Multiple repetitions - “hope”* (BB-NL 9-10-21)

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 18 | David | <i>ja: °dat we [et je niet°</i>
<i>ye::ah °you [don’t know that°</i> |
| 19 | Roos | <i>[het is te hopen</i>
<i>[it is to be hoped</i> |
| 20 | all | <i>#hahaha#</i> |
| 21 | Lotte | <i>#het i [s te hopen ja haha#</i>
<i>#it i [s to be hoped yes haha#</i> |
| 22 | Ruben | <i>[dat hoop ik wel</i>
<i>[I do hope so</i> |
| 23 | Hanna | <i>hoop ik. ↑hoop ik.</i>
<i>I hope. I ↑hope.</i> |
| 24 | Lotte | <i>#haha jawe::l#</i>
<i>#haha ye::s#</i> |
| 25 | Hugo | <i>dat is maar de vraag natuurlijk</i>
<i>that is but the question of course</i> |

David is the first to suggest you never know what might have happened during her absence. Roos (line 19) immediately follows with a wishful statement: hopefully he did stay faithful. (Note that she does not personalize the message, it is not necessarily *her* hope something did or did not happen, it is simply a general wish.) An important difference between these reiterations of “I hope” and the examples of repetition for reinforcement purposes given above is that the

focal point shifts. The reinforcing use of repetition saw one perspective (resp. Yuni's and Susan's in the Indonesian and Dutch example) being endorsed and reinforced by another speaker as still *their* perspective, this example sees each of the participants laying claim to the same (or a similar) position as their own.

Given that Roos' turn overlaps with David's, she is not following him in his assessment of the situation. Rather, she pre-emptively finishes his thought, incited by the stretched "ye::ah", which already suggests he has his doubts. Either or both their turns induce all-round laughter. Although her realization is somewhat different from what he had planned, both convey uncertainty. It is Roos' more positive perspective of hope that is repeated in full by Lotte (line 21). Finishing her turn with an affirmative marker, Lotte acknowledges Roos as stance lead in taking that position regarding the issue at hand. Hers is thus an overt stance follow, representing a position she herself fully upholds.

At the same time as Lotte, Ruben (line 22) produces a replication of Roos' statement as well. He, however, does explicitly commit himself to the message, changing the perspective of the utterance slightly: *he* does hope the boyfriend behaved. Ruben's turn is presented as if he is the first to take that position. There is no recognition of Roos being stance lead whatsoever. The recycling of "hope" is what ties the two turns together. Ruben's formulation suggests his opinion or view is not impeded or influenced by what Roos said, but came about independently. Arguably, it is not so much Roos' turn that he responds to, but David's initial remark:

(16) *Parallel contributions - "hope" (BB-NL 9-10-21)*

18	David	<i>dat</i>	<i>weet</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>niet</i>
	(lit.)	that	know	you	not
22	Ruben	<i>dat</i>	<i>hoop</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>wel</i>
	(lit.)	that	hope	I	too

The two expressions are neatly parallel. The negative outlook presented by David, emphasizing the not-knowing, is countered with a more positive perspective in Ruben's contribution. Both men use an anaphoric utterance, but Ruben changes the main verb from "know" to "hope", and turns the negation into an affirmation. Hanna subsequently reproduces the central part of Ruben's utterance (*hoop ik*, 'I hope') twice (line 23). Her copy of his words reinforces the feeling of hope, but at the same time shift the agency of that hope to her, not him. She too presents her position as being independent from others. Still, the reiteration of "hope" generates a strong resonance throughout this exchange, to use DuBois' (2007) term, and establishes positive alignment between the participants involved.

Similar to the series of turns about masks in the aforementioned Indonesian example, this is a sequence of turns expressing the same feeling. Unlike that example, the reproductions of the original come in a variety of forms, ranging from full repetition (Lotte, line 21), to partial repetition (Hanna, line 23), to adapted repetition (Ruben, line 22). Furthermore, it is not only the form that

is reiterated by several participants. David, Roos (and followers), and Hugo all present a similar idea: there is no certainty in knowing what Eva's boyfriend did in her absence. While Roos attempted to finish David's ongoing utterance with not much more to go on than an extended affirmative particle, Hugo, on the other hand, has already witnessed five people sharing their thoughts on the matter of faithfulness before presenting his view.

Following the exchange of repetitions, Lotte makes an end to the uncertainty by assuring the others with a stretched *jawe::l* (emphatic "yes") that there is no need to doubt the boyfriend's behavior (line 24). Hugo immediately questions this certainty, returning to David's initial position: they do not know for sure. Instead of reproducing David's earlier expression ("you don't know that"), Hugo uses a paraphrase to convey the same message ("that is the question"). There is no overlap in form between the two utterances, but there is overlap in meaning. In formulating his contribution this way, he establishes positive alignment between himself and David - they both take the same position - while maintaining his autonomy. This particular paraphrase is disconnected from the utterance it relates to, at least in form. None of the elements used in David's turn are re-used by Hugo. It is not uncommon to see a combination of repetition and paraphrase in one turn. Deciding at what point an expression is in fact a paraphrase is, however, not an easy task. What is understood to be a paraphrase and what role they play in interpersonal alignment and involvement in interaction will be addressed in the next section.

6.2 Reproducing meaning and stance

The challenge of formulating a definition for paraphrasing became apparent in chapter 3. Paraphrases range from close similarity in form and meaning, to similarity by association only. The former involves partial repetition combined with replacement of form: some elements of the initial expression are preserved, while others are phrased differently. The latter concerns cases that do not overlap in form, and only partially in meaning: (part of) the message presented by the former speaker is carried by the paraphrase alongside new information, leaving it to the hearer to work out the connection to the initial expression. This form of meaning extension and collaboration is discussed in section 7.1 below. In between these extremes are a host of possible paraphrases, varying in level of similarity in meaning and form. This section first describes three different forms of paraphrase and their role in interaction. The last section assesses the supposed level of autonomy asserted by paraphrases by examining the degree to which the first stancetaker is recognized as such.

It is impossible to relate paraphrase to a certain stable and recognizable form or construction, bringing the decision about a particular expression being a paraphrase or not, down to the meaning of that expression. A strong similarity in meaning between two utterances has to be apparent for the second expression to qualify as a paraphrase of the first. However, even this crite-

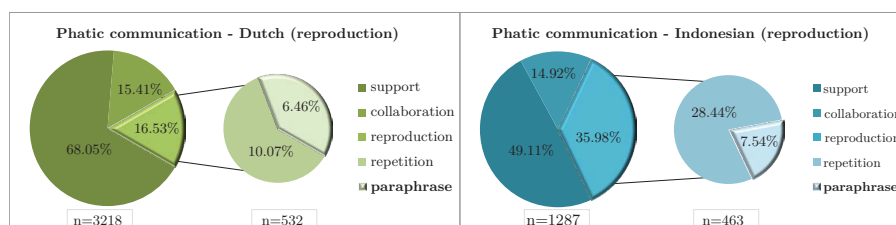


Figure 6.4: Phatic communication - focus on paraphrases. The use of paraphrase in phatic contributions is relatively low in both languages: 6.46% (or 208/3218) in Dutch compared to 7.54% (or 97/1287) in Indonesian. Crucially, only those paraphrases are included here that do not extend past the meaning of the original contribution. Paraphrases that do involve meaning extension are included in the subclass “extension” and are discussed in chapter 7.

tion of similarity to an earlier expression leaves room for debate: what level of similarity or overlap is needed? Does the paraphrase have to be intended and acknowledged as such by its speaker? This section concentrates on paraphrases that (aim to) convey the same message as presented earlier by another participant. These types of paraphrases are especially relevant, because they are strictly speaking redundant when it comes to the exchange of information - the core message is already available. They are phatic in nature: contributing to the social organization of interaction. Out of all phatic contributions, in both languages around 7% of cases involved paraphrase (see fig. 6.4).

Compared to fully repeating an earlier expression, paraphrase is a more individualized, assertive way to construct common ground. The message may be familiar, the utterance does not have to be. Being able to come up with another formulation requires full understanding of the original meaning and a successful attempt thus provides the second speaker with the opportunity to display having that knowledge. By paraphrasing what was said before, a speaker can present the same information, take the same stance as the previous speaker, and still claim the overall “right” to that position as if they were the first to present it. Paraphrasing is thus an effective way to establish alignment whilst preserving autonomy.

Paraphrases scale from close similarity to the original utterance in meaning and form to associated similarity only. As explained above, these latter cases present more of an elaboration than a rephrasing of the original message and they will be discussed in the next section. Considering only paraphrases that do convey the same (or rather a highly similar) message, three different types can be distinguished. The first type involves partial repetition and partial replacement of an earlier utterance. Meaning some part is kept - usually the overall structure - and some other part is phrased differently while the overall message is preserved. Such cases will here be referred to as “partial paraphrases”. The majority of paraphrases indeed showed a combination of old and new elements (50.24% in Dutch, 60.64% in Indonesian (cf. section 6.2.1).

Opposite this type is what will be referred to as “full paraphrase”: expressions that cover the same information, but use completely different words compared to the original utterance (cf. section 6.2.2). This form of paraphrase is much more autonomous and assertive than the first type. The (second) speaker evidently is able to present the message in his or her own words, showing independent access to the necessary information. In the Dutch data, this form of paraphrase is found (much) more frequently compared to the Indonesian data. This seems to be in line with the finding that Dutch speakers preferred more elaborate agreements and expressions of alignment (chapter 5) and modified repeats (section 6.1).

The third type of paraphrase involves the use of a single synonym to (re)capture the core message of the earlier utterance (section 6.2.3). While presenting a synonym does involve a new form to convey the same message, there is not much creativity involved. Furthermore, the contribution is unable to stand on its own. Given that it is a single worded rephrasing of part of a prior message, that prior message needs to be accessible in order to construct a meaningful interpretation. Partial and full paraphrases generally convey the entire thought or message and as such can stand on their own. They are not dependent on the first formulation. This last type is thus somewhat different from the other two in that there is stronger reliance on the original utterance.

6.2.1 Partial paraphrase - something old, something new

The majority of paraphrases in both the Dutch and Indonesian data were found to be connected to an earlier message in meaning as well as form. These “partial paraphrases” involve a combination of repetition and rephrasing of a prior utterance. As shown in figure 6.5, half of the Dutch paraphrases (50.24% or 103/205 cases) and 60.6% (or 57/94) of Indonesian paraphrases involves some combination of old and new elements to construct a similar meaning as the one already presented by another participant.

Examples of such partial paraphrases are found in (17) to (19) below. The first exchange addresses the organization of the women’s bedroom and takes place on the first day of residence in the Big Brother house. The women all share a bedroom together and they have just finished unpacking their suitcases. Assessing the result of her/their effort, Roos (line 5) describes the room as being *aardig netjes* (“pretty neat”).

(17) *Partial paraphrase - “neat”* (BB-NL 1-5)

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 5 | Roos | <i>aardig netjes.</i>
<u>pretty neat</u> |
| 6 | Lotte | <i>redelijk netjes</i>
<u>pretty</u> [lit. reasonably] neat) |

Lotte produces a strongly similar utterance (line 6), using the same overall construction and head noun, but substituting the adverb “aardig” with the

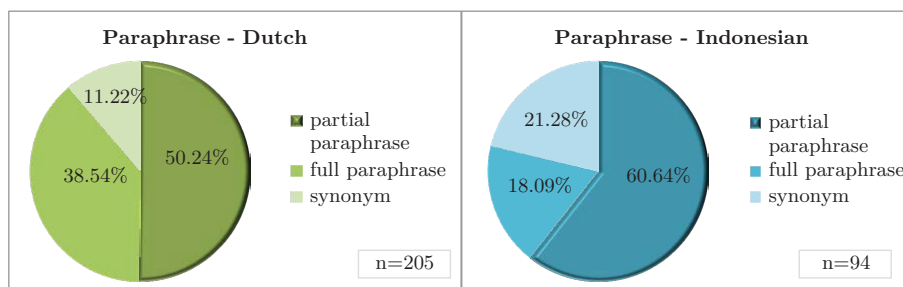


Figure 6.5: Partial paraphrases. Most paraphrases in the data involve a combination of old and new elements: 50.24% (or 103/205) of Dutch and 60.64% (or 57/94) of Indonesian cases falls in the class of “partial paraphrase”. An interesting difference is observed in the frequency of full paraphrases. Whereas 18.09% (17/94) of Indonesian paraphrases consists of an entirely new form, the relative number climbs to 38.54% (or 79/205) in Dutch. Conversely, the class of “synonyms” is twice as big in Indonesian at 21.28% (or 20/94) compared to the Dutch 11.22% (or 23/205). The overall share of paraphrases that present a reformulation of the original message in the subset of phatic communication is similar across the two languages (resp. 205/3218 or 6.37% in Dutch, 94/1893 or 7.30% in Indonesian). These numbers do not include the meaning-extending paraphrases discussed in the next section - although the numbers remain comparable when those cases are added (285/3218 or 8.86% in Dutch, 120/1287 or 9.32% in Indonesian).

near-equivalent “redelijk”, thus seconding Roos’ initial assessment. She does not upgrade or downgrade the force of her assessment compared to the original (cf. Pomerantz, 1984), but rather expresses the same force using a different form. This contribution clearly relates back to Roos’ utterance, but at the same time presents Lotte’s independent evaluation and position on the matter. The utterance can stand on its own. In other words, it could just as well have been the first comment that was made about the room.

The same pattern is found in example (18): both Lena and Dian describe the same thing, but in different words. Earlier the same day, Nazam had prepared a gift (a piece of painted cardboard) for Lena. He had asked Tessa to bring the gift to Lena. In this excerpt, Dian and Lena are in the kitchen preparing dinner. When Tessa walks by, Lena asks her to please extend her gratitude to Nazam.⁷ Dian immediately understands what the gratitude is for (line 2, “becoming postman now right”), but Tessa does not. Following her question, both Lena and Dian reply *jadi pak pos*, “for the postman”. There seems to be a misunderstanding related to their use of *pak pos*, given that Tessa softly repeats the words and both Dian and Lena offer an alternative in lines 8 and 9. These two utterances are of central interest here: they involve a partial paraphrase.

⁷Or at least that is how Tessa interprets it, as evidenced by line 11 in the example. From the lines in between it seems Lena in fact wants to thank *her* for acting as messenger, delivering the present to Lena. Per this week’s assignment, they are prevented from having contact, since Lena is in the “rich” group residing in the house and Nazam is in the “poor” group living outside. As team captain, Tessa is the only one who can talk to members of both groups.

(18) *Partial paraphrase - “message”* (BB-IND 14-2-13)

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 1 | Lena | <i>nanti- nanti tolong bilangin <terima kasih></i>
then- then please say <thank you> |
| 2 | Dian | <i>oh jadi [pak pos sekarang ya?</i>
oh becoming [postman now right? |
| 3 | Tessa | <i>[karena apa?</i>
[because of what? |
| 4 | Lena | <i>jadi pak pos kan?</i>
becoming postman right? |
| 5 | Dian | <i>jadi pak pos</i>
becoming <u>postman</u> |
| 6 | Tessa | <i>°pak pos°</i>
°post package°
[...] |
| 8 | Lena | <i>ngirim surat</i>
sending a letter |
| 9 | Dian | <i>ngirim ba[ra::ng, gitu ya</i>
sending go[o::ds, that's it yes |
| 10 | Tessa | <i>[o::h iya.</i>
[o::h yes. |
| 11 | Lena | <i>maksud a[ku nanti bilangin terima <ka↑sih></i>
I meant [then say thank <↑you> |
| 12 | Dian | <i>[kalo kapten itu jadi</i>
[as the captain so |
| 13 | Lena | <i>aku tadi udah °ngomong dia terima kasih ya°</i>
I already °told him thank you yes° |

As a first alternative to *pak pos*, Lena rephrases her earlier answer as “sending a letter” (line 8). Dian subsequently presents a similar version: “sending goods”. Her partial repeat recycles the first part of Lena’s original utterance (“sending”), but replaces the object from “letter” to “goods” (line 9). Her utterance is further reinforced by an affirmative marker. She is not taking over Lena’s idea or position; she had reached this conclusion herself. The fact that Dian had immediately recognized the goal of Lena’s first statement about presenting her gratitude, as evidenced by line 2, also suggests she indeed came up with this interpretation of the situation herself, and is not simply following Lena’s lead. Again, this utterance could have stood on its own; it does not *depend* on the original. Yet, it is strongly similar, emphasizing the similarity (in thinking) between the two women. They collaboratively attempt to relieve Tessa’s apparent confusion.

Lastly, example (19) is a fragment of a conversation between Bram and Susan in which they discuss aging, likely because Bram is celebrating his birthday the next day. He mentions how Mick Jagger had always seemed old to him - being somewhat 30 years older than Bram - but now that he reached the age Mick Jagger had when he became a fan, he does not feel old at all. Prior to the excerpt presented here, Susan offers another artist that fits the description of agelessness, or at the very least of behaving unlike his actual age: Herman

Brood. In doing so, she already shows she understands his perspective; she is able to construct a similar one after all. In the exchange given below, she characterizes Herman Brood as being “crazy as a door” (line 54), a fixed saying comparable to the English expression “mad as a hatter”.

(19) *Partial paraphrase - “crazy”* (BB-NL 22-3)

54 Susan *ja:: die is ook gek als een deur*
ye:::s he is also crazy as a door
 55 Bram *#hahaha#*
 56 Susan *#<haha>#*
 57 Bram *zo leip als een deur*
as mad as a door
 58 Susan *die is echt gek.*
he is really crazy.

Bram only minimally changes her expression, replacing the unmarked *gek*, “crazy”, with the more colloquial form *leip*. While this form conveys roughly the same, particularly within the boundaries of this saying, its use is more restricted both in terms of linguistic and sociocultural context. This paraphrase - or repetition with replacement - follows a round of laughter reminiscent of the use of repetition to savor the moment (see section 6.1.1). Quite possibly that is what Bram is conveying: his enjoyment over the description chosen by Susan. In changing the expression even this slightly, he does exert more independence over its contents than a full repetition would have. In doing so, he seems to reinforce both Susan’s characterization and his appreciation of it.

In terms of stancetaking and alignment, these partial paraphrases see two participants present the same message, thus taking the same position. Whereas repetitions were sometimes unclear as to their specific function, and consequently their interpersonal positioning, these paraphrases all assert an individual (but shared) position. In making the utterance their own, the second speakers take control over the position and their ability (and willingness) to be associated with it. They do not only recognize the stance taken by another speaker (agreement), or appreciate it (full repetition), they actually *take* that position on their own. This is, of course, an oversimplification of the different forms and functions that have been discussed up until this point. Repetition and expressions of agreement are indeed used to assert individual rights and access to a particular point. However, generally speaking, repetition and agreement are more likely to be used as a stance follow to someone else’s stance lead, because of the dependency on the first utterance to interpret the second. Paraphrases are more independent from the original utterance; they are (or at least can be) understood without reference to some other turn.

In (19) the (near) synonym is embedded in a full sentence, but a similar use of synonyms is found in isolation. Those isolated synonyms are a special form of paraphrase: there indeed is overlap in meaning, but not in form. However, since these paraphrases only target a single lexical item they are much more dependent on the previous utterance than a full paraphrase. Section 6.2.2 de-

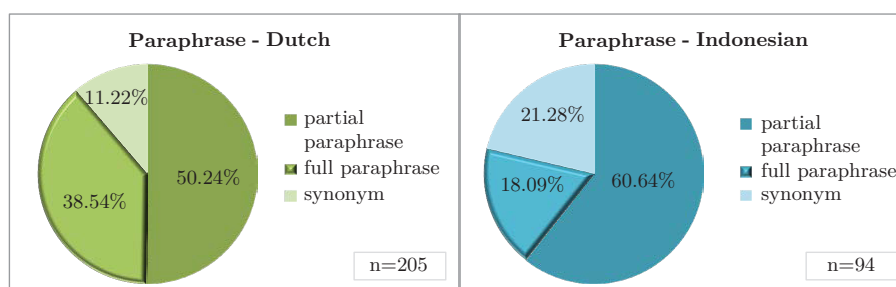


Figure 6.6: Full paraphrases. Whereas 18.09% (17/94) of Indonesian paraphrases consists of an entirely new form, the relative number climbs to 38.54% (or 79/205) in Dutch. The overall share of same-meaning paraphrases in the subset of phatic communication is similar across the two languages (resp. 205/3218 or 6.37% in Dutch, 94/1893 or 7.30% in Indonesian). Most paraphrases in the data involve a combination of old and new elements: 50.24% (or 103/205) of Dutch and 60.64% (or 57/94) of Indonesian cases falls in the class of “partial paraphrase”. (Reproduction of figure 6.5, with an emphasis on full paraphrase).

scribes the use of full paraphrases across the two data sets. That is, paraphrases that actually present the same proposition as some earlier expression, but using all different words. This will provide the foundation for an exploration of synonyms, presented in section 6.2.3.

6.2.2 Full paraphrase - out with the old, in with the new

Recall that in the majority of cases in which paraphrase was found it was combined with the reproduction of part of the original expression (60.64% in Indonesian, 50.24% in Dutch). Still, with a change of form, comes a shift in meaning: the partial paraphrases include some new original element (in form) that suggests the second speaker indeed knows what they are talking about. They are not only able to follow or support the first speaker in their position, they are able to adapt the message and take position on their own accord.

Figure 6.6 shows 38.54% of the Dutch paraphrases (79 out of 205) not to involve reproduction of an original element. Compared to the 18.09% (or 17/94) found in the Indonesian collection of paraphrases, the share of full paraphrases is 20 percent point higher in Dutch. This difference in relative frequency suggests a stronger want or need for the Dutch participants to assert their knowledge or stance independently. This is in line with the earlier observations about the tendency for them to use more explicit forms of alignment, to combine repetition with modification, and the overall observance of a higher occurrence of backchannels and agreement markers in the Dutch data. Again, overtly communicating a personal stance, and with that establishing interpersonal alignment, turns out to be an aspect of interaction that is highly valued by the Dutch speakers.

A contribution is considered a full paraphrase if two (close to) consecutive turns express the same idea, but with no overlap in form. Furthermore, the

message has to be carried in full by both the original utterance and the paraphrase. In contrast to partial paraphrases and synonyms, these paraphrases are not dependent on the first utterance for their interpretation. They can stand on their own and as such express the independent thoughts of the person producing the paraphrase. Full paraphrases are thus excellent candidates to present the same or a similar position on a certain matter, without having to defer to an earlier speaker.

In example (20) below, the paraphrasing party (Lotte, line 132), indeed shows no deference to Ruben's earlier turn. With the first eviction round coming up, the participants discuss the probability of someone wanting to leave the house voluntarily. Just prior to this fragment, most participants suggested this to be a possible course of events. Ruben (line 131) counters this idea: they could be wrong.

(20) *Full paraphrase - "mistaken"* (BB-NL 4-10)

- | | | |
|-----|-------|--|
| 131 | Ruben | <i>maar ik denk ik denk dat je wel heel erg</i>
but I think I think that you surely very much |
| 132 | | <i>er op mis kan e:h,</i>
at can miss e:h, |
| 133 | Lotte | <i>je kan je er ook heel erg in vergisse [n denk ik</i>
you can also very much be mistaken I [think |
| 134 | Hanna | [ja
[yes |

Immediately following his turn, Lotte presents her thoughts on the matter: they could be very much mistaken. Her utterance is designed as a first comment on the topic. There is no indication whatsoever that Ruben already said something along the same lines. There is no overt acknowledgment of his contribution or the similarity between their turns. In doing so, she claims to have reached this insight independently from him and is autonomous in her stancetaking - even though the two of them take the same stance: the others may be too soon to judge.

This same type of full paraphrase is found in suggestions and encouragements. When multiple parties make the same observation and want to direct another person to do something in a certain manner, full paraphrases can function as a way of offering the same advice already given by another speaker. This is what happens in example (21). Eko and Kamil both urge Wulan to stick to the rules of the game they are playing: they cannot touch the floor, they can only step on carpet tiles they have to take with them. Wulan and Yuni are called to the Big Brother room and in her excitement, Wulan seemingly forgets about the carpet tiles. Eko is the first to remind her to use the tiles (line 2), followed by Kamil (line 3). Here too, Kamil changes the phrase completely without overtly marking his suggestion not being the first to convey this information. He changes the main verb *pakai* "use" into *ambil* "take" and refers to the carpet tile with the proximal demonstrative *ini* 'this' instead of *itu* "that".

(21) *Full paraphrase - “carpet”* (BB-IND 23-4-4)

2	Eko	<i>hEy ingat pakai ituan</i>	
		<i>hEy remember use that</i>	
3	Kamil	<i>ambil, ambil in [i</i>	
		<i>take, take thi[s</i>	
4	Eko	<i>[makai itu [an</i>	
		<i>[use th[at</i>	
5	Wayan		<i>[>pakai itu, pakai itu<</i>
			<i>[>use that, use that<</i>

The act Kamil performs is indeed the same as the one Eko presented. He is not trying to hand her a carpet tile or draw her attention to *this* specific tile, he is simply reminding her to use the tiles. Note that Eko’s reproduction of his own original reminder is subsequently, and emphatically, repeated by Wayan (line 5) as well. Whereas Wayan takes over Eko’s original utterance, Kamil adopts a different form, asserting a stronger independent claim to the contribution’s content and value.

Most full paraphrases follow the same recipe: the original utterance is “ignored” and the message is presented as if not already available. The paraphrase is an original, new, form, to share old information. The expression chosen by the second speaker is thus mostly an ad hoc, creative, reformulation of the initial contribution. A notable exception to this is the use of fixed expressions. An example of a paraphrase in the form of a fixed saying is given in (22).

Eva has just announced she is leaving the house and motivates her choice by explaining she could have stayed another month or so, but it would have made her feel miserable and stressed out about what was going on at home. Bram concludes that if you are (emotionally) having a hard time in the house, you should do what is best for you (not in the transcript). Participating in the program is not worth feeling miserable (line 143). This stance is reiterated by Hugo, who uses the expression “there is more between heaven and earth” to convey the same thing.

Considering the rather lengthy explanation Bram provides about what he would do if he were to be in Eva’s shoes (lines 135-138 and 140), Hugo’s succinct paraphrase is a welcome clarification. His attempt to capture the main point is ratified by Bram in line 145. Here too, Hugo’s paraphrase is not explicitly marked as a stance follow to Bram’s stance lead. In fact, all but one of the examples of paraphrase presented in this section, do not include a linguistic element that explicitly ties the two utterances together. The similarity in meaning is left for the hearer to interpret, just like the interactional value of the contribution in general. This reflects the overall lack of explicit markers in the majority of paraphrases found in the data.

(22) *Full paraphrase - "heaven"* (BB-NL 9-10-10)

- 135 Bram *denk ook hoor als ik hoor dat mijn eh vriendin*
 think too if I hear that my eh girlfriend
 136 *eh zich KUt voelt >en-me en-me<*
 eh she feels BAD >and-my and-my<
 137 *and me dochtertje heb het heel moeilijk he?*
 and my daughter has it really difficult huh?
 138 *dan zeg ik *fwiet* tabee ↑jongens*
 then I say *fwiet* goodbye ↑guys
 139 Roos *tuurlijk (.) ja=*
 of course (.) yes=
 140 Bram *=de mo [ord.*
 =the mu[rder ((some sort of expression))
 141 David *[tuur [lijk wel ja hoor*
 [of co[urse yes sure
 142 Roos *[dat kan ik me ↓voorstellen.*
 [that I can ↓imagine.
 143 Bram *dat is het allemaal niet waard.*
 that is all not worth it
 144 Hugo *>er is meer tussen hemel en aarde<*
 >there is more between heaven and earth<
 145 Bram *ja*
 yes

A second presentation of the same information might seem redundant, but the fact that this second person thought of or understood the same thing - and wants to share it with others - is highly relevant in terms of the interpersonal relationship. Asserting your claim over a particular piece of knowledge informs other participants of your position on a certain matter, establishing interpersonal alignment. Moreover, showing independent (or superior) epistemic access helps to (re)distribute epistemic rights and obligations over the collectively available knowledge. This is not so say all paraphrases are detached from the initial expression. A good subset does indicate the contribution represents a stance follow to someone else' earlier turn, this will be explored further in section 6.2.4. First, a special type of single item full paraphrases is discussed: synonyms.

6.2.3 Synonyms - something borrowed, something new

The previous sections distinguished partial paraphrases from full paraphrases: whereas there is a clear, visible, connection between the original and the paraphrase in partial paraphrases, this overt link is lost in full paraphrases (although the connection can of course be made explicit, more on that in 6.2.4). When synonyms are used on their own, such a connection is absent as well. The use of synonyms is a special form of paraphrase in that it is almost a combination of partial repeat (cf. 6.1.1 and a full paraphrase (cf. 6.2.2).

The similarity to partial repeats rests on the fact that in synonyms, a single lexical item is reproduced, instead of the entire message, but the message carried by that single item is presented with a fully different form, hence the similarity to full paraphrases. This type of paraphrase is found in 21.28% (or 20/94) of cases in the Indonesian data, compared to only 11.22% of Dutch paraphrases (or 23/205). The absolute number of instances is very close, the overall share further apart, with the Indonesian share of synonyms being almost twice the size of that in Dutch. Granted, the numbers are too low to make generalizations about the use of synonyms in either language, but some initial, tentative, observations can be made.

Unlike partial paraphrases, these paraphrases are not formally connected to the previous speaker. There is no reproduction of part of the original utterance; these cases all involve an isolated synonym. The link between the two utterances exists solely on the level of meaning or interpretation. Two particular uses of synonyms stand out in both data sets: translation and simplification. Examples (23) to (26) illustrate translation being used to paraphrase or replace the core element of a prior message; examples (27) to (29) present cases in which the single worded paraphrase nicely captures the gist of a lengthier prior description, simplifying the central message.

Synonym - translation

Paraphrases were said to not only convey the message captured by the chosen linguistic forms, but also the (claim for) autonomous access of the paraphrasing party to that knowledge. Whereas translation necessarily involves a new form, the overlap in meaning is so strong these translated synonyms by translation are in some way closer to repetitions than paraphrases. While the second speaker utters a different form than the first speaker - disqualifying it as a repetition - there is not much authenticity or autonomy gained. The second speaker simply reproduces the same meaning and often even a strongly resembling word, only in a different language. Not much effort is put into making the utterance their own, it is simply a restatement of what was already said, but, again, using a different tongue.

In these data, the translations are usually from Indonesian or Dutch to English. There is no practical reason or need to use English: there are no native speakers of English residing in the house and everyone has access to the official language of the respective country they are in.⁸ The choice for English has been observed in the Javanese context as a means of creating distance when negatively assessing others' attributes or behavior (Bowe et al., 2014:41). Using another language is then motivated by a certain unease of presenting

⁸This thesis is not concerned with code-switching, but the amount of English in the Indonesian corpus stood out. Mostly the English seems to be inserted randomly in initiating turns, both directed at Big Brother and fellow contestants. Of course, nothing in interaction is truly random. It would be interesting to see if there is a patterned use to the insertion of English and, if it indeed would turn out to be an act of voicing, what character aspects are channeled through this language.

a particular message in the everyday tongue. In general, this is a convincing explanation of the occurrence of English, especially in relation to sensitive or delicate subjects. In the examples discussed here, however, it seems rather unlikely that the second speakers indeed attempt to create distance between themselves and the message they (re)produce. The information that is shared by the first speaker - and therefore its subsequent translation by the second speaker - is simply too mundane or ordinary to prompt a linguistic barrier in the form of a “neutral” language.

Most of the translated synonyms are not necessarily representing a stance or position taken by the second speaker; rather they seem to express an appreciation or valuation of the first speaker’s position. Parallel to bare repetitions showing appreciation, savoring what was said, or digesting the presented message all seem likely motivations to opt for an isolated translation. This is what happens in examples (23), (24), and (25). In each of these fragments, the second speaker does not explicitly align themselves to the object of talk. However, by reproducing the core aspect of the earlier message they do establish positive alignment between the two speakers (cf. section 6.1.1). Another commonality between these examples is the fact that the turn in which the synonym is presented does not itself receive a reaction; the conversation continues as if the translation was not offered.

The first example that involves translation takes place in the women’s bedroom and was first introduced in chapter 5 as example (28) in the context of explicit alignment. The continuation of that exchange includes an interesting form of synonym by translation. The larger stretch of talk is presented here as example (23). The latter part of the scene is relevant here.

(23) *Synonym - “ice”* (BB-IND, 2-1-6)

- 4 Dian *aduh aku seneng denger bunyi ini* ((touches chandelier))
 hah I happy hearing this sound
- 5 Maya *sama*
 same
- 6 Yuni *mami jualan es*
 mommy ice cream vendor
- 7 Dian *#enggak#*
 #no#
- 8 Lena *ice crea::m*
 ice crea::m

The sound Dian makes by running her hand through the glass pendants of the lamp apparently makes Yuni think of ice cream vendors, given that she refers to Dian - affectionately called *mami* (lit. “mommy”) - as a representative of that profession. Lena adopts the image and reproduces the central element of Yuni’s description, “ice cream”, but in English instead of Indonesian (line 8). The lengthening of the utterance (“crea::m”) and the redundancy of it on an informational level, suggest she expresses her appreciation of the presented characterization. In changing the formulation, even if slightly, she could be

said to reinforce the message. However, it might just as well be a way of “simply” savoring the image of Dian as an ice cream vendor. This example nicely shows the functional ambiguity or vagueness of using translations as synonyms or paraphrases. Like certain bare repetitions, the pragmatic purpose of this contribution is difficult to determine.

This use of English is found in the Dutch data as well. In examples (24) and (25), the original descriptor (respectively “irritated” and “messenger”) is translated to English by a fellow participant. In both cases the translated synonym does not elicit a response, instead the conversation continues based on the prior, original, turn.

(24) *Synonym - “irritated”* (BB-NL 60-2)

- 70 David *geïrriteer* [d
irritate [d
71 Hanna [irritated
[irritated
72 (0.7)
73 David *boos ben ik niet zo gauw*
I’m not so quickly angry

Hanna’s contribution in (24) is not very informative. Comparable to Lena’s turn in the previous example, it could be interpreted to do several things: express understanding of the concept or situation, offer support for the interpretation, even express similarity between them based on the idea that she reaches the same conclusion independent from him finishing his sentence. Or all of the above.

(25) *Synonym - “messenger”* (BB-NL 46-2)

- 30 Hanna *moest toch de boodschapper zijn?*
had to be the messenger right?
31 Hugo *de messenger*
the messenger
32 Hanna °ja:°
°ye:s°

The same can be said for and Hugo’s paraphrase (“messenger”) in (25). He is not producing an answer to Hanna’s question, he is simply reproducing the core element of her utterance in English (the question was directed at David specifically). Whether Hugo’s contribution is meant to convey support, agreement, understanding, or a claim of epistemic access is unclear. What these synonyms do establish, though, is active listenership. The party producing the translation is actively engaged in the ongoing conversation, as evidenced by their ability (and willingness) to offer a related contribution.

The final example of synonym by translation does appear to present a separate stancetaking by both speakers. This is likely caused by the nature of the utterance. Unlike the previous examples, this pair of turns does not present

a descriptive but rather an expressive act. The final two utterances of Nazam and Tessa's interaction with Big Brother in the diary room are reproduced in example (26). They were given instructions on the latest group assignment and are now asked to leave the room. Nazam (line 19) expresses his gratitude for the clarification offered during the conversation, an act that is endorsed by Tessa (line 20). The interesting thing is that Nazam first uses a simple, English, "thank you", followed by a more elaborate utterance in Indonesian from Tessa.

(26) *Synonym - "thank you"* (BB-IND 8-2-4)

- 19 Nazam *thank you*
 thank you
 20 Tessa *aduh, makasih Big Brother*
 ah, thank you Big Brother
 ((Tessa and Nazam leave the diary room))

Tessa chooses a shortened Indonesian form and includes the addressee, "Big Brother". It is not uncommon to hear the Indonesian contestants thank Big Brother before leaving the diary room. Instead of using a leave taking interjection to mark the end of the interaction, they often choose a form that literally expresses gratitude. In this case, it may seem the thanking is (part of) a conversational routine as well, but the fact that they asked for clarification and their needs were met suggests an actual thank you would be in place. In this particular example, both Nazam and Tessa presumably do want to extent their gratitude. Because she uses a different form than Nazam's initial expression and extends it past the original meaning, it could be argued Tessa takes initiative to show that she, individually and independently from Nazam, intended to express her gratefulness.

Synonym - simplification

A more practical form of synonym use is found in the context of a longer explanation or description. In the examples presented below, (27), (28), and (29), the story told by one participant is neatly captured in a single term or phrase by another person. The synonym thus present a conclusion or simplified form of the information presented in the original (longer) turn. In example (27) the Indonesian contestants are playing "Who am I", a game given to them on their first day of residence to help getting to know each other. Adam picks a card that reads "what dreams have you not realized yet?". He is in medical school and reveals his dream to be running his own hospital at some point, moreover, a hospital that is named after him. His rather elaborate explanation is succinctly paraphrased by Nazam: "hospital Adam" in line 32.

(27) *Synonym - “hospital”* (BB-IND 1-4-3)

- 27 Adam *okay, it's okay,*
okay, it's okay,
- 28 *sampai sekarang mimpi yang belum saya wujudkan itu,*
at this point the dream I have not yet realized,
- 29 *saya <penGEN> banget tuh punya rumah sakit sendiri,*
I really <wANT> to have my own hospital,
- 30 *dan (.) pakai nama saya sendiri sih.*
and (.) with my own name.
- 31 *saya pengen banget itu dan saya-*
I really want that and I-
- 32 Nazam *Adam Hospital*
Adam Hospital
- 33 all ((applause))

Note the lack of further comment or response to the offered paraphrase. Similar to the synonyms by translation, these synonyms that are offered as conclusions or summaries do not trigger a response. In this case, the other participants focus their attention on Adam, not Nazam. Often, the original speaker (here Adam) does not acknowledge nor respond to such a synonym either. This is not surprising, considering the second speaker reiterates to them what they have just said themselves; it is a simplified version of their original message.

Compared to the synonyms by translation, these examples demonstrate more creativity and independent understanding on the second speaker's part. Whereas the translations were both in form and meaning close to the original, without a clear benefit, these efforts to explain or simplify what some other participant said shows a strong sense of understanding. The second speaker attempts to improve the communicative exchange by offering an alternative formulation that is arguably more accessible or precise. Still, there is no explicit connection between the position taken by the first and second speaker. The synonym clearly displays understanding on the second speaker's part, but it is not unequivocally clear if he or she supports the message. Again, these synonyms mostly show active listenership and involvement.

An exception to the supposed lack of acknowledgment is found in example (28) where Nazam accepts the term Wulan presents as a synonym into his own more elaborate next utterance.

(28) *Synonym - “sexy”* (BB-IND 12-1-10)

- 111 Lena *terus badan kamu juga bagus,*
next your body is also nice,
- 112 Wulan *°seksi°*
°sexy°
- 113 Nazam *°seksi, kamu mau nggak jadi pacar aku?°*
°sexy, do you want to be my boyfriend or not? °

Lena, Wulan, Nazam, Rendra and (unwillingly) Kamil are playing a game. Nazam is feeding the others things to say, all related to relationships and love.

In this particular case, Lena is directed to ask Kamil to be her boyfriend. She starts with a compliment: “his body looks good” (line 111), which is rephrased, by Wulan as “sexy”. Contrary to the earlier examples, here Nazam builds his next utterance on the offered synonymy; Wulan’s paraphrase results in him taking over her form of choice, establishing positive alignment between the two of them.

The final example of synonymy, in (29), is close to a correction: Thomas’ rather vague and clumsy description of the location of a tattoo is brought down to a single word by Eva. She does not even await the completion of his turn; his pause (and Lotte’s interruption) leads her to offer a candidate location at the same time he finishes his sentence (line 16). This form of synonymy is akin to collaborative meaning-making in the sense that she attempts to finish his sentence. An important difference with most collaborative efforts is that the falling intonation and the conclusive “*ja*” at the end of Eva’s turn communicate not a candidate completion, but rather decidedly presents this as a (superior) alternative to his formulation. Thomas does nothing to indicate he accepts, or has even heard, her suggestion. He simply goes on with his story about the girl with the tattoo.

(29) *Synonym - “tattoo”* (BB-NL 1-2)

- | | | |
|----|--------|--|
| 12 | Thomas | <i>ik ken een meisje, die heb ook zoiets,</i>
I know a girl, that also has something like that, |
| 13 | | <i>die heb het alleen net</i>
she only has it just |
| 14 | | <i>boven haar eh</i> [(.) [<i>achterste</i>
above her eh [(.) [behind |
| 15 | Lotte | [ook ↑ <i>hier?</i>
[also ↑here? |
| 16 | Eva | [stUITje, <i>ja.</i>
[tAILbone, yes. |
| 17 | Thomas | <i>en dan zo groot</i>
and then this big |

Concentrating solely on their form, these synonyms are all examples of full paraphrases: overlap in meaning without overlap in form. However minimal, they are a paraphrase. Yet, their role in interaction is closer to that of (bare) repetitions than most paraphrases. The strong similarity between the two classes is found in the fact that both repetitions and isolated synonyms (mostly) do not form independent utterances: they need the original message of which they are a paraphrase or repeat in order to be interpreted. On their own, both bare repetitions and bare synonyms are just random words. Furthermore, they seem to have the same function, that of active listenership. This separates synonyms from other full paraphrases, which are not normally dependent on the linguistic context of the original to elicit a meaningful interpretation. Notwithstanding the relevance of the sequential placement, the propositional content of both an original and a paraphrase can in principle be interpreted in isolation.

6.2.4 Recognizing the original stancetaker

Accepting another person as the original source of information is mostly marked by the addition of an affirmative marker, as in example (29). The choice for a paraphrase - and not a repetition or simple agreement - still indicates a strong claim to autonomous access to that information. The greater assertiveness and autonomy, signified by the ability to use a different form, is likely the reason behind this choice. The combination of an affirmative marker and a paraphrase allows the speaker to confirm the initial description, assessment, or explanation as an accurate belief *and* as their own belief. In other words, the second speaker not only recognizes the position taken by the first speaker as a point of significance, but independently adopts that position as well.

The first two examples, (30) and (31), show a combination of a turn-initial agreement marker, followed by a paraphrase of the initial message. In (30) Lotte is having trouble with her toga party costume: she does not understand how to turn the bed sheet into a toga. Susan offers an explanation, which is confirmed by David (line 2), the in-house toga expert. Given that he is the only one who has attended a toga party before, he is the only one who can rightfully lay any claim to prior knowledge or understanding. And this he does. He not only confirms Susan's explanation with the affirmative marker *ja*, "yes", but subsequently presents his own version of her explanation. Yet, his instruction is hardly more insightful than Susan's. The "over your shoulder" part is preserved in his explanation, but how the piece of fabric should be positioned exactly remains unclear and is not further clarified either - at least not by him.

(30) *Full paraphrase - "toga"* (BB-NL 23-24-3)

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Susan | <i>schuin over je schouder</i>
diagonally over your shoulder |
| 2 | David | <i>ja over >een schouder heen moet 'ie heen<</i>
yes over >one shoulder over must it over< |

David mostly confirms Susan's understanding of the workings of a toga (made from a bed sheet). His paraphrase does establish him having independent and prior access to this knowledge. A stronger sense of both similarity and autonomy is found in (31), with Lotte and Hugo imitating Eva moaning about the lack of entertainment in the house. The both of them communicate the same thing, voicing Eva: the others were up to no fun. They have known Eva for an equal amount of time (since they moved in to the Big Brother house) and have witnessed the same behavior from her. They both know the other has access to that information; she is part of their common ground.

(31) *Full paraphrase - "fun"* (BB-NL 23-24-3)

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Lotte | <i>ja en ze waren helemaal niet in voor gekkigheid</i>
yes and they were not at all in to silliness |
| 2 | Hugo | <i>nee ze [wouden niet geen lol maken,</i>
no they [did not want to make no fun |
| 3 | Roos | [#HAhAhahah# |

This example shows a first description - or rather imitation - presented by Lotte (line 1) of what Eva used to complain about, followed by another attempt to characterize that behavior - and imitate it - by Hugo. In terms of informational value, his contribution is redundant. Lotte already brought the behavior to everyone's attention, so he does not need to do the same. In their round of gossiping, however, his paraphrase makes sense. They are exchanging judgments about an absent party. Showing he has an opinion, and one that aligns with the others', benefits their mutual bond. Using a paraphrase and not just an agreement marker intensifies the value of his act. He not only follows Lotte in her evaluation of Eva, he had the same experience, as evidenced by his ability to put it to words.⁹

The final example is constructed the other way around: the paraphrase is offered first, followed by an affirmative marker. Again, Eva is the topic of conversation. Roos and Hanna discuss whether they had foreseen Eva would leave the house. In line 4, Roos asserts she had already thought Eva was not one to stay till the end, a feeling shared by Hanna (line 5). Hanna first offers a paraphrase of Roos' assessment: Eva was not going to make it. Starting with a paraphrase, she asserts individual and prior insight about the situation, indicating she indeed had thought of this herself separate from Roos now saying it.

(32) *Full paraphrase - "pull through"* (BB-NL 11-4)

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 4 | Roos | <i>die gaat het niet trekken.</i>
that one is not going to pull it
[‘she won’t last’] |
| 5 | Hanna | <i>die- die redt dat niet (.) nee</i>
that- that one does not save that (.) no
[‘she does not make it (.) no’] |
| 6 | | (1.8) |

Following a brief pause Hanna emphasizes the taken position with *nee*, “no”. It is unclear whether the affirmation is focused on her own or Roos' utterance or both. What it does establish is a concrete link between the two, precisely because of this ambiguity. Both women have taken the same position independently, a position that is reaffirmed to exist by Hanna's final “no”.

In the majority of cases, there is no overt acknowledgment of the earlier contribution: 70.73% of Dutch paraphrases and 84.04% of Indonesian paraphrases does not include a stance follow marker (see fig. 6.7). Although the absolute numbers are too low to draw definitive conclusions, the Dutch collection of paraphrases does suggest a correlation between the addition of an affirmative marker and the degree to which the paraphrase diverges from the original. The less similarity there is in form between the first and second utterance, the more likely it is to find an explicit indication of the paraphrase being a stance follow.

⁹Of course he does not need to have *actually* had this experience. Using a paraphrase to establish the effect of shared experience and interpersonal likeness is enough to successfully communicate (and as a result constitute) the bond he forges between them.

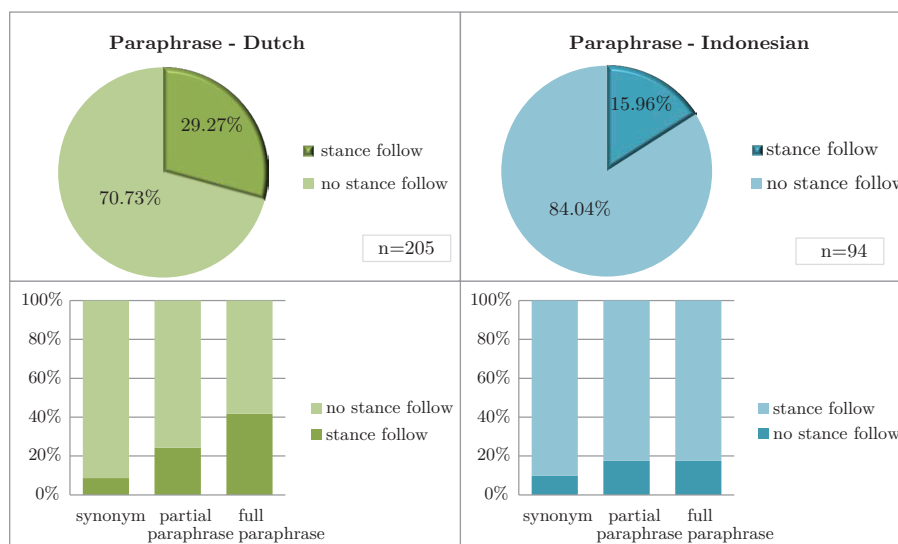


Figure 6.7: Paraphrase and stance follow markers. These charts show most paraphrases are not combined with a stance follow marker: they are presented as original or first turns. The overall share of stance follows is almost twice as big in the Dutch data (29.3% vs 16% in Indonesian). The majority of stance follows is found in full paraphrases in Dutch: there seems to be a correlation between the level of formal similarity and the need to produce a stance follow. In full paraphrase over 40% of cases is combined with an affirmative marker, compared to 8% of synonyms and 24% of partial paraphrases. This pattern is not found in the Indonesian data, where 10% of synonyms is accompanied by a stance follow marker and 17% of both partial and full paraphrases. Again, the numbers are low (especially in Indonesian), so there is no conclusive evidence to support or counter this observation yet.

Taking into account that the Dutch data show an overall stronger focus on overt support, agreement and alignment, the hypothesis that full paraphrases favor the addition of an affirmative marker is not that improbable. Full paraphrases are arguably less recognizable as an attempt at establishing interpersonal alignment, because of the lack of observational similarity. The message that is conveyed may show overlap in meaning with another turn, the addition of an affirmative marker draws attention to the interconnectedness of the presented information and by extension to the interconnectedness of the participants involved.

The emphasis on sharedness and mutual understanding is nicely illustrated in example (33). This excerpt represents the final part of a discussion about the newly received groceries. Not at all to the housemates' liking, they were given black pudding. After having confirmed that none of them is happy with this choice, Hanna offers what would have been a more suitable choice: ground beef (lines 30-33). Lotte, David, and Susan support this suggestion consecutively, each using a different reaction type.

(33) Paraphrase - “black pudding” (BB-NL 23-24-9)

- 30 Hanna >ja maar ik bedoel
yes but I mean
- 31 waarom geven ze niet gewoon rundergehakt?
why don't they just give ground beef?
- 32 David jah, of gewoon eh
yeah, or just eh-
- 33 Hanna ik bedoel daar kun je tenmiste wat=
I mean that at least you can something
- 34 =heleboel dingen mee doen
do a lot of things with
- 35 Lotte ja
yes
- 36 David stoofvlees
[beef] stew
- 37 Susan ja, kan je van alles mee doen=
yes, you can do all kinds of things with [it]=
- 38 =van alles mee maken
make all kinds of things.

This example shows different people aligning to the position taken by Hanna in line 31. David agrees (*jah*) and starts an expression offering an alternative to ground beef, which he only finishes (in line 36). In the meantime, Hanna elaborates on her original suggestion and Lotte provides her support for that suggestion and its associated explanation in the form a simple agreement marker *ja*, “yes”. The contribution that is most relevant for the current discussion, however, is Susan’s utterance in line 37. The first thing she does is present a particle of agreement: “yes”. In terms of positively aligning with Hanna, this would have sufficed. Yet Susan proceeds to reproduce Hanna’s message. The interesting thing is that she first presents a partial paraphrase of Hanna’s original explanation changing only the modifier *heleboel* to *van alles*, followed by a partial rephrasing of her initial paraphrase replacing *doen* (“do”) with [maken] (“make”). Schematically this can be represented as:

(34) parallels in paraphrase, BB-NL 23-24-9

33	Hanna	<i>daar</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>tenminste</i>	<i>heleboel</i>	<i>dingen</i>	<i>mee</i>	<i>doen</i>
	(lit.)	there	can	you	at least	a lot	things	with	do
37	Susan	<i>ja</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>je</i>		<i>van alles</i>		<i>mee</i>	<i>doen</i>
	(lit.)	yes	can	you		all kinds of things		with	do
38						<i>van alles</i>		<i>mee</i>	<i>maken</i>
	(lit.)					all kinds of things		with	make

Hanna and Susan’s utterances are strongly similar, in both form and meaning. The main point they both make is that ground beef is a versatile ingredient (or minced meat more generally speaking). The fact that Susan recycles the construction originally used by Hanna (twice), establishes a clear connection between them as stance lead and stance follow. Susan builds on Hanna’s turn, fine-tuning it to refer to the making of a dish instead of “doing” in general. This

effort of further clarifying or specifying what it is Hanna presumably wanted to convey shows a strong collaborative effort on Susan's part.

Still another form of meaning collaboration in this short exchange is David's alternative suggestion in line 35. Whereas Susan's contribution goes towards making the existing description more precise, David demonstrates his approval and understanding of Hanna's stance by offering another versatile protein: *stoofvlees* "meat to cook stew with"). In doing so, he establishes positive alignment between himself and Hanna. They are completely on the same page: he is able to relate a new object of talk to their shared position on (un)suitable meats. This example thus includes support, reproduction, and extension of meaning. As such, it nicely illustrates the way these different forms and functions are combined in actual interaction. Simply taking in a presented message, not doing anything with it is unusual. At least in these Dutch data, the participants (have to) reveal their relative positioning regarding both the object of talk and, more importantly, their fellow interactant.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how two forms of reproduction are used to establish and negotiate interpersonal positioning: repetition and paraphrase. Whereas both involve the reproduction of meaning (the propositional content) as presented by a previous utterance, they differ in their (re)use of linguistic forms. All reproductions discussed in this chapter were strictly speaking redundant. The original speaker performs some act, asserting a certain position on something, which is subsequently reproduced by another participant (this thus excludes repair structures). There is no *need* for this second act to be presented; the information is already available to those present. Presenting that same message may not seem very useful or insightful, it communicates involvement on the second speaker's part. Thus, through such phatic reproductions, a relationship between participants can be created or maintained. The two main forms of reproduction that were distinguished are repetition and paraphrase.

Repetition is meant to refer to those second utterances that reproduce (part of) the same utterance as a performed by a prior speaker, without adding new elements. That is, the addition of an agreement marker or intensifier is allowed, but changing a noun or verb changes the status of the utterance to a paraphrase. Most repetitions involved no change in phrasing whatsoever; that is, no new material was added. These so-called "bare" repetitions either reproduce the earlier message in full, copying the entire original utterance, or they reproduce some part of the earlier utterance with some other part(s) being omitted. These full and partial repetitions are easily recognizable as having a connection to some other utterance, but they are less easily interpreted in terms of their aim or goal. A solution to this functional ambiguity is the addition of an affirmative marker or modifier: including an element that explicitly relates the second utterance to the first (by means of agreement, upgrading, or downgrading)

clearly positions the two speakers relative to each other. The relatively small change made to the original utterance reflects the ability of the second speaker to assess the situation independently, finding ground to agree, upgrade, or downgrade the message. These repetitions are thus not only a reproduction of existing material, they are actively negotiating stance.

The term paraphrase is used to describe cases in which a second speaker communicates the same message as a fellow interactant, but with a significant change to the earlier utterance. The changes made in the second utterance range from substituting a single content word to completely rephrasing the message. The first subtype is referred to as partial paraphrases, some part of the original utterance is retained, but some other parts are replaced by a similar word. These paraphrases are still visibly connected to the earlier utterance; a considerable similarity in form reveals the two to be related. Full paraphrases, on the other, do not contain such shared elements. The overall message may be (largely) the same, but the contribution is completely disconnected from the earlier utterance in terms of form. These full paraphrases are in a sense a “second original”; they could have been the first display of that knowledge. The fact that some other person in fact presented the information first is not necessarily (visibly) acknowledged. Both full and partial paraphrases could occur in isolation; the interpretation of these utterances is not dependent on information presented by the original utterance. The final subtype of paraphrase that was observed, however, does need the earlier expression to reach a meaningful understanding. The single replacements found in partial paraphrases are also used in isolation. These synonyms are dependent on the original utterance for their context of interpretation. Most of the isolated synonyms that were observed in the corpus were a one-word translation or simplification of the original expression.

Especially full and partial repetitions present a challenge in terms of their functional contribution. They all show involvement in interaction and (re)affirm joint commitment to the activity, but there is no overt sign of the second speaker taking the same position or supporting the assertion. Mostly, their function can be described as conveying listenership or appreciation. Repeating the same utterance, then, is a way of savoring the expression. This is not to say full repetitions cannot be used to take stance or establish alignment. In the Indonesian data, these repetitions were found to be used to seemingly encourage or reinforce or certain act. This would suggest the second speaker does in fact take that same stance. However, there is no visible sign or marker that indeed can be connected to this interpretation. Agreement markers or modifiers that are sometimes added to a repeat are that evidence needed to interpret the functional value. These repetitions were explained to negotiate stance. The addition of an intensifier or agreement marker suggests the second speaker individually has some opinion or knowledge about the ongoing matter. They do not only reproduce an utterance someone else has presented, they actively make it *theirs*. The added marker allows the speaker to present the associated stance as his or her own, thus taking a more assertive approach to the interaction. The fact that the two utterances, and thus stances, are almost

identical establishes a strong and overt bond between the participants. They both now know they share a perspective on something; they have taken a joint position.

Compared to repetitions, paraphrases assert a greater independence from the first speaker *and* more clearly contribute to their interpersonal positioning. The ability to replace some or all of the words suggests understanding of the message - and likely the adoption of the associated stance. Using a paraphrase indicates that the speaker has independent access to some piece of information. By presenting the paraphrase, the speaker communicates his or her individual stance on the object of talk. Considering a paraphrase necessarily follows some other utterance that presented the same message (and stance), this second positioning establishes interpersonal alignment. The more “original” the paraphrase is, that is, the less elements are retained from the first utterance, the more independence is asserted by the second speaker. Changing the entire utterance to convey the same message suggests the second speaker to (be able to) have come up with that message themselves. The connection between the two utterances, and stances, relies on the interpretation of the participants, since there is no longer any visible connection present. Suppose the second speaker would want to acknowledge they are a stance follow to someone else’s stance lead, they would have to include some marker to that end in their paraphrase. An initial analysis indicated the more divergent the paraphrase is from the original, the more likely it is combined with an affirmative marker to recognize the speaker is indeed the second person to present that information. The use of synonyms falls somewhere in between a repetition and a paraphrase: they are dependent on the original utterance for their interpretation, but they do show the speaker is able to produce the message in other words.

Whereas repetition is not a very frequently adopted choice in the Dutch data, using repetition is not at all uncommon in the Indonesian corpus, both relative and in absolute number (28% of all phatic contributions, compared to 10.07% in Dutch, cf. figure 6.1). Within the subset of reproductions, the relative share of repetitions is (much) higher in Indonesian as well (79.01% or 366/463, compared to 60.9%, or 324/532 in Dutch). Further comparing the specific form of repetitions revealed a difference between the Indonesian and Dutch speakers in terms of their preferred choice of type of repetition. Over 70 percent of repetitions found in the Indonesian data were a full or partial reproduction of a prior utterance, compared to 53 percent in the Dutch data. The variation in these numbers is (almost perfectly) explained by the more frequent inclusion of an agreement marker or modifier in Dutch, thus establishing an over link between the two utterances and speakers. The combination of an agreement marker and a repetition shows independent access and assessment of a particular act as well as acknowledgment of the other participant being the first to present the information. Instead of only presenting agreement with the other participant, the speaker makes an effort to make that position their own. This orientation towards making a mark, demonstrating individual knowledge, and taking position is also found in the Dutch use of paraphrase.

The majority of paraphrases were partial in both data sets, reaching 50 percent in the Dutch and 60 percent in the Indonesian collection of paraphrases. These reproductions are more assertive than repetitions in that they assert independent understanding and positioning. Still, they are recognizably a follow-up to some other utterance. Roughly 40 percent of the Dutch paraphrases involved a complete rephrasing of the original utterance. The relative frequency of full paraphrases in Indonesian was half that size at close to 20 percent. The decision to use a full paraphrase not only displays the speaker's capability to make a certain point, it also suggests the speaker had thought of this before and wants to present the message (and stance) on their own accord. Disconnecting the utterance from the earlier contributions may not overtly construct a shared position, the independence that is gained by reformulating the message means the speaker holds a stronger claim over the asserted stance. Both participants have thus independently reached the same position, which in effect does construct a joint position and reinforces their bond. Finally, the absolute number of synonyms was too low to draw definitive conclusions, but it is noteworthy that the Indonesian corpus included relatively more synonyms. These were explained to be closer to repetitions because of their dependency on the original utterance.

Based on the analysis of reproductions, the active negotiation of stance is supposedly more of a concern in Dutch. This is further suggested by the overall greater presence of repetitions in Indonesian. Again, this difference is explained by the greater relative number of contributions extending support for an earlier utterance. Similar to the results presented in chapter 5, the choice for greater autonomy, independence, and consequently, greater accountability, seems mostly favored by the Dutch speakers, whereas the Indonesian contributions stay closer to the original, seemingly not as focused on making their mark in the conversation. This pattern further substantiates an overall supposed preference for explicit and specific negotiation of interpersonal relations among the Dutch speakers. The fact that the Indonesian speakers favor a more ambiguous form of repetition and paraphrase suggests this preference for clarity is not shared across the two groups.